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REGULATION THEORY AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING: THE CASE OF SOUTHERN PINETOWN, KWAZULU-NATAL

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Abstract

Development planning plays an important role in integrating the actions and behaviours of groups and individuals with the needs of the economy, and thus in ensuring the continued reproduction of capitalism. An understanding of the history of development planning in South Africa and in Southern Pinetown through the tools of regulation theory, shows how the apartheid `development planning process' for a limited amount of time, arguably favoured the needs of racially skewed capital by securing stability and control over an exploited, black workforce. Within the post-apartheid era characterised by constant and unprecedented change, development planning needs to become impregnated within the fabric of society. The role for planners and the local state is therefore to impart a strategic planning mindset into the diverse forces and components, whose combined actions together create the urban form.

Declaration

I declare that this discourse is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.



Anthony James Workman

The twentieth day of October 1995.

In loving memory of

Rogan Edwin Langman

24/2/73 - 4/6/95

M.H.D.S.R.I.P

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To the Development Planning Master's Class of 1995.

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Capitalism represents a particular form of exploitation, or mode of production, in which societal groups (namely the working class and capitalists) enjoy unequal relationships to the means of production namely land, labour and capital. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1972) predicted that capitalism would, given its internal contradictions, become dysfunctional to the further development of humankind. They argued that history would follow its destiny to its predetermined end, namely communism, a mode of production in which exploitation would cease and a classless society would emerge (Marx and Engels 1972).

However, as we stand on the threshold of the twenty first century, having witnessed the failure of the so called communist experiment and the apparent victory of capitalism as claimed by authors like Fukuyama (1992), it seems as if the classless society is ever further from our grasp. Yet capitalism's victory has not shaken itself clean of its own internal contradictions and tendencies towards crisis.

Regulation theory provides an explanation for capitalism's ability to continually reproduce itself, by drawing attention to the institutional structures in which the economy is grounded. This discourse sets out to explain the role and contribution which development planning plays in the continual reproduction of capitalism. This is carried out through an understanding of economic development and the role played by development planning in the South African context with a more detailed focus on development planning in the Southern Pinetown region.

1.2 CHAPTERS OF THE DISCOURSE

In this discourse, an understanding of the persistence of capitalism is provided for, through regulation theory as outlined in the second chapter. This theory argues that successful, sequential yet limited epochs of capitalist development occur when there is a facilitative coupling between the way the economy is organised and the way in which social agents and groups act and interact within society (inside and outside of

the economy). The point is continually stressed, that the form of these couplings are not predetermined by the needs of capital but are rather chance outcomes arising from class struggles which may or may not be successful and which can take a variety of forms.

Integral to this chapter, is locating the role of development planning within the formation and sustaining of the coupling or regimes of accumulation. To do so, the chapter will focus on the development of regulation theory, the evolution of development planning and the impact rendered by the postmodern debate.

A description of the development of South Africa throughout the twentieth century is then presented from a regulationist viewpoint in the third chapter. This description will focus on the role of planning as well as the manner and forms through which it was carried out. This chapter forms the context in which the case study is based.

The fourth and fifth chapters focus on the case study, which is the planning of development in the Southern Pinetown region. Southern Pinetown has a long and rich history in which the Mariannhill Mission, the Borough of Pinetown, the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission and various central government Departments have all played important roles in shaping both development and the planning of that development within the area. The case study therefore takes cognisance of the sub regions position within and institutional relations with the Pinetown region, the Durban Functional Region (DFR) and the province of Kwazulu Natal.

Throughout the case study then, a focus will be placed on the institutional forms through which development planning was carried out, the way in which it was carried out, who was excluded from the process and what it aimed to achieve on the one hand and its role in facilitating the emergence of a successful coupling or accumulation regime on the other.

The sixth and concluding chapter draws together regulation theory, the case study and development planning. Together with a discussion, the chapter sets out to identify the

extent to which development planning can and or does make in the eventuation of successful epochs of development which prevent the demise of capital. Essential to the understanding is the way in which the actions of local actors are influenced by their relations to higher levels of government and institutions outside of the state, as well as their positions in broader regional, subregional and international economic arenas. From the understanding gained, proposals and guidelines for development planning in the current South African context are described.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The history described in this discourse emerged from research undertaken in a number of forms namely,

Primary research: Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission's archives, Interviews.

Secondary Research: Literature review:

- Books and journal articles
- past discourses and thesis

The primary research involved moving systematically through the relevant NTRPC agenda and subject files and extracting information informing the topics of;

- local, regional, provincial and national actions, resistance and participation in the initiation, implementation or monitoring of development planning in the case study area,
- the interrelationships between local, regional and national levels in terms of the above,
- linkages between the development and structure of the economy (local, regional and national) and planning as carried out in the area.

The interviews which were undertaken, provided a broad overview and general feeling within which to place the individual aspects and themes (uncovered through the archive research) from the point of view of central government (Peter Schaafsma), Natal Provincial Administration (Julien Keipel), Pinetown Town Planning Department

(Bruce Edwards) and the Built Environment Support Group (Nicola Budd).

Secondary research provided the context and substance of the conceptual vantage point of regulation theory, the evolution of development planning, planning history in South Africa and Natal, and a sound grasp over the history and development of Southern Pinetown.

1.4 CONCLUSION

It is hoped that this discourse will lead to a greater understanding and appreciation for the regulation school but more importantly further contribute to an understanding of the history of development in Southern Pinetown. At the heart of these aspirations, lies the quest for understanding and contributing to the further development of development planning as a regulatory mechanism which has the ability to secure medium term capitalist development.

2 CHAPTER TWO: REGULATION THEORY AND PLANNING

2.1 INTRODUCTI.

This theoretical chapter attempts to draw together three important and interrelated themes. The first revolves around the definition, nature and evolution of regulation theory, which explains the persistence of capitalist development with reference to successful couplings of economic accumulation systems and corresponding modes of social regulation. The second theme, sets about defining and locating the role of development planning as a regulatory mechanism within the mode of social regulation. Finally, the relationships between the above themes are located within debates surrounding modernism and postmodernism.

2.2 THE ORIGINS AND NATURE OF REGUL' TION THEORY

Stephen Gelb (1991:3-5) describes how the global economic crisis which beset the capitalist countries in the 1970's (in the form of stagflation: simulta. ..us increases in inflation and unemployment) renewed the popularity of Marxist econo..ic analysis with its emphasis firmly on the inherent contradictions of capitalism (xploitative labour relations allowing for the accumulation of profit, the anarchy of mark. competition leading to the increasing substitution of machinery for labour and the resultant tendency of the rate of profit to fall) and economic crises.

This renewed interest, provided three alternative explanations for the development of economic crises; the tendency of the rate of profit to fall as a result of the increasing mechanisation of capital, the overaccumulation of capital relative to the supply of labour, and underconsumptionism, where production outstrips consumption.

Despite dealing closely with the inherent contradictions of capitalism, they all ignored the institutional context of the capitalist accumulation process and could therefore not explain how and why the resolution of internal contradictions emanated from the very crises which capitalism had repeatedly fallen prey to.

The 'regulation' approach, emerged as a school of thought which held that capitalist

social relations (class struggles) did not exist in an abstract conceptualisation of reality but in a variety of economic, political and social structures and institutional forms. It was these structures and forms which, over time, shaped and changed the behaviour of individual economic agents and thus the relations between them.

This brought the meaning of an economic crisis closer to a more institutional and material definition, describing a turning point within capitalism, where institutional structures and relations were changed without altering the fundamental capitalist nature of the relations themselves.

Out of the above understanding arose regulation theory, which viewed the history of capitalism in terms of the rise and fall of specific, distinct and sequential epochs of development or regimes of accumulation. Successful regimes, it was argued, were dependant upon the emergence of a relatively stable relationship or coupling between the system of accumulation and an accompanying mode of social regulation (MSR) which could sustain successful capitalist growth into the medium term.

At the heart of understanding the accumulation system, lies the notion of the nature of the production of goods and services as undertaken by the individual productive units of any economy, namely the plant. Plants, (as explained by Scott and Storper,1992:4-6), comprising various combinations of capital and labour, all vary in terms of the outputs they produce and as regards their internal structures and external relations with the economy (regionally, nationally and internationally).

All plants seek to maximise their internal economies (cost reducing relationships internal to the plant) and external economies (external of the plant) in order to maximise their profits. Within both spheres, a further distinction is made between economies of scale (where relative decreases in average costs are achieved through increasing the quantity of production of similar products) and scope (through increasing the quality and or quantity of the production of different kinds of products).

In seeking to maximise their objectives plants have the following options;

1\ maximising production quantity within an expanding plant (internal economies of scale),

2\ smaller yet numerous plants together producing large quantities (external economies of scale),

3\ maximising different productive activities within a plant (internal economies of scope),

4\ a number of smaller, specialised and interdependent plants (external economies of scope).

A plant's decision is ultimately influenced with regards to the broader international and national market economy within which it operates. For example, if the plant were to follow a strategy of maximising internal economies of scale growing in size and quantity of output, then there must be a stable or even monopolistic market which would ensure demand for that production. Consequently, should the market become unstable and highly competitive, the nature of production would be likely to change as producers find it more efficient to increase external economies of scale and scope (to quickly respond and provide that which is demanded in scale and scope) and hence a proliferation of interdependent smaller plants may replace large plants.

Having outlined possible variations in the nature of production, the accumulation system can be understood as `a production consumption relationship' able to ensure that the productive actions of capitalists (as explained above) were met by an effective demand for and distribution of their output. These systems were made up of four key components; the organisation of production and the workers' relationship to the means of production, the speed of capital circulation and valorisation (influencing the development of management principles), the distribution of value (allowing for the reproduction and development of different social classes) and the composition of demand. (Tickell and Peck,1992a:195)

It was the mode of social regulation that guaranteed the reproduction of the dominant accumulation system into the medium term, through the accommodation, mediation and normalisation of crisis tendencies. The MSR constituting habits, customs, social

norms, enforceable laws and state forms integrated individual and group behaviours with the requirements of the accumulation system.

The MSR was explained with reference to the following levels of abstraction (Tickell and Peck,1992b:350),

1\ the MSR generalised and abstracted from actual experiences,

2\ a geographically and historically specific MSR operating at the level of a specific nation state and

3\ the dispensing of specific regulatory functions (which stabilise and reproduce the accumulation system) through regulatory mechanisms (for example planning and religion) which are realised through regulatory forms (institutional structures such as the nation state and church).

Regulation theorists continuously pointed out (see Gelb,1991;Tickell and Peck,1992\92a\95;Jessop,1992;Hirst and Zeitlin,1991), that theirs was not a theory based on economic determinism, that the MSR was not functionally determined by the needs of the accumulation system. Rather, because the MSR emerged out of class struggle, they stressed that successful regimes of accumulation were to be seen as chance discoveries able to ensure regularity and performance in capitalist reproduction. The history of capitalism would therefore be full with failed experiments as well as a number of varying possible and existing MSR's for each accumulation system. (Tickell and Peck,1995:3)

However an important clarification needs to be made as far as the formation of modes of social regulation out of class struggle is concerned. The couplings which emerge, in whatever form, do so out of specific historical contexts and as such can in no way be explained or understood without reference to the past. As Karl Marx in 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' argued;

> "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please. they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves,but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."

2.3 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL REGULATION: AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE MSR

In defining the MSR, it was pointed out that regulatory functions (which integrated individual and group behaviours with the requirements of the accumulation system) were dispensed through regulatory mechanisms grounded in institutional structures and it is here that development planning as a regulatory mechanism is to be located.

In isolation, development planning can be seen to refer to a process through which the progressive movement of society is envisaged and, or realised by human action. However, when placed within the regulation approach, it becomes evident that the regulatory forms through which the development process takes place (paying special attention to the relations between forms and the rest of society) will determine the nature of functions (which they dispense) which either favour or hinder the accumulation system.

In short, development planning plays a vital role in the formation and sustaining of those social norms, habits, customs and relations amongst societal and economic agents which, when successfully integrated with the needs of the dominant accumulation system can secure development into the medium term. To substantiate the above argument, it is necessary at this stage to return briefly to the origins of planning, as described by Beauregard (1989:381-390).

Planning emerged out of the reformist movement's concern with the social and economic problems arising from the uncoordinated development of the industrial city and saw its role in disciplining the city for capitalist accumulation. This was to be achieved through focusing on the needs of the production of standard commodities for large markets, the importance of transportation infrastructure for the circulation of commodities and the location of investment in proximity to labour.

This early form of development planning, often termed the modernist planning project (which will be revisited in this chapter) had as its functional objectives (or regulatory functions); supporting the production and circulation of capital, the formation of a new

pact between capital and the state, the creation of a co-ordinated and functional urban form and the amelioration of poverty through drawing the working class into the ranks of the middle class.

While the justifications, goals and processes of planning have changed and are changing (also to be addressed in this chapter and discourse), it is clear that planning plays a vitally important role in the eventuation of successful and unsuccessful accumulation regimes. While planning outcomes play an important role, close attention must be given to the nature and actions of regulatory forms as they drive development planning, as it is those processes which themselves mould behaviours and relations within capitalist society.

2.4 A DESCRIPTION OF THE GOLDEN YEARS FORDISM

Regulation theorists' early study, focused on the reproduction of capitalism during the postwar boom period (mid 1940's to 1973) viewed in terms of the emergence and dominance of Fordism, an era of mass accumulation and consumption successfully coupled with a monopolistic mode of social regulation.

The nature of production under the mass accumulation system was characterised by the presence of large scale, flowline, production- process assembly plants (based on internal economies of scale). The epitome of these plants was the oft quoted mass production assembly line of Henry Ford's Model T Car in the River Rouge Complex, where steel and coal went in one end and a car came out of the other. It must be noted that while these plants represented the dominant mode of accumulation, there were in existence and indeed interlinked with the above plants, smaller ones operating along lines of external economies of scope and scale (Scott and Storper,1992:11).

Within the Fordist form of production, the workers' relations to the means of production was encapsulated under the term Taylorism, referring to a deepening of capitalist control over the labour process through scientific management. This control took the form of separating the conception and execution of work, of planning and doing, of head and hand work, of managers and workers as two distinct groups of

employees. This form of work organisation led to the division of labour at its extreme and reduced a large number of job categories to minutely defined tasks, a low skill content and a correspondingly narrow skills base (Sengenberger,1992:141).

The success of mass production was based on the ability to consume in mass, meaning that high levels of effective demand (where the individual is able to purchase what he or she demands) needed to be created and sustained. This took the form of a 'virtuous circle of capital accumulation based on balanced growth between production and consumption' (Jessop,1992:26).

This relationship saw rising wages (linked to productivity increases based on economies of scale) fuelling rising mass-demand, leading to increased profit levels (from increased effective demand for mass consumer and complementary goods) which allowed for increased investments in improved capital goods providing for further productivity growth and hence further wage increases.

The monopolistic MSR which maintained the above production consumption relationship comprised the following regulatory forms and functions (Tickell and Peck,1992a:195; Jessop,1992:26; Scott and Storper, 1992:12),

1\ an oligopolistic structure of industry, encouraged by large-scale markets and rising barriers to entry, allowed firms to maintain high prices irrespective of demand, a phenomenon known as monopoly pricing,

2\ institutionalised collective bargaining between state, capital and labour, which, through rigid rules governing the labour process and markets, saw labour conceding a certain degree of control over shop floor operations in return for a share of productivity gains in the form of rising wages ensuring further growth in consumer demand,

3\ Keynesian demand management of the national economy, which stabilised aggregate demand and ensured full employment,

4\ a comprehensive welfare state system which secured high levels of social stability and high levels of consumption

5\ and on the international level, pax americana and the setting up of the Bretton

Woods system which regulated the global economy in such a way, that rigid stability (from fixed exchange rates, low interest rates) acted as collateral for firms to follow a mass production system.

The mass accumulation system and monopolistic MSR secured the post war boom which lasted from 1945 up until 1973. So rigid and well balanced was the system, that the only major effect of cyclical downturns in the business cycle on the industrialised nations, was the slowdown of economic growth (Tickell and Peck,1992a:195).

2.5 THE MODERNIST PLANNING PROJECT AND THE FORDIST STATE

It has been shown how the accumulation system of mass production and consumption was secured by a monopolistic mode of social regulation which brought stability, order and control over anarchic market processes allowing for successful mass accumulation. Development planning in the form of the modernist planning project (MPP) (Beauregard,1989:384-6), was a mechanism of social regulation which, institutionalised within the state, secured the regulatory functions of order, stability and control.

The above mentioned functions fell under two broad forms namely, order and democracy. Order referred to the disciplining of the city, allowing the successful and sustained accumulation of industrial capital. This drew the focus of planning towards securing the needs of standardised commodity production for large markets through the provision of transport infrastructure (for the circulation of commodities) and the location of investment in proximity to labour.

Democracy implied the spreading of prosperity, socially and spatially. In social terms democracy (in a substantive sense) meant bringing the lower working class up into the middle class, whose values and interests they would assume. This would occur through the trickle down of growth (in the form of jobs and increased wealth) caused by successful accumulation.

These functions were dispensed through the Fordist state (the regulatory form) within which planning was institutionalised. The very nature of defining progress and the process of development (as alluded to in the above regulatory functions) was informed by the procedural assumptions of modernism namely (Beauregard,1989:384-5);

1\ that reality could be controlled and perfected,

2\ based on an absolute faith in the efficacy of human action and the importance of commitment,

3\ that social control is wielded in order to drive society forward along a path of progress,

4\ that this was the role of the state which was above politics and laid claim to a scientific and objective logic which transcended the interests of capital and labour,

5\ and a belief in master narratives which give meaning and a unitary logic to reality.

The MPP was thus successfully institutionalised within state planning agencies which had progressive tendencies to be reformist as well as to serve the long run interests of all groups in society. Through a scientific understanding of the organic logic of society, the state had identified the efficient organisation and disciplining of the industrial city and aspirations towards attaining the middle class way of life as being in the preferred public interest.

The Fordist state was characterised by a division of labour distinguishing between policy (planning) and implementation (doing). Planning was carried out via bureaucratic rationality, requiring the following of rule orientated processes (whose success was measured in terms of accuracy, adherence to rules and efficiency) rationalised by taking account of costs, in order to arrive at the correct decision (Barzelay,1990:11).

Planners, infused with belief in their own ability and purpose, carried out their roles as rational, neutral public agents (as they were seen to be above politics) who produced masterplans and blue print planning which detailed the course, targets and

manner of development which would give form to the highly rigid and controlled functional and economic determinants of the industrial Fordist city.

2.6 ENTERING THE CRISIS OF FORDISM

During the 1970's major structural changes in the global economy and its institutional structures, began to undermine the order and stability on which the success of mass production had depended. The following events point to the nature of such changes which brought widescale volatility, chaos, heightened competition and economic decline into previously successful capitalist economies (Sengenberger, 1992:143),

1\ the collapse of the international monetary order based on the Bretton Woods agreement (which had until 1973, stabilised the global economy) introducing turbulence and volatility into economic markets,

2\ the emergence of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (involving the lowering of trade barriers and the concomitant institutionalisation of free markets and production systems, which reduced the effectiveness of Keynesian aggregate demand management) which together with severe recessions and mass unemployment, intensified international competition,

3\ the emergence of differentiated consumer demand which began to outweigh mass demand for standardised products due to mounting disparities in the distribution of personal income (skewed towards the rich) and the education and creation of unique consumer tastes through advertising.

The above changes made the production of fewer yet uniquely targeted, highly differentiated, quality products (rapidly processed according to consumers desires), a more efficient production strategy to follow than the mass production system (which became risky, as producing large amounts of standardised products were difficult to sell). Thus plants which produced according to external (and in some cases internal) economies of scope rose to dominance (including those in existence, those who emerged and those who restructured accordingly).

A number of successful practitioners have, since the onset of the crisis, been identified within certain areas, for example the engineering firms in the Third Italy, and within

existing organisations or firms, for example Toyota (both of which will be discussed below). Other examples include the Los Angeles clothing industry and the semi conductor industry in Silicon valley.

The Third Italy (the regions of Emilia Romagna, The Marchers, Tuscanny and Umbria) emerged as a successful growth area characterised by the presence of closely interlinked, small, medium and artisan firms within the engineering, textile and clothing industry. Infused with the use of new flexible technologies the production process both allowed for and relied upon, the use of a highly skilled, innovative and creative labour force which 'thinks and does' (ie there is no manager worker distinction, organisational hierarchies have been flattened within the plant) (Murray:85).

In Japan, small and medium size plants were tied to larger firms and organisations (for example, Toyota) through subcontracting relations which saw corporations organising production along the idea of Just in Time Production (where production is carried out only when an effective demand exists and is identified, in the necessary quantity and just in time to meet it) (Tomaney,1990:34-6).

This description of Japan's success, the outcome of a long term strategic interventionist industrialisation policy (where the state targets and supports specific sectors or industries for development which it sees as being internationally competitive), huge developments in technology and the changing nature of the global economy, provides an understanding for the way in which the Newly Industrialised Countries or NIC's (the East Asian Tigers) have risen to economic prominence, thereby bringing rigorous competition into previously stable oligopolistic sectors, a further nail in the coffin of Fordism (Scott and Storper,1992:12).

In many capitalist countries, whose economies were struggling to compete against the new competitors, it became evident that the monopolistic MSR had became an obstacle to their further development. Trade unions for example, a key component of the monopolistic MSR, were identified by many as obstacles to what was claimed as

the new emerging accumulation system. Previously heralded as progressive forces, their continued tactics of hard wage bargaining and adherence to rigid rules governing the labour process merely fuelled stagflation (rising unemployment and inflation) (Allen,1990:259).

2.7 EMBRACING FLEXIBLE ACCUMULATION SYSTEMS

The crisis of Fordism lured many regulation theorists into searching for its successor. Most of their work, focused on the emergence of the new, flexible production systems as outlined above, and not surprisingly a flexible regime of accumulation was soon claimed as Fordism's successor.

Flexible production systems were characterised by the;

> "...variety of ways in which producers shift promptly from one process and/or product to another, or adjust quantities upward and downward in the short run without any strongly deleterious effects on levels of productivity." (Scott and Storper,1992:13)

These producers, in attempting to maximise their external economies of scope, were reliant largely on an extended social division of labour amongst fellow small plants located spatially and institutionally together through intensive webs of interlinkages (subcontracting and up and downstream linkages).

If these systems had successfully replaced Fordist accumulation systems as the successful and stable form, then international competitiveness and economic prosperity would depend on producing to economies of scope (a variation of products) rather than to economies of scale (where unit costs are reduced by producing uniform products on a mass scale).

However the success and viability of producing to economies of scope as a globally dominant accumulation system was reliant upon the presence of the following,

1\ flexible technologies, comprising both computer automation and information technologies which allowed machinery to produce various product types and

configurations (Schoenberger,1988:8),

2\ a highly skilled, creative and innovative (flexible) workforce able to use the above technology,

3\ the handing down of substantial responsibility to workers to make informed production and organisation related decisions on the factory floor (implying the need for either flattened hierarchies or at least a new relationship between managers and workers),

4\ a high degree of integration of world markets,

5\ and sectoral shifts away from manufacturing towards the service sector within national economies (Kraak,1992:3-5).

While successful incidences of flexible production systems had been identified, these were limited to three industrial sectors, namely; revived artisan and design-intensive industries (for example, clothing and jewelry), 'high technology' industries and their suppliers and contractors and business, financial and personal service functions (Tickell and Peck,1992a:197).

2.8 A FLEXIBLE MSR?

Some authors argued (see Schoenberger,1988), that the MSR compatible with flexible accumulation was that of the neoliberal state. For only when individuals, investors and the economy were freed from the strait-jacket of the Keynesian deal and its components (ie the interventionist state & strong trade unions) could they respond in ways facilitating growth under such an accumulation system. By allowing prices to reflect actual market conditions, the power of the free market would prevail, allowing for countries to achieve a competitive advantage (the classic argument of the free marketeer).

Others agreed (see Jessop,1992) that the Keynesian deal and its concomitant rigid state and union structures were the problem. However, the answer for them did not lie in blind faith in the free market, but rather in reconstructing the nature of the afore mentioned institutions as well as the relationships between them. These theorists pointed to the specific institutional contexts within which the success of pockets of

flexible accumulation had occurred. They brought attention to the highly authoritarian MSR in the East Asian countries and a history of close co-operation and linkages (social, religious and economic) within the Third Italy.

The above debates show that much work was spent seeking a successor to Fordism through identifying often isolated incidences of flexible production systems, claiming these to represent the new accumulation regime and attempting to theoretically (or with reference to the re-emergence of the freemarketeers) draw up a functional MSR.

This debate and abuse of regulation theory, branded it just another economic determinist paradigm. However, the theory clearly states that the MSR is not determined functionally by the accumulation system but rather, that it emerges from class struggles and that successful couplings are chance occurrences and not the result of a predetermined path of history. Hence a flexible mode of social regulation cannot just emerge, be created or be said to exist where cases of flexible accumulation are identified.

2.9 CRISIS IN THEORY, PLANNING AND MSR

The crisis of Fordism was mirrored in the crisis or rather the failure of traditional theories to explain capitalist spa[illegible] (re)structuring. Together with the emergence of postmodernism (a complete rejection of the modernist perspective and the many theories based upon it for a celebration of diversity, chaos and a belief in the inability to bring a unifying logic to the universe) a theoretical vacuum within contemporary spatial restructuring emerged and was partly taken up by the new eclecticism of postmodernism, which perhaps overstated the accusations of redundancy in existing theoretical devices and its rejection of totality (Pudup,1992:191).

Regulation theory came under its fair share of attack and as already pointed out, was largely subjected to much use and abuse from scholars applying it haphazardly under this era of deconstruction.

It is during a crisis of accumulation that a number of experiments involving the

(re)construction of (existing or) new modes of social regulation may occur. The re-emergence of the freemarketeers for example, provided the impetus for experiments around a neo-liberal MSR, characterised by the dismantling of the Fordist state and the liberalisation of and intrusion of market forces into, public administration (Murray R, 1992:78). Manifested in the monetarist policies of the Thatcher and Reagan administration, these ill fated couplings barely managed to survive through the 1980's (Harrison,1993;18).

The neo-liberal MSR can be explained with reference to the changing nature of planning as a regulatory mechanism within the 1980's, largely characterised by the subcontracting of planning functions to the private sector. While this introduced the vitality of market competition and innovation into planning, the charging of market prices for services rendered and the unco-ordinated approaches of private agents, created the very problems which had underpinned the emergence of the nation state but more specifically the modernist planning project in the first place. (Beauregard,1989:391)

Clearly, the regulatory form through which planning was institutionalised, had swung in favour of the market and this radically impacted on the form of actions and relations resulting in planning outcomes. Labelled professional treatment, the service provider would use their own knowledge and intuitions to discover the problem and then prescribe its solutions to the client (provided of course they could pay) (Barzelay,1990:12). Thus planning during the 1980's lost its holistic and reformist vision and came to focus on fragmented and unco-ordinated attempts at luring investments into areas, creating jobs and entrenching the power of capital in the development planning processes (see Beauregard,1989 and Harvey,1989).

The benefits which planning gained from its submersion in the market (through direct exposure to the dynamic, innovative and time conscious activities of the private sector, whose actions themselves were shaped within the context of an unstable and volatile global economy) include a recognition for the need of rapid decision-making, cost effective development, efficient management, flexibility and access to private sector

resources, all of which, to an extent, freed it from the rigid bureaucratic nature of state planning.

In the nineteen nineties, development planning as a regulatory mechanism is being reconstructed within the contours of four international trends namely (Hague,1991: 306; Harrison,1993:21);

1\ the environmental movement which has drawn attention to the need for addressing global environmental concerns through practical actions at local levels,

2\ a new regionalism which challenges repressive central governments and provides the room for co-ordinating ad hoc and fragmented local planning actions,

3\ global economic restructuring characterised by uncertainty and heightened competition,

4\ the democratisation of states and societies which allows for planning decisions to be taken by a wider group of stakeholders as well as the empowerment (increasing the power of people and groups over the decision making process which affects their lives) (Friedman:1992:31) of those previously excluded, most notably the beneficiaries of development.

The question which must be asked, is whether or not these trends can or will be translated into a new regulatory mechanism which, as part of the mode of social regulation (arising out of class struggle), is capable of securing medium term growth based on a flexible regime of accumulation. To address this question, it is necessary to look closely at the reconstruction of regulation theory.

2.10 REGULATION THEORY THE WAY FORWARD

The rigorous use (and misuse) of regulation theory has, since its origins, covering as it did both Fordism and attempts to explain the nature and evolution of the crisis and restructuring which followed its downfall, revealed weaknesses within it. As a result, far from being a static once off description of the ability of the capitalist system to continually reproduce itself in spite of its inherent contradictions, the theory has itself

been undergoing some major changes.

Regulation theory currently finds itself within an evolving and developing dialogue, comprising a number of theoretical approaches. Here the focus is once again on the intrinsically sociopolitical character of restructuring processes, the role of social institutions in underpinning modes of economic development, and the historically and geographically specific nature of capitalist (re)production (Tickell and Peck,1992a pg191-2).

Given its position within the debate, regulation theory is itself in need of reconstruction. Adam Tickell and Jamie Peck have called for the extension and redefinition of the central concepts of regulation theory, with a vision of it playing a more meaningful role in explaining the greater complexity in time and space of capitalist development processes. They present the following arguments which, relating to national, regional and local regulatory forms and a greater understanding of transition and crisis, form the foundation of the reconstruction. (Tickell and Peck,1995:6-14)

2.10.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL REGULATORY FORMS

The first aspect of reconstruction, focuses on a moving away from the implicit methodological emphasis placed on the nation state. This emphasis, creates the impression of a functionalist reasoning and assumes that the mechanisms and functions of regulation operate at the national level only and are somehow translated logically in an unproblematic manner down to the regional and local level.

The presence of different regional and local forms of regulation which exist within and cut across nations, reflecting local and regional forms of production and consumption, needs to be recognised. This must necessarily bring the focus down to local and regional actors, who are ultimately the regulatory form through which regulatory functions are interpreted and delivered.

If accumulation regimes are thus spatially variegated, then distinctive sets of regional couplings within and between nations are likely to exist. Thus while some regional accumulation systems may be functional others are likely to be dysfunctional, while some and not others will be favoured by national accumulation strategies. (Tickell and Peck,1992b:351).

2.10.2 UNDERSTANDING CRISIS AND CHANGE

Regulation theory has also tended to devote more of its attention to regimes of accumulation (on a national scale) than processes of transition or what regulation theory is trying to explain, the crisis. This focus leads theorists to ignore the process of transition and confidently claim the successor to Fordism with reference to an emerging accumulation system and assessing everything in terms of its roles and needs.

Instead of attempting to characterise the transition on the basis of an uncertain future, an understanding based on emerging institutional structures and forms of production is needed. Here, the theoretical criteria required in identifying potentially durable socio-economic structures from transitory experiments is whether it is economically and politically reproducible.

2.11 CONCLUSION

In attempting to apply regulation theory towards gaining a greater insight into the role which development planning has, does and can play in securing medium term economic and social development, the following important issues (as outlined by Tickell and Peck) need to be raised;

1\ How can the historical evolution of the regulatory forms be most effectively periodised?

2\ What is the rationale of these regulatory forms?

3\ To what extent do the set of regulatory forms identified cohere as a group?

4\ What inherent tendencies are operating within the regime of accumulation and how are they reflected in its regulatory forms?

This discourse will address these issues with reference to development planning as a regulatory mechanism. This will be carried out within the case study, development planning in Southern Pinetown which is located within the context of the development of Pinetown itself and more broadly, the region of Kwazulu Natal. To do so, it will be necessary to first outline the national accumulation regimes which have characterised the development of the South African economy throughout this century, the focus of the following chapter.

3. CHAPTER 3: NATIONAL STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a broad description of the history of development planning within South Africa through the twentieth century and in so doing, focuses on two themes. The first, describes the development of the South African economy through the lens of regulation theory, with reference to the rise, hegemony and crisis of Racial Fordism and the emergence of a post-Apartheid regime of accumulation. Secondly, development planning is isolated as one of the regulatory mechanisms through which the changing fortunes of the above regimes can be explained.

The first theme can be numerically illustrated with reference to the following figures (1), show the Gross Domestic Product (the total monetary value of all goods and services produced within the geographic boundaries of a nation during a given year) average annual growth of the South African economy through the most part of the twentieth century.

AVERAGE ANNUAL REAL RATE OF GROWTH OF GDP

1946-1950	4,7
1950-1955	4,8
1955-1960	4,0
1960-1965	6,0
1965-1970	5,4
1970-1975	4,0
1975-1980	3,4
1980-1989	2,2
1990-1993	- 0,7

The GDP growth rate began increasing towards the 1950's as a regime of Racial Fordism, a racially structured mass consumption\production link coupled with an apartheid mode of social regulation (Gelb,1991:8), was consolidated which arguably contributed towards successful growth through the 1960's. With the onset of economic

crisis and as Racial Fordism became increasingly dysfunctional to further capitalist development, GDP growth dropped substantially through the 1980's and early 1990's.

To shed light on the changing vicissitudes of the above regimes through an analysis of development planning as a regulatory mechanism, attention will be drawn to the nature of and relationships between the relevant regulatory forms and resultant planning functions. Glaser (1987;48) points to the field of politics (particularly the relations and balances of power between organised political actors within or connected to the state system, rivals within the state, rival social and institutional interests and conflicting perceptions of policy priorities) as the nursery from which planning functions originated.

In analysing South Africa's industrial dispersal policies, Glaser argues that the rationale of policy makers in South Africa throughout the twentieth century, has been to preserve and maintain a basically capitalist social order. This was secured through class struggle (for the most part limited to white politics) seeking to,

> "best advance the particular sectional or institutional interests hegemonic within the (capitalist) state system at a given time" (Glaser,1987;48),

which may or may not have directly favoured capitalists.

3.2 1900-1930

3.2.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The national economy for the most part of this period, was dominated by a low wage gold mining sector, rigorous and uncontrolled capitalist competition, state policies and expenditure supporting the provision of productive infrastructure (to nurture industrial growth as a means to both secure employment for poor whites and to promote self sufficiency) as well as state neglect concerning the shelter and welfare needs of the labour force. Early industrial urban forms were thus moulded by unco-ordinated and exploitative market forces which led to a number of social and economic problems. These problems included threats to public health (people were living in large scale

slum developments in terrible circumstances and under constant threats of typhoid, tuberculosis and influenza), exploitative landlords, haphazard and unco-ordinated development, and unscrupulous subdividers of land. (Smit,1989:339-41;Glaser,1987:29)

3.2.2 REGULATORY FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

The early governments favoured territorial racial segregation as evidenced in the 1913 Land Act, which restricted the black population to approximately 13% of South Africa's land surface (labelled reserves, these areas will be referred to as homelands). The states growing attention to the reproduction of the black labour force was largely based on a concern for the agricultural deterioration of the homelands which it saw as the root cause of the 'undesirable' urbanisation of black people into white areas (Glaser,1987:29).

The state response in the 1920's to the chaos and problems of the urban form, was driven by the white working class' opposition towards the increasing urbanisation of black people (seen as a threat to their own job opportunities) and entailed large scale slum clearances and a banishment of blacks to the urban periphery (Smit,1989:340).

Town planning legislation emerged towards the end of the period out of a combination for the need to bring order and efficiency over anarchic capitalist urban development, and the import of ideas and desires to produce the city beautiful concept amidst the process of industrialisation (ibid:341).

3.3 1930-1950

3.3.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During this era, the South African economy began moving successfully into the first phase of import substitution industrialisation (ISI), an economic strategy for industrialisation whereby a country attempts to substitute locally produced value added goods for those imported. Its success requires that locally produced goods are cheaper than imports. For developing countries, this requires the setting of tariffs or quotas

on imported goods in order to protect the growth of local industries from cheaper international competitors. {2}

In South Africa, (Gelb,1991:8,9) first phase ISI was based on the production of non durable consumer goods which were relatively labour intensive leading to fast growth. Towards the end of the 1940's, the first phase was reaching its limits and the country was faced with the choice of moving into the second phase and sticking with import substitution as an industrialisation strategy, or opening up and embracing the free market.

Gelb (ibid:9) describes a 'choice' being made to move into second phase Import Substitution Industrialisation {3} which was based on both domestic political factors (dictated by the National Party's Apartheid Vision, to be looked at shortly) and economic viability (where South Africa could afford to import the necessary capital and intermediatory goods through the sale of its raw materials and metals whose stable effective demand was underpinned by the needs of the successful international Fordist mode of accumulation).

3.3.2 REGULATORY FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

The anarchic capital accumulation processes and resultant problems of the previous period (1900-1930) were tamed and directed towards ISI through the state taking a greater degree of control over the urban form, via town planning schemes, and by paying more attention to the spatial dispersal of economic activity by promoting industrial dispersal (closely linked to white concerns over black urbanisation).

The first town planning schemes were essentially mechanisms through which the state could control and dictate the land use process in order to create an urban form conducive to efficient and sustainable capital accumulation. These schemes, whilst involving limited public housing for poor whites, threatened and carried out the removals of blacks from central city areas and heightened control over their relocation, and once again generally neglected the shelter and welfare needs of the labour force (Smit,1989:342).

The economy's move towards a strategy of ISI, was bound up within the reign of the Pact and United Party governments between 1934 and 1948. Both governments represented a wide range of capitalist and ethnic interests, but held a broad consensus in the white vote around a basic policy of territorial and political segregation along racial lines (arising from the continued concern over the urbanisation of black people outside of the reserves). The lack of a clear, social and ideological framework for addressing the issue, left the successive governments' actions at best highly fragmented. (Glaser,1987:29)

The state initiated measures to promote decentralisation which included the setting up of the Industrial Development Corporation (to support the establishment of industries in peripheral areas), the Social and Economic Planning Council (SEPC) and the Natural Resources Development Council (NRDC). Both the SEPC and NRDC can be seen as embryonic regional planning agencies, who towards the end of the 1940's, advised that the promotion of industrial dispersal be aimed at developing all areas towards self sufficiency so as to stem both the temporary and permanent urbanisation of blacks outside of the homelands. (ibid:49;Harrison,1992:21).

These practices, ideas and discourses making up the regulatory mechanism of development planning were to be consolidated into a coherent and rigid programme of racial segregation (characterised by white domination) with the coming to power of the National Party (a populist, Afrikaner coalition of white interests) in 1948.

In its first few years, the new government set about consolidating the apartheid vision within its political and ideological base. Th ision, had an official policy of 'separate but equal development' where every ethnic group, seen as an equal nation in its own right, would have its own right to self determination (Scruton,1982:19). The vision foresaw the creation of independent and autonomous (politically and economically) homelands for the different ethnic groups. However, the practical application of the vision, given its corollary in the unequal distribution of land between the races and the dependence of the gold mining industry on cheap black labour, revealed apartheid as an elaborate ideology aimed at entrenching white

domination (this will be explored more closely in the following section).

3.4 1950-1970

3.4.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Gelb (1987:8-13) identifies Racial Fordism as a regime of accumulation present within South Africa during this period, defined as;

> "an extension of racially structured mass consumption and mass production coupled with an apartheid mode of social regulation."

As previously stated, the coupling emerged from a choice of industrialisation strategy bound up with domestic political factors, made attractive and indeed viable by the country's position as a primary exporter of precious metals in the global economy.

Racial Fordism's production\ consumption link was one characterised by racial limitations favouring the white sector of the country. Limited mass production was based on tariff protected import substitution industrialisation, where the increasing output was locally consumed in the form of either consumer durables or as intermediatory goods. Within the second phase of import substitution, production had moved into capital intensive goods. While South Africa had the benefit of secure export revenues from the sales of mineral exports, it none the less had a very limited local capital stock which was not scrapped while further machinery was imported. As a result highly capital intensive production was a characteristic of Racial Fordism, which underpinned the high levels of black unemployment and limited their involvement to the provision of cheap unskilled labour in the production system. The apartheid mode of social regulation (to be examined closely in the next section) aimed at containing the unemployed and exploited migrant labourers within their respective homelands and thus can be seen to have favoured capital.

Limited consumption favouring whites (who reaped the benefits of limited production), is best explained with reference to racial wage differentials. The white working class, whose positions in skilled and supervisory positions were institutionalised through job

reservation, were assured of steady rises in real wages via collective bargaining, a social welfare system, favourable subsidies and credit arrangements which together assured the consumption of the increases resulting from import substitution and housing.

The black working class on the other hand, became increasingly segmented as the capital intensive industrialisation created a class of semi skilled permanently urban workers. As the level of technology rose, the floating of the colour bar would allow these sections of the black workforce to be substituted for white labour while reducing the wage to a black rate. While black real wages did rise, these were lower than those of whites and thus were largely excluded from the limited mass consumption.

In addition it was argued, that as migrant workers had their families living in supposedly economically viable homelands where they could sustain themselves, capital would not have to pay a family wage. This justified markedly lower wages for black workers. However, as will become evident, the National Party's refusal to develop the homelands into viable economic units, also favoured capital as it maintained the circumstances conducive to the availability of cheap black labour in the form of the migrant labour system.

The apartheid mode of social regulation whose integrated actions, relations and norms in many cases favoured the needs of capital in an apartheid mode of accumulation, cut across all forms of life particularly in its efforts to control the lives of black people. However, in this discourse only the role of development planning as a regulatory mechanism securing these functions will be looked at.

3.4.2 REGULATORY FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

The groundwork for the social, demographic, geographical and economic engineering required to implement the apartheid vision was laid in the 1950's with the Thomlinson Commission's report of 1955, the subsequent white paper of 1956 and the Promotion of Bantu Self Governing Act of 1959. Together they provided the blueprint for what was, in effect, a coherent state strategy aimed at reversing the process of black

integration into the economic and political life of white South Africa and contributed to maintaining the continued supply of cheap, black labour (Glaser,1987:34).

It was the Tomlinson Commission (the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa) recommendations in 1955, which introduced regional planning as the mechanism through which the reserves would be moulded into the territorial basis of apartheid (Harrison,1992:21). The commission highlighted the interdependence between homeland development, racial segregation and white survival, by arguing that rising black resistance was a result of their integration into the modern lifestyle of white South Africa. Proposals were made for the modernisation of black people in their own homelands within their own ethnic groups. This was to be realised through the development of the homelands into economically viable units via betterment planning and industrial decentralisation (permitting white investment in the homelands) (De Wet.1989:326-7).

The white paper of 1956 which followed the Commission's report, accepted the idea of industrial decentralisation on the basis of access to cheap labour and the need to prevent the subversion of black culture arising from contact within white South Africa (as outlined in the Viljoen report). The state however rejected the idea of white involvement in the reserves on the basis that this would undermine traditional authority and stifle the ability of black business to compete (Glaser,1987:72). Central to the white paper, was the acceptance of the idea of Border Industrialisation where black people would commute to centres of employment within white South Africa, usually situated on the borders of the homelands.

Concrete steps to realise industrial decentralisation and regional policy only really took place in the 1960's with the introduction of the Border Industrial Development Programme which provided incentives to industrialists to locate within 30 miles of Bantu areas. Incentives were designed so as to lure industries reliant on black labour to border areas where they could take advantage of large pools of cheap labour. Ultimately though, the aim of the programme was to create jobs in border areas on a scale (estimated by Tomlinson to be in the region of 50 000 per year) which would

reduce the tendency of black people to migrate into white areas (ibid:72).

In some cases, the programme in fact reinforced spontaneous industrial location trends (together with large scale suburbanisation), which saw capital escaping the diseconomies of agglomeration in the centre and relocating to the metropolitan peripheries, for example, from Johannesburg to Isando and the East Rand; from Cape Town to Bellville and Durban to Pinetown (Rogerson,1975).

The development of the homelands was largely undertaken by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (previously the Department of Native Affairs) who were in charge of successive schemes of social and economic engineering over the spaces in which black people were to live. These efforts involved the implementation of betterment of homeland agricultural practises despite the refusal of the state to follow the guidelines of the Thomlinson Commission as described by De Wet (1989:326-8).

The Commission's report had recommended that for the homelands to become viable, agriculture would have to be modernised by betterment which would involve dividing land into economic units (and separating their uses) to be allocated to families. Betterment's success was dependant upon those losing access to land being accommodated in new rural townships and employed in industrial towns (set up in the homelands).

However, as described earlier, the state did not accept white investment in the homelands nor was it prepared to fully contribute the finances necessary to secure urban homeland development. Nonetheless, betterment was implemented on the basis of sub economic units allocated to black families. The results of these policies were, increasing densities on farms (as few rural townships were established), a further decline in the agricultural potential of the land and high levels of unemployment. In effect the central state had successfully entrenched the need for black families to rely on the sale of migrant labour for their subsistence, which counter to the surface claims of the apartheid vision, could not be earned in the homelands.

Concurrently, the state was attempting to remove the black population living within white South Africa cities, to townships on the urban fringe or preferably into the homelands. This was carried out through the Group Areas act of 1950 and the Prevention of illegal squatting Act of 1951 which gave rise to the large scale destruction and clearing of inner city slums and shanty towns. Smit explains (1989:342) how conflict between the local city councils (dominated and representing the needs of the increasing power of concentrated capital) and the political ideologies of the central state (dominated by white workers, petty bourgeoisie and agriculturists) over the nature of the urban form, impeded the central state's objectives.

The state's response was to set up Administration Boards in the early seventies, which extended the jurisdiction of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to nearly all black settled areas in their respective provinces. This effectively removed all jurisdiction over black townships from white municipalities and focused the state's attention on substantial and direct state intervention in the sphere of black reproduction, to both shape the apartheid vision and subdue growing black militancy. The mass housing programmes for the urban black population during the 60's and 70's, gave rise to major townships for example Kwamashu and Umlazi in Natal, placing the expansion and settlement patterns of black people on the urban fringe (Harrison,1992:21-2).

While the Department of Bantu Administration and Development was the leading state institution through which planning functions were dispensed (carrying out the political mandate of the populist Afrikaner state) another Department, namely the Department of Planning (a continuation of the Natural Resources Development Council and set up in 1964) was attempting to co-ordinate regional development through technical, scientific applications and arguments. While in the late sixties for instance, it was instrumental in luring capital into areas of coloured, Indian and white unemployment, it remained subordinate to the state supported political planning of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (Harrison,1992:23;Glaser,1987:36).

In response to the failure of the Border Industrial Programme to realise its own goals

(in its first decade only 87 000 jobs were created, as opposed to the recommended 50 000 per year), the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act of 1967 was passed, allowing the Minister of Planning to prevent the expansion of established industries (defined in terms of the number of blacks employed) in controlled areas (applied harshly in the PWV but leaving Durban Pinetown uncontrolled). A resulting decrease in manufacturing shifted the government's stance from punishing towards luring industrialists to relocate. In 1968 incentives were provided to white industrialists locating in the homelands, a practice supported by the setting up of various homeland development corporations. Industrial estates such as Isithebe emerged out of these processes (Harrison,1992:24).

3.5 1970'S

3.5.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

South Africa, along with most of the capitalist countries in the world, entered a crisis of accumulation in the early 1970's when its variant of Fordism became increasingly dysfunctional to further capitalist development. Two broad reasons explain the demise of Racial Fordism, an inability to rely on its status as a primary exporter to sustain import industrialisation and the growing resistance waged against the Racial Fordist state (Gelb,1991:13-22).

The destabilisation of the international monetary system and economic order from the 1970's onwards, saw an increasing rise in the costs of imported capital goods and a relative decline (and lack of stability) in the prices of primary commodities. This ended South Africa's ability to rely on its status as a primary exporter of precious metals to sustain the further development of the economy. Nonetheless, the economy still had to import equipment and intermediate capital goods to sustain its existing capacity. The result was that the economy became constrained by a severe shortage of foreign exchange.

Increased resistance aimed at the state (locally and internationally), consistently undermined the stability and viability of the apartheid mode of social regulation on

which racial accumulation was dependent. The rising militancy of labour and the formation of strong and resistive trade unions, largely a result of the concentrations of large scale production, increased the level of black real wages and undermined the possibility for continuing racially despotic labour relations. Incidences such as the 1973 Durban strikes and the 1976 Soweto riots bear witness to this argument.

Gelb identifies the period 1974-1978 (following the first oil shock) as the first phase of the crisis, characterised by stagflation (a simultaneous rise in inflation and unemployment). However, the economy was still firmly in the grasp of racial Fordism which successfully prevented any intentions aimed at boosting manufacturing exports to help ease the foreign exchange constraint. The state remained highly involved in economic activity and spent heavily (increasing the public foreign debt) on major strategic infrastructure projects for example, SASOL. Stagflationary processes were fuelled by the rapid expansion of credit, rising nominal aggregate demand and increasing unemployment.

The second oil shock sent gold prices soaring and provided a temporary reprieve for the foreign exchange shortage. Hence the period 1979-1981, was one of heightened optimism for both the private and public sector, resulting in heavy investments in projects and the economy in general. The new optimism provided the space for an attempt to reconstruct and extend the Racial Fordism model towards incorporating a well trained, fully urbanised, black industrial workforce, which was seized by the Botha reform government in the 1980's.

3.5.2 REGULATORY FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

During the 1970's, the function of industrial dispersal came to focus on enhancing the viability of homelands and providing a strong resource base for their elites, thereby enticing them into accepting political autonomy. Thus a massive push for homeland industrialisation took place and was stimulated by encouraging and allowing white private capital investment. This programme, it was argued, also partly subsidised the spontaneous decentralisation of certain industries seeking to escape labour unrest (namely clothing, textiles and footwear). However, their successful economic growth

must be seen within the context of high levels of unemployment, landlessness and destitution within the homelands and a broader decline in national economic growth, particularly evident in the metropolitan centres of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town (Glaser,1987:31).

The national crisis of accumulation provided the room for the physical planning apparatus (the Department of Planning) to exert its stance for a move away from politically based planning towards promoting the effective utilisation of the country's resources across economically defined regions. The National Physical Development Plan, released in 1975, was the first comprehensive physical development plan which aimed to distribute economic activity rationally across space. The plan focused on functionally defined boundaries, in that it defined thirty-eight planning regions designated as growth axes, within which growth poles and growth points were pinpointed. However as the Department was still in the shadow of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, it did not cut across homeland boundaries and still attempted to secure the territorial basis of apartheid. (Harrison,1992:24;Glaser,1987:42)

Towards the end of the seventies however, the unintended consequences of the decentralisation programme were becoming blatantly evident. A high degree of urbanisation within the homelands and cross border commuting to and from industries was creating economically integrated urban complexes cutting across political boundaries. In short the homelands were closely interlinked with white South Africa. (Simkins,1984)

In 1978 the Botha reformist faction, supported by verligte business and bureaucratic elites in the state and national party, came to power. This had a profound effect on planning as it heralded the shift of power from the apartheid politics based Department of Bantu Administration and Development towards the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (Glaser,1987:43). This moved development planning into a more technocratic process deeply embedded in constitutional reform and reflected the attempt to reconstruct the apartheid mode of social regulation by co-opting the

black urbanised work force amidst renewed economic growth (to be highlighted in the following section).

This shift in focus within state planning,, was accompanied by the emergence of advocacy practices outside of the 'formal' planning structures, giving rise to a progressive planning movement in the late 1970's and prominent in the 1980's. Fuelled by the growth and demands of the civic movements around the issues of housing and transport, this new movement challenged the states monopoly over the development planning process and upheld the new orthodoxy of progressive development planning as it was emerging in the international literature (characterised by a democratisation of decision making processes) (Smit 1989:304-10).

3.6 1980'S

3.6.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The economic upturn ended in 1981 and the economy entered a further crisis of accumulation which has lasted well into the 1990's. This crisis was characterised by increasing political unrest, increasing foreign pressure in the form of sanctions, the recalling of South Africa's debt in the mid 1980's, slow economic growth and increasing unemployment (with a rise in the number of retrenchments) and massive drops in private sector investment. Furthermore, the re-emergence of freemarket principles in the USA an[illegible] respectively heightened the instability of the gold price, compounding the countries balance of payment's problems which could not be salvaged by a poor and uncompetitive manufacturing sector (Gelb,1991:21).

3.6.2 REGULATORY FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

With the Botha reform government in power (having accepted the failure of the homeland policy) and the ascendency of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning over the development planning process (characterised by top down, scientifically based planning embedded in constitutional reform), planning functions were aimed at securing the basis of an ethnic confederation. Thus, while black people were to exercise broader political rights through independent homelands

tied to South Africa, this would be accompanied by integrated development planning cutting across homeland boundaries as evidenced in the process and product of the Good Hope Plan of the 1980's (Glaser,1987:43).

The Good Hope Plan emerged from a compromise between the interests of private capital, homeland elites and the reformist South African state. Despite according a greater role to the market (emphasising the importance of the mobility of factors of production, free enterprise, market mechanisms and the promotion of entrepreneurship) the plan maintained the central state's role in ensuring spatial balance on the basis that overconcentration of capital required a policy of industrial decentralisation. (Harrison,1992:24)

The plan for the first time made use of functionally defined regions which cut across homeland and self governing territories, accepted metropolitan areas as important components of economic growth in the national economy, focused on a smaller number of larger growth points, upgraded the levels of incentives directed at inputs in the production process, promoted institutional structures to facilitate private and public sector partnerships as well as multilateral decision making between the republic and the homeland states (for example the Development Bank of South Africa and a hierarchical structure of regional development bodies intended to channel advice from the private sector to the state) (ibid).

Botha's government came under increasing pressure for further reform as economic crisis intensified and the political crisis (driven by the growth of black consciousness, developments in the subcontinent, economic conditions in the townships, unemployment and the reform process itself) (Smit,1989:349), continuously undermined the existing apartheid mod · of social regulation.

It is within this context that major state restructuring, as announced in 1985 by PW Botha, was undertaken and aimed at co-opting urban blacks with residential rights into strengthened local governments to realise a process of orderly urbanisation. State restructuring saw all white Provincial Councils being replaced by multiracial executive

committees directly appointed by the State President. Provincial Administrations, brought under the direct control of parliament, became agents of central government and were to implement the New Urbanisation strategy. This strategy accepted the inevitability and desirability of black urbanisation and committed the state to managing a process of orderly urbanisation (Harrison,1993:36).

The changing nature of political and planning relations mentioned above, amounted to an attempt to salvage the Racial Fordist mode of accumulation through extending the benefits to an urbanised, semiskilled black labour force; in other words an experiment in reconstructing a variant of the apartheid mode of social regulation. What this amounted to though, were incentives for the deconcentration of industry to the urban fringe where orderly black urbanisation was being managed by government agents, namely the provinces. Through the establishment of the Regional Services Council, black orderly development was to be financed via a redistribution of resources from white to black municipalities, leaving capital with the choice of either decentralising or carrying the burden of upgrading black townships (Glaser,1987:46).

3.7 1990'S

3.7.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The De Klerk government began the democratisation of the political process in South Africa in late 1990 and consequently (committed to economic liberalisation and deregulation) pushed the national economy towards opening up to international markets with a focus on promoting value added export production. Within the context of a highly unstable and competitive global economy, an emergence of flexible production systems was, in some sectors and geographical areas, identified by Rogerson (1994).

At the forefront of these sectors, were the multinationals; Nissan, Toyota, John Dear and General Electric, highly involved in the experimentation with and adoption of new technologies and organisational structures. High-tech complexes have been identified in the Midrand and Cape Town, characterised by several highly interlinked firms. The

Small Business Development Council has been instrumental in promoting subcontracting between small and large scale firms via the setting up of industrial parks. However some sectors, notably clothing, while adopting more flexible production systems had opted for the low road to flexibility ie the flexible use of low skilled labour, minimising costs and limited changes in organisational structures (ibid:9-11).

Rogerson (ibid:8) further highlighted political support, extending across the South African political spectrum, for flexible production as the future path out of economic decline. This support came from neo-liberals, big business, official state planning, the ANC and its allies, notably the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The support of the ANC was most pertinent, as the party soon to take over political power also favoured moves to flexibility, niche marketing, niche targeting, and the adoption of new managerial practices recognising labour as a resource to be invested in, rather than a cost to be minimised.

Since coming to power, the economic policies pursued by the Government of National Unity, have not too closely followed those of the pre-election promises made to its electorate by the ANC. The government is pursuing cautious policies of moderate economic growth, the slow implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and a major focus on reducing the budget deficit to manageable proportions (Nattrass,1995:91).

While this has drawn criticism towards the ANC from more radical critics, such as Ben Fine, it signals that the ANC has accepted the capitalist status quo as given, characterised by an internationally unstable and highly competitive global economy (where capital is highly mobile) and is intent on following redistribution accompanied by strong economic growth. This growth is to be based on luring and courting capital through limiting rising wages to rising levels of productivity as well as the pursuit of reasonable, empirically sound and feasible economic policies (Blatchford,1995:85-89).

Once again, the state is attempting to maintain the basic capitalist system and an integral part in this attempt, is the reconstruction of a mode of social regulation capable of mediating the conflicts which will arise out of the contradictions generated by an accumulation regime forged in the ideals (and part reality) of a more flexible economy, sound fiscal discipline and meeting the needs and aspirations of the previously excluded majority.

Even within each ideal, contradictions are inherent in the South African reality. Rogerson (1994:12) points to some major obstacles which stand in the way of the successful emergence of a flexible accumulation regime including, the lack of managerial expertise, the legacy of racist managerial practices, opposition from trade unions and labourers, high levels of illiteracy amongst workers, a weak small and medium sector capable of being subcontracted and the lack of a history of collaborations between large and small and medium firms. Fiscal discipline is impeded by the legitimate demands of everyday people for a living wage, by the rapid expansion of credit and the poor control over state spending. The reconstruction and development of the country is hampered by a limited amount of resources attempting to overcome massive unemployment, poverty, landlessness and lawlessness.

These are all problems whose roots can be identified in the relationships which bind people, groups, formal organisations and the state together, and which are themselves shaped by the mode of social regulation. It is thus necessary to look closely at the emerging mode of social regulation through its various regulatory mechanisms with a view to identifying the existence of stable, coherent and lasting institutional forms, capable of dispensing functions which may in the medium term secure the needs of an emerging flexible production system which is to incorporate and address the needs of the majority.

Attention is now turned to development planning throughout the 1990's as a regulatory mechanism playing a vital role in the reconstruction of this new mode of social regulation.

3.7.2 Regulatory forms and functions

The De Klerk government brought with it the impetus required to open up the political system and began a process of transition which would culminate in the 1994 democratic elections. This was taking place against the backdrop of deracialised urbanisation, a deepening economic and political crisis, shifts in the balance of political power, a cash strapped government committed to policies of economic liberalisation and deregulation and amenable to the pressures of private capital, yet concerned with alienating homeland leaders who were potential political allies in a new democracy (Harrison,1993:39).

With the repeal of apartheid legislation, a process of dismantling apartheid regulatory forms had begun. However these processes, largely dominated by the state, were accompanied by continued major state initiatives attempting to address socio economic problems. Thus, while state planning became more progressive in its goals, it remained characterised by top down state control and limited transparency.

In 1991, the Revised Regional Industrial Development Programme was produced and can be seen as a compromise acceptable to capital, homeland leaders and the state's continued desire to secure (limited) decentralisation. The programme as announced, ended up focusing on the nature and spatial applications of incentives which were to be provided over a five year period (changing from an annual establishment grant to incentives based on profit outputs) and available to all new and expanding industries outside of the PWV, Durban\ Westville and within the deconcentration belt around the PWV. The new incentive scheme was geared towards rewarding companies for their output or productivity and was thus part and parcel of the push to a more export orientated economy.

By 1992 bold new initiatives in the development planning process were beginning to emerge (Harrison,1993:45-50). The Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum, Operation Jumpstart and the Independent Development Trust (IDT) were examples of initiatives which effectively opened up the planning process to other roleplayers with interests in development, economic growth and the equitable distribution thereof.

The Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum carried out studies regarding development issues within the Durban Functional Region and advised that any metropolitan initiatives be pursued by a wide grouping of roleplayers. Operation Jumpstart was a further Natal initiative aimed at jumpstarting the regional economy through promoting development projects throughout the DFR via an inclusive process of decision making amongst a wide array of political and other actors.

The IDT established in 1990, pioneered innovations in private public partnerships around development projects. Its development process was predicated on the allocation of resources to development projects (mainly in the form of site and service schemes). Projects had to qualify for funds on the basis of community participation usually in the form of community development trusts or joint ventures.
The years leading up to the elections, were to see a further extension of the control over the development process and the withdrawal of central government to a position of shared responsibility (ibid:46-49). The balance of power shifted to regional and local control, where emerging broad based structures of transition (taking the form of broad based development fora) focusing on reconstruction, added legitimacy to the process of development planning and laid the groundwork for a transition from apartheid deconstruction towards reconstruction. On a national level, the National Housing Forum (NHF) and the National Economic Forum (NEF) are prime examples where debate around legislation and policy formation took place between major stakeholders in and outside of the state.

The role of the NHF, comprising the most important actors in the housing field, was accepted by the state who made R200 million available to it for housing development. The NHF also played an integral part in the drafting of the Housing White paper released in 1994. The National Economic Forum (the forerunner to the National Economic and Development Labour Council, instrumental in drafting the Labour Relations Bill of 1995) was set up as a structure within which organised labour, the business sector and the state could reach agreement over issues relating to economic policy.

Following the first democratic elections, the government of National Unity came to power and set about implementing the Reconstruction and Development Programme with a vision to mobilise the country's people and resources towards eradicating apartheid in all its forms and to build a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future. The programme itself emerged from widescale consultation and involvement amongst mass organisations, nongovernmental organisations, research organisations, the business community and other stakeholders (a practice carried through into the drawing up of the RDP white paper, the Housing white paper, the Labour Relations Bill and the current drafting of the Development Facilitation Act).

The RDP (1994:1-2) provides the mechanism for ensuring synergy between policies from national to local level, which are bounded by the principles of integration, sustainability, people driven/centred, peace and security, nation building, democratisation, assessment and accountability. Ultimately the programme is aimed at meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy, democratising state and society and its own implementation.

The RDP is viewed as a broad national partnership between government and civil society whose success is reliant upon the effective involvement of mass organisations, the private sector and institutions and agencies of government and non government organisations. This involvement is being institutionalised through fora on a national level such as NEDLAC, on a regional level such as the Regional Economic Forum and at community level in the form of development forums. Through capacity building and empowerment, all stakeholders (and particularly those previously excluded from power) are drawn into networks which elicit state actions to serve its citizens, while freeing local resources and fostering local initiatives.

It does appear at first glance, that development planning in the post-apartheid era is facilitative of a flexible mode of accumulation. Decisions are decentralised, emerge out of democratic negotiations and are co-ordinated at different levels. However, Harrison (1995b:54) argues that the RDP is grounded in the language of modernists as it uses terms like, "coherent vision", "purposeful effort", "fundamental

transformation" and "comprehensive design and reconstruction". In short it is attempting to bring order and a preconceived idea of the product of development planning into a highly unstable and ever changing society and economy.

As the RDP becomes more clearly defined and roles and responsibilities concretised, so will it be possible to critique and fully explore the nature of the new regulatory forms and functions of development planning. In the meantime, we can look toward the Development Facilitation Bill which sketches (in probable legislation) roles and functions of planning institutions.

The Development Facilitation Bill is to govern land development (over formal, informal, existing and new settlements within rural and urban areas) within a set of broad general principles, which on the one hand favour a more flexible form of planning in relation to community participation, empowerment and co-ordination (being the responsibility of the state), and on the other attempts to prescribe the goals, objectives and policies of planning with relation to integrated and efficient land development.

Integrated and efficient land development is to be achieved through following the new orthodoxy of mixed land uses (particularly residential and work space ,, favouring the compaction of cities, discouraging urban sprawl and overcoming the inefficiencies and inequities of the apartheid cities, paying attention to environmental and sustainability development. Harrison (ibid:55) questions whether in an era of change, it is even possible to uncover or agree on what an efficient and equitable urban form is. This theme will be picked up on . the concluding chapter, once attention has been turned to the case study.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has supported Glaser's (1987) argument, that throughout the twentieth century, the basic concern of policy makers in South Africa has been to maintain the viability of the capitalist economy. This has been explained with reference to the role played by development planning in the consolidation and experimentation of

successive modes of social regulation which, have been shown to be supportive in some cases of the needs of capital.

Up until the 1930's, the various state forms were concerned with promoting industrialisation and generally neglected the spatial and socio economic effects of industrial growth. The state's response to large scale slum developments, were shaped by the concerns of the white working class and led to slum clearances and the removals of black people to the urban periphery.

The Fusion and United Party Governments which held power from 1934 up until 1948, in responding to white concerns over the black urbanisation issue, promoted industrialisation (through the IDC, SEPC and NRDC) with the aim of developing self sufficiency in all areas linked in with a programme of labour intensive import substitution industrialisation. It was in this period, that the first town planning ordinances were passed in the provinces giving planners a measure of control over the urban form, and as such, the ability to counter the negative effects of industrialisation with an aim to progressively channel anarchic market forces towards ensuring lasting healthy and attractive urban forms.

In 1948 the National Party came to power (as a populist Afrikaner coalition of white interests) with a definite coherent strategy (justified and hidden within the complex ideology of separate but equal development of apartheid) to entrench white domination. The strategy linked regional planning to securing the territorial basis of apartheid, which was aimed at keeping black people within their designated 13% of the nation's land. The Department of Native Affairs (later the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Department of Co-operation and Development and finally Development Aid) was the national planning institution through which increased control over black people was secured and their spatial, economic and social movement curtailed.

In the homelands, betterment planning was a form of development which attempted to modernise agricultural practices but ended up further destroying the agricultural

potential of the land and contributing to high levels of unemployment, poverty and landlessness. These outcomes must also be seen in the context of the states refusal to both fund urban and industrial development within the homelands (on which the success of betterment was reliant) as well as its refusal to allow white investment, except in border areas.

Within the cities of white South Africa, the Department also extended its control over the lives of black people by taking over their development rights from white municipalities (who, dominated by capital, were often acting counter to the desires of the central state), removing black people from inside urban areas and either relocating them to the already overcrowded homelands or to massive townships on the urban fringe.

Thus planning functions as dispensed by the central state departments, can be seen in some instances throughout this period, to favour the needs of capital (reliant on a cheap and stable labour force). The apartheid mode of social regulation (serving the interests of an Afrikaner coalition) not only entrenched white domination but was also arguably facilitative of racially based capital accumulation which enjoyed high levels of GDP growth through the 1960's.

Following the 1973 oil shock, the accumulation regime entered a period of crisis which found it (while still strongly entrenched in the physical and mental constructs of the society) increasingly dysfunctional to the further development of the economy. Through the next twenty years, various attempts were made to save the racial regime by reconstructing the mode of social regulation. This experimentation was characterised by extending Racial Fordism to a middle class urbanised black population living within white South Africa.

The brief economic upturn at the end of the seventies and the accession to power of the reformist Botha state (sympathetic to verligtes in business and the state bureaucracy) provided a platform for the reconstruction of the mode of social regulation in an attempt to prolong the life of racial accumulation. This

experimentation was based on extending political rights to blacks in homelands linked to South Africa through a proposed confederation and later through the acceptance of urbanised blacks in South Africa (whose orderly development was to take place on the urban peripheries where capital was induced to relocate). As the focus had moved away from securing the apartheid vision, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning came to replace the Department of Bantu Administration and Development as the key institution through which planning functions were to be dispensed. The new powerful regulatory form transformed development into a highly technocratic scientific exercise bound up with constitutional reform ie by linking integrated development with a vision of ethnic confederation.

However, the racial mode of accumulation could no longer provide the impetus for growth. The apartheid mode of social regulation had lost its control over the black population, was no longer facilitative to the needs of capital and was under increasing pressure from the rest of the world and indeed within the country. State planning was facing growing resistance from emerging progressive planning activities outside of the formal structures. Fuelled by the growth and demands of the civic movements around the issues of housing and transport, the new progressive planning movement was premised on the new orthodoxy of development planning, which had emerged in the international literature and was characterised by empowerment, participative decision making and the idea of development as a democratic process rather than a predetermined outcome.

In the nineteen nineties the development process became increasingly dispersed across a number of regulatory forms which drew in groups and organisations previously excluded from the formal planning system, namely popular organisations representing the voice of the communities and the new progressive planning movements. Initially though the process of apartheid deconstruction was still driven by the De Klerk state pandering to the needs of capital, the fears of homeland elites, its continued interest in decentralisation as well as the need to prove its commitment to the process of transition.

Following the coming to power of the Government of National Unity (a power sharing relationship between widely divergent political parties) in 1994, planning functions are being dispensed through new regulatory forms namely partnerships between the state, economy and civil society. The nature, roles and actions of these forms and the planning functions they dispense are informed by the broad guidelines set by the RDP and more substantially the Development Facilitation Bill.

While the RDP and DFB both represent a substantial break with the past processes of development planning, they do however retain the roots of the modernist planning project which makes them questionably incapable of dealing with the post-apartheid reality of flexibility, change and divergent views of what ought to be.

Thus, as the economy moves into a new mode of accumulation characterised by a move to flexibility, financial discipline and meeting the needs and aspirations of the poor through economic growth, a new mode of social regulation is being constructed with a major role being played by development planning. However, the form which development planning is taking is questionably inconsistent with the emerging mode of accumulation.

NOTES

(1) The table is constructed from the information contained in Black and Stanwix,(1987:47) and du Toit and Falkena (14). Gross Domestic Product refers to, "...the total flow of goods and services produced by the economy over a specified time period..." Bannock et al (1987:181).

(2) In the first or easy phase of ISI, industries whose goods are highly labour intensive (ie whose production does not require excessive capital and intermediatory goods) are targeted, supported and protected (through tariffs on international competitors and subsidies to local producers which reduce their costs of production). The first phase rapidly and successfully reaches its limits however and leads into the second phase.(Todaro,1989:435)

(3) Second phase ISI involves targeting industries whose goods require large amounts of capital and intermediatory goods to produce (which are usually, at this stage, not

locally available). The further industrialisation of the economy is thus reliant on the ability to pay for the necessary imports with foreign exchange which in this scenario is constrained by the neglect of the export sector (the principle source of foreign exchange) (ibid:436).

4 CHAPTER FOUR: SOUTHERN PINETOWN CASE STUDY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The following two chapters make up the case study of this discourse, which focuses on the planning of development in the Southern Pinetown Area (also known as the Greater Mariannhill Region) which covers approximately 176km of generally hilly terrain containing the areas of Emmaus, Tshelimnyama, Mpola, Thornwood, Mariannridge, Nazareth, Dassenhoek, Luganda, St Wendolins, the Link Area, Southampton Park, Klaarwater, Savannah Park and Welbedacht (see map 1, overleaf).

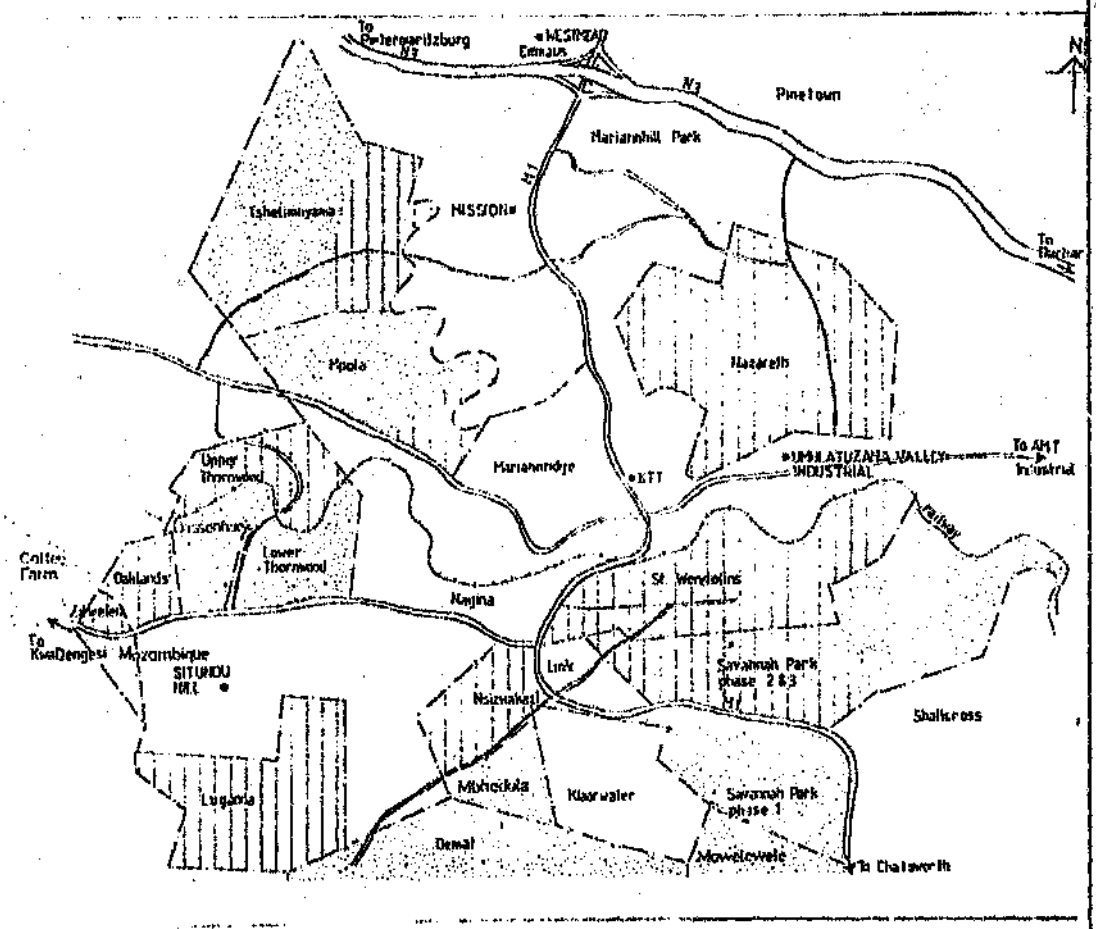
The study is grounded within the development of the Pinetown sub-region and the province of Kwazulu Natal (see map 2), thereby aiding an illustration of the influences of and responses to national and regional policies, on and by local development planning forms and functions. Through the study, mention will be made of an extra regional regulatory form or planning institution, namely the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, which through advising the Provincial Administrator on planning matters [1], added a further dimension to the history of planning in Natal.

4.2 LATE 19th CENTURY - 1945

4.2.1 NATAL

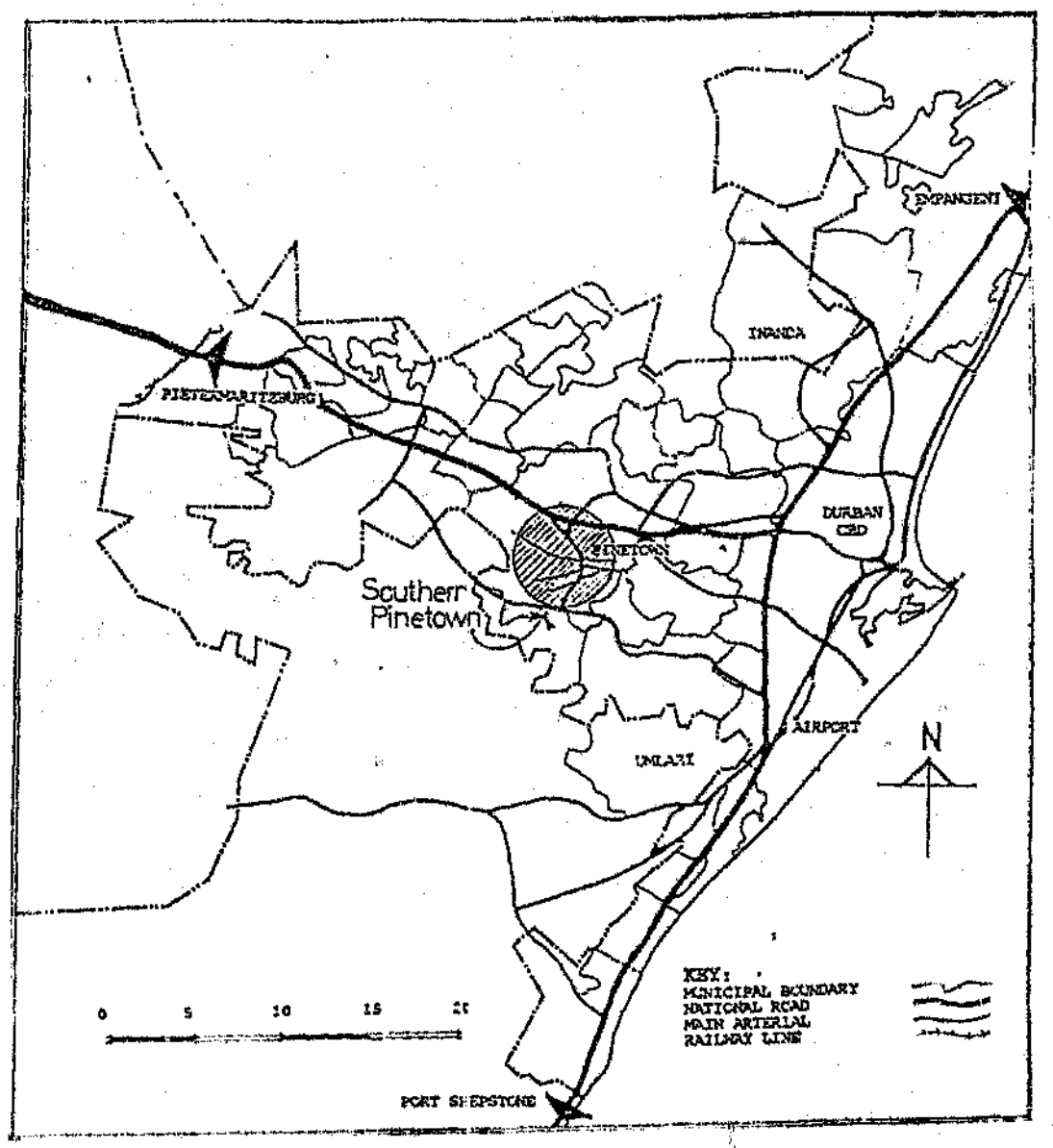
Harrison (1995:5-6) describes how by the end of the 19th century, the structure of the economy of the Colony of Natal had come to be dominated by trade and agriculture due to the economic policies of the Colonial Administration, which imposed low tariffs on imported goods, and hampered the development of the local manufacturing sector. These policies were to change in 1898 when Natal entered a customs union with the Cape which, leading to rising tariffs on imported goods,

MAP 1: SOUTHERN PINETOWN



(Source: BESG,1995)

MAP 2: DURBAN FUNCTIONAL REGION



(source: BESG,1995)

provided protection to local manufacturing. The subsequent changes in the economic structure during theearly 1900's were characterised by an emerging, small craft based, industries sector (dominated by food and beverages, but also represent by clothing) as well as a degree of concentration of production {2}. The first world war and the tariffs imposed with it, created further impetus for the development of local manufacturing due to increasing demands for the war effort and for local consumption, increasing the share of Natal's contribution to total national manufacturing output.

For the Natal economy, the inter war period was characterised by a decline in terms of its importance as a manufacturing contributor to South Africa. Harrison (1995:5) suggests that this may have been due to the limited benefits which the food and beverages industries (still dominant in the economy) received from the national import substitution policies. The importance of the afore mentioned industries was nonetheless, being surpassed by the rapid growth of the clothing sector boosted by the lower minimum wages imposed on coastal areas and the lack there-of for piece workers.

4.2.2 PINETOWN

The settlements of New Germany and Pinetown were founded during the mid 1840's, as described by Wilkinson (1963:32-37). While the former emerged as an experimental centre for cotton cultivation, Pinetown arose almost in response as a convenient outspan site on the route to Pietermaritsburg. The two settlements thus contributed significantly to the opening up of the interior of the colony.

While New Germany moved on to a more successful (relative to its cotton failure) small scale agriculture and gardening settlement, Pinetown prospered as a cross roads linking Pietermaritsburg, Durban and New Germany. Pinetown's growth as a trading centre was further boosted by the opening up of the road to Pietermaritsburg in 1855, and the completion of the railway to Durban in 1878.

Due to its strategic geographical position, Pinetown acted as an important Garrison town during the Zulu and Boer Wars at the turn of the century and the later

withdrawal of troops saw a large amount of people moving and settling inland. With the substantial improvements in transport (specifically the emergence of the automobile), a process of drawing Pinetown into the greater Durban suburban area had begun.

Pinetown's economy up until the First World War, was comprised of prosperous miscellaneous service industries, establishments for the processing of agricultural products and small scale industrial activity particularly manufacturing concerns. During the inter war period however, only a slow degree of development was experienced. The sporadic establishment of manufacturing industries (eight in total) was due mainly to local entrepreneurs catering to the needs of the local market area (Wilkinson,1963:40-1).

4.2.3 SOUTHERN PINETOWN

In order to execute their evangelical work amongst the black people, clear of any outside interferences {3}, the Roman Catholic Missionary Congregation of Mariannhill under Father Franz Pfanner, set about acquiring their own property on which the black population would settle as tenants or owners on condition that they would be baptised into the Catholic faith and cared for their ministrations (Fairbairn,1986:5).

Thus, starting in 1882, the Mariannhill Fathers set about buying two farms, Zeekoegat (including the areas known today as Thornwood, Mpola, and Tshelimnyama) and Klaarwater (including the areas of St Wendolins, Klaarwater, Link Area and others). St Wendolins for example, was established as a model Christian Community (with a town plan being drawn up early in the twentieth century) (Cross, Bekker, Clark and Wilson,1992:8).

While the premier concern of Father Pfanner was to bring the Catholic Christian Faith to the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa, they also brought western education {4}, social betterment and modern medicine into their lives. The Mariannhill Fathers set about helping the local people build houses and training them in gardening and trades. The building of the Mission's Teachers Training College, trade school, the Mission

school and hospital was undertaken by the local population (Fairbairn,1986:6). By developing a technical and social culture underpinned by the Christian faith, the Mariannhill Mission played an important role in drawing the black population into the modern regional economy and was thus supportive of its needs for a technically trained labour force.

As a result of the 1913 Land Act (which prohibited the sale of land outside of the homelands to blacks and inside of them to whites) the Mission was notified not to sell any more sites to black people. The Mission however continued to provide sites (although it could not issue title deeds) and to lease them. In 1950 the mission was officially warned against any further sales (Cross et al,1992:9).

This signalled the emergence of a conflict between what may be viewed as early development planning institutions (or regulatory forms) and the functions which they wished to dispense. While the state was intent on serving the interests of the white classes (namely excluding black people from the economy and limiting them to the reserves), the church was equally intent on developing their lives both spiritually and materially within the subregion.

Despite the state's efforts, the Mission's success was clearly evident by the mid 1960's, when it had become the centre of some 150 000 Christian Zulus with the Missionary Sisters of the Precious Blood Convent caring for the education, health and religious wellbeing of most of the people (KNPGA,G1.43 vol.1).

4.3 POST WAR BOOM 1950'S-1970

4.3.1 NATAL

The performance of Natal in this period was similar to that of the nation, namely rapid and sustained economic growth mostly driven by the expansion of manufacturing. A number of important spatial changes occurred which shaped the geography of this growth namely; deconcentration in the 1950's, a concentration of industries in the greater Durban Metropolitan area and deconcentration within the

Durban Functional Region during the 1960's (Harrison,1995:9-12). A spatial deconcentration of the clothing sector within Natal during the 1950's, preceded the National Party government's explicit regional policy promoting industrial decentralisation. These processes were largely due to clothing producers seeking cheaper labour by moving out into the peripheral areas of Ladysmith, Hammersdale and Port Shepstone.

Despite the efforts of the Border Industrial Development Programme of 1960 (which provided incentives to locate within 30 miles of the homeland borders) and the efforts of provincial planners to get the Tukhela Basin to draw industry away from the Southern Transvaal (5), a further concentration of industry in the greater Durban metropolitan area took place. The decentralisation which did take place outside of Durban, remained mostly focused around the transport spine linking Durban and Johannesburg.

Decentralisation (of the textile industry for instance) within the Durban functional Region coupled with widescale suburbanisation was however evident. These processes were viewed largely as normal processes of decentralisation to the metropolitan peripheries, occurring in tandem with a slow down of growth in manufacturing in central Durban.

4.3.2 PINETOWN

Pinetown in the 1950's and 1960's (Wilkinson,1963:43-4), prospered from both the suburbanisation process and the slow down of growth in the Durban area. The effects were a degree of industrialisation in both Pinetown and New Germany, which transformed what was previously an agricultural basin into an important and prospering industrial area within greater Durban. With new manufacturing licences being issued at a rate of thirteen every year, the total number of manufacturing industries in Pinetown had reached 98 (from 9 in the early 1950's) by the year 1961.

While industrial expansion and deconcentration were national and regional phenomena, Pinetown had specific attractions to industry which influenced their locating in the

area. The major attractions were the availability of cheap industrial land (relative to the higher costs in Durban), a substantial and non-militant workforce (which could be drawn from both the urban and rural areas, including the Greater Mariannhill area) and its close proximity to Durban's educational facilities ensuring the availability of skilled personnel.

Thus by the 1960's, a core of large scale manufacturing industries had been attracted into the area (which were however still supplemented by a number of smaller firms). What this amounted to, was an inflow of big capital from outside of the area, replacing local capital as the controlling force in Pinetown's business affairs. Products produced ranged in size and diversification amongst textiles, clothing, footwear and chemical goods (Wilkinson,1963:43).

4.3.3 SOUTHERN PINETOWN

Development planning during the post war boom within Southern Pinetown, was characterised by the increasing control which the state (local and central) began to exert over the black population of the area in its attempts to prevent, or at least shape, the functions carried out by the Mariannhill Mission. The state's main actions to be looked at here include control over black education (through the Bantu Education Act), control over planning in southern Pinetown (through local authority amalgamation) and a reconstruction of spatial settlement (the Group Areas Proclamations).

4.3.3.1 Appropriate Education

The Bantu Education Act of 1953, symbolised the central state's successful attempts to gain control over black education as part of its attempts to control and maintain the large, unskilled, black labour force through the provision of an appropriate education.

> "The Bantu Education system was meant to provide basic knowledge for unskilled manual workers, to train African children to accept an inferior position in society and to promote an ethnic (as opposed to national) consciousness in students."
> (Pampallis cited in Lucy,1992:19)

The major effect which the imposition of the Act on the education functions of the Mission had, was to bring the Mission schools under the control of the Department of Native Affairs. Thus, while they continued to teach practical skills based subjects, these were subject to the appropriate form of education (Lucy,1992:38).

4.3.3.2 Amalgamation

During the 1950's and 1960's, the Natal Provincial Administration was actively promoting the policy of the amalgamation of a number of local authorities, so as to ensure the co-ordination and integration of harmonious planning on a regional basis within the context of rapid growth (6).

Amalgamation was also firmly on the agenda of the Borough of Pinetown who had a keen regional expansionist vision (Robinson,1994:188) and firmly believed that its future interests and those of its neighbours, Mariannhill and New Germany, were entwined in a closely integrated, economic and social region. The successful exploitation of the development potential of the area, strategically placed within the Durban functional Region (as an area to which industries intent on leaving the central Durban area could move), could only be reaped through the co-ordinated planning of development (KNPGA,T4.31.0).

While both the NPA and Pinetown harboured strong motives to ensure the efficient development of the greater region, the latter remained far more compassionate as regards relations with the immediate neighbouring local authorities of New Germany and Mariannhill (the Mariannhill Health Committee whom many held as being run by the Mariannhill Mission). Pinetown was initially of the opinion that such amalgamation should only come about voluntarily (ibid).

Negotiations between the three local authorities during 1960\1 gave voice to both New Germany and Mariannhill's desires to remain independent. New Germany, fearing Pinetown's expansionist aims and the effects this could have on its own identity, vehemently opposed any such relations (Robinson,1994:188). The Mariannhill authorities on the other hand, were more co-operative and were keen to expand the

good relations of co-operation between the two authorities, as cemented in the Joint Town Planning Committee, while maintaining their autonomy.

The Joint Town Planning Committee (JTPC) adopted a town planning scheme in the course of preparation for Mariannhill on the 15 October 1962. This scheme gave both the JTPC and the Mariannhill Health Committee increasing powers of control (and the necessary advice and assistance from Pinetown) over all forms of development in the Mariannhill area and the ability to safeguard the interests of the religious authorities. The scheme was however, drawn to fit into that of Pinetown's and as a result, effectively ensured that the Mariannhill authorities would exercise strict control over any development in the area which would negatively influence neighbouring local authorities (KNPGA,T4.31.0).

By the end of the 1960's, Pinetown's willingness to accept Mariannhill's desired and often stated willingness to remain an autonomous health committee, was reaching an end (KNPGA,T4.31.1). The council sent a memorandum to the Administrator of Natal, requesting that the area under the jurisdiction of the Mariannhill Health Committee be incorporated into its boundaries [7].

At the heart of its call for incorporation, was the fact that while the Mariannhill Health Committee controlled an area larger (16 square miles as opposed to 13) than that of the Pinetown authority, no significant development other than the activities of the Mission institutions had occurred, keeping it largely a rural and agricultural area. Within the context of broader demands in the coastal and peri-urban region for land (for residential and industrial purposes), this was seen as an inefficient use of a strategic resource.

Pinetown argued, that it was in the interests of the Province that it should take the responsibility (as a well-established local authority which had already proven itself to be capable of controlling and guiding urban development on a large scale) of efficiently developing the area. By expanding its control over the Mariannhill area, Pinetown would effectively be able to lure more industrialists wishing to relocate by

ensuring the provision of cheap land, a well controlled labour force and the urban amenities required for white managers (KNPGA,T4.31.1).

Pinetown had, through progressive town planning, taken full advantage of the chronic shortages of industrial land in Durban and actively promoted its own cheaper land. With regards to Mariannhill, Pinetown had brought its industrial potential to the attention of the then Minister of Economic Affairs and Bantu Administration and Development, Minister Diederichs [8]. Mariannhill stood to be a possible success case in terms of its development as a border area (under the government's policy for the development of industrialisation adjacent to the black homelands).

Mariannhill provided an important pool of abundant and accessible non-European labour both for its own industrial prospects and those of Pinetown's. Pinetown's willingness to assist in the housing of black people employed in the Mariannhill area, was based on the fact that they already had in place a fully developed Bantu Administration Department. This department dealt with `Bantu Housing', the administration of the various `Bantu Laws' applicable to urban areas (relating to housing and the registration of the African people), employment placing in Pinetown, the collection of levies and control (over the workforce) in general.

This department had `successfully proven' itself in this regard through the establishment of the Klaarwater township in 1961. The area was purchased from the Mariannhill Mission, incorporated into the Borough of Pinetown and established `for the convenience of the Bantu' with shops, a civic hall, health services and instruction for the benefit of township inhabitants. This development was financed through the collection of a `Bantu services levy' from employers of black workers in Pinetown and from `Bantu beer profits'.

It was felt, that the provision of services and development within such areas, was essential to the welfare and control of the black population and thus to the supply needs of any industrial development in the area. In short, regulation of and control over the workforce could realise the stability which industrialists, wishing to escape

the central Durban area, were looking for.

Pinetown's request was accepted by the Provincial Administration who, as advised by the NTRPC, doubted the ability of the Mariannhill Health Committee to remain a viable local authority and were concerned with the undesirable degree of control which private enterprise may have exerted over the affairs of the Mariannhill Health Committee (9). In June 1970, the adjoining areas of Mariannhill, Zeekoegat and Klaarwater (including St Wendolins) were incorporated into the Pinetown municipal area.

Following the incorporation, holders of title deeds in the above areas became ratepayers of the Pinetown municipality. In response to concerns arising over the general health situation in St Wendolins, the Pinetown municipality reacted by erecting taps along the main road thereby easing residents' access to fresh water.

In 1973, the St Wendolins/Pinetown Liaison Committee emerged with the aim of ensuring a greater degree of effective communication between black residents in the Pinetown area and the Pinetown Town Council. The Committee, acting for the Pinetown Council, made applications for lights, electricity, water and other services, which eventuated in various improvements within the St Wendolins community including the tarring of the main road, provision of further fresh water outlets, street lights, a family planning and health clinic, a crèche and bus shelters (Fairbairn,1986:8).

4.3.3.3 Group Areas Proclamations and representations

Although the Greater Mariannhill area had been proclaimed for group areas as early as the 1950's with St Wendolins being listed as a black spot, the area was rezoned in 1966 when the Group Areas Board broke the land up into various white, coloured and Indian group areas and an industrial zone. This meant that the land occupied by the monastery, hospital, schools and convent was zoned for white ownership and occupation, that the land to the east (Klaarwater, St Wendolins, Savannah Park ii and iii, the Link Area, Ensizwakazi and Southampton Park) was proclaimed Indian group

areas, while the land to the west (Mpola, Tshelimnyama, and Thornwood) was demarcated for coloured group areas and finally a section of Emmaus and most of Nazareth was zoned for industry (see map 3, overleaf). All black people were to be removed and resettled in the Kwazulu Homeland in the townships of KwaNdengezi and KwaDabeka, which were to be established (Fairbairn,1986:4).

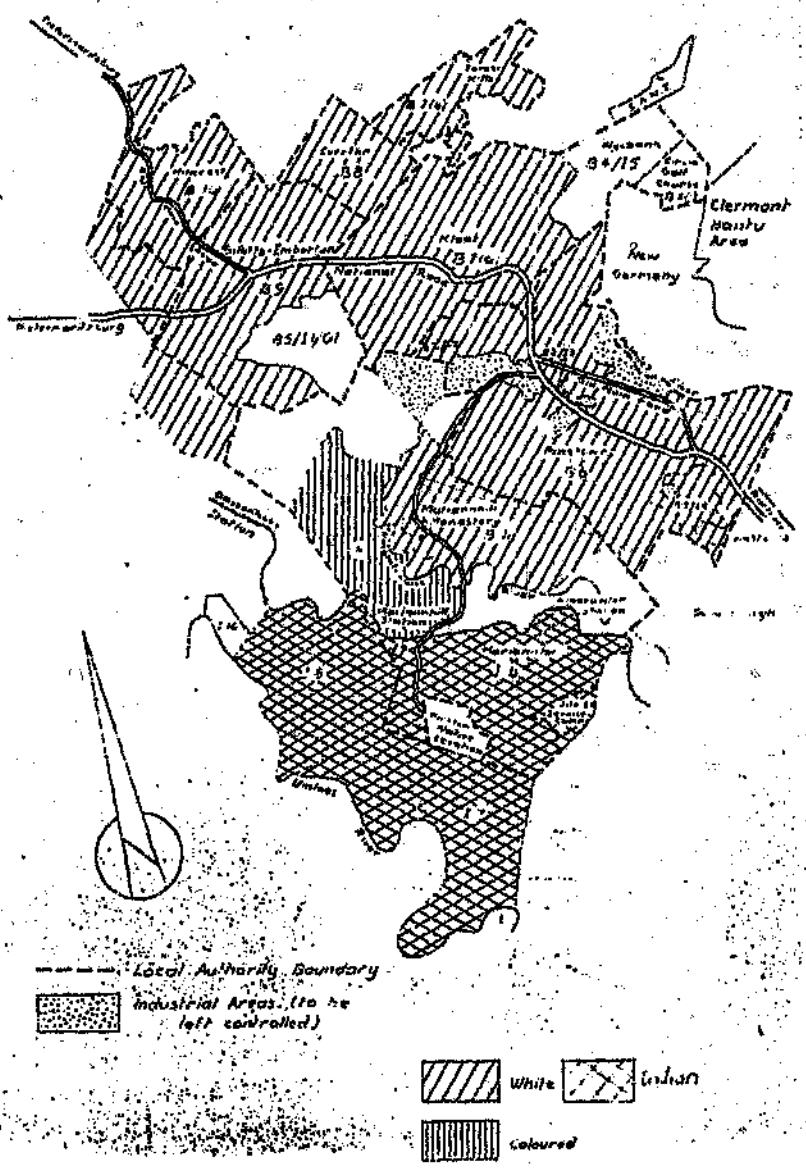
The above proclamations, were responded to in the form of representations to the NTRPC, who advised the Provincial Administrator on the proclamations. The various parties which responded and their representations (including those of the NTRPC) are summarised hereunder (KNPGA,G1.43 vol.1).

In responding to the proclamation of the land, on which existed the Missionary buildings, for whites, strong representations and a call for the area to be left controlled (ie transactions limited to the groups living there at the time ie black) came from the various bodies controlling the mission, as well as the Pinetown and Mariannhill local authorities and the NTRPC.

While the NTRPC did not want to disturb the Mission and its various important functions in the region, it called for the area to be left controlled, with a view to proclaiming it a coloured area for the future as it considered the area (unsuitable for intensive white residential development) perfectly situated as a regional coloured group area with existing access to the industrial areas in Durban, the existing industrial areas in Pinetown and the proposed industrial area in Mariannhill.

The Group Areas committee of enquiry turned a blind eye to such points of view. They argued that government policy dictated that the black population be moved to their homelands, that the isolated concentrations of black residents in the Mariannhill area were the result of unplanned development in need of rectification and that the ecclesiastical institutions could not be treated as an exception when even a government department had to relinquish its own creation to give effect to government policy (referring to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development's efforts in Klaarwater).

MAP 3: GROUP AREAS PROCLAMATIONS



(source:KNPGA G1.43, vol1)

The land to the west proclaimed coloured group areas, had 3500 black people and 75 coloured people living in the area. Representations received from the Pinetown and Mariannhill local authorities and from the Diocese of Mariannhill requested that the area either be left controlled or proclaimed for the 'Bantu group'. Arguments for the area to be proclaimed an Indian group area came from the Department of Indian Affairs (who argued that it was a natural extension of the proposed Indian group area) and industrialists in Pinetown (who were calling for Indians especially to be housed nearer the industrial areas).

While the commission agreed with the idea of natural extension of the Indian residential area, a number of opposing factors all holding equal weight and the uncertainty over work opportunities in the region, led them to favour the option that the area be left controlled.

The land to the east, proclaimed for Indians (except Klaarwater which was to be left provisionally controlled, in order that it could be de-proclaimed a 'Bantu area' and then investigated for inclusion into the Indian area), had some 5000 black people living in the St Wendolins area under the jurisdiction of the Mariannhill Mission, who either owned or rented land, with numerous black owned shops, schools, churches and cemeteries present.

The Mariannhill Mission Institute, the local Ratepayers Associations and the Pinetown local authority, requested the areas to be declared for black ownership and occupation. The commission was of the opinion that the area, especially given the complexity of the history of land settlement, be left controlled.

Once Saint Wendolins had been proclaimed an Indian area, the residents were told to leave by government officials. Some plots were sold to Indians at current prices and the rest of the land, both mission and freehold, was earmarked for expropriation. However, the immediate effects of the proclamations were not felt as removals only got under way in the late 1970's (Fairbairn,1986:7).

The proclamations, while an integral part of the apartheid mode of social regulation, were, over the next two decades to serve as a major factor in the unravelling the stability and control characteristic of the local regime of accumulation. Not only did they threaten to remove the local black labour force and local control over it, but more importantly they created a space around which new regulatory forms dispensing planning functions (often outside of formal state structures) were to emerge. These forms had their roots in the Save Saint Wendolins Campaign (to be described in the following chapter).

4.4 CONCLUSION

The local economy in the early part of the twentieth century, was characterised by small sector economic activity based on serving the needs of travellers en route between Durban and Johannesburg and farmers in the area. This was similar to the composition of the broader regional economy, which also exhibited signs of moving towards concentrated, flowline plants.

The Mariannhill Mission can be seen as a regulatory form, whose efforts at 'developing' the black population, integrated their actions and relations into the small scale, craft economy. While it is not quite correct to call these actions planning functions, they did play a major role in the shaping of relationships and actions within the subregion and thus deserve attention.

Development was defined (by the church) in terms of accepting the gifts of education, religion and a dedicated work ethic. In explaining how the church was able to successfully distribute these gifts through the sale or letting of surrounding land to black people in return for their acceptance and practice of the new lifestyle, the broader context must be mentioned. This includes, the 1913 Land Act (restricting the sale of land to black people outside of the designated reserves), the request of the local chief for the benefits of the presence and efforts of the church as well as the desire of the mission to perform its work unhindered by the state.

The Mariannhill Mission thus played an important role as a regulatory form through

which the functions of integrating the behaviours and relationships of the local black community with the needs of the small scale craft economy (through the provision of artisanal and technical skills, the imparting of a Christian controlled, co-ordinated and co-operative work ethic) took place.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the state increased its control over the area previously under the jurisdiction of the Mariannhill Health Committee (closely linked to the Mariannhill Mission) through education, planning and the spatial restructuring of racial settlements.

The 1953 Bantu Education Act brought the Mission schools under the control of the Department of Native Affairs and Administration which resulted in them dispensing 'appropriate education' as defined by the political aims of the Department.

The local state, in the form of the Pinetown Local Authority was an important regulatory form dispensing planning functions which can be seen to favour the needs of the Racial Fordist accumulation regime, namely control and stability. Through Pinetown's expansionist visions supported by the NPA the eventual amalgamation of Mariannhill, Zeekoegat and Klaarwater (including St Wendolins) with Pinetown occurred in 1970.

While this resulted in the establishment of the St Wendolins\Pinetown Liaison Committee and the resultant improvements (including the tarring of the main road, the erection of street lights and a family planning and health clinic), the amalgamation effectively increased the power of Pinetown over the development process within the southern Pinetown region notably through the extension of its planning approach to the development of urban industrial areas.

This approach aimed at providing cheap land for industry, a well regulated, controlled and healthy work force and trained Europeans to manage the industries. These were important requirements for successfully attracting industrialists seeking to escape the high costs and labour unrest of the central Durban areas.

The central state, through the Group Areas Board, set about planning the spatial reorganisation of the region by proclaiming the area occupied by the Mission for whites, the area to the west for coloureds, the area to the east for Indians and Emmaus and Nazareth for industry. All black people living in these areas were to be relocated into Kwazulu in the townships of KwaDabeka and KwaNdengezi which were to be established.

Representations made by various parties to these proclamations were characterised by a widescale support for the land to the east to remain under ownership and occupation of the black people. This sentiment, largely based on the complexity of the history of settlement especially around St Wendolins, was held by the NPA, Pinetown Local Authority, the Mariannhill Mission and local ratepayers. The land to the west, was favoured by industry to be zoned for Indian people as they expressed a need to have more Indian labour living closer to industry.

While the central state focused its attention on removing black people from St Wendolins (people were told to leave and the land was earmarked for expropriation), the immediate effects of the proclamations were not felt until the late 1970's. However, the proclamations did signal the beginning of a process which was to unravel the stability of the local mode of social regulation which, it has been argued, was facilitative of racial accumulation within Pinetown. This took the form of resistance to the group areas and removals and is followed through in the next chapter.

NOTES

(1) The Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission (NTRPC) is a statutory body, constituted in terms of the Natal Town Planning Ordinance No27 of 1949, whose functions include;

* the formulation of a general town planning policy for the province,
* assisting local authorities in preparing town planning schemes and ensuring that they make the best use of their powers,
* advising the Administrator-in-Executive Committee of the NPA over the desirability and necessity of proposed townships,

and to undertake regional surveys and planning necessary for planning policy. (KNPGA,minutes 389)

{2} For example in the sugar industry, where the rationalisation of small sugar mills was to be the forerunner of a mechanised mass producing industry. (Harrison 1995:8).

{3} The ability to perform missionary work within land occupied by black people during the late 19th century, was controlled mainly by land availability and government interference. Land in South Africa was at the time either privately owned (by white farmers) or set aside by the government as "Native Locations". Missionary work in the latter, would depend on the consent and goodwill of the chief and people, as well as being subject to government scrutiny. (Fairbairn,1986:3)

{4} Chief Manzini, of the Mapumulo and Mangengeni people who were settled along the Umhlantuzana river in the Pinetown area, had requested that the missionaries work amongst his people and teach them to read (ibid).

{5} In Natal, the interest in decentralisation was also favoured by the provincial planners in the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission. While the decentralisation interest's of the National Party were grounded in apartheid politics, their's was focused on a more technical argument and was based in moulding the Thukela Basin on the success of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which, created in the United States, was a prime example of how to eradicate poverty by mobilising natural resources (Harrison,1992:39).

{6} Amalgamation was seen to be in the public interest due to its ability to ensure co-ordinated and integrated planning on a regional basis. It would also allow for the efficient use of highly skilled and qualified planning staff (including administration, finance and technical work), which being in short supply, could be spread more efficiently over wider areas (KNPGA,T4.31.0).

{7} Despite this change of heart, Pinetown remained highly appreciative of the Mariannhill Mission and the various roles it played (and was expected to continue to play) in the religious, social, health and welfare of all races in the community, and assured that adequate safeguards would secure the future of the interests and usages of the properties occupied by the various sections of the Mission (KNPGA,T4.31.1).

{8} The minister visited Pinetown in 1962, for talks with the Pinetown Town Council, representatives of Mariannhill and the Natal Chamber of Industry, as regards the development potential of the area, as well as general industrial development (KNPGA,T4.31.1).

{9} The NTRPC was concerned with the Mission's stated intentions to make extensive use of private consultants in the development of its areas under jurisdiction. Private consultants had been hired as a result of a group of developers approaching the Mariannhill Health Committee pointing out the huge potential the land had for development (ibid).

5 CHAPTER FIVE: SOUTHERN PINETOWN CASE STUDY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the history of development planning in the Southern Pinetown region within the context of the development of the Pinetown region and the province of Kwazulu Natal from 1970 up until 1995.

The period falls within that, which regulation theorists classify as the crisis of Fordism and in South Africa, the crisis of Racial Fordism. It is also characterised with reference to the emergence of isolated flexible accumulation systems, but more importantly from a development planning point of view (as the regulatory mechanism within a changing mode of social regulation), with reference to a number of experiments in the changing nature of power relationships culminating in a move towards a post-apartheid accumulation regime.

5.2 1970's

5.2.1 KWAZULU NATAL

Following the revision of the Border Industrial Development Plan in 1967, the seventies were characterised by a rapid growth of heavy capital intensive industries in decentralised areas. Within Kwazulu Natal, large industrial estates were set up by the Industrial Development Corporation and the Bantu Investment Corporation, enhancing the importance of state supported growth points in the regional economy. However this success, argues Harrison (1995:14), was largely at the expense of non state supported areas and also due to industrialists relocating to areas with lower labour costs and labour stability.

5.2.2 PINETOWN

Spectacular growth in both the number of factories and employees employed by manufacturers in the Pinetown Durban area (where small concerns outperformed larger ones) took place within the early 1970's (Nel,1977:142). Pinetown's growth rate for the decade, at 8% the fastest in the country, further pushed it towards taking

on its own identity (Fairbairn,1996:2) This prolonged boom was not without reservation, as expressed by the NPI Lawrenson report of 1976 (which focused on the sustainability of growth in the clothing sector). The report, outlining the limited availability of suitably trained workers, supervisors and middle managers and the fact that most of the concerns did not train their own managers or supervisors, warned that the resulting low productivity performance was a major threat to sustained long term growth (Nel,1977:14,35). This warning can be seen as an early sign of the limitations of the racial accumulation model, which had restricted the extension of skills to a predominantly white working class.

5.2.3 SOUTHERN PINETOWN

Following the proclamation of the group areas in the 1960's, the 1970's found the central state eager and willing to enforce removals of black people from land proclaimed for members of different race groups within the Greater Mariannhill area. This was to take place against the backdrop of massive increases in the peri-urban population and the very slow development of the re-establishment areas, to which the people were to be relocated (Fairbairn,1986:8-9).

The massive increase of the peri-urban population of Greater Durban during the 1970's, can be explained by the industrial development in the Durban Pinetown area and the tendency of people who could no longer support themselves in the homelands, to migrate into the cities. The Port Natal Administration Board (PNAB) warned these immigrants against erecting substantial dwellings on the basis of their non permanency of occupation (in the light of the Group Areas proclamations which precluded them from being compensated when the removals took place) (Jeffrey, 1985:26).

The immigrants, mainly contract workers from the Transkei attracted by job opportunities in the textile industries, gained access to shelter in areas such as St Wendolins by renting land or rooms from residents. Together these social, economic and political forces, coupled with a basic lack of shelter supply, manifested themselves in the form of a rapid and visible growth of spontaneous housing and informal settlements in the Southern Pinetown area.

As the informal settlements grew, they successfully created what the PNAB could view as slums, thereby 'justifying' the actions of urban authorities in carrying out (uncompensated) removals on the basis of illegal occupation and deplorable health conditions. (Fairbairn, 1986:9)

While the population grew in the areas due for removals, the areas in Kwazulu earmarked for relocation of those who were to be removed, namely the townships of KwaNdengezi and KwaDabeka (both falling within Kwazulu but with KwaDabeka at the time still falling under the SADT), were slow in being established. While KwaNdengezi was planned to have a total of 4 200 houses only one third had been built by 1981. Similarly in KwaDabeka only 6% of the planned 8 500 houses had been built by 1981.

It was against this background that piecemeal removals began. With the Development Board having become the new body in charge of administering the Southern Pinetown area (Cross et al,1992:10), the first removals began in the late 1970's involving people living in Klaarwater Station who were being moved to make way for the industrial development of the area. While some members of the community moved over to St Wendolins, others were moved to KwaNdengezi.

In 1979, the Port Natal Administration Board issued notices to tenants in both St Wendolins Ridge and Savannah Park, to vacate their premises' within the year. The notices met with no response and on the 8th of January 1980, the PNAB began to demolish houses (Fairbairn,1986:13).

Jeffrey points out (1985:31), that the very nature of the forced removals was aimed at the co-ercion and demoralisation of the weak to ensure that the coherence, morale and organisation of communities would be undermined. By creating divisions within and between communities, anger and resistance could be contained and redirected away from the apartheid regime thereby securing the appearance of voluntarism and acceptance as regards the removals.

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The Port Natal Administration Board made use of a number of dirty tricks in its attempts to fulfil the above goal including, distorting the facts with false data so as to keep the number of forced removals discreet and under-counted, taking advantage of the poor and illiterate, giving very short notices to move, taking title deeds physically away from landowners and by creating the impression that large numbers of people wanted to move to alternative accommodation (ibid:35-37).

The group area removals also managed to redirect anger and conflict into the relationships between the Marianhill Mission and the local communities (ibid 38-41). This was evident in issues revolving around the sale of Savannah Park by the Mission (towards the [illegible] seventies) without the knowledge and or consent of the community, who farmed once told to leave.

Widespread resentment [illegible] residents (including those in St Wendolins, of which Savannah Park was [illegible] traditionally part) split the church community up between those wanting to secure the best from the removals and those who felt that the mission had betrayed the legitimate rights of the people to stay. The latter felt that the mission's neutral position spelt support for such removals. The position of the Mission, was that it had preferred to secure negotiations between itself and the Department of Community Development than have the whole area expropriated. The outcome of the sale was such that it saw the church becoming more actively supportive of the rights of residents to remain in the area.

The existing community organisations within St Wendolins, mainly in the form of the Inkatha aligned Liaison Committee, saw its role in facilitating the removals through appeals to the Kwazulu Government at Ulundi to gain fair compensation for title deed holders. The legitimacy of the committee was thus immediately undermined and the Saint Wendolins Welfare Committee was established (to represent the community in all matters affecting it and to articulate the needs, aspirations, and apprehensions of the residents with regards to the removals) to fight the removals (with Isolomusi as the chief representation organisation of the community living in St Wendolins Ridge). With its focus on protecting the rights of black people to remain at St Wendolins, the

committee brought itself and the community closer to progressive planning organisations in Durban, such as the Built Environment Support Group (BESG) [1].

At this stage, it is clear how the actions of the central state (in attempting to secure the apartheid mode of social regulation) played a major role in creating the space around which opposition could consolidate and thus challenge the existing regulatory forms which had played a major role in maintaining the levels of stability and order favoured by capital.

5.3 1980's

5.3.1 KWAZULU NATAL

While Kwazulu Natal outperformed the nation as regards manufacturing in this period (due mainly to its ability to attract industry to its decentralised growth points), the Durban Functional Region performed as badly as the other metropolitan areas of the country (with declines in manufacturing and even job losses in the core), although within the DFR the peripheral areas performed relatively better. This was symptomatic of the decentralisation policies whose outcomes, argues Harrison (1995:20), were more successful at retarding the growth of the metro area than in causing growth in the decentralised areas.

5.3.2 PINETOWN

The 1980's saw Pinetown beginning to take on a more independent status with regards to its functions within the Durban region. Nonetheless, the effects of industries and companies relocating and expanding into the decentralised areas, (where government incentives, for example the subsidisation of labour and rail costs, non unionised labour and extensive housing subsidies to industries in Tongaat and on the South Coast) adversely affected the Pinetown economy and the southern Pinetown region. The residents of St Wendolins for example were finding it increasingly more difficult to find work in Pinetown.
(Fairbairn,1986:3)

5.3.3 SOUTHERN PINETOWN

5.3.3.1 The Save St Wendolins Campaign

The Save Saint Wendolins Campaign, was a campaign of resistance waged against the state's intention to remove the people of St Wendolins and comprised three main elements namely, expressions of discontent, a challenging of government truths and the promotion of community pride and solidarity (Jeffrey,1985:51).

Expressions of discontent, came in the form of petitions sent to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Piet Koornhoff. The petitions included one from the Save Saint Wendolins Committee expressing the views of the community against the proposals {2} one from 1300 heads of households calling for the consideration of the community within the official policy of the permanency of blacks in urban areas and one from 5000 members of the Christian churches in the Greater Durban area expressing their support against the removals. However, no direct feedback was received from the Minister.

The challenging of government truths, came in the form of action from groups outside of the community whose sympathy, admiration and support for the residents was encouraged by both intensive press coverage of the situation and the close proximity of the area to Durban, allowing for a constant communication between these organisations and St Wendolins.

The Durban and District Housing Co-ordination Committee (formed in 1977 to co-ordinate the activities of concerned white groups through meetings with the Residents association of St Wendolins) was instrumental in mobilising professionals to challenge central government justifications for the removals. Examples include a strong case made against the deplorable health conditions claimed by the state and the work of architects from the University of Natal (supported by Pinetown in its findings) which showed that it was cheaper to upgrade the area than to develop it for Indian occupation.

The final element of the campaign and indeed one of the most important lay in the role played by the community in mobilising itself and generating a visible sense of pride and cohesion over their land and their wish to remain. Through high levels of internal organisation, (the community was divided into 12 wards for efficient mobilisation, co-ordination, communication and organisation) the community was able to cross-strengthen itself and thus limit the ability of the PNAB to successfully divide (along religious and political lines) and rule as it had done in the sale of Savannah Park. Residents were encouraged to boost their pride of place and to enhance the area's image in the exposure which it was generating. An advice office was set up by the Residents Association to help deal with the problems of influx control, employment and pensions.

In responding to the Save St Wendolins Campaign (bolstered by representations from lawyers to government officials), the state reacted in the form of an announcement from the Group Areas Development Board (functioning under the auspices of the Department of Community Development) that a hearing to consider the deproclamation of St Wendolins Ridge would be held on the 18 June 1982. The hearing was attended by one thousand residents and backed with submissions from various stakeholders for the retention of the area for black accommodation. The outcome of the hearing, led to the Group Areas Board making a recommendation to the Minister of Community Development, that the freehold title area of St Wendolins Ridge be deproclamed as Indian and left controlled. (Fairbairn,1986:13)

While the public hearing had taken place in 1982, it was only in April 1984 that the Department of Co-operation and Development officially reacted. The department announced that the area would be deproclamed and that its residents could remain on condition that an upgrading programme be undertaken. While Isolomusi changed the focus of its attention to facilitate the forthcoming development initiative, the Save Saint Wendolins Welfare Committee focused its attention on pressurising the government to deproclaim the rest of the Greater Saint Wendolins area (comprising Savannah Park, Southampton Par, Mawelewele, and Insizwakazi). Both structures, following the reprieve of Saint Wendolins Ridge, turned their attentions to grass roots

mobilisation as opposed to focusing on external links as had previously been the case (Jeffrey,1985:54).

In September 1984, following the formation of the Tricameral Parliament, the Indian House of Delegates and the Coloured House of Representatives (turning on their pre-election promises) issued eviction notices mostly through the Department of Local Government to the St Wendolins residents, stating that they had to make way for the Indian housing shortage and that they would be compensated by the Department of Community Development (ibid:60).

Concurrently, proposals to redraw the boundaries of homelands without physically removing people and thereby incorporating them into the Bantustans, were being favoured by both Inkatha and the National Party (3). On the 23 September 1985, the Commission of Co-operation and Development called for the development of St Wendolins as a black township to be linked with Kwazulu through Klaarwater. The idea that these areas would be developed as a South African Development Trust township to be incorporated into Kwazulu, was considered as unacceptable by the Mariannhill Mission and the community.

Quite clearly, a number of different statutory (and nonstatutory) bodies were working against each other and without any co-ordination in the planning process. The NTRPC summed up the situation lucidly by arguing that a great amount of uncertainty and confusion existed around a number of issues, which basically had to do with whether or not 10 000 black people living in areas still zoned for other groups and for industry were to move or not (KNPGA, G1.43 vol3).

Confusion and conflicting approaches had brought much needed development to a standstill. The mission was refusing to release land for the proposed white development in Nazareth until the future of the black population in the whole area had been secured. The development of coloured housing in Mariannridge was not possible as the land remained occupied by black residents refusing to move and the development of the Nazareth AMT and Emmaus industrial areas could not take place

until the black people living there had been resettled (ibid).

The key to the deadlock emerged in the form of the February 1986 announcement by the government, when it recognised the permanence of the black community living in the Greater Mariannhill Area and agreed to seek an equitable solution in respect to the overall development problems of the sub-region (ibid).

The government's new stance must be seen in the context of the release of the white paper on urbanisation, which in development terms committed government to assisting only the most needy in the provision of serviced erven and while the policy of forced removals no longer applied, orderly urbanisation was to take place on the basis of consultation and negotiation with the communities concerned. It also signalled the passing of the administration of the Mariannhill area back to the Natal Provincial Administration (Cross et al,1992:10).

Despite the stated importance of development through consultation and negotiations, the lack of co-ordination and general policy framework created a number of problems in the development process. These problems (including fragmented and uncoordinated planning, a high cost of development out of reach of those most in need and a limited role for beneficiaries in the participation process) will be highlighted in the following development initiatives.

In St Wendolins, the community had asked Innova Homes, an Urban Foundation utility company, to assist in the upgrading of Mission and privately owned land in the area. Acting as project managers for the mission and Black Landowners at St Wendolins Ridge, Innova attempted to facilitate the upgrading and development of the area and to provide additional lots for development. Outline planning options were explained to the community to determine its preferences, however the most likely option outlined, was the most expensive. The process was further hampered by the stated desire of the residents who wanted developed lots to be reserved for the residents of St Wendolins ridge, while the developers were pushing for smaller plots and an influx of people to settle on them (Fairbairn,1986:14).

Gallocher (1992:108) argues that while the process went fairly smoothly in St Wendolins, this was not so in places like Insizwakazi, where tensions between the community and private developers ran high. At issue, was the community's stated objection to being presented with options from private developers who disregarded their input. The mere issuing of options, it was argued, did not encourage the community to consider other possibilities outside of those prescribed by the developer.

The NPA Directorate: Engineering services, was developing the infrastructure in the Link Area, the extension of Klaarwater and the upgrading of Klaarwater, through a very top down technocratic process (4).

5.3.3.2 Orderly development of the Greater Mariannhill Area

Responding to the fragmented and problem struck forms of development taking place between various actors, the Department of Development Planning decided to resolve the whole problem via the production of a draft policy for the Orderly Development of the area, circulated for comment in April 1987 (KNPGA,TRP.R1(41.1)8).

The draft policy, taking cognisance of the new urbanisation policy called for;

1\ an area of black expansion to be identified,

2\ the Community Services Branch of the Natal Provincial Administration to continue acting as the development agent and administrative authority for the black populations in the area,

3\ ongoing negotiations between the office and the black community concerning the future administration of the new black town,

4\ Metroplan's brief to be extended to plan for the whole of the new black town in consultation with the community and the various interest groups

5\ budgeting of development and administration to be carried out with a view to keeping costs as low as possible (with due consideration of standards and all sources of financial assistance and land donations),

6\ temporary permits to be issued to black people still living within group areas proclaimed for other races,

7\ those areas to be planned to accommodate as far as practical the existing black

families and their dwellings in the redevelopment of such areas and

8\ the promotion of existing industrial land on a programmed basis and the encouragement of other economic activities, especially the informal sector.

To expand the response in terms of circulating the policy for comment, a meeting of interested parties in Mayville (Borquin Building) chaired by Mr N Viljoen, Deputy Director-General, Department of Development Planning, was held on Friday 24 July 1987 to discuss the proposals and representations. The meeting heard strong representations from the black communities involved, their planning advisors and the Mariannhill Mission. With the objective of the meeting being to reach a consensus on a land settlement pattern, two alternatives were agreed upon and sent to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning for consideration.

The minister accepted the land settlement option (for investigation by the Group Areas Board with a view to the possible deproclamation of certain areas and the designation thereof for development by the black community) seen as best able to meet the short term land needs of the black community, to promote peace in the area and to allow other important needs to be addressed on an ongoing basis by all who had an interest in or concern with the development of the area [5]. While these proposals were not seen as the final word to the land settlement pattern in the area, the communities and interest groups were afforded further opportunity to submit representations and comments to the Group Areas Board.

An inquiry by an investigating committee of the Group Areas Board, into the proposals, led to the calling of another public hearing in the Bourquin Building almost a year later, on 13 July 1988. At this meeting, it was clear that all present accepted the proposals and had agreed to the minor adjustments called for.

In both meetings, the communitie's views, as expressed by Protus Madlala, the Liaison Officer of the Greater Mariannhill Co-ordinating Committee, warned against any development efforts which were unaffordable, likely to destroy community leadership structures and stability. Madlala also called against the handing over of development

to the private sector, whilst demanding full community involvement in deciding who would reside in what areas, the density of occupations by various population groups and the question of remaining an integral part of Pinetown. However, both discussions were related to the issue of a land settlement pattern and were thus not viewed by the Department as related to development issues. The above mentioned concerns were referred to the responsible development agent namely Community Services Branch of the NPA.

Resulting from the last meeting, a report by the Investigating Committee recommended that the area be speedily deproclaimed (as portions for Indian and coloured group areas) and that it be left controlled. While it had been announced in Parliament in 1986 that the entire area would get a reprieve (in Heunis' statement) the deproclamation was only gazetted in 1989.

5.3.3.3 A new planning orthodoxy:

The Greater Mariannhill Structure Plan

In commenting on the draft policy for orderly development, the NTRPC had expressed grave concern that it did not address the actual problems facing the sub region. These problems were highlighted as (KNPGA,TRP.R1(41.1)8);

1\ the uncertainty and frustration surrounding the future of the black population in the area (who had already expressed the need for upgrading and development to take place) which would be further fuelled by the issuing of temporary permits,

2\ the high costs of development,

3\ the unprecedented scale of black immigration following the lifting of the influx control,

4\ the inefficient use of the Greater Mariannhill area given its strategic location in relation to Durban and Pinetown (for the NTRPC it was not a matter of who owned and occupied the land, but rather its efficient use and whether the low density development taking place could be justified)

5\ and the negative impact that decentralisation policies were having on Pinetown (they expressed the need to link the promotion and creation of job

opportunities in the Pinetown area with the development of Greater Mariannhill).

In response to their own concerns as outlined in their critique of the draft policy, the NTRPC had appointed David Dewar and Uytenbogaardt to develop a structure plan to guide the process of rapid settlement in the area. This was to be carried out through,

> "the appropriate use of land within the development realities of the Durban Metro area while ensuring that the co-ordination and management of such growth respected and enhanced the natural environment so as to create a positive urban environment". (ibid)

The plan arose from an internal workshop within the NTRPC set up by David Dewar which aimed at introducing a new emerging orthodoxy into the practise and content of planning in the province. This new orthodoxy was characterised by mixed land uses; multifunctional, innovative and supportive infrastructure; increased urban densities; emphasising and celebrating the collective dimensions of city life and the use of formal development to structure the informal. In short, it attempted to bridge the gap between land use planning and the possibilities which it could bring to bear on the development realities of South African cities (Dewar et al,1989:12-24).

The Pinetown municipal area was identified as the test run on the basis, that if it could work there (given its difficult terrain and centralised as well as decentralised areas) it could work anywhere (Keipel interview). The study area was defined as a rapidly spreading low density city, characterised by a separation of land uses, a course grained texture, isolated pockets of development and limited viable points. Environmental degradation and the inefficient use of and wastage of resources was leading to sustained unemployment and limited life chances.

The plan, starting from the premise that people go to urban areas to experience the benefits which emerge from the agglomeration forces created by large concentrations of people, aimed at maximising, extending, and developing those benefits within the

confines of the brief. The vision was to transform the sub-region from a dormitory town into a local life supporting system.

Dewar and Uytenbogaardt proposed the laying down of a logical urban spatial framework through public expenditure on public spaces, community facilities, movement routes and utility services, which would determine the pattern and direction of development. By integrating and co-ordinating that expenditure, a range and complexity of individual responses could be ensured.

The structure plan was never implemented as Pinetown expressed concern at the realities of the geographic landscape which were incompatible with the propositions of the plan. It would seem that greater attention and emphasis was applied to the new theory and philosophy and attempting to adapt it, than was given to the details of reality (Edwards interview).

5.4 1990-1995

5.4.1 KWAZULU NATAL

In 1991, the special status of homeland growth points and industrial decentralisation points were lost as a result of the revised RIDP. Concurrently the emergence of interlocality competition, prompted by deregulation and devolution of state powers to local authorities, provided the space for local actors to shape the spatial distribution of capitalist development. The transition towards a new Government has nonetheless still had major implications for the regional economy.

The most visible effects of the transition have been heightened violence, mass action and economic stagnation. The scenario painted by Harrison (1995:24-5) for the performance of the region through the 1990's, shows the manufacturing sector following the national downward trend (although remaining above the national performance), and the shift to an export orientated economy favouring the region in terms of benefitting from policies favouring trade. The benefits of the latter, he argues, would more likely be favourable to capital intensive sectors at the expense of

established labour intensive peripheral growth points.

Harrison (1995:25) points to the following trends in the further development of the Kwazulu Natal economy (and most notably in the Pinetown area):

Declines in -

Kwazulu growth points, employment in textile and clothing dominated areas, employment in the DPR (largely due to expected demise of the food and beverage industries), and areas affected by ongoing political violence.

Gains in-

The Richards Bay Empangeni region (due to the expected upturn in exports and the inflow of large investments) and employment in Pinetown and New Germany (seen as areas within the DPR which would be likely to benefit from the 1991 revision of the RIDP).

5.4.2 SOUTHERN PINETOWN

5.4.2.1 Prior to the elections

Prior to the elections and the emergence of the Reconstruction and Development Programme as a national policy document to guide the development and reconstruction of the nation, the development planning process in Southern Pinetown was characterised by an increase in the distance between the ultimate decision makers (the NPA) and the community on the one hand, and the increased privatisation of the development process on the other.

In July 1990 the borough of Pinetown took over the role of management and development of the southern Pinetown region (which includes Klaarwater, the Link Area, St Wendolins, Savannah Park, Southampton Park, Thornwood and Mariannhill ii) from the NPA (Cross et al, 1992:10). However this agreement saw only responsibility and not effective power being transferred down to the borough. Pinetown remained reliant on a go ahead from the NPA on any project, as the budgets for upgrading and servicing had to be ratified and spent in accordance with

the provincial budget. The process of decision making was not only further removed from communities but also became slower, with success and speed reliant upon Pinetown's good relations with the NPA (Gallocher,1992:112-126).

With most bulk land servicing being provided for through private public relationships mediated through a consortium or tripartite agreement involving private developers, the community and the local authority of Pinetown (playing only a minor role), it was the delivery agents (private developers) who were leading the process once the go ahead had been given from province. The role of the community was limited to consultation and the provision of hard labour.

Despite the communities's positive attitude towards consultation and inclusion in development processes, they still felt that their wishes and ideas were largely ignored by the developer. Furthermore, despite a greater level of open communication and trust as regards the local authority of Pinetown, the community still regarded the NPA as responsible for their needs.

5.4.2.2 The RDP: Pinetown Land Use 2005

Within the context of a new government of national unity and the RDP as a guiding framework for the reconstruction and development of the country, Pinetown has recognised the need to revolutionise its own form of local governance. Restructuring at all levels of local planning has been identified with an aim to bringing the major focus of governance to addressing issues of relevance to poor and disadvantaged communities (ZAI and TPD Pinetown,1995:1,2). As a starting point from which to attain the above goals, the Town Planning Department of the Borough of Pinetown submitted a draft landuse plan as a discussion document, to form the basis for community participation in the process of achieving consensus on planning issues and for formulating an acceptable final plan.

The plan provides for interim guidance to decision makers on urgent spatial, physical and technical issues, while also securing a platform off which an ongoing, holistic, forward and fully representative planning process can grow. The planning framework

proposed, is to,

> "take the form of an integrated and holistic plan for the entire functional area of Pinetown which can deal with social, economic, physical, spatial, political and management issues strategically and on an holistic and integrated basis..."

in terms of an overall strategic development, metropolitan-level framework for the DFR as a whole (ibid:11).

The goals stated in the proposal include;

* contributing to the reduction and alleviation of poverty,
* an adequate supply of community facilities,
* an efficient and affordable transportation,
* an efficient and affordable infrastructural services,
* maximising opportunities for housing provision and
* ensuring acceptable environmental quality.

In securing the above goals, the objectives advanced draw on the new planning orthodoxy (and hence elements of the Dewar structure plan) with a focus on compact and efficient urban structures, supporting self employment and income generation, affordable and efficient public transport and higher residential densities to achieve economies of scale. Of interest, is the manner in which the formal structure is to mould and shape the pattern of less formal development. With regards to the development of commercial opportunities for example, the proposal suggests the creation of a multi functional "central uses zone" within Southern Pinetown, where formal community facilities would act as a catalyst reinforcing the active promotion of the small scale and informal sectors (ibid:8).

The plan is another example of planning caught in its modernist roots and while it has the capacity for being democratic and a participative process, it has at its base the aim of bringing order and a final plan (democratically agreed upon) to bear on the urban form. This is despite the fact that widely divergent communities with very different interests, are themselves driving development projects and are hence creating and

recreating the urban form.

5.4.2.3 Consolidation subsidies housing project Luganda/Zilweleni Project

The consolidation subsidies housing project presently being undertaken in the Southern Pinetown area, provides an example of a development project which is driven by the community and thus is a prime example of the changing power relations within the development planning process.

The project emerged from workshops, held jointly by the Southern Pinetown Joint Civics Association (6) and the Built Environment Support Group in 1994, aimed at outlining a housing delivery process for the region. The project, guided by five basic starting points most notably that site owners should be in control of their own housing delivery process, is at the pilot project stage in the communities of Luganda and Zilweleni. These projects are being driven by the project developers in the form of a joint venture between the two respective community trusts. The developer (who sets policy, appoints staff and monitors the process) is thus the executive arm of the respective civics (who are members of the SPJCA). As the civics are mandated to undertake development for their communities, the trustees work directly with the communities and report back to the civic on its activities.

The project describes itself in planning terms as being premised on the idea of co-ordination and facilitation rather than management and as a flexible, self regulating process whereby the decisions of individual households determine the overriding focus.

It therefore seems that there is a divergence in the conception of what development planning is, between the local state on the one hand and planning institutions within Southern Pinetov on the other. While both accept the need for participation, the former strives to create and manage a specified urban form, whereas the latter seeks to co-ordinate and facilitate a multiplicity and divergency of individual actions and demands.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The regulatory forms through which planning functions were dispensed governing the development of the southern Pinetown region, underwent radical restructuring in this period. What is evident, is that the experimentation of the composition of and relationships between the forms arose out of the advent of human agency and struggle and can be characterised by the following trends;

* a devolution of power from the central, to provincial, to local state,
* a move away from the state monopolising the regulatory form,
* the increasing power of other institutions drawn into the regulatory form, particularly the empowered participation of communities.

These trends can in no way be seen as clear cut, and in instances such as the devolution of power to Pinetown as development agent (which lacked the power to make the final decision), the regulatory form was itself fragmented and under the dictation of capital, planning functions were anarchic and were not sympathetic to the real demands of people.

This experimentation within development planning as one regulatory mechanism comprising the new emerging mode of social regulation, was occurring simultaneously with the crisis of Fordism internationally, the crisis of racial Fordism in South Africa, and the crisis of accumulation within the Pinetown region (pronounced in the mid and late 1980's).

In the nineteen seventies, functions conducive to the apartheid mode of social regulation were dispensed through the central state in the form of the actions of the Port Natal Authorities Board and were aimed at racially reconstructing the urban form. The manipulative process through which the PNAB carried out removals in Southern Pinetown, in some cases managed to direct anger away from the apartheid state and towards division and conflict within communities (even between the mission and the community). However with the slow development of the Kwazulu Townships KwaDabeka and KwaNdengezi, the possibility of the creation of economically viable cities, never mind homelands, seemed remote.

Mobilising around the states 'development initiatives', were the community based organisations supported by the advocacy planning of the new progressive movements, which together committed themselves to protecting the rights of black people to remain in the subregion. Arising out of the conflict between regulatory forms, the community organisations and the state entered a series of negotiations in the form of public hearings over land settlement options, the outcomes of which would advise the relevant ministers in Cape Town who were to make the final decision.

Although this form of negotiation (dealing mainly with land settlement within the confines of the crumbling apartheid state) realised the granting of reprievals to the St Wendolins Ridge in 1984 and the Greater Mariannhill area (only gazetted in 1989) as well as a number of upgrading programmes, they heralded the start of a process which would end the states monopoly over the development planning process.

While the granting of the reprievals were in some instances given on condition that upgrading took place, the negotiations nonetheless remained largely divorced from dealing with specific development issues, such as the large influx of people into the area, urban densities, the declining position of the economy and the limited degree of involvement in the regional economy which people in southern Pinetown experienced.

The lack of an overall framework within which development planning could address all these issues (within the context of land settlement) resulted in fragmentation, uncoordination and problematic processes undertaken by a number of different bodies with little contact between them. Of significance, was the charging of market costs for development (in St Wendolins for example) which while being demanded by residents could not be afforded. The white paper on urbanisation, which, while providing the context for a more holistic approach to the problems facing the subregion, in the form of orderly urbanisation and the acceptance of black people as permanent residents in the area, did not however address the strategic issues hindering development.

In effect, these experimental adaptations of Racial Fordism merely exposed the inefficiencies of the mode of social regulation associated with the Botha reforms, ie

the extension of the benefits of Racial Fordism to a fully urbanised, black middle class.

The NPA, which had been appointed the development agent for the region, set about producing their own plan which, for the first time, combined the so called development issues with a land settlement pattern. In so doing it was an attempt to introduce a new orthodoxy into planning in the province, which centred on accepting and dealing with the realities of the South African urban form (of separated land uses, inefficient land settlement, poverty and limited economic potential) through mixed land uses, and a greater attention to the use and development of public space. However, while planning in the subregion had been devolved to the regional state, it lacked support from the local state namely Pinetown, who expressed its concern, that the plan tended to ignore the geographical realities onto which the ideas were to be imposed. In addition, the plan lacked any basis for community participation and, or legitimate popular support as it was drawn up by statutory bodies associated with the apartheid regime.

In the early nineties, the local authority of Pinetown became the development agent for the southern Pinetown area but did not receive actual power from provincial government, who still held the strings of the purse. Development planning up until 1993, was thus characterised by the distancing of the final decision makers from the community as well as the extension of power of the private sector over the process. Communities expressed their dissatisfaction with community participation being limited to consultation and hard labour.

Following the first democratic elections, the space was opened up for communities to take a greater part in the process and, as indicated in some instances (the Consolidation Subsidies Project), to in fact drive the process. The local authority, realising the need for change of governance, has drawn up a new land use plan which draws on the new planning orthodoxy. The draft plan is to act both as a guide for interim development and as a base off which participation can take place. However the plan assumes the ability to reach consensus around and the existence of, an

efficient urban form within the context of widely divergent interest groups driving the planning process and an unstable and flexible national accumulation regime.

NOTES

(1) The Built Environment Support Group emerged from a response to the recognition of a greater demand for professional planning input into civic activities. Founded in 1982, its involvement in progressive planning, development issues and planning advocacy, included community defense (against removals), community capacity building (through facilitation), policy aid (dealing with local issues), technical assistance (on request), training and education, negotiation, and mediation (in some cases between the community and the state). (Smit,1989:311-12)

(2) The St Wendolins Welfare Committee rallying the community around the slogan of 'Asifuni Ukusaka' (we don't want to move), portrayed the views of the community as:

1\ Fearing the loss of section 10 privileges by being removed to Kwazulu, which would require all workers having to renew their work contracts annually and limit job seeking to the labour bureaux in Pinetown.

2\ Concern over the increased cost of living which the removals would bring about including increased rents, transport costs and a reduction in the income derived form garden cultivation.

3\ That the people had a proud and long history (since the turn of the century) in the area. (Gallocher,1992)

(3) In attempting to bolster the proposal with community support, the Inkatha Institute had initiated a survey (August 1983) which claimed 80% of the community were in favour of incorporation into Kwazulu. A more progressive and democratic poll held in May 1984 (mainly as a response to the criticisms levelled at the dubious manner under which the first survey was carried out), showed that the majority did not favour incorporation and in fact together with the Mariannhill Mission found the idea unacceptable. (Jeffrey,1985:62-65)

(4) This development initiative was the result of the actions of the Natal\Kwazulu Planning council (The Rive Committee) which was set up in July 1984 for the purpose of investigating, recommending and realising improving the quality of lives of black people living in Greater Durban with their full participation. However the trend was for community preferences to be read off statistical surveys. (Viljoen,1986:13-14)

(5) The option chosen, involved:

* St Wendolins, the Link area, Klaarwater and portions of Southampton Park becoming one large Black urban area
* the undeveloped portion of Mariannridge becoming one large Black urban area

* the underdeveloped portion of the Nazareth white group area be developed for coloured housing.
(KNPGA,G1.43)

[6] The Southern Pinetown Joint Civic Association (SPJCA) was established in 1993 as a voluntary association made up of 12 development orientated (social and/or economic) civics in the Southern Pinetown region with the following objectives;

* the co-ordination of development activities of member organisations to ensure co-operation and unity as well as representation of community organisations in the development process,
* proactive engagement for the mobilisation of needed resources,
* ensuring maximum local development spin offs including job creation and skills transfers for example
* and focusing on the delivery of housing and community facilities.

6 CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Initially this chapter will link together and summarise the content of the preceding chapters, namely;

Chapter 2: the role of development planning in securing medium term economic growth as described by regulation theory, within the context of the postmodern debate;

Chapter 3: a description of the development of the South African economy through the tools of regulation theory, focusing on the role of development planning;

Chapter 4,5: a description of development planning in Southern Pinetown within the framework of the preceding chapters.

The following discussion, draws on the implications of the summary for the construction of a new mode of social regulation focusing on development planning as a regulatory mechanism and its forms and functions.

This is followed by broad planning proposals which, in the context of the locality, can hopefully contribute towards an era of successful growth which is capable of overcoming both the ravages of the apartheid past and the obstacles faced by the post apartheid future.

6.2 SUMMARY OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS

6.2.1 Regulation theory, development planning and the modern\postmodern debate

In the first chapter, development planning, defined in isolation as a process through which progress (however understood) is achieved through the mobilisation of human action, was located within the construct of regulation theory. This theory holds that successful epochs of capitalist accumulation (accumulation regimes) are secured by the presence of a facilitative coupling between the structure of the economy and the

habits, norms and customs which determine the actions of people and groups as they act out their lives (the mode of social regulation).

Fordism (a mass accumulation regime coupled with a monopolistic mode of social regulation) was identified as a successful coupling in the postwar boom of the 1950's, 60's and early 70's. Its subsequent crisis and the emergence of flexible accumulation systems in the economies of the East Asian NIC's, led many theorists to call for the acknowledgement of post-Fordism as a new regime of accumulation. These theorists called for the construction of a matching mode of social regulation.

However, the mode of social regulation was not viewed as an inevitable outcome functional to the needs of capital. Rather it was seen to emerge out of a complex process of class struggle, choice and historical accident. Development planning can be viewed as one aspect of the mode of social regulation.

The evolution of both regulation theory and development planning was located within the modern\postmodern debate defined by Jameson (cited in Goodchild 1990:120) as,

> "a kind of crossroads in which a number of different themes intersect and problematise each other."

Modernism, based on an absolute faith in the efficacy of rational human action, was the paradigm out of which planning, seen as an instrument to secure the progress of humankind, emerged. The modernist planning project, with its focus on comprehensive knowledge and the predictability of the future, brought order, stability and democracy to the urban form which favoured the needs of mass capital accumulation (Fordist production systems). These planning functions were dispensed by the state, where planners (in the belief that they laid claim to value free analysis) applied the objective laws of development to the drawing up of rigid masterplans.

Postmodernism referred to a total rejection of the modernist paradigm and all its associated master narratives and disciplines. The embrace of diversity, change, uncertainty and chaos, arose from a number of historical events and changes in theory

which undermined the roots of modernism, not least of which were economic global restructuring (moves to flexible accumulation systems), political decentralisation and pluralism. As stability slipped further from the planners grasp and an increasing number of interest groups were brought into the decision making process, development planning became a process through which an increasing number of groups were drawn into the interpretation and achievement of, progress.

However, within the context of rapid change, fluid and volatile capital markets, and rapid technological advance, planning, as explained by Beauregard (1989:391), has largely given up its focus on urban reform, for the promotion of economic development and unpredictable consumption patterns.

In grappling with the identification of a mode of social regulation facilitative of postmodern flexible economies, regulation theory has itself been affected by the postmodern understanding. Directed towards gaining a greater understanding of the way in which accumulation regimes differ through time and space, theorists such as Tickell and Peck (1995) have called for a closer study of the periodisation, rationale and coherency of regulatory forms (for example, planning institutions) at all geographic and political levels. This should be followed by an analysis which compares characteristics within the mode of social regulation, with those of the emerging mode of accumulation and a demonstration of whether or not they are economically and politically reproducible.

This understanding informs the nature of the following summary which focuses on development planning as a regulatory mechanism within the Southern Pinetown region, located within the broader regional, provincial and national setting.

6.2.2 National and local case studies

6.2.2.1 1900-1930 National

The national economy, characterised by a low wage gold mining sector, rigorous and

largely uncontrolled capitalist competition, state policies and expenditure supporting the provision of productive infrastructure (to boost industrialisation and poor white employment), and state neglect over the shelter and welfare needs of the labour force, gave rise to urban forms characterised by large scale slum developments subject to severe health risks.

Planning initiatives which emerged from the state during this period in dealing with the above problems, were driven mainly by white concerns over black urbanisation. Legislation aimed at curtailing the ownership and occupation of land by black people outside of their reserves (1913 Land Act and 1923 Native Urban Areas Act), resulted in the state undertaking large scale slum clearances and the banishment of the poor to the urban periphery.

Towards the end of the 1930's, town planning legislation emerged amidst the need to bring order and efficiency over anarchic capitalist urban development but also from the import of ideas and desires to produce the city beautiful concept amidst the industrialisation processes.

6.2.2.2 1900-1930 Southern Pinetown

The economy of Pinetown (an important trading outpost and garrison town) was based on small scale farming, trade, agricultural production processing and small scale industrial activity. The broader economy of Natal was entering a structural shift to local manufacturing, boosted by both the war effort and the presence of low wages on the coast attracting and stimulating the labour intensive clothing sector.

In Southern Pinetown, the Mariannhill Mission infused the local population with the Christian faith, work ethic, education, and training in artisanal and farming techniques. This integrated the actions, norms and behaviours of the black workforce into the local economy.

Conflict emerged between the Mission and the state, over the former's 'development'

activities. The Mission was dispensing regulatory functions which were in conflict with the states attempts to block black urbanisation. While the state issued a warning to the Mission to stop selling land to black people, it carried on leasing land to the community well into the 1950's.

6.2.2.3 1930-1948 National

The Pact and United Party Governments agreed on the goals of territorial and political segregation along racial lines but not on how this was to be achieved. As the economy moved into the early stage of rapid growth, development planning set about bringing order and efficiency to urban forms through the first town planning schemes. Planning attempted in various fragmented ways to deal with the growing white concern over the urbanisation of black people who, attracted by the economic growth, were still living in spontaneous settlements in urban areas outside of their designated homelands.

The concern shared by scientific planners and technocrats over the uneven nature of capitalist development and the inefficient use of capital and labour (which they saw as causing black urbanisation), led to the setting up of early regional planning institutions, namely the Industrial Development Corporation, the Social and Economic Planning Council and the Natural Resources Development Council.

6.2.2.4 1948-1973 National

The populist Afrikaner Nationalist Party (a coalition of white interests) differed with the previous governments as it had a rigid strategy of how to achieve territorial and political segregation based on the apartheid ideology. This mode of social regulation was arguably supportive of an economy moving into the capital intensive phase of import substitution and still reliant on cheap labour and where containment of the militancy of labour served the interests of capital.

The successive Departments of Native Affairs, and Bantu Administration and

Development (and later in the 1980's the Department of Co-operation and Development and finally Development Aid) were the major state development planning institutions through which increasing control over the spacial, economic and political development the black population was extended. This was carried out by linking regional planning and the territorial basis of apartheid (the homeland system) through betterment planning (within the homelands) and the promotion of border industrialisation, as well as through the creation of the apartheid city.

The implementation of betterment planning (in ways not consistent with the Tomlinson Commission report) resulted in decreasing agricultural potential and limited employment opportunities within the homelands. Households thus remained reliant on the sale of migrant labour and could but only accept the forthcoming sub family wages.

The apartheid city form was promoted by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development extending its control over the black population outside of the homelands. This entailed taking over the development rights of black people from white municipalities, separating the racial groups into clearly defined spatial zones in the city (Group Areas), widescale removals and the relocating of blacks to new and established massive townships on the urban fringes or their respective homelands. The state further blocked the process of black urbanisation through the imposition of influx control and pass laws.

Technocratic planning as carried out by the Department of Planning in the sixties and seventies, while promoting regional development on the basis of scientific goals, was subordinated to the political planning functions of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Thus their attempts could not cut across the political homeland boundaries and could therefore not threaten the coherency of the apartheid mode of social regulation.

6.2.2.5 Pinetown

During the era of successful growth, Natal was experiencing 'spontaneous' processes of deconcentration and decentralisation which were often supported by the decentralisation policies of the state. Within the metropolitan areas, capital was moving towards the peripheries to escape the high costs of land and heightened labour militancy. These processes together with suburbanisation favoured amongst other localities, the Pinetown area.

The state increased its control over development planning in the Southern Pinetown region by gaining a greater degree of control over black education, and through the Pinetown municipality extending its planning control over urban industrialisation in the area. These actions arguably contributed to local levels of stability and order which favoured the needs of capital fleeing the central Durban area. Pinetown's development efforts in the subregion brought effective control and limited health and welfare improvements to the areas in which an important part of its labour pool lived.

The local accumulation regime was threatened by the proclamation of group areas by the Group Areas Board (acting through the Department of Community Development) to reconstruct the racial spatial settlement of the whole area. In particular, the removal of black people to be relocated to the homelands not only threatened the loss of local control over a substantial pool of labour, but also created the space around which the communities affected (with the help of the mission and an emerging progressive planning movement) would protest against the central states actions.

6.2.2.6 1973-1991 National

With the onset of crisis, the role of technocratic planning was expanded but still subjected to the political functions of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. Thus the drawing of the National Physical Development Plan (1976) by the Department of Planning, which attempted to distribute economic activity rationally across space, did not cut across the homeland boundaries. This was part of a big and partially successful push for industrialisation in the homelands to prop up their economic and political viability.

These functions were however, inconsistent with the reality of economically integrated urban complexes which had developed (despite the states efforts) cutting across political homeland boundaries.

Towards the end of the seventies, the Botha reform government riding on the crest of a brief economic upturn, altered both the functions and balance of power within the development planning regulatory forms. Most notably the leading role played by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning in pursuing integrated development (which through a highly scientific and top down way, attempted to link areas outside of homelands to those within them through large scale economic projects) with constitutional reform aimed at achieving a confederation of states as outlined in the Good Hope Plan. The further onset of crisis and popular uprisings brought this experimentation to an end and was replaced from the mid 1980's by a commitment to orderly urbanisation.

Orderly urbanisation was an acceptance of and an attempt to deal with the reality of unprecedented population expansion amidst economic decline. While the strategy was aimed at promoting urbanisation, privatisation, deregulation and domestic growth to overcome the crisis, it retained its links to a racial Fordist regime in that it attempted to ensure the orderly development of black satellite towns and to lure industries to these deconcentration points.

The economic and political crisis faced by state development planning was further undermined by the emergence of the progressive planning movements. These movements had their roots in the growth and mobilisation of civic movements around housing and transport issues.

With a lack of coherency between planning functions being carried out by new and existing regulatory forms, growing international pressure applied to the apartheid state and resistance from within, all contributed to and compounded the effects of economic decline. It was also increasingly recognised that the inefficient structure of the apartheid city could not be overcome through piecemeal development efforts aimed

at isolated spots on the urban periphery. Thus the experimental reconstruction of the apartheid mode of social regulation by co-opting elements of a semi-skilled, urbanised, black workforce had little chance for success.

6.2.2.7 1973-1991 Pinetown

The 1970's gave rise to the threat and (in some cases) actual removals of black people living in the southern Pinetown area. The Port Natal Administration Board successfully managed to divide some of the communities, even to the extent of creating divisions between the church and the community. In addition, their attempts at preventing the erection of substantial buildings merely fuelled the emergence of spontaneous settlements arising in the peri-urban fringe.

The actions of the central state in threatening and carrying out removals created the space around which a new regulatory form was to emerge, namely the Save St Wendolins Welfare Committee, which would go a long way towards unravelling the local apartheid mode of social regulation. The Committee was a vehicle through which the community, the mission and elements of the newly emerging progressive planning movement (in the form of the Built Environment Support Group and the Durban and District Housing Co-ordination Committee) not only voiced objection towards the activities of state planning institutions, but also undertook their own planning which advocated the views of the community.

In response, the Department of Co-operation and Development held a number of public hearings, which initially granted reprieve to the people of St Wendolins Ridge provided that the area was upgraded. Simultaneously however, moves were afoot to redraw the boundaries of the Greater Mariannhill area and incorporate it into Kwazulu as part of the confederation deal. This strategy had no support from local residents. The House of Delegates had also issued eviction orders to black people living in St Wendolins on the basis of the need for land for Indian housing. A distinct lack of coherency amongst regulatory forms within a highly politicised environment manifested itself in the form of a deadlock in development.

The deadlock was broken by the release of the Draft Policy for the Orderly Development of the Greater Mariannhill Area by the Department of Development Planning. The policy aimed at granting temporary permits to black people living in the subregion and committed the state to the development of a black urban expansion area. These events can be viewed as a partial victory for the progressive planning movement.

Further negotiations with the communities, were held around the issue of land settlement by the central state through the Department of Development Planning. Issues pertaining to development were however referred to the new development agent for the region, the Community Services Branch of the Natal Provincial Administration. These issues included the high costs of development and the power of the development managers who, as private developers, gave little attention to the needs and desires of the communities.

With the NPA as the new development agent, the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission as the regional planning institution (recognising that piecemeal development solutions to the broader problem of economic decline were ineffective) set about bringing new ideas into planning practice and theory in the province. The Dewar and Uytenbogaardt Greater Mariannhill Structure Plan (commissioned by the NTRPC) used the concepts of activity spines, increased densities and multi-purpose land uses as the focus of a vision to transform the entire Pinetown area into a local life supporting system. The vision was however brought down by its own limitations. The plan overlooked the new emerging forces outside of the formal planning system and seemed to ignore the geographical realities of the area. The Pinetown municipality, restored as the development agent in 1991, did not implement the plan.

6.2.2.8 1990-1995 National

The 1990's have thus far been characterised by the deconstruction of the apartheid mode of social regulation (beginning with the ascension to power of the De Klerk government) and the construction of a new mode of social regulation coupled with an

emerging mode of accumulation (characterised by a diffusion of flexible production systems, financial discipline and efforts to meet the needs and aspirations of the poor through economic growth and limited redistribution).

The De Klerk government favoured the homeland elites (as potential future allies) and capital, and attempted to both liberalise the economy and still favour decentralisation, as outlined in the Revised Regional Industrial Development Programme. The state was also attempting to prove its commitment to the reform process by undertaking major development initiatives, for example, the IDT.

The emergence of a new form of planning institution, the development forum, became increasingly prominent at national level (for example the National Economic Forum), regional level (Regional Economic Forums) and at local levels (community forums). These fora drew diverse groups of stakeholders into the planning and policy making framework which related not only to development initiatives (for example, Operation Jumpstart and IDT projects) but also to broader economic restructuring such as the National Economic Forum.

The Government of National Unity (an amalgamation of widely divergent classes and other interests) has set about drawing the above fora into the formal planning institutions in its efforts to construct the new mode of social regulation. This process is being defined largely through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), itself a planning institution in the form of a broad partnership between government and civil society.

The functions which these fora are to dispense, fall within the broad guidelines contained in the RDP (meeting basic needs, developing human resources, building the economy, democratising the state and society and implementing the RDP) but more succinctly of those within the Development Facilitation Act (DFA).

Both the RDP and the DFA prescribe a new planning orthodoxy which is grounded in modernist ideals of a 'coherent vision' and 'comprehensive redesign and

reconstruction'. The efficient form of the post apartheid city is 'known' and is to be created by new planning institutions following a set of broad objectives or principles. There is also a call for a commitment to a coherent industrial policy (Harrison,1995a:59-61). The new post apartheid planning project thus seems to be a democratised version of the modernist planning project, where the process and end product of planning has been uncovered through a belief in the rationality of negotiation.

6.2.2.9 1991- 1995 Pinetown

Development planning functions (focusing on the provision of bulk infrastructure) in the early 1990's in southern Pinetown, were delivered through private public partnerships involving private developers, the community and the local authority of Pinetown (the development agent). However as final decisions remained vested in the NPA (who controlled the budget) and actual development projects were driven by delivery agents, the role of the beneficiaries (the communities) were reduced to consultation and the provision of labour.

After the national election and within the current context of state restructuring, the imminent local government elections and the roles prescribed for local government both in the RDP and the Development Facilitation Act, regulatory forms and functions are currently being reconstructed. The Pinetown municipality has recognised its need to revolutionise both the focus and process of its governance, within the context of the RDP, DFA and the local realities experienced by all its people.

The Pinetown Town Planning Department produced a draft landuse plan (for the entire Pinetown area) as a discussion document, forming the basis for community participation to reach consensus on planning issues. The plan follows the new planning orthodoxy in that it calls for the realisation of a final plan or product, to be arrived at through negotiations and participation as well as being shaped by the needs to fit into an overall strategic development, metropolitan level framework for the Durban Functional Region. The draft plan presents the compact city ideal and the use

of formal sectors and structures around which the development of the lesser formal components will be 'catalysed' and 'reinforced'. It is also to be used as an 'interim guide' for decision makers, for example the Southern Pinetown Joint Civics Association.

6.3 DISCUSSION

The case studies seem to support regulation theorists who argue that regulatory mechanisms can and do play an important role in reproducing various forms of capitalism. Development planning was shown to be in some instances supportive of the needs of capital (for example the apartheid mode of social regulation in the 1950's\60's) and in others not (the Botha reforms). The failure of the Botha reforms, gave rise to a new form of social regulation which arose out of the struggles of the time.

The nature of development planning in the current context has been described as a democratic modernism, where decisions and actions are assumed to emerge from negotiations in which parties (previously excluded) are presumed to have both the means and ability to partake effectively in the process. The vision has, however, already been defined in the new planning orthodoxy which prescribes the form of the post apartheid city with reference to compact urban forms and mixed landuses.

Whether or not this form of social regulation is supportive of the emerging accumulation regime cannot be known in advance. However, a closer look at the tendencies inherent in the accumulation regime and how they are reflected in the mode of social regulation can shed light on the possibilities for a successful coupling.

Marx and Engels pointed out, that capitalism' only certainty is constant change (Goodwin,1993:67). The modernist planning project successfully controlled and often directed this change. However, since the collapse of post war stability, capitalism has been infused with a new intensity of change, often uncontrollable, unpredictable and more often unrecognised.

Beauregard (1989:392) describes the post modern city as being characterised by the fragmentation of both capital and labour, uneven development, a layering of historical forms and struggles, heterogenous economic activities across the formal and informal sectors, conflict ridden and infused with divergent views about what the good life ought to be. In short he views the city as a restless and ever changing process of creation, destruction and recreation arising from the struggle between its constituent parts over the limited resources it has to offer.

In a similar vein Morris (1995:6,7,16) describes the post-apartheid city as being characterised by a high degree of social differentiation between and within the classes occupied by the different population groups (especially marked within the black population), large gaps between those with and those without access to urban resources, a further growth in the size and complexity of squatter settlements on the urban peripheries, changing processes within migration patterns and as a result of all of these, heightened competition over limited development resources by radically different groups with different views and ideals.

Southern Pinetown shares the above diversity in its social, economic, and political make-up and migration processes (Cross et al,1992:56-59). The area is comprised of formal black townships, black freehold communities, informal black settlements, residents living on church land and Indian and coloured communities. Generally, the households in the area tend to be poor, however inter community comparisons shows a wide discrepancy between levels of income and how and where these are earned (with the informal sector being prevalent). The region has a rich political history forged in the apartheid past which gave rise to strong civic and residents associations, whose relations with the state (at all levels) were influenced by a number of organisations including the Mission and the Built Environment Support Group.

Cross et al (ibid:59) point out that the control and stability of the area can be attributed to the ability of the civics to ensure political unity within their constituencies and their ability to control processes of immigration. However, given Harrison's (1995) projection for economic growth in the Pinetown area, the efforts of

the local authority to attract such growth, as well as high rates of population increase, the prospects for further diversity, conflict and change are high.

If these are the circumstances under which planning is to take place, then Beauregard's argument that planning has one foot in its modernist roots with the other in a postmodern reality, is as true for American planning as it is for the South African situation and the Pinetown case study. Morris (1995:40) argues, that planners cannot and should not attempt to dictate the shape of the South African city. Harrison (1995b:59) questions whether there are principles and policies (however they are arrived at) which should be entrenched in legislation as the new orthodoxy. The question thus needs to be both asked and answered, what is development planning's role in an era of constant and rapid change, given the need to overcome the ravages of the apartheid past?

6.4 PROPOSALS AND GUIDELINES FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN AN ERA OF CHANGE

The post-apartheid era, is an era of global economic instability, uncertainty and rapid change. The urban form can no longer be viewed as a dictatorially or democratically shaped and ordered object. Rather, it is increasingly being viewed as a process of urbanisation arising from the interaction of a number of diverse and interrelated forces or components, which themselves are constantly changing. The most notable of these forces are powerful and fluid capital movements, and the informal actions of the poor and marginalised.

In the past the role of planning and planners was to understand the urban environment and to bring to fruition (through an understanding of what ought to be) progress (however defined) within that environment. Planning and planners today, do not, cannot and should not attempt to secure order or a preconceived idea of what the city ought to be. Rather, planning necessarily needs to be flexible and adaptable, undertaken and co-ordinated at the relevant levels where information is available, concerned with people and the environment in which they immediately experience their lives, and committed to equalising the balances of power within the urbanisation

process in favour of the poor, marginalised, oppressed and previously excluded.

It is the author's opinion, that the role of planning in the postmodern and post-apartheid era, is to embed itself within the very fabric of society. Planning must become a function of society and not a function imposed on society. The role of planning is therefore to transfer the discipline from the minds and actions of professionals and academics, into the minds and actions of the various components which together are currently shaping the urbanisation and development process (often through less than formal procedures).

For planning to be embedded within society, it is necessary for planning professionals to provide those groups, organisations or stakeholders responsible for creating the urban form, with an ability to both realise their needs within and take advantage of, the postmodern society in the most effective way. This can be achieved by imparting the strategic planning mindset into the actions of those forces, as it provides a framework for making the best decisions given an understanding of the internal (relating to changing local conditions) and external (an environment of constant change) circumstances (Glasson,1992:510).

The local state would thus have two important roles to play in the development planning process. The first would require identifying those groups who due to their limited access to the resources of the city (the previously excluded, marginalised and impoverished) lack the ability to successfully fulfil their own needs. Through the state enhancing their organisational capacity, access to finance and information, these groups could increase their power within the struggle for resources and go about it in the most effective way, given the circumstances. The local state could draw on and combine its efforts with those of BESG and the Joint Civic Association in fulfilling these goals. The social learning technique (de la Morney,1990:12) which mobilise the inherent knowledge of communities and interest groups as a means to diagnose their own problems and come up with their own solutions, should underbe the approach taken by the state and other groups trained in planning.

The local state's second role would involve co-ordinating the strategic actions of the diverse forces which produce the urban form, within the development of the broader metropolitan area. Through a local forum, inherent and external knowledge could be released and diffused amongst these groups as to their position within the broader region. Once again, the strategic decision making process could be used at a regional level, taking cognisance of internal and external circumstances. This would form part of a strategy which Harvey ((1989:16) refers to as a;

> "...geopolitical strategy of inter-urban linkage that mitigates inter-urban competition and shifts political horizons away from the locality and into a more generalisable challenge to capitalist uneven development."

The Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission would have a vital role to play in the uncovering and diffusion of information relating to international, national and provin'al circumstances, the co-ordination of decision making throughout the province, and through the provision of finance, capacity and administration to groups, forums or local states requiring it.

Tickell and Peck (1995) pointed to the beneficial effects which a coherency amongst regulatory forms (and thus their resultant planning functions) had to play in facilitating a successful regime of accumulation. Coherency amongst regulatory forms which disperse planning functions conducive to an era of flexibility and change, can no longer rely on a commitment (by force or through formal democracy) to a predetermined outcome or product of development. Coherency under these circumstances, would depend on a commitment amongst planning institutions to a means of decision making, which allows for co-ordination as a well as self interest fulfilment. Thus the proposal has been made for the widescale accepted use of the strategic planning framework on numerous levels, with the ability to co-ordinate the choices and actions of various empowered groups as they struggle to gain access to the resources within the urban system.

The proposals presented here, presuppose the existence of a legislative planning system which Healey (1992:411) refers to as a 'procedural device', whose content is fulled by the demands and politics of the day. It is envisaged that this legislation

should only prescribe what ought not to be and this would be grounded in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. With the local state focusing its governance on empowering the impoverished and marginalised and hence increasing their effective participation in the urbanisation and development process, the vision or product of development planning as being embedded within society and reacting effectively within an era of change, may be realised. The Development Facilitation Act does to an extent move in this direction by setting down a range of principles which all planning should cohere to. However these principles also include a commitment to the nature of the post-apartheid urban form, for example the compact city.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Development planning has an important role to play in integrating the actions and behaviours of people and groups with the needs of an economic mode of accumulation, if a successful epoch of development is to occur. This discourse has identified the emergence of a flexible accumulation regime within South Africa, characterised by incidences of flexibility, financial discipline and meeting the needs of the poor through economic growth. Within the context of the post apartheid society, political decentralisation, pluralism and empowerment, widely divergent and conflicting needs and value systems are openly being expressed in the changing processes of creation and recreation of the urban form.

Development planning as it is emerging in South Africa today, has been criticised for not abandoning its modernist roots (even though they have been watered down with democracy). By committing itself to the compact city, coherent vision and a coherent industrial policy, the discipline is assuming the existence of consensus (even through negotiation) or allegiance to fundamental planning principles. This stands in stark contrast to the reality of the processes currently recreating the country, and the mode of economic accumulation, which are both characterised by unpredictable change.

The argument was made that in an era of change, the role of planning should be to impregnate itself into the fabric of society. This could be done through infusing a strategic decision making mindset within all the parts of society whose combined

efforts and struggles constantly create and recreate the urban form.

The role of the state was thus identified as having to balance the scales of power between capital and labour and the haves and have nots, by empowering the impoverished, marginalised, oppressed and previously excluded groups with the ability to strategically take greater control over the decision making processes affecting their lives. In addition, the local state needs to co-ordinate the various actions in a way consistent with the strategy of the wider metropolitan and regional area.

For planning to escape its modernist roots which make it incompatible with today's reality, people trained in planning need to realise that no longer are they the sole planners. In addition, they need to envisage their role in terms of a commitment to embedding a strategic planning process within the social fabric. In this way coherency is brought amongst planning institutions in that they share a common process of decision making rather than a predetermined outcome. Development planning in this form, would then have the ability to shape and integrate the actions and behaviours of people and groups within a flexible mode of accumulation and thus contribute towards securing an epoch of successful development at a time when South Africa needs it most.

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8 INTERVIEWS

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