Planning History
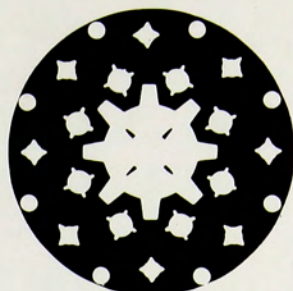
Bulletin of the
International Planning History Society

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Contents

Guest Editorial

The study of planning history in South Africa has, by and large, proceeded on a piece-meal basis. Significant contributions have been made from time to time, but these have generally occurred in isolation and have not been part of a structured body of knowledge. Nor have the contributions led to the development of a movement dedicated to the nurturing of planning history. While the need to fill this intellectual void had been recognized for some time, the visit to South Africa last year by Professor Gordon Cherry provided the impetus for action. He was in the country as Visiting Professor in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and the occasion was used to run a Workshop on Planning History - in which he participated as keynote speaker -and at which a Planning History Study Group was launched.

The Workshop took place on 24\25 August 1992 and papers covering a fairly wide range of topics were read. The articles appearing in this edition of Planning History are drawn from, and are abridged versions of, papers delivered at the Workshop.

The opening article by Gordon Cherry places town planning within disciplinary and international contexts and, importantly, highlights the impact of international transfers of ideas and practices on the evolution of planning. His reference to colonial links and the adoption of British planning fashions by countries of the Empire is pursued in the second article, which outlines the origins of planning education and the planning profession in South Africa. The particular influence exercised by British practices and personalities (Lever, Howard, Unwin, Adams and others) on the development of the planning discipline in the Republic is discussed; as are the contributions made by local institutions and individuals.

In the third article, Faustin Kalabamu provides an appraisal of the evolutionary stages of Tswana settlements: from the early traditional phase, through the period of British rule to the post-independence era. The settlement system, which is shown to be a spatial expression of Tswana socio-political structures, is currently under pressure as post-independence societal transformations take

root. The matter of settlement, or more accurately re-settlement under the pernicious policy of apartheid, constitutes the subject matter of the next article by Kate Laburn-Peart. The plight of the Bakwena ba Mogopa people following their state-enforced removal from their land and the determination of the displaced community to return to their rightful territory provides a telling chapter in the chronicle of South African history.

The three articles that follow present interpretations of the planning and evolutionary growth of Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein and Pretoria - each of considerable significance in the history of planning. In drawing upon theories of spatial coherence and perception, Colin Tod Welch shows that the river and furrows permeating Stellenbosch provide intelligibility, imageability and continuity to the town-scape. Wallace van Zyl discusses the grid plan of Bloemfontein, placing emphasis on the historical significance of three urban design axes in the central area, and expressing the planning historian's perennial concern with the negative impact of recent modifications and additions to the historical fabric of the city. In his article on Pretoria, Louw van Biljon reveals the planning and politics, the visions and vicissitudes, that underlie the grid structure of the capital city. He concludes that the inherent conservatism of the city compromises its ability to adjust to the challenges of post-apartheid South Africa.

The element of conservatism is also a key factor in Martin Drake's survey of the long-standing control-oriented approach to planning in the Republic. The historical fixation with control must, in his view, be supplanted by flexible planning procedures appropriate to the changed conditions now pertaining in the country. The final article, written by Alan Mabin, explores planning in the Transvaal in the 1930s with particular reference to the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee -which functioned under the leadership of Longstreth Thompson of Adams, Thompson and Fry. The experience of the Committee is seen as indicative of the material, political and personal forces prevailing at the time.

The articles in this edition of Planning History reflect, on one hand, the universality of planning issues; a commonality of concerns that characterise the historical growth processes of the planning discipline in the western world. On the other hand, they mirror the circumstances surrounding planning that are - and have been - particular to South Africa : colonial legacy, third world lineaments, apartheid ideology, socio-political transformation. While these features give a peculiar richness to the melange that is South African planning history, it is a history that is little known. It is thus gratifying that this collec-

tion of papers will reach the inter-national commu-
nity of planning historians - for which sincere
appreciation is extended to Stephen Ward, consider-
ate and co-operative editor of the Bulletin, and to
Gordon Cherry who was the inspiration for the
whole endeavour.

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Articles

International Transfers in Planning Ideas and Practice

Gordon Cherry, University of Birmingham, UK

By way of inaugurating this first Planning History
Workshop in South Africa, it is pertinent to focus on
some aspects of international exchange in town
planning in the 20th century. I will look first at the
important changes in contributory disciplines which
were conducive to intellectual transfer; second, at
the breadth of world-wide exchange; and third, at
some consequences.

Disciplines

Changes during the century in two established
disciplines (history and geography) and the emer-
gence of a new one (town planning) proved highly
significant.

History, as the study of the past, was traditionally
the concern of political, constitutional and religious
events. It was often simply the history of nation
states and their rivalries: hence dynasties, warfare,
territorial change, world explorations, colonial
expansion, and the like. In the 20th century, devel-
opments in social and economic history (which at
least touched on urban questions) helped to quicken
an association with the social sciences. A field of
public history explored an interest in public and
private action in environmental matters. Political
history concerned itself with the exercise of power
locally, as well as nationally, and urban history fed
on a range of phenomena which it became fashion-
able to study, such as riots, health, disease, housing
and building development. In short, an interest in
cities became an acceptable trait of scholarship
among historians.

Geography, a study of the manifestations which
make up the earth's surface, has at its heart a con-
cern with space and spatial relationships. A synoptic
discipline has broken into specialisms, essentially
physical and human, though with many subfields.

While still retaining a physical heart, geography
became unmistakably a social science in the second
half of the 20th century and in this process three
particular foci of study contributed to urban and
regional questions. Historical geography recognized
that a settled landscape was a palimpsest, a layered
record over time; the historical study of urban form
proved particularly helpful. Urban geography,
stimulated by innovative work in the US in the
1930s, offered models of city form to which planners
subscribed the world over. Regional geography also
influenced planning through its attempts to find
rationality in space.

Town planning took root in the conscious regulation
of the urban environment by the State (in one institu-
tional guise or another). In Britain, parts of western
Europe and in some U.S. cities it began as a response
to the legacy of 19th century industrialism and
problems associated with the management of urban
growth. Various models for the future city became
internationally available: linear, concentric and
functional, but in popular appeal typically the
Garden City (Howard) and the Radiant City
(Corbusier). The adoption of forms of central plan-
ning, largely between 1930 and 1980, in which town
planning was well represented, was again an inter-
national feature. In the post-war world (1945 et seq)
the planner became a participant in a
multidisciplinary, multiprofessional team engaged
in planning and welfare-related programmes,
relegating the former role of 'master designer' to one
of less importance - again a feature reflected world-
wide.

In short, disciplinary transformations worldwide
ensured that geography became something that
geographers did, history something that historians
wrote about, and planning something that planners
practised.

Internationalism

Around the turn of the last century the idea of
regulating the use of private land in towns acquired
an unprecedented appeal. Reformist opinion argued
that a healthy, pleasant environment could be
obtained at little cost, while better housing promised
to relieve social tensions. Cross fertilization between
national states permitted an international leap
forward in planning theory and practice. Urban
conditions were conducive, the imperatives for
reform were well grounded and an elite group of
highly influential people held sway.
Between 1900 and 1913 2,271 international con-
gresses were held, compared with 853 in the previ-
ous 14 years. The garden city idea swept the world

after the first International Garden City Congress was held in London in 1904. The RIBA convened the first International Conference on Town Planning in 1910, attended by 1,250 people.

International transferences are fascinating to unravel. They were substantial and productive between Britain and Germany, but France proved resistant to the English suburban model. The USA has relatively little to offer Europe, the City Beautiful more measured to North American conditions. Through colonial links, Empire countries embraced British planning fashions.

The identification of patterns of transfer invites comparison between the supporters of planning in the dominant countries. In Germany the leaders were local government officials and academics. In the USA urban big business took the lead. In France it was a small group of people with strong links with the Church and conservative institutions. In Britain non-conformist, Liberal social reformers held sway.

Opportunities for research in international transference are legion. Taken almost at random obvious ones would include: the varying take-up of a decentralist planning model, the rise and fall of CIAM, Corbusier's influence and the modern movement, the influence of Sweden in post-war Europe, transfers in methodology, the spread of design fashions, the lure of Exhibition Cities, and studies of particular nation states and their inheritance of planning traditions.

Consequences

As a result of century-long developments in town planning across the world, during which time there has been considerable interaction, transference and cross fertilization, we can now observe one common, international, intellectual map for the discipline and profession.

Worldwide, a number of main streams in planning practice can be identified:

(1)   policy analysis. This informs large organisations (public and private) in rational decision making in such matters as capital investment, resource allocation, land use, and so on. It relies heavily on methods such as cost benefit and programevaluation. As a field of public administration, dedicated to the functions of state planning, its claim is to be politically neutral.

(2)   mainstream, urban and regional planning. This pays lip service to mildly reformist, mildly futurist perspectives. Pragmatic, it is concerned to find ways through power relationships in order to institutionalise planning practice and make action more effective. At its best it can be imaginative and reasonably successful; at its worst it can be routine work with little impact.

(3)   planning as transactive and negotiable. This emphasises a 'bottom up' approach to planning action, as opposed to 'top down'. Experts' visions are not imposed, and long range master plans are of reduces significance. Planning is a community-based social learning activity.

(4)   social mobilisation. This form of planning is for those who seek to transform the existing power relations in society, asserting the primacy of direct, collective action from below. The key is community action for and by specific groups, notably the disadvantaged, in the struggle for the rights of the individual as opposed to the power of the state.

The gradation in this four-fold typology is between planning as scientific management and planning as a device for opening up opportunities for ordinary people to exercise self-governance. This is almost the story of the 20th century evolution of town planning, and the unravelling of international transfers of ideas and practice helps us to explain the varied scene across the world.

Parallel Paths: The Origins of Planning Education and the Planning Profession in South Africa

John Muller
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Introduction

There are periods in the life of any authentic discipline which are distinguished by unusual levels of vitality, productivity and creativity. During these fertile times, new departures are introduced which open the way for the further development of the discipline. In relation to planning, the first two decades of this century could be construed as representative of such a period - the more so since it was then that the foundations of the modern profession of planning were laid. A host of seminal innovations emanated from America, France, Germany and, in particular, Great Britain, during this brief passage of time.

In Great Britain, the 1909 Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act set the wheels of town and country planning legislation in motion; the incipient methodological model was passed down to planning from the Outlook Tower by Patrick Geddes; the seeds of the Garden City movement flowered in Letchworth; the planning profession achieved independence and identity with the founding of the Town Planning Institute[1], and William Hesketh Lever's £800 deed of gift to the University of Liverpool inaugurated the world's first school of town planning[2]. Activities and achievements such as these became a spur, a stimulus, for planning in many countries around the globe - not least South Africa.

Various influences on the development of planning education and professional planning in South Africa have been operative over the years. Inspiration has come from within the country and from without; most notably Great Britain in the latter instance. It is interesting that in both cases the influences have

been primarily individuals and institutions, and the focus of this historical review will accordingly be on the personalities and professional societies that exercised a major impact on the discipline as it progressed towards maturity.

Planning and Principles

In 1911, but one year after the University of Liverpool accepted Lever's endowment for the establishment of what was to be called the Department of Civic Design, Sir Herbert Baker fired the first shots for planning in the new Union of South Africa. Speaking in Pretoria on July 11, 1911, the renowned architect said "...I must add a few words on the art of town planning. It is an art which has but lately come to the front, and been raised to the rank of the older arts. London and Liverpool have recently instituted chairs of Civic Design in their universities. I hope those are examples which Cape Town and Pretoria will some day follow. There is no art which, in the long run, is more profitable to a city, nor any field in which good seed, well sown, will ultimately reap a richer harvest." Baker then summarized his sentiments in a sentence: "Every large town, with any civic pride, in the old and new world, is now regretting past neglect, and considering schemes for improvements; so it is full time we in South Africa bestirred ourselves."[3]

The condemnation of past practices in the laying out of cities and the call for a new planning approach capable of enhancing the shape and state of urban areas was to become commonplace and common cause among the established professions in the country at that time. In expressing the view that town planning, as practised in the past, left "much to be desired", the Institute of Land Surveyors[4] was ipso facto directing criticism at itself since the surveying profession was largely responsible for the layout of towns at that time. Inadequacies in layout were however, in the eyes of the surveyor, a consequence of the avaricious attitude of developers who sought to squeeze the last pecuniary drop out of the land sub-division lemon. They questioned the architects' somewhat capricious approach to the subject ("streets are laid out in curves without any apparent reason other than architectural") and argued that utilitarian considerations should always supplant the artistic. While concurring with the criticism of urbanplanning over the preceding 25 to 30 years, the Association of Transvaal Architects put the view that the destruction of the environment stemmed from the introduction of questionable "improvements" - which were "the offspring of an ignorant and untrained mind". The solution lay in education; in the education of the public in the ways of town planning as a constructive art and with the administrative and

legal regulation of that art.[5] The interest of the engineers in urban planning surfaced with the publication of a few articles on planning in the Journal of the South African Society of Civil Engineers in 1916. In concert with the surveyors, they felt more comfortable with a technicist than an artistic approach to planning. The "elaborate and expensive architectural vistas" posited as intrinsic elements in general planning practice by schools of civic design in England were (in the view of the President of the Society) misplaced: "Such grandiose schemes frighten the ordinary ratepayer and set back the adoption of true town planning principles"[6]. While no explanation of the nature of those principles was offered, it is interesting that the Society included an extract from a paper read by William Hesketh Lever at the Sheffield Housing conference in 1905 in their journal. In that paper Lever set out a series of observations on health, finance and construction in suburban areas, which could possibly be construed as statements of principle.

The matter of planning principles occupied the minds of many in the 1920's. Writing in 1923, Schoch earnestly referred to convenience, cost and climate, and suggested as a fundamental planning principle, the adoption of a "grid-iron pattern of layout with additional diagonal streets"[7]. This was, predictably perhaps, to provoke a flurry of comment and criticism. Porter[8], Gordon Leith[9], Thompson[10] and Cornish-Bowden[11] contributed to the debate on principles (which tended to revolve about technical and physical considerations) and in so doing, demonstrated the interest of diverse disciplines in the new and fertile field of town planning. While established professional bodies were at the time jockeying for the leading position in the practice of planning, it is to their credit that they generally acknowledged the importance of contributions from other disciplines to planning activities.

Associations

As early as 1916, E.J. Hamlin, a leading figure in civil engineering circles, stressed the need for professional co-operation in the planning of a town; the inter-locking of the joint efforts of the surveyor, the architect, the engineer, the landscape architect, the sociologist, the antiquarian and the legal expert with the work of the planner[12]. In 1924, the Society of Civil Engineers spoke of united action by the engineers', architects' and surveyors' institutes on . matters of mutual concern - town planning being cited as the first of such matters. There is in this an echo of the inter-professional grouping of architects, engineers and surveyors that met in London in July 1913 and which preceded the launching of the Town Planning Institute the following year[13]. As

Sutcliffe[14] has indicated, the foundation years of the British planning profession were, after an initial inter-disciplinary tussle for pre-eminence, marked by a laudable measure of agreement. It is evident that in South Africa, there was a consensus that the basic attributes of town planning were different to, and extended beyond, those of the three established professions - and that this should be reflected in the character of any future planning institution.

At that time the need for a town planning body capable of passing expert judgement on, inter alia but in particular, legislative proposals relating to planning and development, was felt to be urgent. This, coupled with disquiet felt about the "lack of forethought on the part of local authorities and, in many cases ....to lack of co-operation between Government departments and local authorities" as well as concern relating to "vested interests, and unscrupulous or uncontrolled speculation"[15] provided the impetus for the establishment of such an organization in 1919: the Transvaal Town Planning Association.[16] For more than a decade the Association promoted the cause of planning, drawing on Geddes[17] in agitating for a civic survey of Johannesburg[17], formulating a draft of town planning regulations for consideration by the Union government[18] and ultimately achieving a major goal with the passing of the first Transvaal Town Planning and Townships Ordinance.

Legislation

The pre-occupation with enabling legislation as a means of controlling and directing urban growth was reflected in the programme of priorities of the fledgling community of planners - who propelled the issue on to the political agenda. Addressing the annual meeting of the S.A. National Society in March 1923, Mr. F.S. Malan, Minister of Mines and Industries said: "You cannot press too strongly for a proper law which would regulate the laying out of townships throughout the length and breadth of the country"[19]. Speaking at Pinelands in May of the same year, General Jan Smuts expressed the hope that the provincial and central governments would, in consultation, promote and pass legislation which would protect the public from the "hap-hazard conditions" then pertaining in unplanned townships. As Colonial Secretary in the Transvaal some years previously, Smuts had been responsible for the introduction of a Townships Act; an example not followed by the other provinces.

Smuts spoke also of the "beautiful idea" of the Garden City since the occasion of his address was the opening of Cape Town's garden suburb, Pinelands. The inspiration for Pinelands was of

course Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept and the model was Letchworth - both of which had captivated Richard Stuttaford, a member of the Union Cabinet. He perceived in the Garden City opportunities for the provision of improved housing by local public authorities. In 1919 the Union House of Assembly approved the formation of the "Garden Cities Trust" and donated some 400 hectares of the Uitvlught Forest Reserve on which to establish Pinelands. "The main purpose of the Trust is to provide better housing and social conditions for the people " said Stuttaford[20]. He invited the British architect-planner, A.J. Thompson, to plan and co-ordinate the development of the garden suburb. Thompson brought to Pinelands the planning philosophy and practical prowess of his former mentor, Raymond Unwin, and in so doing introduced a lucid design approach to planning in South Africa. The local planning community was at the time exposed to Unwin's erudition through the publication of his written work in local journals[21] and also by disciples such as Thompson[22] who set out Unwin's approach to various issues including land use zoning in their writings. Thompson's design proclivities were underscored in his statement that "...it is impossible to thoroughly understand town planning without a basis of architectural training."[23] His comment touches upon the matter of professional training - of education in town planning - which had inevitably and increasingly enjoyed attention as the interest in planning spread.

Education

Tuition in urban planning started as a subject course in the curriculum for degrees in surveying,engineering and architecture. A historical study of the land surveying profession by Halliday includes the comment that a "course in town planning has always been part of the land surveyor's academic training"[24]. While this claim might be open to question, it is true that as far back as 1913, town planning was introduced as an examinable component of Part II of the survey course at the Cape Town University[25]. By 1927, courses in architecture at Cape Town and Johannesburg included town planning and landscape design as a subject in the fifth year of study[26] and the Royal Institute of British Architects extended access to its Diploma in Town Planning to candidates from South Africa[27].

In 1931, the Town Planning Association of the Cape Province was established, the first objective of which was to promote education and interest in the principles of town and regional planning[28]. The Transvaal Town Planning Association, well established by the mid-1920's and occupied in numerous areas of

planning activity in the Johannesburg region, also turned its attention to planning education. In the vanguard of the lobby for specialized planning education was Professor Geoffrey Pearse, Head of the School of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand and President of the Transvaal Town Planning Association in 1927.

Pearse examined planning activities in America[29], gave a series of talks on town planning for the Johannesburg Broadcasting Company, wrote on the subject, and delivered lectures on town planning to students of Architecture and Land Surveying at the University of the Witwatersrand. Out of his School came the seminal congress on town planning in 1938, at which the inspiration of Le Corbusier and influence of Rex Martiensen was everywhere evident. Five years later, the equally significant seminar on Rebuilding South Africa[30] was held. These gatherings had a prescient quality in that issues relating to racial discrimination were seriously addressed - probably for the first time -by the environmental professions. While the 1938 congress had, primarily through Roy Kantorowich's contribution[31], considered aspects of racial prejudice, the '43 symposium's theme of social reconstruction opened the doors of planning to the socio-political concerns of justice and equity. Hanson[32] and Silberman[33] both discussed the planning implications of segregation and integration.

Geoffrey Pearse was a central figure in these andother deliberations and his prolonged promotion of planning ("long before this was a fashionable subject")[34] was to culminate in the establishment of the first course in town planning in South Africa at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1946.

Regulation

At much the same time, the profession was to attain autonomy with the launching of the South African Institute of Town Planners. This professional body was preceded by a number of earlier organizations - notably the Transvaal Town Planning Association, to which reference has previously been made. The Association worked assiduously for the introduction of regulatory planning legislation in the Transvaal - which was realised in 1931 with the passing of the Town Planning Ordinance. Thereafter, the Association "withered away"[35] and the planning community was left mute for a number of years. The Transvaal Ordinance, which was followed by similar ordinances in the other three provinces, had as its primary purpose control over urban development through the medium of local authority town planning schemes and township approval procedures. The correlation of planning legislation with regula-

tion of development runs like the proverbial golden thread through the historical fabric of town and regional planning in South Africa. Floyd[36] put his unequivocal view that in town planning in South Africa, the "bias has been towards the guiding and controlling of new development rather than towards reconstruction". Having little regard for the objectives of social planning or the principles of civic design, Floyd favoured the notion of planning as an administrative activity - in which context he applauded the work of Thomas Adams.

The British firm Adams, Thompson and Fry were engaged as consultants by the Witwatersrand and Pretoria Joint Town Planning Committee in 1935. Longstreth Thompson, the partner responsible for the commission, was assisted by P.J. Bowling and Floyd in the preparation of town planning schemes for the reef towns and Pretoria. Thompson, who was also engaged to prepare a scheme for the Cape Town foreshore, gave his analysis of the educational and professional needs pertaining to planning in South Africa in 1940. Town Planning training, he submitted, should take the form of a post-graduate course of a least two years duration, and went on to say "... it is most desirable that the professional status of qualified Town Planners should be firmly established. While the ultimate objective should be a Town Planning Institute of South Africa, I think that, in the present circumstances, the best and most practicable course would be to form a South African Branch of the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain" [37]. These recommendations on education and the profession were precisely those pursued by the local community.

The Institute

The first move to establish a branch of the British Town Planning Institute in South Africa was made by the Cape architect, John Parry, in 1935. His request that a small chapter of the TPI be formed in Cape Town was refused by the parent body. Following a second approach by Parry in 1940, the Council of the TPI approved the formation of a South African Branch. The matter was then placed on the back burner during the early years of the second world war, but was re-activated by A.J. Cutten and carried forward by Floyd and V.J.Penso. This culminated in a meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall, on 19 January 1944, at which the "Southern Africa Branch" was formed. Its area of jurisdiction covered the Union of South Africa, the two Rhodesias, South West Africa, Basutoland, Swaziland and British Bechuanaland[38].

At the same time the Transvaal Institute of Architects had been agitating for the resuscitation of the

dormant Transvaal Town Planning Association and a new Town and Country Planning Association of the Transvaal was inaugurated at a meeting at Kelvin House, Johannesburg, on 6 September 1944. The Association felt itself competent to advise the local and national governmental authorities on planning matters - a view publicly contested by the chairman (Col. Bowling) of the Southern Africa Branch. The Branch declined an offer of two seats on the Council of the Association; a response which the Association found "surprising"[39]. The rivalry ended a few years later with the demise of the Town and Country Planning Association. With this, the possibility of dominance of architecture in the profession of planning in South Africa disappeared.

The Southern Africa Branch of the TPI moved into the mainstream of national planning affairs in the mid-1940's, making representations and comments on "proper planning" for the newly proclaimed Free State Goldfields, on the acclaimed Report No. 5 on Regional and Town Planning by the Government's Social and Economic Planning Council, and on other issues of planning moment. In 1946, professional pre-eminence was again at issue with the formation of a new body - the South Africa Institute of Town Planners - which then apparently faded out"[40] and was succeeded in 1951 by the South African Town and Regional Planning Institution. The Southern Africa Branch of the TPI (which had thought to bring Kenya, Tanganyika and Nyasaland into its fold) felt that while an independent South African institute must, with the effluxion of time emerge, that time

Figure 1: Central Block, University of the Witwatersrand. Locale of the establishment of the South African Institute of Town Planners and the first town planning course in the country.

had not yet arrived. However, a lobby led by Floyd and Anderson favouring a local institute developed within the Branch, and during 1951 and 1952 much energy was expended in the Branch in debate on the

matter. The Cape Committee eventually submitted a Notice of Motion to the Annual General Meeting of the Branch held in the Johannesburg Public Library on 30 January 1953. After considerable hand wringing and head scratching, it was resolved that the time was appropriate for the formation of an independent South African Institute of Planners and that steps be taken to form a new Town Planning Institute in South Africa. To that end members were elected to discuss the matter with the Institution of Town and Regional Planners.

A joint Executive Committee meeting of the Branch and Institution took place in the Central Block of the University of the Witwatersrand on 15 February 1954, at 5.15p.m., at which it was agreed that the two bodies would coalesce to form the South African Institute of Town Planners. In late 1958, "after prolonged but most cordial negotiations, an Agreement of Affiliation was entered into between the Town Planning Institute and the South African Institute of Town Planners..."[41]. (This affiliation was severed 20 years later by the Council of the RTPI following the destruction of squatter settlements in the Cape and the death of Steve Biko).

Planning Courses

The Southern Africa Branch finally drew its activities to a close in 1959. In advancing the interests of the discipline, it had actively promoted the cause of education as far back as 1945. During that year the Branch drew to the attention of the Universities of South Africa, Cape Town and Witwatersrand, town planning courses run by British universities which enjoyed recognition of the TPI and thus exemption from the associate membership examination. The Central Council of the Institute of South African Architects had, in the previous year, suggested to the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and Cape Town that a post graduate course in town planning be introduced[42]. In the event, Professor Pearse had anticipated the demand by placing before the meeting of the Board of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand on 22 October 1943, a proposal that a post-graduate Diploma in Town Planning course be established as expeditiously as possible at the University. In Pearse's judgement there was a "...need for a proper course in Town Planning as applicable to South African conditions. The course offered by the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain is unsatisfactory in so far as South Africa is concerned"[43]. A year later, the regulations for a two year part-time course, open to architectural, civil engineering and land surveying graduates, was approved.

This course was submitted by the Southern Africa Branch to the Town Planning Institute which decided against accreditation. The University then applied directly to the Town Planning Institute for recognition in August 1946. One year later, Pearse reported that the TPI had stated that "...they welcome the provision of courses of instruction on Town Planning at the University. Subject to the agreement as to conditions, the Institute is prepared to envisage the inclusion of the School of Town Planning of the University of the Witwatersrand within its System of Recognised Schools."[44] To that end, the Diploma course was enlarged and extended to three years of part-time study. A few years later, the TPI's stamp of recognition marked the commencement of internationally acknowledged town planning education in South Africa.

The decade of the 1940s in South Africa, like that of 1910-1920 in Europe, represents a high water mark in planning endeavour. With the formal institutional establishment of the planning profession and the commencement of tertiary education in planning, the springboard to the further development and consolidation of the discipline was set in place. The Diploma course at the University of the Witwatersrand grew in stature and rigour under the scholarly stewardship of Wilfrid Mallows, who brought the social doctrine of Geddes, the didactics of Jacqueline Tyrwhitt and the positivist discipline of Maurice Rotival to South African planning education.[45] That course was the model for the Diploma programme instituted at the University of Natal in the late 1950s which was the second, and only other course, to receive TPI recognition. Following the momentous conference on planning education arranged by the South African Institute of Town Planners in 1962, the country's first fulltime Bachelor's degree course was established at the University of the Witwatersrand.

On the professional side of the planning coin, the South African Institute of Town Planners was renamed the South African Institute of Town and Regional Planners in the early 1970s. In 1986, the planning community moved under the mantle of statutory control with the passing of Act No. 19, which carries with it provisions relating to professional registration and educational procedures.

Conclusion

Much of the credit for the founding of the planning discipline in South Africa must be accorded a few sagacious individuals and the pivotal role performed by various professional societies - those of the surveyors, engineers and architects as well as the Town Planning Institute - in supporting the disci-

pline's progression to maturity must also be acknowledged. In that progression, the activities leading to the emergence of professional planning and planning education ran, in both chronological and developmental senses, along parallel paths.

The significance of the establishment of educational and professional institutions has been well summarised by a political and social thinker of the last century, who said "individuals can form communities but only institutions can form a nation"[46]. The planning profession, now firmly rooted in the soil of South African society, must at this crucial time of change in the history of the country make its contribution to the establishment of a new nation built around precepts of democracy, tolerance and justice.

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Figures

An Appraisal of the Evolution of Tswana Settlement

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Introduction

Tswana settlements, especially chiefs' capitals, are large and nucleated villages. They were called towns by the early explorers and are similar to the indigenous towns found in West Africa. Despite western influences, Tswana settlements have retained their basic structures for over one hundred years "the influence of western acculturation being restricted to government buildings and a few private houses. The rectilinear pattern of development so commonly associated with large agglomerations of dwellings is absent, and when seen from the air ...[they present] a confused distribution of homesteads to which there appears to be little rhyme or reason" [1] (See Figure 1).

The main objective of the present paper is to identify factors which have enabled this seemingly confused distribution of homesteads to survive for so long. The paper first examines the social-political structure of Tswana tribes; then looks at forms, land tenure and development control in these settlements followed by a description of changes which have taken place over the last 100 years and conclusions.

The Tswana

The Tswana are sub-groups of Sotho-Bantu speaking peoples who migrated from the Transvaal region of South Africa into Botswana between A.D 1500 and 1800 [2] [3] and split into eight major tribes each headed by a chief. The tribes were politically and administratively independent of each other. They, however, had identical social-political structures.

Within each tribe, the smallest unit was the *household* which consisted of a man, his wife or wives, unmarried or recently married children, and other dependants that lived in the same compound. The size of the household "depended largely on rank, wealth and age of the household head" [4].Several households living side by side constituted a *family-group*: being a unit whose "members [were] closely related to one another" [5]. Each family-group performed

major tasks (eg building houses, clearing fields and harvesting crops) together under the leadership of "*mogolwane*" who was a senior male descendant of the common ancestor by whose name the family-group was known.

The other important unit was the *ward* or "kgotla". A ward was composed of several closely related family-groups living together in a village or part of a large village under the leadership or authority of an hereditary headman with "well-defined administrative and judicial powers and functions" [6]. The ward headman was either royal (male descendant of the founding ancestor) or a person who was loyal to the chief if the ward was composed of aliens who had been assimilated into the tribe. A number of wards or sections or villages constituted a tribe whose membership was defined "not so much in terms of birth as of allegiance to the chief. People became members of a tribe by submitting to the rule of the chief; and it [was] primarily through their allegiance to the same chief that the different communities and individuals making up a tribe [gave] expression to their unity" [7]. The chief represented a civil-military-bureaucracy together with its military, judicial, legislative and other powers [8].

Other units included kindred (people related by blood or marriage), regiments (people of same sex and equal ages) and others that are not critical in the following discussion.

The Traditional Tswana Settlement

Tswana settlement forms and patterns were also well defined. Each tribe lived in one village (eg Batlokwa in Tlokweng) or one central village with several smaller satellite villages (eg the Bamalete lived in Ramotswa plus Mogobane and Ootse).

Form

Each household occupied a *compound* enclosed by a wall of dried mud with a height of 1.2 to 2 metres above ground. All enclosures had only one opening which was big enough to allow entrance or exit of one person at a time. In each compound were several structures serving either as bedroom, store or granary; and outdoor spaces for cooking, bathing and a fireplace around which visitors were receivedand meals taken [9].

Compounds in each family-group were arranged in a semi-circular form around a kraal and a "*lekgotlana*" (small meeting-place). The kraal was a joint property where domesticated animals were

LEGEND

Lot boundary	Ward kgotla
Traditional house	Track
Modern house	Footpath

Tribal Offices and kgotla

0 — 300 metres
Scale

Source : Adapted from 1967 Kanye line maps by the Surveyor General
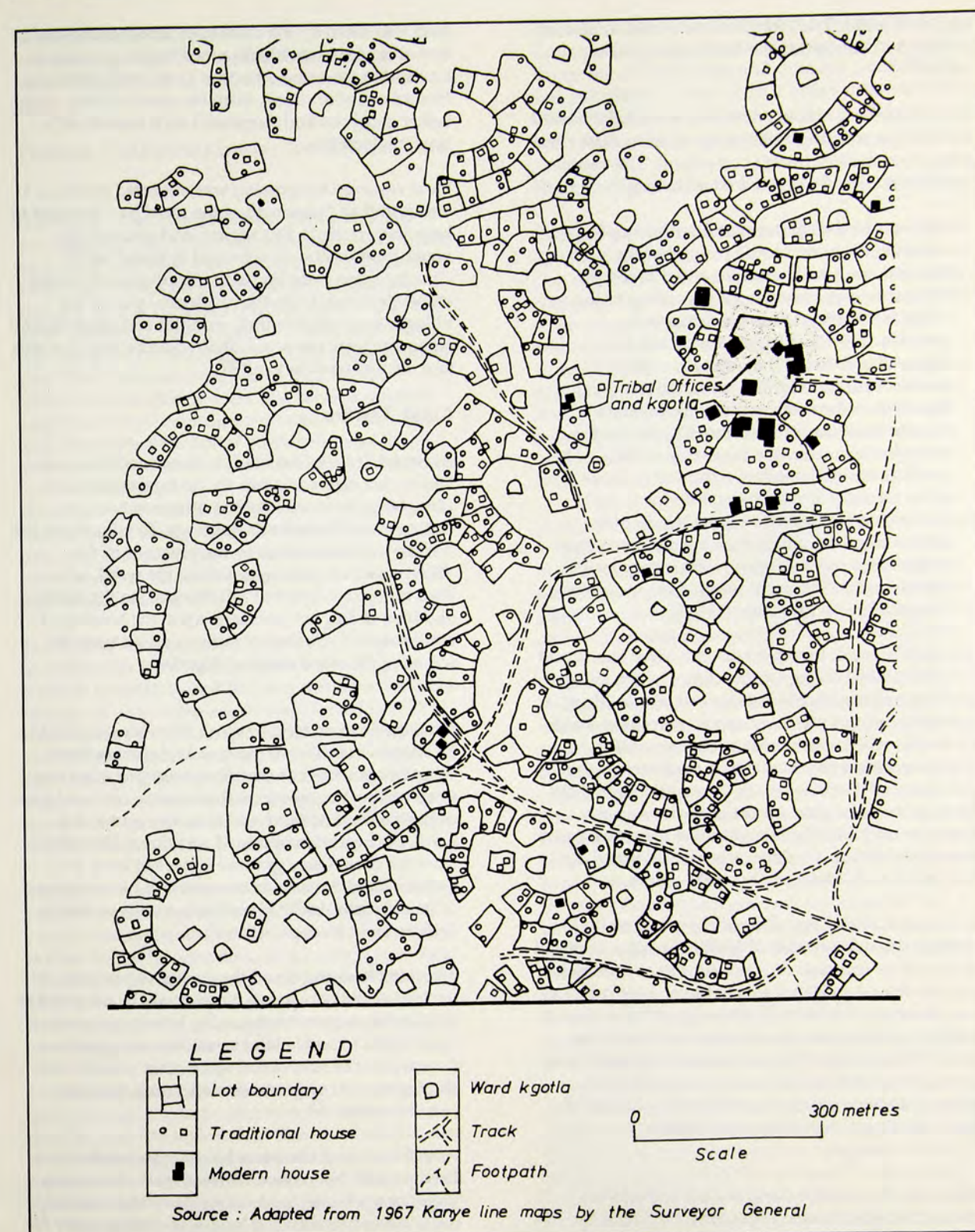
Figure 1: Section of a Tswana Village

kept over night. The lekgotlana was used to discuss matters that concerned the family-group as a whole[10].

Several family-groups constituted a *ward*. Each ward had a larger meeting place or kgotla at its centre and adjacent to the headman's compound. The various wards in a village were ranked according

"to their historical status and seniority of descent. The general rule [was] that the Chief's own ward heads the tribal hierarchy. The other royal wards rank according to the Chief from whom their headman is descended. The more recent this Chief, the higher the status of the wards to which his descendants belong. The most inferior royal wards therefore embrace the collateral descendants of the most ancient Chiefs. Next in the tribal hierarchy are the wards of the commoners of the ruling community, those more recently formed being inferior to their predecessors. Then [came] the wards of the affiliated communities, ranking also according to the order in which they were incorporated into the tribe. The more recent their incorporation, the lower their status"[11].

The chief's ward, together with the tribal kgotla and the chief's kraal, occupied the centre of the village and was surrounded by other royal wards. Then, radiating out in a circular form were located wards of the less royal community such that wards of the aliens and least royal units occupied sites on the periphery of the village. Wards were separated by lanes or roads or open spaces of various sizes. Inhabitants of satellite villages were considered part the chief's village. Sections, whenever formed did not have clearly defined physical boundaries.

In the pre-colonial era villages were frequently shifted either due to loss of fertility in cultivable land or famine or shortage of water supply or outbreak of serious disease or defeat in a battle or simply due to fear of sorcery[12 13 14 15]. Although villages moved fairly frequently their general plan remained the same[16] except that "the continual movement of the capital [read village] allowed for the settlement pattern to be dynamic, accommodating changes in the internal organisation as they became necessary"[17].

Wherever the location, land in each village was divided into five zones: residential, cultivation, grazing, hunting and forestry. Residential activities were confined to hill tops and infertile areas because hill tops were relatively easy to defend besides being cooler than low lying areas[18]. The best of the arable

land was taken by the chief after which each ward was allocated huge blocks according to population size and in the same direction as its residential area. Household allocations, from the ward's share, were rather generous and surpassed each household's immediate needs.

Land reserved for grazing was allocated in blocks to wards and all "members of the ward had the right to keep their cattle in this region, and grazing and water rights within it belonged to them" all[19]. Grazing areas were traditionally situated at considerable distances from the residential part of the village. Areas for hunting, woodlot and other natural resources were never subdivided according to wards and were accessible to all[20].

Land Tenure

Every adult male, married or unmarried, was entitled to two pieces of land: for his homestead and ploughing. Normally the two pieces would be carved out of his father's holdings. To adjudicate, the transfer was carried out in the presence of the "headman and other members of the ward, who [had to] be satisfied that it [belonged] to the family, and [that it did] not encroach upon the holding of someone else"[21]. Any objections raised were resolved at the ward meeting (kgotla).

If a father had no land to spare, then his son would be allocated land from the ward reserves or from other heads within the family-group provided they were willing to grant it on their own accord and free of charge[22]. If no land was available within the ward, the headman obtained additional allocations from the chief. Once granted a piece of land, the owner would demarcate the extent of his compound or farm by physically identifiable means or objects such as thorn bushes or trenches.

Allocated land remained the exclusive property of the household occupying it and could be inherited as long as the owners continued to belong to the tribe. Land rights to arable land were, however, usufruct for purposes of cultivation since other people were entitled to hunt or graze on stalks once crops had been harvested[23].

Arable land could be leased out for an indefinite or fixed period. No payments were made for leasing virgin or uncleared land because unimproved land could never be sold[24]. If land was cleared ready for cultivation, then the lessee gave an heifer to the owner as compensation for his labour. Persons leasing land for unspecified periods, were entitled to notices of intentions to repossess them a few months

before the ploughing season.
Women, regardless of their marital status, age or otherwise, could in no way acquire land of their own.

Tswana Settlement under the British Rule

Through a series of legislations, ordinances and proclamations, the British administration introduced new social, administrative and economic structures which had several effects on Tswana settlement. First, the British curtailed chiefs powers and authority by subjecting their election to office (and their stay thereafter) to the approval of the High Commission. They were also stripped of their supreme judicial and taxation powers and became salaried employees of the colonial government[25]. Second, they determined territorial boundaries and fixed amount of land reserved for each tribe. Third, they outlawed shifting of main villages without due permission from the High Commission and limited the moving of smaller ones to within the fixed tribal land. The chiefs and their assistants were only left with powers to allocate and administer land within their tribal reserves.

The creation of fixed tribal reserves and immobility of settlements led to the congestion of villages in terms of population and housing densities. With the passage of time, some wards were forced to shift to the periphery in part or as a whole depending on the status of the ward. Royal wards would normally split into two groups with one half shifting to the periphery and the other remaining *in situ* in order to retain their status within the tribe as exemplified by the case of Mmadinare (see Figure 2).

Second, with population increases but static food production techniques, the traditional practice of people owning fields in the same direction and close to their homes became disturbed resulting into long distances to the fields and grazing areas. By the 1950s fields were generally located 8 to 40 kilometres from villages while grazing lands were available 32 to over 56 kilometres away[26].

Due to long distances to the fields and grazing areas, there evolved a system of *three-homes* under which most households maintained three homesteads: one each in the village, fields and grazing areas. This pattern of tripartite homes was quite "different from that followed by most other southern Bantu [tribes]"[27]. Households, or part of households, would temporarily shift homes to their respective fields during the wet and crop growing season and return to the village after harvesting. They stayed in the village permanently during the dry season.

Throughout the year, older boys remained at the cattle-posts (grazing areas) looking after livestock. Excepting draught oxen and donkeys, no livestock was permitted in the village. Cattle-posts were often visited by other household members and the boys came to the villages occasionally.

Post Independence Tswana Settlements

Two key post-independence legislations - the Tribal Land Act and the Local Government (District Councils) Act - have further stripped chiefs of their main duties as they "lost control over resources and, with it, the power to order the use of space" and have been reduced "almost to nothing"[28]. The Tribal Land Act, 1968 (as amended) transferred all powers to allocate and administer land from chiefs to Land Boards established under the same Act. Although every chief is represented on the respective board, land boards are dominated by central government representatives and ministerial appointees[29].

Under the Local Government (District Councils) Act, 1965, the indirect rule of tribal chiefs was replaced with District Councils composed of representatives elected on political party lines. The councils depend mainly on central government grants and functional officers controlled by central government agencies.

With erosion of chiefs' powers some households shifted from villages and settled permanently near their fields or cattle posts thereby changing the *tripartite-homes* lifestyle into *one-home* only by concentrating the three land use activities (housing, ploughing and grazing) into one area. The one-home system is said to have been preferred because it enabled households to manage their livestock and farms better besides cutting down on transport costs to and from the villages. The permanent shifting to the fields was encouraged and supported by the government through its provision of boreholes, mobile clinics and other facilities in the new settlements[30 31].

Of late some Tswana villages are now attracting people either back from the lands and cattle-posts or from rural areas. Large villages and villages around Gaborone appear to have the highest attractions. Thus, as Hesselberg notes there are population movements from smaller to large villages which are paralleled by movements from villages to towns mainly Gaborone and Francistown[32]. Hesselberg believes the population movements are a reflection of uncertainty and indecision on the part of the Tswana population: whether to live at the lands without adequate water supplies and facilities but be able to look after their crops and livestock more meaningfully, or to stay in villages with satisfactory

facilities but insufficient food supplies, or to abandon rural life altogether and migrate to urban centres?

The uncertainty has resulted into yet another life-style for many families: *quadripartite homes* - one home in town (where some family members work in the modern economy), another one in the village (where the majority live during the dry season), lands (where part of the family migrates to during the wet season), and at the cattle-post (where livestock is kept). The various homes are visited by most family members fairly frequently. Those in towns appear to visit the villages and cattle-posts more often presumably to ensure adequate money and food supplies.

Other changes pertain to the internal structure of Tsawna settlements. Since the coming of Land Boards, villages have tended to expand boundaries outward thereby encompassing fields and grazing areas [33] [34] [35] [36] [37]. Hardie and Grant attribute the outward growth to increased demand for residential plots which is itself a result of the breakdown of the traditional housing norms. Unlike chiefs', Land Boards allocate land individually rather than through the ward head. Besides land is freely available to male and female, married or unmarried [38]. Today each household is acquiring its own plot instead of the whole family or ward.

Most households are shifting to the peripherywhere new developments are being concentrated which has led to the dilapidation of the centre as evidenced by poorer structures and derelict sites. The dilapidation, according to Hardie [39], is compounded by infiltration of commercial and some industrial activities and by lack of adequate water supplies, and services for removing litter generated by the later activities.

The new developments at the periphery are also in disarray because Land Boards allocated the initial plots without a plan resulting in "extremely random pattern of settlement with roads meandering around the plots and with open spaces remaining, often too small to be used as a house site" [40]. Physical plans have since been prepared for all major villages but Land Boards hardly adhere to them. The disregard of plans has been attributed to lack of qualified personnel and on the advisory status of the plans [41]. Land Boards are also unable to monitor housing developments which has given room to unscrupulous individuals who have taken advantage of the situation to allocate additional land to themselves and/or sell it to non-tribesmen [42] [43].

The ward system which held Tswana settlement forms intact is also disintegrating. Hardie almost

laments over this when he writes as follows:

> "No longer does the kgosi (chief) have the authority to contain or direct people as to where they should live. No longer is the status of ward or individual reflected in a person's residential location in the town (Mochudi). No longer is security and protection required...The control of land has moved from a centralised authority to a democratically elected one and the former rules of status and precedence, reflected in the spatial expression, have now been swept aside" [44].

The building styles have disintegrated as well; more so in the peripheral zone where wire fences have replaced mud walls, metal sheets grass thatch, and self-contained western style houses have taken precedence over one roomed structures and outdoor living within compounds as adequately discussed by Larsson [45] [46] and Hardie [47].

Many large villages have experienced a proliferation of commercial, industrial and institutional land use activities formerly not found in traditional Tswana settlements (see Figure 2 again). The new businesses and industries are,unfortunately, being located haphazardly within the villages. Kraals, garages, shops, bars, workshops, butcheries, wholesalers etc are unconsciously mixed with residential houses, schools, clinics and so on. Indeed, traditional Tswana settlements are increasingly assuming a picture of "squatter settlements" when they are just villages. Conditions are worse in villages closest to Gaborone and Francistown.

Causes of Nucleation and Dispersion

Theories on nucleation and, later, dispersion of Tswana settlement may be grouped into three categories: ecological, defence and political. The first two theories are well discussed and discounted by Silitshena who advanced the political theory.

The ecological theorists believe that the Tswana people settled in compact and nucleated villages in order to have equal access to water sources because the "semi-arid environment, restricting water sources to a limited number of places, defines the geographical location of settlements in Botswana" [48] [49]. Besides the compactness ensured that good fertile soils were utilised solely for crop production. The ecological theories are criticised for failing to account for the frequent shifting of villages given that there were usually more than one spring in each village. Furthermore, "concentration results in long queues of women waiting for water at the wells, a problem which might be obviated if settlements split up" [50].

The defence theorists [51] [52] [53] cite the selection of hills for homes and the construction of walls around some villages (eg Kanye) as defensive requirements which determined the structure of Tswana settlement. The horse-shoe pattern of homesteads in each family-group or ward, and the fencing of compounds with narrow entrances are given to substantiate their thesis. Silitshena discounts the defence theory as inadequate because "cattle, which were the most valuable property of the Tswana, were kept not in the towns but in the vulnerable distant cattleposts. If defence was the main consideration,logic would dictate that they be kept at or near settlements" [54].

Silitshena argues that chiefs derived their authority from their subjects. That power was felt through the social structures and achieved through absolute control of land administration, allocation and development procedures. That the ruling class was responsible for the compact and nucleated structureof Tswana villages is demonstrated by the permanent migration to the lands and cattle-posts which evolved soon after the erosion of chiefs' powers. He argues that " for as long as the chief held sway, buttressed by the colonial regime, dispersion of population to lands and cattlepost areas was impossible or a very remote possibility" [55].

It seems all the theories are valid and, in combination, have invariably influenced the structure of Tswana villages. Ecological factors are important because they determine survival hence the separation of homes, lands and grazing areas. With increased distances during colonial days the advantages of land use separation were outweighed by the travel time and monetary costs to and from the lands. Hence the desire to live permanently at the lands or cattle-posts. Defence considerations were important in protecting tribal territory and property hence hill top locations, boundary walls, narrow entrances and strict social structures which encouraged cohesion and easy identification of intruders. The allocation of land according to wards was also designed to enhance territorial integrity. The allocation of grazing areas by wards was designed to ensure fast enlistment of assistance from closer relatives while elders back in the village were being informed.

The chiefs, having surrendered their supreme powers to the British government, retained the traditional social structures well after they were no longer required in order to salvage their social standing . To ensure their continued power base, they started controlling the cycle of agricultural activities to the extent that no "planting, weeding, reaping, threshing or letting the cattle into the fields to eat the stubble could be done until he [chief] said

so" [56] even though such routine activities do not require chiefly wisdom.

Conclusions

Tswana settlement system was a spatial expression of Tswana political and social structures which were themselves determined by the environmental fragility and political instability that characterised the geopolitical region. The settlements were able to acculturate themselves to colonial domination because the ruling class was desirous of salvaging the status quo to ensure its political power base. Since the 1970s, Tswana settlement system has, however, been subjected to tremendous pressure by the post-independence cultural, social, political andeconomic dispensation resulting in "new' land values, uses and problems. The transformations are seriously threatening traditional principles, customs and laws.

As far as the future of Tswana settlement is concerned, it "is imperative that social structures be closely examined in the formulation of [village plans] and that ample opportunity be provided for the continued geographic expression of the ward [system]'[57] in order to conserve their unique character and, more importantly, to recreate stable and sustainable communities.

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Mogopa: The Persistence of Plan

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Introduction

In 1983, the forced removal of the Bakwena ba Mogopa from their tribal land in the heart of conservative Afrikaner territory in South Africa, briefly drew world attention. Mogopa is the name used to describe two farms in the Ventersdorp district in the western part of the Transvaal Province (see Fig.1), and the removal of the people of Mogopa was to be the culmination of state apartheid planning for the tribe, whose land had been designated a "black spot" in an otherwise "white" rural farming district. This paper will briefly examine the history of the planning which affected the people of Mogopa, both the processes involved and the experiences of the community. Plans for the land at Mogopa were made both by the state and the Mogopa community, but as will be shown, always in opposition and in reaction to each other. It is the persistence of the plans, and the resistance to them, which will be traced.
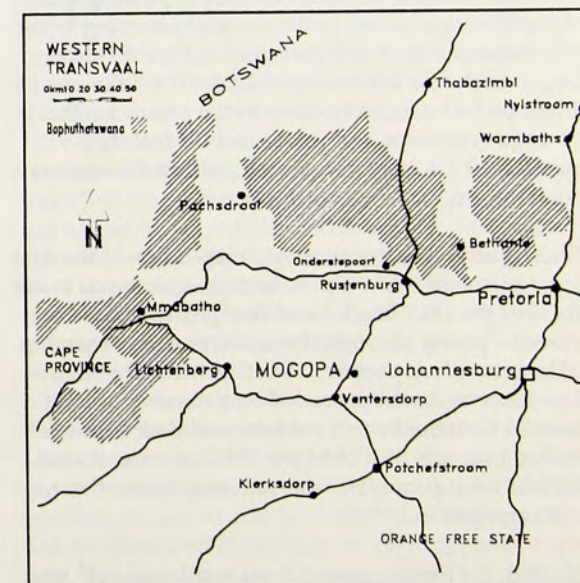

Figure 1: The Western Transvaal district of South Africa

Physical planning in South Africa is largely about access to land and about control over the use of land. It has been characterised more particularly by state control, and nowhere is this more evident than in the designation of some areas in the country for ownership and occupation by one particular group, and the subsequent removal of members of another group from that land. Colin Bundy, writing about land and forced removals in South Africa, has described the relationship between land and power in the following way:

> "certain forms of land ownership confer and concentrate economic and social power in the hands of one group or class of people, giving them the ability to subordinate and exploit another group or class".[1]

So it is that the law with respect to land can define and perpetuate power relations, as indeed it has throughout much of the history of this country: access to land has underpinned political domination in South Africa, and has therefore become a focus of political struggle. For land has also been the means through which communities have organised themselves. A threat to the land has been more than just a threat to land ownership and livelihood: it has been regarded as a threat to community and to community coherence.

Early Years at Mogopa

For both the state and the community of Mogopa, the planning process, in the sense of planning being a consciousness of and preparation for the future, began in the period 1912 and 1913. The Bakwena ba Mogopa had originally come to the area from the Orange Free State, and it was in 1912 that they purchased the farm Zwartrand, raising the necessary funds through the sale of cattle.

Shortly after this the state established one of the first legal pillars of what was to become apartheid, in the form of the 1913 Black Land Act[2], which aimed to exercise power through the restriction of ownership of land by black people in South Africa. The 1913 Land Act had been preceded by a number of land laws in both the British colonies and Boer republics before Union in 1910, but the 1913 Law went much further for it provided "the statutory basis of territorial segregation..."[3]

In 1936, the Development Trust and Land Act[4] was promulgated, releasing more land for occupation by black people while at the same time further restricting access to land in white areas. Together, the two Land Acts, as they became known, set the state's

planning approach as one designed to control, and more specifically to deny black people access to land.

The people of Mogopa, however, must have had some sense of security in possessing freehold title to their land, for by 1931, they had raised sufficient funds through their farming on Zwartrand to purchase a second farm, Hartebeeslagte, providing themselves with additional land for both ploughing and grazing, and thereby gaining self-sufficiency in agriculture. Aware of their vulnerability in terms of the law, they made plans for perpetual ownership of the farms by registering the land in the name of the Minister of Native Affairs, to be held in trust for them - a move which would also prevent individual chiefs or headmen from selling off the farms for personal gain. For the next four or five decades the community continued to farm the land: a modest village was built on one of the farms and schools, churches, shops and water reservoirs were built. Surplus crops were sold to the local (white) farmers' cooperative.

The community was organised along traditional communal lines: all who were members of the community were granted the right to land for their needs - which included the right to the resources the family needed to live - in exchange for which they contributed to the community funds, managed by the headman, who was accountable for the use of these funds. For the community, it was a period of prosperity and tentative security on their land, but the state's planning policy was now unfolding.

That planning policy, particulary after the accession to power of the National Party in 1948, was a form of "social engineering" - the systematic social and economic restructuring of society according to politically defined objectives. These objectives, in turn, embodied one of the principles of Apartheid: the planned concentration of power (and land) in the hands of the white minority. Numerous Acts of parliament legally entrenched these policies, one of which involved the forced removal of black people from the cities, white farms and black spots, to the rural reserves.

Another of the many laws which were used in the removal of communities during this period was the Black Administration Act.[5] While this Act was passed in 1927, it embodied some of the principles of social engineering which were to be seen in Apartheid planning in the years which followed. In the parliamentary debate preceding the passage of the Act, the then Minister of Justice made the following observations:
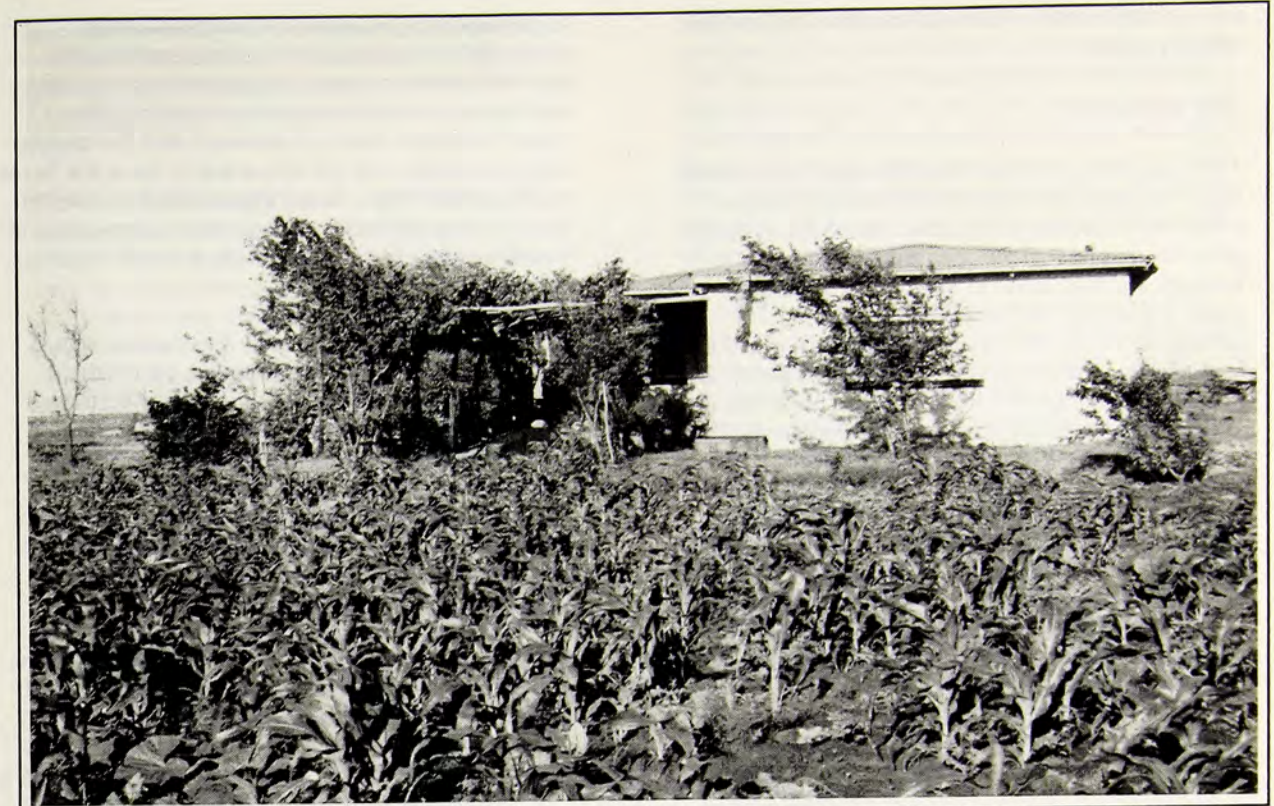
Figure 2: Mogopa Home before the Removal (Photo: Gille de Vlieg)

> "... If you have the power to remove (blacks) from one place where they do mischief to a place where they do not do mischief, what a useful provision that would be... Imagine taking a farm and placing upon that farm all the agitators who are going about the country and letting them hold meetings with each other on that farm. In three months time how many of them would survive? Just think what the result would be of that sociological experiment... I believe that powers of this kind are essential in South Africa, and that they are going to do more good to the natives than any other portion of the community... It is quite obvious, I think, that these powers would be used for the benefit of the natives".[6]

The state claimed that all removals were voluntary. At the height of black spot removals in 1969, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development stated:

> "We get their co-operation in all cases voluntarily. As a matter of fact, sometimes it is necessary to do quite a lot of persuasion, but we do get them away".[7]

Accordingly, the state's planning policies were implemented, in the course of which at least three million black people were moved into the increasingly impoverished reserves. In the early 1980s the policy makers became more image conscious as pressure to end their heavy handed removals mounted: state planners officially adopted a more "development-oriented" approach, and the term "removal" became officially replaced by "resettlement". It was publicly emphasised that communities would be voluntarily removed only after due consultation and participation in the planning of their removal, and Minister Piet Koornhof was reported as saying that no more forced removals of people from their homes would take place.[8] In an attempt to give credibility to the new approach, planning committees were established in communities which were targeted for "resettlement". The state planners publicly insisted that planning was not to be a top-down, one-sided exercise, but that the community would also be involved. However, as will be illustrated in the case of the Mogopa community, the real plan was one of co-option, not consultation, and of deliberate manipulation to confuse and divide communities. The question to be resolved by the planning committees was in fact not *whether* the

community would be moved, but *when* and *how* this would happen.

The Removal

At Mogopa the pressures from the state for removal began to be felt. In 1981, the community had deposed their traditional headman, Jacob More, on the grounds that he had misused tribal funds, was corrupt, and had failed to respond to tribal discipline. However, the local white commissioner refused to accept this move: instead, he notified the community of their planned removal and set up a planning committee with the deposed Jacob More and his cohorts as community representatives. The people of Mogopa unsuccessfully tried to force meetings of the planning committee to beconducted openly, and early in 1983 Jacob More was able to agree, supposedly on behalf of the community, to be moved to Pachsdraai, some 150 km away. While he and ten families made the move, and were compensated (at R8000 per household), the rest of the community adopted a strategy of resistance by remaining at Mogopa.

In consequence, in June 1983, state bulldozers destroyed the community's schools and churches and some of the houses. Engines for water pumps were taken, essential services were cut off, shop owner's licences were not renewed, and the community was issued with an ultimatum to leave the farms by November 1983. These were all tried and tested tactics which had been used in other communities in order to obtain their co-operation to move 'voluntarily':

> "What does the state do once they have smashed the schools, stopped the transport, cut off the water, threatened force - and people still refuse to move? One of the most effective things it does is to do nothing. It waits. There is a limit to how long people can live without schools, without pensions, without migrant labour contracts and with daily uncertainty about their future. If it is a matter of who can sit it out, the state is the more likely winner".[9]

But the people of Mogopa had other plans. With the help of church and other service organisations, their plight was publicised, and became the focus of an

Figure 3: The Ruins of the School at Mogopa, December 1983 (Photo: Gille de Vlieg)

international outcry. The community decided to defy the state's plans, and to rebuild their village, their schools and install new water pumps. The state could not accept this resistance to it's plan, and had to act:

> "In the early hours of February 14 1984, Mogopa was surrounded by armed police. At 4am the people were informed through loud hailers that they must load their possessions into trucks and go to Pachsdraai. Nobody was allowed to leave their houses. Jacob More took the police and the officials to the houses of all the leaders first. They were handcuffed and put into police vans. Their families refused to pack their possessions - government labourers did so... People tried to run away and children were loaded with the furniture and dispatched to Pachsdraai. All of this happened in the presence of armed policemen who had dogs at their disposal... Parents became desperate to find their children, and got onto the buses to Pachsdraai to go and look for them there..."[10]

But the people of Mogopa refused to accept theirfate at Pachsdraai, and immediately fled to Bethanie, home of their paramount chief. While their tenure at Bethanie was insecure and basic amenities such as water, housing and schooling were entirely inadequate, at least they were not complying with the state's plans. They challenged the legality of their removal in the Supreme Court, a case which they won in September 1985, and immediately made plans to return to Mogopa. But the state had, in the meantime, expropriated the farms, and the community would have been guilty of trespass if it reoccupied the land. The people were informed that the state would not allow them to return to Mogopa, but that as a compromise, it was prepared to make a new piece of land available. However, conditions attaching to this 'offer' were soon found to be unacceptable. These were, inter alia, that the community would have to accept incorporation into the so-called independent state of Bophuthatswana, and that they would have no security of tenure, but would remain tenants on the land which they were to occupy.

Another plan had to be formulated by the community. With the support of church and service organisations, it was decided that the people would participate in a church project to buy land for dispossessed communities. A large farm, Holgat, in the Ventersdorp district was identified, and the money was raised for its purchase. But only days before the official registration of the transfer of ownership, the state expropriated Holgat, on the basis that the land was needed for the establishment of an agricultural college.

And so the Mogopa community seemed to be defeated by the state's plans for their future. In late 1987, demoralised and under increasing pressure from their hosts at Bethanie, they decided that they had no option but to return to their land, even if it meant putting the community at risk, and possibly even the final disintegration of the tribe. At a meeting of the community the following resolution was taken:

> "All our plans have been destroyed... Our first aim is to undo the expropriation. If that fails each group must struggle forward according to its means, and to its history... We believe that the government's reason for expropriating the farm was to defeat our plans for the future. However, we will go on struggling for land and for a future for our children and our grand-children. We tried to achieve our just aims in a peaceful way by buying a new farm. The government has now closed this door to peaceful action, as it has closed all the other doors we tried to use... Now we have nochoice but to go and claim our own farms. We know that the government will treat us as criminals for this whereas we are just South Africans fighting for our birthright... We will never give up our efforts to realise our right to live decent lives".[11]

The Return

A week before the planned return to Mogopa, in September 1987, the state agreed to a meeting with community representatives, making an offer of a temporary place for the community to settle until such time as a mutually acceptable site could be found. At this meeting it was agreed that while at the temporary site, the community would draw up its own plans regarding its resettlement, and that these plans should be submitted to the state. And so the people of Mogopa moved once more, this time to Onderstepoort, near Rustenburg, where at least there would be adequate water and fuel supplies.

The plans which were drawn up by the community centred on the settlement of the community back at Mogopa, or on land adjoining nearby Mothopestad. But this plan was not acceptable to the state planners, for two reasons. Firstly, it was not state policy to allow black people to live in areas earmarked (as Mogopa was) for white occupation, and secondly, a dangerous precedent would be set in that other resettled communities might also demand to be resettled on their original land if the state were to allow this for the people of Mogopa. The community and the state entered another waiting game.

Figure 4: Daniel Molefe (64 years) at Onderstepoort, Relating the History of Mogopa (Photo: Gille de Vlieg)

Late in 1988, about 60 people, led by tribal elders, decided to return to Mogopa, with the intention of maintaining the ancestral graveyard. In March 1989, a Supreme Court interdict was brought against them seeking their urgent eviction from the farm. The community defended this action, on the grounds that the land belonged to it, arguing that the expropriation had been invalid. The case was lost on a technicality, but the community lodged an appeal early in 1989. In the meantime, more members of the community drifted back to Mogopa from Onderstepoort. The state reacted by warning that no further increase in the community would be allowed, and that no permanent structures should be erected.

In February 1990, State President de Klerk announced a series of reforms for the country, leading to the repeal of a number of repressive laws, the Black Administration Act and the Land Acts being among them. In August 1990, the people of Mogopa were given permission to start rebuilding their school on the farm Zwartrand. To them this was indeed a victory, and an acknowledgement by the state of their return to Mogopa. More members of

the community arrived during the course of 1991, and settled on the site of the original village, although in temporary structures only.

On 24th July 1991, permission to plough and to build permanent houses was finally given to the community of Mogopa, which was ironically encouraged at the time by the Minister of Development Aid to "think about how they would organise themselves in future, and to start planning for development".[12] The significance of this however, was that the state had finally come to terms with the persistence of the people of Mogopa, and had accepted the permanence of the community on its land.

Today, the community continues to rebuild itself. Water pumps have been repaired or new ones purchased and installed. The school has been rebuilt and its staff are funded by the state

 Department of Education and Training. Community structures are in place, and a planning committee - this time democratically elected by the community - is actively involved with state agricultural planners in drawing up a development plan for the farm.

Conclusion

It has been shown elsewhere[13] that the history of planning in South Africa has been characterised by ethnically based processes: one for the white minority, and another for all other groups in the population. Planners in this country have traditionally tended to target their professional responsibility, accountability and service to a limited white elite group only. In doing so they have placed themselves in a position of passive compliance with state policy, which has meant that no other planning activity could take place without it having profound political overtones.

On the other hand, planning for black people in South Africa has been carried out almost entirely by the state, which, as has been illustrated by the Mogopa case, adopted an control-oriented, top-down approach in its pursuance of the utopian apartheid ideology. One of the essential features of this normative approach was that it attempted to perpetuate existing power relations in the country through control over land and access to land. More often than not, professional planners were

marginalised from this second planning process. Where they were involved, planners became servants of state policy and accountable to the state and not the communities involved. As a result, a large section of the South African population has come to distrust the very concept of planning - they are those for whom 'planning' has for so long had only negative connotations.

Future history will show that planners, as a professional group, were not actively involved in the planning processes which so deeply affected the lives of rural black communities. Professional planning involvement in Mogopa, for example, began only in 1991 with the compilation of the village plan by the author and students of the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. The approach taken in this planning process attempted to be democratic and participatory, in keeping with the process which the community itself had followed.

There has, therefore, been a third process at work in planning in South Africa, to which insufficient credence has been given. It has not been a formal

Figure 5: The Rebuilt School at Mogopa, November 1990 (Photo: Gille de Vlieg)

process, and has not involved professional planners. Instead, it has been the antithesis of state planning: a community-based, bottom-up process, the impetus for which is manifest in its opposition to and defiance of the formal state planning process. It has been counter-planning, and as such, it is difficult to define in traditional planning terms. But the case of the Bakwena ba Mogopa illustrates that the community did plan, and did have a plan in the sense of a vision of the future for themselves. This plan was adaptive, and was centred around the land and its symbolic significance to the tribe.

The importance of land to the state and to communities has been a feature of the history of planning in this country. The state made its plans, but in the case illustrated above, the people of Mogopa reacted with counter-plans. Theirs is a success story of persistence and passive resistance. That the community was able to survive years of planned removal and counterplanning, is tribute to their capacity to maintain cohesion, a sense of purpose and a sense of plan.

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Historical Continuity in Town Planning

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The scale and rate of change commensurate with current urbanization has necessitated that planning assume a more proactive role in the sense of actively seeking ways to initiate, direct and manage change[1].

In practice planners seem to have little problem in coming to grips with the technical aspects of development but often pay scant, if any attention, to a range of non-technical factors which should inform the process. To many planners the historical development of towns, for example, and the reasons for their being as they are seem to be of little relevance or at best of academic interest.

Clearly an understanding of the origins, growth, development and processes of change over time of both natural and built environments is fundamental to planning decisions concerning 'desirable futures': one needs to know what it was and what it is, before deciding what it should be.

Pursuant to this there is therefore a need for planners to pay attention to aspects such as urban structure, townscape, imagibility, environmental meaning, perception and cognition, as essential form giving elements in man's cultural environment, in addition to the purely technological.

Town Plans Tell a Story

Town plans reflect the social, political, economic and technological forces at play in societies at any time. As noted by Martin[2], the urban fabric records events in a town's history in a way similar to that of a palimpsest: "beneath the characters that we first trace, there are other words and phrases to be read".

Town plans are the embodiment not only of a community's cultural past but of its cultural present and its cultural future. The understanding of these processes is central to the notion of historical continuity in town planning. Whilst it is of value to establish commonalities (nomothetic attributes) it is possibly of greater value to reveal the idiographic characteristics of each town - for herein lies themeans to discover those unique attributes of the *genius loci*.

The recognition of those attributes, which may in many instances only be present as 'relic features', is fundamental to our understanding of the processes of change and renders our concept of a 'desirable future image', coherent.

Spatial Coherence And Context

According to Dober[3] the objective of design structure "is the establishment of visual order in response to the technical requirements of developing the physical forms of community life and in a manner that allows, over time, accommodation to diversity, increase, and change while maintaining coherence in the whole".

Accordingly, one is not seeking a kind of fossilised past - a dogmatic conservationism - but rather an approach which allows for change to take place commensurate with contemporary living, and which does not thoughtlessly destroy what went before by kicking over the traces or through blind ignorance.

Conzen[4] holds that there exists a state of tension between dynamic function and static form and although periods of economic prosperity have often resulted in a considerable degree of building replacement (i.e. change) this rarely obliterates the underlying structural elements and hence relic forms from different periods often survive in large parts of the original town plan. The presence of relic forms may well bring to light conflicts between modern functional requirements and the extant design framework or town plan.

The identification of the essential characteristics of urban structure as noted for example by Dober, and of understanding the factors that have influenced and are influencing present and future townscape configurations, as highlighted by Conzen, are indispensable to effective urban management and planning.

In Olden's[5] study of Stellenbosch, for example, in which Conzen's analytical framework is used, Olden concludes that the major weakness of current planning action is its lack of coherence or sense of context. This he contends results from the fact that whilst planners may well be aware of and be sensitive to historical elements, the treatment of these as loose assemblages of bits and pieces has led to planning "recommendations directly at odds with the features of the town plan".
Although the influence or impact of change is possibly more noticeable and dramatic in smaller historic towns, it is probably true that a lack of a thorough understanding of urban processes and

how these influence urban form over time also account for the poor planning and urban management evident in our larger cities as well.

In addition to the previously noted concepts of design structure and townscape, one should note, albeit somewhat cursorily, the importance of legibility and environmental meanings, what constitutes a good environment, the role of environmental perception, and the acquisition of environmental schemas.

Intelligibility and Environmental Meanings

Lynch's[6] contribution to our understanding of the importance of urban 'legibility' as too the work of Rapoport[7] on environmental meaning as a form of communication, serves to underscore the significance of the built environment in facilitating *interalia* the establishment of self-identity, place identity and in reducing feelings of alienation and cognitive dissonance. What is built reflects the needs of a society, its values and its technology and is imbued with meanings which are culture bound. The intelligibility of the built environment is bound to the ease with which the environmental meanings are understood and the ease in which it is negotiated: i.e. the clarity of mental images which facilitate way finding.

Environmental Preferences

The way in which the environment is cognitively organised influences our environmental preferences. According to Kaplan and Kaplan[8] "...preference for a scene is a function of the need to make sense of the scene and the need to be involved in it". Further to coherence and legibility, through which we satisfy the need for making sense, two further components are important: that of complexity, in the sense that the environment should hold one's attention without being boring or confusing, and mystery or surprise and interest, in that a range of events and vistas should unfold as one moves through the setting. In addition to these a good environment should afford opportunities in that it should allow users to become involved at a variety of levels.

Environmental Perception

According to Smith one classifies visual input according to its conformity with particular experiential schemas. The individual develops separate schemas (images) of what elements (houses, churches, shopping centres, etc) are expected to look like. A disruption of the expected correlation between established schemas and experiential events

results in incongruities between expectation and reality.

Perception is therefore a function of learning and according to Smith[9] "...Environment is physically negotiated by reference to what is already known. Past experience enables the mind to establish probabilities about the visual array".

If our schemas lack correspondence with reality, our ability to predict future action is impaired: confusion results in an inability to cope and conflict and stress become evident.

Toffler's[10] 'future shock' is evidenced in the lack of congruence between fixed, well established, known and secure frames of reference and an environment which is undergoing rapid change. The individual's locus of control shifts from internal control to external control, with a concomitant sense of helplessness.

According to Kelly's[11] personal construct theory we view the world "through transparent patterns or templates" of our own creation. The interpretation of an event or construct allows us to anticipate future events and to take steps to meet demands. The way in which the individual anticipates future events is crucial to his or her behaviour or responses to environmental events.

Townscapes

The relevance of Lynch's imagibility, Rapoport's environmental meanings, Kaplan and Kaplan's environmental preferences, Smith's environmental schemas and Kelly's personal constructs are rather elegantly reflected in Conzen's[12] concept of Townscape:

Firstly, it has utility, in that it facilitates our orientation within, and our negotiation of, the built environment.

Secondly, the townscape has aesthetic value in terms of the visual and emotional responses.

Thirdly, it has intellectual value in that it helps us to orientate ourselves with respect to time: it allows us to gain perspective of ourselves within a widerevolving society, affording historical comparisons and hence a more informed basis for decision making.

In totality the environmental experience imparted by the townscape as reflected in the above, in addition to the influence of geology, topography, setting and climate serve to impart and reinforce that important

environmental experience of the spirit of place or of the *genius loci*.

Understanding the meaning of a particular built environment is the key to its interpretation and provides the basis for evaluating the appropriateness of its elements and their disposition in relation to the function they fulfil.

The Case of Stellenbosch

The purpose of this brief historical overview is not to provide a comprehensive historical account of Stellenbosch - but rather to highlight the role and significance of three unique 'ingredients', which influenced the establishment of the village and its subsequent growth: the mountains, the river and the mill furrows.

Origins

In the founding of the village of Stellenbosch (the first settlement beyond the Cape) in the same year of his arrival in the Cape, van der Stel not only made his presence felt, but created: a focus for the growing agricultural community; a decentralized seat of local government - in terms of administrative, legal and military matters; a spiritual centre in the church; and the first embryonic commercial service and trading node outside the Cape. As Walker[13] notes, he "...leaped the sandy Flats which cut off the Cape from 'Africa' ...".

From accounts it is clear that the general setting, and particularly the river, captured the imagination of van der Stel, when on November 6, 1679 he spent the night on the banks of the river[14]: 'Through the valley flows a very impressive fresh-water river with its banks fringed by beautiful tall trees and these trees are very suitable both for timber and fuel. In the river a small island was discovered around which the water streams and which is densely overgrown with beautiful high trees...'.

By the end of the year the first farmer had settled on the banks of the river on the farm Welgevallen and by 1685 the whole settlement comprised acircle of farms around Stellenbosch island. Stellenbosch was in practice therefore, an agricultural colony, 'without a village at its centre' (Fig 1).

By April 1687, the Drostdy which was located on the eastern end of the island, was completed and the church was inaugurated in October. By this time a mill for the making of flour - a commodity sorely needed by the locals and the Company's ships - was in operation and these structures together with the
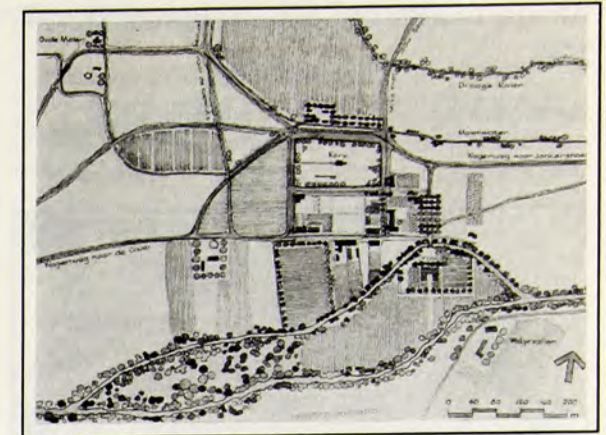
Figure 1: Stellenbosch in 1710, based on drawing by M.C. Stander (Smuts, p50)

school and a small number of houses for "...a minister, beadle, schoolmaster, smith and wagonbuilder...", situated between the church and Drostdy, formed the core of the new community. Because of the frequent flooding of the island it subsequently became necessary to fill the northern arm of the river and through excavations to deepen the southern arm and thereby canalize the flow of water along the river course as we know it today (Fig 2).

Figure 2: Stellenbosch today. Approx. to the same scale as Fig 1 (Planning and Mapping (Pty) Ltd.)

From its inception the Eerste River has been an integral part of Stellenbosch's history. It served as a source of potable water, was used for irrigation of gardens, functioned as a sewer and provided power for the flour mills. It was the latter need which led to the construction of water furrows to drive the mills and which, like a silver thread became woven into the urban fabric.

Mental Images and Environmental Meanings

For most, the image one has of Stellenbosch is confined to those things the name connotes and which reflect in practice, only a part of the total

Figure 3: Traditional architecture in van Riebeeck Street. Note the mill furrow at right.

picture; the historic core, oak lined streets -hence the name the "Eikestad" (Village of Oaks) - the university, the Eerste River, the surrounding winelands with their Cape Dutch homesteads all neatly framed against the background of its majestic mountains (Fig 3 and 4).

To some extent these images do not accurately reflect reality. As noted in a recent study of the Eerste River for example, whilst the river enjoys some prominence with respect to how people think about it, this is not always congruent with how the act towards it. People think about it as a front garden but treat it as a backyard[15].

The River and the Town

The area designated in the town planning scheme as a conservation area clearly reflects a preoccupation with historic buildings as the criterion for designating this type of area. In consequence scant attention is paid to urban structure or other significant urban formgiving elements, for example the river.

The river is a unique and integral part of the urban context. Its water furrows, as they weave their way through the very heart of the village, serve as a reminder of its presence. The potential this water system in combination offers is inestimable to the maintenance and enhancement of the quality of life of the community at large.

Figure 4: Traditional architecture in Dorp Street.

In practice, the area comprising the historic core can be conceived as comprising two lobes (Fig 5): the present well known area with its rich architectural and cultural heritage - concentrated between the old Strand Road and Market street to the west, around the Braak to the north; the Village Museum to the east and flanking the length of Dorp Street to the south - and the other lobe stretching from Dorp Street to the river. In practice the latter is totally disregarded as forming part of the designated historic and conservation area of the town.

What is needed is to recognize this area as an integral part of the historic core and to draw the northern and southern lobes together into a coherent whole.
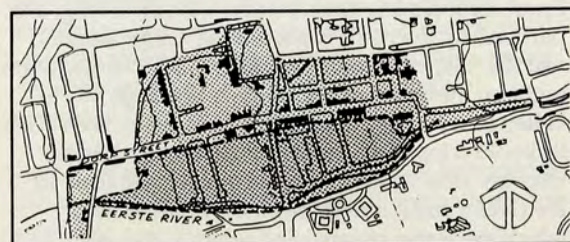

Figure 5: The northern and southern lobes of the historic core.

Were consideration to be given to encouraging residential development within this lobe, this could, through higher densities and repletionary processes, reduce the pressure on land and curtail further unbridled sprawl on the western slopes of Stellenboschberg, with its concomitant despoilation of the still largely intact unique mountain scenery (Fig 6). In addition to providing a strong residential component within the historic centre of the village, it would improve safety and increase the usage and pleasure to be derived from the river.
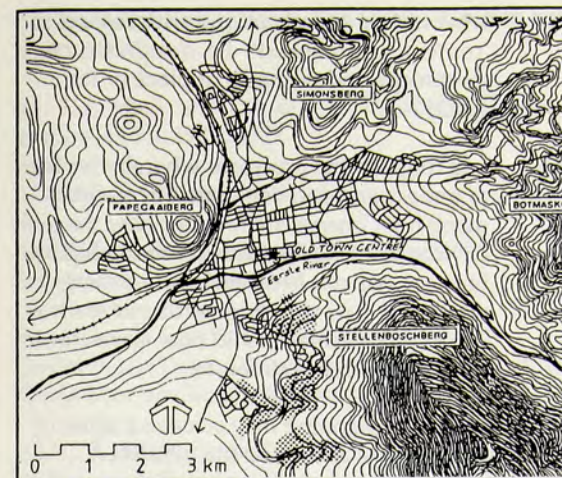
Figure 6: Proposed residential development on the environmentally sensitive western slopes of Stellenboschberg.

It is indeed strange that the element that impressed van der Stel the most is the one that features only marginally in the urban structure and is the one the visitor never sees.

Figure 7: The Eerste River, the position of the mills and mill furrows.

Figure 8: The northern and southern branches of the mill furrow where it bifurcates and cuts diagonally through the street blocks (centre of photo).

The River and its Mill Furrows

Clearly the river and its mill furrows form a vital link with the past and a unique and indispensable part of the town's cultural history (Fig 7).

Figure 9: The northern branch of the mill furrow.

The way in which the recognition of the quality of the mill furrow can enhance environmental design,is clearly reflected in a comparison of its northern and southern branches, where it bifurcates at the corner of Plein and Andringa Streets (Fig 8). Although the northern branch is open to pedestrians it is seldom, if ever, used (Fig 9). Its southern branch has however been capitalized on and has been instrumental in opening up the mid-block core and contributes greatly to the environmental quality of this important pedestrian area (Fig 10).

There is no reason why the opening up and articulation of activities along the course of the northern branch should not be as successful as the Dorpsteeg precinct and would even further enhance, by adding a new dimension of variety in urban experience, the urban quality of the whole village centre.

It should be noted that the course followed by these two branches probably dates back to before the first mill or shortly after the establishment of the town; a residual feature of considerable historic significance (Fig 1).

Conclusion

While it may be contended that ambiguity generates a richness in the environment, it is the lack of intelligibility and the lack of congruence between mental image and reality which is disruptive. To design or plan is an act of will, it has purpose and an end in view; it is not wilful, i.e. it is not an act of deliberate perversity.

Figure 10: The southern branch of the mill furrow along the Dorpsteeg pedestrian precinct.

For design and planning to have purpose we must examine and understand our needs, what we want, how these can best be achieved and how to express them within the context of our unique culture - we should not only recognise that we have a cultural heritage, but that we also have a cultural present and a cultural future. It is the reflection of this continuity in the built environment which gives meaning to the world around us, imbues it with a sense of place in time and allows us to understand who we are and what we stand for.

The design professionals - planners, urban designers, architects and engineers - need to gain a clearer understanding of the processes through which appropriate environments can be achieved. They need to understand:

(i)   urban development processes in their appropriate time frames - past, present and future;

(ii)   what makes a place unique with respect to 'content' and 'context' - i.e. design structure, townscape and the spirit of place or the *genius loci*;

(iii)   and to grasp the processes whereby we learn to understand and negotiate our environment; how images are formed; how the built environment can be made more intelligible; how congruence between how we think about and how we act towards our environment can be achieved and how environmental quality can be reinforced.

In this way urban planning may achieve a sense of continuity over time and avoid the pitfalls of townscapes being treated as mere spatial congeries or a loose assemblage of remarkable bits and pieces without spatial coherence or context.

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The Planning Origins of Bloemfontein: An Urban Design Critique

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Introduction

This paper will examine selected aspects of the physical planning origins of Bloemfontein with emphasis on three urban design axes in the central area.

Particular characteristics of the gridiron plan such as order, orientation, simplicity, speed and adaptability explain why it was frequently used in history. There are two grid types, which may explain the planning pedigree of Bloemfontein, namely military and trade. The author has discussed some characteristics of grid planning elsewhere.[1]

The speed and simplicity of a grid plan were also important in laying out colonial towns and cities. Throughout history there have been practical new towns founded to spread surplus population from the older, established centres, strangled by wars, famine or unemployment. There were also motives of trade, defence and resource development. When new colonial towns were built rapidly, they were laid out in rectangular blocks along straight streets.[2]

Origins

During the early 19th Century, Bloemfontein merely marked the crossing of a rough trail and convenient place for hunters, soldiers and traders to outspan on the Highveld of South Africa due to the presence of a fountain. A shallow east-west dolerite ridge helped to dam up the water (Bloemspruit), which attracted huge herds of wild animals. It is therefore not surprising that Blacks used the name Mangaung meaning 'place of the big cats or leopards'.[3]

In 1846, Mayor Warden moved his British troops beyond the Orange River from Philippolis to Bloemfontein and immediately erected a frontier fort. The farm called 'Bloemfontein' (fountain offlowers) was ceded to the British Government by an emigrant named Brits. Warden chose

Bloemfontein as his station for practical reasons such as its centrality, water supply, good communications, military potential and freedom from horse sickness!! In March 1848 Sir Harry Smith established a Sovereignty, and fixed Bloemfontein as the seat of the government. Taking topography into account, in 1851 the surveyor Andrew Bain, then laid out long east-west streets parallel to Bloemspruit with one north-south axis, Church Street.[4] It was a gridiron plan in the military tradition with many historic antecedents such as Greece and Rome. The part of the town comprising the 'water erven' was the earliest occupied, lying on the south side of the Bloemspruit. The major east-west axis and main roadway St. George's Street on the south, connected the Residency with the Fort. A few church cottages clustered round the Dutch Reformed Church at the upper end of Church Street, to the north. Following historic tradition, three open spaces or 'squares' were provided within the gridiron namely the Resident's Square, Church Square and Market. Very soon most major business and trade moved north of the Spruit.

One of the few buildings of the original settlement to be preserved in St. George's Street, is the First Raadzaal. In the central portion, there is the long low barn-like room, where the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 was signed, granting independence to the Orange Free State. Here Hoffman, the first President, was sworn in, and here for the first three years of the Republic the Volksraad held their debates. The building was also used as the offices of the town board, as a school, and as a church.

Further east along the 'weak' St. George's Street east-west axis is the English Cathedral, of St. Andrew and St. Michael. In 1863 the Bishopric of Bloemfontein was created and the vast diocese included Basutoland, Griqualand West, Bechuanaland, and the OFS. The chancel and choir of the present Cathedral formed the original church, built in 1866. At the top of Church Street Hill and to the east is the Old Fort commenced in 1848 and now a military museum. Most historic views of Bloemfontein were recorded from here and almost the whole town can be seen sloping down from the ridge.

The coming of the railway in 1890 brought rapid growth, a housing shortage and a bout of land speculation on the eastern side of the business centre in an undeveloped area. Thus the so-called 'railway camp' came into being, jobs were created and the new station to the east closed the Maitland Street axis and reinforced its importance. Until about ten years ago the railway works were among the largest in South Africa employing about 2000 people and

creating a multiplier effect in the economy.[5]

Three Historic Axes (Figure 1)

Three major axes will now be singled out for attention, namely the east-west watercourse (Bloemspruit), the east-west axis Maitland Street and the north-south boulevard of President Brand Street.

1. Bloemspruit

Bloemfontein's city core is hemmed in by hills to the north, the railways in the east, sports facilities in the west and Bloemspruit in the south. Since the city is situated in a basin, the Spruit is a natural drain. This linear reserve of public open space is 40 metres wide and one kilometer long as an east-west axis, presenting both a unique chance for redevelopment and a visual edge in the heart of the city.

After a fatal flood in 1904, the banks of the Spruit were disciplined with sandstone walls and a series of graceful humpback stone bridges were thrown across it. The western part near the rugby stadium is a stark concrete drain, starting with vertical sides and leading to the typical dish-shaped cross-section. Nobody ever uses the bottom or sides of the Spruit, nor have steps or pathways ever been provided. This is a far cry from the natural landscape of reeds, willows and pools which greeted Major Warden in 1846.

East of the stadium one finds the vital visual intersection of two axes, namely President Brand Street and the Spruit. In this historic area is the restored Presidency on the south bank and the Fire Station and High Court on the north bank. Lack of imagination has prevented a monumental celebration of this 'urban room', and failed to employ the hard-soft contrast of a water's edge.

Spontaneous growth of peppercorn trees and shrubs along some parts of the bank, suggests a landscape theme for urban design. Further east towards the Station there is a mixed bag of flats, parking garage, light industry and shopping. The sandstone block treatment of the banks with tufts of grass, the original wrought-iron railing and the typical cypress trees all help to make the concrete dish bearable.[6]

Under pressure however the City Council has decided that its historic 'stormwater' ditch is in need of a face-lift, with a suggestion that the business district be extended towards it. The Council held a competition which was won in 1986 by a highly-sensitive neo-Classical scheme featuring water gardens in the manner of Italy or Spain. There
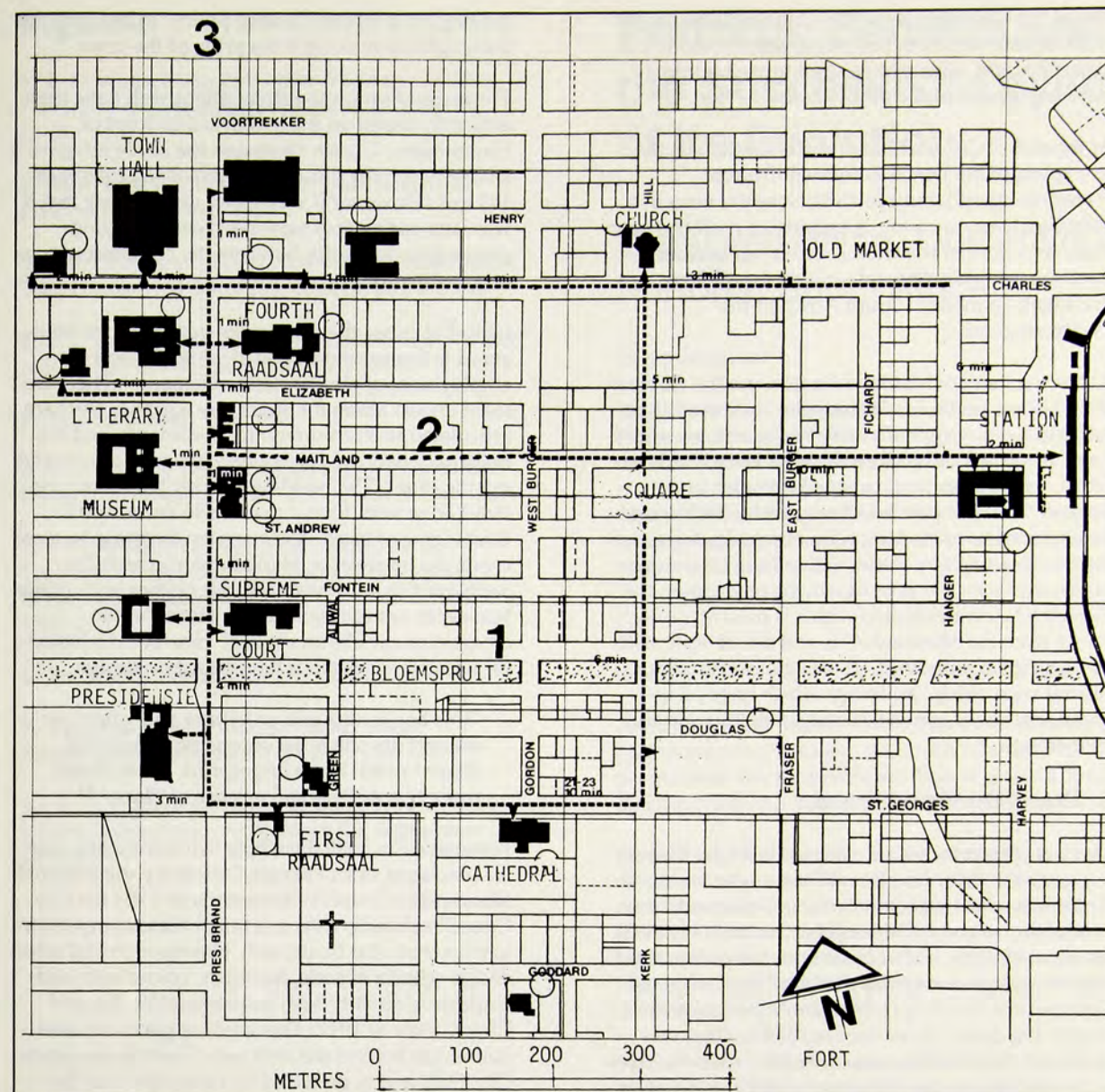
Figure 1: Plan of Central Bloemfontein showing Major Historic Buildings and Three Axes: (1) Bloemspruit, (2) Maitland Street and (3) President Brand Street

has already been a premature scheme to build a parking garage over the Spruit, which amounts to giving away public land. Unfortunately this lack of respect for history on the part of the City Engineer is also shared by a preoccupied public.

2. Maitland Street

On leaving the Railway Station, one enters the east-west axis Maitland Street, the main business thoroughfare and 'decumanus' of Bloemfontein,

which displaced St. George's Street as the town spread northwards. Close to the Station there is a large red brick building forming the Central Railway Offices, which housed a conference in 1899 between President Kruger and Lord Milner to stave off the Anglo-Boer War. Maitland Street was always the choice for important parades until about 1920 when President Brand Street took over.

About halfway down the street one finds the 'forum' of Bloemfontein, Hoffmann Square at the intersec-

tion of the Church Street axis. Until 1970 the layout of the square was both functional and symbolic but 'beautification' efforts have since turned it into a mere bus station and traffic island.[7]

At the end of Church Street (north-south axis) the two spires of the Dutch Reformed Church (Tweetoringkerk), built in 1878, close the vista in a truly European manner. A pedestrian mall has been created in front of the church and it has become a tradition to conduct burial services for all State Presidents in modern South Africa in the Tweetoringkerk.

At the west end of Maitland Street were the Government Offices built in 1878, now the National Literature Museum. Originally only one storey, an upper portion was added to close the vista with Maitland Street, which goes due east one kilometre to the Station. The new part was designed by Sir Herbert Baker architect of the Union Buildings, Pretoria and the Parliament, New Delhi. Behind the Literature Museum is a highly unsympathetic newcomer, the Provincial Administration which is defiantly off centre from the Maitland Axis and out of scale with its historic surroundings. It was theforerunner of several such official buildings which have all ignored matters of context, history, height, scale and civic design.

3. President Brand Street

Maitland Street forms a T-junction with the historic boulevard of President Brand Street, now an important north-south axis, which did not exist until the turn of the century. Originally it was a short street on the north side of the Spruit with three important buildings sited in isolation, i.e. the Presidency, old Government Building (Literature Museum) and Fourth Raadzaal. After the Fourth Raadzaal was opened, (1893) development extended over the river to connect it with the Presidency (1888). Only after the building of the Supreme Court, in 1906 when unsightly gaps were filled did President Brand Street achieve significant administrative and cultural status at a national level. At the time of Union in 1910 Bloemfontein became the Judicial Capital as a 'consolation prize'.

Although the boulevard did not originate from a conscious blueprint of 'uniqueness', the first key buildings exerted a powerful influence on its future, e.g. the Presidency, old Government Building and Fourth Raadzaal in spite of their suburban setting. However in 1922 a conscious attempt was made to dignify the boulevard by widening the pavement and planting a double row of fir trees on either side. Some contemporary planners, have a nostalgic

longing for a former Council policy 'to beautify this thoroughfare making it the pride of the town'.[8]

The inspiration for the street might well have been indirectly based on the boulevard concept of Haussmann. Gustav Baumann the surveyor, gave it a large width for those times namely 32 metres or 103 feet. However it was rather unfortunate that it was later cut by four east-west roads carrying growing motor traffic between the commercial core and destinations on the west.

Japha[9] ascribes the fine design quality of the boulevard to the consistent use of materials and the employment of similar design elements. There are eight towers along the street, the entrance bays are articulated with columns and pediments, and the main materials are sandstone walls and columnand red tile roofs. The buildings are set back from the street edge with formal gardens in front, and a double row of trees. Victorian landscaping features create the impression of monuments carefully positioned in a unique park, but neither ends of the boulevard are terminated by a strong urban designelement like an obelisk. However its historical significance extends beyond urban design.

> 'This boulevard tells us 'where and when' we are and describes the unique personality of Bloemfontein like a fingerprint. It has Sentiment, Symbolism and a Sense of Place.'[10]

Fortunately in 1989 the whole 'environmental area' was declared as an Historic District by the National Monuments Council. As recently as 1991 the City Council belatedly held a national ideas competition to rejuvenate the Boulevard. However crucial urban design criteria of scale, materials, colour and landscape have already been jeopardised by the new Civic Centre of 1992. This ice-blue glass and steel building is behind the cosy neo-Classical sandstone City Hall, and is defended by its architect as 'harmony by contrast'.

Postscript

This paper has shown that Bloemfontein started life as a military grid, became a provincial and legislative capital, and now aspires to be a 'Total City'. The evolutionary and adaptive nature of its plan has produced several unique urban design elements. In 1877 Anthony Trollope saw it as 'a pretty smiling village' but perhaps "city of the veld" describes it best, as something of a cinderella a victim of 'private affluence and public squalor' which threaten the coherence of its unique and historic urban design elements.

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Pretoria: Genesis and the Successive Layers of its Evolution

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Introduction

This paper aims to describe and assess the planning history of Pretoria. Pretoria's evolution is discussed in chonological order, with emphasis on the planning inputs in the city's evolutionary process. The account is accompanied by a running commentary, and a general conclusion about the nature of planning as practised in Pretoria, is made.

Genesis

Pre-history

Archeological evidence shows that the place where Pretoria is today, located, had been inhabited by people from the Middle Stone Age. It is also known that the place had been frequented by Bushmen.

Pretoria and its district is, on the whole, Sotho country. In spite of this, it appears that the first permanent settlers were Ndebele. "They appear all... to derive from a single parent tribe which was living around the present site of Pretoria several centuries (about three, to four hundred years) ago, under a chief named Msi, or Musi".

Sotho people of the baKwena tribe settled the area at a later stage. This apparently peaceful state of affairs continued until the arrival of Mzilikaze and his rebel Zulu group in 1825. He routed the baKwena but allowed the local Ndebele to stay, absorbing some of them into his tribe. Mzilikaze established his royal kraal at, or close to Meintjeskop (according to descriptions given by the missionary Robert Moffat when he visited Mzilikaze in 1826), the present site of the Union Building[1]. However, Mzilikaze's stay was short-lived for, after Chaka's death, Dingaan embarked on the warpath with Mzilikaze, and the latter was defeated. This prompted him to move his kraal to Zeerust in the western Transvaal during 1832.

The physical impact of human habitation on the land, up to this point, was negligible. As such, novisible evidence of human habitation was to be found when white settlers arrived in the area.

Natural place

Pretoria is characterised by, and derives its sense of place mainly from, it's ridges and rivers. The ridges consist of three ranges which run parallel in a east-west direction: the Magaliesberg in the north, the Daspoort range to the south and the Timeball Hill range to the south of the latter. These ridges define two well-watered valleys, drained by the Apies river and its tributary streams. The river originates from a spring in the Fountains valley, which in itself, is a cleft in the Timeball Hill range. It flows in a northerly direction, bisects the Daspoort range at Daspoort[2] and, further north, bisects the Magaliesberg at Wonderboompoort. According to early settlers, the river was fairly strong-flowing, providing a constant supply of crystal-clear water.

Birth

The brothers Bronkhorst settled here in 1839, building their homestead in the Fountains valley, close to the spring itself. Other Voortrekkers[3] also settled in the valleys of Pretoria, so that the area became populated, albeit very sparsely.

The Volksraad[4] of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR)[5], decided in 1852, to seek a place more centrally located in the republic than Potchefstroom or Lydenburg, for the siting of the capital. M W Pretorius proposed the site of Pretoria. This was eventually accepted and permission was given to establish a town. Pretoria was established in 1855 and named after its founder's father, A W Pretorius. The town was only formally laid out in 1857, shortly after the first church had been built. The initial functions of the town were to serve as a religious and social centre and as seat for the administration of justice[6]. The Volksraad declared Pretoria its capital in 1860. In 1903 Pretoria received municipal status, in 1910 it became the seat of government of the Union of South Africa. In 1931 it was declared a city, in 1961 it retained its position as the seat of government for the Republic of South Africa (the population at this time was around 500,000) and today it is estimated that the population within the municipal boundary is approximately one million[7].

The nucleus of Pretoria arose where the main wagon trails of the ZAR intersected[8]. The first church was built on this intersection and formed the focal point of the town. When du Toit measured and pegged the first street layout, he took the church as his starting

Figure 1: The Second Church on Church Square, c 1865 (source unknown).

point. From there, he set out three streets to the west, four to the east, five to the north and four to the south, in a grid pattern. The area thus formed was bounded by Potgieter, Bloed, du Toit and Minnaar streets. The grid's axial streets were Church and Market streets, named after the principal functions of the central square.

The layout was typical of the pioneers' practice of town planning: the grid was employed because of the ease whereby it could be measured and subdivided into erven, and the streets were oriented in such a way as to allow for natural drainage so that water furrows could be aligned along the streets. In Pretoria's case, water was diverted from the Apies river into the furrows, to be used for irrigation and domestic purposes.

A comparative analysis of theories on city building leads one to wonder if the purely functional aspects as stated above, were the only considerations during the initial planning of the town. Archetypal symbolism seems to have played an important (if not subconscious) rôle in determining Pretoria's genius
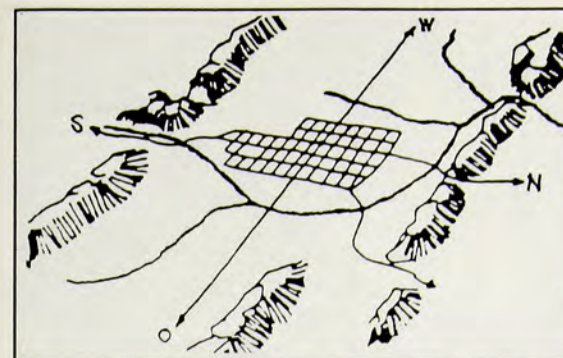

Figure 2a: The Original Grid Layout (Source Jordaan, 1987).
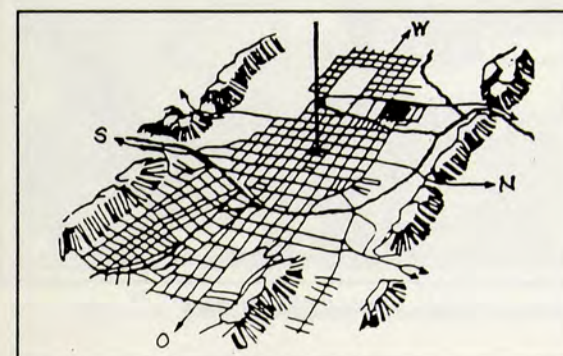
Figure 2b: Extension of the Grid; Cosmic and Classical Landscape Combined (source: Jordaan, 1987).

loci. According to Jordaan's[9] interpretation of Norberg-Schultz[10], Pretoria has a cosmic landscape: the ridges form elongated city containers, corresponding to the cosmic directions for birth (east) and death (west). Perhaps it is no coincidence that the traditional funeral procession of a head of state begins at Libertas or the Union Building (east of Church square), proceeds westward along Church street to terminate at Heroes Acre cemetery, which is situated to the west of the square.

Overlaid over this natural cosmic order is a manmade classical order of the grid with Church square situated on a slight rise in the valley at the intersection of the two axes. The church's spire symbolised the vertical axis, linking man to God. To complete the Mandala, the natural eastern and western boundaries of the original layout were the Apies river and Steenhoven spruit[11]. Thus it seems that the initial planning resulted in a harmonious marriage of cosmic and functional order. This sensitivity to spirit of place was unfortunately not repeated in consequent planning actions.

Hibernation

Du Toit (who was also the magistrate of early Pretoria) formulated regulations whereby the orderly construction and hygiene of the town could be ensured. According to the Land Act of 1858, it was the responsibility of the magistrate to ensure orderly development in the district and towns under his jurisdiction. Town councils which came into being, were to be accountable to the magistrate. Because of a massive workload, du Toit petitioned the Volksraad to delegate his town management responsibilities to the residents of Pretoria. The residents were quite unwilling to take on the responsibility. Up to 1897 the Volksraad tried in vain to install effective local government in Pretoria. Pretoria was, in effect, managed and financed by the state. In 1898 a temporary council was installed but it was only after the ZAR became a British colony that a proper and working town council came into being.

Between 1857 and the early 1940s, Pretoria had no form of concerted planning at all. Growth occurred by accretion of suburbs (some completely isolated from the main urban body) and was controlled by building and health regulations.

However, conditions on the western front, goaded the city council into action - at least where the black population was concerned. Up to 1939, the black population of Pretoria was mainly housed in three areas: Marabastad (consisting of Marabastad proper, the Asiatic Bazaar, Cape Boys Location and Skoolplaats) adjoining the central area on its north-
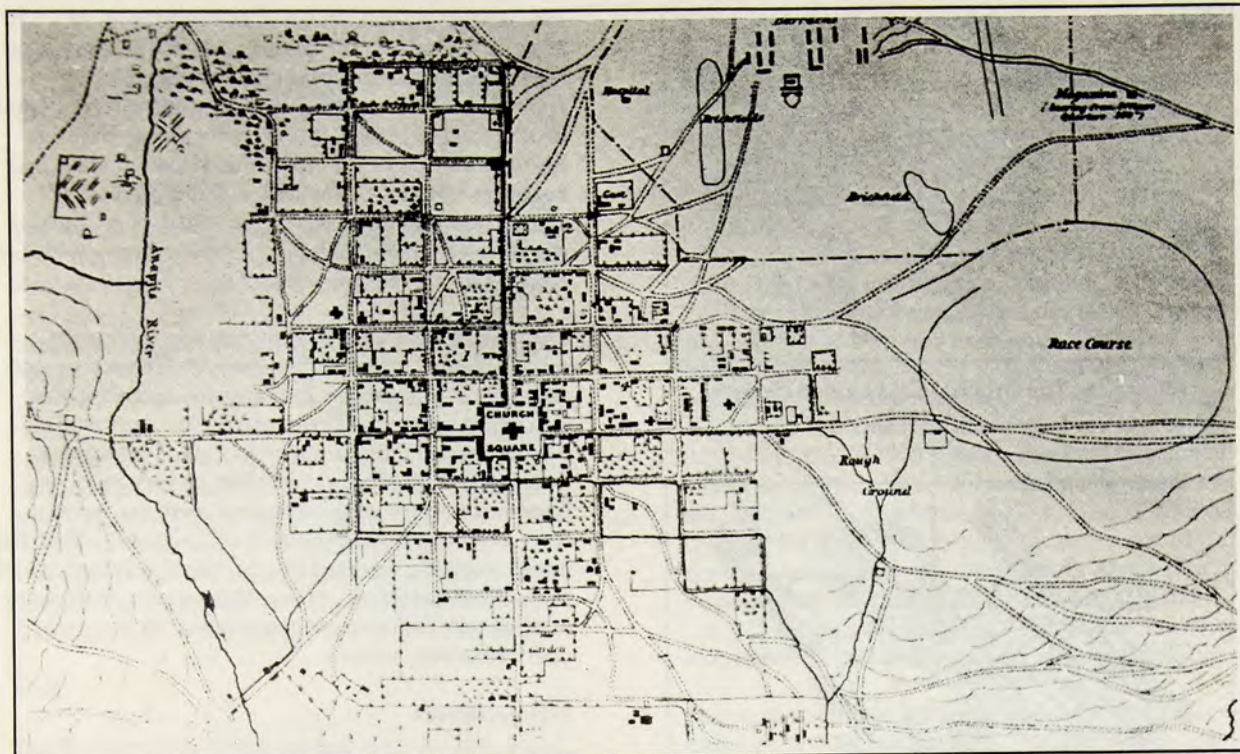
Figure 3: Pretoria c 1897 (source: compiled by British Military Intelligence, 1880).

Figure 4: The Third Church on Church Square, Built in 1883 and demolished in 1906 (source unknown).

west; Banthule, further to the north-west, on the southern slope of Daspoortridge and Lady Selbourne, on the southern slope of the Magaliesberg (at this time, Lady Selbourne and Alexandra in Johannesburg were the only townships where Blacks had title to their erven). Conditions in Marabastad had been bad for the better part of 30 years and were deteriorating; it was a physical and social slum. Although smaller than Marabastad, Banthule was not much better. The council then put the wheels in motion to provide living conditions "worthy of human habitation" for its black population. Atteridgeville was proclaimed in 1939 and Saulsville (adjoining it) in 1949. Mamelodi was proclaimed in 1953. It would seem as if the move to Atteridgeville was a happy one for all concerned. The township was not spared expenses; proper housing and adequate community facilities were provided. The council even appointed full-time staff to advise the residents on anything from health, to sport to social activities[12].

The story of Lady Selbourne is a much less happy one. "Some dissatisfaction was expressed at the hearing of the committee of the Group Areas Board in June, 1956, that any change should be made to Lady Selbourne as, as late as 1954, the Native Affairs Department had openly stated that it would remain

unchanged. The removal was effected...(in)...1958 in which... Lady Selbourne was declared an area for future occupation by members of the White group"[13]. The residents of the suburb were moved to Mabopane/Soshanguve, some 30 kilometres northwards. The suburb was razed and the land lay fallow untill the mid 80's, when the city council developed the land as an economic housing scheme for whites. Up to the present day, less than half of the erven have been developed.

Eersterust, the group area for the coloured population and Laudium, for the Indian population, were both proclaimed in 1958. At this stage, the largest part of Pretoria's Coloured, Indian, Malay and Chinese people, interspersed with a number of whites, lived and worked or had businesses in Marabastad and its vicinity. With the forced removal of the Indian and Coloured people to their respective group areas this was Pretoria's Pageview[14].   The land was expropriated by the state and most of the housing, demolished. In total, development on 22 city blocks were frozen, pending a redevelopment scheme. The area was renamed "Goedehoop"[15]. If ever there was a misnomer, this was it. The city council had, and still has, no say over the planning or use of this land as it remains in the `custody' of the state.
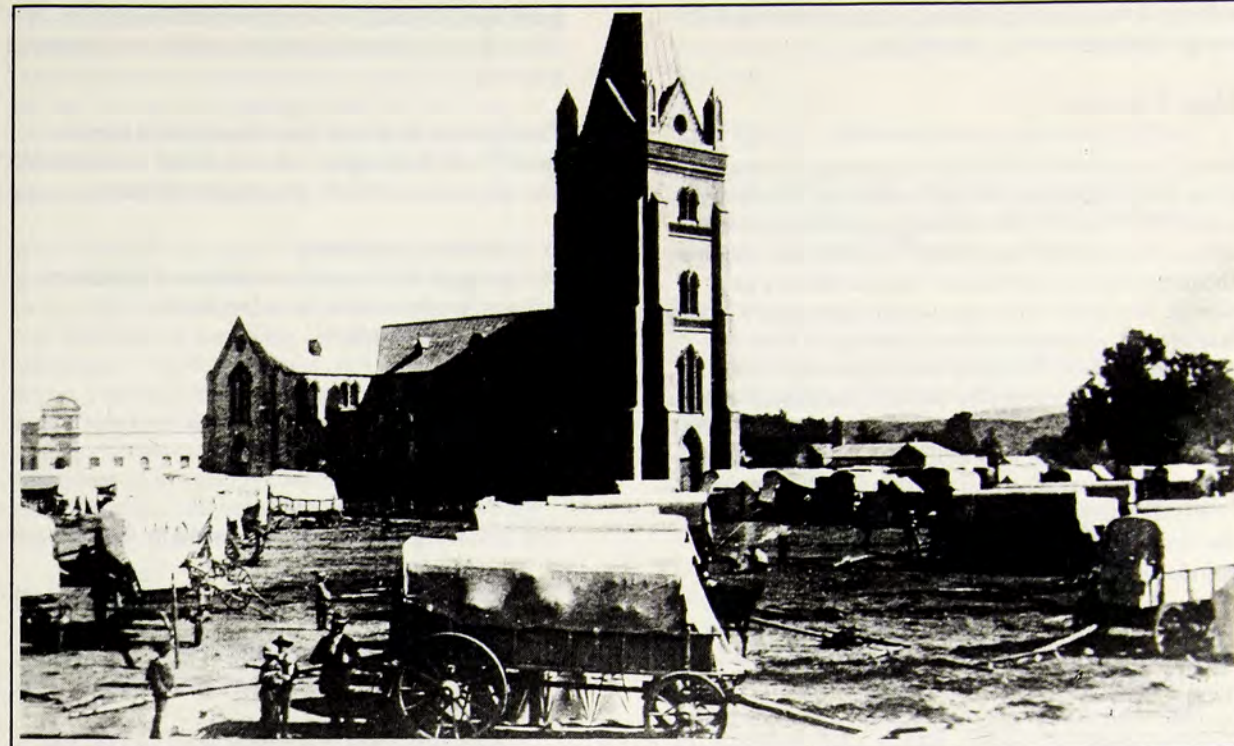
Grandiose Visions

Perhaps the action on the western front made the authorities (both the council and the state are Pretoria's planning authorities, even today) realise that some form of concerted planning was needed to guide the development of the fast-growing capital.

The council appointed sir William Holford in 1948 to formulate proposals for the city's central business district (CBD). Holford's proposals consisted mainly of two sets of recommendations, the first with regard to building setbacks, density zoning and the grouping of government offices; all with the aim of strengthening Pretoria's visual image as that befitting a capital city. He also proposed that Struben street be widened and developed as a government boulevard, to eventually link up with the Union Building in the east[16]. Secondly, he proposed that the CBD be physically defined. This was to be done by a limited access ring road around the CBD, which was also to accommodate through traffic. As a result some government buildings were built in Struben street and the building setback and density zoning proposals were accepted. Nothing more of the Holford plan came to fruition, although the idea of the ring road persists to this day.

In 1956 a traffic plan was formulated for the CBD, loosely based on the Holford proposals but with more grade separation and less direct access. This was followed up in 1960 with a similar plan, again in 1965 with the Telford commission's proposals, the city engineers' in 1967, again in the seventies, again in the eighties and again in 1991. The main difference between the succession of plans is that the terminology has changed: from highways, to through routes, to main roads to super streets (the latest name). In each successive case, the previous proposals were scaled down a little. Apart from expropriation of land for road-building purposes and the demolition of buildings, a start has only been made (during 1992) on the southern leg of the proposed ring road.

In the sixties, the state appointed a consortium of architects and planners to plan the much-lamented Goedehoop area. The resulting proposals provided for high-rise, high-density flats, in the form of encapsulated living-shopping-playing complexes in the modernist tradition. Two of these complexes - Schubart Park and Kruger Park - have been built. The remainder of Goedehoop is still awaiting new development.

All of the above were ad hoc schemes; there was no

attempt to integrate planning proposals nor to tailor the grandiosity to the city's means.

Non-Visions

Pretoria aquired its first town planning scheme in 1944 and it remained the only planning instrument up to 1973. In 1970 the council appointed consultants to draw up a Policy plan[17], as the first phase in the formulation of a Master Plan for the city as a whole. The aim of the plan was to formulate a policy framework wherein further planning of Pretoria could take place. The plan was approved in 1973. The Policy Plan report follows the traditional analysis-synthesis-plan approach and its (unstated) normative position was blueprint, functionalist and comprehensive. A strong Garden City influence underlay the planning thinking. The plan viewed the future through the extrapolation of existing trends, within an Apartheid framework.

In 1976 the council appointed consultants for the second phase of the master plan, called the Structure plan[18]. The proposed plan was approved by council in 1982. The document outlined the process which was followed:

- collection of information;
- analysis and projections;
- land use simulation;
- alternative structure plans;
- action plans (which focussed on problem areas and made proposals for short-term implementation).

The thrust of the planning proposals was the optimization of private vehicle movement and the minimization of conflict between land uses. Its (again unstated) normative position was similar to that of the Policy Plan.

In 1984 the (then) Department of Constitutional Development and Planning prepared the Greater Pretoria Guide Plan[19]. Its aim was to provide guidelines for development. These 'guidelines' were, however, statutory and thus binding on local authorities. All town planning schemes and structure plans within the Guide plan's jurisdiction had to be in accordance with it. The process followed, was:

- analysis;
- objectives and scenario;
- spatial needs;
- guidelines.

Although the document claimed that planning should be process-oriented, the guide plan is blue-print, functionalist and comprehensive in spirit. It also accepted that the future would be an Apartheid future.

The Pretoria Structure Plan has recently been revised[20]. A draft report was circulated for comment. The document outlines the process followed:

- problem statements;
- general vision and formulation of objectives;
- socio-economic aspects (analysis);
- urban structure;

policy;

application of policy in the cells;
°implementation.

The following aspects are addressed by the plan:

- policy and control;
- city image;
- the residential component;
- retail;
- offices;
- open space and recreation;
- industry;
- transport.

The Structure Plan report is detailed to the extent that it is in fact an updating of the town planning scheme. It accommodates the land use trends that have emerged since the first structure plan was approved. Its (too generally stated) normative position differs from the actual content. While it purports to be process oriented, normative and accepting of the new South African condition, the proposals are of a blueprint and functionalist nature and ignore the challenges of the new South Africa. It does not address issues such as poverty, informal settlement, sustainability or participation.

Conclusion

Pretoria's original functions were religious and administrative. The church and the state are not known to be liberal or progressive by nature. They usually operate in a high-handed way. The same applies to the people who man these institutions. In a city where more than 50 per cent of its workforce derives its livelihood from working for institutions such as these, one would expect the place to have a conservative nature. Combine this with the political and bureaucratic power vested in the city, one would also expect to find an arrogant nature. Pretoria does not disappoint, on both accounts.
Du Toit's original layout of the town was a conserva-

tive one. But this was a conservatism tempered by a sensitivity to place and the social nature of people. A good start then, as the first step on the evolutionary ladder. For nearly a century after du Toit, Pretoria did not plan: its people were simply disinterested. On the other hand, growth was so slow that perhaps planning was not necessary.

When Pretoria did start to plan again, the scale of the intended interventions was large. Planning tended to be prohibitive, rather than pro-active. Its rationality was (and still is) positivist, rather than normative: it only deals with 'thing-issues', not with 'people-issues'. Planning in Pretoria had (and still has) an anti-urban bias; this is evident from the Garden City and Modernist-functionalist concepts currently being touted in various planning documents. Moreover, Pretoria is still being seen as a first-world city - the realities of Africa are ignored.

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4. "Voortrekkers": what the original white settlers called themselves; the word has meaning similar to `pioneers'.

5. "Volksraad": Dutch/Afrikaans word meaning House of Assembly.

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15. Pageview: A former residential area in Johannesburg, similar to Marabastad (and to District Six in Cape Town), and also "cleared" under the Group Areas Act.

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Centralised Control: Historical Overview of a Planning Pre-occupation.

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Introduction

Modern Town Planning in South Africa, which has evolved relatively recently, took root during the early part of the twentieth century. In this the country differed little from other ex-colonies and, like those other colonies, followed Britain's lead closely. The 1930s saw a growing interest in, and a concern for town and regional planning, which developed further in the early 1940s.

However, the post war growth in both the theory and practice of planning in the western world, largely passed South Africa by. Innovative planning developments did not suit the radical social engineering policies of the new post war Nationalist government. A fixation with the control of the physical, social and economic components of planning precluded experimentation in the procedural and theoretical fields. Central control was necessary for the successful implementation of apartheid policies. The recent demise of this policy has left the country with a rigid, control centred planning structure, ill suited to the changing conditions of the new South Africa.

Theoretical framework

In following the historical development of modern town planning in South Africa, and in order to understand its role in implementing apartheid, it is useful to examine the concept of "control" in terms of Faludi's definition[1]. He classifies planning into three paradigms:-

"1. Objected centre, where "planning is the study of an object by experts i.e. From a thorough examination of that object, including tendencies for change, directives for action are expected to flow immediately."

2. control-centred where:

(a) Partial control is exercised and "planning is the identification of developments which need to be checkered" and "where sound specific powers of intervention are needed"

OR

(b) Total control is exercised and "planning cannot occur before total control is established" (i.e. Marxist or Fascist)

3. decision-centred where "planning is the formulation of acceptable proposals using available - uncertain, limited knowledge and - limited powers of control. Experts are but one party of the game." "

As Faludi has shown, the control centred approach to planning is favoured by both Marxist and Fascist ideologies.[2] It is applicable where radical transformation of society is desired. These ideologies are traditionally found within strongly centralised administrations, where planning is used as an instrument to implement state policy down to the local government level.

Planning Control in South Africa

The history of planning control in South Africa has its origins in the colonial background of the Cape. With regard to local government, this history eveals a gradual change from centralized bureaucratic colonial control to the present form of elected municipalities. The burghers under Dutch rule were content to allow central control of local affairs with limited representation through appointments to local courts. This was as much a legacy from the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.) structure of administration as from an indifference to being formally governed at all. The concept of a strong centralised governmental system, gained popularity amongst the indigenous peoples, with the increasingly autocratic tribal structures which evolved, particularly after the turmoil of the mfecane[3]. The increased British immigration which followed the annexation of the Cape, (1806) resulted in growing demands for self government. These pressures resulted in the introduction in the Cape of the Municipal Ordinance of 1836, which was largely based on the system in use in Britain. The influence of the ordinance with its British antecedence spread with British colonial rulethroughout Southern Africa.

The Act of Union in 1910 embodied a unitary constitution with the State as the central and supreme controlling power. A second tier of administration was centred on elected provincial councils with legislative powers over local authorities. The administrative structure of the country was therefore three tiered with various legislative powers granted to each level of government.

Administrative Body	Type of Legislation
1. Parliament (supreme sovereign body)	Acts of Parliament
2. Provincial Councils	Ordinances
3. Local Authorities	Municipal Bye-Laws

From this hierarchial structure one must note:-

(a) that the Ordinances and Bye-Laws are subordinate to the provisions of Parliament and
(b) an Ordinance or Bye-Law which "purports to confer powers repugnant to the laws of the State is 'ultra vires' and not enforceable in a court of law[4].

The Provincial Councils are in no way sovereign bodies and their activities are limited to certain specifically defined areas.

The earliest land use control mechanisms pre-date the formation of Union and occurred in the form of "restrictive covenants" or conditions of title which restricted the land use of a property in terms of racial occupation, use and density[5]. Further, the control of surface rights in mining areas was provided for in the Gold Law, whereby the right to control and administer mining land was given to the mining commissioner and provision made for him to designate land for trading, industrial, residential, recreational and afforestation as well as mining purposes[6]. In 1919 the Public Health Act gave local authorities the right to control the siting of noxious trades, in addition to rights of land use control granted to them by the Provinces. "Town planning schemes therefore arose in South Africa from the background of the control of land-subdivision, building bye-laws and restrictive covenants"[7].

An Act of Parliament (Act 46) in 1925 gave the Provinces powers to control and make provision for the preparation of town planning schemes, but it was not until the 1930s that the Transvaal took thelead and passed an Ordinance requiring the preparation of town planning schemes. By 1947 all four Provinces had ordinances with provisions for town planning schemes.

The 1930's had seen a growing interest in town and regional planning issues. This is exemplified by the increasing number of concerned bodies which evolved during this period. For example the Transvaal Town Planning Association was active and supported by a number of practising professionals and academics, including G.E. Pearse, Professor of Architecture and lecturer in Town Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. By the end of the decade the first three local candidates had written the British Town Planning Institute examinations at the University of the Witwatersrand and qualified[8].

As in Britain, the Second World War had an influence on the government's attitude towards planning. In 1944, the South African government's Social and Economic Planning Council published its fifth report, which dealt with town and regional planning issues. It was obviously influenced by the Barlow Report and refers on a number of occasions to the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt Reports dealing with various aspects of land use in Britain. By the end of World War Two it appeared that South Africa would again follow Britain's lead in town and regional planning; but this was not to be.

Post-1948 Policies

The National Party gained control of the South African government in 1948, and immediately began to exercise and extend its central control, the major objective being to radically transform South African society. The new Government began its policy of formalizing and extending racial segregation, the first manifestation of which appears with the introduction of racial zoning in 1950. The Group Areas Act (41 of 1950) followed the principles of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 but was amended several times and finally superseded by the consolidated Group Areas Act (77 of 1957)[9]. In terms of this Act a special Board was established to investigate all racial zoning throughout the country and report directly to the Minister concerned. This Board heard objections and representations prior to the proclamation of a group area. A separate Group Areas Development Board was empowered to acquire and develop property, lay out townships, subdivide land, reticulate townships with services, build houses and grant loans for building (for Mulatto and Asian communities). Except in the case of the "Bantugroups" (native Africans) all township proposals were submitted to the Townships Board of the Province concerned for approval[10]. In the case of African townships, the site as well as the detailed layout were subject to the approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration i.e. this was directly controlled by central government.

In the Transvaal further developments followed with the "Local Government Control Ordinance No. 21 of 1958" which provided for a Local Government Advisory Board consisting of three members *appointed* by the Administrator of the Province. The function of the board was to advise the Administrator on local government matters and on any matters that the Administrator may refer to them. The same Ordinance also created a separate Local Government Department with a Director of Local Government in charge.

The primary function of the Department of Local Government was the control of urban development. The Director of Local Government had control over:

1. An Advisory Board for Local Authorities

2. The Townships Board

3. The Local Government Advisory Board

4. The Provincial Planners

More direct control over local authorities was affected by the Local Government (Administration and Elections) Ordinance (No. 40 of 1960) which introduced three major changes to local authority structure.

1. a general election for all town councillors had to be held every five years
2. the multiple committee system was replaced by one appointed management committee
3. the town clerk was to be the chief executive and administrative officer.

In all four Provinces the legislative control of local government was vested in the provincial councils which since 1985 were no longer elected (not even by the white minority). The appointed Administrator and his committee of M.P.'s determined provincial expenditure and policy. Thus the controlling power centred on the state appointed post of Administrator has steadily increased, especially since 1960.

Local authorities have powers, functions and duties assigned to them by both the Provinces and central government. Many of these functions were compulsory, such as the protection of public health and the separation of races; others were optional such as slum clearance and atmospheric pollution control.

In this way central government controls local government activities and ensures a uniformity of policy implementation nationwide. A complete analysis of the functions of local authorities, and the degree to which these functions are national policy orientated and obligatory has been undertaken[11]. The results show clearly that although in many respects local authorities in South Africa perform functions which are similar to those in other western countries, they do differ in a number of areas. Firstly, in several countries primary and secondary education and hospitals are local government functions, whereas they are provincial functions in South Africa. Secondly, public assistance, social welfare and police services are undertaken by local authorities in several countries, whereas the central State undertakes these services in South Africa (with the exception of traffic control). Thirdly, the control of large and spatially separated sections of the urban areas of South Africa, i.e., the Bantu townships, is undertaken by local authorities as agents of central government or directly by central government.

It can be seen from this that major areas of social concern directly related to town planning fall outside the control of local authorities and even the control of the appointed provincial Administrator. Centralization of control over major proportions of the urban and rural environment are clearly evident. This top down, control centred approach was necessary for the implementation of racial segregation on a uniform basis throughout the country.

As a radical form of social engineering, the implementation of apartheid required a physical separation of races. The success or failure of the policy was measured by the degree to which physical separation had been achieved on the ground. Socioeconomic factors were of secondary consideration. In fact it was the social and economic costs which finally forced central government to abandon the apartheid policy, but it has not yet relinquished its attachment to central control.

By the early 1970s the need for greater planning control was envisaged at both the national and regional levels. The Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act (of 1967) placed central government controls over the ratio of black to white employees in manufacturing in designated urban areas - as well as the location of all industrial establishments throughout the country[12]. As a result of this Act a National Physical Development Plan was finally produced in 1975, which excluded the metropolitan and black homeland regions. It was however to set the framework for Guide Plans which were to follow and fill in the details of the apartheid policy at urban and regional scales. The first Guide Plan was produced in 1971, which was non-statutory in that it was done with cabinet approval, but without Parliamentary legislation. This was seen as a weakness

and in order to make the Plan binding on constituent bodies the Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Amendment Act (1975) was passed which accorded legal status to the Guide Plan, "through which the central government intimated its intention to become more actively involved in urban development. The resultant procedure was, and still is, markedly more centralized and restrictive than the approaches in countries such as the U.K., the U.S.A., Canada and Holland, but this is deemed appropriate and expedient by the government".[13]

In terms of the Act, a Guide Plan Committee was appointed by the Minister of Planning for each region. He could determine the exact size and composition of each Guide Plan Committee (Section 6A (2) (ii) (b)) and so ensure adherence to the government ideology of the principles of racial segregation and separate development within the Guide Plan area.

Public participation was limited to written submissions (within 60 days) by interested parties, which may or may not be investigated by the Committee. Generally planners in South Africa were not interested at the time in promoting public participation within the planning process as it was considered to waste time and interfere with the completion of the plan, thus threatening control by central government. Opposition to public participation by South African planners both within private practice and the public service is well documented[14]. Thus Guide Plans were to serve as a framework, with which physical urban planning had to accord. At both urban and regional scales planning was to be in accordance with central government policy on apartheid, industrial decentralization and the employment of blacks.

This reinforces the notion that planning in South Africa fulfilled the requirements of Faludi's second paradigm of a control centred system. Apartheid was a revolutionary doctrine aimed at transforming South African society. To implement this policy a control centred view of planning was necessary in order to "transform society, expropriate the expropriators, (or original owners) and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat - or of the Aryan race, as the case might be".[15]

Current Developments

The drastic changes which have taken place in South Africa since the 2nd February, 1990., have meant, among other things, a review of current planning legislation and the introduction of a new Physical Planning Act (Act No.l 125 of 1991). In terms of this Act the basic principles of Guide Plans are to be

retained and extended across four levels. However, there is to be a shift in emphasis from physical planning to policy planning, in order to set "broad guide lines for the future physical development of the area"[16]. The current four tier structure is shown below:-

Level of Planning	Area Covered Planning Authority
1.	National Plans. Republic. Minister of Planning.
2.	Regional Development Plans. Development Regions. Minister of Planning.
3.	Regional Structure. Sub-regional. Administrator.
4.	Urban Structure Plans. Metropolitan. Provincial Administrator.

In all cases the "Planning Authority" will appoint a planning committee, which will concentrate "on policy issues, so that a flexible interpretation of the plans can be made in the implementation phase"[17]. The committee will also be responsible for public participation, by allowing the general public greater access to it, and in the production of plans and reports.

Conclusion

It appears that although apartheid and racial zoning are no longer part of central government policy, the state has been unable to relinquish the principle of the central control of planning. This renders both planning processes and plans inflexible, and planning will be unable to respond to the rapidly changing norms and values within the new South Africa. The top down exclusionary planning practices of the past can no longer be tolerated, and as South African planners cannot ignore the pressures for change, there is a need to devise a robust and flexible set of

planning procedures to suit the unique conditions now pertaining in the country.

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The Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee 1932-1940: of rigour and *mortis*

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In some national cases the practice of planning has adopted a wider view of what its concerns might be and 'began to flirt with wider issues'[2]; while in others town planning has tended to become a fairly narrow, technical matter, to varying degrees divorced from the broader political, economic and social processes shaping the city. It has previously been argued that urban planning in South Africa tended to develop a dual form, one part concerned with planning for segregated black areas under strong state control and the other, 'town planning' concerned with the form and functioning of the urban rump.[3] A key question for planning history must be whether this separation or other factors led to a narrowing of the concept of planning in South Africa, and an urgent task - especially in the present climate of change - must surely be to understand the successes and failures of the many attempts to broaden and to integrate planning's vision of its role in shaping urban South Africa.

The practice of South African planning began to be shaped in some detail in the southern Transvaal province from the early thirties, under the Townships and Town Planning Ordinance of 1931. A major early endeavour came with the formation of the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee in 1932. The purpose of this paper is to explore this experience in the light of the concerns outlined above.

The context of urban planning in the thirties

Most Transvaal towns were small in the thirties, but on the Witwatersrand - the area surrounding Johannesburg - potential planning confronted a complex urban region. This conurbation, sometimes called 'the Reef', comprised a mining belt some fifty miles long and a great variety of urban activity stretching to varying distances on either side of this belt. It fell under a substantial number of local authorities, most

compelled under the new Town Planning Ordinance to compile townplanning schemes. These circumstances could readily be compared to a number of British urban regions, and the device adopted to foster planning in those cases - the joint town planning committee -was eagerly promoted by some of the key individuals involved in planning-related spheres on the Witwatersrand.

In England, joint town planning committees were criticised for their tendency to confront immediate problems and ignore the longer view.[4] But some attempted a wider, more comprehensive approach, among them that covering greater London. From 1929 its technical adviser was Raymond Unwin, who argued that

> Regional planning schemes should be made effective ... without depriving the local authorities within their areas of their freedom to make Town Planning schemes for their areas.[5]

This mixed experience in Britain had some bearing on the South African attempts to generate coordinated approaches to planning, particularly in the Witwatersrand area. Borrowed models and derived experience, however, were not alone in shaping the problems and the practice of planning.

Economic conditions in South Africa deteriorated along with those elsewhere from 1929 onwards. By 1931, severe depression gripped the country, as the export prices of two major staples - diamonds and wool - dipped dramatically, and severe unemployment developed. Nevertheless, the period was perhaps not as intense a depression as experienced in some other countries. Among other elements, new state investments such as the ISCOR steel works in Pretoria and leaving the gold standard laid the basis for rapid growth of industry, industrial employment and population in the later thirties.[6]

Thus, as the thirties passed, many of the urban problems of the 'Reef' municipalities grew more significant. A general lack of through transport routes particularly connecting newer areas represented one urgent physical issue.[7] Development both of what today might be called informal settlement, and of new uncoordinated formal township development outside municipal areas, led to an increasingly fragmented, sprawling and problematic urban environment. It was in this context that the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee operated.

Planning the Witwatersrand in the early thirties

The idea of establishing a Joint Town Planning Committee almost certainly came from EH Waugh, City Engineer of Johannesburg from 1927 to 1932. Waugh, who also played a central role in the Transvaal Town Planning Association, sat on the Transvaal Town Planning Commission of 1929, helped to draft the Ordinance of 1931, and may have contributed its clause (section 37) providing for the creation of joint town planning committees.

At a conference of Witwatersrand town councils convened in June 1932, Waugh pointed both to the common interest of adjacent municipalities in the economy which joint planning work could entail, and to the prospects of coordination under a single 'chief town planning officer'.[8] After discussion, the conference unanimously agreed to recommend to the councils involved the appointment of a 'Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee' (WJTPC) which would plan for Johannesburg, Pretoria, Randfontein, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, Germiston, Boksburg, Benoni, Brakpan and Springs.[9]

After some delay, the first meeting of the WJTPC took place on 2 February 1933. In an opening address, the Provincial Administrator, JS Smit, told the Committee

You are gathered here today to inaugurate a "Greater Witwatersrand" scheme.

He compared the planning of the Witwatersrand to 'regional movements' in 'the Greater Ruhr', 'large areas in and about London' and 'the huge scheme for the environs of New York'. Calling on the Committee to examine such diverse matters as rapid transit lines, highways, adequate facilities for all forms of industry, recreation 'on a comprehensive scale', remodelling of central areas and preservation of historical amenity, Smit noted

The local authorities would therefore appear to be well advised at the start to hold back the planning of the final statutory Townplanning maps and schemes ... until sufficient information and means have been found for considering the problems of planning and development as a whole of the Witwatersrand generally ...[10]

Encouraged by the Administrator to think of the appointment of a planner with 'actual experience in planning large schemes' as a 'guide, philosopher and friend', the Committee lost no time in agreeing to advertise a senior position, and appointed George Pepler and Raymond Unwin to report on applicants from London. Unwin and Pepler produced a short list headed by Charles Reade, and on 26 July 1933 the WJTPC approved the appointment of Reade.[11]

Born in New Zealand on 4 May 1880, Reade had worked as a journalist and long served the Garden Cities Association as an effective propagandist, amongst other things lecturing throughout Britain and Australia between 1912 and 1915. Appointed as Government Town Planner in South Australia, he showed himself no mere propagandist[12] and spent the period from 1916 to 1920 developing plans for a host of projects, many implemented. He organised the 1917 and 1918 Australian town planning conferences and exhibitions, and campaigned - to the dismay of some interests in Adelaide - for housing reform and stronger town planning. Unable to overcome provisions which gave inordinate power to land owners, Reade had to watch his attempt to construct a 'creative relationship between planners, local authorities and public bodies' reduced to a shadow of its intended self.[13]

In 1920, Reade was invited to lecture in Malaya, and he took up a position in the Federated Malay States in 1922. There he drafted plans for Kuala Lumpur and other towns and was confirmed in his position as Government Town Planner in 1925. In 1930, having been passed over two years earlier for the newly created post of Town Planning Superintendent, he moved on to Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) as Director of Planning and Development; he worked on improvements to copperbelt towns and Livingstone and a model housing scheme as well as preliminary plans for the new capital at Lusaka. His appointment ended in 1932 or early in 1933[14] and he returned at last to Britain. It was there that he accepted the offer of appointment to the position of Chief Town Planning Officer from the WJTPC in July 1933; he sailed for Cape Town in September and arrived in Johannesburg in mid-October.

What view of planning did Reade bring with him to South Africa? In South Australia his planning work had always been cast within a view of *metropolitan* opportunity.[15] Another pointer can be found in his own remarks when he visited Johannesburg on holiday from northern Rhodesia in January 1933 - probably on his way back to England.

It is good business to spend on largeplanning, and visualise the time when there would be a great city stretching from one end of the reef to the other - a city stretching on the golden reef that would be called 'Randopolis'.[16]

Reade's views, in short, would appear to accord closely with the ambitions spelled out for the WJTPC by Administrator Smit.

By the time Reade reached Johannesburg, the preparations for regional planning were well advanced. Attending his first meeting of the WJTPC a few days after his arrival, Reade received the title 'Regional Town Planner.'[17] The planning of 'Randopolis' was set to commence in the hands of someone of who knew well what it meant to plan 'under trying conditions, and often against a distinct hostility towards Town Planning in local official quarters', a man of 'delightful personality with a strong sense of humour and a rich fund of anecdotes.'[18]

But, at the age of 53, Reade died at the Langham Hotel, within weeks of arriving in Johannesburg to take up his appointment.[19]

Reade's death threw the work of the WJTPC into some confusion. Data collection and aerial survey work continued - the latter being flown in November (prints line the entrance to the Town Planning Department of Johannesburg today). Dr EJ Hamlin, who had been appointed to succeed Waugh as City Engineer in Johannesburg, took on much of the essential coordinating work. Within weeks of Reade's death, very keen to see help provided with the onerous workload, and despairing of finding an individual able to replace Reade, Hamlin formed the view that the Joint Committee should appoint London-based consultants who, in the obvious absence of experienced planners inside the country, would supply the only way to 'have a first class job even if at additional cost.' He sought Pepler's advice on whether Raymond Unwin or Thomas Adams might be available for a few months every year while placing a direct representative in Johannesburg. Pepler replied that Unwin was old and Adams too busy in the United States, but that F Longstreth Thompson, of Adams's firm, was 'almost equally distinguished' and 'really does the many regional and other schemes which his firm have in hand.' The Town Clerk of Pretoria saw Thompson in London and supported Pepler's recommendation.[20] In January 1934 the position of Regional Planner was abolished, and Adams Thompson and Fry were appointed consultants.

Thompson, an engineer and surveyor who had been in partnership with Adams since 1922[21], thus became 'regional planner' for the municipalities of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria, spending about two months each year in South Africa between 1934 and 1937. The first of those visits began in May 1934. He appointed one William Miller Reid as his representative in Johannesburg - 'assistant regional town planning officer.' Thompson and Reid began a process of consulting each of the constituent authorities individually, suggesting improvements to their areas, and a tendency to see the major objective of the planning process as the production of discrete surveys and plans for each authority began to emerge.

Thompson's general approach[22] provides an excellent illustration of Adams's practical method in which the two main stages were simply comprehensive survey followed by plan preparation. Practical exigency as Thompson perceived it seems to have driven the process adopted into an exceedingly practical mould -indeed, even the separation between survey and plan preparation disappeared in practice, as 'the regional planning office has been engaged upon (scheme preparation) concurrently with work upon the Civic Surveys.'[23]

Thompson returned to England in July 1934. He left the WJTPC to cope with many difficulties. For example, the accceleration new development just as the planners began their work led the WJTPC into conflict with provincial authorities, which was not resolved until 1938. That conflict tended to entrench the inclination of local authorities to deal with their own schemes independently. Reid seems to have been fairly ineffectual, despite Thompson's promise that the assistant based in Johannesburg would be 'thoroughly qualified (and) experienced'[24], and his appointment with Adams, Thompson and Fry - and therefore his work on the WJTPC - ceased in mid-February 1935, almost as soon as Thompson began his second visit.[25] Just over a month later Thompson wrote to inform the constituent local authorities that 'Mr PJ Bowling ... Fellow of the Surveyors Institution ... and an Associate Member of the Town Planning Institute' would arrive in Johannesburg early in April 1935 to take up duties as the firms's representative.[26]

The Bowling period

Since Bowling became perhaps the most influential figure in South African town planning from the late thirties until the fifties, his career may prove of interest. He was born in Grantham, Lincolnshire, England, on 5 April 1889. Starting a career as a civil servant, he had trained in the Royal Engineers Corps and risen to Lieutenant Colonel during World War 1. Thereafter he set up in private practice as a surveyor. Building on this role, he became a planning consultant to Chelmsford Rural District Council in the twenties, and seems to have enjoyed this experience, for he became a planner first and foremost.[27]

The onset of depression saw him seeking service with the Colonial Office, which posted him to Northern Rhodesia in about 1932. In the latter territory he became Government Town Planning Engineer, where by June 1933 he had drafted a plan for the new capital, Lusaka. Strangely enough, Reade, together with SD Adshead, first professor of town planning at the University of London, had identified the site for Lusaka in 1931; but 'it was not to be Reade's crowning achievement to build an African garden city for Lusaka':[28] instead Bowling performed the layout work. He returned to England in 1935.[29] He had also long been interested in becoming involved in the WJTPC's work: as an applicant for the original Regional Town Planner position, as a substitute after Reade's death - when Pepler noted that Bowling was keen on the job, Hamlin told Pepler by cable 'am not impressed personally with Bowling'[30] - as a potential assistant to Thompson early in 1934, and as replacement for Reid - the opening which finally brought him to Johannesburg in April 1935.

Bowling was immediately thrown into leading the work of the WJTPC. By May 1st he was reporting on scheme preparation to the Germiston council. Within months he had become influential at meetings of the Committee and even of constituent Councils.[31]

As the work proceeded, the tendency for each authority's scheme to be treated independently, rather than for the Witwatersrand really to be regarded 'jointly', resulted in the provisional town planning schemes being completed for each municipality in turn. This tendency was fed by many factors; at least as important as those already mentioned was the style of the consultants, Bowling in particular. He clearly preferred dealing with the local authorities one at a time. Frequently he would advise the Joint Committee that its meetings should be passed over, there being 'insufficient business to warrant a meeting being called'; thus months would pass without the Joint Body assembling. Instead, Bowling would meet the officials and town planning consultants of the constituent municipalities. By 1937, this meant that Bowling would work through all the details of localschemes with the local people, while the WJTPC lay more or less idle; and the major developments of the Witwatersrand, such as building major new highways and coping with the rapidly increasing rate of urbanisation fell more or less by the wayside.[32]

Occasionally Bowling provided a rationale for this procedure: he viewed the Witwatersrand not as a unit but as a group of towns 'in close proximity to one another' which 'should not be allowed to coalesce, but should each preserve its separate entity and character'.[33] Such a view of the Witwatersrand was, of course, strongly at odds with the original arguments which underpinned the establishment of the Joint Committee and the hiring of consultants. All that was left of 'joint' action was an occasional meeting of the Committee and the pooling of resources to facilitate meeting statutory requirements. With the preparation of each and every local plan taking place in Bowling's office, few regional issues ever coming before the WJTPC and a great deal of contact between Bowling (and his assistant TB Floyd) and the individual local authorities, the position of the consultant became absolutely central while the public structures, whether local authorities or the Joint Committee, became decreasingly effective in directing the planning process.

Under these circumstances the WJTPC made progress towards completing provisional town planning schemes, if not an overall regional plan. The Johannesburg scheme, and several others, was published in provisional form in the second half of 1936.[34] But the Joint Committee seldom took up wider issues, while local authorities struggled to cope with the urbanisation challenges they confronted and at the same time to foster industrial development in their own areas of jurisdiction.[35] Its failure to do so meant that such issues did not enter into the discourse and practice of planning.

The WJTPC's three-year contract with Adams, Thompson and Fry ended on 20 April 1937, but was extended, ultimately ending in April 1939. Bowling was retained as consultant, though strains had emerged and Johannesburg reserved the right to call upon other consultants, while Pretoria bowed out of the deal altogether. Bowling continued in this role until 20 July 1940, when his call up as a reservist took effect.[36]

After Bowling's departure, war and the reduced capacities of the local authorities slowed the progress of scheme redrafting. It was not until 1946 that the first of the Transvaal's town planning schemes were approved, and that only afterconsiderable litigation concerning the legalities of the Ordinance and indeed its further amendment. By that time the process of scheme preparation had moved well into the approval stage. The WJTPC fell further into idleness and was not to be revived as an effective body.

Reflections

Did the conduct of planning under the WJTPC tend to become rather narrower than the public environment of the period might have allowed? When the era of statutory planning began in the Transvaal,

there were many who seemed to have a wide conception of planning and of the need for positive and creative change in urban areas.

Yet the die of planning practice had been cast along narrower lines, and no new approaches were to have much direct effect in changing it for decades to come. The combination of many factors -segregation policy, pandering to the propertied and a narrow kind of professionalism - led urban planning to become a disappointing substitute for the exciting practices imagined by the pioneers. Under the auspices of the WJTPC, comprehensive land use control had arrived. Private practice had developed a technical mystique.[371]

Contrary to the recommendations of wartime government reports on planning, South Africa adhered to the prewar British model in planning law. Partly for this reason, Bowling's influence was felt long after the WJTPC period, at first directly, and later indirectly. In this personal manner, the experience of the Witwatersrand joint committee period became a powerful model for South African town planning. The conception of the planner's remit, the definition of the issues, the understanding of public-private sector relationships, the method of procedure and the style of the product in the form of the scheme all expressed, through Bowling's (and Floyd's) later work and widespread influence, the impact of the WJTPC.

One could not perhaps find a better illustration of the GCTPA's 1925 comment that 'Joint town planning is not necessarily regional planning.'[382] Those involved were more than mere agents of an inevitable process, though to pin all the blame on a few individuals would be to deny the broader social context within which planning took place. In the end the WJTPC experience perhaps reflected the material, political and personal forces which surrounded it, illustrating Cherry's contention that

> Developments in planning history have a frame of reference which is social, political and institutional, rather than technical and professional.[39]

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1. This article is a much shortened version of a paper read at the Planning History Workshop in Johannesburg in August 1992. Comments made by participants in that workshop are gratefully acknowledged, as is the financial support of the Centre for Science Development of the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.

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