Preface

From October 2004 until July 2005, we have been working on our F-Project, entitled: “Planning in Fragmented Cities – Durban, South Africa”. During a study trip to South Africa from February 13th until March 8th 2005 we did a study trip to South Africa we wanted to add the theoretical framework which we had achieved in Germany with practical experiences. We had interviews with people from universities in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban, workshops with students of the University of Natal in Durban and talks with spatial planners to concretise our topic and to gather information.

A (student’s) project abroad needs a lot of time and efforts from all participants. Aside “normal” project work a study trip has to be prepared. That means creating contacts to potential interview partners, organising a timetable with excursions, accommodations, transport and other stuff. Without partners with knowledge of the locality it would be hardly possible to implement a project abroad successfully. For that, especially we would like to thank Susanna Godehart, who provided us with very detailed information about many scopes and acted as agent for contacts to other planners in South Africa. She assisted us in preparing our study trip, accompanied our stay in Durban and was available for advising, back in Germany. We also thank Anka Derichs who gave us information about South Africa before and during our study trip.

Like mentioned above, our project work consisted not only of organising a study trip to South Africa: There was also a project work aside. For success, it was necessary to have partners and information sources in Germany. For being that, we thank Prof. Baumgart who provided us with information, especially about the German planning system, during and after our stay in South Africa. We thank Prof. Blotevogel for giving us information about spatial planning in Germany and for being our extern examiner. We also thank Muni-jahir Sadahiva for revising our report.

Special thanks goes to our advisor Petra Lütke and supervisor Wolfgang Scholz, who assisted and supported us during the project year. They gave inputs and critical comments on our project work and helped to prepare the trip to South Africa.

Additionally, we want to thank all, who are not named in place but supported our project work in different kind of ways.

Furthermore, we would like to thank the Martin-Schmeißer-Stiftung and the Faculty of Spatial Planning at the University of Dortmund for their financial support.
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List of Abbreviations

ANC  African National Congress
BauGB  Baugesetzbuch
BauNVO  Baunutzungsverordnung
CBD  Central Business District
EMA  eThekweni Municipality Area
e.g.  for example
et al  et alii
Fig.  figure
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
GTZ  German Technical Cooperation
IDP  Integrated Development Plan
i.e.  that is
INK  Inanda, Ntuzuma, Kwamashu
InSEKts  Integrierte Stadtteilentwicklungskonzepte (Integrated ward development concept)
LBSC  Local Business Support Centre
LGTA  Local Government Transition Act
LTDF  Long Term Development Framework
LUMS  Land Use Management System
N2  National road number 2
N3  National road number 3
R  Rand
RDP  Reconstruction and Development Program
RVR  Regionalverband Ruhr
SDB  South Durban Basin
SDF  Spatial Development Framework
SMMEs  Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises
sq km  square kilometre
Tab.  table
1. Introduction

Nearly nowhere else in the world, racial segregation was enforced as in South Africa which has led to the emergence of a very highly fragmented society and urban structures. Legitimately implemented and supported by laws, the racial segregation reached its maximum level particularly during the Apartheid regime. After the end of Apartheid regime in the nineties, the general conditions changed and have certainly had impacts on segregation and urban structures. How does Post-Apartheid City look like? What does fragmentation mean? What are the impacts of fragmentation in South African cities? These and other questions formed the focus of the students’ project. However setting priorities was a long drawn difficult process. First and foremost, it is reasonable to lay emphasis on the fragmentation itself, since it has positive as well as negative effects. The students’ project’s overall objective was on how the negative effects of fragmentation could be confronted. The most important negative effects are the socio-economic fragmentation and its manifestation in the form of spatial fragmentation which can be termed as segregation.

The students’ project’s aim in general, is to improve the living conditions, especially in the former townships that are remnants of the Apartheid regime time and the emerging informal settlements that are continuously spreading in and surround those old townships since they are still strongly affected by segregation and poverty. These ‘no-go’ areas for the White people are characterised by crime, insecurity and lack of adequate facilities, services and infrastructure to fulfil basic needs. Therefore, the students’ project set as its main objective to stabilise the township areas through the creation of sub-centres that are embedded into an urban-wide model of a polycentric urban structure.

The eThekwini Metropolitan Area (EMA) situated on the east coast of South Africa was selected as the research area for applying the idea of a polycentric urban structure. It is the third largest City in the country where all the negative effects of Apartheid regime including segregation can still be observed. Although Johannesburg and Cape Town are larger and more famous than EMA, it was considered as a challenge to conduct research on a less famous and an ordinary municipality with the objective of establishing a polycentric urban structure in the EMA. For in depth investigation, a typical township area known as Kwadabeka was chosen where the necessary functions of centre areas in relation to the polycentric structure could be defined and elaborated.

This Final Report will commence with a general introduction to South Africa and Durban followed by a description of the methodological procedure and the operational steps. The specific objectives of the students’ project work including those of this report will be explained in the next chapter. After defining the objectives, the subsequent three chapters will investigate the following: the concept of a polycentric urban structure; analysis of the special requirements of sub-centres in general and Kwadabeka in particular; and an assessment of the relevance and applicability of both the South African and German planning instruments for implementation of the concepts related to polycentric urban
structure and sub-centres in South African Cities. The last chapter contains the main conclusions with regard to the main objectives.

Fig. 1: Durban

Source: website Durban b
2. South Africa and Durban in general

For a better approach to this report it is useful to know something about the circumstances in South Africa and Durban. In the following chapter some general information are given to make the situation more visible.

2.1 South Africa

South Africa is in the most southern part of Africa and with an area of 1,219,912 sq km (website of Directorate General for International Co-operation) nearly four times as big as Germany. It is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean in the west and the Indian Ocean in the east. The neighbouring countries are Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho, which is surrounded by the territory of South Africa.

The climate differs within the country: the desert and savanna areas are characterised by warm subtropical wet and dry climate, whereas the climate conditions in cape areas are Mediterranean.

South Africa is facing many environmental problems. Like many countries in Africa, it suffers under the global change of the climate. Local, partly self-made problems are inadequate waste management and water quality, air and marine pollution as well as soil degradation. (website ceroi)

The country has 44,82 million inhabitants of whom the majority are Black African (79 per cent). The black population belongs to several ethnic groups, most of them however belonging to either Zulu or Xhosa. The White people are descendents of the West European Colonialists; the Coloureds’ ancestors mostly were black and Europeans. The fourth big ethnic group are the Asians (mostly Indians) who were originally brought to South Africa as plantation workers by British imperial rulers. (South Africa Yearbook 2004/05)

In South Africa there are eleven official languages: English, Afrikaans and nine different Bantu languages.

One of the biggest problems is the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS: the number of the HIV-infected is increasing and by 2004 already ten per cent of the population was infected. (Der Fischer Weltalmanach 2004: 413)

Another major problem is high incidence of crime. The numbers of murders, rape and robberies is amongst to the highest in the world. This is one of the reasons why Whites and the rich are isolating and pretending themselves by building the so-called “gated communities”.

Fig. 2: Durban in South Africa

Source: students’ project

1 Gated communities can be defined as neighbourhoods or communities, which are enclosed and
Apartheid dominated the 20\textsuperscript{th} century South Africa in which the Whites tried to assert their superiority over black and coloured people. As a result laws were enacted to ensure spatial separation in the private life, economy and politics. (website Dadalos Homelands) This situation brought many disadvantages especially for the black population who had to suffer due to lack of dignity and human rights. In 1990 the official policy to rollback Apartheid was announced.

Even today, there are a lot of remnants left by Apartheid which haven’t yet been overcome completely. One important example from the point of view of the students’ report is the segregation which has changed from racial to socio-economic the Post-Apartheid years: whereas during Apartheid the cities were divided into separate housing areas by race, currently the same division can be noticed in term of social status that is most obviously reflected in the level of income.

The current ruling party is the ANC (African National Congress) which transformed South Africa into the most developed country in the entire Africa by effectively implementing improvements in the fields housing, education, health, infrastructure and economic development programmes. (Grill 2004: n.p.)

The government is structured into three tiers: national, provincial and local. The domestic situation is stable, although problems due to Apartheid continue to exist.

Since the end of Apartheid, South African provinces and municipalities have been transforming their administrative system. Especially, the democratisation of municipal and administrative structures is not finished yet. Still, policy and decision-making processes are characterised by a top-down regime. So, municipalities have been too deeply involved with establishing themselves as to be capable to bring forward strategies for a citizen-oriented politics and administrative system as well as to react to unanticipated problems coming up on local level in a flexible way (Godehart 2005, Appendix F). These difficulties inherent to reorganisation processes pervades nearly any political and administrative sphere as will be demonstrated in terms of urban planning in the subchapters 7.1.3 and 7.4. As it is still under way, the South African planning system wants for participatory planning approaches to operate in citizens’ immediate environment in order to ensure an equitable urban development (Godehart 2005, Appendix F).

Typical of South African cities is the large number of immigrants from other southern African countries in search of employment in the big cities which leads to a rapid population growth in former townships. Townships are a mirror-image of Apartheid policy where certain parts of the cities (situated on the outskirts far away from the Central Business District and divided off by industrial areas or infrastructure such as railways) were officially claimed as dormitory housing areas for those (black) people who worked in the cities.

Resulting from the above mentioned explosion in population, informal settlements mostly grew within those townships, due to lack of enough space for all the immigrants in formal housing areas. Growing outside the framework of the official planning system, informal settlements appear

\footnote{have a high demand of security, controlled entrances and exits et cetera (Landmann 2004: 1).}
to be arbitrary, insecure and inadequately in infrastructure. For municipalities, they pose a major problem to be dealt with in future.

In South Africa, the primary sector has a share of 3.8 per cent of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product), the secondary sector 31 per cent and the tertiary sector 65.2 per cent. The primary sector is characterised by a colonial cultivation system and the “dual economy” which means a parallelism of subsistence and globalisation².

The most important industries in the secondary sector are food production, the metal-processing industry, electrical engineering and the motor vehicle industry. This sector has to struggle with decreasing economic activity, low cost imports and globalisation. Because of lower wages, medium-sized enterprises transfer their production to the neighboured countries which leads to a huge loss of job opportunities. (Jürgens, Bähr 2003: 97)

The tertiary sector is characterised mostly by trading, finances and tourism. The field of services can be divided into the public and the private sector of which the latter is often informal and comprises home working, casual work and illicit work. (Jürgens; Bähr 2003: 105)

A common occupation in the informal sector which provides for 50 per cent of all jobs is street trading. This branch of industry must not be considered only as a problem but also as a potential for giving jobs to unemployed people and an appropriate means for the provision with basic goods.

Tourism is a booming sector and offers many jobs. In the 1980’s the number of foreign visitors was 300,000 per year, in 1994 these number increased to 3,6 million and in 1999 there were about 6,5 million counted. (Jürgens; Bähr 2003: 114f)

The major tourism destinations are the Cape provinces, the coast of KwaZulu-Natal and the Kruger National Park.

The New Economy sector comprises of information and communication technologies, hard and software development as well as internet services. Africa-wide, South Africa plays the leading role in these industries and takes the 20th place worldwide. (Lemon 2002: 133)

Although this sector is important for future economic growth and employment, severe lack of qualified work force is notable because they emigrate to countries with a higher level of wages. (Lemon 2002: 140)

2.2 Durban (EMA)

Durban is the third largest city of South Africa. The whole municipality has about 3.1 million residents (website South African Statistics). Durban is located in the south-east of the country butting against the Indian Ocean, approximately 600 kilometres away from Johannesburg and 1800 kilometres from Cape Town.

Durban has the largest seaport and the third largest airport of the country. It is not only a significant economic centre, but also an important location for international congresses and conferences like the ‘World Conference Against Racism’ in 2001.

In contrast to Cape Town or Johannesburg, Durban has a year-round very warm and moist climate (website Durban a). Thus sugar cane, bananas and some other goods can be grown only in this re-
South Africa and Durban in general

region of South Africa. Several thousand Indians were employed by the British colonists to work on sugar cane fields around the city in the 19th century. Therefore, Durban still has the largest Indian community in the world outside India. 20 per cent of Durban’s population are Indians/Asians while the national South African average is 2.5 per cent. On the one hand fewer Whites reside in Durban than in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria. On the other hand, there are fewer Black Africans and even fewer Coloured people than in Johannesburg or Pretoria (website South African Statistics). Therefore, the ethnic structure of Durban differs from all other South African cities.

Durban founded the eThekwini\textsuperscript{3} Metropolitan Area (EMA) as municipality for the administration of the city of Durban with its structurally connected periphery.

Like in any other South African city, the eThekwini Municipality has been undergoing a process of leaving behind the authoritarian regime and of democratising regulative mechanisms within the local government and administration.

After some general information, there should be now described how the project worked and which methods have been used to set and reach the aims.

\textbf{Fig. 3: Map of EMA}

\hspace{1cm}

\textsuperscript{3} eThekwini is the Zulu-name for Durban

Source: website KwaZulu-Natal
3. Operational steps and methodology

Being confronted with the topic of fragmentation in South Africa without having a concrete idea of action, the first thing the students’ project did was a brainstorming. On the topics that emerged like economy, governance and population oral presentations were held. A second presentation series helped to bring a closer focus on Durban. Then, the students’ group prepared a schedule and tried to establish contacts in South Africa to obtain future interview partners and information sources within the country. To work out students’ vision and aims, the group decided to do a future workshop which uses brainstormings, presentations and discussions to draft a vision and aims which all group members can agree to. The vision thus developed has been adapted throughout the students’ work.

A third more detailed presentation series and an evaluation of statistical maps helped to identify “hot spot” areas with negative effects of fragmentation as areas for field investigation during the study trip. Besides this, the group also dealt with the theoretical framework of the work. The project developed its own definition of fragmentation which had to be adapted and specified for the field investigation in South Africa (see chapter 4). Telephone interviews were initiated to complement the theoretical approach with subjective perspectives. First results were explained in the Programme Report. Between the Programme and the Interim Report, the main group split into three subgroups which dealt with the topics of housing, local economy and social integration. For the Interim Report a first strategy to overcome fragmentation by working in these three fields was developed. This report was used as an information basis for our contact persons. A leading question was used to initiate the dialogue.

The major operational step was the study trip to South Africa. After having theoretically dealt with the topic of fragmentation in South African cities, it was important to experience it in reality. So one method was to share perspectives of German approach with local planners and students. The group met planning scientists from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, the University of Pretoria and the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban. At the latter institution, two workshops were held with students from this university and from Botswana. Whilst the first workshop was also a presentation of the German view, the second one was done in small groups to work closer together.

*Fig. 4: Second workshop*

The meetings with the planning scientists were attended by different persons. Prof. Marc Oranje from the University of Pretoria gave a lecture about the IDP, whilst Prof. Phillip Harrison and his staff from the University of the Witwatersrand informed the project group about Post-Apartheid planning in Johannesburg. In Durban,
Prof. Michael Kahn shared information from his research about different types of economic centres.

Besides the university workshops, other meetings and interviews also took place. There were three gatherings with the municipality, first one to get a general overview of its activities and the others to gain a closer look at a possible research area. The contacts with the municipality also turned out to be very helpful for getting statistical data and organising sight visits such as a drive through the INK\textsuperscript{4} area and the use of public transport\textsuperscript{5}.

**Fig. 5: Meeting with Municipality Durban**

As a major step to gain data for the project work, the group scouted some possible research areas mostly in existing township centre areas of Durban. They were assessed based on their economic and social infrastructure and relevance for the local population through an observation. This assessment was done by two groups at two different times of the day to increase reliability of the results. Furthermore, a meeting with the GTZ (German Technical Cooperation) and an interview with a freelance urban planner gave new insights. Also important was the group’s contact person, Mrs. Godehart, who has been in Durban for the last fifteen years. She introduced the German students into the planning system and practices in South Africa. The study trip was concluded with a few informal meetings with students and professors.

After returning to Germany the most important task was to recalibrate the aims of the project. Having gained new impressions, that made many of the previous findings null and void, the group had to work out a new plan of action. To obtain new inputs for further work, interviews with professors of urban and regional planning were conducted in Germany, too. It was decided to divide the whole group into three subgroups. The first one dealt with the urban structure. It developed a scheme of the existing structures, compared it to theoretical models of urban structure and put forward possible changes required to overcome fragmentation. The second small group chose a township area centre on the basis of the observations made in Durban. It aimed to give recommendations of action to strengthen the centre and integrate it and the whole township area around it into the whole city. Deduced from these two sets of recommendations, ideas on improving the sub-centres were elaborated. The third group did a comparative analysis of South African and German planning instruments. While the first two groups mainly used diagrammatic representations to visualise and present their ideas, the comparative analysis of the planning instruments was done textually.

\textsuperscript{4} Inanda, Ntuzuma and Kwamashu (INK) are three neighbouring former townships

\textsuperscript{5} Due to the safety aspect this should not be done without accompaniment
4. Students’ project’s objectives

“Planning in fragmented cities” means a very broad topic. So, it was up to the students’ project to formulate its own objective.

On the one hand, the aim of this chapter is to explain how the students’ project’s objectives and focus have developed till this Final Report on hand. On the other hand, a brief description of the students’ project’s final objectives will be provided.

4.1 Development of objectives

In the winter term, the students’ project predominantly had to meet the challenge to define its own objective which should be examined during the study trip in South Africa. The first objectives and findings were preliminary, they had to be modified and adopted during the field work in South Africa. However, they were the basis for the three-week study trip to South Africa and described the current status of work.

The global objective is to assess responses to the negative effects of fragmentation. The students’ project defined fragmentation by classifying the concepts into three different components:

- Socio-economic fragmentation emerges in a multiple divided society concerning “intersecting dimensions of identity and inequality including, among others, race, class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and immigrant status” (Harrison 2003: 16).
- Spatial fragmentation today still occurs as a result of spatial division of different population groups during the Apartheid time, e.g. informal settlements or townships. In the process of globalisation, spatial fragmentation intensifies along class lines, and brings out new forms of spatial separation, e.g. gated communities (Harrison 2003: 16).
- Institutional fragmentation appears on the different levels of public authority, e.g. within government or administration. It has increased since “power has been diffused from traditional centres of authority into multiple points of influence” (Harrison 2003: 16).

While these levels of fragmentation are sheer facts, the students’ project compared the positive and negative effects of fragmentation. Although social diversity is positive in its own ways, socio-economic inequality between ethnic and income groups is an undesirable situation. Therefore, an equal quality of life should be aimed at. Spatial fragmentation is positive, too. The spatial separation of different types of land uses (e.g. housing areas and industrial areas) is reasonable. But spatial fragmentation in the form of socio-economic separation which is intensified by the process of segregation is a negative effect of fragmentation. The socio-economic separation of different ethnic and income groups should be weakened respective overcome. Institutional fragmentation, for example in the form of specialisation of offices is inalienable for effective and efficient work. The negative effects occur if these institutions do not cooperate adequately.

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6 Segregation combines socio-economic and spatial factors of fragmentation (Dangschat 1998: 210)
The research areas of the students’ project for reducing these negative effects of fragmentation are so called “township areas”\(^7\). They should be stabilised to provide equal living conditions, recognised so that inhabitants can be proud of their improved settlement, and integrated through interactions between the improved settlements to get closer to the aim of the ideal Post-Apartheid City.

The four main sectors which can help to stabilise, recognise and integrate a township area are: local economy, social integration, housing and transport. However, the students’ project considers the socio-economic disparities as the most important negative effect of fragmentation, which occurs in the form of spatial fragmentation mainly in townships and informal settlements. The students’ project’s focus is on the stabilisation of them, because recognition and integration of settlements are considered as long term goals. Predominantly, the students’ project decided to improve living conditions in these township areas by a concentrated delivery of local supply, retail, services and (social) facilities in their centre areas with decentralised smaller structures besides. The township area centres should serve as the core for surrounding informal settlements and former townships. Regarding the whole urban structure, the township areas should become sub-centres.

The students’ project’s work and vision is briefly described and visualised in the next subchapter.

### 4.2. Work and vision

The students’ project is dealing with fragmentation in Durban. Fragmentation has positive as well as negative effects. In the case of Durban, the project considers the racial and increasing social\(^8\) segregation as the most important negative effects of fragmentation. These kinds of segregation as well as their spatial occurrence in form of township areas can not be directly influenced by planning.

Therefore the students’ project applied the idea of a polycentric city\(^9\) to analyse the current situation of fragmented Durban. By establishing a polycentric urban structure the single township areas can be stabilised in a sustainable way. This means: improved living conditions, better supply and more facilities available for the (mostly poor) people who live there. At the same time the regenerated township areas should become attractive for middle-income residents to stay there. The ultimate aim is to establish a socially mixed area, which offers improved living conditions for all. The township areas will change their character from former fragments to sustainable sub-centres.

The project group sets the focus on three aspects: Firstly the implementation of a polycentric urban structure in case of Durban: How would a polycentric Durban look like? Secondly, a township area is analysed to give an answer to the question: What does a fragmented area need to become a functional sub-centre? In the third step, the planning instruments for implementing a sub-centre are analysed. A comparison of South African and German instruments would generate alternative approaches of planning.

\(^7\) former township with informal settlements

\(^8\) especially referring to income (socio-economical aspect)

\(^9\) which is a basic spatial concept in Europe and Germany
One approach of confronting fragmentation is described in the following section. By establishing a polycentric urban structure, township areas should become integrated sub-centres.

**Fig. 6: Visualisation of students’ project’s work and vision**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planning in fragmented cities</th>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Approach to solution</th>
<th>Implementation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban structure is fragmented</td>
<td>Durban: Analyse of urban structure</td>
<td>Establish a polycentric urban structure (3 action fields)</td>
<td>Implementation of polycentric structures and specific sub-centres through instruments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment of sub-centres in the urban area</td>
<td>Establishment of a specific sub-centre: Kwadabeka</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Students’ project
The current urban structures in South Africa are the result of the historical development, especially of Apartheid regime, which had influenced the spatial, social, economic and infrastructure conditions. Apartheid City and Post-Apartheid City are the two main city-models which affects the cities – including Durban. These structures of South African cities have numerous factors that bear an impact on the life of inhabitants.

In this chapter, the development of South African cities is described in the historical context of Apartheid and Post-Apartheid. The Post-Apartheid City will be illustrated with its fragmented structure of former townships and their relationship to the whole city.

The fragmented situation becomes visible in the EMA, for which the idea of a polycentric city is used to demonstrate the special situation of the Post-Apartheid EMA as one possibility to reduce fragmentation within the city. The implementation of the polycentric city-model means to strengthen sub-centres through a supplement of functions and an improvement of living conditions in former townships. Concentrated functions are decentralised due to which the township areas will become sub-centres. This development creates a new hierarchy of centres in the EMA which will be explained at the end of this chapter.
5.1 Urban structures in historical context

From the beginning, urban development in South Africa has primarily been based on racial segregation\(^\text{10}\) which reached its highest level in Apartheid City. The development of South African cities can be divided into three ideological phases: Pre-Apartheid Phase (pre 1948), Apartheid Phase (1948 - 1985) and Neo-Apartheid Phase (since 1986), each showing a certain degree of segregation and bringing up different city models (Institute of Transportation Studies 2000: 6). In the following section these phases are described.

*Fig. 8 Segregation city*

![Segregation City Diagram](source: website Impuls Centrum)

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10 The ruling population (mainly Whites) prevented people of other races from settling within certain prescribed areas.

5.1.1 Pre-Apartheid Phase

The first South African cities developed during European colonisation (‘Colonial City’). Urban settlements were built as living and working place for white people who were the dominant group of urban society and claimed the central parts of the urban areas. The subordinate groups\(^\text{11}\) were forced to live in the peripheries of the cities, but had to work for the Whites. (Institute of Transportation Studies 2000: 6).

Growing population especially among black, coloured and Indian people led to an increasing segregation driven by the white peoples’ fear of “political domination [of subordinate classes] and the perceived dangers Blacks posed to the middle and upper classes” (Institute of Transportation Studies 2000: 7, own accentuation). The so called ‘Segregation City’ (see fig. 8: Segregation city) developed: “Black residential areas were formally moved to the outskirts of growing urban areas, and even beyond, to within homeland boundaries” (Institute of Transportation Studies 2000: 7). This process was accompanied by an increasing restriction placed on the rights of the black population, for e.g. property rights.

Physical separation of different racial groups was also laid down in the policy. Strategies and mechanisms were applied to increase segregation between different population groups, which had implications, for example on the provision of services or participation in administration. This kind of planning can be described as “informal Apartheid planning” (Institute of Transportation Studies 2000: 8), which means that

11 Subordinated groups were mainly native Africans and Indians, who had to work for the colonists.
although it had no legal foundation, urban policies were largely concerned with racial segregation. As a result of this policy, Pre-Apartheid cities were highly segregated.

### 5.1.2 Apartheid Phase

The Apartheid policy pursued from 1948 onwards aimed at maximising the residential segregation in cities. Informal guidelines and structures of Pre-Apartheid Phase were inserted into an Apartheid framework and spatial segregation was regulated through different laws and political documents. It was argued that “Apartheid would serve all population groups in the country by allowing each group to develop independence at its own pace and in its own prescribed area” (Institute of Transportation Studies 2000: 9). The ‘Group Areas Act’\(^\text{12}\), for example prescribed the division of urban space into sectors for different population groups and separates health, education and other social services for these different ethnic groups (Landman 2004: 4). “It was also believed that ‘boundaries bring peace’” (Institute of Transportation Studies 2000: 9).

Firstly, ideal Apartheid City will be described which in reality looks different.

#### Ideal Apartheid City

On the basis of Apartheid laws the model of an ideal Apartheid City emerged (see fig. 9: The ideal Apartheid City). It means segregation at a very high level. The city has a sector structure in form of a wagon-wheel in which each population group has its own sector – so-called townships – with its own civic centre to provide market and services to the population. Transport infrastructure should be guaranteed by rail-lines and roads which interconnect townships and connect the townships with the Central Business District (CBD). White residential areas are located around the CBD so that it is mainly and best accessed by the white people. Furthermore, living space for the white population should be located on places with best residential conditions. Blacks, Coloureds and Indians are separated in their own residential areas far away from the urban core at the urban edges and the periphery. Additionally, black people should be separated into their particular tribes. The different sectors should be physically divided in a clear way by buffer strips, e.g. rivers, roads or industrial areas.

\(^\text{12}\) This act is the main one to implement the spatial segregation and assigns every racial group their own residential areas and preserves huge campaigns of resettlement (Duve 1978: 166).
Urban structures

Apartheid City in reality

This model of an ideal Apartheid City is always difficult to realise in case of special circumstances. In South African cities, for example, natural conditions (relief) as well as the existing urban structures were obstacles to realise the ideal Apartheid City. Thus Apartheid City in reality appeared different (see fig. 10: Apartheid City in reality). In most South African cities, the CBD was dominated by the Whites as the main place for (upper-grade) provision. White residential space was further strongly differentiated according to socio-economic status. As a part of the White sector, the CBD was not open for people subordinate in race – except for those who were supposed to do physical work there. Although settled in disadvantaged areas remote from the CBD, black, coloured and Indian people were not adequately provided with social and economic infrastructure. In fact, the Apartheid regime systematically neglected the development of civic centres in townships. Deprived of qualified education and economic resources, the inhabitants of the townships were not able to establish stable and permanent structures for their civic centre on their own. However, they managed to provide for themselves through small farm subsistence. In addition, a township-wide structure of tuck shops has been developing, relieving the great need for basic provision.

A clear separation of races as envisioned by an ideal Apartheid City could not be realised. The respective black tribes (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana), for example, could not be separated. (Landman 2004: 4)

As result of this policy, a highly fragmented society emerged and the degree of segregation was almost total: “Spatially, cities were characterised by spatial fragmentation, segregation and low-density sprawl” (Landman 2004: 4). Thus urban areas became highly inefficient and inequitable.

In the following section the current urban structure of Post-Apartheid City in general, the role of former townships in the context of Post-Apartheid City and the appearance of present-day urban structure of the EMA are described.

5.2 Current urban structure

Current urban structures are primarily shaped by Post-Apartheid City with socio-economic and racial segregation, former townships and growing informal settlements in the urban periphery.

5.2.1 Post-Apartheid City

With the abolition of laws and structures of Apartheid regime in 1991, the basic conditions have changed and the prevalent ur-
Urban planning practice could not be continued anymore. Apartheid City developed into Post-Apartheid City. The racial separation lost its legal basis and has been replaced by the socio-economic segregation into classes, which is still going on (Friedman 2000: 17"). The new type of Post-Apartheid City is primarily characterised by an overlap of fixed – inherited from the past – structures and new ones. These already determined structures of Apartheid City are difficult to overcome.

Fig. 11: Model of Post-Apartheid City Johannesburg

Desegregation is the main characteristic of the Post-Apartheid City and has already begun before the end of Apartheid regime with the undermining of the ‘Group Areas Act’: Due to the differential development of supply and demand in the respective residential markets for the different populations, Non-Whites immigrated legally or informally into as ‘white’ proclaimed housing areas (Jürgens; Bähr 2002: 250-251). Thus first tendencies of desegregation were shown by change of domicile in the inner-city, especially in the course of sub-urbanisation but in middle-class residential quarters as well.

In this context, changes in the ethnic structures of respective neighbourhoods or larger areas have effects on the urban environment and lead to social and economic problems which express itself in the emergence of agricultural areas within the city, of informal activities in house building and trade and of separation in gated communities (see fig. 11: Model of Post-Apartheid City Johannesburg) (Jürgens; Bähr 2002: 246). However, not only the urban structure transforms but also the supply structures: big shopping centres on the outskirts have been built at the expense of traditional city centres. This process caused some effects: The informal trade and informal services have achieved an increasing importance (see chapter: 6.1.2). All these new activities put more and more stress on the urban infrastructure and increase the environmental problems (Jürgens; Bähr 2002: 245-246).

5.2.2 Township areas in Post-Apartheid City

The township areas are the research area of this report and will be described in this subchapter.

14 For this process the term ‘greying’ is introduced in South African public. It means on the one hand changes in the racial composition of the population and on the other hand the illegal status of the people who live in an area not belonging to them (Jürgens; Bähr 2002: 250-251).
Nowadays, the Post-Apartheid City is a fragmented city which shows itself as urban areas segregated into residential, industrial and commercial areas. However, this separation is a general practice in urban land-use planning and merely increases the need for travel. However, in South Africa the “residential and other functional areas are separated [formally] by open space, buffer strips or transport routes” (1st Workshop 2005, Appendix K).

For improving the quality of life in poorer areas (the former Black African and Coloured townships) and tackling segregation, infrastructure services have been delivered. The rate of migration into former townships was higher than the rate of infrastructure supply; as a result these efforts have often not been successful. In addition to that, the spatially segregated settlement structures are strengthened by newly emerging social inequalities which express themselves in gated communities (Landman 2004: 13). As a result of these developments, fragmentation in cities is once again increasing.

Both, the gated communities and informal settlements together constitute the urban form in the present Post-Apartheid cities and change the face of former townships: Due to the overcrowded formal Black African townships and the rapid urbanisation after the end of Apartheid, “massive growth of informal settlements on the periphery, […] [and,] within and on the edges of old African township areas” (Todes 2000: 618, own accentuation) has begun. Informal settlements have been coming up without any official development plan. These settlements are built on “government and/or private property, where the urban poor occupy without the knowledge or against the wishes of the lawful owners” (Ismail; Matlala n.d.: 3*). As they are also mostly located on land (which is) not registered, they “are officially recognised as an inadequate form of housing” (Marx; Charlton 2003: 6*). Informal settlements “developed on Apartheid buffer strips, marginal land within established areas or land that formerly lay beyond the city boundaries”. Nowadays, informal settlements are overcrowded and infrastructure and services are often missing. “About 33 per cent of the total metropolitan population and the half of the total metropolitan African population” (Marx; Charlton 2003: 6*) live in informal settlements. Currently, 35 per cent of the informal settlements are situated in formal settlements, 55 per cent are located in the periphery of formal settlements and ten per cent are peri-urban (Marx; Charlton 2003: 5*).

In residential areas, fragmentation is characterised by socio-economic segregation. It is the urban poor people, who are mostly affected by the negative impacts since they live in peripheral township areas and have, for example, inadequate access to transport systems. The transport service in these areas is mainly provided by minibus taxis, which anyway is not a regular service. These township areas “have become a problem in terms of urban restructuring and urban improvement” (1st Workshop 2005, Appendix K) because the settlement structures are marked by low density, dispersion and splinter development which makes it expensive to provide urban services. Thus they are predominantly mono-functionally structured as residential areas lacking in public infrastructure. Township areas merely serve as dormitory areas.
In township areas, centre areas do exist, but without many functional facilities (e.g. health care) to the inhabitants. There is also a shortage of jobs as a result of which most working people have to travel to the CBD.

The CBD as a working place for the population of township areas, causes a high commuter rate which leads to an overload on transport routes and disadvantages the poor people due to high transport costs. Even after the end of Apartheid, the situation is yet to change: “Apartheid urban planning also condemned many people to long and expensive commuter journeys” (Lemon 2000: 203). The CBD is the place where most of (daily) shopping is done after work.

**Fig. 12: Township areas in Post-Apartheid City**

The relationship between the township areas and the CBD is predominantly one-sided: Most interchanges and interactions arise only from the commuter behaviour of the population from the township area (see fig. 12: Township areas in Post-Apartheid City). The urban core population has no incentive to enter the black township areas, as it is not attractive to them because of a high rate of crime. Even between the different township areas there is no need for interaction and exchange because they are very similar and do not show significant differences in their characteristics, except the Indian township areas which offer a wider retail spectrum as former black township centres because of the Indian business acumen. (Godehart 2005: Appendix E)

5.2.3 Present urban structure of the EMA

The prevailing urban structure of the EMA with its township areas is the result of the historical development and planning decisions. In the 1990’s there was a big enlargement of the EMA as a result of an integration of municipalities in the surrounding, like Pinetown.

The development of the EMA is affected by the transport infrastructure. The two most important transport corridors are the national road connections N2 and N3, which cut cross the CBD. Next to the CBD is the harbour which is one of the most important transport and economical nodes of the EMA. In the industrial area around it, the South Durban Basin, and in the CBD most of the working places are located.

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15 mainly housing with little supply of infrastructure
The urban structure of the EMA is very strong characterised by socio-economic segregation which creates kinds of fragments. Ethnical segregation is visible in the form of ethnical distribution (see fig. 16: Urban residential areas by race) which is overlapped by the income level of the population. The traditionally forced racial segregation has turned into segregation of classes.

Former white settlements (e.g. the settlements along the Berea, western of the CBD, Pinetown or Isipingo) are well located and close to the main road corridors, while township areas like Umlazi are mostly located in the urban periphery (see fig 13: Township areas in the urban periphery).

In the EMA there are several township areas which vary in size and population. The exact number of inhabitants is unknown, due is the dynamic population growth in the informal settlements of the township areas. All of them show specific characteristics. The biggest of them is Umlazi in the south-west, (see fig. 14: Market in Umlazi) which approximately has 600,000 to 700,000 inhabitants. The second biggest complex of township areas is INK with about 600,000 inhabitants. INK stands for Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu. Of the three, KwaMashu is the biggest in the north-west of the EMA. Ntuzuma is an extension of KwaMashu. Both, Inanda and Ntuzuma are structurally weak, while Inanda is more rural in character. (Godehart 2005: Appendix G)

Kwadabeka (see fig. 15 Kwadabeka) is the enlargement of Clermont which grew by the growth of the black population. Both were townships for Pinetown offering industrial job opportunities. Kwadabeka be-
Urban structures

The biggest Indian township area is Phoenix in the north of the EMA, north-east of INK. Phoenix has many middle-income households, better service facilities with several retail businesses (see fig. 17: Shopping Centre in Phoenix) and a big industrial area close to the INK area. (Godehart 2005: Appendix G)

ing situated near to Clermont is not as well provided with services and infrastructure, although both have inadequate transport connections. All these townships are mainly for the black population and predominantly low-income households. (Godehart 2005: Appendix G)

Source: Marx, Charlton 2003: 11*

Fig. 16: Urban residential areas by race
All township areas are characterised by sprawling informal settlements, which have changed the face of the former townships (see fig. 18: Informal settlements in Cato Manor). In Durban, the first informal settlements emerged in the 1950’s since the Apartheid state did not provide formal housing.

Township areas in the EMA like Kwa-Mashu often include centre areas which are equipped with some functions like social facilities or small supermarkets to ensure supply of basic services. In spite of being equipped with some functions, black township areas are still 'dormitory areas'. The predominant function of housing in these areas with fewer supply, services and jobs means that the intermediate-order\(^{16}\) needs of the township area population are not fulfilled. This monofunctionality makes these areas very dependent on the CBD. The dominant CBD performs the most central functions for the township areas which is a problem especially for poor people who are excluded from CBD because of transport costs.

This situation is illustrated in the model of the fragmented townships in the EMA. (see fig. 19: Township areas in the fragmented EMA) This figure shows the most important centres: the CBD, the township areas and other sub-centres in the EMA. The estimated size of the centres in terms of the number of inhabitants and economic power is illustrated by the size of the points. The figure also shows the existing functions of these centres using colour codes: housing (orange), supply (yellow) and employment (blue). The predominant

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\(^{16}\)“Intermediate-order centres” are central places whose role is to meet the everyday needs and social facilities of the population of a larger area. (Turowski; Cass 2003: 10)
function of housing in township areas and their dependence on the CBD (green arrows) are shown in this figure.

In comparison to the township area centres, other centres like Pinetown in the west or Umhlanga in the north of the EMA offer a better supply and are characterised by increased economic development. They are kind of multi-functional and attractive for middle- and high-income people. These centres fulfil their functions as intermediate-order centres. Other facilities like the “Pavilion”, a huge Shopping Centre west of CBD are demonstrated by pure supply. A big part of supply in Umhlanga is provided through a second huge Shopping Centre: the Gateway – “Theatre of Shopping” (see fig. 20: Gateway “Theatre of Shopping”). That means that the EMA with its different kinds of centres shows little tendency of a polycentric urban structure and therefore offers a potential for applying the polycentric model of a city.

In the EMA, like in other Post-Apartheid cities, gated communities have emerged. Since end of Apartheid, more and more gated communities are increasingly being built in the rural western part of the metropolitan area. These housing areas for higher-income groups cause problems of infrastructure provision and illegal privatisation of public space, e.g. streets. The gated communities intensify the socio-economic segregation that leads to a higher socio-economic fragmentation.

The weak social, economic and transport connections between township areas and other centres restricts the mobility of the population and thereby the interactions. In the EMA the relief is a factor that complicates a lot of transport connections between different township areas and other sub-centres. Since there are no attractions (like services) in the township areas they are isolated which is a spatial expression of the socio-economic fragmentation.

The following section will describe how the model of a polycentric city would look like and what it could mean to implement this model for the urban structure of Post-Apartheid City.

5.3 Models of urban structure

The current situation in South African cities suggests possibilities to overcome the negative effects of fragmentation particularly in the township areas, by forming them to stable sub-centres. These decentralised sub-centres can take over the central function as explained by the concept of central places, based on the theory of central places by Walter Christaller.
5.3.1 Central places concept and decentralised concentration

Post-Apartheid City is characterised by fragmentation, segregation and urban sprawl which persist and grow as the main structural problems. To solve these problems “it is certainly desirable that fragmented Apartheid cities are gradually replaced by more compact cities which bring the poor in from the periphery” (Lemon 2000: 209). But the idea of the compact city would not fit in South African cities, whose existing urban structures are characterised by increasing urban sprawl, their big size and low density. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to implement this concept. Nevertheless, it is desirable and necessary to integrate the township areas more intensively in diverse ways of urban development, as the township areas seem to be getting out of hand. In addition, high population rate requires efficient supply structures which could be best established in a decentralised manner. Therefore the concept of the polycentric city with a decentralised concentration is more appropriate to manage and control the growth of settlement.

The concept of decentralised concentration is a result of the central places theory which was first developed by Walter Christaller in 1933, Germany. In the 1960’s and 1970’s it was elaborated of Christaller’s descriptions and is now part of the German spatial development planning (Zehner 2001: 197).

The concept classifies cities into a hierarchical order: basic-, intermediate- and higher-order central places (Blotevogel 2002: LIV). The basis for this categorisation are the number of inhabitants, the number of functions of central places, the number of goods provided, their catchment area and the position in the employment market (Zehner 2001: 198) (see fig. 21: Central places concept).

The centres should offer social, cultural and economic facilities. These facilities support not only the ‘own’ inhabitants, they also support inhabitants of the surrounding areas. Every higher centre also has to offer tasks of lower centres. The lower-order central places have the purpose to serve the basic services. The intermediate-order central places have to serve also medium-term demand. The higher-order central places have to serve long-term demand.

The concept is a basis to consider natural, social and economical resources by the development of settlements. Protection of

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17 The idea of compact city means high-density and compact buildings with mixed used structures to guarantee short ways for provision.
water, air and soil, the economic benefit of energy and reduction of growth of mobility have to be aimed to save the environment. An economic way to use time and energy by dealing with traffic should help reducing impact on environment as well. The concept should have a framework for beneficial economic development with a high employment rate as well as for avoiding social segregation to even enable equal living conditions. (BMBau 1996: 14)

By applying the decentralised concentration concept where functions from high-order centres are concentrated in middle-order centres (see fig. 22: Decentralised concentration), a polycentric urban structure is developed, to support a compact and mixed spatial development. (BfLR 1994: 446; BMBau 1996: 14)

5.3.2 The idea of the polycentric Post-Apartheid City

Following the theory of decentralised concentration, a polycentric urban structure in a South African city should be created. The theory will be applied to the existing fragmented structures of Post-Apartheid City. It can be said that in some ways the current Post-Apartheid City already represents a kind of decentralised city. The private sector supports economic development and residential areas located at the urban edges and at the periphery. But this automatism of decentralisation is just the first step in creating a polycentric urban structure with sub-centres. This polycentric, alternatively decentralised urban structure has to be enhanced to ensure increased complexity, integration, linkages and interactions, changes between the sub-centres and the CBD on the one hand and on the other hand between the several sub-centres and their surroundings.

The isolated township areas, as the spatial level at which fragmentation has its most profound effects, are the starting point for the students’ project concept. They should become multi-functional sub-centres (see fig. 23: Polycentric township areas). A centre area should be developed in these areas which can help to overcome their predominant function as dormitory areas. These upgraded centres would integrate and strengthen the township areas in the city structure as sub-centres to meet the intermediate demands. The basic services could still be provided by the wide spread tuck shops in the township areas. By ò-
ploying polycentric urban structure, township areas will be able to deliver services and create (however limited) job opportunities for the population. This would prevent at least some people from travelling to the CBD and make the township and its population more independent from the CBD.

Furthermore, the upgraded centres in the township areas will create new connections to parts of the periphery that belongs to the catchment area of the centre.

This development will reduce traffic over long distances to the CBD. Mostretails and services can be accessed in the township area itself; except the jobs still would be mostly located in the CBD. All in all, the process of upgrading township areas and improving residents’ living conditions can strengthen peoples’ identity with their living area. Satisfied residents and a stable situation would lead to a new image of township areas.

There would also be some negative effects of establishing a polycentric urban structure. Firstly, it is probable that between the newly extended township areas, new traffic routes may occur. This development would neutralise the effects of reduced traffic between the CBD and the township areas. Secondly, the extended township area centres and other sub-centres could weaken the CBD as the demand for basic- and intermediate-order needs is reduced.

The newly created township area centres as sub-centres in a polycentric city have impacts on the urban structure. The figure would give a visual impression of the newly emerging connections between CBD, new sub-centres and their surroundings. The CBD will still be the centre with goods for long-term demands. But through the new extended township area centres the township areas will be more independent of the CBD. Therefore these areas will no longer be only dormitory areas, as they would contain facilities parts for education, health, employment and market opportunities.

A sub-centre is a homogeneous area and serves as a common catchment area for the functions of a central place to provide basic day-to-day or intermediate-order central place needs. These needs

![Fig. 23: Polycentric township areas](Source: students' project)

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18 There is an unclear causal relation between infrastructure and traffic development.

19 homogeneous in structure of usages, buildings or population, which means a functional unity
Urban structures

are concentrated as facilities in a centre area. The most important sectors to fulfil necessary people’s needs are housing, economy, social amenities and transport. They include facilities like retail, education, medical provision, administration and transport nodes. Because of the growing mobility, an exact definition of population catchment areas is hardly possible. (see fig. 24: Township area sub-centre)

Fig. 24: Township area sub-centre

In the following section, the kind of changes that could take place in the hierarchical order of centres and the possible impacts of implementation of a polycentric city structure in the EMA are described.

5.4 The polycentric city

For the EMA the decentralised concentration\textsuperscript{20} is seen as a new concept or guiding principle to manage the urban sprawl and the development of the hinterland (see chapter 5.3.1; Fürst et al. 1999: 65). In this way the unregulated growth of settlement structures, especially in the township areas could be prevented. The decentralised concentration is also basis for students’ project’s aim of stabilisation and improving living conditions of township areas.

5.4.1 The hierarchy of centres in the polycentric Post-Apartheid City

The polycentric Post-Apartheid City is structurally shaped by its centres, which have to consider several aspects of the Post-Apartheid City. These centres are in a specific hierarchy.

By implementing the model of decentralised concentration the highest-order centre of the polycentric structure will stay the CBD with different functions for different population groups. Corresponding to the model of decentralised concentration, the highest-order centre is surrounded by a number of middle-order centres. These sub-centres serve intermediate-order functions.

Township areas as sub-centres will be part of intermediate-order centres in the city. There is no unique form of township sub-centre. Depending on the size and structure of population, different types of sub-centres are observed. Sometimes, a large population is served by one sub-centre. In such cases the sub-centres fulfil more and more high-order functions.

There are also cases, where sub-centres adopt more functions than to be expected from the model of decentralised concentration such as sub-centres in the high-income suburbs. By offering a wider range of goods and services they become more and more independent of the CBD.

\textsuperscript{20} Decentralised concentration in this context means the support of the graded system of centres and sub-centres according to the concept of central places (Fürst et al. 1999: 65).
Besides these intermediate-order sub-centres there are some mono-functional facilities like shopping centres which serve a regional demand. They are in competition to the retail functions of sub-centres. (Godehart 2005, Appendix G)

The catchment areas can hardly be defined because of the customers’ mobility.

According to Kahn, who researched the system of Shopping Centres in metropolitan areas, the CBD can be seen as the highest place of supply provision. Besides this, we can find few Regional Shopping Centres with more than 100,000 sq m retail. They are used by high-, middle- and low-income groups from the whole metropolitan area. Most low-income people are less mobile and use these Regional Centres only if they are living in their surroundings. A smaller catchment area is served by Community Centres with 30,000 – 40,000 sq m retail. Small housing settlements are served by Neighbourhood Centres with 10,000 – 12,000 sq m retail and Convenience Centres with lesser retail than Neighbourhood Centres. Convenience and Neighbourhood Centres are mostly built in township areas (Kahn 2005, Appendix H) (see tab. 1: Corresponding levels of centres of the central places concept and Shopping Centres in metropolitan areas).

Three facts have to be considered in this context. First: the capability. The capability of shopping centres in township areas is not based on potential population in the catchment areas. Because of the low buying power, more customers are needed to support a shopping centre. For example, a Neighbourhood Centre needs 20,000 middle-income customers, whereas 100,000 low-income customers. The second fact is the competition of shopping centres. A number of them are built close together without considering the limited buying capacity. These shopping centres are subject to strong competition and in the end, not all of them will survive. The third is the catchment area of shopping centres. It depends on the transport infrastructure. In a centralised structure people on the way to the CBD as highest centre will visit the next shopping centre between their residential area and the CBD. They are not used to drive to a centre further out the city. That’s why the catchment area will look like a “water drop” along the major roads with the smallest part at the shopping centre. (see fig 25: Catchment areas of centres) The catchment areas (in orange) belong to their specific centre area. These catchment areas can’t be defined.

Table 1: Corresponding levels of centres of the central places concept and Shopping Centres in metropolitan areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centres (according to central-place-concept)</th>
<th>Shopping Centres</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highest-order centre</td>
<td>Highest-order centre (CBD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Centre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-order centre (intermediate-order function)</td>
<td>Community Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood Centre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic-order centre</td>
<td>Convenience Centre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: students’ project
Urban structures

exactly, sometimes they superimpose and overlap each other, depending on function and size of the centres they belong to. The form of the catchment areas is shaped by the transport connections, connecting the centre area with the users. (Kahn 2005, Appendix H)

For township areas with low density, low buying capacity and high transport costs means that it is impossible to provide small shopping centres. In the township areas, the basic demand is mostly served in a decentralised way. Instead of shopping centres, tuck shops and informal traders fulfil the basic needs of population, although these forms of retail are not cheaper than shopping centres. They are used because many customers can’t afford the transport costs to reach the shopping centres. (Kahn 2005, Appendix H)

This hierarchy of centres with the CBD, the surrounding sub-centres and decentralised basic supply structures in the township areas (for example tuck shops) will have positive impacts such as reduced fragmentation and living conditions of people.

5.4.2 Township areas in the polycentric city EMA

After applying the concept of decentralised concentration, the township areas will be multi-functional. The former ‘dormitory areas’ will now fulfil their function as sub-centres by offering more supply and service. Similar to the figure 19 in chapter 5.2.3 the figure “Polycentric city EMA” (see fig. 26: Polycentric city EMA) shows this new situation. There are the most important centres: the CBD, the township areas and other sub-centres in the EMA. It also shows the expected functions of these centres: housing (orange), supply (yellow) and employment (blue). The township areas are now improved by supply and (only a little) employments. Some of these functions were formerly located in the CBD. Removing them from the CBD does not mean to weaken the CBD. It is still the highest order centre in the EMA, but the function of an intermediate-order centre can now be fulfilled in the township areas.

This is possible by the improvement of centre areas within the township areas. In these centre areas, the facilities to fulfil the intermediate-order central place needs are located.

A number of sub-centres of the intermediate-order are located around the CBD. These sub-centres like Umhlanga, Pinetown and Isipingo have always had good infrastructure. The township areas are now part of this system of sub-centres around the CBD. They are similar to other sub-centres, but still not adequately

Fig. 25: Catchment areas of centres

Source: students’ project
equipped with supply. There are basic supply structures within the township areas.

Township areas will be now less dependent on the CBD. Due to high-order functions, there would be still strong connections with the CBD and jobs which can only be provided in the CBD and the South Durban Basin. Nevertheless, the CBD will lose functions that will be served by the township area centres. The CBD therefore has to concentrate on other higher-order functions like tourism to substitute the loss of intermediate-order functions to the township area centres.

More structural and social connections between the township areas and other

**Fig. 26: Polycentric city EMA**

Sub-centres will cause more interactions to balance the fragmentation. These interactions depend on the varying potentials of the different township areas. Some of them have better conditions to fulfill functions, for example. Phoenix contains a lot of retail and KwaMashu has good transport connections. This might be reasons for people come to other township areas. But this interaction is limited by the mobility of the population.

Increased interactions between township areas will cause more traffic with its negative impacts. Most people in the township areas use ‘minibus taxis’ as the means of public transport. A polycentric structure diffuses the demand for traffic.

Although the potential for interactions is somewhat limited, more interactions would mean an integration of the township areas into the whole city. This integration is the long-term step to balance the fragmentation in the EMA, but predominantly the aim of stabilisation of township areas is forced.

### 5.5 Conclusion

Influenced by Apartheid and the developments of Post-Apartheid, South African cities are still highly segregated which means a racial segregation and socio-economic fragmentation. This kind of socio-economic fragmentation interacts with spatial fragmentation. Spatial as well as socio-economic fragmentation has to be balanced to reduce negative effects of, especially the socio-economic one.

The urban structure of the Post-Apartheid City (and EMA) can be used as basis to strengthen a polycentric city structure. Especially fragments like township areas have to be used to develop sub-centres
and reach a better supply. Although this does not really balance spatial fragmentation, and may even intensify the separated spatial structure, the polycentric urban structure will balance the negative effects of socio-economic fragmentation in the township areas (Blotevogel 2005, Appendix C).

The polycentric structure will improve living conditions by better supply of basic needs and cause more identity and integration. Identity will be developed by a common sub-centre with more independence of the CBD. The integration of the sub-centres will be achieved by strengthening the interactions between the stabilised township areas with their own identity and the rest of the city.

For the Post-Apartheid City, the effects of this polycentric structure depend on their implementation in the township areas. Centre areas have to be improved to let the township areas become working sub-centres in the polycentric Post-Apartheid City.

The following chapter describes how a sub-centre ought to be planned in order to reduce negative effects of fragmentation and dependence on the CBD.
This chapter deals with the concept of sub-centre in the township of Kwadabeka which intends to propose measures on how to improve the situation regarding the components of economy, social facilities, housing and transport and thus to achieve the aimed stabilisation as an element of the polycentric urban structure.

To know the exact shortcomings, an analysis has to be carried out with a clear definition of standards and a list of needs and wants concerning the various components of an ideal sub-centre.

The general conditions influencing the sub-centre of Kwadabeka was analysed with the help of GIS data and field observation.

The shortcomings were assessed by comparing the “needs” and “wants” of an ideal sub-centre with the current situation at Kwadabeka. These findings led to the concept of Kwadabeka’s centre area which also includes proposals on how to remedy the shortcomings.

**6.1 Components of an ideal sub-centre**

The ideal sub-centre not only represents a benchmark for the current situation of Kwadabeka but also an example for the concept of Kwadabeka’s centre area. The characteristics of an ideal sub-centre are divided into four components: economy, social facilities, housing and transport.
6.1.1 Economy

The centre area of a sub-centre has the main function to provide goods and services for the surrounding inhabitants so that they can become more independent of the CBD or other bigger sub-centres in the process of satisfying their demands. Obviously, this centre area of a sub-centre can not fulfil all the needs but it can at least deal with the basic demands of the inhabitant’s. Where necessary, due to enough spending power, upper grade goods can also be offered. The size of the centre should be based on the spending power which is determined by the level of inhabitants’ income and the distance to other competing centres. For low-income areas with a smaller catchment area, smaller structures are needed (Moonsamy 2005, Appendix J). The economic centre size of an ideal sub-centre for low-income areas should be designed as a Convenience Centre, for areas with a mix of lower and middle-income as a Neighbourhood Centre (see chapter 5.4.1). Bigger centre structures like a Community or Regional Centre are not realistic in that kind of sub-centres because of lack of spending power.

Irrespective of the size of the centre area, local structures like tuck shops and street traders must not be destroyed. The informal sector plays a great role in growing economies because it creates about half of total employment and presents for many unemployed persons a significant opportunity to earn money (website South Africa.info). Street traders and tuck shops represent a big part of the informal sector in township areas and also ensure a provision of basic goods in township areas. (see fig. 28: Street traders in KwaMashu)

In addition to that, informal economy should be integrated in centre areas in order to ensure a mix of formal and informal shops (Godehard 2005, Appendix E). In developed centres, the mix of formal shops and informal street traders often exists. But when providing for this structural mix, market stalls for informal trade have to be developed and upgraded so that informal traders can sell their goods under better working conditions and the whole image of the centre area does not appear to be dominated by the disparities between formal and informal economy. Planning has to bear in mind the potential of development. Therefore enough space must be provided to allow expansion of both, formal and informal trade. (see fig. 29: Upgraded Umlazi market area)
The existence of a shopping centre depends on private investments which do not happen in low-income areas as they are not profitable (Kahn 2005, Appendix H). This means, that some township area centres which are characterised by low spending power rather do not include a shopping centre which collocates the vendors in one building. More probably, these centres just offer an accumulation of shop units. Bigger structures like the Convenience Centre or even bigger like the Neighbourhood Centre need a higher economic potential but always include a shopping centre (see chapter 5.4.1).

The success of economy is always linked to other aspects like transport and social concerns. Referring to transport, the economic potential of a centre area grows with the quantum and quality of the transport connection. The better the transport connection is, the higher the frequency of customers and wider the catchment area.

Economic growth also depends on the knowledge of workers which can be improved through education and skills training. In township areas, generally survivalists and micro-enterprises are the main actors. They belong to the group of so-called Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) and can be supported by agencies which on the one hand develop a network of Local Business Support Centres and on the other hand deal with financial aspects in order to help small businesses to establish (website South Africa.info).

But entrepreneurs can also help each other by building networks which can provide various kinds of mutual support.

The land property must be cleared so that waste land can be developed by investors in order to achieve an area-wide development of land use in the township area centre.

Protection from crime also plays an important role for entrepreneurs, inhabitants and visitors. Boosting and ensuring security by reducing crime can influence the image of a township area in a positive way and retain the middle-income people in township areas.

In fact, township areas need a mix of inhabitants according to their income level. The middle-income group for example, is important for economy because they can boost the development through their greater spending power (Moonsamy 2005, Appendix J).

### 6.1.2 Social Facilities

When planning for social services and facilities of a township area, it has to be borne in mind that social functions do not work on their own. They must be combined with other functions like economy, transport and housing (2nd workshop 2005, Appendix K) because social facilities build the foundation for success of these other sectors. An example is educational establishment which directly represents the basis for increasing education and indirectly has positive impacts on the economic accommodation and support for emerging businesses. (website Durban c)

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21 SMMEs are categorised in the White Paper on National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Businesses (1995) as: survivalists (enterprises with no paid employees), micro-enterprises (max. 2 employees), small enterprises (5-50 employees) and medium enterprises (50-200 employees) (Skinner 2000: 5)*

22 Local Business Support Centres provide relevant and accurate business information, professional advice and assistance, support for linkages between established and emerging businesses and
development: (high) qualified people have a better chance to find an appropriate job and earn more money. The social services and functions depend on public and private financial support. Furthermore, underprivileged population groups (disabled, youth, elderly) and their needs have to be taken into consideration in the process of planning (2nd workshop 2005, Appendix K).

Following, aims which have to be realised by establishing social functions are named and completed with concrete measures to achieve them. One aim is to improve education and to reduce illiteracy. This can be achieved by establishing schools (primary and secondary) and a library (see Fig. 30: New library in Cato Manor). Schools are not only important for education; they can also take over an integration function so that pupils of different races or nations learn to live with each other. Adults should be equipped with professional skills in order to be able to find a job. For this, a skills or job qualification centre is necessary. (2nd workshop 2005, Appendix K).

Concerning the medical facilities, the improvement of medical care and medical advice is very important. This can be realised by health centres and in bigger township areas by a hospital (2nd workshop 2005, Appendix K). Considering the serious problem of HIV/ AIDS, special medical units should be integrated in medical institutions in order to ensure the treatment of HIV patients.

With the intention to reduce the very high crime rate in township areas, the mere existence of a police station can have strong impact on the safety awareness of the township area inhabitants (2nd workshop 2005, Appendix K). The police station should be located near known crime hot spots like transport nodes and areas with high trading activities to deal with potential crime at the source. Reducing the crime rate can attract investors to invest in former township area centres and enhance the quality of people’s life.

A local administrative office is necessary in order to save journeys to the CBD and to reduce dependence of inhabitants on the CBD. In addition to that, community halls and youth centres to promote cultural and community activities should be established. Green space and sport facilities have to be created because they are important for the recreation of population. This can be achieved by playgrounds, parks and sport fields. If needed, daycare facilities for children of working parents can be established (2nd workshop 2005, Appendix K).

6.1.3 Housing

For a sub-centre to work efficiently, a sizeable catchment area is crucial and must be found (Masson 2005, Appendix I). To ensure that the residents reach the centre the necessary infrastructure must be provided. Therefore, it is sensible to establish housing areas within the centre.
area of a sub-centre, for example by using the ground floor of the multi-stored buildings for retail and letting the upper floors for housings (2nd workshop 2005, Appendix K). In addition, social facilities and an elaborate infrastructure should also be planned to attract investors. (Harrison et al. 1997: 49)

The surroundings of the centre has to be a mixed-use area to provide appropriate housing for each social group, as well as retail and social facilities to serve the residents’ needs. The surrounding housing area should be characterised by growing density with growing proximity to the centre. Since the majority of the black population do not want to live in mutli-stored housing, this aspect should be borne in mind. (Duckworth 2005, Appendix D)

As mentioned above, different types of housing for the different social (and racial) groups must be planned. Attracting the middle-income people and retaining them is a major task: only with their additional spending power the centre can be kept alive (Masson 2005, Appendix I; Moon-samy 2005, Appendix J). But the needs of low-income people must also be addressed: They should have opportunities to generate a higher income, their general living conditions should be improved. These aims can partly be achieved by providing them with a better social and transport infrastructure and shortening their travel distance, but also by fighting crime and clearing questions of land tenure.

Another major task would be to design a housing subsidy programme for the middle-income people and attracting them to reside in the township area. This initiative seems reasonable because that group of township area inhabitants often earns a little too much for being included into the existing low-income programmes, but do not generate enough to afford their own house.

Attracting and retaining middle-income people and investors in the township area is only possible by offering a something special attraction (Masson 2005, Appendix I), for instance, by erecting representative buildings or redeveloping existing buildings.

6.1.4 Transport

In a township area centre, several transport facilities are needed to connect it with the CBD and other areas where many jobs are located. Railway and bus stations as well as other transport nodes like crossings ways represent busy exchange points with the potential for economic development, e.g. establishment of shopping centres.

Railway connections are useful for township areas because a large number of people can be transported at one time. (see fig. 31: Railway in southern Duban) However, construction of rail transport is expensive because the corridors take much space which is not always available and affected by topographical conditions.

Fig. 31: Railway in southern Durban
A railway station is a central facility with a wide catchment area. This circumstance needs for the majority of inhabitants in a township area long ways between station and residence. Another disadvantage of the railway system is the need to disperse transport service in order to serve inhabitants of huge township areas. Dispersed railway lines are economic not viable because of the minimal utilisation of trains. These requirements can not be fulfilled by the railway system and therefore, buses and minibuses are the best solution to serve a large catchment area. (see fig. 32: Minibus taxi rank in KwaMashu)

Additionally, there should be guidelines determining maximum distance between two bus stops so that citizens can reach them in adequate time. The transport operators should ensure a safe and reliable transportation service. In order to realise these requirements, the minibus taxi service has to be frequently regulated. Besides, regular check up of drivers and vehicles have to be organised to reduce accidents and emission level.

6.1.5 Overview of ‘needed’ and ‘wanted’ functions

In general, since public finances is always a deficit, it is reasonable to a prioritise measures for implementing an ideal sub-centre in terms of ‘needs’ and ‘wants’. (see tab. 2. ‘Needs’ and ‘Wants’ of township area sub-centres)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>- Middle-income customer</td>
<td>- Existence of a shopping centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Offering a variety of basic and upper grade goods</td>
<td>- Clarification of land property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Size of the centre area should be based on spending power</td>
<td>- Networks between entrepreneurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Structures like tuck shops and street traders must not be destroyed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Mix of formal shops and informal market stalls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Economic potential grows with the quality and quantum of the transport connection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: projekts’ group
Tab. 2: ‘Needs’ and ‘Wants’ of township area sub-centres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Facilities</td>
<td>- Educational facilities (schools, library)</td>
<td>- Administrative office for citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Medical care (health care centre or clinic)</td>
<td>- Recreation facilities (playgrounds, parks and sportfields)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Job qualification centre</td>
<td>- Community hall, Youth Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Police station</td>
<td>- Care facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>- Middle-income subsidy programme</td>
<td>- High density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Types of housing appropriate for different social and racial groups</td>
<td>- Mix of land uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Improved infrastructure</td>
<td>- Variety of different housing types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Attractions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>- Minibus taxi node with central function</td>
<td>- Railway station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Minibus connections within residential areas</td>
<td>- Regular check up of vehicles and drivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Safety and a good and constant level of service</td>
<td>- Standardised tickets for minibuses and trains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Reduction of accidents</td>
<td>- Guidelines for maximum distance between minibus stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Reduction of environmental effects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: projekts’ group

‘Needs’ represent measures which are absolutely necessary for a working sub-centre: they provide for the basic needs of the population. ‘Wants’ are useful and supplement a sub-centre to improve the quality and quantity of service facilities and functions.

The illustrated list presents a proposal on how measures of different sectors like ‘economy’, ‘social’, ‘housing’ and ‘transport’ could be classified.

6.2 Selection of a township area centre in the EMA for upgrading

During the field trip, different types of township area centres among other centres in the EMA were examined. An interview with Mrs. Godehard gave much information about different centres and potential destinations in the EMA. She mentioned difficulties and typical aspects of these features which the group could observe in those particular places.

In order to choose one township area centre, nine examined locations were compared. The following table (see tab. 3: Characterisation of the examined centres) shows the mentioned locations with their specific values of eight criteria. The attributes shall indicate the different characteristics of the centres and the values were acquired just during the students’ trip.
Considering this, no claims are made to its comprehensibility. The attributes are either filled with concrete particulars or with a scale. Concrete particulars can be found in the following attributes: ‘construction + location’, ‘customer’, ‘salesman’ and ‘transport’. The first one differentiates between the ‘construction’ of the centre (shopping centre, street centre or just several shops along road) and the ‘location’ (near highway, main road, road). The second one, ‘customer’ informs about the ethnical composition (Whites, Blacks, Indians) and the third one about the ‘salesman’. The fourth attribute with concrete particulars describes the ‘transport’ possibilities (private cars, public transport, railway station and minibus taxi rank).

The attribute ‘range of goods’ belongs to the first kind of scale. The margin of this value refers to the variety and to the quality of it and includes 5 possible particulars: ++ / + / 0 / - / - - with ‘++’ as the highest one and ‘- -’ as the worst one.

The particulars of the last three attributes ‘services’, ‘amenities’ and ‘leisure’ depend on the projects’ group impression at the coal face during the field trip. The scale covers four possible particulars which can be put in the following order with the worst particular starting and rising to the best one: ‘bad offer’, ‘basic offer’, ‘good offer’, ‘very good offer’. (see tab. 3: Characterisation of the examined locations).

One obvious point of the graphs is that the values of the centre ‘Gateway’ differentiates from the values of the other centres. That is because ‘Gateway’ is not a township area centre but one of the most luxurious Regional Centres in the EMA. ‘Therefore, ‘Gateway’ is excluded from the choice of (township area) centre.

The shopping centre ‘Newlands City’ was planned for black people, but it is quite far away from housing areas. In this centre, almost every shop is closed and so there are only a few customers. This case represents an example of planned centres which have never functioned as they were supposed to do.

In the next step, the centre areas of ‘Phoenix’ and ‘Sparks’ are rejected because of their ethnic composition. In these centres, most of the salesmen are Indians and with their business sense they influence the trading activity in a positive manner. Furthermore, Indian people could attain a greater social and economic prosperity during Apartheid times, since they had more rights than Blacks.

The remaining centres of ‘Clermont’, ‘KwaMashu’, ‘Umlazi’, ‘Inanda’ and ‘Kwadabeka’ are characterised by predominance of black customers as well as salesmen and represent typical township area centres. They are mostly characterised by informal supply which offers a low quality and quantity of goods mainly for the low-income customer.
### Tab. 3: Characterisation of the examined centres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>construction + location</th>
<th>customer</th>
<th>salesmen</th>
<th>transport</th>
<th>range of goods</th>
<th>services</th>
<th>amenities</th>
<th>leisure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Gateway</strong></td>
<td>shopping centre &gt; 300 shops + near highway</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian; Black</td>
<td>same number of White, Indian, Black</td>
<td>just private cars</td>
<td>variety ++</td>
<td>very good offer</td>
<td>very good offer</td>
<td>very good offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Sparks</strong></td>
<td>street centre with 40-60 shops + at main road</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian, 50% Black</td>
<td>70% Indian, 30% Black</td>
<td>hardly public transport, minibus taxis</td>
<td>variety + quality +</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Phoenix</strong></td>
<td>shopping centre with 70 shops + beside main road</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian, 50% Black</td>
<td>90% Indian, 10% Black</td>
<td>just private cars</td>
<td>variety + quality +</td>
<td>good offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Newlands City</strong></td>
<td>30 shops and a shopping centre with 20-30 shops + beside main road</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian, 60% Black, 40% Indian</td>
<td>just private cars</td>
<td>variety + quality +</td>
<td>good offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Clermont</strong></td>
<td>40 – 60 shops + along road</td>
<td>100% Black</td>
<td>100% Black</td>
<td>Private cars, Public transport, minibus taxis</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Kwa-Mashu</strong></td>
<td>shopping centre with 10-15 shops and trader market + next to main road</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian, 100% Black</td>
<td>100% Black</td>
<td>Private cars, railways station, minibus taxis</td>
<td>variety - quality -</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7. Umlazi</strong></td>
<td>shopping centre and trader market + at main road</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian, 100% Black</td>
<td>100% Black</td>
<td>Private cars, railways station, minibus taxis</td>
<td>variety - quality -</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8. Inanda</strong></td>
<td>few shops and trader market + in housing area close to highway</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian, 100% Black</td>
<td>100% Black</td>
<td>Private cars, minibus-taxis</td>
<td>variety - quality -</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>good offer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9. Kwad-beka</strong></td>
<td>several shops at petrol station and trader market + near road</td>
<td>mostly white; Indian, 100% Black</td>
<td>100% Black</td>
<td>Private cars, minibus-taxis</td>
<td>variety - quality -</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
<td>basic offer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: students’ project
The grown trading structure is a feature of ‘Clermont’ and makes it unique, so that there is no pressing need for upgrading. Therefore, this township area centre is excluded from the choice but it can serve as a model for the upgrade of another township area centre which ‘has a lot to catch up – backward.

In ‘KwaMashu’ and ‘Umlazi’ trading facilities and social amenities already have been implemented and concepts for upgrading the existing structures are in the operational process.

Two township area centres remain: ‘Inanda’ and ‘Kwadabeka’. As the table shows, these centres are quite similar in their values. But the centre of ‘Inanda’ is located near a highway and therefore has better transport access and consequently a higher trading potential. Kwadabeka is located in the periphery due to the surrounding topography. It is quite backward and represents an appropriate case to apply a concept of upgrading.

6.3 Conditions in Kwadabeka

In order to understand the current situation of the township area of Kwadabeka, the following aspects like population structure, housing, infrastructure provision, topography and the relation to other existing centres will be analysed.

A pool of GIS-data provided by eThekwini Municipality is a basis for this analysis.

6.3.1 Population structure

Kwadabeka has a population of about 46,000 people. About twelve per cent of the population is in preschool age (0-6 years). Compulsory school attendance starts at the age of seven years and goes up to the age of 15. This group makes up
about 20 % of Kwadabeka`s population. These numbers are important for the establishment of social facilities like schools and care centres for children at preschool age.

65 % of the population constitute the working age (15-65 years) group. About 25 % of these people do not officially work because they do domestic work, study or are disabled. So, about 22,500 people are able to work. The unemployment rate is about 50 % for the whole township area. This rate varies in different parts of Kwadabeka: in the north-eastern part, the rate is lower than in other areas of Kwadabeka.

Therefore, about 25 % of the population have no income and about 50 % have a low income (1-1,500 R per person and month), but there is also a large group of middle-income people that earn 1,500-8,000 R per month. These income groups are unevenly distributed over the township area. Most of the poor people live in the west and in the south in informal settlements. Middle-income people live in an area north-east of the township area centre and in the North of Kwadabeka (see fig. 33: Social structure of Kwadabeka). It is important to retain these people in the township area and attract more middle-income people with their spending power. Since there live poor as well as middle-income people in Kwadabeka, a wide range of goods can be offered in the centre area.

The population of Kwadabeka consists mainly of black people (99 %). There is only a small group of Indian people in the west, Coloureds and Whites are spread few and far between the township area. This has to be taken into consideration, especially for making planning proposals for housing, since black people traditionally want to live in their own houses.
6.3.2 Housing

The dwelling types have to be distinguished: ‘informal’, located in informal settlements, and ‘house’ and ‘flat’ in formal areas. This distinction is important since they represent different densities (see chapter 6.1.1). (see fig. 34: Housing structures of Kwadabeka)

Informal settlements are spread over the entire area of Kwadabeka, though most of them are concentrated in the west and the south, close to the township area centre. (see fig. 35: Informal settlements in Kwadabeka) The predominant dwelling type in informal settlements is a freestanding shack. To make the township area more attractive and achieve higher density informal settlements, especially next to the township area centre, should be upgraded to multi-storey dwelling units. (see fig. 36: Multi-storey housing in Kwadabeka)

Formal settlements in Kwadabeka mainly consist of single-family houses. There are flats in the north and inside and around the township area centre. Therefore the township area centre is characterised by high density, which fits into the concept (see chapter 6.1.3).

6.3.3 Infrastructure provision

In Kwadabeka, infrastructure for electricity, water and waste, already exists. It is difficult to estimate the degree of development, but in general the housing areas are provided with infrastructure. If extensions are required, the existing infrastructure can be assessed. A good quality of infrastructure provision has to be assured by the Municipality since private investment in township areas is uncommon.

6.3.4 Topography

In Kwadabeka, some parts of the area and especially eastern parts, are characterised by a strong relief and are not suitable for building houses.

6.3.5 Relation to other existing centres

The spending power of the area around the centre is very important to attract investors. Therefore three points have to be considered: The population density, the income-level and the connections between the centre and the residential areas. (see fig. 37: Structure of surrounding centres)

Kwadabeka has a population density of about 4,500 people/sq km; Ntuzuma and
Newlands East are similar. In Clermont located to the south of Kwadabeka, the density of about 6,500 people/sq km is very high in relation to the surrounding area. So this could be a potential for the centre of Kwadabeka. A large number of middle-income people live in Newlands West, New Germany, Wyebank and Kwadabeka itself. But the most important point for attracting people with spending power to a centre is the transport connection with roads. Outside the township area, the road system is scarcely developed because of the topography. Especially in the east of Kwadabeka, there is a deep valley that separates the township area from Newlands West and Ntuzuma so that no main roads exist to connect these centres. In contrast to this, main and smaller roads can be found in the direction to Wyebank in the west and Clermont in the south.

In conclusion, the inhabitants of Clermont can be regarded as a potential customer base for the centre of Kwadabeka. However, since there already exists a centre for the daily needs of people. Only people of the North of Clermont can be expected to travel to Kwadabeka for shopping or other purposes. Therefore, it is very important to attract current middle-income inhabitants of Kwadabeka to the centre.

6.4 Stock of Kwadabeka centre area

A general description of Kwadabeka’s centre area is provided in which the current situation is compared with the ‘needs’
and ‘wants’ of the ideal sub-centre (see chapter 6.1.5). For a better overview, fulfilled ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ are marked with a check mark. Due to the different spatial reference of this comparison – the components of an ideal sub-centre refer to the township area of Kwadabeka and the stock just contents the centre area of Kwadabeka – varieties of the results are determined.

The centre of Kwadabeka is situated in the south-west of the township area and is about ten hectares in area. (see fig. 38: Stock of Kwadabeka centre area)

6.4.1. Economy

In the south of the centre a mix of formal and informal traders are located. There exists a supermarket and in front of it, some stalls of informal traders for the local provision of the inhabitants are situated. The informal traders use some parts of the minibus taxi rank for their trading activities. For the supermarket it is difficult to predict something about the range of goods in default of information. By comparing supermarkets in similar township area centres, it can be expected that they offer goods which are oriented to low-income demand and to ensure the provision of basic goods and some upper grade goods. The range of goods provided by informal traders is not very diversified and does not consist of high quality goods. But it is important to retain small structures of supply for the basic provision of the population. Other institutions for the provision are located in the western part of the centre. There is a petrol station, a garage and

Fig: 38: Stock of Kwadabeka centre area

- Open space
- Streets
- Social facilities
- Sport fields
- Housing areas

Source: students’ group

Because of the security aspect this kind of data could not be collected
a small shop. Near the centre, there exists a post office. Recapitulating, most ‘needs’ of the economy already exist.

Middle-income people can be found in the northern parts of the township area. It is desirable that they do their shopping in the centre area of Kwadabeka in order to increase the economic development with their spending power. For them, a better quality and quantity of goods and a shopping centre may be aspired in order to attract them to do their shopping in the centre area. Other missing ‘wants’ like networks between entrepreneurs and the clarification of land property have not been realised yet. (see tab 4 Sector of economy with its ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of an ideal sub-centre)

Table 4: Sector of economy with its ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of an ideal sub-centre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle-income customer</td>
<td>Networks between entrepreneurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Offering a variety of basic and upper grade goods</td>
<td>Existence of a shopping centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Size of the sub-centre should be based on spending power</td>
<td>Clarification of land property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Structures like tuck shops and street traders must not be destroyed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Mix of formal shops and informal market stalls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Economic potential grows with the quality and quantum of the transport connection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: students’ project

Tab. 5: Sector of social facilities with its ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of an ideal sub-centre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social facilities</td>
<td>✔ Educational facilities (schools, library)</td>
<td>Administrative office for citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Medical care (health care centre or clinic)</td>
<td>✔ Community hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job qualification centre</td>
<td>Youth centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✔ Police station</td>
<td>Recreation facilities (playgrounds, parks and sportfields)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Care facilities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: students’ project
**6.4.2 Social facilities**

As social facilities two schools, one library (see fig. 39: Library Kwadabeka), a well equipped hospital with HIV-advice and AIDS-treatment, a general practitioner, two community halls, a police station and finally three play grounds are located in the centre area of Kwadabeka. So, in the sector of social facilities most ‘needs’ are fulfilled and one item of the list of ‘wants’ already exist in or near the centre. (see tab. 5: Sector of social facilities with its ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of an ideal sub-centre)

A job qualification centre is missing to educate unemployed and train unskilled people to improve their chances of finding a job. Missing ‘wants” consist of a greater number of recreation facilities like playgrounds and a youth centre, an adminis-

![Fig. 39: Library Kwadabeka](image)

**6.4.3 Housing**

The cropped centre area is mainly affected by big mono-structured multi-stored buildings with a high population and site density which are mainly used as hostels for male workers. That high population density represents a potential and belongs to the ‘wants” in the catalogue of an ideal sub-centre. (see tab. 6: Sector of housing with its ‘needs” and ‘wants” of an ideal sub-centre)

As a ‘need”, basic infrastructure like access to water and electricity is available in the centre area. Missing ‘needs” consist of housing supplies which are focused on preferences of the population, a housing subsidy programme for middle-income people, attractions like good looking houses to retain middle-income people in the centre area and upgrading of the informal settlements in the surroundings. Different types of housing for different social and racial groups which avoid mono-structured buildings belong to missing ‘needs”. This means that only a few

**Tab. 6: Sector of housing with its ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of an ideal sub-centre**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Middle-income subsidy programme</td>
<td>✓ High density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Types of housing appropriate for different social and racial groups</td>
<td>Mix of land uses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Improved Infrastructure</td>
<td>Variety of different housing types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✓ Attractions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: students’ group
‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of the list of an ideal sub-centre already exists in the sector of housing.

6.4.4 Transport

The centre is accessible by roads and well attainable by private transport, apart from that, the next highway is at the western edge of Kwadabeka. For a working sub-centre, it is necessary to have a direct access to a main transport road. Public transport is ensured by minibus taxis, while buses do not play a major role. An exchange point for minibus taxis is situated in the south of the centre. (see fig. 40: taxi rank in Kwadabeka) The following important ‘needs’ are missing: a railway station to improve connections, minibus connections in the residential areas, a reliable and constant level of service and reduction of accidents through regular check-up of vehicles. (see: tab. 7: Sector of transport with its ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of an ideal sub-centre) As missing ‘wants’ several aspects have to be mentioned: standardised tickets for minibuses and trains, guidelines for the maximum distance between two minibus stops in settlements and the reduction of environmental effects. Recapitulating, just one aspect of the list ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ in the sector of transport is already fulfilled.

In summary, it can be ascertained that the current position of the Kwadabeka centre area differs from the ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of an ideal sub-centre in the sectors of economy, social facilities, housing and transport.

On the one hand, the centre is already well equipped with ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ in the sectors of economy and social facilities. On the other hand, there exists a

Fig. 40: Minibus taxi rank in Kwadabeka

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>Minibus taxi node with central function</td>
<td>Railway station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minibus connections within residential areas</td>
<td>Regular check up of vehicles and drivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Safety and a good and constant level of service</td>
<td>Standardised tickets for minibus taxis and trains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reduction of accidents</td>
<td>Guidelines for maximum distance between minibus stops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reduction of environmental effects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: students’ group
huge gap of needed and wanted functions in the sectors of housing and transport. To fulfil the requirements of an ideal sub-centre, an overall concept for the centre area of Kwadabeka has to be developed.

The development of the centre area must be taken up prior to the development of the rest of the township area because of concentration of several functions (economy, social facilities, housing and transport). This represents the most effective starting point by establishing a sub-centre (township area of Kwadabeka) as a part of the Post-Apartheid Polycentric city in order to balance socio-economic fragmentation in the EMA. There is no doubt to improve the rest of the township area since it is a big part of the sub-centre, but it is beyond the scope of this report.

6.5 Concept for the centre area of Kwadabeka

The comparison of the results of the stock-taking and the conditions in Kwadabeka with the ideal-typical requirements for a working sub-centre leads to the concept of improving the economic and living situation in the selected township area centre. This is presented in the concept plan, but more detailed information and explanation is felt necessary.

The concept of the centre is characterised by the development of economy, social facilities and housing located along the main street as well as other transport connections (see fig. 41: Concept for Kwadabeka centre area).

Fig. 41: Concept for Kwadabeka centre area

Source: students’ group
6.5.1 Economy

“Economy” encompasses industry as well as small trading shops – formal or informal. As the centre of Kwadabeka should provide for the population, providing for industry and its negative environmental effects are excluded from this concept.

Economy should consist of a mix of formal and informal economy (see chapter 6.1.1). The formal economy includes different businesses which need, for the most part, small building structures. Concerning informal economy, the current structures must be stabilised and informal traders should be kept in the centre area as well as in the rest of Kwadabeka. They can offer a local supply next to the customers so that the supply function of the centre area is completed. The informal economy should be supported by constructing and upgrading market stalls like in Umlazi (see fig. 42: Upgraded market stalls in Umlazi) at the edge of a taxi rank or other transport links, by boosting safety as a result of the presence of the police and by accounting space for expansion. Generally, the market stalls of informal traders should be located in close proximity to the minibus taxi node.

A wide variety of goods depends on the spending power. Therefore, it is necessary to attract more middle-income people to Kwadabeka to spend their money in the centre area. Not only food products, but also household goods, clothes or electronics will be offered in new stores to make the township area more independent of the CBD. The new shops can develop in expansion areas along the main street, for example between the petrol station and the hospital respectively the library. In general, the old and new buildings along the main roads accommodate a mix of uses: in the ground floors, there can be different shops and in the upper floors, there can be mainly flats but also other services.

For Kwadabeka, it is important to strengthen economy in order to improve the living conditions. Particularly, formal jobs are necessary because these can be steady jobs, unlike in the informal economy. So with well-ordered levels of income better living standards can be achieved.

To make a sub-centre work, the economy has to be combined with social facilities, housing and transport.

*Fig. 42 Upgraded market stalls in Umlazi*
### 6.5.2 Social Facilities

As far as social facilities are concerned, the concept aims at ensuring medical care and education facilities. The clinic is already well equipped with different facilities for a “curative and home-based care” (website Kwadabeka ECI Clinic), e.g. HIV/Aids-counselling, rape-counselling, drug therapy and primary health care. But it has a potential for expansion where additional medical services can be offered and more patients could be treated.

The existing community halls integrate several uses at one place, like a meeting point for the youth or care services for the old aged. Furthermore, school for very young children or another possibility for child care can be established in the building of the community hall. In this way, parents and especially mothers can access this service and so far get the chance to go to work and earn money. Another aspect of the improvement of the living conditions is to enhance the education level of the population. One way, is to establish a skill or a job qualification unit at the eastern edge of the centre area. In the same building, the local authority is represented to deal with different concerns of the citizens who can save journeys to the CBD. Thus, tasks of the municipality are concentrated, for example by establishing an office for citizens. In this way, not only the people of Kwadabeka but also the local authority become more independent of the CBD. The aspect of security is important for the activities in a township area centre. The police station is relocated to the centre, close to the petrol station and the new taxi rank where informal traders sell their goods. There exists a high potential for crime so that the presence of the police has the function of prevention.

Adjacent to all schools, playgrounds for children will be established for children to play during their leisure time. Furthermore, a post office will be relocated from its existing point into the building of the supermarket which is daily frequented by the citizens of Kwadabeka. This mix of supply will influence the supermarket as well as on the post office in a positive way. All these measures serve an important purpose: the living conditions in the centre can be improved by saving time, better health care, security system as well as better access to jobs.

### 6.5.3 Housing

With regard to the aspect of housing, the concept emphasises provision of areas with new housing opportunities as well as upgrading informal housing areas. The desirable density in the centre already exists and it is very difficult to increase it because of the multi-store buildings and the topography of the centre. There are only a few places where new houses or flats can be built next to centre: in the north of the centre close to the school an area with single houses arises which is oriented on the stock besides. But there is another place where new houses will be built. The former taxi rank is substituted with single houses and a parking place. The houses are affiliated to the existing informal area in the south. This and the other informal settlements will be upgraded. As already said, the buildings with shops along the main road include flats in the upper floors to ensure business by occasional customers. The existing multi-storey buildings will be improved by reno-
vating the fronts if necessary. Between the big buildings, the open spaces will not be filled with houses. The green space should not be occupied to increase the density in the centre area. Open space is an important element for leisure time activities, especially for children.

The different reorganisation measures and the establishment of prestigious buildings are possibilities to attract middle-income people for shopping or even for living in or close to the centre area. They mean a higher spending power for the centre and therefore increase the living situation in general. In the north-east of the centre there can be already found middle-income people who shall be attracted to stay in Kwadabeka although they maybe have the possibility to move into better located areas.

But these plans are not easy to achieve because middle-income people rather segregate themselves from low-income groups than live with them in the same housing area. Thus, the concept intends to settle middle-income people at the edge of the centre where a certain number of middle-income people already live. This area is characterised by short distances to the shops in the centre area.

An expansion of the multi-storey buildings should be limited to a small area because Black African families do not like to live in such houses. They prefer their own single houses with their own sites to expand the housing space so that multi-storey buildings should be avoided in these areas. Multi-storey buildings are accepted only as hostels for working men. Otherwise, these people would move away from Kwadabeka although they are very important for the centre. In order to upgrade the informal housing areas, a minimum living standard has to be established by a better provision with infrastructure like electricity and water. Thus, there is no real chance to attract middle-income inhabitants in the centre, only low-income people live there because the multi-storey buildings are not attractive for middle-income people and space for new buildings is very scarce. The imbalance of low- and middle-income people means an income gradient which causes crime, but the presence of a police station may attenuate this problem. It ensures safety of entrepreneurs, inhabitants and visitors and by this the image of the township area centre can be improved. Upgrading also means informal areas getting a new order so that every house has access to the streets.

In general, housing in Kwadabeka can be improved by providing the inhabitants with access to water and electricity as well as to the streets and by redeveloping old or damaged houses and fronts. Furthermore, a mix of housing and working is realised in new multi-storey buildings. (fällt dieser Begriff auch im Konzeptplan?)

**6.5.4 Transport**

The last aspect of a working sub-centre refers to the transport. The concept does not make arrangements for new streets because the existing ones are sufficient to access the centre area and to connect with the rest of the EMA. Middle-income people should have the possibility to go to Kwadabeka in a comfortable way. For this reason, new parking places are offered along the streets where new stores are established.
Another element in the concept is the re-location of the taxi rank (together with the informal traders who sell their goods at this place) to the main crossing which is the main transport node. At the right side of the access road, the new minibus taxi rank is established. The existing garage opposite the library assumes more tasks, for example the regular check up of the drivers and the minibus taxis with the motive to reduce accidents and the environmental effects caused by damaged or old cars. The minibus taxis are the most important means of public transport and should offer a regular timetable. The taxi-entrepreneurs receive some public subsidies in order to bring them to operate according to the minibus taxi schedule and not to the capacity of the vehicles. Thus, the minibus taxi should continue the operation although it is not filled completely with passengers.

As an abstract of the concept, it can be said that the economic part aims at a provision for the population. An agglomeration of shops in the dimension of an intermediate-order centre should avoid big investors. The economy should be managed – formal and informal – by the population of the township area of Kwadabeka because the variety of goods derives from income-structure and the spending power. Social facilities of the same type are concentrated, e.g. like facilities of health care. The concentration of facilities is important in order to make daily routine more efficient. The old buildings in the centre get an external redevelopment and the new ones should have a representative architecture to attract middle-income people who can create a higher spending power in the region. These people should either be attracted to live outside the sub-centre or be retained inside Kwadabeka if originally from there. But a potential risk has to be avoided: Richer people buy up the informal housing areas with the consequence that the low-income people have to move away and the different income groups will separate more from each other. The upgrading of the informal housing areas represents another aspect of the concept. The population of these areas should get access to water and electricity and every plot should get access to the streets. With regard to the aspect of transport, it is planned that new parking places will be established and that an improvement of the minibus taxi system will be effected.

6.6 Conclusion

The concept takes into account the observed shortcomings and deficits of the centre of the township area “Kwadabeka” and tries to suggest measures to improve the situation. For a working sub-centre the four components of economy, social facilities, housing and transport have to be strengthened in different ways and intensity.

In the sector of economy some of the declared “needs” and “wants” do already exist in Kwadabeka (like a mix of formal and informal traders or a supermarket with a variety of short-term and medium-term goods). The missing security plays a meaningful role: for this reason many private investors avoid establishing their retail shops in such insecure locations as township areas because of high crime. Also for informal traders, the situation seems to be dangerous. Thus, one of the matters of concern in the concept is the...
relocation of the police station to the centre of Kwadabeka.

Social facilities in a basic sense do at least exist in the centre of Kwadabeka. Here, the main suggestions in the plans of the concept lead towards the direction of expansions and improvements, for instance the possible expansion of the hospital. It is important to create a platform for training adults’ skills in addition to the educational facilities for children, through a job qualification centre. By this measure, the high unemployment rate which is one of the biggest problems in the township area, can be reduced.

In the component of housing the concept provides only a few measures to overcome the shortcomings, since topics such as improvement of infrastructure or variety of different housing types are in the domain of the municipality and the plans of the concept merely reflect the situation aimed at within a short time – from a planner’s point of view. What seems to be more important is the issue of middle-income housing subsidy programmes that can be considered as a key policy directive to attract those people who have the ability to keep a sub-centre alive with their spending power.

The transport facilities are very poor and almost none of the defined “needs” and “wants” are fulfilled in Kwadabeka. The minibus taxis have the biggest potential and seem to be the best and most appropriate means of transport for the township area population. Once again the shortcomings could be remedied best with the help of subsidies.

While the list of “needs” for an ideal sub-centre concentrates on measures of organisation and rules referring to the component of “transport”, the concept for the Kwadabeka centre area is focussed on physical measures. Due to this fact, this concept includes just a few measures for the sector of transport.

It should be recognised that the plans and the concept in general provide proposals on how to improve the quality of life in the centre area of Kwadabeka and do not claim to be perfect or the ultimate solution. Particularly the location of the different planned measures can vary depending on the given situation and the specific needs. With regard to the location, the concept has only the intention to state the need for those measures, not to set the precise places.

The implementation of the proposals should be carried out according to the determined needs, expressed by and agreed upon the people of the township in participation processes.

This concept aims strengthen the components of economy, social facilities, housing and transport in order to enable Kwadabeka to become an equal sub-centre in the model of the Post-Apartheid city of the EMA by developing as an intermediate-order centre which can serve its customers and inhabitants best. All this leads to a stabilisation of the sub-centre by improvement of living conditions. It is a very important step in balancing the socio-economic fragmentation. Through upgrading of several township areas, it will be possible to establish the polycentric urban structure and thus to achieve the long-term aims of recognition and integration.
7. Planning Instruments

In the preceding two chapters, the potenti-
alities of a polycentric urban structure and
the essential constituents of a sub-centre
have been presented. This chapter shall
figure out how these ideas confronting
fragmentation might be implemented by
planning instruments applied in South Af-
rica as well as borrowed from Germany.

To begin with, an abstract of the South
African planning instruments is given
which will be illustrated by their application
in the eThekwini Municipality. In order to
appreciate the major municipal planning
instrument, the Integrated Development
Plan (IDP), criticisms of its effects on the
actual urban development are reflected.
The German planning system, the public
building law and the development of in-
formal urban development planning in
Germany are only background knowledge.

They are not strongly reasonable for the
understanding of the following Integrated
Urban Development Concepts; thus they
are described in the Appendix A to provide
more detailed information to the interested
reader. So, the focus of the German sub-
chapter is on Integrated Urban Develop-
ment Concepts in case of City of Dort-
mund; the informal Masterplans, the in-
formal Integrated Ward Development
Concepts (InSEKts) and the Socially Inte-
grative City Programme are briefly de-
scribed and estimated. In the end of this
chapter, transferable approaches of how
to implement polycentric urban structure
and how to implement a specific sub-
centre like Kwadabeka with the help of
elements of South African and German
planning instruments will be constituted.
A short conclusion reflects on the question
to what extent planning instruments can
contribute to balancing the negative ef-
fects of fragmentation.

Fig. 43: Visualisation of chapter “Planning instruments”

7.2 Germany

Excursus - see annex A:
- Spatial Planning in Germany
- Public building law
- History of integrated development
  planning

Dortmund’s planning instruments:
- Masterplans
- InSEKs
- Social Integrative
  City program

Conclusion/Criticism

7.3 Comparison

- Establishing polycentric structures
- Establishing sub-centres

Source: students’ project
7.1 Planning in South Africa and in the eThekwini Municipality

This subchapter shall give an insight into the South African planning system and its instruments by providing general information. Thereupon, the application of the central planning instrument, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), in the eThekwini Municipality is demonstrated. Then a planning instrument newly introduced in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, the Land-Use Management System (LUMS), and its relevance for urban planning is shown. The subchapter concludes by attempting to evaluate the implementation of the IDP.

7.1.1 Planning system and instruments

After the end of Apartheid in 1994, there was a great need to rationalize the old system to install an integrated planning system. The legal frameworks for the new planning system are the Land Use Bill (2001), the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001), the White Paper on Local Government (2001) and the Municipal System Act (2000). These four include the key principles and norms to establish an uniform, effective and efficient framework for spatial planning. (website South African Government Information)

In South Africa, there are three spheres of government: the national, provincial and local tiers, with the field of responsibility extending from the national to the local government. The main characteristics of the new planning system are integration and coordination of the different levels of government, the consensus-building, the key principles and norms.

South Africa has no uniform building code such as the German Federal Building Code (Baugesetzbuch) (see Appendix A). Most of the planning instruments in South Africa are based on their own law. As informal planning instruments have not been developed or politically established, this passage deals with the formal instruments prevailing in urban planning which are as follows:

- Long Term Development Framework (LTDF)
- Integrated Development Plan (IDP) according to the Municipal Systems Act
- Spatial Development Framework (SDF) as one of the special contributions to the IDP
- Land Use Management System (LUMS)

Long Term Development Framework (LTDF)

The Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) outlines a visionary future of urban development for the next 20 years, taking into account the economy, environment, social concerns and financial resources. While municipalities formulate the LTDF, the provincial department responsible for spatial planning has to approve the plan so as to make it binding on the municipality.

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) according to the Municipal System Act

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is the key instrument of urban planning. De-
vised by the Department of Provincial and Local Government in cooperation with the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ), “the [...] IDP was introduced by a 1996 amendment to the LGTA [Local Government Transition Act of 1993] and was intended as an instrument to assist local authorities in developing democratic structures and in fulfilling the objectives of the nationally sponsored Reconstruction and Development Program.” (Harrison 2001: 176).

The legal basis of the IDP is a national law, the Municipal System Act 2000 which obliges the municipalities to set up an IDP. It gives a framework for its implementation. So, the planning authority lies with the municipality. But the plan is given binding power only after the responsible provincial department gives its assent to the IDP.

“IDPs are meant to provide a roadmap for how municipalities intend to address the social, political, livelihood and cultural needs of citizens and firms residing in its ambit. IDPs therefore reflect situated political agreements about which urban challenges and needs are most urgent and how best to address them in the context of limited resources and competing needs” (Pieterse 2004: 93f). It has rapidly achieved the status of a basic framework for almost all forms of municipal planning (Oranje; Harrison 2001: 4).

Thus, the IDP is defined as the “principal strategic planning instrument which guides and informs all planning, budgeting, management and decision making in a municipality” (website Community Law Centre). It is an instrument to govern and to design the urban development.

Through its production in accordance with the LTDF, the IDP shows how to achieve the social, economic, environmental, ethical, infrastructure or spatial aims pictured in the LTDF within a medium-term of about five years. Among other subjects, the IDP deals with the municipality’s sustainable development strategy governing all plannings of the IDP and includes the municipal Spatial Development Framework (SDF), Economic, Planning and Environment Plan, the Service Delivery Plan, the Community Service Plan, the Administration Plan, the Financial Plan and the Governance Plan. The IDP also states how to carry out, manage, monitor and sustain development strategies. Another section of the IDP consists of sectoral plans, for example, plans about water and waste.

Generally speaking, the IDP contains new projects. Only in the CBD, the IDP intends urban redevelopment measures (Godehart 2005, Appendix G).

The Municipal System Act 2000 requires the municipalities to fulfil participation procedures during plan elaboration. Hence, a municipality must give its citizens the chance to comment on all the contents and plans of the IDP. The municipality has to consider these comments during the next IDP. In the end, the IDP should be targeted at presenting a strategic medium-term plan. According to the Municipal System Act, the IDP must be formulated by a panel representative of different groups of interest and stakeholders.

As mentioned above, the IDP has got a five year lifespan with an annual review. At end of the period, a new council is elected in the municipality who is authorised to
decide whether to adopt the last IDP or to develop a new plan.

**Spatial Development Framework (SDF)**

The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) is a special plan belonging to the IDP. The SDF is set up by the municipality and effective with the provincial department’s approval of the IDP (Godehart 2005, Appendix G).

There are two structuring elements in the SDF, Nodes and Development Corridors. “Nodes are generally described as areas of mixed-use development, usually having a high intensity of activities involving retail, traffic, office, industry and residential land uses. These are the places where most interaction takes place between people and organisations, enabling most efficient transactions and exchange of goods and services. Nodes are usually located at nodal interchanges to provide maximum access and usually act as catalysts for new growth and development” (City of Buffalo 2003: 45).

Development Corridors are identified as major transportation routes along which development could be encouraged, either as a band of development along a corridor or as nodal development (City of Buffalo 2003: 44).

The SDF covers the whole municipal territory. In many cases, the municipalities subdivide their territory in order to make more representative plans for each administrative district.

Usually, the SDF contains the Regional Analysis, the Conceptual Regional Spatial Development Framework, citywide Development Programmes, Regional Development Programmes as well as maps of certain localities and sub-areas. It can also inform about the status quo of area, set quality standards, recommend strategic actions and localise different land uses. Subjects of the SDF are demographics, infrastructure, roads, transportation, water, waste, electricity, parks and open space, density policy, housing, environment, safety and security, parking and vehicle access (website City of Johannesburg).

In contrast to the rather programmatic character of the IDP, the SDF actually attributes types of uses to areas, though on a rough scale (Godehart 2005, Appendix G).

**Land Use Management System (LUMS)**

Another planning Instrument is the Land Use Management System (LUMS) developed by and applied in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. Its legal basis will be a provincial law obliging the municipalities to draw up area-wide LUMS. Public participation might be obligatory. The LUMS will be passed by the council as a statute (Godehart 2005, Appendix G). In the subchapter 7.1.3 the LUMS is explained in detail.

**7.1.2 Planning in the eThekwini Municipality**

Having given a brief account of the planning system and its instruments, this subsection lays the focus on the implementation of instruments in the eThekwini Municipality. The main instrument of local planning in the eThekwini Municipality represents the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). It is the local level where all development issues are brought together, including budgeting decisions and participation of the citizens. The eThekwini Municipality has developed its own specific
Planning instruments

**Long Term Development Framework (LTDF)**

At first, the Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) linking single IDPs in a twenty-year lifespan is presented. Then, the main subjects of the current IDP are explained.

The municipal vision is influenced by guidelines and recommendations from the national and provincial levels of government. The national White Paper on Local Government and related legislation demands a developmental and holistic planning approach. The Province of KwaZulu-Natal has created a vision for the region which goes into the same direction: “By 2020, the dynamic Province of KwaZulu-Natal will be characterized by a peaceful, secure, prosperous, healthy, educated and democratic society, and as being attractive and competitive both in local and global terms” (eThekwini 2003: 10).

Accordingly, the LTDF gives the city a vision with a twenty year perspective: “By 2020, eThekwini Municipality will enjoy the reputation of being Africa’s most caring and liveable city where all citizens live in harmony. This Vision will be achieved by growing its economy and meeting peoples needs so that all citizens enjoy a high quality of life with equal opportunities, in a

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**Fig. 44: Planning in the eThekwini Municipality**

*Source: students’ project*
city that they are truly proud of” (eThekwini 2003: 11). The three important columns of this framework are the satisfaction of basic needs, extending and using people’s skills and strengthening the local economy as illustrated by the picture of the three legged pot (see fig 45: The three legged melting pot): Bearing the pot, i.e. the urban development, all three legs are equally indispensable for ensuring the balance of the pot. If one of the standing legs is neglected or excessively over-privileged, the balance will be disturbed.

Fig. 45: The three legged melting pot

IDP

The current IDP covers the period from 2003 to 2007. It is revised once a year. However, the basic ideas stay the same and the formal structure is mostly adopted. After introducing the characteristics of the eThekwini Metropolitan Area (EMA), the core vision and objectives in form of the five year Sustainable Development Strategy are depicted. The Sustainable Development Strategy aims at balancing social, economic and environmental needs, influences and considers all plans and measures integrated in the IDP. The last five years of development were characterised by troubling to balance disadvantages caused by Apartheid policy and consequently by a service delivery growing to meet the basic needs of the whole population. During this IDP period, the major task is finding a balance between developing and maintaining. In order to figure out a basis for the Sustainable Development Strategy, the IDP points out key challenges and core fields of action. The problem fields are assumed from an evaluation of statistical data and surveys such as the Annual Quality of Life Survey, which represents the first element of participation within this planning process of the IDP. The analysis differentiates between needs of different groups divided by age, social status and economic background. Poverty, housing, sewage, crime and HIV/AIDS are the main challenges the Municipality has to deal with. In its “Eight Point Plan”, the Municipality defines fields of action corresponding to these problems: strengthening the economy, helping the poor (to help themselves), fighting other major problems like crime and managing all these intentions in a sustainable way, regarding a balance between creating the new and keeping the old.

In the IDP review 2004/2005, the Municipality additionally defines its core values and describes in detail how to involve institutions in the planning process (eThekwini 2004). The following chapters of the IDP deal with plans, programmes and their implementation. They refer to the fields of economy, health, safety, social concerns, environment, governance, finance and implementation (see chapter 7.1.1). In order to show which impacts the IDP has on planning, the most relevant contents extracted from five chapters are described. With regard to the idea of a partially independent sub-centre (see
tially independent sub-centre (see chapter 6), town-structural issues and measures to strengthen the role of sub-centres are in the centre of interest: the strategic directions, key strategic programmes, key performance areas, indicators and a scorecard to measure planning efforts.

The scorecard is the most important tool of the Performance Management System (PMS). It was designed to organise planning in an effective manner, on the one hand by considering the citizens’ point of view and on the other hand by institutionalising service delivery. Above all, the scorecard sets quality standards for certain measures or goals and thus serves as a measure of planning effort. However, only certain projects are detailed: Since the Municipality is not responsible for all sectors of infrastructure and cannot entirely afford all measures, it is only able to influence the direction of urban development. The public compulsory tasks are financed from different spheres. In face of growing budget deficits, the Municipality increasingly depends on the private public partnerships. (eThekwini 2003: n.p.)

In the following, plans integrated in the IDP with spatial impacts are described.

One of the first action plans of the IDP is the Economic, Planning and Environment Plan which is actually divided into two plans, the Economic Development Plan and the Planning and Environment Plan. The former one is targeted at strengthening the areas most excluded from mainstream economic processes, especially the majority black areas. Above all, the Economic Development Plan seeks to promote the Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) and public private partnerships. Another focus is set on tourism and future technologies, both sectors that are far away from the townships. But as far as the task of improving local business environment is concerned, township nodes in the centre area are included. The Planning and Environment Plan has to make available suitable land for development, considering the interests of the public and of natural environment.

The allocation of uses is controlled by the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) (see fig. 46: eThekwini Spatial development Framework (SDF))

The SDF guides the implementation of the Land Use Schemes. Both are part of the Land Use Management System (LUMS) which is described later on as an important planning tool operating below the IDP-level. The scorecard of the Performance Management System in the IDP ascertains that 100% of the EMA should be covered by formal Land Use Schemes by March 2004.

Another chapter deals with the Service Delivery Plan which provides basic household services and maximises the use of existing public investment in infrastructure while minimising the costs of urban expansion. It complements the PMS in order to make the measures undertaken in other plans more efficient. The Service Delivery Plan ascribes importance to maintaining existing infrastructure and to ‘soft’ measures like improving people’s skills. The scorecard, for example, demands as a five-year target, that 90% of the population should have access to basic household services.
The third scheme is called Community Service Plan whose objective is to improve all public services and to guarantee access for everyone. Public services should be equal in all parts of the city and for all different ethnic groups. Major concerns in this task field are health, especially HIV/AIDS, and crime-preventing...
services. When the term of the IDP comes to an end, 75% of the communities in the EMA should be provided with these services within acceptable distances, with 80% of the community services being offered in so-called regional centres. To achieve these aims, a polycentric urban structure with smaller centres in proximity to users is necessary, if public services should be affordable for the poor (see chapter 6).

According to the Sustainable Development Strategy of this IDP-period, the annual Financial Plan allocates more resources to maintenance and redevelopment than before. For every plan, exact budgets are listed, stating where financial means are acquired and what purposes the money should be used. The scorecard measures the municipality’s performance by showing the previous year’s deficits and fulfilled goals.

The last chapter of the IDP refers to implementation. The city managers and the counsellors have to sign a contract which has to be fulfilled. Furthermore, the IDP is the basis for the annual financial plans. But the available budget also influences the IDP-draw-up. So, both the financial and the planning scheme depend on each other. Interrelations between the different sectors are also taken into account so that the whole balance is more than the sum total of its parts (eThekwini 2002: n.p.). The key actions stated in the IDP are nothing but suggestions for projects that would fit in the urban development set out by the IDP, but they are too crudely described as to be implemented. Projects could also be initiated by other spheres of government, foreign institutions like the EU or in cooperation with the private sector.

Since the first round of IDPs, the approach of the eThekwini Municipality has shifted to a planning that is more participatory and holistic. It has become more people-centred and departs from the linear process recommended by the Province. The planning process begins with consultative forums and ward committees where people express their needs. The municipality then has to weigh up these needs with the scarce resources. At this early stage, the results of participation are just a few concerns amongst others taken into consideration. The municipality also encourages citizens to organise initiatives and helps people to help themselves. In adjusting finance to planning and vice versa, the IDP-process becomes more strategic. Nonetheless, projects have to be prioritised by objective conformity and urgency in decision-making processes. The holistic idea underlying the IDP becomes manifested in the fore-mentioned interrelations and in the inclusion of stakeholders and citizens affected by projects. All in all, the planning process is more interactive than linear, with planning phases influencing each other. (eThekwini 2002: n.p.)

### 7.1.3 Land-use management system (LUMS) in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal

The LUMS is the model of sub-IDP planning enacted as a law by the Province of KwaZulu-Natal and is implemented in the EMA as one of the first municipalities. It contains land-use schemes which were formerly known as Town Planning Schemes and represent land development objectives. As the municipal borders have
Planning instruments

changed throughout the country and rural areas were added to municipal territories, the term “town” planning scheme was no longer appropriate. But LUMS is more than a mere bundle of statutorily issued Land Use Schemes. It represents a rather strategic and managing than just controlling and regulating approach. Its major objective is to overcome the gap between the abstract and visionary IDP with its corridors and nodes and the detailed level of individual properties. The SDF gives first spatial guidelines, localised in the Land Use Framework Plan of the LUMS. These general statements are concretised in the Land Use Schemes. The management component is contained in the Management Overlays and Plans. The overlays point out areas for which a plan of action have to be drafted. The Management Plan is the most detailed layer of the LUMS system (see fig. 47: Hierarchy of plans).

Fig. 47: Hierarchy of plans

It could be appropriate for a township area, or even parts of it, to strengthen certain claims of land-use to the area. The LUMS offers a wide range of possible land-use zones and contains categories of land-uses such as ‘mixed uses’, ‘transitional residential’ or ‘traditional residential’. Special zones for unique challenges can be designated. Beside the detailed Management Plans, the intents of planning have to be stated for all layers of the LUMS in order to make clear the inter-linkages between them.

LUMS is created to combine a municipality’s urban, rural and environmental management. The environmental matters are considered by sectoral plans, i.e. the Environmental Management Plan of the IDP and the Environmental Impact Assessment. The latter is required if land-use is meant to be changed. But as being such a metropolis, the eThekwini Municipality has to pay special attention to the “middle layers” of the LUMS linking the vision with its implementation. The IDP neglects the importance of this for big cities. It has to be supplemented by LUMS and informal plans for city quarters. (Kahn 2002: 2-14)

7.1.4 IDP – Problems and criticism

Despite the benefits given by the IDP to municipalities, a lot of deficits have been identified in the last recent years. Within this report, only a few issues of critique can be discussed. This section concentrates on the following three aspects concerning the Integrated Development Plan:

- Strategic planning
- Economic development
- Planning in metropolitan cities
Strategic planning

Creativity, innovation and a continuous questioning of administrative routine and preconceived solutions are key characteristics of strategic planning. It means to look out for the most appropriate solution by taking into consideration:

- not only the symptoms, but also the causal relationships of a problem,
- local potentials and resource limitations,
- reduction of integration and redistribution-related conflicts by finding common ground
- a transparent decision-making process to achieve a satisfactory solution for all participants involved (Rauch 2002: 156f)

In general, bureaucracies are not supposed to be efficient at implementing strategic planning processes. Therefore, strategic planning is rather difficult to establish – at least for municipalities still undergoing transformation processes as it is the case in South Africa (Rauch 2002: 164f). In South Africa, the new local governments are confronted with two additional difficulties:

1. limited financial resources,
2. restrictions within the IDP process due to a lack of technical know-how.

Economic Development

Most of the South African municipalities are short of financial resources and thus they depend on funding from provincial or national government agencies or other funding agencies, which affects the municipal self-determination. This fact may discourage any strategic planning efforts. Finding the most efficient and effective solution by taking the given limited resources into account is obviously punished in a system that awards a ‘the more you ask for, the more you get’-attitude. So, expensive and ineffective solutions are the result. Concerning the second issue, most of the service delivery functions are still controlled by provincial or national sector departments. The municipalities have to work out proposals in line with the given standards and norms of sectoral agencies. Their decisions depend on their approval, which means a limited scope of strategic planning (Rauch 2002: 165).

In order to meet these problems, an examination was initiated; the municipalities were asked to plan with calculated financial ceilings and mechanisms of mutual alignment of sector guidelines. Local needs have been analysed. To bring sector department specialists and representatives from local municipalities together for joint strategic planning, workshops on district-level were proposed – which, however, were only in few exceptional cases successful. Neither the municipalities were ready to invite sector departments, since they were rushing through the IDP process, nor most of the sector departments could be convinced to get involved in municipal IDP-processes. Moreover, moderators accompanying the workshops did not feel confident enough to cope with strategic debates. As regards financial planning, municipalities were willing to accept a certain financial ceiling. As a result, most IDPs are nothing but a compilation of projects proposed by various communities and stakeholders in a certain order of priorities (Rauch 2002: 166). Nevertheless, the IDP processes succeeded in providing a platform where stakeholder and public-
oriented priorities, political agendas of parties and recommendations of technical and financial experts can be negotiated in a transparent manner. Thus, budget decisions are based on comprehending consultation processes. In contrast to the expectations attached to those consultations, the debates seldom result in innovative solutions to structural problems or in alternatives relieving the tension in controversial issues. Furthermore, the poor financial state of municipalities does not allow to include projects into IDP documents that are not more than proposals for sector departments and financing agencies. Therefore, these proposals may or may not be considered by these departments or agencies. (Rauch 2002: 167)

In summary, financial issues and economic growth are crucial for a municipality to be able to act in an independent and thus strategic way. These two aspects seem to be the major critical points of the IDP. As the municipalities do not generate income, they are unable to prepare a five-year financial plan and capital investment frameworks (Adam; Oranje 2002: 44*). The effort put into understanding local economies and the needs of economic development has been too little in the past. In the majority of cases, local development proposals were an agglomeration of projects without an indication of a sound economic recovery strategy. Since much less is being done to solve this problem, municipalities concentrate on capital expenditure that they are not able to maintain because such expenditure will be from grant funding not covering the operational costs (Adam; Oranje 2002: 44*). Thus, the gap between capital expenditure and operating expenditure associated with capital projects can be seen as one of the major impediments in the IDP process. The inability to balance the relation of capital expenditure and operational expenditure leads to financial difficulties which were experienced by many municipalities in the recent years. As a consequence, the municipalities will have to propose better ways to facilitate economic growth in the IDP which should become the key instrument in generating additional municipal revenue collection (Adam; Oranje 2002: 66*). But it is quite questionable if more strategic IDPs have a positive effect on the financial situation in municipalities. Most probably, it would not be easy for a municipality with fewer financial opportunities to work with a more strategic IDP, if most of the municipal income depends on funding from provincial or national departments. As explained above, this dependence from higher administrative levels confines the scope of strategic planning. The IDP has emerged as the primary and most significant instrument in South African municipalities and, thus, it has to respond on these economic issues.

Planning in metropolitan cities

In context of the EMA being a metropolis, the question arises if the IDP is a suitable instrument for urban planning in big South African cities. Metropolitan councils tend to give priority to projects of high importance for the regional and national economy. They command huge public budgets and have the capacity as well as the responsibility to go far beyond the minimum requirements of IDPs (Oranje; Harrison 2001: 4*). “Big cities present particular challenges and opportunities for planning” (Oranje; Harrison 2001: 1*). In view of this fact, it might be a major concern if a planning system is developed for meeting e-
quirements in financially weak municipalities. Big cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban should benchmark themselves against successful major cities. They have shown a willingness to meet requirements far beyond the current standard. Therefore, it is counterproductive for metropolitan councils to be bound to the standard IDP described in the Municipal Systems Act of 2000. In the IDP process, more room should be given for experimentation and innovation to use their capacity, their global links and their economic and social energy (Oranje; Harrison 2001: 10*).

The IDP has emerged as the most important tool for municipal planning. Considerable effort has been made by the different municipalities to make IDPs more sophisticated. Despite these significant achievements, there are still deficits to be reduced. In South African Cities, the financial situation is a major problem that also has an effect on the ability to plan in a strategic manner. Hence, the IDP should respond to that issue more than it has done before. Moreover, the IDP in metropolitan cities should not be bound to legislative quality standards. Cities like Durban have a high economic and social potential that would allow to set a focus on creativity, experimentation and innovation in the IDP process.

Recapitulating, most of all these elements of planning instruments mentioned in this subchapter have their focus on the whole urban area and thus are very broad respectively do not formulate issues for the very local level. Consequently, it seems if there is a lack of instruments dealing with local situations. But the students’ project emphasis is on local situation in sub-centres; that is why German approaches of local planning instruments will be described in the next subchapter. This will be exemplarily done for the City of Dortmund in form of its integrated planning instruments.

7.2. Integrated planning instruments applied in the City of Dortmund

The preceding subchapters described elements of South African planning instruments. Now, integrated planning instruments at local level applied in the City of Dortmund will be described. The background, German planning system, its building law and the historical development of urban development planning can be found in Appendix A. The following chapter will give an abstract of currently used instruments of Integrated Urban Development Planning at municipal level. These are Masterplans, Integrated Urban Development Concepts (Integrierte Stadtentwicklungskonzepte, shortly InSEKts) and the federal programme “Socially Integrative City Programme” (Soziale Stadt). At first, all these instruments will be briefly described. Then a conclusion will follow, criticising these informal planning instruments and reflecting on the effectiveness of the Socially Integrative City Programme. But before starting with the instruments, a slight characteristic of Dortmund shall be given.

Characteristics of Dortmund

The City of Dortmund is located in the Land “North-Rhine Westphalia”\textsuperscript{25} and is part of the “Ruhr Area” (Ruhrgebiet), one of the largest conurbations in Europe.

\textsuperscript{25} the Land with most inhabitants in Germany
Over five million people live in this metropolitan area, while Ruhr Area is not an official term of administration. In general, the Ruhr Area has the boarders of the RVR (Regionalverband Ruhr), a union of eleven self-governed cities and four districts (Kreise) (website RVR). In the Ruhr Area, Dortmund is together with the City of Essen the most populous city with about 600,000 inhabitants. In comparison to other German cities, Dortmund is the sixth most populous city and the eighth largest city with 280.3 sq km. This leads to a population density of 2,018 people per sq km (website destatis 1). Dortmund has an unemployment rate of 15.3% (41,866 inhabitants), while in North-Rhine Westphalia the unemployment average is of about 10.3% (2004) and in whole Germany of about 10.5% (2004) (website destatis 2).

In the City of Dortmund, a structural change has been happening in the last four decades. In the past, the city’s most important economic basis was the coal and steel industry. But with its breakdown moving to cheaper import-coals and less expensive mineral oil, other economical sectors had to be developed. Today, Dortmund is a strong place for services and technologies, the so called New Economy. But like the most municipalities in Germany, Dortmund’s administration has to struggle with financial problems. Small economical growth, stagnating and in long-term decreasing population leads to decreasing income while costs such as social spending are steadily increasing. At present, the City of Dortmund is able to hold its level of inhabitants, mainly by offering land for single occupancy houses. Because of its large area, Dortmund’s administration is able to do that. The City of Dortmund is characterised by a grown urban structure. The urban core in the centre of the municipality is surrounded by small compact islands of settlements. These former autonomic villages were suburbanised in past. Today’s newly built single occupancy houses will be partly unused in future because of long-term decreasing population. The process of decreasing population as well as decreasing economical growth supports the competition between neighbouring cities, especially between the cities of the Ruhr Area. Municipalities are forced to develop new approaches of planning to survive this competition.

In the last five years, new approaches of urban planning have been applied by some municipalities in North Rhine Westphalia. These are approaches of Integrated Urban Development Concepts and always have informal character. The next subchapter will give a briefly overview of the current status of the use of these newly emerging informal instruments.

**Status of Integrated Urban Development Concepts in North Rhine Westphalia**

In the recent years, the competition between the municipalities in Germany – and especially in the Land of North-Rhine Westphalia – has been increased. Thus, it is reasonable to find new approaches of making municipalities more attractive to prevent decrease of population. Setting up Integrated Urban Development Concepts is an approach which is pursued by more and more municipalities in North-Rhine Westphalia in the last five years. While the objectives and the special cognizances differ between the municipalities, all these concepts have informal character.
The Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung und Bauwesen des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen NRW is currently doing a survey concerning Integrated Urban Development Concepts. One part of the survey is committed to finding out how many municipalities use such concepts and how detailed these concepts are. Now, some results of this survey from the end of the year 2004 are summarised. (ILS NRW 2005)

During this survey, 232 municipalities in North-Rhine Westphalia have been asked while 185 answered the evaluation form and thus are the basis for all results. About 37% (69 municipalities) already have formulated an Integrated Urban Development Concept and 15% (29 municipalities) are currently developing such a concept. At the same time, nearly all municipalities share the opinion that there is a major need for such concepts. In the next years, half of all these municipalities will have formulated an Integrated Urban Development Concept. Their understanding of the importance of such concepts will lead to an increasing number in future, too. However, their particular contents differ very much. Most of these concepts have the focus on the whole urban area, others are just of visionary concepts or focus on single districts respectively sectors. So, there is a variety in the particular qualities produced by different priorities of the municipalities and also caused by the different planners responsible for the formulation of the concepts. Most of the municipalities order private planning offices to develop integrated concepts. During this process, participation of stakeholders is an important factor in most of all concepts, so these are dynamic processes and not plannings from top to down. All in all, Integrated Urban Development Concepts play an important role in current municipality’s plannings and their importance will increase in future. (ILS NRW 2005: 8-12)

The municipality of Dortmund has also developed such concepts for its urban area. These concepts are integrated into formal planning procedure and thus complete them. This model of Integrated Urban Development will be described in the next subchapter.

7.2.1 Masterplanning

In 2001, the City of Dortmund decided to develop informal sectoral plans which have the objective to co-ordinate the requirements and plannings of different stakeholders in the whole urban area. Since, five sectoral plans have been produced, namely for the subjects mobility, housing, retail, economic space and environment. These plans have been worked out under the control of specific planning offices in the City of Dortmund. Furthermore, the partners involved varied depending on the particular sector. In comparison to other German municipalities, Dortmund’s model of Masterplanning is outstanding, characterised with such a variety of stakeholders and organisations participating in the planning process. Citizens’ participation happened in form of discussions, but was not equally fulfilled in every sector. The focus was on coordinating the requirements between the Municipality, policy directives, different stakeholders, for example companies and α-
sociations, and neighbouring cities aided all the time by scientific methodology.

Masterplans contain visions for future urban development as well as objectives and measures. Public and private activities are comprehended in each particular sector for purposive development. Consequently, Masterplanning represents a strategic instrument and is the base for future development. Nevertheless, it is still very flexible due to its informal character. The decisions included in a particular Masterplan neither have legal nor authority for enforcement on its own. Only by integrating the agreements into the legal land-use plan makes parts of the arrangements formal. Together with InSEKts (see subchapter 7.3.2), Masterplans are the basis of Dortmund’s land-use plan which was simultaneously formulated. In the following, the Masterplan Housing, Mobility, Retail, Economical Space and Environment are briefly described. (website Dortmund)

**Masterplan Housing**

The urban Ruhr Area has to struggle with decreasing population growth – but in Dortmund, the population has stagnated. One important reason why Dortmund could hold up the number of citizens is the early supply of adequate building, for single occupancy houses and semidetached houses. People ask for property, and they want quality in form of attractive environment and urbanistic style. Dortmund can offer this building land by designating residential areas in the Masterplan Housing, and finally, in the land-use plan. By focusing on single occupancy houses which enhances low density, the rate of physically used land is increasing. So, an important principle of the Municipality is to first use the inner city areas and more to the periphery when all the space in the inner-city is exhausted. (Municipality of Dortmund 2004 (1): 9-10)

**Masterplan Mobility**

The Masterplan Mobility is the basis for the future transport development planning in the next 15 years. The plan summarises current and planned transport projects. Particularly, the road network, public transport and routes for bicycles shall be extended in quality as well as in quantity. (Municipality of Dortmund 2004 (2): 11-12)

**Masterplan Retail**

When addressing retail, it is necessary to consider different levels of retail: the regional level, the whole urban area, local supply and areas for special retail. At these four levels, there exist specific concepts which are summarised, adapted and coordinated in the Masterplan Retail. At present, the local supply undergoes continuous changes and, thus, it is difficult to plan. The very local level is examined in more detail in the InSEKts (see subchapter 7.3.2). (Municipality of Dortmund 2003 (3): 3)

**Masterplan Economic Space**

After many efforts of participation, also in consideration of the results of InSEKt participation procedures, the Masterplan Economic Space constitutes the existing and potential spaces for economy development. The focus is set on trend-setting industries such as logistics, information technology, micro-system technology, biomedical sciences and engineering, while other services still have an important position. The newly shown spaces are

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28 see Appendix A for explanations to the public building law in Germany.
mostly on waste land and thus follow the principle of inner zone development. (Municipality of Dortmund 2004 (3): 9-10)

**Masterplan Environment**

The global aim is to create and develop an unendangered natural basis of existence for today and for future generations. The Masterplan contains the vision of “radial-concentric free-space system” by combining current free spaces (including nature-sanctuaries) to a coherent net. This should help to protect the city’s biotopes and biocenosis. (Municipality of Dortmund 2004 (4): 9) But all in all, the Masterplan Environment is a weak instrument with less push for implementation; it rather is a good instrument for having an overview of Dortmund’s activities in the sector of environment.

**7.2.2 Integrated Ward Development Concept (‘InSEKt’)**

Another instrument for urban development planning in Dortmund is the so-called Integrated Ward Development Concept (Integriertes Stadtbezirksentwicklungskonzept, InSEKt). These plans are developed for each of the 12 wards in Dortmund. InSEKts are a synopsis of present and future developments in a ward, including its aims and perspectives. By focusing on ward level, the autonomy of each ward is regarded in an adequate way. A very important objective of InSEKts is to dialogue with the people in their particular ward. This is to find out their special needs for including them in the particular plans. This broad participation also aims at developing a particular ‘ward-profile’ describing its functions in the whole urban area. Finally, all ward-profiles are combined into the “model of a polycentric settlement structure” for Dortmund. (Municipality of Dortmund 2004 (5): 1-2)

The results of ward participation are the basis for the land-use plan and the Masterplans as well. These plans balance the needs of wards with needs of the whole urban area and give feedback to ward level (feedback principle). The final InSEKts give an overview of all programmes and plannings taking place in the ward. Consequently, parts of the Masterplans and land-use plans are included, too. The scale of InSEKts lies between development plans and land-use plan. Thus, it can show land-uses and determinations in a more detailed way than the land-use plan does. This happens for example in spaces for new developments, free-space and space for retail. In future, the City of Dortmund plans regular revisions and updates of the InSEKts every two or three years. (Municipality of Dortmund 2004 (5): 1-2)

The relationship between InSEKts, Masterplans and land-use plan is shown in the figure below (see fig. 48: Relationship between InSEKts, Masterplans and the land-use plan).

**7.2.3 Socially Integrative City Programme (Soziale Stadt)**

In 1993, the state of North Rhine Westphalia (Land NRW) decided to support urban districts with special need for redevelopment with an integrated action programme. As a response to aggravating problems, such as social exclusion, segregation, structural change, in German town areas, the national government...
implemented such programme on a national scale. The experiences of the NRW programme and of other regional Länder programmes were the basis of the nationwide Socially Integrative City Programme in 1999.

“The overall objective is to use the programme to improve the actual housing and living conditions (predominantly through investment in construction measures and projects), to increase residents' personal opportunities (by imparting qualifications, skills and knowledge, creating openings in the labour and housing markets and helping people to help themselves) and to boost the district's image, local profile and neighbourhood identification (via specific stabilization and revitalization measures)” (website Soziale Stadt).

The programme has been constituted for areas \(^{30}\) which are characterised by following attributes:

- The Inhabitants are not able to articulate their needs in a politically adequate way,
- Municipally infrastructural services (e.g. cleaning of public space, kindergartens, public green spaces) are often deficient,
- The area has little importance for urban policy, especially in terms of economy.

\(^{30}\) In general, the area has got about 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.
While this is a nation-wide programme the principle of federalism leads to a splitting of competencies. The Federation just gives a guideline, which forces municipalities participating in the programme to define their programme area and to set up an Integrated Action Plan for this area. The particular Lands decide which areas are allowed to participate in the programme. Furthermore, they have to accompany the process in an academic way. This includes setting up a guideline for evaluation at local level. The municipal level is the most important, since municipalities have to implement programmes for attaining all the objectives of the guidelines. They also have to install a management bureau in the districts which has key function in the whole system of the Socially Integrative City Programme. These bureaus act as a bridge between inhabitants, policy and other stakeholders. Their most important objective is to establish sustainable structures in the area by integrating inhabitants into the process of re-development. Beside the objectives mentioned above, other objectives of the Socially Integrative City Programme are strengthening local economy and establishing city sub-centres in the districts with the main function of public space. (website Soziale Stadt)

### 7.2.4 Conclusion

This subchapter presented informal instruments for urban development which are used in the City of Dortmund. Masterplans are designed for a variety of stakeholders for the whole urban area to show recent and future sector-wide developments. On the contrary, Integrated Ward Development Concepts (InSEKts) have the focus on particular wards. InSEKts comprehend all developments in a ward across sectors. Here, the emphasis is laid on citizens’ participation in the process of formulating the plan.

Both instruments, Masterplans and InSEKts, are aimed at preparing and supplementing the land-use plan which are formulated simultaneously. Since both are informal instruments, the determinations of these plans achieve legal status only if they are contained in the land-use plan. However, the long and labour-intensive process of working out the plans leads to a specific enforcement to implement the plans on their own. Another obstacle is the planning process itself: A satisfactory planning result strongly depends on the interest of people and stakeholders for specific plans and their will to participate in them. Thus, Masterplans and InSEKts are heavily based on voluntary co-operation. Time-consuming and maybe difficult discussions must be accepted when using these instruments. On the other hand, only by using informal instruments, it is possible to reach such a variety of stakeholders. And only with informal instruments, it is possible to react to changing situations in a flexible way with the aim to always guarantee well-adjusted processes.

Smooth process, organisational structures and quick reactions to unfavourable developments are also important objectives of the nation-wide Socially Integrative City Programme. Here, an additional problem is the severely limited funds which are mainly used for key-investments to initiate renewal processes. Furthermore, the district bureaus have to work efficiently with their given time for establishing structures
Planning instruments

in the district which could be operationalised if the funding discontinues.

7.3 Comparison of the South African and German Planning System

The previous subchapters provided an overview about elements of South African and German planning instruments. In this section, through a comparative review of the strengths and weaknesses of the instruments, the intertransferable components and issues will be identified and examined in their relevance for a polycentric urban structure as well as for the township area centre in Kwadabeka.

7.3.1 Results for South African instruments

Compared to the situation in Germany, a first and obvious point in South Africa is the lack of planning instruments at local level. While the IDP programmatically addresses the whole urban area, it does not localise its goals and projects. However, from experiences in Germany ensues that it is the local sphere where urban planning, municipal policy and citizenship may meet on a democratic platform. Only by working with local people, planners and politicians can realise their actual needs and thus create sustainable plannings. In Germany, there are bureaus in particular districts where planners work daily in direct contact with people.

There is participation in South Africa, too, but it is important for planning in other ways. In the IDP-process, participation starts right at the beginning with surveys to find out the citizens’ needs, but it is up to a municipality to weigh up these needs with its scarce financial resources. These needs can be interpreted differently and find different ways of consideration in the IDP. Another form of participation in concrete projects also depends on the scarce means and on the municipality’s readiness to involve citizens or groups of interests into the planning procedure. Participatory elements can also be found in other planning instruments like the SDF, but as in the IDP, a municipality decides how to perform participation and how to measure the concerns articulated by the participants.

As the South African planning system is not legally provided with planning instrument at local level, there is always the danger of setting up plans comprehending the whole metropolitan area, which may be suitable for directing urban development, but are bound to neglect possible (negative) impacts on the local environment.

However, the Province of KwaZulu-Natal has introduced a planning instrument at a lower level called LUMS. It can partly connect the missing link between the whole urban area and subdivisions like a council or a ward, but the difference between administrative action and the competence of authorities is huge. However, LUMS is a first approach to establish a uniform planning law whose current absence have been producing much confusion in project developments.

Looking at the IDP itself, there are a few observations. It rather represents the municipality’s vision and best-practice ideas, but there is no detailed plan of action. The implementation is based on projects suggested by other spheres of government and institutions. It is the city’s ‘wish-list’ being equipped with a bundle of funds.
Though, this bundle has been increasing from year to year, there is huge shortage in the investments towards fulfilling basic needs.

After reflecting on elements of the South African planning instruments in general, the following subchapter provides approaches of how to promote a polycentric urban structure.

### 7.3.2. Instruments promoting a polycentric urban structure

This section is committed to applying major planning instruments belonging to the IDP to the conceptual idea of a polycentric urban structure. In the end, the section suggests to support the planning process of the IDP by using the participatory approach of Dortmund's Masterplan as a preparatory planning.

As starting points, the IDP offers instruments which could be combined to a strategic system:

- LTDF
- SDF
- Economy Plan and Planning and Environment Plan
- Service Delivery Plan and Community Service Plan
- Key performance areas
- Financial Plan
- Governance Plan

**LTDF**

As a framework for urban development planning, the LTDF may be regarded as an instrument of political consensus-building. In determining the three fields of action ‘satisfying basic needs’, ‘investing in people’s skills, qualification and technology’ and ‘strengthening the economy’, the eThekwini Municipality commits itself to concentrating available capacities on comprehensive development strategies such as the ‘sub-centre’-strategy with its four components ‘economy’, ‘social facilities’, ‘housing’ and ‘transport’. These obligations undertaken by municipal politicians should be reflected in the plannings and sustainable development strategies of the IDP and be defended against private or short-sighted macro-projects. In terms of the idea ‘polycentric urban structure as a prerequisite for relieving socio-economic disparities’, the eThekwini Municipality should align the programmatic contents and plans of the IDP with the superordinate target of an equitable urban development.

**SDF**

The SDF translates the focal points of the political ‘programme IDP’ into urban space and spatial structures, i.e. nodes and corridors defining multi-functional places of interaction and hierarchy and bands of development. Both planning elements could re-develop the relationship between CBD and township area respectively higher-order centre and the intermediate-order centre of Kwadabeka. Besides, the urban fragments existing in the EMA should be given names explicitly expressing developmental aims: The SDF should make clear what role township areas should play as sub-centre in the polycentric urban structure. In its preceding Regional Analysis, the SDF should point out potentials and urgencies which should be transformed into strategies and measures going beyond the abstract Conceptual Regional Spatial Development Frame-
work, Development and Regional Programmes. It is necessary for the Municipality not only to discuss on the topics demographics, infrastructure, roads, transportation, water, waste, electricity, parks and open space, density policy, housing, environment, safety and security, parking and vehicle access, but to describe strategic action plans, corresponding measures and requirements as well as cognizances in a precise way. Thus, the SDF could outline “area-based managements” such as “Integrated Ward Development Concepts” in sub-centre areas (see chapter 7.4.3) (which) the Land Use Framework Plan, the upper layer of the LUMS, should apply and distinguish.

In order to prove the effectiveness of measures, the SDF should prescribe quality standards and quality conformance tests which might be complemented by the Performance Management System.

Planning and Environment Plan and Economic Plan

The Planning and Environment Plan and the Economic Plan as well as are major instruments to fill the corridors and nodes delineated in the SDF with content. They could give sub-centres special characters in roughly describing different lines of development.

Thus, the Planning and Environment Plan could frame different land-use areas within sub-centres in order to integrate the sub-centre into the hierarchy of eThekwini’s polycentric urban structure.

The Economic Plan could answer the Eight Point Plan (see chapter 7.1.2) requiring the promotion of local economy, for example, by providing technological support and consultative services to Small, Micro and Medium Enterprises (SMMEs) actively operating in “township nodes” in sub-centres.

Service Delivery Plan and Community Service Plan

Underlying the SDF, both the Service Delivery Plan and the Community Service Plan should contribute to equipping sub-centres with adequate social and technical infrastructure. Although on a general scale, the Service Delivery Plan and the Community Service Plan could prepare social and commercial facilities as well as security measures belonging to the components of a sub-centre respectively to centre areas within sub-centres.

Key performance areas

From the analytic results and the regional development of the SDF, the IDP could infer “key performance areas”, i.e. potential township centre areas and other places of interaction influencing the development of sub-centres. Maybe the designation “key performance area” could be connected with a special status of promotion integrated in provincial support programmes, for example, a middle income subsidy programme as demanded by the concept of a sub-centre. In cooperation with the Province, experts and people with knowledge of place, the Municipality could design key strategic programmes containing planning phases, time schemes and financial resources. By coordinating the municipal and provincial budget planning, there is a chance to reduce delays in realisation processes because of the Province not granting funds needed.
Financial Plan

In consideration of limited financial resources, the eThekwini Municipality could privilege projects in structurally weak areas and centre areas of sub-centres while allocating financial means in its capital investment budget. In the operational budget, the Municipality should provide money for personnel capacities in area-based managements. In addition, the contract between city managers and the counsellors, municipal resources (personal, financial) could be concentrated on action plans dealing with the promotion of township areas. With regard to the implementation of integrated planning concepts in sub-centres, the drawing-up of the IDP should happen as a communicative inter-governmental process. Through the adjustment of plannings and finances, the Municipality might initiate planning processes and projects as well as take measures in due time. Furthermore, the Financial Plan should lay down terms and conditions for public-private-partnerships so that local stakeholders and investors can be bound to serve public interest, in economically growing and structurally weak areas alike.

Governance Plan

As participation within the IDP-process is rather superficial in form of Annual Quality of Life Survey and over-crowded Ward Committees (Godehart 2005, Appendix F), the Governance Plan might be a key instrument to democratise planning processes within the IDP, to make the procedure more efficient and to quality aims, methods and results by involving external experts and people with knowledge of place. Moreover, if the Municipality is willing to integrate actors of different expertise from the private sector governmental and administrative spheres through public-private partnerships, she will not only be able to reinforce social acceptance for municipal planning, but also to sustain and improve management, monitoring and evaluative tasks. What is more, the Governance Plan could include empowerment strategies and concepts of community-organising (see chapter 7.4.3) to address the task of self-help in township areas according to the Eight Point Plan (see chapter 7.1.2). However, if these approaches are to be implemented, planning facilities and public-private project groups working on local level are needed: The “Integrated Ward Development Concept” in sub-centres could frame an arena of designing empowerment concepts with the inhabitants’ participation. Besides, the Municipality should ensure structures allowing countervailing processes between local and super-ordinate planning spheres. Certainly, the governance structure may becomes more complicated, the more actors are involved. Nevertheless, the Governance Plan has to make clear cognizances and responsibilities.

Masterplanning as a preparatory planning in the IDP-process

As exemplified by the planning practice in the City of Dortmund, Masterplans are concerned with sectoral subjects, i.e. housing, mobility, retail, economical space and environment which are summarised by a synoptic planning perspective when transferred to formal the preparatory land-use plan. Now, it might be an idea to simply apply participation procedures of Masterplanning to the planning processes especially of the Economic Plan and Plan-
Planning instruments

Planning and Environment Plan. The Governance Plan could provide arrangements of actors specific to the fields of action and limit the number of participants to a seize reasonable for making “workshop groups” work effectively. What must not be disregarded: The eThekwini Municipality should not confine participation, negotiation and cooperation to economic, social and political leaders. Instead, the Thekwini Municipality should invite representatives of different groups of interests, for example SMMEs, weak groups in terms of socio-economic status, people knowing different socio-economic milieus, to the participation procedure in order to balance conflicting concerns. Maybe an informal “charter”, nonetheless binding on the Municipality, could serve as an ethic measure for decision-making. In principle, however, the urban development envisioned by the SDF should be in the centre of discussions.

Summarising, the plannings of the IDP are a prerequisite for a polycentric structure in the EMA. However, in order to create a multi-faceted city, the single sub-centre with its centre area(s) must be in the centre of planning. Hence, the following section tries to show how to implement local concerns and plannings in the sub-centre of Kwadabeka.

7.3.3 Instruments and conditions promoting a centre area in a sub-centre such as Kwadabeka

At first, this section shows the relevance of LUMS for realising centre areas as described in the concept of a sub-centre (see sub chapter 6). Then general conditions supporting participatory and citizen-oriented planning are listed.

The centre area of Kwadabeka as a Land Use Scheme

The requirements defined for the four components economy, social facilities, housing and transport can be implemented by applying the Land Use Management System (LUMS). By breaking down the overall plannings of the IDP into local planning spheres, Land Use Schemes and Management Plans lay the foundation for realising and sustaining the centre area of Kwadabeka: In admitting mixed uses around residential areas, the Land Use Scheme could ensure a fluent transition from living over supply to work. In order to give consideration to the particular circumstances of Kwadabeka, the ethnic-cultural and the socio-economic background of the people living there, categories of land-use like ‘transitional residential’ and ‘traditional residential’ could link the centre area and the surrounding area together. Summarising, the Land Use Scheme can govern and localise the specification of the four components in order to integrate the elements of economy, social facility, housing and transport into a functional arrangement.

In scope of Integrated Ward Development Concepts, zones for special uses could be singled out by Management Overlays. In Management Plans, action plans corresponding to specific requirements could

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31 Beside the material plannings contained in the SDF, Planning and Environment Plan, Economic Plan, Service Delivery Plan and Community Service Plan, the Governance Plan is decisive for planning facilities and district managements.
be discussed and decided in participation processes.

**Local planning structures**

After pointing out the necessity of urban planning approaches dealing with local situations, the following section sketches structures facilitating the democratisation of planning.

The centrepiece of any integrative development concept is an area-based management mobilising local potentials. District agencies or bureaus play key roles in encouraging inhabitants to actively participate in “creating” and “inventing” their environment anew. There are several tasks district agencies or bureaus might be assigned to:

- offering citizen services and consultation,
- calling meetings for discussing needs, wants, solutions and strategic action plans,
- mediating between conflicting interests of social groups and associations,
- inviting to deciding on “key areas”, “Integrated Development Concepts” and “Overlay Managements” in the sub-centre in advance to planning processes of the LUMS and the IDP,
- conveying the results of participation processes to the municipality,
- initiating and promoting community networks (grassroots initiatives, empowerment),
- coordinating non-profit organisations, social and economic leaders to develop and sustain Local Business Service Centres as well as Skills Centres in partnerships,
- involving traders in identifying needs and developing support programmes for SMMEs specific in the sub-centre of Kwadabeka

However, the success of this citizen-oriented planning approach depends on certain conditions:

1. Regarding the size of the sub-centre, it might be difficult for the bureaus to address all residents and to avoid exclusions in participatory procedures. Nonetheless, the expenditure has to be in due proportion to the output and public interest.

2. “District managers” should be empathetic and know the environment and culture the people live in. Otherwise they might fail to communicate their “mandate” as advocates and convince people of not representing particular interests. Since they are not used to claiming their rights in a democracy, the residents might be not self-confident enough to articulate their concerns and could be easily discouraged from taking part in discussions.

3. People living in poverty may be so deeply absorbed with maintaining their family that they are not able to take time and go to meetings. Thus, the district bureaus must be provided with personnel capacities accomplishing to call on residents and help them to overcome this obstacle.

4. Having been suffering from hardships for years, people might expect to see improvements happen at quick pace and be disappointed if that is not the case. Mostly, district managers are not answerable for hindrances, but political and administrative barriers on upper tiers hamper developments and processes. Consequently, both municipality and province are under press-
In conclusion, South Africa already has a planning instrument at local level, it has still potentials for getting improved. Here, elements of German planning instruments can be seen as model for making planning more democratic. Establishing district bureaus and thus integrating participatory processes into formal existing planning procedures are the major transferable elements.

7.3.4 What about applying German instruments in South Africa?

Considering all the criticisms about elements of the South African planning system, it is necessary to ask if the German instruments of local level integrated development planning are appropriate to address some of South African problems. Are there not too much differences between these two countries making it impossible to transfer the instruments?

While Dortmund has the aim to establish a "polycentric settlement structure" for its urban area through combining InSEKts – similar to student project’s aim of establishing a polycentric city – there is a big difference in particular conditions. Dortmund is a city with about 600,000 inhabitants and the idea of polycentric urban structure in this dimension is much different from talking about it in the context of the EMA. The same is the situation in the case of districts bureaus, apart of the Socially Integrative City Programme. These bureaus are planned for districts with a maximum of 50,000 inhabitants. Township areas, however, often have more than the decuple of inhabitants. Amongst others, the Socially Integrative City Programme’s objective is to establish city-centres. In Germany, the motivation was to establish city sub-centres for creating public space, for people to stay and recreate, to enjoy social interchange and cultural festivities. In South Africa, public life is characterised by different activities, it just happens in the streets because that is where poor people try to make come ends meet by selling goods or offering their abilities to potential employers. Except for the city area, there is no need for special highlights, for attracting people in public space. Besides, cultural differences can be recognised by looking at high-life streets and empty, unused public green space in South African Cities. As it seems, there is no major need for additional public space in South Africa. Therefore, it can be argued that a wholesome transfer of the Socially Integrative Programme is not possible.

All German planning instruments for integrated development planning mentioned in subchapter 7.3, are focused on urban renewal in existing and self-developed structures. On the contrary, the South African planning instruments, especially the sustainable development strategy of the IDP, are still focused on new-projects and delivering supplies for basic needs.

Another important difference to the IDP is that the German instruments of integrated development planning are informal and thus based on voluntary cooperation. On the other hand, South African instruments, especially the IDP, are formal instruments. It cannot be generalised if it is “better” to use either informal or formal instruments for integrated development planning. But it seems to be reasonable to use a mix of them to make planning and participation
as effective feasible as possible. Of course, the choice of policy to use formal or informal instruments depends on particular priorities. The delivery of basic services requires strong political and instrumental support while urban renewal is not such a high priority in South Africa.

South Africa’s planning system offers a good example of setting up visions and planning guidelines for large areas – a quality which is often missing in the newly arisen trend of “planning through projects” in Germany. Although they are declared to be part of an integrated development planning, they do not always have a clear vision or concept of objectives.

One of the strength of the South African planning system is its flexibility. This attribute should be used to create instruments for establishing a polycentric city structure. LUMS is one step which should be connected with informal participatory planning. Furthermore, the planning process should not be regarded as a linear one, as every step and every level can influence each other.

**7.4 Conclusion**

The chapter gave an overview about elements of the South African planning instruments. For municipalities, the most important planning instrument for plantings and its funding is the IDP. While it has a very broad scale, it is suitable for implementing a polycentric city structure. The IDP states the hierarchical orders of nodes and corridors and defines land-uses. Furthermore, it formulates the interactions between these elements. Thus, its contents are the basis for establishing sub-centres and how they are related to the rest of the EMA. Nevertheless, municipality’s planning instruments can be completed by participatory processes translating the overall plantings to the local situation. While the establishment of district bureaus respesitvely area based management, requires financial and organisational efforts by the municipality, it is reasonable to implement countervailing processes. By doing this, plantings which have negative effects could be avoided.

The implementation of the countervailing principle in South Africa has to struggle with difficult conditions. The currently existing institutional fragmentation is an obstacle to necessary co-operations. On the one hand, intergovernmental relations between provincial and municipal level have deficits, on the other hand, the coordination between municipal administrative departments can be improved. Especially, as far as the planning’s funding is concerned, more communication could help to improve the quality of plantings.
8. Final Conclusion

The overall aim of the final report was to assess the responses of the negative effects of fragmentation in the case of eThekwini Metropolitan Area. While fragmentation occurs on different levels, the socio-economic fragmentation and its spatial manifestation in the form of township areas are the most important negative effects. The main objective of the students’ project is to improve living conditions in the township areas and stabilise the same concentrating the local supply, retail, services and social facilities all at a single place viz. the township area centre. This would help the township area to strengthen the balance of the entire urban structure. People living in those areas will have the opportunity to satisfy their needs in the proximity of their place of residence. Consequently, the whole township area will become more independent of the higher-order centres, particularly of the CBD. The newly gained autonomy is the reason why a township area transforms itself as a sub-centre.

Polycentric urban structure

The approach of stabilising former township areas by transforming them to sub-centres should be pursued in the entire eThekwini Metropolitan Area. The currently prevalent spatially fragmented urban structure of the EMA provides a potential to establish several sub-centres that correspond to the model of decentralised concentration and will together form a polycentric urban structure in the future. Although this polycentric urban structure does not really do away with the spatial fragmentation, and may even intensify the segregated spatial structure, it will nevertheless balance the negative effects of socio-economic fragmentation in the township areas.

Naturally, sub-centres will differ in their particular characteristics. Some will be more independent of the CBD than the others. This hierarchy of sub-centres depends on local conditions, such as buying power, infrastructure, topography of the catchment area of sub-centres, though it is difficult to define the exact dimensions of the catchment area. According to Kahn, the urban structure will look like a water drop narrowing at one end towards the CBD. Though Kahn’s theory was developed for the catchment areas of shopping centres, the students’ project transposed it to the idea of sub-centres that offers social, commercial and administrative facilities so as to enable them function as intermediate-order centres.

Sub-centre

What functions does a sub-centre require to function effectively and efficiently and in a sustainable way? To find an answer to this question, the students’ project developed a list of reasonable needs and wants for sub-centres classified into four sectors viz. economy, social facilities, housing and transport.

With regard to economy, it is essential to have an adequate spending/buying power to sustain a sub-centre. Therefore, it is important to attract middle-income people to reside in the township area. At the same time, supply services for low-income people must be made available by facilitating a mix of formal and informal economy supply such as tuck shops and street traders. Education and health are basic needs. These social facilities constitute
the main difference between a sub-centre and a shopping centre. At the same time, police stations located on central nodes should enhance security in the sub-centre. Only if sub-centres are secure, middle-income people will be encouraged to reside in the sub-centres. Offering subsidies to middle-income people is another major measure to attract them. Other measures in the sector of housing are to improve infrastructure and to provide types of housing appropriate for different social and ethnic groups. Also, the transport facilities must be adapted to social groups. A good road connection is not only important for minibus taxis which are mainly used by low-income but also for the private transport of middle-income residents. Moreover, it is important to establish a node for the minibus taxi and a railway line as they influence the attractiveness and the quality of a sub-centre.

The first step towards establishing a sub-centre in a polycentric urban structure of the EMA is to support and upgrade its centre area. Needs and wants have been exemplarily applied to the centre area of a special township area, Kwadabeka. The local conditions and the stock of Kwadabeka have been considered by developing a concept of the centre area of Kwadabeka. Since it is difficult to plan the actual locations of specific facilities, the maps presented in subchapter six represent only a conceivable notion of allocation of facilities.

Reflection on planning instruments

As a last step, the elements of South African and German planning instruments have been analysed to suggest an implementation strategy for a polycentric urban structure as well as a multifunctional sub-centre. Since the IDP is an integrated planning instrument for the whole urban area, it is a suitable instrument for establishing a polycentric urban structure and may be complemented by participatory processes as being practised in Germany.

There is a deficit however, with regard to the concept of sub-centres since LUMS is the only South African planning instrument at local planning level. In order to fulfil people’s needs, the LUMS should not be a result of top-down planning at higher levels but a bottom-up approach instead that takes local concerns into consideration. Elements of German planning instruments may help partly close this gap. With regard to local people’s needs, district bureaus are reasonable positioned to communicate with inhabitants in an adequate way. However, when it comes to the size of a sub-centre, it the bureaus may find it difficult to address the varying needs of all the residents and to avoid exclusions in participatory processes. Since the residents are not habituated to claim their democratic rights, they may not be confident enough to articulate their concerns and could easily be discouraged from taking part in public discussions. Having suffered from hardships for years, people might expect visible improvements at quick pace and perhaps be disappointed if it is otherwise. These new approaches to planning are only a starting-point to initiate a process of improving the living conditions.

Recapitulation

The students’ project has found a possible response to socio-economic fragmentation by demonstrating how a polycentric urban structure in the EMA with reasonably independent sub-centres could be established. But there are some aspects which
have to be considered while implementing such an approach. It is not clear whether the eThekwini municipality has adequate resources to combine the current efforts of improving the quality of life in the whole EMA through housing and infrastructure delivery with the new approach of establishing a polycentric urban structure. In this context, institutional fragmentation can be a major obstacle. Consequently, it is improbable to assume that the eThekwini municipality can afford the necessary personnel to operationalise the area-based management.

At this stage, it is difficult to adequately understand the local situation and especially the local economy. For example, it is hard to predict consumers’ behaviour - will they accept and use the newly established facilities? And what will happen to the existing structures? Then, there is the danger of destroying local trade and informal economy as people might prefer new structures over the traditional ones. On the other hand, it is possible that these new facilities can become exclusively middle-income utilities. Another important issue is, if it is ever possible in today’s South African society to attract middle-income people to live in proximity to low-income neighbourhood for a mutual sharing of the sub-centre? But without the middle-income people, sub-centres will be not be a feasible and sustainable option.

Defining the catchment area of sub-centres may be the most difficult challenge, since it involves analysis of highly complex behaviour of consumers and commuters. For example, where do people’s journey originate from and what is their destination? Such information is very essential to localise the centre in a township area. Kahn’s model of catchment areas provides only an indication of how it would appear.

If planning succeeds in stabilising township areas as sub-centres, these fragments will be integrated in the polycentric urban structure in terms of the residents’ socio-economic situation. Associated with a positive image, sub-centres might be recognised as places worthy living in. Then the sub-centres will be an essential part of the city with their own character. People should have no restraints to travel from one former township area to another sub-centre. But the prerequisite for recognition and integration is to stabilise township-areas.
9. Reflection

Working together with 15 students in a project for one year means a lot of different experiences and impressions. The project members learned how to hold oral presentations or discuss things in a way that everyone can agree with the results. It was also a good practice to structure the work with many people, for example by forming small groups. These small groups with changing members can be helpful to work on different topics, but there was sometimes the problem to co-ordinate the different working processes and results. There are contrary opinions about the size of the group. Ones think that it was too large for good and efficient work, others point out the potential for forming small groups or getting a lot of different ideas and aspects. Similar the fact that it was a students’ project abroad can be seen, because on the one hand the members got many new impressions and the possibility to go to South Africa, but on the other hand it means spending a lot of time for organisation or theoretical groundwork. The trip to South Africa, there everyone agrees, was the ‘highlight’ of the two semesters. There were a lot of interesting and impressive interviews and meetings and one can see how planning in another country works and can reassess the own planning appreciation. It was also a good possibility to improve ones English skills by using English literature or having meetings in English. Very important for the success of the trip was the contact to Susanna Godehard, which was a big help in organisation and information and the great readiness of the people in South Africa to help with the project work, for example the interview partners or the students of the university in Durban. During the study trip, there were some changes of the project’s topic caused by inputs from interview partners or the advisers.

The inputs and instructions by the advisers were often very helpful and useful but sometimes the project adopted them without discussing or questioning the consequences. When there was confusion or the need for help in the project, the advisers were always ready to support. But sometimes there should have been better arrangements between adviser and supervisor. The, in some cases, strong guidance by the adviser seems for some members of the group as an implementation of the own wishes and ideas. But especially during the study trip the advisers were a great help.

At the beginning there were problems with the broad topic. Long and unstructured discussions can be seen as a result of this. In this phase of the project, some inputs for doing moderation would have been helpful, because this would be one possibility to manage the discussions. Set the end of discussion by time and not by the result was surely a bad solution for the problem of time management. The members had to spend a lot of time for the project. Other difficulties with the information or work management led to new ones later, because sometimes problems were put off to the next meeting. In a similar way the point can be seen, that there was too less scientific working, especially in the initial phase. In this time contradictory persuasions led to a lot of changes of the topic or the points of interest. Sometimes everything depended on personal and individual’s efforts and results, so that there was no real ‘group work’.
There were some changes in the project group after the study trip. On the one hand, the atmosphere in teamwork got better, but on the other hand a less motivation of some members of the project could be noticed. This led to strained relations between some group members in the end of the project. Many members were not willing to take special jobs or requirements.

But all in all there was a high motivation and the wish to influence the work by the members during the two semesters of student project work; hardly any persons were totally out of interest or participation. For everyone it was a very instructive year, with a lot of new – good or bad – experiences and impressions.

Fig. 49: Students' project in Durban
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Appendix 1

Excursus

A: Spatial Planning in Germany

Unlike in South Africa, informal instruments as well as integrative programmes have been increasingly gaining importance in urban planning in Germany. Thus, after characterising the fundamental traits of the German planning system and the public building law, this subchapter delineates the reason for the development of informal urban development.

A1: German planning system

With the Republic of Germany consisting of 16 states (Länder), Germany’s spatial planning system is consequently based on federalism. There are mainly four levels of decision-making. From top to bottom, there are federal spatial planning, state planning (Landesplanung), regional planning and local planning. But instead of a strict hierarchical and centralised structure, the system is characterised by specialised co-operation between the different federal levels. This is the reason why a comprehensive spatial planning programme does not exist for the whole federal territory.

On federal level, the state just has the competence of decreeing principles, goals, models and guidelines of spatial planning, which are mainly formulated in the Federal Spatial Planning Act as amended in 2001 (Raumordnungsgesetz). Its matters are very abstract and comprehending so that they can be concretised and respectively implemented at subsequent levels below. Consequently, the federal level represents the “framework legislation” without having any effective spatial planning instruments.

The Länder transform the determinations of the framework into their own legislation and concretise them to the specific situation in its territory with the help of spatial plans and programs. Their matters are still too imprecise for concrete planning projects, but it is a more detailed framework for the next level.

The regional planning level also applies the determinations of the Länder to their regional situation in drawing up regional plans. There is no common definition for “region” in Germany’s planning policy. As far as the territories of regional planning are concerned, a “region” can be one single district or an union of several districts. The Regional Plans are more detailed to specify land-uses, thus they build the base for the last planning level: the local planning.

At local level, the plans are detailed enough to demarcate specific land-uses between different parcels. The land use plan contains determinations of the regional plan as well as the municipality’s vision of future development for the whole city area. Like all planworks mentioned before, the land-use plan is only obliging to public authorities. The development plan is different. Its determinations and conditions have legal status even for private actors. So, this plan is the legal foundation for all building projects and developments planned or realized in an urban area.

In conclusion, Germany’s planning system is based on continuous concretisation beginning at top with a federal framework and ending at the bottom with the binding development plan at local level. But this is not an absolute top-down planning system; rather it is characterised by consistent co-operation between the different levels. This principle is called “Gegenstromprinzip” (“feedback principle”, also known more accurately as the “principle of countervailing influence”). It is a principle of spatial planning under which local, regional and supra-regional planning influences each other. This principle is enshrined in the Federal Spatial Planning Act, § 1 Para 3.
Co-ordination in spatial planning

**SPATIAL PLANNING AT FEDERAL LEVEL**
(principle of spatial planning, models)

Standing Conferences of Federal State Ministers Responsible for Spatial Planning

**State Planning (Landesplanung)**
(spatial plans, programmes of the federal states [Länder])

**Regional Planning**
(regional plans)

**Local Planning**
(development plans)

Source: students’ project based on BBR 2001:44

**A2: Public building law**

In Germany, the public building law is divided into planning law and building regulations law. Whilst the former is reserved for Federal legislation, the latter lies within the legislation competence of the Länder (Turowski, Cass 2003: 60).

**Planning law**

According to the Federal Constitution, municipalities are guaranteed local planning autonomy. When performing land-use planning, however, they are bound by the aims of the state and regional planning (see above) as well as to the provisions of The Federal Building Code. The content and procedure of urban land-use planning is determined in the Federal Building Code. Above all, municipalities are obliged to subject urban land-use planning to the precept of a sustainable urban development in order to “safeguard the socially equitable use of land for the good of the general community (...) and [thus to] contribute to securing an environment fit for human beings to inhabit, and to protecting and developing the natural foundation of life” (§ 1 BauGB; Turowski, Cass 2003: 19). The Federal Building Code amplifies this task by defining principles that shall guide the decision-making processes for the land-use plans (“weighing of interests”). However, it is entirely up to the municipality to decide whether it is necessary to review the land-use plans or not. Citizens have no claim on the municipality’s land-use planning. Nevertheless, the municipality is required to participate with citizens and public bodies in the procedure and to take their demands into consideration.

F08 – Planning in fragmented cities, Durban, South Africa
As described above, urban land-use planning is performed in two stages: the preparatory land-use plan and the local development. In the preparatory land-use plan, a municipality delineates development zones and built-use zones, spaces for mitigation measures corresponding to the anticipated needs of the municipality (Turowski, Cass 2003: 40). Through its production of the local development plan out of the preparatory land-use plan, a municipality designates types of built use or sites of mitigation for specific sections of the municipal territory (Turowski, Cass 2003: 29).

In the past, municipalities were criticised for expending too much capacities for the planning process. Land-use plans turned out to be nothing but unwieldy instruments lacking behind time. Instead of governing urban development with its social, economic and ecological dimensions, the land-use plans could do nothing but react to the current trends. Especially the zoning of the land-use plan was already outdated when the land-use plan was finally available. Actually, that was one of the reasons for the informal urban development planning strategies being invented (see below). If municipalities learn to integrate informal planning approaches into their traditional set of instruments, they may be able to define land-use zones and types of built uses effectively - in due time.

Building regulations law

The building regulation law mainly consists of the Land Utilisation Ordinance (Baunutzungsverordnung) and rules for building permissions.

While determining the contents of the local development plan in detail, the municipality has to apply the Land Utilisation Ordinance. The Ordinance is enacted by the Länder, attributing densities to the different types of built-use and describing coverage types and built surface areas (Turowski, Cass 2003: 28 f.).

If a private person wants to erect, alter, demolish a building or use it differently, he or she has to seek for building permission from an authority installed by the building control law (Bauordnungsrecht) of the particular Land. To grant a permission, the authority has to prove whether the project will be in conflict with neighbouring uses or concerns set out in planning law, building regulations and other statutory law (Turowski, Cass 2003: 27).

A3: The development of informal urban development planning in Germany

Stadtentwicklungsplanung (STEP)

Throughout its history, there has never been a consistent urban development planning, Stadtentwicklungsplanung (STEP), in Germany. Actually, it has never been legally defined either. So STEP has always been an optional planning strategy for municipalities, varying in content, aims and requirements (Heinz 1998: 235, 237).

In this section, the occasion and development of STEP will be briefly described against the background of societal and political changes.

Until 1960, German planning law provided a set of instruments merely suitable to control physical development planning, without laying down any principles according to which urban development should take place (Albers 1993: 99). At that time, the Federal Building Code (Bundesbaugesetz) was grounded in the assumption that urban development would proceed steadily and organically. In its responsibility for urban development planning, the municipality would simply adjust the supply of building land to the needs articulated by private initiatives (Söfker 2004: XII). Owing to the reactive and controlling role planning was ascribed by law, it has also been called “negative planning” and “adjustment planning” (Albers 1993: 98, 101).

No sooner had the phase of reconstruction after the Second World War come to an end, the municipalities had to face new challenges to deal with, for example:

- urban renewal of desolate living areas,
- dysfunctional city structures arising from the strict separation of uses,\(^\text{32}\)

\(^{32}\) A vision of differentiation and dedensification according to the Charter of Athens.
individual traffic due to mass motorisation
Since legislation did not offer tools appropriate to tackle these problems, the municipalities referred to the integrative and comprehensive planning approach applied in the USA. The new concept of urban development planning (Stadtentwicklungsplanung, shortly STEP) was motivated by a “planning euphoria” ensuing from a growing economy, innovativeness and wealth. In fact, planners cherished the idea of an universally technocratic feasibility and social harmony – totally ignoring political mechanisms and overestimating the political influence of science.

The STEP was supposed to combine different disciplines into a strategy suitable to govern urban development by
1. inducing structural policy promoting urban development,
2. integrating urban planning into a comprehensive programme consistent with the municipal investment planning,
3. making the municipal planning policy more efficient,
4. strengthening local competitiveness,
5. contributing to a rational decision-making based on profound knowledge of the causalities and complexities in urban development (Heinz 1998: 236; Albers 1993: 101).

In contrast to the traditional development planning according to the building code, the STEP was regarded as “positive planning”, emphasizing local planning autonomy and the municipality’s power to influence urban development which should be underlined by the urban development and redevelopment measures introduced by the Städtebauförderungsgesetz in 1971 (Albers 1993: 101).

In order to facilitate the implementation of STEP, the municipalities installed interdisciplinary project groups within the administration to draw up complex, long-term aim systems. Claiming science to be an indispensable basis for STEP, the zeitgeist reinforced urban research, especially social and economic sciences. The attempt to comprehend and systematise reality even produced a new branch of science, i.e. cybernetics which aspires to extrapolate future developments. At the same time, the municipality involved citizens and other groups of interests for the very first time in the planning process - the rise of the industrial society had brought about a self-confident citizenship which now demanded to participate in urban development (Heinz 1998: 238 f).

However, the STEP could not meet the expectations planners had attached to it. There are some reasons why this planning theory failed to be practicable:
1. Science proved to be fallible and contradictory. Forecasts could not include all causalities, whether unintended or not. Reality strongly deviated from the foretold development.
2. Planners failed to take all complexities into consideration and to coordinate the different disciplines and sectoral plans effectively.
3. Political decisions were not guided/made by reason but by self-interest.
4. The scientific approach took too much effort (time, personal and financial resources) to produce plans simple enough to be carried out in the right time.
5. The complexity of the plans made it difficult for citizens to understand and accept them (Blotevogel 2005: 11f.; Heinz 1998: 240).

Moreover, crises in the global economy in the 1970s had unpredictable effects on urban processes and thus contributed to shattering the ideology of the comprehensive development planning. Disillusioned, the municipalities began to modify their conception of STEP in accordance with “disjointed incrementalism”, an American planning approach which discards any vision for urban development and reduces planning to single steps. In adopting this approach, the municipalities did not need to oblige themselves to specific standards or plans and could adapt their financial means to the current situation. Nonetheless, there was an overall shift of principle in planning: from construction to reconstruction and renovation (Heinz 1998: 240 f.).

In practice, the STEP concentrated on planning in quarters (Stadtteilentwicklungspläne) and sectoral planning. Although characterised by methods and qualities similar to the former
comprehensive plans, most of the plans for quarters could be realised. Thanks to the smaller scale, planning was able to lay open conflicts of interest and to discuss alternatives with the citizens. Sectoral planning focused on different aspects, such as housing, retail, energy, and was coordinated by a project group composed of the staff of several departments. In the beginning, both planning concepts were meant to complement one another, however, the administration was too overcharged as to manage this task. In spite of this, planning in quarters and sectoral planning are still used to prepare the formal development processes according to the Federal Building Code (Heinz 1998: 240 f.) (see above). With the economic structures and relations changing globally and the domestic market expanding within the European Union in the 1980s, the competition between cities intensified. In consequence, the municipalities started to “economise” their planning policy, prioritising the interests of private investors in lucrative projects. Planning was almost limited to economic development aid strategies which were thought to distinguish the city as an unique business location from other cities in the global market. In other words, STEP was redefined as city-marketing, an integrative strategy, involving private actors to figure out economic chances and weaknesses as well as aims and measures. Public-private-partnerships as a new form of cooperation emerged. In this respect, city-marketing added an argumentative element to the STEP.

However, not seldom did the planning of grand projects neglect other parts of urban development, aggravating social and economic inequalities and producing so-called “underprivileged quarters” (see subchapter 7.3) (Heinz 1998: 240 ff.).

In the 1990s, the municipalities had to recognise economic-technological dynamics undermining the importance of physical location factors and thus rendering the city to a reproducible place in the global market. Along with these processes of restructuring, destroying and reproducing urban space, processes of social fragmentation, residential segregation and exclusion were taking place. To confront the disintegration of urbanity, the municipalities searched for planning concepts that framed the incremental plans and projects with a perspective for urban development. Unlike the STEP in the 1960s, however, the “perspective planning” should not allow politicians and administration to define that perspective on their own. Instead, planners were called to create interactive discussions resulting in a vision and development concepts formulated and shared by all participants, political and economic leaders and citizens alike. In this phase of planning theory, creative forms of participation were established, ranging from workshops explicitly addressing citizens, round tables, debates between experts, politicians and the administration to public-private negotiation and co-operation. Today, municipalities usually create development companies under private law which are responsible to design communication and planning processes as effectively as possible and to watch over the implementation (Albers 1993: 102). In many cases, the companies are located within quarters or districts and have got quite an institutional character since they are open for citizens to speak out their concerns. Beside these citizen services, “district agencies” or “district bureaus” (Stadtteilbüros) deal with

- preparing project-specific planning strategies including time schemes,
- organising places where concepts are discussed, planned and realised,
- mediating between conflicting interests of social groups and associations,
- supporting grassroots initiatives to get organised,
- acquiring financial resources.

These new organisational structures may allow/effectuate a flexible planning process as concepts and projects are simultaneously discussed, planned and realised (Heinz 1998: 243 ff.).

At present, the term STEP encompasses different methods and strategies occasionally applied by a single municipality at the same time (Heinz 1998: 245). In conclusion, STEP contributes to making the formal urban development more effective and efficient which, in its turn, shall consider informal plans and programmes in its weighing process (s. chapter). Hence, STEP may fulfil the expectations planners had of it in the 1960s.
Still, the local planning autonomy is the basis for the informal approach “planning through negotiation and projects”: It is due to municipal regulation, control and intervention that planning does not lose its perspective in a debate dominated by economic values and deregulation (Selle 1995: 242). To exemplify current urban development planning, the following subchapter proceeds to explain planning integrative strategies, instruments and programmes, applied in the City of Dortmund, home town of the students’ project’s university.
Appendix 2

Interviews

B: Interview with Sabine Baumgart, Professor for Urban and Regional Planning

2005-05-10, Dortmund

Theme: Polycentric urban structure

Connection between polycentric urban structure and (spatial) fragmentation – how far affects a decentralised concentrated supply structure fragmentation?

- The model of a polycentric town can be laid by the current urban structural characteristics. Following, fragmentation is emerged within such an urban structure.

Would a further implementation of this model to a decentralised concentration reinforce the fragmentation?

- Basically, a polycentric supply structure seems to be idealistic and realistic for such a large-area city like Durban.
- Fragmentation could be diminished within a polycentric urban structure, if this is formed in that kind, that relations between centres of different hierarchy change. Interactions between the elements come up, if they complement one another in their equipment and are attractive one for another.
- Literature concerning fragmentation (and urban structure):
  Zibell, Barbara; Humpert, Klaus: Im Lichte der Chaostheorie

Form of 'fragments':

- Concentrated-selective form: public power supply with supply and transport nodes and hierarchies

Questions:

- Which quality gradations, how many levels?
- Which benchmark has to underlie the respective catchment areas (15-20 walking minutes for a local supply centre)?
- or (Susanna’s proposal for township-structure):
  linear/straight-line form: Maintenance of working area-wide, close-meshed grids (of informal action) in close connection with housing (neighbourhood level)
  Controlling of implementation of this kind of guiding principle form in districts’/fragments has to be pursued within the city different kinds of guiding principles and strategies? Or will the urban development in its fragments be fostered (concentrated supply structures along the rich coast, straight-line supply structures in the townships)?

Suggestions:

- Pointing-out of options for respective qualification for different locations
- Proposal of methods as precondition or as support of one structure model (eg. elaboration of benchmarks for catchment areas/radii of supply opportunities)

Theme: Planning in Durban – Impressions of Prof. Baumgart

Estimation of IDP:

- Currently, the municipal policy is less dealing with substantial questions of the IDP than rather with the implementation. It is a matter of democratising and motivation for forming/shaping in planning. Objectives and contents of the IDP should be democratically legitimated by participatory processes.
Use of funds:
- Does the use of funds reflect the democratisation of planning?
- Efforts for sensible improvements of the situation of life, housing building programmes as physical expression of democratisation?
- Different tasks of planning eventually admit different participation processes
- Implementation of measures and allocation of funds are predominantly decided due to political motivations and diplomacy (from top as well from bottom) (demonstration and overemphasis of democratisation?)
- Know-how in regards of content and in regards of process-related necessities and measures (inclusive participation) enter less into decision making
- Is municipal policy ready for a reinforced use of public funds in disadvantaged areas, does it want to provide social, cultural, economic activities and initiatives of people on location?
- Definition: What does ‘disadvantaged’ mean?

IDP as balancing / compensation planning?
- Legalisation and democratisation are sure general guidelines / guiding principles of the IDP. Deficits exist in concretion of these guiding principles for some parts, different areas of the city. The aims of the IDP seem to result too strongly from political motivations than from professional / planning considerations.
- Necessity of participatory procedures on level of wards?

Comparison urban land-use planning and urban development planning
- Advice: The IDP has only limited a spatial reference

urban land-use planning (formal)
- Is defined by reference of the area
- Predominantly a regulative instrument, e.g. for controlling/ managing retail trade location
- By regulation of funds urban land-use planning is indirectly strategic effective on one individual project assured by a local development plan
- Restricted suitable to shape actively the spatial environment, however more and more creatively applicable with positive and negative consequences; but wide scopes admit negative developments

Städtebauförderungsgesetz (integrated in Federal Building Code (BauGB))
- Originally designed for redevelopment of areas, but also in this case mere reference to the area is insufficient
- Increasing close-meshed measures, spatial focus

Urban development planning (informal) (Stadtentwicklungsplanung)
- Exceeds mere spatial reference
- Integration function and co-ordination function of sectoral plannings and disciplines of levels and competences package of measures
- Serve the political process of creating a consensus and is involved in the weighting process of urban land-use planning or even is implemented by urban land-use planning

Participation as challenge in the process of planning
- The experience of people with lived democracy in their living environment is decisive for their operational readiness
- Presence of urban planning at the locality
  - to indicate oneself clearly as address for concerns of the population
- no representation of individual interests but to pursue the general welfare
- to take subjective perceptions of people seriously and to involve them in the entire social discussion
- ’institutionally’ supporting of kinds of ‘ward office’ or of initiative groups

- Relation of individual project to holistic planning
- Integration of individual projects in the total interrelation and in the entire planning objectives
- Definition and consideration of minimum standards (minimum limit) or maximum standards (upper limit – how much is compatible?) in concepts of individual projects

**Implementation of (strategic) planning depends on:**
- Reach the right point in time for effectiveness of measures depending on social resistances
- Impacts of financing opportunities by exertion of influence on certain players in key positions (e.g. to acquire funds/ resources of programmes on Federal State level or federal level)
- Co-ordination ability of divergent interests and achieving a high intersection in agreement with planning values/ quality standards/ objectives \(\rightarrow\) process-related management
C: Interview with Hans Blotevogel, Professor for Spatial Planning at Federal and Land Level (2005-05-11), Dortmund

- Area of conflict between general science of planning – which is developed in the developed countries in an extensive integrated society – and particular requests in South Africa:
- South Africa is a ‘split’ country: First and third world exist side by side; Universities on international level, integration (only?) within the governmental institutions and within academic/higher/university circles
- Heterogeneous society, bigger part of population is a marginalised society, socio-economic shift in this society (e.g. emergence of ‘white poor’, sub-centres for rich people, difficulties with security)
- Therefore often an insufficient reflected transfer of our planning to developing countries
- Present social conditions have to be considered with regard to planning

Pivotal questions:
- Did planning change after turning point, how does it change?
- What can planning contribute within the particular situation (Overlapping of racial and socio-economic segregation etc.)?
- How sticks planning by fragmented society? Which social demand does it raise? Does it intend to alleviate, to balance the effects of fragmentation?
- Does it create sub-centres which are only specific to the consumption patterns of the poor black population in the townships and for this reason reflecting the social split/fragmentation?
- Or does it create sub-centres which are due to their equipment and their location also attract other socio-economic and ethnic groups and thus generate integration activities?
- Former seems to be in line with the market and thus easily to realise
- The latter depends on socio-political will
- Or is merely the whole urban economic growth important, is the support of elitist groups prior?
  → Is the municipal policy prepared for a reinforced input of public funds in disadvantaged areas, does it want to provide infrastructure facilities there and to develop basic conditions of location for social, cultural, economic activities (‘civic centre’)
- Which further efforts does it undertake to use effectively the funds (e.g. relocation of INK-project planning group in INK-Area)?
  (proposed problem: ability of consensus of ruling party; in emerging countries and in third world countries is often observable a disintegration of interests)
- In general applies:
  • Urban planning (alone) cannot diminish fragmentation
  • Urban planning cannot determine the decision for location of the private sector of retail trade
- Particular planning approach in North America since 1970: ‘equity planning’, mobilisation of the poor population
- Literature: Forester, John; Krumholz, Norman, 1990: Making equity planning work Leadership in the public sector

Concerning polycentric urban structure:
- Does Durban already show a polycentric urban structure? (precondition for classification: availability of an analysis of equipment of the respective elements, more comprehensive and more updated than that of Kahn who restricted his one to trade and economical functions 29 years ago?)
- Durban’s CDB is already surrounded by centres, this is logic in case of a metropolitan region of this size, the first signs of a polycentric urban structure is existent
- Is a polycentric urban structure pursued by urban planning as a guiding principle (kind of passage development in the inland, emphases of development hierarchical order of centres of supply)? Does it want to oppose the strong central-peripheral patterns?
- Which significance has got the CBD in the Durban system?
- In the European model the city is the main centre in the hierarchic centre structure which integrates social groups due to its divers offer (not only in economic regard) Which functions does
Durban’s downtown (and the beachfront) take over? Which problems exist that make difficult the fulfilment of functions
- A polycentric urban structure can foster fragmentation, if closed centres for particular groups are developed – mixture and integration are important
- The polycentric town could bring forward integration, but it is no decisive precondition
- The CBD as common area has to perform integration services

**Precondition for a sub-centre (if the social-integrative demand of planning is clarified):**
- Conception as combination of civic centre and shopping/commercial centre according to the European idea (demands input of town for social infrastructure, because market is one-sided orientated and would only emerge shopping centres)
- Growth of urban economy, distributed according to a master plan of the town?
- Minimum catchment area according to centre hierarchy (Neighbourhood Centre: primary school plus supermarket) and to spending power which strongly varies
- Capacity has to be guaranteed
- No attempt of density which oppose the lifestyle of people and/or the low-cost housing programmes?
- Sub-centres not only for provision, but also for administration and employment

**Concerning planning instruments:**
- IDP in approach is similar to strategic planning like it is international standard (example Dortmund?)
- Strategic planning means a process-related formed planning (independent of its aims and contents), with thematic plans, which are imbedded in an overall development plan
- Planning contains formal and informal modules; in a strategic planning model extensive programmes are formulated within the informal frame, so that a political consensus for preparation/support of formal planning steps will be reached
- Discussion of guiding principle for example result in a discursive process in which representatives of economy (CCI (chamber of commerce and industry (IHK) etc.), groups etc. should participate. The bigger the town and its population, the more difficult it is to guarantee a fair representation of interests. In general, the discussion of guiding principle remains an ‘professional project’ whose result could be adhered as an informal document. The same applies for master plans.
- The formal plans (e.g. Land-Use-Plan), balanced by comprehensive programmes, only contain corresponding determinations for maintenance of programmes.
- In tradition of equity planning, can be mentioned currently ‘Stadtteile mit besonderem Erneuerungsbedarf’ (especially considering financing models: URBAN of EU, co-financing by the state) and the programme ‘Social Integrative City Programme”. In Germany, this programmes has rather an ‘alibi-function’ for the policy which recognises the need of action, but gives too less financial funds for implementation.
D: Interview with Ian Duckworth, freelance urban planner
2005-03-04, Durban

Housing
- Townships differ from other residential areas because of missing boundaries and uncontrolled structures
- Investors won’t build houses because of insecurity and missing attractions → investors have to be convinced (e.g. tax benefits)
- Flats are expensive; people who can afford such a flat will rather buy a house in attractive residential areas
- In South Africa owning a house is a tradition; there is not much demand for flats
- Houses are subsidised, flats are not
- Houses can be expanded, flats cannot
- The only reasonable location for apartment houses is at the coast, even though this location might be more expensive
- In Bridge City, housing can only be realised by subsidies
- If there should be addressed any middle-income people, there must be established attractive residential areas, and by that, there will be a new sort of fragmentation
- Around Gateway there exist many apartment houses, which are almost entirely used as holiday residential

Local economy
- In our subcentre it won’t be possible to establish a market for higher order goods because people have no possibility to store or chill their buyings; therefore they have to purchase more often, which can be done at the informal traders, that are not that far away
- What happens with the informal traders, if there is a big shopping centre? Why should they be relocated when they are only disadvantaged by that? (If they become more formal, they have to pay taxes, and residents in townships have to travel longer distances for their purchase.)
- About once in a month, township residents do their shopping in already existing shopping centres and therefore there is no need for further facilities.
- Establishing social facilities is very important in townships (there is a big need), e.g. community centres, libraries, schools, medical supply…
- Crime is a big problem in townships
- There are already enough shopping centres
- The spending power of township residents is too little → therefore big retailers are not interested in such locations → shopping centres will not be working to capacity and there will be a lot of vacancy
- Structures in sub-centres mustn't be prescribed, but shall develop
- Will commuters really use shopping centres or more probably go to informal traders near their house?

Transport
- Sub-centres only work with good transport systems
- Public transport and mini bus taxis have to be better organised
- Mini bus taxis have to be legalised for better price control
- Public transport and mini bus taxis have to be improved both for retailers and costumers
- Purchasing is a side-effect of commuting
- Shopping centres work only well on traffic/transport nodes and existing corridors
- Commuters to the CBD do their shopping at the Victoria Street Market, because it is located near the Warwick Station, where they start their bus journey
E: Interview with Susanna Godehart, German planner in Durban
2005-02-22, Durban

Evaluation of INK concerning Urban renewal programme (URP) and Area based management (ABM):
- Weak in content
- ABM is in a 5 year – test phases, then it should be enlarged to the whole metropolitan area
- Planners can not impose their will against engineers
- Just a coordination function

URP:
- URP is a national programme: the state decides where to implement it
- Who has decided that INK was taken? Arbitrariness? High crime rate?
- 8 pilot projects in South African cities were chosen, 13 in rural areas -> covering 40 % of South Africa’s poor population
- It is financed like the IDP, main focus on coordination (between government levels)
- Problem: getting money
- Programme before URP: Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPP) (e.g. Cato Manor)
- Critics on SIPP: too much physically built, not much money for weak factors
- KwaMashu has got no infrastructure problems, but social ones
- Inanda has got infrastructure deficits
- KwaMashu and Ntuzuma are formally planned, Inanda not

Informal settlements/Cato Manor:
- Arise: organisation by the taxi-industry/chiefs/mafiosi: they find out places where settlements are not directly demolished, stake claims, recruit people from neighbouring townships or rural areas
- These people build their shacks over night and pay a fee to the “developer”
- Situation: near traffic corridors in places where the shacks are probably not going to be demolished (mostly public land)
- The main work that was done in Cato Manor was to strengthen the free will of the population to overcome the mafia-structures
- Cato Manor people were moved to KwaMashu and Inanda in the 1960s
- A way of fighting against “warlords” and Mafiosi is giving property titles and housing subsidies so that the people have values they can build on
- Surrounding informal settlements consist of young families belonging to the township and finding no space inside
- Most people living in these informal settlements come from Durban, just a few foreigners
- Informal settlements in buffer strips have been mostly formalised

(Township) strategies and aspects in Durban:
- INK is shifting to the north, because it orientates to Umhlanga Ridge
- There is supposed to be an exchange between INK and Umhlanga Ridge
- Umhlanga Ridge: accidental development: corporate by just a few developers, the city was too weak to stand against it
- The airport is also moving to the north, so that the whole development in the city is moving northwards
- This could be a chance for INK and an obstacle for Umlazi
- INK is linked with a “railway line” to the CBD
- Term of “township area”: usable, township boundaries are enlarging permanently
- There are main traffic corridors to the north of Durban and to Pinetown
- In Durban, there is almost no slums clearance, they are rather upgraded
- If settlements are cleared, there has to be established a new use immediately otherwise, there will be new informal shacks
- Formalisation means new costs for the people, though they get 6 m³ water for free and don’t have to pay plot-taxes unless they are below a certain value
- Formalised houses may not be sold for 8 years otherwise there could be a new informality (people selling their subsidised homes again and again)
- Lauren Brayston makes research about that topic
  - Durban grows slowlier than Cape Town or Johannesburg
  - Durban’s economic growth is relatively small
  - A long time it was not clear how many inhabitants Durban has today, it is has got a population approximately 3.5 million

Polycentric/township centres:
There are no independent polycentric centres in Durban.

- The township centres are 45 years old, but there was almost no development (except shopping malls) as areas were kept free, but then equipped with residential buildings, because there was no need for more shopping facilities within these “centres”.
- KwaMashu has got a centre area of around one square kilometre (too big, empty).
- In Umlazi a shopping mall should be built.
- There are some investments into black areas, because the richer white areas are already over-supplied.
- The municipalities build the infrastructure, and the big chains invest -> synergy effects.
- It is just big food chains doing these investments: Spar, Shopright, Metro, PepShops...
- When the Group Areas Act was still in use, no white people could invest in black areas.
- Informal traders gain with the big chains; they buy the chain’s goods and sell them more expensive within the township.
- There are many neighbourhood traders (some kind of middle class).
- Phoenix is an Indian township, which has more sub-central functions.
- People, that work in the CBD, satisfy their needs there; it is a kind of “deleacage” of the buying power of the townships.
- Centres should be fitted to the local needs.
- KwaMashu has also got some subcentral functions. It has a rail-ending point.
- The proposal of Bridge City came already up in 1998, but was not favoured.
- There is almost no middle class, but the Indians are more due to business and economy than the black people.

Interesting Research areas:
- Clermont is a township, where black people had property rights before Apartheid.
- Clermont (Pinetown) and Chatsworth (Indian township) have grown organically.
- Sparks Road is the main road of Overport and a Muslim shopping area.
- Verulam and Tongaat are situated in the north of the EMA.
- After they had come to the municipal area, there have been built relocation settlements.
- It was achieved to integrate them into the existing structures.
- They orientate to the local sub-centre and not to the CBD.
- Questioning our topic:
  - Is there any need for sub-centres in townships?
  - Commuting is good for the CBD, because there is lots of buying power brought in.
  - Within the project’s research, there should be regard to the population structure.
  - The department for Economic Development knows more about the upcoming of shopping centres (We should also ask the department for statistics).
- Further issues:
  - Inanda was first an Indian township, then turned into a black one (the Blacks threw the Indians out).
  - In INK, there is a population exchange between the several townships; it is a kind of functional unity.
  - Umlazi is growing into the peri-urban areas.
  - Susanna corrected that the short form CBO was used incorrectly in the interim report; it means “community-based organisation”
  - There are some NGOs dealing with the topic of townships, eg. SANCO.
  - Mostly, these NGOs consist of white left-wings, they tend to lose power.
  - There is an urbanistic NGO called BESG: “Built Environment Support Group”.
  - Buffer Strips begin to disappear.
  - House-types during Apartheid were enumerated like NE – 51 – NR (Non-European – year – type nr).

Excursion tips:
- Gateway (gated shopping/commercial centre).
- Clermont.
- Verulam/Tongaat.
- Sparks Road.
- Musgrave Road (near Susanna).
- Devonport.
- Phoenix Shopping Centre.
- Intellectuals (/planners) live at the back side of Berea.
F: Interview with Susanna Godehart, German planner in Durban  
2005-05-11, Dortmund

Planning instruments South Africa

General evaluation of planning:
- Relation between planning and fragmented society
- Basically urban planning wants to balance the effects of fragmentation, wants to go against the effects of fragmentation by filling the interspaces/ the remaining areas between the development axes which are a kind of passages
- But the question is merely, how strong is the state? In comparison to Germany, the South African instruments are less forceful

Instruments to guiding and to shaping the urban development:
- IDP, LUMS and zoning as well as DFA: see question category “Evaluations to the IDP/ Explanation”; other possibilities:
  - Zoning management by marketing?
  - Tax advantages for renovation (redevelopment) of buildings in the CBD/ downtown, probably for the closing of gaps between buildings
  - Local Economic Development

Estimations to the IDP

Planning challenges since 1994:
- Planning challenges did not change essentially, the emphasis still lays on activities in new building, the aim of protection of buildings is restricted to the inner-city area
- In Durban the most 30 of disrepair concerned high-rise buildings are chosen to be repaired by municipal budgets (budget planning). In this context, the People’s Budget-Model of Porto Allegre is classified as an example. This model also shows participatory tendencies/ elements.
- The Albert Street Area/ Albert Park in the CBD/ downtown is an example of a high-rising building settlement which impends to be degraded

Participation:
- The planning procedure of the IDP is determined for rough development directions and do not leave space for participation. The level for an active participation is the level of wards of a town. According to the national IDP-Act, ward committees exist, but they regard the situation very undifferentiated (see aspect ‘planning system’).
- But in this respect Durban does not show its own initiative to shape participation more effectively; a positive example is Port Elizabeth where it is attempted to determine systematically target groups who will be involved in different themes.
- less citizen-oriented politics → municipalities deeply involved with establishing themselves
- no capacity to react to unanticipated problems coming up on local level in a flexible way

Role of Planner:
- Contents of planning are significantly shaped by professional objectives
- Criticism to participatory presentation of the IDP:
- Contrariness between strategic and participative planning: strategic planning uses/ needs individual interests, while participatory planning demands a balance between different interests. Finally, the officials pursue a strategic planning

Explanation of planning instruments
- Preliminary note:
South Africa do not possess a building law regulated in a law like the building law (BauGB) in Germany; the IDP and LUMS are based on different laws, the DFA is an apart act for its own

**IDP:**
- Legal basis of the IDP: national law/ act which obligates the communes to elaborate the IDP
  \( \rightarrow \) local planning autonomy: municipality
- Purpose of the IDP: strategic long-term planning which is annually controlled and adjusted
- Discussed subject areas: see revised IDP of Durban
- Basically permission of IDP by Province Minister, in reality ca. every five years (limited personal resources)
- Elaboration of IDP by representative forum of different stakeholders (according to IDP Act); further, IDP regulates a legal participatory procedure which the communes form on their own
- Co-operation with investors is intended but in practice it does not work, the IDP has a too weak spatial reference
- Composition of IDP: among other sectoral plans (water, waste): Spatial Development Framework as sectoral plan which contains just within authorities declarations of intent to a rough land-use structure In its specificity it is far away from German Land-Use Plan

**Land Use Management System (LUMS) – currently in legal elaboration:**
- Legal basis: provincial law/ act for area-wide setting-up of LUMS by all communes, created by a commission of the province
- Challenge: comparable to the task/ challenge of the Land Utilisation Ordinance of the German Bundesländer: determination of zones (like eg. in Germany ‘General residential area’) in which determined uses are admitted, representation and designation of types and densities of built use. At the same time, it concerns about a further spatial concretion of the SDF. The degree of concretion the measure lays between the German Land-Use-Plan and the German Local Development Plan
  \( \rightarrow \) LUMS is a regulative instrument which is orientated on implementation and refers to the precise level of action – in contrast to IDP
- Elaboration of LUMS: level of commune, a participatory procedure could be intended
- Instrument for a participation of population, economy etc. which is effective and on this level necessary and is still missing
- Obligation: LUMS are determined as statute from municipal council
- Up to now it do not exist any standardised building law. Currently, in communes are in force traditional land use systems which in parts also differ within the community area. As example, Pinetown demands other documents of building permission as the CDB/ downtown
- Implementation of LUMS could be connected with problems for the commune

**Development Facilitation Act – DFA:**
- Purpose: ‘act/law preparation of building land’ for contemporary implementation of projects
- Procedure: submitter – commune or private investor – submits an application (to the province. The procedure has to be explained comprehensively in the application, inclusive an ‘environmental impact study’. If the preparation of the application takes times, too, the approval procedure only takes three months. Until now, planning and implementation of major projects by investors extensively defy municipal control. Particularly as the permission of the application is concluded on the basis of permission documents without considering urban aims/ objectives
- Criteria for approval/ permission (in future?) is correspondence with use intended by the respective LUMS-plan

Handling of planning with citizens’ action committee/ citizens’ initiative:
- Sporadically, major projects obtain a financial promotion (in IDP?)
- Initiatives from bottom will be nor impeded but neither perceived, because the anyway limited spatial, strategic planning of IDP do not advance to this level of measure
- Desirable would be an active Ward management, maybe institutionalised in ‘Ward offices’
- The relocation of the INK planning office into the INK Area had to be happened much earlier

Handling with economical influential investors:
- The municipality normally do not oppose the requirements of investors, among others because the present planning instruments (without LUMS) miss the binding, regulative effectiveness

Allocation of financial resources:
In general
- At programmes like URP and INK exist problems in the cash drain. These financial resources are often used one-sided for the physical infrastructure.
- It lacks personal resources for the “more soft”, but more important tasks like the development of ’skill capabilities’

In IDP
- The IDP is directly bound to the budget planning of the commune, plans should be commonly created and will be determined by the municipal council and thus they are legal just within authorities
- Like in Germany it is differentiated between “Operationsbudget” and “Investitions-budget”
- Contracts with investors which contribute to urban development could be taken up as declaration of intent

Sources of capital:
- The provision of money to finance projects/ plans (for ‘public tasks’) depends on the allocation of competence between province and communes. The province is responsible for housing, for educational system and school building, for health care and social amenities; the commune is responsible for infrastructural services and social amenities
  - The commune predominantly gains money of/ by real estate tax and of/ by the selling of electricity and water. Other expenditures are financed by majoritarian earmarked allocation of funds of the national level. In the DORA, law comparable to
the German fiscal equalisation of the Länder, it is annually estimated on the basis of certain factors and formula, how the money (taxes) has to be distributed to the communes (earmarked and free allocations)

- In several spheres exist co-financing with development organisations

**Decision about allocation of financial resources:**

- The urban government is strongly led by the state that is in many spheres investor
- The commune is responsible for the project implementation inclusive tendering procedure

**Principle of countervailing influence/ Feedback principle:**

- Intergovernmental relations/ co-operations work bad
- The cause predominantly lays in the system: The ministries/ administrations of the province have to align their priorities in their budget with province-wide priority. Thus a commune – who urgently needs a capital investment for a urban development and states this in the IDP – can be ignored in the respective budget of the ministry/ administration if it is still better provided than other regions in (statistical) comparison
- A participation of public bodies on the part of the communes and the province in creation of provincial budget and in budget planning of communes contribute to a stronger integration of the sectoral disciplines into the overall planning (coordination)
G: Interview with Susanna Godehart, German planner in Durban
2005-05-13, Dortmund

Characterisation of different centres in the EMA:

**Umlazi**: huge housing area with existing centre area, another centre area is planned. For supply partly orientation to Isipingo.

**Isipingo**: One of the touristic coast cities along the southern coast of the EMA; to the hinterland more and more black housing areas.

**Pavillion**: Regional Shopping Centre near Westville. About 2/3 of gateway spending power, missing the entertainment area. Only few cinemas, almost pure shopping.

**Edge of the CBD (Berea, River Bend, Chatsworth, Lemontville)**: Middle-income areas with small centre areas, partially Indian settlements, oriented to the “Pavillion”.

**Hillcrest**: High-income suburb

**Mpumalanga**: Disconsolate township area in the periphery

**Clermont/Kwadabeka**: Clermont grown by local Black initiative, Kwadabeka planned development as enlargement of Clermont with strong interactions among each other, both with own centre area.

**KwaMashu with INK, Bridge City**: In strong competition, KwaMashu (township area) large housing area, Ntuzuma as enlargement of KwaMashu with orientation to its centre area, Inanda and Ntuzuma are structural weak, Inanda is shaped more rural, Bridge City as centre area in between the three township areas as supply especially for Inanda.

**Phoenix**: Indian township area, large centre area, middle income

**Verulam, Tongaat**: Old, grown, established sugar cane cities with train connection, enlarged by new middle-income areas and centre areas for relocations in the influence of general strong development in the north

**Pinetown**: White, old city, many jobs, independent planning authority

**Umhlanga**: Umhlanga Rocks touristic coast city, strong developments in the hinterland: Umhlanga Ridge with Gateway as Regional Shopping Centre, high income area, most important service sub-centre in the EMA, especially financial services and company headquarters, few practical services for inhabitants, own planning authority

- general development/problem: strong developments only in the north (Umhlanga), relocation of functions from the CBD goes to Umhlanga with entertainment and shopping, relocation of the airport from the south to the new Ushaka International Airport
- General problem: Relief, open space hardly developpable
- Centrality is relative: Income distributed in different forms all over the city
- Post offices as pension payer have to be regarded
- Industrial areas as potential for more central functions
- Relationships between different township areas
- There are connections by highways
- More connections (planned and deliberated) are not visible, questionable whether connections are wished or meaningful
H: Interview with Michael Kahn, Professor at School of Architecture, Planning and Housing, University KwaZulu-Natal, Durban
2005-02-24, Durban

Timeline:

1960s: Two-tear system: CBD and small clusters of shops in suburbs
Later 1960s: American influence, development similar to American cities, emerging of supermarkets
1980s/1990s: Five-tear-shopping structure similar to American patterns; Convenient cluster of shopping centres rarely with more than five shops; Neighbourhood shopping centres serving for about 20,000 people in middle income class, 6000 m²
Late 1990s/2000: Size of shopping centre base: supermarket as basis plus basic line shops, 10000 – 12000 m²; Community Shopping Centres: junior department stores with 30000-40000 m² altogether, minimum of 2 x 2000 m², high level of comparable shops and one shop of each kind (Musgrave); Regional Shopping Centres: up to 100000 m², department stores with all kinds of supply (Gateway)

Hierarchical structure of shopping centres
1. CBD
2. Regional Shopping Centres
3. Community Shopping Centres
4. Neighbourhood Shopping Centres
5. Local Convenience Shopping Centres

- Hierarchical structure is a theoretical model
- In reality it is more interacted and more complex in South African cities

According to paper of Kahn (p1):
1. Free Standing Shopping Centres
2. General Purpose Renewal Centres
   - Small scale shopping centres
   - Upgrades by enlarging for higher ordered functions
3. Multi-Use Shopping Centres
   - Multiple uses: big shopping centres with offices or flats, eg Musgrave
4. Speciality, Theme or Festive Shopping Centres
   - Highly specialised in tourist areas, with restaurants etc, eg Umhlanga Ridge
   - Specialised shopping centres with a very high mix of shops inside
   - Hillcrest Mall: no supermarket, only restaurants, clothes shops, shops which are related to crafts of different types, 10000 – 15000 m²
   - Like tourist orientated old centres eg. Rothenburg ob Tauber
5. Entertainment Shopping Centres
   - 50 % of space for entertainment
   - People coming in first line for entertainment, not for shopping, eg. Gateway → specialisation in shopping centres/structures
6. Focused Shopping Centres
   → Three variations
      i) European hypermarkets with a few other shops related to it
      ii) Very specialised shopping centres: do-it-yourself, furniture etc.
      iii) Factory Outlet Centres only for particular kind of shopping
7. Non-Residential Serving Centres
   - only in big metropolitan areas
   - Which kind of shopping centre depends on size of Metropolitan Area and on how big the high-income sector is

High-income:
- If there is a big high-income sector there will be a Regional Shopping Centre but there will only be few or no Convenience Shopping Centres which are more for poor people
- If the high income sector is not big enough there will be no Regional Centre in its typical manner
In higher income areas many older shopping facilities do not sell goods anymore, sell services now: restaurants, health …

Low income:
- In Durban live more low income people
- In low income areas the neighbourhood (centre) plays a great role
- Lucky if there is a Community Centre, but there will be less or no Regional Centre
- Few possibilities for shopping and little possibility for mobility
- If poor people take once the way for shopping, they want the place of “maximum choice”
- Hawkers, informal traders working at street corners, specialising on one type, no one sells all products, only one or two products at the same time
- Hawkers are the best retailers
  - include a space for hawkers in interceptory shopping centres, leave market space outside the centres for hawkers, so that they have not to pay rent inside the hall
  - difficult question!

Shopping in Durban
- First biggest Regional Shopping Centre: Pavillion
- Second biggest Regional Shopping Centre: Gateway in Umhlanga Ridge, but 50% vacant
- Is it like in Germany: Too much shopping centres and shopping space?
  - Over-supply?
  - More and more gets empty
- Not enough people for shopping and thus no guarantee for surviving of all existing shopping centres
- The lower the income and the lower the density, the higher the danger for dying of shopping centres
- All kinds of shopping centres exist in Durban because here live many people altogether and many people with only low income
- Durban is no financial centre, so there is only a little high income sector
- Majority has very low income
- Who makes decisions to build?
- Planners make no decision, this make the developers
- Developers do not see the problem and the different needs of different income groups, so that plans sometimes pass by need and demand
- Public sector does not understand the model of shopping centres, see it in another way
- Big cities like Durban, Johannesburg, Capetown behave differently:
- People differently spend their money: Wearing the same clothes all year because of climate within land, no distinction in winter and summer clothes
  - More money for the interior decoration or spending time in garden
- Impact on expenditure is different and important
- Different people’s behaviour → Different shopping patterns
- Musgrave is a Community Shopping Centre
- Build in 1972: small supermarket, five to six small stores, access by bus or taxi → traditional old type
- In 1970s: extension to mall with parking
- In 1980s: extensions of mall to back street, so that the shopping centre lays in between two roads; extension of a second floor, more parking, more single shops
- In 1990s: a third and a fourth floor and two more parkings
- Several major changes all within 30 years
- Three different types of renewal: Musgrave develop from a Local Convenience Centre to Neighbourhood Centre to Community Centre
- Musgrave centre in contrast/ connection to trade/ street market a few streets farther
- Declining of CBD → rich people leave, more low income people coming there → like American patterns
- Small shops ousted from petrol-filling-stations, restaurants, video shops and computer stores
- Gateway is a Regional Shopping Centre
- Towncentres in KwaMashu or Umlazi are not bigger than Neighbourhood Centres

Designing Umlazi:
- Close to railway lines and one road running through the middle of the township - Shopping centre lays between two railway stations
  - People living not between this railway stations go to CBD for shopping

New development
Very poor planning to understand people’s behaviour and thus to make no mistakes in developing shopping centres
  → In townships, shopping centres are never bigger than Neighbourhood Centres
  → It took a long time to recognise that Neighbourhood Centres will fit in the best in townships
By taxi developing: a chance for people to go farther
Different kinds of shopping centres:
Hyper-supermarkets are the most expensive opportunity to go shopping
Everything else is cheaper, and as cheap/expensive as other ones (shopping centre, big chains like Spar, townships)

Study and model of Kahn
  20 to 25 years ago, it took three years to collect data, only few information material Exist: directly asks for data at supermarket chains
  Expenditure information could be get
  Retail turnover information → no one tells
  Tax information → no one tells
  Analysis of 6500 shops takes two years
  4500 household’s questionnaire about behaviour of shopping
  Some kind of conceptional model for Durban in 1980s by Kahn, compared with US-planning and its model of a city
  Till now no upgrades of this model
  Five or six centres are realised as project basing on the model for Durban

Transport
  If a shopping centre is well-located at a main transport road or even at nodes
    → interceptory strip
    → see figure on paper, p.2
  Look where the road patterns go along: Taxi, bus, railway …
  Transport routes are very determinant factors to which centre people go for shopping (most routes go to CBD)
  Costs are limited: it costs the same for five or ten km, does not matter if CBD or other shopping centre
  Improve transport system to bring people to shopping centres and to influence their decision
  Efficiency (good, fast) public transport is missed
  Relationship CBD - outskirts have to change for a more polycentric city
    → it now starts
  Informal settlement residents have no money to drive far for shopping
  → It is necessary to build shopping centres for informal settlements, look at main transport roads and nodes to build them as Neighbourhood Shopping Centres

Bridge City
  Too ambitious, too big
  Lays deep in valley with water problem → because of water it is expensive to build shopping centre
  Principle: development as interceptory location → very good, one of the main roads goes along
  BC is planned for upper and lower middle income class but the area is more a low income area
  It is a good location but a Neighbourhood Centre would be the best solution instead the planned Regional Shopping Centre, because area is relatively a low income one
  Phoenix and Gateway already offer much shopping space, so BC will partly be vacant and will always look unfinished
  Indian people will not go to BC: they have too much money and have Phoenix
  Planners/developers and politicians do not understand anything about BC and its environment
  There is no guarantee of money concerning the planning but the developers get to greedy because politics will finally offer something to the disadvantaged blacks – As a high ambitious aim, as model-project for the black population
    → “Crazy”, “Bridge City is waste of money?!”
    → Nowhere else in world comparable things happen
    → Smaller projects at right place would bring more
  If centres are well located they will fit in the environment in some time

Developing of sub-centres
  → Only leads to concentration of traders at one point
- Has no influence on shopping behaviour of residents
- In direct living environment the supply decreases
- Would be better to reinforce existing centres instead of relocation or new development on “Greenfield”
- Does not change anything in fragmented city of Durban?
  - If it is really well-done, it could happen that something changes, but it takes long time
    Apartheid shaped the structure during a long time and it will not be overcome in a short time
- Put up the right thing in the right place, do not dream
- Right place, right scale, right reinforce
- Literature, information: Library, model of Durban in Kahn dissertation
- Zoning plans: City Engineer Department, ILUGS Plan
- Names for information at City Engineering Department:
  Gavin Benjamin, Gerald Clarke, Ismail Vawda
I: Interview with Mr. Adrian Masson, Planning Manager at INK
2005-02-23, Durban

What do you understand by mono- and polycentric structures?
- Gateway is more than a shopping centre. There are shopping centre, offices and entertainment. They tried to capture the market so the informal traders have to leave shopping centres supply not only the Neighbourhood but also the region Commercial Centres can only compete with shopping centres by investing.

What kind of structure do townships have?
- Within SA there are different types of fragmentation:
  - Spatial, economic, land use and racial (not concluding) which are reinforcing each other.

Economic data:
- SA is a third world country therefore there is only thin data.
  - Bridge City is a future vision and has been in the book for 30 years.
  - Functions of public spaces are different to the function in Europe.
  - SA is emerging global society which is influenced from outside, so there is a search African culture => NEPAD (tries to give African countries one voice).

Should there be an African view on townships?
- Yes.

What is this view?
- I don’t know. Hopefully the next generations can do this South African cities are often built in the American way. American values are adopted. So people who are living barely over the existence minimum (30 000 Rand per year) are buying a car because it is a status symbol, although they can’t effort the running costs.

Will a person use the sub-centre?
- The place has to be created in an attractive way so that it can’t be experienced somewhere else. At a specific income level people will use the sub-centre, but this has to be tested.

Would people stop on their way home to go shopping in the sub-centre?
- The taxis have to stop there and the people have to take another one.

Which vision of the townships has the eThekwini Municipality?
- Townships should have a productive economy and commercial activities. In Gateway informal traders are not allowed. Shopping centre is a kind of gated community. Gated communities are the new Apartheid established by the whites/rich.

CBD:
- Major change in the last 15 years
- Now it is a threatening place
- It used to provide higher order commercial facilities
- Department stores moved out of the city centre which brought new opportunities for rental decline
- Townships are dormitory towns
- As incomes rise all is rising in a slowly way

Can there be established a sub-centre in the townships?
- There have to be a lot of people because the income is so low. There has to be an agglomeration and an attraction to attract the people. Development of Bridge City is a cooperation between the city and former land owners. In his opinion the right strategy would be to push KwaMashu town centre for supplying the whole area instead of building up the Bridge City. It makes no sense to push two centres at the same time.

Bridge City PPP
- Major employment zones are in the south of Durban and the CBD. Therefore people have to come from the north to work there. The concept of corridors and nodes re-emerged in the 1990’s. High class nodes are developed near to the black residential areas so that they feel involved.

INK: it is tried to build up the service infrastructure then it is linked to the whole city?
- Clermont: sub-centres kept alive by an elite or a middle income group. Clermont is an exception of the townships in Durban. It is one of the oldest townships. In it there lived the Apartheid time elite: wider range of income and different types of accommodation. Lots of people there managed to get a good education. Clermont is well-located to industrial areas. Therefore there is less unemployment.

What do we need to build a sub-centre?
- Railway station
- Modal interchanges are necessary (the cheapest mode is the train)
Local hospitals
- Acceso to court
- Government services
- Agglomeration => are attractive for private investors

What do you recommend for implementing sub-centres?
- Have a look at Umlazi mega city site.

Is it better to compare Umlazi with a planned sub-centre or a grown one?
- Better is Bridge city.

How were townships planned during Apartheid?
- Townships were planned by central government (KwaMashu planned by Durban) by the department of plural relations, later named department of development aid. All documents about township planning were trashed.
- Structure of townships: Neighbourhood Centre, near border industries, heavily controlled environment; modern structure; design: neighbourhood concept like in the 50’s/60’s; neighbourhood contains schools/social infrastructure; one town centre with good railway connection.
- Townships are frozen in space; (Masson doesn’t know how to dismantle that.)
- Informal settlements in townships: better to upgrade that to relocate, because of the functions between households that know each other; possibility to find work in the neighbourhood. No planning applied in informal settlements. Today slums often are removed; the livelihoods of settlers are not appreciated. For upgrading sites there must be put boundaries around.
- Informal settlements were built up under threat, because they were illegal, therefore there is a high density for defending the settlement. Plots are necessary for an effective planning, because without knowing the boundaries you cannot receive data about eg. how many roads are needed. Informal settlements become formal through infrastructure, land tenure, schools etc.
- Establishing of job shops in townships: looking for people to work => reducing costs for searching for jobs by providing e-mail, fax, telephone etc.

What role does an informal settlement play in a township?
- Informal settlements are self-generated suburbs; places that people create for themselves.
- Lots of settlements will become formal by service infrastructure provision.
- There is more unemployment in informal settlements in KwaMashu than in Inanda
Transport
- Townships are mostly well-located (about 20 to 30 km away from CBD) in terms of living environment; main problem: lack of public transport (60% of Durban’s population depend on public transport). Transport is ensured by private sector (non-subsidised public transport: Mini-bus taxis).
- Mini-bus taxis often are family enterprises and/or influenced by mafia-structures
- Another transport opportunity: railway. Existing railway connection from north to south → underutilised users are diversified underinvestment for years and increased railway-violence led to a change of transport opportunities to buses and mini-bus taxis
- Parts of public transport is subsidised by government

Is a price system (flat-rate) for public transport better than subsidies?
- Public authorities lose control on public transport through increasing privatisation

Are any railways subsidies planned by government?
- Transport authority is responsible for the creation of the Integrated Transport Plan (ITP). They work on it for one year, it is semi-private and self-funding specific contents of the ITP are not clear, yet

Townships
- Economic and residential growth is happening in the west of the municipality → besides of mini-bus taxis there are no transport opportunities to support the growth

Is there any economic development/growth in townships?
- Development in industrial parks close to township areas. Especially service industries (bank & services) are moving from other areas to these parks = displacement. New development for three years. But they do not settle directly in the townships themselves.
- To achieve economic growth in townships, the Municipality has to spend a lot of money into them and public interventions are needed → it is not private sector driven! (problem: safety and missing confidence)
- Middle-income groups move from the townships into better (often white) neighbourhoods and for this lower-income white suburbs get places of integration. Integration between races in the same income-level
- Self-developed economic activities in townships are sprawled over the settlement area and not concentrated in one special area (less structured, less controllable). Only the planned shopping centres situated next to transport nodes and corridors are agglomeration of formal and informal trading. Development in townships is three time harder in townships than in other areas.
- CBD: more informal business are coming up → place of change and decline (low-income trading)
- Trend in South Africa: decline of many small shopping centre to less big shopping centres
- Informal traders are very important for local provision → Need of integration of informal and formal traders (eg. formal ownerships of informal traders in proximity to shopping centres). Smaller trade areas and different types of trade are needed to assure the provision of low-income people.
- The range of goods has to be more basic in townships → for gaining more advanced goods, it is necessary to drive into shopping centres or the CBD
- There are different income categories: high (A,B), middle (C) and low (D,E) income → income is moving from CBD to other centres (eg. Gateway); shopping centres are mainly used by A and B and increasingly C; D and E need smaller structures
- There is a limited capital (small economic growth) → establishing sub-centres leads to decline of informal and small traders → a measure has to be found to balance shopping malls and other traders
- Low-income people in townships are a potential for trading, but nobody wants to invest in these areas → solution: establishing middle-class in townships for making them more attractive to investors (not only middle-income people moving into the townships, but mainly social climbers should be bound to townships) → how to make townships attractive for the middle-class?? → upgrading and integration of the settlement into the city structure, several issues must be given, first and foremost security and social amenities as well as services, living, social and natural environment → all these factors lead to a good perception/image of townships; BUT generally it is difficult to say why people like to live somewhere
- Unfair delivery of subsidies: low-income people get subsidised for housing, high-income people have funds for housing, middle-income people don’t get any subsidies and don’t have funds for housing → lack of access to finance → middle-income housing is needed (to attract them for staying in townships)
- If middle-income people stay in townships, there is a danger of arising gated communities → missing integration
- Townships are self-managed and self-regulated → How to manage standards?
- A lot of people sell their houses in the first years although it is forbidden
Appendix 3

Workshops

K: First workshop with students at University of KwaZulu-Natal 2005-02-22, Durban

Presentation of the current project work by the South African students - IDP – Change and Opportunities

Information was given on the following topics:
- Definition of the IDP and its implementation; legal framework
- Problems and challenges integrated development planning has to deal with
- Cato Manor as an example of an integrated inner city development project
- It’s important to understand the context of the way South African towns and cities became fragmented. – A brief overview of the context is outlined to build up to the key challenges the Integrated Development Plan has to address.

UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT
- South African towns and cities – characterized by a unique physical structure.
- Brought about by changing social and economic forces, apartheid planning as well as approaches to physical and urban growth.
- This resulted in urban areas being highly inefficient and inequitable.

LEGACY OF APARTHEID PLANNING
- Two main structural problems facing South African cities and challenges that still exist today are:
- Urban Sprawl – Deconcentration and decentralisation policies have given rise to isolated settlements on the urban edge which are still fundamentally linked to the Urban centre,
- Has been reinforced as a result of low building densities with “one-house-on-a-plot” model of development and the existence of large open spaces within and between urban developments.
- Racial Planning → people removed from inner city and mixed use residential areas to new townships on the urban periphery.
- With the collapse of Apartheid rates of urbanization increased. Informal settlements located on urban edge for access to opportunities. Since 1980’s- growth of privately constructed, middle income housing estates on the urban edge.
- Second problem is fragmentation and separation
- South African urban areas fragmented in a number of ways:
  • divided according to land uses – land use zoning resulted in urban areas divided into residential, industrial, commercial etc. – increases need to travel.
  • the exclusion of commercial activity from residential
  • areas makes it difficult for informal sector to operate.
- Mono functional areas in townships as monotonous and depressing environments. Industrial areas & city centres are deserted at night and certain residential areas unused in the day time - inefficient use of urban infrastructure.
- Urban areas divided according to racial groupings income- causes social division and political conflict. Peripheral areas have become a problem in terms of urban restructuring and urban improvement as a result of low density settlements that are scattered, fragmented on the periphery - would be expensive to provide urban services.
- Residential and other functional areas are separated by open space, buffer strips or transport routes.- Urban areas have become highly fragmented and compartmentalized.

CHALLENGES FACING SOUTH AFRICAN PLANNERS
- Reorientation of urban growth away from the urban periphery- or slowed lateral spread.
The acceptance of higher density development in new areas, and areas where land is inefficiently used.

- Reintegration of the fragmented parts of the city through
  - The use of vacant land
  - Achievement of a higher degree of a mix of land uses
  - A focus on public transport.

- Focus policies and legislation to combat urban sprawl and fragmentation – Integrated Development Plans, Development Facilitation Act etc.

To what extent does the IDP address income gaps?
- IDP includes projects which are focused on distribution
- The issue of income generation is integrated in the IDP

Statement on the IDP:
- The IDP is a holistic approach
- There are no single solutions
- The IDP aligns projects with budgets
- There is a long list of issues that should be addressed in the IDP but because of limited financial resources priorities have to be set within a financial year
- Priorities are the result of an interactive process different stakeholders participate in
- In the IDP process different departments on local and provincial level are involved, e.g. the Department of Housing
- At the end of a financial year the IDP is reviewed and adjusted to needs and problems emerging from the actual development

Are IDPs appropriate for every municipality?
- The implementation of the IDP differs from municipality to municipality as it depends on different personal and financial capacities as well as the different needs. Accordingly, every city has got its own methods, for example, Durban has established an area-based management, a strategy assisting the IDP.

Is the five year period too short?
- The IDP is oriented to a vision set out for twenty years With the election of the Council every fifth year, a new IDP is developed Things need more time to develop

Does the project work take traditional settlements in the rural areas into consideration?
- These settlements are not addressed because the focus should be on townships as a specific type of settlement in South African cities

What kind of local economy should be established in the sub-centres?
- Local economy development should be concentrated on legalizing trader markets based on homemade products

Input on local economy:
- It is necessary to consider if establishing of local economy in townships is feasible because in the CBD there are wider markets and in the townships, people are too poor to make markets possible.
- In designing a local economy concept, the project has to think of human movements and their causes and the impact on the township development.
- A sustainable development of local economy in the long-term depends on creating qualified (?) jobs in the townships. The town centre of Umlazi is an example of a positive development.

What should the townships look like in 20 years? What is your idea?
- The development of the townships depends on investments, job generation. Key factors are training and education, access to transport and markets.
L: Second workshop with students at University of KwaZulu-Natal 2005-03-03

- Sub-centres for different townships (e.g. Inanda & KwaMashu) and ethnic groups are not inevitable to the will and need of the people → this kind of integration is maybe not the right way and will possibly not work.
- Missing definition of middle-income and high-income. Need for searching an official definition. Our own definition of middle-income: Average of income in the EMA.
- Who is the target group of our planning → low and middle-income people
- High quality shopping centre like Gateway is not possible because of proximity to CBD and low income in the surrounding areas Gateway as a Regional Centre is also too close to the new planned regional centre Bridge City.
- Term of “edge of the city” was used in an unclear way → for establishing a functional sub-centre, the centre has to be located on traffic nodes and/or corridors, which lead to the CBD → “edge of the cities” in sense of edge of the township settlement and its catchment area.
- What happens to the informal traders, if a sub-centre is established in the catchment area of a township settlement? → offering the informal traders the opportunity to settle near the shopping centre Need of integration of formal and informal trading
- Clear and consequent use of the terms “Durban” and “Municipality” is needed Durban = CBD-area ; Municipality = eThekwini Municipal Area (EMA) → townships are included
- Specialised analyses of the Bridge City area: what is currently planned by the Municipality respectively Moreland there
- Why did we choose Durban as our research city → Johannesburg is too large, Cape Town is overrun by (German) student groups

Housing

The land value is increasing the nearer you get to the sub-centre

- Subsidies have to increase the nearer the property/house is to the sub-centre There have to be traffic nodes at the sub-centres
- A mix of land use is important for the sub-centre, for example, people living above the shops or next to them → day and night busy → contrast to shopping malls
- High density must be given around the sub-centres Whites and Indians rather live in high density areas Blacks want to have their own plot
- Key question: Which quality and quantity of housing must be achieved?
- Answer: Depends on class (income) and race!
- Although there are subsidies low income people’s residential area can be gentrificated

Economy

Very important are basic need like good infrastructure (roads, water access, places for informal traders)
- In townships informal economy is very important
- Different kinds of informal economy (services, trading, skills)
- They need access to money
- These kind of informal economy could be established in a sub-centre
- Very important is education and skill development centres to qualify people for jobs
- Good quality of houses to keep middle-income people in townships
- How can a sub-centre on the area of Bridge City look like?
- It should not be a “Gateway” → offers/supply for low-income people
- Informal economy should be integrated
- Combination of shopping and skills training (libraries, schools, skills training centres)
- Physical connection with KwaMashu, Inanda and Phoenix
- Police Station, community involvement against crime (crime prevention)
- Housing upgrading to rich people in townships
- Transport node
- Economical growth by growing income of the surrounding people
- Promotion of tourism
- Support of SMMEs (credit, infrastructure and trading)

Social amenities
- Which social services and amenities should be established in a functional sub-centre?
  → three conclusions after collecting examples
  1. underprivileged groups of population have to be taken into consideration when planning social services (disabled, youth, elderly)
  2. Social services will not work on their own, they have to be combined with other aspects (housing, economy, transport, infrastructure)
  3. The need for social services for one certain area (Bridge City) depends existing structures and problems (e.g. social infrastructure, existing social amenities, target group and income, crime)
  → needs have to be found out through participations of politicians who are responsible for the area and key persons of the community
  → Categorisation/ Priorisation (to find out what and how should be planned)
  → Consider needs (very important) and wants (less important) by priorisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Needs</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>local centre for the provision of the population (eg. supermarket for basic needs, clothes shops, post office)</td>
<td>recreation facilities (playground, park, sportsfields, )</td>
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<tr>
<td>councillors (for people to talk about their problems)</td>
<td>Youth Centre to keep the youth busy (table tennis, pubs, …)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Station (to assure security)</td>
<td>Care centre for children with working parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational facilities (schools, libraries)</td>
<td>Hospice (for people with AIDS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi purpose centre / community hall (for people to rent, for certain events like weddings, funerals and participation)</td>
<td>Cultural facilities (e.g. museum but it is important align with the population there)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another way for categorising / priorising the establishment of social services would be by financial support by the government and services that have to be established voluntarily and with the support of private people/investors

Transport
- Before coping with transport problems it is necessary to define public and private transport
- Public transport: divides up into subsidised transport (bus, railway) & non-subsidised transport (mini-bus taxis)
- Private transport (personal vehicles)
- Current situation of mini-bus taxis:
  Most important transport opportunity for low-income people and partly for middle-income people
  Several problems through mini-bus taxis:
  - Currently: inefficient management system of the mini-buses At rush hours too less vehicles for the mass of people
  - Rising accidents rates
  - Aspect of pollution not recognised in political discussions (yet?). But government has no influence on prices and management of the mini-bus enterprises
  → Focus on research area: Which kind of transport should be established?
  → Railway as an alternative to mini-buses?
  - New railway-line is too expensive to develop There is also not enough space available at all places Government has no possibility to plan a mini-bus taxis station
  - There is always the need to recognise what is already there, eg KwaMashu already has a railway connection Building up a new station is maybe not efficient
  → Mini-bus taxis are enough for ensuring public transport connection for low-income and middle-income people

Order of implementation (economy, transport, housing)
Economy:
- Can not exist without transport access
- Needs (high density) housing in the surrounding

Transport:
- Makes only sense when there is a target point
- Is hard to implement in low-density areas
- Priority of connections from the centre to the residential areas
- Better transport/mini-bus system
- Creating a bigger spending catchment area

Housing:
- Has to be implemented as basic need
- Is basically for upgrading development
- Needs economy and services for development

Spheres can not be splitted, have to be seen as a unity
Prioritisation depends on reality
→ in reality planning has to ask people for their wishes
- for acceptation of planning
- because of prejudices to planning because of bad Apartheid planning experiences
→ asking people for their needs and create a prioritisation out of this by considering the different spheres interactions

How should participation look like in our opinion?
→ Call a representative for the area
- Need of cooperation between municipality and economy
- Opportunity to bring tourism into townships for more income of the local people
- Why did we choose Bridge City as our research area?
→ experts told us about it in a critical kind; project get curious to make own planning and proposals for the area

Why not choose an existing township centre as our research area and creating plans and proposals for upgrade them into sub-centres?
Appendix 4

Research

To make an investigation about structures of township area centres in the EMA (supply with goods, infrastructure etc.), an observation form was created.

M: Observation form

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<tr>
<td>Roof: yes</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walls: yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>firm building</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>e.g. street</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Very good</td>
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<th>washing facilities</th>
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<td>Transportable toilet</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shop Unit Density</th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Estimation of area (whole market area)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Street length (area of street markets)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impressions, notes and peculiarities:
### Customer/User Analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0-15</td>
<td>16-30</td>
<td>31-50</td>
<td>older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Visiting Frequency

-2: Absolutely empty
-1: Crowded
0: No goods
1: Many goods
2: Mere social meeting point

#### Buying Quantity

0: No customers
1: Long queue
2: Many goods
3: Mere shopping

### Seller Analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Coloureds</th>
<th>Whites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0-15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Average Abundance of Shopping Units

-2: No customers
-1: Long queue
0: Many goods
1: Mere shopping
2: Crowded
**offer of goods (whole market):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>meat/fish:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choice of different types of meat</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small offer</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broad offer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refrigerated:</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living animals:</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frozen food:</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fruits/vegetables:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>choice of different sorts</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small offer</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broad offer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freshness</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rotten</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very fresh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet corn/rice/flour/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potatoes/bread</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>packed</td>
<td></td>
<td>open/loose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooled goods (milk products)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooled</td>
<td></td>
<td>uncooled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothing</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for which sex: m</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>electronics:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new ware</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assortment:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entertainment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crafts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telecommunication</td>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix

household goods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(predominant)</th>
<th>new ware</th>
<th>used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

assortment:

- kitchen tools
- cleaning utilities
- textiles
- other

hygiene utilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

quality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-2</th>
<th>-1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>low standard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luxury goods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

art crafts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

medical goods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>traditional</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>modern medicine</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

impressions, notes and peculiarities:

(missing goods of daily or mid-term need / other striking issues)

sketch sheet:

of the market area / street trade area with approaches/stands/stores/facilities and distance specifications
services

hairdresser       yes  no  number
telecommunication yes  no  number
post             yes  no  number
repair service   yes  no  number
fuel station     yes  no  number
bank             yes  no  number
other:

public facilities

authorities      yes  no

namely:

consulting facilities yes  no

namely:

police station   yes  no
library           yes  no
medical care      yes  no  namely
other:

leisure facilities:

pub              yes  no  number
restaurant/snack bar yes  no  number
cinema           yes  no  number
playground       yes  no  number
sport facilities yes  no  number
electronic entertainment yes  no  number
other:
### Traffic access (according to approach)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Approach Road</th>
<th>Main Street</th>
<th>Side Street</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Condition of Roads</td>
<td>-2 (very bad)</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road Covering</td>
<td>Asphalted</td>
<td>Not Asphalted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Road Width</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic Density</td>
<td>-2 (very low)</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rail Connection</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Bus</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minibus Taxi</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Bus Stop (just entry/exit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedestrians</td>
<td>Pavement: Complete</td>
<td>Interrupted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavement Width</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road Crossing Possibilities</td>
<td>Traffic Light</td>
<td>Zebra Crossing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position in the Surroundings</td>
<td>Integrated in Residential Area</td>
<td>Between Two Settlements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F08 – Planning in fragmented cities, Durban, South Africa
The value which is reached is the result of cumulating the research aspects of the observation form. The value 2 means the best and the value -2 means the worst conditions.

Number of shopping units

Ethnic group customer
Ethnic group salesman

Average quality of goods

Average variety of goods

F08 – Planning in fragmented cities, Durban, South Africa