



2 | URBAN RECONSTRUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF DURBAN

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Introduction

South Africa's apartheid legacy is well known and has been widely researched. The impact of apartheid was most acute in the urban areas. The present South African city form had been shaped by the early colonial measures to keep the urban areas predominantly for white use and occupation. As the democratic initiatives of the 1990s gained momentum various strategies were pursued to reverse the effects of racial planning.

The aim of this paper is to evaluate urban reconstruction, development and planning strategies in a specific locality—the city of Durban. Durban is located in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), one of the most densely populated regions of the country, with one in every four South Africans living in the province. Durban reflected the cutting edge of many problems facing the country, of which the most crucial challenges were the provision of housing and employment. The Durban Metropolitan Council was forced to respond to a multitude of problems and demands as it attempted to come to terms with burgeoning numbers; a depressed economy; rising crime levels; inner city decay; land and housing invasions, and demands for urban land restitution from those dispossessed in the apartheid era.

This paper is divided into four sections. In the first section the apartheid urban legacy is briefly discussed. The urban development strategy of the Government of National Unity is evaluated in the next section. New urban realities and challenges facing post-apartheid cities are discussed in the third section. The fourth section focuses on the Durban case study.

Apartheid Urban Legacy

The history of South Africa since the 17th Century is permeated by the quest for increasing white domination and supremacy over blacks in order to control resources and exploit labour, which reached its peak during the apartheid era (1948–1994). In South Africa the state has played an important role in influencing the spatial and social organisation of society. Africans were denied access to, and participation in, all political structures, and hence had little or no influence on decision-making, especially with regard to the allocation of resources. The establishment of mechanisms of spatial and social segregation, which were actively developed over the past two centuries, assisted in the exploitation and servility of blacks.

In the terms of the 1913 Land Act, blacks were allocated 13 percent of the land. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923

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represented the first Union attempt to control, manage and segregate urban Africans. The rationale for the legislation was based on the findings of the Stallard Commission which contended that the Native should only enter urban areas in order to 'administer to the needs of the white man'. The Group Areas Act (1950) was one of the key instruments used to reinforce the ideology of apartheid, and emphasized separate residential areas, educational services and other amenities for the different race groups.

Despite the apartheid regimes attempts to curb urbanisation through separate development and influx control policies, it failed to contain the growth of cities. Poverty and lack of socio-economic opportunities led to the migration of large number of rural blacks to the cities in search of employment opportunities. Apartheid planning left behind open spaces, under-utilised infrastructure and services. Such areas became the target of individuals and families attempting to gain a foothold in locations close to urban opportunities. Lack of housing led to an increasing number of squatters on vacant land close to cities and suburbs.

The present city form had been inherited from the legacy of apartheid urban planning and was characterized by racially fragmented and discontinuous land uses and settlement patterns, haphazard, dysfunctional and inefficient spatial ordering, land use mismatches, low-level population density and the concentration of the poor in relatively high density areas on the peripheries and the rich in the core intermediate urban areas (Hindson *et al*, 1992:6).

Approaches to Restructuring the Apartheid City

As the democratic initiatives of the early 1990s gained momentum, progressive urban planners in South Africa attempted to reconstruct apartheid cities by pursuing initiatives to reverse the effects of racial planning. These initiatives included *inter alia*, increasing residential densities in the core city, promoting infill on pockets of vacant land which served as buffer zones to segregate racial groups and upgrading crowded townships and hostels. Great emphasis has been placed on restructuring the inner city in the post-apartheid era so that there would be desegregation and integration (Dewar and Uytienbogaart, 1991; Hindson, *et al*, 1992). In order to restructure the apartheid city three development models have been proposed.

Development Model 1: City Infill

During the apartheid era, development planners had left large parcels of vacant land in the form of buffer strips which segregated one racial residential suburb from another. In the post-apartheid era, vacant pockets of land in the inner city had been invaded by squatters living on the peripheries of the city. Infill development would contribute to the cost-effective development of the inner city as resources of the built environment could be integrated into the infill areas at a

cheaper cost, benefiting the poorest of the poor (Hindson, *et al*, 1992:12-14).

However, according to Bernstein and McCarthy (1990:64), apart from being an important symbolic intervention aimed at the deliberate reversal of the apartheid planning legacy, infill development would also contribute towards the realization of more compact, efficient and equitable urban form and assist in breaking down barriers to inter-racial movements and communication. However, infill development alone would not absorb all the people living in informal settlements in the inner city, and there would be a need to expand development on the urban fringes (Bernstein and McCarthy, 1990:64).

Development Model 2: Compact Cities

During apartheid planning, the British 'Garden City' and the 'neighbourhood unit' model of urban development was used which focused on residential areas which were spatially separated and isolated from commercial and industrial areas, and comprised of single storey buildings with low density and were dependent on an urban transportation system. In addition, the 'New Town' movement influenced the development of South African cities and led to the separation of suburbs from the city centre. This type of development suited the middle and upper income group who were in a position to afford personal transport to and from the city (Hindson, Mabin and Watson, 1992: iii).

Dewar (1992:249) contends that by compacting the city in the post-apartheid era the following benefits would be derived:

- a) a greater range and diversity of economic opportunities would be open to all inhabitants;
- b) social and commercial services would be more convenient and accessible;
- c) the cost of social and other services would be lower; and
- d) the services of a compact system would be available to all, irrespective of class, status or race.

Development Model 3: Inner City Densification

The apartheid experience indicates that low building densities, under-utilized open space and fragmentation increases the cost of housing, services and infrastructure provision. Low density development was inefficient, wasteful and imposed major costs on low income people. According to Dewar and Uytienbogaart (1991:41-46) densities needed to be higher than those characteristic of apartheid planning for the following reasons:

- a) higher densities allowed for an efficient and cheaper public transport system;
- b) levels of social and commercial service would be increased;

- c) higher concentration of people would support the growth of the formal sector; and
- d) unit costs of housing, social and other services would be reduced.

It should be noted that densification does not mean high rise buildings or overcrowding. Densification would lead to the maximum use of limited space within the inner city and the maximum use of historical investments in social and utility structures. Also, densification would give the city a mixture of different classes and income groups, and would make the city a hub of activities as compared to the apartheid era when the city was isolated at night as most of the people moved to the surrounding suburbs after work (Dewar and Uitenbogaart, 1991:9; Dewar, 1992:249).

Urban Development Strategies

Against the background of the above approaches, the urban development strategy of the Government of National Unity identified five priority action areas.

Action Area 1: Integrating the Cities and Managing Urban Growth

The urban strategy aims to integrate the cities and towns with special focus on rebuilding the townships, job creation, provision of housing and urban amenities through integrated development planning, reducing commuting distances between the work place and residential areas, facilitating better use of under-utilized or vacant land, introducing environmentally sensitive management of development and improving public passenger transport (Government Gazette, No. 16679, 1995:10).

The creation of activity corridors and nodes would assist in integrating the fragmented apartheid city form. Activity corridors and nodes would have the following advantages in restructuring the apartheid city:

- a) at a metropolitan level, the traditional segregated residential townships developed in terms of the Group Areas Act would be integrated into the core city;
- b) the racial geographical boundaries of suburbs would be integrated with informal settlements, allowing the informal dwellers easy access to resources like health care services, recreation, and schooling;
- c) it would generate economic growth as it would draw people, goods and investments from all over the city; and
- d) activity corridors and nodes would reduce transport costs, as people would gain easy access to public transport or walk on foot; and it would assist in connecting the infrastructure of the built environment, reducing duplication costs and making housing affordable (Seneque and Brown, 1994:3).

Action Area 2: Investing in Urban Development

Urban Development Investment focuses on upgrading existing houses and constructing new houses; restoring and extending infrastructure services, reducing environmental health hazards, encouraging investment; providing job opportunities and social community facilities (Government Gazette, No. 16679, 1995:10). There are three major initiatives in this regard.

i. The Masakhane Campaign

"Building together now" is aimed at accelerating delivery of basic services and housing, promoting the resumption of payments of rent, service charges and bond instalments, creating sustainable and efficient local government and stimulating economic development (RDP Newsletter, No.2 1995:1). Although there has been optimism that the urban strategy would compel citizens to pay for services used, thereby strengthening the tax base of the city, in reality the ethos of non-payment had grown proportionately and the national campaign does not look promising for the future (Sunday Tribune, 1/11/1996 - weekly Durban newspaper). It is unlikely that the Masakhane Campaign would prompt people 'who had bravely refused to pay for rents and services of apartheid, will now bravely make financial sacrifices to pay for the services of a democratic government' (Sunday Tribune, 1/11/1996 - weekly Durban newspaper). In addition, a government-commissioned report on poverty had found that about 53 percent of South Africans were unable to afford to pay for the services that the Government provides, raising questions about the viability of Operation Masakhane (Daily News, 23/1/1996 - daily Durban newspaper). There is also the question of the lack of services which further increases the reluctance of residents to pay for services.

ii. Special Presidential or Integrated Projects

These projects aim at urban renewal in selected highly visible areas focusing on violence torn communities which are in crisis. They aim at the integrated provision of infrastructure, housing, community facilities, job creation and capacity building (Bloch 1995 :25). Projects chosen to date are:

- a) Katorus, located in Guateng, focuses on the repair of damaged houses, upgrading of hostels, repair of infrastructure, improved service provision, new housing development and the provision of community facilities.
- b) Bruntville in Mooi River has been identified for the rebuilding and upgrading of urban communities affected by violence.
- c) Duncan Village in East London and Cato Manor in Durban focuses on integrated development including land servicing and housing programmes.
- d) Ibahi in Port Elizabeth has been identified for the provision of infrastructure, commuting facilities and housing.
- e) Integrated development and upgrading of Botshobelo and

Thobang communities in the Free State (Bloch, 1995:28).

iii. *The National Housing Programme*

This programme focuses on the housing backlog by mobilising and harnessing the resources, efforts and initiatives of communities, the private sector and the state to increase sustainable housing delivery (Department of Housing, 1995:20-21).

Action Area 3: Building Habitable and Safe Environments

The strategy focuses on human and social objectives and three areas have been identified.

- a) *Social Development* - this would be achieved through community based development and the provision of health, educational, sport and recreational services and opportunities;
- b) *Social Security* - would take the form of caring for the aged, children who had been neglected, broken families, provision of social care and services;
- c) *Safety and Security* - would be achieved by addressing those socio-economic conditions which perpetuate crime and violence and undermine development (*Government Gazette*, No. 16679, 1995:11).

Action Area 4: Promoting Urban Economic Development

Urban development had to ensure the concomitant effect of generating greater economic activity, maximizing direct employment opportunities and alleviating urban poverty. Local economic development has been identified as an important growth strategy for "post-apartheid economic reconstruction" (Nel and Rogerson, 1996:69).

The transformation phase to a democratic society has been characterised by the "demise of 'top down' regional development planning and an accompanying rise of 'local' economic development initiatives" (Rogerson, 1994:180). Central government control over local development planning has been reduced, with localities assuming greater control over such initiatives. One of the reasons for this was the central state's inability to contribute towards the social support and welfare services which were imperative to address the gross inequalities of apartheid, and it attempted to transfer some of this obligation onto local government and the private sector (Sapsford, 1994). The Centre for Development Enterprise (1996a:31) has suggested that "improving the management of cities and linking local urban management to economic development are vital for coping with the pressing problems of urban development and of expanding economic activity".

Action Area 5: Creating Institutions for Delivery

The primary task of delivery of service was the responsibility of the local government, while the provincial government had to prioritize, monitor and evaluate development. Central

government had the responsibility of funding based on national reconstruction and development priorities. In this respect the Urban Strategy emphasizes the need for new local governments to improve administrative, planning and implementation functions through the more efficient utilization of resources (*Government Gazette*, No. 16679, 1995:42). The Urban Strategy emphasizes a strong relationship between private and public sector in the delivery of services.

New Urban Realities

Three distinct processes with regard to the changing racial structures of contemporary South African cities can be identified:

- i) The desegregation of the inner city and the limited desegregation of the inner white suburban areas. It should be noted that this type of desegregation of white suburban areas is primarily due to class and wealth instead of race.
- ii) The expansion of the black townships on land adjacent to the white suburbs and the expansion of informal settlements on the urban fringes of white suburbs.
- iii) The spontaneous growth of informal settlements within more affluent areas (Saff, 1994:382).

It is evident from the discussion thus far that the desegregation of the apartheid city was generally taking place within the inner city and on the fringes of affluent suburbs.

In the apartheid era, squatting and land invasion were generally confined to the borders of townships and the peripheries of the city. In the post-apartheid era there has been an increasing tendency to occupy vacant land within the core city. While this tendency may be viewed as desegregating urban space, it should be noted that this practice was generally amongst the poorest of the poor.

Another urban reality in the post-apartheid era is the decline of the inner city and the flight of capital from the Central Business Districts (CBDs). The high crime rates in the inner city areas played a significant role in the decline of the CBDs. The impact of crime on urban lifestyles is summarised by the following quotation from a weekly newspaper:

Electrified fences, high walls, steel security doors and gates ... coupled with some of the most sophisticated alarm systems linked to police stations, are common features of the way South Africans live today, barricaded in their homes. Locks, gates, barbed wire and vicious dogs take care of the not-so-poor while those who could ill-afford such defences, put their trust in God (*The Asian*, 15/7/97 - weekly Durban newspaper).

The inner-city areas of Johannesburg were most severely affected, followed by Durban and Cape Town. This has led some to question the wisdom of upgrading the townships at

the expense of inner city growth. According to the Centre for Development Enterprise, a private-sector research/policy organisation,

it made sense to revitalise central business districts because the infrastructure was already there. Big business may be moving out of central Johannesburg but the inner city has an important new function: it has become the incubator for small black business (*Daily News*, 4/3/96 - daily Durban newspaper).

The South African Chamber of Commerce has similarly emphasised the economic function of cities: "The prime focus must be a city's economic growth in terms of retaining current investment and encouraging new growth" (*Daily News*, 18/9/96 - daily Durban newspaper).

Financial institutions were reluctant to grant loans in inner city areas because of the risk, overcrowding, and the inadequate maintenance of buildings. While the policy of redlining protected the short-term interests of financial institutions, it was likely to adversely affect all parties in the long term. In this regard the Johannesburg Innercity Report noted:

Thus the fact that an individual cannot raise a bond to buy living accommodation they can afford in the area of their choice not only affects that individual but the person trying to sell the property and all those who already own property in the redlined area. This includes the financial institutions themselves whose existing bonds are placed at risk by the lowering of prices that the redlining precipitates (Crankshaw and White, 1992:13-14).

The Durban Case Study

Durban is one of four urban centres in South Africa, and is also the economic engine of KwaZulu-Natal. About half of the province's population live and work in the Durban Metro's industrial and commercial sectors. However, like many South African cities Durban does not function efficiently:

Largely due to the legacy of apartheid, its performance tends to be inefficient, inequitable and ineffective. It is characterised by a number of serious development challenges, which include poverty, unemployment, rising crime levels, disparities in levels of servicing, isolated communities, expanding informal housing arrangements and sprawling settlements. These development challenges have to be addressed if Durban is to improve its performance to the benefit of all people, particularly those who have been historically disadvantaged (Williamson, 1996:3).

Since the 1980s there was a massive influx of migrants into the Durban region, and it has often been referred to as one of the fastest growing cities in the world. In 1995 the population of the Durban region was estimated to be 2.3 million (City of Durban, 1995:22). The elimination of influx control

legislation, the Group Areas Act and Land Acts and a myriad of other apartheid legislation, has led to urbanisation rates of up to 5.7 percent per annum. This resulted in the city accommodating about 45 percent of the region's population (Tomlinson, 1993:5).

The development crisis in the Durban region is illustrated by the rapid population growth, a slow economic growth rate, housing backlogs, an increasing number of informal settlements, increasing poverty, high unemployment rates and an inadequate supply of basic services to the majority of the population (Pillay, 1996).

Land Invasions/Informal Settlements

During apartheid planning, large plots of vacant land, known as buffer zones, separated white suburbs from black townships. During the 1980s the black townships had experienced an increase in backyard shack dwellings, which expanded on vacant land on the peripheries of white suburbs. The scrapping of the Group Areas Act, violence and crime in the townships, and rising unemployment precipitated movement of people to vacant land in the inner city, and open land occupations and invasions replaced clandestine squatting (Hindson, *et al*, 1994:333).

In the late 1980s, a further stage of squatting began in inner city areas such as Kennedy Road, Clare Estate and Cato Manor in Durban. While spatially the racial impress of the apartheid city was changed by this process, it had little social effect on the new black residents, as they were excluded from access to virtually all facilities and social institutions within the neighbouring white suburbs (Saff, 1994:328).

The illegal occupation of land and houses raised fears and anxieties amongst middle and lower income groups and even relatively better off township residents and this has led in some instances to racial and class based conflict. The expansion of the informal settlements on the fringes of affluent areas had a profound effect on the property values of these suburbs. The establishment of informal settlements on affluent residential fringes had provoked opposition and in some instances stopped development. In Cato Manor, Durban, the residents of the affluent Manor Gardens suburb demanded an interfaced development as compared to low cost housing in order to retain the value of their property (*Izwi*, July 1995:3 - community newspaper). The Manor Gardens residents made it clear that they were not opposed to black housing development on their borders, but were concerned purely in terms of their property being devalued. Although some wanted to sell their properties and move out, banks would not provide finance due to the large informal settlements surrounding their homes.

Land invasions in South Africa have largely taken place on land adjacent to existing townships, on the periphery of urban areas. More recently, the urban poor began moving towards the city-core areas, mainly on land surrounding Indian and colored suburbs.

Hence, invasions tend to reinforce the broad apartheid geography of the cities rather than fundamentally challenge it. By establishing themselves next to the large townships created in the 1950s, the land invaders reinforce the pattern, created under Prime Minister Verwoerd in the 1950s, of peripheral, segregated African residential areas (Mabin, 1992:21-2).

Under these circumstances Tomlinson (1997:15) has suggested that the obsession with compact cities is misdirected, and maintains that the focus should be on "how to improve the circumstances of low-income households in conditions of urban sprawl".

Land Restitution

The Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 provided a mechanism to address the land dispossession that occurred during the apartheid era. In an era of reconstruction, development and planning, land restitution can be regarded as an opportunity to heal the scars resulting from apartheid planning and forced removals. In Durban, Cato Manor represented one of the largest urban claims (3,000). However, plans are well in advance for the reconstruction and development of Cato Manor into a model non-racial environment. A non-profit Section 21 company, the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) was formed to administer the project.

Section 34 of the Restitution Act allows local authorities to apply to the Land Claims Court to prevent restoration of property to original owners who were displaced by apartheid laws, if this was perceived as not being in the public interest. In August 1996 the Durban Metro made a Section 34 application to stop restoration in Cato Manor.

The CMDA's policy framework for the development of Cato Manor envisages the provision of between 30,000 to 40,000 houses for middle- to low-income people over a ten year period, catering for their economic and social needs. Land restoration would impede development progress, therefore the CMDA was in favour of restitution (alternate sites) which would accommodate claimants in its land allocations policy. However, there was no mention of the historically dispossessed in the CMDA's land allocation policy. The CMDA argued that the project was in the public interest because it would deliver affordable housing; provide economic benefits; influence the environment and would be a model for the future. Although there were some impressive plans for the development of Cato Manor, there was little tangible progress in implementation. The Land Claims Hearings were costly and time consuming, and the local authority was forced to negotiate with the claimants.

In Durban the Cato Manor land claims hearings confirmed the need for negotiations and consultation before development plans are drawn for land with potential restitution claims, and that there had to be a compromise between restitution and urban development projects. The essence of the Cato Manor agreement concluded in April 1997 was that where feasible

restoration would be incorporated in the development plans for the area.

Local Economic Development

The new democratic government recognises cities as 'engines of economic growth', given that urban areas generate 80 percent of South Africa's GDP. A recent report by the Centre for Development Enterprise (1996b:1) has identified Durban as South Africa's "most promising global competitor" because of a "combination of historical and geographical luck, political pragmatism, and the tight focus of local business leaders".

Two well-known LED strategies in Durban are the International Convention Centre (ICC) and the Point Redevelopment Project (PRP). It was estimated that the ICC and PRP projects would create about 6000 to 8000 new jobs in the construction, maintenance, manufacturing and related industries. Also, the ICC would provide 200 direct jobs and 2500 indirect jobs - professional conference organisers, printing and publishing, translators, service industries (*Sunday Tribune*, 30/01/94 - weekly Durban newspaper). It was envisaged that there would be a dramatic increase in international tourism, which would create one new job for every eleven visitors and also bring foreign currency into the country.

The predictions of the number of jobs to be created by the projects was based on high income tourists. However, the tourist industry in the Durban region was increasingly showing a down market trend (Tomlinson, 1993). This was also suggested by the fact that some of the major hotels in the city were being downgraded. The members of the disadvantaged community had few skills, and hence they would not be able to compete successfully for jobs. Hence, there would be limited direct benefits for the disadvantaged communities in the Durban region from the PRP and ICC projects. Grant and Kohler (1996:539) have similarly concluded that the "unrealistic plans which characterise the Point reconstruction programme are problematic and unlikely to benefit those most in need".

Another major flaw in the two projects was that by concentrating only on wealthy, international tourists and convention participants, the large, domestic tourist market (which was now dominating in the city) would be ignored. The rapidly increasing black, low-income tourist population would not be able to afford the expensive facilities that were proposed by the two major development projects. In short, there was a lack of insight into the possible linkages that could be developed between the inner-city development projects and the surrounding neighbourhoods. In order for the community to receive any benefits from the redevelopment projects, there needs to be a direct targeting of benefits to them. There should be local state intervention in restructuring of labour through job creation and job enrichment, for the benefit of local workers and local communities.

Revitalising the CBD

Durban faced serious problems relating to increasing crime levels, urban blight and decay, vacant offices and declining property values in the city centre. The high crime rate was deterring tourists from coming into the city. Tourism was a pillar of Durban's economy. According to planning officials Durban's inner city problems are related to the fact that a "much broader range of demands are being made on the area now than in the past" (*The Sunday Independent*, 17/8/97 - national weekly newspaper, Johannesburg). Many formal businesses were moving out of the city centre and were being replaced by unsavoury activities. A national newspaper, the *Sunday Times* (8/9/96), described Durban as a 'city of sleaze':

Garish neon signs advertising casinos and escort agencies light up the night in Durban's CBD. Once successful businesses in West Street have closed down and have been re-placed by casinos. Street vendors—all of whom seem to sell the same produce—have moved in en masse. And at the end of the day when their trading is done they leave behind empty crates and rotting fruit and vegetables.

An increasing number of people were moving into the Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT, an inner-city integrated area which had been neglected during the apartheid era), for basic survival, with a major increase in informal trading. In November 1995 the physical Environment Service unit of the city announced an impressive plan to upgrade the WAT and the Grey Street area in "terms of safety, security, cleanliness, functionality and the promotion of economic opportunities".¹ In supporting the plan the Durban Metro acknowledged that the WAT had been "politically marginalised in the past in terms of physical, social and economic development and investment".²

A campaign to 'revitalise and reclaim' the CBD was launched in Durban with the support of the Metro Council, civic organisations and the private sector in September 1996. Part of the strategy was to introduce a zero tolerance approach to crime. However, a major problem was the continued escalation of uncontrolled street trading. More alarming was the revelation that many street traders were acting as fronts for the formal sector (*Daily News*, 27/11/97 - daily Durban newspaper).

Conclusion

The collapse of apartheid in the early 1990s and the imminent prospects of democracy brought about immense pressures for the deracialisation of South African cities. Responding to these pressures, urban planners attempted to reconstruct apartheid cities by seeking opportunities to reverse the effects of racial planning. These opportunities included *inter alia*, increasing residential densities in the core city, promoting infill on pockets of vacant land which served as buffer zones, and promoting mixed uses of land and upgrading crowded townships and hostels.

The aim was to avoid the wasteful, fragmented, monofunctional and inefficient planning of cities which was characteristic of the apartheid order. The intention was to ensure that the resources of the built environment were used efficiently in targeting the needs of the urban poor so that they would become economically productive and contribute to the growth of the city as a whole.

In spite of these progressive policy interventions, the rapid increase in land invasions and the proliferation of informal settlements in Durban and other cities demands that the pace of land reform and housing delivery processes increase significantly. The land restitution process can be used as an opportunity to eradicate the apartheid city, provide non-racial housing, compensate victims of forced removals, and contribute to the development of the post-apartheid city.

The LED experience in Durban suggests that greater emphasis should be placed on policies that sustain growth through redistribution. This can be done by implementing linkage policies which guarantees that benefits are channelled directly to the disadvantaged communities. This would ensure that the more pressing problems in the community surrounding the metropolitan area (housing shortages, the lack of services, the huge informal settlements), can be alleviated.

From a planning perspective the problem of inner-city decay needs to be addressed. It would appear that such areas have been neglected by landlords, local authorities and financial institutions in terms of provision of services and amenities. A concerted effort is required from the private and public sectors to halt the physical decay in such areas and to facilitate general upgrading. This will help dispel the negative perceptions of such areas, and help promote residential integration.

In South Africa segregation has been deeply entrenched in the socio-spatial fabric, and is further reinforced by the socio-economic differences between blacks and whites. It was therefore not surprising that the majority of blacks who were in the low-income group were unaffected by the repeal of apartheid legislation. Decades of institutionalised segregation will not be eliminated overnight. In spite of the repeal of discriminatory legislation, the legacy of apartheid will be visible for a long time.

Any attempt to restructure the apartheid city through planned development must take the following into consideration: redistribution of resources; social justice by creating zones of opportunities for those who had been historically disadvantaged; integrating the city so that the resources of the city are accessible to all citizens; and participation of people in the planning process.

Notes

- ¹ Physical Environment Service Unit Report for Committee, Greater Warwick Avenue and Grey Street Project, November 1995, p. 5.

- ² Physical Environment Service Unit, Report for Committee, Greater Warwick Avenue and Grey Street Urban Renewal Project, May 1997, p. 4.

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