

RESTRUCTURING IN A SOUTH AFRICAN CITY
DURING TRANSITION: URBAN DEVELOPMENT
AND TRANSFORMATION IN PIETERSBURG
DURING THE 1990s

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I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Date:.....15/2/1999.....

ABSTRACT

The effect of apartheid on the spatial form, administrative functions, economic disparities, and social composition of South Africa's cities and towns shows remarkable consistency. Yet, each urban area has its own historic character, bureaucratic and political composition, internal civil structures, and diversity of attitudes to a changing society. This dissertation focuses on how four urban restructurings are reshaping and reordering the former conservative city of Pietersburg in the 1990s. This is done within the framework of broader national political processes and legislation. Given the broad scope of research themes in the study data collection methods have been applied within an eclectic approach. First, however, is an analysis of the historiography of Pietersburg setting the scene for interpreting the spatially fragmented urban settlement system that developed during the apartheid city period. Contemporary linkage patterns between Pietersburg and the proclaimed former Lebowa towns are explored in using data obtained in a questionnaire survey conducted in Seshego, Mankweng, Pietersburg and Lebowakgomo. How this dispersed settlement pattern should be restructured in the future - seeing that they are administratively separated - is interpreted in finding a different form of governance. Local government restructuring in Pietersburg and Seshego is investigated in covering each of the transitional facets of local government changes (i.e. from formation of LGNF to election outcomes). The city's performances are evaluated in terms of certain criteria. The White Paper on Local Government is placed in the context of the above findings and a proposal.

At the dawn of 1990, Pietersburg had achieved its apartheid aims. An empirical investigation of the spatial evolution of residential desegregation in Pietersburg between June 1991 and May 1997 shows how residential spaces have changed. Residential mobility trends that occurred and new residential groupings emerging after apartheid are identified. An analysis of the housing market is also provided. Qualitative (residents' perceptions of residential integration) and quantitative data (statistical measurements of segregation) are used in analyses. Understanding processes involved in deregulation and re-regulation of street trading during a period of transition are discussed within a conceptual framework. The investigation sheds light on how successful street trading policy formulation and its implementation during urban transition have transformed the former apartheid city. Aspects explored include a concise historical overview of business space segregation under apartheid rule and the resulting spatial effects of it; an analysis of post-apartheid integration and the restructuring of urban business space, chiefly illustrating the distinction between desegregation and deracialisation processes of urban business space transformation; a discussion of the deregulation and subsequent re-regulation of informal street trading as an example of informal urban development; and some planning suggestions regarding the process of desegregating central business space are advocated. The most important policy documents developed during the 1990s to redress the current urban realities conclude the empirical analysis. A discussion of the Land Development Objective process and policy formulation in Pietersburg with the implementation of their Urban Development Framework scrutinises restructuring in spatial terms.

A synthesis provides a conceptual framework for understanding urban restructuring phases in Pietersburg. A concept 21st-century South African city model is also proposed.

Keywords: Urban restructuring, Pietersburg, informal sector, local government, spatial restructuring, 21st century South African city, urban linkages

OPSOMMING

Die effek van apartheid op die ruimtelike vorm, administratiewe funksionering, ekonomiese ongelykhede en sosiale samestelling van Suid Afrikaanse stede en dorpe toon merkwaardige ooreenkomste. Tog het elke stedelike gebied sy eie historiese karakter, burokratiese en politieke samestelling, interne burgerlike strukture, en 'n diversiteit van houdings teenoor 'n veranderende samelewing. Die proefskrif fokus op hoe vier stedelike herstruktureringprosesse die voormalige konserwatiewe stad Pietersburg hervorm en verander in die 1990s. Dit word gedoen binne die raamwerk van breër nasionale politieke prosesse en wetgewing. Gegewe die breë omvang van die navorsingtema is die data-insamelingsmetodes toegepas binne 'n eklektiese benadering. Eerstens, egter, word die historiografie van Pietersburg geïllustreer deur die ruimtelik-gefragmenteerde stedelike nedersettingsstelsel wat gedurende apartheid ontwikkel het, te beskryf. Huidige skakelingspatrone tussen Pietersburg en die voormalige Lebowa dorpe word ondersoek deur inligting wat tydens 'n vraelysondersoek bekom is in Seshego, Mankweng, Pietersburg en Lebowakgomo te analiseer. Hoe hierdie verspreide nedersettingsstelsel in die toekomst herstruktureer kan word, word geïnterpreteer binne verskillende vorme van regering. Herstrukturering van plaaslike regering in Pietersburg en Seshego is ondersoek, meer spesifiek die volgende aspekte: alle fasette van plaaslike regering se oorgang en verandering (m.a.w. van die vorming van plaaslike regering onderhandelingsforums tot verkiesingsuitslae). Die stad se werkverrigting is geëvalueer in terme van sekere kriteria. Die Witskrif op Plaaslike Regering word binne die bogenoemde konteks se bevindinge en voorstelle geplaas.

Met die aanbreek van 1990 het Pietersburg sy apartheiddoelstellings bereik. 'n Empiriese ondersoek oor die ruimtelike evolusie van woonbuurtdesegregasie in Pietersburg tussen Junie 1991 en Mei 1997 toon aan hoe die woonbuurtuimtes verander het. Tendense van woonbuurtmobiliteit wat plaasgevind het, en nuwe woonbuurtgroeperings wat na apartheid ontstaan het, word geïdentifiseer. 'n Analise van die behuisingsmark word ook gedoen. Kwalitatiewe (inwoners se persepsies in verband met woonbuurtintegrasie) en kwantitatiewe (statistiese meting van segregasie) analise word betrek. Binne 'n konseptuele raamwerk word prosesse van deregulering en herregulering van straathandel gedurende oorgang bespreek. Die ondersoek werp lig op hoe suksesvol beleid t.o.v. straathandel plaasvind, en hoe dit geïmplementeer is om die voormalige apartheidstad te transformeer. Aspekte wat ondersoek word, sluit in 'n bondige historiese oorsig van besigheidsruimte segregasie tydens apartheid en die resulterende ruimtelike effek daarvan; 'n analise van na-apartheid integrasie en die herstrukturering van besigheidsruimte in die lig van 'n tweeledige ondersoek rakende derasionalisasie en desegregasie daarvan; 'n bespreking van die deregulering en daaropvolgende herregulering van die informele staathandel as 'n voorbeeld van informele stedelike ontwikkeling; en ten slotte word sommige beplanningsvoorstelle t.o.v. die desegregasie van besigheidsruimte in die SSK gemaak. Die belangrikste beleidsdokumente wat tydens die 1990s geformuleer is om die huidige stedelike realiteite op te los, sluit die empiriese ondersoek van die studie af. 'n Bespreking van die grondontwikkelingsproses en beleidsformulering in Pietersburg binne die implementering van die Stedelike Ontwikkelingsraamwerk t.o.v. ruimtelike herstrukturering word gedoen. 'n Sintese word verskaf om 'n konseptuele raamwerk vir stedelike herstrukturering in Pietersburg te verstaan. 'n Konsep 21ste-eeu Suid-Afrikaanse stadmodel word voorgestel.

Sleutelwoorde: Stedelike herstrukturering, Pietersburg, informele sektor, plaaslike regering, ruimtelike herstrukturering, 21ste-eeu Suid-Afrikaanse stadmodel, stedelike-skakels

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Sue.

CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF PLATES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF ADDENDUM	xvii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xviii
CHAPTER 1: SETTING THE SCENE	1
1.1 POST-APARTHEID URBAN RESEARCH IN SOUTH AFRICA	1
1.2 PROBLEM FORMULATION	4
1.3 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURE	9
1.3.1 An eclectic approach	9
1.3.2 Data collection and analysis	12
1.4 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED	19
CHAPTER 2: TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGE: A FOCUS IN URBAN RESEARCH	22
2.1 URBAN RESTRUCTURING: DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION	22
2.2 A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE	24
2.3 CITIES IN ADVANCED COUNTRIES	25
2.3.1 Structural changes	25
2.3.2 Dual city	27
2.3.3 Outcomes, restructuring and postmodernism	27
2.3.4 New capitalism	28
2.4 THIRD WORLD CITIES	29
2.4.1 Global links	29
2.4.2 Urban change, structural change and adaptation	30
2.5 URBAN RESTRUCTURING AND TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES	31
2.5.1 Globalisation	32
2.5.2 Built environmental shift	33
2.5.3 Extended social polarisation	33
2.5.4 Urban governance and violence	34
2.5.5 Perceptual shifts	34
2.6 SUMMARY	34
CHAPTER 3: HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE PIETERSBURG DISPERSED SETTLEMENT PATTERN	36
3.1 COLONIAL PIETERSBURG (1886-1910)	37
3.1.1 The origin of the town	37

4.4 DISPERSED CITY OR DISPLACED SUBURBS OF PIETERSBURG?	130
4.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	133
CHAPTER 5: RESTRUCTURING URBAN GOVERNANCE DURING TRANSITION	137
5.1 CONSERVATIVE LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL DURING APARTHEID	137
5.2 DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND URBAN POLITICS DURING THE 1990s: A SYNOPSIS	141
5.3 PRE-INTERIM PHASE: LOCAL NEGOTIATION FORUMS AND FORUM BOUNDARIES	144
5.3.1 Creation of a Negotiation Forum for Pietersburg	144
5.3.2 A representative Negotiation Forum?	147
5.3.3 Forum boundaries and amalgamation	149
5.3.4 Amalgamation of Pietersburg and Seshego	150
5.4 INTERIM PERIOD: ELECTED TRANSITIONAL COUNCILS	151
5.4.1 Local Government demarcation	151
5.4.2 Elected transitional council: the 1995 local government election	154
5.5 PERFORMANCE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF RESTRUCTURING	161
5.5.1 Operational status	162
5.5.2 Infrastructural services	164
5.5.3 Environmental issues	165
5.5.4 Financial status	166
5.5.4.1 Transparency and equity	166
5.5.4.2 Financial base and management	167
5.5.5 Positioning of the Municipality	168
5.5.6 Accountability	169
5.5.7 Redistribution	169
5.5.8 Overall conclusion	170
5.6 RESIDENTS' EVALUATION AND PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESTRUCTURING	173
5.6.1 Ward councillors and political party achievements	173
5.6.2 General response	174
5.7 CONCLUSION: POST-1999 LOCAL GOVERNMENT OPTIONS	175
CHAPTER 6: SOCIO-SPATIAL RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION PATTERNS	181
6.1 RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN PERSPECTIVE	181
6.1.1 Conceptualising residential segregation	181
6.1.2 Residential segregation in South African cities: a literature overview	185
6.1.3 Measuring residential segregation	187
6.2 RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION PATTERNS IN PIETERSBURG, 1992-1997	187
6.2.1 Introduction	187
6.2.2 Before residential desegregation	189

6.2.3 Residential desegregation (1991-1997): data collection	190
6.2.4 The nature of desegregation in Pietersburg	192
6.2.4.1 September 1992	193
6.2.4.2 May 1993	193
6.2.4.3 May 1994	195
6.2.4.4 May 1995	195
6.2.4.5 May 1996	199
6.2.4.6 May 1997	200
6.2.5 Summarising the descriptive data	201
6.3 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AFTER APARTHEID: THE IMPACT OF URBAN RESTRUCTURING ON RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS	201
6.3.1 Attitude towards residential desegregation	201
6.3.2 Racial transition of Pietersburg	207
6.4 RESIDENTIAL RESTRUCTURING OBSERVATIONS	209
6.5 RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION: BLACK MOVERS AND MOBILITY PATTERNS	213
6.5.1 Conceptual setting	213
6.5.2 Black in-migrant residential relocation to Pietersburg	215
6.5.3 Residential mobility patterns, 1997	217
6.6 DESEGREGATION, MOBILITY AND THE PROPERTY MARKET	219
6.6.1 An alternative methodology	219
6.6.2 Nature and extent of property transfers	220
6.7 DESEGREGATION IN PERSPECTIVE	227
6.8 CONCLUSION	232
CHAPTER 7: THE NEED TO RESTRUCTURE THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN PIETERSBURG: A POLICY APPROACH	235
7.1 INTRODUCTION: LITERATURE OVERVIEW	235
7.2 RACIAL AND SPATIAL PROCESSES OF INFORMAL BUSINESS SPACE	236
7.2.1 Business space segregation: past patterns	238
7.2.2 Theoretical background: investigating contemporary change	241
7.2.3 A conceptual framework for understanding urban processes of post-apartheid business space	242
7.3 POST-APARTHEID DERACIALISATION OF THE PIETERSBURG CBD	244
7.3.1 The new Business Act, 1991	245
7.3.2 Street trading outcomes in the Pietersburg CBD during the early transition period	247
7.3.2.1 An empirical check on informal street traders in Pietersburg CBD	249
7.3.2.2 Reformalisation of street by-laws	252
7.3.2.3 Interpreting the new street by-laws and policy document	256
7.4 HOME-BASED BUSINESS: PATTERN, CONTROL AND PERCEPTIONS	259
7.4.1 Control of the home-based business industry in Pietersburg and Seshego	260
7.4.2 Nature and extent of home-based business in Pietersburg	261
7.4.3 Pietersburg/Polokwane residents' perceptions to home-based business	264
7.4.4 Knowledge of home-based business	266

7.5 SUMMARY: POLICY SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PLANNING OF STREET TRADING AND HOME-BASED BUSINESS	268
7.5.1 Street trading policy	268
7.5.2 Home-based business policy	270
CHAPTER 8: URBAN SPATIAL RESTRUCTURING THROUGH LAND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES	274
8.1 POST-APARTHEID PLANNING FOR URBAN SPACES IN SOUTH AFRICA	274
8.1.1 The need for an alternative	274
8.1.2 Policy for the restructuring and reconstruction of the past	276
8.1.2.1 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)	276
8.1.2.2 Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995	277
8.1.2.3 Urban Development Strategy and Urban Development Framework	281
8.2 A PLANNING CHECKLIST FOR URBAN RESTRUCTURING	285
8.3 LAND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES IN PIETERSBURG	285
8.3.1 The process of formulating Land Development Objectives	285
8.3.1.1 Public participation	290
8.3.1.2 Residential satisfaction	294
8.4 ANALYSIS OF THE LAND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES RELATING TO SPATIAL RESTRUCTURING	297
8.4.1 The “state of affairs”: constraints, potential and opportunities	297
8.4.2 Responding to the challenge: the Pietersburg Development Framework	307
8.4.2.1 Urban sprawl versus compaction	301
8.4.2.2 Strategic development areas and functional development zones	306
8.4.2.3 From an integration corridor to a development corridor	308
8.5 CONCLUSION	312
CHAPTER 9: SYNTHESIS: TOWARDS A 21st-CENTURY SOUTH AFRICAN CITY	316
9.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	316
9.1.1 Restructuring urban governance	316
9.1.2 Residential and socio-spatial restructuring	317
9.1.3 Restructuring the informal economy	319
9.1.4 Restructuring the spatial impress of apartheid	319
9.2 SYNTHESIS	320
9.2.1 Phases of restructuring in Pietersburg	322
9.2.1.1 Social engineering phase	322
9.2.1.2 Post-apartheid restructuring phases	323
9.2.1.2.1 First phase: emancipation, policy formulation, reconciliation and reconstruction	323
9.2.1.2.2 The vacuum period: place identity restructuring	326
9.2.1.2.3 Second phase: policy execution, urban reconstruction and development	328
9.2.2 A 21st-century South African city model	330
9.3 VALUE OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS	337

9.4 FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES	339
REFERENCES	342
ADDENDUM	387

LIST OF PLATES

1.1 Problem of accessibility in Seshego	20
3.1 Market Square, Pietersburg, 1890s	42
3.2 Sidewalk space in Pietersburg according to race in the early 1900s	49
3.3 Government building, Pietersburg in the early 1900s	49
3.4 Government complex of former Lebowa in Lebowakgomo, 1998	80
3.5 Site and service development in Zone C, Mankweng 1993	86
3.6 Aerial photo showing matchbox-style houses in Seshego, 1970s	90
3.7a Pietersburg, 1970	95
3.7b Pietersburg, 1980	96
7.1 TLC's unused street trading facilities in Pietersburg	257
7.2 Lock-up street trading facilities at the Pietersburg sports stadium	257

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1 Spatio-temporal processes of change	5
1.2 The questionnaire survey process	15
3.1 Phases in land surveying, 1884-1896	38
3.2 Location of Asian businesses in Pietersburg Central Area, 1905	41
3.3 Farms not scheduled for inclusion under Pietersburg's municipal jurisdiction	44
3.4 African locations prior to 1910	47
3.5 The Segregation and Apartheid City models	58
3.6 Orientation map of Pietersburg, 1991(excluding Seshego)	63
3.7 Pietersburg as Apartheid City	64
3.8 Lebowa homeland in relation to Pietersburg	67
3.9 Number of houses in the three proclaimed towns of former Lebowa, 1970 and 1980	69
3.10 Growth in black labour force in industry (A) and the number of industries (B) in Pietersburg, 1974-1987	71
3.11 Mosaic of three SPOT XS Composite Images showing the location of Pietersburg, Seshego, Lebowakgomo and Mankweng, 1997	74
3.12a Land-cover maps of Pietersburg and Seshego	75
3.12b Land-cover maps of Lebowakgomo and Mankweng	76
3.13 Built-up area expansion between 1980 and 1997	77
3.14 Lebowakgomo layout, 1990	83
3.15 Mankweng town area in relation to Mankweng District	86
3.16 Land categories in Greater Seshego, 1990	89
3.17 Property owned in New Pietersburg, 1967	94
3.18 Annual percentage population growth for all racial groups in Pietersburg in comparison to the South African average, 1911-1985	97
3.19 Building plans approved for Pietersburg, 1984-1996	102
3.20 Pietersburg and Seshego percentage growth rate between 1980 and 1996	103
3.21 Changing urban status of Pietersburg	104
4.1 Composite annual percentage traffic growth rates since 1979	120
4.2 Composite annual traffic growth rates per vehicle type, 1988-1991 and 1992-1995	122
5.1 Electoral wards, 1995	159
5.2 RDP funding for 1996/97	168
6.1 Dual-city concept schematised	184
6.2 Property valuation of Pietersburg according to suburb, 1992	191
6.3 Black home-ownership in Pietersburg, May 1994	196
6.4 Location quotients of black home-ownership in Pietersburg, 1995	197
6.5 Percentage of black home-owners in former group area, May 1995	198
6.6 Annual percentage increase/decrease of black home-owners per suburb	202
6.7 Response regarding possible implementation of a property purchase law	206
6.8 Respondents who experienced racial conflict after residing in Pietersburg	208

6.9 Number of years stayed in current house	217
6.10 Residential densities according to the TLCs development map	224
7.1 Contribution of Pietersburg's economic sectors to GGP, 1980, 1991 and 1994	237
7.2 Number of TLCs that had promulgated street trading by-laws by 1997	246
7.3 Prohibited street trading area in the CBD of Pietersburg	255
7.4 Number of home-based businesses in Seshego's six zones (residential suburbs only), 1996	262
7.6 Attitudes of respondents towards home-based business	265
8.1 Land Development Objective formulation process	287
8.2 Multi-disciplinary approach to Land Development Objective process	288
8.3 Decision-making structure	289
8.4 Pietersburg Status Quo 1998: the apartheid spatial legacy	299
8.5 Spatial Development Framework for integrated development of Pietersburg	302
8.6 Proposed private vehicle development axis in Pietersburg	305
8.7 Seshego development corridor (Nelson Mandela Drive) connecting major nodes	309
8.8 Proposed Seshego activity node potential development	312
8.9 Spatial urban restructuring model for Pietersburg	314
9.1 Phases of restructuring in Pietersburg	321
9.2 A model for the 21st-century South African city	332

LIST OF TABLES

1.1 An eclectic approach to urban restructuring in Pietersburg	11
1.2 Synopsis of data collection and dissemination of research results	14
1.3 Sample drawn for urban linkage survey in three former homeland towns	16
1.4 Questions in questionnaire survey covered in different chapters	17
1.5 Respondents' distribution according to former group area and population groups	18
3.1 Land size figures for the total area of the Municipality in 1908	43
3.2 Different types of residential control methods during apartheid	61
3.3 Applications approved in industrial development points and expected employment opportunities, 1984-87	70
3.4 Actual area and percentage built-up area expansion in Lebowakgomo, Mankweng, Pietersburg and Seshego between 1980 and 1997	79
3.5 Population totals and percentages according to racial groups for Pietersburg	89
3.6 Industrial employment figures according to population groups in Pietersburg, 1983	91
3.7 Criteria used for identifying secondary cities in South Africa	100
4.1 Settlement hierarchy for selected districts in former Lebowa	109
4.2 Special characteristics of different orders of towns in former Lebowa	110
4.3 Phases in urban development in Lebowa	111
4.4 Profile of respondents: Socio-demographic information of respondents in the study area	116
4.5 Number of listed businesses in Seshego and Lebowakgomo, 1997	117
4.6 Respondents' place of residence by town where employed	118
4.7 Traffic volume to and from Pietersburg: 12 hourly traffic volumes on Friday 24 November 1995	120
4.8 Vehicle type, racial group, purpose and occupancy of vehicles and passengers on main roads routes	121
4.9 Percentage of respondents who do their shopping and secure services in Pietersburg	125
4.10 Cross-tabulation between respondents in study area and where they would prefer to stay	126
4.11 Different linkages between dispersed areas and Pietersburg	128
5.1 Parallel transformation process during transition	142
5.2 Elected members and parties at statutory and non-statutory bodies of the Pietersburg/Polokwane Negotiation Forum	148
5.3 Election outcomes in Seshego and Pietersburg wards	160
5.4 Sub-committees established in Pietersburg for the transitional period	163
5.5 Checklist of Local Government performance, Pietersburg TLC	170
5.6 Masakhane pledge signed by Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC	172
5.7 Types and characteristics of Metropolitan Government	176
5.8 Alternative options for the governance of larger urban regions	177
6.1 Indices of dissimilarity and segregation in Pietersburg, 1951 and 1991	190
6.2 Desegregation (black home-owners) per suburb in Pietersburg, 1992-1997	194
6.3 Respondents' attitude towards residential integration taking place in Pietersburg	203

6.4 Respondents' perceived influence of residential integration on suburbs in Pietersburg	205
6.5 Socio-economic characteristics of sampled black movers in Pietersburg, May 1993	216
6.6 Reasons for relocation to Pietersburg, 1993	217
6.7 Annual average property price and stand size according to suburb in Pietersburg, 1994-1997	221
6.8 Annual total number of housing units sold per year and the average housing units sold per month per year	222
6.9 Total inter-racial property transfers in Pietersburg (excluding Seshego), 1994-1997	225
6.10 Cross-tabulation of inter-and intra-racial property transfers in Pietersburg, 1994-1997	226
7.1 Social and economic processes of South African urban development	243
7.2 Major lines of support to small enterprise	247
7.3 Type of sampled street trading activities in Pietersburg, 1996	251
7.4 Customers' perceptions of informal business in Pietersburg, 1996	252
7.5 Negative and positive perceptions of the Pietersburg urban informal economy	254
7.6 Responses by neighbours of home-based businesses in Seshego, 1996	263
7.7 Cross-tabulation between former group areas and knowledge of home-based business	267
7.8 Problems residents experience with home-based business in their neighbourhoods in Pietersburg	268
8.1 South Africa's urban vision and urban development goals up to the year 2020	282
8.2 Participation techniques and increasing levels of participation	291
8.3 Percentage respondents who indicated whether certain characteristics and features are present in their neighbourhood/suburb	295
8.4 Important legislation and policy formulated during transition	298
8.5 Low-cost housing implementation programme for Pietersburg - proposed number of housing units, 1999-2003	303
8.6 Advantages and disadvantages of mixed land-use	310
8.7 Possible outcomes of corridor development	311
9.1 Summary of urban restructuring in Pietersburg during the 1990s	324

LIST OF ADDENDUM

1. URBAN LINKAGE SURVEY	387
2. REALITY CHECK QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY	396
3. QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY ON SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING	408
4. EXAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STREET TRADING SURVEY IN 1995 AND 1996	427
5. EXAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE HOME-BASED BUSINESS SURVEY CONDUCTED IN SESHEGO 1997	429
6. SUMMARY OF RESPONDENTS' BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION CROSS-TABULATED WITH FORMER GROUP AREAS: SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING SURVEY, OCTOBER 1997	433
7. ORGANIGRAM OF TRANSITIONAL LOCAL COUNCIL, 1997	438
8. RESPONDENTS' CRITICAL COMMENTS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT	439
9. SYNTHETIC AND ANALYTIC INDICES OF THE MEASUREMENT OF SEGREGATION	440
10. MONTHLY NUMBER OF SALES PER SUBURB IN PIETERSBURG FOR THE PERIOD 1994-1997	441
11. INTER-RACIAL TRANSFERS PER YEAR ACCORDING TO SUBURB IN PIETERSBURG FOR THE PERIOD 1994-1997	443

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CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE SCENE

Having lived in South Africa during the apartheid era, and now both observing and playing a part in reconstructing the past, I fully agree with Parnell's (1996: 42) statement that:

“the South African city provides a fascinating laboratory for the study of urban culture and form As a caricature of the social divisions that now plague cities across the ‘Western’ and ‘non-Western’ worlds, the apartheid city experience served as a worst-case scenario of persistent social and economic inequality, perversely making it one of the most interesting and illuminating places to be an urban scholar”.

The dissertation will attempt to investigate and illustrate contemporary urban restructuring, development, and change in post-apartheid Pietersburg, a secondary city and capital of the Northern Province. The city serves as a fascinating “laboratory” in which to research how political changes after 1990 reshaped urban spaces previously linked to conservatism and oppression. How these spaces were restructured forms the central theme in this study.

1.1 POST-APARTHEID URBAN RESEARCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid officially ended when the country held its first general elections for all races in April 1994. Although the two main pillars (Population Registration and the Group Areas Act) upon which it had rested for more than forty years were removed before then, apartheid cities have been preparing for a period of restructuring. The first half of this decade (1990s) stimulated numerous debates, proposals, and projections about the future of South African cities. Research on South Africa's unique social engineering exercise produced numerous publications by scholars with a longstanding interest in aspects relating to urban apartheid, its possibilities and prospects (Lemon, 1987, 1991a, 1995; Smith, 1982, 1992; Swilling, Humphries & Shubane, 1991; Preston-Whyte & Rogerson, 1991; Rogerson & McCarthy, 1992; Tomlinson, 1994). Many synopses of the history of urban apartheid have also surfaced (Christopher, 1991a, 1994; Parnell & Mabin, 1995; Maylam, 1995; Pickles, 1992; Turok, 1994a). Given the complex nature of apartheid's effects on South Africa's urban areas, especially in relation to form, administration, function, economy, and urbanisation strategy, a suitable applied planning framework needed to be formulated and implemented. Concerning

the five aspects mentioned above, academics and research organisations alike have suggested case study examples and frameworks for enhancing the role of cities (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1996a; Dewar, 1992; Dewar & Uytendogaardt, 1995; Harrison, 1995; Krige, 1998; Lemon, 1996; Parnell, 1996; Robinson, 1996; Saff 1993, 1994, 1995a; Turok, 1994b, 1995; Urban Foundation, 1994; Van der Merwe, 1992, 1993; Venter, 1994). McCarthy's (1992:146) reservation that most urban investigations “have had limited geographical content [and instead] have tended to subsume the concerns of what would ordinarily be described as urban sociology, urban politics, urban economics, and urban history” may appear to be factual. Nevertheless, he compliments urban geographers on filling the “vacuum left by the virtual absence” of the mentioned sub-branches. He concludes by recommending two aspects concerning the urban geography reality of the 1990s: one, urban geographers should separate from the discipline and “assume the role of protagonists of an academic field of urban studies”; and two, they should involve themselves in consultancy work on issues of a practical nature that undeniably necessitate an applied approach to exploration. This vision would create a departure from theoretical contributions and further the ideals of a postmodern approach to research in which eclecticism predominates.

South Africa has been undergoing a radical process of transformation since the mid-1970s. This process entered the transition period on 2 February 1990 when the then President, F.W. de Klerk, made his famous speech and declared the end of apartheid. The formal period of transition ended with the first non-racial general election held on 27 April 1994. While the world from the 1970s onwards experienced global transformation as a consequence of economic change, and a restructuring away from an industrial to a post-industrial service-orientated society (Davies, 1996; Dear & Flusty, 1998; Lake, 1992; Soja, 1995), South Africa transformed rather differently, in a political context; but according to Parnell (1996: 46)

“the notion of the postmodern allows African urban scholars to embrace the urban form and design, to examine the city in a changing world economy and to uncover the manner in which urban space determines, and is in turn determined by, individual and community identities and struggles”.

Changes to the traditional apartheid city leading to the modernised apartheid city have been debated at length (Simon, 1989). On 2 February 1990 the country, and indeed its cities,

entered a transition period. This period was characterised by opponents of apartheid challenging the state in all aspects of governance and power, such as political rules and legislation. The period (1990-1994) was a process of contestation in which political, social, economic and territorial spaces that were not open before transition were finally opened (Saff, 1996: 2). This period of flux may also be termed a vacuum period (see Ramutsindela's case study, 1998), in which a society finds itself in a fluid situation, with negotiations taking place while civil society waits to see what will happen.

Although the National Party was still in power during this period, the ANC (African National Congress) was actually a de facto partner in preparing for the next phase after transition: that of transformation under a new political dispensation. The predicted outcome of the general election signalled the end of the political transition period and heralded the start of the next period of transformation. However, this time, initiated and promulgated by a new political order (ANC), new legislation and political rules characterised the period. The various policy frameworks formulated after 1991 impacted on the restructuring process of cities in general. Simultaneously, and emanating from the new order's policy frameworks, a process of reconstruction and development became evident at local and provincial level. How South African cities will realign themselves with global economic restructuring after years of isolation will be dictated by policy makers and remains a priority challenge for the next century.

At this stage, the basic framework for investigating the restructuring and reconstruction process in South Africa's cities is based on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the discussion document on the Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity, its subsequent Urban Development Framework, the Local Government Transition Act, the White Paper on Local Government, and numerous other related policy documents. Apart from academic contributions, the newly-formed Government of National Unity's discussion document on an Urban Development Strategy released for comment in November 1995 set the scene for urban restructuring in all components (Republic of South Africa, 1995a). It is evident from the document that the compilers drew from expert advice furnished by academics and from the Urban Foundation and Development Bank in particular. The document highlights five focus areas in the implementation of an Urban Strategy as part

of the broader urban restructuring process:

- (1) Integrating cities and towns and managing urban growth
- (2) Investing in urban development
- (3) Building habitable and safe communities
- (4) Promoting urban economic development
- (5) Creating institutions for delivery.

The document identifies seven underlying principal goals for urban areas towards the year 2020 (Republic of South Africa, 1995a:14). Creating more efficient and productive urban areas and reducing spatial inefficiencies will be accomplished through compaction, densification and infilling. The provision of basic services and housing with specific consideration for the quality of the urban environment should be accomplished within fiscal and other realistic constraints. Last, to transform local authorities to such an extent that they benefit the communities they serve, and this to include the creation of an environment in which social development can take place in safe circumstances. The effect of apartheid on the spatial form, administrative functions, economic disparities, and social composition of South Africa's cities and towns shows remarkable consistency. Yet each urban area has its own historic character, bureaucratic and political composition, internal civil structures, and diversity of attitudes to a changing society. Thus in researching a topic on urban restructuring one must emphasise the importance of a case study approach (locality study), and of studying localities within a context of regional and international linkages.

1.2 PROBLEM FORMULATION

This century has seen South Africa's urban areas undergoing dramatic spatial and social transformation from so-called colonial, segregated and apartheid cities to post-apartheid structures. The departure point for urban research frequently used is the phase when separate living spaces became legally the norm, i.e. *de jure* residential segregation. Fabricated by means of political power, urban society was manipulated and governed for the benefit of a select group of people for most of this century. Stemming from negotiations and broader socio-political factors, however, all major apartheid legislation was finally repealed in June 1991. A new challenge and direction for restructuring the social, physical and spatial injustices

of the past arose, especially after the first democratically held national and local government elections.

In order to contextualise the periods of change, certain concepts need illustration within a framework of spatio-temporal processes (see Figure 1.1).

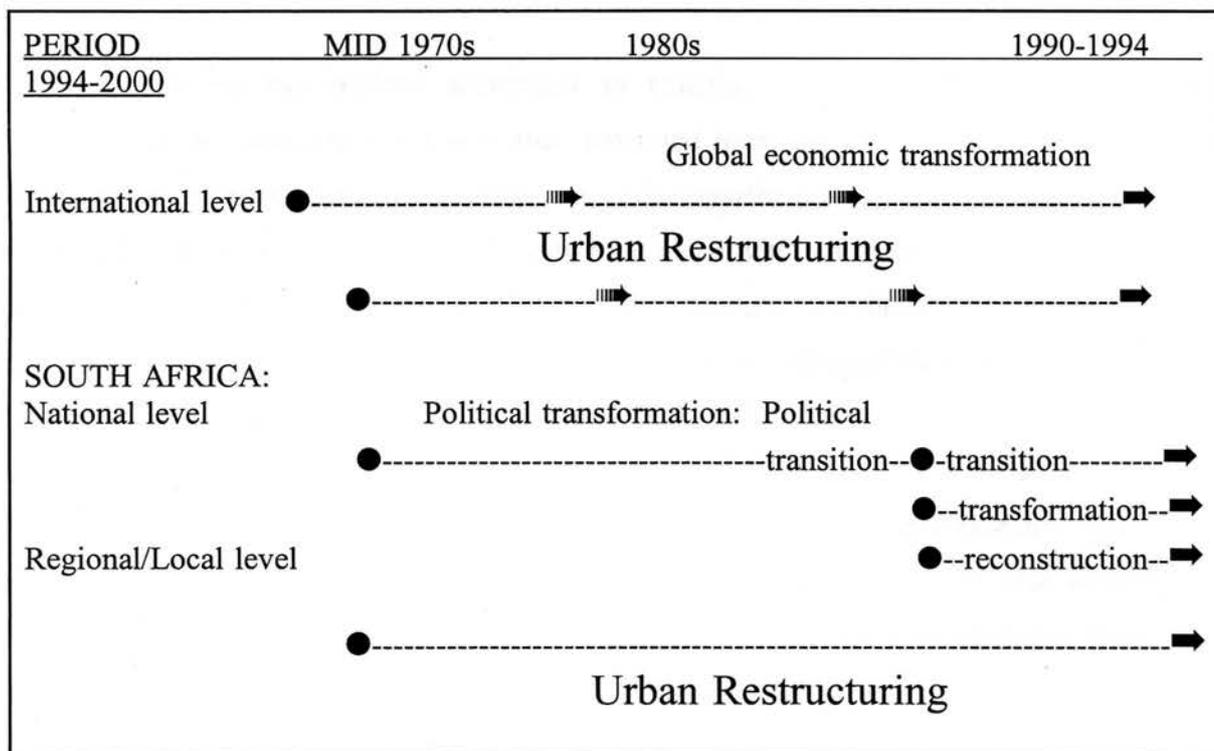


FIGURE 1.1: SPATIO-TEMPORAL PROCESSES OF CHANGE

Internationally, urban restructuring has occurred parallel with global economic transformation occurrences in the 1970s (see Chapter Two for a discussion thereof). In South Africa, however, restructuring has taken on another dimension. Political transformation has been the dominant factor in urban restructuring. Three distinct processes of change have, then, been taking place in South Africa since the 1990s, namely, transition, transformation and reconstruction. Political change in South Africa directly manifested itself in urban change. According to Saff (1995b: 2 - quoting Price, 1991) when distinguishing between transition and transformation:

“The foundation upon which the formal political order rests can be thought of as a substructure of domination - social interactions, cultural norms, economic activities, and informal power relationships that create the basis for compliance

with the prescriptions of the ruling group. Changes in this underlying structure are often the precursor of and condition for alteration in the political systems superstructure, the formal system of power. Basic alterations in the former substructure of power, can be thought of as involving political transformation, and can be distinguished from political transition, the movement from one formal arrangement of power to another. Transformation prepares the way for transition.”

National political negotiations succeeded in reaching consensus in relation to urban restructuring in various ways. Integrating separated local governments paved the way for constructive reconstruction and restructuring of the apartheid urban legacy. Restructuring of economic and social dimensions of the city took place within a framework of transition and transformation politics. Towards the end of the century, and before the second general elections after apartheid, spatial planning and restructuring programmes have been launched to change and develop sustainable cities for the next millennium.

It is impossible to overemphasise the importance of case study research (locality study). Yet studying localities in a context of regional and international linkages is also meaningful. However, given the vastness of urban problems, and the difficulty of resolving them, four components of urban restructuring in South African cities are predominant:

- (1) developmental/spatial restructuring
- (2) social restructuring
- (3) economic restructuring
- (4) local governance restructuring.

The desegregation process of spatially, administratively, socially and economically opening up a so-called conservative white city such as Pietersburg has far wider implications than mere residential integration. A series of informal and formal development processes are intertwined in this process of urban growth and transformation. The process of urban restructuring in the city also has a direct bearing on its peripheral towns. Adjacent to Pietersburg there are several smaller dependent settlements, from which three “specialised” peripheral towns (Lebowakgomo, Mankweng, and Seshego) developed during the homeland era as components of a fragmented and dispersed city system. The newly-found status of Pietersburg (provincial

capital and city) directly caused a demise in function and economic growth of these surrounding former homeland towns. The future of these towns as individual entities is now uncertain. Lebowakgomo has lost its status as the former capital of Lebowa. Since the opening in Pietersburg of branches of tertiary institutions such as UNISA, Pretoria Technikon, and the UNIN Business School, the role of Mankweng as the Northern Province's major university town is also in jeopardy. Furthermore, the dormitory township of Seshego maintains its function of mainly accommodating black people who work in the city. It is, therefore, possible that the primary role and function of these towns may be eroded and assimilated by Pietersburg. It is hypothesised that they will continue to provide the labour and consumer base of the city, but how can Pietersburg contribute to the advancement of the livelihood of the periphery?

It may be noted that the integration process in Pietersburg, and undoubtedly throughout South Africa as a whole, occurs mainly on three levels:

- (1) Internationally, through globalisation processes. The city acts as a gateway to the rest of Africa as a frontier capital.
- (2) Provincially, because the national government has integrated into the city now chosen as the provincial capital all the fragmented urban units in the three former homelands and the former Northern Transvaal.
- (3) At local level, pragmatically and discretely, especially where this concerns residential, business, and local governance components. The city's historical location and status have determined its current and future role, nationally and internationally. Integration has caused both formal and informal processes of urban development and the desegregation and deracialisation of business and residential space, which in turn reflect varying patterns, problems and possibilities. Restructuring the city and integrating the dispersed urban entities need priority attention and meticulous planning.

Broadly, then, this study investigates the following main themes:

- (1) A literature study that explores aspects pertaining to urban restructuring at the international level, in developing countries, and restructuring processes in post-apartheid South African cities. The literature survey is positioned within the postmodernist debate.

- (2) Pietersburg's historical growth and development from a colonial to a post-apartheid city. This will include an overview of the formation of the dispersed pattern of black ethnic settlements such as Lebowakgomo, Mankweng and Seshego and their contemporary spatial linkages with Pietersburg.
- (3) Four distinct, yet integrated, processes of urban restructuring during transformation and transition in Pietersburg will form the main focus of the study:
 - The restructuring of Pietersburg's *local government* through the integration of Seshego is discussed and analysed in relation to broader national policy.
 - The spatial outcomes of the demise of apartheid and its effects on the *residential patterns* and residential desegregation are discussed by using qualitative and quantitative analysis. The perceptions, attitudes and feelings of an integrated Pietersburg community are analysed in the context of broader societal transformation and within a housing market analysis.
 - The restructuring of the *informal economy* (specifically street trading and home-based business) is analysed within a conceptual framework of the local government's response to the Business Act of 1991. Surveys of informal entrepreneurs and local governance's response to the sector are accordingly analysed.
 - The specific outcomes of the Land Development Objective (LDO) process will achieve *spatial restructuring* of the city. The last restructuring covered in the study scrutinises the LDO proposal and a public participation process within the framework of national legislation, strategies and policy guidelines.
- (4) A synthesis is provided with the aim of presenting a better understanding of urban restructuring processes during transition and transformation in a South African secondary city.

Specific impacts of urban restructuring and transformation have had different outcomes at global and local level. A postmodernist approach, for example, interprets the demise of the monocentric city coterminous with its modernist urban development within a global shift and

economic restructuring (demise of industrial and Fordist economy). Soja (1995: 126) sees restructuring and postmodernism as synonymous:

“with the appropriate use of the term ‘restructuring’...postmodern urbanization refers to something less than a total transformation, a complete urban revolution, an unequivocal break with the past; but also to something more than continuous piecemeal reform without significant direction. As such there is not only change but continuity as well, a persistence of past trends and established forms of (modern) urbanism amidst an increasing intrusion of postmodernization”.

Chapter Two provides a conceptual basis for interpreting processes of urban restructuring after modernism. This basis of understanding will be contextualised in the subsequent chapters when urban restructuring is analysed within the context of South Africa’s transition to the next millennium.

1.3 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURE

1.3.1 An eclectic approach

In line with the restructuring approach, which “attempts to explain geographical patterns as the visible manifestation of a set of less visible social relations, and concentrating on studying a specific case (locality...) [which] should be a window on the processes beyond” (Lovering, 1989: 213), the nature of this study embraces various dimensions, approaches, perspectives and methodologies. I agree with Parnell’s (1996: 44) argument that:

“There has never been only one paradigm employed by urban scholars, though many have argued fervently for the dominance of one approach over the other. The present moment is characterised by a more fluid theoretical atmosphere than usual. Nobody is seriously outlining a new model of urban development, instead there is a ready acceptance across the political and intellectual spectrum of the multiplicity of forces which shape cities”.

The specific approach followed in this study is thus **eclectic** but coherently applied. Although

eclectic positioning has been criticised on the ground that epistemology cannot be broken into separate parts (Eyles & Lee, 1982), Johnston (1980) takes an opposite view and has applied behavioural and positivist approaches within a given structural framework. Jackson and Smith (1984) have suggested a 'triad' of humanist, positivist and structuralist approaches. Other examples include Ley's (1974) application of quantification methodology in a humanistic approach, and a materialistic and postmodern position (Parnell, 1996). Soja (1995: 126) also argues that eclecticism allows for relaxation of assumptions in that

“Modernism should not involve the rejection of postmodernism, nor should postmodernism inherently imply the complete disappearance of modernism and the uselessness of modernist modes of urban analysis. Each is contained within the other rather than being rigidly set in categorical opposition”.

Eclecticism will suit this study because, while empirically researching urban problems, using humanistic and positivist methodologies, interpretations of these empirical realities (obtained objectively and subjectively) will be explained within a postmodern style and method to explore outcomes affecting urban governance, residential changes, the informal economy, and spatial restructuring in Pietersburg during the post-apartheid transition period. Eclecticism is evident in that this study embraces both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. Therefore it follows five distinct methodological approaches: empiricism, humanism, positivism, structuralism, and postmodernism (see Table 1.1).

In simple terms empiricism entails the description of what one experiences in real life. Most data for this study will be empirical. The positivist scientific method, with its methodology of verifiable evidence and quantitative analysis as primary research tools, can be used in various ways in applied geography. The verification process will involve drawing a sample from the population of Pietersburg and its dispersed entities and testing certain issues. Specific quantitative techniques will be applied to determine certain outcomes of the restructuring process. Structuralist approaches are characteristically differentiated from others by their disagreeing with empirical observation. Instead, “explanations for observed phenomena must be sought in general structures which underpin all phenomena but are not identifiable within them” (Johnston, 1986: 97).

TABLE 1.1: AN ECLECTIC APPROACH TO URBAN RESTRUCTURING IN PIETERSBURG

URBAN RESTRUCTURING IN PIETERSBURG	
An applied Urban Geographical exercise: the application of geographical knowledge and skills to the solution of problems within society from an eclectic positioning	
PHILOSOPHICAL CATEGORY	METHODOLOGY
1. Empiricist: knowledge through experience	Presentation of the experienced facts (descriptive)
2. Positivist: the verification of the empirical experience	Realism, based on assumption of verification principles, i.e. a scientific method
3. Structuralist: structures operative in society cannot be observed directly, only through thought	Construction of theories which can account for what is observed but cannot be tested
4. Humanist: obtaining knowledge subjectively	Objective investigation with subjective interpretation
5. Postmodernist: denouncement of grand theory	Relativism, emphasising insight into problems is only possible through different explanations and relaxed assumptions

Sources: Johnston (1986; 1993); Johnston, Gregory and Smith (1992)

After further investigation such structures will be identified and hypotheses formulated accordingly. In this approach, the objective observation of the meanings individuals in society create for themselves are subjectively obtained. Within a humanistic methodology, this study attempts to be action-orientated to solve contemporary problems in Pietersburg. Approaches and methodologies are not time-bound. Current changes taking place in the social sciences have produced a more recent development in philosophy. While still in its infancy postmodernism has attracted various stances. It rejects the "rational model's search for abstract generalized laws of urban and regional processes" (Lake, 1992: 417). It is epistemologically structured around four sets of issues - complexity, contextuality, contingency, and criticism - emphasizing the fact that phenomena studied are significant only in the way they occur because localities are different. The methodology is thus eclectic.

Coterminous with being an eclectic approach, this study will attempt to be applied. Relevant to this study, Pacione (1990: 3) defines applied geography as the application of geographical knowledge and skills to the resolution of urban social, economic and environmental problems. The three components, social, economic, and environmental, may seem deficient in scope,

given the nature of problems perhaps not characteristic of them. Spatial, political and administrative components may be included, chiefly because the approach focuses on problem solving with the aim of giving direction to participation in the “implementation and monitoring of policy and programmes” (Pacione, 1990: 3). According to Pacione the practice of applied urban geography rests on six tasks, all of which are related to urban problems within a structural context: description, explanation, evaluation, prescription, implementation, and monitoring. Johnston, Gregory and Smith (1992), however, distinguish three types. One is positivist in the form of spatial analysis, normally applying GIS. A second is humanistic, an approach focussing on the individual's understanding of people, place and space. A third is a radical geography of emancipation by which people are made aware of all the imperfections in society so that they can participate in the restructuring process. In a later attempt Johnston (1993) categorises applied geography into empiricist-positivist science and technical control; humanistic science and mutual understanding; and realist science and emancipation. Practical and applied urban issues of developing countries are naturally vivid in the literature, and increasingly a “theoretical attempt to demonstrate the links between local and international economies” (Parnell, 1996: 45) are attempted to illustrate restructuring (see Chapter Two). In summary, then, eclecticism provides an understanding of relativism which means that insight into urban problems is made possible through different explanations and relaxed assumptions.

1.3.2 Data collection and analysis

Given the broad scope of the research themes in this study, the researcher applied various data collection methods. See Table 1.2 for a synopsis of methods, procedures and the dissemination of findings in the study.

Information for **Chapter Two** is based on a literature study conducted on the topic relating to urban transformation, restructuring and globalisation.

Chapter Three relied on the collection of historical data. Historical data on the spatial evolution of the urban landscape of Pietersburg was collected through maps, aerial photographs and official town council documentation. Archival data is much relied on, and

these were obtained at the Transvaal Archives Depot (TAD) in Pretoria, and at the Pietersburg Municipal Archives (PBA).

The standard scientific procedure followed in the questionnaire survey for **Chapters Four and Six** is illustrated in Figure 1.2. Chapter Four investigates the contemporary linkages between Pietersburg and residents from the three former proclaimed towns surrounding the city. A structured household questionnaire survey (see Addendum 1 for an example of the questionnaire) was conducted in Lebowakgomo, Mankweng, and Seshego. After a pilot survey was conducted in Mankweng (five interviews), forty questionnaires were completed in each town. Any one of the household heads present - drawn from the systematic sample - was interviewed by trained Geography honours students from the University of the North. Interviews were conducted over the weekends during Saturday afternoon and evening, and on Sunday afternoons. This was done because most residents were at home during these periods. The interviews were also done during a mid-month period because at the end and beginning of each month when they are paid residents usually go to Pietersburg for shopping and services. The only source that one could rely on to identify a sample was the street plan of each town. From the plan a systematic sample was drawn where in each area the number of stands per zone (suburbs) was determined. A systematic sample was then drawn for each zone recognising that only 40 questionnaires were to be completed per town. Table 1.3 shows the number of questionnaire interviews conducted per town and its respective zone. In addition to the above survey, data was collected from municipal and town planning reports. Information at the local councils was however scarce and of little value.

Chapter Five investigates post-apartheid local government restructuring in Pietersburg and its amalgamated former black homeland town, Seshego. Data was primarily obtained from Provincial and Local Government documentation that related to the theme. Interviews were conducted with town council and provincial government officials. MXA consultants contracted the researcher to conduct a reality check questionnaire survey (see Addendum 2) - expert opinion and factual empirical information - among heads of the various departments at the municipality. MXA subsequently submitted a report to the Foundation for Contemporary Research as part of the preparation for a White Paper on Local Government. Policy analysis concludes the chapter, in which the White Paper on Local Government and its implications

are applied to the Pietersburg case study.

TABLE 1.2: SYNOPSIS OF DATA COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

CHAPTER	DATA COLLECTION METHOD	PROCEDURE	DISSEMINATION OF FINDINGS (PUBLICATIONS, REPORTS, SUBMISSIONS)
Chapter 2: Literature study	Literature search covering a multi-disciplinary approach	HSRC (CSD) literature search and various libraries	—
Chapter 3: Archival study	Archival data used to understand the historiography of Pietersburg	Collected information at State Archive in Pretoria	* Donaldson, SE & Van der Merwe (1998)
Chapter 4: Linkage survey	Structured questionnaire survey (see Addendum 1)	40 questionnaires per household head in Lebowakgomo, Seshego, Mankweng. Interviews conducted by trained honours geography students	* Report submitted to the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC Land Development Objectives Status Quo Report, 1998
Chapter 5: Reality check survey	Structured questionnaire survey (see Addendum 2). Expert and factual survey	Interviews conducted using a standard structured questionnaire with Acting Town Clerk, Electrical Engineer, Health Officer, Deputy Treasurer, Town Planner, Deputy Personnel, Chair EXCO	* Specialist report submitted to MXA as part of submission to the reality check survey done by the Foundation for Contemporary Research report to the White Paper on Local Government Working Committee
Chapter 6: Social restructuring survey	Stratified questionnaire survey (see Addendum 3). Systematic sample in Pietersburg, Westenburg, Nirvana, Seshego	Preliminary survey: 1993/4 - 52 mail questionnaires returned by black homeowners in Pietersburg Main survey: October 1997. Sample covered 55 interviews in Pietersburg, 80 in Seshego, 8 in Nirvana, 9 in Westenburg. Trained interviewers conducted interviews.	* Donaldson, S.E. & Kotze, N.J. (1994) * Donaldson, S.E. (1996) * Kotze, N.J. & Donaldson, S.E. (1996). * Kotze, N.J. & Donaldson, S.E. (1998)
Chapter 7: * Street trading surveys 1995/96 and customers' survey * Home-based business survey and home-based business neighbours' survey	Structured questionnaire survey (see Addendum 4) Structured questionnaire survey (see Addendum 5)	See Chapter 6	* Donaldson, S.E. & Van der Merwe, I.J. (1997) * Report submitted to the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC formulation of Land Development Objectives Status Quo Report, 1998
Chapter 8: Public Participation	Participation in three public participation workshops on formalisation of Land Development Objectives for the city.	Workshops held on 25 October 1977, 14 March 1998. Participated in the small working group on Land Use.	—

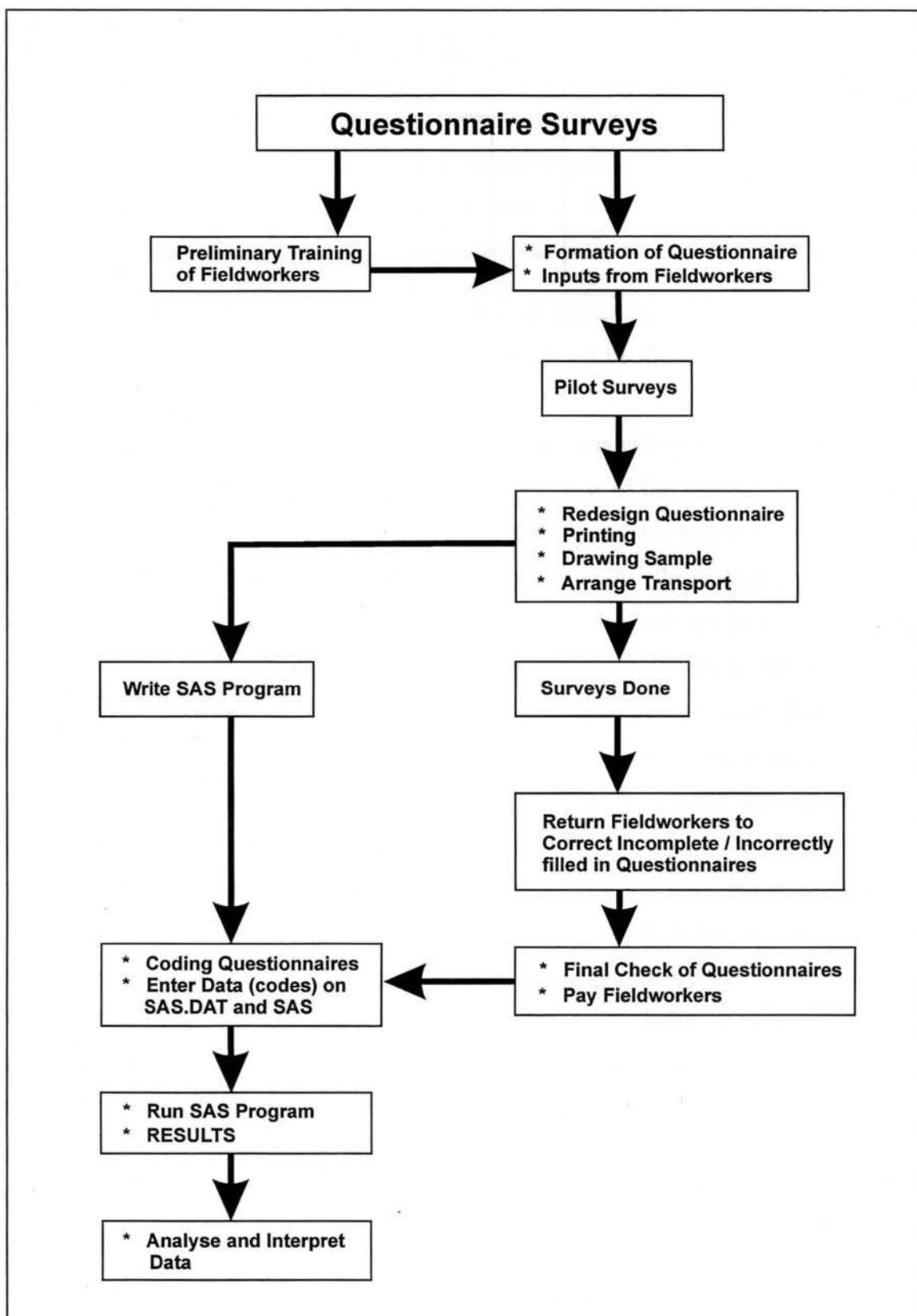


FIGURE 1.2: THE QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY PROCESS

TABLE 1.3: SAMPLE DRAWN FOR URBAN LINKAGE SURVEY IN THREE FORMER HOMELAND TOWNS

TOWN	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 8	Total in sample	Universe*	Sample covered
Seshego	5	6	6	9	7	7	40	10 328	0.39%
Mankweng	10	6	9	15	-	-	40	2 600	1.54%
Lebowakgomo	14	11	-	-	15	-	40	2 980	1.34%
Totals							120		

Note: Approximate figure. Residential stands were calculated from the available, out-dated, town maps. Therefore, undeveloped stands could not be differentiated.

Chapter Six provides for both qualitative and quantitative analysis in the investigation of the social restructuring process taking place after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. Two questionnaire surveys were conducted. The first was done among the first black residents who bought property in Pietersburg's former whites-only suburbs after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. A socio-economic mail questionnaire survey was carried out in 1992. The initial response was in sufficient and a follow-up was done in March 1993 when questionnaires were personally delivered to households. In total 52 questionnaires were returned. The main aim of the survey was to compile a socio-economic profile of the pioneer black immigrants and to acquire information on their reasons for moving to a predominantly conservative white area. A second survey was conducted in October 1997, this time, however, focussing on a sample drawn from the integrated city population (Pietersburg and Seshego) as a whole. The main purpose of the survey was to investigate the perceptions, attitudes, and knowledge of Pietersburg/Polokwane residents concerning social residential integration occurring seven years after apartheid. Trained interviewers of different population groups assisted the researcher in a questionnaire survey that covered 152 households. One field worker (a white person) with a BA degree conducted the interviews in Pietersburg. An Indian person with a BA degree conducted the survey in Nirvana (former Indian group area suburb). A coloured person who had been a resident of Westenburg (former coloured group area suburb) since the township originated was responsible for that area. Five students who were enrolled for an Honours degree in Geography at the University of the North assisted in conducting the interviews in Seshego. The field workers interviewed any one of the household heads on

aspects relating to social, administrative, and institutional change after apartheid (see Addendum 3 for an example of the questionnaire). In other words, the survey covered various aspects dealt with in the different chapters in this study. Apart from the biographical questions in the questionnaire, Table 1.4 summarises the specific questions in the questionnaire that relate to, and are discussed in, the respective chapters. See Addendum 6 for a summary of the biographical information on the respondents cross-tabulated with the respective former group area. Few inferences are drawn from the biographical data, hence the Addendum gives some background to the sample offered.

TABLE 1.4: QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY COVERED IN DIFFERENT CHAPTERS

CHAPTER	QUESTIONS COVERED
Chapter 4	Question 43
Chapter 5	Questions 32 - 41
Chapter 6	Questions 10 - 27; 42
Chapter 7	Questions 30 - 31
Chapter 8	Question 29

In using the existing town planning map, a systematic sample was drawn. Table 1.5 summarises the sampled respondents according to population category and former group area. The sample provides a good representation of the population distribution in the city: 60% of the respondents are black, 31% white and 9% coloured and Indian. The sample covered represents 0.62% of the total number of residential stands in the city. A similar questionnaire (albeit with additional information) was distributed, with a return envelope to each councillor for self-completion. No questionnaires were returned, though one Conservative Party councillor said that it would be considered if it were in Afrikaans. Upon further investigation it was determined that councillors did not want to get involved in surveys for individuals because of the sensitivity of local politics in the city. Data obtained to detect the degree of residential desegregation was achieved by using the municipal property roll.

Further empirical data was collected for the chapter on economic restructuring (**Chapter Seven**) by conducting two surveys. It was intended to keep the format, content and procedure of the surveys uncomplicated.

TABLE 1.5: RESPONDENTS' DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO FORMER GROUP AREA AND POPULATION GROUPS

FORMER GROUP AREA	BLACK	WHITE	COLOUR-ED	INDIAN	TOTAL	UNIVERSUM *	%
Pietersburg	6 (6.6)	47 (100)	0 (0.0)	2 (20.0)	55 (36.2)	12 132 (49.8)	0.45%
Seshego	80 (87.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	80 (52.6)	10 328 (42.4)	0.78%
Nirvana	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (80.0)	8 (5.3)	980 (4.0)	0.82%
Westenburg	5 (5.6)	0 (0.0)	4 (100)	0 (0.0)	9 (5.9)	900 (3.7)	1.0%
Total	91 (59.9)	47 (30.9)	4 (2.6)	10 (6.6)	152	24 340 (99.9)	0.62%

Note: * Estimated figure determined from the Pietersburg Town Plan map. No distinction is made between developed and undeveloped stands.

This is because the researcher expected that the sample population would not be highly educated, and would mainly reflect the urban poor. First, two surveys to determine the nature and extent of the informal street trading economy in the CBD were conducted. Second, a home-based industry survey was conducted in Seshego. Trained Honours Geography students from the University of the North conducted both surveys. A random questionnaire survey among 56 street traders in Pietersburg's CBD was conducted in 1995 (see Addendum 4 for an example of the questionnaire). A follow-up structured questionnaire survey was conducted in 1996 among 300 street traders. This was complemented with a random survey of 300 customers of the informal street traders. A random home-based business questionnaire survey (see Addendum 5) was conducted in 1996 among 50 home-based business operators (11%) in Seshego. Again, this was supplemented with a random survey of 50 neighbours of home-based businesses. Findings from these surveys are then compared with the city's municipal research and policy framework for re-regulation of street trading and home-based business.

Involvement in the public participation process for setting up Land Development Objectives for the city concludes the data collection for the study (**Chapter Eight**). Analysis of the public participation process in the context of the city council's Development Plan for the next five years is evaluated accordingly. The researcher participated in three small group workshops on land-use small during the public participation sessions.

Some surveys overlap in different chapters. Thus, aside from the above indications of data collection, interviews were held with relevant private business organisations, the city council, etc. The study focusses on the analysis of policy impacts, spatial variations in policy implementation, policies that have unintended consequences of interest to urban geographers, the prediction of future policy impacts, and normative planning.

A satellite SPOT image was used in Chapter Three to illustrate the spatial form of the study area and to aid in the identification of various environmental and planning recommendations. Property transfer data was collected from the South African Property Transfer Guides for 1994 - 1997. Information contained in these guides was used in the analysis of the post-apartheid residential property market.

1.4 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED

Much of the data collection was undertaken in underdeveloped areas (Seshego, Mankweng, Lebowakgomo). Researchers who are unfamiliar with working conditions in black areas need to take cognisance of research problems experienced in such areas. A few points to consider when researching underdeveloped urban areas include the following:

- **Time management**

Always arrange for transport and field workers to be at the point of departure an hour or two before you actually intend to leave. This will limit your own frustrations at having to wait for them. A questionnaire can be timed during the pilot survey or during training of interviewers, but do not expect it to be completed within that time-span. Township residents expect interviewers to explain in detail what the survey is about. Then a period of personal biographical exchange will take place. Drinks, beverages and food will be offered to the interviewer and, according to township custom and tradition, cannot be refused. Invariably, then, it can take the time budgeted for three interviews to complete one.

- **Timing**

Researchers should avoid doing surveys over weekends after the usual fortnightly paydays. Nor should interviews be conducted on weekdays. The best times are Saturdays (10:00 to 19:00) and Friday evenings (15:00 to 19:00). It was found that

respondents do not cooperate on Sundays. However, it should be determined prior to the interview whether a funeral, wedding, or graduation party is going to be held. Usually the whole neighbourhood is invited to attend.

- **Language**

Only field workers speaking the same language as the host population should be employed to conduct interviews.

- **Political context**

Transformation has brought about a change in the attitude of civil society towards alien field workers. Only if respondents request the local civic or councillor's stamp of approval should they take this matter seriously. Local judgment is necessary.

- **Accessibility**

Outdated road maps or a lack of road maps, absence of street names and house numbers, poor road networks and a lack of street lights hamper the task of the researcher trying to find identified household units. During the survey in Seshego the bus that transported the field workers got stuck in front of one of the respondents' houses (see Plate 1.1). Because of the time wasted in waiting for a tow-in service, the survey for that day had to be postponed.

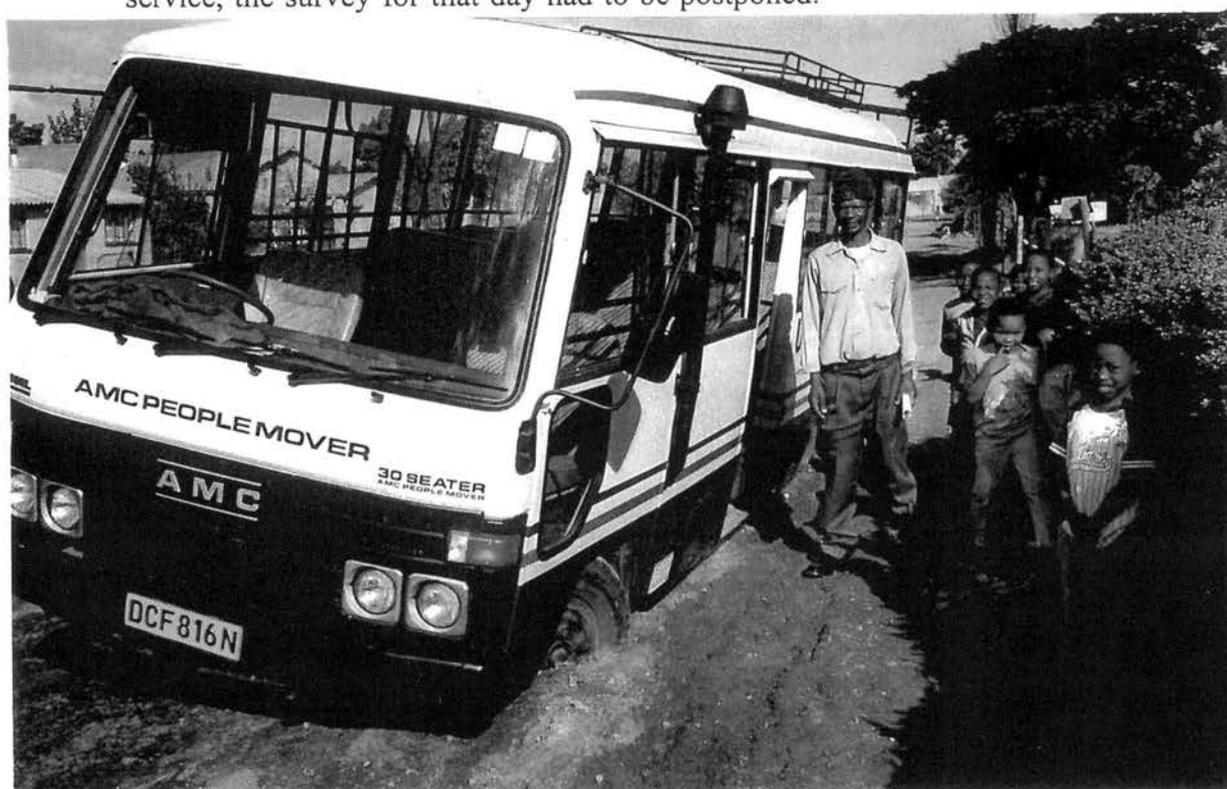


PLATE 1.1: PROBLEM OF ACCESSIBILITY IN SESHEGO

- **Security**

Care should be taken to protect field workers, especially at night. Allow them to work in teams of two. It gives them courage and a sense of security. Let the field workers sign a contract of service before doing the survey. A clause to excuse you from being liable for anything that may happen is essential. Also, agree in the contract on remuneration for work done.

- **General lack of information**

An unfortunate legacy of Bantu Authorities administration is the lack of archival data on all aspects of urban life. A void left by inefficient and corrupt town officials in black townships causes that future research on former black areas will rely much upon oral historic accounts.

The following chapter highlights transformation trends and patterns as they are experienced in the advanced country cities of the world and in Third World cities. It also offers examples of how globalisation and restructuring have influenced South African cities.

CHAPTER TWO: TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGE: A FOCUS IN URBAN RESEARCH

“[The]...global/local dialectic has already become an important (if somewhat imprecise) *leitmotif* of contemporary urban theory” (Dear & Flusty, 1998: 58)

This chapter furnishes an introduction to the concept of restructuring in general, and urban restructuring in particular. Understanding global patterns and trends will provide social scientists in South Africa with a barometer on which they can measure, compare, and understand urban changes in relation to broader structures in the world. Being the central theme in this study, urban restructuring needs to be contextualised in different settings. Understanding the literature on urban restructuring as experienced in advanced cities, Third World cities, and post-apartheid South African cities during the closing decade of this century will provide the conceptual basis for the remaining chapters of the study. The literature on globalisation, urban restructuring and transformation is predominantly positioned within the postmodernist approach.

2.1 URBAN RESTRUCTURING: DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION

Urban restructuring is a reaction to broad global, regional and national changes taking place. Restructuring is therefore inseparable from the concepts of transformation and transition (refer to Figure 1.1). Restructuring is an outcome of these processes. Saff (1995b: 20) contextualises the process as follows

“Transformation might be an essential precursor for a transition, there is nothing to prevent both of these factors from co-existing once a period of transition is underway. This is because the transition process itself inevitably unleashes new forces which in turn create the conditions for the further transformation of the social and political system. This process of transformation is likely to continue even after the formal installation of the new regime, as it grapples to replace all of the last vestiges of the old system”.

In the same way then restructuring can occur even after the transition period. Depending on the situation, locality, and approach followed, the concept of restructuring will necessitate a

varied explanation. A relevant point of departure for extending the description is to quote from Johnston, Gregory and Smith (1992: 532). In its broadest sense, they describe the concept of restructuring as follows: “Change in and/or between constituent parts of an economy, emanating from either the dynamics of economic development or the economy's conditions of existence.” Broadly, four components are identified:

- a switch in economic sectors (e.g. deindustrialisation)
- geographic change (a new division of labour emerges)
- concentration of centralised capital (Multinational corporations' headquarters)
- development of more flexible production (based on economies of scale)

Lovering (1989: 198) describes restructuring in terms of the structural approach (the alternative description for the restructuring approach), as follows:

“It suggests a qualitative change from one state, or pattern of organization, to another. In the discourse of radical social science, restructuring refers to qualitative changes in the relations between the constituent parts of a capitalist economy”.

Perry (1987:114) refers to Soja's explanation of restructuring as

“a break in secular trends and a shift towards a significantly different order and configuration of social economic and political life. This evokes a sequence of breaking down and building up again, deconstruction and attempted reconstitution, arising from certain incapacities or weaknesses in the established order which preclude conventional adaptations and demand significant structural changes instead”.

This approach is firmly rooted in Marxist analysis and stresses the importance of a changing society in which changes are occurring between the capitalist economy and the spatial patterning of activities.

Another dimension to the concept is provided by Fainstein (1990: 553-554) who portrays restructuring as

“the transformation of the economic base of cities in the advanced capitalist world from manufacturing to services; the rapid growth of the producers' services sector within cities at the top of the urban hierarchy; the simultaneous

concentration of economic control within multinational firms and financial institutions and deconcentration of their manufacturing and routine office functions; the development of manufacturing in the Third World; and the rise of new economic powers in the Pacific Rim”.

On the surface, therefore, restructuring in general, and urban restructuring in particular, may appear to be restricted to capitalist societies, but that is not the case. Gorbachev's Perestroika and economic and political transformation in other former Second World countries (Sykora, 1994) are seen as synonymous with restructuring and structural adjustment programmes in the Third World (Anyinam, 1994). It is therefore difficult to provide a universal definition of urban restructuring. However, the similarities in current global economic transformation and patterns which constitute the basis of urban restructuring will be discussed below.

2.2 A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Estimates that half of the world's population lives in cities, and a projection by the United Nations (1996a) that by 2025 more than two thirds of the world's people will be city-dwellers, highlight the important roles, challenges and functions that will face urban settlements in the 21st-century. The basic rationale for a world-systems perspective is derived from an assumption that there exists a global mode of production which integrates the whole world into a social, economic, and political hierarchy of relationships (DuBard, 1995; Smith, 1995; Sykora, 1994;). These relationships extend across all boundaries, and even secluded places in Third World settings are incorporated in the system.

This transformation period has produced various new or revised urban restructuring and development concepts: a new division of labour, peripheral capitalism, agglomeration, movement towards concentration and centralisation, a decline in manufacturing and a rise in service industries. Democratic free enterprise is replacing profit-centred big business, and decentralised and dispersed urban entities are becoming more technologically feasible. Most of these processes are evident mainly, but not entirely, in advanced cities of the world. The increasing number of fashionable conceptualisations of the changing form and composition of cities (for example, the entrepreneurial city, the postmodern city, the transactional city, the

informational city, and the post-industrial city) is indicative of global change and its effects on localities (Castells, 1989; Chatterjee, 1989; Feagin & Smith, 1987; Harvey, 1989a, 1989b; Roberts & Schein, 1993; Smith, 1995; Soja, Morales & Wolf, 1989; Sykora, 1994).

2.3 CITIES IN ADVANCED COUNTRIES

The so-called new urban problems (post-Fordist, post-industrial) and new developments in social theory (modernism versus postmodernism) are reflected in numerous recent international publications. *Atop the Urban Hierarchy* (Beauregard, 1989) and *The Capitalist City: Global Restructuring and Community Politics* (Smith & Feagin, 1987) discuss urban restructuring in a first world setting during the transition period towards postmodernism. The latest additions to the plethora of articles and books include, amongst others, *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Watson & Gibson, 1995), *Dual City: Restructuring New York* (Mollenkopf & Castells, 1992), and *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Harvey, 1989b). Many significant changes occurring in these cities reveal common characteristics. These are categorised as structural changes, the dual city, outcomes and restructuring, postmodernism, and new capitalism, and are elaborated on below.

2.3.1 Structural changes

Marked differences in urban ecological restructuring, as recently as the 1970s and 1980s, epitomise structural changes taking place in urban areas of the developed world. Especially during the 1970s expanding city boundaries, resulting primarily from decentralisation, “replaced centralization and core orientation”, whereas “differentiation and segregation substituted the integrative role of the melting pot” (Berry & Kasadra, 1978: 266). Literature on the restructuring of cities conclusively reveals that generalizations are not possible (Smith, 1992). In other words, individual world cities depict different patterns, processes and outcomes of global restructuring. The scale and impact of restructuring upon cities positioned at the top of the world urban hierarchy, such as Los Angeles (Soja, 1989; 1995), London (King, 1990), New York, and Tokyo (Sassen, 1991), may perhaps “not have been as dramatic as in many other cities...[though] this hypothesis remains to be tested” (Murphy & Watson, 1994: 588).

Nevertheless, the post-1980 urban restructuring process in highly advanced capitalist countries demonstrates various tendencies which differ markedly from those seen in previous decades. Some of these listed by Soja, Morales and Wolf (1989) illustrate the importance of economic restructuring within cities. Dear and Flusty (1998) describe contemporary urban trends as a shift from the Chicago School with their general theories of urban structure to a postmodern Los Angeles school that include the following:

- centralisation/concentration - conglomerates linking diverse industries, finance, information and other service activities
- internationalisation and global involvement in the concentration of industrial and financial control
- rationalisation of the manufacturing sector and development of labour-saving technology
- reindustrialisation of high tech industry protected by the local or nation state
- peripheralisation and illegal (undocumented) labour - the influx of immigrants
- decrease in manufacturing and a rapid increase in the tertiary sector, overshadowed by the so-called information economy¹.

Australian cities illustrate such changes in the advanced world. Since the 1970s deindustrialisation has produced a further increase in the service sector, which had already contributed substantially to the national economy. Diversity in growth reflects differences varying from profitable producer services (financial, banking, insurance) to relatively “insecure, low-paid, part-time and seasonal work in consumer services” to government-provided consumer services (Paris, 1994: 557). Another important aspect is the role of demographic change - social polarisation, residential segregation, gentrification, movement of affluent elders, a declining population, foreign immigrants - as an active element in urban restructuring (Murphy & Watson, 1994; Paris, 1994).

¹ In Britain, between 1964 and 1984, for example, the share of manufacturing industry in the GNP declined from 34 per cent to 24 per cent while the service industry's share increased from 48 to 56 per cent (Hay, 1990:43). Tomlinson (1994), however, questions the validity of studies indicating structural change where deindustrialisation in manufacturing is equated with a loss in employment in manufacturing and a contrasting growth in services.

2.3.2 Dual city

The spatial consequences of urban and economic restructuring have brought about changes in the socio-spatial structure of cities. In particular the so-called dual or divided city has generated much theoretical and conceptual debate. Manifestations of socio-spatial restructurings are increasingly related to urban form through social polarisation in, to name but a few examples, the UK (Woodward, 1995), the Netherlands (Van Kempen, 1994), Australian cities (Murphy & Watson, 1994), Los Angeles (Soja, 1995), and New York (Mollenkopf & Castells, 1992). The most prominent studies are those by Marcuse (1989, 1993, 1995) who employs the same concept - dual city - in various forms, for example, the quartered city, and the divided city, and who of late has linked the residential city to the walled city idea. Accordingly, the spatial form of both the residential city and the economic city in the technologically developed countries assumes five distinctive types (Marcuse, 1989; 1993; 1995) each with their different functions.

Residential city:

- The dominating city (enclaves of the socio-economic-political elite)
- The gentrified city (professional, managerial, technical groups)
- The suburban city (skilled workers, mid-range professionals, upper civil servants, either in apartments near the centre or in single-family housing on the outskirts)
- The tenement city (low-paid workers, blue/white collar workers living in cheap single-family areas, rental and social housing)
- The abandoned city (poor, unemployed, and the excluded homeless).

Marcuse (1995: 246) asserts that the economic city is not congruent with the residential city. Again, therefore, five economic divisions are identified: the controlling city, advanced services, the city of direct production, unskilled work and the informal economy, and the residual city.

2.3.3 Outcomes, restructuring and postmodernism

Negative outcomes of global economic and political restructuring include racial tension, violence and oppression (Harvey, 1992), homelessness (Law & Wolch, 1991), and a segregated urban life. Imminent restructuring projects and processes to overcome the legacy of modernist planning and an industrial society are primarily based on postmodernist visions.

The reconstruction, conservation and renewal of dilapidated sub-areas, the gentrification of neighbourhoods, the transforming of zones of transition to zones of reinvestment, CBD office redevelopment, planned containment and decentralisation, and spatial switching in central investing as opposed to the periphery, are some of the major examples of spatial restructuring in advanced urban centres (Harvey, 1989b; Pearce, 1994; Ward, 1994). Urban political forces operating in social constructions of space after modernism are, according to Smith (1992: 7), having considerable impact

“because political structures and processes are an unavoidable point of entry through which cultural and ideological representations of reality mediate the social and economic transformation of cities”.

Multi-disciplinary approaches to studying urban change and restructuring are recommended. For example, the discipline of Sociology recognises theoretical contributions from an interdisciplinary viewpoint encompassing Urban and Regional Studies and cognate fields such as Geography (Smith, 1995: 435). This viewpoint, also founded on current theoretical debates around the numerous metaphors of post-fordism, and the post-industrial and post-capitalist city, manifests itself in the underlying principles of the new urban sociology. Smith (1995: 440-441) summarises five basic assumptions: cities are situated in a hierarchical global system; the world-system is one of competitive capitalism; capital is easily moved and cities are locationally fixed; politics and government matter; and people and circumstances differ according to time and place, and these differences matter.

2.3.4 New capitalism

The broader politico-economic transformation after the collapse of socialism and Marxist development ideologies present certain questions on the theorisation of the new capitalism and post-industrial paradigms. It is this transition which Harvey (1989b: 173) says poses serious dilemmas for Marxists. He uses three sources for portraying transformation changes:

- (1) Halal's (1986) new capitalism (post-industrial paradigm) versus old (industrial paradigm) capitalism looking at the new entrepreneurial advancements.
- (2) Lash and Urry's (1987) contrast between organised and disorganised capitalism with political power linked to culture and the economy.
- (3) Swyngedouw's (1986) five-point contrasts (production process, labour, space, state, and

ideology) between Fordist production and just-in-time production drawn by specifically focussing on technological transformation and the labour process.

Globally, the urban settlement as an individual entity, node, or possible ecumenopolis (of a post-modern kind) will have to adapt to the new world order. This world order caters for the fall of Marxist and socialist ideological urban-based planning (with a few exceptions) and the ultimate altering of capitalist society. The global significance of cities, for development and transformation, especially with their economies of scale in providing employment, housing, services, and production, must be placed within the context of the so-called new capitalism, which is not only evident in advanced countries but also in peripheral areas. The next two subsections will focus on Third World and more specific South African restructuring and globalisation patterns and outcomes.

2.4 THIRD WORLD CITIES

Third World countries (including developing countries) reflect different patterns of colonial legacy. However, predominant features in these countries remain the pressures of urbanisation and population growth in relation to urban density, infrastructure, employment and shelter. Problems arising such as pollution, squatter settlements and shanty towns, violence and crime, urban sprawl - to name but a few - necessitate policy reactions (Harris,1992). Although these general aspects of Third World cities are recorded, Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1990) exemplify the enormous difficulty of describing urban change in these settings. In line with current thinking on globalisation, the following questions arise. How does the periphery - the so-called Third World - link to the global village/world urban system? What urban changes are occurring as a result? And what structural changes and adaptations are being experienced?

2.4.1 Global links

The process of integration on three levels (international, national, local) is decisively illustrated in the case study by Brown, Sierra, Digiacinto and Smith (1994) on urban system evolution in the frontier Amazon region of Ecuador. They outline the economic-political dimensions of the world, national policies/conditions, and then the local impact on the responsibilities of a single sector to enhance development.

According to the criteria used for identifying a global city, such as it being a multifaceted centre of world trade, the site of major industrial and financial institutions, geographical influence, leadership in contributing to global transformation and change, communication and technological advancement, and, most important, trade, African cities do not enjoy global city status (Gilb, 1989). Some scholars argue that because there exists no real World City in the Third World, it cannot play a prominent role in the global economy (Gilb, 1989). On the other hand, it has been argued that certain Third World primate cities are incorporated into the international urban hierarchy and referred to as "suction pumps" or outposts of neocolonialism (Timberlake, 1987). According to Chatterjee (1989: 133) the roles of urban areas in the Third World relating to global restructuring are manifestations of the new international division of labour and these entail the internationalisation of capital in which such cities merely act as gateways and preferred sites for new factories and plants for multinationals. The degree of MNCs' integration into the developing world hierarchy varies according to what each entity can offer (e.g. social security). Furthermore, the dependency approach (the predecessor of the world-systems approach) postulates that global capitalist expansion was made possible through a "core-periphery division of labour and unequal exchange between the core/metropole and periphery/satellite" (Chatterjee, 1989: 134). Others, such as Garau (1989: 75), express their irritation with models of globalisation such as those based on hyper-communication technology, in arguing against the technological global village depicted by the so-called linkage of all places on earth through a speedy channel of distribution (DuBard, 1995: 4), which includes computer networks, GIS, and E-mail, which supposedly integrate the smallest urban settlements in the Third World.

2.4.2 Urban change, structural change and adaptation

Manifest changes occurring in the world are also being reflected in Third World cities. Salient features occurring entail impacts on urban structure, function, architecture, governance, and form. The modification of migration patterns by an improved transport system; suburbanisation and spatial deconcentration resulting in polycentric forms of metropolitan development; polycentric development and economic recessions - these all contribute to narrowing disparities between metropolitan and secondary cities. This also emphasises decentralisation, the depopulation of metropolitan areas, and the disappearance of regional policy. A markedly

increased polarisation of racial segregation coterminous with class segregation has also been observed (Gilbert, 1993; Melo, 1995; Ribeiro & Lago, 1995; Telles, 1995).

The major identifiable structural obstacle to change in Third World cities is the role played by politics in urban development, which is often regarded as “the central obstacle to any movement towards sustainable development of Third World urban settlements” (Aina, 1990: 196). Contrary viewpoints highlight economic empowerment: “commonly that which is retained, for example the informal economy, is functional for peripheral capitalism” (Chatterjee, 1989: 136). Others blame the role of the state in the Third World, its failure to provide services and housing to the urban poor (the majority) proving that informal housing has become a “stable component of the structure of peripheral urban economies” (Chatterjee, 1989: 140).

In conclusion, given the fact that all countries in the world are now believed to be linked together, and that certain Third World cities and regions of cities (e.g. those in the Pacific Rim) will in the future dictate the world economy, Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1990: 103) argue that more attention should be given to “understanding the 'what', 'how' and 'why' of change within individual cities and nations, and perhaps rather less to overviews of change in the Third World.”

2.5 URBAN RESTRUCTURING AND TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

In the urban social geography domain, urban restructuring is questioned in terms of how cities will change, and also how much change will take place. To conclude this section on globalisation and its manifest urban restructuring ramifications, it is necessary to focus on the theoretical and empirical effects of these processes on the South African situation. How, for example, do these influence South African cities in regard to economic and social restructuring, structural transformation and city form? If particular aspects of postmodern urban restructuring are scrutinised, especially its social dimensions, one may find that most peripheral countries reveal signs of postmodernism, though they have not gone through the usual stages of development growth. The six urban restructurings of postmodernism in the

global city of Los Angeles, as portrayed by Soja (1995), may well have theoretical and applied consequences for the South African situation. As a basis for discussion, these restructurings are henceforth employed, mainly borrowing from Mabin's (1995) and Harrison's (1994: 1995) publications on postmodernism and globalisation, emphasising urban restructuring in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.5.1 Globalisation

The views of numerous authors on the urban restructuring process as part of the new division of labour all eschew an intertwining of global, national and local processes. Furthermore, integral changes in the organisation and technology of industrial production all correlate with deconstruction of the Fordist city and the construction of new urban industrial development (see Rogerson, 1991a). Mabin's (1995: 192) postmodern applications to the South African city highlight a shift in industrial products, processes, costs, profits and competitiveness, with a subsequent decline in industrial employment. Linking South African cities to the world economy, moreover, through a shift to a post-industrial society, may not appear to be showing much substance, but various characteristics of postmodernism are certainly evident. One instance is the internationalisation of labour (seen, for example, in Africa's southward migration).

Tomlinson (1994: 345-347) contends that the

“presentation of structural changes occurring at a global level and then impinging on national and local economies conveys an image of relative powerlessness among urban decision-makers”, [and he furthermore hypothesises that] “urban economic trends... represent a distorted mirror of the structural transformation of the American and European urban economies”.

The same assertion is put forward by Harrison (1995: 41). He, however, contests that “South Africa is rapidly integrating into an increasingly globalised economy” and that a “failure to link the global and the local may be an important weakness within current thinking around South African cities.” This stance is supported by thoughts on and evidence of postmodern planning.

2.5.2 Built environmental shift

A radical restructuring of urban form is occurring, making way for a new classification system which can best be described as “a combination of decentralisation and recentralisation, the peripheralisation of the centre and the centralisation of the periphery, the city simultaneously being turned inside out and outside in” (Soja, 1995). But what phenomena reflect international trends and patterns on restructuring and the form of post-apartheid cities? Van der Merwe (1993) portrays a model of the South African city in relation to international form based on five principles: political economy, national urbanisation patterns, functional and morphological structure, social structure, and management structure. He asserts that South African cities show certain similarities with First, Second and Third World cities, but that the legacy of apartheid undeniably makes for unique characteristics. Examples of built environment restructurings include the following: urban revitalisation with gentrification as a manifestation thereof (Garside, 1993; Kotze, 1996); a shift in building public accommodation as part of waterfront developments (Goudie, Kilian & Dodson, 1995); urban conservation planning during the process of urban restructuring and social transformation (Pistorius, 1994); and the salience of changing styles and shapes of buildings as features of postmodern architecture (Harrison, 1995). Research on a postmodern urban form is, however, scant.

2.5.3 Extended social polarisation

A new social pattern is emerging after apartheid. Most prominent is the continued social polarisation in cities through segregation and fragmentation. A South African perspective is given by Mabin (1995) who discusses the problems and prospects of segregation and fragmentation. Race is still the dominant structural force in polarising urban society (Parnell, 1996; Mabin, 1995). The fact that only a minority black affluent class is moving into former white affluent suburbs (in contrast to the mass black influx to the inner city and low-middle income suburbs) suggests both economic empowerment, to some degree, and the persistence of racial social polarisation. Chapter Six investigates this assertion with Pietersburg as a case in point. Hindson, Byerley and Morris (1994: 346) also warn against core city developments, such as revitalising the inner city, arguing that “this could lead to the restructuring of the city into two socially and spatially polarized parts: a multi-racial and relatively affluent core city and a black, impoverished periphery.”

2.5.4 Urban governance and violence

Apartheid-based local government structures and the subsequent community-based local level administrative machinery (Harris, 1992: 55) created a state of ungovernability in most cities. Resulting from conflict, crime and social injustice in South African cities, walled suburbs as defended space have become prominent features of middle-high class suburbs in former white cities (Mabin, 1995; Mills, 1991). In addition, urban reconstruction emerging from violence-torn black peripheries (townships) highlights the “needs of local communities within the context of city-wide or metropolitan reconstruction” and shows that “local projects are compatible with negotiated reconstruction and development” (Hindson, Byerley & Morris, 1994: 345).

It has been mentioned that an entrepreneurial form of urban governance (Harrison, 1995) reflecting RDP ideals of community participation in the restructuring process is essential (see for example Oelofse's (1996) case study in Hout Bay). Pistorius (1994) labelled this process the democratisation of urban governance. Local government transition has furthermore been assisted through transitional political legislation. Chapter Five covers in depth this process in Pietersburg.

2.5.5 Perceptual shifts

The last restructuring relates to a new image of urbanism and how people perceive and make sense of the urban world. Pistorius (1994: 35) accentuates such an image with the “need to conserve and develop the environmental characteristics and features, the underlying spatial structure and the activities which contribute to its character”.

2.6 SUMMARY

The literature survey has highlighted an important point for South African urban specialists, namely the importance of taking globalisation processes into consideration when attempting to understand contemporary forces shaping our cities. Nevertheless, one should not be misled by examples found elsewhere, because most of the observed realities of the developed world have already occurred in the developing world. With a new dimension in understanding spatial relationships, processes, and patterns in the urban landscape, a postmodernist vision for

comprehending these is inevitable. In conclusion, then, while investigating urban restructuring in South Africa, the focus should be on the unification of the separate black and white local governments, underlining social processes that underpin and perpetuate social segregation, both in residential and business social constructs, and on furthering the ideals of urban economic development through spatial integration. In order to understand urban restructuring and transformation in South African cities during transition, one should analyse them within the discrete phases and outcomes of political and global restructuring processes. The following chapters will investigate these matters with Pietersburg as a case study. However, first an understanding of the historic evolution of the study area will be provided in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE PIETERSBURG DISPERSED SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Historiographical studies in South Africa tend to investigate specific components of the urban landscape. For example black townships since the 1980s have received much focus in research. A “history-in-the city” as opposed to a “history-of-the city” has been prominent (Sapire & Beall, 1995: 7). With this in mind, the aim of this chapter is to provide an historic understanding of the spatio-political development of Pietersburg and its dispersed urban settlement pattern. The *de facto* and *de jure* segregation of different cultural and population groups will be the central theme in an examination of the contemporary spatial structure and racial formation of the area. When investigating the historic development, growth and change of any urban area in South Africa, race and segregation will obviously dominate discussion. Since its foundation, Pietersburg has been synonymous with racial prejudice. Voluntary separate developed living spaces for different cultural groups and races, whites-only management positions on the town council, and of course the accumulation of municipal by-laws, national legislation, and laws that culminated after the 1940s when the National Party came to power - these are well known details. Chapter Three provides an overview and description of some of the chief socio-political and spatial changes which occurred between the origin of the city in 1886 and the demise of the apartheid city in 1990.

Historical data is of invaluable assistance for understanding contemporary urban restructuring and the outcomes of transformation and development after apartheid. Analysis of the historiography of Pietersburg as a colonial and segregated city sets the scene for interpreting the spatially fragmented urban settlement system that developed during the apartheid city period. Social engineering resulted in the development of a highly-fragmented dispersed city formation with Pietersburg becoming a model apartheid city. Seshego developed as its neighbour supplying labour, Mankweng as a university town, and Lebowakgomo as a homeland capital. Chapter Four will thus link with Chapter Three and focus on contemporary linkages that exist between these urban places. Understanding the historic development of the contemporary urban form and structure will assist greatly in the task of finding an alternative model for restructuring the dispersed and fragmented pattern for a sustainable 21st-century South African city.

3.1 COLONIAL PIETERSBURG (1886-1910)

This section investigates the creation of Pietersburg by specifically looking at spatial and racial development of the town in the pre-Union era, often called the colonial period, 1886-1910. Geographers with political and urban foci are interested in the ways in which people are organised in spatio-political terms. Hence, as a primary tool of investigation, data from the first maps of Pietersburg are used spatially to illustrate change. Material backs up this information collected at the Transvaal Archives Depot (TAD) in Pretoria that includes official letters from authorities, attorneys, members of the community, and minutes from the Municipality's (Pietersburg Municipal Archives - PBA) various committees. Minutes of Pietersburg Municipal Council Meetings (MPB 1/1/1 - 1/1/4; 1/1/6) and Minutes of General Purpose Committee Meetings (MPB 1/2/1) are used as primary references in analysis.

3.1.1 The origin of the town

In 1867 repeated threats of attack by Africans caused the Boer community that had settled in Schoemansdal to relocate. The ZAR offered to compensate these Boers by buying them land to form a settlement. A popular choice was the eastern portion of the farm Sterkloop, which was subsequently bought for 1500 pounds from the owners, Van Emmenes and Venter, on 11 November 1884. The main reasons for favouring this location were its centrality, its sufficiency of water, and the ample supply of African labour in its vicinity (Heyns, 1939). The town's name recognises the key founding role played by General Piet Joubert:

“Naar aanleiding van die bijzonderheden in het rapport (van P Joubert R5239/83) ten opzigten van het dorp voor het district Zoutpansberg besloot de Raad eenparig zijn goedkeuring te hechten aan den aanleg van het dorp, en aan de verdere stappen door de Regering in deze genomen. Tevens besloot de Raad dit dorp den naam te geven van Pietersburg” (quoted in Changuion, 1986: 29).

Of the first 150 erven surveyed in April 1884, 94 were handed out gratis in September 1885, while the others were sold (Aucamp, 1976). Some of the Boer pioneers are still honoured in streets named after them (e.g. Schoeman, Mare, Burger). When the Magistrate's court opened on 31 July 1886, the town of Pietersburg was officially born and named after General Piet Joubert who had initiated its development at Sterkspruit (Heyns, 1939). The first phase of surveying, covering a total of 974 erven, was completed by 1902 (see Figure 3.1 - compiled

by author from Aucamp, 1976; Changuion, 1986). The first land use plan of Pietersburg made no provision for a non-European section because stands were allotted only to residents fleeing from Schoemansdal. Segregational planning, as a precursor to later apartheid planning, was therefore already evident in the pre-Union period.

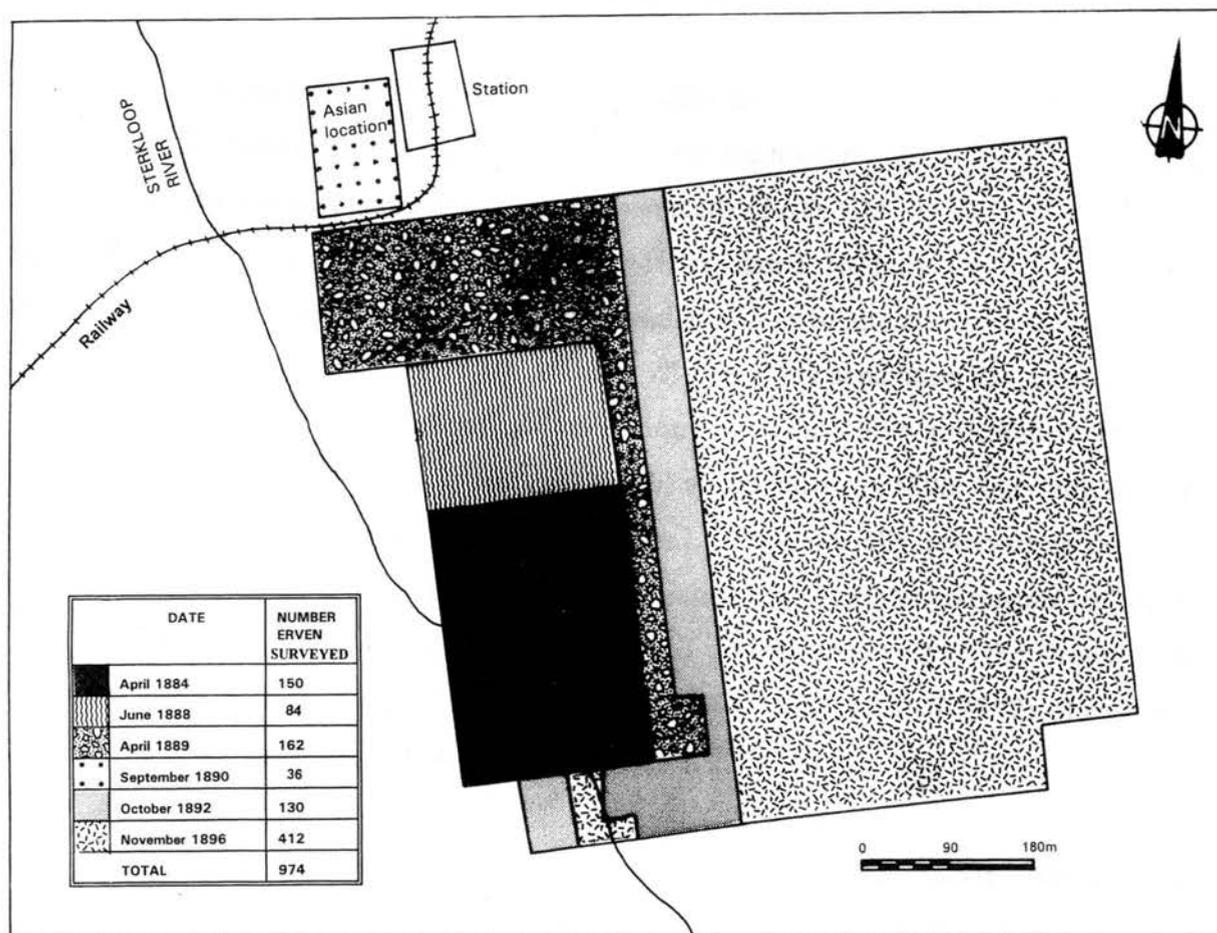


FIGURE 3.1: PHASES IN LAND SURVEYING OF PIETERSBURG, 1884-1896 (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1998: 32)

3.1.2 The Asian¹ issue

In September 1890, provision was made for an Asian location and erven numbers 397 to 432 were surveyed to the northwest of the town. These 36 erven were consequently utilised as 261

¹ The term Asian/Asiatic is used here in the context of the time in history. The term Indian has been used more widely in recent times.

erven (Van Asten, 1939). Officials carefully planned an ethnographic border as a functional buffer between the location and the town, and this was the railway line, which separated white and Asian areas from each another. This location in the next few years was artificially subdivided into adjoining Asian and African locations. But by 1903 it was indicated in a letter (dated 5 October 1903) from MK Ghandi to the Colonial Office (in Pretoria) that the African Location "...is entirely inhabited by British Indians" (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2)).

The first Asians settled and traded in Pietersburg before the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and were required to voluntarily segregate themselves from the town by residing and trading in the said location (20 Asians trading and 61 accommodated) (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2)). In a letter to the Assistant Colonial Secretary for Asiatic Affairs, dated 16 June 1903, the Mayor of Pietersburg indicated that plans were "under consideration as to alterations so as to separate" the Asian and African locations (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2)). This separation stemmed from the "Appointments of Bazaars for Asiatics" legislation which had been proclaimed under the provisions of Section 2(d) of Law No. 3 of 1885, as amended in 1886. This proclamation provided that "... the areas described in the plans... to be specially reserved at the towns mentioned... for the residence and trade of Asiatics residing or carrying on businesses" (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2)). This land was furthermore reserved under Section 12 of the Crown Lands Ordinance, 1903 by Government Notice No. 102 of 1904 (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2) - Letter from the Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, 14 October 1930).

After deliberations on two proposals for the intended location of the bazaar - the one to the North (by the Government) the other to the South of the town (by the local authorities) - the site was ultimately proclaimed in Government Notice 1013 of September 1903. It appears that it was only registered at the Deeds Office in 1907 (TAD, MPB: 1/2/4 - Letter from Land Department to Pietersburg Town Clerk, 3 October 1907). The Key Plan place map of Pietersburg drawn in 1904 included this new Asian Bazaar. The Asians received this proclamation with great discontent because they were now subjected to compulsory segregation and had to relocate all their existing businesses to the newly-identified area. The Town Council, however, under the umbrella of the Public Health Department, remained adamant in its decision to relocate them, and reiterated that

“it affords good facilities for trade as it is within a few yards of the main road from two of the largest [African] locations and there is more traffic on that road than on any other. Further it is only 1000 yards from the railway station” (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2)).

The British Indian Association, on the other hand, responded by arguing that there “seems to be no occasion for removing the present location” (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2) - Letter from Chairperson, British Indian Association, 19 November 1903). The concerned Asians, however, refused to have this area developed because of the distance factor in relation to business. The town council subsequently tried to manipulate and indirectly force them to develop the bazaar. They argued that they would only be issued licences to trade and reside outside white and native areas - i.e. in the bazaar area. During this time, some Asians were already trading within the town (excluding the location). However, at the beginning of the century the Pietersburg municipality was adamant in its attitude towards Asian traders. It was strongly opposed to issuing licences to “Asiatics and Colored Races of Africa” to trade outside locations, on the grounds of public interest and public health (TAD, MPB: 1/2/1 - 25 February 1904). On the other hand, during this pre-Union period, contradictory municipal by-laws forbade the issuing of licences to Asians because they were not allowed to trade or live in African locations, though they would entertain applications for trading in the designated Asian Bazaar. The conclusion drawn from this action is that the Town Council delimited the location originally surveyed for an Asian location (Plan 1) from that of an African location (Key Plan 1904) so that the Asians had to relocate to the designated bazaar area (because by-laws prohibited them from trading in African locations).

However, despite these by-laws, the Asians managed to stay both in town and in the African location, and the surveyed Asian bazaar never took shape. In fact, it was recorded that in 1905, of the 12 wholesale merchants in town (Figure 3.2 - map compiled from TAD, MPB: 1/2/2 - 15 August 1905) seven were Asian, while 23 of the 29 business premises class 1 were also registered in Asian names (TAD, MPB: 1/2/2). White businesses predominated in business classes 2 and 3. Although businesses were concentrated in proximity to the Market Square (see Plate 3.1), dispersal is also evident.

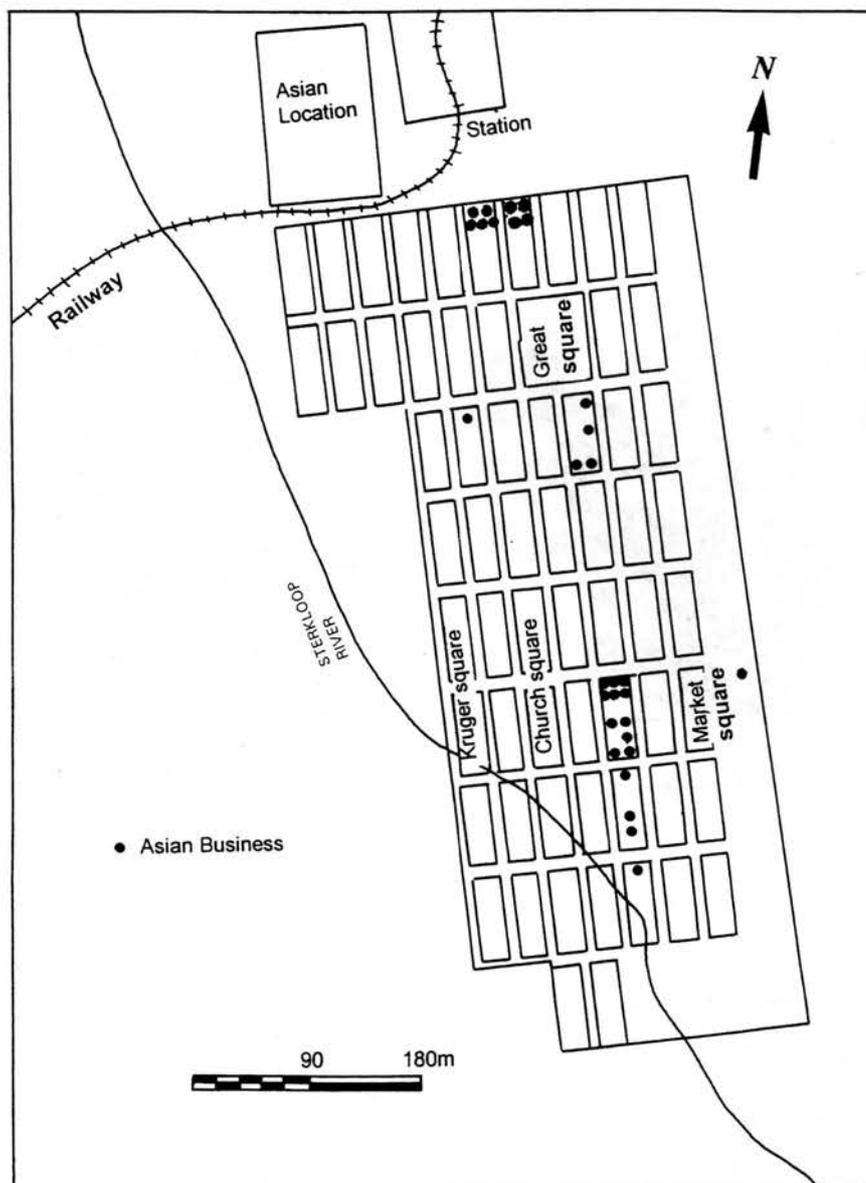


FIGURE 3.2: LOCATION OF ASIAN BUSINESSES IN PIETERSBURG CENTRAL AREA, 1905 (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1998: 35)

The *Provincial Gazettes* of August - December 1910 suggest a dramatic increase in registered businesses, especially under Asian names. Their location is unknown, but during the above period 37% (62 out of 169) of businesses registered in Pietersburg were Asian. Until 1946, when a letter from the Pietersburg Town Clerk was sent to the Secretary for the Interior requesting that the bazaar be cancelled, its appearance on the 1904 map was merely fictional (TAD, CIA: H 23 (2)). Up to that point the town's identity had embraced a strong Asian business sector and a predominantly white residential town with whites holding all positions in the public sector, Town Council, etc. By-laws were strictly enforced to maintain the racial identity of the town.



PLATE 3.1: MARKET SQUARE, PIETERSBURG, 1890s (Photo 16770, State Archives, Pretoria)

3.1.3 Racial identity and the ‘natives’

The Local Government Bill of 1908 specifically identified people by different cultural criteria. It defined "Natives" as "...any person belonging to any of the aboriginal races or tribes of Africa south of the Equator and any person whose parents belong to any such race or tribe" (*Government Gazette*, 13 May 1908). This definition differs from the Transvaal Municipal Association's definition of 1908 which omitted the "south of the Equator" demarcation. Racial identity had also been entrenched in municipal by-laws. Four examples of racial discrimination against Natives in the pre-Union era are highlighted below: (1) prevention of residence in town; (2) a view of Africans as a dangerous element in society; (3) segregated amenities; and (4) personal space.

Increased urbanisation of Natives in the early years of the century prompted the Pietersburg Municipality to petition the Government to extend its jurisdiction, and this for three principal reasons. One, several townships had already been surveyed (Annadale, New Pietersburg, Edendale) and others would follow. Two, squatting by Natives was in principle regarded as undesirable and would therefore not be permitted within areas scheduled for control. Three, "it was desirable for the Municipality to have control ... of all matters relating to public health,

etc.” (TAD, C: 25 - Vol. 1, 1905). A three-man Pietersburg Boundaries Commission was instructed to investigate a recommended altering of the boundaries of jurisdiction of the Municipality (TAD, C: 25 - Pietersburg Boundaries Commission, 1904-1905, Inventory). The Minutes of the Pietersburg Municipal Boundaries Commission provide useful, though sometimes contradictory, evidence of the presence of Africans on farms scheduled to be incorporated into Pietersburg (TAD, C: 25 - Minutes of the Pietersburg Boundaries Commission held in the Court House, Friday 8 July 1904) (see Table 3.1 & Figure 3.3):

TABLE 3.1: LAND SIZE FIGURES FOR THE TOTAL AREA OF THE
PIETERSBURG MUNICIPALITY IN 1908

MUNICIPAL AREA	MORGEN	SQUARE ROOTS
Farm "Sterkloop" no 91 of which the town forms a portion	1 465	239
Remaining portion of Sterkloop (known as Harmony)	2 809	111
Annadale Township	157	328
New Pietersburg township	261	363
Edendale township	230	?
Farm Krugersburg no. 1525	785	129
no. 1526	714	23
no. 1527	466	524
Weltevreden no. 140	356	569
	3 903	(portion leased by Government)
Portion Enkelbosch no. 1980	426	450
Koppiesfontein	685	68
TOTAL	15 321	499

Source: TAD, MPB: 1/1/4 - Minutes of the Council meeting 24 January 1908

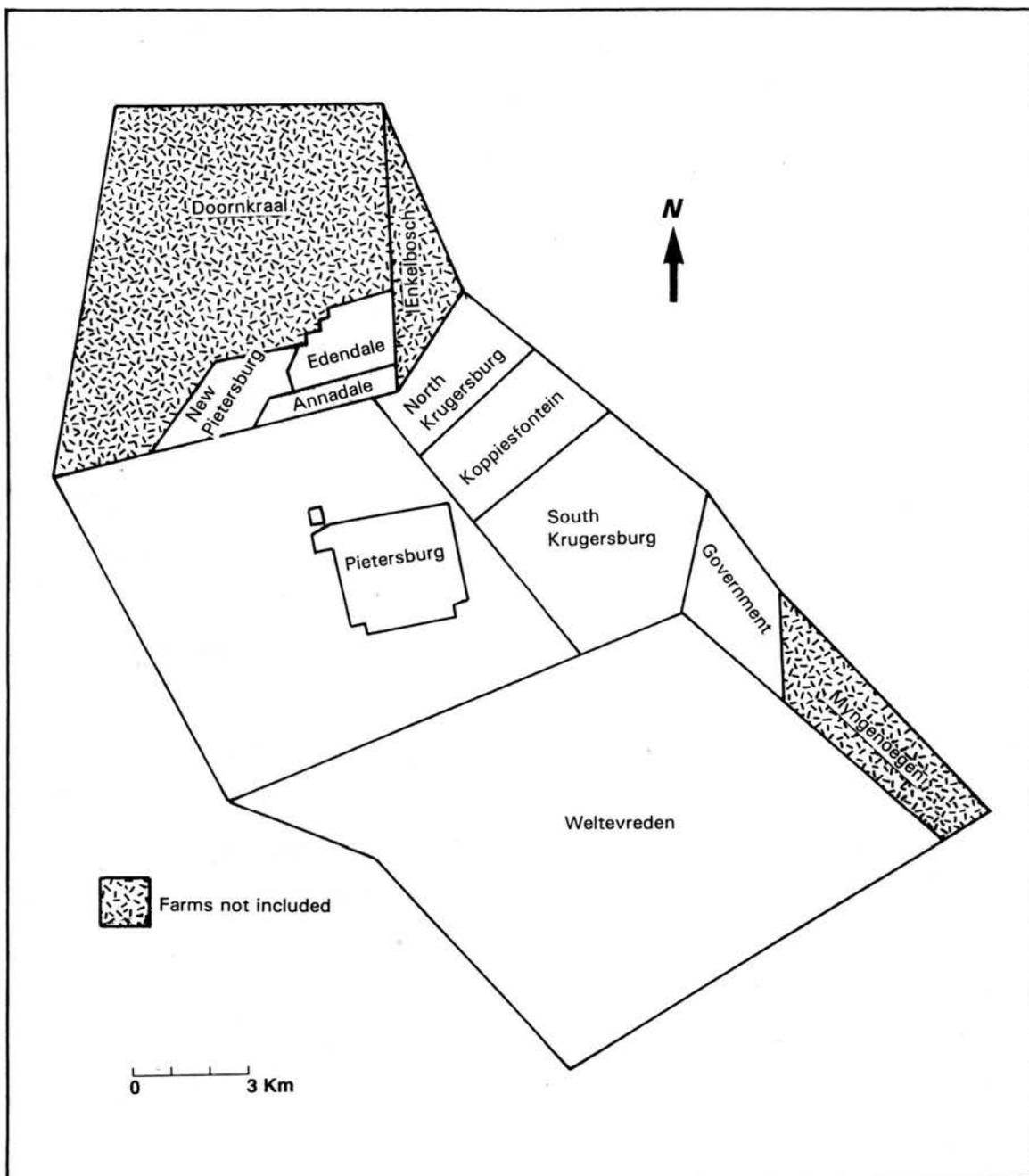


FIGURE 3.3: FARMS NOT SCHEDULED FOR INCLUSION UNDER PIETERSBURG'S MUNICIPAL JURISDICTION (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1998: 38)

(a) On the farm North Krugersburg, an African compound was located and was surveyed (10 acres) as quarters for Native Affairs (an African labour compound). Its proximity to the hospital was raised as a possible problem (TAD, C: 25 - p.26).

(b) Doornkraal: On the southernmost portion of the farm Doornpoort three townships were laid out and surveyed for future development.

- New Pietersburg - There were no houses by 1904, though 300 of 600 erven had already been sold. It was also argued that this township could be established as a separate municipality. New Pietersburg became a “grey area” (black, Asian, coloured population groups) after the 1930s, but all the residents had been removed by 1975.
- Annadale - No squatters were said to live here. It was put bluntly that “no [Africans] will be allowed” to buy erven there (TAD, C: 25 - p.34).
- Edendale - nothing specific was mentioned. The owner acknowledged that he would allow only one or two Africans to live there because Africans “are a nuisance” (TAD, C: 25 - p. 40). Of these three, New Pietersburg was later, in the 1930s, developed as a “grey area” while Annadale and Edendale were developed for white occupancy.

(c) South Krugersburg: Approximately 100 Africans were said to live there.

(d) Weltevreden: A few Africans (approximately 200 males and 150 families) were living in a kraal near the water at two or three places. A long-standing dispute between Weltevreden Africans and the municipality developed over the years which eventually ended in 1928 with notice being given to all squatters (TAD, MPB: 1/1/31 - 24 January 1928).

(e) Sterkloop: The Boundary Commission pertinently put the question to the owner: “Are there any houses on Sterkloop for [Africans]”? “No, none that I know of” was the reply from the owner of the farm (TAD, C: 25 - p. 13). Nevertheless, evidence was recorded that Africans resided on the Poppiesfontein portion of Sterkloop No. 91 and that they were paying rent to live there (TAD, MPB: 1/2/3 - 20 November 1906). It was also minuted that there were two compounds on Sterkloop. One adjoined the town, and Africans apparently used the river as a latrine because one compound was a mere 20 yards from the river and the other 100 yards (TAD, C: 25 - p. 20).

(f) Koppiesfontein: One compound was put up only temporarily for Africans en route to work in the gold mines on the Rand. This compound also belonged to the “Witwatersrand Native Labour Association” (TAD, C: 25 - p.28). Apparently they complained that no regulations

controlled the compound, and the question whether an African “passing through would make less dirt than a man living permanently” was responded to negatively (TAD, C: 25 - p.28). The problematic location of this compound in relation to the hospital again surfaced - it was 100 yards away.

(g) Myngenoegen: There were only a few kraals. It was, however, asked whether the distance to town was short enough for [Africans] to reside there and to come into town to work (TAD, C: 25 - p.30). It would have been impossible for Africans to travel to town on a daily basis from here. It was, therefore, the intention of the municipality not to have control over Africans who would not be of any “use”.

Apparently the owners of these farms did not enforce any regulations for the proper management of the compounds. It was also noted that natives had left the locations in the district to stay on farms bordering the town so that “they [were] close enough to do their work in town” (TAD, C: 25 - p.13). A question was raised as to whether it was “necessary to have control over [Africans] squatting on these farms?” The answer was: “Yes, it is imperative for the health of the town” and furthermore that it was possible to inspect African locations and compounds (TAD, C: 25 - p.13). In response to the three-man Commission's report, the Inspector of Lands' Minority Report subsequently recommended that all the farms be included under Pietersburg's municipal jurisdiction (Figure 3.3), with the exception of the northern portion of Enkelbosch No. 1980, Myngenoegen Numbers 1908, 623; and Doornkraal No. 77 (TAD, C: 25 - Vol 1 (iii), Key Plan for Pietersburg area).

On 19 August 1905 the Native Location Commission was appointed to, *inter alia*, inquire into and “make recommendations as to the boundaries, where undefined, of existing Locations granted to Native Tribes...” (TAD, C: 27 - The Native Location Commission, 1904-1908). A key map was drawn to illustrate the location of Africans. In the sub-district of Pietersburg there were in total six Government Locations and 55 Undefined Locations on private farms (Figure 3.4) (TAD, C: 27 - Vol No 7, Maps). The Executive Committee of the Transvaal Municipal association also requested information from Town Councils pertaining to the number of stands, erven, lots or land registered in the names of Africans by 1906. Pietersburg reported no registered properties (TAD, MPB: 1/2/3 - 13 December 1906). However, Africans

were permitted, with certain provisos, to reside in town (for example: Chapter 11 Section 6 Sub-section 8:8 of the public Health by-laws of Pietersburg Municipality amended 8 May 1906). The regulation for Africans staying in town stated that:

“Any person who without permission in writing from the council, establishes or maintains any compound or other place for the housing of Natives or coloured persons not being ‘his’ or ‘her’ domestic or household servants shall be guilty of a breach of the by-law” (TAD, MPB: 1/1/1 - MPB: 1/1/3).

Nearly all applications were lodged by Asians and in many cases permission was granted to house only one male on the premises of Asian businessmen. A certain Asian, Tayob, reapplied (the only existing evidence of such an application until then) to house two workers; but the council again only granted permission for one and also resolved “that all future applications for the housing of natives be dealt with finally in committee after being reported on by the MOH” (TAD, MPB: 1/1/6 - 5 July 1912).

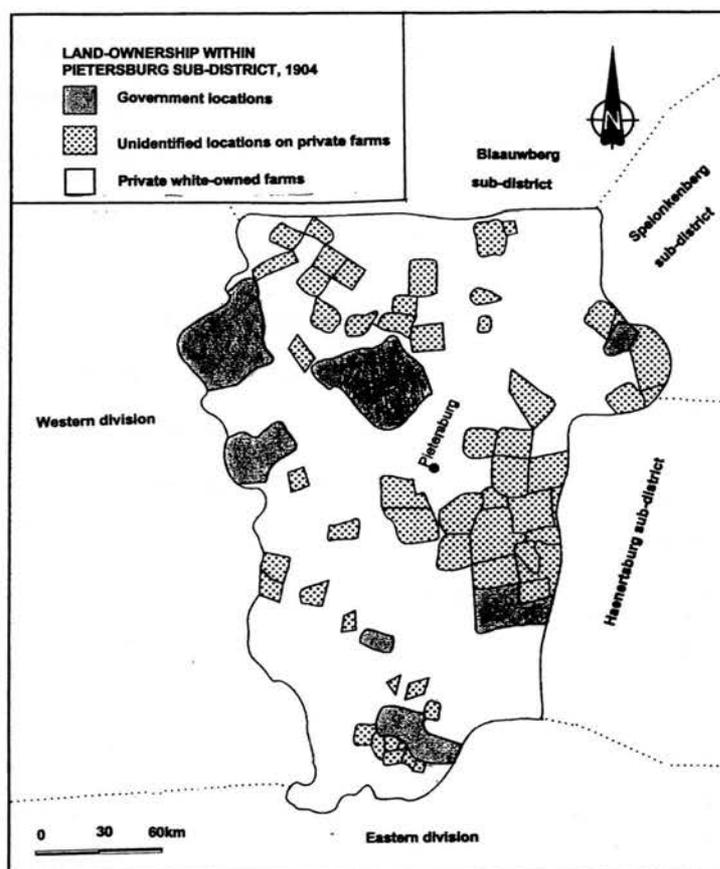


FIGURE 3.4: AFRICAN LOCATIONS PRIOR TO 1910 (Compiled from State Archives data)

A second view of Africans was that they were a potential danger to vulnerable sections of society. An application to house two native males on erf 53 (owned by an Asian) was not approved by the Council because “these premises are already thickly occupied with Indian women and children” (TAD, MPB: 1/1/4 - 23 February 1912). Although Africans were not permitted to stay in town they were, however, allowed to eat at numerous so-called African eating houses. Segregated eating areas were thus evident, but these were located at places in town which would not affect the hygiene of whites. For example, an application was submitted for the zoning of erf 163 as an African eating house. The Acting Medical Officer of Health (MOH) recommended rejection of the application because of the following:

“... the house is old ... and dirty canvas ceilings, insecure wooden flooring, the erf is not fenced, there is scanty supply of doubtful water, and lastly the erf is situated in Market Street, one of the two principal streets of the town” (TAD, MPB: 1/1/1 - 1/1/3 - Reports from the Medical Officer of Health, 1906).

The first reason is surely spurious because the house could not have been older than 20 years. The main reason was, however, the protection of the identity of Market Street. Furthermore, in an attempt to contain the number of eating house trade licences, fees per annum were amongst the highest levied (*Province of Transvaal Official Gazette*, Vol XXXV, No 563, 22 September 1920).

The familiar definition of personal space portrays it as “an invisible, usually irregular area around a person into which he or she does not willingly admit others. The sense (and extent) of personal space is a situational and cultural variable” (Fellmann, Getis & Getis, 1992). Personal walking space on sidewalks was ingrained by the Transvaal Town Regulations of 1899, with race, or culture, as a variable for identity. These regulations, that “prohibited coloured persons from walking on sidewalks [see Plate 3.2] of the streets, or on any stoep serving as a sidewalk, and from residing in any place abutting on the public street in any town or village” (TAD, MPB: 1/2/5 - 15 March 1909), were strengthened by a municipal ordinance of 1903 which “authorised town councils to lay out locations, regulate the 'housing of natives by their employers', and license casual labour” (Davenport, 1991: 2). This was accomplished by 1905 (see Section 72 (2) of Ordinance 58 of 1903).

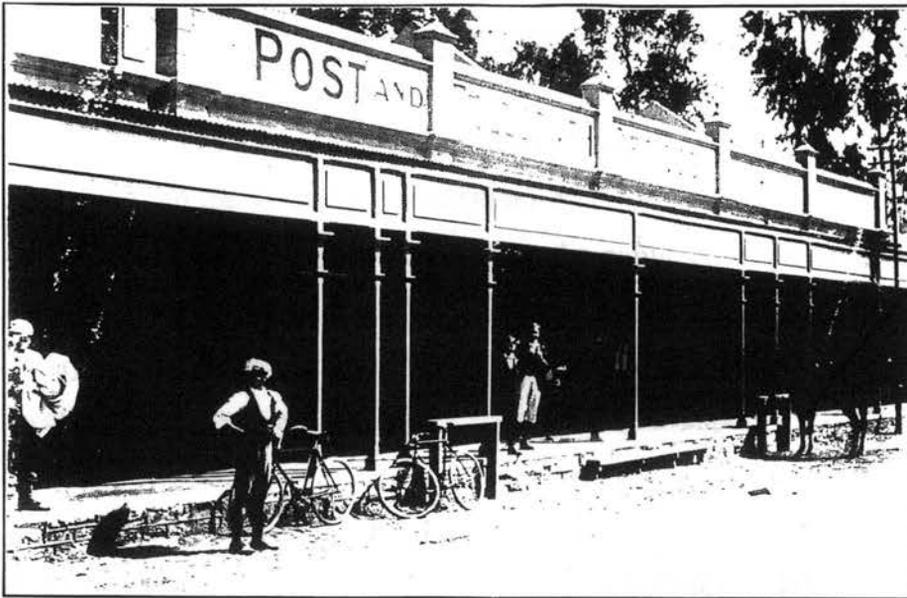


PLATE 3.2: SIDEWALK SPACE IN PIETERSBURG ACCORDING TO RACE IN THE EARLY 1900s (Photo 16708: State Archive, Pretoria)

As has been shown here, many dimensions are ascribed to place during the colonial period of Pietersburg, some cultural (Boer settlers and architectural style of buildings - see Plates 3.3), some symbolic (separate locations), and some political (legislation and by-laws).

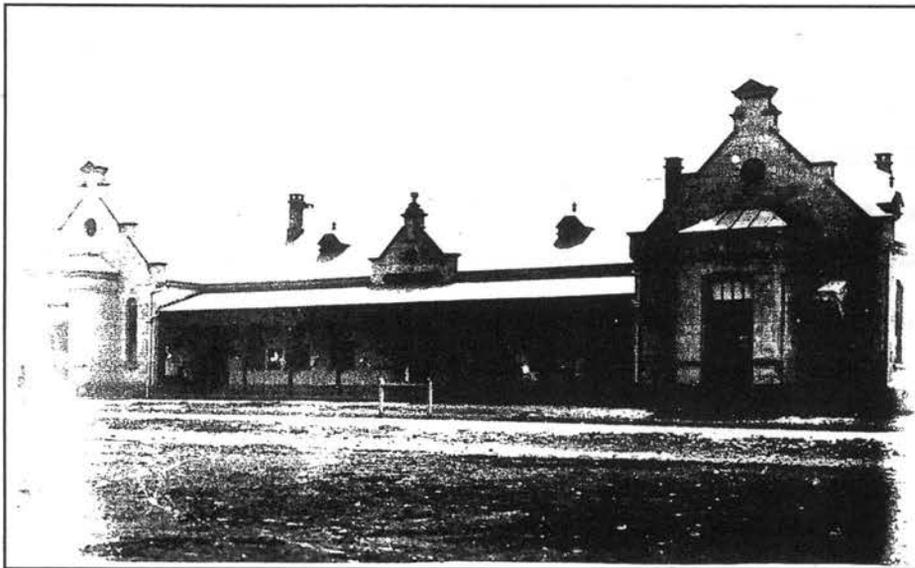


PLATE 3.3: GOVERNMENT BUILDING, PIETERSBURG, IN THE EARLY 1900s (Photo 16768: State Archive, Pretoria)

Before 1910, then, each of the two Boer Republics and two British colonies had legislation that “accompanied this ideological vision: the Native Reserve Locations Act in the Cape (1902), the Native Locations Act in Natal (1904), and the Orange Free State Municipal Ordinance of 1903...in the Transvaal...regulations of 1899 had prohibited ‘coloured persons’ (including Africans) living ‘in places abutting on the public streets in a town or village’, as opposed to their employers’ backyards; but a municipal ordinance of 1903 authorised town councils to lay out locations, regulate ‘the housing of natives by their employers’”. Authority over all locations was given to town councils by 1905 (Davenport, 1991: 1-2).

3.2 POST-COLONIAL SEGREGATION CITY (1910-1948) - THE UNION PERIOD

In 1910 South Africa became a Union, with the amalgamation of the former two Boer Republics (Transvaal and the Orange River Colony) with British colonies (Cape, Natal). By then institutional control in terms of urban planning was already in place to contain black urbanisation. Territorial segregation became most marked in 1913 with the Union Government clearly spelling out its measures of control over the native population.

3.2.1 Institutional control

The Natives Land Act of 1913 was the first measure taken by the white rulers to create an institutional divide between black and white (Christopher, 1994). The Act provided that approximately 8.9 million hectares be regularised as Native Reserves (Christopher, 1994: 33) but in 1936 the Native Trust and Land Act extended the size of the area by 6.2 million hectares (Christopher, 1994). The spatial-racial divide of the total land area was nevertheless lopsided in that no more than 12% of the land was demarcated for blacks. These reserve areas were by then already overpopulated in that half the black population resided there, and a high male absenteeism characterised it due to the migrant worker system.

The Act, however, did not attempt to remove blacks from white areas entirely. They “were encouraged to stay, for as landless labourers they were welcome” (Harcourt, 1976). In terms of the Native Occupation of Land in the Transvaal, five categories were possible:

- **Farm tenancy** (Onus rested on the owner. Regulations included the following: Squatters Law, generally one or other of these conditions - free labour in lieu of rent; wages of rent were levied; participation in crops that natives had cultivated. All natives were liable to be removed upon the period of notice *inter alia* Squatters Law (3 Months)).
- **Crown Lands**
- **Government Locations** (Location land was held in trust and specifically set apart for the occupation of natives in communal tenure).
- **Land owned by natives**
- **Undefined locations on private land** (These were for the most part within “unhealthy” areas where settlement by Europeans had been found almost impossible. Large companies owned these lands).

During that time a draft Native (Urban Areas) Bill was released in 1912. By 1913 several Transvaal municipalities had adopted resolutions that the Union Government should act without delay:

“to prevent as far as possible the permanent settlement within and in the vicinity of towns, of communities of natives and coloured persons, unless such are under proper Municipal control” (TAD, MPB: 1/2/9 - Minutes of the Executive Committee of the TVL Municipal Association held in Johannesburg 3 May 1913).

In the wake of the adoption of the Native Urban Areas Act, residents in Pietersburg’s township complained and pleaded to the Town Council in 1920 for better administration and the abolition of certain by-laws affecting the township residents. The Town Council smoothly bypassed complaints. Given the conditions of living and control, blacks opted for voluntary segregation as a compromise of their displaced identity within the broader political framework of the country. This was, however, contrary to the decision taken at the Native Conference in Bloemfontein in May 1922, in which blacks in principle denounced the idea of segregation, “even if people often found it convenient to live apart” (Davenport, 1991: 5).

In 1921, Pietersburg's black township residents and residents on adjoining farms submitted a petition to: "allot and set apart a site for a township within easy reach of the Town and in which [they] may reside permanently with their families and dependants, and wherein to develop and improve themselves in their own ways, living separate and apart from Europeans and their town" (TAD, MPB: 1/1/28 - 18 March 1921).

The petitioners provided details on layout and a system of local government in conjunction with the Town Council. They were nevertheless reluctant to tell the Town Council where the location should be, and pointed out that, if they could, they would prefer localities to the eastern part of the town, such as Poppiesfontein. This choice was, to say the least, surprising. The council had wanted to relocate them there five years earlier but they had refused².

During this time the SA Native National Congress at their general meeting held in Kroonstad (30 July to 3 August 1915) passed a resolution in which they reacted strongly to segregation and racist measures taken by the Government and local authorities alike. The resolution from the SA Native National Congress was submitted to Government and municipalities. It deplored the unhealthy conditions under which the blacks lived in municipal locations and wanted suitable accommodation for urban dwellers, and land for them to purchase sites for building their own houses. By March 1916, the Pietersburg Town Council reacted to the petition. They decided not to remove natives to Poppiesfontein but to upgrade the old location (TAD, MPB: 1/1/20 - 22 May 1916). The attitude of Council was short-lived and further inappropriateness regarding the location by-laws was reported to the Council in a letter from the Commander of Police in which blatant racist statements were made:

"Complaints are continually being received by me with regard to the number of un-attached natives who are residing in the town. There are several places where this sort of thing is going on, and apart from the nuisance caused to residents, it is in my opinion a distinct menace to the health of the population

² The first evidence of the removal of the town's location was noted at a meeting of the Council on 18 February 1916). It was resolved that a new Native Location located at Poppiesfontein be developed (TAD, MPB: 1/1/20). A subsequent petition submitted to the Council raised their concerns regarding the Poppiesfontein site. To them it was too far from town, and physically unsuitable due to its low-lying location below the dam, Poppiesfontein was said to be a "rough place speaking from the moral point of view" (TAD, MPB: 1/1/20 - 24 March 1916).

generally.... I would therefore be glad to hear from you, if you are prepared to have the location By-Laws enforced, with a view to the suppression of this evil" (TAD, MPB: 1/1/23 - 2 July 1917).

The council recommended instructing the Police to enforce the Native Location Regulations and to enforce Section 38 of the Public By-Laws as from 2 July 1917. From then on natives were not permitted to reside in the municipal area, except as provided for in the Native Locations Regulations. The mayor and a councillor also interviewed the magistrate to request the Government to have a proper "curfew bell" provided for the Town, and to have the Native Night-Pass Regulations more stringently enforced (TAD, MPB: 1/1/24 - 29 November 1917).

Urbanists have quoted the essence of the Stallard Commission's doctrine widely. It portrayed blacks as temporary sojourners: "it should be a recognised principle that Natives...should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the White population" (Beavon, 1982: 14 - quote amended of original Transvaal Report). The doctrine of control proposed in 1922 by the Transvaal Local Government Commission - known as the Stallard Commission - laid the foundation "for provision of services, property ownership, participation in administration, and the morphology" of black townships (Lemon, 1991b: 4). Its effect is still evident in contemporary South Africa.

3.2.2 Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923

The Draft Urban Areas Native Bill was released for discussion among municipalities and Pietersburg reported on it in 1918. The Town Council responded to the Provincial Secretary as follows: "the main advantage to be gained is that the local authority has the power to prevent natives from purchasing or hiring ground as is today done within the limits of the existing townships. This evil is as yet not largely prevalent but is bound to become more prevalent as the [blacks] become wealthier and more inclined for urban life and urban occupations other than as servants of a white employer" (TAD, MPB: 1/1/24 - 26 February 1918).

When the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was enacted in 1923, it did not compel local authorities to provide housing and develop land for black occupation in segregated locations. Instead,

local authorities could either accept the burdens and/or benefits of the enactment. Once a local authority decided to follow the Act, it would have become liable for the following functions: to build on and improve black location areas; to earmark a separate location or native reserve revenue for Native Reserve Expenditure; to prevent whites from acquiring or occupying premises; to control the influx of blacks; and to remove unemployed “surplus” people (Beavon, 1982; Davenport, 1991; TAD, MPB: 1/1/24 - 26 February 1918). Davenport (1991:7) has remarked that this Act was not “a harsh measure” when compared to the standards of the later amendments. According to Lemon (1991b: 5), “smaller towns, fearing financial responsibilities, took longer, but most locations had been registered by 1937”. This firmly established the foundations for a segregated urban society in South Africa, to be perfected through legislation during the apartheid city era (see Chapter Three, section 3.3).

Pietersburg adopted the legislation relating to location regulations in terms of Section 23 (3) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 on 15 April 1925 (*Province of Transvaal Official Gazette*, 15 April 1925: 283-287). Discriminatory and segregation regulations included the following:

- The location superintendent had the final decision on who may be issued a permit to build a dwelling not exceeding 50x50 feet.
- The medical officer may at any time enter a dwelling or building to examine all persons therein.
- No persons other than those issued permits were allowed to be in the location between 21:00 and sunrise. Pass laws and curfews were introduced to curtail black movement in white towns. However, influx control was not enforced during the Second World War, but was strengthened in 1944 (Beavon, 1982; Davenport, 1991).
- The superintendent could prohibit any entertainment that may cause a disturbance.
- The creation of an Advisory Board consisting of three members elected by the registered occupiers and three members elected by the urban authority. The first evidence of a location committee with representatives from the location appeared in the 1928 minutes (TAD, MPB: 1/1/31 - 24 January 1928 Council meeting) when three members from the location were appointed to the Native Location Advisory Board.
- Tariffs or charges for accommodation in Pietersburg’s location were fixed for the following accommodation types present: 8 three-bedroomed cottages, 14 two-

bedroomed cottages, rooms for 8 Class A rooms, 27 Class B rooms, 9 Class C rooms, and numerous dwelling sites.

Despite the Act's regulations and intentions, blacks still owned property in the location and within the municipal area and had building plans approved. Proof of this was found in archival documents, in which a certain white resident complained to the council for allowing approval of building plans for blacks within the municipal boundaries. According to his complaint letter, a certain:

“Native Alfred Mokone owns erf 170 and has submitted plans which have been passed for a dwelling house on this erf. My property which is right opposite is valued at over 1000 pounds.... If this native builds there and is allowed to reside on this property, the properties round about will greatly depreciate in value. I shall be glad if the Council could do something in the matter” (TAD, MPB: 1/1/32 - 18 November 1932 Council meeting).

The Council resolved that Mokone had to be notified and that they would not permit him to live on erf 170. The Council furthermore announced that as from the end of February 1934 no unauthorised natives were to be found on business or other premises in the town. White owners could, however, apply for exemption for natives required as watchmen, etc. (TAD, MPB: 1/1/33). The question of blacks who owned land in the location was again discussed in 1930. It was reported that steps had been taken on the matter of how blacks could be prevented from owning land in municipal areas, and on how they could be prevented from occupying such land. How they could have expropriated such land was also discussed (TAD, MPB: 1/1/31 - 24 June 1930). At the Council meeting of 26 January 1932 it was recommended, and subsequently adopted, that the whole of the Pietersburg municipal area be proclaimed in terms of Section 5 of the Native Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923. This meant that blacks had to be relocated to another site. At the 23 February 1932 Council meeting, it was recommended that New Pietersburg (refer to Figure 3.3) be chosen as a:

“suitable site for segregation of natives as it is separated from the Town and Annadale by the Sand River, and that by allowing natives to purchase land there, would be an inducement to them to move out of town” (TAD, MPB: 1/1/32 - p. 373).

The councillors thus recommended that the Native Affairs Department be requested to have this area proclaimed a Native Village. At the 25 May 1932 meeting it was recommended that steps be taken to prepare a list of natives to be removed to the new location (TAD, MPB: 1/1/32). However, the Council instead approved a new extension to the existing location in 1934 where natives could build cottages (TAD, MPB: 1/1/33 - p. 261).

3.2.3 The “reserved area” township of New Pietersburg

Originally proclaimed a white township in 1903, New Pietersburg, according to the General Plan, was surveyed into 345 stands. By 1932 most of the land basically belonged to two persons, Van Niekerk (northern and eastern portion) and Lewis (southern portion). Lewis sold his land to blacks without subdividing the area according to the General Plan. Van Niekerk planned to subdivide his portion of the land into 4000 stands, each comprising an area of 100x55 feet. It would have meant that approximately 20 000 blacks could own property there. According to the Town Council the layout of the stands might have result in the development of crime and disease, more subdivisions would follow, and more people would move there (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 13). They, therefore, rejected the proposed subdivision by applying by-laws to prevent Van Niekerk registering transfers. This action and decision seemingly ruined the owner economically. In 1940 the Town Council adopted the principle that they would purchase all the properties - 81 stands - from the insolvent estate of Van Niekerk, with the purpose of controlling the expansion of the township in terms of Section 5(1) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act. According to the Deeds Office records, the first property registration in New Pietersburg was in the early 1930s. It appeared, however, that some blacks had moved there and built cottages without following the municipal regulations on submitting plans, and other regulations under the Public Health and Housing Act. These houses were demolished under this Act (TAD, MPB: 1/1/33).

Because some blacks owned property in New Pietersburg, and because they saw it as an advantage to the town as a nearby supplier of labour, the Town Council decided to exempt blacks who already owned property in the “reserved area” (under Section 5(2)(j) of the Act). This area was determined according to the location of current residents. All the land outside the “reserved area” had to be purchased and kept for future growth in demand for land development for blacks. Land owned by blacks outside this “reserved area” had to be

expropriated from them, whereas land purchased by blacks from Van Niekerk that had not been transferred, and which was located within the “reserved area”, could continue with transfers. After numerous meetings between the municipality, the Native Affairs Department, and a committee representing the black purchasers, the Council announced that the Native Affairs Department had provided funds to the municipality to purchase property not transferred into black owners’ names. However, they decided that they would have purchased all the land outside the “reserved area” in black ownership at the same price paid for it. Alternatively, claimants could exchange their stands for unoccupied stands in the “reserved area” (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 13). All those who claimed to own property anywhere in the township had to show proof of payment to the municipality. All the plots were agreed upon to be freehold. Because the township was proclaimed under Section 5(1) of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, no black could reside in the township except those exempted under Paragraph (2) of that section.

In 1946 the South African Native Trust donated 14 875 pounds for expenditure on capital work for the improvement of the township on condition that any money which the municipality may receive from the resale of expropriated black-owned land had to be paid to the Trust (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 13). On 23 July 1948, New Pietersburg was declared a predominantly black-owned town, which meant that the local government did not allow non-blacks to stay there. It is ironic that this occurred in the same year that a new Government came to power. The National Party from then on manipulated and wielded political power - based on racism - to the detriment of the majority of South Africans. Section 3.3.2.5.3 details the effect of the new Government’s policies on New Pietersburg.

3.2.4 Spatial characteristics of Pietersburg as segregation city

According to Davies’ (1981) segregation city model (Figure 3.5) certain features prevailed in Pietersburg, as they did in most South African cities during the period 1923 - 1950. For example, there was a CBD with a small Indian (Asian Bazaar) CBD at its edge. As mentioned earlier the Asian Bazaar on the 1904 map of Pietersburg remained fictional until 1946. Under Law No 3. of 1885, and as transferred to the municipalities by Government Notice 273 of 1907, it was recorded in Government Notice 177 of 1907 that Pietersburg’s Asiatic Bazaar consisted of 240 plots/stands. These were assigned for Asian occupation under Municipal

Amending Ordinance No 17 of 1905 (Transvaal). It was also noted that in 1938 Asians had not occupied this area (TAD, CIA: H 37(3) - Asiatic Bazaar General Vol. 3, 1940-1948). No municipal documentation could be traced at the State Archives to show that the Council had taken action to forcibly remove Asians from town to the said area until the passing of measures in 1946 (Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representative Act, 1946).

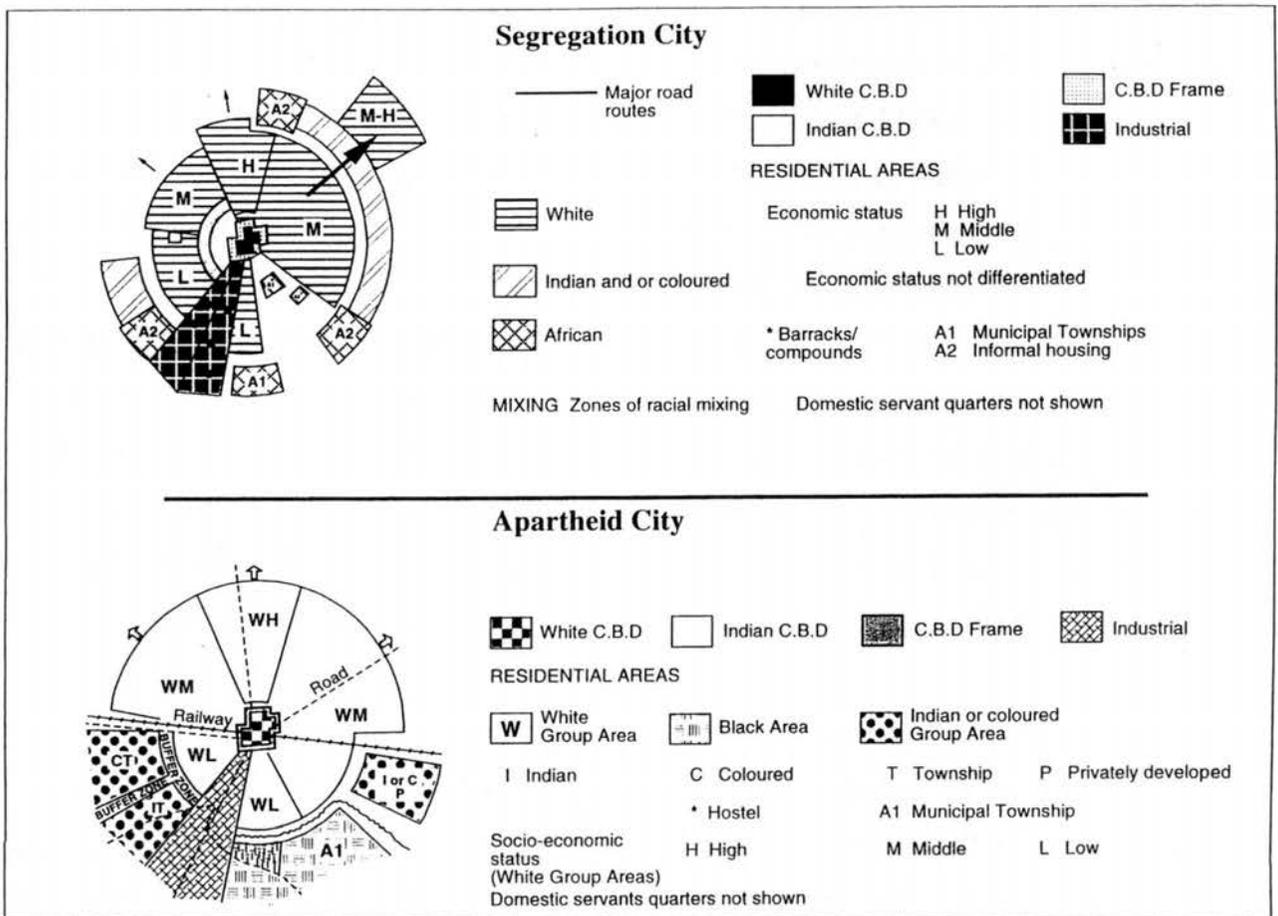


FIGURE 3.5: THE SEGREGATION AND APARTHEID CITY MODELS (After Davies, 1981)

The refusal of the Asians to relocate, and subsequent inaction by the white municipal authority, creates the suspicion that monetary structural forces might have been operative during this time, especially in view of the numerous complaints that white residents made to the municipality after 1910 about the ever-increasing number of Asian traders. The Principal Immigration Officer and Registrar of Asiatics continually requested updates from city councils regarding new licences and renewals of Asiatic businessmen. For 1926 the following were recorded: General dealers (85); Patent Medicines (14); Hawkers (5); Importers (6); General Agents, Butchers, Bakers, Interpreters (1 each); and 2 Firemen (TAD, CIA: M1 - Vol 18, Asiatic trading licences, October 1926 - December 1929). A drastic decrease in businesses was observed in 1940 with a total of only 65 recorded (TAD, CIA: M1 - Vol. 20, Asiatic trading licences April 1939 - July 1947). The Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs visited Pietersburg on 14 November 1945 to discuss the proposed legislation for the laying out of land by Local Authorities for Asian occupation (TAD, CIA: H 37 (3)). The Commissioner experienced difficulty in many towns in the Northern Transvaal. In Pietersburg it was noted that the Municipality had passed a resolution a year before to adopt the Government's policies, but that the cooperation of the Asian community had not been obtained, which was a prerequisite for finalisation. Apparently there was no attempt to come to an agreement or to negotiate the matter (TAD, CIA: H 37 (3) - Summary of points arising from meetings in Pietersburg and other towns). At a subsequent meeting with the Council held on 14 November 1945, the Asian representatives "stated that they formed a representative body and they [would] act independently and not under instructions from the Transvaal Indian Congress" (TAD, CIA: H 37 (3) - Meeting with the Asiatics on the 14 November 1945).

Another feature of the segregation city period was Indian and coloured housing in peripheral areas, but many areas of concentrated "islands" in the CBD frame and white residential areas were also present. In Pietersburg urban planners had laid out no residential area for these two population groups, perhaps because of their insignificant numbers. Thus Indians predominantly occupied property where they owned businesses in the town.

A black township (known as Rouxville) was, however, located on the periphery of the town, while another, New Pietersburg, developed later during the segregation era. According to Christopher (1991b: 85) the provision of public and private housing was based on a

“requirement that separate housing estates be built for different race groups”. Whites occupied the greater portion of urban land in a sectoral pattern of low-middle-high income areas. Low-income housing was located in close proximity to the black township. The disparity in allocation of state funding for sub-economic housing between white and blacks epitomised the racial prejudice of the time. Funds allocated between 1920-1934 showed that a sum of 28 805 pounds was allocated for 42 sub-economic houses for whites, while a mere 3 612 pounds was allocated for 30 houses for blacks - which included hostels for accommodating up to 20 males and females (TAD, SRP: 6/259). The Town Council entrenched separate amenities regulations, through municipal by-laws, long before the Separate Amenities Act was passed in 1950. In 1928, for example, the municipal by-laws concerning the town hall specified that it “shall not be hired to be occupied or used by non-Europeans” (*Province of Transvaal Official Gazette*, 28 March 1928 No. 967: 370). Municipal officials, guided by international town planning principles, ensured that they achieved racial residential segregation long before it was legislated for during the apartheid city era (Parnell, 1993).

Towards the end of the 1940s the town had been clearly segregated in terms of residence and business space to some extent. When the National Party came to power in 1948 the segregation city of South Africa would have experienced thirty years of social engineering under apartheid policies. The next section focuses on how Pietersburg developed as an ideal apartheid city through the development of a dispersed city fragmented settlement pattern.

3.3 PIETERSBURG AS APARTHEID CITY (1948-1990)

3.3.1 Apartheid city form and structure

In 1948 the National Party came to power, and with it, the implementation of the ideology of separate development i.e. the separation of social and physical spaces based on race. It is, however, important to note that the British-dominated Durban City Council in 1922 formulated the first plan for a race-space division, while other ordinances followed before the Nationalists promulgated the Group Areas Act. The Durban authorities submitted a seven-point principle or rule plan to the national government from which the main ideas for an apartheid city structure were designed (Western, 1984). The acceptance of the notorious Group Areas Act

in 1950 and 1966 ensured the following spatial changes to the previous segregation city: a whites-only CBD, peripheral location of black, Indian and coloured townships, a whites-only right of possession in the industrial sector, a buffer zone between different group areas, sectoral residential separation, and no socio-economic status differentiation in non-white areas (Figure 3.5). The last feature occurred more in the core areas of cycle-migrant labour systems such as metropolitan areas where intra-urban (township) apartheid was determined through linguistic zoning (see Christopher, 1989a). Ethnic cities - such as Lebowakgomo and Seshego - were not zoned according to ethnic language but provision was made for other ethnic groupings in hostels. The Group Areas Act had five different types of control methods to decide who may live where (Table 3.2).

TABLE 3.2: TYPES OF RESIDENTIAL CONTROL METHODS DURING APARTHEID

TYPE OF AREA	PURPOSE	WHO MAY LIVE THERE
CONTROLLED	To ensure owner and occupier of land belong to the same group. Different groups may continue to live side by side	Must be the same race group as the previous owner
SPECIFIED	To preserve the status quo regarding occupation. Different groups may continue to live side by side	Must be the same race group as the occupier on a date proclaimed by State President
DEFINED	To allow the Minister to control occupation of buildings built after a certain date	Group that can occupy buildings built after a proclaimed date determined by Minister
FUTURE GROUP AREA	To freeze land-use until proclamation as group area	Await proclamation as full group area
GROUP AREA	Exclusive ownership and/or occupancy by a particular race group	Only the group proclaimed for occupation

Source: Reader's Digest Association (1982: 736)

As was the case elsewhere in South African cities (see for example Western, 1978), forced removals accompanied the policy of segregation. Residents from New Pietersburg (a mixed residential area) and the Rouxville township had to relocate to designated group areas. A classic example of Davies' (1981) apartheid city model shows that most of the traditionally white residential areas in Pietersburg are found to the east of the Central Business District (CBD) - for orientation refer to Figure 3.6. Three exceptions are, however, observable:

Annadale (north), Ivy Park (west), and Penina Park, found to the south of the CBD. Residential areas with the highest municipal property valuations (Bendor Park, Welgelegen, Ster Park, Silwerkruin and Fauna Park), occur on the northeastern periphery of the city, with lower values closer to the CBD. The Indian (Nirvana) and coloured (Westenburg) residential areas developed to the west with the city's light industrial area (Suburbia) and a strip of open land between it and the "whites" CBD serving as a buffer zone (see Figure 3.7 for an application of Pietersburg to the Apartheid City model). In the following sections each group area will be discussed separately.

3.3.1.1 Indian group area of Nirvana

Nirvana had been developed since 1969 through Article 16 of Towns and Town Planning Ordinance 1931, on a section of the Ivydale small-holdings. The then Town Clerk, Mr Jack Botes, was quoted as defending the ruling government's policy of separate development when justifying the resettlement of Indians from the city in terms of the Group Areas Act:

“Ons beoog hier om vir die Indiërs ‘n dorpsgebied te verskaf wat, alhoewel apart, nie minderwaardig sal wees nie en wat oor dieselfde fasiliteite beskik as wat ander bevolkingsgroepe oor beskik” (PBA: 7/1/Vol. 1 - Nirvana General).

Of the two other non-white racial group areas established within the municipal boundaries, Nirvana was of a superior status in terms of density, class composition, infrastructure, and distance from employment nodes.

However, it never achieved the original aim of being a fully-developed area like the white ones. In 1972, a total of 102 families were resettled from the city, whereas it was proclaimed as a town area on 7 November 1973 (*Province of Transvaal Official Gazette*, 1 October 1973: 3652). Land use categories included 346 residential sites, 20 business premises, two parks, two schools, and a mosque (Changuion, 1986: 203; PBA: 7/1/Vol. 3 - Nirvana General). In 1975 the regional representative of the Community Board urged the Town Clerk to pressurise the remaining Indians to relocate (PBA: 7/1/Vol. 5 - Nirvana General). The first form of local government for the Indian community was established in February 1973 through the formation of Consultative Committees (*Province of Transvaal Official Gazette*, 20 December 1972: 4029).

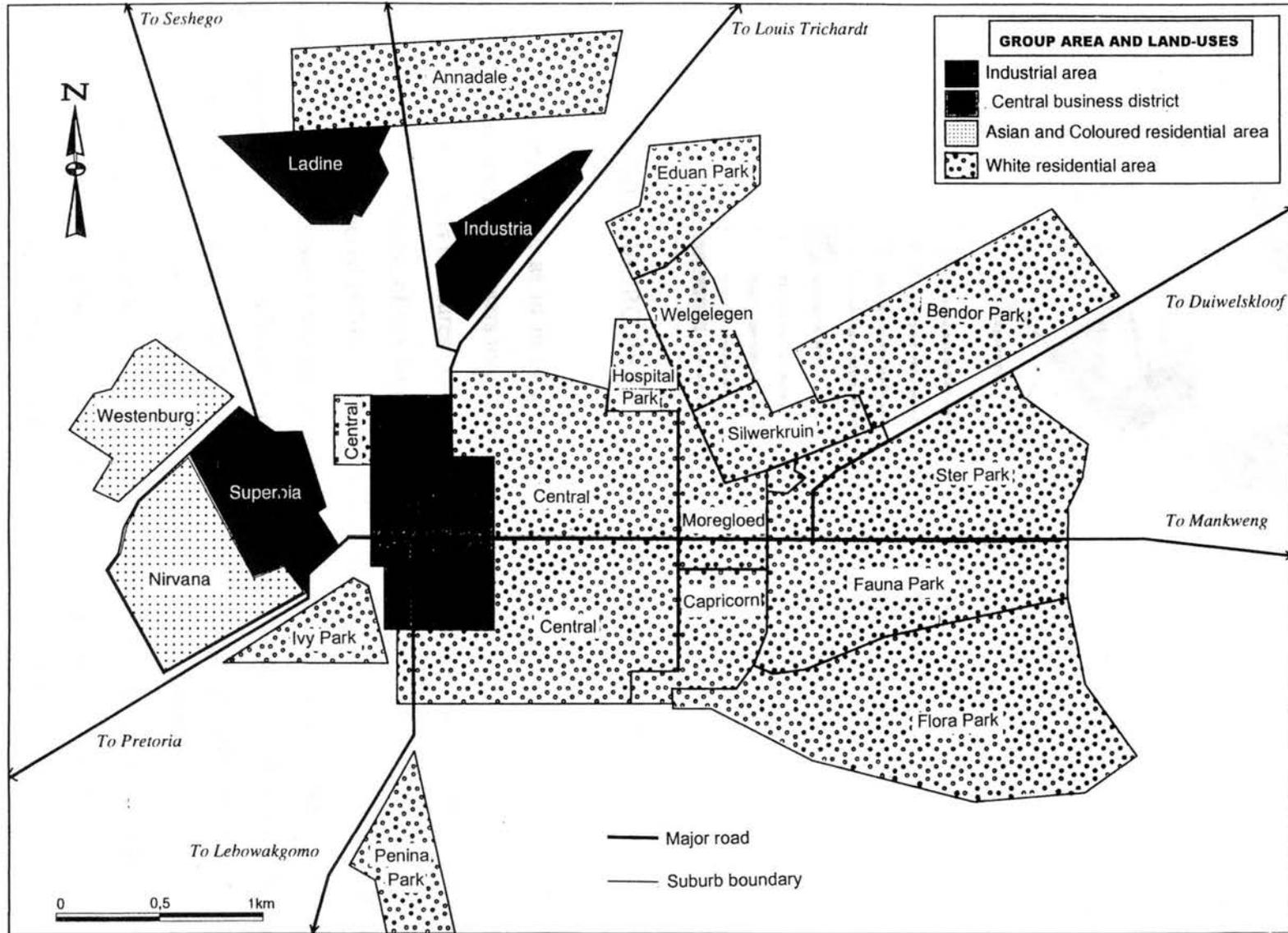


FIGURE 3.6: ORIENTATION MAP OF PIETERSBURG, 1991 (EXCLUDING SESHEGO)

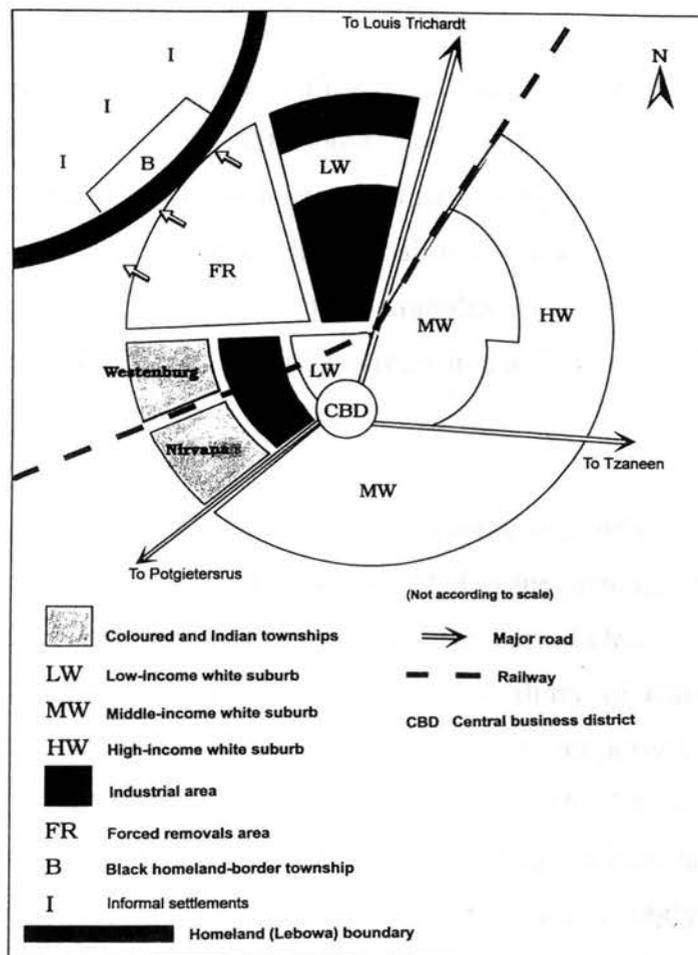


FIGURE 3.7: PIETERSBURG AS APARTHEID CITY (Adapted from Davies, 1981)

The Indian community, as in most other cities, had been playing an important role in the economic functioning of Pietersburg since colonial times. The apartheid city brought about the introduction of various measures and regulations to enforce control over Indian businesses in white CBDs. The process of developing a segregated Indian Business Complex in Excelsior Street began in the early 1970s. During October 1972, the Pietersburg Council decided to purchase land for the above purpose. The site appeared to be ideal for business: located on the northern part of the city's CBD (urban fringe) and directly adjacent to the bus depot, primarily used by blacks commuting to the city on a daily basis. Deciding on the ideal location of the complex to attract black clients became an issue for protecting the economic privilege of white business. This can perhaps be correlated with the post-1976 unrest and intensified liberation struggle which provided white civil society with the impetus to become more economically even than politically defensive. A total of 46 businessmen then occupying premises in the white CBD area, agreed in 1972 to move to the proposed complex. Six wholesale businessmen

at the same time requested Council permission to establish their business premises in the buffer zone between Nirvana and Pietersburg. The apartheid planners, through the office of the Department of Community Development, refused the application and the wholesalers had to open business in an area within Nirvana allocated for such purposes. For numerous bureaucratic reasons, the development of the complex dragged on until the Town Council converted a portion of the land from a white group area to Section 19 (Trading Area) in 1981 (PBA: 7/4/Vol. 5).

The socio-political landscape by that time had become entrenched in the minds of white business in the city. The Business Chamber objected to the opening of the complex because it would affect white business. The State President nevertheless endorsed it - a sign of transformation during the P.W. Botha era. A second flurry of resistance concerning the complex came in 1985 from the Indian businessmen. It was proposed that the area's status be changed from a Trading Area to a Free Trading Area (PBA: 7/4/Vol. 8 - Excelsior Street Business Complex). This would, again, mean it becoming a mixed race business area. The Indian businessmen were against this, fearing that they would be subtly moved again to make way for white business. In 1989, before this situation could develop further, the shopping complex was proposed to be put up for sale. The fate of the complex reached finalisation when the Department of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture of the House of Delegates stipulated guidelines for its sale to a private consortium of traders in the 1990s (PBA: 7/4/Vol. 10 - Excelsior Street Business Complex).

3.3.1.2 Coloured group area of Westenburg

Westenburg was proclaimed a township in October 1979, but until then coloured residents stayed in mixed areas (PBA: 23/2/Vol. 2). In 1972, for example, 191 families were living there, most staying in the houses of relocated blacks bought up by the Community Development Board in the New Pietersburg residential area (Pietersburg Town Council, 1972). Residentially, the coloured households were integrated into the city as follows: in the white area (139), a municipal black township (38), and New Pietersburg (227) (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 6). In 1968 the Council decided to relocate the coloured community to a specific separate portion in New Pietersburg. Before this, the Council had to provide the bulk of services which the Development Board paid for.

Coloureds were then (mid-1970s) relocated to New Pietersburg as an interim measure before Westenburg was developed. However, at this time (1975), blacks were reported to be infiltrating the New Pietersburg area after they had been moved to Seshego. In 1977 the area was labelled a slum, and as houses became vacant, they were demolished (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 8 - New Pietersburg: General). Approximately 600 properties had been purchased up to July 1977 by the Community Development Board. Towards December 1979, the Town Council was pressured by the Department of Community Development to evacuate blacks from New Pietersburg. The Council then offered the remaining coloured families incentives to rent 17 vacant two-bedroom sub-economic houses at a low rental tariff (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 11). In 1983 coloured families were still staying there.

3.3.2 Grand apartheid consequences for Pietersburg: homeland development and urban fragmentation

The urban settlement pattern of Pietersburg and its surrounding areas should have reflected a different pattern today. The current legacy was socially engineered by the National Party's policies after 1950. Urbanisation in the Northern Transvaal was mainly concentrated in Pietersburg. But deliberate political territorial shifts through a policy of new town development dispersed the population away from Pietersburg, inevitably resulting in an undesirable fragmented settlement pattern. It is this pattern that is being restructured in order to undo the apartheid legacy.

3.3.2.1 Lebowa and its ethnic towns around Pietersburg

The newly-elected National Party introduced a new style of local governance for blacks, through the enactment of the Bantu Authorities Act, No. 68 of 1951. This legislation heralded the beginning of an ideology of separate development. That is, a policy based on different ethnic groups. Known as the grand apartheid policy of separate development, its expectations which rested in the belief that one could prevent racial conflict through reduction of contact, failed dismally (Krige, 1989). Transkei became the first homeland in 1963 with its own constitution, while others followed when the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, No. 21 of 1971 was promulgated in all the other future homelands and independent states. It is to this Act that Lebowa owed its creation and short-lived existence as a homeland for the Northern Sotho people (see Figure 3.8) being declared a self-governing area on 2 October 1972. At the

time of declaration, the interim capital was located in Seshego, with initially eight departments controlled by the Lebowa Government: Chief Minister and Finance, Interior, Works, Education, Justice, Agriculture and Forestry. Three more departments were introduced in 1974: Health, Information, and Economic Affairs. In the mid-1970s, a planned capital was built at Lebowakgomo, 50 km south of Pietersburg (Malan & Hattingh, 1976).

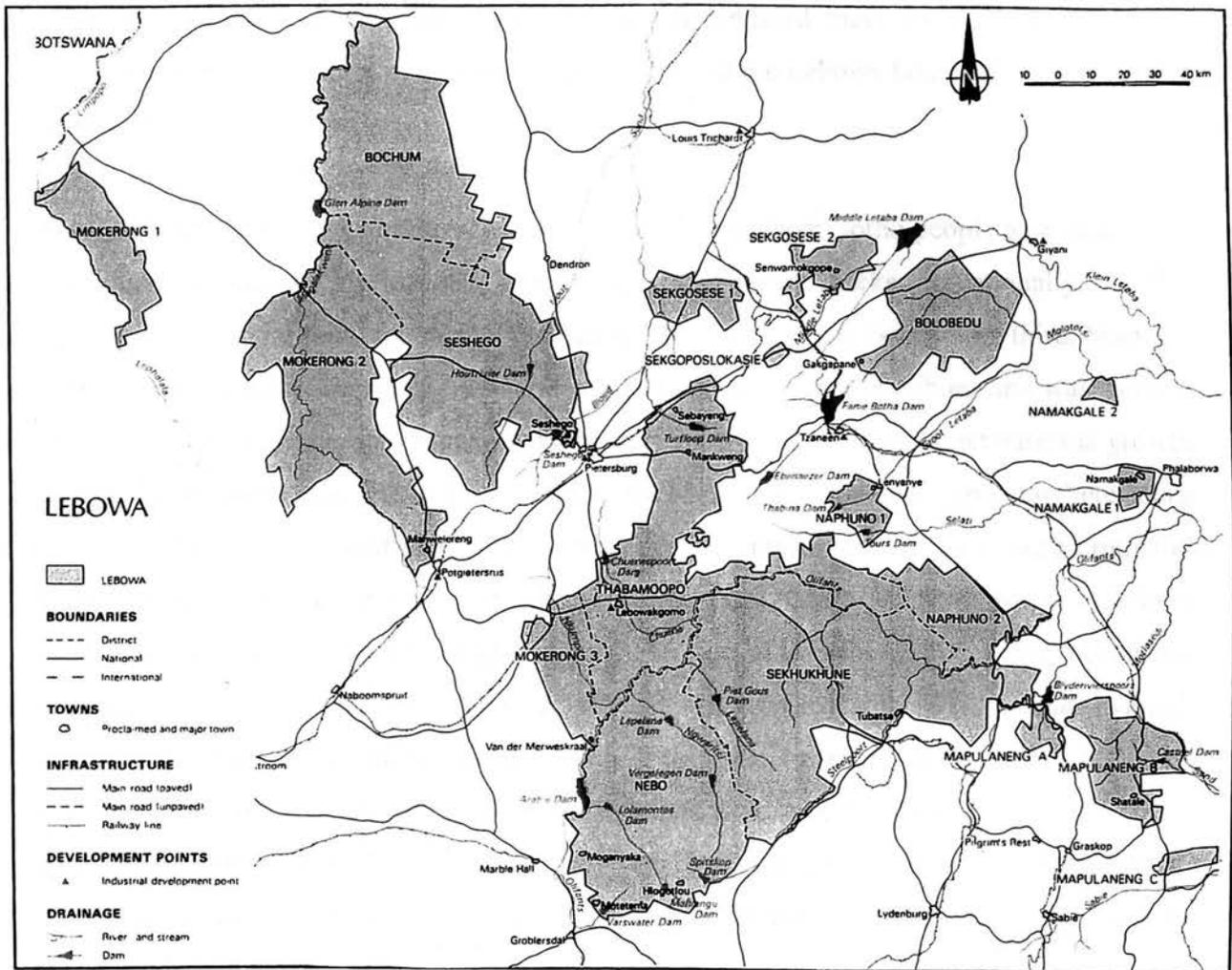


FIGURE 3.8: LEBOWA HOMELAND IN RELATION TO PIETERSBURG (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1990: 91)

The planning of settlements in the former homelands was divided into three categories. One involved agricultural settlements of 20 - 1000 houses in rural areas. A second covered denser settlements where blacks were resettled as family units on one-fifth of a hectare. And a third involved black towns. In Lebowa, the first seven towns were established in 1962. Within the next thirteen years (1962 to 1974) this number increased to seventeen. By 1974 a total of 14 572 houses had been built in the homeland. The level of infrastructure and services varied. However, by the mid-1970s three principal serviced satellite towns had emerged: **Lebowakgomo, Mankweng, and Seshego**. Availability of services and functions such as water (purified dams and boreholes with purification), sewerage flush and other, electricity, refuse removal, telephone services, and bus services differentiated these from all other Lebowa homeland towns. It is noteworthy that the urban focus of the Lebowa homeland would revolve around these three towns.

One, Lebowakgomo, gave political sovereignty to the Northern Sotho people as a capital and administrative centre. The second, Mankweng, empowered blacks educationally, since it became a residential town for staff at the nearby University of the North. The third, Seshego, a homeland township, developed near the white urban centre of Pietersburg and was suitable for permanent residence, for migrant workers crossing the "border", or for labourers at growth points. These three towns primarily accommodated blacks forcefully removed from Pietersburg and other white towns' defended spaces. Infrastructure and housing in them were originally (successfully) financed by the South African Bantu Trust. Later, the Department of Works took over the role of the homeland government. The type of housing provision and regulations (site and service, home loans for the more affluent, and employers' housing schemes) varied, and a substantial number of houses were built in the three towns during their first period of existence (Figure 3.9). Between 1970 and 1980 the number of houses built in Seshego numbered 2308, while 561 new houses were built in Mankweng over this period. Lebowakgomo developed as a new town in the mid-1970s and by 1980 a total of 1250 houses had been built.

Next to these proclaimed towns were numerous tribal villages. Certain problems identified by Cloete (1986: 9) around this so-called informal urbanisation that is relevant to the study area included the following: no provision of essential services and large pieces of farm land used

unproductively. These problems are still evident today. Many tribal chiefs have used their positions to enrich themselves through the power over land allocation vested in their control. Adequate land management of such areas, according to Simon (1993), lies in a policy of privatising communal land.

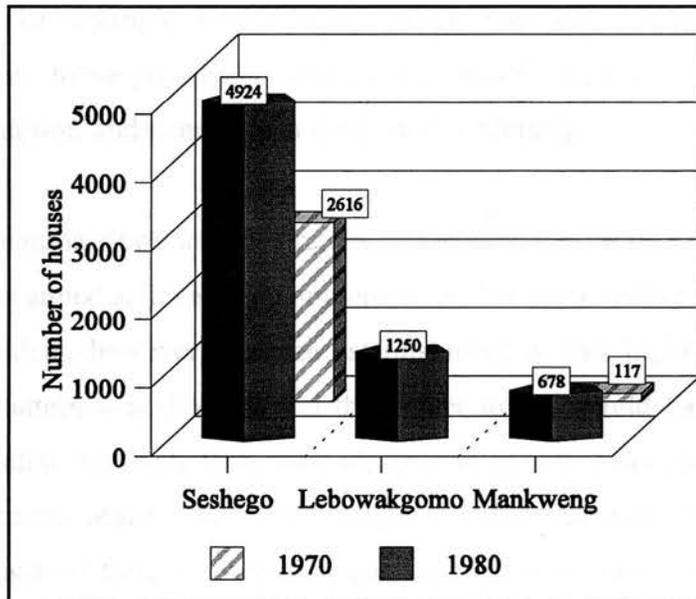


FIGURE 3.9: NUMBER OF HOUSES IN THE THREE PROCLAIMED TOWNS OF FORMER LEBOWA, 1970 AND 1980 (Adapted from Koornhof, 1983)

Commuting to and from work resulted in daily “cross-border” travel because of the Government’s policy of establishing border-townships. Malan and Hattingh (1976) asserted that workers in general could travel up to 120 km in one direction daily before it would adversely affect their productivity. No rail network serviced the three dispersed entities, and so commuters primarily relied on bus transport. This service was initially subsidised from the Bantu Transport Levy Fund in terms of the Bantu Transport Services Act, No. 53 of 1957 as amended in 1972. The artificial urban development process resulted in a dispersed settlement pattern with a dominant core (Pietersburg) attracting commuters from the periphery. “Major” prospective developments in the homelands had been in town planning with capital available for a proliferation of new (or newly-expanded) homeland towns. A threefold urban typology and transport mode emerged from this (Rogerson, 1974). One involved a daily urban system. Apartheid transport planners had envisaged new commuter zones of up to 150 km, in which blacks would commute to white employment areas from their homeland urban residential

(dormitory) towns. A second was a weekly urban system for residents of so-called dumping grounds, closer settlements or third order settlements who commuted up to 800 km per week to work. A third included growth centres from where residents in these towns would work at manufacturing nodes such as in capital cities. Decentralisation, aimed at initiating and enhancing industrial development and deconcentration in homeland or border-homeland towns, failed dismally (see for example Hassenjager, 1992), not only because the basis for development was meant to be politically inclined, but also because of the general lack of initiative and the corruption and nepotism in homeland leadership.

The initial homeland regional development strategy followed in the 1960s and 1970s embraced an urbanisation process aimed at developing numerous smaller places rather than a few growth centres. It became evident, however, that the establishment of this highly fragmented and dispersed settlement pattern was illogical and that fewer towns would have been the ideal (Spies, 1973). This initial approach, then, later changed to growth point and deconcentration point development. Criteria used for the identification of decentralisation points were location, town age, and the length of time for which incentives had been granted (Dewar, Todes & Watson, 1986). Lebowakgomo and Seshego were identified as industrial points. During the 1980s, industrial decentralisation became a prominent feature of these towns, with the clothing and textile industry dominating (Van Straten & Partners, 1988). However, despite the incentives offered, Pietersburg remained the favoured location for establishing industry (see Table 3.3 and Figure 3.10).

TABLE 3.3: APPLICATIONS APPROVED IN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT POINTS AND EXPECTED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES, 1984-87

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT POINT	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87
Seshego	19 (895)	15 (1446)	7 (935)
Lebowakgomo	1 (62)	2 (44)	4 (227)
Pietersburg	43 (1440)	35 (1175)	27 (1004)

Source: Van Straten & Partners (1988: 62)

Note: Figures in brackets are expected employment opportunities

Data available for three periods 1984/85, 1985/86 and 1986/87, shows that industrial development applications approved were always more than double in Pietersburg those in Lebowakgomo and Seshego combined. Over this period (1984-1987) 105 applications were approved in Pietersburg as opposed to 48 in the two homeland towns. The failure to attract industry to Lebowakgomo may be ascribed to the fact that Seshego is located nearer to Pietersburg than is Lebowakgomo. Apartheid architects also expected that most employment opportunities would be created in Pietersburg/Seshego. Industrial Pietersburg drew its labour from its homeland hinterland, so that between 1974 and 1987 the black labour force increased by 4313 workers (see Figure 3.10 A). So too did the number of industries grow from 72 in 1972 to 177 in 1987: 105 new industries developed during these 19 years (Figure 3.10 B). No specification is made however of what industry type was. Initially in the 1970s the number of industries remained constant, perhaps because at that time new industries were also developed in the other two towns (Lebowakgomo and Seshego). But the failures of industry to grow in the homeland towns contributed to a sharp increase of industrial location in Pietersburg during the 1980s.

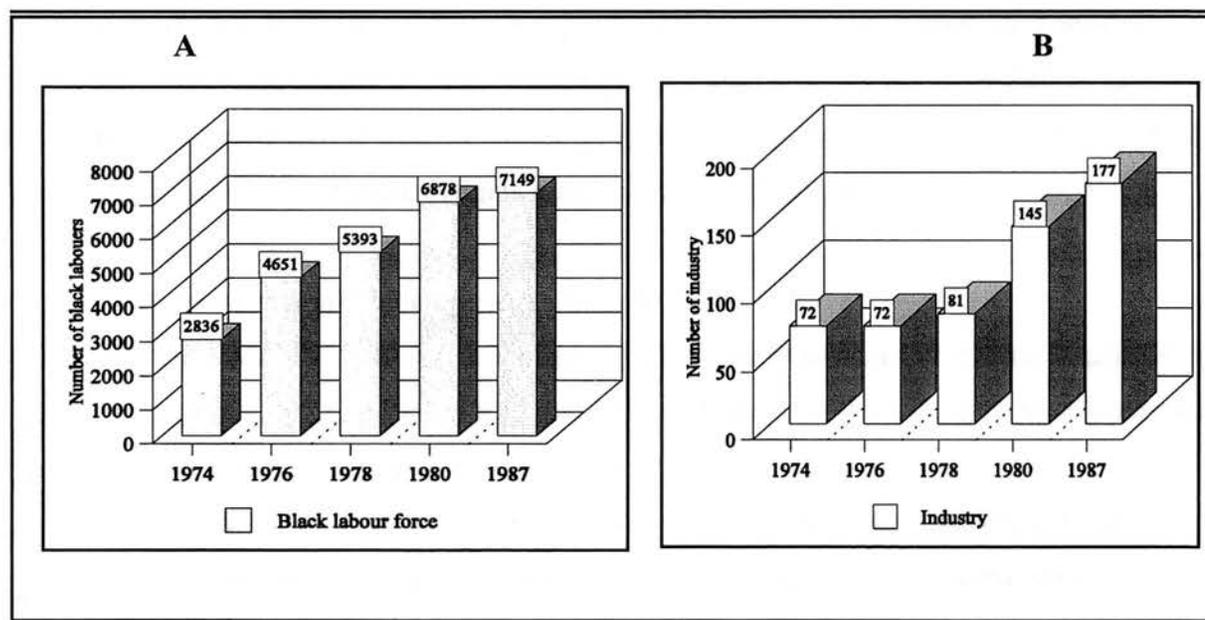


FIGURE 3.10: GROWTH IN BLACK LABOUR FORCE IN INDUSTRY (A) AND THE NUMBER OF INDUSTRIES (B) IN PIETERSBURG, 1974-1987 (Adapted from Van Straten & Partners, 1988)

The failure of regional development policies, with relation to Seshego and Lebowakgomo, can, according to Nel (1994a), be ascribed to six basic reasons. Too many development points led

to the dilution of investment and limited agglomeration. Industrial points were also poorly placed and the high costs involved in setting up industry could not be justified economically. Examples of success could be ascribed to the generosity of incentives and not to industrial economy. Misappropriation of incentives resulted in low multipliers and the essential linkages with Pietersburg that needed to be developed were not created.

The proclaimed towns in Lebowa fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of Home Affairs. They never developed into fully-fledged municipalities nor did they have any significant local government organisational structure in place. Towns had only a superintendent, and no councillors. This inhibited development planning because no efficient, democratic and transparent structure existed at the grassroots level to coordinate the process. Separate Development Committees instituted in 1987 comprised the following: representatives of different government departments, representatives of the Lebowa Development Corporation, two members of a local chamber of commerce, and two members of each local authority in the district. The overriding factor of dependancy dominated the underlying economic dynamic of homeland development within the South African economy. This is manifested in employment in "South Africa". The weak development of commercial sectors in Lebowan towns has been attributed to a massive leakage of purchasing power from Lebowa - in 1984/85 households spent 59% of their budgets outside Lebowa (Van Straten & Partners, 1988).

3.3.2.2 Viewing separate development planning from "above"

Botha and Donaldson (1998) have applied SPOT imagery to identify the stark contrast in urban development between Pietersburg and its surrounding former homeland towns. It is also mentioned by Barrett and Curtis (1992:353) that:

"many of the contemporary problems of cities may be traced to...the reasons for city foundation and growth, and the different histories of city evolution...the ongoing, competitive and conflicting processes of arrangement and rearrangement of land use and functional areas within cities...[and]...the scales, complexities, and patterns of concentrations of intra-urban activities."

The Pietersburg functional area is an excellent representation of all the different aspects of apartheid planning. The main sources of data input were three SPOT multispectral (XS)

images. The SPOT XS data was acquired by the South African Satellite Application Centre (SAC) in October 1996 and February 1997 respectively. Figure 3.11 is a mosaic of three SPOT XS composite images and shows the location of the dispersed areas in relation to Pietersburg. It also serves as an orientation figure for the subsequent land-cover maps for Pietersburg, Seshego, Lebowakgomo and Mankweng (Figure 3.12a and 3.12b). Summer scenes were required because they showed the spectral contrast between vegetated surfaces and cultural surfaces such as buildings. The SAC processed the satellite data to provide radiometric and geometric corrections. Ground resolution of XS images was 20 m by 20 m. The XS images consisted of three spectral bands, namely green (500-590 nm), red (610-680 nm) and near-infrared (790-890 nm) (Sabins, 1997). Previous settlement boundaries were digitised from 1:50 000 topographical map sheets dating between 1980 and 1983. The SPOT images were processed using TNTMips ver 5.x image processing software running on a personal computer. Pre-processing included the geo-referencing of the images, using 1:50 000 topographical map sheet and ground-sourced GPS coordinates. Smaller sub-scenes were extracted from the SPOT images for each of the four settlements. Subsequently, all the images were mosaiced, to produce larger images for each settlement. A two-pronged approach was followed. First, a supervised classification procedure was carried out on the three SPOT images to produce a land-cover map of the urban areas (Figure 3.12a and b). Second, a settlement change map was produced, using 1:50 000 topographical map sheets and false colour composites of the SPOT images (Figure 3.13).

The land-cover map was produced by initially creating a normalised difference vegetation index (NDVI) from the red and near-infrared bands of the SPOT images (Baret & Guyot, 1991). Following that, an unsupervised classification procedure (K-means) was run on the three spectral bands and the NDVI of each SPOT image. The resultant unsupervised classes, in conjunction with ground-truthing exercises, were then used to construct training sites for a maximum likelihood supervised classification algorithm. This classification procedure assumes that the histograms of the spectral bands of an image have a normal distribution. This method examines the training set classes, and assesses the variability in raster values in each input band for each class. Such information allows the process to detect the probability that a given cell in the input raster set belongs to a particular training set class. It computes all the class probabilities for each raster cell, and assigns the cell to the class with the highest

probability value (Lillesand & Kiefer, 1987). The standardised land-cover classification scheme for remote sensing in South Africa proposed by Thompson (1996) was applied. Eight classes were derived that included one Level I class (broad land-cover types) and Level II classes (detailed subclasses) (see Figure 3.12).

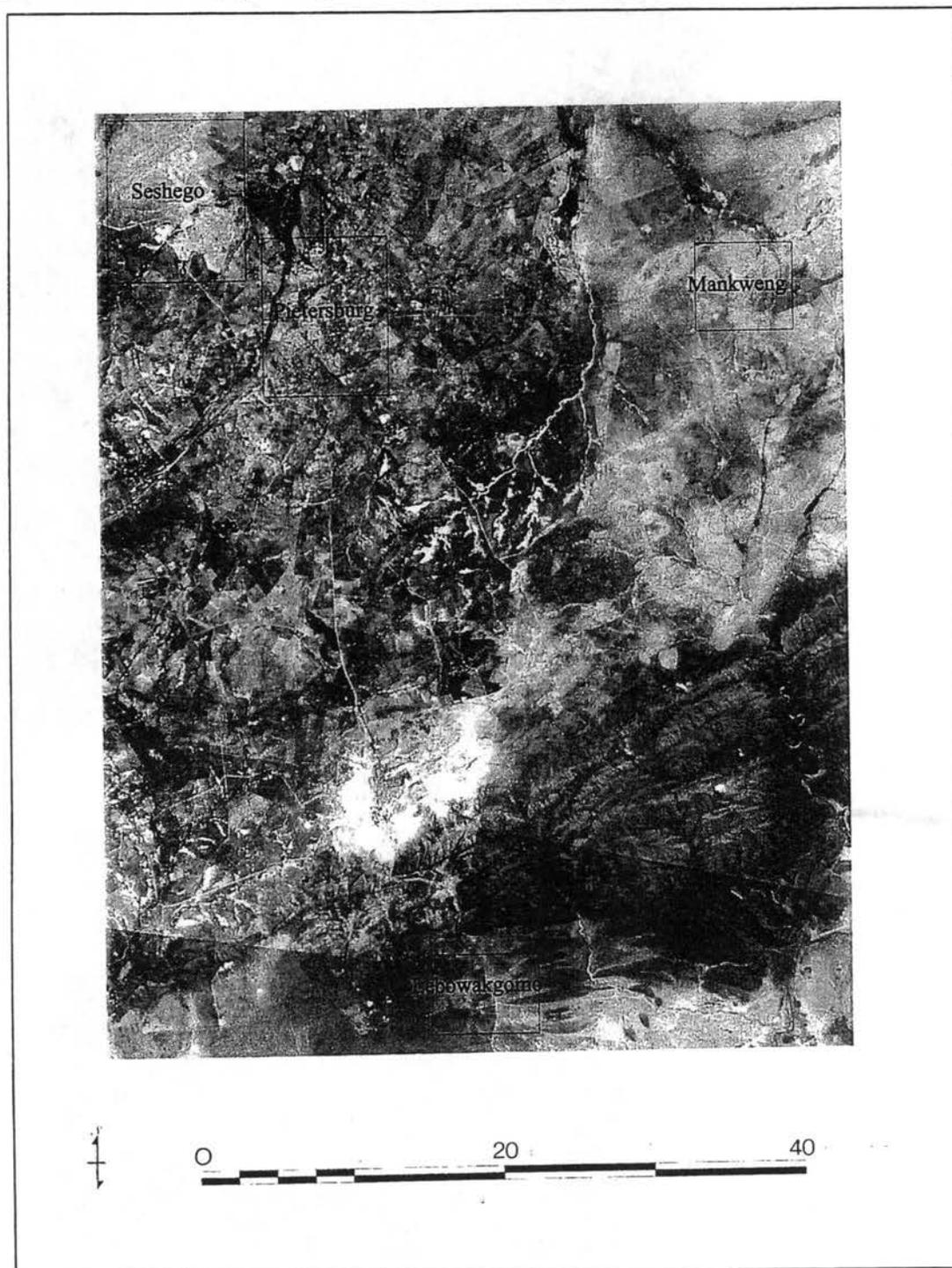


FIGURE 3.11: MOSAIC OF THREE SPOT XS COMPOSITE IMAGES SHOWING THE LOCATION OF PIETERSBURG, SESHEGO, LEBOWAKGOMO AND MANKWENG, 1997

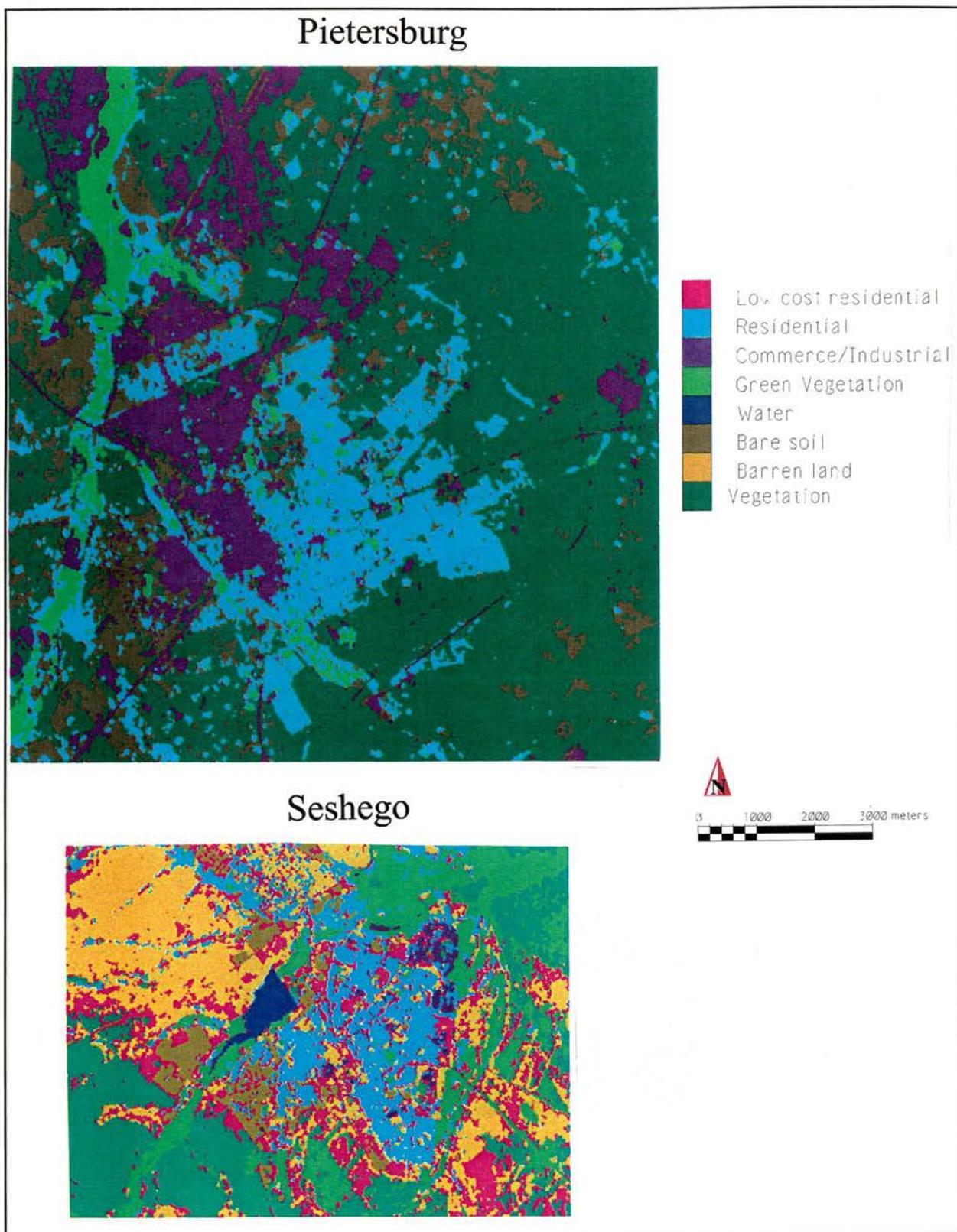
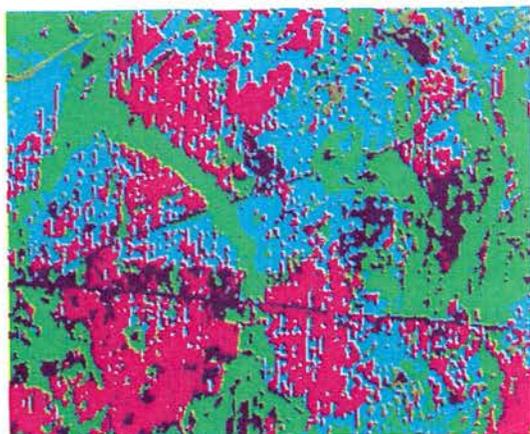


FIGURE 3.12a: LAND-COVER MAPS OF PIETERSBURG AND SESHEGO

Mankweng



-  Low cost residential
-  Residential
-  Commerce/Industrial
-  Green Vegetation
-  Water
-  Bare soil
-  Barren land
-  Vegetation



Lebowakgomo

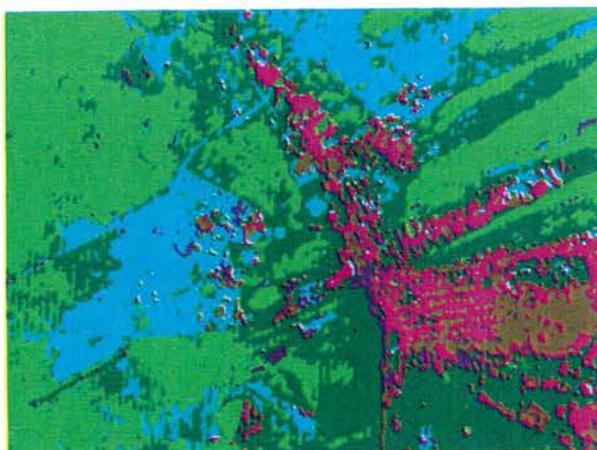


FIGURE 3.12b: LAND-COVER MAPS OF LEBOWAKGOMO AND MANKWENG

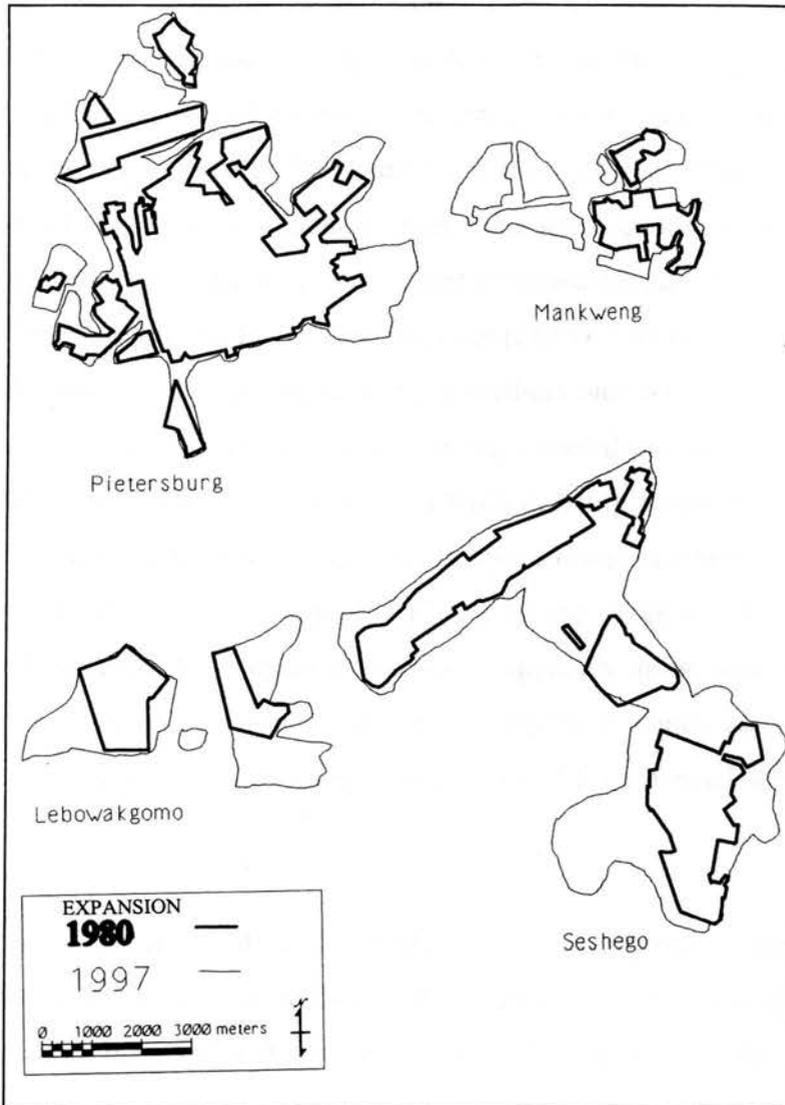


FIGURE 3.13: BUILT-UP AREA EXPANSION BETWEEN 1980 AND 1997

The chief function of the homeland towns was to act as a stepping stone for rural migrants to live legally near Pietersburg. Spatial ordering and outcomes of strict land use regulations applied in Pietersburg are evident in the land-cover supervised classification from SPOT XS (Figure 3.12a) with a typical monofunctional land-use displayed vividly. A clear distinction between residential (blue) and economic land-use (purple), for example, shows monofunctionality of space. On the other hand, in the homeland towns (see land-use classification for Lebowakgomo, Mankweng, Seshego as compared to Pietersburg - Figure 3.12a and b), relaxed or non-existent planning and regulations contributed to officials adopting

a “blind eye approach” to dealing with urbanisation in an orderly fashion. The result is urban sprawl jointly with low-income housing, a lack of infrastructure, fragmentation (spatially and administratively), separation of communities, and environmental degradation. This is evident in the land-cover maps (Figures 3.11a and b), where informal housing (red shading) is not only interspersed with formal residential areas (blue shading), but in all three towns informal housing/squatter dwellings are to a large extent surrounding the formal areas. The absence of this form of dwelling type on the Pietersburg map (Figure 3.11a) is an indication of how well white defended spaces were protected during apartheid and even how orderly urbanisation is managed during transition. The three towns perhaps served (and still serve) as stepping stone for migrants to reside in an informal manner without being harassed by urban managers and to be nearer to Pietersburg where employment opportunities are more available. The lack of formal employment land-use (purple shading) in the three towns is also evident. The environmental impact is most severe in Seshego, especially in the surrounding Perskebul and Blood River area where barren land (yellow shading) is evidently ascribed to environmental degradation. Overgrazing and deforestation (fuelwood for informal settlements) are the two main causes.

As a consequence of uncontrolled urbanisation and lack of proper urban management, urban expansion has occurred most dramatically in the three former homeland towns. The biggest expansion has been observed in Mankweng with a 189% increase of the built-up area between 1983 and 1997. This is attributed to the newly-developed area to the west of the town. The percentage urban expansion for each town was determined through working out the developed urban surface areas in using existing 1: 50 000 topographical map sheets and the false colour composites of the SPOT images (Table 3.4). The percentage increase in the three towns furthermore illustrates the problem of urban sprawl in that all three have expanded more than 100% during the 15 year period. Pietersburg, although bigger in extent, has only grown by 70%. Of this a large proportion of the built-up area is on the north-western side where industries have developed. The other area of expansion - to the east - is where low-middle income residential development have taken place since 1994 to accommodate the influx of black in-movers. Lebowakgomo's expansion is attributed to informal dwelling expansion. These urban expansions are spatially illustrated in Figure 3.13 (there is no specific relationship to the actual locations of the four areas).

TABLE 3.4: ACTUAL AREA AND PERCENTAGE BUILT-UP AREA EXPANSION IN LEBOWAKGOMO, MANKWENG, PIETERSBURG AND SESHEGO BETWEEN 1980 AND 1997

TOWN/CITY	AREA		Actual increase (Ha)	% URBAN EXPANSION
	1980 Ha	1997 Ha		
LEBOWKAGOMO	366.9	804.2	437.3	119%
PIETERSBURG	1737.3	2953.3	1216.0	70%
MANKWENG	251.3	726.9	475.6	189%
SESHEGO	1264.5	2741.1	1476.6	117%

3.3.2.3 New town development of a homeland capital: Lebowakgomo

Part of the South African Government's plan to give black ethnic groups a political territory and a seat of government in a capital city was based on certain criteria: a vacant site, distance from white influence, and potential for economic development (Christopher, 1985). Post-colonial Third World countries have considered various factors in selecting their administrative capitals. These range from indigenous participation in decision-making to regional groupings, and even water supply (Christopher, 1985). A more ideologically focussed consideration entailed a reappraisal of the capitals with their foreign images, but only three African countries followed Brazil and Pakistan in this regard - Malawi, Nigeria and Tanzania (Christopher, 1985: 52). Where the policy of re-planning and developing new capital cities and locations for government originated as a form of emancipation, these countries "sought to epitomise [their] new identity by building monumental administrative centres parallel to those of western nations" (Carter, 1990: 147) exemplified in the planned capitals of Washington D.C. and Canberra. In later years, with the dissipation of this newly-created identity, the centres became mere symbols of oppression and corruption to the detriment of civil society. It is perhaps a paradox that these planned towns have begun to be replaced by "real" new towns, viz, the spontaneous settlements which have sprung up on their peripheries (Ravetz, 1980).

In South Africa, the former homeland and self-governing territories - or bantustans - provide an archetypical example of how a policy of separate development induced a racialist ideology of development aimed at creating a constellation of nation-states. No significant urban centres were present in the homeland reserves when they became separate political entities from South

Africa. However, their development provided for the:

“use of open land, unused land for an entirely new city, a location away from areas of [white] influence, the absence of strong historic ties, centrality in terms of population and territory, and evidence of actual or proposed economic development” (Christopher, 1985: 55-56).

The enormous amount of capital invested in creating an infrastructure for the towns and modern governmental complexes (see Plate 3.5) was falsely perceived as a gesture from the then ruling National Party towards fostering human rights and development in these areas. It was done for the financial benefit of, and enrichment of, ethnic supporters, the so-called leaders of the bantustans. In the Northern Province alone, three capitals emerged as new town homeland developments during the apartheid era - Lebowakgomo (Lebowa), Giyani (Gazankulu), and Thohoyandou (Venda). Building new towns is often seen as the most direct and dramatic form of spatial-deconcentration (Badenhorst, 1993). Apart from a variety of functions performed by new towns there is also the accommodation of a growing population near to major cities or metropolitan areas.



PLATE 3.4: GOVERNMENT COMPLEX OF FORMER LEBOWA IN LEBOWAKGOMO,
1998

The historical development of Lebowakgomo is closely linked to the policy of separate development. A focal point of political and economic interest within the National Party government was to spatially place a capital far enough from the white core, yet reasonably accessible for white bureaucrats to work there, and for labourers from the periphery in turn to migrate on a daily basis, albeit at high financial cost, to work in the core. Lebowakgomo was planned within the framework of a new settlement (new town) with the concomitant features of a rural service centre, in other words providing a direct link between the town itself and the vast area of rural settlements in Lebowa as its dependant rural hinterland. This is a typical example of a core- (Pietersburg) periphery (Lebowakgomo) arrangement, with the latter being a core in its own right by acting as a centre for the periphery (its rural hinterland).

Land ownership in urban areas in Lebowa was controlled in terms of Regulation R293 of 1962 as amended (Regulations for the Administration and Management of Towns in Black Areas). The proclamation consisted of ten chapters that legislated for and controlled most aspects of urban life in homeland towns under the control of the South African Trust. A concise summary is provided below:

- Chapter 1 deals with the application and exclusion of certain acts, the establishment of towns, the ethnic character of the population of a town, and the registration of deeds.
- Chapter 2 deals with the appointment of town managers, the beaconing and alienation of erven, leasing, the maintenance of buildings, boarders and building permits, housing loans, fences, water, vehicles, gambling, excavation, traffic, animals, birth and deaths, contagious diseases, weapons and the payment of tariffs. Chapter 2A deals with leasehold.
- Chapter 3 deals with trading: Aspects such as authorisation to trade, the allocation of trade sites, the leasing of trade sites, hours of business, buildings, equipment, fencing, the keeping of books, sanitation, and the cancellation of lease certificates.
- Chapter 4 deals with sanitation and the cancellation of lease certificates.
- Chapter 8 deals with local government. It provides for the establishment of town councils and deals with wards, elections, officials and council members, the authority of the councils and meetings.
- Chapter 9 dealt with the registration of land titles, 99-year leaseholds and mortgages

registered in a registry established in the office of the Chief Commissioner.

- Chapter 10 is a short chapter concerning the appointment of a regional authority with certain functions (Plan, 1989: 6-7).

No documentation such as reports, archival data, published material and other information on Lebowakgomo could be consulted because these are not available. Nothing has actually been done since the founding of the town to enhance development, proper functioning, and the upliftment of the peripheral poor. Only three sources of information are available for describing the urban landscape of the former homeland capital, *inter alia*, Baloyi *et al.* (1994) and the Lebowakgomo Structure Plan (Plan, 1989, 1991).

After the initial period in its historical development (1975 - 1985), the failure of political ideals that projected self-sustainability and independence was evident. Subsequently, in 1990, the Lebowakgomo Structure Plan was formulated to provide for the spatio-economic development of the town. This structure plan followed on the existing National Development Plan for Lebowa 1983, and the Master Plan for Lebowakgomo 1976, which, in its estimate of 500 000 people living there by the year 2000, seemed very ambitious. Furthermore, although Lebowakgomo had become the homeland's major industrial growth point, and despite its relative accessibility to Pietersburg, the need for expanding the service-orientated sector and industries became necessary. The layout of the town itself was dispersed, with an industrial area in the south, a middle-income residential suburb to the east of the CBD, and the government officials' and Chief Ministers' residential areas to the west of the government complex (Figure 3.14). The spatial form of the town by 1990 did not have the visual impact for which it was planned. The Government complex could not be seen (as was planned) from the two main roads, and the proposed CBD remained undeveloped. The designated CBD area would have been the commercial activities' main focus area (Plan, 1991). The Lebowa Government directly influenced and dominated all developments through legislation, but a few private developments managed to take place up to 1990. This impacted directly and negatively on urban expansion and development in general.

The structure plan proposed that the town exhibit characteristics of a First World city owing to its capital status. This ideal was, however, hampered by financial constraints, lack of private

sector participation, and the socio-economic level of residents. The highly fragmented form of the town was not cost effective for maintaining the infrastructure, and hindered the development of the CBD area. By 1990 only a magistrate's court, police station, government offices and a few retail outlets had developed in the central area, which should have attracted numerous developments according to the original Master Plan. It was estimated that in 1988 Lebowakgomo had 12 300 residents and the surrounding villages 37 700 people (Plan, 1991). Employment figures show that 66% of the town's residents were employed in the public service, with the second highest category being in manufacturing (20%). Spatial distribution according to population income per zone showed that Unit B residents (R 1 775 per month) had the highest average income, followed by Unit A and F (R 1000), with the lowest income area being Unit S (R 808) (refer to Figure 3.14). Thus there was a high income population distribution comprising 6%, a middle income group of 86%, and a low income group of 8% (Plan, 1991). In terms of its socio-economic context, two classes of societal disparities are evident - middle class/elites working as bureaucrats in government and the marginalised and displaced seeking refuge in the informal economy and as commuters to the apartheid core city of Pietersburg as unskilled labour.

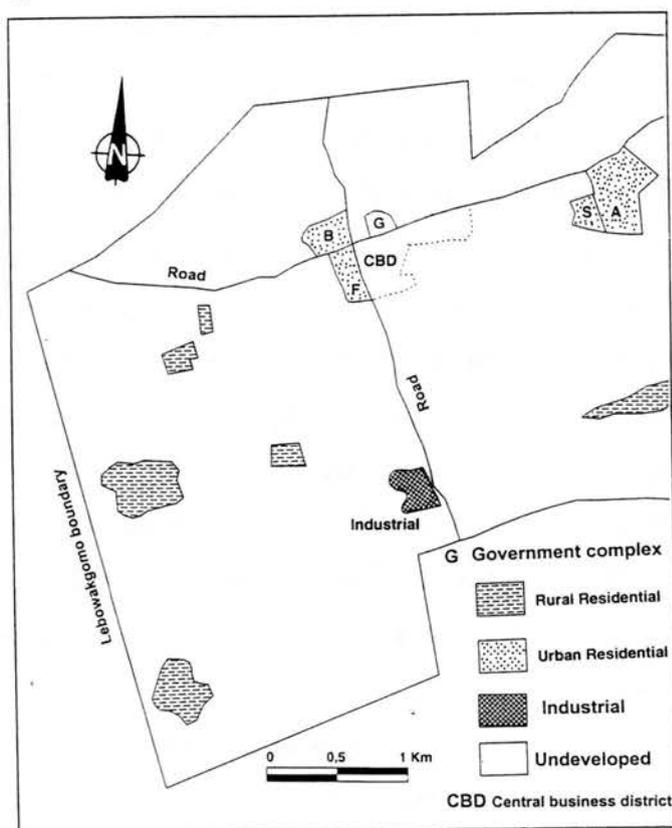


FIGURE 3.14: LEBOWAKGOMO LAYOUT, 1990 (Plan, 1991)

The survey by Baloyi *et al.* (1994) reinforces the notion that instead of becoming a fully-fledged capital and independent growth point, the town remained a satellite of Pietersburg. By the mid-1990s, an estimated 7000 housing units, with a population of 50 000, were in place. The general picture of the town is similar to and typical of other post-colonial African cities. Yet from the well-planned CBD development concept drawn up in 1991 (Plan, 1991) the designated area remained largely undeveloped by 1997. The only exception was the Phasha shopping complex (SCORE) which is currently becoming a typical feature in some black townships. The industrial park is underutilised, and squatters have been invading Units R and S. The majority of residents are still employed away from the town since the only notable employment possibilities there are the Public Service (regional police station, sub-regional Provincial Government, educational institutions) and the informal economy. Administrative authority before the 1995 local government election was vested in the Town Manager and superintendents. Relationships between the Town Council and the Lebowakgomo Civic Association were also problematic since the latter apparently had been allocating and demarcating sites without the knowledge of the Town Manager (Baloyi *et al.*, 1994).

The government machinery and administration of the physical complexes of the former homeland capitals in the Northern Province, however, are in a state of disarray. The general state of administration is unfortunate. Documentation, records, and archival data are virtually impossible to access; staff work irregular hours; and some offices are vacant, dilapidated and filthy. Despite these conditions, the outside appearance is the converse of what is happening inside, with physical spaces and gardens being well kept (source: *in situ* visit, 1997). The restructuring of Provincial Government coincided with the demarcation of the Province into six sub-regions, and the buildings are consequently utilised as sub-regional headquarters for the Southern District. Nevertheless, apart from the original political plans for the government complex, the anticipated multiplier effects of new town development, such as increased urbanisation, urban development, an increased tax base, a better infrastructure, and decentralised growth points, have not materialised.

3.3.2.4 University town of Mankweng

No documentation on the origin of the town could be found in the former homeland archives or the South African Archives. Surprisingly, at the University of the North, to which the town

directly owes its existence, no documentation could be found either - not even in the History or Geography Department. This situation is worrying and directly reflects the failure of the black tertiary institution to involve itself in researching its adjacent community. The only reliable source of information is the report by Van Straten and Partners (1988).

The *de facto* population of the Mankweng district shows that for the two proclaimed towns within the district, Mankweng and Sebayeng, the population figures were 7256 and 8544 respectively in 1970 and 1986. Mankweng district then (1986) had a population density of 163 persons/square km. The *de facto* population for Mankweng district in 1970 was 52 396 and increased by 3% to 88 988 in 1980. Five years later the total was 104 310. The *de facto* population excludes migrants away on contract (Van Straten & Partners, 1988: 32).

Transfrontier commuting to Pietersburg increased between 1976 and 1985 from 5% to 6% with 40 % of the commuters coming from the Mankweng District. It was estimated that between 1 100 - 1 200 migrant workers from the Mankweng District were employed in PWV in the 1980s (Van Straten & Partners, 1988). The Mankweng town area comprises three zones (Figure 3.15). Zone A, adjacent to the University of the North, which developed first in the 1960s; Zone B (locally known as Toronto after the many resident academics who studied in Canada) which developed in the 1980s; and Zone C, which developed in the 1990s, first as a site-and-service area that remained uninhabited until the mid-1990s when the zone experienced a dramatic expansion of housing, both formal and informal (Plate 3.6).

Positive developmental factors for the town identified by Van Straten and Partners (1988) include its proximity to Pietersburg and the fact that the Pietersburg-Tzaneen main arterial road passes next to it. This road also serves as a primary collector for other tertiary roads. Basic infrastructure services such as water, sewerage, and roads are well developed, except in two informal settlements that have developed since the mid-1990s. The University, a hospital, and the potential of the Mankweng Dam as a tourist spot are among the town's few attributes. If the nearby proclaimed residential town, Sebayeng, could be amalgamated with Mankweng, then it would foster greater urban development of the area. Sebayeng is located a mere 16 kms from Mankweng.

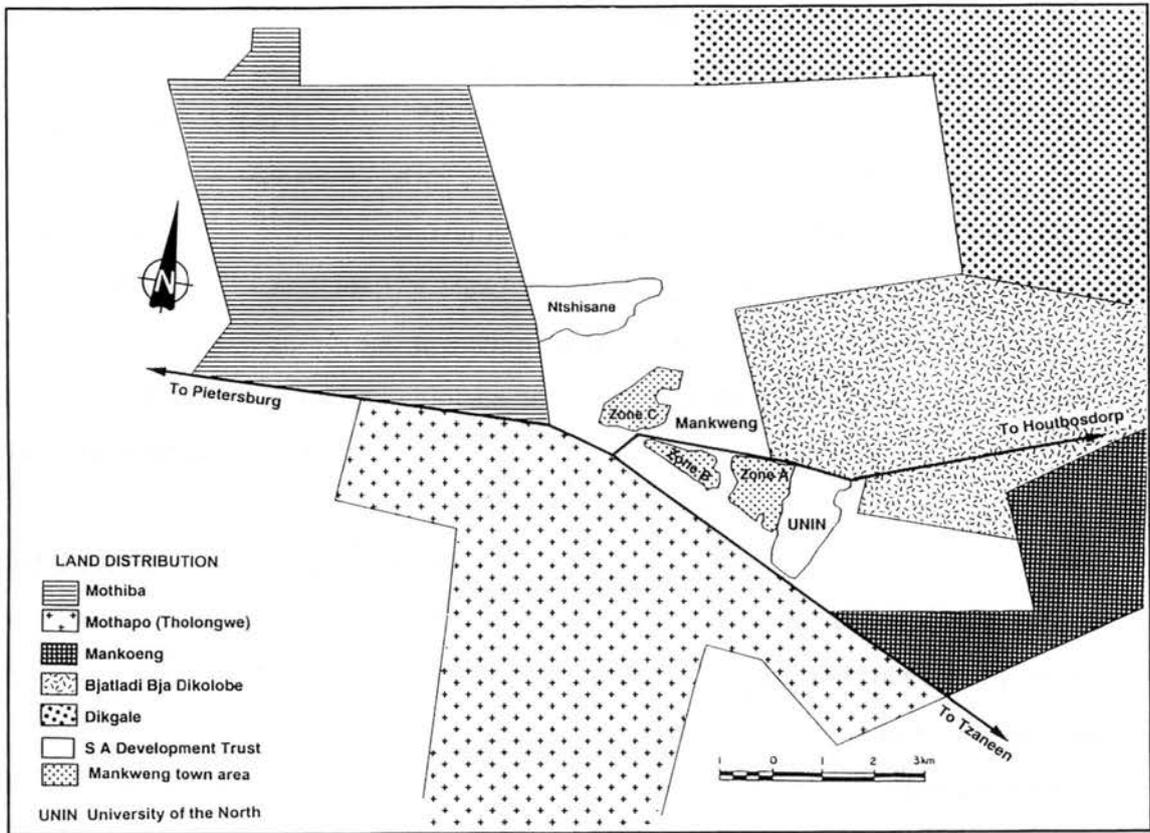


FIGURE 3.15: MANKWENG TOWN AREA IN RELATION TO MANKWENG DISTRICT

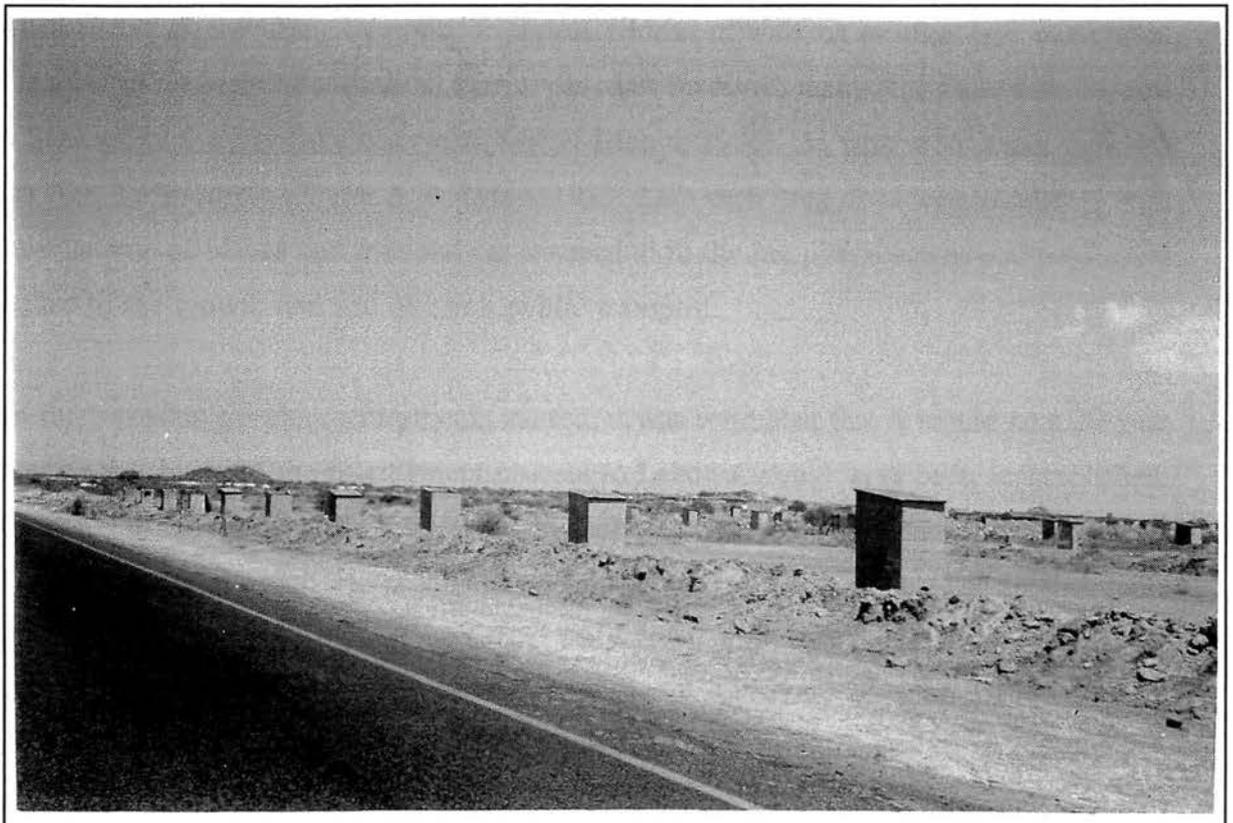


PLATE 3.5: SITE-AND-SERVICE DEVELOPMENT IN ZONE C, MANKWENG 1993

3.3.2.5 Development of the homeland border township of Seshego

The Lebowa Government proclaimed regulations for the administration and control of townships in Bantu Areas in 1962. The Deputy Minister for Bantu Administration declared on 11 December 1964 that seven farms (or portions of them) in the Pietersburg district were to be selected for the purpose of establishing a black township called Moletsie. The name soon changed to Seshego (named after a Head of the Moletji tribe). The township originally developed as a homeland-border township within the Seshego district of Lebowa to accommodate blacks who had to relocate there from New Pietersburg and Pietersburg's Rouxville location during the 1960s and 1970s.

3.3.2.5.1 Forced removals and relocation

Separated by a buffer zone of agricultural land and land formerly occupied by mixed racial groups (New Pietersburg), Seshego is located approximately 13 km northwest of Pietersburg's CBD. The location of this dormitory township was strategically determined for various reasons. First it was to act as a dormitory for workers in Pietersburg and secondly because the Seshego industrial growth point was accessible to the national road network (N1) and railway. Relocation created a need to implement a commuting system for those displaced blacks who now had to rely on travelling by public transport, instead of walking as often happened when they resided in Pietersburg's location. Due to the costs involved, many still walked and cycled from Seshego to the city (interview with Mr NI Dlomu, 1996). As with other cases in South Africa (see, for example Olivier & Booysen, 1983: 127) such long distances, combined with the low income of blacks and minimal car ownership in the peripheral towns and residential areas, led to the growth and use of black public transport.

When the township development process started, it was estimated that it would be a 20-year process so that by 1981 the resettlement process to Lebowa would have been accomplished. The removal of blacks from the Pietersburg township's where they were residing - Rouxville and New Pietersburg, which was proclaimed a white area on 13 June 1969 - was the inevitable result of the grand apartheid ideology (PBA: 85/Vol. 2). On completion of the process, the Council planned to develop the former black residential spaces as an industrial town which would have functioned as an additional buffer zone between the city and Seshego. This never materialised because New Pietersburg was under the jurisdiction of the Development Board

and although the Department of Community Development purchased the land it was not released to the Local Authority until the 1990s. The specific process involved in relocating residents from the townships necessitated applying certain criteria:

“(a) Deur van een kant af te begin en alle huiseienaars met loseerdersgesinne wat by hulle inwoon te hervestig nadat hulle eiendomme waardeer is en vergoeding aan hulle betaal is ooreenkomstig die bepalings.... Die huise moet na ontruiming onmiddelik plat geslaan word indien ’n ander nie-blanke rassegroep nie daar gevestig gaan word nie.

(b) Die enkelopende Bantoes kan soos volg hervestig word:

(i) Vroulikes: By hulle families in Moletsi Bantodorp of as loseerders.

(ii) Manlikes: ...wat nie getroud is nie, sal in wonings in Moletsi gehuisves word en sodanige huise sal voorlopig as hostel dien” (PBA: 85/Vol. 1).

The township was laid out for the development of 12 000 sites within eight zones.³ Within the Greater Seshego magisterial area, which included Blood River and Perskebult (both then classified as agricultural settlements), three types of land ownership were present (Figure 3.16):

- Tribal farms (Blood River).
- South African Development Trust Land (Perskebult had been developed as such where the land is kept in trust for the tribe by the SADT).
- A proclaimed town area of Seshego (Plankonsult, 1984).

A total of 700 families and 540 single persons had been relocated to Moletsi (Seshego) by March 1966. The effect thereof on the population totals for blacks is evident from Table 3.6. The impact of Group Areas legislation on black population figures for Pietersburg showed a drastic decrease from 1970 (41% of urban population) to 2% in 1990 (presumably domestic servants and hostel residents in town) in 1990. Coloured and Indian percentages remained constant because the two group areas were located within the boundary of Pietersburg.

³ Residential zones : (zone A,B,C,D1,D2); Industrial zone: F; Proposed CBD: zone G.

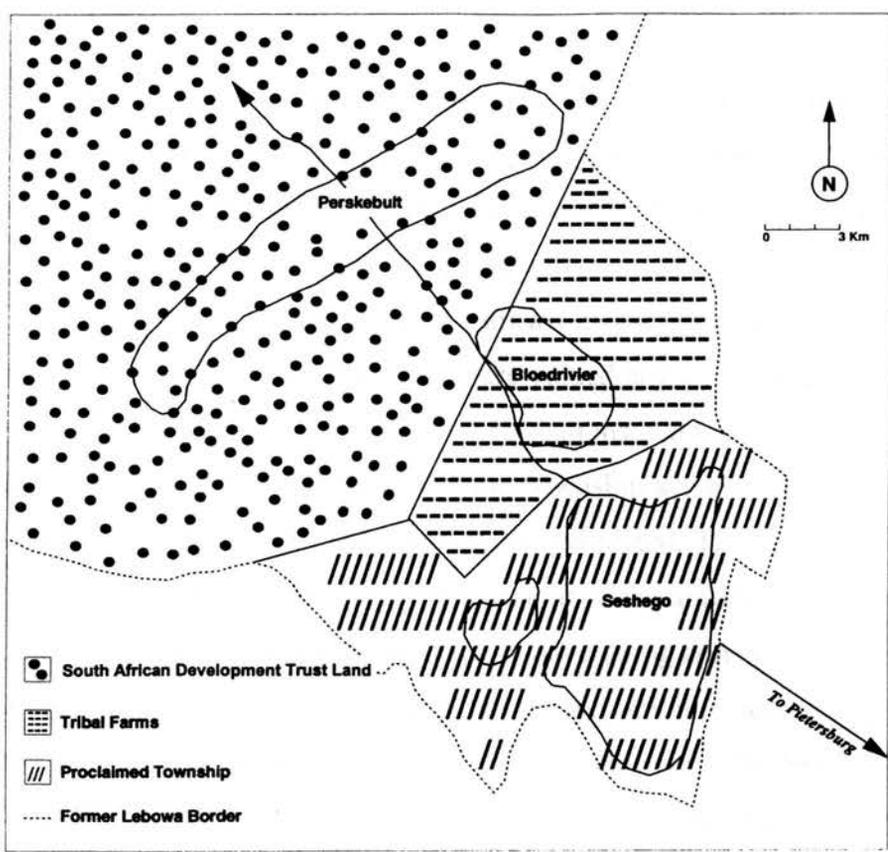


FIGURE 3.16: LAND CATEGORIES IN GREATER SESHEGO, 1990

TABLE 3.6: POPULATION TOTALS AND PERCENTAGES ACCORDING TO RACIAL GROUPS FOR PIETERSBURG

POPULATION CENSUS, 1956-1990					
YEAR	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK	TOTAL
1956	7 715 (38.7)	225 (1.1)	738 (3.6)	11 790 (57.6)	20 468
1960	10 746 (38.6)	378 (1.4)	904 (3.2)	15 807 (56.8)	27 835
1970	13 805 (52.5)	861 (3.3)	811 (3.1)	10 796 (41.1)	26 273
1980	20 542 (74.4)	1 738 (6.3)	1 282 (4.6)	4 061 (14.7)	27 623
1985	30 000 (86.3)	2 200 (6.3)	1 800 (5.2)	750 (2.2)	34 750
1990	36 000 (86.3)	3 000 (7.2)	2 000 (4.8)	700 (1.7)	41 700

Sources: Compiled from PBA (23/2/Vol. 1 & Vol. 2 - Census and statistics, population); Mayors' Report (1984-1992)

Note: Percentage in brackets

The townscape typically resembled other township developments in South Africa with a large number of houses and few amenities - a typical dormitory township. Architectural design, layout and house size (“matchbox houses”) reflected a homogenous pattern (see Plate 3.7). According to Parnell (1996: 52) the “rows of uniform square units designed 51/6 and 51/9 houses following the numbers of the plans drawn in 1951, exemplify modernist controls of urban development”. The first 498 houses were valued at R13 657 (outside buildings: R745), and cost in total R14 402. By 1968, 13 000 relocations had taken place and a further 19 500 people had still to be relocated. In 1969 the township’s name changed from Moletsie to Seshego. Within three years 2 150 houses were completed. The city saw the location of the township as a benefit to Pietersburg because it was conveniently situated outside the jurisdiction of the town. Expenditure incurred in developing non-white areas was also not their responsibility anymore. The number of labourers available and the potential industrial development between the two areas were seen as further benefits (PBA: 85/Vol. 1 - Moletsie Bantu Township). Rouxville township was transferred to the Northern Transvaal Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) in 1974 (within Act 45 of 1971) (PBA: 84/9/4/ Vol. 3). This move should have removed the burden from the Council to relocate the blacks. The Town Council, however, resolved that the Rouxville and New Pietersburg townships’ lands must be transferred back to them after the BAAB had moved all residents and demolished all houses. The Town Council also had to develop a new bus terminal, clinic, and restaurant on the land.



PLATE 3.6: AERIAL PHOTO SHOWING MATCHBOX-STYLE HOUSES IN SESHEGO, 1970s (State Archives: Pretoria - date and job number unknown)

Relocation of the township was completed in 1984. It was officially abolished in terms of section 37(2) of the Black Communities Development Act, 1984 (Act 4 of 1984) on 22 August 1986 (*Government Gazette*, 22 August 1986, No. 1740: 10391) and de-proclaimed as a white group area. Grand apartheid structures and micro-level apartheid arrangements thus worked together in the process of establishing a segregated society.

In Seshego by 1983 there were 5 631 stands in Zones A, B, and C, of which 91% were inhabited. The stands varied in area from 360 to 375 square metres. In Perskebult, 1 715 of the 1 847 stands, and in Blood River 693 of 749, were inhabited (Plankonsult, 1984). Stand sizes in the latter two areas varied from 2 000 to 3 600 square metres. Businesses were restricted to shops, cafès, and general dealers. Twenty-four educational institutions (primary to tertiary) existed. The Zone F industrial area comprised 62 ha of which 46 ha were unoccupied and undeveloped. One hostel, to accommodate 2 400 single workers, was insufficient. Seen as a first-order settlement, Seshego, adjoined by Perskebult/Vaalwater, is functionally seen as part of the urban complex. Approximately 8% and 40% of stands in Blood River and Perskebult respectively were being used for agricultural purposes (Plankonsult, 1984). This was contrary to the main aim of developing the rural areas surrounding Seshego.

As was the case in Lebowakgomo, most employment opportunities were still located in Pietersburg. Employment according to race in the industrial complexes of Pietersburg-Seshego indicated that more blacks (7022) were employed in industry in the city than in Seshego (Table 3.6).

TABLE 3.6: INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT FIGURES ACCORDING TO POPULATION GROUPS IN PIETERSBURG, 1983

POPULATION GROUP	PIETERSBURG	SESHEGO
White	1 500	68
Coloured & Indian	150	4
Black	7 000	1 556
TOTAL	8 650	1 628

Source: Plankonsult, 1984: 99

The preference for locating industries in Pietersburg as opposed to Seshego mirrored the situation in Lebowakgomo. For example, new industries approved at the industrial development points in Pietersburg and Seshego in 1984/85 were 43 and 19 respectively, whereas in 1983/84 it was 31 and 28, and in 1982/83, in both areas, 20. It was, however, estimated that 8 208 job opportunities were created through these developments.

The population of the Seshego District increased from 12 593 in 1904 to 206 940 in 1980. The physical development of Seshego started in 1961, but the town was only proclaimed in 1964. Hence the Central Statistical Services only made reference to an urban population in the 1970 census. The population grew substantially between 1970 (18 419) and 1980 (28 800). This represents an annual growth rate of 5% for the period 1969-1983 (Plankonsult, 1984). In 1983 most Seshego residents were employed in Pietersburg (55%), followed by Seshego (28%), PWV (5%), and other areas making up 12%. Being the major employment node in the then Northern Transvaal, and being outside the boundaries of apartheid South Africa, Seshego's rapidly increasing ruralites contributed to the development of squatter and informal settlements surrounding the township. It was estimated that by 1982 there were 52 000 residents in Seshego, and this number had increased to approximately 150 000 by 1994 (Baloyi *et al.*, 1994). The lack of principled management and urban governance resulted in the town resembling a typical Third World city. The general state of the township in the 1990s typifies other black marginalised areas. Few business services have developed to their full potential, though home-based businesses and the informal economy in general have expanded to constitute a major source of employment. Although it has been politically and physically separated from Pietersburg, the township has always been part and parcel of the Pietersburg/Seshego urban complex.

3.3.2.5.2 The hostel issue

In 1976 the Bantu Affairs Administration Board responded to a request from the Town Council for land on which to build single hostels in the white area of Pietersburg. The rationale for this stemmed from the fact that the Town Council donated R100 000 for the erection of hostels in Seshego, and that the majority of those residents did not work in Pietersburg (70%), but in the industrial border area, and thus in their "own" homeland. Figures for 1976 substantiate this in that only 1875 of the 14 476 black males registered in Pietersburg

were resident in Seshego (PBA: 85/Vol. 4). The Town Clerk therefore requested that the Town Council be given jurisdiction over the hostels so that if “die witman beheer het kan die werker nooit tot hierdie mate bēinvloed word nie” (PBA: 85/Vol. 4). At that time, the township fell under the Lebowa homeland jurisdiction. Overcrowding and the refusal of the Lebowa Government to persist with single sex hostels forced employers to erect temporary dwellings to accommodate their workers. In 1976 the Bantu Affairs Administration Board informed the Town Council that they were against the idea of building hostels within the white group area zones and stipulated that a farm, Middelpunt 676 LS, be purchased for this purpose. The reason for this choice was that it bordered on the homeland and that it enhanced the functionality of the buffer area in that the bypass would serve as an additional barrier. However, a most important factor was probably that blacks were totally concentrated there and separated from white areas (PBA: 85/Vol. 4). This matter remained unresolved until 1984 when the Development Board Northern Transvaal stipulated that single hostels be built in white areas under the newly-formulated 99-year lease-hold system.

The BAAB recommended that the old township area (Rouxville), which had by now been identified by the Council as an industrial town area, be developed for this purpose. In response the Town Clerk reported that “Dit sou tog jammer wees as swartes weer in die munisipale gebied geakkommodeer moet word” (PBA: 85/Vol. 5). Later (in 1987) the Council recommended that four street blocks in New Pietersburg be developed for single black male accommodation (PBA: 84/9/4/Vol. 4 -Rouxville Location). The development of hostels was justified by the fact that Pietersburg was identified as a border industrial area and growth point by the South African Government. An amount of R100 000 was donated for the building of hostels to which an estimated 2 500 single males would relocate. By then, numerous firms’ workers were said to be staying in Rouxville. The Council, however, decided to supply the site with basic services and to insist that the employers must build, according to their criteria, hostels for their workers. Nevertheless, in 1988 the Cabinet of Lebowa Government decided to erect temporary structures to house single males. All employers who housed workers in Rouxville were informed on 22 March 1988 that if their workers had not vacated the hostels by 30 March they would be evicted, because all structures were to be demolished on 31 March 1988 (PBA: 84/9/4/Vol. 5). The Local Authority sensed that the apartheid city was to be

modernised (see Simon, 1989) and their interest in hostel development can be seen as an attempt to change with the so-called reform initiatives of the then government.

3.3.2.5.3 Relocation from New Pietersburg

In 1973 it was reported that 8 246 blacks were residing in the Rouxville township and that an estimated 6 500 were still residing in New Pietersburg (PBA: 85/3). Black residents who owned businesses in the urban area of Pietersburg’s two townships - New Pietersburg and Rouxville - were also to be given preference in the awarding of premises if they moved to Seshego. It was, however, stipulated by the Bantu Commissioner that it was not their policy to allow “‘n aantal armoedige besighede...en geen versekering aan die Bantoe gegee dat elke Bantoe-handelaar in die Munisipale Bantoe-woonbuurt weer in die Bantoe-dorp as ‘n handelaar hervestig sal word nie” (PBA: 85/Vol. 1). But, in 1971 fear among white businesses surfaced with the continual opening up of black businesses in what was called the black homeland regional town of Seshego.

Planning for inclusion of New Pietersburg as a white group area emerged in 1967. At that time the area was racially mixed in terms of property ownership. Most of the stands, however, belonged to the Town Council, and people either rented them or left them undeveloped (Figure 3.17).

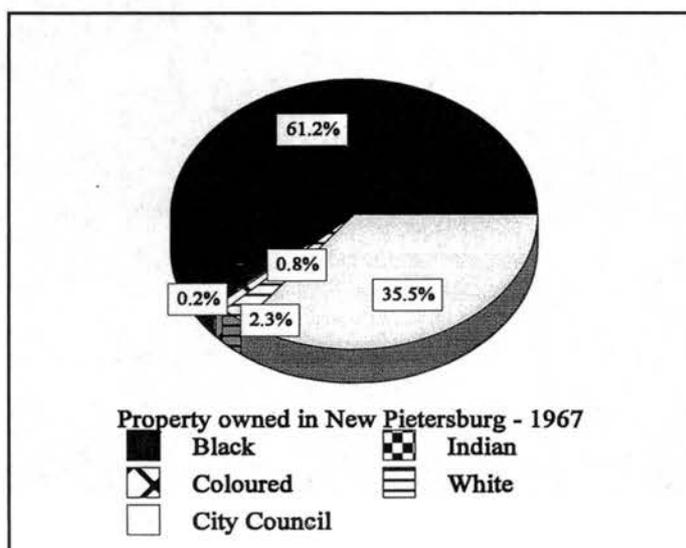


FIGURE 3. 17: PROPERTY OWNED IN NEW PIETERSBURG, 1967 (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 16)

By then (1983), the Town Council had begun to contemplate what to do with the area. It was reasoned that it would be ideal for industrial development. The Department of Community Development owned 99% of the property in July 1983. The Department of Local Government, Housing and Works, which by 1987 had taken over the functions of the community board, sold all the stands owned by them to the Pietersburg Town Council for R 371 450 (PBA: 84/11/Vol.13). Yet in July 1988 there were still 52 residents in New Pietersburg, and in 1992 30 families were living there (PBA: 84/11/Vol. 15). Spatial development outcomes of apartheid planning are shown on the two aerial photographs of the city during the 1960s and 1970s (Plate 3.8a and b). The position and extent of the black residential areas (Rouxville and New Pietersburg) during the apartheid era indicates the ideology of separate residential development during the 1960s. The development of the two other racial group areas (Nirvana and Westenburg) is shown on the latter photo taken during the 1970s (Plate 3.8b).

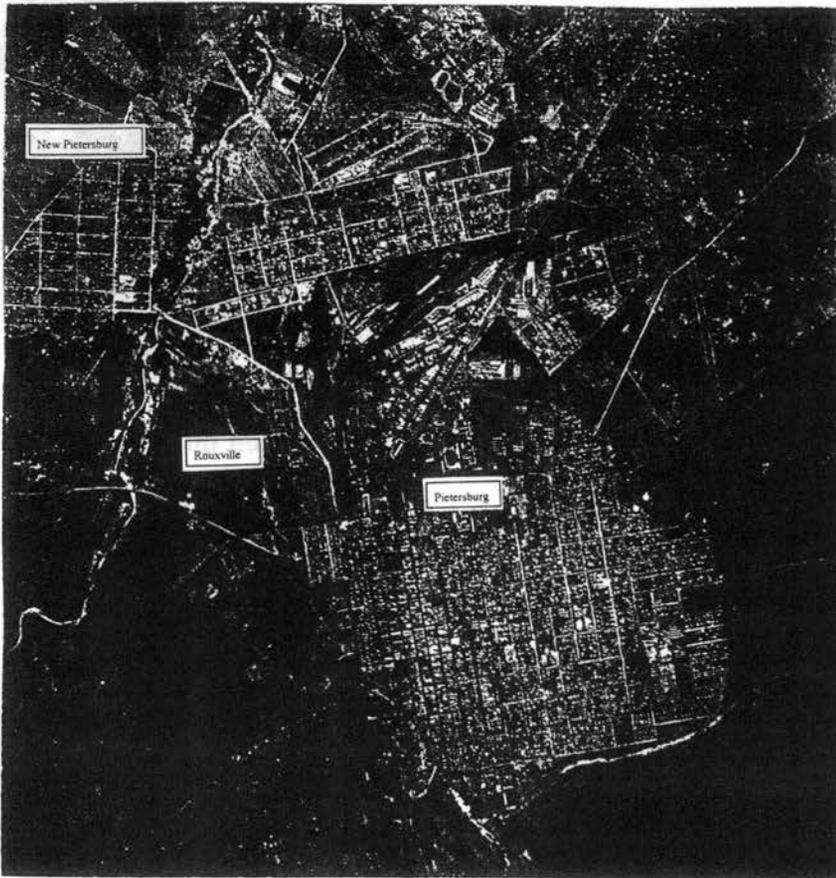


PLATE 3.7a: PIETERSBURG, 1970 (Chief Directorate, Surveys and Mapping: Cape Town)

Note: Aerial photograph job number 651, strip 4, number 4379. Date: 30/5/1970

Scale: 1: 50 000

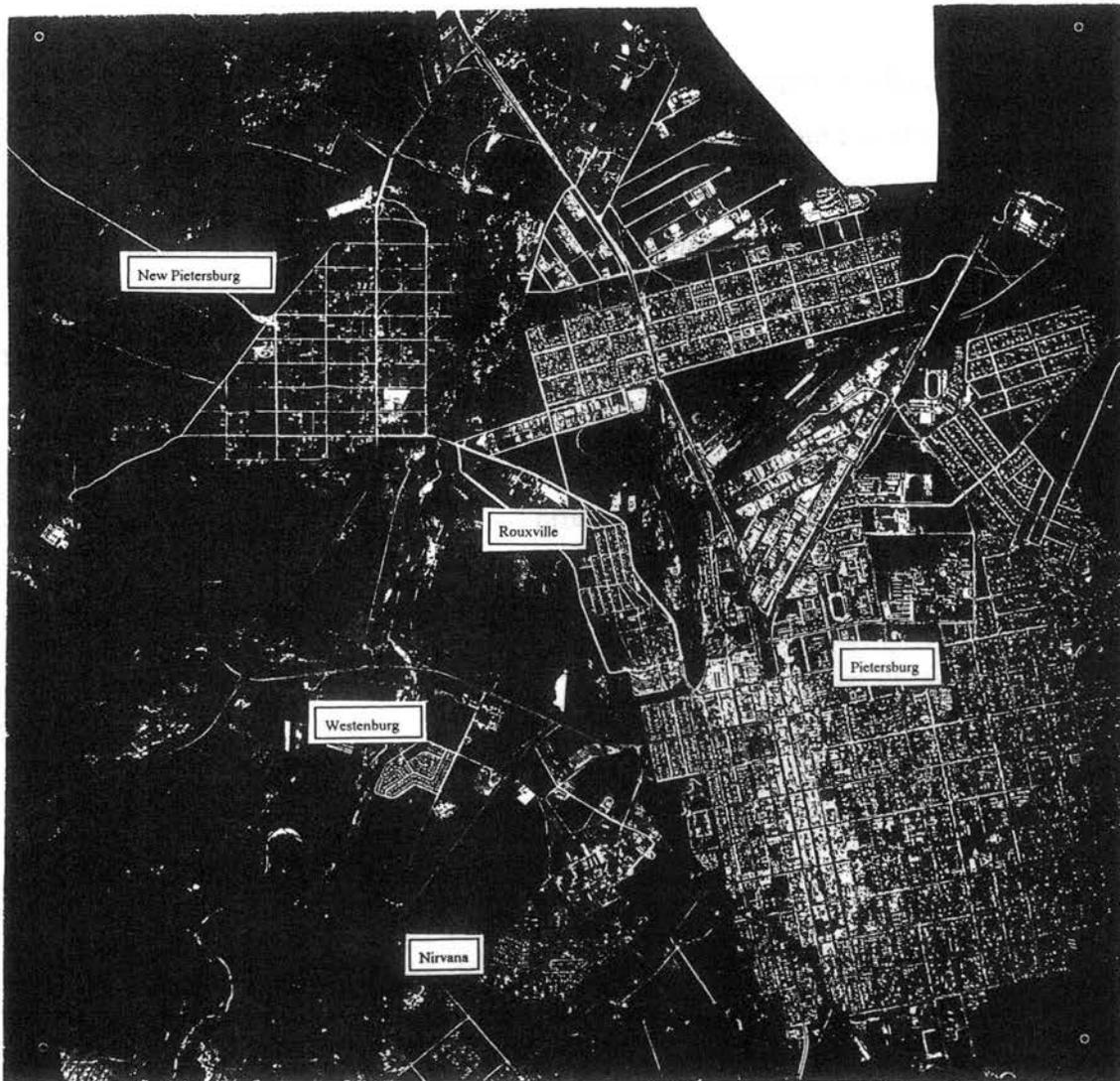


PLATE 3.7b: PIETERSBURG, 1980 (Chief Directorate, Surveys and Mapping: Cape Town)

Note: Aerial photograph job number 9626, strip 4, number 835. Date: 22/4/1980

Scale: 1: 30 000

The spatial outcomes of social engineering during the apartheid city era (as seen in the aerial photographs) are proof that the city of Pietersburg succeeded in its aims of creating an ideal apartheid city. Conservative politics however persisted for some time even amidst broader national changes taking place during the so-called modernised apartheid city period.

3.4 MODERNISED APARTHEID CITY

By the mid-1980s Pietersburg had been transformed into an ideal apartheid city in terms of form (refer to Figure 3.7) and function. However, the reformist plans of the National Party's new leader, P.W. Botha, brought about a new dimension to the apartheid city. A so-called

“modernised apartheid city” came into being with the first signs of change and reform under the authoritarian rule of P.W. Botha. This change emanated from the Tri-cameral constitution that for the first time made provision for Indian and coloured representation in parliament. However, this seemed to be only an illusion and a continuation of racist structures operating nationally and locally. The main spatial changes during the modernised apartheid city period included the following: desegregation of certain public amenities; open residential areas, the so-called “grey areas” in certain proclaimed areas (Rule, 1989); residential socio-economic differentiation within nonwhite group areas; and the scrapping of influx control (the acceptance of black urbanisation) (Simon, 1989). Throughout the development period of Pietersburg between 1911-1985, its population grew, annually, more than the average for South Africa (see Figure 3.18). Two peak periods are observed in 1946 and 1960 when the city’s population grew at a rate of 4.14% and 3.97%.

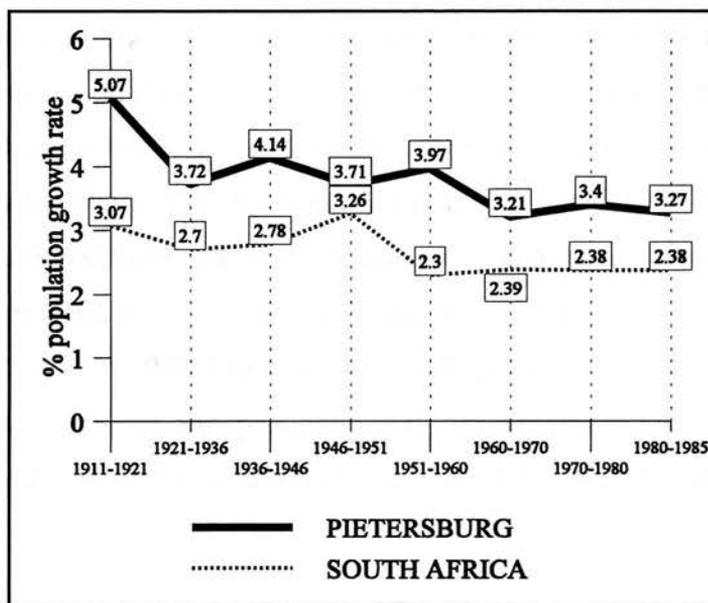


FIGURE 3.18: ANNUAL PERCENTAGE POPULATION GROWTH FOR ALL RACIAL GROUPS IN PIETERSBURG IN COMPARISON TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AVERAGE, 1911-1985 (De Villiers & Partners, 1989: 31)

These respectively account for 1.4% and 1.7% annual increases, more than the national average. Again the effect of forced removals and homeland development is evident in the decline in population growth rate from 1960 onwards. The annual growth rates for the city henceforth remained below 3.4%.

During the modernisation period, Pietersburg Town Council had its Structure Plan (1989-2010) formulated. This acted as a follow-up to their Master Plan of 1974. The Structure Plan, completed in 1989, appears to have been a futile exercise. The dramatic spatio-political events occurring after 1990 forced the Town Council to go into a period of hibernation, with plans to restructure urban development and planning only surfacing towards the end of the decade when, in 1997, it was announced that a new integrated development strategy would be created (see Chapter Eight). The Structure Plan nevertheless highlighted the need for a planning document for the city, and serves as a useful source of information on all aspects of the city before the period of transition, and as a tool for evaluating the situation ten years after apartheid. The Structure Plan excluded Seshego in its aims, and this exclusion has affected coherent planning during transition in the 1990s, especially after the transformation from racial domination. During the modernisation period the only evidence of expanding the city's territorial base was the identification of areas for amalgamating approximately 900 small-holdings surrounding the town. The numerous areas recommended for incorporation would have had positive impacts on Pietersburg, such as: more electoral wards, effective control over building plans, an expanded tax base, and a rural character which would compliment the city (De Villiers & Partners, 1989). The city in general functioned during the modernisation period as it did during the apartheid city era. A rigid segregation process of public and private spaces persisted, no grey residential areas developed, and free trading areas existed only on paper. With the resignation of P.W. Botha in 1989, the modernised apartheid city was to experience radical changes that produced the post-apartheid contemporary South African city. The development phases of the South African city thus depict different degrees of separation and integration.

3.5 POST-APARTHEID SECONDARY CITY IN TRANSITION

The remaining chapters of the study reflect on four aspects of the post-apartheid city in transition and restructuring, namely, spatial, economic, governmental and residential. Section 3.5 will therefore provide background information and empirical data for placing the transition period within the context of the city's contemporary post-apartheid status. Transformation of the apartheid city reached completion in early 1990 when the process was redefined as a period of transition. From 2 February 1990, when F.W. de Klerk unbanned all political

organisations and subsequently scrapped all the major apartheid pillars such as the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, a formal period of transition started with multiparty political negotiations taking place. Racial structures of urban areas changed henceforth, and in four ways according to Saff (1996). Three are applicable to Pietersburg. One was a continuation of the greying of central inner city areas. In Pietersburg not much space was available for low-cost accommodation in the inner city. Rezoning practices, however, ruled out the possibility of a large influx into the area because it was re-zoned as part of the CBD. Second was a process of class-based desegregation taking place mostly in the new and modern former racially based white suburbs with a very rapid increase in the former coloured suburb (see Chapter Six for a detailed analysis of residential integration). And third was an increase in informal housing in Seshego and other former black homeland towns and rural areas surrounding the city. Squatting within the former whites-only defended spaces has been marginal. A possible explanation may be that the immigrants still fear the prosecution and eviction familiar during apartheid. Transition and change have not yet redefined the urban poor's frame of mind. Lastly, no informal settlements have yet occurred within the boundaries of affluent former white (or desegregated) suburbs (Saff, 1996). Furthermore, three administrative events in the city's history during transition are important for understanding the nature of the restructuring, development and growth of the place once seen as a white conservative stronghold. Pietersburg received city status, then capital status, and the amalgamation with Seshego (see Chapter Five) marked the beginning of local government restructuring.

Recognised as a secondary city, Pietersburg had been variously identified as part of the development of a decentralisation programme (Bos, 1989), as a growth pole (Dewar, Todes & Watson, 1986), and as part of a strategy towards policy formulation for national urbanisation (Bos, 1991; Urban Foundation, 1994; Van der Merwe, 1990, 1992). Pietersburg, together with its functional area, is classified as a secondary city based on seven indicators (growth potential, size, location, economic activities, resource base, infrastructure and services, and quality of life) together with their respective variables. Table 3.7 lists these and is self-explanatory. No detailed analysis of the indicators and variables are given here because it is beyond the scope of this research (Refer to Van der Merwe's (1990) study on Pietersburg for a detailed analysis).

TABLE 3.7: CRITERIA USED FOR IDENTIFYING SECONDARY CITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

INDICATORS	VARIABLES
Growth potential	Proven growth record Internal vitality
Size	Population Built-up area Density of occupation
Location	Distance from metropolises Transportation network Linkage with own region Linkage with other regions Destination for migrants
Economic activities	Employment opportunities Diversity of economic sectors * Commerce * Manufacturing * Informal sector * Agro-economic enterprises * Small businesses * Administrative functions
Resource base	Minerals, agriculture, tourism, etc Labour Market Capital Entrepreneurship and expertise
Infrastructure and services	Water and electricity Internal transport Housing Education, health and recreation Effective local government
Quality of life	Poverty Income Unemployment Squatters Crime Basic needs

Source: Van der Merwe (1992: 112)

In 1992 the Town Council had Pietersburg evaluated according to the above criteria (Table 3.7) and it was classified as a secondary city. This classification strengthened its position to receive city status. Factors taken into consideration for a town to apply for city status are

diverse.⁴ However, city status remains very arbitrary. In addition to the submission made to the commission inquiring into whether Pietersburg should receive city status, Mayor Moolman remarked that “Daar is egter net een faktor wat ek u op wil wys wat nie in statistiek ooit opgeneem kan word nie, en dit is die kwaliteit van Pietersburg se mense” (PBA, Pietersburg Town Council, 1992). The town officially became a city on 29 April 1992. After the 1994 general elections the city became the capital of the newly-created Northern Province. Given the services provided by the city, and its varied functions, it was not surprising that the Provincial Government nominated it as capital. All facets of business, professional and welfare institutions (medical, educational) were represented there by 1990. So, too, a number of government and semi-government institutions of the then apartheid government.⁵ City and capital status influenced the growth in the property market through the desegregation of suburbs adjoining the establishment of new suburbs to the existing Flora Park suburb (see Chapter Six).

The number of building plans approved after January 1984 are illustrated in Figure 3.19 and show an increase after 1992 while residential applications increased from 1992 annually. Between 1984 and 1988 more than 200 housing building plans were approved per year. These approved plans declined in 1989 to 1991 to below 100 per year. Political uncertainty and

⁴ Factors taken into consideration when a town applies for city status: Population; Grading; Property values; Influence of town as a national and regional centre regarding trade, industry, finance, administration, agriculture, mining; To what extent is the town a centre for - government services; Rail, air and road connections and tourism; The nature, quality and diversity of cultural, educational and recreational services; Growth rate; The standard and extent of retail, banking and other professional facilities; Employment opportunities for residents; Historical and geographical importance; Existing defence force unit present in town or surrounding area; Ambulance and fire services; Religious importance (PBA, Pietersburg Town Council, 1990)

⁵ Government and semi-government institutions located in Pietersburg (1990) - TPA departments : Community service, Special Services, Public Works, Roads, Hospital services, Nature Conservation, Provincial Inspection services, Library and Museum services, Government Garage; Administration Volksraad (own affairs) included the Department of Health and Welfare; Department of National Health and Population Development; Department of Education and Culture: Directorate of Cultural Affairs; Inspectorate of Educational Departments; Department of Education and Training; Department of Agriculture and Water Provision; Department Agriculture, Economics and Marketing; Department of Environmental Affairs; Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs: Geological Surveys; Mine Commission; Department of Water Affairs; Buro for Information; Department of Public Works and Land Affairs; Department of Labour; Department of Justice; Department of Development Planning; Decentralisation Board; Department of Development Aid; Department of Internal Affairs; Central Statistical Services; Department of Finance; Department of Post and Telecommunication; Department of Trade and Industry; Department of Defence; National Intelligence; SA Police: Commissioner, District Commandant, Security police; Department of Transport; Department of Prison Services; Commissioner-general of Lebowa; Other relevant semi-government institutions include: Air Force Base; Regional Services Council of Northern Transvaal; Regional Development Advice Committee, Northern Regional Welfare Council; SABC; SA Tourism Board; SABS; Lebowa Development Corporation; National Traffic safety council; ESKOM; SBDC.(Pietersburg Town Council,1990)

national economic stagnation between 1990-1992 may have influenced the low developments. The possible increase of approved plans after 1995 may be attributed to the new status of the city and also because from 1996 Seshego applications are included in the figure. The increase in plans approved for flats and cluster units after 1995 is an indication of the city as being in line with broader urban development planning principles of compaction. For the period 1984 to 1986 the plans approved for economic purposes were never more than 75 per year.

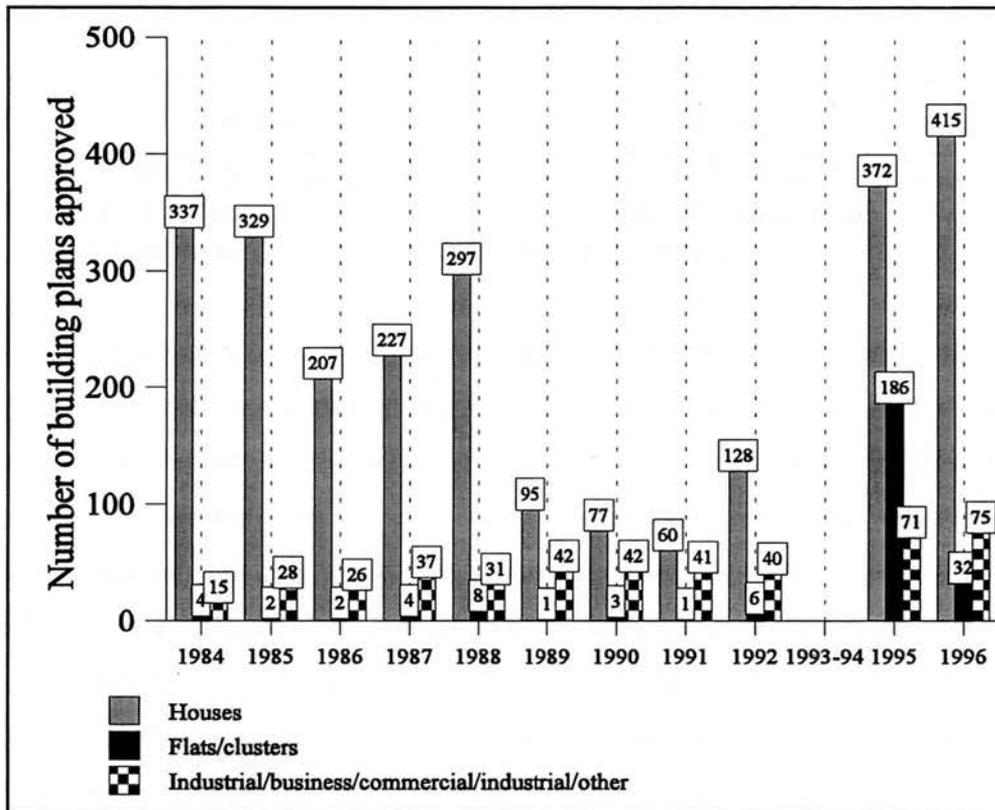


FIGURE 3.19: BUILDING PLANS APPROVED FOR PIETERSBURG, 1984-1996 (Compiled from Mayors' Reports, 1984-1992 and building plans approved file, PBA)

Note: no data available for 1993/94. Figures for Seshego only included from October 1996

After the demise of apartheid in 1989 the urban population increased dramatically with a 6% growth rate experienced between 1991-1996 (Figure 3.20). Seshego during the same period experienced a 10% increase (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998a: 34). If this increase is compared to an average urban population growth rate in other world regions during 1990-2000, viz, developed regions - 0.8%; less developed regions - 3.6%; world average - 2.5% (Devas & Rakodi, 1993a: 3) then formulation of a proper urbanisation strategy for the Pietersburg functional area is an urgent necessity.

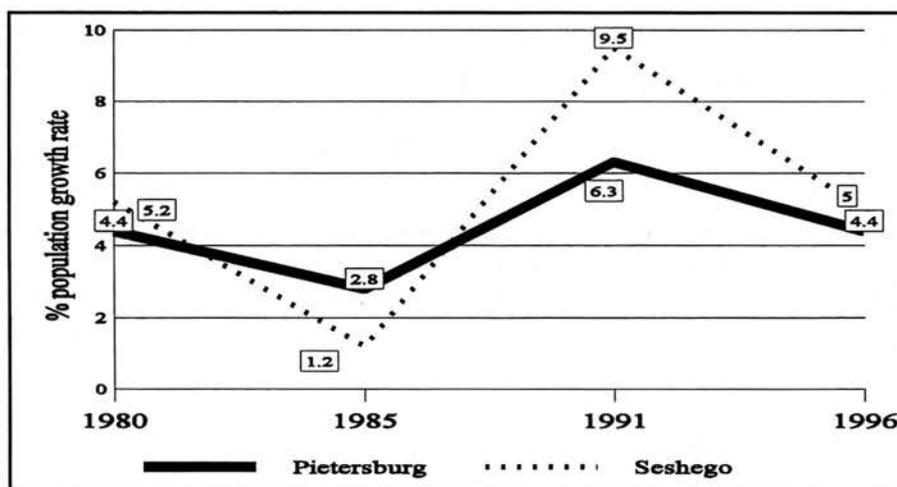


FIGURE 3.20: PIETERSBURG AND SESHEGO PERCENTAGE POPULATION GROWTH RATE BETWEEN 1980 AND 1996 (adapted from Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998a)

Within a regional context the city's important role can be attributed to certain factors. As an industrial growth point numerous multiplier effects contributed to its role in the region. Interdependence with other towns for labour supply, its retail trade purchasing power, its status as a sports centre, together with financial and insurance institutions, educational institutions, and its administrative function, made Pietersburg the most important centre in the Northern Province (PBA, Pietersburg Town Council, 1990). The city's contribution constituted 15% of the provincial GGP for 1991-1994. Its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of the country increased from 5% in 1980 to 6% in 1994 (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998a: 51). The city thus boasts a viable economic growth rate if compared to the average South African percentage which has not been more than 5% since 1990.

3.6 CONCLUSION

The geographical changes of Pietersburg are summarised in Figure 3.21. Since its origin the city has directly reflected its geopolitical status and contemporary position.

The adverse effect of segregationist, and later separate development policies of apartheid on Pietersburg will be difficult to rectify. The town developed from 1886 as a colonial town for Boer settlers. Segregation of urban space has been evident since the origin of the town. *De jure* segregation was realised after the National Party came to power in 1948. Together with

the moral code of developing separate living spaces for separate ethnic groups (inherently based on race), territorial restructuring occurred through the development of new towns in the proclaimed homeland of Lebowa which also provided the city its labour and consumers.

PHASE	URBAN CHANGES
Colonial City (1886-1910)	<input type="checkbox"/> Origin of town - 1886 ↘
Segregation City (1910-1948)	<input type="checkbox"/> Regional headquarters for TVL Boer Republic ↘
Apartheid City (1948-1990) and Ethnic City (1960-1990) - development of Lebowakgomo, Mankweng and Seshego	<input type="checkbox"/> Transvaal Province Administrative headquarters: executing apartheid administration ↘ <input type="checkbox"/> Decentralisation/industrial growth point: economic policy of apartheid ↘
Post-Apartheid City and Ethnic City in transition (1990 -1994)	<input type="checkbox"/> Secondary city urban strategy 1990s ↘ <input type="checkbox"/> City status - 1992 ↘
South African City (1994-)	<input type="checkbox"/> Amalgamation with Seshego: TLC ↘ <input type="checkbox"/> Provincial capital - 1994 ↘ <input type="checkbox"/> 21st Century South African city - 2000 and beyond

FIGURE 3.21 CHANGING URBAN STATUS OF PIETERSBURG

Within a radius of 50 km from Pietersburg four proclaimed towns developed. This socially-engineered dispersed settlement pattern had many purposes and intentions. First, it separated

black from white population groups. Second, it separated black tribal groups of the Sotho ethnic group from one another. Third, it separated different skills from one another in that a university town (Mankweng) developed solely for the educationally advanced and a homeland capital (Lebowakgomo) for the bureaucratic elite and as an industrial growth point. An industrial growth point and township (Seshego) that bordered the city, served it with a working-class labour force. Last, the dormitory town of Sebayeng that would provide Mankweng and Pietersburg with a labour force.

Anticipated urban growth and development failed to materialise in these homeland towns. Instead, under corrupt and incompetent homeland government administration, a typical Third World city scenario (see Van der Merwe, 1993) was experienced. Vivid realisation of the status quo, is that very little, if any, information and documentation are available at the former homeland government's archives on any aspect of town development. Outdated sources such as structure and master plans had to be relied on in collecting information. On the other hand, the city of Pietersburg has shown considerable progress in all facets of urban growth (e.g. GGP contribution, population size, number of economic activities, number of building plans approved).

Chapter Three has shown how segregation characterised all forms of urban development and urban life in Pietersburg from its foundation. Important to this study is the evidence available in historical data and material on how the city was structured, and more importantly what lessons can be learned from past injustices. The remaining focus in the study will be on contemporary urban restructuring as realised during the transition and transformation period after 1990. It is within the above historical context that the contemporary urban linkages between the dispersed city settlement created by apartheid was investigated in the next chapter to see, whether in a post-apartheid scenario, an alternative form of development should take place.

CHAPTER 4: EXTERNAL PATTERNS AND LINKAGES IN A DISPERSED SETTLEMENT SYSTEM

“A large number of people living in the surrounding districts of Lebowa are functionally part of the Pietersburg population in that they are employed there and do most of their shopping there. This in turn has major implications for urban and economic development in these surrounding districts” (Van Straten & Partners, 1988: 63).

“There is no evidence that the Mankweng-Nobody complex or Lebowakgomo form a direct part of the economy of the Greater Pietersburg. They are perceived as major towns in the larger sub-region” (De Villiers & Associates, 1994: 29).

Apartheid urban planning and restructuring of the segregation city brought about the development of black ethnic towns. Because homeland town development was ideologically driven and originated at unsuitable locations, the towns always depended on nearby apartheid cities. It is logical to reason that homeland towns such as Lebowakgomo, Mankweng and Seshego had to be restructured simultaneously with apartheid cities. This chapter will, first, determine the strength of the linkages that exist between Mankweng, Seshego, Lebowakgomo and Pietersburg. The validity of conceptualising the settlement patterns as a dispersed city will then be postulated and questioned within the context of contemporary post-apartheid urban restructuring. Chapter Three described the origin of the dispersed settlement pattern that developed during the apartheid era. Chapter Four will investigate what external contemporary patterns exist as a result of various types of linkages between Pietersburg and the proclaimed former Lebowa towns. These patterns will indicate whether the said areas should form part of Pietersburg’s second restructuring period in the late 1990s and early 2000s, that is, after the formulation of the White Paper on Local Government.

4.1 URBAN FORM AND FUNCTION: PIETERSBURG AND ITS FUNCTIONAL AREA

The *Global Report on Human Settlements* (United Nations, 1996b: 11-12) notes that “the last few decades have brought enormous changes to the world’s settlements” which include “new forms of city and metropolitan areas”. Economic changes are predominantly responsible for

urban change in the North while political and economic transformations in Second and Third World cities have engendered dramatic changes since gaining independence from colonial rule and also since the fall of the Berlin Wall. However, the report states that settlement patterns in South Africa are also changing but that “these changes are too recent to have been captured by available census data” (United Nations, 1996b: 12).

4.1.1 “New” urban forms

In the literature of contemporary urban studies three urban forms are evident, namely a monocentric city, a corridor city, and a network/polycentric city. A monocentric city form is a city with “its wedges or rings of distinct and detached land-uses radiating out from a dominant centre” (Republic of South Africa, 1995a: 19). The development and planning foundations of this form stem from the industrial city. With the corridor city “close links have been forged between places of complementary function, rather than simply on the basis of distance or demands thresholds” (Batten, 1995: 314).

Internationally, urban specialists have now recognised that the monocentric model is withering and being replaced by an urban system of network cities taking on a polycentric form. In other words, an urban system that is multi-centred. Exactly how these multi-centred areas function in the polycentric city depends on their locality in the global hierarchy. In the major urban agglomerations of the developed world where one sees the effects of the global economy and the new division of labour, and where cities as key nodes of the international urban system operate and function, an innovative and new class of polycentric urban type, the so-called network city, has evolved. Batten (1995: 313) defines the network city in relation to its evolution. It arises:

“when two or more previously independent cities, potentially complementary in function, strive to cooperate and achieve significant scope economies aided by fast and reliable corridors of transport and communications infrastructures.

Creative network cities place a higher priority on knowledge-based activities”.

The conventional definition of a dispersed city describes it as “functionally interdependent ... located in close proximity, but physically separated by non-urban land” (Burton, 1963: 289). Network cities actually portray the same idea, but of course within a postmodern societal understanding.

In Third World countries, polycentric urban form is mostly evident in mega- and large cities such as Mexico City and Kuala Lumpur, and results from suburbanisation and spatial deconcentration. This change in the national settlement system has, according to Gilbert (1993: 722), “little to do with regional policy... Indeed, regional policy seems to have disappeared without trace in most Third World countries”. Polycentric urban forms are ascribed to factors like suburban industrialisation, state investment in an infrastructure with the establishment of industrial plantations, improved transport systems and the subsequent increase in communication linkages between urban and rural towns. A great boom in urban and peri-urban land prices can also be listed as a factor (Gilbert, 1993). Urban areas have, therefore, sprawled outwards into the rural areas. As a network extending from the city, many multi-centred urban centres or nodes have developed. Gilbert (1993: 728-729) finds the concept of rural urbanisation useful and he quotes Brookfield, Hadi and Mahmud. (1991) as follows:

“... a succession of transformations is affecting so large a rural area around the city that the rural-urban dichotomy is in urgent need of redefinition. There is a world of difference between village communities in the deep rural interior, however much they may be affected by circular or permanent migration to work, and the largely urbanized communities... The rural face of these latter communities is misleading, and they need to be interpreted as a new category, neither wholly urban nor wholly rural, but both”.

Urban-rural linkage and the polycentric urban form may, then, act as a precursor to Doxiadis and Papaioannou's (1974) Ecumenopolis, a single functional World City that will be eventually physically linked into a series of networks in such a way that no distinction between urban and rural can be made. In Asia, the “kotadesasi” zones illustrate clearly the diminishing difference between rural and urban (Potter & Unwin, 1995). A further observation is the slowing down of the urbanisation rate in these countries' large cities, and this is more pronounced than in the secondary/intermediate cities.

4.1.2 Dispersed settlement pattern around Pietersburg

In the early 1990s there were twelve proclaimed towns and 990 settlements in the former Lebowa's eleven magisterial districts (Urban-Econ & De Villiers and Associates, 1994). Of relevance to this study is the fact that the settlement hierarchy is such that Pietersburg's three

dispersed satellites (Lebowakgomo-Mankweng-Seshego) are all ranked as first-order settlements. Sebayeng, near Mankweng, is a second-order settlement, while Mashashane and Molepo are classified as third-order settlements (Urban-Econ *et al.*, 1994) (see Table 4.1). The criteria used in the classification process are based on a number of settlement dimensions, namely existing social and infrastructural base, institutional capacity, rate of growth, growth potential, resource base, accessibility/nodality, services/catchment areas, and linkages. The settlement hierarchy is based on a study conducted by Urban-Econ *et al.* (1994) in which they identified special characteristics of the different orders of towns in the former Lebowa. Table 4.2 sets out development variables applied in the analysis and categorisation of the towns. The table is self-explanatory and no detailed discussion will be provided here.

TABLE 4.1: SETTLEMENT HIERARCHY FOR SELECTED DISTRICTS IN FORMER LEBOWA

SETTLEMENT HIERARCHY			
DISTRICT	FIRST ORDER	SECOND ORDER	THIRD ORDER
SESHEGO	Pietersburg Seshego Perskebult Vaalwater		Mashashane
THABAMOPO	Lebowakgomo Mankweng	Sebayeng	Molepo

Source: Urban-Econ *et al.* (1994: 50)

After the negotiated settlement during the transition to a non-racial and unified South African political territory, Seshego was incorporated into Pietersburg as part of the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC (see Chapter Five for a detailed analysis of the local government restructuring process). Lebowakgomo and Mankweng, however, remained excluded from integration into the urban complex, despite recommendations by a Town and Regional Report on the future direction of development in the province after apartheid. Urban-Econ *et al.* (1994: 55) then recommended that the former Lebowa Government “undertake/initiate the joint planning of these areas in such a manner that: it should eventually form a single urban complex...to integrate the various land-uses”. Furthermore, a boundary to determine the functional urbanised area should be drawn to plan for urbanisation over a 20-year period.

TABLE 4.2: SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DIFFERENT ORDERS OF TOWNS IN FORMER LEBOWA

FIRST-ORDER TOWNS (PROCLAIMED TOWNS)	SECOND-ORDER TOWNS (REGIONAL GROWTH CENTRES)	THIRD-ORDER TOWNS (SERVICE CENTRES)
Large populations (including the surrounding functionally urbanised areas) varying from 40 000+	Medium population varying from 20 000 to 60 000	Population smaller than 20 000
Population growth in excess of 5%	Medium population growth between 3 and 5%	Low population growth of less than 3%
Resource base consists of different sectors	Resource base is limited to one or two sectors, mainly agriculture	Resource base usually limited and is usually an extensive agricultural farming area
Highly accessible and located close to provincial and national roads	Highly accessible in terms of district and local roads converging upon provincial roads	Not accessible from provincial roads but are usually straddled by a local road
Part and parcel of neighbouring white towns and serve as dormitory areas. They depend on the functions of the white towns	All these clusters of settlements have developed independently from other urban areas	Developed in isolation
Have an adequate tax base and warrant a third-tier government	These areas warrant a third-tier government but do not possess the tax base to afford it	Area too small to warrant a third-tier government
Private sector, by means of multinational companies, is interested to invest, develop and establish in the areas	Private sector development is limited to small developers and businesspeople	Private sector development restricted to very small shops
These proclaimed areas are surrounded by various settlements which act as sponge areas	Loose structure of clustered settlements. No proclaimed towns	Usually one or two large settlements

Source: Urban-Econ *et al.* (1994: 51)

During the apartheid era, three urban areas evolved in the so-called “border zones” as a consequence of displaced black urbanisation policies and practice. Chapter Three has dealt with these. But, to give a synopsis, these towns developed with three specific purposes. One was to displace and duplicate government services through government administration based on the homeland system in Lebowakgomo. Another was to displace educators and students to Mankweng, the university town, and the third was to identify Seshego as the main industrial point and supplier of labour to industry and other businesses in Pietersburg. All

three towns experienced similar periods of evolution (see Table 4.3). The euphoric phase was characterised by the joy of being awarded some sense of sovereignty. Much capital was spent by the apartheid government on developing the towns through creating infrastructure and supplying housing. The second phase occurred when the apartheid regime withdrew - to some extent - their direct influence. Officials and administrators corruptly mismanaged the homelands. Industrial growth points failed to emerge and lack of expertise and capacity for enhancing an agglomeration economy contributed to a phase of decay. The demise of apartheid created a period of uncertainty and stagnation with the homelands being involved in multi-party negotiations. The phase of reconstruction and development started after the 1994 general election. This phase is now preparing the towns to be restructured along with their apartheid sister city, Pietersburg, during the next phase of transformation and transition.

TABLE 4.3: PHASES IN URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN LEBOWA

PHASE	PERIOD
Euphoric phase	1960 - 1980
Phase of corruption and decay	1981 - 1990
Phase of stagnation and uncertainty	1991 - 1994
Phase of reconstruction and development	1995 - 1999

By the beginning of the 1990s the Pietersburg/Seshego complex had established itself as a major service function in the region. Location quotients of greater than 10 (inferring a high degree of concentration and agglomeration) have been calculated for manufacturing, construction, the wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation, transport, storage and communication, finance, insurance, real estate and business services, and community, social and personal services in the area (De Villiers & Partners, 1991). In 1991 the Region G Liaison Committee projected that Mankweng and Lebowakgomo would “develop as separate entities offering specialised services to the sub-region, in particular as rural service centres” (De Villiers & Partners, 1991: 53). By 1997 only Seshego had politically been incorporated into Pietersburg, while Lebowakgomo and Mankweng remained spatially dispersed entities. The latter two, classified as small towns according to the Centre for Development and Enterprise (1996a: 3) definition, were “seen as entities for administration or, at best, ‘growth points’ for single sector development strategies” during the apartheid era.

Contemporary urban development thinking and the policy planning initiatives of the Government of National Unity (Republic of South Africa, 1995a) tend to ignore small towns in favour of the metropolitan and larger cities and also because they are “polarised and pursued in almost total isolation” between urban and rural development (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1996a: 4). The policy recommendations suggested by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (1996a: 20-26) and other local urban economic development initiatives presented by Krige (1997) and Nel (1994b) serve to indicate that small towns are in need of restructuring (Dewar, 1994a). As was explained in the previous chapter, neither Seshego, Mankweng, nor Lebowakgomo would have developed as proclaimed towns if it were not for the apartheid development policies of the previous government. A displaced settlement pattern came about as a result of social engineering. This pattern is a mirror image of other black homeland towns that developed as border-homeland townships, for example, Mdantsane (Gordon, 1978), Umtata (Dewar, 1994b) and Mmbatho (Mosadi, 1996).

Deliberate attempts to curb black urbanisation through legislation such as the influx control measures, and various regional development plans to contain black migration to the white urban core, have been debated within the framework of the dependency paradigm. The rationale of the then government's regional development policies was precisely racialistic and did not achieve the concomitant economic goals at which it aimed. After 1956, when the National Party government launched a programme to encourage industrial decentralisation, primarily aimed at homeland border areas, numerous policy documents were formulated (Van der Merwe, 1992). The National Physical Development Plan in the 1970s (Fair, 1975) and then the Good Hope Plan in the 1980s did little if anything to achieve concrete economic and political results. Growth point development and industrial decentralisation (Dewar, Todes and Watson, 1986) failed because of many reasons that are beyond the scope of this research (see Bos (1989) for a literature review and summary of important points and criticism regarding the space economy). The Good Hope Plan of the 1980s, which aimed at restructuring the space economy through regional development, culminated in the creation of development regions - incorporating homelands - which eventually led to the scrapping of influx control measures (Pickles, 1988).

4.1.3 Post-apartheid urban and rural form in South Africa

During late apartheid, and before the period of transition, rural and regional restructuring and development policy in post-apartheid South Africa received academic attention (Mabin, 1991; Soni & Maharaj, 1991) with a special edition of papers appearing in the journal *Antipode*. Settlement types which emerged during apartheid within homeland areas included self-contained towns for workers in homeland border industries, towns deeper into the frontier for migrant workers' families, black spots, and areas of controlled squatting (Soni & Maharaj, 1991). Outcomes of the political economy as seen by Soni and Maharaj (1991: 61) sum up the manifestation of spatial changes in urban form:

“The inability to reproduce life in bantustans, for example, is resulting in a series of reconcentrations of people which have important implications for the nature of urbanisation in South Africa. The following trends are evident: (i) rural dumping grounds and slums are being extended (e.g. Sada and Limehill); (ii) displaced urban settlements continue to grow rapidly (e.g. Botshabelo); (iii) squatter settlements abutting major urban areas now exhibit some of the fastest rates of urban growth anywhere in the world (e.g. Durban); and (iv) urban areas such as Hillbrow are ‘greying’ as the pressure on urban space increases”.

The spatial development legacy of the South African city network, regional planning, and the apartheid city form and its repercussions during reconstruction, transformation and restructuring

“have led to the emergence of a widely-dispersed polycentric (or multi-centred) city form. This means -in spatial terms - [the emergence of] several employment cores and various peripheral settlements. The new form, in fact, exhibits a general blurring of the long-held distinction between urban core and urban periphery....[T]he forces causing the demise of the apartheid city have operated alongside - and strengthened - the movement away from the monocentric city. The result is a recast urban form and a new style of urban life, spread across the city and spanning its social and economic dimensions” (Republic of South Africa, 1995a:19).

Resulting from South Africa's previous apartheid city form, three spatial patterns are discernible, i.e. low density sprawl, fragmentation, and separation. Chapter Eight will focus

on the restructuring of these spatial forms of the city. The temporary nature of blacks' residence in the urban domains, especially in black townships during apartheid, created dormitory towns, that is places of rest before blacks returned to work in the white city. Nevertheless, the contemporary socio-economic and residential spanning is also, as happens internationally, reaching out into the rural towns and villages. During apartheid, and even today, areas that were rurally defined were actually urban areas without services such as electricity, water, infrastructure and local government. In such 'rural areas' high density concentrations are found while the economic base of the areas lies in the residents' place of work, usually a nearby city or town. The definite improvement in transportation brought about through the combi-taxi industry (fast, efficient and cheap, though unregulated, dangerous, and informal) has linked the so-called rural areas with urban centres within a reach of up to 200 km and even further on a daily basis. Such rural areas and homeland towns therefore might rather be termed **displaced urban or even displaced suburban** (Republic of South Africa, 1995a:13).

Fox and Nel (1998) argue that due to their dependence on urban places for employment, products and services they are functionally urbanised. Cedras (1996) conceptualises this rural-urban continuum or linkage. If planners can develop these villages and rural towns as multi-centres of a broader polycentric urban network, then their spatially dispersed pattern needs to be investigated to see what the actual linkage is between the dispersed suburbs of Pietersburg and their respective economic bases. The next section will look into the linkages between the dispersed 'suburbs' of Lebowakgomo and Mankweng, and Pietersburg. Linkages with Seshego have also been determined even though the township has now been amalgamated with the city. However, what has happened during the 1990s is that rural towns around Pietersburg have absorbed or acted as a functional linkage between rural villages and the urban centres. Refer to Figure 3.8 for the spatial location of the four proclaimed rural towns within a radius of 50 km from Pietersburg (i.e. Sebayeng, Mankweng, Lebowakgomo and Seshego).

4.2 URBAN LINKAGES

Recent work done by Cedras (1996) provides an overview of literature on the linkages that possibly exist between settlements. Three main sources identified are Rondinelli and Rundle

(1978), Preston (1975) and Widdis (1991). Rondinelli and Rundle (1978) list seven possible linkages: (1) physical linkage - communities depend heavily upon a transport network; (2) economic linkage - for a spatial function to occur economic interaction is necessary; (3) population movement - effects of temporary and permanent migration on linkages between urban-urban and rural-urban; (4) technological linkages - an improved communication network enhances the linkage between people; (5) social interaction; (6) service provision - interdependence of settlements; and (7) political and administrative linkage. Preston (1975) identifies five categories of linkages between settlements, namely, movement of people; movement of goods; movement of capital; social interaction; and administrative service provision. Widdis (1991) emphasises human interaction and experience between settlements, especially in town and countryside. According to Unwin (1989) linkages are seen broadly in economic and demographic terms. Potter and Unwin (1995), however, refer to the importance of political and ideological issues such as the aggressiveness of local leaders and the willingness of people to accept social change in researching linkages.

For this study the researcher assumed from the outset that the displaced former homeland proclaimed towns of Lebowakgomo, Seshego, and Mankweng are dependent on Pietersburg for various reasons. These include employment, services, household products and perhaps other socially related aspects. On the other hand, it is common knowledge that Pietersburg is dependent on these towns and other rural areas' residents for consumption and employment in Pietersburg. What then is the functional interdependency between these entities? Can one contend that if they are not functionally interdependent, it does not fit the definition of a dispersed city? Interdependency between these entities was determined by a questionnaire survey conducted among residents of Mankweng, Lebowakgomo, and Seshego (see section 1.3.2 for the methodology followed). No quantitative analysis (for example regression analysis, correlation, etc.) to measure the degree of linkage - such as the study by Sarpong (1990) - was done because of the lack of information available in the towns and former homeland governmental departments, and also for the reasons of not wanting to investigate the obvious.

4.2.1 Profile of respondents

A systematic sample was used to identify 40 households (Table 4.4) each in the proclaimed towns of Lebowakgomo and Mankweng, and in Pietersburg's former homeland demographic

TABLE 4.4: PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION
OF RESPONDENTS IN THE STUDY AREA

VARIABLE	SESHEGO %	MANKWENG %	LEBOWAKGOMO %
Average number of people per household	5.5	4.8	5.3
<u>Highest educational qualification of respondent</u>			
Primary school	2.5	7.5	5.0
Std 6-10	27.5	10.0	25.0
Matric	30.0	17.5	22.5
Diploma	20.0	25.0	25.0
Degree	20.0	40.0	22.5
<u>Combined household income per month:</u>			
R1 - 1 000	7.5	10.0	15.0
R1001- 2 000	12.5	7.5	12.5
R2001- 4 000	27.5	37.5	22.5
R4001- 6 000	15.0	15.0	20.0
R6001- 8 000	15.0	15.0	17.5
R8001-10 000	2.5	5.0	2.5
>R 10 000	0.0	7.5	2.5
Refuse to answer	20.0	2.5	7.5
<u>Languages mostly spoken at home (more than one option possible)</u>			
English	0.0	2.5	2.5
Northern Sotho	97.5	95.0	90.0
Tsonga/Shangaan	0.0	2.5	2.5
Tswana	0.0	0.0	2.5
Other	2.5	0.0	2.5
<u>Household's main mode of transport</u>			
Combi-taxi	52.5	47.5	40.0
Own car	32.5	47.5	40.0
Bus	10.0	2.5	15.0
Other	5.0	2.5	5.0
Home ownership	95.0	82.5	87.5
<u>House type</u>			
Formal serviced house	95.0	77.5	100.0
Informal limited serviced	5.0	17.5	0.0
Other	0.0	5.0	0.0
<u>When relocated here</u>			
1960-1970	17.5	0.0	2.5
1971-1980	15.0	5.0	12.5
1981-1990	40.0	40.0	55.0
1991-1994	22.5	37.5	22.5
After 1995	5.0	17.5	7.5

border-township of Seshego. Besides the questions on linkages between the places, socio- and other related questions were asked in order to give an understanding of the sampled population's characteristics. In all three areas near similar results were observed in highest percentages for the respective variables. The only notable exception is the level of education, where more respondents in Mankweng are qualified with a degree than in the other two study areas. Income levels reflect a low-middle income status with most residents owning their own properties which are predominantly formal serviced dwellings. Linguistic pattern reflects the legacy of affinity environments formerly created for the Northern Sotho-speaking people. Most respondents relocated to their respective areas between 1981 and 1990. This perhaps correlates with the forced removals during the 1970s and 1980s as well as with employment opportunities created in the areas at the time.

4.2.2 Economic patterns

Very few employment opportunities - apart from the public and educational sector - are available in all three towns. Table 4.5 provides an outline of the number of businesses in Lebowakgomo and Seshego. Data for Mankweng is unavailable.

TABLE 4.5: NUMBER OF LISTED BUSINESSES IN SESHEGO AND
LEBOWAKGOMO, 1997

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR	LEBOWAKGOMO	SESHEGO
PRIMARY SECTOR:		
Agriculture	5 (4%)	3 (2%)
Mining/Industry/Manufacturing	12 (9%)	37 (26%)
SECONDARY SECTOR:		
Building	13 (10%)	4 (3%)
TERTIARY SECTOR:		
Shops	57 (44%)	51 (36%)
QUATERNARY SECTOR:		
Social/Community service	18 (14%)	24 (17%)
Banking/Finance	6 (5%)	2 (1%)
Total	129 (100%)	142 (100%)

Source: Compiled from Braby's (1996/97)

In both towns the main employment sector is tertiary in nature with 44% and 36% of the number of businesses in Lebowakgomo and Seshego respectively being shops. These are however not specialised shops such as chain stores but are predominantly spaza and cash stores. The lack of quaternary services in the towns is also notable with 5% and 1% respectively operating in Lebowakgomo and Seshego. The secondary sector is more in Seshego than Lebowakgomo and again indicates the failure of industrial development in Lebowakgomo. Hence, it is assumed and expected that most residents in Seshego, Mankweng and Lebowakgomo will find employment in Pietersburg.

The findings of the survey, however, show a remarkable deviation from the assumption that residents in these towns mostly work in Pietersburg. The respondents had to indicate where the household head and the spouse (i.e. the two chief bread-winners) worked. Out a sample of 120 respondents there were 168 bread-winners. In other words 72 (30%) out of a possible 240 bread-winners were unemployed. Those who were economically active and employed in Pietersburg comprised the following: respondents coming from Seshego (32%), Mankweng (14%), and Lebowakgomo (15%).

Except for respondents in Seshego(30%), the majority were employed in their own towns: Lebowakgomo (40%) and Mankweng (50%) (see Table 4.6). However, the column totals indicate that for the sample (all three towns) the majority are employed in Pietersburg (20%), followed by the surrounding rural areas (23%) and Mankweng (18.5%).

TABLE 4.6: RESPONDENTS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE BY TOWN WHERE EMPLOYED
(Row % - based on responses)

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	TOWN WHERE EMPLOYED						Row totals
	Pietersburg	Seshego	Mankweng	Lebowakgomo	Rural	Other	
Seshego	31.6	29.8	5.3	8.8	17.5	7.0	33.9
Mankweng	14.3	0.0	50.0	1.8	17.9	16.1	33.3
Lebowakgomo	14.5	0.0	0.0	40.0	34.5	10.9	32.7
Column totals	20.2	10.1	18.5	16.7	23.2	11.3	100.0*

Note: *Total number of responses is 168

4.2.3 Transport and geographic proximity

Traffic flow measures give an indication of interaction between various places. Pietersburg is located centrally in terms of access from all three towns. Inter-urban access to one another from any direction is via Pietersburg. Dahms (1980: 295) points out that a “territory within several hours driving time of a major city has important economic associations with that city, and in varying degrees is organized by it”. It is suggested that an urban field extends as far as 120 km to 160 km from the core city, while commuters are generally not willing to travel for more than two hours per day to work and back. Applying such criteria to the complex South African spatial legacy of apartheid may be a futile exercise. Black towns developed for unjust reasons at the wrong places. It would, however, substantiate the economic and spatial organisation of these black towns as evolving economically dependent entities of the core. Nevertheless travel patterns at the black periphery show the remarkable realities of the city's urban fields. In this study area all three towns are within an hour's reach of Pietersburg. The connecting roads are secondary main roads and, with all the land areas located on the Pietersburg plateau, the topography makes travelling to the city fairly easy.

A roadside traffic cordon survey conducted for the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC in 1995¹ determined the flow of traffic to Pietersburg on the roads from Seshego, Chuenespoort (on the route from Lebowakgomo), and Tzaneen (on the route from Mankweng). Although no specific traffic count from Mankweng, Seshego and Lebowakgomo was undertaken, the general picture that emerges from the findings provides a useful reflection on traffic flows. Of relevance to this study are the traffic flow linkages between Pietersburg and Mankweng (the Tzaneen road count), Pietersburg and Seshego (the New Seshego road count) and Pietersburg and Lebowakgomo (the Chuenespoort road count). By far the heaviest traffic flow to (6 804) and from (6 157) Pietersburg was on the Seshego road (refer to Table 4.7). The city's link with the nearest metropolitan area (Pretoria) is also evident in that that road accounted for the second highest (16%) vehicle movement from Pietersburg after that counted on the Seshego road (21%). The figures and percentages on the table speak for themselves.

¹ A sample roadside interview survey was conducted on 28 November 1995. This was backed up by an hourly classified vehicle control count on each main access road to Pietersburg on 24 November 1995 between 06:00 and 18:00.

TABLE 4.7: TRAFFIC VOLUME TO AND FROM PIETERSBURG: 12 HOURLY
TRAFFIC VOLUMES ON FRIDAY 24 NOVEMBER 1995

ROAD	FROM PIETERSBURG	TO PIETERSBURG
Pretoria	4912 (16.3%)	4823 (15.2%)
Chuenespoort	4490 (14.9%)	3585 (11.3%)
Silicon	1284 (4.3%)	1016 (3.2%)
Tzaneen	4185 (13.9%)	4538 (14.3%)
Duiwelskloof	1650 (5.5%)	1706 (5.4%)
Louis Trichardt	1713 (5.7%)	3432 (10.8%)
Vivo	1697 (5.6%)	1534 (4.8%)
New Seshego	6157 (20.5%)	6804 (21.4%)
Gilead	2528 (8.4%)	2807 (8.8%)
Matlala	1450 (4.8%)	1549 (4.9%)
TOTAL	30 066 (100%)	31 794 (100%)

Source: African Consulting Engineers Inc. (1996)

Composite annual traffic growth rates since 1979 indicate the highest percentage growth on the Chuenespoort road (Figure 4.1).

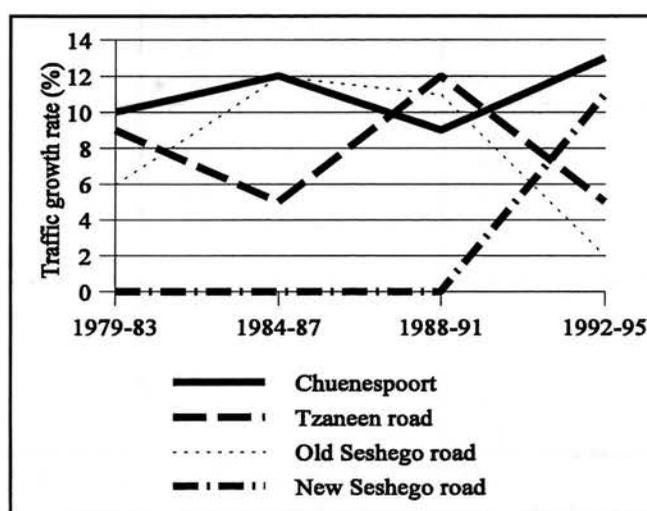


FIGURE 4.1: COMPOSITE ANNUAL PERCENTAGE TRAFFIC GROWTH RATES SINCE 1979 (African Consulting Engineers Inc., 1996)

During the period 1991-1995, a 13% increase was observed on this road. It explains the increased interaction between Lebowakgomo and its environs with Pietersburg. The second highest percentage increase in traffic on all roads was on the new Seshego road (11%) over the same period. The race-space composition of the travel patterns was also determined. Clearly a low percentage of whites travel in these directions (Table 4.8). A remarkably higher percentage of people travel to work on the Chuenespoort road than on those from Seshego. Although light vehicles enjoy high percentages as a mode of transport, their occupancy levels are on average very low (Table 4.8).

TABLE 4.8: VEHICLE TYPE, RACIAL GROUP, TRIP PURPOSE AND OCCUPANCY OF VEHICLES AND PASSENGERS ON MAIN ROAD ROUTES

VARIABLE	CHUENESPOORT ROAD (%)	NEW SESHEGO ROAD (%)	TZANEEN ROAD (%)
<u>Vehicle type distribution</u>	79	81	82
Light vehicles	8	10	12
Taxi	3	4	2
Bus	10	6	4
Heavy			
<u>Racial groups</u>			
Non-white	74	86	71
White	26	14	29
<u>Trip purpose</u>			
Work	28	20	23
Business	29	16	21
Other	22	15	26
Non-home based trip			
<u>Vehicle occupancy*</u>			
Light vehicle	2.6	2.1	2.4
Taxi	10.4	8.7	11.5
Bus	21.2	31.6	40.9
Heavy	2.7	2.9	2.1

Source: African Consulting Engineers Inc. (1996)

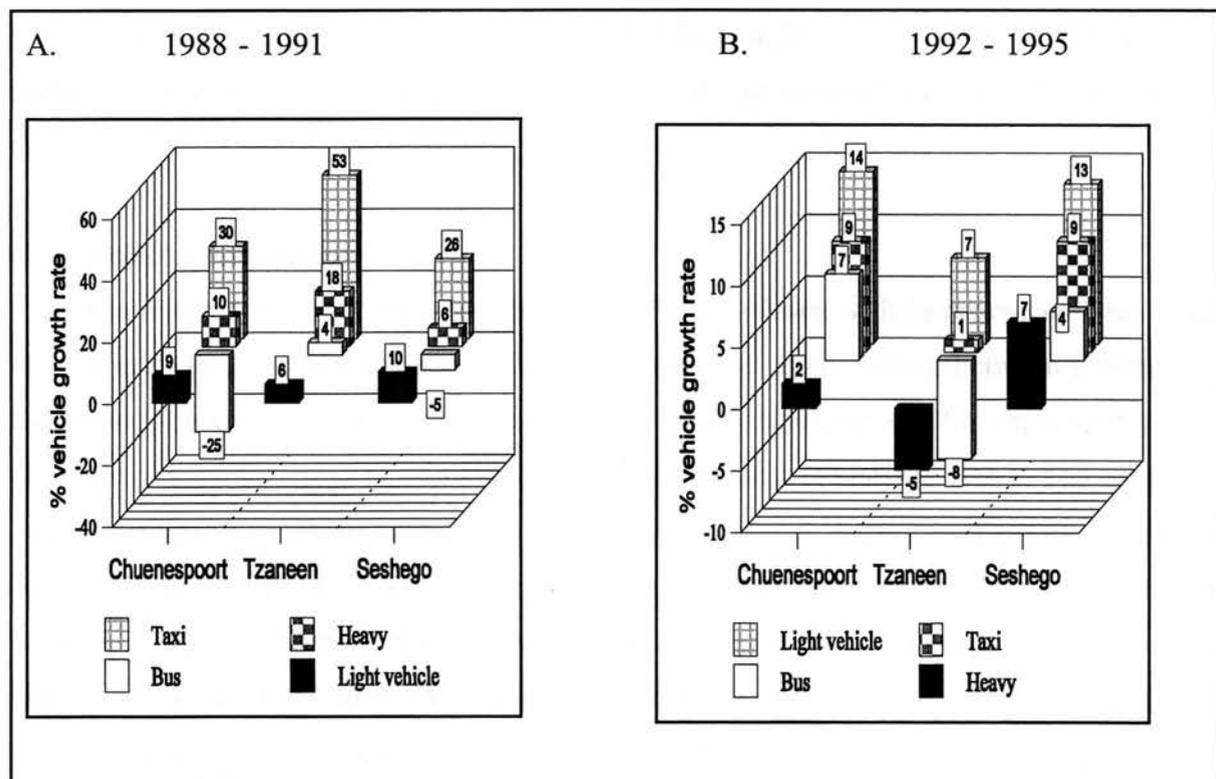
Note: Figures do not add up to 100% in some cases because only the three routes have been extracted from a more comprehensive table covering all the routes to and from Pietersburg

Note: * Average vehicle occupancy (i.e. not %)

A composite figure for annual traffic growth per vehicle suggests that there is growth in light vehicle travel patterns over the period 1992-1995 as compared to 1988-1991 period (Figure 4.2).

FIGURE 4.2: COMPOSITE ANNUAL TRAFFIC GROWTH RATES PER VEHICLE TYPE

A: 1988 - 1991; B 1992 - 1995



A decline in taxi travel on all routes is also observed in the 1992-1995 period. Also noteworthy is the decline in bus transport, perhaps due to the cut in subsidies. The prominent role played by Pietersburg as the area's capital might contribute to this increase with government employees travelling to and from sub-regional headquarters to Pietersburg. Also a dramatic increase in sales representatives staying in the city because it is centrally located for access to their areas may contribute to the high figures for light vehicles.

The questionnaire survey conducted in 1997 (as described in section 1.3.2) indicates that the respondents' main mode of transport to and from work is by combi-taxi (37%). This is the form of transport used most by Seshego residents (43%), while Mankweng (43%) and Lebowakgomo (35%) respondents mostly use their own vehicles. Only a marginal number of

respondents use the bus to travel to work. Most respondents spend less than 30 minutes on travelling to work (58%), while 19% spend between 30 minutes and one hour. Similarly, 41% use their own vehicles to travel to Pietersburg for shopping and services as opposed to taxi (50%) and 7% bus. Taxi and the own-vehicle mode of transport predominate while bus and other types of transport are used least. Supporting data from the Provincial Government is lacking. The Northern Provincial Department of Transport does not have any records on traffic counts to and from Pietersburg. Nor does it have a definite policy on transport for the province. Formalisation of the taxi-industry is in the process of taking place, albeit very slowly.

4.2.4 Telecommunication

The main telecommunication network in South Africa, Telkom, with its provincial head-office located in Pietersburg, does not have records of telephone traffic counts between Pietersburg-Mankweng-Lebowakgomo-Seshego. It does have traffic counts per area for a specific time and date but it does not cross-tabulate these with another area (Carstens, 1997). The only data available shows how many calls are going out and coming into the specific area. The origin and destination points are unknown. Nevertheless, the collected data provides an indication of the significance of Pietersburg as the main nodal area for telephonic communication. Figures also clearly indicate the dominance of the city over surrounding towns. In September 1997 Pietersburg (excluding Seshego) had 11 194 allocated residential and 5 456 business lines. By contrast Mankweng had 1 018 and 100 lines respectively. Busy-hour records showed that between 08:45 and 09:00 more calls were incoming to Pietersburg than outgoing. A total of 1 334 calls originated from Pietersburg - of which 577 were internal and 757 outgoing - while 1 225 calls were incoming to the city (EWSD Traffic Count, 1997). The changing modes of communications (cellphone networks and e-mail) do not define its spatial boundaries. Communication linkages are therefore impossible to determine, and cannot be seen as a useful variable in determining urban linkages.

4.2.5 Education

Of the 67% respondents who have school attending children, 15% attend school in Pietersburg. The majority of the 15% come from Seshego (9%) and Lebowakgomo (4%). Apart from this, other scholars attend school in their own areas: Mankweng (16%), Seshego (19%), and

Lebowakgomo (12%). It can be assumed that most children who attend school in Pietersburg travel with their parents who work in the city. Supposedly these families will fall into medium-and high-income category families. Educational linkage thus benefits only a few and the affluent.

4.2.6 Recreation, leisure and sport

A large percentage of the respondents do not participate in outdoor recreation (48%). Mankweng and Seshego respondents that do participate in such events in Pietersburg were 35% and 30% respectively. Lebowakgomo residents prefer their own town (18%) and other rural areas abutting the town (50%). The exact nature of the activities was not determined.

Visiting pubs and shebeens showed a low percentage linkage with Pietersburg because the majority of respondents said that they do not consume alcohol beverages (78%). Except for Mankweng, those who do visit such places frequently do so in their own areas. All three areas have soccer stadiums where regular soccer matches take place. However, since Real Rovers made Pietersburg Rugby Stadium their home ground, fewer important games take place in these areas. Notwithstanding this, 38% of respondents never attend any soccer/other outdoor sport as spectators. Those who do attend do so mostly in Pietersburg (39%).

4.2.7 Social interaction

A very low proportion (5%) of respondents from all three areas frequently visit friends in Pietersburg. The majority of respondents, however, have closer linkages with rural areas where they visit their relatives at least once a month. The responses obtained reflect a high degree of interaction, namely Mankweng (85%), Seshego (85%), and Lebowakgomo (75%).

4.2.8 Shopping and service patterns

Shopping facilities in the three towns are restricted to a limited number of shopping centres, spazas and street cafés. Well-known supermarket chainstores and other national retail outlets are absent. And there is a lack of variety in banking, insurance and legal services. The only noteworthy services in the towns are postal and medical. Therefore it is to be expected that the majority of respondents do most of their shopping and other personal business in the regional service centre, Pietersburg (see Table 4.9). Household goods such as groceries (92%),

clothing (95%), and meat (73%) are mainly purchased in the city. Not much can be deduced from shopping patterns reflecting low percentages such as the purchasing of alcohol and car parts because many respondents do not consume the first and most do not own their own vehicles. Regarding services it can be seen that medical and postal services are sufficient in the three towns whereas banking (91%), legal services (65%) and insurance matters (81%) are mainly done in Pietersburg.

TABLE 4.9: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO THEIR SHOPPING AND SECURE SERVICES IN PIETERSBURG

SHOPPING AND SERVICES TYPES IN PIETERSBURG												
PLACE OF RESIDENCE	HOUSEHOLD GOODS				OTHER			SERVICES				
	Groceries	Clothing	Meat	Alcohol	Electrical appliances	Car parts	Building material	Banking	Postal	Medical	Legal	Insurance
Seshego	97.50%	100%	77.5%	15.0%	87.5%	47.5%	60.0%	90.0%	25.0%	37.5%	67.5%	80.0%
Mankweng	90.0%	90.0%	65.0%	12.5%	85.0%	47.5%	75.0%	100.0%	30.0%	13.3%	75.0%	90.0%
Lebowakgomo	87.5%	95.0%	75.0%	12.5%	90.0%	37.5%	47.5%	82.5%	10.0%	7.5%	52.5%	72.5%
Total %	91.7%	95.0%	72.5%	13.3%	87.5%	44.2%	60.8%	90.8%	21.7%	19.4%	65.0%	80.8%

Note: Total number of responses is 120

4.2.9 Perceptual association

The profile of respondents given in Table 4.4 shows that the majority of respondents are long- and well-settled in their places of residence. More than 80% of them are home-owners and have a formal dwelling and a majority have been staying in the towns since at least 1981. When asked where they would prefer to stay, the majority indicated their own home-towns (Table 4.10). All these responses were more than 50%, with 63% of Seshego respondents preferring Seshego, 65% of Mankweng's preferring their home-town and 58% in Lebowakgomo. On average the place preferred most by the sample is Mankweng (26%) followed by Seshego (25%). Pietersburg came fourth in choice (19%). Very few respondents indicated Pietersburg as their first preference.

One respondent, for example, reasoned that:

“Rent of Lebowakgomo is cheaper compared to Pietersburg. Because the standard of living is a bit better at Pietersburg I won't be able to afford the expenses.... There is a close link with neighbours and we don't live in isolation.”

Another respondent simply stated the force of what he had become accustomed to:

“I am used to the place and it will be difficult to adjust to a new place.”

And another summed it up in saying:

“This location is still in a better condition as compared to other black locations. I won’t leave to Pietersburg because I want to enjoy African beliefs, including tradition and culture”.

TABLE 4.10: CROSS-TABULATION BETWEEN RESPONDENTS IN STUDY AREA AND WHERE THEY WOULD PREFER TO STAY

(Row percentages - based on responses)

CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	PREFERRED PLACE TO STAY					Row totals
	Pietersburg	Seshego	Mankweng	Lebowakgomo	Other	
Seshego	20.0	62.5	5.0	0.0	12.5	33.33
Mankweng	22.5	2.5	65.0	2.5	7.5	33.33
Lebowakgomo	15.0	10.0	7.5	57.5	10.0	33.33
Column totals	19.2	25.0	25.8	20.0	10.0	100.0*

Note: *Total number of responses is 120

It was then suggested in the interview to the respondents that Seshego, Lebowakgomo, and Mankweng residents work and shop in Pietersburg, only to return to their homes daily, implying that these areas are no more than suburbs of the city. The findings determined a relatively balanced perceptual association with this hypothesis, since 57% agreed with the suggestion. The majority of Seshego and Lebowakgomo respondents agreed, while only 45% of Mankweng respondents agreed. Understandably, Seshego residents would agree because the former homeland town has been amalgamated with the city since 1995. Perhaps because of its isolation in geographic terms respondents wanted to see Lebowakgomo as part of the city.

Respondents who agreed with the above suggestion were asked to indicate whether the respective urban areas should be unified into one local authority. A majority indicated that a joint development plan would mean a redistribution of resources (13%), and especially the sharing of financial, structural and human resources. They also gave various other reasons why they should merge. There were those who recognised the fact that Pietersburg is economically dependent on them and that they are close to one another. On the other hand, some reasoned

that distance militates against a merger because it would produce an entity that would be fragmented and unmanageable. Town administrators and some councillors in these areas are not qualified to do their work, and therefore administration would be better if Pietersburg Municipality were responsible for it. This would ultimately enhance the tax base, because it would be collective. This, however, also raised a concern from some that taxes would increase so as to be on a par with Pietersburg, and that there is a difference in terms of services and infrastructure that poses different developmental needs in different areas. For example one respondent argued that:

“not all the people will afford such rentals [rates and taxes] because services are not the same and even the infrastructure so why should there be unification?”

A majority of the respondents from Mankweng (48%) and Seshego (65%) suggested that these areas would eventually physically grow together, whereas a slight majority of Lebowakgomo respondents (45%) foresaw no physical merger. In another survey the same hypothesis was put to residents staying in Pietersburg (see Chapter Six). There, 22% of the residents (excluding Seshego) responded in favour of being incorporated into one municipality.

4.3 EXPLAINING LINKAGES

4.3.1 A reinterpretation of urban form and function

Linkage surveys not only explain the functionality of and interaction between a number of urban areas, but can also be used to enhance the political administration of areas through aiding in boundary demarcations. Quantitative analysis, such as a regression model and linkage analysis, was used by Van der Merwe and Reyneke (1989) to identify a metropolitan region. Although Pietersburg and its functional area are not of metropolitan status, a similar quantitative application, or merely qualitative findings such as those described in the above section, can be helpful in demarcating a local government district.

A summary table of the linkages among the three dispersed areas and Pietersburg shows that on average high linkage percentages (more than 55%) are observed for shopping, services, and perception. Very low percentages (below 25%) were recorded for all three towns for social (5%) and employment (22%) variables (see Table 4.11). According to the indicators of Van

der Merwe and Reyneke (1989), perceptual value is ranked highest followed by social contact, then shopping and services, and lastly journey-to-work patterns. If the same indicator importance ranking is applied to the Pietersburg survey data, then one can qualitatively say that functionally these areas and Pietersburg are hardly coherent.

TABLE 4.11: DIFFERENT LINKAGES BETWEEN DISPERSED AREAS AND PIETERSBURG

SURROUNDING TOWNS	SHOPPING	SERVICES	WORK TRIP	SOCIAL	PERCEPTION
Lebowakgomo	63.6%	45.2%	15.0%	6.3%	60.0%
Mankweng	66.4%	61.7%	17.5%	6.3%	45.0%
Seshego	69.3%	60.0%	32.5%	2.5%	65.0%
Average	66.4%	55.6%	21.7%	5.0%	56.7%

Note: Highest percentage observed according to towns for specific linkage is indicated in bold.

Given the above qualitative findings, one may ask what implications these linkages have for understanding a city form that exhibits a displaced and dispersed urban settlement system. The familiar definition of a dispersed city portrays it as a “group of politically discrete cities which, although separated by tracts of agricultural land, function together economically as a single urban unit” (Burton, 1963: 285). The separate nodes are functionally interdependent urban entities. The concept ignores the existence of a strong core area, thus complicating the sense of place awareness and place perception among residents of the dispersed city. It is thus an abstract concept, describing the separate cities and their interdependence. Nevertheless, what if the interdependence is restricted to some extent, with a predominant core only in terms of economy? Should these urban areas then not be seen as dispersed or displaced suburbs of the core, as opposed to being conceptualised as a dispersed city? The urban developmental problems experienced in the three towns determined as part of the linkage questionnaire survey are discussed in the next section.

4.3.2 Developmental problems of the periphery

Qualifying development problems in the three towns is a difficult task for various reasons. Lack of comprehensive data and access to information forces one to rely on survey

respondents' perceptions regarding the future of their areas. Responses about the future of the areas have been grouped into 17 categories. A majority of Seshego (35%) and Lebowakgomo (30%) residents indicated that there will be no further changes to their area. Some said that they were sceptical and therefore have no hope for the future. Respondents from Mankweng, on the other hand, suggested that the town will develop and prosper (40%). Other responses warned that internal politics between SANCO and political organisations, and the fact that prominent members of the community "are moving to town" i.e. Pietersburg are detrimental to development. Others have argued that success will depend on leadership, and that some officials and local government staff are unable to do their work properly because the "municipal officials are not qualified for the assigned work". The hope that existing functionally important institutions such as the university, hospital and the government sector will determine growth and inevitably create more jobs was also noted: "with the decentralisation of Government departments it means the town [Lebowakgomo] will start to grow again". Some who foresee no change, substantiated their arguments by saying that migration from rural, and especially from surrounding rural areas, will increase whereas their own areas will simply remain residential or dormitory towns.

Respondents were asked to comment on the problems they experience while living in their areas. The Northern Province promotes itself as crime-free and labels itself the Province of Peace. Despite this claim, respondents from all three areas mentioned crime, violence, theft and taxi violence as the main problems they encounter within their living spaces. The percentages were as follows: Seshego (50%), Mankweng (58%), and Lebowakgomo (58%). They also mentioned in the interviews numerous other problems usually associated with black areas, *viz.* rates and taxes are too high, and migrants from rural areas put pressure on housing.

However, in 1993 the Lebowa housing Finance Minister was quoted as saying

"we do not experience influx problems in Lebowa, so that the people who are here have been here for quite some time, and therefore every person in Lebowa has some form of shelter. Our problem is to improve the quality of the type of shelter the people have" (Anonymous, 1993: 23).

If the respondents' problems are taken seriously then it is evident that pressure on the housing market has changed since 1993. The general lack of social services, such as police and

ambulance services, inadequate infrastructure in terms of roads, street lights, and electricity supply, incomplete development projects and littering were also mentioned. Other socially-related problems such as unemployment, shopping facilities that are absent or too far away, poor schools, social decay seen in drug and alcohol abuse, and the lack of community involvement in programmes and projects, overcrowding which results in noise, and squatting and homelessness complete the list. This is a typical Third World city scenario.

Despite the problems experienced, and taking into consideration the fact that the majority indicated that they have no intention to relocate in the future, respondents were asked what they enjoyed about living there. Close relations with family, friends, and community seem to be the main aspect enjoyed by most respondents. Typical responses were: "We are one big community"; "We accept and respect each other"; "We enjoy being together", and the "Ethnic group of my people is here". In Seshego (48%) and Mankweng (28%) respondents gave such reasons whereas in Lebowakgomo (18%) they singled out the close proximity to work. Other reasons vary from living being inexpensive in relation to Pietersburg's rates and services, proximity to Pietersburg, and the fact that it is better than rural life.

Experiencing problems in a Third World setting is usually related to housing and crime. The wide range of problems listed by the respondents indicate that broader political and developmental problems are also in need of redress. How would these problems for example be addressed if the towns were to be incorporated into a single local government with Pietersburg? What would the development trend then be?

4.4 DISPERSED CITY OR DISPLACED SUBURBS OF PIETERSBURG?

The Northern Province is one of the least urbanised provinces in South Africa with a mere 9% of its population living in urban areas in 1994. From a functional point of view, however, Urban-Econ *et al.* (1994) propose a figure of 35%. In other words, population concentrations surrounding the proclaimed towns are seen as part of the urban environment. Pietersburg plays a dominant role in the central sub-region of the province. This is evident from the above findings. It is also expected that the city will have an annual growth rate of 7% until the year 2000 (Urban-Econ *et al.*, 1994). In a nutshell, then, the city boasts the following:

- The largest industrial complex in the province which primarily aims at servicing the consumer market (distribution, packaging and service industries).
- Community and other services
- The growth of government sectors increasingly being centralised in the city. (However, the other government centres in former homeland capitals will still perform certain functions).
- Commercial and accommodation sectors. Pietersburg's commercial centre provides a sub-regional service to Botswana and Zimbabwe.
- A financial sector in which all major South African financial and insurance institutions are represented, some of which are expected to open up provincial head-offices.
- Transport services (bus, air, rail, road).

If the dispersed city model of Nieuwoudt (1983, 1986, 1987/1988) is examined and applied as a conceptual framework, three components can be used to specify a region or a system of urban areas in close proximity to one another. These are structure, circulation, and dynamics. According to Nieuwoudt (personal interview 1997) who is the leading thinker in South Africa on the dispersed city topic, the Pietersburg study area cannot be defined as a dispersed city. According to him Pietersburg has a dominant and strong core area, especially now that Seshego is politically incorporated with it. Furthermore, there is no real sharing of services between Pietersburg and its surrounding towns, and urban development is occurring separately. He rather suggests that future development of the city should be focused within a framework of metropolitan development.

Pietersburg and the dispersed entities could have developed into a functionally dispersed city form. However, apartheid policies for maintaining a core-periphery status dominated planning. A post-apartheid regional development strategy might have developed Mankweng into a tertiary educational town; Lebowakgomo could have been the provincial and public sector headquarters; while Pietersburg could have continued as the regional service centre. But the transition period has left a vacuum in which it is unlikely that any form of coherent planning will occur. Pietersburg's progress during transition has adversely affected the other towns excluded from urban development, denying them incentives for growth within an integrated strategy for the city.

The former Lebowa government buildings are under-utilised, yet the Provincial Government has planned to develop a R350 million government complex in Pietersburg. To use Lebowakgomo's governmental buildings as an integrated but dispersed entity of Pietersburg is a possibility. Though not favoured by the new political elite, this would enhance the functionality of the two towns to the benefit of the poorer communities located within the functional area through development along transport routes. It would not lead to further fragmentation, but would result in a polycentric city form with employment cores, ultimately breaking down the distinction between urban core and periphery (Republic of South Africa, 1995a: 19). Such a vision should not be seen as a growth centre policy, but instead as an integrated urban development strategy. Lebowakgomo would be part and parcel of Pietersburg.

An alternative approach, comprising two different strategies, as has been suggested by Bolt (1996), is also worth examining. First, if R350 million has been made available for the project, it should be invested against a guaranteed return. This invested amount would then be available for a period of time, say ten years, to be spent on improving government machinery, rather than on a massive and expensive government complex. The province, which is rated the poorest in South Africa, would therefore directly benefit from short-term results, whereas if the complex is built, it might take years before benefits materialise. The second strategy would be to adopt a “diffused process of governance, sustained by income flows derived from investments which [would] in themselves contribute to the achievement of objectives” (Bolt, 1996). In other words, the argument is not for a form of building but for a different function of Government - one in which a superior network of communication using modern technology would enhance performance and revise outdated styles of governance and administration. The University of the North has expanded into Pietersburg by building its Business School (Edupark) there. Other tertiary institutions have opened branches in Pietersburg, instead of in Mankweng where they could have shared resources and helped to develop and uplift a much neglected town.

Race dictated early economic planning, subsequent growth and decisions in the province. As has been shown above, the transition period caught politicians, planners and community leaders off guard. They were unaware of the potential increase in interest in the capital. Planning possibilities for an orderly urbanisation and a functionally dispersed city cannot

materialise now. Too much has already happened and developed during the 1990s to reverse the options. Developing and investing in a multi-centred polycentric city form should now be seen as the most viable option for developing the study area within the framework of a district form of government or metropolitan area. The absence of integrated development planning is evident in the problems experienced in the former homeland towns. The RDP and municipal infrastructure development programmes (MIDP) are slow in delivery and in any case analysis of their successes or failures is beyond the scope of this study. Policy should be geared towards enhancing the strengths of the dispersed entities. Housing expansion, for example, should capitalise on building materials and warehouses. One is, however, reluctant to feel optimistic, especially given the lack of local leadership and assistance from the Northern Province Government and District Council in facilitating local economic development initiatives which are much needed since

“the failure of previous ‘growth pole’ policies was largely due to over-generalisations of urban centre’s development potential, and ‘small towns programmes’ now tend to give more attention to the needs and potential of individual sites” (Tacoli, 1998: 154) .

Many initiatives based on the government’s reconstruction ideals are needed to establish and generate local economic development in the identified “multi-centres”.

4.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the study conducted in the three dispersed entities of Pietersburg, namely, Mankweng, Seshego, and Lebowakgomo, nine variables were applied in determining the linkage pattern with Pietersburg. The sample showed that very few of the economically active respondents were working in Pietersburg. The highest percentage of those that do work there are residents from Seshego - which at the time of the survey had effectively been part of Pietersburg’s political territory. Travel patterns obtained from a transport study, conducted by an engineering firm, show that there is great vehicular movement to Pietersburg, with the highest growth rate in traffic occurring on the road from Lebowakgomo. Most respondents’ children attend schools in their own towns. Only 15% of respondents had children who attend school in Pietersburg. Recreation and leisure time is spent in their own areas with the minor exception of attending soccer fixtures in Pietersburg - 39% of the sample respondents. Social linkages are very low

with only 5% of the respondents having social interaction with relatives/friends in the city. Except for postal and medical services, all other services procurement and shopping are usually done in Pietersburg (refer to Table 4.9). Despite the shortcomings in the respective towns and the distance to Pietersburg, in all three towns the majority of respondents indicated that they prefer staying in their own localities. This affinity with place was also tested to perceptual association (i.e. whether their urban places should be seen as part of an integrated settlement pattern of Pietersburg). Only 57% agreed that it should. If the above variables are combined into five main categories of analysis, the following averages for all three towns were observed in terms of linkages with Pietersburg: shopping (66%), services (56%), work patterns (22%), social (5%), and perception (57%) (refer to Table 4.11).

This chapter asked what the Pietersburg settlement pattern would have looked like without apartheid-driven planning and development. Would there have been one big city or a metropolitan area? One should, however, conceptualise the contemporary displaced settlement pattern and see how, with a changing world and a transformed South Africa, the pattern might adapt and change. More especially how might planners effectively shape and direct a settlement pattern that is changing along with world trends? The legacies of the apartheid city as described in Chapter Three underpin any discussion on Pietersburg's contemporary urban form and function. The demise of apartheid has also transformed the monocentric city form that had been based on industrial development. In South Africa, with its blend of First and Third World elements, many urban phenomena observed elsewhere can be seen.

Within a radius of 50 km Pietersburg is surrounded by hundreds of rural towns under traditional authority. These are actually no more than dispersed suburbs of the city. Although the proclaimed towns are politically and spatially separated from the city, they remain places of cultural significance. Such places, previously referred to as dormitory towns, repudiate this concept because the emancipated political transformation process is making intra-and inter-urban migration probable. Political fragmentation through the immense number of local governments evident in the region exemplifies the inefficiency of urban structures in the region. While a number of these settlements exhibit a true traditional and rural lifestyle, the inhabitants are absorbed into the developments and services of the capital city, Pietersburg.

Four proclaimed former black homeland towns are found within a 60 km radius of Pietersburg, each with its own characteristics, historical status and functions. Lebowakgomo developed as a new town and as a planned capital of the former self-governing territory of Lebowa. It is situated 55 km south of Pietersburg with approximately 30 000 residents. Since it has lost its governmental administrative function, it has been downgraded to the status of a central sub-regional headquarters of the Northern Province responsible for certain administrative functions. The billions of Rands spent on government buildings, a Chief Ministry and MEC housing are proof of the fallacy of ethnic development. Subsequently, and especially after grand apartheid planning, the town performed the function of providing migrants from the surrounding and agriculturally-deprived areas of the former bantustan with a springboard to seek a better life. Cheap accommodation and services and few restrictive policies on place of residence contributed to the town's new function. Social polarisation in the town is striking with a buffer strip of open land separating the area where bureaucrats resided from that of other residents.

The University town of Mankweng is located 30 km east of Pietersburg. Its origin dates back to the 1960s with the implementation of the Verwoerdian policy of Bantu Education. Until the 1990s the town primarily accommodated black staff and students attached to the University of the North, as well as workers at the Mankweng hospital. Political transformation has also caused spatial expansion, informal development, and urban decay. The functions provided by the University for the town do not extend beyond the physical boundary. The town typifies the backwardness of black university towns in contrast to their white counterparts such as Stellenbosch and Grahamstown. A lack of indoor recreational facilities and basic retail and other services characterises the town. Locals refer to the university as an "academic slum". With a few exceptions, all business must be done in the city. Yet one should emphasise the potential development that the town might have enjoyed as a centre for tertiary education, given the decentralisation of branches of other educational institutions to Pietersburg. The Technikon RSA and UNISA (regional headquarters), Pretoria Technikon, the University of Stellenbosch (satellite teaching centre), Potchefstroom University, Technical Colleges, and the College of South Africa have, except for UNISA, located branches in Pietersburg since 1990. The lack of integrated development planning by the Provincial Government to enhance the educational character of Mankweng is proof that Pietersburg's dominant role is also political.

The possibilities for a multiplier effect (Harris, 1997) by the university on the local economy could have been strengthened and developed. Student expenditure, household expenditure by staff members, the value of the university for local expenditure in terms of materials and equipment - these will never now materialise. Other effects that a node of educational institutions in Mankweng could have had in terms of an urban role include the general economic impact, maximising the local economy, environmental and social benefits, the building of partnerships with the private sector and community acting as an expertise and information centre, and playing a role in knowledge-based economic growth and social work (see *GeoJournal* Vol. 41(4), 1994 for a special edition on universities in urban economics).

Seshego, the former homeland-border township and growth point adjacent to Pietersburg, is the only one of the three former homeland proclaimed towns to have politically been incorporated into Pietersburg, in the process benefiting from the status of the city. Despite Seshego's advantage, the area nevertheless experiences similar problems to those of the other black towns. The remaining chapters will, however, illustrate how, because of post-apartheid urban transition and restructuring processes, Seshego became integrated with Pietersburg. In the following chapters it will also be argued that the functional boundaries of Pietersburg should be altered to embrace the dispersed entities. A detailed account of the local government restructuring process that led to the incorporation of Seshego with Pietersburg, but to the exclusion of the other towns, will be given in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 5: RESTRUCTURING URBAN GOVERNANCE DURING TRANSITION

“As most readers will be aware, South Africa is undergoing an extraordinary transition from apartheid to a non-racial, democratically elected system of government that allows for the participation of all South Africans in the decision-making process” (McDonald, 1997: 28)

The two previous chapters have set the scene for the remaining sections in various ways. First, a better understanding of the spatio-political development of the study area, concomitant with spatial deficiencies, was attempted. Second, the overall dominance of Pietersburg in relation to its dispersed proclaimed towns, with the dichotomy that exists between the city and the towns in terms of governance, development, growth and post-apartheid possibilities, explains the continuing core-periphery relationship. This is a relationship that the new government is trying to remove with its policies. These towns will look to Pietersburg as a stimulus for growth that will expand outwards to these centres and eventually produce a functional polycentric city. How Pietersburg has restructured since apartheid will dictate to these centres how to transform and integrate as well. Thus the focus from now on will be on how Pietersburg has experienced transformation during the 1990s. Chapter Five looks at local government restructuring. Chapter Six discusses social change realised through shifts in residential patterns. Chapter Seven focuses on informal economic restructuring and changes experienced during the 1990s. Chapter Eight displays restructuring and reconstruction as it is realised through spatial development planning.

5.1 CONSERVATIVE LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL DURING APARTHEID

The lengthy, yet rewarding, process of transforming South African society from a racially exclusive to an equal non-racial democracy reached fruition with the first national general elections held for all races in April 1994. The transitional phase of the so-called new South Africa was achieved by bridging the gap between national and local politics through the local government elections held in most parts of the country in November 1995. However, the struggle for sovereign political space by particular conservative political and cultural

organisations was not persisted with. It is, nevertheless, inevitable that in the aftermath of apartheid certain labels and perceptions attached to specific geographical spaces such as regions, provinces, and cities will persist for some time, and primarily those hailed as conservative during the apartheid era. Ramutsindela (1997: 108) argues that the

“reorganisation of the territorial space through new provinces and local governments is straddled with the reality that existing racial, ethnic and tribal geographies could not at a stroke of a pen be wished away”.

The question, therefore, is how, if at all, the election outcomes altered or shifted perceptual boundaries of conservative spaces. A case in point here is the provincial capital, Pietersburg.

By the 1980s the National Party and its apartheid administrative machinery had managed to partition South Africa into various regions (see Christopher 1994 for an illustrative account of the changing geographical atlas of South Africa). In assuming its final form during the 1980s, grand apartheid territorial separation, based on ethnicity, partitioned the country's most northern area into four political-administrative territories: the independent state of Venda; Gazankulu and Lebowa (self-governing territories or homelands); and the 'white' Northern Transvaal (NTVL), with Pietersburg as the apartheid government's administrative regional headquarters. The so-called economic-development regions, first proposed by the National Physical Development Plan in 1975, also took final shape by 1982, with the above fragmented political-administrative region being demarcated as Region G. Through apartheid doctrine, deconcentration and decentralisation points were identified in and around homeland capitals. These were conveniently near major 'white towns' in the NTVL such as Pietersburg, Phalaborwa, and Tzaneen. This costly exercise in grand apartheid social engineering resulted in abnormal functioning in the region at large, which hampered coherent administration and internal cohesion and resulted in a lack of socio-economic development. By the end of the decade it had also produced proportional inequalities.

After 2 February 1990 dramatic political changes paved the way for multi-party negotiations and negotiators formulated a transitional constitution to guide the country to its first non-racial election. A new political dispensation, with a government of national unity (GNU) emerging from negotiations, finally buried four decades of one-party rule. As an integral part of the transitional process, the Commission for the Demarcation and Delimitation of

States/Provinces/Regions (CDDR) was responsible for the configuration of new provinces (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1995; Khosa & Muthien, 1997; Ramutsindela, 1997). The Northern Province - its official post-apartheid appellation - received autonomous provincial status to become one of the new nation's nine provinces with boundaries basically resembling those of the former Region G.

The province, however, inherited numerous problems resulting from its physical location and political legacy: the socio-political inheritance of three homelands; inefficient local government structures; environmental consequences of drought and a general water shortage; and an influx of illegal immigrants from neighbouring states - to name but a few. The province is regarded as the country's poorest with a per capita GDP of R1 266 compared to an overall figure for South Africa of R 5042. Other problems are also prevalent. For example, according to the United Nations Development Programme's calculation, the province ranks lowest of all nine in terms of the human development index (HDI). Exacerbating this situation is a population growth rate of 3% per annum - again, the highest in South Africa (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1995).

During the period of transition in the 1990s - the period of negotiating a peaceful settlement - a number of proposals for a whites-only homeland (*volkstaat*) were suggested by conservative right wing parties. The irony of this was that the Northern Transvaal, whose white voters had, until the end of the 1980s, often shown their loyalty to conservative politics, had mostly been omitted from conservative partition proposals for an Afrikaner *volkstaat* because of the presence of a 97% black majority in the region (Christopher, 1994). Three white voting outcomes in the former NTVL region can be described to illustrate the perceived white conservatism of the region. South Africa entered its initial phase of national political reform when a whites-only referendum to mandate the National Party government to institute a Tri-Cameral constitution was announced in 1983. The white electorate was given a choice to decide whether coloured and Indian racial groups could have representation in government, albeit in an obscure manner. In this referendum, more than 65% of the white electorate voted for change. Fourteen national voting districts (based on regional boundaries) demonstrated wide support for a new dispensation, with only one region saying no to reform. The region, which actually comprised the Northern Transvaal, was named after its voting centre,

Pietersburg. By then the conservative image had become internationally known after an August 1983 *Washington Post* description of the city as "the main street of Afrikanerdom" (quoted in Changuion, 1986: 221). Signs of radical political change towards the end of the 1980s contributed to a shift in white politics to opt for a conservative vote. This perception of the NTVL as a white conservative stronghold was reinforced, moreover, by the outcome of the last all-white 1989 House of Assembly 'general' election. The Conservative Party won all five of the constituencies - in the process gaining one previously held by the National Party (Lemon, 1990). Despite significant support for conservative politics at that time, however, this did not prevent swift changes taking place after the resignation of P.W. Botha.

By obstructing the negotiation process, conservative politics compelled the National Party to prove beyond doubt to the country's citizens its commitment to a changing political order. The white electorate, for the last time ever, was given an opportunity to show their support for a newly-negotiated political dispensation in the March 1992 referendum mandated by President F.W. de Klerk. Only one of the fifteen polling districts voted for a continuation of apartheid policies: again it was the Northern Transvaal. The overall result, nevertheless, signalled the demise of the Conservative Party in South African politics.

With the referendum results fresh in the memory, the image of a conservative North persisted, supported by the media, both national and international. No interim post-apartheid reconstruction and transformation process (1990-1995) including, *inter alia*, the amalgamation of local governments, the incorporation of bantustans, and the demographic status of an electorate in a province now manifestly black, could disturb this perception. Not surprisingly, however, reflections on the first democratic election held on 26-28 April 1994 reveal major misconceptions about conservative spaces in terms of non-racial voting outcomes. In contrast to other provinces, Northern Province results showed by far the greatest win for the African National Congress (ANC) - 92%. Although the whites-only Conservative Party (CP) boycotted the elections it is assumed that most of its supporters voted for the newly-established Freedom Front (FF), which only scored 2%. Also, a very low percentage for the National Party (3%), and for other minor parties such as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Democratic Party (DP), and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), which registered a combined showing of a mere 3% (Reynolds, 1994), finally destroyed the myth and/or distorted perception

of a “conservative north”. However, the conservative image prevailed as a reality for the capital, Pietersburg, as will be shown in an analysis of the local government elections of 1995 (see section 5.4.2).

5.2 DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND URBAN POLITICS DURING THE 1990s: A SYNOPSIS

Continual destabilisation of urban governance characterized resistance to apartheid in the 1980s. The formation of civic organizations in black townships was used as a legal smoke-screen to exert pressure at the local government level that would be felt at the national level as well. Disenfranchised communities voted with their feet through rent and service boycotts, campaigns for the resignation of black town councillors from the elitist, corrupt and bankrupt Black Local Authorities, and demands for a one-city-one-municipality arrangement (a single tax base and non-racial voters’ roll). With the unbanning of political parties and the releasing of political prisoners from 1990, resistance to apartheid shifted to national level issues.

Cities such as Pietersburg straddling homeland boundaries have had particularly different transformation challenges imposed on them during the political transition in the 1990s. Bekker (1991: 117-118) has listed seven problematic areas. They include a tension between own affairs and general affairs, areas of jurisdiction, informal settlements including dense settlements under tribal authority, capacitation, the inadequate training and qualifications of homeland officials and councillors, bankruptcy and mismanaged local government finances, RSCs’ weaknesses, and the process of local government transformation. Local government transformation began with interim legislation passed by the then ruling National Party under the leadership of President F.W. de Klerk, who initiated radical reforms for the demise of apartheid. The Interim Measures for Local Government Act (1991) was, however, rejected by the democratic movement with civic organizations in the forefront because “it failed to establish a nationally agreed upon set of guiding principles and often entrenched apartheid structures” (Van Ameringen, 1995: 69). Negotiation under this legislation was voluntary and conservative councils ignored it. According to Turok (1994b: 358) only one in five towns/cities came to any kind of agreement.

Initially the concerns of national political negotiators overshadowed local government issues at the beginning of the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum or the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) at Kempton Park in 1993. Through the establishment of the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) local and national levels of governance were separated. The changing nature of South Africa's political system since 1990 impacted directly on local government systems. The failure of apartheid is most evident at this level of governance where most urban areas had been separated into different sub-systems, among others, a white local authority, a coloured management committee, an Indian management committee, and a black local authority. Negotiations at national level for the restructuring of local government during the transitional phase have been documented elsewhere (Cloete, 1995) and are beyond the scope of this chapter. Administrative function and governance at local government level had to be restructured according to the Local Government Transitional Act, Act 209 of 1993 as amended (Cameron, 1996a; Cloete, 1995; Pycroft, 1996; Reddy, 1996). The Act provided for three phases during transition to a non-racial local government. The first was a pre-interim phase of local negotiating forums that included negotiating and demarcating local government boundaries. The second was an interim phase of a three-to-five year transition period after the election under which transitional councils would be elected. The third involved the endorsement of the country's constitution. These phases in the restructuring of governance in South Africa - at national and local level - appeared to achieve transformation in parallel (see Table 5.1).

TABLE: 5.1 PARALLEL TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES DURING TRANSITION

NATIONAL LEVEL	LOCAL LEVEL
Transit appointed period * Multi-party negotiations * CODESA * TEC	Pre-interim period * Multi-party negotiations * Local forums * TMC/TLC/TLCC
Interim elected period * National elections (April 1994) * Elected interim parliament * Government of National Unity (5 years)	Interim period * Local elections (October 1995-April 1996) * Elected Interim Local Authorities * Government of Local Unity (3-5 years)
Final democratic phase * Final constitution * Final Government Model	Final phase Final Local Government Constitution Final Local Government Model

Source: Cloete (1995: 6)

Functionally, local government restructuring was realised through the establishment of forums for negotiating this. These forums and demarcation boards were the creations of the Local Government Transitional Act. It provided a framework for the following activities:

- The restructuring of local government
- The recognition and establishment of forums for negotiating the restructuring of local government
- The establishment of provincial committees for local government in each province
- The establishment of appointed transitional councils in the pre-interim phase
- The delimitation of areas of jurisdiction and the election of transitional councils in the interim phase
- The establishment of a local government demarcation board in each province (Elections Task Group, 1996:6)

The Local Government Elections Task Group, appointed by the Cabinet, performed certain functions that included the demarcation of jurisdiction boundaries and the delimitation of wards. Their objectives, within strict time frames, especially national time frames, were to ensure that the Demarcation Boards were established and operational in all the provinces, and to provide advice and recommendations regarding the demarcation of jurisdiction areas and the delimitation of wards (Election Task Group, 1996: 33).

Within the boundaries of the Northern Province (Region G) four distinct political administrative entities existed all of which were directly responsible to parliament and which have since been financed from the Revenue Fund of the Central Government (De Villiers & Partners, 1991: 65). One was the Transvaal Provincial Administration that had functioned since 1986 as an extension of Central Government to the second tier level. A second comprised the self-governing territories of Lebowa and Gazankulu, which were constituted in terms of the National States' Constitution Act. They had a Legislative Assembly, Cabinets and executive departments. A third entity was the "independent" Republic of Venda, but internationally only the South African government regarded Venda as a sovereign independent state. Lastly, at local government level many structures also existed by 1990. These included Local Authorities outside the homelands which comprised town councils, coloured and Indian Management Committees, Black Local authorities, a Transvaal Board on local government

affairs, and Regional Services Council's (RSCs). Within the homelands, the only forms of local government at the third tier level were Tribal and/or Community Authorities and Regional Authorities. The functioning and performance of duties at the second tier governmental level had been highly fragmented with disparate policies, and the fact that certain components were not financially viable, because of their artificiality, prevented a single economic system from developing (De Villiers & Partners, 1991).

Three remodelling processes, at national and local level were agreed upon by political parties during the negotiations for devising a local government act. All three phases had been completed when the South African Constitution was adopted on 8 May 1996 (and amended on 11 October 1996 by the Constitutional Court). Furthermore, the interim arrangement divided local government models into two categories: Non-metropolitan and Metropolitan areas. Non-metropolitan areas include three types, namely Urban Transitional Local Councils (TLCs), also known as 'stand-alone' towns; Urban Local Government Coordinating Committees (LGCCs); and Rural service councils, subregional or district councils. Metropolitan areas comprise Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMCs) and Transitional Metropolitan Substructures (TMSs) (Cloete, 1994; 1995; Elections Task Group, 1996).

5.3 PRE-INTERIM PHASE: LOCAL NEGOTIATION FORUMS AND FORUM BOUNDARIES

5.3.1 Creation of a Negotiation Forum for Pietersburg

The negotiations at national level that led to the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) for the pre-interim and interim periods will not be discussed here (see Cloete, 1995; Robinson, 1996). It is, however, important to note that this negotiation process was taking place concurrently with the multi-party Negotiating Council (CODESA). It was agreed that structures seeking membership of this Local Government Negotiation Forum (LGNF) had to be "nationally constituted, be a stakeholder in local government (or motivate its particular interest in local government), and be a part of either the statutory or non-statutory delegations... Political parties, women's organisations, business groups and regionally based organisations were therefore excluded from the negotiations" (Robinson, 1996: 341).

Two broad groupings were present: governmental (local government bodies, provincial municipal associations, etc.), and non-governmental organisations under the banner of the South Africa National Civic Organisation (SANCO). The LGTA was thoroughly negotiated at this level and, by way of debates in the press, at various forums and at public meetings (Cloete, 1995).

In terms of the LGTA, 1993 (Act 209 of 1993) a Local Government Forum had to be established for Pietersburg with its segregated black township, Seshego, and any such areas historically and economically bound to the city. In line with the negotiated settlement style of politics characteristic of the South African transition to democracy, all interested political parties/bodies or individuals were invited, via the media, to attend the inaugural public meeting - originally known as the Pietersburg/Seshego Negotiating Forum - on 2 March 1994. This was provided for in Section 6 of the LGTA, and all the participating bodies, organisations, or parties had to submit a written constitution, a list of office-bearers, details of activities and membership, and full details of contact numbers (*Noord Transvaler*, 1994/2/18). In addition to the advertisement, the Town Clerk invited other persons and bodies, such as Lebowa Government representatives, to attend the historic meeting. Sixty-two people attended and included, in addition to the above, representatives from rural local government areas historically bound to Pietersburg such as Mankweng, Mashashane, Matlala, Moletsie, Dalmada. Lebowakgomo, the third dispersed satellite of Pietersburg discussed in the previous chapter, was not asked to participate because it was felt that it was not functionally part of the city.

It was the first time in the city's history that the ANC and other former liberation movements and organisations had assembled with white right-wing parties. Frivolous action by the AWB, however, tried to obstruct and intimidate the meeting in that "meer as 'n honderd gewapende en soms aggressiewe lede van die AWB 'n paar rye in die saal volgepak"[more than a hundred and sometimes aggressive members of the AWB packed a few rows in the hall] (*Northern Review*, 1994/3/11:1). The fate of previously defended spaces was now determined by skilled negotiators, and not by dominance through force and racial prejudice. Controversy marred the inaugural meeting. The Town Clerk, who acted as chairperson of the meeting, called for the election of a chairperson of the Negotiation Forum. Three persons were nominated - a

Conservative Party MP, a National Party member and an ANC member. It was then realised that, according to the Local Government Transition Bill, a chairperson could not be voted in, but must be appointed by means of a consensus. Not surprisingly, the chairperson adjourned the meeting without reaching any consensus and it was agreed that the three nominated persons would at a later date consult the Town Clerk on the issue.

The second Negotiating Forum meeting was held on 23 March 1994 and 62 people attended. Constitutions were submitted by all the participant organisations and bodies¹. From the start, the territorial mind-frame was Pietersburg/Seshego, yet various representatives from areas as far from Pietersburg as Mankweng attended the Negotiation Forum meeting. The NP handed in a motion suggesting that they form a Negotiation Forum in terms of the provisions of the LGTA and that the Town Clerk be authorised to submit an application to the Administrator. The ANC objected to the name of the forum - Pietersburg - and asked that it be amended to Pietersburg/Seshego. A Development Bank representative's alternative suggestion of Greater Pietersburg was unanimously accepted. Delegates proposed the Pietersburg City Council as Secretariat because of its work-force, infrastructure and funds available.

The Forum henceforth agreed to meet between 15-19 August 1994 to negotiate the pre-interim phase of restructuring local government. They could have followed various possible procedures for the establishment of forums in which to execute their functions (Cloete, 1995).

On the agenda for the meetings were:

- acceptance of rules of order for the forum
- determination of forum areas in terms of the Local Government Transitional Act
- consideration of application for membership and status, and determination of voting power per organisation
- determination of statutory and non-statutory members of the forum, and the election

¹ ANC, Afrikaner Volksfront, Afrikaner Volkswag, AWB, Provincial Committee on Local Government (ANC), Baloni Local Government, Tax Payer's Association, COSATU, ESKOM, Conservative Retail Association, CP, Lebowa Government, Mashashane Tribal Authority, Matlala Tribal Authority, Moletsi Local Government, MWASA, NP, Development Bank of Southern Africa, PAC, Radio Yster, Researchers from the University of the North, Roodepoort/Palmietfontein Waaksvereniging, South Africa Institute of Civil Engineers, SANCO, SAVMW, Seshego Negotiating Forum, Seshego Taxi Association, Seshego Welfare Society, Social Economic Reconstruction and Development, SACP, Pietersburg Councillors, RSC, Turfloop Civic Association (Mankweng), Mankweng Civic Organisation, Tribal chiefs, SANCO, and other minor political parties were also present.

of a chairperson

- determination of the form of the Negotiation Forum (three options: metropolitan, Local Council or Local Government coordinating committee)
- total number of seats in the Transitional Local Council and the nomination of persons for appointment as members of the Transitional Local Council
- drafting of the agreement reached between the parties to be submitted to the Premier.

After approximately eighteen consecutive meetings, and by a two-thirds majority of its members, the Negotiation Forum for Pietersburg/Polokwane - as it was known by then - reached a final consensus and an agreement was signed late in September 1994 (*Northern Review*, 1994/9/30:3). The following section discusses the important categories negotiated.

5.3.2 A representative Negotiation Forum?

Structures to serve in a Negotiation Forum were agreed on at national multi-party negotiations, where the ANC's proposal that at the local level the LGNF should be divided into statutory and non-statutory delegations was adopted (Robinson, 1996). The Negotiation Forum had two options for restructuring local government during this phase of transition. One, it could nominate transitional councils, provided that a 50/50 rule for representation was applied to cater for a statutory and a non-statutory component. Representation on these two components had to reflect 50% of the nominations to include members of the local government bodies concerned, in this case Pietersburg, Nirvana, Seshego, and Westenburg. The other 50% should:

“comprise equitable representation of all those sectors of society that in the past did not participate in the electoral process in the area of that forum”
(Republic of South Africa, 1994: 34).

A third component, with observer status, could also have applied for status within the Forum, and could have fully participated in its discussions, but without either a vote or full membership (Cloete, 1995). The other option was to continue with the existing council in the Forum but also to appoint members to a local government coordinating committee (Cloete, 1995). In Pietersburg, the Negotiation Forum delegates chose the first option. The respective delegates from the two categories are shown in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2: ELECTED MEMBERS AND PARTIES AT STATUTORY AND NON-STATUTORY BODIES OF THE PIETERSBURG/POLOKWANE NEGOTIATION FORUM

STATUTORY	NON-STATUTORY
MEMBERS APPOINTED AS COUNCILLORS FOR THIS COMPONENT 6 National Party 4 Conservative Party 1 Westenburg 1 Nirvana	MEMBERS APPOINTED AS COUNCILLORS FOR THIS COMPONENT 4 ANC 5 SANCO 1 SACP 2 PAC

Source: *Northern Transvaal Provincial Gazette* (1995a: 14-15)

The 50/50 formula appeared to be a thorny issue in most local areas. In Durban, for example, a majority of councillors supported the accord, but a crisis developed when the NP insisted that the Local Affairs Committee receive a quarter of the seats on the interim council (Maharaj, 1996). In Pietersburg, the National Party had objected to its inclusion in the statutory component. Nationally, the Conservative Party had been boycotting the forum formations. Ambiguity in the Transitional Local Government Act, however, meant that the Transvaal Provincial Government could influence forums in accepting all serving councillors, specifically Conservative Party councillors, in their individual capacity with voting power in the forum. No Conservative Party member was nominated for either the statutory or non-statutory component but two councillors and two nominated members were eventually admitted to the Transitional Local Council. The Conservative Party and Freedom Front opted for schedule 7(1)(c) - a local government coordinating committee. They eventually agreed in the spirit of negotiation and reconciliation, to accept the other option (*Northern Review*, 1994/9/9: 6). Table 5.2 shows the degree of representation, not only from political parties but also community-based organisations. The actual role played by these bodies in the transition period, and their inputs in relation to urban restructuring is, however, unknown. Major inputs nevertheless came from the political parties, despite the fact that most of the so-called community based organisations are politically linked.

5.3.3 Forum boundaries and amalgamation

The Negotiation Forum had to follow certain criteria for the identification of a forum area according to Schedule 1 of the Act. These included the following:

- commercial and industrial linkages
- daily commuting patterns
- provision of services within the area
- prevailing jurisdiction of local government bodies (including pre-1971 jurisdiction that refers to some black local authorities excised from the jurisdiction of white local governments) (Cloete, 1995:9).

Other functions of the Negotiation Forum included recommendation to the Administrator on forum boundaries plus the demarcation of wards for the election, and the name of the transitional council, while other negotiated duties included the delimitation of the area of jurisdiction. The Administrator, however, had to make the final decision on boundaries. Recommendations had to be submitted to him by the forum, the interim councils, and the Demarcation Board (Cloete, 1995). Rural areas could have been incorporated into urban areas if the above criteria had been followed. The Negotiation Forum never considered incorporating adjacent rural tribal areas that were inherently within the functional area of the city. The complication of including tribal chiefs within a western style of governance was used as the reason for territorial division, and not economic, cultural, and civil reasons.

Certain urban conurbations in South Africa could have been defined as Metropolitan Forums. Larger cities and secondary city areas, for example Pietersburg-Lebowakgomo-Mankweng, could have been defined as Metropolitan Forums for most of them would have met the following criteria: “(a) comprising the areas of jurisdiction of multiple local governments;

(b) which is densely populated and has an intense movement of people, goods and services within the area;

(c) which is extensively developed or urbanized and has more than one central business district, industrial area and concentration of employment;

(d) which, economically, forms a functional unit comprising various smaller units which are interdependent economically and in respect of services” (Sutcliffe, nd).

The media reported that the Negotiation Forum reached its decision on the jurisdiction boundary by using the following criteria: economic interdependence, local commuter patterns, trade and industry linkages, and the historic relationship between Pietersburg and Seshego (*Northern Review*, 1994/9/30:3). The functional boundary of Pietersburg was ignored and only political aspects were considered. Thus urban restructuring during transformation from apartheid relied much on consensus and reaching agreements without major conflict, albeit in certain areas.

5.3.4 Amalgamation of Pietersburg and Seshego

After a two-thirds majority agreed to form a Transitional Local Council (on 24 September 1994), the agreement adopted in terms of section 7(1)(b)(I) of the LGTA, 1993, covering Seshego and Pietersburg, was submitted to the Premier a few days later. Adoption of the submission meant that the restructuring process had up till then achieved the unachievable, namely the creation of a new urban identity through the adoption of a new name - Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC. Practical transitional measures, on which the parties had to reach consensus, covered general restructuring through amalgamation. The winding up or transfer of the assets, rights, and liabilities of the current Seshego local government body to the Transitional Local Council, and the supply of services, including any subsidies also, had to be arranged. The transfer and admission of employees to the “new” TLC, with the continued application of existing resolutions, by-laws and regulations of the current local government bodies, had also to be provided for. Restructuring resulted in the ending of the terms of office of those Council members not appointed as members of the TLC (PBA: 12/3/3/5/3 - Vol. 7). This effectively ended white local governance in the city for ever.

Pietersburg and Seshego were, however, only effectively promulgated as a single city as from 16 January 1995 (*Northern Transvaal Provincial Gazette*, 1995a). The proclamation made provision for the specific rules and regulations negotiated during the Negotiation Forum. The TLC would comprise 24 Councillors. A mayor had to be elected within seven days of the promulgation. The jurisdiction area only included Pietersburg and Seshego. Statutory and non-statutory members were to be elected as councillors and would assume office until the first local government election took place in 1995. The amalgamation of Pietersburg and Seshego did not comprise the amalgamation of two local authorities. Administratively it was rather a

joint venture between Pietersburg local authority and the Provincial Government. This stems from the Provincial Government inheriting the powers, functions, assets, liabilities and duties of the former Lebowa Government. Soon after the appointment of the Transitional Local Council, and according to the LGTA (section 9 (2)), a commission was established to determine which assets, liabilities, rights and obligations of Seshego would be transferred to the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC in order to achieve an effective administration.

At the first sitting of the TLC on 23 January 1995, the newly-established TLC (created through consensus), elected a Mayor, Deputy-Mayor and an Executive Committee (EXCO). It was apparent in the process of electing these members that the parties had agreed on their positions before the meeting. The ANC's Mr L Mapoulo became the first ever elected black Mayor. The EXCO leaned towards the National Party with four of its members making up that body, while one Freedom Front and one Conservative Party member made up the statutory component. The non-statutory component included one PAC and one ANC member and two SANCO members (PBA: 3/2/1 - Vol. 1). In summary, the pre-interim phase showed similarities with other small town case studies (see Bekker *et al.*, 1997: 54) in that the process was "enthusiastic, reasonably representative, and often contested". The Pietersburg case study also showed "extraordinary tolerance, compliance and co-operation".

5.4 INTERIM PERIOD: ELECTED TRANSITIONAL COUNCILS

Three phases were characteristic of the interim period that started the "day after the elections for transitional councils as contemplated in section 9 of the Act and [would end] with the implementation of final arrangements to be enacted by a competent legislative authority" (Cloete, 1995: 6). Another period would last until 1999, after the second general election. The three phases encompassed the local elections (October 1995), the emergence of elected interim Local Authorities, and the installation of a Government of Local Unity.

5.4.1 Local Government demarcation

The procedure followed after the Demarcation Board evaluated the written representation from Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC was to submit it to the Premier/MEC whom the legislation required to:

- “(a) demarcate or re-demarcate the area of jurisdiction of such transitional authority
- (b) determine the number of seats in such transitional authority taking into account the right of any traditional leader
- (c) delimit the area of jurisdiction of such transitional authority into wards
- (d) determine the number of seats in each ward provided that in a transitional authority all wards shall have an equal number of seats” (Elections Task Group, 1996: 67).

In the Northern Province, twelve urban local authority areas of jurisdiction were proclaimed. Pietersburg was effectively proclaimed in the Provincial Gazette on 16 January 1995 (*Northern Transvaal Provincial Gazette*, 1995a). Five external factors had to be taken into consideration with the demarcation of boundaries at the local government level, for it was argued by the then Transvaal Provincial Administration that the restructuring of Local Government was politically sensitive. To reduce and/or eliminate resistance, the amalgamation of two or more local governments in a new transitional structure through forums must take cognisance of economic linkages and politically sensitive situations. All discriminatory legislation and institutions had to be abandoned. People’s fears - for example of being dominated by a majority and the effect on their property valuations - had to be accommodated.

Local Government Demarcation Boards had the task of identifying optimal areas of jurisdiction in defining metropolitan councils, metropolitan substructures and local councils with the primary aim of preparing and equipping civil society for the first non-racial local government election scheduled for 1 November 1995. The following criteria, according to Schedule 6 of the Local Government Transitional Act of 1993, had to be applied (see Cloete, 1995 pp 22-25 for guidelines):

- topographical and physical characteristics of the area
- population distribution within the area
- existing administrative boundaries including areas existing before 1971 as well as RSCs and Joint Services Boards
- existing and potential land-use, town and transport planning, including industrial, business, commercial and residential usage and planning

- economy, functionality, efficiency and financial viability regarding administration and service provision
- development potential in relation to the availability of sufficient land for a reasonably foreseeable period to meet the spatial needs of existing and potential residents for residential, business, recreational, and amenity use
- the degree of integration of the urban economy in terms of commercial, industrial and residential linkages
- the degree of residents' common interest in terms of residency, work, commuting and recreation (Cloete, 1994; Cloete, 1995:22; Election Task Group, 1996; Sutcliffe, nd).

The aim was to create financially viable, larger non-racial local government areas, and the idea was to guide the integration of functional areas. This, according to Robinson (1996), resulted in a few surprising delimitations.² Demarcation of boundaries had to be seen as an important urban restructuring phase during transformation. It had to succeed in logically integrating separated functional urban areas. Sutcliffe (nd) had some reservations about the criteria:

“The criteria are far too general and broad to be of much use. Unfortunately, each of these principles could be applied using an “apartheid” or a “nonracial” framework giving different results. Some of the criteria are contradictory”.

In addition to these problems he also listed aggregation versus delimitation, segregation versus integration, gerrymandering, and the political basis of decisions made over demarcation.

However, the Boundary Commission did not base the demarcation of Pietersburg/Polokwane on any of the said criteria. The primary matter, to be carefully handled, was to ensure that no Traditional Area under a Tribal Chief should be separated into different TLCs. Instead, boundaries were decided by the representative from the Provincial Government of Local Government merely to reach consensus and follow formalities and requirements for the local

² Howic's refusal to be incorporated in the proposed Pietermaritzburg metropolitan area ultimately led to it being established as a Transitional Local Council. Port Elizabeth, the fourth largest urban area in South Africa, also received Transitional Local Council status. A very similar situation as in the Northern Province and the surrounding areas of Pietersburg is that of Kwazulu/Natal. In these areas the fate of most traditional authorities in traditional rural homeland settlements is unfortunate, and the “fragmenting spaces of apartheid themselves make for great difficulty of reintegration, and the legislation does not offer significant redress here, except through disbursements from the regional level of government” (Robinson, 1996:347; Robinson, 1997). The most prominent example of controversy that eventually resulted in a constitutional case is that of the Western Cape Metropolitan Area (Cameron, 1996b).

government election (interview with Provincial Government representative, Mr Madonsela, 1997). According to Madonsela, a new provincial boundary commission would look at changing all current boundaries with the aim of incorporating economically viable rural Transitional Local Councils within urban areas such as Pietersburg. In Chapter Four the various linkages between two proclaimed towns near Pietersburg have explained the level of economic dependence on Pietersburg. The functional area of Pietersburg, which includes these towns, is in great need of urban development and service provision. Currently they fall under the District Council that appears not to be a functional option. Pietersburg is of medium-size, but with its functional area and dispersed entities it can be classified as a large urban area. Is it necessary to expand the boundaries of Pietersburg or not? Local authority officials are against the idea because, according to them, it will take up to five years just to provide the basic infrastructure needed in Seshego. To include other areas of neglect within their jurisdiction will be unproductive and detrimental to the city's tax base. The White Paper on Local Government proposes the establishment of a regional or district local government. This will be discussed in section 5.7, but first an analysis of the local government election outcomes will be provided.

5.4.2 Elected transitional council: the 1995 local government election

A wide variety of transitional arrangements and issues affected the 1995 municipal elections. They included the demarcation of boundaries of the TLC, the registration of voters, the election regulations and specification of how wards would be demarcated. Provision for proper financing of the municipal elections had to be clarified (Odendaal, 1995). The election process in Pietersburg/Polokwane occurred in three phases. The first involved compilation of the voters' roll, public inspection, a revision court, the certifying of the voters' roll, and expenditure up to 31 July 1995. The second involved the delimitation of wards and nomination of candidates and parties. The third phase included the election itself on 1 November 1995 (PBA: 3/1/1/3 - Vol. 2). A quota for statutory and non-statutory wards had to be negotiated before demarcation maps were drawn up (Letter from the Northern Province Department of Housing, Land, and Local Government, 1995/3/3).

The Premier would determine the number of seats per Transitional Local Council. However, TLCs were within their rights to submit written suggestions regarding this number. In August

1994 the Negotiation Forum reached consensus on the number of seats for Pietersburg/Polokwane. It was to be demarcated into 14 wards, seven statutory and seven non-statutory. Proportional representation would determine the other ten seats. The chief negotiators at the national level searched for a compromise to allay fears of whites who had enjoyed political autonomy since colonialism, and on the other hand, to meet the post-oppression needs and aspirations of the non-white population groups. This meant that the constitution compromised spatial restructuring since half of the wards had to be delimited in areas previously under white local authorities and coloured and Indian Management Committees, whereas the other 50% constituted areas traditionally known as black local authorities, rural and peri-urban areas, and, the areas of most neglect, informal settlements. By then the Transitional Local Council had reached consensus on the delimitation of wards in Seshego (seven wards), but not in the Pietersburg town area. To prevent a deadlock, a compromise containing three proposals was submitted by the councillors to the MEC for a final decision. This meant that the decision taken by the Premier on 23 June had to be revoked. On 11 July 1995 the MEC for Land, Housing and Local Government was informed by the Town Clerk about three new proposals for the demarcation of Pietersburg/Polokwane. They are summarised below.

(i) Proposal one

The non-statutory group rejected this proposal outright while, according to the statutory group, only minor changes were needed. By then the relevant area had 19 231 registered voters, which implied that the seven wards had a quota of 2747 voters per ward. The NP and FF wanted to have Nirvana and Westenburg in one ward.

(ii) Proposal two

A second proposal, submitted by the non-statutory group, suggested that “approximately 1500 people per suburb would form the core of a ward and the rest of the area [would then be] demarcated according to the set quota” (PBA: 3/1/1/2 - Vol. 3). The ANC and PAC wanted to have Nirvana, Ivydale, Ivy Park, and Penina Park in one ward, while Westenburg and parts of Pietersburg Central and Annadale would be one ward. This proposal was rejected by the statutory group. Discussion of the two proposals indicated that the Local Government election was “very delicately balanced regarding the number of registrations and the possibility of one

of the groups obtaining a two-thirds majority” (PBA: 3/1/1/2 - Vol. 3). The statutory group felt that if the 24-seat model was applied, and if proposal two was accepted, it would mean that in the area concerned approximately 20% (3 827 out of a total of 19 231) of the voters might have a 30% representation. This, according to the statutory group, would imply that Nirvana and Westenburg were to be separated into two different wards and that this would have political implications that might result in an unfair situation. On the other hand, the non-statutory group reasoned that if proposal one was accepted then the statutory group might have gained politically in grouping Nirvana and Westenburg together. The refusal of both groups to accept the other’s proposal created, for the first time during the negotiation process, an anxiety that the Election Court could become involved.

(iii) Proposal three

A compromise proposal offered in a spirit of reconciliation (PBA: 3/1/1/2 - Vol. 3) was, however, suggested by both groups (statutory and non-statutory). This suggested that the number of seats (60:40 principle) be increased to 30 meaning that 12 councillors would be elected proportionally and the other 18 according to wards (50:50 rule). Under proposal three Nirvana and Westenburg, which were predominately ANC, would have been ceded to the ANC while the balance in the remaining area would not be disturbed. Both groups agreed that it would not be geographically and financially the best option (with more councillors being appointed) but that they were “willing to forfeit the next increase for councillors which [was] a small price to pay for political stability” (PBA: 3/1/1/2 - Vol. 3; *Northern Review*, 1995/07/28).

The MEC rejected this proposal because proclamation 34 of 1995 ruled out such an option. Thereafter,

“at a joint meeting of Provincial Committee and Demarcation Board for Northern Province in liaison with MEC for Land, Housing and Local Government on 25/7/1995 a resolution was taken that the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC has up to 12h00 on Thursday 27/7/1995 to reach consensus on wards and the 24 seats. The MEC requested more reasons for Pietersburg/Polokwane to have 30 councillors. The fact that it is capital cannot justify their request” (*Northern Review*, 1995/08/04: 1).

Failure to reach an agreement would leave the Demarcation Board no alternative but to delimit the wards on behalf of the Council in terms of Section 8(2) of the Transitional Act. The compromise attempt failed when the MEC announced on Tuesday 1 August that 24 councillors would be elected and not 30. The Premier then proclaimed the demarcation of wards for the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC (*Northern Transvaal Provincial Gazette*, 1995b).

Action by the Provincial Government raised fears among white politicians that the transition process was manipulated through gerrymandering. Councillor Van Oudtshoorn (NP) was quoted in the local newspaper as saying that:

“Die wyksafbakening van Pietersburg/Polokwane was ‘n rassistiese en politieke besluit om die stad te verdeel, onder die dekmantel van nasiebou. Ek hoop die inwoners beseft dat die ANC ons hiermee uit ons huise wil belas na die verkiesing” [The demarcation of electoral wards of Pietersburg/Polokwane was a racist and political decision to separate the city under the aim of nation-building. I hope that the residents know that the ANC are here to tax us from our homes after the election] (*Northern Review*, 1995/8/11:2).

It was also feared that with the Premier’s decision the ANC would have a chance of winning three out of the seven disputed wards (*Northern Review*, 1995/8/11:2). According to Robinson (1996: 345) the:

“combination of ward and proportional representation was widely seen as a useful way of accommodating both black majority interests in most cities as well as the wealthier and more geographically dispersed white ratepayers”.

The demarcation of Pietersburg into wards, according to the Act and section 179 of the Constitution, made provision for 60% of the city council to be made up of ward representatives and 40% of councillors from parties which qualified on a proportional basis. A prerequisite for efficient urban governance was an orderly, free and fair local government election. The Transitional Local Government ratified the demarcation of Pietersburg into 14 wards (see Figure 5.1) on a 50/50 basis representing previously segregated geographical areas. Demarcation did not, however, take into account the future changes to urban form and racial structures caused by the processes of desegregation and deracialisation of urban space. Residential desegregation of wards in previous whites-only suburbs and the possibility of

informal settlements developing within ward boundaries may have a significant influence on election outcomes in the future. Chapter Six (section 6.2.4.4) illustrates that the desegregation levels and black voting outcomes could have contributed to an ANC majority at local government level.

In Pietersburg, wards one to seven were located in the former black homeland township of Seshego (see Figure 5.1). Wards 8 to 12 were all located in previous white group areas. The Indian suburb was merged with a former white suburb and parts of the central inner city (Ward 13), while the former coloured suburb also included a portion of the inner city (Ward 14). In total there were 14 ward candidates and 10 added through proportional representation (Bambo, 1995; see also Turok, 1994b). As mentioned above, fears existed that the ANC might receive a two-thirds majority in the election. On Tuesday 18 September 1995, former political enemies, the NP, FF and the CP, agreed to “merge” for the election “in belang van Pietersburg” (*Northern Review*, 1995/9/22:1). The CP’s Mr Kemp said that the three parties did not have a choice but to stand together (*Northern Review*, 1995/11/10:1).

Although reference to Pietersburg and Seshego as two separate entities is inaccurate, doing so for the sake of analysing the election results is, however, necessary. Scrutiny of the results shows some interesting trends and patterns (*Northern Review*, 1995/11/10). The total voting percentage was 45 per cent. In the event 70% of the voters in the traditional white suburbs, 53% in the Indian and coloured areas, and only 34% in the black areas of Seshego, went to the polls. The highest percentage vote for a ward recorded in Seshego was 38%. In stark contrast a 78% vote was observed in ward 9 of Pietersburg. In Seshego, the ANC won outright (9189 votes), with independent candidates (1554) taking the second most recorded votes. Surprisingly the National Party managed to gain more votes than the PAC (see Table 5.3), the former winning all the four wards it contested in Pietersburg, followed by the Freedom Front (2), and the Conservative Party (1). For the city as a whole, seats were allocated as follows: ANC (12), NP (7), Freedom Front (3), Conservative Party (2). In only two Pietersburg wards - 9 and 10 - did all the major parties compete. The conservative supporters' vote combined (CP and FF - 5809) outnumbered the NP by 1972 votes. Had this been an all-white election the city would have been under conservative rule once again.

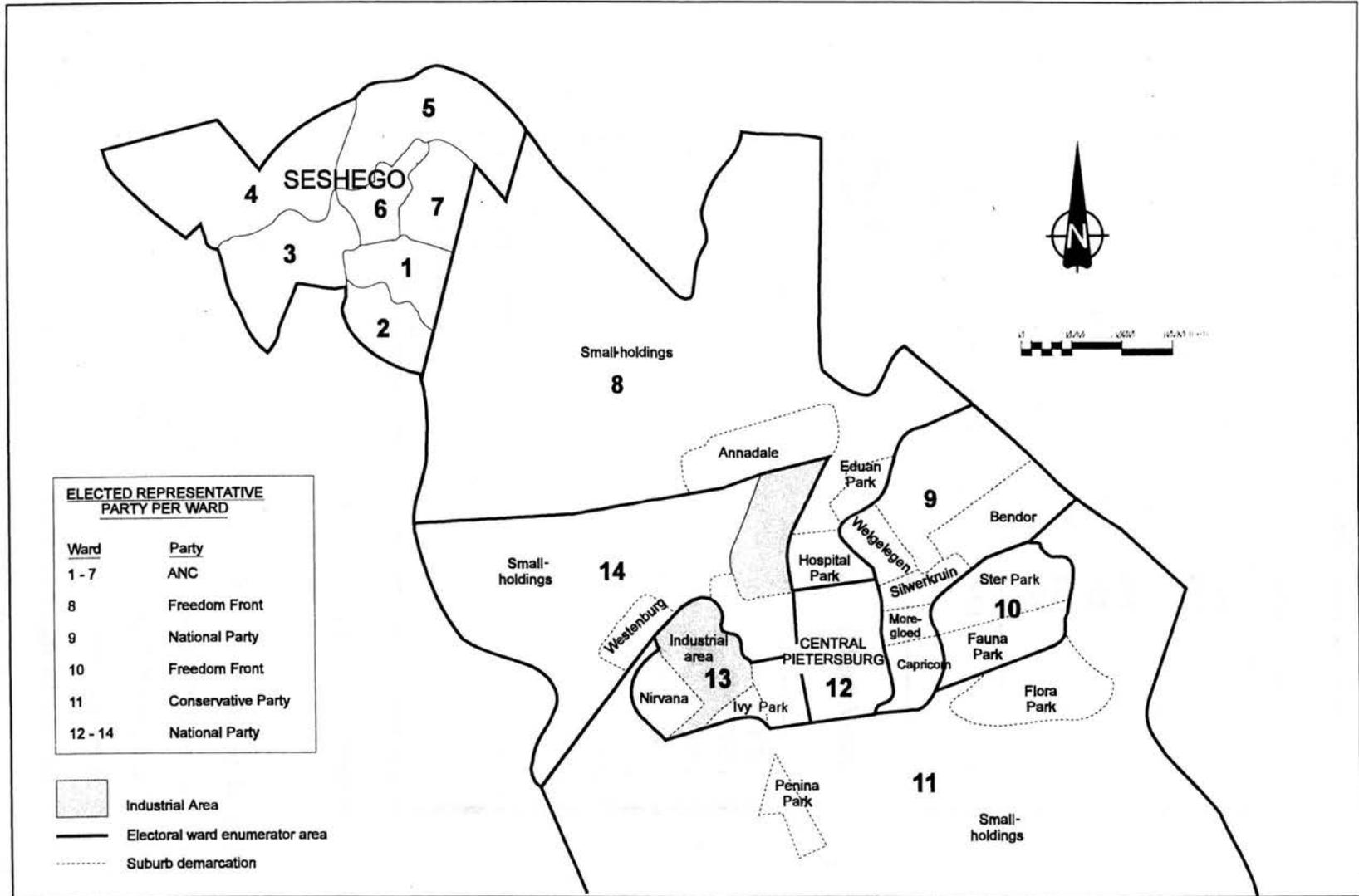


FIGURE 5.1: ELECTORAL WARDS, 1995

TABLE 5.3: ELECTION OUTCOMES IN SESHEGO AND PIETERSBURG WARDS

<u>Seshego</u>						
Ward	ANC	NP	PAC	Other*	Voting %	
1	1380	91	54	140	38%	
2	1201	78	---	523	38%	
3	1401	---	76	---	34%	
4	1085	---	30	411	30%	
5	1609	93	75	88	33%	
6	1169	77	119	256	29%	
7	1344	91	40	136	33%	
Totals for Seshego	9189	430	394	1554	33,6%	
<u>Pietersburg</u>						
Ward	ANC	NP	FF	CP	Other*	Voting %
8	135	---	908	757	176	62%
9	133	1429	189	502	---	78%
10	130	---	1452	---	390	70%
11	256	---	---	1153	350	65%
12	69	1123	394	454	159	73%
13	728	771	---	---	329	63%
14	381	514	--	---	230	43%
Totals for Pietersburg	1832	3837	2943	2866	1797	64,9%
* Independent, ACDP						

Source: *Northern Review* (1995/11/10)

Note: Bold typed numbers of votes indicate the party that won in the respective wards

The election results meant that the interim transitional council had to be dissolved and replaced. The historic path followed in restructuring local governance in order to establish a non-racial democracy at local level was then complete. As from 1 November 1995, Pietersburg and Seshego became one city. Amalgamation, however, did not mean the end of the transformation and transition processes. The immediate aim of this new structure was, henceforth, to initiate and foster urban development and reconstruction as stipulated in the RDP. The RDP, as originally documented, created expectations, but these were later used as a scapegoat for failure to deliver the promised aims set out (see Blumenfeld, 1997; Corder,

1997). The next section will assess what the Transitional Local Council had accomplished before the writing of the White Paper on Local Government. Acts that would follow from the White Paper would steer the city (and all local councils in South Africa) into the next millennium.

5.5. PERFORMANCE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF RESTRUCTURING

The question to be asked after the amalgamation of local governments is how these newly-created structures should perform their tasks. Davey (1996: 47) summarises four tasks of urban government. One, to provide infrastructure that is essential for the efficient operation of a city. Two, to provide services to civil society, by improving productivity and also raising living standards through human resource development. Three, regulation of private activities that play a role in the social domains of civil society. Four, to provide services and facilities that will allow private enterprise to operate efficiently. Pravin Gordhan, chairperson of the Local Government White Paper Committee, stated in June 1997 that

“local government has been democratised, but it has not been transformed because most of our towns and cities remain as distorted on racial lines as they were in the past, with no new planning systems in place...[and the] lack of an integrated planning structure, a key function of any municipality, means that apartheid cities and towns remain intact” (*Sunday Times*, 1997/6/1:25).

In July 1997 the National Government contracted the Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR) to assist in formulating a White Paper on Local Government. FCR sub-contracted the firm Macintosh, Xaba and Associates (MXA) to conduct a survey in the Northern Province. MXA employed the researcher to conduct a reality check survey for Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC. Findings from an expert questionnaire survey (see Addendum 2) done in Pietersburg are presented in this section. Interviews were held between August 4 and August 6 with the Assistant Town Clerk, the Assistant Town Treasurer, the Assistant Town Secretary, the Chairperson of the Executive Council, the City Electrical Engineer, Health Officer, and staff in the Town Planning Department on various aspects relating to the performance, nature, and level of restructuring of the Local Authority.

The restructuring of the socio-political order after the 1994 election opened up an avenue for a rethinking and researching on urban space in which much emphasis is placed on local level governance. It is precisely on this intersection between the capacities of the state to govern, the organisation of urban space within a changing socio-political and spatial landscape, and the “form of state-citizen relations” that Robinson (1997: 383) calls for more research to be conducted. The next section provides up-to-date empirical evidence of the performance of the amalgamated local government Pietersburg/Polokwane at the time of writing (October 1997).

5.5.1 Operational status

At the municipality’s last national review it had been graded on scale 10 according to the national criteria. The Assistant Town Clerk, however, feels that the TLC should be graded again, and that it should probably become Grade 11 or 12. The Local Authority has eight line departments (see Addendum 7 for an organigram of the detailed organisational structure). The total for working assets are testimony to their functioning with assets of R344 million.

The Council has a full meeting once a month. They have established a total of 15 sub-committees for 1997, covering a wide array of matters varying from development to historical matters such as street names. Table 5.4 lists the fifteen sub-committees and the number of councillors represented on each of them.

The powers of all these sub-committees are subordinate to the Council for final approval on any recommendation. Local government operational status has evidently improved since the first democratic election, especially in regard to formerly excluded areas. The existing capacity among councillors is definitely insufficient in the areas of Finance and Budgeting, Service Delivery and Development. Councillors - especially from the former black areas - apparently do not understand how processes within an integrated administrative system operate. Perceptions on the restructuring of local governance differ remarkably. Further capacity building exercises in this regard are essential (interview with Assistant Town Clerk, 1997). This is an unfortunate institutional reality in many South African cities:

“As important as the post-apartheid local government restructuring process has been in improving access to political power by black South Africans, the ability of these newly-elected local councillors to redirect local government spending

and resources has been severely restricted by (predominantly white) taxpayer associations and other political groupings” (McDonald, 1997:28).

McDonald further asserts that many bureaucrats from the apartheid era persist in making critical decisions about the redistribution of resources.

TABLE 5.4: SUB-COMMITTEES ESTABLISHED IN PIETERSBURG FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

SUBCOMMITTEE	NUMBER OF COUNCILLORS
Evaluation of Development Proposals	4
Section 60	6
Budget	2
Parks	4
Personnel Appointments	4
Accounts	4
Land Development Objectives (pilot committee)	8
Affirmative Action	4
Appointment of Professional Consultants	2
Property	2
Resettlement	6
Street names	4
Health	4
Allocation of Committees to Departments	2 4
Disciplinary/Appeal	2

Source: Interview with Assistant Town Secretary, 29 July 1997)

Currently the TLC is well staffed and equipped to handle its current functions within departments, for example, Financial Control, Revenue Collection, Service Provision, Development Control, Monitoring and Evaluation, Labour Relations, and Human Resources Development. The TLC employs 1 302 people, of whom a mere 306 are female employees. Temporary and seconded employees number 303. Administrative staff are well qualified and are encouraged to further their qualifications. The literacy level of labourers is hard to determine. The 194 vacant posts are an indication of the potential that exists for expanding

the number of employees, especially to cater for affirmative action appointments. Although the local authority has recently seen the departure/resignation of senior management staff, such as the City Secretary and Assistant Engineer, this may be not problematic. There are, however, reservations about appointing suitable and qualified affirmative action candidates into these positions (interview with the Assistant Town Secretary).

Presently, the TLC does not appear to have any capacity to initiate or facilitate local economic development and this must be seen as a priority. The growing body of local economic development initiatives and planning strategies appearing in academic literature (Maharaj & Kemraj, 1996; Nel, 1994a; Nel, 1994b; Nel, 1996; Nel & Lindie, 1996; Rogerson, 1995) needs much promoting and application in Pietersburg. Local economic initiatives can vary from catering for low-income groups, e.g. pension payout points (Fox & Nel, 1996) to bigger urban projects such as the Johannesburg inner city sports stadia (Rogerson, 1996a) and tourist-related development such as waterfronts (Grant & Kohler, 1996; Maharaj & Ramballi, 1998). The role that NGOs can play in local economic initiatives needs exploration as well (Nel, 1997). Failure to provide for proper informal economic restructuring to take its course is discussed in Chapter Seven.

5.5.2 Infrastructural services

As from 1 July 1996 - after the amalgamation of Pietersburg and Seshego - services were for the first time provided to Seshego by the former Pietersburg Town Council (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1996). Except for a few squatter shacks, all the dwelling units in the city have waterborne sanitation. Currently (1996/97) RDP funding (R 1 620 000) and the TLC's own funding (R180 000) has been spent for the upgrading of roads, pavements, sewerage, water networks, etc., in under-serviced areas. According to the Development Facilitation Act, Land Development Objective (LDO) funding will only be available in 1999 because the authorities have only recently established a committee to work on a Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP). Furthermore, the Local Authority utilises funding from the Housing Board subsidies for low-cost housing projects at two sites in former buffer zones. A private Pietersburg company (HDS) is developing them. In the area, excluding Seshego, the city has approximately 16 000 - 17 000, 60-amp electricity connections. Although the actual figures are not available, it is nevertheless asserted that all the streets have lights,

while streets in all areas which have a 60% built-up area are automatically tarred and paved. Piped stormwater and drainage are also present. In Seshego there are approximately 10 000 -11 000, 60-amp electricity connections, while at present 2 200 more are being added, though only parts of the Industrial Area have street lights. The Local Authority refuses to allow 20-30 amp and 5-8 Amp connections (interview with City Electrical Engineer, 29 July 1997).

5.5.3 Environmental issues

Devas and Rakodi (1993b: 58) suggest that local government interventions to foster environmental sustainability must be judged in terms of whether they adhere to certain principles. Do they, for example, conserve non-renewable resources and use renewable resources in a sustainable way? Do they minimise the impacts of any form of development on ecologically-sensitive areas? Do they minimise the risk of irreversible changes such as deforestation? Do they minimise all forms of pollution? Do they ensure adequate and sustainable supply systems such as food, water, and building materials for resources on which the city depends?

Pietersburg Local Authority does *not* have a clear Environmental Policy. The Health Officer interviewed did not even know what an environmental policy entails! Not surprisingly, the content of sustainable development principles stipulated by Local Agenda 21 is unknown to the department responsible for environmental issues. Given the lack of capacity to implement policies such as the carrying out of Environmental Impact Assessments, and understanding the ethics and philosophies of the *White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable use of South Africa's Biological Diversity* (Republic of South Africa, 1997a), the local authority would be advised to establish research and educational partnerships with academic institutions in the city (UNISA, UNIN, Pretoria Technikon, Potchefstroom University). Appointing consultants to do the work is not cost-effective, and does not create an opportunity for municipal officials to be capacitated while being part of such processes.

The Local Authority, nevertheless, manages its waste properly. No underground water pollution is taking place in the area of the refuse dumping site. In Seshego it did occur, but the Local Authority solved the problem by closing the dumping site. Also it allows no industrial liquid waste and toxic material. The landfill site (Weltevreden) is registered, albeit

a Class 3 site, meaning that there is insufficient control over what may/may not be dumped there. An estimated 5 215 tons of waste are produced in the area per month. This estimate comprises 750 tons of household waste, 2 265 tons from businesses, 1 100 tons of garden refuse, and 1 100 tons privately dumped. The expected lifespan of the site is 40 years (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998a). The Department of Health has employed health forums in Seshego to educate residents regarding illegal dumping that escalated after the Seshego dumping site was closed down and incorporated with Weltevreden (interview with City Health Officer, 1 August 1997). Recycling of landfill waste as an alternative energy source can be explored (Lumby, 1996). General recycling of household goods can be managed better by, for example, providing different refuse bags for different refuse matter (i.e. cans, glass, paper and foodstuffs).

5.5.4 Financial status

Restructuring the financial expenses and income of the local authority is indeed a challenging task, as is the effort to measure how effective the transformation from the previous dispensation has been managed towards achieving a single tax-base system for Pietersburg and Seshego. This is especially true given the historical background in which:

“The white local authorities have traditionally operated as democratic structures answerable to a racially exclusive electorate. They have been insulated...from the direct political effects of the widespread rejection of the BLAs [Black Local Authorities], management committees and local affairs committees. They have also benefited from the apartheid style financing system which has ensured that white ratepayers enjoy a high level of services based on jealously guarded revenue accounts” (Grest, 1988: 110).

5.5.4.1 Transparency and equity

The Local Authority tries to be transparent about the budget. Indeed in 1997 they advertised in the local media for public input about how and for what money should be spend. For the 1997/1998 financial year an amount of R40 million has been budgeted for development projects in the former black township. This makes up approximately 30% of the capital accounts allocated to be spent there. It is emphasised that, although this amount appears to be

very low, it must be taken into consideration that the area also has a low tax base (interview with Assistant Town Treasurer, 30 July 1997).

5.5.4.2 Financial base and management

According to Mr P. Gordhan (*Sunday Times*, 1997/6/1) many municipalities are not financially able to rely on their own sources of income. Such finances underpin the provision of services such as water, electricity and sanitation. Pietersburg, however, is in a sound financial state with a reserve fund of approximately R55 million. Of this amount, R20.6 million will be used as a capital reserve fund, R16 million for maintenance and renewal, R4.3 million for reconstructing the local municipal offices, R16 million for interest stabilisation, and the remaining amounts for diverse uses. The Treasury does not need to employ consultants to assist in their tasks, which is a reflection of their sound capabilities (interview with Assistant Town Treasurer, 30 July 1997).

At the time of writing (1997), the Local Authority already boasted a 93% ratepayers' payment of bills for electricity and water accounts, while 99.9% of formal businesses pay for services. This is a marked improvement considering that in September 1996 only 6% of the black residents of Seshego were paying for services (Kotze & Donaldson, 1998). A two-part tariff structure for water and electricity is in place. The former coloured township (Westenburg) demanded a flat rate tariff which was turned down by the Local Authority.

The financial section of the Local Authority is evidently properly run and faces no financial difficulties. This is substantiated by the financial statements which showed an increase in net fixed assets in 1996. A figure of R183 332 433 in 1995 increased to R 227 890 256 in 1996. Property tax is seen as an important and significant component of the revenue system. The process of registering property in Seshego at the deeds office is taking place. This challenge, as Bell, Dearborn and Hunter (1993: 588) put it:

“in implementing the property tax in [former black local authority areas] during the transition period will be determining ownership and estimating market values in black townships and evaluating the implications of different forms of property taxes on local economic development”.

This process has had an impact in creating a philosophy of property value among Seshego

residents. Prior to 1990 no estate agencies were operating in the area. Nor was there any differentiation based on market value and respective zones (suburbs). Socio-economic polarisation, however, has been taking place since the 1990s with new residential extensions being developed with specific property values attached to the area.

5.5.5 Positioning of the Municipality

Ideally, the Pietersburg Local Authority operates independently and separately from Provincial and National government levels. However, according to Pravin Gordhan, the:

“system by which national and provincial government channels intergovernmental grants to municipalities remains unclear and ... various line function departments such as housing, water and health are implementing programmes without proper co-ordination with the municipality or among themselves” (*Sunday Times*, 1997/6/1:25).

No services provided by the Pietersburg Local Authority overlap with Provincial and National Government, and with the District Councils. Furthermore, the Local Authority provides no services outside its boundaries. For work that they cannot handle, consultants are employed, and not other levels of Government. The only funding that the Local Authority received from National Government for 1996/97 was RDP related (Figure 5.2).

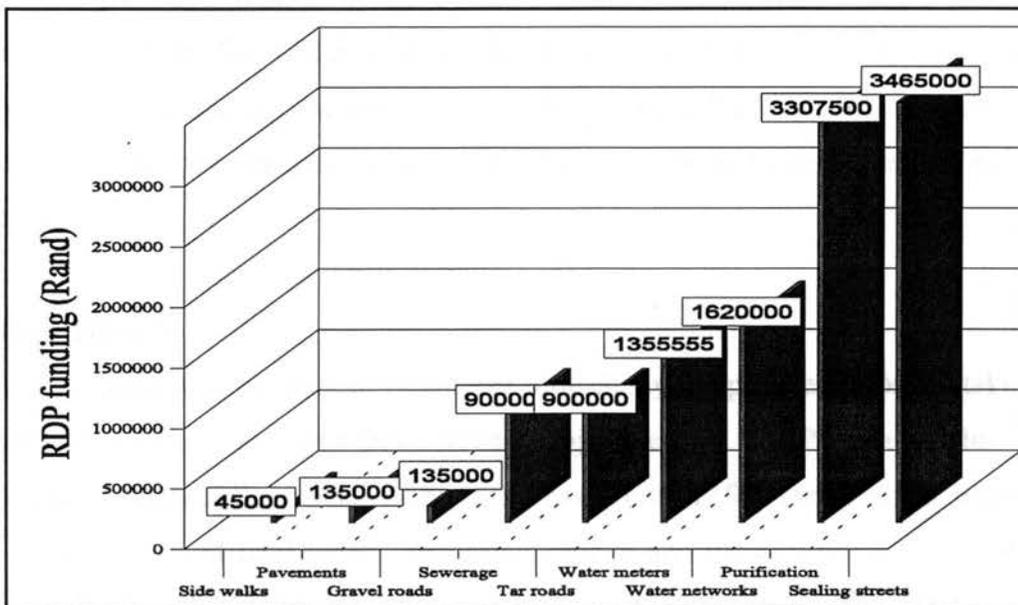


FIGURE 5.2: RDP FUNDING FOR 1996/97 EXPRESSED IN RAND (Interview with Assistant Town Treasurer, 30 July 1997)

Funding was mainly spent on upgrading the disadvantaged areas: R11 863 055. Emphasis was on road works, R4 680 000 (sealing of streets, pavements, sidewalks, gravel roads and tar roads) and water works, R7 183 055 (water purification, water meters, sewerage, and water networks). No grants/subsidies were applied for from the Provincial Government in 1996/97. During the previous year the Provincial Government provided some support and training in educational projects, which the National Government partially funded (interview with Assistant Town Treasurer, 30 July 1997).

5.5.6 Accountability

Initially, after the Local Government elections, interaction between councillors and their constituents was virtually no-existent. Even nationally the “relationship between elected councillors and officials is strained, with the latter often not yet quite having come to terms with the changed democratic environment” (*Sunday Times*, 1997/6/1:25). It is, however, difficult to ascertain to what extent councillors interact with their constituents, but it appears as if interaction is better now than before. The ANC councillors, for example, have initiated interaction through the local newspaper in which they urge the community to get involved in identifying projects and to interact with them. Public participation will ultimately enhance this linkage. For example, a campaign to name streets in Seshego failed, partly due to a failure by councillors to get constituents involved. Councillors have ward representatives who collect and distribute information. The Local Authority has been accountable for involving the public in formulating a budget through advertising in the local media. Similar advertisements initiated by the City Treasurer’s department have aided Seshego residents on matters of payment of their accounts.

5.5.7 Redistribution

A significant number of housing development projects by the private sector are taking place in former buffer zone areas. Land Development Objectives and CMIP initiatives have not yet been completed because the process only started in earnest in 1998 (see Chapter Eight section 8.3). A large portion of land located between Seshego and the city has been claimed back through the land claims court. According to the Assistant Town Treasurer (interview), the Local Authority cannot properly measure the redistribution of resources because of the difference in payment of local taxes. The argument is that people staying in Pietersburg are

paying more taxes, so proportionally a greater amount should be spent on them. The first phase in upgrading the underdeveloped area in Seshego will take five years to complete. Only then can a real measurement of redistribution be determined.

5.5.8 Overall conclusion

The Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, like most other Transitional Local Councils, is actively involved in restructuring programmes - physical and administrative. A table of the performance of the Local Authority is presented in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5: CHECKLIST OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE, PIETERSBURG TLC

PERFORMANCE CRITERIA	✓ = appropriate X = inappropriate NA = not applicable ? = unknown/not certain
Resignation of senior management staff	✓
Capacity building needed for Councillors and staff	✓
Access to financial statements	✓
Payment of service fees (water & electricity)	✓
Transparency with civil society	?
Financial status (capabilities and management)	✓
Redistribution of resources and development of historically deprived areas	X
Reserve fund	✓
Linkages with provincial/national government structures	N/A
Relationship with Tribal Authorities/Chiefs	N/A

Given the vast number of criteria that can be applied to all aspects relating to function, form, and performance, only the most prominent aspects covered in the expert opinion survey are highlighted in the table. The table points out to what extent the TLC performed in terms of

performance criteria and is thus a summary of findings. In only one aspect did the survey find the TLC to be inappropriate in performance namely the redistribution of resources and development of historically deprived areas. This matter will however be rectified during the LDO process (see Chapter Eight). Many projects have been contracted out to private consultants or submitted for discussion to the Town Clerk. Documentation is available to the public and researchers, but access to it must be paid for: a strong indication of the tight control of assets. The volume of official documents and reports is too great to be dealt with in this survey. The general impression is that the transformation process is well on track, albeit slow in terms of affirmative action (especially gender-related), formulating policy on urban and regional development, and environmental policy.

The spatial development vision of the Local Authority is narrow, showing no intention to plan for regional development. The Local Authority believes the boundary of the city is properly demarcated. However, numerous rural settlements within the city's functional area are excluded from planning and development. This is most evident in the policy for controlling street-trading, under which only residents within the city's boundaries are issued licences, despite the fact that the external linkage between residents within the functional area and the city is one-way. The vision of the LA is thus confined to their political spaces and not to the functional area. The possibility of developing an integrated development strategy with all the surrounding areas within at least a 50 km radius of the city must be seen as a priority.

Officials have, however, taken the initiative to open an RDP office within the Local Authority to assist in the programmes advocated by the National Government such as Masakhane. Redistribution of resources (not only capital) is taking place although the TLC could have awarded more contracts to black consultants (perhaps they do not exist?). It is evident that the consultants/firms used for various projects are predominantly white-owned. Business segregation in the city needs to be addressed, especially regarding the creation of facilities for the informal sector (see Chapter Seven). Residential desegregation levels suggest a strong black middle-class in-movement. Although the Local Authority has a functional organisational structure, it is in the process of restructuring the total management framework. Details, however, could not be obtained. A common problem for researchers is that little descriptive data is available. A White Paper on Local Government should perhaps create a unified set of

guidelines to enable Local Authorities to create a data base system for all departments. A standard-format checklist is suggested (as proposed by the United Nations Urban Indicators Programme - internet: www.un.org).

A month after the survey on local government performance was conducted, the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC signed (26 August 1997) a Masakhane pledge (Table 5.6) in which they committed themselves to building an integrated city, ensuring efficient delivery of services, promoting accountability, establishing social partnerships, facilitating local economic development, and promoting safety, security and peace (*Northern Review*, 1997/8/29:29).

TABLE 5.6: MASAKHANE PLEDGE SIGNED BY PIETERSBURG/POLOKWANE TLC

PIETERSBURG POLOKWANE MASAKHANE PLEDGE (Signed on 26 August 1997)

PREAMBLE

The people of South Africa have demonstrated their commitment to create a new society characterised by justice, peace and prosperity. We believe that meaningful change and the success of the RDP can materialise through the creation of better social conditions at local level. We further believe that Masakhane is the key in the ongoing effort to normalise local conditions. To this end we pledge ourselves to support Masakhane by doing the following:

BUILDING AN INTEGRATED CITY

Local authorities are geared towards integrating our communities by addressing the previous divides and promoting an integrated community. We as administrators will hereby operate along the principles of non-racism and non-sexism coupled with co-operation and community involvement.

ENSURING EFFICIENT DELIVERY OF SERVICES

Provision and maintenance of essential services is a priority for all. We as administrators are committed to ensuring acceptable levels and standards of services provided and it goes hand in hand with payments of these services.

PROMOTING ACCOUNTABILITY

We commit ourselves to run this administration in an efficient, open and transparent manner. We will double our efforts to inform and educate the public so that they understand the functions and operations of local government and will contribute meaningfully to good and responsible governance.

ESTABLISHING SOCIAL PARTNERS

The success of Masakhane depends on the partnership between the government, labour, the private sector and individuals in the community. We will put mechanisms in place through which such partnerships are created and strengthened. The role of the civil society in Masakhane will be maximised.

FACILITATING LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

We will promote local development by mobilising resources from various stakeholders and interested partners and promote investment in our area through our marketing company so as to initiate and sustain development locally, nationally, and internationally. This TLC will facilitate participation of micro, small and medium enterprise in our local economy with a particular goal of job creation.

PROMOTING SAFETY, SECURITY AND PEACE

Community life is being ravaged by crime and violence. People live in fear of their lives and property. This situation is not only a threat to economic development. It disrupts all attempts at building social stability and cohesion. We will support initiatives towards the establishment of community policing and local police forums. We wish to echo the concerns of all South Africans around violence in all its forms. There is a need for a recommitment from all of us to bring an end to violence. We will be part of ongoing attempts to address these problems and to establish peace.

CONCLUSION

In signing the Pietersburg/Polokwane Masakhane pledge we dedicate all the resources of our council, both human and material, towards the achievement of the above goals and success of Masakhane in uplifting the Pietersburg/Polokwane Transitional Local Council.

Source: *Northern Review* (1997/8/29: 29)

Their performance record seems to endorse these ideals, but hidden structural forces obstructing progress need to be eliminated. The pledge is in line with the national Department of Housing's urban development framework. Executing these ideals will only be realised through a successful LDO process. The following section will specifically cover findings from the social restructuring survey (as described in Chapter One, section 1.3.2) relating to aspects of residents' perceptions of local government transition and transformation.

5.6 RESIDENTS' EVALUATION AND PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT RESTRUCTURING

In order to evaluate the performance of local governance as seen by the electorate, questions were included in the social restructuring survey to determine the respondents' perceptions, attitudes and awareness of local governance in Pietersburg. Given that most answers to the questions were similar, no cross-tabulation between the various former group areas and wards/suburbs will be made in the analysis below.

5.6.1 Ward councillors and political party achievements

In the survey 71% of the respondents indicated that they voted in the 1995 local government election. Despite this high percentage, a mere 34% knew who their ward councillors were. More than half on the respondents (53%) did not know which political party was representing the respective wards. There appears to be little, if any, contact between councillors and civil society within ward structures. An overwhelming majority (86%) indicated that there was no form of communication between the councillors and the public. The general feeling among respondents was that councillors were mainly interested in personal status, and would only consult the electorate before elections. The questionnaire covered the possibility of a situation of non-communication links and thus requested the respondents to comment on whether the respective political party and/or ward councillor contributed anything significant to enhancing their social well-being. Most (92%) indicated that no contributions were made, nor did they know of any, while a mere 8% commented that there had been some changes. The achievements named included the fact that councillors saw to it that houses were being built, streets were being cleaned, pensioners were being helped in getting their pensions, and stands were being allocated.

White respondents felt the distress of change more than their black counterparts. A phenomenon previously unknown has become a way of life, for example:

- ⇒ “vuil toestande jeens haarsny en koskook in openbaar; toestromming van swartes” [dirty conditions because of cutting hair and cooking food in public; influx of blacks];
- ⇒ “omdat die ANC die verkiesing gewen het, het hulle die dorp infiltrer, hulle mense aan wie hulle werk verskaf het ook die dorp infiltrer saam met hulle kinders en nou is hulle die meerderheid hier” [because the ANC won the election they infiltrated the town, so too the people to whom they have given work and their children and they are now the majority in Pietersburg]; and on a more humorous note
- ⇒ “al is dit Noordelike Provinsie geld die Wet van Transvaal nog steeds” [even if it is now the Northern Province does the Law of Transvaal still apply].

However, positive signs reflected an appreciation of the growing local economy:

- ⇒ “beter eiendomspryse” [property prices are better].

Seshego respondents observed change in management and freedom of movement:

- ⇒ “Involvement of all race groups in management of the city. Affirmative action is positive”; and
- ⇒ “Apartheid is over. White people respect black people. It is safe for other racial groups to travel in town at any time”.

A complete list of the respondents’ criticisms of the local government is given in Addendum 8.

5.6.2 General response

If the responses are used as a criterion for measuring the level of democratisation, legitimacy, transparency and success of the restructured post-apartheid unified local government, then one might assume that local governance is a failure. The high percentages suggesting a negative attitude to the councillors in particular is a reflection that civil society is not content with urban

governance. The councillors' lack of commitment to public matters was experienced by the researcher who submitted a questionnaire similar to the social restructuring survey to each councillor for completion. Only one returned the questionnaire, but it was not filled in. The CP councillor said that he would only answer the questionnaire if it was in Afrikaans. This, notwithstanding the fact that he could answer it in Afrikaans even if the questions were in English. The other councillors apparently would not answer questions from researchers in isolation from their colleagues.

Political conflict - since the local government transition period ended - has been rife. A definite "them" and "us" mentality has been portrayed to the public through the media. The successes of local government pertaining to financial status, redistribution of wealth through infrastructure creation, the releasing of land for low-cost housing projects by developers, and the postponement of sensitive historical issues such as the renaming of the city, do not reflect the image that politicians portray. The city had a financial status coterminous with the administrative backing of a properly run former whites-only local government to enable it to reach these achievements. Furthermore, the fact that the city's boundaries were drawn during the transition period merely as a sign of reconciliation and did not include the surrounding dispersed towns and rural settlements also assisted administratively and economically. The city may, however, after the next general election undergo a second phase of local government restructuring if the boundaries are altered to embrace its current functional area. The last section of this chapter focuses on the White Paper on Local Government's policy guidelines insofar as structure, composition and boundary options are concerned.

5.7 CONCLUSION: POST-1999 LOCAL GOVERNMENT OPTIONS

The transition period in local government will end with the implementation of new legislation on local government stemming from the White Paper on Local Government. Alternative options from international experience reveal that a wide range of choices for local government administration can be pursued. If Pietersburg and its dispersed entities develop as was mentioned in Chapter Four into a metropolitan form of government cognisance should be taken of international experiences such as those indicated in Table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7: TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

TYPE OF GOVERNMENT	EXAMPLES	ROLES	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Small independent councils	Southern California and common elsewhere in the USA	Local representation, planning & regulation Purchase of community services	“Public choice” for local residents Payment limited to selected services	Affluent communities and industrial areas opt out of metropolitan service funding. Exclusionary zoning
Voluntary coordination of local councils	London (UK), Australian Regional Organisations of Councils	Exchange of information; Regional advocacy; Preparation of region-wide studies and advisory plans	Voluntarism, cooperation and consensus-building Development of regional consciousness	Lack of powers of implementation, control or coordination Record of ineffectiveness
National/state/provincial administration and service provision	Many developing nations and all Australian States	Preparation of metropolitan planning strategies; Supply of power, water and transport services	Potentially strong implementation powers and finances. Capacity for wide contextual view	Indirect accountability and poor political control. Poor recognition of metropolitan scale problems and impacts Practical difficulties in achieving interdepartmental coordination
Special boards and districts performing specific functions and services	All States in USA and Provinces in Canada	Schools, fire, highways, health, water, Sewerage and drainage, power, light, gas, housing and transit	Easy and popular to establish as new needs become evident. Elected Boards can maximise local participation.	Lack of coordination, planning capacity or impact control; Lack of accountability of appointed boards
Metropolitan governments nominated from local councils (indirectly elected)	British Columbia's Regional Districts, Atlanta Regional Commission	Strategic, environmental, transport and functional planning; Water supply, waste disposal; Transit; Regional open space; Social housing	Regional scale coordination of planning, services and powers. Good articulation with state/provincial and local governments. Flexibility to expand boundaries in response to growth.	Lack of direct electorate mandate and relatively low public profile. Reliance on powers from above and political support from below; Dependence on consensus building
Metropolitan governments (directly elected)	Metro Toronto, Metro Portland, etc.	Vary from metropolitan and transport planning and waste disposal to very wide range of powers and services.	High public profile and role. Powers to exact compliance from junior jurisdictions. Capacity to take on new functions and extend effectiveness.	Conflicts of interest and jurisdiction with local and central governments; Difficulty in adjusting boundaries to match expanding metropolitan extent because of fears of aggrandisement.
Regional governments	Nigeria (1972, 1977), Sweden (1976), New Zealand (1989-1992)	Vary from environmental management and resource policy to wide ranging powers and services.	Reflects changed scale of modern societies' social interaction, communities of interest and centre-periphery relations. A useful intermediary between local authorities and national governments.	Involves radical changes to existing administrative systems, for which effective local consensus would be difficult to achieve. Hard to introduce in federal systems, because of likely superseding of existing states/provinces.

Source: Diamond and Massam (1997: 221-222)

The table distinguishes between seven types of metropolitan government that include small independent councils, voluntary coordination of local councils, national/state/provincial administration and service provision, special boards and districts performing specific functions and services, metropolitan governments nominated from local councils, metropolitan governments, and regional governments. Furthermore, Bourne (1997) proposes eight alternative options for governance when urban development and services need to expand beyond municipal boundaries (Table 5.8).

TABLE 5.8 : ALTERNATIVE OPTIONS FOR THE GOVERNANCE OF LARGER URBAN REGIONS

<p>1. ANNEXATION (i) prior to new suburban development (ii) of already built-up areas</p> <p>2 AMALGAMATION OR MERGER (i) of city and surrounding suburbs (ii) of two or more adjacent cities (iii) of city and county</p> <p>3. CREATION OF REGIONAL (PUBLIC) AUTHORITIES, BOARDS OR AGENCIES FOR SERVICE DELIVERY (i) a single multi-functional authority, board or agency (ii) several special purpose authorities or boards, one for each service</p> <p>4. PARTNERSHIPS FOR REGIONAL SERVICE DELIVERY (i) between local governments (ii) between local governments and the state or province (iii) between local governments and private agencies</p> <p>5. ESTABLISHMENT OF A FORMAL TWO-TIER GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE (i) with members appointed (ii) members elected (directly or indirectly)</p> <p>6. CENTRALIZATION OF POWER AND SERVICE DELIVERY (i) to senior levels of government (state or province) (ii) to external service agencies</p> <p>7. PRIVATIZATION (i) Privatisation of some or all functions that cross municipal boundaries</p> <p>8. DO NOTHING</p>

Source: Bourne (1997)

The possibility of that happening in Pietersburg's case is highly likely. Already in the Land Development Objectives (see Chapter Eight) the TLC indicates that Pietersburg, Lebowakgomo and Potgietersrus should plan to be developed into a metropolitan area.

The MEC for Local Government in the Northern Province, Mr N Mashabane, has been quoted as saying that there:

“is a need to develop a local government system that will strive not only to achieve equality, non-racialism and economic growth, but also promote and facilitate integrated and coordinated development to achieve Reconstruction and Development Programme goals” (*Monitor*, 1997/10/31:23).

The transitional period of local government will end when the second local government election is held in 2000. Transforming local governance in preparation for the next local government election has already undergone some changes. Specific Bills emanating from the White Paper are changing the current course from being a transitional arrangement to that of a transformed urban government.

The White Paper warns that no international model can be transposed as is into a South African context that has confounding characteristics like the legacy of separation, a distorted settlement pattern, the uneven distribution of municipal capacity, social divisions among communities, lack of economic competitiveness, investment and capacity. A new vision is needed for empowered and capacitated municipalities to play a transformational and developmental role (Republic of South Africa, 1998a). The difference between the South African and international contexts is further accentuated by the additional challenges the former faces. To plan, manage and administer sustainable South African cities, municipalities are faced with a skewed settlement pattern that is costly and inefficient (see Chapter Eight). Redistribution between the “haves” and “have nots”, especially given the extreme concentrations of taxable economic resources, needs to be debated. Service infrastructure provision is essential in historically disadvantaged areas. The creation of viable municipal institutions for dense settlement patterns, such as areas next to former homeland borders, mostly under tribal authority with no economic tax base and minimal services, is necessary. Expanding the current Transitional Local Council boundaries to incorporate functional

boundaries should occur. Managing rapid urbanisation poses in itself various additional challenges. Linkages must be established between urban areas, and between urban and rural areas. Service and administrative towns (mainly homeland towns), secondary cities and rural hinterlands are all functionally linked (as was seen in Chapter Four). Other challenges include building relationships with the private sector to enhance local economic development initiatives, to capacitate former disadvantaged structures, and to sensitise municipalities' attitudes to the community they serve, especially the marginalised and urban poor.

Some of the above discussion refers to Bourne's (1997) criteria for evaluating the structure of, and functions performed by, local government (Table 5.8). The ability to capture economies of scale in service provision and financing, together with the containment of local service spillover effects and the redistribution and reallocation of social benefits and costs over political boundaries, supports the creation of service districts. Responsiveness to localised variations in consumer demand and accessibility to service providers, and the accountability of decision-makers, favours a small unit in governance and service provision.

The South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa, 1996) provides a framework for municipal institutions in which three categories are established. Category A provides for a municipality that has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority, whereas Category B shares these functions with a Category C municipality which falls within its area. Category C therefore encompasses executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality. As Category A institutions, metropolitan government systems are left with various options. Three two-tier options are possible whereas the one-tier mega city model is favoured by government (*Mail & Guardian*, 1997/09/19-25: 31).

For the post-1999 election options for Pietersburg as a Category B municipal institution, two choices could be followed: (i) urban municipality, (ii) amalgamated urban-rural municipality. The urban municipality option provides for a full range of municipal powers and functions. This option will prefer no rural hinterland inclusion, but peripheral development in rural areas adjacent to such cities (urban fringe) may result in expanding their boundaries. It is expected that Pietersburg will follow this option purely to keep the under-resourced periphery out of its jurisdiction. Option (ii) entails the city amalgamating with existing rural municipalities or

extending its boundary into the rural hinterland. This is needed given the social and economic linkages (see Chapter Four). The White Paper on Local Government argues that amalgamation will lead to various kinds of efficiency. Governance costs will be reduced because of overcoming wasteful duplication. It is hoped that the tax base will be broadened and will improve scale economies of service delivery. Rural communities will benefit with access to public services, and capacity building will be extended to smaller municipalities. Integrated rural and urban development will be easier to achieve (see Chapter Eight). Inter-governmental finances and technical assistance will be enhanced owing to a reduction in competition for resources. Rural structures need not be done away with. They may take on the form of a rural committee of the City Council, operating as a rural chamber where traditional leaders' rights will be exercised according to the policy currently being formulated nationally (White Paper on Traditional Leaders). The re-demarcation process of a municipal boundary for Pietersburg should follow national policy and the guidelines of the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998 (Republic of South Africa, 1998b).

Local government restructuring essentially set the scene for the transformation and restructuring of other facets of urban life in Pietersburg after apartheid. The following chapter will focus on socio-spatial changes after apartheid.

CHAPTER 6: SOCIO-SPATIAL RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION PATTERNS

“One of the most prominent features of the city - for as long as we know - is segregation of persons by class and by ethnicity or race” (Morrill, 1995: 22)

“Even with the repeal of [apartheid] legislation, South African cities exhibit the heritage of apartheid planning, with the racially defined zones still apparent in the urban form” (Christopher, 1997: 311)

6.1 RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN PERSPECTIVE

The race-space residential divide resulting from social engineering is still evident in South Africa's cities. Residential desegregation, sometimes used synonymously with social integration, was not expected to occur rapidly after apartheid, especially in conservative places such as Pietersburg. Various structural forces active in perpetuating and maintaining social segregation through residential segregation are operative in society. The degree, nature and extent, however, of residential desegregation may act as a barometer for measuring the successes of the urban restructuring process after apartheid. Chapter Six focuses on the social restructuring of urban residential space after the demise of apartheid legislation. Qualitative and quantitative interpretations are provided in the analysis of residential desegregation being brought about by the purchasing of property by black households in Pietersburg (excluding Seshego). Desegregation as a measure in itself will show how other societal factors such as perceptions, attitudes, conflict, and property purchase trends are linked to the restructuring of residential spaces in Pietersburg.

6.1.1 Conceptualising residential segregation

A characteristic feature of an urban community is the social segregation of the population groups. Johnston *et al.* (1981: 424) define segregation within the context of human geography as “...the residential separation of sub-groups within a wider population”. Residential segregation according to Cater and Jones (1995: 141) refers to the

“physical separation of minority and majority residents, usually taking the form of a concentration of minority residents in restricted urban sub-areas (ethnic

colonies or enclaves) where majority members are largely absent. Those whose culture or race placed them outside the host society's norms lived in locations isolated from contact with mainstream society”.

Knox (1995: 184) provides a concise definition of residential segregation, and he concludes that it refers to

“situations where members of a minority group are not distributed absolutely uniformly across residential space in relation to the rest of the population”.

Residential segregation is a worldwide phenomenon. An abundance of case studies in academic literature trying to theorise and explain the phenomenon is illustrative of its global significance and its resultant consequences in urban life. For example, in Brazil racial segregation is linked to class segregation (Telles, 1995); in Singapore it is linked to ethnic minorities (Van Grunsven, 1992); wealth and poverty determine the residential allocation process in Indian metropolises (Mahadevia, 1993); and in Australian cities ethnic clusters and the role of immigrants (Grimes, 1993) and the impact of demographic restructuring and economic change (Paris, 1994) reflect the universal diversity of the phenomenon.

The uncritical usage of the word race, postulating the concept as a natural phenomenon, and its use as an explanation for segregation, has been criticised by postmodernists such as Berg (1993). However, Parnell (1996) argues that because racial segregation is still a dominant structural characteristic in South Africa, researchers should determine when, why, and how the urban form became racialised.

The literature divides the complex social processes and mechanisms which contribute to the spatial segregation of minorities - be it minorities based on culture, race, religion, income, family and age status, or lifestyle variation - into two residential segregation types: voluntary and forced (Van der Merwe, 1986). Examples of voluntary segregation are the Asian migrant communities throughout Britain (Phillips, 1981) and Jews in London (Waterman & Kosmin, 1986; 1987). This can be either permanent or temporary in nature. Better described as social clustering, Knox (1995: 188) identifies four functions of voluntary segregation. Minorities cluster together for defence, mutual support, cultural preservation, and to facilitate attacks. Housing stock availability and new residential development are also related to the clustering of specific in-migrant groups. Spatially it is usually manifested when new entrants into the

city are concentrated in so-called ethnic colonies. If internal cohesion is experienced, such a spatial concentration is called an enclave. However, if an ethnic minority cannot move out into the broader urban society because of a hostile environment, and thus be lacking in opportunities both outside and within the concentration, entrapment is experienced. Such concentrations are referred to as ghettos (Boal, 1978), resulting in a cumulative vicious circle “in which discrimination, low incomes, and residential location interact to perpetuate poverty, segregation, and housing inequalities” (Bourne, 1981: 175).

Another process is forced residential segregation which usually has a permanent character. This form can be divided into two situational types. One results from social pressure, i.e. racial discrimination (e.g. the African American communities in the USA - Johnston, 1984; Taeueber & Taeueber, 1965). Conclusive evidence has been provided to indicate that the attitudes and behaviour of certain segments of society - estate agents, bankers, financial institutions, government agencies and the social group holding political power - involving racial steering, blockbusting, and price escalation, directly and indirectly affected racial discrimination in USA cities (Bourne, 1981).

A second pressure arises from the legal manifestation of laws, as in apartheid South Africa. Overt discrimination is a natural phenomenon found in all societies in the world. External factors of discrimination through the manipulation of policies in land use zoning (exclusionary zoning), the unintentional omission of minorities in urban renewal, rehabilitation schemes, and housing development, are also explicit examples of discrimination based on and achieved through social pressure.

Academic contributions to an understanding of social segregation in cities date back to the seminal paper of Park, a leading thinker at the time of the Chicago School. The human ecologists basically focused on three themes: “the spatial patterning of population and land use in the city, the social life within ‘natural areas’ and the spatial distribution of deviant behaviour” (Van Kempen, 1994: 995). Still today, these themes are being addressed worldwide. Although the conceptualisations have changed, the aim is still to understand how, why, and where urban social segregation occurs. Numerous models have been developed to explain residential segregation. Ward and Sims (1981) constructed four models, based on

Weber's understanding of social stratification. A market model explains the out-movement of white working class people to suburbia because of changes in the local housing market. This change encouraged ethnic minorities to move into inner city areas. The status model interprets white flight to suburbia as more minorities move into the inner area. Market discrimination is experienced when white households use their influence to restrict minorities in their options to buy property in suburbia. Lastly a status model explains the situation when the status of a suburban life style is in danger and minorities are at all cost prevented from residing there.

Within a contemporary postmodern understanding, segregation is explained as an outcome of post-industrial society (see Figure 6.1). With economic restructuring - de-industrialisation and an expanding tertiary economic sector (service sector) - spatial segregation was enforced. Primarily it is based on occupation and income groups and relates to the dual-city concept whereby economic restructuring has changed the social stratification in cities (see Chapter Two, section 2.3.2 where the concept is explained). Van Kempen (1994: 997) schematically illustrates the dual-city concept as shown in Figure 6.1.

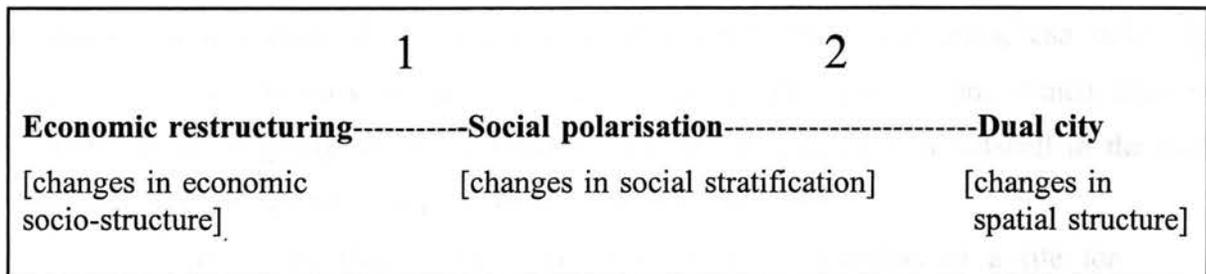


FIGURE 6.1: DUAL-CITY CONCEPT SCHEMATISED (Van Kempen, 1994: 997)

Current explanation of the phenomenon of urban segregation is thus done within a polarised situation. At one pole is the socio-economic and political elite, professionals, managers, skilled workers and upper civil servants. At the other pole are the poor, unemployed, and low-income workers living in rented or social housing. Globalisation adds another differentiation, that of static and dynamic residential segregation; the former being the result of the socio-economic inequalities of certain spatial formations, while the latter is a manifestation of migration flows and the effect of these on advanced industrial societies (Petsimeris & Racine, 1996).

Finally, the phenomenon of segregation has both negative and positive attributes. The positive tend to focus on the reduction of conflicts of interest, irrespective of the variables which might, for example, be based on religion (Ireland) or race (USA). Furthermore the in-migrants have a social benefit especially for immigrant communities (for example ethnic colonies such as in Hillbrow). Negative attributes are more diverse and include socio-economic polarisation, limitations on opportunities to socialise, restricted access to employment and services, the development of misconceptions and stereotypes, inhibition of mutual understanding, a reduction of self-esteem, and ongoing separation (Davies, 1996: vii).

6.1.2 Residential segregation in South African cities: a literature overview

Perhaps the most extreme example of residential segregation is the South African case. A political system was implemented to overcome the urban crises of the 1940s , namely

“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 restructure and entrench more deeply the racial city form” (Hindson, Byerley & Morris, 1994: 323).

South Africa’s past urban planning, based profoundly and inhumanly on the assumption that separated racial groups should conform to segregated residential areas, can never be exculpated. The absurdity of such a disgusting urban planning system, which tried to dehumanise the majority of South Africans, can be summarised in a nutshell in the then argument of a certain socio-political moral code reasoning that

“as far as the Bantu (blacks) are concerned the selection of a site for residential purposes is of the utmost importance as it has a direct bearing on the costs, and also on the type of environment established on completion of the scheme” (Anonymous, 1961: 87).

Insofar as these schemes were concerned, black living spaces “were not simply 'housing schemes' but places of manipulation, domination and control” (Robinson, 1992: 297). The social engineering of residential spaces was, however, preceded by the establishment of Asian Bazaars that provided the first racial category (Parnell, 1996).

The effects of this manner of reasoning are well known and have been widely documented. Forced segregation not only affected black communities. Indian (Maharaj, 1992) and coloured

(Lupton, 1993a,1993b; Taylor, 1994) communities had similar racial discriminatory experiences. A number of studies have been published internationally on the inhuman nature of urban apartheid in South Africa (Davies, 1981; Lemon, 1987; Smith, 1982; Simon, 1986, 1989). Publications on the causes and effects of forced segregation, which formed the fulcrum of the apartheid city, are also abundant (Christopher, 1989, 1990, 1991a, 1991b; Elder, 1990; Hart, 1989; Mabin, 1992; Pickard-Cambridge, 1988; Rule, 1989). So, too, are predictions of how the urban residential space would be influenced and would change after forced segregation was repealed (Beavon, 1992a, 1992b; Bernstein & McCarthy, 1990a & 1990b; Jurgens, 1993; Saff, 1990; Schlemmer & Stack, 1989, 1990). *Apartheid City in Transition* (Swilling, Humphries & Shubane, 1991), *Opening the Cities: Comparative Perspectives on Desegregation* (Bernstein & McCarthy, 1990a), *The Apartheid City and Beyond* (Smith, 1992), *Urban and Regional Change in Southern Africa* (Drakakis-Smith, 1992), and *Contemporary City Structuring* (Davies, 1996) are examples of books published during the period of political transition to democracy in the late apartheid era and that have dealt directly with urban-space changes taking place after apartheid.

Saff (1991) critically reviews some of these predictions, and emphasises the need for a dialectical and new dynamic way of viewing residential desegregation. The scrapping of the Group Areas Act (Act 36 of 1966) on 30 June 1991 has, in a short time, already led to considerable change in the spatial settlement patterns of people in the former apartheid cities of South Africa. These events also opened a fertile field of research yet to be fully explored. Excluding recent case studies on "grey areas" (e.g. Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994), empirical studies on residential desegregation **after** the repealing of all apartheid laws include studies in Pietermaritzburg (Paul, 1992), Durban (Dayanand, 1992), Port Elizabeth (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993), Durbanville (Myburgh, 1996), Hout Bay (Oelofse, 1996), Pietersburg (Donaldson, 1996; Donaldson & Kotze, 1994; Kotze, 1997; Kotze & Donaldson, 1996), and a comparative study of two provincial capitals (Kotze & Donaldson, 1998).

Resegregation as a precursor or as a consequence of desegregation is a trend not yet researched. So, too, the conceptualisation of processes occurring in post-apartheid cities linked to postmodernist thinking in terms of the social polarisation and the dual-city concept (see Chapter Two, section 2.5.3).

6.1.3 Measuring residential segregation

How, then, is residential segregation measured, and how do we understand its relationship to the socio-spatial dynamics of residential mobility?

In the tradition of the Chicago School of human ecologists (urban sociology), ecological processes such as concentration, centralisation, segregation, invasion, and succession were employed to assess the spatial relationships among a city's ethnic groups (Ley, 1983). Park (1926: quoted in Ley 1983) has defended the use of statistical tools as an appropriate method to describe social segregational patterns between different groups. In the conventional positivist tradition two statistical methodological types are applied: synthetic indices and analytical indices (see Addendum 9 for an explanation of these methods). In addition to this Morrill (1995) has identified the isolation index (P* Indices), entropy, spatial autocorrelation, and spatial interaction as alternative statistical methods in researching segregation.

Such spatial analysis is primarily based on aggregate data and little, if any, insight and evidence is contributed to the processes of social interaction and adaptation. However, mapping and statistical inferences provide valuable bases for further inquiry of a more qualitative nature, for example, investigating the dialectical relationships between structures and individuals (Grimes, 1993). Pacione (1990) identifies, as one of the principles of applied urban analysis, the combination of qualitative and quantitative research. The remaining sections of this chapter will combine statistical methods and qualitative empirical observational methods to provide an analysis of statistical data on residential desegregation patterns in Pietersburg between 1992-1997. Following that, a section on residential mobility will link the relationship between desegregation and household mobility during the decade of transition and socio-spatial restructuring in the former conservative capital of the Northern Transvaal region.

6.2 RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION PATTERNS IN PIETERSBURG, 1992-1997

6.2.1 Introduction

By 1990, Pietersburg had succeeded in achieving its apartheid aims. Territorially it had been segregated into three discrete group areas (Pietersburg, Nirvana, and Westenburg), while a

black ethnic township (Seshego) had developed within the neighbouring former Lebowa homeland. The prevalent urban landscape and urban space - one can argue - had been developed into another model South African city reflecting the ideology of apartheid. Trends and changes occurring mainly in metropolitan areas during the modernised apartheid city period (the second half of the 1980s) had not impacted on the socio-spatial life of Pietersburg. Public amenities were highly segregated, no “grey” residential areas could take shape, and shopping behaviour was confined to comfort zones with a distinct separation between white and black shopping areas in the city. No substantial squatting within the municipal boundary, and no informal street trading activity was evident in the city’s CBD. Nor were political activities such as protests, rallies and sit-ins common in the city.

An active political struggle by liberation movements and legal transformation implemented by the *verligte* National Party (realised in the repealing of apartheid laws in 1991), paved the way for normalising a society hampered by years of forced segregation. The unexpected, and now famous, announcements of the new NP leader, F.W. de Klerk, in 1991, did not initially have any real impact on the race-space division in the city and its township. A drastic change in attitude and perception of residents in the area was not expected. In fact, the worst case scenario of racial conflict and resistance was expected. The process of residential desegregation was therefore not only a spatial process of previously excluded groups moving into former defended spaces, it was also a process of changing people’s attitudes and perceptions towards life after apartheid. In other words, it was an educational process of reconciliation and adaptation.

Monitoring and investigating spatial outcomes of various social processes, such as the desegregation of residential areas in the post-apartheid city, will become a subject of much debate in the near future. It is seen as an outdated debate in the international arena, but has recently been revisited within the dual-city concept and postmodern explanation. Saff (1995a) argues that there are four basic questions to be asked when investigating residential desegregation. These include, how many people of a specific race are moving into an area previously preserved for another group, which people are moving, where will they locate, and why are they moving there? Davies (1996: vii) asserts that the concept of social integration is a strangely un-researched topic. He briefly alludes to it being

“a process which should lead to greater social equity in social formation in: access to resources and facilities by those in need, facilitating mutual understanding through contact, providing greater access to socialisation opportunities, and encouraging tolerance”(Davies, 1996: vii).

This section will attempt to answer these questions. However, the following questions are also asked. How can race-space be restructured, and should it be done through social engineering? How does the excluded sector of society feel about their former community members moving away? And what is the general feeling of the city’s residents regarding the changing race-space structure? Another question that will be asked is if there is a specific trend in purchasing property (inter-racial property transfer) and how the property market in this city might have been affected by the status of its being the provincial capital (where socio-spatial transformation is expected to set the trend). The question about whether the desegregation process influenced house prices has already been investigated by Kotze (1997) and will therefore only be overviewed.

6.2.2 Before residential desegregation

In Chapter Three some empirical evidence concerning segregation in Pietersburg before 1951 (when the Group Areas Act was implemented) is shown. Christopher (1991b) has determined high regional variations of Indices of Dissimilarity in South African cities. He ascribes this to a difference in colonial heritage. (Contemporary desegregation patterns may, then, also reflect the apartheid legacy, based on the population composition of an area, political dominance during apartheid, post-apartheid restructuring challenges pursued, the dynamism of local governance, and so on). Christopher (1991b) has determined the Indices of Dissimilarities for Pietersburg in 1951 and 1991 (see Table 6.1).

From the calculated indices it is evident that segregation as a functional process had been entrenched in Pietersburg’s urban-space for most of the century. The Asian community seems to be segregated most followed by coloureds. The other indices largely speak for themselves. Seen as a functional process of transformation and transition during urban restructuring in a post-apartheid milieu, residential desegregation patterns will be discussed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

TABLE 6.1: INDICES OF DISSIMILARITY AND SEGREGATION IN PIETERSBURG ,
1951 and 1991

INDEX TYPE	CATEGORY	INDEX VALUE
INDEX OF DISSIMILARITY - 1951	White-Black	50.0 - 74.9
	White-Coloured	50.0 - 74.9
	White-Asian	75.0 - 89.9
	Coloured-Black	75.0 - 89.9
	Asian-Black	90.0 - 94.9
INDEX OF SEGREGATION - 1991	White	50.0 - 74.9
	Coloured	90.0 - 94.9
	Asian	90.0 - 94.9
	Black	Under 50.0

Source: Compiled from Christopher (1991b and 1994)

6.2.3 Residential desegregation (1991-1997): data collection

This section will provide the results of an empirical investigation of the spatial evolution of residential desegregation in Pietersburg between June 1991 and May 1997. Residential desegregation patterns are only determined according to home ownership (houses) in Pietersburg. Thus rental property and sectional title desegregation patterns are not investigated. Identification of the spatial settlement patterns of black in-migrants in a former conservative white city such as Pietersburg may shed light on the socio-political and/or socio-economic forces that are playing an active role in an integrated civil society's decision-making processes. It will also attempt to illustrate the attitudes and behaviour of residents in the city after seven years of *de jure* racial residential integration.

The research process consisted of three main steps:

- (1) A first step was to differentiate Pietersburg's suburbs from each other according to the average municipal valuation (Figure 6.2). This was done in the first phase of the investigation and monitoring of the desegregation process in 1992. Although the valuation categories have changed since then, the social strata in terms of socio-economic status and income groups of residents in the suburbs have remained the same. Two exceptions are important. The Central suburb's values have increased dramatically since 1995. An impoverished part of the Central suburb (north-west of the CBD) was re-zoned as part of the CBD and therefore the part that reduced the

- (2) Secondly, the Pietersburg Municipal property data roll was again used to determine where, and to what degree, desegregation had occurred. In addition to the valuation of properties, this source of data also contains information on the names of the home owners, the location of their properties, and the size of their plots. Thus, by determining the addresses of black property owners, it was possible (using surnames as the only criterion) to analyse the resultant pattern of desegregation. Unfortunately property purchased under sectional title and related forms (town house/duplex complexes, flats) is not included in the analysis on desegregation. This is because such developments are found on a stand with a single erf number, usually listed under the chairperson of the complex's residential committee. To determine the number of blacks owning property in such places could only have been done through driving to all such residential places and questioning residents on the number of blacks living there. Such a process would have been too costly and time-consuming.
- (3) Thirdly, as a secondary data source, and to complement property ownership data, title deeds were collected for the period 1994-1997 (*South African Property Transfer Guide*, 1994-1997). This data is also used to analyse and understand intra-urban mobility patterns, housing market trends after the 1994 election, and the town council's contributions to urban expansion. Unfortunately, the researcher could only determine information regarding rented property for 1997. Information was obtained from the municipality's computer list of rented property. The list is, however, not updated regularly and is thus not a very reliable source on which to base assumptions. Therefore, little emphasis will be placed on rented property's contribution to the desegregation process. According to estate agents, renting to black residents only became a prominent feature after 1996.

6.2.4 The nature of desegregation¹ in Pietersburg

Desegregation patterns were monitored on six dates, namely September 1992, and then during every May for the period 1993 - 1997. Table 6.2 shows the number of black households which purchased property on the given dates in the specific suburbs. No distinction between coloured, Indian and black was made. The first mentioned two groups

¹ The term desegregation is here used to indicate the percentage of black home-owners staying in previous group areas such as Pietersburg, Nirvana and Westenburg.

were categorised with the non-black group. The discrepancy in data and the margin of error in the data should be recognised here. However, the exact nature of it could not be determined. The source from which data was derived is not always complete. Therefore, in a certain year x number of housing units were accounted for, while during the following year the number had decreased - an improbable situation. The releasing of land for development is also listed in the data roll and therefore in some instances stands are unbuilt or are still in a vacuum period before being registered by the owner buying from the developer. Nevertheless, these problems should not be seen to disturb the overall picture painted by the desegregation percentages.

Section 6.2 will only give empirical data on the desegregation process in Pietersburg. Interpreting % desegregation figures can only be speculative and thus no discussion thereof will be provided (other than descriptive). In section 6.4 an attempt is however made to interpret residential desegregation as a whole.

6.2.4.1 September 1992

By September 1992, no desegregation (through the purchasing of residential units by blacks) had taken place in five suburbs - Annadale, Capricorn, Eduan Park, Moregloed/Hospital Park, and Silwerkruin) - and the percentage of black owners was less than 2% in most of the remaining residential areas. However, Ivy Park (2.2%) and Penina Park (3.6%) located in the southwestern side of the city, had figures higher than two percent. The second highest category (1% - 2%) was found on the eastern periphery of Pietersburg in the residential areas of Bendor and Flora Park. The city's other residential areas generally had a very low occurrence of black home-owners or none at all.

6.2.4.2 May 1993

In May 1993, eight months after the initial survey, the number of black residential owners had increased from 52 to 169 (Table 6.2). This represented an increase from 1% to 3% of privately-owned residential units by blacks in previously all-white suburbs. At this stage, there were only three areas where black people had not yet bought property, namely, Annadale, Eduan Park and Capricorn. The first two of these are located north of the town, while Capricorn occupies a more central position.

TABLE 6.2: DESEGREGATION (BLACK HOME-OWNERS) PER SUBURB IN
PIETERSBURG, 1992 - 1997

SUBURB	SEPT 1992	MAY 1993	MAY 1994	MAY 1995	MAY 1996	MAY 1997	RENTED PROPERTIES 1997
LOW VALUE							
Annadale	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (1.7)	7 (1.1)	21 (1.4)	13 (1.9)	3 (0.8)
Westenburg	---	---	---	242 (36.4)	364 (38.2)	364 (40.4)	48 (13)
Nirvana	---	---	---	42 (6.7)	44 (6.3)	51 (5.2)	22 (6)
Ivy Park	4 (2.2)	11 (6.1)	19 (10.6)	39 (18.5)	47 (22.3)	31 (14.9)	9 (2)
Central City	8 (0.6)	23 (1.6)	100 (7.2)	66 (4.0)	87 (5.3)	18 (2.2)	97 (26)
Hospital Park/ Moregloed	0 (0)	3 (1.2)	6 (2.4)	9 (3.3)	17 (6.2)	12 (4.2)	4 (1)
MEDIUM VALUE							
Eduan Park	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.9)	6 (2.4)	7 (2.7)	7 (2.3)	1 (0.3)
Penina Park	10 (3.6)	32 (11.7)	66 (24.1)	79 (24.2)	92 (28.1)	92 (26.1)	19 (5)
Capricorn	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (3.0)	9 (5.3)	8 (4.7)	5 (1)
Flora Park	14 (1.9)	50 (7.0)	146 (20.3)	268 (21.8)	400 (26.8)	475 (23.9)	75 (20)
MEDIUM TO HIGH VALUE							
Ster Park	2 (0.8)	5 (2.0)	16 (6.3)	20 (6.8)	43 (13.4)	36 (11.3)	12 (3)
Fauna Park	4 (0.7)	17 (3.0)	44 (7.7)	111 (13.7)	131 (15.7)	44 (5.4)	52 (14)
Silwerkruin	0 (0)	8 (9.3)	12 (14.0)	11 (7.1)	11 (6.0)	13 (4.9)	6 (1.6)
HIGH VALUE							
Welgelegen	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	10 (3.8)	7 (2.3)	15 (5.0)	24 (6.8)	8 (2)
Bendor Park	9 (1.9)	19 (4.1)	52 (11.2)	78 (9.5)	119 (11.1)	98 (5.4)	18 (5)
Total :	52 (1.0%)	169 (3.1%)	480 (8.4%)	990 (10.2%)	1 407 (12.4%)	1286 (10.6%)	379

Notes: 1: Number of black in-migrants per suburb/year

2: % of black privately-owned houses per suburb in brackets

3: To determine the actual number of housing units in each suburb use the following formula: number of black households x 100 divided by the desegregation %.

Source: Compiled from Pietersburg municipal property data roll (1992-1997)

6.2.4.3 May 1994

Figures for May, 1994, show that more than 8.4% of the city had by then been desegregated. This suggests an increase of 5.3% over a one-year period (1993-1994). The respective spatial desegregation observations (Figure 6.3) and percentages for May 1994 (Table 6.2) highlight the fact that two suburbs, Penina Park (24.1%) and Flora Park (20.3%), showed remarkable increases in desegregation. On average, up to May 1994, 11.3% desegregation had occurred in the middle-high property value suburbs, 9.3% in the high property value suburbs and 5.5% in the low property value suburbs. This economic categorisation status per suburb is based on Figure 6.2. A total of 480 new black home-owners had bought property in Pietersburg by May 1994.

6.2.4.4 May 1995

The window period to democracy was seeing the tag of conservatism slowly fading. Socio-spatial indications of this change can be observed in the desegregation percentages for Pietersburg's suburbs (Table 6.2). An amicable in-migration of middle-to-upper income blacks has been taking place, a process especially evident after the general election of 1994. The highest increase has been experienced in Flora Park and Westenburg where, respectively, 122 and 131 new black home owners settled within a period of one year (May 1994-May 1995). Location quotients² for black residents in Pietersburg's residential areas (Figure 6.4) show that they are spatially concentrated in four suburbs i.e. Fauna Park, Flora Park, Penina Park, and Ivy Park, while the highest LQ is registered for the former coloured group area suburb of Westenburg. House prices there are comparable to those in Pietersburg's low property value suburbs. The increase in black occupation experienced in Flora Park is attributed to the dramatic expansion of housing units in the suburb. According to data reflecting the different former group areas (excluding the black township), Westenburg has experienced the highest percentage of black home owners (36%) (Figure 6.5).

² Location quotient (LQ) values represent the following: $LQ < 1$: relative under-concentration of black home owners in a suburb; $LQ > 1$: relative over-representation of black home owners in a suburb; $LQ = 1$: the representation of black home owners in a suburb is equal to the city's average.

-196-

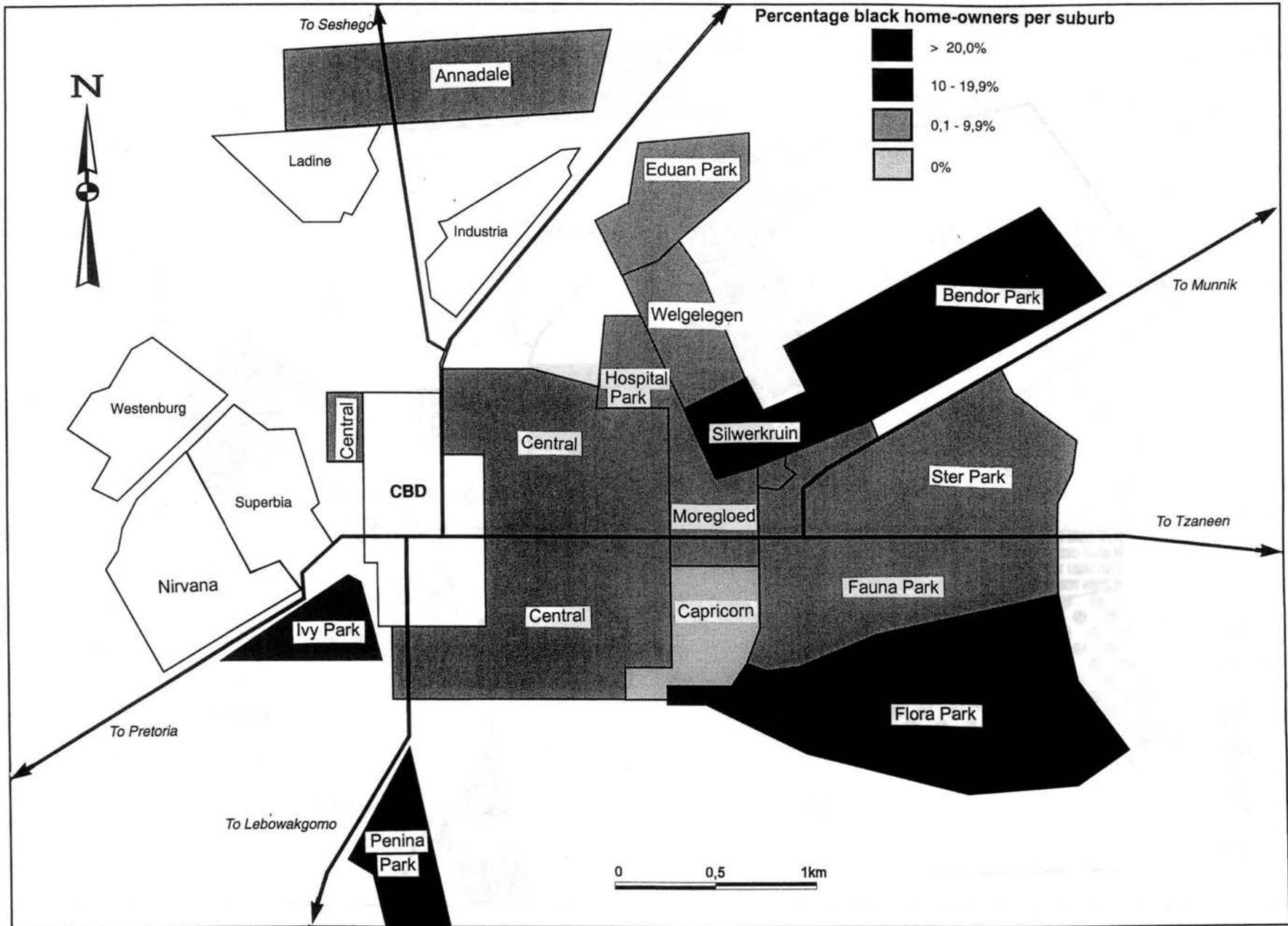


FIGURE 6.3: BLACK HOME-OWNERSHIP IN PIETERSBURG, MAY 1994

-197-

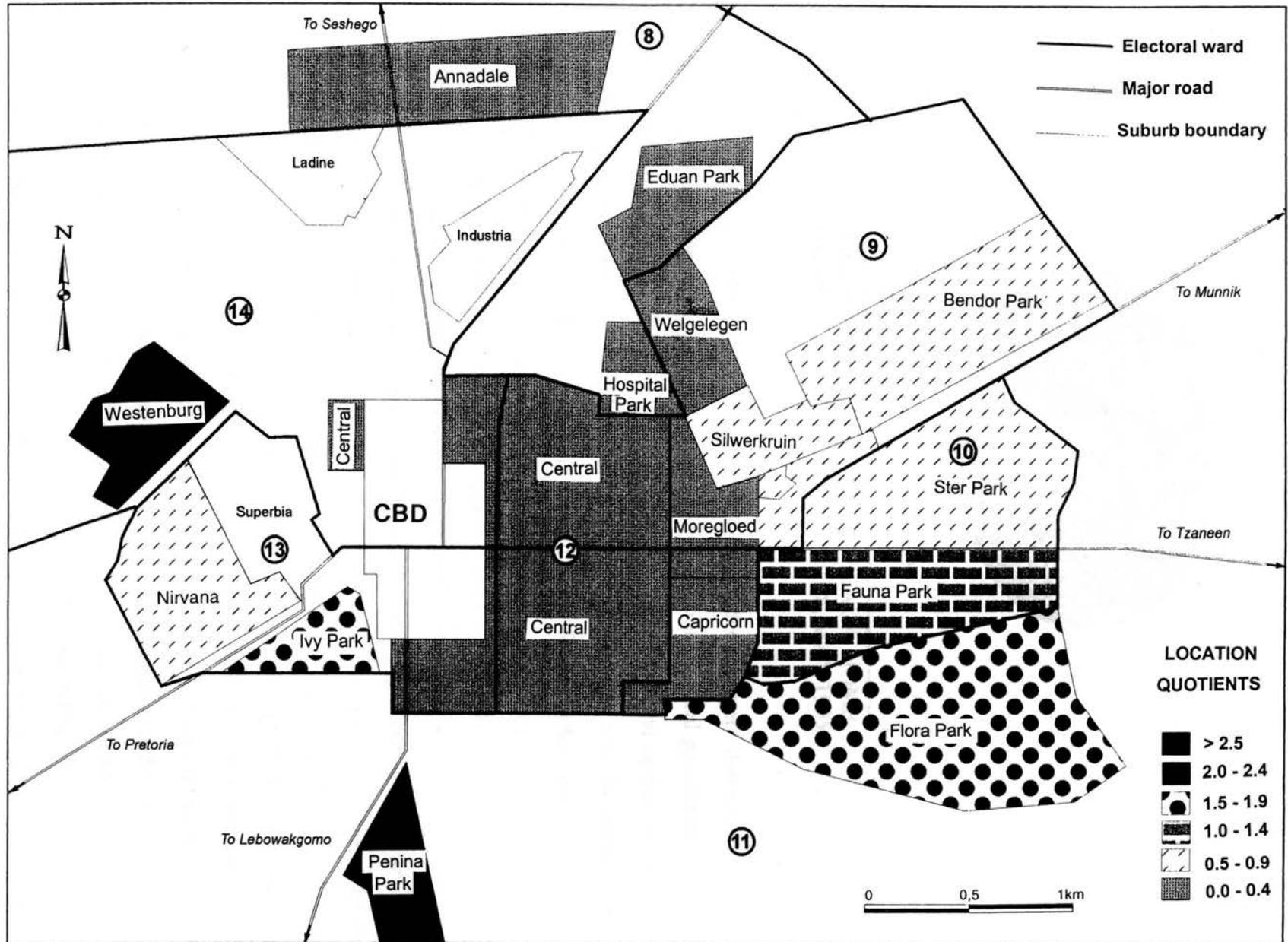


FIGURE 6.4: LOCATION QUOTIENTS OF BLACK HOME-OWNERSHIP IN PIETERSBURG, 1995

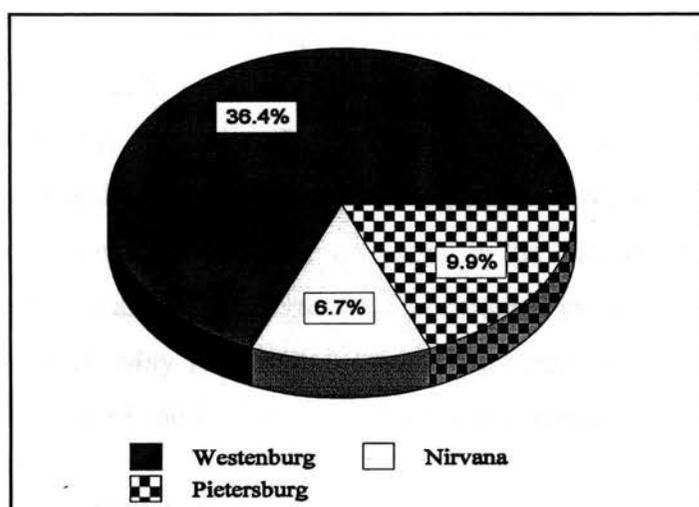


FIGURE 6.5: PERCENTAGE OF BLACK HOMEOWNERS IN FORMER GROUP AREAS, MAY 1995

The historic local government election process and its outcomes were discussed in Chapter Five. This section concludes by investigating voting behaviour at local government level, and the relationship between voting behaviour in the desegregated areas and voting outcomes. The Transitional Local Government ratified the demarcation of the city into 14 wards (refer to Chapter Five, Figure 5.1). Wards 1 to 7 are located in the former homeland black township of Seshego. Wards 8 to 12 are all located in previous white group areas. The Indian suburb was merged with a former white suburb and parts of the Central inner city (Ward 13), while the former coloured suburb also included a portion of the inner city (Ward 14). In total there were 14 ward candidates and 10 added through proportional representation (Bambo, 1995; Turok, 1994b). Two distinct trends emerge from the empirical findings on election outcomes (see Chapter Five, section 5.4.2) and desegregation patterns. First, the so-called split in the vote (12 ANC and 12 'white' political parties) is indeed surprising. It was expected that desegregated patterns in suburbs would correlate with voting behaviour for specific political parties. The two most desegregated suburbs (Penina Park and Flora Park) are located in Ward 11. Percentages for black home ownership in May 1995 indicated that 24.2% and 21.8% in these suburbs were black (Table 6.2), yet the whites-only Conservative Party managed to win the wards. In abstaining from contesting wards 8, 10, and 11 the NP in effect combined with the conservative right to attract the white vote. This should have been an indication to the ANC that they would need their followers to vote. At first glance, these desegregation percentages do not seem to have much significance. But the actual number who voted for the

ANC in Ward 11 (n=256), when compared, for example to, the number of black households residing in the ward (1228) illustrates a huge discrepancy. It is highly unlikely that black residents voted for the all-white Conservative Party. It may be postulated, then, that desegregation patterns do not correlate with voting for the ANC in Pietersburg. Second, in the former Indian and coloured suburbs the vote went to the National Party, thus demonstrating an anti-ANC preference among these groups. The coloured suburb was coincidentally the most desegregated suburb by May 1995 with 36.4% of the home-owners being black, whereas the Indian suburb was one of the lowest (7% were black owners).

The first post-apartheid local election findings, which reinstated the white conservative image of the province's capital, indicates one thing. The dualistic nature of urban politics resulting from the 'marrying' of the NP with white right wing parties without exception reflects a determination to keep politics 'white' and 'conservative' at the local level in Pietersburg. Even though the city has higher post-apartheid desegregation indices than most secondary cities in South Africa, this conservative labelling will remain for some time. The province at large has seemingly managed to rid itself of the white conservative image for ever. The current discrepancy between political control in the provincial capital and an ANC-dominated provincial government, however, remains peculiar. Lastly, it is heartening to see that in a province where racial conflict was expected after apartheid the contrary appears to be the case. Travellers entering the Province from Johannesburg on the National Road (N1) find a huge billboard bearing a map and the words "Welcome to the Northern Province: The Province of Peace".

6.2.4.5 May 1996

A total of 1407 black home-owners had settled in the city's fifteen suburbs up to two years after the general election. This was the highest percentage (12.4%) ever in the history of the city. Westenburg still accounted for the highest percentage (38.2%), followed by Penina Park (28.1%), and Flora Park (26.8%). Ten suburbs had experienced a growth in their percentage of black home owners over the previous year. Significant increases occurred in Ivy Park (3.8%) and Flora Park (5%). The high increase rates can perhaps be attributed to the peaceful transformation process of amalgamating Seshego and Pietersburg and also to the fact that the first local government election, held in November the previous year, paved the way for a more

relaxed outlook regarding the socio-political rights and privileges of former disadvantaged communities.

6.2.4.6 May 1997

A dramatic *decrease* in black home-ownership was observed for the period between May 1996 and May 1997. Not only did the actual number of home-owners decline but also the proportion in relation to the rest of the residents. A total of 121 fewer home-owners were counted in May 1997. This represents a 1.8% per cent decline, with the city having 10.6% black home-owners. In only two suburbs did the percentages increase. In contrast to previous years the increases, albeit not very high, had taken place in a high property value suburb (Welgelegen) and a low-income area (Annadale) where the percentage of black home-owners increased to 6.8% and 1.9% respectively. Although the absolute numbers declined, the lower percentages of home-owners per suburb may not be a true reflection of the reality in the suburbs of Bendor Park, Flora Park, Ster Park and Welgelegen. New residential stands were released in these areas. With developers buying the property and building houses there, it is expected that the percentages will be higher in the years to come. The expansion of the CBD's boundary to the west to include the previous residential area of Onderdorp as part of the Central City area has not been included in the calculations. This may explain the decrease in the Central area.

The number of properties rented by black households was also determined for 1997. A total of 379 properties was determined. In as far as rented property is concerned (see Table 6.2), the Central city area has the highest percentage (26%) of black renters. This relatively high figure can be ascribed to the fact that most were renting property in the former Onderdorp area that was subsequently been re-zoned to cater for the CBD expansion westwards. Residential buildings in the area are thus in a transitional phase and therefore the high percentage is not a true reflection of property rented in the Central suburb. Indian businessmen purchased property from white low-income households in the former Onderdorp area before it was re-zoned. The housing in the Onderdorp currently reflects a condition of decay in that houses are overcrowded and not kept in a good state of repair. Rented property and desegregation through home-ownership seem to relate in terms of percentages. In suburbs where home-ownership desegregation is highest the same observation for rented property has been made, e.g. Fauna

Park (14%), Flora Park (20%), and Westenburg (13%). The same relationship is observed where low purchase patterns occur, where black renters represent the following: in Eduan Park (0.3%), Capricorn (1%), Annadale (0.8%), Hospital Park/Moregloed (n=4), etc.

6.2.5 Summarising the descriptive data

The Index of Segregation was calculated to determine the spatial distribution of black home owners in comparison to white home-owners within previously whites-only suburbs, thus indicating what level of segregation exists. Pietersburg's segregation index values of 41.3 and 38.4 in 1993 and 1994 respectively reveal an uneven distribution between black and white home-owners. Figure 6.6 illustrates the annual percentage black home-owner increases and decreases since 1992. As already mentioned, the most noteworthy observation is the decrease in the percentage for the period 1996-1997. In 12 of the 15 suburbs a percentage decrease was recorded during this period. Although almost all the peripheral suburbs (Bendor, Flora, Nirvana, Westenburg, and Welgelegen) have expanded drastically during this period, it was observed that the actual number of black home-owners has decreased in nine suburbs. By May 1997 the average percentage home-ownership according to property value categorisation (refer to Figure 6.2) reveals that the low (11.5%) and medium (11.3%) property value suburbs are desegregated most in terms of home-ownership. On the other hand, the high and medium-high value suburbs accounted respectively for 6.1% and 7.2% black home-owners

6.3 SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AFTER APARTHEID: THE IMPACT OF URBAN RESTRUCTURING ON RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS

Data on perceptions obtained in the social restructuring questionnaire survey will be discussed here. Respondents were questioned on how they perceive residential integration, and what their attitude is to socio-political changes after apartheid. In addition to that, respondents' residential satisfaction was determined.

6.3.1 Attitude towards residential desegregation

Respondents were asked to express their attitude towards residential integration. They had to identify from a table with six possible options (Table 6.3) what their attitude is towards residential desegregation in Pietersburg. The majority of respondents felt that integration is

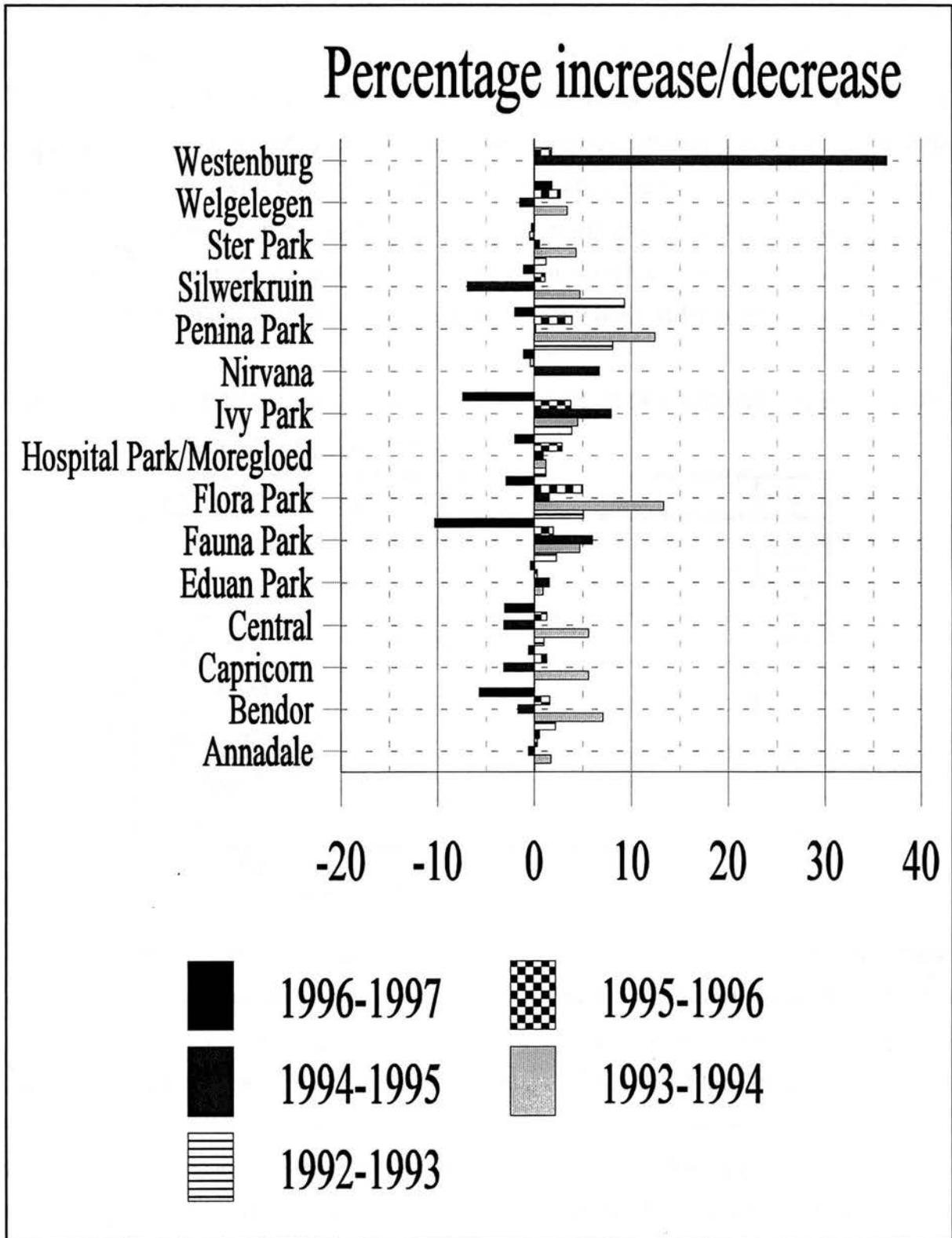


FIGURE 6.6: ANNUAL PERCENTAGE INCREASE/DECREASE OF BLACK HOME OWNERS PER SUBURB

acceptable (41%) to totally acceptable (32%). In other words almost 3 out of 4 respondents saw it as acceptable with nearly one-third being of the opinion that it is totally acceptable. This observation is heartening especially given the conservative history of the city. However, to ascertain whether these attitudes give a distorted picture of Pietersburg residents the findings were cross-tabulated with former group areas. Then, only a marginal percentage of residents in the former white group area (2%) do not show a positive attitude towards integration. A similar observation is made in Seshego (4%). Social acceptance of different racial groups appears to be the norm in the former conservative white defended city of Pietersburg.

TABLE 6.3: RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION TAKING PLACE IN PIETERSBURG

LEVEL OF ACCEPTANCE	%
Totally acceptable	31.6
Acceptable	41.4
Neither acceptable nor unacceptable	14.5
Unacceptable	5.3
Totally unacceptable	1.3
Uncertain/don't know	5.9
TOTAL	100

Note: Number of observations: 152

Source: Social restructuring survey (October 1997)

Pietersburg respondents are aware of the suburbs in which desegregation has occurred most. A total of 36% respondents said that Fauna Park is desegregated most while 22% said that Flora Park is the most desegregated suburb in the city. At the time of the survey in 1998 Fauna Park had a black home-ownership percentage of 6% and Flora Park 24%. The two suburbs desegregated most at that time were, however, Westenburg and Penina Park. Respondents in Seshego were not asked this question because in the pilot survey it was found that Seshego residents do not know the names and location of the suburbs in Pietersburg.

Instead, the respondents in Seshego were asked why it is thought that residential desegregation is a one-way process away from Seshego to the rest of the city. Most Seshego respondents

ascribe this situation to two main reasons. One is the built-up environment and what it has to offer. They see the lack of infrastructure, facilities and the underdeveloped state of Seshego (26%) as the main reason for non-black residents not moving to Seshego. Another is social resistance. Respondents still see white residents as racist with a negative attitude towards blacks (18%). Other reasons given by Seshego residents are varied. For example, it was suggested that other population groups do not accept the African way of life and that it is only conducive to live in Seshego for blacks who are used to living there (4%). Whites are afraid of township violence (4%), and the fact that they are used to expensive life styles (10%) was also highlighted. Acceptance of difference in culture is mentioned by 12% who suggested that most people prefer their own culture and do not want a situation of ethnic mixing based on shared principles. Other responses indicated that moving into Seshego would be difficult for whites. The reasons given include that it is noisy in the township, and that the suburbs are unattractive with a low housing quality. Some respondents were not so sure that integration in Seshego was not taking place, anyway.

On the other hand, residents in the remaining parts of Pietersburg were asked why integration had taken place most and least in the respective suburbs that they had indicated. A large percentage (33%) of the respondents did not know what the reason could be. It is, however, clear that they give an economic explanation for the preference for a specific suburb by black people in that 31% indicated that these suburbs are most affordable. This perception perhaps influences the other population groups' understanding of black people's socio-economic status. Others indicated that these specific areas (mainly Fauna and Flora Park) are low-cost housing areas that are new and small (14%), while 6% indicated that it is because of racial preference that the black in-movers cluster together. Few suggested that these houses are modern (3%) and that they are the only houses in those price categories (low-income) available (3%). Those (7%) who said that most integration was taking place in Westenburg have spatially correlated it to distance (proximity to Seshego and the former coloured township) as a reason.

Respondents (excluding Seshego respondents) had to say why integration is not occurring in the suburbs they identified to be the least desegregated. More than half (53%) of the respondents could not give an explanation. Those who could highlighted the economic aspect in arguing that purchasing property in these areas is too expensive for black residents (19%),

or that the areas are old and well established, and that blacks do not prefer such areas (11%). A political explanation was also given indicating that whites in certain areas are *verkramp* and that they do not accept integration (6%). Other reasons of no significance or logic were given (11%).

Expectations of residential decline, property devaluation, racial conflict and urban decay were propagated by conservative sections of society before the demise of apartheid. Respondents (excluding Seshego) were therefore asked whether residential desegregation has influenced their suburbs at all (Table 6.4). A very high proportion said that their suburb had been influenced negatively (29%).

TABLE 6.4: RESPONDENTS' PERCEIVED INFLUENCE OF RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION ON SUBURBS IN PIETERSBURG

DEGREE OF INFLUENCE		%
Yes	Positively influenced	5.5
	Neither positively, nor negatively influenced	13.9
	Negatively influenced	29.2
No, not influenced at all		13.9
Don't know/not applicable		29.2
Refuse to answer		8.3
TOTAL		100.0

Note: Number of observations: 72

Source: Social restructuring survey (October 1997)

Seven of the eleven black respondents residing outside Seshego said that, comparatively speaking, they experience a better social life than in the township. On the other hand, respondents from Seshego were asked to express their opinion regarding blacks moving to former non-black suburbs. Most suggested that those staying in the former white group area do so for status, and because they seek a higher standard and quality of life (47%). Another 24% recognise the economic reason in that they can afford to buy property in Pietersburg. Only a small percentage expressed overt antagonism towards them, saying that they want to live like whites, and that they deem themselves superior to township dwellers (5%). Other opinions account for the fact that they want to be closer to the CBD and places of

employment, they want better facilities, and that it is no problem at all. One respondent said that it helped to improve intergroup relationships, viz

⇒ “It is a good thing because there will be a mutual relationship developing among blacks and whites”.

Respondents were questioned whether they think that residential desegregation would take place more in future. Majority respondents from three of the four former groups who responded concurred with the statement. The highest percentage was observed in Seshego where 75% of the respondents indicated further change. Respondents in Pietersburg (69%), Nirvana (63%), and in Westenburg (44%) indicated that they did not know what will happen in future.

Presently, property developers and owners have the right to decide who may purchase property from them. Respondents’ opinions regarding the possibility of implementing an act/law prohibiting people from selling property only to certain buyers was determined (Figure 6.7). A majority (44%) was against structural measures such as legislation while another 15% did not mind if it is implemented or not. The fact that almost one third of the respondents supported legislation is an indication that racial steering may become a feature of the residential property market in the future. More research on this possible outcome is necessary in the future.

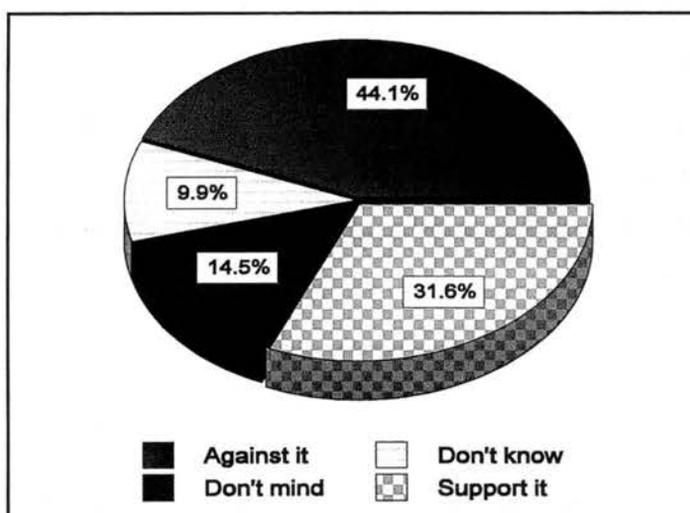


FIGURE 6.7: RESPONSES REGARDING POSSIBLE IMPLEMENTATION OF A PROPERTY PURCHASE LAW

6.3.2 Racial transition of Pietersburg

Territorial graffiti as an act of resistance to change during transition is a common feature in any society (Ley, 1983). Transition in residential composition usually correlates with changing identities of racial boundaries. Very few resistance cases are known to have occurred in the residential desegregation process in Pietersburg. Isolated incidents of racial graffiti and harassment have been reported in the local media. A more widely publicised case was reported in a national weekly newspaper. The garage door of a black university lecturer resident in Fauna Park was painted with a swastika and “AWB”, while the word “kaffir” was written on his garden wall (*Sunday Times*, 1998/1/4: 4).

The survey elicited more explicit examples such as the above. The expressed feelings and attitudes of respondents reveal contrasting stances about reconciliation, racism, and apathy. Some examples are:

Pietersburg respondents

- ⇒ “Pietersburg het pikswart geword. Oral langs die strate word handel gedryf. Lyk net soos een van die Afrika-state” [Pietersburg has become pitch black. Street-trading takes place everywhere. It looks like one of the African countries.]
- ⇒ “Omdat die ANC die verkiesing gewen het, het hulle die dorp infiltreer. Hulle mense aan wie hulle werk verskaf het ook die dorp infiltreer” [Because the ANC won the election, blacks infiltrated the city. The people whom they employed are also infiltrating the city.]
- ⇒ “Blankes moet harder werk om standarde van firmas te handhaaf terwyl swartes nie oor nodige opleiding en bevoegdhede beskik nie. Hulle het geen verantwoordelikeheidsin nie” [Whites must work harder to maintain the standard at work while blacks do not have the necessary training and skills. They do not have any responsibility.]
- ⇒ “Dié wat wel hier in die buurt is se gedrag en optrede is nie sosiaal aanvaarbaar nie. Het koerantpapier vir gordyne, maar bly gratis en met gemiddelde salaris” [The behaviour of those who are here in the suburbs is socially unacceptable. They use newspapers as curtains but reside here free of charge with an average salary.]
- ⇒ “Dinge het onvermydelik verander. Positief is dat dit nie langer eksklusief aan blankes behoort nie. Hoe positief dit verder gaan ontwikkel hang van ons almal se houding en

positiewe bydrae af. Dié wat nou regeer moet uithaal en wys of hulle kan regeer, beter as onder die apartheidstrukture” [Inevitability things changed. Positively, it is no longer exclusively whites only. How positively it would develop further depends on everyone’s attitude and positive contributions. Those who are now governing must deliver and show they can govern, better than the apartheid government.]

Seshego respondents

- ⇒ “Blacks do accept the whites. They want to show that we must be one nation irrespective of race”.
- ⇒ “Some blacks are owning business in town. Even traffic cops are treating blacks a little better even though they are still having apartheid style in their minds”.
- ⇒ “Whites’ attitudes towards us have changed. We can now share same services with whites”.

However, actual conflict experienced (excluding Seshego respondents) directly related to residential desegregation is seemingly minimal (Figure 6.8).

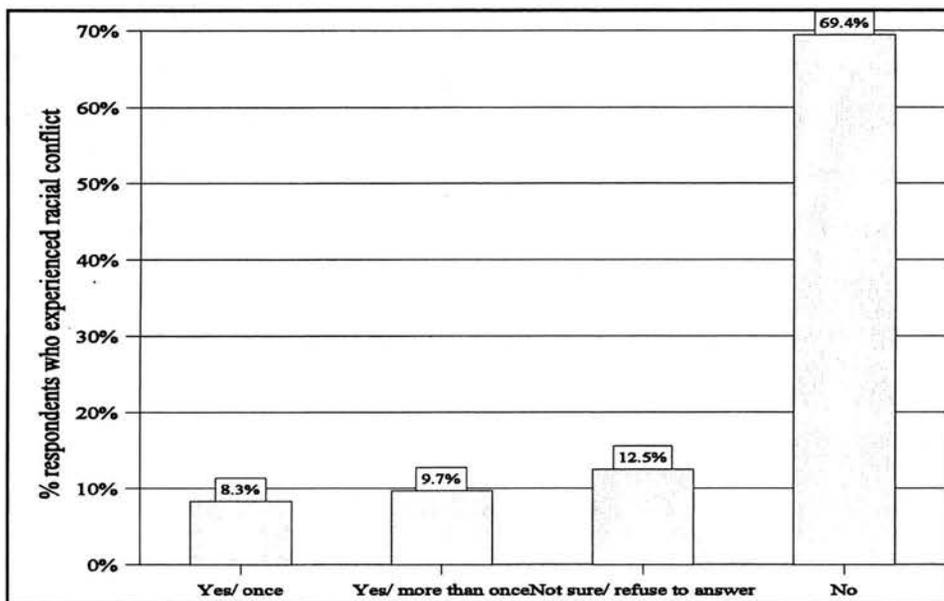


FIGURE 6.8: RESPONDENTS WHO EXPERIENCED RACIAL CONFLICT AFTER RESIDING IN PIETERSBURG

A few isolated incidents have been experienced by some respondents, with 10% having experienced conflict more than once and a further 8% who have experienced conflict on one occasion. The majority (69%) have never experienced any conflict. Five of thirteen cases of

conflict occurred in 1997 as opposed to two before the first non-racial general election in 1994. Conflict has arisen because of social misbehaviour such as drunkenness (23%) and disturbing the peace and creating a noise (15%), through vandalism such as stone throwing (8%), crime such as theft (8%), and stabbing (8%). Other cases relate to politically motivated actions (8%), and issues related to the Transitional Local Council (15%).

6.4 RESIDENTIAL RESTRUCTURING OBSERVATIONS

The recent change in government, the implementation of affirmative action (favouring blacks) by most institutions, and the fact that Pietersburg received capital and city status all contributed to the escalation in housing opportunities in Pietersburg. Furthermore, rapid urban expansion because of newly-developed low to middle-income suburbs on the outskirts of the city is an indication of the pace of black in-migration. Buffer zone developments are planned to spatially integrate the distant black township of Seshego with greater Pietersburg. Democracy has served the city's property market well. The euphoria of its capital status encouraged property prices to surge by between 20 and 30 percent (*Northern Review*, 1995/3/31). Taking cognisance of the city's conservative image and location, and comparing its desegregation figures with those of other secondary cities (e.g. Van Niekerk & Van der Merwe, 1994), Pietersburg is apparently experiencing unique transformation and change in the post-apartheid environment (Kotze & Donaldson, 1996). Perhaps this is not unique if one considers the demographics of a province in which more than 95% are black. Instead, significance lies in the fact that a city such as Pietersburg, moulded by apartheid, characterised as conservative, and living up to that expectation when seen in voting manifestations, has perhaps outpaced all major secondary and larger cities in South Africa insofar as residential desegregation is concerned. It was anticipated that the first ever democratic local governmental elections to be held in South Africa in November 1995 would pave the way towards community empowerment in all spheres of urban life. Segregation as a “geographic expression of inequality” and as “a primary tool for preserving inequality” (Morrill, 1995: 22) will, however, persist for some time.

Transformation in the 1990s, as seen in the legalisation of property purchase, has stimulated a search for the socio-spatial outcomes of democratisation. A question for the future is whether

there will be a tendency in the settlement pattern of incoming black home buyers to concentrate within a specific socio-economic and/or racial group. According to Boal (1978: 73) “if the entering group has very few differences from the host society, rapid dispersal into the urban spatial structure is to be expected.” Boal (1978: 75) goes on to say that those in-migrants would “easily disperse within the socio-economic spatial context”, especially if they have “close cultural affinities with the host population.” It would be difficult to argue that in conservative white urban areas such as the former NTVL, the legacy of decades of separation has not left its mark on people's political perceptions. But, with the exception of a few mainly conservative suburbs, blacks are rapidly dispersing into the host community of Pietersburg, creating integrated residential spaces. Because of the possibility of hostile attitudes among white residents in such suburbs as the conservative low-class neighbourhood of Annadale, these areas are perceived as defended spaces. This perception influences where black newcomers to Pietersburg are prepared to buy homes. Unlike other suburbs, integrated space and shared values based on socio-economic and racial composition are not found in specific low income and low property value suburbs such as Annadale. In the more integrated suburbs, the prevailing values of the host community, based on socio-economic status and not political hue, act as a mechanism for influencing in-migrants' perceptions positively. Concentration for security against possible political resistance to in-migration is thus unnecessary in most of Pietersburg.

Predictions of conflict in South African cities made by Beavon (1992b), Bernstein and McCarthy (1990), and Kotze and Donaldson (1996) have so far not materialised. According to Beavon (1992b) in “large urban places and minor metropolitan areas such as...Pietersburg..., the possibilities of racial clashes in a post-apartheid era, created by the scrapping of racial laws but without a change in attitudes, will be high”. To date, no major clashes are known to the researcher. In fact, since the elections a general change in people's attitudes towards a new dispensation and an open society has been observable in most of South Africa. The socio-political reality emerging from the changing spatial picture of the city has so far been surprisingly peaceful. Also, rather than thinking of themselves as political guinea-pigs, blacks perceive the urban construct as an economic entity with better social and living conditions. Therefore the anticipated concentration in a colony, enclave or ghetto, before being dispersed into the host community, is unnecessary. In-migrants also perceive their new living

environment as an escape from an apartheid era characterised by a lack of certain facilities and services. Poor housing and health care, remote township locations and distance from work (spatial and psychological needs), scarce opportunities for home ownership (esteem needs), and lack of educational opportunities (cognitive needs) all testify to the poor quality of life in black townships.

Two reasons may be postulated for the observed rapid increase of black home owners between 1993 and 1994 in Penina Park (12.4%) and Flora Park (13.3%). Local estate agents labelled Penina Park a black suburb from the moment when the first black people moved into Pietersburg, thereby creating a perception among potential black in-migrants that they should buy there. On the other hand, Flora Park is situated in a relatively new and expanding modern middle-class suburb. The area and its house sizes are comparable to those in the upcoming middle-class sections of the black township. One might find that blacks who favour this suburb belong to an emergent middle-class.

A number of other conclusions drawn about Pietersburg's desegregation process are worth listing. They are:

- Detailed information about the renting of property is unknown. It was, however, established that some black home-owners rent their properties to white people.
- In the process of invasion and succession consisting of four phases - initial, reactionary, general influx, and climax (Van der Merwe, 1986: 137) Pietersburg is apparently in the general influx stage. An invasion of middle-and high-income areas is taking place with no resistant reaction from the host community.
- According to interviews, estate agents at present play a decisive role. In the highly competitive property market of Pietersburg, agents influence the spatial buying decisions of the "new" and "often uninformed" black home buyers. Because most potential buyers have access to housing subsidies, it is not uncommon that properties which can generate high commissions for agents are favoured by potential black buyers. Estate agents also refer to Penina Park as the "black" suburb. Buyers are informed about specific areas which are politically conservative, which are then automatically avoided. Not surprisingly, then, despite their low house values, these areas are still fairly unpopular.

Expectations that house values might decrease in areas where the most integration has occurred have not materialised. In fact, prices everywhere have kept pace with the normal increase in market values. Price hikes are thus not resulting as a defensive mechanism but purely as a feature of supply and demand, especially owing to the city's growth consequent upon its new status.

Before the 1994 General Elections, questions centred around the conflict situations that might arise in these conservative white towns when blacks would settle there. This, however, has hardly occurred. Perhaps that explains the low level of residential integration in some suburbs. Structural forces preventing integration here may perhaps be attributed to ideological intolerance. Most evident from the peripheral areas of Pietersburg's black towns are pressures preventing socio-economic status (SES) zones developing and growing naturally and according to normal capitalist market forces. The actions of civic organisations in the former homeland towns such as Mankweng clearly illustrate the policy of officials in the community not being directed by SES forces, but rather by a desire to conform to the social and moral code of practice of providing for a periphery-core development. The property market is completely regulated by the public sector, i.e. no estate agencies are operational. Since 1992 a total of 1 722 houses have been built for private home-ownership. The rapid development of an extension of Flora Park (509 housing units have become privately owned since 1992) illustrates this need for housing blacks in the low-middle income categories. Residents of Pietersburg refer to this extension as "Little Soweto" - perhaps because of its small boxed-styled houses and untarred roads.

Since 1994 a new concept of property ownership has developed in Pietersburg. Property developers develop what they call "Villages" and "Parks" on vacant land adjacent to or within high-income suburbs. These are walled with strict security control and with home-ownership and membership granted. The aim of these developments is to maintain and regulate strict control over the standard of living of the residents. This is an example of a private initiative to legally prevent possible future local government legislation (mixed-income suburbs) and actions, such as those observed in Giyani and Mankweng, to regulate market value in a homogeneous fashion. The USA experience has shown that "high status in-migrants are not likely to form ethnic residential clusters, but rather to disperse within the relevant socio-

economic spatial context” (Boal, 1978: 75). This is most relevant when black in-migrants have close occupational affinities with the host community. The political elite and high profile business persons and academics fall into this category.

6.5 RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION: BLACK MOVERS AND MOBILITY PATTERNS

6.5.1 Conceptual setting

Residential mobility is defined as

“a product of housing opportunities - the new and vacant dwellings resulting from suburban expansion, inner city renewal and rehabilitation, etc., - and the housing needs and expectations of households, which are themselves a product of income, family size and lifestyles” (Knox, 1995: 283).

Residential mobility data provides knowledge and understanding of the socio-spatial dynamics in the field of urban social geography. Concepts such as residential segregation and desegregation, social polarisation, gentrification, succession and invasion, filtering down, filtering up, filtering back, spatial restructuring, social gatekeeping, renewal, and block busting (and the dynamics of these) are examples of how the urban geographer finds relevance in investigating residential mobility. Knox (1995) illustrates the relationships between housing demand and residential mobility, and he emphasises the circular and cumulative effects of the above-mentioned phenomena on each other within an understanding of the social ecology of the city. Pivotal to this are structural forces coexisting in a process of mobility flows and the structuring of space. In South African cities racial dominance in the home-ownership housing market constrained a horizontal expansion of residential mobility. Instead mobility occurred primarily in the former white suburbs, to a lesser extent in Indian and coloured areas, and basically did not exist in black townships.

A fundamental dichotomy exists between so-called movers and stayers. The selective process of whether to move often, and, for others settled in the housing market, whether or not to move, provides what Knox (1995: 286) calls "a degree of stability to the residential mosaic". Studies have indicated that younger households are more mobile than older households. Urban cultural attachments to one's direct social environment have prominence in influencing intra-

and inter-urban mobility. Various postulations for residential mobility have been suggested. Feitelson (1993) provides a hierarchical conceptualisation of housing segmentation in which three criteria are responsible for the residential mobility of a household. One involves societal constraints as a result of historical processes that are based on economic and social status, and the cultural variables of race and ethnicity. Broadly, the four racial categories (white, coloured, black, Indian), and, narrowly, the ethnic differentiation as a basis of separate development, provided the framework of social segmentation in South Africa. The second segmentation is based on the criteria of life-style choices. Groups who are facing analogous life-style choices are stratified according to the basic life-style decisions made by households on, for example, work, family, and leisure orientation. The third stratum is thus a segmentation of social constraints, lifestyle-choice and household situation. The last segmentation includes aspects such as demographic changes, needs, economic changes and the subsequent resources of the household.

Knox (1995: 289) has listed three socio-spatial dimensions pertaining to an understanding of intra-urban mobility: distance moved, direction moved, and the socio-economic status of origin and destination areas. Decisions in favour of movement are numerous. While some are voluntary others may be involuntary. Broad categories such as housing or personal and environmental attributes may be relevant; other factors are also listed, namely perceived space, expectations and aspirations, and life-styles. Changes and transformation resulting in postmodern societies have attracted a different hypothesis for intra-urban mobility. The hypothesis by Petsimeris and Racine (1996:20) embodies new thoughts on the social structure of cities in transition to a post-industrialist society. To them

“the international division of labour, the processes of urbanization and de-industrialisation, and the wide expansion of the service sector, establish a marked labour division at the local level by accentuating forms of social polarisation and residential segregation” (Petsimeris & Racine, 1996: 20).

Thus, finding supporting empirical evidence to understand structural changes relating to the social structuring of space, centres around finding answers to the origins and destinations of movers, how many move, their socio-demographic characteristics, the causes of intra-urban mobility and how it evolves in time. Furthermore, what is the relationship between intra-metropolitan, and inter-urban mobility? Finally, how do endogenous and exogenous flows have

an impact on the new social articulation and social divisions of metropolitan space (Petersimeris & Racine, 1996)?

For this study, two surveys were conducted to investigate mobility patterns. The first was an investigation among the first black pioneers who were settled in the city after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. The second survey was conducted in October 1997 among a sample of Pietersburg and Seshego residents.

6.5.2 Black in-migrant residential relocation to Pietersburg

Supplementary data derived from a preliminary socio-demographic survey among black residents residing in previously non-white neighbourhoods was investigated. By eliciting information on their reasons for moving to a predominantly white area, the survey results give insight into this "new" phenomenon that recently (1991) started to "legally" take place in South African cities. A socio-economic mail questionnaire survey was carried out. Questionnaires were sent to the 52 black residents who had bought property within the municipal area before September 1992 (i.e. those who moved into Pietersburg immediately after the scrapping of the act). The initial response was insufficient and a follow-up was done in May 1993 when questionnaires were personally delivered to each household. Fifty-four percent of the respondents returned their questionnaires (see Section 1.3.2 for discussion of the methodology followed).

Investigation of the socio-economic characteristics of black home-owners in Pietersburg's white suburbs revealed that most of the respondents occupied established positions in the life-cycle (Table 6.5). Fifty-seven percent were between 30 and 39 years of age, 79% were married, and 75% had a family size of four or more. It was also revealed that 100% had had a tertiary education. Fifty percent were active in the education profession and 71% fell within a high income group of more than R5 000 per month. It was also determined in the survey that forty-six percent of the respondents had previously owned property in black residential areas at the time of their relocation to Pietersburg, and 89% received housing subsidies from their employers. Figures for social interaction with neighbours indicate that 54% of respondents had good relations while 46% indicated that they had no contact at all. As the first blacks staying

in the conservative white city of Pietersburg it perhaps suggested a peaceful residential and social space restructuring process to follow in the 1990s.

TABLE 6.5: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLED BLACK MOVERS IN PIETERSBURG, MAY 1993

AGE	%	ACADEMIC QUALIFICATION	%
≤29	3.6	Tertiary	100
30-39	57.1		
40-49	21.4		
50-59	10.7		
≥60	3.6		
no response	3.6		
MARITAL STATUS	%	GROSS INCOME (MONTHLY)	%
Married	78.6	R2 000 - 2 999	3.6
Single	7.1	R3 000 - 3 999	3.6
Other	14.3	R4 000 - 4 999	21.4
		≥ R5 000	71.4
FAMILY SIZE	%	OCCUPATION	%
Three	21.3	Education	50.0
Four	39.3	Psychology	3.6
Five	17.9	Technical	3.6
Six	14.3	Law	14.3
>Six	3.6	Administration	14.3
No response	3.6	Business	10.7
		No response	3.6
HOUSING SUBSIDY	%	n = 52	
Yes	89.3		
No	7.1		
No response	3.6		

Source: Donaldson and Kotze (1994: 273)

Push and pull factors underlie residential movement. These factors for respondents' relocation to Pietersburg were grouped into four categories (Table 6.6). The majority of respondents (43%) moved to Pietersburg for better housing and services and to be nearer their work. The second most named reason (29%) is a push factor linked to the main push factor, namely the poor infrastructure and services in the black townships, as well as crime and noise, and nepotism as far as allocation of property according to ethnicity is concerned. Fifteen percent of respondents indicated that a desired change in social milieu (i.e. integration with other communities) and financial considerations (7%), for example the purchasing of properties for investment purposes, were reasons for their relocation. The pull factors (65%) have thus a greater impact on purchasing patterns in the former white group area than push factors (29%).

TABLE 6.6: REASONS FOR RELOCATION TO PIETERSBURG, 1993

PULL FACTORS	PUSH FACTORS	%
Infrastructure and housing/proximity to jobs		43
Changes in social milieu		15
Financial consideration		7
	Problems in black townships	29
No response	No response	6

Source: Donaldson and Kotze (1994: 273)

6.5.3 Residential mobility patterns, 1997

Most respondents to the 1997 survey in the city were home owners (87%), with the highest percentage of owners in Seshego (95%). Stability in residential mobility in Seshego is evident from the fact that 93% of Seshego respondents indicated that they had stayed at the same house since moving there. This can be ascribed to the lack of opportunities to move elsewhere, and because the government provided these houses. Of the respondents in Pietersburg, 56% indicated staying at one property, while 33% indicated staying at two to three different places of residence. The period of time for staying in a specific residence also gives an indication of mobility patterns (Figure 6.9).

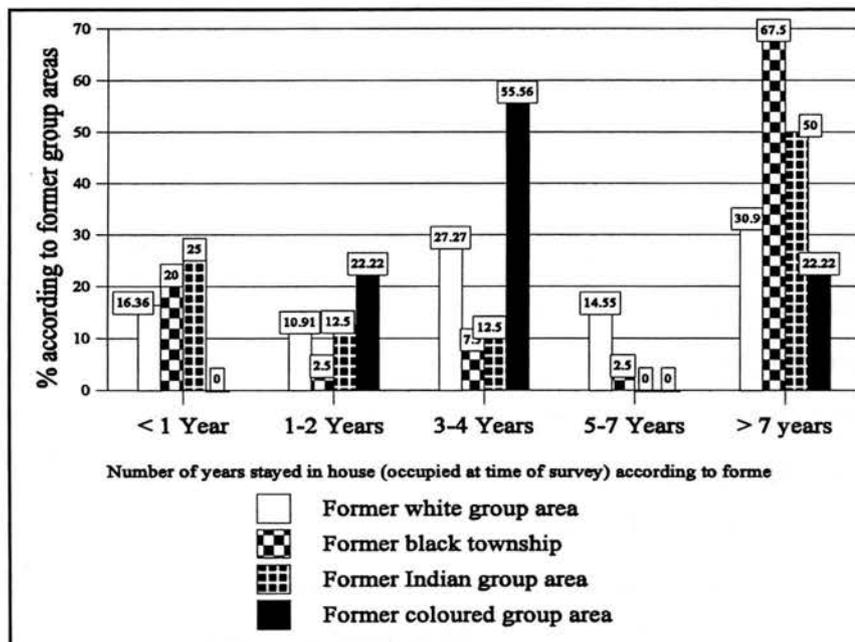


FIGURE 6.9: NUMBER OF YEARS STAYED IN CURRENT HOUSE

Again, Seshego residents are the least mobile with almost three quarters of the respondents having lived in the same house for more than 7 years. A remarkable number of respondents from Westenburg (56%) have stayed in the same house for 3 to 4 years. Respondents from the former white group area showed a more general trend that the figure for respondents (31%) who stayed in the same house for more than seven years is not significantly more than for those who indicated otherwise.

Two thirds of the respondents (67%) indicated that they did not intend relocating elsewhere in the near future. The highest percentage of respondents who said that they were going to relocate (25%) were from Seshego. Most of them indicated a move to a rural area and Pietersburg. Respondents staying in Pietersburg indicated a move to another suburb in Pietersburg (4%), and 9% to a rural area (small-holding, small rural town, farm). Various reasons were given of which the most mentioned by respondents were the need for better services, infrastructure, inability to pay for rates and taxes, a need to be closer to the CBD, changes in lifestyle, and security for the family. In this context Knox (1995: 293) reminds researchers that

“the reasons given for moving in the course of household interviews are not always entirely reliable. Some people have a tendency to rationalize and justify their decisions, others may not be able to recollect past motivations; and most will inevitably articulate reasons that are simpler and more clear-cut than the complex of factors under consideration in explaining movement behaviour.”

Despite Knox's caution the survey findings nevertheless shed some light on residential mobility. In summary, then, one may assert that black respondents are less mobile because of the historic consequences of apartheid through segregation, forced removals and lack of housing and employment opportunities; the Indian community is a very closed community, hence mobility in Nirvana is restricted; an increase of residents in Westenburg since 1994 may be ascribed to newly developed low-income housing; and white respondents are more mobile in general. The next section will specifically focus on the property market trends which will also be used as a method to investigate mobility.

6.6 DESEGREGATION, MOBILITY AND THE PROPERTY MARKET

6.6.1 An alternative methodology

The fact that no specific format exists to identify what racial category a person is in who registers property at the Deeds Office does not necessarily pose a major problem when interpreting property transfer data. The municipal valuation roll method was applied where surnames are used to distinguish between different racial groups. Three groups are used, white, black and Indian. It is impossible to include the coloured group because of the similarity of their names to white surnames. Inter-racial marriage groups are also not recognised. However, these two cases will not have a severe impact on the overall reflection of transfers in Pietersburg. Saff (1995c) provides a detailed list of limitations experienced when measuring inter-racial property movement. Despite these, the researcher feels that using the *Property Transfer Guides* from the Deeds Office for the period 1994-1997 gives a good understanding of post-apartheid residential trends and mobility and the property market in the city. To be uniform with data on desegregation, a distinction is made between sectional title (town houses, etc.) and full title (own property, usually a house), with the focus and analysis being only on the latter. No distinction, however, is made between an undeveloped stand and built-up stands, inhabited or uninhabited.

Average house prices and stand size - per month and year - for all the suburbs affected by desegregation are shown in Table 6.7 (see section 6.6.2 for interpretation). The housing market is examined by monitoring the number of properties purchased over this period (see Addendum 10), and the transfers taking place between the different owners' categories (see Addendum 11) provided in the *South African Property Transfer Guides*. South African geographers have not shown much interest in studying urban spatial consequences of the property market and "one of the least researched aspects of Africa's cities concerns issues of property investment" (Rogerson, J, 1996: 73). The breadth of this theme warrants an in-depth analysis of various factors that may have a spatial influence on the property market, such as global economic trends and their impact on the South African economy, bond rates, supply and demand, employment creation, retrenchments or voluntary retirements, the cost of building, inflation rates and personal tax. Section 6.6.2 will, however, only provide a descriptive analysis of the patterns mentioned earlier.

6.6.2 Nature and extent of property transfers

The total number of properties sold during a given period shows the intra-urban housing condition prevailing in a city. The average price per suburb and the monthly average number sold over the four-year period are shown in Tables 6.7³ and Table 6.8 respectively.

The average price for properties sold in the city over the four years was R189 023. Three suburbs had an average above R250 000: Eduan Park (R288 284), Welgelegen (R269 906), and Central (R252 096). Westenburg accounted for the lowest average (R37 254). If suburbs are to be categorised in terms of socio-economic status (based on house prices) then it is obvious that the above three suburbs should be ranked highest. This is contradictory to the property value map based on the municipal valuation (refer to Figure 6.2). The map shows that in 1992 Central and Eduan Park respectively had low and medium values. These suburbs are also some of the least desegregated, hence one can assume that the increase in value may be ascribed to the desegregation of suburbs.

Average yearly price increases occurred in only four suburbs: Capricorn, Hospital Park, Welgelegen and Westenburg (Table 6.7). Again, in three of these suburbs, the exception being Westenburg, low desegregation percentages were observed: i.e. respectively desegregation percentages of 4.7%, 4.2%, 6.8%, 2.2%, 40.4% (refer to Table 6.2).

Nevertheless, one cannot simply correlate desegregation with price increases. Kotze (1997) correlated the percentage desegregation and percentage price increase over a four year period (1993-1996) in Pietersburg. He postulated that an increase in desegregation might have an influence on property prices. To do a simple correlation analysis is inappropriate here. The changing nature of urban development within the city has a direct impact on the outcomes of the property values according to suburb. Large scale development of small low-cost housing units has occurred in the former middle-income suburb of Flora Park. I.e. high density and low property valued residential units attributed to an increase of blacks in the suburb.

³ The average price per suburb will not tally with adding the yearly average and dividing it by four. This is because in the *Property Guides* some properties sold showed no selling price. These are in the vacuum period of registration, especially if sold by developers.

TABLE 6.7: ANNUAL AVERAGE PROPERTY PRICE AND STAND SIZE ACCORDING TO SUBURBS IN PIETERSBURG, 1994-1997

SUBURB	1994	1995	1996	1997	AVERAGE FOR 1994-1997 IN RANK ORDER
Welgelegen Average price Average size	R223 291 1 847	R281 234 1 430	R312 981 1 991	R307 483 1 455	R269 906
Central Average price Average size	R206 678 1 713	R261 424 1 525	R255 064 1 389	R348 216 1 456	R252 096
Eduan Park Average price Average size	R184 998 1 524	R284 231 1 478	R223 261 1 580	R252 870 1 647	R228 284
Silwerkruin Average price Average size	R158 316 1 234	R224 689 750	R217 954 1 009	R343 962 1 304	R219 770
Hospital Park/ Moregloed Average price Average size	R200 840 1 823	R211 323 1 859	R239 787 1 619	R240 142 1 660	R217 354
Ivy Park Average price Average size	R176 626 1 032	R273 075 1 085	R196 300 1 000	R218 235 1 023	R212 948
Ster Park Average price Average size	R174 379 1 683	R172 648 1 540	R255 822 1 543	R256 030 2 051	R205 186
Fauna Park Average price Average size	R160 737 1 051	R167 208 1 075	R290 180 1 668	R210 228 1 317	R201 104
Penina Park Average price Average size	R165 089 1 327	R202 559 1 414	R226 800 1 114	R195 700 1 165	R194 470
Capricorn Average price Average size	R149 632 1 436	R179 508 1 416	R210 500 1 347	R260 750 1 480	R179 627
Annadale Average price Average size	R129 580 1 413	R223 052 1 681	R160 500 1 434	R160 793 1 225	R170 650
Bendor Average price Average size	R198 105 1 391	R111 959 1 324	R126 693 1 048	R153 177 1 145	R144 230
Flora Park Average price Average size	R89 937 3 279	R201 396 1 065	R138 718 1 846	R103 794 2 013	R128 963
Nirvana Average price Average size	R113 494 2 103	R79 491 638	R200 734 2 113	R138 236 853	R113 498
Westenburg Average price Average size	R27 047 421	R31 454 610	R58 945 390	R76 590 434	R37 254

Source: Derived from the raw data collected from *South African Property Transfer Guide* for Pietersburg, 1994-1997

TABLE 6.8 ANNUAL TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS SOLD PER YEAR AND THE AVERAGE HOUSING UNITS SOLD PER MONTH PER YEAR

SUBURB	1994	1995	1996	1997	TOTAL AND AVERAGE (IN RANK ORDER) FOR 1994-1997
Flora Park Number sold Average p.m. sold	381 31.8	228 19.0	911 75.9	168 14.0	1 688 35.2
Bendor Number sold Average p.m. sold	169 14.1	208 17.3	208 17.3	194 16.2	779 16.2
Central Number sold Average p.m. sold	207 17.3	179 14.9	146 12.2	82 6.8	614 12.8
Fauna Park Number sold Average p.m. sold	138 11.5	89 7.4	90 7.5	59 4.9	376 7.8
Westenburg Number sold Average p.m. sold	178 14.8	94 7.8	64 5.3	28 2.3	364 7.6
Annadale Number sold Average p.m. sold	86 7.2	80 6.7	69 5.8	37 3.1	272 5.7
Ster Park Number sold Average p.m. sold	48 4	50 4.2	42 3.5	24 2	164 3.4
Nirvana Number sold Average p.m. sold	49 4.1	67 5.6	33 2.8	14 1.2	163 3.4
Welgelegen Number sold Average p.m. sold	52 4.3	31 2.6	27 2.3	23 1.9	133 2.8
Penina Park Number sold Average p.m. sold	43 3.6	35 2.9	30 2.5	16 1.3	124 2.6
Hospital Park/Moregloed Number sold Average p.m. sold	45 3.8	35 2.9	25 2.1	19 1.6	124 2.6
Eduan Park Number sold Average p.m. sold	49 4.0	27 2.3	25 2.0	25 2.1	126 2.6
Silwerkruin Number sold Average p.m. sold	28 2.3	17 1.4	24 2.0	14 1.2	83 1.7
Ivy Park Number sold Average p.m. sold	31 2.6	20 1.7	11 0.9	17 1.4	79 1.6
Capricorn Number sold Average p.m. sold	21 1.8	18 1.5	10 0.8	4 0.3	53 1.1

Source: Derived from the raw data collected from *South African Property Transfer Guide* for Pietersburg, 1994-1997

If Table 6.7 is studied, it can be seen that suburbs previously (see Figure 6.2) identified as affluent (e.g. Bendor Park) show a decrease in property value (measured against sales). When the decrease in property value is correlated with desegregation percentages, it is seen that the suburb is not as highly desegregated as Flora or Penina Park. An explanation for this is that in Bendor Park a rapid expansion of medium-high density property developments has been taking place since 1996. Hence the decrease in property sale price averages because of a lower market value of town houses and duplexes. This is reflected in their future development map (Figure 6.10). From the map it is evident that the planning department plans to guide desegregation, in that, as has been shown above, desegregation correlates with property value. Westenburg, Nirvana and Flora Park would cater for low-income black in-migrants.

The question that should be asked is why the Town Council decided to zone the so-called affluent suburb for medium-high density property development. Two possible answers arise. First, because desegregation was evidently not taking place much in Bendor Park, and because black residents do not prefer to stay in such housing types (they prefer their own properties), it was seen as a way of keeping the affluent area relatively white. And also to cater for middle-income whites moving out of highly desegregated middle-income suburbs such as Flora Park. Second, it could be that the town planners are trying to follow the idea of mixed-income development proposed by the White Paper on Local Government. This option is highly unlikely, because the White Paper was only released in 1998 while developments have been taking place since 1995/6. Regarding the number of properties sold per month (Table 6.8), four suburbs have an average of more than seven properties sold per month with the highest experienced in Flora Park (35 properties). This is followed by Bendor Park (16), Fauna Park (8) and Westenburg (8). This trend can be directly attributed to urban expansion taking place in these peripheral suburbs where land had been extended for residential development. The highest number of properties sold in a month occurred in Flora Park in 1996 when 911 were sold (most of them stands). The average number of housing units sold for 1994-1997 show that only three suburbs recorded average sales of more than 10 per month over the said period. They are Flora Park with an average of 35, Bendor Park (16) and Central (13). The averages according to suburb remained relatively constant throughout the period 1994-1997. Notable sharp increases are observed in Flora Park with an average of 76 units in 1996 from an average of 19 units in the previous year. That may be ascribed to the releasing of new land

for development. It appears as if the housing market experienced a slump in 1995 and 1997. If the average sales for 1995 are compared to 1994 then it is seen that in only three suburbs (Bendor Park, Nirvana, Ster Park) did the average number of units sold increase. And, if the 1997 sales are compared to 1996, only two suburbs recorded an average sales increase, namely Eduan Park and Ivy Park.

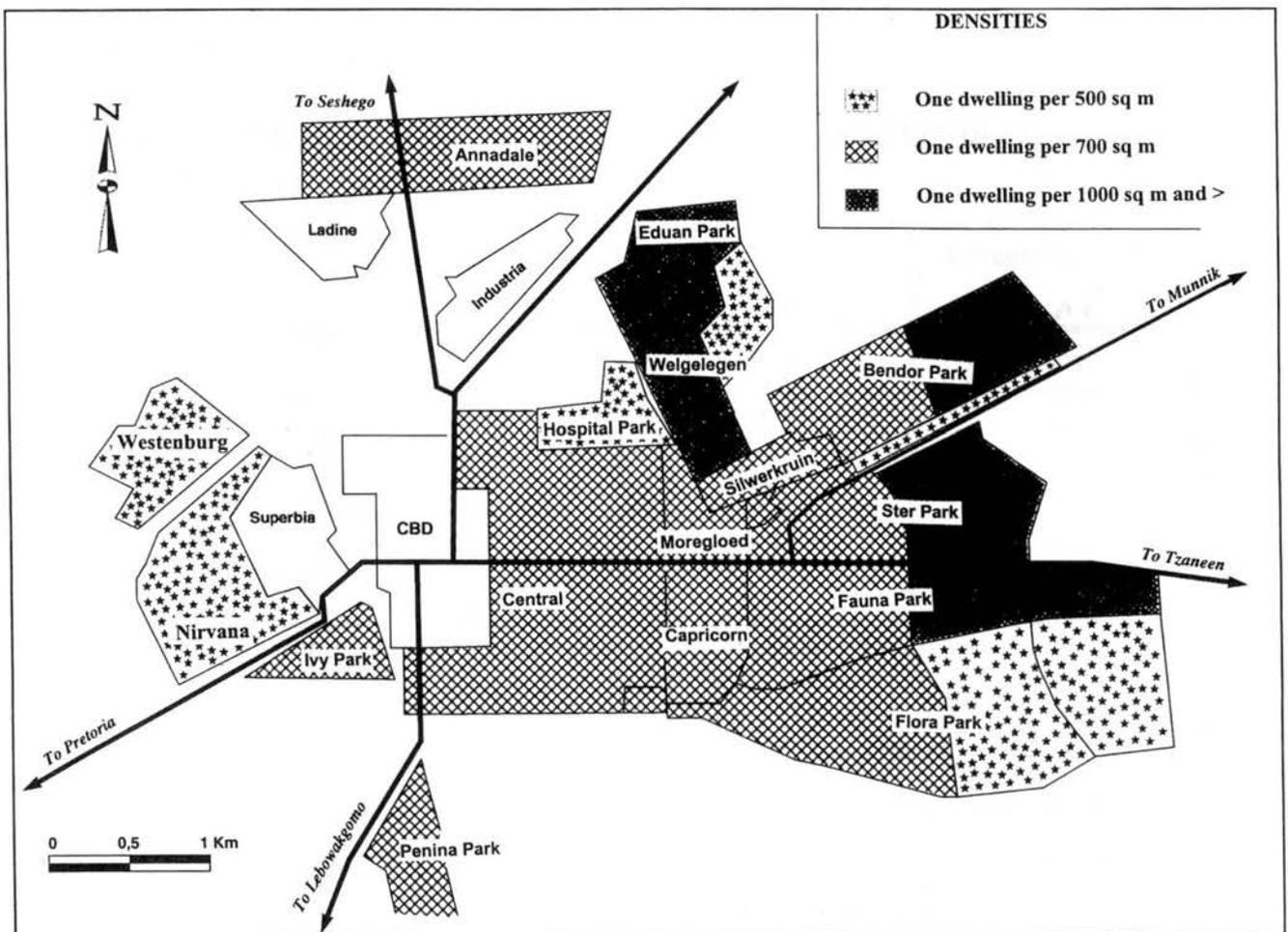


FIGURE 6.10: RESIDENTIAL DENSITIES ACCORDING TO THE TLCs DEVELOPMENT MAP (Source: Pietersburg TLC, Town Planning Department)

The number of inter-racial transfers also gives an indication of the property market in relation to desegregation patterns. Percentages calculated for inter-racial transfers are shown in Table 6.9. All transfers include those occurring between private racial households, businesses, public institutions, closed corporations, estates, and developers. That is, a developer selling property to a black person is not included as an inter-racial transfer. Inter-racial transfers are all transfers that occurred between black-white-Indian persons only. In only one of the four years - 1996 - the percentage of inter-racial transfers was less than 10%. In 1995 and 1997 the percentages were highest, namely 14.9%. The low percentage for 1996 may be ascribed to the fact that very large numbers of blacks bought property from developers in that year, e.g. 911 properties were sold in Flora Park, of which most were stands.

TABLE 6.9: INTER-RACIAL PROPERTY TRANSFERS IN PIETERSBURG
(EXCLUDING SESHEGO) , 1994-1997

Year	All transfers (AT)	Inter-racial transfers (IT)	Percentage of IT to AT
1994	1 525	179	11.7
1995	1 178	176	14.9
1996	1 715	166	9.7
1997	724	108	14.9
Total	5 142	631	12.3

Source: Compiled from *South African Property Transfer Guide* for Pietersburg (1994-1997)

A more detailed analysis of inter-racial understanding requires scrutiny of intra-racial transfers (Table 6.10 - derived from Addendum 11). Two most important trends are observed from Table 6.10. Firstly, for the four years (1994-1997), both black and Indian transfers occurred predominantly within the same racial groups. For example, in 1994, the properties sold by Indian to Indian accounted for 77%, while only 23% and 0% were sold respectively to black and white persons. The table clearly shows the tendency - for all four years - of these two groups to sell their property to the same racial group. Given the larger number of whites staying in the city (as opposed to lower desegregation levels for the other racial groups), it

might be expected that white-white sales would give the same result, i.e. more whites buying from each other than any other racial group buying from them.

TABLE 6.10: CROSS -TABULATIONS OF INTER- AND INTRA-RACIAL PROPERTY TRANSFERS IN PIETERSBURG, 1994-1997

Sellers																
1994					1995				1996				1997			
B u y e r s	W	B	I	Total 1994	W	B	I	Total 1995	W	B	I	Total 1996	W	B	I	Total 1997
W	531 (77%)	153 (22%)	6 (1%)	690 92	352 (71)	137 (27%)	9 (2%)	498 84.8	348 (71%)	133 (27%)	9 (2%)	490 87.3	218 (71%)	87 (28%)	4 (1%)	309 86.3
B	15 (39%)	23 (61%)	0 (0%)	38 5	19 (36%)	31 (60%)	2 (4%)	52 8.9	13 (25%)	36 (71%)	2 (4%)	51 9.1	11 (31%)	23 (64%)	2 (5%)	36 10.1
I	0 (0%)	5 (23%)	17 (77%)	22 3	3 (8%)	6 (16%)	28 (76%)	37 6.3	4 (20%)	5 (25%)	11 (55%)	20 3.6	3 (23%)	1 (8%)	9 (69%)	13 3.6
T o t a l	72.8	24.1	3.1	100	63.7	29.6	6.6	100	65.1	31.0	3.9	100	64.8	31.0	4.2	100

Source: Compiled from *South African Property Transfer Guide* for Pietersburg, (1994-1997)

A second important observation is that blacks are becoming increasingly part and parcel of the property market in that since 1994 a yearly increase in selling their property has been taking place. For example, in 1994, 24% of blacks sold their property and the percentage for the three years following were 29%, 31% and 31% respectively. In the discussion on residential mobility (refer to section 6.5.3) it was observed that black respondents in Seshego are not likely to move residence because most of them have been staying in the same house for more than seven years. Given the increase in the percentage of those selling their property in Pietersburg, one can assume that blacks who are living in the former non-township environment are more mobile than township dwellers. The same observation has been made for the Indian sellers. Another observation is that percentage-wise, more blacks sell their property than buy property in

Pietersburg. In 1997 for example 10% bought property while 31% sold their property. White home-owners who sell and buy property tend to remain constant with 86% buying property in 1997 as opposed to 65% who sold their property.

6.7 DESEGREGATION IN PERSPECTIVE

With the indisputably negative outcomes of forced residential segregation ensured by discriminatory acts remaining evident in the spatial landscape of today, politicians, town planners, the community, and others have to cope with the socio-psychological, economic and spatial complications of apartheid planning. The black majority are still compelled to reside mainly in the peripheral townships. Such impoverished blacks have to carry the burden of overcrowding, poor services, and travelling long distances to work, etc. But the antithesis is that more affluent blacks are moving into former white middle and high socio-economic residential areas. They are, however, still in the minority in terms of the population of the former non-black township urban area as a whole. South Africa has completed its liberation phase and is now going through the phase of democratisation and socialisation. In our search for social theory on residential spatial manipulation in a different societal setting such as South Africa, comparative case studies on resegregation and desegregation may be of invaluable assistance to urban specialists.

Although Ownhouse and Nel (1993: 91) caution that “generalisations on the future outcome of residential desegregation in South African cities are best avoided, given the significant political, economic and social disparities which exist between areas”, social outcomes of residential desegregation in the contemporary South African city nevertheless seem to exhibit common features. Most prominent of these is the one-directional migration of people from the urban periphery (black townships and homeland rural areas) to the core (former white towns). Early pioneers first moved into former white areas prior to, and immediately after, the scrapping of the acts. This manifestation ultimately leads to a transitional phase where urbanites are getting accustomed to racial integration. Spatial outcomes of accelerated in-migration of blacks resulting in the concentration, knowingly or unknowingly, of a specific racial group in a specific residential area will ultimately occur, given their proportional majority in population size. It is speculated that resegregation might, in future, be regulated by market discrimination,

status factors and racial prejudice which would play an influential role in race and ethnic segregation. One outstanding feature of the South African society is the fact that the minority groups here (white, coloured, Indians) are still regarded as privileged groups contrasting with the black disadvantaged majority who reside in their masses in the urban peripheral areas.

In Saff's (1991) critical analyses of three major studies undertaken on residential desegregation in South Africa (Fick, De Coning & Olivier, 1986; Schlemmer & Stack, 1989; and Urban Foundation, 1990), he calls for movement towards a new paradigm which mainly comprises a periphery-core model as well as a subservient core-periphery model. Conscious of Saff's appeal to follow a dialectical approach it becomes evident that, given the current realities in these case studies, it would be unnecessary to be dogmatic in one's approach by following a specific model. The two main reasons for this are that there is in the first place no actual demand for land and housing on the periphery. Secondly, the absence of inner-city residential opportunities is a common feature of all urban areas in the Northern Province. These two reasons relate to Cloete's (1991) lists of various reasons why mainly bigger cities experience difficulty in maintaining group areas whereas the opposite applies to non-metropolitan areas. Most notable of these is the huge shortage of housing and land in non-white areas, although this is, according the Provincial Government, apparently not the case in the Northern Province. Recent statistics of the National Department of Housing confirm this in that a mere 4% of the housing backlog in South Africa occurs in the Northern Province (*Sunday Times*, 1995/07/23). Simon (1994: 297) observes that South African social scientists ignore "Africa and the rest of the Third World in favour of the very different Anglo-American realm, despite the obvious parallels of decolonisation and post-colonial development and the numerous lessons to be learnt from experiences far closer to home". Our neighbours (Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana) nevertheless reflect common demographics. The USA experience is inappropriate and impossible to apply to the South African situation (see Saff (1991) who lists five differences). Davies (1992) illustrates the lessons that South African cities can learn from Zimbabwe.

From the findings outlined in sections above, different observations are presented below:

- Pietersburg, since the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, is still politically immature (especially seeing that most residents are not accustomed to democratic local governance). Indications of spatial change in residential areas are subject to political

maturity in the greater South African community. Affirmative action in the distribution of land, resources and employment in bureaucratic structures will continue for some time. The prospect of an elitist bias, whereby only black professionals and bureaucrats will qualify for housing subsidies, clearly indicates a division between privileged and under-privileged blacks, as was the case in the USA. Some commentators argue that such an income gap has to be seen as a possible threat to South Africa's democratically-elected government.

- It is important not to underestimate the existence of ethnicity among blacks, especially in an area such as the Northern Province where three different ethnic groups (Venda, Shangaan, and Sotho) are drawn to settle in Pietersburg or its hinterland where job opportunities are available. Ethnicity is rife in black towns. In the survey done in 1992 in Pietersburg some respondents indicated nepotism in the allocation of sites in black townships as the main reason for moving to a white town.
- One may thus argue that in places such as Pietersburg, where many socio-political changes are occurring, the processes of social development mainly reflect residential integration. Historically conservative places do have a definite influence on segregation. Forces that are active in perpetuating segregation may thus include the following: a stigmatisation of areas, contemporary status (economic and development potential and possibilities), fear and rumours (racial conflict), the housing market (expensive), closed communities, and market manipulation.
- Where interracial marriages are a rarity, persistence of within-group interaction (Morrill, 1995) attests to racial segregation in the city. This can be extended to other inter-group interactions such as a circle of friends, business and colleague socialisation after work, inter-racial sports clubs and other social clubs and activities.
- What will be the reaction of closed ethnic minority communities such as the Indians when blacks settle in large numbers in their suburbs?
- Are black officials/civic leaders and some private home-owners ignorant of, or do they simply not care to maintain or develop, a certain property value status within new black townships? How often is it not found that expensive houses of significant value are built on informal site and services settlements, or in suburbs bordering such areas? Examples of these are abundant in the peri-urban areas of the Northern Province. They are, however, translating this way of living to policy through the encouragement of mixed-

income suburbs as is proposed in the White Paper on Local Government - perhaps a new form of social engineering?

A change in occupational structure correlates with housing markets. Affirmative action policies are rapidly changing the composition of private and public sectors. The city's capital status reinforces its bureaucratic status and the employment of former black homeland officials contributes to changes taking place to alter the ideology of the banking system, the estate agency industry and local authorities. With this as a reality one could argue that the debate around possible market discrimination against blacks is therefore trivial. In taking voluntary retrenchment packages, whites are firstly contributing to a change in occupational structure, and secondly they are either leaving Pietersburg for coastal retirement or a new beginning elsewhere, resegregating themselves in new defended spaces. Walled suburbs, high security villages, cluster home developments, and "urban-farms" (walled developments consisting of small-holdings) are seemingly the trend. Social distance is thus enforced as a result of new life chances created through broader political changes during transition.

- Do we not confuse the issues when we try to accommodate the majority of people in South Africa, i.e. those remaining in unconstrained conditions in black townships and informal settlements, and at the same time theorise and predict the spatial outcomes of desegregation (refer to Saff, 1991) ?
- Pietersburg developed as a colonial town for mainly Boer settlers. The privileges and prerogatives of this charter group have been maintained through racism, legislation and political power for over a century. Apart from the social distance between the charter group and the black community (and perhaps vice versa) that existed during this period, structural assimilation occurred before behavioural assimilation⁴. The latter is only possible with a dramatic increase in social integration at all levels in society ranging from household interaction to community clubs. However, only the desegregated components in urban society will experience this, with especially the younger generation finding themselves in a multiracial educational environment. But then, to some extent,

⁴ Structural assimilation refers to "the distribution of migrant ethnics through the groups and social systems of the society, including systems of occupational stratification" while behavioural assimilation implies a process "whereby the members of a group acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other groups and, sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Boal, 1978:59).

the parents' degree of behavioural assimilation will determine the success of the younger generation's process of reducing social distances created by their parents. This has been unsuccessful in suburbs where large numbers of whites have moved out, such as Bertrams in Johannesburg (Rule, 1996). In Pietersburg black children are transported to schools in the city from Seshego and beyond. School segregation is persisting because it is based on language. However, a limited number of non-white children attend Afrikaans medium schools.

- Parnell (1996: 49) sees an understanding of “the impact of different sub-cultures and social classes on the township landscape” as a challenge to urbanists. A reversed form of assimilation instead of acculturation furthermore fosters a social distance based on race. Reverse assimilation is when a group black in-migrants “adjusts to the new situation by reorganising its own traditional customs or by developing new customs to enhance its distinctiveness within the contemporary situation” (Boal, 1978: 59). Racially unequal standards of living in such areas as sanitation and building codes embedded a diverse life style adaptation in urban South Africa. The uniformity of black townships in matchbox housing types characterised the apartheid state's housing policy. The experience of living under and adapting to such conditions must have had an impact on aspirations for a changed built-up environment. Low-cost housing suburbs being developed in the former buffer zone between Pietersburg and Seshego (Madiba Park and Lethuli Park), and houses being built in the middle-income suburb of Flora Park do not, according to size, provide a much different shelter form than matchbox houses or, even closer proximity to work. Architectural experimentation, design and usage of colour, and following the whites' norm of building face-brick houses contribute to what can perhaps be regarded as a reverse form of assimilation. Preference clearly is for newly-built housing styles. Desegregation and housing markets do not therefore necessarily correlate. The expanding suburban black middle class (“buppies”) are in significant numbers only occupying newly-built areas such as Flora Park, while older type homes from the colonial period or the bleak modernist period of the 1970s and 1980s (Central City, Annadale, Eduan Park, Capricorn), where house prices in some instances are comparable, are not favoured. The original pioneers - a group of middle-high income professionals and academics - moved into Penina Park, Ivy Park, Flora Park and Fauna Park. These relatively newly-built houses are now being replicated (albeit on a smaller

scale) in the new extensions to Flora Park. Lower-middle income blacks are building and buying similar houses in Nirvana and Westenburg. The significance of this is that these styles and ideas are filtering into the more affluent zones of township areas such as Seshego. New territorial identities are created within suburbs such as Flora Park where we find a mix of township lifestyle and buppie fashion.

Exclusionary measures evident in other South African cities are not yet an issue in Pietersburg. Xenophobia, according to Parnell (1996: 55), raises a “question about the role that social classification serves in an urban context.” Legal immigrants are mainly confined to the market force in educational and medical capacities in the city and its environs. Little is, however, known about the internationalisation of urban residential space in the city.

- Evidence elsewhere in South Africa indicates that white flight from suburbs adjacent to informal settlements, coinciding with a decline in property values, is common. But how is the black person staying in such areas going to react to such a change in residential status? After all, they have moved to the "white" city because of poor services and the low economic value of property in black townships. Evidence of this in Pietersburg is not forthcoming. From the residential trends taking place in townships, one can argue that the affluent black living in the former white group areas will not have a problem with the deracialisation of urban space involving informal settlement development.

6.8 CONCLUSION

By 1990 the city of Pietersburg had become highly segregated in terms of race and socio-economic status. The scrapping of the Group Areas Act in 1991 saw the movement of blacks to the city's former white, Indian and coloured suburbs taking place. Initially the percentage was low so that in 1992 and 1993 the city's suburbs (excluding Nirvana and Westenburg) were only 1% and 3% desegregated respectively. This first period correlated with uncertainties of racial transition of suburbs of white defended spaces, and that of national political achievements and progress. The period after the non-racial general election (1994) and the non-racial local government election (1995) saw a dramatic increase in desegregation. However, in 1997 the percentage decreased (Table 6.2). Suburbs initially experiencing desegregation most, such as Flora Park and Ivy Park, experienced an annual percentage decrease of 10% and 7%

respectively (Figures 6.6). Dispersion of in-migrants occurs in high income suburbs, whereas concentration takes place in low-middle income suburbs. The latter is mainly due to these areas being newly-developed. Age of the house and location determine preference of house type and suburb. Desegregation is, however, to the sample survey, acceptable to most respondents in the city. The respondents also anticipate that more desegregation will take place in future. Racial transition can be seen as relatively successful, especially measured in terms of limited racial conflict and the expected decrease in property values which did not materialise. In fact, the year after the general election, house prices increased dramatically in all the former white suburbs (Table 6.7). This can be ascribed to the housing demand by blacks moving into the city, as well as the new status of the city as provincial capital. The opening of new businesses and the establishing of national corporations' branches in the city resulted in a population increase and so too the deployment of civil servants from the previous homeland governments. A noteworthy observation is that each racial group mostly sells property to the same racial group. This is especially pertinent among Indians (Table 6.10).

That "time alone will tell what the ultimate effect on the form and functioning of South African cities will be" (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993: 91) is not doubted, but the cautionary suggestion of following a relaxed 'wait and see' approach is not convincing. Spatial distance, however, will for some time dictate social segregation. Urban management policies that discourage nepotism and planning with racial undertones can avoid the social and territorial urban injustices of the past. From the above discussion the process of desegregation is clearly seen to be more complex than just measuring statistical data and determining residents' perceptions of it.

There are numerous research themes that may serve as a basis for further analysis of the phenomena identified above. A selection of these is:

- How does broader political change affect local social integration conditions?
- What roles will ethnicity and xenophobia play in the future?
- Cross-cultural and racial education and relationships need to be contextualised within the broader societal transformation. What will the causes and consequences of resegregation be, and which closed community will be affected first and most?
- New policies encouraging mixed-income suburbs are encouraging the integration of communities in towns. How will this impact on the more market-orientated former white

group area, and, moreover, how will highly desegregated suburbs react to such policy?

- Black empowerment and affirmative action policies will for now only be effectively practised in the public sector. What will be the Employment and Equity Bill's impact on the private sectors' role by way of encouraging equal employment opportunities and thus creating possibilities for equal property opportunities?

The impact of sub-cultures and new residential groupings on the urban landscape through architecture, social spaces, and urban form has yet to be explored. How are these new territorial identities - a history of a city and not of compartments within a city - correlating with international understanding and occurrences?

Residential desegregation has changed the urban landscape in Pietersburg dramatically since 1991. Another much more visible transformation of the urban space has occurred through the deracialisation of public spaces (streets and open spaces) with the in-movement of the informal traders to the city's CBD. Chapter Seven investigates the restructuring of the informal sector as a spatial manifestation during transition.

CHAPTER 7: THE NEED TO RESTRUCTURE THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN PIETERSBURG: A POLICY APPROACH

The global understanding of political and economic restructuring is based on the shift from a Fordist to a post-Fordist industrial organisation. Internationally, this period and process of de-industrialisation - partially resulting from economic recession and decline - inevitably leads to social polarisation, homelessness and unemployment. In South Africa a similar trend has been observed. De-industrialisation in Pietersburg and in surrounding industrial growth points - albeit based on politico-economic and not just economic factors - increased the level of dependency by households on the so-called informal economy.

Restructuring and re-regulation of the informal sector within the South African context, and more specifically in Pietersburg, was done within the framework of the deracialisation of business space and not within a broader understanding of globalisation. This chapter focuses on how national policy impacted on the restructuring of the city's street trading and home-based business sectors. Transformation from apartheid is scrutinised within the achievements of restructuring the informal economy in relation to its role and function in an increasingly service sector-orientated urban landscape.

7.1 INTRODUCTION: LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The informal economy is a widely debated phenomenon, both in developing and developed countries. Various definitions and conceptualisation frameworks have been provided for it over the past three decades (e.g. Drakakis-Smith, 1989; Mingione, 1987; Rogerson, 1996b; Smith & Tardanico, 1987; Wellings & Sutcliffe, 1984). However, definitions are bound by a changing global society and related urban transformation and restructuring patterns and occurrences taking place. This is most evident in the shift from industrial to post-industrial societies. The informal economy therefore has both intra-urban and inter-urban patterns in terms of spatial existence, though there are also "social inequalities which mirror and reinforce those present in the formal economy" (Williams & Windebank, 1993: 362).

The scant South African literature on central business space segregation dates from the 1960s,

with Davies and Rajah's (1965) exploration of boundary delimitation and racial dualism in the Durban CBD. Since then research has tended not to focus on modern business and service centres, but rather on the essential role played by the informal sector (Rogerson, 1989: 550). The spatial manipulation of business areas in South Africa's former apartheid cities, as a common consequence of the Group Areas Act, has been an infrequently (see references below) investigated phenomenon. During the modernised apartheid city era, a visible sign of the demise of stringent apartheid planning mechanisms was the deregulation of street trading. While some case studies have investigated the consequences of deregulation upon hawking in Free Trading Areas in CBDs (e.g. Hart & Rogerson, 1989; Mosdell, 1991; Nduna, 1990; Rogerson, J, 1995; Rogerson & Beavon, 1985; Rogerson & Hart, 1989), others have monitored its impact on desegregation of the CBD (Anonymous, 1984; Pirie, 1984). Dauskardt's (1993) contribution in viewing two dimensions of the central city is a more recent attempt to focus on the neglected aspect of business space in a post-apartheid milieu. Examination of the introduction of the Business Act which repealed control on street traders (*Financial Mail*, 1992) or the subsequent formulation of Provincial guidelines on legislation and reregulation of street traders (see *Local Government Digest*, 1997) are limited. Invaluable guidelines for policy formation on the informal economy and the subsequent reconstruction and re-balancing of racial economic power (planning for the desegregation of business space) in South African cities are provided by Dauskardt (1993), Dewar (1992), Dewar and Watson (1991), Levin (1994) and Rogerson (1996c; 1993 - see particularly the reference list; 1992). Rogerson's (1996b) literature report in particular provides an opportunity to identify policy intervention. It is worth noting that, from a holistic perspective, studies aimed at the restructuring of the urban economy and society too often overlook their interaction with the global scenario, and their relation to urban form. Two visible features of the informal economy in the developing world and in South Africa in particular are informal street trading and home-based business. This chapter will focus on these two phenomena in Pietersburg.

7.2 RACIAL AND SPATIAL PROCESSES OF INFORMAL BUSINESS SPACE

In the formal economy the tertiary and quaternary economic sectors have been playing a crucial part in the economic functioning of the city (Figure 7.1). The historic role of the city was to act as a regional service centre. The city's economic contribution constituted 15% of

the provincial GGP for 1991-1994. Its contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of the country increased from 5% in 1980 to 6% in 1994 (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998a: 51). Hence, the emphasis on the tertiary and quaternary economic sectors have been evident since the origin of the city (see Chapter Three, section 3.5). It is seen in Figure 7.1 that since 1980, for example, more than 60% of employed persons have been working in these sectors. The failure of industry to create and sustain employment (secondary sector contribution in 1994 was 20% as opposed to 17% in 1980) in the industrial growth points perhaps coincided with people finding employment in the informal economy.

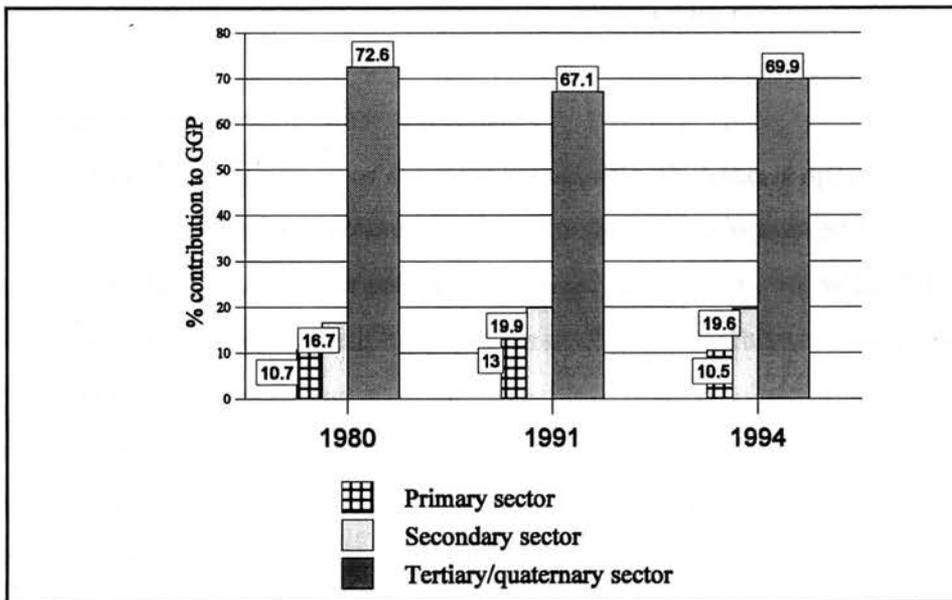


FIGURE 7.1: CONTRIBUTION OF PIETERSBURG'S ECONOMIC SECTORS TO GGP, 1980, 1991 AND 1994 (adapted from Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998a)

Before political changes took place in the 1990s the informal sector, however, had been severely repressed in Pietersburg's CBD and elsewhere. Strict legislation and by-laws were applied to informal street trading and home-based business. On the other hand, in Seshego, the informal economy became a way of life. Since the deracialisation of business space process took place in the mid-1990s a rapid increase in the number of informal traders has occurred in the CBD. The introduction of Free Trading Areas in the apartheid city did little to create business opportunities for black entrepreneurs in the so-called white CBDs. In some urban areas, however, informal street traders capitalised on these changes. The resulting "invasion" of the CBD by informal entrepreneurs signalled the first phase of visible deracialisation of business space as an informal process. In politically conservative cities, it

only manifested itself in this fashion after 1991. A clear distinction between deracialisation and desegregation processes in urban residential space has been made in the literature. Section 7.2.1 will apply this distinction to business space, using Pietersburg as a case study. The section will discuss two policy manifestations of business space: (1) business space processes of urban race-space restructuring, and (2) street trading as an example of the deracialisation process of urban development within the context of the restructured democratic Local Authority's response to it. In conclusion, some practical solutions to the problems of planning for informal processes will illuminate the need for a radical restructuring of policy and planning practices in the city in order to successfully desegregate central business space.

7.2.1 Business space segregation: past patterns

Legally enforced spatial manipulation of business areas in South Africa's apartheid cities dates back to the 1940s. However, ample evidence of manipulation was observed and documented at Local Government level during the colonial and segregation eras too, when "the separate Asiatic Bazaars" established on the periphery of Transvaal towns in the late nineteenth century were the precursors of the group areas of the twentieth century" (Christopher, 1997: 315). Following complaints about Indian movement into the white suburbs of Durban in the 1940s, the government deemed it fit to enact the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Act of 1943, and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946. The aims were twofold: first, to prevent interracial property transfer, and second, to establish a Land Tenure Advisory Board for dividing cities into white and Indian sectors (Christopher, 1994: 41). Although the "Group Areas Act specified disqualification from carrying on a business except in the group area of a member's racial classification", the Free Trade Areas introduced in 1957 allowed all racial groups (except for black businesses which were restricted to their group areas) to buy property and conduct business (Christopher, 1994: 133).

Later, section 19 of the Group Areas Act of 1966 was a positive step towards desegregating business areas. It permitted Group Areas to be proclaimed for a specific purpose or use, instead of for ownership or occupation by a specific group (Lemon, 1991b). Despite this, 17 years later, only 26 such free trading areas had been established in South African cities (Lemon, 1991b). A new political dispensation in 1984, which for the first time provided for coloured and Indian "participation" in a Tri-Cameral parliament, inevitably contributed to the

enactment of the Group Areas Amendment Act of 1984 by local authorities. This enabled organised bodies, or the Minister, to “submit requests to have areas investigated for the purpose of having them declared free trading areas”, ultimately empowering 90 CBDs (but no suburban shopping centres) to open for trading by all races, including a few enfranchised black business people, by 1988 (Behr & Jurgens, 1991; Lemon, 1991b:14). But this hardly had an impact on creating opportunities for black business in so-called white CBDs in urban areas under Conservative Party control. By 1986 in Pietersburg, for example, the Central Government had proclaimed a free trading area and forced this status on one third of the CBD. Although in principle the white Conservative Party-dominated municipality opposed the proclamation for pure spatial control over the location of the said area, they did not act against it (Pretorius & Humphries, 1991).

During this modernisation phase in the apartheid city, street trading became a prominent and visible feature in the previously whites-only business spaces. Black street traders primarily made up the bulk of the operators for they were compelled to resort to the informal sector. This in-movement was received differently, and objections to street trading varied from city to city. Nevertheless, in essence, the primary objections related to hygiene, littering, and obstruction of movement, and these objections were not only restricted to former white urban areas. The former homeland capital of Transkei, for example, also experienced these features (Nduna, 1990). Strict policy legislation, street by-laws and control have, however, disguised the realities of these problems from local and national government, and the effect has primarily been to contain black in-movement to the defended spaces of white CBDs.

The truly shocking, albeit not surprising, findings in Hart and Rogerson's (1989: 168-69) investigation of accommodationist planning in South Africa's secondary centres explain why black hawkers were “entirely excluded from the ‘white’ defended space of Pietersburg”. The Pietersburg local authority representative had expressed blatantly racist remarks concerning sanitation: “We (whites) are higher developed than they are and can't take germs as they can” (Hart & Rogerson, 1989: 168). Pietersburg regulated any in-movement in the strictest sense of the word. However, political changes required relaxation, and the local authority eventually ceased strict control in the early 1990s. By then many traders occupied the area adjacent to the railway station, but no street traders were evident in the CBD.

Socio-political transformation, especially during this decade, resulted in a re-formation and restructuring of the urban informal economy (Rogerson, 1992). The Government formulated a new Business Act (Act 71 of 1991) as a guideline for local governments to carry out by-laws to regulate and control trading. Local governments could not have implemented this before restructuring and amalgamating the separate white and black town councils. During this period of transition, informal trading in the CBDs of metropolitan centres escalated due to

“the relaxation of licensing controls, the lifting of certain restrictive by-laws, the planning of special hawker zones and the approval of vending carts [which] contributed towards stimulating new hawker activity as well the rebirth of old forms of street trading operations” (Rogerson, 1992: 168).

However, deregulation has been applied haphazardly in smaller urban centres such as medium and secondary size cities, where politically conservative white local authorities insisted on following old restrictive measures. Other centres undertook no planning or actions and they enforced no regulations, so that a state of transition persisted. Pietersburg during the 1990s has been such a case. A precursor to the process of business space desegregation was the deracialisation of economic space through free trading areas. Deracialisation of the CBD not only had economic dimensions but also, to some extent, social and residential areas (Dauskardt, 1993).

Four distinct phases of historical outcomes in Pietersburg business space are observable. Phase one, that of segregating black business from those of the the city, had been evident since the town's origin in 1886 (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1998), while attempts to segregate Asian business only materialised in the 1940s, when municipal by-laws attempted to accomplish segregation. During phase two spatial duality of racial composition in business segregated the city into two distinct areas - a white CBD with its adjacent Asian Bazaar, and an Asian business centre next to the Asian Group Area suburb. Black business was completely absent from business space in Pietersburg because the policies of separate development dictated the growth of independence in the neighbouring black township of Seshego as part of the homeland system. Phase three was the period of modernisation during which the apartheid city was slowly moved into a deracialised era with the application of Free Trade Areas, and acceptance of an informal sector in CBDs. In conservatively governed cities, such as Pietersburg, strict municipal regulations, based profoundly on racialistic arguments, were the

order of the day. The fourth phase, the period of socio-political transformation from apartheid to a non-racial society, followed during the 1990s with an initial period of ungovernability and un-regulatory local government in transition. This state was to be restructured after the window period, and democracy reached fruition with the first general (1994) and, after that, the first local government elections (1995).

7.2.2 Theoretical background: investigating contemporary change

South Africa has a unique mix of Third and First World urban landscapes. This dichotomy is based on race-space outcomes resulting from years of apartheid social engineering that affected, among much else, urban governance, development, form, and performance, so that

“white urbanites have had access to municipal services that rival, and in many cases exceed, those of their counterparts in Europe and North America, while millions of urban black South Africans do not have access to even the most basic of municipal facilities” (McDonald, 1997: 28).

With economic and political power dictating business space in South Africa for most of this century it is not surprising that manifestations of race-space outcomes in the business sector are an inter-linkage between formal processes of informal development and informal processes of formal development. These imbalances are evident from annual reports of the South African Institute of Race Relations (1994/95). The survey cites an unemployment figure (in 1994) of 29% (more than 3.6 million people) for the economically active population. Of this 37% are black. It is estimated¹ that more than 4.05 million people (excluding the former “independent” homelands) are employed in the informal economy. The predominance of blacks in this sector is attributed to discriminative legislation, such as the previous Business Act and Group Areas Act.

Understanding the processes involved in the deregulation and reregulation of street trading during a period of transition warrants the use of a conceptual framework. Moreover, investigating this change in a former conservative secondary city, in this case Pietersburg, may shed some light on how successful policy formulation and its implementation during urban transition has shaped the former apartheid city. Therefore, aspects reviewed and explored

¹ There are many figures for the size of the informal sector in South Africa - see for example Centre for Development and Enterprise and Central Statistical Services data.

hereafter include: (1) a concise historical overview of business space segregation under apartheid rule and the resulting spatial effects; (2) an analysis of post-apartheid integration and the restructuring of urban business space, chiefly illustrating the distinction between the desegregation and deracialisation processes of urban business space transformation; (3) a discussion of the deregulation and subsequent re-regulation of informal street trading as an example of informal urban development; and (4) some planning suggestions regarding the process of desegregating central business space. In line with Parnell's (1996: 54) assertion that "the pre- and immediate post-apartheid record of the battle over the formulation and enforcement of policy for the cities" is scant the framework of analysis henceforth is thus based on a policy research and analysis approach.

7.2.3 A conceptual framework for understanding urban processes of post-apartheid business space

A schematic illustration of the social and economic processes of urban development in South African cities is given in Table 7.1. Four manifestations of urban space are observed, each taking place in a formal or informal manner: desegregation, deracialisation, segregation, and re-segregation. These can be distinguished, as follows:

- First, the scrapping of Group Areas legislation in 1991 resulted in the formal process of business **desegregation**, characterised by a class of affluent and professional blacks having access to offices, infrastructure, technology and services characteristic of the formal economy. In other words, class-based desegregation occurred on a limited scale. Also, affirmative action policies in the private and public sector contributed to a rapid increase in blacks being admitted to the formal tertiary and quaternary economic sectors. (Unfortunately, no statistical data is available on the actual number of formal black businesses in Pietersburg).
- Second, a lower socio-economic class of informal business entrepreneurs has emerged in previously prohibited business areas through local government legislation. These entrepreneurs simultaneously have "access to 'white areas' and exclusion from their facilities on the basis of class" which Saff (1994: 383) calls **deracialised space**, and views as an informal process or component in urban development. Street traders are a case in point and will form the main focus of this chapter.

TABLE 7.1: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROCESSES OF SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN DEVELOPMENT

PROCESS	RESIDENTIAL AREAS	BUSINESS AREAS
(1) DESEGREGATION	One-way immigration from the periphery (black townships) to core (former coloured, Indian, and low-middle income white suburbs)	Affirmative action, black professionals, and Indian business community in the CBD, fixed premises with facilities for informal traders
(2) DERACIALISATION	Squatting on vacant land adjacent to former white areas	Informal street traders
(3) SEGREGATION	Segregated residential suburbs based on income inequality between races	Segregated regulations for home-based business * regulated in former white cities * unregulated in former black areas
(4) RESEGREGATION	Walled suburbs, townhouse complexes - home ownership restriction based on race	Office relocation to affluent suburbs

Source: after Saff (1994)

- Third, the **resegregation** of white business and professionals from CBDs to homes, and suburban business centres, and office parks in predominantly white affluent suburbs is taking place. This decentralisation process is a direct consequence of the desegregation and deracialisation of CBDs.
- Fourth, **segregation** planning has continued, based on economic disparities in the population structure and preferred places of residence. Strict planning regulations and policies (which are inherently segregationist) are applied to former white areas under the Town Planning Schemes, as opposed to no regulation implementation in former black suburbs. Segregation is thus a manifestation of a legacy of fragmented planning policies, “favouring” one section of the urban community to be engaged in informal business over another. The lack of proper development of the informal sector,

especially street traders in CBDs, is essentially segregationist. However, it is based on class and not race.

In his analysis of desegregation and deracialisation Saff (1994) conceptualises the integration of urban space exclusively as residential space. A parallel can be drawn between his conceptualisation and that presented here in terms of business space. Since street traders are generally engaged in such activities as a form of subsistence, it can be argued that, during apartheid, the regulation of street traders was primarily based on race. Deregulation of such activities, therefore, has resulted in the deracialisation of the CBDs. However, as Saff (1994: 382) points out “while spatially the racial impress of the apartheid city is changed by this process, it has little effect on [street traders of all previous racial categories] as they are excluded from access to virtually all facilities and social institutions” within the former whites-only CBD. According to Dewar (1991: 96-97) “most self-generated economic activity undertaken by the urban poor takes place in peripheral, poorly located parts of the city and is therefore marginalised from the outset.” With the subsequent reregulation of the sector, Saff (1994: 383) anticipates that the process of desegregation will be accomplished because

“the challenge facing the urban poor will be to translate the deracialization of space into genuine democratization of local governance and also the desegregation of, and equal access to, the resources and facilities in a given CBD.”

The aim, therefore, is to desegregate business space, which should be accomplished by means of formulating new street by-laws, and local government policy on the informal sector in general, aimed at providing facilities, access to credit, and infrastructure similar to that enjoyed by the formal sector.

7.3 POST-APARTHEID DERACIALISATION OF THE PIETERSBURG CBD

Multiplier effects of the deracialisation processes of business space vary in different areas within South African cities. The considerable number of informal economy case studies focussing on a local scene illustrates the importance of adopting a micro-viewpoint when attempting formalisation of policy.

7.3.1 The new Business Act, 1991

The transition period to democracy contributed to an overemphasis in political negotiations at the national level on local issues. As a result, little attention was paid in the early 1990s to the new Business Act of 1991 (Act No. 71 of 1991) as amended. The Business Act

“abolished licensing boards and all licensing requirements in some 76 business categories” and was seen as “a significant step in the development of the informal sector” (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1991/92: 170).

The Act provides a flexible framework for local governments. It gives them a choice, basically, between regulating the sector or not. It is expected that most local authorities will formulate related by-laws according to Section 6A1a.

The Act (Section 6A1) provides that powers be given to local authorities to make by-laws regarding: (1) the supervision, control, restriction and prohibition of the carrying on of the business of street vendor, pedlar or hawker; (2) Sections 6A1b and 6A1c specify that no local authority shall restrict such businesses to “specific hours or places; or specific goods or services”, nor that such persons need to obtain permission of some sort (e.g. a licence or permit); (3) Section 6A1d provides authorities with the power to enforce any by-laws formulated (*Business Act*, 1991: 9).

The Act became effective in the then Transvaal on 25 April 1994. By then Pietersburg’s CBD was experiencing various effects of street trading, unregulated as a result of the deregulatory measures implemented during the late apartheid period.

Most TLCs in South Africa are in the process of restructuring the informal sector. By February 1998 sixty local authorities (www.Sabinet.co.za) in South Africa have formulated policy on street trading (Figure 7.2). A noticeable absence are authorities located in former homeland areas. Authorities in the Western Cape, Gauteng and Kwazulu/Natal have been most active in promulgating legislation. In the Northern Province, Pietersburg must be commended for being one of the first to have reregulated street trading after apartheid; however, with the acceptance of the informal sector, approaches, motivations and policies nevertheless seem to be not very different from those in the apartheid era.

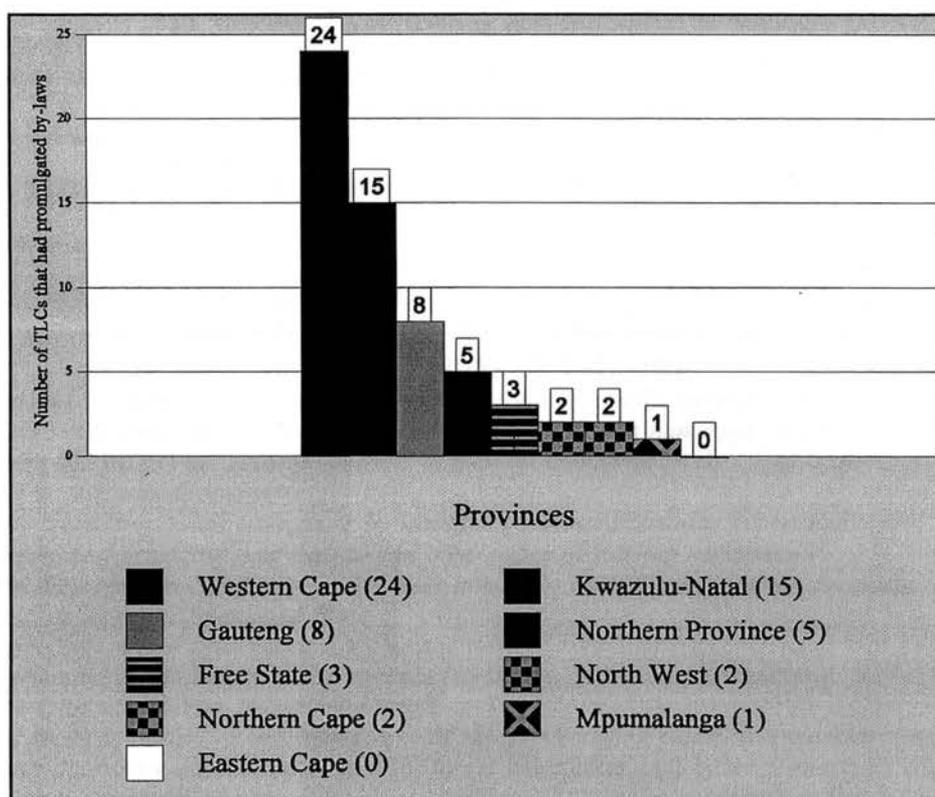


FIGURE 7.2: NUMBER OF TLCs THAT HAD PROMULGATED STREET TRADING BY-LAWS BY 1997 (compiled from www.Sabinet.co.za)

Bromley (1993: 123-124) has identified fifteen ways in which the small business enterprise/informal economy can be supported in order to enhance its potential (see Table 7.2). Although all these principles are relevant to the Pietersburg case study, only one of the major lines of support had been partly addressed by the TLC. That is the provision of suitable premises. One would have hoped that the Business Act implementations would have succeeded in achieving some of the major lines of support. National policy statements on the promotion and development of small business such as street trading and home-based business argue that they cannot prescribe to local authorities how they should structure their support for such businesses (Republic of South Africa, 1995b:46). The White Paper further notes that during transition there is “greater understanding and tolerance in matters like informal markets...flexible zoning, business infrastructure facilities, etc” (Republic of South Africa, 1995b: 46). The Pietersburg case study has shown that no emphasis is placed on small business within the framework of local economic development. In summary, then, the major lines of support - if implemented in policy - can contribute to the creation of an awareness

of the importance of restructuring street trading and home-based business policy and change the attitudes of authority and civil society. The establishment of a small-business development office at the local government level to work in collaboration with the national-support strategy would be a starting point (see Republic of South Africa, 1995b: 51).

TABLE 7.2: MAJOR LINES OF SUPPORT TO SMALL ENTERPRISE

LINES OF SUPPORT
<i>1. Designing and building an urban environment favourable to small enterprise - without segregating small-scale manufacturing and commerce from housing and with numerous sites for small enterprises, high-density and pedestrian areas favourable to markets and street traders, and a transport mix favourable to paratransit operators</i>
<i>2. Helping to create new small enterprises by identifying potential business opportunities and entrepreneurs and providing seed capital and other forms of start-up assistance</i>
<i>3. Promoting the organization of small enterprises into trade unions, cooperatives, associations, federations, or larger self-managed firms</i>
<i>4. Providing technical and managerial training and advice</i>
<i>5. Giving preference in allocating public services (electricity, water supply, sewerage, phone, garbage disposal, etc) or establishing preferential tariffs</i>
<i>6. Providing credit at market or subsidized interest rates (most small enterprises currently pay much higher rates than those considered normal for larger enterprises with better connections and collateral)</i>
<i>7. Providing free or subsidized raw materials or preferential access to products handled by government marketing boards and state monopolies</i>
<i>8. Providing free or subsidized equipment or preferential access to scarce imported equipment</i>
<i>9. Providing suitable premises with subsidized rents and purchase prices</i>
<i>10. Providing free or subsidized advertising or an inter-enterprise and inter-institutional brokering service to link small enterprises to potential purchasers of their goods and services</i>
<i>11. Directly purchasing small-enterprise goods and services for government agencies, marketing boards, export corporations, and consumer organizations</i>
<i>12. Imposing constraints on competing larger enterprises and sometimes reserving specific economic activities for small enterprises</i>
<i>13. Prohibiting competing imports or imposing high tariff barriers on them</i>
<i>14. Conducting research on appropriate technologies, organizational forms, and marketing opportunities for small enterprises and diffusing the results</i>
<i>15. Educating the public on the merits of small enterprises and their goods and services, and providing awards and exhibition sites for outstanding ventures</i>

Source: Bromley (1993: 123-124)

7.3.2 Street trading outcomes in the Pietersburg CBD during the early transition period

Before 1991 no street trading by black persons was allowed in the CBD. Seshego, the former homeland border township which was later incorporated into the city, was not affected by these processes of restriction and street trading occurred freely. Because of ungovernable and illegitimate black local authorities, and action by civic associations to destabilise local government apartheid functions, most forms of functional urban development - development of a CBD and other facilities for formal and informal business - hardly materialised. Informal

business spaces are typically confined to home-based businesses, small scale backyard industries, informal street traders, shebeens, combi-taxi businesses, etc. However, these seldom reflected the usual socio-economic undertones in land-use differentiations. Instead informal businesses occurred in all areas of Seshego, regardless of zoning status, and thus reflected mixed land-use patterns.

Apart from the immense growth of the informal sector in the black township, both in street trading and from homes, a visible process of deracialisation of streets in former white CBDs has been taking place since the early 1990s. In “white” Pietersburg, contemporary spatial form and the existence of deracialised business space may be conceived as an urban relic of four aspects taking on various forms, namely the demise of business apartheid (the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in 1991); lack of governance and planning during the phase of transformation 1990-95 (and the reluctance of Pietersburg urban authority to get involved); the destruction of the city's aesthetics as a well-kept functioning entity (which was accomplished under stringent apartheid rule); and - on a more positive note - the empowerment of the informal entrepreneurs, as a survival strategy.

During the window period of transition to democratic local governments (1990-95), and after years of strict control, informal street trading intensified without any planning, consultation, or enforced legislation. After 1990, the cumulative effect of this reached “intolerable” levels, especially with regard to spatial invasions of previously defended spaces. A survey conducted in 1995 showed that there were approximately 1 300 street traders in the CBD in Pietersburg (Department of Geography, 1995). While local government politicians and urban governance were undeterred, protests and pleas from the public and business sectors were increasingly voiced in the local press. Local newspaper headlines such as “Hawkers can turn city into a slum” and “Street sellers are getting out of hand” (*Northern Review*, 1995/8/11; 1995/6/9) were ignored by the Transitional Local Council. The Premier of the Province was quoted as saying “... developments similar to those of Johannesburg's city centre are not allowed to reproduce itself in Pietersburg.” Business reactions were similar in stance: “New select shopping nodes will be developed resulting in the existing central business area decaying into a crime-infested slum...exactly what happened in Johannesburg” (*Northern Review*, 1995/9/6). However, “the proliferation of street traders in Johannesburg has been made possible by

liberalisation of city by-laws and not the Business Act” (*Financial Mail*, 1992: 70). See Rogerson (1996c) for another point of view regarding the status of the informal economy in the PWV.

The first attempts by the TLC to investigate the situation were made in June 1995. But by then the physical appearance of the city's CBD had been transformed through the deracialisation of space and a so-called Informal CBD was established. In response to the public outcry described above, the City Council has been arguing that they cannot legitimise, co-ordinate, or implement any strategies to improve conditions for all stake-holders without a representative forum because, according to the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme ideals, proper consultation and a representative forum need to be affirmed. A Catch-22 situation arose, in which the informal entrepreneurs claimed not to have an organisation representing them in negotiations with the authorities. At the same time, without an organisation, the City Council argued, they could not coordinate any development or set up any strategies to enhance conditions.

7.3.2.1 An empirical check on informal street traders in Pietersburg CBD

Two random questionnaire surveys were carried out a year apart among street traders operating in the CBD, ie. during October 1995 and in October 1996. The first survey sample size was approximately 4.3% (n=56) of the approximately 1 300 street traders (see Addendum 4 for example of the questionnaire). The 1996 survey comprised 300 interviews (20%) done randomly among the approximately 1 500 street traders counted at that time.

The 1995 survey findings

The majority of respondents (64%) were residents in the Pietersburg rural hinterland. Three out of four were in the under 40 years age category. The high percentage of them (61%) who had a standard eight educational qualification was an indication that they were joining the sector as a survival strategy. A majority of the respondents were female (57%). Most were operators of their own businesses (77%) and they earned between R20 and R150 per day. Those who were employed by other business persons (from the formal economy) worked for a fixed salary varying between R60 and R250 per week. Only one respondent worked on a commission basis. Working hours varied between 05:00 and 18:30. A significant proportion

had been street traders for less than a year (39%), whereas 32% had been doing it for more than three years and 23% for between one and three years. The activities engaged in varied from vending foodstuffs (raw fruit, cooked ‘pap en vleis’, sweets and cool drinks) to selling accessories (jewellery, ornaments, music), while some provided services in the form of hairdressing and repairs.

An important aspect in surveying the street traders’ behaviour was to determine their localities in business space. Almost all used the same space for their businesses every day (93%). According to the respondents everyone had her/his “own” place from which to trade (perhaps a “gentlemen’s” agreement). Understandably, most (62%) were reluctant, if given the opportunity, to be concentrated in a market-type of location for the following reasons: fear of losing fixed customers, over-concentration would mean more competition, and there would not be enough space. In the same vein most (84%) agreed that there were too many traders, yet only 39% responded to the question whether they experienced any problems as sellers. The following is a list of problems mentioned:

- Bad behaviour of some customers
- Theft
- Lack of water and electricity
- Threats from shop-owners
- Customers dissatisfied with products purchased
- The municipality threatens them
- Little stock
- People are not buying their products
- Lack of after-hours storage facilities
- Sexism.

Respondents were questioned on the local leadership and representation. Three-quarters of the traders indicated that they did not belong to, or know of, any hawkers’ association in the city.

The 1996 survey findings

The follow-up survey reconfirmed the findings of the first survey. The level of education reflected that 52% had secondary education and a remarkably high percentage were younger than 20 years (80%), while a high percentage (52%) had been engaged in the sector for between 6 and 10 years (irrespective of the place of employment). Low income is again reflected in that 56% earned R0 - R20 per day. The average profit for the sample members per day was R20. The range of activities (selling and service) is given in Table 7.3. Food

(cooked or raw) was mostly sold (73%) followed by clothing (16%). An alarming 18% of the respondents were selling raw foodstuffs and given the lack of storage facilities this type of practice is seen as a health risk.

TABLE 7.3: TYPES OF SAMPLED STREET TRADING ACTIVITIES IN PIETERSBURG, 1996

STREET TRADING BUSINESS	n	%
Food:		
Fruit and vegetables	96	32
Raw materials	55	18
'Pap en Sous'	45	15
Cooked mealies	23	8
Clothing	48	16
Jewellery	25	8
Cosmetics	5	2
Shoe repairs	3	1
TOTAL	300	100

A majority of respondents (86%) were not against paying for their stands and a licence fee, with some saying that they were willing to pay an amount of up to R300 per year (R25 per month). The survey was extended to ask 300 customers of the street traders - at random - their reasons for supporting the informal sector and also their views of its weaknesses. The reasons and weaknesses are summarised in Table 7.4.

The customers' perceptions do not differ much from the sellers' (see 1995 findings). The informality of the informal sector is evident from the perceptions in that it is seen as a convenient situation with more hours of operation and that they give credit. However, the weaknesses also relate to the sector being labelled informal, namely that it is less efficiently run, offers a limited choice of goods because of no lock-up facilities and in general lacks proper facilities.

TABLE 7.4: CUSTOMERS' PERCEPTIONS OF INFORMAL BUSINESSES IN PIETERSBURG, 1996

REASONS FOR SUPPORTING INFORMAL SECTOR	WEAKNESS OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Cheaper prices ■ Better customer service ■ A convenient situation ■ Provide fresh products ■ More convenient hours ■ Given credit (day-to-day customers) ■ Given personalised service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Unstable prices ■ Running out of stock easily ■ Having a limited choice of goods ■ Being less tidy and hygienic ■ Being less efficiently run ■ They do not guarantee quality of products ■ Lack of toilets and water facilities

7.3.2.2 Reformalisation of street by-laws

Because Pietersburg is the capital of the Northern Province, the situation described above led the Premier of the Province to initiate restructuring. He assigned the MEC for Land, Housing and Local Government to facilitate talks between the various interest groups i.e. trade, industry, hawkers, organised business, and local government. The Pietersburg Municipality's Department of Protection Services (DPS), was identified as the body responsible for all aspects relating to the informal economy in the city. In late 1995 the DPS conducted research into the nature and extent of the informal economy to facilitate policy formation and to set up structures for managing the sector. Surprisingly, and contrary to earlier investigations by the University of the North's Department of Geography (1995), in October 1995 a so-called "Pietersburg Hawkers' Association" conducted a survey on behalf of the TLC and DPS² to determine the number of street traders, types of activity, and locations, in other words a count of "what is where". The study was deficient in a number of ways. No participatory exercise, for example, was carried out to assess the contributions, problems, grievances, and prospects of the sellers. In fact the only visible input from the street traders themselves was from the so-called president of the Hawkers' Association, who provided a hand-written letter which identified a problem raised by the Hawkers' Association: "the most burning issues and that is being one of the creator of problems is the issue of immigrants must be taken into account" (Department of Protection Services, 1996: Submission by Hawkers' Association). It was the

² The survey conducted by the Department of Geography (1995) determined that 75% of the respondents (4% random sample of approximately 1 300 street traders) did not belong to, or have any knowledge of, any hawkers' association.

first time the issue of foreigners had emerged. It was surprising to see that, despite the lack of facilities, security, and other shortcomings regularly associated with the sector, their only concern was xenophobic. The Pietersburg Hawkers' Association was apparently a legitimate organisation in terms of registration, but evidently not as a collective representative body for traders.

Instead of focussing attention on the desegregation rather than on the deracialisation of urban business space, xenophobia was consequently overemphasised and perhaps used as a scapegoat to divert ideologies. In fact, the policy cannot overlook the contributions made by foreigners. Rogerson (1997: 28) warns that

“[i]n ameliorating the xenophobia that surrounds [foreign informal traders], it is essential that national and local policy-makers more fully appreciate and openly acknowledge the positive role, both existing and potential of these businesses.”

In Pietersburg, the xenophobic stance of the Town Council and the so-called Hawkers' Association is a vivid illustration of a particularly narrow approach to planning, and perhaps stems from ignorance. The recently released draft Green Paper on International Migration (Republic of South Africa, 1997b: 24) recognises the important role played by foreign informal traders and suggests that “[i]mmigration and customs regulations should be more facilitative.” Evidence of xenophobia in most urban centres of South Africa has been observed. However, “[l]ittle concrete information exists on the profile of non-South African citizens involved in cross-border trading with South Africa. A 1995 national survey of street traders found that 14% of operators were non-South African”, while another “survey of handcrafts vendors undertaken by SAMP has found that non-South Africans tend to be quite highly educated, very mobile and highly entrepreneurial” and that “the majority have no intention of remaining permanently in South Africa” (Republic of South Africa, 1997b: 24). Rogerson (1997:1), for example, presents more recent evidence of what he calls “the progressive internationalization of the South African SMME economy, particularly of the growth of a foreign street trading community” in Johannesburg. Despite this, it would seem that the racial undertones in urban processes have now embraced xenophobia.

The accepted norm of a participatory approach to transitional planning processes was ignored

in the DPS survey. Not all stakeholders (including foreigners) were able to voice their differences on a public platform. Instead “behind-doors” negotiations with the so-called Hawkers’ Association, with various departments of the Municipality, and the Business Chamber followed. The final report of the Department of Protection Services was completed in 1996. The report served as a policy document for the formulation of street by-laws and listed as some goals the following:

- “To successfully integrate the Informal Sector with the environment of the city as a whole...;
- To democratise the street environment through an integrated strategy so that it once again becomes functional and safe for pedestrians;
- To make the task of developing and actively promoting the city much easier by promoting order on the walkways;
- To make the inner city more user friendly;
- To conserve the natural and fabricated environment of the inner city;
- To maintain the friendly dispensation amongst all role players;
- To consolidate agreements reached between all parties and to enforce same;
- To improve the economic position of the city;
- To implement RDP and Masakhane programmes successfully;
- To make the capital city a success;
- To get policy in line with that of central government” (Department of Protection Services, 1996: 3-4).

A tabulation of the negative and positive perceptions of the informal economy in the CBD was also included in the report (Table 7.5).

TABLE 7.5: NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF THE PIETERSBURG URBAN FORMAL ECONOMY

NEGATIVE PERCEPTIONS OF HAWKERS	POSITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF HAWKERS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Obstruct the pavement ● Litter the pavement ● Sell from unsightly structures ● Are unfair competition for the formal sector ● Urinate in public ● Create an unhygienic environment ● Lack of enforcement ● Leave goods on the pavement overnight 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Contribute to the economic viability of the city ● Develop entrepreneurial skills ● Contribute to the dynamic character of the city ● Provide employment for families ● Re-emphasise the prominence of a "trading city" ● Upgrade the physical environment

Source: Compiled from Department of Protection Services (1996)

The positive perceptions are proof that urban governance has come to regard street traders as the norm. The DPS also value the sector in terms of its economic role, not only in terms of the city economy but also through the provision of employment and the development of business skills. The negative perceptions can, with the exception of “unfair competition for the formal sector”, all be solved by the DPS. That is if they want to and/or are capable of doing so. Creation of infrastructure, however, remains central to solving negative perceptions.

The report was promulgated by the Premier on 21 March 1997. Local Authority Notice 94 concerning the by-laws relating to street trading in Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC comprises six basic conditions: (1) prohibition of the carrying on of business; (2) restriction of the carrying on of business; (3) application to lease a stand; (4) offences; (5) impoundment and removal, and (6) penalties. It also declared an area in the CBD as prohibited and the total Municipal area as restricted (Figure 7.3).

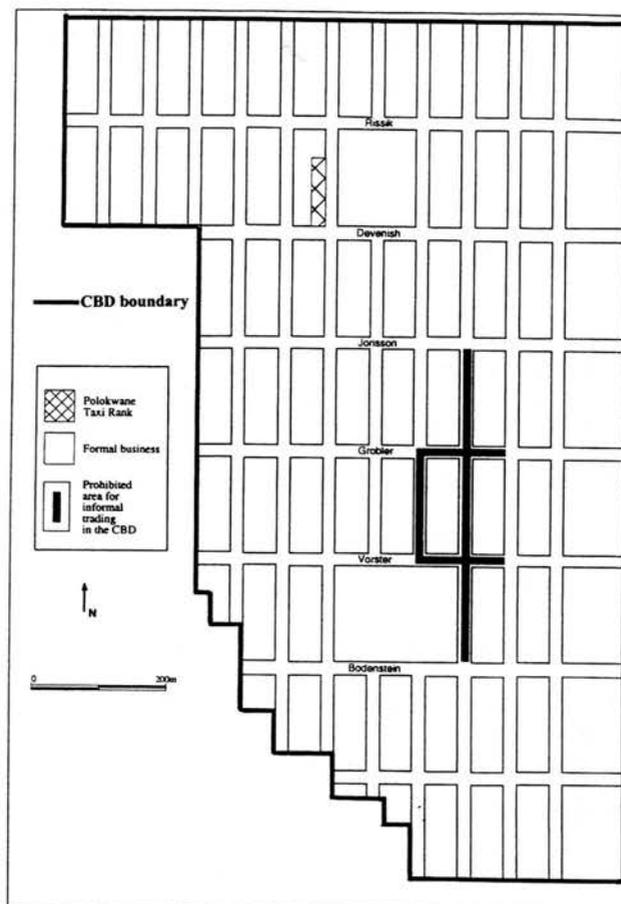


FIGURE 7.3: PROHIBITED STREET TRADING AREA IN THE CBD OF PIETERSBURG

The prohibited area is centrally located in the CBD, and pavements that are prohibited include the areas in front of the municipal building, major banks and some chain stores. The specific logic behind demarcating this area could not be determined. One may however postulate that this area represents white defended spaces because many office blocks are located there. The amalgamated former black town of Seshego was excluded from these regulations because the Town Council was still in the process of formulating a separate Town Planning Scheme for the area.

7.3.2.3 Interpreting the new street by-laws and policy document

In their policy document the TLC acknowledges, for the first time, the importance of the informal sector. However, the report of the Department Protection Services remains conservative in outlook, arrogant, and insensitive in conceptualising the street trading phenomenon. It ascribes this “problem” an historic perspective, claiming that, because of “serious economic problems that were experienced during the period 1990-1994”, disadvantaged communities were “forced to become more creative with regard to finding an income” (Department of Protection Services, 1996: 1). This statement demonstrates either the department’s conservative stance or its considerable ignorance, and indeed the report as a whole gives the impression that economic suffering began only after the demise of apartheid. However, it does recognise that no bottom-up approach to regulation existed, and that over-legislation under the now repealed Licence Ordinance 1971 (Ordinance 17 of 1971), and the “accompanying by-laws for the Control of Businesses failed dismally” because of inflexibility (Department of Protection Services, 1996:2). The new by-laws focus on restrictions in terms of location, and the control of it - and identify seven possible offences - and they also specify actions which can be taken by the Council, such as removal, impoundment and the imposition of penalties. Furthermore, the application procedure and form for leasing a stand are also included in the legislation (*Northern Provincial Gazette*, 1997a). Besides the stands that are allocated on the pavements outside the prohibited area, the Department of Protection Services has identified two locations where an informal market can be developed. However, for one area - currently a parking area - an Indian applicant has submitted a land claim for restitution. A few open structures were built there but are not being used because of impracticalities such as no lock-up facilities (Plate 7.1). Surprisingly officials spent funds on building lock-up facilities at the Pietersburg sports stadium, a facility at most used once every two weeks (Plate

7.2). Planning for another site located next to the bus terminal and near the taxi rank and Indian shopping complex started in 1998. The number of street traders who would be accommodated there are, however, not expected to total more than 30.



PLATE 7.1: TLC's UNUSED STREET TRADING FACILITIES IN PIETERSBURG



PLATE 7.2: LOCK-UP STREET TRADING FACILITIES AT THE PIETERSBURG SPORTS STADIUM

The DPS (Table 7.5) identified some serious negative perceptions of hawking in the CBD. Most of these relate to infrastructure: littering (dustbins), unsightly structures (lack of permanent stalls), urinating (lack of public toilets), unhygienic environment (cooling systems), and leaving goods on the pavement overnight (lack of storage facilities). Yet there appear to be no intentions of improving the facilities for street traders.

The promulgated by-laws stipulate that any street trader will be guilty of an offence if she/he

“(a) places or stacks goods on a stand in such a manner that it constitutes a danger or is likely to cause an injury ... (b) attaches any goods by means to any building, structure, pavement, [etc.]...(f) prepares food in order to sell or offer to sell such food, which food is unsuitable for human consumption...”

(*Northern Provincial Gazette*, 1997a: 27).

It is further emphasised that if traders fail to “keep an allocated stand, including any goods utilised in a business, in a hygienic and neat condition” they will also be guilty of an offence (*Northern Provincial Gazette*, 1997a: 27). The absurdity of such legislation, in face of the infrastructural shortcomings listed above, underlines the lack of any conceptual tool in the planning and policy formulation process undertaken in Pietersburg concerning the informal sector.

The Deputy Chief of the Protection Services, who is in charge of the informal economy, has also indicated that foreigners and non-Pietersburg residents will not be allowed to trade in the city. Traders or potential traders from the Pietersburg Functional Area are also excluded from Pietersburg's business space, as are non-*bona fide* traders, such as formal business operators who employ people to trade in the street for them (interview with Du Plooy, 1997). It is evident that persons engaged in the informal sector are still segregated from formal business facilities and opportunities and that the Department of Protection Services does not understand the value of the formal-informal linkage.

Urban transformation introduced the informal street trading phenomenon to the streets of Pietersburg. The restructuring and transforming of outdated policies that prohibited informal economic activities in previously defended spaces occurred simultaneously with national policy. However, restructuring street trading during the transition period has been hampered

by too many relics of the apartheid past and by ignorant policy makers. The current limitations inherent in the Pietersburg TLC's reregulation of street traders need to be remedied. It is still race (albeit xenophobic), rather than a progressive movement towards the formalisation of the informal economy within a desegregatory approach, which is overshadowing the restructuring process. For the time being it seems as if Pietersburg has rid itself of the stringent regulations of the past. Reregulation, reformulation of policies, and rearrangement of informal business space in the CBD have ensued, albeit in contradictory ways. This section has shown how the process of business space deracialisation as a precursor to the desegregation of informal business space has transformed the urban business landscape in the former conservative white secondary city of Pietersburg since apartheid rule ended. It is up to newly-established structures to ensure that the process of informal business space desegregation - providing infrastructure for the informal traders - takes place. At the end of the 1990s, business space has only been deracialised through its acceptance (to some degree) in Pietersburg. The desegregation process has yet to take place.

7.4 HOME-BASED BUSINESS: PATTERN, CONTROL AND PERCEPTIONS

In the so-called white collar revolution of transition from a manufacturing to a service sector society, the restructuring of business space is influenced in an urban context in various ways. The relocation of/and new office space and businesses from the CBD and the development of new buildings in residential areas are a prominent feature of the urban landscape (see Herskovitz, 1987). A formal process of development can be seen to parallel the informal development of businesses operating from residential dwellings. The informal development of home-based businesses predominates as a characteristic feature of the developing world.

Mixed land-use, however, is characteristic of developed countries' postmodern planning principles. This has created an opportunity, for "the process of re-thinking conventional shelter wisdom was focussed on the neglected interface of 'housing' and 'work' and of the role of the house as workplace" (Rogerson, 1991b: 336). Globalisation and postmodern changes evident in the urban landscape of American cities, for example, "have fundamentally changed the nature, gender make-up, and geographic locations of work for large segments of the American working class" (Herod, 1991: 173).

Seen from the home-owner-as-employer's perspective, working from home offers several advantages. These include, *inter alia*, the fact that employers are able to transfer overhead costs (for example the costs of office space) to workers; they can experiment with productivity measures; the formation of unions is difficult for workers; and therefore home-workers are a relatively transitional work force that can be hired and fired easily. Thus, in the developed world the growth of home-based work is attributed to broad international trends:

“[t]he globalisation of the economy and the implementation of flexible accumulation strategies have produced a contemporary landscape characterized by deindustrialization in the traditional manufacturing heartland, gentrifying inner-city neighbourhoods, back-officing in the suburbs etc”(Herod, 1991: 175).

In developing countries, such as South Africa, these phenomena have been, according to Rogerson (1991b), for too long a “hidden feature of the urban scene”, which again epitomises the ignorance and one-sided development and interest shown by urban management and planners during the apartheid era. Deregulatory measures in the 1990s do not clearly address the achievements necessary for enhancing home-based industry. Another manifestation of informal economic opportunities in Pietersburg is that of home-based business. The dichotomy is again evident between Pietersburg and Seshego. The next sections (7.4.1 - 7.4.4) will discuss the distinct difference evident in terms of regulation, nature and extent. Also, questionnaire findings on Pietersburg residents' perceptions of home-based business will be presented.

7.4.1 Control of the home-based business industry in Pietersburg and Seshego

A clear dichotomy between planning practices within Pietersburg and its amalgamated township Seshego after 1994 depicts the contradictions of apartheid planning and control during transition. In the Pietersburg Structure Plan (1989), the Pietersburg City Council recognised the important role of home-based business in that “dit tot die verhoging van gemeenskap se lewenstandaard bydra”[it contributes to the enrichment of communities' quality of living] (De Villiers & Partners, 1989: 145). It also reasoned that, even with the Town Planning Scheme, which in effect, declared home businesses illegal, it was not able to eradicate them from the urban scene. However, in cases where such businesses are a nuisance and/or noisy, it lends itself to being exploited and the Council may then act against the culprits. A second problem according to the Structure Plan is that if a home-based business is of such a nature

that it is in direct competition with formal business activities, and if a home loses its residential function, then it becomes problematic. Thirdly, the major problem is effective, yet positive control.

The Structure Plan in essence then made three recommendations. Firstly, the City Council should in principle allow home-based businesses on residential type one erven. Secondly, revision of the Town Planning Scheme should occur in order to encourage the industry but also to get the cooperation of the industry. Thirdly, they suggested the following guidelines for control. One, regulations formulated to control it. Two, tax revenue. This did not mean that the Council should increase the property tax wherever an industry occurs if it is done on a part-time basis (De Villiers & Partners, 1989: 145-146). This was the viewpoint for most of the period during the transition after apartheid. Since 1995 the Pietersburg Town Council has been engaged in the process of formulating a new Structure Plan. The concept document included inflexible measures concerning land-use control with reference to home-based business. For example the Council will not allow that persons display their goods in public. Permission to do business from one's house has to be given by residents within a fifty-metre radius. No more than 20% of the house surface may be used for a professional or occupational type of business. Business may also not be conducted on Sundays and public holidays (*Northern Review*, 1995/09/15: 4). The TLC has successfully taken transgressors to court and won cases against an architect and estate agent who claimed to operate a business from a residential land-use. They had failed to apply for rezoning (*Northern Review*, 1997/04/11:6). Various spazas operating in desegregated suburbs were also forced to close down after the court case.

7.4.2 Nature and extent of home-based business in Pietersburg

A survey conducted during 1996 revealed that 475 home-based businesses were operating in Seshego (all unregulated and unlicensed). On the other hand in Pietersburg there were 70 registered home-based businesses with a number of unregistered businesses that were unknown due to secrecy.

The only method of identifying home-based businesses was to do a "head count" by driving through a given area. Most home-based businesses advertise their business with signs of some

kind. A majority of the businesses are located in the old established and dilapidated Zone One and Zone 3 in Seshego (Figure 7.4). The survey covered different types of businesses of which the most common were spazas (40%), shebeens (10%), and combinations of these two types at single locations (16%). Spazas are a characteristic feature of any township in South Africa and the need to develop a coherent strategy for urban managers regarding their functioning and prospects is a research priority (see Beukes, 1993; Beukes & De Necker, 1995). The most significant finding in the survey was the dramatic increase in these businesses after 1990. An astonishing 73% of the respondents started operating after 1990 with the bulk (26%) only after 1995. Gross incomes derived from these businesses vary between R60 and R10 000 per month. Employees are mainly family members who reside on the property. Hence a general blurring of boundaries between work and home is experienced. This is more so in dual-career households in which gender-related and professional daytime employment, together with an after-hours home-based business are evident (see Hardill, Green & Dudleston, 1997).

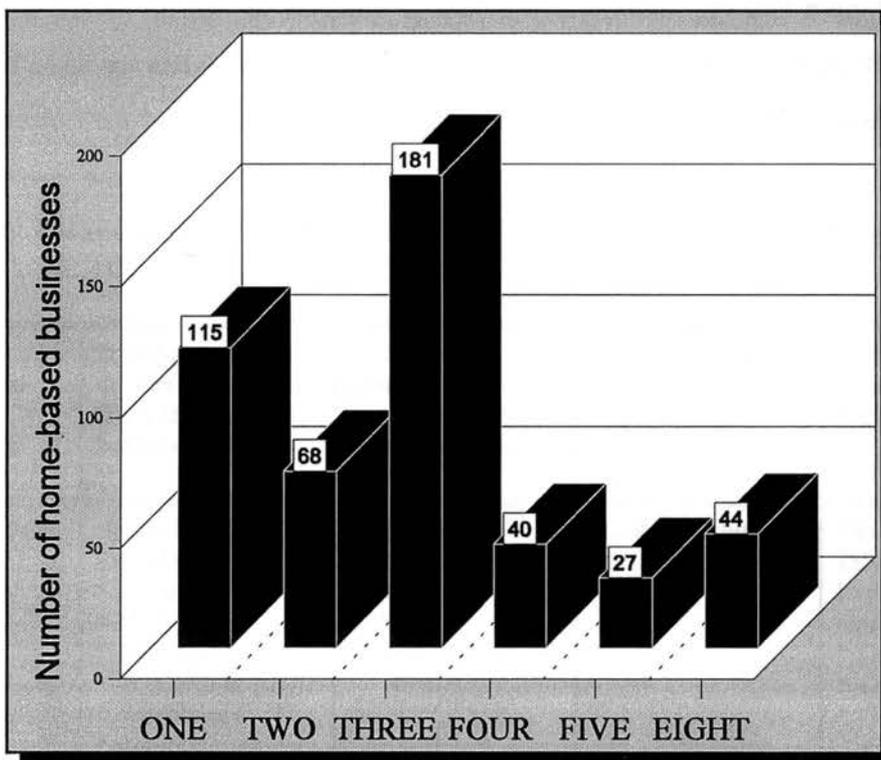


FIGURE 7.4: NUMBER OF HOME-BASED BUSINESSES IN SESHEGO'S SIX ZONES (RESIDENTIAL SUBURBS ONLY), 1996

Respondents showed that they prefer working from home mainly because it is cost effective in that they do not pay extra rent and licence fees, and also because it is convenient. A

majority (66%) also indicated that they do not have knowledge of any regulations or by-laws. An important aspect of the survey was to find out from the respondents what problems they experience in the day-to-day activities of running their businesses. Most (62%) do experience problems that include the following, arranged in decreasing order of concern to them:

Complaints from neighbours about littering and noise

Competition with big business, especially the opening up of the suburban shopping centre (Seshego Plaza)

Insufficient space at their dwelling for expansion and development

Lack of insurance and the safety aspect in running a business from home

■ Customers who inconvenience them by arriving after they have locked up.

On the other hand, the immediate neighbours were requested to provide information on problems, regulations, and the possibility of regulations being imposed on their neighbours' businesses (see Table 7.6 for the results). It shows overwhelmingly that neighbours seem to be tolerant of business neighbours (96%). Most, however, would like to see them regulated (78%), and more than half of them do not intend starting a business of their own.

TABLE 7.6: RESPONSES BY NEIGHBOURS OF HOME-BASED BUSINESSES IN SESHEGO, 1996

1: Are you against people running a business from home?	2: What problems do you experience from these businesses?	3: Do you have plans to start your own home-based business?	4: Do you know that there are regulations controlling such businesses?	5: Should home-based business be regulated?
No problem 96% Explanation: * Accessibility * Survival * No work	No problem 72% Explanation: * Noise * High prices * Pollution * Trespassers from neighbours * Fighting/violence * Health hazard	No plans 56% Plans for business: * Spaza * Saloon * Fruit/vegetables	No knowledge 84%	Yes to regulations 78% Explanation for regulations: * Control noise * Control pollution * Control over concentration * Control prices * Inspect goods for health * Control opening and closing hours

Another example of home-based business - as seen from a landlord's point of view - is the subletting of rooms/flatlets or backyard shacks (Watson, 1994). According to Gilbert, Mabin, McCarthy and Watson (1996), this informal housing feature of the urban environment is a neglected research topic. Kumar (1996) echoes this, and requests a focus of research on intra-urban residential mobility through the movement of renting to ownership. Empirical data collected in six black townships indicated that 55% of the surveyed population were renting accommodation (Watson, 1994). The advantages of this home-based business service for the renters is that it is affordable, has a flexible payment system with a long-term commitment, and is usually accessible to a good location. However, certain problems are identified in such businesses, for example, overcrowding and poor access to services and shelter. Dewar (1994c: 237) lists some problems usually associated with home-based business and the nuisances it may cause. Not all business types cause a nuisance. In most cases, however, it is only one part of the process that causes a disturbance and this can be solved if it is done elsewhere or in an outside building that is "sound-proof". Home-based businesses do not necessarily operate at the same intensity everywhere. Local authorities also experience different problems that include structural problems caused to sewerage and waste removal due to overcrowding, the breaking of land-use regulations relating to service lines, and the impossibility of policing (Watson, 1994). The social restructuring survey conducted in Pietersburg during 1997 revealed that a mere 13% of the population surveyed have renters on their premises. More than half of these were located in Seshego (8%), followed by Pietersburg (4%), and 1% in Westenburg.

Another form of home-based business is urban agriculture. However, Webb (1994, 1998) cautions that it should not be romanticised as an income-generating possibility among the urban poor, especially in informal settlements (Saunders, 1996). The importance of investigating urban managers' attitudes towards urban agriculture is expressed by De Necker and Uys (1995).

7.4.3 Pietersburg/Polokwane residents' perceptions of home-based business

Against the above background, residents in Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC area were interviewed on aspects of home-based business (part of the questionnaire survey discussed in Chapter Six - see Addendum 3). For the sake of understanding the nature of transition and the dichotomy in social space in a post-apartheid city, the results will at times reflect differentiation between the former group areas of Pietersburg, Westenburg, Seshego and Nirvana. Respondents had to

express their attitude towards people operating businesses from homes in residential areas. Figure 7.6 shows that just over half of respondents have a positive attitude towards home-based business while just under one quarter showed a neutral attitude.

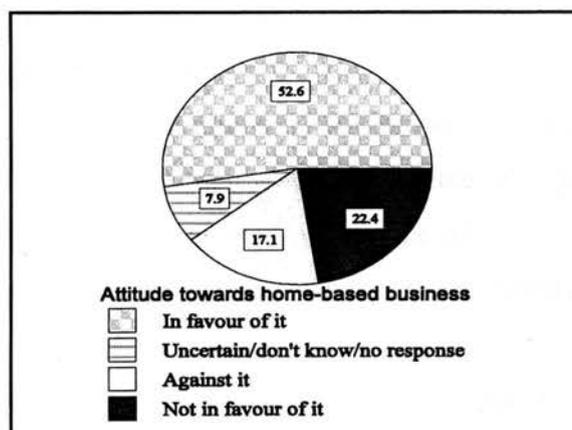


FIGURE 7.6: ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS TOWARDS HOME-BASED BUSINESS IN PIETERSBURG

Attitudes are thus opposite to the city management's desire to restrict the businesses. Within the former group areas attitude responses showed that Seshego residents have the highest favourable attitude (66%), followed by Nirvana (50%), the former white Pietersburg group area (34%) and last Westenburg (33%). The questionnaire tested these attitudes in that it asked respondents to explain them. Reasons given to explain their attitudes varied from some who said that home-based businesses are convenient because of their proximity in the neighbourhood and the flexibility of their opening hours (21%). Other responses can be understood in the context of economic empowerment. They see that for every home-based business, employment (17%) is created. The above two reasons have mainly been suggested by residents of Seshego. The third most mentioned explanation is that home-based business would be approved of, depending on its type, with noisy and disturbing types of home-based businesses being unacceptable (9%). Some suggested that they want to work from their homes, yet others indicated that only professional types of business such as doctors, lawyers and town planners could be authorised. Controlling such practices should be done through tax levies, because these people ultimately save on renting a premise in the CBD or other business premises. On the other hand, this would be detrimental to CBD expansion, because fewer buildings would be built to accommodate businesses that are to be found in residential areas.

The idea of mixed land-use would, according to some, be a disturbance of the character of the residential suburbs. It would increase traffic and the movement of people, litter, noise (primarily a problem highlighted by Pietersburg and Nirvana respondents) and ultimately attract crime. Negative attitudes stem from home-based businesses being illegally practised and accompany a view that the local government must thoroughly formalise it. Some of the respondents commented as follows:

- ⇒ “As long as these business operations do not disturb or cause any problems for neighbours, it is fine, because they give us a service and most of these derive income from them which they depend on very highly”.
- ⇒ “As long as business does not interfere with our quiet lifestyle and no littering and congregation of people [occurs]”
- ⇒ “Sekere tipe besighede kan sonder probleme vanaf residensiële persele bedryf word; ander nie” [Specific types of business can without any problems operate from home].
- ⇒ “As gevolg van hoë huur is dit ekonomies vir ‘n kleinbesigheid om van sy huis te werk” [Because of high rentals is it economical to operate a business from home].
- ⇒ “They are detrimental to businesses who have to pay the higher costs for business property rights”.

It is evident from the above findings that the respondents’ answers touched on numerous aspects that policymakers should look at when formalising policy on the topic.

7.4.4 Knowledge of home-based business

Investigating whether residents have any knowledge of specific phenomena in order to test their attitudes and perceptions properly is important. The better informed residents are, the greater the probability that they can express an objective and mature attitude about such phenomena. Respondents were in this case requested to indicate whether they had any knowledge about any form of home-based business operating in their neighbourhoods (Table 7.7).

Again, the majority said yes (66%). Respondents from Nirvana (88%) and Seshego (95%) indicated a high level of knowledge of businesses in their areas. Primarily this may be because of the substantial number of such businesses in Seshego (475 home-based businesses in 1996) and to a lesser extent in Nirvana. Taking cognisance of the fact that 70 home-based businesses were operating legally in Pietersburg in 1996, and that 27% of Pietersburg respondents

indicated that they have knowledge of such businesses in their neighbourhoods, this may indicate that there are more home-based businesses operating than is officially known.

TABLE 7.7: CROSS-TABULATION BETWEEN FORMER GROUP AREAS AND KNOWLEDGE OF HOME-BASED BUSINESS

(Row % - based on responses)

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	KNOWLEDGE OF HOME-BASED BUSINESS				Row totals
	Yes (respondents have knowledge)	No (respondents do not have knowledge)	Uncertain/ Don't know	Refuse to answer	
Pietersburg	27.2	56.4	16.4	0.0	100
Seshego	95.0	3.8	1.2	0.0	100
Nirvana	87.5	0.0	12.5	0.0	100
Westenburg	33.3	33.3	22.2	11.1	100
Column totals	66.4	24.3	8.6	0.7	100*

Note: *Total number of responses is 152

Respondents were then requested to name the type of business. Spaza shops and day-care centres are most prevalent in the city as a whole. Other types include professionals' businesses (physiotherapists, accountants, dentists, consultants, town planners, and estate agents), service types (hair salons, clothing makers, function agencies, distributors, public phones), whereas shebeens, welding and panel beating, fruit stalls and carpenters are among a list of possibly noisy businesses. Of those who indicated knowledge of them, 29% of respondents said that these businesses are of no benefit to them. Others (66%) indicated that they are convenient, easily accessible, and offer credit. Another reason mentioned is that home-based businesses reduce crime because they employ people who might otherwise resort to crime for a living.

Fieldworkers asked respondents to list the problems they possibly had with home-based business Table 7.8 summarises them. Just more than half of the respondents indicated that they do not experience any problems (56%) - (this response resembles a similar mood among residents in some of Pretoria's suburbs where a study by Van den Berg (1983) showed a neutral attitude towards home-offices).

This significant finding, showing that more than half of the respondents do not have problems with such businesses, may certainly be of value to the city managers, especially in formulating

policy on home-based businesses. The problem that was mentioned most was noise (11%) created by home-business operators. Other responses listed crime and the fact that goods are expensive as major problems. Actual responses that indicate social disorder such as noise, overcrowding, crime, and conflict account for 22% of the responses, while infrastructural problems emanating from this, such as parking on pavements, account for only 1% of problems.

TABLE 7.8: PROBLEMS RESIDENTS EXPERIENCE WITH HOME-BASED BUSINESS IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOODS IN PIETERSBURG

PROBLEMS MENTIONED	%
No problems	56
Noise	11
Crime and vandalism to property and drunkenness	8
Goods are expensive	8
Littering, unhygienic, smelly	4
Illegal selling of alcohol	4
Old stock and bad quality	3
Open late hours	2
Goods are expensive	2
Parking on pavements	1
Creates conflict among different owners	1
Total	100

7.5 SUMMARY: POLICY SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PLANNING OF STREET TRADING AND HOME-BASED BUSINESS

7.5.1 Street trading policy

A set of guidelines in line with the national government's thinking on urban development needs to be developed. A major problem with the restructuring process in most cities is that policy

formulation for the informal economy is not viewed coherently. Instead, planning authorities regard compartments of it, such as street trading, home-based businesses, and small-scale manufacturing, as separate links in the urban economy.

The urban planning suggestions of Dewar and Watson (1991) are worth considering, especially if aimed at desegregating informal business space. They advocate:

- Service provision - changing the physical structure of urban public spaces
- Densification - compacting cities, and imploding growth
- Diversification - promoting a greater mix of land-use
- Integration - physically integrating rather than fragmenting urban areas
- Externalities - decentralising wholesaling systems
- Accessibility - maximising access to natural resources
- Redistribution - providing publicly funded infrastructure in partnership with the private sector
- Accountability - democratising regulations, administration and policy formulation. By which they mean unified policy-regulation should counter the dichotomy of urban economy between white and black areas.

Some of the above points are also highlighted in numerous other publications. The discussion document for comment on an Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity (Republic of South Africa, 1995a) argues that South African urban areas should move away from low density to high density planning for a compact city. This compaction should also have an impact on informal entrepreneurs in that it would enhance “the range and potential economic opportunities that would present themselves for all businesses” (Rogerson, 1993: 68). Because of fragmentation and low-density sprawl, which are impacting negatively on South African cities, Dewar and Uytendogaard (1991: 45) propose compacting urban form as a “pre-condition for generating small-scale growth.” This thinking is in line with the densification programme which, according to Levin (1994: 241), “would go a long way [towards] serving the interests of the informal sector.” Urban planning should integrate the separate identities of “[c]ores and peripheries as currently defined - and must have the longer-term aim of destroying the periphery as both reality and idea” (Republic of South Africa, 1995a: 20).

In essence, the planning principle is to move away from purely deracialising business space to desegregation. This could be accomplished through the equitable distribution of resources. The CBD can adapt to the dualistic urban economy of South Africa by redevelopment and the use of open spaces to accommodate the informal economy in a formal manner (Van Zyl & Jacobs, 1994); hence the formalisation of it. Emphasis is thus on

“infrastructural services, such as electricity, communication, water, toilets and proper roads [which] are vital for the livelihood of this sector. The “mixed use activity corridor” concept is a very applicable kind of physical development to serve the unique requirements of the informal sector” (Levin, 1994: 241).

In other words, local authorities should play an important catalytic role (Naicker, 1991). With a conceptual tool, national planning principles, such as those advocated above, need to be integrated into a framework for formulating policy at local level.

7.5.2 Home-based business policy

The question whether home-based business should be allowed is seemingly not an issue. The issue is to whom, what, where and how it should be allowed to become an orderly feature of the urban landscape. In restructuring the philosophy surrounding home-based business one should perhaps formulate policy on various matters ranging from giving credit to such operators, taxation, regulations and so on. Very important in this instance is land-use regulation. The apartheid legacy left us with an under-serviced dependent and socially backward area and an area completely its opposite. Redistribution of resources through the elimination of poverty can focus taxation regulations on former advantaged areas and townships should become completely free-trading areas where limited regulations are imposed. All regulations should be based on the same principles so as to prevent dehumanisation of one sector over another. Suburbs in the CBD frame can also become free trading areas.

Transformation caused a change in social spaces within the urban landscape. The development of home-based businesses characterised residential spaces during apartheid in black townships. These have begun to spill over to the previously white defended spaces as a consequence of residential integration, and are still being protected by outdated legislation and zoning regulations. In essence home-based business is seen as part of the informal economy, and should therefore be incorporated into an effective overall urban strategy plan, which would

dictate policy. Rogerson (1991b) summarises five points from Gilbert's (1988) policy proposals which are considered "minimalist strategies":

Acceptance of some hazardous activities should be regulated, not, however, through policies formulated by authorities, but by the devolution of power to neighbourhood councils which would make their own decision regarding pollution nuisances, etc. The danger here may be in places where an elite minority dominates neighbourhood business in a malignant manner, thus provoking the underclass to come out against them for fear of loss of life and property. This situation is unfortunately a given fact in urban South African communities on the periphery. However, Watson (1993: 163) warns that community conflict should be seen as a police matter and not as a land-use management problem.

- Planning in site and services settlements should, for example, reserve "corner plots for retail establishments and perhaps the designation of a selected area for combined residential and workshop use" (Rogerson, 1991b: 342). The development of new extensions and low-cost housing suburbs currently is not developed along mixed land-use proposals. Walled suburban developments have spilled over into black townships such as Madiba Park located between Pietersburg and Seshego.
- Improving the infrastructure (water, sanitation, electricity) in low-income settlements. The RDP projects of urban renewal in most townships in South Africa have thus far been slow in delivery (see section 5.5.2).
- Provision of credit to get the enterprise off the ground with a guaranteed tenure of ownership by the state.
- "Any policy package that is adopted must be highly flexible due to the differentiated character of home enterprise in terms of both their scale and nature of operation" (Rogerson, 1991b: 343).

Town planning practices across South African cities are based on First World principles. The inherent acceptance that South African cities will be more inclined towards Third World cities (Van der Merwe, 1993) cannot be overemphasised. The United Nations (1996b: 91) shares this sentiment saying that

"the increasing physical presence of informal activities in African cities is

having a major effect on the organisation of space, as African cities distance themselves from their original colonial planning models.”

Seen in this light, Watson (1993) called for the reformulation of approaches to city management, especially relating to forms of housing and its economic potential and activities. Pietersburg and Seshego, as an integrated unit after apartheid, vividly illustrate this need for reformulation. While regulation is strictly applied in the former white Pietersburg, the town planning department has planned for no reformulation until 1997! Rather, they tend to follow a typical Third World approach with some biased undertones in that they turn a blind eye to Seshego and enforce regulations in Pietersburg. Local black operators in the rapidly developed extension of Flora Park, which in its townscapes resembles the more affluent sections of former black townships, are given court summonses for illegally operating businesses such as spazas and shebeens from homes.

White collar professionals such as an estate agent and an architect have also been operating from residential premises. They were taken to court and lost their case against the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC (*Northern Review*, 1997/04/11). Watson (1993) recommends two principles for the management of home-based businesses. One, minimum critical action. Two, self-sustainability. Identification of the “most serious externalities of mixed land-use which can and should be controlled” has to be addressed only “if and when they arise” (Watson, 1993: 164). This approach, according to her, will replace the current exclusionary land-use zoning widely used in South African urban areas with that of a system of performance control. Implementing this will be administratively cheaper and quicker. However, it is essential that the performance criteria be clearly defined and that it will apply across the whole city. A possible problem area is the definition of the most serious externalities. Therefore it is essential that the drawing up of the performance criteria be done through participatory approaches involving the community rather than by “experts” only. The lack of funding at local government level to employ full-time enforcement officers to patrol areas can be overcome by hiring unemployed residents in given neighbourhoods. Gender policy sensitivity towards the role women play particularly needs to be addressed (Jansen van Veuren, 1997). Last, an open space utilisation plan to enhance and encourage urban agriculture needs to be developed. Urban managers’ perceptions and attitudes (see De Necker & Uys, 1995) in this regard will play a major role in such a strategy’s success.

In the Pietersburg case study it is evident that three proposed home-based business strategies in terms of urban development planning can take the form of:

- areas of control (modernist planning viewpoint)
- areas of no/little control (minimalist strategy)
- areas of mixed land-use with relaxed implementation of land-use control.

When the restructuring of urban form and function has been done, the accommodation of the informal economy must receive proper attention. The following Chapter investigates the process involved and the subsequent policy formulation for the physical and spatial restructuring of Pietersburg.

CHAPTER 8: URBAN SPATIAL RESTRUCTURING THROUGH LAND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES

“The national Development Facilitation Act represents a fundamental shift away from a rigid town planning approach aimed at maintenance and orderly development towards one that monitors the outputs and outcomes of development in pursuit of socio-economic and reconstruction objectives” (Bollens, 1998: 743).

This chapter focuses on urban spatial restructuring. The most important policy documents developed during the period of transition to redress the current realities are highlighted in Chapter Eight. The chapter will describe and analyse the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC’s response to the challenge through the formulation of Land Development Objectives within the context of national policies.

8.1 POST-APARTHEID PLANNING FOR URBAN SPACES IN SOUTH AFRICA

For cities to function and grow they should follow proper town planning principles. The achievements of restructuring local governance (Chapter Five), the change in attitude to the informal economic sector (Chapter Seven), and the social integration process (Chapter Six) can be enhanced through integrating successes and failures within a spatial restructuring planning approach. Spatial restructuring should also incorporate regional developmental aims to consider urban linkages (Chapter Four) that recognise the historic development of the contemporary dispersed settlement pattern (Chapter Three).

8.1.1 The need for an alternative

South African cities and towns entered the 1990s with a legacy of segregationalist planning. Urban planners and managers were faced with a task of reconstructing the impression of a spatially segregated, highly fragmented and dispersed urban society. Restructuring, transforming, reconstructing, and integrating separate and divided cities pose pertinent spatial planning challenges (Dewar, 1992, 1994a, 1994b; Dewar & Uytendogaardt, 1991, 1995; Harrison *et al.*, 1997; Krige, 1998; Lemon, 1996; Mabin, 1995; McCarthy & Rogerson, 1992; Oelofse, 1996; Saff, 1994; Smith. DM, 1992; Tomlinson, 1994; Tomlinson & Krige, 1997).

Apartheid policies had worked perfectly with modernist urban planning philosophies of “the idea of progress and a belief in the power of rationality to overcome spatial chaos and disorder; the notion that, in order to bring into being a better world, control should be exercised by the state and its agents at virtually every level of society; the suppression of cultural and gender differences; and a belief in a homogenous public in whose interest the planner is empowered to act” (Brooks & Harrison, 1998: 93).

An explicit move away from general urban planning to development planning principles was seen as an alternative strategy for providing the correct approach to address urban developmental challenges posed in South African cities (Tomlinson, 1994). The main challenge is the development of South African urban areas “away from dispersed and racially divided urban growth patterns, towards more compact, integrated, accessible and productive urban systems” (Bernstein & McCarthy, 1990b: 64). Three urban spatial patterns, characteristic at present of the South African urban scene, comprise low density sprawl, fragmentation, and separation (Dewar, 1992; 1994b). Urban realities contributing to current impacts on the dysfunctional structure of the South African city are therefore immense. The urbanisation level (55% in 1997) and the persistence of inequality and poverty that financial pressures exaggerate in most municipalities are a cause for concern. However, a vibrant and dynamic civil society and the enormous economic and financial potentials for urban revitalisation are signs of change already evident during transition (Department of Housing, 1997).

The immediate scrapping of the Group Areas Act and other related apartheid policies did not contribute much to rectifying the above problems. Residential desegregation integrated only the affluent, and in essence contributed to the recurrence of social segregation through resegregation. The Local Government Transition Act provided for the amalgamation and restructuring of separated black and white local governments (see Chapter Five). It was an administrative and political attempt to integrate segregated components of spatially separated cities. However, it was merely a transitional arrangement, and the challenges facing local government restructuring will only be realised after the next general and local government elections. Thus far, the White Paper on Local Government has provided an impetus for re-structuring after transition.

8.1.2 Policy for the restructuring and reconstruction of the past

Policymakers produced many related policy documents during the transition period aimed at the spatial integration of urban areas. The four most important of these - the RDP, the Development Facilitation Act, the Urban Development Strategy, and the Urban Development Framework - are briefly described below.

8.1.2.1 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

The ANC-led government's vehicle to rid the country of its apartheid past is based on their policy document, the RDP. In focussing on all facets of transformation, the RDP is philosophically based on six fundamental principles: (1) an integrated and sustainable programme, (2) a people-driven process, (3) peace and security for all, (4) the eradication of a separated society categorised as First and Third world, (5) the linkage of reconstruction, development, growth and redistribution so that processes will not contradict each other, and (6) a democratisation process in which society, especially those affected by past injustices, will contribute to change. In summary, then, the RDP is an

“integrated programme, based on the people, that provides peace and security for all and builds the nation, links reconstruction and development and deepens democracy” (African National Congress, 1994:7).

These six principles are to be realised through various documents that are grouped into five major policy programmes: (1) meeting basic needs, (2) developing human resources, (3) building the economy, (4) democratising the state, (5) implementing the RDP - and, of importance to this chapter, the specific Planning Framework needed to achieve this aim. The framework should be coordinated and coherent, operating at national, provincial, and local levels, and with a development planning process that overrides all previous planning legislation. This policy programme laid the foundation for three policy documents that followed: the Development Facilitation Act (Republic of South Africa, 1995c), the Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity (Republic of South Africa, 1995a), and its subsequent follow-up, the refined Urban Development Framework that the Department of Housing released in 1997.

Perceived as an idealistic document, the RDP created expectations among millions of people that the government would fulfil its promises within the anticipated five-year period. Nel (1994c:758) warns that the “existing challenges and cost implications would, however, appear to present potentially serious ramifications for the overall success and viability” of the strategy. A first sign of this was the closure of the RDP offices at national and provincial levels. This, however, did not mean the demise of the strategy, but simply that the policy was to be integrated into various other departments such as Housing and Local Government which would enforce its ideals.

8.1.2.2 Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995

The heritage of apartheid planning is still applicable in contemporary South Africa in, for example, the Physical Planning Act, 1991, that preserves Guide Plans drawn up during the apartheid era. Besides the interim measure created through the Less Formal Township Establishment Act, 1991 (Emdon, 1994), the Provincial Ordinances, which applied to former white, coloured and Indian areas, concomitant with the Black Communities Development Act, 1984, restricted to black areas, continued to be implemented during the initial phase of transition in the 1990s. Apart from the policy documents formulated as White Papers during the transition mentioned above, the most important piece of legislation to guide planning needed to reconstruct the legacy of apartheid cities is the Development Facilitation Act (DFA), 1995, formulated by the Department of Land Affairs. One of its aims was to override the existing apartheid and related planning legislation (Republic of South Africa, 1995c). The DFA thus links its aim to the RDP to formulate and guide planning legislation that would subordinate “local planning to metropolitan/district, provincial and national development planning (for example, by reducing the status of zoning and town-planning schemes to the status of local plans which are automatically overridden by higher levels of planning)” (African National Congress, 1994: 140).

In developing countries in the 1990s, traditional planning practices inherited from the colonial period have, to some extent, become redundant. Jointly with certain other shortcomings, Master Plans failed to provide any significant and swift contribution to civil society’s needs. The subsequent introduction of Structure Plans

“coincided with the emergence of a ‘systems’ view of planning. Drawing on the principles of cybernetics, this approach sought to model urban systems and to identify optimum patterns of development” (Devas, 1993: 85).

The failure of Structure Plans can be ascribed to an inability to systematically adapt the rigid plans to land-use, when urban problems and challenges, such as urban regeneration, illegal land invasions, the amalgamation of separated town areas, and national social transformation, emerged. Some developing countries advocated Action Planning as a replacement for shortcomings in the two former types of planning mechanisms. In essence, it entails taking immediate action to rectify urban problems that in return could contribute to creating its own shortcoming of “disconnected interventions which fail to deal with the underlying problems” (Devas, 1993: 87). Thus, to some extent, Action Planning relates to the Land Development Objectives proposed by the South African Government. The Development Facilitation Act would “serve to guide the administration of any physical plan, transport plan, guide plan, structure plan, zoning scheme or any like plan or scheme” (Republic of South Africa, 1995c). The Government of National Unity therefore enacted the DFA as a policy to assist local governments to provide a short-term (five year development plan) solution to urban and rural development restructuring (Republic of South Africa, 1995a).

The principles of the DFA fall, according to Emdon (1994: 91), into five categories:

(1) restructuring of the spatial environment aimed at correcting the racial settlement pattern; (2) general city-building principles that encourage the emergence of compact cities that would prevent further urban sprawl - a prominent characteristic feature of South African cities - and also encourage mixed land-use and integrated land development; (3) promoting the creation of sustainable cities; (4) promoting stakeholder involvement that would be transparent for all involved during the process of restructuring; and (5) capacity building which would involve active public participation. A pertinent issue is thus land development.

In Chapter I of the Act, the Department of Land Affairs, responsible for its formulation, portrays twelve principles. It stipulates that policy, administrative practice and laws should promote efficient and integrated land development. The bid by communities affected by land development to participate in the planning process is being actively encouraged. The skills and capacities of disadvantaged persons involved in land development should therefore develop.

Laws, procedures and administrative practice should be clear, generally available, provide guidance and information to those affected, and promote trust and acceptance among civil society. Policy, administrative practice and laws should promote speedy land development. Local governments should judge each proposed land development on its merits, and no particular land-use, should, in advance, or in general, be regarded as less important or desirable than any other. A competent authority at national, provincial and local government levels should coordinate the interests of the various sectors involved (Department of Land Affairs, 1997:81). Integrated land development should follow a bottom-up approach and, to speed up the reconstruction process within a framework set out by the Act, should give local authorities the task of restructuring urban space through a development planning approach. Three main characteristics currently define development planning:

“(1) it integrates traditional spatial planning with social and economic planning; (2) it attempts to restructure the general budget to meet development policy objectives that cut across governments, sectors and departments; (3) and it includes a participatory process aimed at empowering the poor and marginalised” (Bollens, 1998: 742).

The integration process should attempt to create efficient land development that would promote certain principles, which would lead to the following outcomes:

- “(i) promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development [the four restructuring themes addressed in this study];
- (ii) promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other;
- (iii) promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to or integrated with each other;
- (iv) optimise the use of existing resources including such resources, relating to agriculture, land, minerals, bulk infrastructure, roads, transportation and social facilities;
- (v) promote a diverse combination of land-uses, also at the level of individual erven or subdivisions thereof;
- (vi) discourage the phenomenon of “urban sprawl” in urban areas and

contribute to the development of more compact towns and cities;
(vii) contribute to the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in the Republic and to the optimum use of existing infrastructure in excess of current needs; and
(viii) encourage environmentally sustainable land development practices and processes” (Republic of South Africa, 1995c:10).

These principles are setting the scene for the subject matter of the LDOs as stipulated in Chapter IV of the act. However, integrated development plans and land development objectives are not to be isolated from one another. Through the DFA (Chapter IV, Section 28) the subject matter of land development objectives, among others, relates to the objectives of a Transitional Local Council in relation to access to, and the standard of, services for land development around urban form and growth.

Then there are the objectives (with reference to local circumstances, including demographic circumstances and prevailing spatial patterns) necessary to take into account the integration into the relevant area of those areas settled by low-income communities, namely, the overall density of settlements, with due regard to the interests of beneficial occupiers; the coordination of land development in consultation with other authorities; land-use control; and the available administrative or proposed new administrative structures to deal with restructuring. The quantum of land development objectives is to be explained by the number of housing units, sites or other facilities planned for, and whether such units, sites or other facilities will be delivered by means of upgrading land or built environments, undertaking new land developments or the letting of land or buildings (Republic of South Africa, 1995c:38)

Therefore, the Act requires all local authorities in South Africa (except the Western Cape and Kwazulu/Natal) to formulate LDOs for a five-year development programme. Despite the obviously noble aims of the DFA it has evoked some criticism. Pycroft (1998: 157-158) identifies four criticisms. One, the fluidity of the municipal environment would create a gap between the identified needs in the LDOs and the changing needs of the community. Two, the timing of the LDO process is improper because it is done simultaneously with the reorganisation and restructuring of municipalities, moreover, in terms of the boundary demarcation according to the new Demarcation Act. Three, the flexibility of implementation

of the LDOs is questioned. Four, limitations of the DFA to provide a planning framework are acknowledged by the fact that Integrated Development Plans for municipalities have to be created into an Integrated Planning Framework. According to Bernstein (1998: 300) Integrated Development Planning “remains very little more than needs-driven strategies.”

In Chapter Eight (section 8.3), an evaluation of the LDO process will be provided as an integral part of the urban restructuring and transformation process in Pietersburg during the transition period.

8.1.2.3 Urban Development Strategy and Urban Development Framework

In 1995 the Ministry in the Office of the President released an Urban and Rural Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity (Republic of South Africa, 1995a) for comment. It was a first in the history of South Africa, and perhaps what makes it more extraordinary is that the arguments put forward were based on a non-ideological approach (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1996b) - in other words there was no political bias. Two years on, the Department of Housing formalised the thoughts proposed into an Urban Development Framework (Department of Housing, 1997). The aims set out by the Department of Housing were presented to the global community at the Habitat II conference held in Istanbul, Turkey on 12 June 1996 (Internet: www.un.org). The Department of Housing anticipates that the aims of the Urban Development Framework will be achieved by 2020 through certain urban development goals (Table 8.1).

The RDP, DFA and Urban Development Framework have their philosophical basis in the shift from Urban and Regional Planning to Development Planning (see Mabin & Smit, 1997). Tomlinson (1994: 38) defines Development Planning in the context of its purpose “to facilitate economic growth and employment creation within an urban area, and contribute to the area’s tax base”. Within a framework of governance local government does not only seek

“the democratisation of local government, but also the transformation of local governance with a new focus on improving the standard of living and quality of life of previously disadvantaged sectors of the community” (Pycroft, 1998: 155).

TABLE 8.1: SOUTH AFRICA'S URBAN VISION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT GOALS
UP TO THE YEAR 2020

URBAN VISION	URBAN GOALS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Segregation-free society that is spatially and socio-economically integrated ■ Safe centres with socio-economic and environmental opportunities ■ Efficient, sustainable, accountable urban governments with an emphasis on people-driven development ■ Participative planning to promote integrated and sustainable development ■ Redistribution of resources through the creation of equitable standards of living ■ Easy access to all types of urban resources (e.g. educational, industrial) ■ Public-private partnerships to finance development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ More efficient and productive cities ■ Enhancing local economic development initiatives ■ Equitable provision of infrastructure and facilities ■ Urban densification concomitant with an efficient urban transport plan ■ An environmentally sensitive planning and management approach ■ Capacity building programmes for local government and to enhance active interaction between civil society and local governance

Source: Compiled from Department of Housing (1997)

Development Planning is, however, nothing new in developing countries (see for example Conyers & Hills, 1984). It is simply that South African policies of regional development through growth centres and decentralisation failed because of their hidden political agenda. Tomlinson (1994: 216) refers to the present study area when noting that “as long ago as the 1970s, Pietersburg had the good fortune to have a Town Clerk with the vision, drive and contacts to make a distinct impact on the local economy”. This may be true, but, given the significantly “good” location Pietersburg enjoyed in terms of benefiting from surrounding homeland areas, and its being a regional headquarters for the Transvaal province, the town had ample opportunities for local economic development (LED). LED, defined as a set of deliberate connected policy initiatives and projects which seeks to improve the condition and functioning of the economy of a particular locality, and which originates and draws its impetus primarily from within that locality, has recently caused a rush by academics to apply LED to the LDO process. Contemporary LED initiatives in Pietersburg, however, are the converse of those mentioned by Tomlinson in the 1970s. In Chapter Five it was shown that the Transitional Local Council lacks a clear LED plan and vision.

Implementation of the Development Framework focuses on four key programmes: (1) integrating the city; (2) improving housing and infrastructure; (3) promoting urban economic

development; and (4) creating institutions for delivery. The main component of this chapter focuses on the first - spatial restructuring through the integration of cities.

Urban development will entail the following: integrated planning; rebuilding and upgrading the townships and informal settlements; planning for higher density land-uses and development; reform of the urban and planning system; urban transportation; and environmental management (Department of Housing, 1997). Socio-economic, spatial and environmental planning should be integrated into a Development Framework, standards, strategies, programme and budget covering all the different components within an LDO such as environment, land-use, education, safety, etc. The White Paper on Local Government emphasises the importance of promoting integrated regional development. Flexibility in zoning regulations and the promotion of mixed land-use areas (home-based business - see Chapter Seven) will enhance integration in their own way, even more so in secondary cities and their functional areas (Republic of South Africa, 1998a).

The apartheid legacy on urban space has a dual reflection. It comprises a highly developed and highly underdeveloped urban section. Thus, we should see the rebuilding and upgrading of the underdeveloped townships and informal settlements as a resource base yet to be developed and researched in order to undo the apartheid city. Parnell (1996) claims that black townships are still uncharted land. Physical developmental plans designed to achieve this and suggested by the Department of Housing (1997) include the following:

- linking the component parts of the city through high-density activity corridors
- township upgrading
- urban infill
- development and integration of apartheid-developed “buffer zones”
- inner city redevelopment
- development and provision of adequate open spaces for recreational purposes
- land reform programmes (restitution, redistribution and tenure reform).

Structural deficiencies in the former apartheid city resulting from segregation and low-density sprawl produced long distance work-travel patterns (Olivier & Booysen, 1983). Development of a more extensive network of secondary roads and access centres, as proposed by Green, Naude and Hennessy (1995), would perhaps be more applicable to non-metropolitan areas, as

opposed to metropolitan areas where several development corridors are proposed (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996; Urban-Econ, 1997). Using transport routes to integrate urban areas and to create activity spines would enhance the economic potential of predominantly low income areas (Dewar, 1994b). Densification through compaction and imploding growth through urban infill (Meikeljohn, 1992) are perhaps unfamiliar and unfavourable ideas to civil society in most South African urban areas. The solution, apparently, lies in educating people about the benefits of densification, including the fact that it would increase land values. Densification also does not necessarily mean high-rise apartments. Three-to-four-storey structures are ideal. Nevertheless, other means, such as subdivision of residential property, in other words reducing standards set by town planning schemes, and properly utilising poorly used open spaces, are suggested. Overdensification should be prevented and in certain areas such as Alexandra de-densification is needed (King, 1995). Stand sizes of 60-100 square metres or, “as a rule of thumb, gross densities of approximately fifty dwelling units per hectare”, are adequate for habitation (Dewar & Uytendogaardt, 1995: 56). Improving housing and infrastructure to create habitable and safe communities is the second programme aimed at restructuring the urban past. The Housing Act of 1997 provides the basis for this key programme. See Bond and Tait (1997) and Tomlinson (1998) for evaluations of post-apartheid housing policy. In addition to basic engineering services, Dewar and Uytendogaardt (1995) propose the utilisation of essential urban resource inputs and outputs. Environmentally friendly approaches to assist in general service provision include water collection technologies (roof tanks), woodlots, solar energy, channelling storm water to urban agricultural areas, privatisation of garbage collection services, and recycling of refuse.

The third programme promotes urban economic development initiatives to build on local strengths and to enhance capacity. This is most needed in non-metropolitan areas and should be viewed within a national urbanisation strategy (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1996a; Krige, 1997). Access to informal economic opportunities is especially mentioned in order to reduce poverty among the urban poor (see Chapter Seven). Lastly, the strategy calls for a programme focusing on creating institutions for delivery. In particular it calls for public-private partnerships that would involve civil society participation within a coordinated and cooperative set-up (see Chapter Five).

8.2 A PLANNING CHECKLIST FOR URBAN RESTRUCTURING

Upon evaluation of the above policy documents, the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planning (1994) evidently relates the identified principles for urban spatial restructuring to their checklist (Wall, 1995) pertaining to urban form. The South African Institute of Town and Regional Planning's (1994) *Position Paper on Urban Form* postulates the promotion of eight principles to restructure cities:

- (1) integration of the built-up and non-built-up environments
- (2) compaction and densification
- (3) the integration of uses and activities within urban spaces
- (4) urban development as a continuation process as opposed to fragmentation
- (5) extroversion, as opposed to embedding, aimed at increasing accessibility to major transport routes
- (6) reducing the dependency on automobile transport, thus aiming to increase convenience and lower costs
- (7 & 8) collective places and spaces that would enhance multi-functionality beneficial to public finance.

The SAITRP formulated these principles in response to the World Bank's recommendations regarding the state of urban South Africa in the 1990s. With the above principles and policy documents in mind, the remaining sections of this chapter will deal with the process of urban spatial restructuring in Pietersburg through the LDO process.

8.3 LAND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES IN PIETERSBURG

8.3.1 The process of formulating Land Development Objectives

A proclamation on the regulations of LDOs made in terms of Chapter IV of the Development Facilitation Act, 1995 (Act No. 67 of 1995) was published in the *Northern Provincial Gazette* on 22 January 1997. The proclamation, formulated by the then MEC of Land and Local Government, Mr J Dombo, contained detailed information to assist local governments in the province in formulating LDOs. Due to certain political problems experienced at the time (corruption, mismanagement, etc.), and the replacement of the MEC responsible for LDOs,

a second proclamation relating to Chapter IV was published on 1 August 1997. While most other local governments in the country proceeded with the formulation process, the Northern Province delayed because of incompetent key government officials. Nevertheless, the new MEC officially commissioned local authorities of the newly-restructured and renamed Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs in the province (*Northern Provincial Gazette*, 1997b) to proceed with the LDO process (Provincial Notice No. 21).

As a first step, the TLC had to prepare a Working Plan and submit it within 60 days of receiving notice from the MEC (see Figure 8.1). A Working Plan had to include details on the composition of the organisational committee and the public participation plan that would indicate the capacity building programmes designed to ensure participation by disadvantaged sectors of the city. Furthermore, there had to be an indication of how the process of formulating LDOs would be financed, as well as an indication of the assistance required from provincial and national departments, together with the involvement of adjacent local authorities (*Northern Provincial Gazette*, 1997b). Furthermore, specific regulation by the Northern Province government stipulated the establishment of a Public Participation Committee that would comprise organisations/stakeholder groups.

The whole process had to follow a strict timetable set by the Premier (apparently one of the strengths of the LDO process is to speed up development). It meant that between September 1997 and February 1998 eleven project phases had to be completed. As a point of departure it was emphasised that the LDO process would integrate all disciplines relating to social, physical, economic and institutional development into a coherent unit (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.3 outlines the process' organisational structure at local government level. It provides for an LDO Public Participation Committee with five technical task teams to back it up (physical, social, economic, institutional, and public participation).

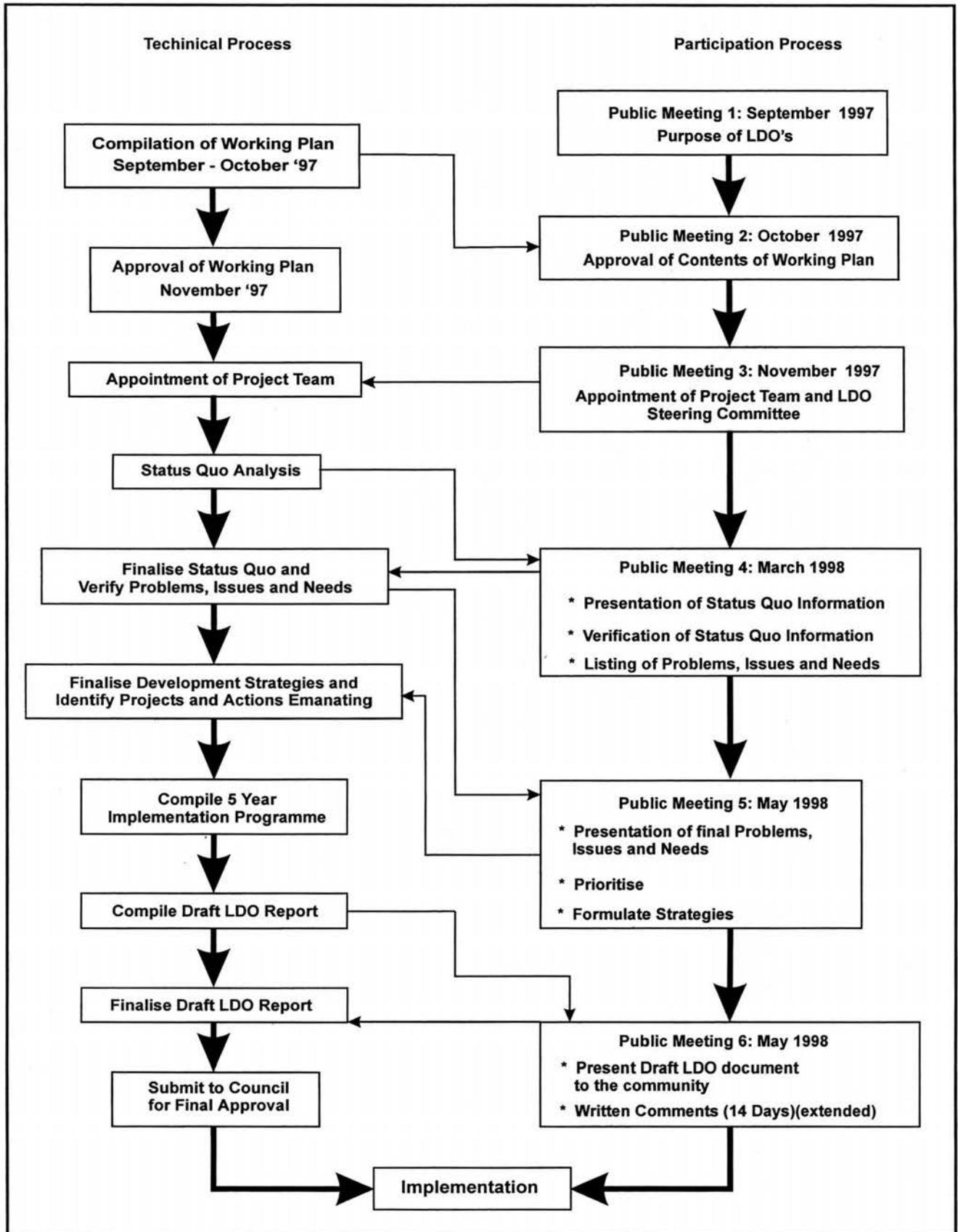


FIGURE 8.1 : LDO FORMULATION PROCESS (Pietersburg / Polokwane TLC, 1998b)

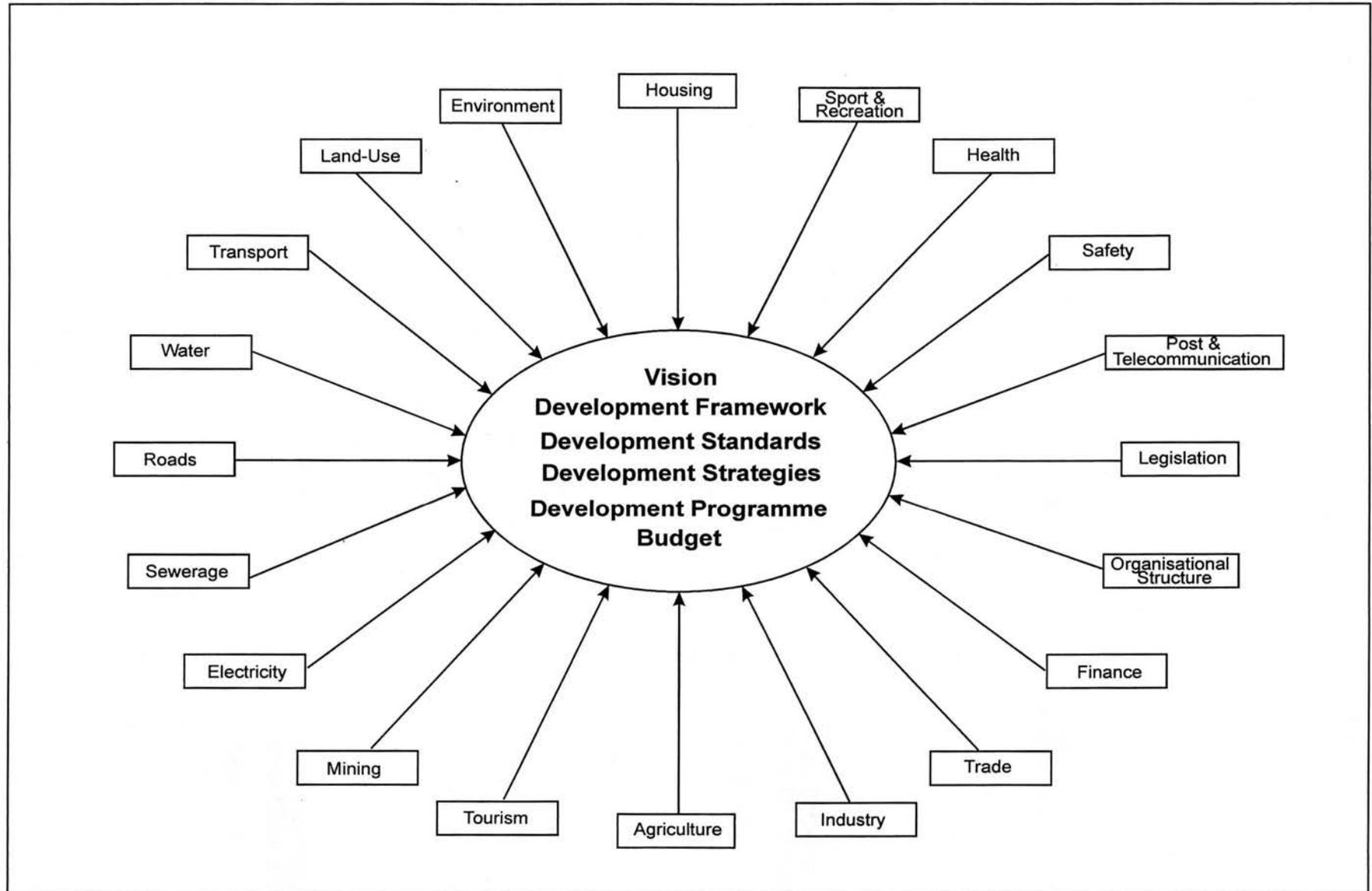


FIGURE 8.2: MULTI-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO LAND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVE PROCESS
(Pietersburg / Polokwane TLC, 1996:1.1)

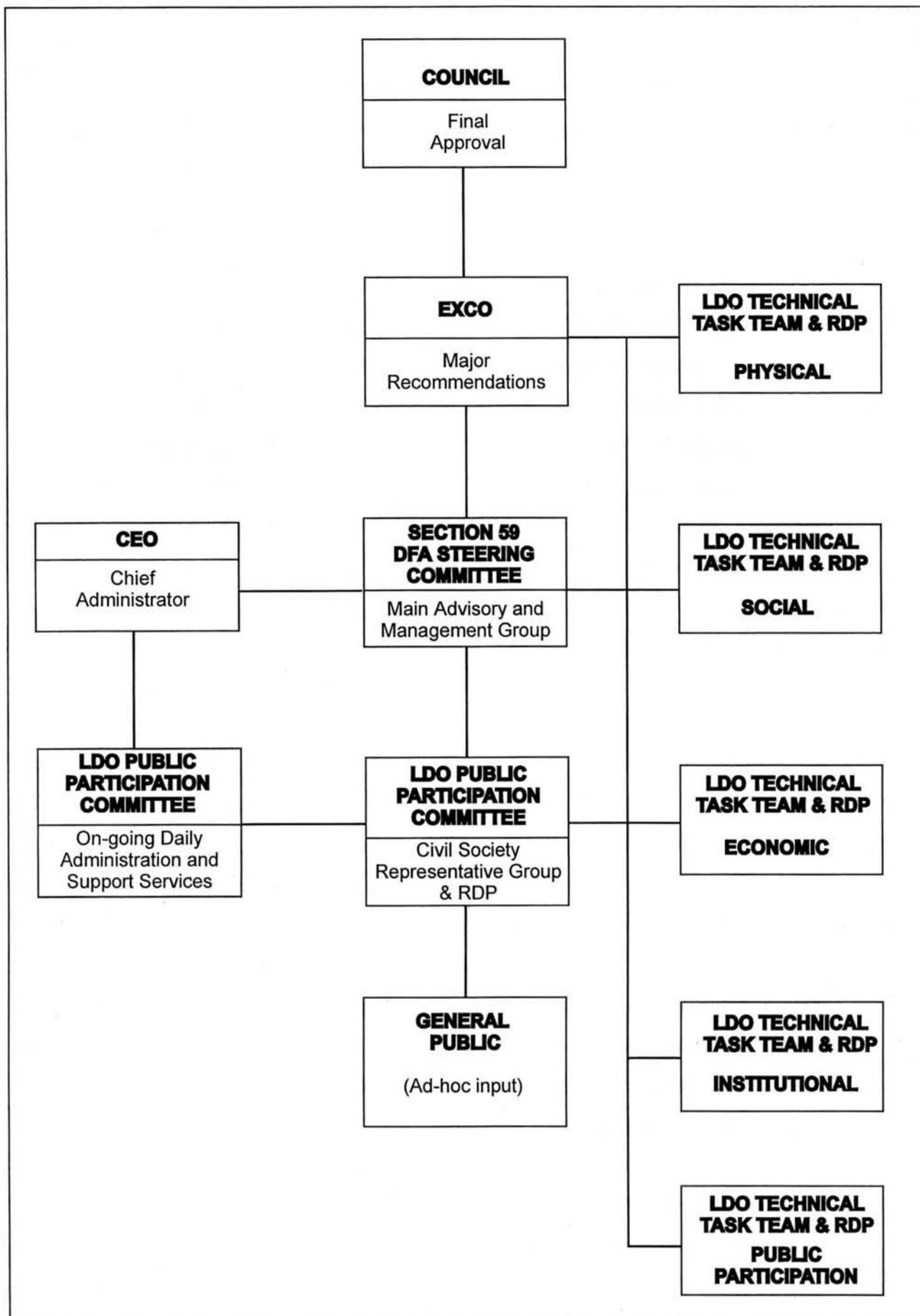


FIGURE 8.3: DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURE (Pietersburg / Polokwane TLC, 1996:2.1)

8.3.1.1 Public participation

In line with three key themes of the Habitat Agenda (Internet: www.un.org) relating to local level urban development - decentralisation, community participation, and increased private sector involvement in urban development initiatives - all South African cities are legally obliged to have a public participation plan for the LDO process.

Civil society's involvement and interfaces with the public and private sector and the community are prerequisites for local urban restructuring (Heymans, 1995; McDonald, 1997). Various methods, techniques and community decision-making models have been prepared and applied during the transitional period since the end of apartheid (Muller, 1994; Penderis, 1997; Sowman, 1994). It is not the aim of this section to provide a model of public participation. However, it is essential to conceptualise the philosophy behind it. Civil society's participation in the LDO process goes beyond identifying problems in community areas. Apart from being an exercise in capacity building, the United Nations Habitat Agenda (Internet, www.un.org) proposes that a legal framework should aim to protect human rights and freedom of speech and opinion. Legal acceptance of openness it suggests, will lead to the formation of a diverse set of organisations (e.g. community anti-littering organisation, street block representative organisation, etc.).

Through the media and other forms of communication quality of life has to be promoted. A consultative mechanism has to be implemented and in addition an urban poor and marginalised sector of society should be offered free legal aid and other socially related advice. A participatory mechanism has to be designed to embrace community-based action planning (Internet: www.un.org). According to Sowman (1994:21) the

“principles of public participation appear to have been acknowledged in both developed and developing countries, the operationalisation of public participation is still relatively recent and needs to be further developed, implemented and evaluated.”[A definition for public participation is thus that it is] “an iterative, on-going communication process between an informed public and the professional team concerning the conceptualisation, development, assessment and decision-making of alternative proposals.”

A successful public participation process is thus characterised by the adherence of all involved

to the agreed process and its outcomes. A public involvement programme should constitute an integral component of the process. However, levels of participation will increase as different techniques are applied. Sowman (1994) provides an excellent summary of these different participation techniques. Interpretation and analysis thereof in the context of Pietersburg's LDO process is beyond the scope of this research. Table 8.2, however, summarises the participation techniques and indicates the increasing levels of participation within each type.

TABLE 8.2: PARTICIPATION TECHNIQUES AND INCREASING LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION

Techniques	Audience size	Expertise required	Resources required	Information exchange	Education potential	Problem solving value	Issue identification	Performance with diverse groups	Performance with disadvantaged groups	Facilities empowerment
Media advertising	large	medium	medium	low	medium	low	low	low	low	low
Exhibits/ displays	medium to large	low	medium to high	low	low to medium	low	low	low to medium	low to medium	low
Written information	medium to large	medium to high	medium	medium	medium to high	low	low	medium	low to medium	low
Phone lines	large	medium	low	medium	medium	low	low	medium	low	low
Open house	large	medium	medium to high	high	high	low to medium	medium	medium	low	low
Field office/site visits	medium	low to medium	medium	medium to high	medium to high	low to medium	medium	medium	medium	low
Public meetings	large	medium	low to medium	low to medium	low	low	medium to high	low	low	low
Surveys	small to large	high	medium to high	medium	medium	low to medium	medium to high	medium	low to medium	low
Delphi/Nominal group technique	medium	medium to high	medium	medium	medium to high	medium	high	medium	low	medium
Workshop/ small group discussion	medium to large	high	medium	high	high	medium to high	high	high	high	high
Advisory/ Task groups	small	high	medium	high	high	high	high	medium	medium	medium
Charrettes	medium	medium	medium	high	medium to high	high	high	medium	unknown	medium
Arbitration/ Mediation	small to medium	high	medium	high	medium to high	high	medium to high	medium to high	medium	medium to high
Negotiation	medium	high	medium	high	high	high	high	high	high	high

Source: Sowman (1994: 27)

The first two LDO public meetings took place in late 1997. The first was purely a capacity-building exercise while the Working Plan was discussed at the second meeting. A mass meeting was expected to take place on 20 September (Figure 8.1) but only fifty people

attended. The Working Plan was, however, approved and it steered the process to the next public meeting on 25 October, when the project team and LDO steering committee were appointed. The meeting was opened with great fanfare by the Mayor and with a keynote address by the MEC for Local Government and Traditional Affairs, Mr Mashabane. Then Mr Madima, the provincial representative, presented the LDO process to the community members present. With the exception of the same small group of members who had attended the previous meetings, a large contingent (approximately 120 persons) of the urban poor was bussed in to make their voices heard. The meeting became a drawn-out affair with translations from English to Sotho and vice versa. During question time the provincial representative clearly showed his incompetence in understanding the process himself. When asked whether the province and local government would follow the policy of densification and move away from the policy of one plot one house denounced by the national Department of Housing, he responded that this was not necessary for the Northern Province. The election of a public participation steering committee also ended unsatisfactorily. Overrepresentation of a specific sector of society (Seshego) occurred while certain areas of the city were not represented at all. The RDP officer, however, tried to steer the nomination process towards the achievement of consensus.

The immediate task of the project team after the meeting was to compile a Status Quo Report that would relate to the four development principles: Physical (land use, engineering services, transportation, natural environments); Social (socio-economic profile, education, health, welfare, safety and security, post and telecommunications, sport and recreation/culture, human resource development, housing); Economic (development, macro-economic structure, local economic structure); and Institutional (development, legal, organisational, financial).

At the next public meeting on 14 March 1998 the Status Quo Report was presented to the public. This fourth meeting was again held in Pietersburg. The workshop entailed breaking into small groups covering aspects relating to the four development principles mentioned above. The researcher participated in the land-use discussion group. This group was basically represented by professionals in the field of land-use (town planners, engineers, landscapers, architects), while a few non-professional community members were present. This was unfortunately also the case in other discussion groups. Verification of the preliminary Status

Quo Report could not be completed on the day. However, the second aim of the workshop, namely to list problems, issues and needs, was fulfilled. The researcher submitted some research findings (see section 8.3.1.2).

Given the lack of public interest in participating in the March meeting the next gathering was scheduled to take place in Westenburg in May 1988. The local media this time specifically called for participation by civil society and not by specialists. During the session itself developmental issues, needs and problems were prioritised and formulated into strategies.

On 30 May 1998 the draft LDO was presented to the community at a public meeting held once more in Pietersburg. The LDO document could have been finalised, after considering all the written submissions made by the public, within two weeks of it being advertised in the local newspaper. But, characteristic of a post-apartheid way of doing things, the LDO Steering Committee (representing the public participation group) submitted a request to the Transitional Local Council for the date for submissions to be extended because of the following:

“(1) the public participation process that had been undertaken throughout the LDO process was inadequate and ... it did not use communication methods and media that were accessible to the masses of our people especially around the most disadvantaged areas of the TLC

(2) the public participation model that was used was based on assumptions that were not applicable to some of the communities in the TLC area

(3) for the resulting Integrated Development Plan to be owned and endorsed by all and for it to accommodate the interests of all the residents of the TLC area creative ways have to be found to facilitate meaningful participation of all sections of the community in the LDO process” (LDO Steering Committee, 1998).

It is surprising that the Committee made the above statement after all the different processes and meetings had been completed. Most of the work had been done by consultants and professional input at workshops must have left the public participation committee feeling unempowered. Their way of showing their status and authority thus had to be demonstrated at the end of the process in order to create the impression that they had the final decision-making

powers. This kind of action perhaps nullifies the theory of all participatory methods. However, one should learn from this case study so that a different approach might in future be taken. The whole public participation process and involvement as enacted by the DFA - and seen in the Pietersburg LDO process - seems scarcely to be worth the paper on which it is written. The process of formalising the LDOs was finally concluded in August 1998. This was a process that included the compilation of a working plan; situation analysis; identification of opportunities/constraints; a list of prioritised problems/issues; formulated goals and objectives; formulated and evaluated objectives; a formulated funding strategy; compilation of the LDO report; council approval; submission to the MEC; and public participation meetings scheduled throughout all the phases (see Figure 8.1).

8.3.1.2 Residential satisfaction

At the public participation meetings of the LDO process, the public had to identify needs, problems and constraints. Most needs have now been addressed in the Development Framework (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998b). In this section, a brief analysis of the survey conducted in October 1997 (see Addendum 3) on restructuring, will show the respondents' replies to certain criteria around residential satisfaction. Again, analyses will differentiate this data from that arising from the former group areas. Table 8.3 shows the percentage of respondents from each area who indicated "yes" to the table of features presented to them.

Social welfare and social life

Data will reflect percentages that are cross-tabulated with data from former group areas. Inter-suburban differentiation is not done because of the small sample. A low percentage of Seshego (26%) and Westenburg (56%) respondents indicated that their suburbs are not clean. According to Pietersburg and Nirvana respondents, houses and household gardens are well maintained and neat. In Seshego, however, only 34% of the respondents indicated that such conditions prevail. Yet, despite these low percentages, a higher percentage of respondents in Seshego and Westenburg indicated that the general appearance of the area is beautiful - 41% and 67% respectively. Littering is a major problem in Seshego (75%) and Nirvana (88%), where most respondents highlighted this problem. Hygiene conditions are seemingly under control. The highest percentage of respondents who indicated bad odours are from Seshego (54%).

Crime levels appear to be high in all four areas. Seshego (68%) and Nirvana (88%) respondents showed the highest reporting of crime occurrences. Seshego respondents are also more aware of community policing and neighbourhood watches with 41% indicating knowledge of them. In Pietersburg, where relatively well-established neighbourhood watches are operative, a mere 27% of the respondents suggested an awareness of this fact.

Privacy is seemingly a feature confined to respondents living in Pietersburg (87%). The survey findings showed lower percentages for Seshego (53%), Nirvana (50%), and Westenburg (44%). Beggars moving around in the suburbs are predominantly a problem in Nirvana (75%).

TABLE 8.3: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO INDICATED WHETHER CERTAIN CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES ARE PRESENT IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD/SUBURB

FEATURE	PIETERS-BURG	SESHEGO	NIRVANA	WESTEN-BURG	AVERAGE	RANK
<u>SOCIAL WELFARE AND SOCIAL LIFE</u>						
Good/friendly neighbours	83.6	80.0	62.5	66.7	73	1
Children playing in streets	54.6	87.5	75.0	66.7	71	2
Neat houses and gardens	81.8	33.8	87.5	66.7	67	3
Crime	52.7	67.5	87.5	55.6	66	4
General appearance is beautiful	83.6	41.3	62.5	66.7	64	5
Privacy	87.3	52.5	50.0	44.4	59	6
Cleanliness	74.6	26.3	75.0	55.6	58	7
Littering	27.3	75.0	87.5	22.2	53	8
Quiet streets/little traffic	63.6	45.0	50.0	44.4	51	9
Noisy people	32.7	57.5	50.0	55.6	49	10
Drugs and/or alcohol abuse	9.1	63.8	75.0	22.2	43	11
Beggars	18.2	30.0	75.0	11.1	34	12.5
Bad odours	10.9	53.8	50.0	22.2	34	12.5
Animals are a nuisance	34.6	36.3	37.5	11.1	30	14
Neighbourhood watch/community policing	27.3	41.3	25.0	11.1	26	15
<u>INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES</u>						
Residential shopping centre/shop/spaza/cafe	76.4	83.8	87.5	55.6	78	1
School	56.4	83.8	100	66.7	77	2
Well-lit streets	65.5	45.0	75.0	33.3	55	3
Streets/pavements are in good condition	72.7	10.0	50.0	44.4	44	4
Open space/play park	50.9	17.5	75.0	22.2	41	5
Homelessness and squatting on residential stands	3.6	45.0	25.0	0.0	18	6

Respondents, overall, do not have problems with animals being a nuisance, but children playing in the streets are seemingly a problem in all areas. In Seshego it is most serious with 88% of respondents listing it. Social evils, such as drugs and alcohol abuse, are mainly a problem in Seshego (64%) and Nirvana (75%). Respondents seem to get along with their neighbours since high percentages were accounted for on this matter: Pietersburg (84%), Seshego (80%), Nirvana (63%), and Westenburg (67%).

Infrastructure and services

In only one area, Nirvana (75%), have respondents indicated that there are sufficient open spaces and playing parks. The lowest percentage was obtained in Seshego (18%). Residential shopping centres, shops, and spazas are, with the exception of Westenburg (56%), well catered for. The presence of schools is high, except for Pietersburg where 57% of the respondents have indicated an absence of them in their area. This can perhaps be ascribed to the fact that there are fewer children in Pietersburg than in, say, Seshego. Therefore fewer schools are needed. The general lack of a road infrastructure in Seshego is apparent, with only 10% of the respondents saying that streets/pavements are in good condition, 45% indicating that streets are well-lit, and that streets do not carry much traffic. Surprisingly, given the distance they have to travel to the CBD, 91% of the Seshego respondents indicated that their access to town is good. This can perhaps be ascribed to the flexible and fast combi-taxi transport system. Homelessness and squatting on residential stands are most commonly found in Seshego (45%), as opposed to Pietersburg (4%) and Westenburg (0%).

Summary

It is necessary to rank these features and characteristics for the purpose of addressing issues within the context of the LDOs. Ranking has been done for the whole sample (i.e. 152 respondents) within the two groups discussed above. Insofar as social and welfare aspects are concerned the most notable aspect is the absence of community watch or policing in the city. This despite the fact that crime has been ranked fourth. A pleasing finding is that the first ranked characteristic among the respondents was that neighbours are friendly - a definite positive marketing point for the city. If good and bad characteristics are differentiated in Table 8.3 then it is evident that out of the 15 seven characteristics can be regarded as "good" (cleanliness, privacy, general appearance is beautiful, neighbourhood watch, quiet streets, neat

houses and gardens, good/friendly neighbours) and the other 8 as “bad”. Within the first seven characteristics ranked four are the so-called good ones.

Regarding infrastructure and service’s characteristics it is seen from Table 8.3 that the only bad characteristics, namely homelessness and squatting on residential stands, are ranked lowest, meaning that this is not a problem area for civil society. Residential shopping and schools ranked highest and this gives one the impression that the respondents are relatively satisfied within their living environments.

8.4 ANALYSIS OF THE LAND DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES RELATING TO SPATIAL RESTRUCTURING

8.4.1 The “state of affairs”: constraints, potential and opportunities

The policy frameworks provided by the respective national departments (e.g. Land Affairs, Water Affairs, etc.) are seen as catalysts for creating an opportunity for local governments to plan for integrated, sustainable and democratic cities. Urban restructuring policies have accumulated since 1991 to embrace all facets of urban transformation such as local governance, spatial, economic and social aspects (see Table 8.4 for a summary of these policies and legislation - reference has been made within this study to the most important ones). Pietersburg has a typical apartheid city form (see status quo map for Pietersburg in 1998 - Figure 8.4) and refer to Chapter Three for an illustration of the city as an apartheid city. This spatial legacy essentially gives it an opportunity to reconstruct its form and structure so as to be integrative. The buffer zones (open land) between the segregated components, and the fact that the city has a well-defined structure and good infrastructure, can be seen as important attributes for restructuring. A typical example of a monocentric city, where land-uses are distinctly separated, poses an opportunity for the city to respond to the DFA’s principles of creating a compact city with mixed land uses and a good public transport system (see Section 8.1.2.2). Also its capital status has been an incentive for development from outside and plays an integral role in enhancing the image of the city. An important and integral part of the reconstruction process in South African cities is land restitution. It could not only play a reconciliatory role, but could also set a challenge to build around. Managing

urban growth and development poses certain opportunities for the city. Mentioned in the LDO document is the lack of space in the CBD and open space invasion in Seshego.

TABLE 8.4: IMPORTANT LEGISLATION AND POLICY FORMULATED DURING TRANSITION

<i>LEGISLATION AFFECTING RESTRUCTURING</i>	
LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND FUNCTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Local Government Transition Act (Act 209 of 1993) * Environmental Conservation Act (Act 73 of 1989) * Constitution * Open Democracy Bill * Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act (Act 91 of 1983) * Local Authorities Loans Fund Acts (Act 98 of 1997) * Water Service Act (Act 108 of 1997) * White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of South Africa's Biological Diversity * White Paper on Environmental Management, Integrated Pollution Control and Waste Management * Rio Declaration on Environment and Development * Local Agenda 21 * Environmental Impact Assessment * RDP * National Monument Act (Act 28 of 1969)
ECONOMIC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * RDP * Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act, 1996 * Green Paper on Local Economic Development, 1996 * Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) * Small, Medium Manufacturing Development Programme (SMMDP) * White Paper on the National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business, 1995 * General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 1995 * Employment Equity Bill
SPATIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Town planning and Township Ordinance (TVL), No. 15 of 1986 * Constitution * RDP * Development Facilitation Act (Act 67 of 1995) * Local Government Transition Act (Act 209 of 1993) * Housing Act (Act 107 of 1997) * Less Formal Township Establishment Act * Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act * Physical Planning Act No 125 of 1991 * Environmental Conservation Act * Urban Development Framework * National White Paper on Transport * Northern Province White Paper on Transport Policy
SOCIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Constitution * White Paper on Sport and Recreation * RDP * Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination Bill * Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994) * Land Restitution and Reform Laws Amendment Act (Act 63 of 1997) * Extension of Security of Tenure Act (Act 62 of 1997)

Source: www.Sabinet.co.za

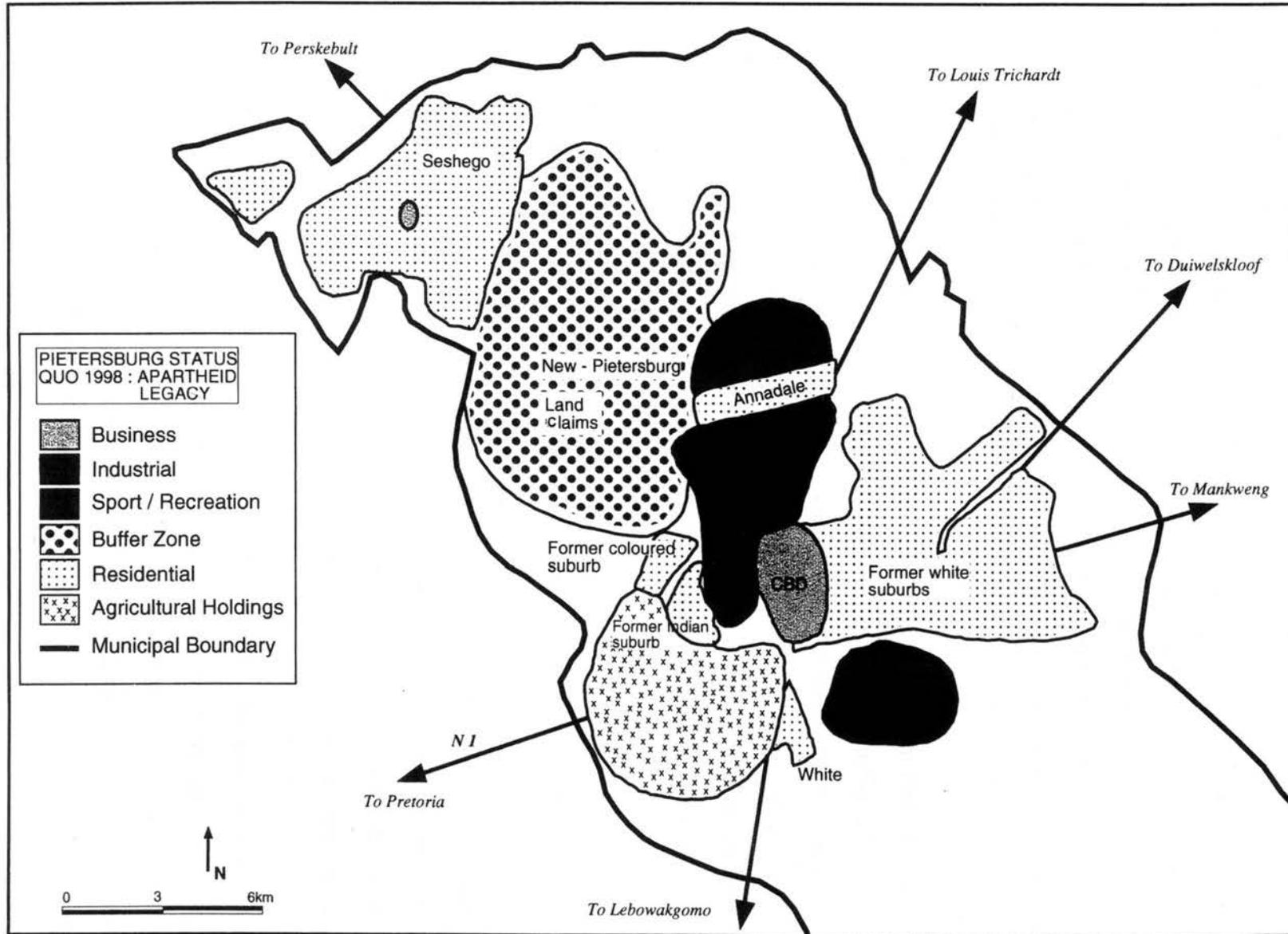


FIGURE 8.4: PIETERSBURG'S STATUS QUO 1998: THE APARTHEID SPATIAL LEGACY (after Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998b)

Provision of a public transport system seems to be focusing on a regulated taxi system. As indicated in Chapter Five, the city has a well-developed bulk infrastructure. However, insufficient storage capacity hampers the water supply to Seshego and low pressures cause an inadequate distribution of water with a substandard quality. As for electricity, Seshego's electrical services are below standard, primarily because of poor control, implementation and service by the former homeland government. The road system in Seshego is predominantly unpaved, and the area regularly experiences storm water problems. A backlog of 4000 - 5000 low income houses poses a challenge to the city management on speedy delivery. However, the TLC evidently does not have the capacity to deal with housing delivery (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998a).

Economically, the city still acts as the service centre for the Northern Province and curtails the leakage of purchasing power to Gauteng. The expected benefits of the Gateway International Airport are yet to be realised. Opportunities to be exploited could include the establishment of a dry port with warehouses and a conference centre for the SADC at the airport. The LDO document also envisages the city as the cornerstone of future metropolitan development, but integrated with Potgietersrus and Lebowakgomo. Mankweng is seemingly not part of this metropolitan vision.

8.4.2 Responding to the challenge: the Pietersburg Development Framework

The Transitional Local Council's interpretation of a Development Framework is that it:

“intends to guide the future development of the area. It serves as the common background upon which the physical, social, economic and institutional development strategies of the local area are designed. It is the manifestation of the vision of the area - both spatial and a-spatial and is the basis for integrated, multi-disciplinary planning” (Pietersburg/Polowkane TLC, 1998b).

According to the national Urban Development Framework the aim of a Development Framework is: “to promote a consistent urban development policy approach for effective urban reconstruction and development, to guide development policies, strategies and actions of all stakeholders in the urban development process and to steer them towards the achievement of a collective vision” (Department of Housing, 1997, npn).

Spatial guidelines may include sustainable management, containing urban sprawl, densification through residential intensification and infill, urban integration through mixed land-use and an improved transport system, and focusing on redressing imbalances of the past. In other words redistribution of services and funding for upgrading and RDP projects, and creating quality urban environments that would encourage and enhance interpersonal socio-economic development. The Development Framework's principles are solely based on the land development principles as stipulated in the DFA. However, it is anticipated that each local authority will react differently to the challenges posed. The Cape Metropolitan Council, for example, has developed four basic principles that should inform all planning, namely equality of opportunity, social justice, sustainable development, openness and accountability (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996).

The Spatial Development Framework for Pietersburg consists of four main restructuring elements (Figure 8.5), *viz*, (1) a primary activity node, (2) secondary activity nodes, (3) strategic development areas, and (4) functional development areas. Essentially these relate to the DFA principles but they lack an imaginative and efficient approach to integrating separated areas. However, the re-creation of urban form through a new urban design is a first step towards spatial restructuring (Figure 8.5).

8.4.2.1 Urban sprawl versus compaction

Functionally, Seshego is excluded from the socio-economic resources in the city. Because of urbanisation, an expected 59 000 households are to be accommodated in the next five years. This poses a challenge to develop another 12 900 housing units (excluding the current 4000 - 5000 backlog). Given the difficulty of invading open space in the city, especially the vast open areas formerly planned for as buffer zones, one is left to ponder where the most suitable area is to settle the homeless. The adjacent local government areas of Blood River and Perskebult thus serve as soft options for invading underutilised spaces governed by traditional authorities. The Transitional Local Council has identified land available for housing development in the Transitional Local Council area directly adjacent to the east of Seshego and the proposed Development Framework area that includes a portion of New Pietersburg, and an area west of Westenburg.

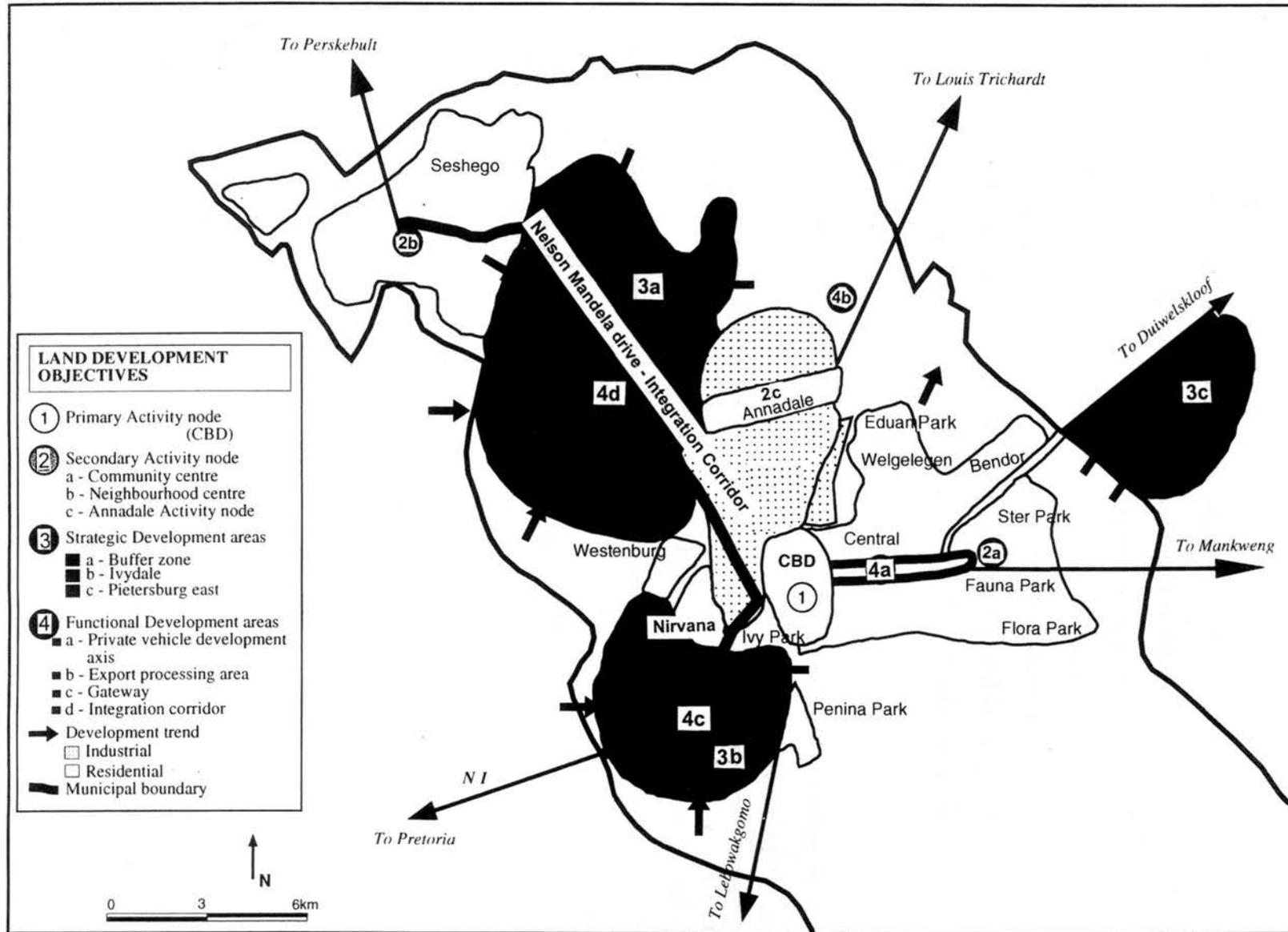


FIGURE 8.5: SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK FOR THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT OF PIETERSBURG (adopted from Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998b)

The Transitional Local Council has set a building target of 13 800 housing units over the next five years with most of these to be sited directly next to the Seshego industrial area (Table 8.5). The LDO document does not in any way address detail concerning low-cost housing development. Concern is expressed only about how the community will be educated to understand the procedures, and how the Transitional Local Council might obtain funding from provincial and national government departments. Alternative shelter strategies are being overlooked at the expense of the notion of one plot one house - i.e. a perpetuation of urban sprawl. The LDO is proposing low-density suburban pockets, a situation typical of South African urban expansion in general. Without a proper public transport system such an approach is highly undesirable given the low ratio of car ownership in low-income communities.

TABLE 8.5: LOW-COST HOUSING IMPLEMENTATION PROGRAMME FOR
PIETERSBURG - PROPOSED NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS, 1999-2003

Township Area	Year 1 (probably 1999)	Year 2 (2000)	Year 3 (2001)	Year 4 (2002)	Year 5 (2003)
Seshego Zone 9A	1000	500	250	250	
Zone 9B	250	250			
Zone 9E	500	500			
Zone 9F	240	150	150		
Zone 9G		150	150		
Zone 9H	260	250	250		
Zone 9K & E			900	900	
Zone 9L	400	400			
Pietersburg x44	900	900			
Seshego (other)		500	500		
Framework Plan Area:					
Cell A					
Cell B		500	600		
Cell C			500	600	
Cell D & F				500	600
Total	3550	4100	3300	2250	600

Source: Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC (1998b: 114)

A second alternative - as experienced by imploding growth such as in Sao Paulo for example - would result in the affluent occupying safe high-density areas that are also well serviced and

established, with low-income communities still occupying peripheral areas without necessary opportunities and services. Such a tidal-wave scenario may become a reality in Pietersburg, especially with the vivid separation within the black community where a middle- and high-income elite group will benefit and not the majority low-income groups. A third scenario is based on Curitiba (Brazil), and is, according to the Cape Metropolitan Council (1996) and Lubisch, Brown and Hart (1996), the “what works best scenario”. This involves:

“high density residential corridors, containing buildings reaching up to 25 floors ... situated along the main transport spines and [consisting] of a healthy mix of shops and residences. The surrounding residential areas consists of mainly low density, single residential development with little commerce or industry (Lubisch, Brown & Hart, 1996:11).

The opponents of high density developments are usually reluctant to highlight their benefits. These would include the fact that they reduce engineering infrastructure costs and that mixed land-use, where employment and residence are easily accessible, reduces the transportation costs of an existing dangerous and expensive taxi transport system. The housing delivery process enhances rather than hampers delivery (mostly currently under the pressure to eradicate the backlog) and urbanism, where urban life and urban space are being perceived as a separation between suburban life and the work place. A distinction between a private vehicle development axis and a public transport integration corridor is proposed by the LDO document to remove the legacy of mono-functional zones.

Within Pietersburg, a private vehicle development axis - the eastern corridor - is proposed (Figure 8.6) to extend from the CBD to the Savannah Centre (the only community centre “mall” in the city). The two streets concerned here - Grobler and Vorster - have the potential to develop as an area of inward-looking micro-nodes (e.g. home offices, professional practices, etc.) or as a street-orientated route (with shops and dwelling units such as flats along the street). To be in line with policy frameworks, both possibilities may be developed. Current Structure Plan land-use regulations, however, constrain such development. The Curitiba case study’s options will suit the eastern corridor well, especially if high rise apartments are built for low-income groups. A study in Pretoria has shown that residential properties purchased most by former disadvantaged people are in high rise apartments in the CBD (*Financial Mail*, 1997). Recent compaction programmes in cities of the Netherlands may serve as a guideline

as possible opportunities that

“would result in economic prosperity in the cities and in the country as a whole...the plans are to create compact cities; the goals to reduce (the growth of) individual mobility” (Ostendorf & Musterd, 1996: 423).

Compaction of cities should be seen as an alternative form of development to undo the dormitory town phenomenon of places such as Mankweng and Lebowakgomo. Expectations of compaction should be understood within subsequent development of strategic development and functional development zones.

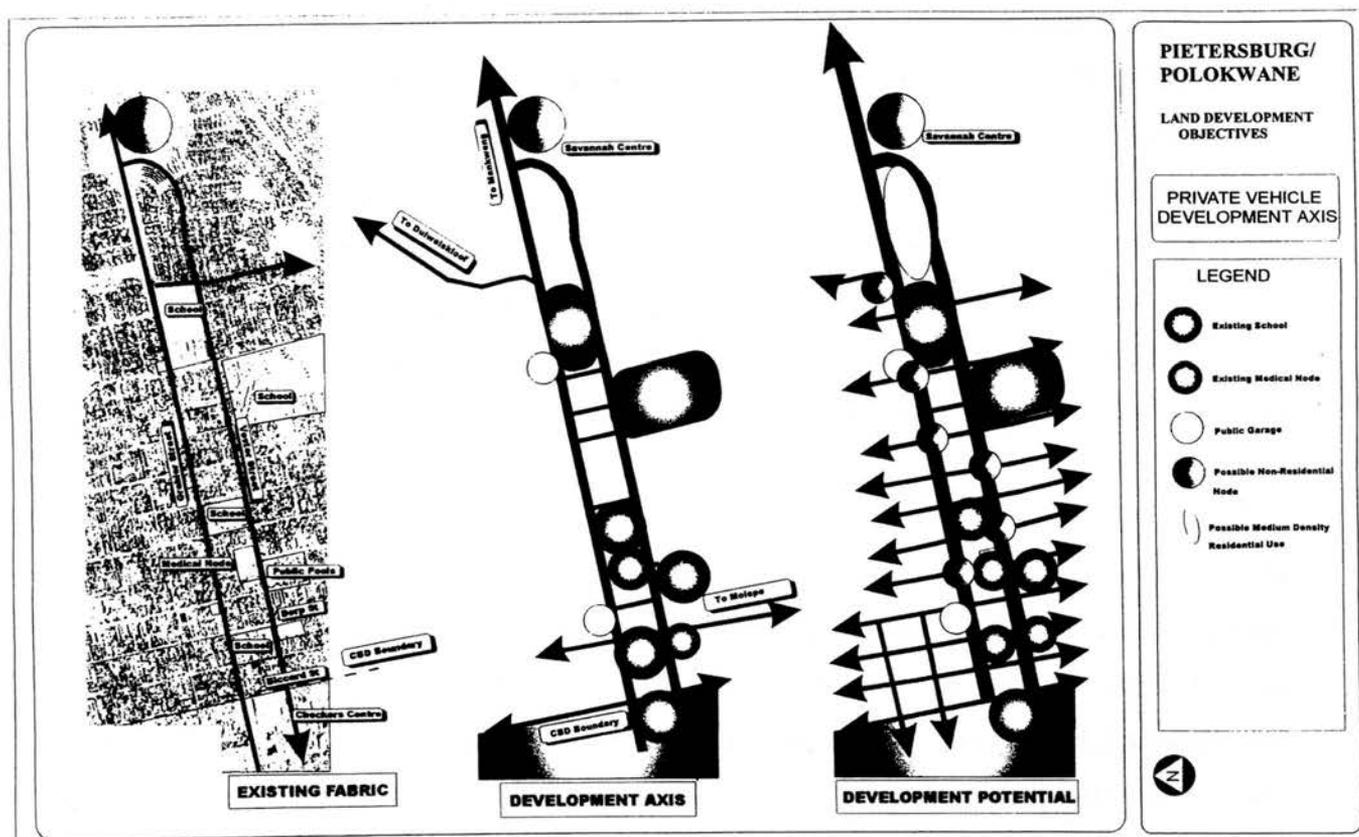


FIGURE 8.6: PROPOSED PRIVATE VEHICLE DEVELOPMENT AXIS IN PIETERSBURG (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998b)

8.4.2.2 Strategic development areas and functional development zones

Strategic development areas are areas where the Transitional Local Council must actively seek to support and facilitate development through the provision of bulk infrastructure (because it is currently absent), incentive schemes, and administrative support to developers to streamline application procedures (Pietersburg/Polokwane, 1998b). The LDO subdivides development areas into Strategic Development and Functional Development Areas (Figure 8.5).

The area serving as a buffer zone between Seshego and Pietersburg is regarded as an important Strategic Development Area. The demolished township of New Pietersburg was located there, and more than 300 land restitution claims are currently being processed. The TLC sees this as posing problems for their development process because land claims can take years to be completed. It should nevertheless not be a deterrent to developing the area around New Pietersburg in the meantime, and the identified land north and south of the area in dispute. Dispossessed community land is a sensitive and contentious issue in South Africa. It is highly likely that the community returning to New Pietersburg will not approve of proposed high-density developments. However, the Integration Corridor can be developed using a scenario where there is an activity spine with an existing/planned road, no rail and a planned/existing freeway (see Figure 8.5). The LDO document, however, refrains from saying what development will take place, and how it might contribute to integration rather than separation.

Strategic Development Area Two is seen as the symbolic entrance to the city for it is located in the area approaching the city from Gauteng. Presently the view is that “blatant advertising boards are not conducive to creating a positive image of the city” (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998b:62). An urban relic of the white-dominated city, with select businesspeople having monopoly over many developments taking place, is still evident with an enormous signboard featuring the face of Mr Jannie Moolman (businessman and former mayor) at the city boundary.

Mixed-use development such as recreational, accommodation, tourism, offices and retail on a limited scale is encouraged along the boulevards leading into the city. The LDO has also earmarked housing development for the areas bordering the N1, but mixed land-use is

proposed adjacent to the road. It is, however, premature to suggest that spatial integration will result in the social and economic integration (Turok, 1994b) of Pietersburg's community. The exact economic costs within the newly-developed areas will reflect a specific socio-economic group, hence it might well continue to reflect social polarisation.

Strategic Development Area Three is a middle- and high-income residential area and expansion outwards is encouraged because it is private sector-driven. Although the city does not have a defined urban edge that would counter urban sprawl, the jurisdiction boundary of the city appears to be the urban edge. The expected middle-high-income residential development to the east would be extended to the urban edge. This initiative contradicts the White Paper on Local Government that proposes mixed income residential areas. It aims to:

“eliminate the “ghetto-isation” of the poor by locating high-income and low-income residential areas closer to one another. This proximity means the benefits of investment in affluent neighbourhoods will be shared by adjacent areas, and local facilities and amenities can be utilised by both high- and low-income residents” (Republic of South Africa, 1998a:178-179).

It is a principle already practised in the townships. Seshego's high-income area is surrounded by low-income and informal settlement areas. So, too, are houses of high property value built next to shacks and informal dwelling units. Although not yet legislated for, mixed-income development would release civil action to oppose it. The LDO report specifically highlights the continuation of a dual city character, with an easterly middle-high income predominantly residential town area, as opposed to a mixed land-use westerly low-middle income residential area. Situations like this have already occurred in, for example, Mpumalanga and Western Cape. A low-cost residential development of plots between 250 - 350 square metres was sited next to an established white residential area in Piet Retief. The public outcry and development initiative to prevent devaluation of property were answered by the town planning practice of gradually downgrading property away from the established area. High-priced development on buffer strips between the said areas occurs on 450-750 square metre sites (*Financial Mail*, 1996). Marconi Beam, a squatter settlement located in the predominantly white middle-upper income suburb of Milnerton in Cape Town, also showed how such a practice can be implemented successfully (Lohnert, 1997; Saff, 1995b).

Functional Development Areas (FDAs) are to be developed according to a specific theme (refer to Figure 8.5). Four FDAs are proposed: Southern Gateway, Eastern Corridor, Northern Gateway, and a Public Transport Integration Corridor (see next section). Mixed land-use development is planned for along the Southern Gateway whereas the two one-way roads from the CBD to Savannah are to be developed. Such development should not interfere with the adjoining residential character of the area. The Northern Gateway area is adjacent to the Gateway International Airport (GIA), industrial area and Annadale. The total area is scheduled for development with many activities related to aviation (hotel, processing, manufacturing) with the export theme dominating, so that processed goods can be exported to Southern Africa via GIA. The corridor that would directly spatially integrate separated communities is along the Nelson Mandela Drive Public Transport Integration Corridor.

8.4.2.3 From an integration corridor to a development corridor

The proposed Public Transport Integration Corridor between Seshego and Pietersburg will primarily serve as a link between the city's CBD and the Seshego nodes, thus also becoming a potential activity development corridor (Figure 8.5 and 8.7). This type of development would serve to overcome problems highlighted earlier (e.g. low densities, mono-functional land-use, etc.). Developments of mixed land-use linked to an efficient public transport system with affordable high-density accommodation that would contribute to uplifting the socio-economic conditions of inhabitants should form the focus of development along the Integration Corridor. A transportation linkage such as a road does not, in itself, integrate separated communities. It merely serves as a link, and thus cannot be regarded as a corridor. What is important is that along this road - identified as an Integration Corridor - activity corridors should be developed to encourage mixed land-use, i.e. different land-uses (e.g. educational, commercial, residential, etc.) taking place in the same building or in its proximity. For example, the Gauteng Provincial Government (1997) listed the advantages and disadvantages of mixed land-use (see Table 8.6) in their draft White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres.

A corridor in simple terms is defined as a "tract of land, forming a passageway" associated with linear or axial development (Urban-Econ, 1997: 5). Harrison *et al.* (1997:49) describe an activity corridor as follows:

“concentrations of private and public sector investments along major, city-wide, public transport routes, usually combined with higher-density residential uses. The main argument underpinning strategies of corridor and node development is that they serve to build up thresholds and thus create locational opportunities for business. Densification of residential development around these corridors and nodes will serve to increase thresholds, as will a concentration of public investment in these areas.”

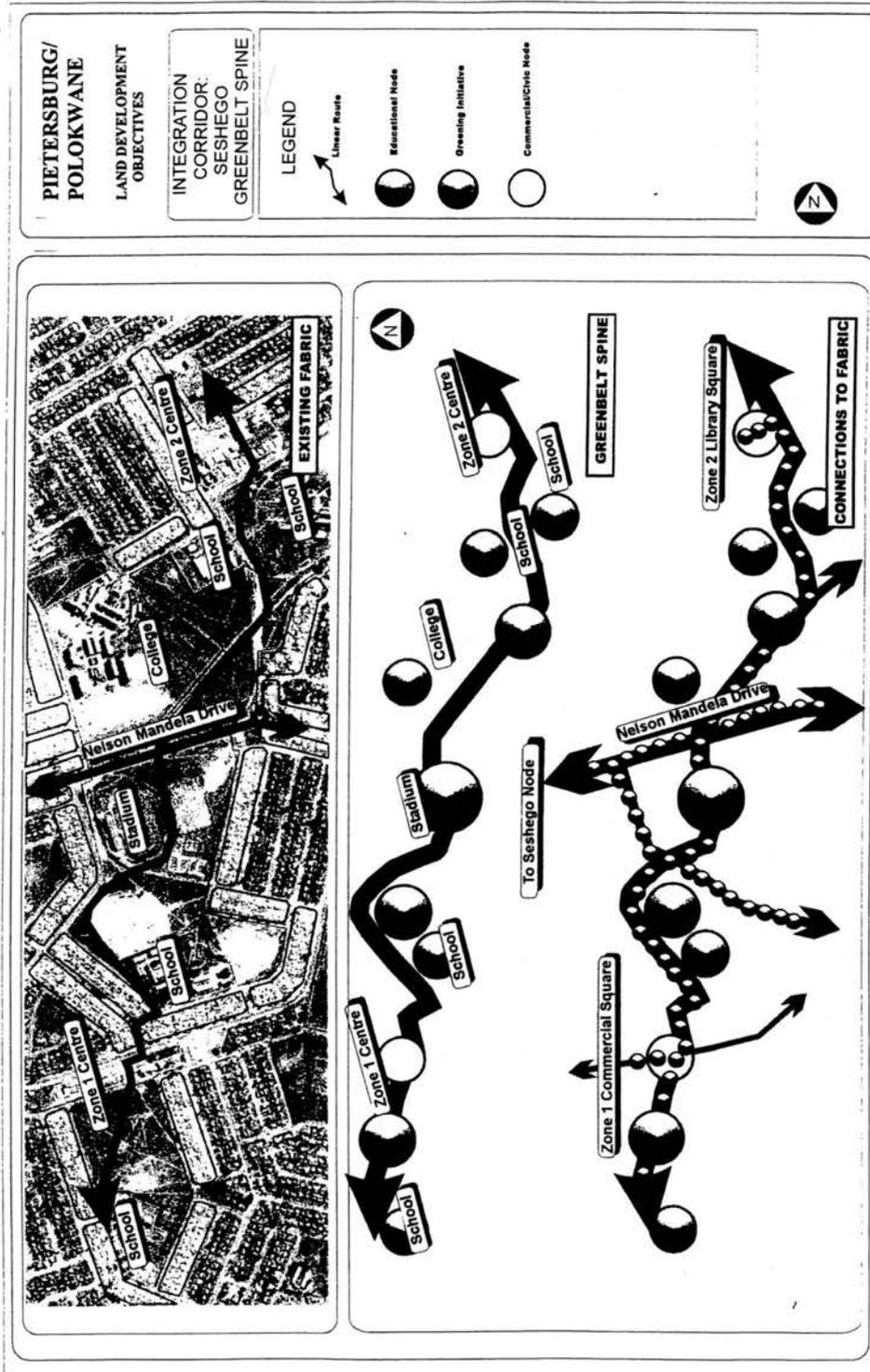


FIGURE 8.7: SESHEGO DEVELOPMENT CORRIDOR (NELSON MANDELA DRIVE) CONNECTING MAJOR NODES (Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998b)

TABLE 8.6: ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF MIXED LAND-USE

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Promotes small home-based businesses operating at flexible hours ■ Encourages small business which would not survive in a rental set-up ■ Reduces transport overload on the city infrastructure and the cost of daily transport by individuals (especially those who have to travel furthest, hence the low- income township residents) ■ Helps reduce crime because areas are always populated ■ Allows for multifunction use of public services (eg integrating school and public libraries) ■ Areas of mixed use generate higher revenue bases than residential-only areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Nuisance effect of businesses on neighbourhoods and vice versa ■ Air and water pollution ■ Expanding businesses can make spatial demands that crowd out other residents of the building ■ Litter and increased traffic ■ Certain kinds of businesses have been known to lower property values of surrounding residential land

Source: Gauteng Provincial Government (1997: 77)

The Nelson Mandela Drive will fit the description of a linear configuration if major activities are to be developed along this corridor. Characteristically, development corridors connect major nodes creating a purposeful interaction (Figure 8.7). They require that high densities - residential and business - develop along the route. A multi-modal transport system would determine the success of a corridor.

The natural propensity for development in a corridor enhances the marketability of the area and the concept as a whole. Physiographical conditions are inhibitors to successful corridor development. However, the absence of any significant natural features between Pietersburg and Seshego enhances this development option. Activity spines should be highly accessible and mobile. The subsequent possible outcomes of corridor development relate to national policy guidelines - see Table 8.7 (after Urban Econ, 1997).

TABLE 8.7: POSSIBLE OUTCOMES OF CORRIDOR DEVELOPMENT

- Greater levels of economic efficiency and productivity - cluster and corridor developments suggest efficient utilisation of infrastructure and resources and increase economic linkages.
- Compact urban form - creating higher densities thus creating agglomeration advantages.
- Corridor development will occur due to private investment. Public-private partnerships would enhance integrated growth.
- Integration of land use and transport planning - increased accessibility and efficient integration.
- Efficient urbanisation - often leads to efficient land use, discourages urban sprawl, promotes the provision of an efficient transport system, enhances environmental protection, promotes the efficient use of urban and regional facilities.
- Perhaps too much is expected of these in the short term.
- Will there be enough public and private investment to make these development happen?

Sources: Harrison *et al.* (1997:49) and Urban-Econ (1997:6-7)

The whole of Annadale (predominantly a low-income conservative white residential area), just like the former non-white townships, is spatially segregated from the remainder of the city. According to the Development Framework, it will be developed as a mixed land-use area where home-based business will be allowed. Despite the findings presented in Chapter Seven on home-based businesses operating in the Seshego area, the LDO is silent on classifying that area also as a mixed-use area. The proposed and existing nodes along the Integration Corridor include the point of origin - the Primary Activity Node that is the CBD - and Secondary Activity Nodes that include the Seshego neighbourhood centre in Zone G as well as numerous local centres (Figure 8.8). Proposed urban nodes should therefore encompass aspects such as integrated land-use and transport planning, modification of short-term location of land-uses, cluster and other compact development, industrial complexes, high density mixed-use, agglomeration, functional specialisation, and symbiotic relationships between uses (Urban-Econ, 1997: 88). The LDO document suggests that the CBD (Primary Activity Node)

“could also play a very important role in restructuring of the town and the functional integration of the Seshego community into the rest of Pietersburg/Polokwane as it serves as the primary core around which the restructuring should take place” (Pietersburg/Polokwane, 1998b: 51)

This would be complemented by a hierarchy of Secondary Nodes at various points in the city.

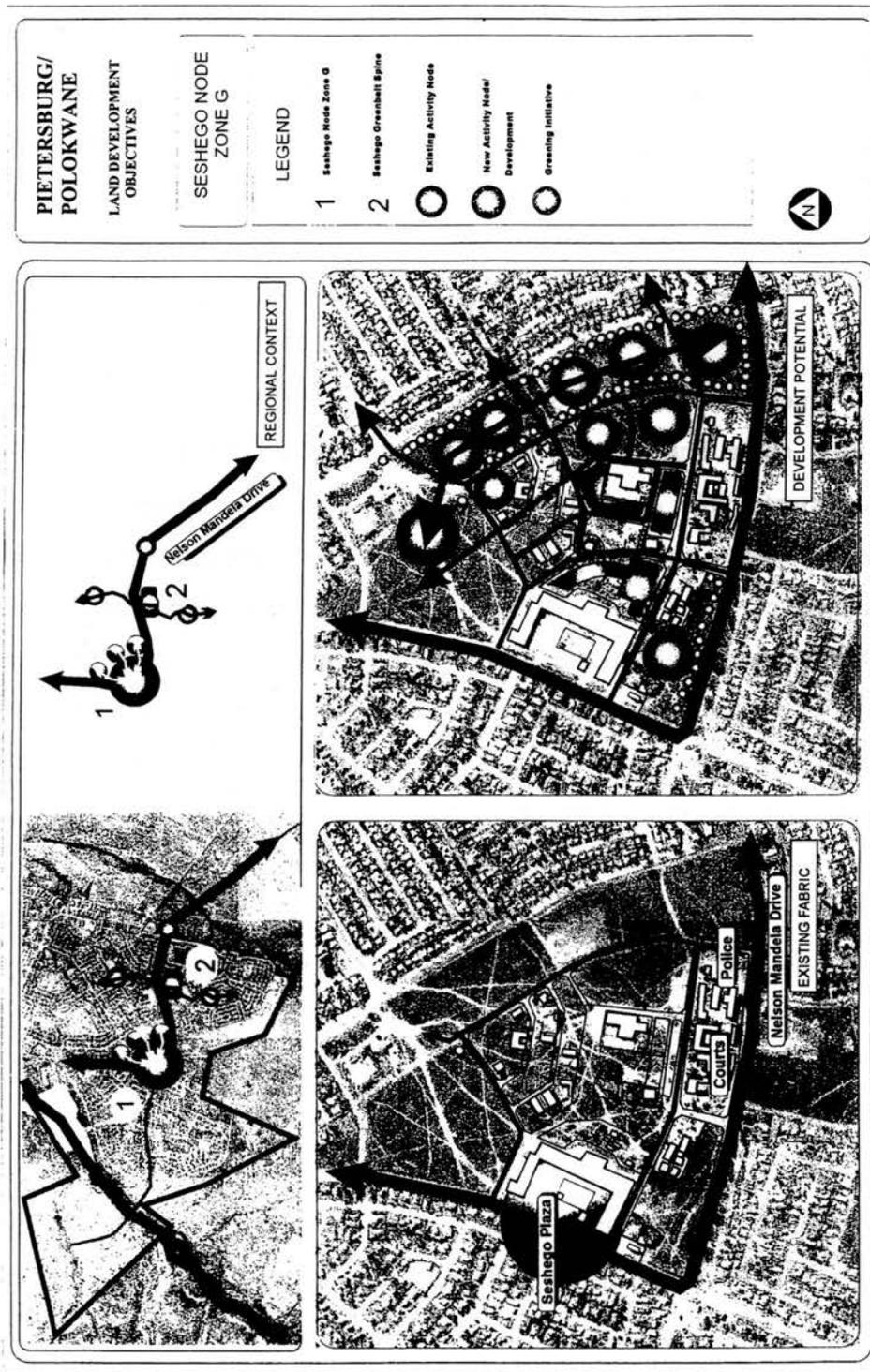


FIGURE 8.8: PROPOSED SESHEGO ACTIVITY NODE POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT
(Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC, 1998)

8.5 CONCLUSION

Urban sprawl adjacent to the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC boundary, a highly spatially segregated city, lack of opportunity, facilities, and infrastructure in the disadvantaged areas are characteristics of the city at the end of the century. National policy guidelines have set the challenge for local governments to respond to. The most important of these are the Land

Development Objectives, as required by the Development Facilitation Act. Public participation in setting up LDOs was seen as the cornerstone for success and transparency in the execution of future development and planning. It is clear from the process in Pietersburg that the city followed no proper public participation methodology. However, a passive citizenry is partially responsible for failure of the public participation process.

The resulting outcomes of the LDO process have been based, to some extent, on national planning guidelines. Mixed land-use areas, compaction, and urban infill will attempt to restructure the distorted spatial picture of the apartheid city. The integration of the separated sections of the city is expected to be achieved by a private vehicle development axis, an integration corridor and a development corridor. Strategic development areas and functional development areas will seek to promote efficient urban development. Activity node and spine development will greatly enhance efficiency in Seshego. Based on the Development Framework, a model to illustrate the proposed spatial urban restructuring in Pietersburg is portrayed in Figure 8.9. The model differs markedly from the apartheid city model (refer to Figure 3.7). The following features are planned for: mixed land-use areas as opposed to former monofunctional land-use, development corridors to integrate Seshego with Pietersburg and to provide further intra-urban linkages, low income residential developments nearby and adjacent to middle- and high- income suburbs.

The sustainability of the objectives is, however, not explored. A serious shortcoming in the Development Framework is that, despite the process' multi-disciplinary approach, planning and development are confined to the city's jurisdiction. Regional planning, especially taking into consideration the emerging global trends in new urban forms, and the omission of the dispersed entities surrounding Pietersburg (Mankweng, Lebowakgomo, and rural towns) pose certain problems for the urban development process. The sustainability and success of the LDO for Pietersburg will only be determined by the number of public-private partnerships, a transparent and open local governance, and an emphasis on regional sustainability that recognises the city's dispersed entities. Despite the good intentions, the LDO process has experienced some weaknesses. An improper LDO public participation plan was subverted by the non-participation of civil society before the final adoption of the LDO. Lack of experience in involving the public in urban planning is evident.

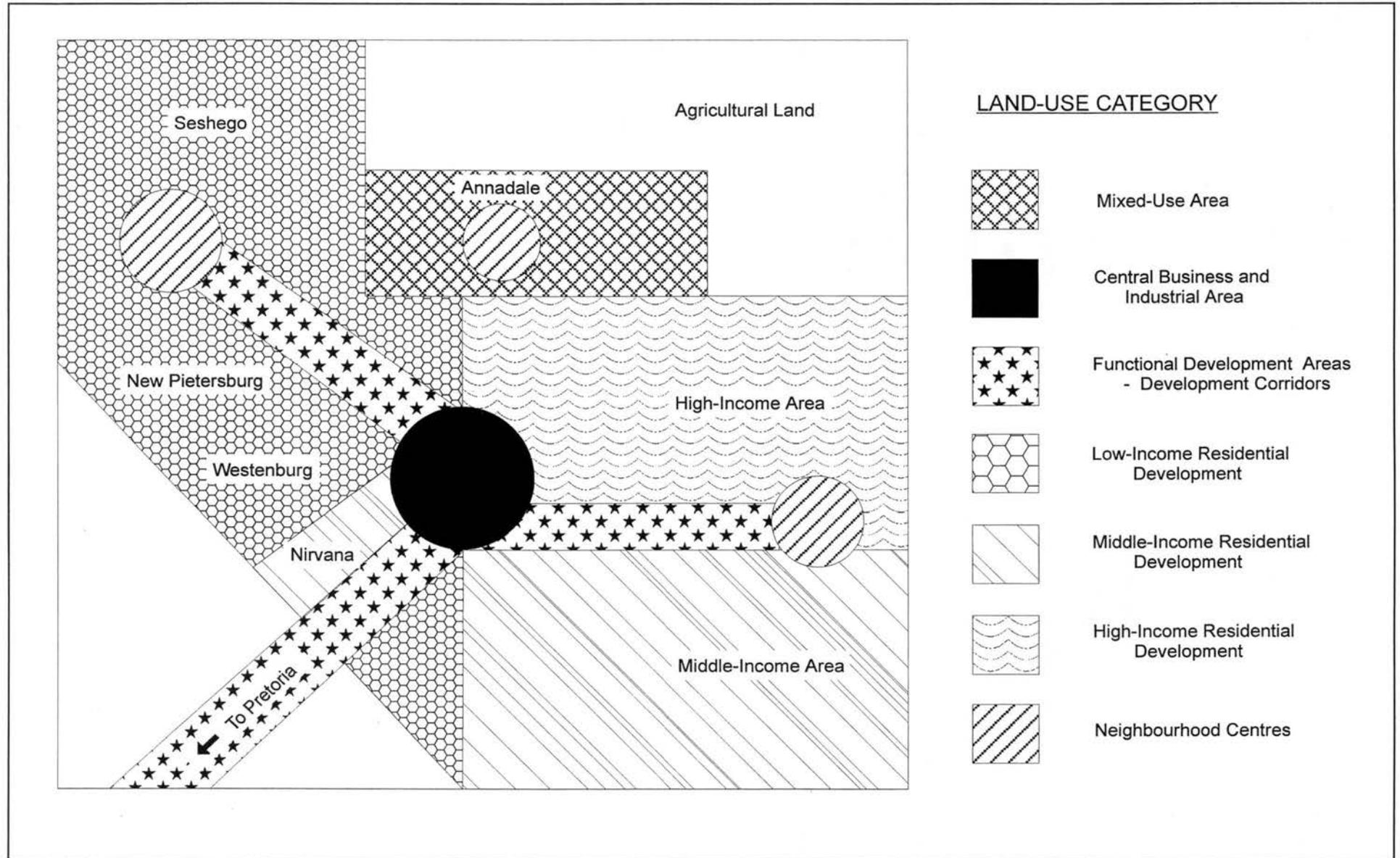


FIGURE 8.9 : SPATIAL URBAN RESTRUCTURING MODEL FOR PIETERSBURG
(After the Pietersburg/Polokwane Development Framework)

The fact that the project team mainly comprised persons and organisations from outside Pietersburg is another weakness. Although it is argued that, as outsiders, they are unbiased, this does not negate their commitment to making the city work in an efficient and sustainable way. The process also did not adhere to the time-table stipulated by the provincial legislation.

The public should be informed throughout the spatial restructuring process of achievements and developments taking place. A regular column in the local newspapers would be a good starting point. Pietersburg's citizenry is, in general, passive. Perhaps through an educational process civil society will become more involved. National legislation paved the way for local authorities to restructure the apartheid spatial legacy. It is now up to them, civil society, and the private sector to make it succeed by creating vibrant urban areas that will reduce urban sprawl and create compact inhabitable cities, functioning sustainably. What framework can one use to comprehend the restructuring process of cities in South Africa during transformation and transition? More importantly, what model can be applied to illustrate what the 21st-century South African city should or could look like? The last chapter will synthesise these issues.

CHAPTER 9: SYNTHESIS: TOWARDS A 21st-CENTURY SOUTH AFRICAN CITY

In line with the methodology of the study - that of an eclectic approach - no specific theoretical approach has been regarded as more important than another. Instead methodologies of all the approaches have been applied in data collection and analysis. Thus the theoretical understanding is underpinned by a vision of emphasising insight into urban problems made possible through different explanations and relaxed assumptions. The concluding chapter will thus try to systematise the most important observations made in the study and then provide a synthesis for understanding urban restructuring in the secondary city of Pietersburg. A framework for restructuring will illuminate the phases experienced during this process. In conclusion a model for understanding the 21st-century South African city will be portrayed through the creation of a new context, in other words, refraining from an apartheid attachment.

9.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Before a model of restructuring can be proposed, the main findings of the study need to be summarised within the context of the study's aim, namely to investigate urban restructuring during transition by specifically looking at urban development transformation in Pietersburg. Change has been most evident in terms of governance, residential change, informal economic impact and proposals for spatial restructuring.

9.1.1 Restructuring urban governance

Pietersburg had been synonymous with conservative urban politics since its foundation. Changing political situations in the country saw the conservative tag disappear so that by 1993 the city had adapted to the new order through the newly-legislated transitional arrangements made possible by the Local Government Transitional Act. Specific local government restructurings include the following:

- Based on consensus politics the Negotiation Forum agreed on the amalgamation of Seshego with Pietersburg. The easiest option was taken in that the functional area was not recognised. The reasons were based on economic and political factors, for example including an impoverished Blood

River and Perskebult would have been complicated given the role played by traditional leaders.

- In demarcating the city into 14 wards the 50/50 representation rule was applied to represent previously segregated areas. Political leaders, however, did not recognise the socio-spatial changes taking place in the city through residential desegregation.
- The performance of the first non-racial local government of Pietersburg (with Seshego) was measured against ten criteria (refer to Table 5.5). It was discovered that by 1997 no resignations of senior management staff members were taking place. An important aspect of the transition period was that these key highly-trained staff members should train newly-hired affirmative action appointees. Capacity building was needed for councillors, especially those coming from the disadvantaged areas. Financially the city maintained its strong point of being accountable and responsible. The residents also realised this in their payment for services. The city also had a large reserve fund. The redistribution of resources through spending funds in the disadvantaged areas was deemed to be insufficient.
- Given the relatively successful form of governance, the city does not need to have links with the Provincial Government.
- Just how transparent the local government appears to civil society is questionable, however. The survey conducted among the city's residents revealed that most respondents said there is no form of communication between them and their ward councillors.

After evaluating the city's transitional successes and failures, questioning the future of local governance within the context of the White Paper on Local Government is necessary.

9.1.2 Residential and socio-spatial restructuring

Up to 1990 the city had been highly segregated in terms of race and socio-economic status. The scrapping of the Group Areas Act in 1991 saw the movement of blacks into the city's former white, Indian and coloured suburbs taking place.

- Initially the percentage was low so that in 1992 and 1993 the city's suburbs

(excluding Nirvana and Westenburg) were respectively 1% and 3% desegregated. This first period correlated with uncertainties about the racial transformation of white suburban defended spaces and political progress at the national level.

- The period after the first non-racial general election (1994) and the non-racial local government election (1995) saw a dramatic increase in desegregation.
- By 1997 the percentage of black in-movers had decreased (refer to Table 6.2). Suburbs initially experiencing most desegregation, such as Flora Park and Ivy Park, experienced an annual percentage decrease (refer to Figure 6.6).
- Dispersion of in-migrants has occurred in high-income suburbs, whereas concentration has taken place in low-middle income suburbs. The latter is mainly due to these areas being newly developed.
- Age and location determine preference for house type and suburb. Desegregation is, however, according to the sample survey, acceptable to most respondents in the city. Respondents have also anticipated that more desegregation will take place in future. Racial transition can be seen as relatively successful, especially measured through limited racial conflict and the expected decrease in property values. In fact, in the year after the general election, house prices increased dramatically in all the former white suburbs (refer to Table 6.7). This is ascribed to the demand created by blacks moving into the city, as well as to the new status of the city as provincial capital.
- The opening of new businesses and national corporation branches in the city has resulted in a population increase. So has the deployment of civil servants from the previous homeland governments. A noteworthy finding is that the respective racial groups mostly sell their property to the same racial group. This is especially pertinent among Indians (refer to Table 6.10).

Residential desegregation directly contributed to and influenced the social transformation process of Pieterburg from being a white conservative city to perhaps one of the most integrated in South Africa during the 1990s. However, the more visible outcomes of transformation have occurred in the public spaces through the deracialisation of business space.

9.1.3 Restructuring the informal economy

Similar to residential space, the racial transformation of economic space since 1990 has also been evident in the urban landscape of Pietersburg. Based and planned on First World urban development principles, land-use in Pietersburg traditionally reflected a monofunctional type.

- The Africanisation of the economic urban landscape, whether relating to sidewalks or open space land-use in the city's CBD and in Seshego, and including residential dwellings in Seshego, occurred with political transition. Acceptance of the informal economy in the city must be seen as leading to the reformation of the city's function and form to embrace Third World experience. Various problems (refer to Tables 7.4; 7.5 and 7.6) and possibilities (refer to Tables 7.2 and 7.4) arising from the deracialisation of business space in the city were dealt with by the new street trading by-laws. This despite the fact that no definite policy on home-based business exists.
- Within a conceptual framework of understanding, it was established that desegregation of business space is still to take place. This should be realised through various planning methods such as service provision, densification, diversification, integration, accessibility, redistribution and accountability.

It is expected that the policy for reconstructing the spatial impress of apartheid will embrace addressing the positive and negative aspects of the informal sector in Pietersburg.

9.1.4 Restructuring the spatial impress of apartheid

Urban sprawl adjacent to the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC boundary, a highly segregated city (in terms of access and opportunity), and a lack of opportunity, facilities, and infrastructure on the disadvantaged side are characteristic of the city at the end of the century. National policy guidelines have set a challenge for local governments to respond to. Most important among these are the Land Development Objectives, as required by the Development Facilitation Act.

- A public participation process in setting up LDOs was seen as the cornerstone for success and transparency in the execution of future development and planning. It is clear from the process in Pietersburg that officials followed no proper public participation methodology. However, a passive citizenry is partially responsible for the failure of the public participation process.

The resulting outcomes of the LDO process were based, to some extent, on national planning guidelines:

- Mixed land-use areas, compaction, and urban infill will attempt to restructure the distorted spatial picture of the apartheid city.
- The integration of the separated sections of the city is expected to be achieved through a private vehicle development axis, an integration corridor, and a development corridor.
- Strategic development areas and functional development areas will seek to promote efficient urban development. Activity node and spine development will greatly enhance efficiency in Seshego.

The sustainability of the objectives is, however, not explored. A serious shortcoming in the Development Framework is that, despite the process' multi-disciplinary approach, planning and development are confined to the city's jurisdiction. Regional planning, especially taking into consideration the emerging global trends in new urban forms, and the omission of the dispersed entities (Mankweng, Lebowakgomo, and rural towns) surrounding Pietersburg pose certain problems for the urban development process.

9.2 SYNTHESIS

In an attempt to synthesise urban restructuring in Pietersburg cognisance has to be taken of the phases in which it occurred. Figure 9.1 provides a framework for understanding the post-apartheid restructuring process (the period following the social engineering phase of apartheid). The post-apartheid framework is divided into two broad phases.

The first is a phase of policy formulation, reconciliation and reconstruction. The second is a policy execution phase that includes urban reconstruction and development seen as an opportunity phase. An interim period (phase) between the two phases will be characterised by place identity restructuring. Figure 9.1 is discussed in section 9.2.1 followed by a proposed 21st-century South African city model that is based on the findings in the research.

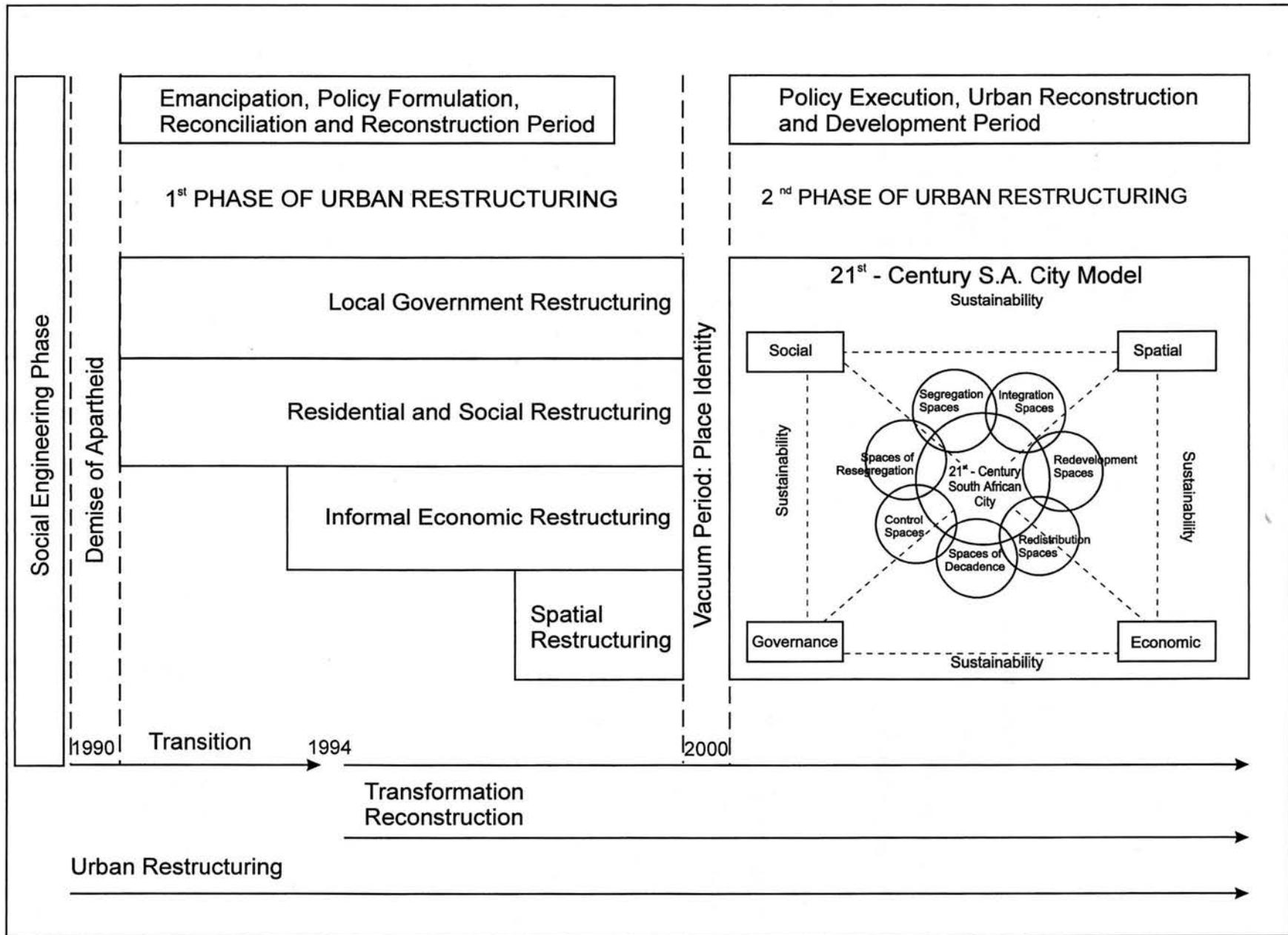


FIGURE 9.1 : PHASES OF RESTRUCTURING IN PIETERSBURG

9.2.1 Phases of restructuring in Pietersburg

Prior to post-apartheid restructuring, a phase of social engineering transformed the urban spatial landscape in South Africa.

9.2.1.1 Social engineering phase

Pietersburg - like most other cities in South Africa - has experienced dramatic restructuring since its origin. The most dramatic restructuring, however, occurred with the formation of a dispersed fragmented urban settlement system after the 1960s. Restructuring through social engineering in Pietersburg occurred after the implementation of the policy of apartheid and separate development through the establishment of ethnic-based towns. The adverse effects of segregation on Pietersburg and later of separate development apartheid policies will be difficult to rectify.

The colonial town was founded as a Boer settlement in 1886. Segregation of urban space was evident from the beginning. De jure segregation was imposed after the National Party came to power in 1948. Together with the moral code of developing separate living spaces for separate ethnic groups (inherently based on race) territorial restructuring occurred through the development of new towns in the then proclaimed homeland of Lebowa, a homeland that provided the city with its labour and consumers. Within a radius of 50 km from Pietersburg four proclaimed towns developed. This socially engineered dispersed settlement pattern had numerous purposes, intentions and outcomes:

- The failure of apartheid-induced policies was reflected in the failure to achieve development aims in these towns.
- Modernist and First World town management principles failed dismally. The end result was a Third World city form and management style.
- There was segregation of black from white population groups. There was also intra- and inter-ethnic segregation of black tribal groups.
- There was functional spatial separation of different skills (a university town for the academic elite (Mankweng), a homeland capital (Lebowakgomo) for the bureaucratic elite, an industrial growth point (Seshego) for working class labour, and a dormitory town at Sebayeng that would provide Mankweng and Pietersburg with a labour force.

The demise of apartheid since 1991 entailed the task of restructuring the above legacy. A phase of emancipation, policy formulation, reconciliation and reconstruction transformed the city during the transitional period in the 1990s.

9.2.1.2 Post-apartheid restructuring phases

It is remarkably clear from the study findings that national political transformation and transition outpaced progress in the city of Pietersburg. Post-apartheid policy formulation responsible for aspects of the restructuring of social, economic, spatial, and local governance administration had one major responsibility. This was to redress and address the historic legacy of apartheid in urban spaces, albeit in relation to form, function, experience, and growth. However, the specific policies that directly affected certain restructurings are shown in Table 9.1.

The study has shown that the city, with the exception of the Local Government Transitional arrangements, was always slow to implement changes. Transitional arrangements were always implemented at local level (Table 9.1) long after promulgation of these acts (e.g. Street by-laws according to the Business Act, 1991 were promulgated only in 1997, the LDO process was extended by a year before finalisation). The restructuring phases occurred in parallel with broader national political transformation. The specific sequence of events found in transforming urban space in post-apartheid Pietersburg is based on an urban restructuring process that can be divided into two broad phases. These phases will be discussed in sections 9.2.1.2.1 and 9.2.1.2.3 below.

9.2.1.2.1 First phase: emancipation, policy formulation, reconciliation and reconstruction

Phase one extended over a ten-year period that included the dramatic changes in politics seen since 1990. This phase is characterised by a period of multi-party negotiations, policy formulation (in line with global trends), reconciliation (the desegregation of society in all spheres), and reconstruction (development and upliftment of underdeveloped and disadvantaged areas). Local Government restructuring provided the impetus for all the other restructurings that followed. It is indeed the restructuring of governance that prevented logical integrated spatial development planning taking place.

TABLE 9.1: SUMMARY OF URBAN RESTRUCTURING IN PIETERSBURG DURING THE 1990s

RESTRUCTURING TYPE	Immediate post-apartheid status quo	Transitional legislation	What and when has been implemented at local level	Post-apartheid spatial restructuring processes
GOVERNANCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indian management committee - Coloured management committee - White local authority - Homeland black local authority 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interim Measures for Local Government Act (1991) - Local Government Transitional Act, 1993 (1994) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ignored - First negotiation meeting 2 March 1994 - Amalgamation accepted in September 1994 and legislated in January 1995 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No change - Boundary changes of the city - Administrative amalgamation of jurisdiction area - Re-creating political spaces
SOCIAL	Segregated suburbs based on race	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scrapping of Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act in 1991 - White Paper on Local Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No specific action - Spontaneous desegregation - Residential steering by estate agents - No mixed income suburbs planned for 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Desegregation of suburbs - Resegregation - Social polarisation - New residential groupings - Perpetuation of socio-economic segregation
ECONOMIC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No informal trading in Pietersburg - Home-based business and street trading in Seshego 	Business Act, 1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Street by-laws promulgated in 1997 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Deracialisation of business space
SPATIAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Highly segregated and fragmented city form - Buffer zones - Monofunctional development - Urban sprawl 	Development Facilitation Act, 1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formulation of LDOs in 1998 - Formulation of Development Framework 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Compaction, urban infill, densification - Corridors, activity spines and nodes

Excluding Pietersburg's functional area (and historical antecedents) from incorporating with the city directly contributed to a failure to rectify the apartheid-created dispersed city pattern and development through selfish urban restructuring. The re-introduction of the dispersed city form as it was developed originally in research (see Burton, 1963) dating from the 1960s has become a global trend. However, its success depends on an efficient transit system (Cervero, 1995; Diamond & Massam, 1997). Given the status of the underdeveloped areas, spatial separation from Pietersburg, political inaction and incompetence and lack of private sector involvement, it is, however, expected that a "business as usual" scenario will persist for some time.

The dispersed town of Pietersburg should ideally have restructured itself towards functioning as a polycentric urban net with different foci (an educational node - Mankweng; an administrative node - Lebowakgomo; a business and entertainment node - Pietersburg/Seshego), and minor arteries (rural towns) with open spaces separating them (agriculture and conservation land). However, political transition and the transformation of local level governance and restructuring in the 1990s created a vacuum in which broader district development planning was overlooked. Policy and legislation that could ideally have promoted spatial and economic, governance and social integration only surfaced towards the end of the decade. However, this was too late, because Pietersburg's dynamic urban managers had already seized the opportunity to expand economically and politically for their own benefit. The rapid increase in the number of businesses and housing developments, the securing of the city as the provincial government's headquarters are proof of their actions.

Initially residential and social desegregation were taking place simultaneously with local government restructuring, albeit slowly. This process then escalated. The impact of apartheid and post-industrial societies on economic restructuring became rapidly visible in former defended urban spaces. The deracialisation of business space outpaced its desegregation. Final restructuring during the 1990s has involved the identification and formulation of specific spatial restructuring processes and plans to re-transform the post-apartheid city and prepare it to become a 21st-century sustainable South African city.

The first phase succeeded in creating a sense of political order through the re-creation of the spatial identities of segregated areas. This was accomplished through the desegregation of suburbs, integration with Seshego (local governance integration), and the deracialisation of business space through the creation of an informal CBD. The processes of urban development and change occurred separately and an integrated restructuring phase (phase two) was later to achieve integrated development planning. This phase was completed with the formulation of the LDOs. However, the LDOs of Pietersburg/Polokwane now have to be integrated with surrounding LDOs.

The short interim period before the next century begins will create another vacuum between the second general and local government elections. During this time, and in conjunction with

the second general election in 1999, emotive issues such as place-name changes that might have an effect on electioneering will surface.

9.2.1.2.2 The vacuum period: place identity restructuring

In completing the first urban restructuring phase to finally rid the South African city of its apartheid past, suggestions have been made for changing its identity by replacing its name. Of late, historical studies have emerged as an important instrument for redressing the imbalances of the past. The restitution of land, as an example, uses 1913 as its point of departure for investigating historical deficiencies created through racist laws. The changing of place-names has, until today, more than four years after the first non-racial election, not been addressed in the same manner as in other post-colonial nations such as the former Rhodesia, Mozambique, and South West Africa. But what criteria or date in history should be used as evidence for validating the changing of place-names? The country's name, South Africa, is associated with the evils of colonialism, oppression, and apartheid, and yet it will not, according to the constitution, change. How then will those keen on changing cities' names validate their stance? Pietersburg has been synonymous with segregation and an apartheid administration in the Northern Transvaal since its inception in 1886. This perception of Pietersburg as a white conservative town, which always epitomised apartheid, should be placed within a context of the definition of awareness.

According to Fellmann, Getis and Getis (1992: 78) place perception is

“the awareness we have ... and the beliefs we hold about them, [which] involves our feelings and understandings, reasoned or irrational, about its opportunity structure”. [Perceptions are thus important] “for the decisions people make about their lives or about their actions in space are based not necessarily on reality but on their perceptions of reality.”

All urban landscapes in South Africa have their own cultural meanings, and it is necessary to uncover these meanings as a resource for future urban reconstruction (Scott, 1994). In order to synthesise validation for reconstructing identity through a name change, specific criteria should be used. As has been shown in this study, many dimensions were ascribed to the place during the origin period of Pietersburg: some cultural (Boer settlers), some symbolic (separate locations), and some political (legislation and by-laws). But when the fundamental values

associated with any of these levels of experience are threatened, then protest about the meaning of place may erupt. It is argued here that criteria such as a cut-off date other than the period of apartheid could, if necessary, be used for changing names. To use the 1913 land restitution application as a criterion would not be wise. The reason is that if the era of segregation and apartheid cities (1910-1990) is used, then most names should change, including those of black townships and black homeland towns developed under separate development policies. Public participation in the decision-making process on whether a name should change is an essential starting point. Public hearings in which interested parties, individuals, cultural and ethnic groups could put their cases forward and use historical evidence on social space, segregation, and identity are suggested here. Other non-historical viewpoints which may be used are practical reasons why names might remain unchanged, such as the cost involved in reproducing signs, maps and documentation.

In conclusion, the argument put forward here rather suggests that if the values of a place during its origin reflect an identity of racism, then that place name only has a restricted right of existence. If found to be true in the case of Pietersburg, then the moral claim for a change of name has substance. The town developed as a cultural location for settlers and is also named after one of them. During this time segregation was evident in part with the artificial development of a separate location for blacks away from the area originally zoned for Asian occupation. Some degree of racial integration occurred between the settlers and Asians. The blatant racism and cultural arrogance of the settler community were also obvious in the evidence provided to the Boundaries Commission, the portrayal of personal space, and by-laws governing public amenities. Local government transition after 1991 recreated the city's image and identity to incorporate Seshego within its territorial framework. Naming the city Pietersburg/Polokwane succeeded in reconciling two separated parts under one administrative unit.

The historical antecedents and economic circumstances of Pietersburg have shown that the recreation of a post-apartheid city form for the dispersed city settlement pattern of Pietersburg involves planning for a metropolitan setting. This should take place during the second restructuring phase and comprise a constellation

“of relatively diversified yet integrated nodal centres, covering larger areas than present forms but also providing more concentration through a high degree of sub-metropolitan integration” (Knox, 1995: 329).

In essence, reconstructing identity will not, in the immediate future, affect more important urban developmental restructuring aspects such as those covering social, economic and spatial governance. These have a bearing on a new city form and structure. South African policy dictates movement towards a compact city form.

9.2.1.2.3 Second phase: policy execution, urban reconstruction and development

Finding a new identity through changing a place-name during a vacuum period will set the scene for the second phase of urban restructuring. Policies that have been formulated, a future direction that has been identified (LDOs), and an integrated phase of urban restructuring within a framework of labelling it a 21st-century South African city will determine the future form, structure and function of Pietersburg. An integrated socio-economic and spatial restructuring process (Figure 9.1) would execute policies formulated during phase one, and continue with reconstruction and development.

Specific urban restructuring outcomes as a result of this process of integrated socio-economic spatial restructuring will characterise the 21st-century South African city. A kaleidoscope of outcomes includes the following, namely, spaces of segregation, integration and resegregation; redevelopment spaces; restitution and redistribution spaces; control spaces and spaces of decadence. Because these are predicted outcomes they will be discussed in section 9.2.2 when a model for the 21st-century South African city will be proposed.

Integrated urban development to restructure urban space in the Pietersburg dispersed city (and other secondary and large urban places that developed during apartheid) would entail re-demarcation of local government boundaries and the creation of spaces of opportunity.

- *Re-demarcation of local government boundary to include the dispersed entities*

It is within the historic urban development context that the contemporary urban linkages between the dispersed city settlements created by apartheid were investigated to see whether, in a post-apartheid scenario, an alternative form of development should be planned for. Specific findings regarding the status of the towns and how they are

linked to Pietersburg were discussed in Chapter Four. Understanding the historic evolution of the dispersed settlement pattern and determining the contemporary urban linkages provided a basis for investigating the specific post-apartheid restructuring occurring in Pietersburg. This included transforming local governance, social restructuring, informal economic deregulation and policy formulation, and planning for spatial restructuring. When re-demarcation of local governments takes place the significance of the historic evolution of a satellite and dispersed urban form should be given priority attention.

In line with international trends and a call by the White Paper on Local Government for the reduction of local governments and councillors through incorporation, Pietersburg and its fragmented apartheid legacy should restructure to include the excluded former homeland towns and their functional areas as substructures of an urban municipality (category B). However, the main aim is to develop such a restructured local government into a metropolitan area. That is contrary to other secondary cities and small towns that do not have a similar homeland legacy to embrace. Re-demarcation would contribute to a reduction of duplicated services, broaden the tax base, improve economies of scale, and secure the benefits of a strong and efficient existing Pietersburg governance. The execution of LDOs will be enhanced only if integrated development planning takes cognisance of all the dispersed entities.

- *Integrated spatial development will create spaces of opportunity*

The compaction of Pietersburg through housing development to assist desegregation and a spatial integration process involving the creation of mixed land-use areas are essential ingredients of integrated development planning. Similar spaces of opportunity have to be developed along the main activity centres in the dispersed entities. The University of the North should, for example, engage in creating and facilitating local economic development such as tourism (through hosting international/national conferences); allow local area residents to be educationally empowered through various means; produce postmodern technologies; and re-create student spaces such as shopping centres with a mixed function. Lebowakgomo, on the other hand, needs

to strengthen its position as an administrative capital for the Northern Province. Expanded linkages to the dispersed surrounding areas are thus to embrace activity spine development along transport routes to integrate the urban areas of Mankweng, Lebowakgomo, and the traditional rural settlements. This should ultimately lead to the development of a metropolitan city form, consisting of centralised areas and a high degree of integration and enhanced linkages. This means the centralisation of the periphery through viewing these areas as areas of opportunity.

Compact development - as opposed to current urban sprawl - should become the focus in these urbanised areas. It is the responsibility of the National and Provincial governments to create opportunities for healthy competition between Pietersburg and the dispersed entities through the redistribution of investment and local economic development initiatives such as those in the informal economy and in the unexploited tourism market. Unemployment and the seeking of employment in the informal economy can perhaps be related to the failure of industrial development in growth point areas. However, can we safely assert that the rural and small-town poor can only function in an industrial setting? Local economic development initiatives in the proposed decentralised areas will determine successful restructuring there. Failure to capitalise on existing functions (educational and administrative) is however a worrying fact. Perhaps a sense of place awareness and attachment to residents' living environment supercedes the economic belief in place.

The restructuring processes of globalisation cannot, however, be ignored in visualising a sustainable 21st-century South African city. Taking cognisance of Pietersburg's phases of restructuring (as illustrated in Figure 9.1), and realising that all South African cities are transforming - and will in the future be transformed by the same policies - one might suggest that a possible model to portray a 21st-century South African city should be based on the apartheid city model of Davies (1981).

9.2.2 A 21st-century South African city model

In an urban context the emphases are on place and space and their meaning is based on a reality that "consists of a series of texts and symbols" (Kilian, Goudie & Dodson, 1996:

524), whereas “order is what one makes of it” (Warf, 1990: 587). Thus, apart from the functionality of urban space (the modernist viewpoint), space is interpreted in terms of locality and complexity instead of it being a category. Space has a symbolic and material meaning that is anti-homogeneous (Davies, 1996). According to Petsimeris and Racine (1996: 25)

“intra-urban space is not only the result of nature and the restructuring of the contemporary society. Rather, it is principally the result of a former historical process, the result of a large number of economic [and political, in South Africa] transformations, the product of succession economic and social formations and the result of the dialectic between previous and emerging social formations. In urban analysis every process should be studied as a genesis, a development, and an evolution which has an impact on the form of economic and social structure”.

The demise of apartheid and its impact on the urban space of the apartheid city has opened up exciting challenges to reshape the former monocentric racially-based South African city. A model based on exploring the impact of post-apartheid transformation and urban restructuring during the first phase of policy formulation and reconciliation in preparation for the next millennium needs to emphasise the mixture (a kaleidoscope of urban restructuring outcomes - Figure 9.1) of globalisation trends and its local impacts.

It is in the above context that a model for understanding the 21st-century South African city structure (Figure 9.2) is based as explained below. Instead of using a completely different text and creating new symbols to understand urban space the model re-creates meaning for new spaces (or zones or areas or regions or suburbs, etc.). Through a dialectical interpretation of the relic of the apartheid city (apartheid city model) and the proposed and planned (according to national and local legislation and policy) outcomes after apartheid (and after the second phase of post-apartheid urban restructuring), the model attempts to create a new way of interpreting place and space within the context of a 21st-century South African city identity. **Hence there is a complete shift from the labels apartheid city, modernised apartheid city or post-apartheid city.**

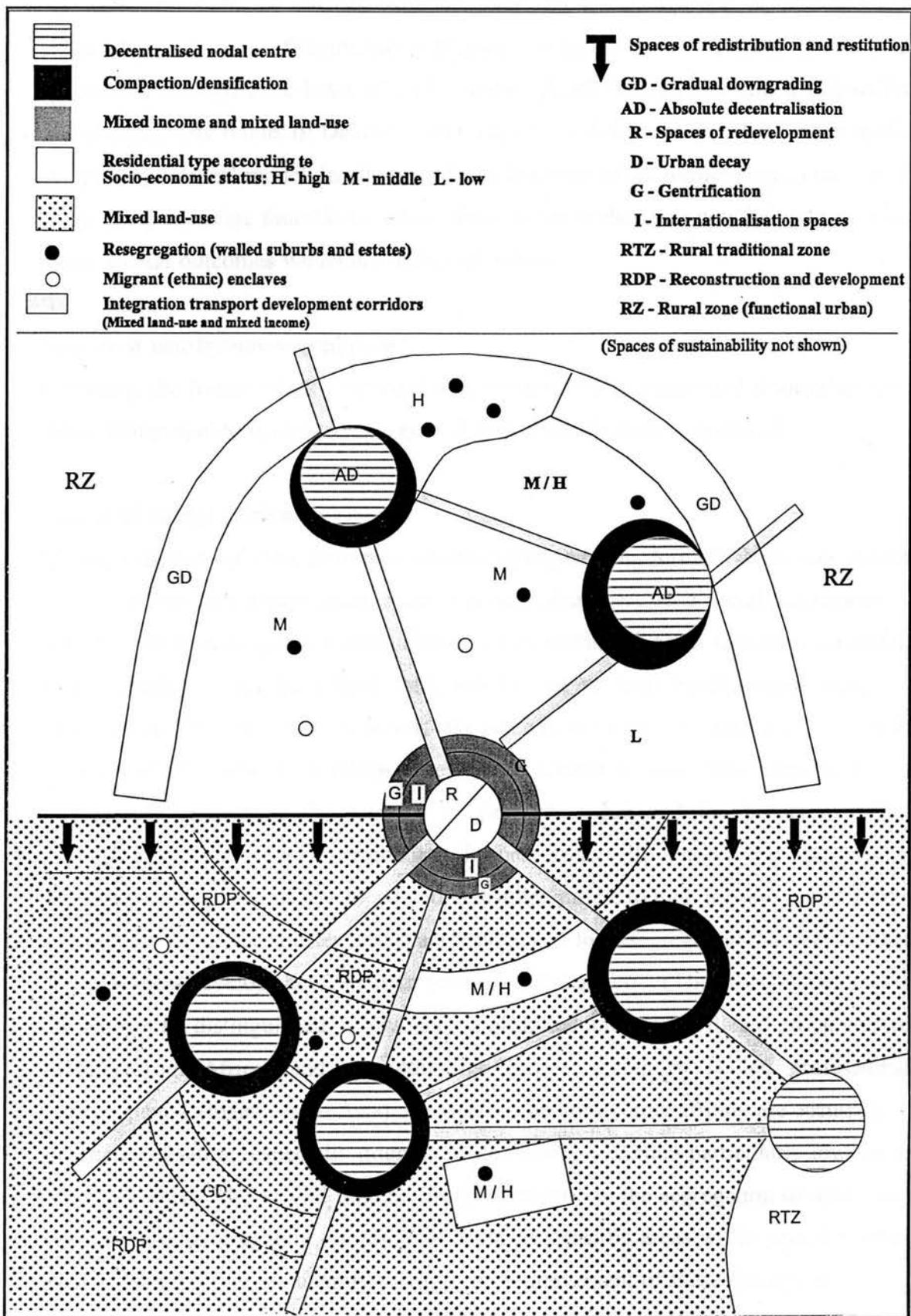


FIGURE 9.2: A MODEL FOR THE 21st-CENTURY SOUTH AFRICAN CITY

Spatially the model of the city structure takes on a kaleidoscope of post-apartheid and postmodern outcomes of restructuring (Figure 9.1) in the form of certain spaces. It is these spaces that constitute the basis of a 21st-century South African city and which will replace the apartheid city model of Davies (1981). Figure 9.2 illustrates the 21st-century model as it is replacing Davies' model. In other words the locations of the former white, coloured, Indian, black group areas are found in the same place; however these are now being replaced by new urban spatial outcomes which are discussed below.

Spaces of continuous segregation

Primarily, the former black townships will remain racially segregated from other residential areas. Other non-desegregated spaces will also continue to be segregated.

Spaces of resegregation

Having experienced some form of residential desegregation, former whites-only suburbs will become the primary resegregated spaces because of an increasing social polarisation. Walled suburbs and estates, and the centralisation of decentralised areas (absolute decentralisation nodes develop into edge cities) form the foci of socio-economic resegregation. Socio-economic resegregation will, however, take place in former black suburbs in the development of zones of affluence in townships. These areas, known for their heterogeneous spaces, will increasingly experience the benefits of property value and the property market. The introduction of real estate as an industry in these areas will enhance this situation. Already upmarket areas are being developed with a distinct middle to high income status. RDP spaces (areas formerly used as buffer zones) are ideal places for resegregation because a certain class consciousness develops here. Another form of resegregation will be based on nationality. Two groups can be distinguished: a low-income unskilled and mostly illegal group of foreigners (mainly from Africa) and a middle-high income group of skilled professionals and businesspeople (mainly from Asia). Xenophobia and/or cultural affinity are occurring with the internationalisation (especially migrants from Africa) of certain particularly low-income and inner city areas. The second migrant group contribute to the segregation of urban society in that they are resegregating into migrant enclaves. Specific areas within specific suburbs are rapidly taking on a new identity through the in-movement of these foreigners.

Spaces of integration

Integration at economic and social levels will be achieved in new creatively developed mixed land use areas. Recreation and sports developments (e.g. waterfront developments and multi-purpose sports stadiums) will play an integrative role in mixed-land use areas. Residential integration (and in essence racial desegregation) will be enhanced through mixed residential income developments through gradual downgrading. Specific segregation spaces will persist at micro-level but integration through the usage of public and open spaces will create areas of integration through processes of assimilation. Social integration will, however, only be achieved in the integrated spaces as opposed to other urban spaces.

Spaces of redevelopment

Inner city (only specific areas) redevelopment and gentrification, coterminous with mixed land-use areas, will constitute the basis here. Redevelopment is placed here opposite decay. In some inner city areas decay is not problematic and redevelopment will be easier to accomplish. Hence some inner city areas will remain areas of decay and become no-go zones. Desegregation of informal business, realised through creating opportunities in the CBD, will benefit from redevelopment. Redevelopment will display eclecticism and a change in architectural style and building forms.

Spaces of redistribution

This area will embrace the former disadvantaged areas in which massive infrastructure creation, housing delivery, and other amenities will be provided. Corridor development will link these areas directly with the other developed constituents of the city. Having a peripheral location, these areas, through their own identities, will be planned for so as to embrace redistribution spaces as spaces of opportunity - opportunity for local economic development, building on existing heterogeneous spaces and distorting the image of the peripheral for the sake of dependency on the centre.

Spaces of decadence

Historic and economic antecedents of homelessness, poverty and unemployment have opened up spaces of decadence where crime, social evils and general urban decay will characterise the postmodern urban spaces which are obviously not possible to be indicated on the model.

In other words a collapse of social morals. Urban space in its totality will be embraced by decadence. Such spaces, will be responsible for resegregation though walled estates and security firms guarding property, invariably creating an impression of guarded decadence.

Spaces of control

Again, these spaces cannot be distinguished on Figure 9.2 because it would depend on the specific local governments' policies of where spaces of control should be located. However, if the apartheid legacy of control can be used as an argument for possible general spaces of control outcomes then one can say that the former non-white group areas will constitute spaces of no or relaxed control. This is particularly so because of the lack of land-use regulations regarding home-based business and informal street trading. Modernist planning outcomes of land-use regulations and by-laws will exemplify the postmodern notion of continuity amidst change. Functional regulations will continue to be applied in certain spaces of control, especially in absolute decentralised areas i.e. the city-within-the-city notion. Spaces of no control or relaxed control will build on the identity created in the new spaces of redistribution (the former disadvantaged areas), where mixed income and mixed land-uses will be characteristic features.

Spaces of restitution

The ghosts of spatial forced removals and the scars of apartheid's urban space will be re-created through demolition and deconstruction. Past lifestyles, fashions, and building forms will be duplicated. Land restitution, resettlement and the re-creation of former demolished townscapes will be accomplished together with re-created place identities within spaces of restitution. Former buffer zones and derelict land (e.g. New Pietersburg, District Six) will take on a new identity.

Spaces of sustainability

Governance capacity, civil cooperation and private sector partnership will determine the sustainability of urban space. Integrated development objectives work towards creating sustainable cities. However, the specific spaces mentioned above will be a deterrent to achieving global aims of sustainable environments. Partnership success or failure will lead to sustainable or unsustainable, or partially sustainable, cities that can be contextualised as

being good, bad, or ugly spaces. The good sustainable spaces will achieve Agenda 21 principles, the bad spaces will partially achieve them through successes occurring only in select parts of the city, while the ugly city will not achieve them at all and will become wasteland.

Most trends of the model are already evident in the South African urban landscape and others will soon become increasingly familiar. Inner city decay resulted in active policy formulation to redevelop such areas. In certain gentrified areas businesses have taken over their residential character. Decentralised nodes that have developed since the 1970s as suburban shopping centres are becoming a characteristic feature in most cities. Compaction, mixed land-use and urban infill are evident in these areas that are regarded as cities-within-cities. Absolute decentralised areas are thus far only occurring in the former white group areas of cities. These absolute decentralised areas are linked to each other by development corridors which indeed link all previously separated parts of the city. Along these corridors, mixed income and mixed land-use areas are contributing to the integration of urban society. Socially engineered policy such as gradual downgrading will specifically be implemented adjacent to the former white group area side of the city. Decentralised nodes in the former black, coloured and Indian townships will develop differently to those of the former white areas. These areas are seen as areas of opportunity spaces because they lacked any normal form of urban development during apartheid. Here the degree of private-public initiative and investment (especially from black empowerment groups) will determine the degree of successful urban growth. Specific local government policy such as propagated in Johannesburg to stem development applications in the edge cities such as Sandton and allow development only in the inner city (or former disadvantaged areas) may also contribute to redistribution and redevelopment. Secondary cities that were previously located near homeland-border towns will incorporate the dispersed former ethnic towns (if they have not already done so) and these towns will develop into decentralised nodal centres.

Although an eclectic land-use policy will be followed, cities will basically be separated into areas of mixed land-use and mono-land-use. The former non-white group areas will mostly have mixed land-use (and mixed income) to cater for the legacy of no-control in these areas. This will include home-based business, backyard shacks, street trading, squatting amidst

formal dwelling areas and urban agriculture. Mixed land-use in the former white group areas will be restricted, through control measures, to the absolute decentralised nodes and along the integration transport development corridors. Mixed income areas will, apart from the aforementioned areas, also be restricted to proposed areas of downgrading. Areas of downgrading will appear on the periphery of the former white areas because it is there where squatting and informal settlements are mushrooming. Compaction of the city will furthermore be enhanced through RPD programmes developing low-high and medium-high density low-cost housing units in suitable former buffer zones. Redistribution will thus entail housing development, infrastructure creation and initiating the development of employment cores in the decentralised nodal centres.

The model as illustrated in Figure 9.2 is to be critically explored by urban specialists and not necessarily to be compared within specific case studies because localities differ in different contexts.

9.3 VALUE OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

Justifying this study academically (within its overall framework of an applied urban approach) should be done according to its rationale and aims. In retrospect, then, the value of this research appears to be an integration of both the theoretical and the applied. Most prominent are the following:

- In researching urban restructuring processes a theoretical understanding of urban spatial restructuring within a new national politico-economic and social context as an expression of global change was provided.
- Analysis of the spatial historical evolution of Pietersburg is of value for understanding the present patterns of Pietersburg as a dispersed apartheid city. Very little history of the disadvantaged communities and their role within the Pietersburg dispersed city settlement pattern is available. Hence, this study fills that gap to some extent.
- The study has documented the historical phase of restructuring local governance during the 1990s. Suggestions for the future have developed from this. Research conducted for the working committee on the White Paper for Local Government was important for the finalisation of the document. Specific recommendations and

observations made in the survey have been included in the White Paper.

- The study provides an understanding of spatial desegregation patterns in a so-called conservative city in South Africa after apartheid. The survey conducted among Pietersburg residents is of value for comprehending how civil society is experiencing the changes from an apartheid to a post-apartheid urban environment.
- Analysis of city policy on the informal economy has shown, within a theoretical framework, policy weaknesses and shortcomings. Empirical data collected through the various surveys was presented to the Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC LDO Status Quo Report (1998).
- Investigating the linkages of the city's dispersed entities may promote policy formulation on the restructuring and urban development of a post-transition city in terms of form, function and governance. Findings from the linkage survey were submitted to the Pietersburg/Polokwane LDO Status Quo Report (1998).
- Active participation by the researcher in the LDO process, especially in submitting empirical data from research findings pertaining to all aspects of the study, and active participation in workshops, emphasise the participatory and applied value of the study.
- A questionnaire survey to determine the perceptions and attitudes of the citizens of Pietersburg and an empirical exploration of desegregation through home-ownership patterns shed important light on social transformation in a former conservative white city.
- Analysis of property market trends in the city adds to the limited information that exists in the geography discipline on the topic of property markets.
- Contextualisation and identification of the various spatial restructuring suggestions postulated by the Pietersburg/Polokwane Development Framework provide a theoretical understanding of how the city will attempt to rid itself of its spatial legacy of apartheid.
- Numerous policy suggestions pertaining to the informal economy, local governance, spatial and social integration have been provided.
- Proposing a 21st-century South African city model for scrutiny contributes to the search for alternative ways to view, interpret and research contemporary South African cities.

- Specific important avenues of research have been identified from the study (see section 9.4).
- The questionnaires used in the various surveys can be used as a basis for other studies by researchers investigating similar matters in other cities.
- The list of research problems experienced may be helpful for other researchers.
- The comprehensive reference list on post-apartheid urban restructuring may be of help to prospective researchers with a similar research topic.
- The methodology (eclectic approach) followed and the specific topic of research, namely urban restructuring during transition, makes this the first comprehensive study of its kind in South Africa.
- Academic and theoretical value have been achieved through the peer reviewed research papers published on various aspects of the study (see Botha & Donaldson, 1998; Donaldson, 1996; Donaldson & Kotze, 1994; Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1998; Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1997; Kotze & Donaldson, 1998; Kotze & Donaldson, 1996). A number of other published research papers emanating from this study are envisaged.

The success of the research will, however, be determined by the ideas that emanate from it and whether they are applied in other studies.

9.4 FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

Coetzee and De Coning (1994: 77) have commented that

“Urban development in the 1990s will have to be redefined and be seen as a process through which urban communities can increase their personal and institutional capacity to mobilize and actively manage the resources available to them, and bring about sustainable and more equitably distributed improvements in the standard of living - improvements and standards more consistent with their own aspirations.”

The immense research agendas identified by Coetzee and De Coning (1994) perhaps provide a detailed picture of future urban research on South African cities in general. However, from the present study of Pietersburg specific future theoretical and practical research themes can

be identified. These include the following:

Theoretical research

- What specific urban development scenarios are there for the city in the future? Comparison with international scenarios will be worth the effort.
- What theoretical assumptions can one make regarding residential desegregation and social integration?
- What theoretical value does the proposed 21st century South African city model have?
- What is the theoretical value of following an eclectic approach in researching socio-spatial restructuring?

Practical research

- What will be the results of re-creating urban form in South African cities, and more specifically Pietersburg?
- Does residential integration, such as that experienced in Flora and Penina Park, lead to social integration?
- What will be the effect of Land Restitution on urban development and economic expansion of the informal economy?
- Is a home-based business policy necessary and how will the city managers implement it?
- What effect will the desegregation pattern have on the next local government election?
- Will Pietersburg act as a protagonist in restructuring local government to take on a District Government form, or will it continue to function as an urban municipality?
- How will city management be affected during the second transitional period beginning after the second general elections in 1999?
- The re-demarcation of Pietersburg's boundary in the near future may rectify the situation of decline in which the dispersed entities find themselves. It is, however, recommended in the White Paper on Local Government that municipal boundaries should embrace a city's functional area. If the given criteria are evaluated for Pietersburg then more research is clearly needed before politicians and a boundary board make haphazard decisions.

Despite the attempts to restructure and transform the South African city so that it might be sustainable, in line with global trends, and adhere to international rules determined by the

United Nations, Van der Merwe (1998) cautions urban specialists about the reality of South African cities:

“The restructuring of the post-apartheid city can, however, not take place without the acceptance of the reality that the South African city is intrinsically a transitional frontier version of the Third World city and will become even more so in the future”.

Whatever form and structure our cities may take on in the next century, they will remain a fertile and challenging field of research.

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DEPOT**

C: 25; C27.

CIA: H 23 (2); H 37(3); M 1 Vol. 18, Vol. 20.

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Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC officials 1997 -

Assistant Town Secretary

Assistant Town Clerk

Assistant Town Treasurer

Chairperson EXCO

City Electrical Engineer

City Health Officer

ADDENDUM 1: URBAN LINKAGE SURVEY



UNIVERSITEIT VAN STELLENBOSCH

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: URBAN LINKAGES

DEAR RESPONDENT

I am a candidate doctoral student in Geography at the University of Stellenbosch. The theme of my research is entitled "Urban restructuring in a dispersed city: the case study of Pietersburg and its peripheral towns".

This questionnaire covers (apart from biographical information) different aspects on urban linkages, namely:

1. EMPLOYMENT
2. ECONOMIC
3. SOCIAL
4. PERCEPTUAL ASSOCIATION

You have been selected from a systematic sample as a respondent to participate in the survey. The information collected through this questionnaire will be treated as **confidential**. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification is possible. Because I will work with averages, the data analysis will not implicate any name or address of any of the respondents.

To obtain reliable scientific information it is essential that you answer all the questions as honestly as possible. Your opinion is important in this research.

The interview will be conducted by a trained fieldworker.

I sincerely thank you for your participation.

Regards,

Ronnie Donaldson
Tel: 0822005244
Date: October 1997

-1-

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Please indicate the gender and age of all the persons in the household staying at this house for more than 4 nights a week (i.e. it excludes migrant workers and all lodgers)

PERSON/ AGE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
≤ 20										
21 - 29										
30 - 39										
40 - 49										
50 - 59										
60 - 69										
70 ≥										

Please indicate: m = male f = female in the block according to age

1.1 How many people in total stay on these premises?.....

2. Highest educational qualification of respondent:

Std 5	1
Std 6 - 9	2
Std 10	3
Diploma (specify).....	4
University degree (specify).....	5
Other (specify).....	6

3. Combined household gross income per month (only for the household, i.e. independent lodgers, domestic workers are not included):

R 1-1000	1
R 1001-2000	2
R 2001-4000	3
R 4001-6000	4
R 6001-8000	5
R 8001-10 000	6
R ≥ 10 001	7
refuse to answer	8

4. Please list the language(s) spoken most at home:

English	1
Afrikaans	2
Northern Sotho	3
Lemba/Venda	4
Tsonga/Shangaan	5
Tswana	6
Other (specify)	7

5. What is the household's main mode(s) of transport (more than one option possible)?

Combi-taxi	1
Own car	2
Bus	3
Other (specify).....	4

HOUSEHOLD STATUS

6. When did you first move to this place of residence (i.e. this specific town), and why?

6.1 When (e.g. 1976)?.....

6.2 Why (give all the reasons you can think of)?.....

.....

.....

.....

6.3 Are you the owner of this house or do you rent it from somebody?

.....

7. Where (in which town or village or zone or township) did you stay before moving here?

.....

.....

8. Where would you prefer most to stay (in a radius of 300 km from here)?

Pietersburg	1
Lebowakgomo	2
Mankweng	3
Seshego	4
Other (specify).....	5

8.1 Please explain why you would prefer to stay in the place indicated above?

.....

.....

.....

.....

-3-

9. House type (services included for e.g. water, electricity, sanitation)

Formal serviced house	1
Informal serviced house	2
Informal non-serviced or limited serviced house	3
Other (specify).....	4

EMPLOYMENT

10. Please indicate the work place and the urban area where the household head, his/her spouse, and all the other persons who are employed work. NOTE: only the persons staying at this house and who are members of this household should be indicated. I.e. if a person is a migrant (away from the house for four or more days per week) information is not needed. Lodgers and unknown persons' information is also not needed.

	Work Place (e.g. Pick & Pay)	Urban Area (e.g. Seshego)
Household head		
Spouse		
Person 3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		

11. What mode of transport do you usually use to travel to and from work (more than one option possible)?

Combi-taxi	1
Personal car	2
Official (employers' transport)	3
Walk	4
Bus	5
In car pool	6
Other (specify).....	7

-4-

12. What is the approximate travelling time (in hours and/or minutes) you spend between home and your place of work on a daily basis?

To work	1-30 minutes	1
	31 minutes to 1 hour	2
	1-1 and half hour	3
	1.5 hours to 2 hours	4
	> 2 hours	5
From workplace	1-30 minutes	1
	31 minutes to 1 hour	2
	1-1 and half hours	3
	1.5 hour to 2 hours	4
	> 2 hours	5

ECONOMIC LINKAGES

PRODUCT	TOWN		How often per month?	
1. Groceries	Pietersburg	1	1-7	1
	Lebowakgomo	2	8-14	2
	Seshego	3	15-21	3
	Mankweng	4	22-31	4
	Other (specify)	5	> 31	5
2. Clothing	Pietersburg	1	only when need	
	Lebowakgomo	2	arises	1
	Seshego	3	1-7	2
	Mankweng	4	8-14	3
	Other (specify)	5	15-21	4
			22-31	5
		> 31	6	
3. Electrical appliances (TV, radio, etc.)	Pietersburg	1	only when need	
	Lebowakgomo	2	arises	1
	Seshego	3	1-7	2
	Mankweng	4	8-14	3
	Other (specify)	5	15-21	4
			22-31	5
		> 31	6	
4. Any parts for your car (e.g. tyres, plugs, etc.)	Pietersburg	1	only when need	
	Lebowakgomo	2	arises	1
	Seshego	3	1-7	2
	Mankweng	4	8-14	3
	Other (specify)	5	15-21	4
			22-31	5
		> 31	6	

5. Meat (raw/uncooked)	Pietersburg	1	only when need arises	
	Lebowakgomo	2		
	Seshego	3		
	Mankweng	4		
	Other (specify)	5		
			1-7	2
			8-14	3
			15-21	4
			22-31	5
			> 31	6
6. Alcohol (beer, spiritus, etc.)	Pietersburg	1	only when need arises	
	Lebowakgomo	2		
	Seshego	3		
	Mankweng	4		
	Other (specify)	5		
			1-7	2
			8-14	3
			15-21	4
			22-31	5
			> 31	6
7. Building material	Pietersburg	1	only when need arises	
	Lebowakgomo	2		
	Seshego	3		
	Mankweng	4		
	Other (specify)	5		
			1-7	2
			8-14	3
			15-21	4
			22-31	5
			> 31	6

14. To which town (only one option possible, i.e. the place you go to most) do you go for the following services?

SERVICE	PLACE		How many times per month?	
1. Banking	Pietersburg	1	When the need arises	
	Lebowakgomo	2		
	Seshego	3		
	Mankweng	4		
	Other (specify)	5		
			1-7	2
			8-14	3
			15-21	4
			22-31	5
			> 31	6
2. Postal service	Pietersburg	1	When the need arises	
	Lebowakgomo	2		
	Seshego	3		
	Mankweng	4		
	Other (specify)	5		
			1-7	2
			8-14	3
			15-21	4
			22-31	5
			> 31	6
3. Doctor/ medical	Pietersburg	1	When the need arises	
	Lebowakgomo	2		
	Seshego	3		
	Mankweng	4		
	Other (specify)	5		
			1-7	2
			8-14	3
			15-21	4
			22-31	5
			> 31	6

4. Attorneys/ lawyers	Pietersburg		When the need arises	1
	Lebowakgomo		1-7	2
	Seshego		8-14	3
	Mankweng		15-21	4
	Other (specify)		22-31	5
			> 31	6

15. What is your main mode of transport when going shopping/services as indicated above (more than one option possible)?

Own car	1
Combi-taxi	2
Bus	3
Car pool	4
Other (specify).....	5

SOCIAL LINKAGES

16. Where do you usually, if at all, participate in the following leisure activities? (* more than one option possible)

ACTIVITY TYPE	PLACE	How many times per year/ month (indicate)
1. Sport as a spectator	1. Pietersburg 2. Lebowakgomo 3. Seshego 4. Mankweng 5. Other (specify)	
2. Visiting friends *	1. Pietersburg 2. Lebowakgomo 3. Seshego 4. Mankweng 5. Other (specify)	
3. Visiting relatives *	1. Pietersburg 2. Lebowakgomo 3. Seshego 4. Mankweng 5. Other (specify)	
4. Visiting a library	1. Pietersburg 2. Lebowakgomo 3. Seshego 4. Mankweng 5. Other (specify)	
5. Any outdoor recreation	1. Pietersburg 2. Lebowakgomo 3. Seshego 4. Mankweng 5. Other (specify)	

6. Visit a shebeen/pub	1. Pietersburg 2. Lebowakgomo 3. Seshego 4. Mankweng 5. Other (specify)	
------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

17. 1 Do any member of the household attend another form of post-school educational training in the following towns (more than one option possible)?

Pietersburg	1
Lebowakgomo	2
Seshego	3
Mankweng	4
Other (specify).....	5

17.2 Where do school-going persons go to school?.....

17.3 Do you visit friends/family in rural villages/settlements around Pietersburg (e.g. in the former Lebowa) over weekends?

Yes	1
No	2

17.3.1 If YES, where do you go to, and how often?

PERCEPTUAL ASSOCIATION

18. It is common sense that most people in Seshego, Lebowakgomo and Mankweng work and shop in Pietersburg. Would you then regard your town or suburb as part of Pietersburg?

Yes	1
No	2

18.1 If YES, would you say that the Local Governments of these towns should be unified into ONE municipality? Explain why.

.....

19. Do you think that these towns (Pietersburg, Seshego, Mankweng, Lebowakgomo) will physically grow together someday?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

20. Have you experienced socio-economic change after the first non-racial election in terms of:
 (a) inter-racial or cross-cultural relationships at the work place? Explain

.....

(b) inter-racial or cross-cultural relationships at your place of residence? Explain

.....

21. What do you think does the future hold for your town?

.....

22. How does your town differ from Pietersburg? Please list all the different aspects that you can think of.

.....

23. In conclusion, what problems do you experience living here and also what do you enjoy about staying here?

PROBLEMS:

.....

ENJOY:

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOU PARTICIPATION

FOUNDATION FOR CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

(Associations Incorporated under Section 21 Registration Number: 90 06898 - 08)



FCR

P O BOX 1489
CAPE TOWN
8000
SOUTH AFRICA
TEL: (021) 418-4173 FAX: (021) 418-4176
E-MAIL: FCRCT@WN.APC.ORG

31 July 1997

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

The Foundation for Contemporary Research is conducting primary research to assist the process of formulating the Local Government White Paper. Your municipality has been chosen as one of the municipalities that will form part of the primary research. In the next few days you will be contacted by the appointed researcher.

The study includes a document review and an interview with the Town Clerk, Town Treasurer, and Exco Chair. We also require the following information:

- The most recent annual financial statements and summary budget
- Auditor Generals Report (if available)
- Annual Reports of the Municipalities (if available)
- Minutes of full Council and Exco meetings
- Executive summary of structure plans and maps
- Any other official reports and documents

The attached letter confirms this from the Chair of the White Paper Political Committee. Your important attention is required.

We would require the information to be available before 5th August 1997 for the researcher.

Please contact me at (021) 418 4173 or fax (021) 418 4176.

Yours sincerely

PAUL WHELAN
PROJECT MANAGER

"Integrated research, training, and information to promote sustainable development and local democracy"
DIRECTORS: R.J. Stevens, L. Ramatlakane, T. Salie, N. Gaza, A. Sayers, J. Hattingh, E. Rasool, E. Pieterse & K. Chetty



LOCAL GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER
Political & Working Committees
.....
Tel 012 334 3700 Fax 012 320 8025 E-mail minee@dso.pwu.gov.za

Shorburg Building
429 Church Street
Pretoria
Private Bag X804
Pretoria 0001

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

PROVINCIAL REALITY CHECK FOR THE WHITE PAPER ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The White Paper Political Committee has requested the Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR) to co-ordinate a process of collecting primary data in the provinces. We would therefore require your assistance in this regard. Any information you provide to FCR (data, policy interviews etc.) will be necessary for the development of the final local government White Paper. Please find annexed hereto an outline of the White Paper process to date.

If you have any questions in this regard, please contact Ms Mineé Hendricks of the White Paper Secretariat for further information at Tel (012) 334- 3748.

Your assistance in this regard is appreciated.

Pravin Gordhan
Chairperson: WPPC

ANNEXURE

1 INTRODUCTION

Government, in conjunction with MINMEC decided that a White Paper on local government be drafted to set policy and give direction to the interim and final system of local government in South Africa. This process was formally launched when the Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs appointed a committee of political advisors, known as the White Paper Political Committee (WPPC), supported by a technical drafting committee of external experts and officials, known as the White Paper Working Committee (WPWC) during December 1996 and January 1997.

Since the White Paper will lay the building foundations for a new and final system of local government in South Africa, it is of vital importance that all local government stakeholders will participate fully in this process. To achieve this, the White Paper Political Committee has developed a three stage process which will ensure that all organisations that have an interest in local government, will have an opportunity to interact with, and help to develop the new policy.

The first phase has produced a Discussion Document containing the initial strategic key questions to be addressed in the White Paper. The purpose of this Discussion Document was to involve municipalities, provincial governments and legislatures and other role-players in the debate / discussion on local government and to afford the role-players the opportunity to comment on the matters identified. The Discussion Document included a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis which role-players were asked to discuss and contribute to.

This process has contributed to confirm the set of issues to be addressed in the White Paper process, validate the South African reality through the "SWOT" analysis, and to solicit comments on the process adopted.

The Discussion Document has led to phase two where more extensive research, seminars and other interactive processes are unfolding, looking at both local and international experiences. This is the phase that will produce a Green Paper which will set out policy options. This is the process that we are currently involved in.

2

The third and final phase will cover the identification of criteria to make the necessary policy choices with regard to the policy options identified in the Green Paper. On the basis of the public policy debate, a White Paper will be drafted and presented to Cabinet for approval. Once Cabinet has approved the White Paper it will be referred to Parliament where debate will take place through parliamentary public hearings.

2 RESEARCH PROCESS

A key component of the Green Paper phase is the Research process. Given the importance of this aspect to the White Paper process, a lot of time and effort was spent in designing the most appropriate process. A research agenda was firstly drawn up based on the framework contained in the Discussion Document, but this framework was considered flexible so as to allow for the incorporation of new issues as they arise. The Research Agenda identified areas requiring research and creating the framework wherein this research could be conducted. Members of the WPWC were then requested to draft terms of reference for each of the areas of research / topics identified. At this point, a Research Co-ordinating Group (RCG), which is chaired by Mr Mashinini and consists of four other WPWC members, was appointed to co-ordinate and manage the Research process. After finalising the terms of reference for the research topics, it was agreed that due to capacity and time constraints, the bulk of the research would be commissioned out.

The research process embarked upon has been divided into seven clusters, each with a number of topics falling within each cluster, under a lead institutions / agency to conduct the research. These clusters are managed by the RCG and members of the WPWC have been allocated to certain clusters, as discussants and will also attend meetings of the research clusters.

The Lead Institutions / Agencies will perform the role of convenor for a cluster, and can either conduct the research in-house or sub-contract the research to other individuals and institutions. It is important to note that Lead Institutions are at all times accountable to the RCG, who in turn is accountable to the WPPC and sub-contracting can therefore not take place without the approval of the WPPC.

EMPLOYMENT

3. Grading at last review :

--

4. Describe the numbers and types of employees as follows:

Total employees	Number of women employees	Number of casual employees	Number of seconded/contract employees	Number of vacant posts

5.1 Has the Local Authority recently experienced the resignation of senior management such as a town clerk or town engineer?

Yes	No

5.2 Are there qualified people available to replace them?

Yes	No

5.3 Do your Local Authority have a full time treasurer?

Yes	No

GOVERNANCE

6. With which civil society formation or forum does your municipality interact in the following situations? (Give existing examples)

	Name of Forum	Participants	Tasks, Powers & Functions
Making policy			
Service delivery			
Compiling the budget			

7.1 Are the Councillors continuing to interact with their wards?

Y	N

7.2 If Yes

How often?	By what means?

8. When were the last local elections?

8.1 What was the level of voter registration against the total area population?

8.2 What was the percentage voter turnout?

8.3 How many wards were demarcated?

8.4 What percentage of current councillors sat on the previous council?

8.5 How many by-elections have there been since the last election?

8.6 Have the by-elections influenced the balance of power in council?

Give shifts in party representation per by-election:

9. Does your council have regular full council meetings?

Yes	No
-----	----

9.1 If so, how often? _____

9.2 List the sub-committees established by the council, giving numbers of councillors on each sub-committee

Sub-Committee	No. Councillors

9.3 What are the powers and functions of these committees?

Sub-Committee	Powers

-400-

Sub-Committee	Functions

9.4 Do these committees interact with administrative departments?

Yes	No
-----	----

If Yes, How?

10. In which of the following areas do you believe that the councillors require capacity building?

	Identify Specific Issues
Finance & Budgeting	
Service Delivery and development	
Change Management	
Local Economic Development	
Other	
Other	

LOCAL GOVERNMENT DECISION MAKING

11. How are new projects identified and policies formulated?

	Process	Participants (Give names of forums and institutions)
Identification of projects		
Formulation of Policy		

15. What tariff structure do you use for electricity and water?

	WATER	ELECTRICITY
A two part tariff		
A flat rate tariff		
A rising block tariff		

THE BUDGET

16. Please provide a copy of your most recent financial statement and budget summary

17.1 Are there plans for public participation in formulating the budget?

Y	N

17.2 If yes briefly describe the plan

18.1 Has your Local Authority taken steps to reprioritise the budget to the advantage of historically deprived areas?

Y	N

18.2. Explain

18.3. If no give reasons why not

19. What percentage of the capital accounts is allocated to be spent in historically disadvantaged areas (i.e. African areas)?

_____ %

THE FINANCIAL STATE

20.1 Does council have reserve funds?

Y	N

20.2. If yes, how much money is in the reserve funds?

R _____

20.3. If yes, how are the funds to be used?

21.1 Is council facing financial difficulties?

Y	N

21.2 If yes, is what are the most important reason(s) for this (indicate extent of importance if more than one reason given):

Non-payment for services rendered	
Problems in accessing loans	
Expenditure not budgeted for	
Problems in accessing inter-government grants	
Other? Please elaborate on the most serious problem causing the shortfall	

22.1 Estimate the following regarding payments:

% ratepayers who pay bills	% rates income paid	% rates income from non-residential sector	% consumer who pay electricity bills	% electricity income paid	% electricity income from non-residential sector

22.2 What percentage of households and businesses pay for all their services?

Households	Businesses

23. What working assets do you have?

Please list by the following categories:

Working assets?	
Vehicles	
Fixed Property	
Rented Property	
Equipment	
Infrastructure (ie dams, sewerage works, power stations)	

24. Please list all inter-governmental grants you received during the most recent financial year for which information is available, including those through the line ministries. Include the amount of subsidy finance applied for in the form of housing subsidies. If you have had difficulties accessing grants or subsidies please describe the obstacles.

GRANT/SUBSIDY APPLIED FOR	NATIONAL MINISTRY	GRANT/SUBSIDY RECEIVED	OBSTACLES
	PROVINCIAL		

24.1 Do Provincial or National departments provide other assistance, for example monitoring, support or training?

Yes	No

24.2 If yes, how has assistance been provided and indicate the usefulness thereof.

ORGANISATIONAL RESTRUCTURING

25. How do departments and the standing committees and Exco interact and co-operate ?

CO-OPERATIVE FORUM	CO-OPERATION BETWEEN WHICH PARTICIPANTS	TASKS OF THE FORUM

26.1 Are there processes for the flow of information between departments below that which takes place at managers level, i.e. do junior officials from different departments co-operate in e.g. work groups and do they share information?

Y	N

26.2 If yes please describe:

26.3 If no give reasons why not:

27.1 Have steps been taken to improve communication between the Local Authority and the public, and to simplify complaints and payments procedures?

Y	N

27.2 If yes, explain how

28. What administrative systems are in place at present:

Administrative System	Yes	No
Financial Control		
Revenue Collection		
Service Provision		
Development Control		
Monitoring and Evaluation		
Labour Relations		
Human Resource Development		

Questionnaire on Environment and Capacity of Local Government
 Foundation for Contemporary Research
 Cape Town, 1996. ☎ 021 419-4173

ADDENDUM 3: QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY ON SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING IN PIETERSBURG



UNIVERSITEIT VAN STELLENBOSCH

DEAR RESPONDENT

I am a candidate doctoral student in Geography at the University of Stellenbosch. The theme of my research is entitled "Urban restructuring in a dispersed city: the case study of Pietersburg and its peripheral towns".

This questionnaire covers (apart from biographical information) different aspects of urban restructuring, namely:

1. RESIDENTIAL/HOUSEHOLD MOBILITY
2. SOCIAL ADAPTATION/ASSIMILATION
3. SUBURB/RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION
4. POLITICAL AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

You have been selected from a systematic sample as a respondent to participate in the survey. The information collected through this questionnaire will be treated as **confidential**. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification is possible. Because I will work with averages, the data analysis will not implicate any name or address of any of the respondents.

To obtain reliable scientific information it is essential that you answer all the questions as honestly as possible. Your opinion is important in this research. Please answer all closed-ended questions by ticking your answer with an X, and provide detailed information in the open-ended questions.

The interview will be conducted by a trained fieldworker.

I sincerely thank you for your participation.

Regards,

Ronnie Donaldson
Tel: 0822005244
Date: October 1997

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING IN PIETERSBURG

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY:

Questionnaire number: □1
 Suburb: □1
 Type of dwelling: □2

Formal single house	1
Flat (in flat building)	2
Flat (on same stand as house)	3
Town house, cluster house, duette, etc.	4
Retirement dwelling (in a retirement village)	5
Other (specify):.....	6

Is this dwelling situated in a complex? □3

Yes	1
No	2

Population group: □4

Black	1
White	2
Indian	3
Coloured	4
Other	5

-2-

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Gender of respondent:

□5

Male	1
Female	2

2. Age:

□6

< 20	1
20-29	2
30-39	3
40-49	4
50-59	5
60-70	6
>70	7

3. State your current marital status:

□7

Married	1
Unmarried	2

4. Highest educational qualification:

□8

Up to and including Std. 5	1
Std. 6-9	2
Std. 10	3
Diploma (specify):	4
University degree (specify):	5
Other(specify):	6

-3-

5. Language(s) mostly spoken at home:

□9

English	1
Afrikaans	2
Northern Sotho	3
Lemba/Venda	4
Tsonga/Shangaan	5
Tswana	6
Other (specify):	7

6. How many people in total are staying on this property, i.e. usually spend four or more nights per week on these premises (including workers, tenants, lodgers, etc.)?

□□10-11

6.1. Does any person staying on this property pay rent to you (workers, lodgers, members of your household, etc. included)?

□12

Yes	1
No	2

7. What is your current occupation? (Details please if not self-explanatory.)

□□13-14

7.1 Do you work for yourself?

□15

Yes	1
No	2

8. What is the full name of the business/company/organisation for which you are working?

□16

8.1 Where is this place of work (name of city/town/village)?

□ □17-18

-4-

9. Average joint gross income for the household per month (from all sources and only for your household):

□19

R 1 - 2 000	1
R 2 001 - 4 000	2
R 4 001 - 7 500	3
R 7 501 - 12 000	4
R12 001 - 17 000	5
R17 001 - 25 000	6
> R25 000	7
Refuse to answer/don't know	8

RESIDENTIAL/HOUSEHOLD MOBILITY

10. When did your **household** move to Pietersburg?

□20

During or after 1994	1
1991 - 1993	2
1980 - 1990	3
Before 1980	4
Never stayed elsewhere	5

10.1 If your household moved to Pietersburg:

From where did you move (other city, town, village, rural area)?

□□21-22

.....

11. Has your **household** resided at more than one dwelling in Pietersburg?

□23

Yes	1
No	2

If respondent answered YES:

11.1 At how many dwellings has your household resided in Pietersburg (including room in a house, flat, etc.)?

□24

.....

11.2 In which suburb in Pietersburg did your household reside before moving to your present dwelling? (Indicate if previous dwelling was in the same suburb.)

25-26

.....

12. In which suburb are you currently residing?

27-28

.....

12.1 In general, do you regard this suburb as a:

29

Low income suburb	1
Low-middle income suburb	2
Middle income suburb	3
Middle-high income suburb	4
High income suburb	5

12.2 Is your household happy staying in this suburb?

30

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain/neither happy nor unhappy	3

12.2.1 If YES, why?

31-32

.....

.....

12.2.2 If NO, why?

33-34

.....

.....

12.2.3 If UNCERTAIN/neither happy nor unhappy - please explain briefly:.....

35

.....

.....

.....

13. For how long has your household been residing at this specific dwelling?

□36

< 1 year	1
1 - 2 years	2
3 - 4 years	3
5 - 7 years	4
> 7 years	5

13.1 What is your household's status at the dwelling you are currently residing at?
Are you the...:

□37

Owner	1
Lessee	2
Other	3

14. Why did you move to this specific suburb?

□□38-39

.....

.....

.....

□□40-41

15. Does your household intend moving in the near future (to another dwelling/
suburb/village/town/city)?

□42

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain	3

If YES:

15.1 Where are you going to move to?

□43-44

.....

15.1.1 Why are you going to move?

□□45-46

.....

.....

.....

.....

-7-

If NO/UNCERTAIN:

15.2 Please explain briefly.

□□47-48

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.....

.....

.....

Question 16 should not be answered by Seshego residents

16. Who were the last people who resided in this dwelling before you?

□49

Blacks	1
Whites	2
Indians	3
Coloureds	4
Other	5
Don't know	6

16.1 Where did they move to (if you know)?

□□50-51

.....

□52-□59

17. How often do you and /or other members of your household go to the following towns, and why do you go there? (If you visit the same town for different purposes, please indicate how many times for each purpose.)

TOWN	HOW OFTEN	WHY (PURPOSE OF VISIT)
LEBOWAKGOMO		
SESHEGO		
MANKWENG		
Other rural towns around Pietersburg/Seshego (specify):		

-8-

Questions 18 - 19 should only be answered by owners of the property.

18. Did you make use of the services of an estate agency when you purchased this property?

□60

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/not applicable	3

19. How much did you purchase this dwelling for and, if you have to sell it today, how much will you sell it for?

□□61-62

Rand	Purchase price	Selling price
<100 000		
100 000 - 150 000		
150 001 - 200 000		
200 001 - 250 000		
250 001 - 300 000		
300 001 - 350 000		
350 001 - 400 000		
> 400 000		
Don't know/not applicable		

SOCIAL ADAPTATION/ASSIMILATION

20. What is your attitude towards residential integration of different racial groups? Is it...

□63

Totally acceptable	1
Acceptable	2
Neither acceptable nor unacceptable	3
Unacceptable	4
Totally unacceptable	5
Uncertain/don't know	6

Question 21-21.2 should not be answered by Seshego residents

21. A: In which suburb in Pietersburg has the **most** integration of different racial groups occurred over the past few years in your opinion? And the second and third most? (Rank the three most racially integrated suburbs in order of integration in column A of the following table.)

- 64-65
- 66-67
- 68-69
- 70-71

B: In which suburb has racial integration occurred the **least**? (Indicate in column B)

SUBURB	A MOST INTEGRATION (number the three most integrated suburbs in order of integration)	B LEAST INTEGRATION (indicate only one suburb)
Annadale/Ladanna		
Bendor		
Capricorn		
Central Town		
Eduan Park		
Fauna Park		
Flora Park		
Hospital Park/ Moregloed		
Ivy Park		
Nirvana		
Penina Park		
Silwerkruin		
Ster Park		
Welgelegen		
Westenburg		
Don't know		

21.1 Why, in your opinion, has integration been taking place **most** in(your first choice in question 21 A) in comparison to the other suburbs?

- 72-73
- 74-75

.....

.....

21.2 Why, in your opinion has integration been taking place the **least** in.... (suburb indicated in question 21 B)? □76

.....

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.....

Question 21.3 should only be answered by Seshego residents

21.3 Why in your opinion, is residential integration not taking place in Seshego? □□77-78

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22. Do you think that more residential integration of different racial groups will take place in Pietersburg in the future? □79

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

Question 23 should not be answered by Seshego residents

23. Since 1990, have you/ a member of your household experienced any conflict or problems with other racial groups in Pietersburg that resulted directly from residential integration? □80

Once	1
YES More than once	2
NO	3
Uncertain/refuse to answer	4

If YES:

23.1 Please explain the nature of one such conflict incident. □81

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.....

.....

-11-

23.1.1 Where did this conflict occur?

□82

.....

.....

23.1.2 When did it occur?

□83

.....

.....

If NO:

23.2 To what do you ascribe this problem-conflict-free situation?

□84

.....

.....

.....

24. Do you think that public names in Pietersburg (e.g. city, suburb and street names) should change in the future? □85

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain/makes no difference	3

24.1 Please substantiate your answer.

□86-87

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.....

□88-89

25. Presently property developers and owners have the right to decide who may or may not purchase property from them. What is your opinion regarding the possibility of implementing a act/law prohibiting people to sell property only to certain people? □90

Against it	1
Support it	2
Don't mind	3
Don't know	4

Question 26 should only be answered by white/coloured/Indian respondents

26. Would you say that, because of residential integration of different racial groups, your suburb has been influenced at all? □91

Positively influenced	1
YES Neither positively nor negatively influenced	2
Negatively influenced	3
NO, not influenced at all	4
Don't know/not applicable	5
Refuse to answer	6

26.1 If YES/NO, please explain your answer.

..... □□92-93

Question 27 should only be answered by black respondents.

27. Pertaining to **social integration** (e.g. socialising with neighbours and other residents in your neighbourhood/neighbourliness), how does living here compare to living in a township? □94

Much better	1
Better	2
Neither better nor worse	3
Worse	4
Much worse	5
Uncertain/don't know	6
Other (specify):	7

SUBURB/RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION

28. What is the **main problem** that you experience in the suburb where you are staying? □□95-96

.....

-13-

29. Please indicate whether the following features are present in your suburb or not: 97-121

FEATURES	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
Cleanliness			
Noisy people			
Privacy			
General appearance is beautiful			
Open space/play park			
Residential shopping centre/shop/cafe/spaza			
School			
Church			
Medical facility			
Good access to town			
Neighbourhood watch/community policing			
Quiet streets/little traffic			
Well-lit streets			
Streets/pavements in good condition			
Crime			
Neat houses and gardens			
Animals are a nuisance			
Good/friendly neighbours			
Bad odours			
Littering			
Beggars			
Homelessness and squatting on residential stands			
Children playing in streets			
Drugs and/or alcohol abuse			
Unnecessary gathering of people			

30. What is your attitude towards the operation of businesses from homes in residential areas in Pietersburg?

□122

In favour of it	1
Not in favour of it, but also not against it	2
Against it	3
Uncertain/don't know	4

30.1 Please explain your answer:

□□123-124

□□125-126

31. Do you have knowledge of any such a home-based business operating in your neighbourhood?

□127

Yes	1
No	2
Uncertain/don't know	3

If YES:

31.1 What type of business(es) are these?

□□128-129

□□130-131

31.2 What benefits, if any, do these home business(es) hold for you?

□132

31.3 What problems, if any, do these home business(es) create?

□□133-134

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

32. Did you vote in the 1995 Local Government election (in Pietersburg/Seshego)? □135

Yes	1
No	2
Refuse to answer	3

33. Who is the councillor elected in your ward, and which political party is this person representing? □□
136-137

Ward Councillor:

Political Party: □138

34. Are there any significant contribution(s) that this **councillor/political party** in your ward has made concerning your well-being since being elected? □139

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/refuse to answer/not applicable	3

34.1 If **YES**, please elaborate on these contributions. □140

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35. Is there any form of communication between your elected ward councillor and you as resident of the ward? Please explain your answer. □141

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-16-

36. Are there any significant contribution(s) that the **Local Government** has made concerning your welfare since being elected? □142

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/refuse to answer/not applicable	3

36.1 If **YES**, please elaborate on these contributions. □143

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37. How easy or difficult is it for the residents to influence the decisions of Local Government? □144

Very difficult	1
Difficult	2
Neither difficult nor easy	3
Easy	4
Very easy	5
Uncertain/Don't know	6

38. Are you satisfied or unsatisfied with the Local Government? □145

Satisfied	1
Neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	2
Unsatisfied	3
Don't know/refuse to answer/not applicable	4

38.1 Please explain your answer: □□146-147

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39. Please provide any **criticism** you have of the Local Government.

□□148-149

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.....

.....

40. Please provide any **suggestions** you may have for the Local Government on how they can contribute to the betterment of your quality of life/living conditions in Pietersburg.

□150-151

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.....

41. Has your household's quality of life/ personal situation improved, remained the same or deteriorated after 1994 (i.e. after the first non-racial General Election)?

□152

Improved a lot	1
Improved	2
Remained the same	3
Deteriorated	4
Deteriorated a lot	5
Uncertain/don't know/not applicable	6

41.1 Please explain your answer:

□□153-154

.....

.....

42. Has Pietersburg changed after the 1994 General Election, i.e. after apartheid?

□155

Positively	1
YES Neither positively nor negatively	2
Negatively	3
NO, it remained the same	4
Uncertain/don't know/not applicable	5
Refuse to answer	6

42.1 If YES, how did it change?

□□156-157

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.....

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43. Most people residing in Lebowakgomo, Mankweng and all the black rural towns around Pietersburg/Seshego work in Pietersburg and also do their shopping and business in the city. Would you say that all these towns can be seen as part of Pietersburg, or even more, as suburbs of Pietersburg? Should they all be under one municipality? Please explain your opinion.

□□158-159

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44. Any additional comments:

□□□□

160-161

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SURVEY.

ADDENDUM 4: EXAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STREET TRADING SURVEY IN 1995 AND 1996

INFORMAL SECTOR SURVEY IN PIETERSBURG'S CBD - OCTOBER 1995

QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER.....
INTERVIEWER.....

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

- 1. Gender:.....
- 2. Age:.....
- 3. What is the size of your household and where do you live?.....
- 4. Highest educational qualification.....

SELLING AND PRODUCTS

- 5. Products sold:.....
- 6. Are these products your own or are you selling them for someone else?.....
- 6.1 If it is your own, approximately how much do you earn per day/week/month?.....
- 6.2 If it is somebody else's, how are you paid (daily/weekly/monthly - on commission, fixed salary)?.....

LOCATION

- 7. Do you sit at the same place every day? YES NO
Explain why you have decided to sit here and not somewhere else?
- 8. Would you like it if all the sellers are given a specific place with fixed amenities to work from? YES NO
- 8.1 If YES, why and where should such a place be?.....
- 8.2 If NO, why not?.....

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

- 9. Do you think there are too many sellers in the street? YES NO
- 10. Are there any problems created/experienced by the street sellers? YES NO
- 10.1 If yes, please list these problems.....
- 11. How do you think can the following organisations help you in improving your business conditions?

11.1 Government.....
.....
11.2 Other (specify).....
.....

DIVERSE

12. Is there a hawkers' association? YES NO

12.1 If yes, are you a member and what is it known as?.....
.....
.....

12.2 What do they do for you?.....
.....
.....

13. At what time do you start working here and when do you leave for home?

Start.....
Leave.....

14. For how long have you been doing this job?.....

15. Any other comments, perceptions, feelings, etc.

.....
.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY

Additional questions to 1995 survey questionnaire:

16. Are you aware that the Municipality intends to declare the CBD prohibited area for informal trade? YES NO

17 Are you prepared to register as a licencing street trader? YES NO

18. How much are you prepared to pay for a licence?.....

19. What facilities would you like to have in a new trading area if you are to relocate there?
.....
.....
.....

ADDENDUM 5: EXAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE HOME-BASED BUSINESS SURVEY CONDUCTED IN SESHEGO 1997



UNIVERSITEIT VAN STELLENBOSCH

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY: HOME-BASED BUSINESS OWNERS AND NEIGHBOURS IN SESHEGO

DEAR RESPONDENT

I am a candidate doctoral student in Geography at the University of Stellenbosch. The theme of my research is entitled "Urban restructuring in a dispersed city: the case study of Pietersburg and its peripheral towns".

This questionnaire covers (apart from biographical information) different aspects on the important aspect of home-based business in Seshego. Aspects focussed on in the study include the following:

1. BUSINESS TYPE
2. ECONOMIC FACTORS
3. PROBLEMS
4. PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES
5. POLICY

You have been selected from a random sample as a respondent to participate in the survey. The information collected through this questionnaire will be treated as **confidential**. It will be processed by computer in such a way that no personal identification is possible. Because I will work with averages, the data analysis will not implicate any name or address of any of the respondents.

To obtain reliable scientific information it is essential that you answer all the questions as honestly as possible. Your opinion is important in this research.

The interview will be conducted by a trained fieldworker. The fieldworker is currently an honours student in Geography at the University of the North. If you have any queries do not hesitate to call me.

I sincerely thank you for your participation.

Regards,

Ronnie Donaldson
Tel: 0822005244
Date: October 1996

-1-
Questionnaire number.....

QUESTIONS TO HOME-BASED BUSINESS OWNERS

1. Property status:

Owner of property	1
Renting the property	2

2. What type of business do you have?.....

3. Monthly gross income of the business.....

4. When did you start this business?.....

5. Are you employing non-family or family members?.....

6. Do you prefer working from home?

Yes	1
No	2

6.1 If yes, why do you prefer working from home?

.....

7. Do you have any problems/are there any constraints running the business from home?

Yes	1
No	2

7.1 If yes, what are these?

.....

8. Do you know that there are regulations/by-laws controlling home-based business?

Yes	1
No	2

8.1 If yes, what do you know about them?

.....

.....

.....

.....

9. Any comments

.....

.....

.....

.....

QUESTIONS TO NEIGHBOURS OF HOME-BASED BUSINESS

1. Are you against people operating their business from home?

Yes	1
No	2

1.1 Explain your answer

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. What problems, if any, do you experience living next to a home-based business?

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. Do you have any plans of starting a home-based business in the near future?

Yes	1
No	2

3.1 If yes, please explain your answer

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

4. Do you know if there are regulations controlling home-based business?

Yes	1
No	2

4.1 If yes, what do you know about them?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. Should people who have a business at home be regulated by these regulations?

Yes	1
No	2

5.1 Please explain your answer

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

ADDENDUM 6: SUMMARY OF RESPONDENTS' BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION CROSS-TABULATED WITH FORMER GROUP AREAS: SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING SURVEY, OCTOBER 1997

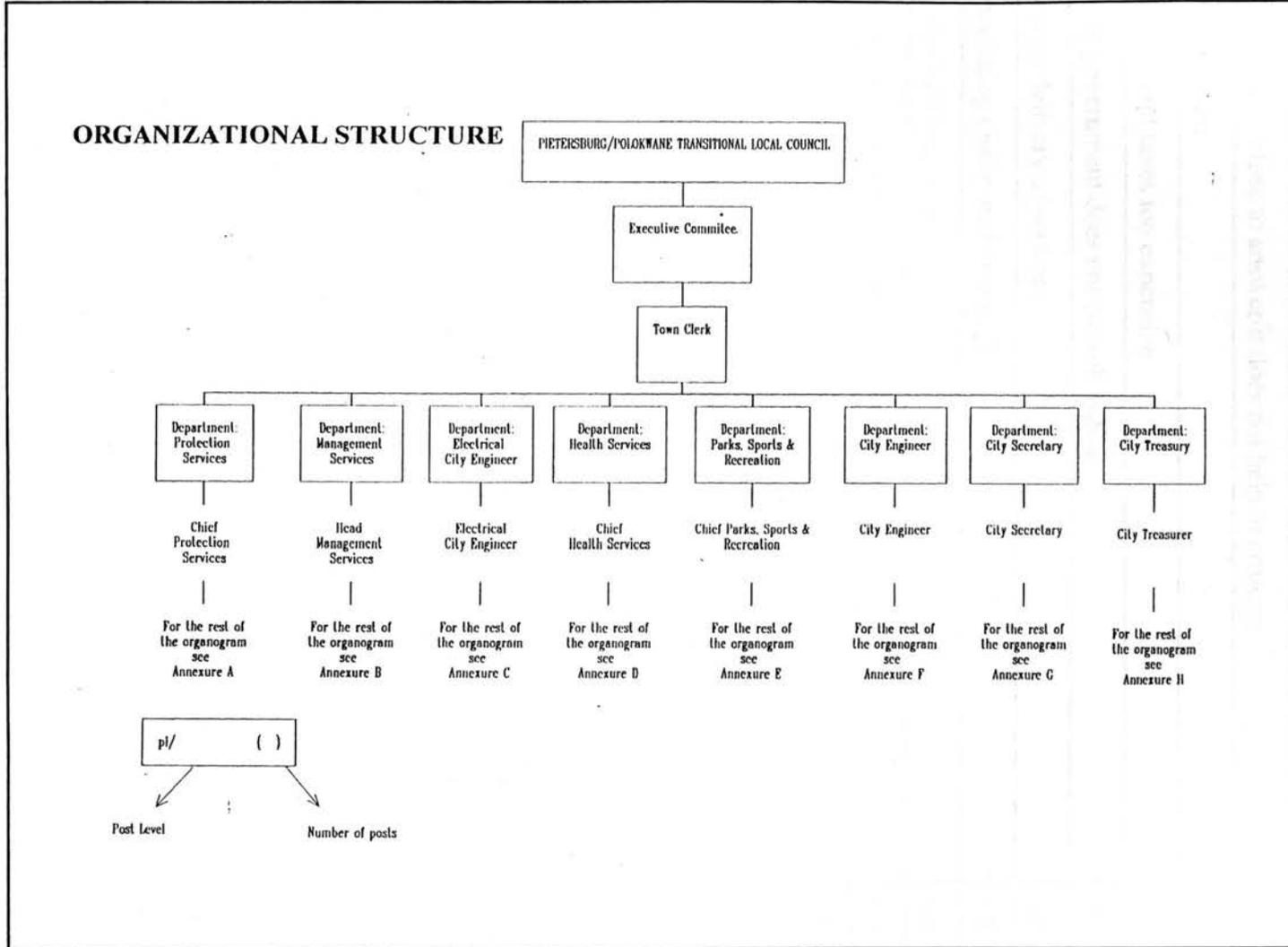
Variable	Pietersburg	Seshego	Nirvana	Westenburg	Total
RACE:					
Black	6 3.95 10.91 6.59	80 52.63 100.00 87.91	0 0 0 0	5 3.29 55.56 5.49	91 59.87
White	47 30.92 85.45 100.00	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	47 30.92
Indian	2 1.32 3.64 20.00	0 0 0 0	8 5.26 100.00 80.00	0 0 0 0	10 6.58
Coloured	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	4 2.63 44.44 100.00	4 2.63
AGE:					
<20	0	0	0	0	0
20-29	9 5.92 16.36 37.50	10 6.58 12.50 41.67	4 2.63 50.00 16.67	1 0.66 11.11 4.17	24 15.79
30-39	18 11.84 32.73 31.58	31 20.39 38.75 54.39	2 1.32 25.00 3.51	6 3.95 66.67 10.53	57 37.50
40-49	12 7.89 21.82 35.29	19 12.50 23.75 55.88	1 0.66 12.50 2.94	2 1.32 22.22 5.88	34 22.37
50-59	9 5.92 16.36 36.00	16 10.53 20.00 64.00	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	25 16.45
60-70	5 3.29 9.09 55.56	3 1.97 3.75 33.33	1 0.66 12.50 11.11	0 0 0 0	9 5.92
>70	2 1.32 3.64 66.67	1 0.66 1.25 33.33	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	3 1.97

AGE: <20	0	0	0	0	0
20-29	9 5.92 16.36 37.50	10 6.58 12.50 41.67	4 2.63 50.00 16.67	1 0.66 11.11 4.17	24 15.79
30-39	18 11.84 32.73 31.58	31 20.39 38.75 54.39	2 1.32 25.00 3.51	6 3.95 66.67 10.53	57 37.50
40-49	12 7.89 21.82 35.29	19 12.50 23.75 55.88	1 0.66 12.50 2.94	2 1.32 22.22 5.88	34 22.37
50-59	9 5.92 16.36 36.00	16 10.53 20.00 64.00	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	25 16.45
60-70	5 3.29 9.09 55.56	3 1.97 3.75 33.33	1 0.66 12.50 11.11	0 0 0 0	9 5.92
>70	2 1.32 3.64 66.67	1 0.66 1.25 33.33	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	3 1.97
EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION					
Up to and including Std.5	0 0 0 0	5 3.29 6.25 100.00	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	5 3.29
Std. 6-9	8 5.26 14.55 26.67	18 11.84 22.50 60.00	2 1.32 25.00 6.67	2 1.32 22.22 6.67	30 19.74
Std. 10	16 10.53 29.09 38.10	19 12.50 23.75 45.24	4 2.63 50.00 9.52	3 1.97 33.33 7.14	42 27.63
Diploma	13 8.55 23.64 28.89	28 18.42 35.00 62.22	0 0 0 0	4 2.63 44.44 8.89	45 29.61
University degree	18 11.84 32.73 60.00	10 6.58 12.50 33.33	2 1.32 25.00 6.67	0 0 0 0	30 19.74

LANGUAGE:					
English	9	0	8	0	17
	5.92	0	5.26	0	11.18
	16.36	0	100.00	0	
	52.94	0	47.06	0	
Afrikaans	39	0	0	4	43
	25.66	0	0	2.63	28.29
	70.91	0	0	44.44	
	90.70	0	0	9.30	
Northern Sotho	5	75	0	4	84
	3.29	49.34	0	2.63	55.26
	9.09	93.75	0	44.44	
	5.95	89.29	0	4.76	
Lemba/Venda	0	1	0	0	1
	0	0.66	0	0	0.66
	0	1.25	0	0	
	0	100.00	0	0	
Tsonga/Shangaan	0	3	0	0	3
	0	1.97	0	0	1.97
	0	3.75	0	0	
	0	100.00	0	0	
Tswana	1	0	0	0	1
	0.66	0	0	0	0.66
	1.82	0	0	0	
	33.33	0	0	0	
Other	1	1	0	1	3
	0.66	0.66	0	0.66	1.97
	1.82	1.25	0	11.11	
	33.33	33.33	0	33.33	

OCCUPATION:					
Professional	4	3	2	0	9
	2.63	1.97	1.32	0	5.29
	7.27	3.75	25.00	0	
	44.44	33.33	22.22	0	
Managerial/Administrative	11	2	1	0	14
	7.24	1.32	0.66	0	9.21
	20.00	2.50	12.50	0	
	78.57	14.29	7.14	0	
Clerical	4	8	0	2	14
	2.63	5.26	0	1.32	9.21
	7.27	10.00	0	22.22	
	28.57	57.14	0	14.29	
Service	6	9	0	2	17
	3.95	5.92	0	1.32	11.18
	10.91	11.25	0	22.22	
	35.29	52.94	0	11.76	
Sales	2	8	2	2	14
	1.32	5.26	1.32	1.32	9.21
	3.64	10.00	25.00	22.22	
	14.29	57.14	14.29	14.29	
Transport/Communication	3	5	0	0	8
	1.97	3.29	0	0	5.26
	5.45	6.25	0	0	
	37.50	62.50	0	0	
Production/Building	2	1	0	1	4
	1.32	0.66	0	0.66	2.63
	3.64	1.25	0	11.11	
	50.00	25.00	0	25.00	
Unemployed	7	3	3	1	14
	4.61	1.97	1.97	0.66	9.21
	12.73	3.75	37.50	11.11	
	50.00	21.43	21.43	7.14	
Technical	6	1	0	0	7
	3.95	0.66	0	0	4.61
	10.91	1.25	0	0	
	85.71	14.29	0	0	
Education	9	26	0	1	36
	5.92	17.11	0	0.66	23.68
	16.36	32.50	0	11.11	
	25.00	72.22	0	2.78	
Artist	1	0	0	0	1
	0.66	0	0	0	0.66
	1.82	0	0	0	
	100.00	0	0	0	
Labourer	0	14	0	0	1
	0	9.21	0	0	9.21
	0	17.50	0	0	
	0	100.00	0	0	

INCOME:					
1-2000	5	20	0	2	2
	3.29	13.16	0	1.32	17.76
	9.09	25.00	0	22.22	
	18.35	74.07	0	7.41	
2001-4000	5	10	1	5	21
	3.29	6.58	0.66	3.29	13.82
	9.09	12.50	12.50	55.56	
	23.81	47.62	4.76	23.81	
4001-7500	10	15	1	0	26
	6.58	9.87	0.66	0	17.11
	18.18	18.75	12.50	0	
	38.46	57.69	3.85	0	
7501-12000	16	12	1	0	29
	10.53	7.89	0.66	0	19.08
	29.09	15.00	12.50	0	
	55.17	41.38	3.45	0	
12001-17000	3	3	0	0	6
	1.97	1.97	0	0	3.95
	5.45	3.75	0	0	
	50.00	50.00	0	0	
17001-25000	3	1	0	0	4
	1.97	0.66	0	0	2.63
	5.45	1.25	0	0	
	75.00	25.00	0	0	
>25000	4	19	0	0	23
	2.63	12.50	0	0	15.13
	7.27	23.75	0	0	
	17.39	82.61	0	0	
Refuse	9	0	5	2	16
	5.92	0	3.29	1.32	10.53
	16.36	0	62.50	22.22	
	60.00	0	26.67	13.33	



Source: Pietersburg/Polokwane TLC (nd)

ADDENDUM 8: RESPONDENTS' CRITICAL COMMENTS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN PIETERSBURG

CRITICISM AGAINST LOCAL GOVERNMENT	%
No response/refuse to answer/it does not help to criticise	33.6
Personal gain	11.8
Services and taxes too expensive	7.9
Local government does not consult public	7.2
Slow in delivery of services	5.9
Appointing under-qualified staff	5.3
Do not fulfil promises	3.9
Politics is detrimental to administration of municipality	3.3
Discriminate against the urban poor	2.6
Do not listen to public's complaints	2.6
Staff need to be capacitated and trained	2.6
Local government say there is no funding for infrastructure	2.0
Staff is incompetent	2.0
They take ridiculous decisions	1.3
Officials do not pay for services/rent	1.3
Waste funding unnecessary	1.3
Projects are not completed	1.3
No attempt is made to reduce the parking problem in CBD	0.7
More crime now after apartheid	0.7
They destroy Christian values	0.7
Spend money on purchasing expensive buildings	0.7
Too much criticism to mention	0.7
There should not be any criticism	0.7
TOTAL	100%

Source: Social restructuring survey in Pietersburg (October 1997)

ADDENDUM 9: SYNTHETIC AND ANALYTIC INDICES FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF SEGREGATION

A. Synthetic indices

1. Index of segregation (IS): measures the differentiation of one social group in relation to the total of other social groups:

$$IS = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n |X_i - Y_i| \cdot 100$$

X_i = percentage of the x social group in the i-th area

Y_i = percentage of all the other social groups in the i-th area

n = number of areas considered

Index of segregation ranges in value from 0 - 100, with 0 representing a perfect integration (social mix) and 100 maximum segregation.

2. Index of dissimilarity (ID): measures the compatibility or incompatibility of two social groups' residential locations:

$$ID = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n |X_i - Z_i| \cdot 100$$

X_i = percentage of the x social group in the i-th area

Z_i = percentage of the z social groups in the i-th area

n = number of areas considered

The values range between 0 - 100, respectively representing perfect similarity and extreme dissimilarity.

B. Analytic indices

1. Location quotient (LQ): measures the relative concentration of a social/ethnic group in subareas of a city:

$$LQ = X_i / X_j$$

LQ = relative concentration of a social group x in the i-th area

X_i = the percentage of a social group within the whole city

The positive values represent the following:

LQ < 1 relative under-representation of the social group in a zone

LQ = 1 representation of a social group in an area is equal to the city's average

LQ > 1 a relative over-representation of a social group in a zone

Sources: Duncan & Duncan (1955); Ley (1983); Petsimeris & Racine (1996)

ADDENDUM 10: MONTHLY NUMBER OF SALES PER SUBURB IN PIETERSBURG FOR THE PERIOD 1994-1997

SUBURB	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	TOTAL
Annadale													
1994	7	4	6	4	7	6	6	11	15	7	7	6	86
1995	8	1	12	6	8	6	9	5	6	3	7	9	80
1996	6	3	6	3	7	4	11	12	2	10	4	1	69
1997	3	6	4	2	1	3	6	2	6	2	2	0	37
Bendor													
1994	17	7	21	8	8	16	8	8	25	22	19	10	169
1995	29	10	25	14	14	21	5	10	8	8	51	13	208
1996	21	17	21	10	19	29	14	15	12	21	19	10	208
1997	14	14	14	40	29	13	33	9	13	4	11	0	194
Capricorn													
1994	1	2	3	0	1	3	1	4	1	1	4	0	21
1995	1	3	3	0	4	1	1	2	1	1	0	1	18
1996	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	10
1997	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
Central													
1994	22	32	13	10	16	15	18	27	16	16	17	5	207
1995	17	16	16	14	15	8	19	24	16	12	12	10	179
1996	13	16	14	11	17	10	11	15	6	14	13	6	146
1997	7	12	11	9	9	7	5	6	8	4	3	1	82
Eduan Park													
1994	6	15	5	1	5	2	3	3	2	3	6	0	49
1995	1	4	3	1	1	1	4	1	3	4	2	2	27
1996	1	2	2	2	2	3	4	0	3	2	1	3	25
1997	2	7	2	1	4	0	4	3	2	0	0	0	25
Fauna Park													
1994	13	13	13	9	5	8	11	12	4	9	34	7	138
1995	6	12	16	9	6	6	3	6	4	10	7	4	89
1996	7	5	8	10	10	15	6	4	8	7	6	4	90
1997	12	7	4	7	4	5	6	6	3	2	2	1	59
Flora Park													
1994	21	15	16	7	25	10	39	35	18	15	66	15	381
1995	20	22	37	11	20	9	27	18	17	14	21	6	228
1996	11	12	17	10	7	15	28	20	69	30	18	12	911
1997	33	23	16	11	20	49	16	6	7	13	0	0	168
Hospital Park/ Moregloed													
1994	6	9	4	4	2	4	3	2	7	1	3	0	45
1995	3	4	3	2	3	0	2	5	4	5	2	2	35
1996	1	3	1	4	2	2	1	5	3	2	1	0	25
1997	4	2	4	2	2	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	19

Ivy Park													
1994	1	3	5	4	4	2	5	3	1	1	1	1	31
1995	2	4	3	3	0	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	20
1996	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	0	2	1	0	0	11
1997	2	1	2	6	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	17
Nirvana													
1994	11	4	4	0	4	4	3	6	5	4	1	3	49
1995	6	11	16	4	6	6	1	6	0	7	2	2	67
1996	0	2	3	4	2	1	3	4	3	2	5	4	33
1997	4	2	4	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	14
Penina Park													
1994	1	8	2	4	5	4	5	4	4	2	2	2	43
1995	2	7	0	2	4	1	4	4	0	4	4	3	35
1996	2	3	4	3	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	5	30
1997	2	3	2	1	0	0	0	1	3	3	1	0	16
Silwerkruin													
1994	8	3	5	1	0	2	0	2	2	2	1	2	28
1995	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	1	3	3	3	0	17
1996	8	4	1	2	0	1	3	0	1	1	3	0	24
1997	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	0	14
Ster Park													
1994	4	3	2	6	8	14	1	3	3	2	2	0	48
1995	1	1	2	1	5	3	3	4	18	2	8	2	50
1996	5	4	6	2	6	0	8	2	5	2	1	1	42
1997	3	1	5	3	2	1	1	2	1	4	1	0	24
Welgelegen													
1994	4	15	8	3	3	4	5	4	5	3	5	3	52
1995	2	0	5	2	3	5	3	3	4	2	2	0	31
1996	3	2	1	1	3	3	4	0	4	1	1	4	27
1997	3	3	1	1	5	3	1	0	5	1	0	0	23
Westenburg													
1994	8	3	3	66	5	11	15	30	12	8	15	2	178
1995	2	0	3	9	5	6	2	4	3	3	9	48	94
1996	19	3	8	6	4	4	1	1	5	7	4	2	64
1997	3	7	5	1	3	1	2	2	3	1	0	0	28

Source: Derived from raw data collected from the *Property Transfer Guide for Pietersburg* (1994-1997)

ADDENDUM 11: INTER-RACIAL TRANSFERS PER YEAR ACCORDING TO SUBURB IN PIETERSBURG FOR THE PERIOD 1994-1997

SUBURB	1-1	1-2	1-3	2-1	2-2	2-3	3-1	3-2	3-3	TOTAL
Annadale										
1994	68	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	70
1995	26	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	29
1996	38	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	47
1997	24	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
Bendor										
1994	80	20	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	103
1995	33	7	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	44
1996	46	10	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	59
1997	42	8	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	54
Capricorn										
1994	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
1995	51	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	53
1996	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
1997	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Central										
1994	122	12	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	136
1995	78	16	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	101
1996	68	11	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	82
1997	30	6	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	40
Eduan Park										
1994	31	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
1995	19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
1996	18	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
1997	17	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Fauna Park										
1994	62	28	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	95
1995	23	19	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	48
1996	41	25	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	72
1997	21	16	0	2	5	1	2	0	0	47
Flora Park										
1994	76	31	1	5	3	0	0	0	0	116
1995	41	56	0	3	10	0	0	0	0	110
1996	58	45	2	2	17	0	0	0	0	124
1997	25	32	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	63
Hospital Park/ Moregloed										
1994	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1995	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
1996	14	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	19
1997	11	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	14

Ivy Park										
1994	12	12	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	27
1995	7	5	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	18
1996	6	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
1997	5	5	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	13
Nirvana										
1994	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	17	24
1995	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	6	28	37
1996	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	11	18
1997	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	8	11
Penina Park										
1994	11	20	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	34
1995	9	11	1	2	4	0	0	0	0	27
1996	9	9	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	23
1997	9	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	13
Silwerkruijn										
1994	15	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	21
1995	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
1996	8	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	11
1997	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Ster Park										
1994	13	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
1995	16	5	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	24
1996	21	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
1997	10	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Welgelegen										
1994	34	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
1995	18	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
1996	13	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	21
1997	11	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	15
Westenburg										
1994	5	9	0	2	11	0	0	0	0	27
1995	4	4	0	3	10	0	0	0	0	21
1996	3	6	0	1	10	2	1	0	0	23
1997	6	2	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	17
TOTALS										
1994	531	153	6	15	23	0	0	5	17	
1995	352	137	9	19	31	2	3	6	28	
1996	348	133	9	13	36	2	4	5	11	
1997	218	87	4	11	23	2	3	1	9	
GRAND TOTAL	1449	510	28	58	113	6	10	17	65	2256

Number of inter-racial transfers per month in suburbs, 1994-1997

1=WHITE
2=BLACK
3=INDIAN

Source: Derived from raw data collected from the *Property Transfer Guide for Pietersburg* (1994-1997)