The Life & Death of Urban Growth Management in the Gauteng Province

In memory of the Gauteng Urban Edge...and everything else....

by

Anele Horn

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Abstract: The Life and Death of Urban Growth Management in the Gauteng Province

By AJ Horn

Supervisor: Prof MC Oranje

Department of Town and Regional Planning

Master of Town and Regional Planning

The issue of urban sprawl has been discussed extensively in planning circles over the past two decades. The result of sprawled cities is far-reaching. Some see it is a major contributor to air pollution and traffic congestion and it encourages development on prime agricultural land and floodplains. Others discuss the monetary implications of sprawl calculating costs of infrastructure, fuel and the time spent traveling. In South Africa, major urban areas have one important feature in common with this North American, Australian and British phenomenon- that urban growth has taken the form of dispersed residential accretion at the city edge, however, the reasons for sprawling urban areas in South Africa can be attributed to an intricate and complicated cultural and political history. Following a unique situation in South African urban areas, the Gauteng Provincial Government recognised the growing pressure to rectify the situation in order to achieve a more equitable urban environment to all its citizens. One of the initiatives proposed was the containment of urban growth inside the Province. The idea of a more compact urban environment held the promise of increased accessibility to urban opportunities, greater viability of public transport, as well as environmental advantages. Together with its three metropolitan municipalities, Gauteng province proved to be pioneer in initiating and implementing an "Urban Growth Management" approach (The Gauteng Urban Edge) in its urban areas, however, this approach remains widely debated and controversial throughout planning circles in South Africa. The study explores the reasons and rationales underpinning the implementation of a growth management approach as gathered from international literature, and whether these reasons were in fact informing the Gauteng Provincial government's reasons for initiating an urban edge. It also considers the different tools and mechanisms available for urban growth management and how these tools and mechanisms and their respective objectives informed the idea behind an urban edge specifically. The study further reviews the opinions and ideas of role-players who were involved in delineating and implementing the urban edge and based on these factors, attempts to draw some conclusions on what could possibly have improved the process of initiating and implementing the Gauteng Urban Edge.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On Ghosts and Aliens...

"Having understood this, it was natural that we should put the question to ourselves – what progress have we made in the quest to achieve the objectives to which we honestly told the nation we were committed..."
(President Thabo Mbeki, 2007)

"I speak here today in the presence of my mother, Epainette Mbeki, MaMofokeng, who came to communicate an unequivocal message.... She says these masses demand of all of us who claim to be their leaders, that we tell them ... whether we remain committed to the undertaking we have made that tomorrow will be better than today."
(President Thabo Mbeki, 2008)

1.1 Thorns and Demons

"Noise, smell, acrid air, demolition and dust surround new forms of previously unimaginable urban realities" (Ole Scheeren 2008)[94]

The issue of urban sprawl has been discussed extensively in planning circles over the past two decades[95]. The so-called New Urbanist movement, described by Gratz[96] as *"a disparate group of architects, planners, academics, transportation engineers, developers, and assorted anti-sprawl sympathizers"*, has played a prominent role in promoting planning, design and development that strongly oppose this automobile-centred manner of city building. The result of sprawled cities is far-reaching. Some see it is a major contributor to air pollution and traffic congestion and it encourages development on prime agricultural land and floodplains[97]. Others discuss the monetary implications of sprawl calculating costs of infrastructure, fuel and the time spent travelling[98].

Sprawl and its associated consequences are mainly attributed to the 1920's, when central cities started to lose favour to the romance offered by the American Dream[99]. During the two World Wars, overcrowding and slum dwelling in cities resulted in extremely poor and hazardous living conditions[100]. Following World War II, rising incomes, homeownership policies and affordable transport facilitated a mass-movement to suburban areas. The perception commonly existed that suburbs are safer, more desirable and cheaper *vis-à-vis* the more congested, heterogeneous and diverse, high-density inner city alternative. In addition to this the full cost of suburban living and of using a private motorcar, including air pollution, parking, and other external costs, were not borne by those who chose this lifestyle, making it an even

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94 Scheeren, O. 2008. *The Architect's City – Essays: Five Thinkers.* Monacle. P 056. 2008.

95 See *inter alia* Garreau, J. (1991), *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*, New York, Doubleday; Soja, E.W. (2000*), Postmetropolis: Critical studies of cities and regions,* Oxford, Blackwell; Sudjik, D. (1993), The 100-Mile City, Flamingo, London.

96 Gratz, R.B. with Mintz, N. (1998), *Cities Back from the Edge*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

97 See Fillip, J. (1999*), 'Border Skirmish'*, Urban Land, 58, 42-5; Bourne, L.S. 1992. *Self-fulfilling prophesies? Decentralisation, Inner City Decline, and the Quality of Urban Life.* Journal of the American Planning Association 58,4: 509-513; Ewing, Reid. 1994. *Characteristics, Causes and \effects of Sprawl: A Literure Review*. Environmental and Urban Issues 21,2: 1-15; Weitz, J. and Moore, T. 1998. *Development Inside Growth Boundaries*: Oregon's Empirical Evidence of Contiguous Urban Form. APA Journal. Autumn.1998: 424-440; Dantzig, G.B. and Saaty, T.L. 1973. *Compact City: A Plan for a Liveable Urban Environment.* W.H. Freeman and Company: San Fransisco.

98 See *inter alia* Gratz, R.B. with Mintz, N. (1998), *Cities Back from the Edge*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc; Archer, R.W. 1973. *Land Speculation and Scattered Development: Failures in the Urban Fringe Land Market.* Urban Studies 10: 367-372; Frank, J.E. 1989. *The Cost of Alternative Development Patterns. A Review of \literature*. Washington DC: Urban Land Institute; Ewing, Reid. 1994. *Characteristics, Causes and \effects of Sprawl: A Literure Review.* Environmental and Urban Issues 21,2: 1-15.

99 Clawson, M. and Hall, P. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison.* The Johns Hopkins University Press: London.

100 Hall, P. (1989), *'The turbulent eighth decade'*, Journal of the American Planning Association, 55, 275-82.

more favourable choice[101]. Consequently, during the 1960's and 1970's suburban residents became reluctant to return to downtown for consumer goods, resulting in the movement of market places to suburbs, leaving central cities in dire straits. None of the major cities driven by industrial and commercial growth during the years following World War II, such as London, Birmingham and Manchester were saved from these consequences[102] and virtually all of North America's larger cities (Boston, Los Angeles, Washington, and New York) carry the symptoms of urban sprawl[103].

1.2 Contact: South Africa

For many countries, economic development occurs unevenly across space and time. As a result, most countries, especially Third World countries, exhibit considerable differences in levels of income and economic activity between rural and urban areas, large cities and small and central regions and the periphery. In many instances such disparities are widening and in response to this, national populations are on the move, migrating from poor regions to areas of economic growth[104].

Instead of accommodating this inward migration of people from rural surroundings using densification techniques, urban expansion was encouraged by making more (often less expensive) land available for development on the periphery of the city, particularly in efforts to house the urban poor. In the process big cities began to grow larger in terms of surface area and at relatively low densities. This trend is constantly making it more difficult for the historically disadvantaged and poor to cope in an urban environment that has become less and less conducive to public transport and further away from traditional urban centres[105].

In South Africa, major urban areas have one important feature in common with the North American, Australian and British phenomenon- that urban growth has taken the form of dispersed residential accretion at the city edge. This phenomenon can be ascribed to, firstly, the pre-1994 Apartheid regime, a period of time during which all

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101 City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. (2004), *A Macro Perspective on Residential Densities and Compaction for Tshwane.*

102 Clawson, M. and Hall, P. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison.* The Johns Hopkins University Press: London.

103 Garreau, J. (1991), *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier,* New York, Doubleday.

104 Gauteng Province. (2001), *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework Review Sub-project 4: Management of Urban Edge,* Final Report, June.

105 *ibid.*

legislation and policies manifested in extensive racial segregation[106]. The spatial consequence of Apartheid found expression in black settlements located in homelands and rural areas far from city centres, separated from the predominantly white cities by distinct industrial or environmental buffer zones. The location of black settlements in relation to the economic and social opportunities found in traditional white settlements was a key contributor to the high levels of poverty experienced in rural and peri-urban areas in South Africa. Secondly, during the 1960's and 1970's, South Africa experienced economic stability and prosperity following the long depression of the 1940's. The economic upswing and welfare effected that individual house ownership became more affordable and this prompted many of the rich (white) South Africans to leave the city centres for suburbia[107].

A third factor that indirectly supported the sprawled and dispersed nature of South African cities was the initial counter-Apartheid measures introduced by the post-Apartheid Government. In 1994, the new Democratic Government of South Africa came into power. Since then government has attempted to bring previously disadvantaged communities closer to urban areas. This led to the implementation of a range of policies and legislative frameworks such as the *Urban Development Framework*, *Rural Development Framework* and *Development Facilitation Act* that aimed solely to correct past distorted spatial patterns and provide opportunities to poor communities[108]. This resulted in low-income settlements on the urban fringe, either as a result of deliberate government policy of land acquisition for large scale lower income development, or spontaneous and often unauthorised settlement by these communities seeking proximity to urban labour markets[109]. It is now widely accepted that this form of dispersed urban growth has adverse financial, social and environmental impacts, and that it is not sustainable in the medium to longer term. These impacts perpetuates the particularly problematic situation that poorer families, live some distance from employment centres, commercial services and public services[110] as experienced during the Apartheid years.

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106 Gauteng Province. (2001), *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework Review Sub-project 4: Management of Urban Edge*, Final Report, June.

107 *ibid*.

108 Republic of South Africa. (2000), *Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy,* November, Pretoria, Government Press.

109 Heimann, C. (2003), interview conducted on 25 August, Pretoria (Heimann is a former Town Planner and Consultant at Plan Associates).

110 Gauteng Province. (2001), *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework Review Sub-project 4: Management of Urban Edge*, Final Report, June.

1.3 Off into the Darkness

Following the unique situation in South African urban areas, the Gauteng Provincial Government recognised the growing pressure to rectify the situation to be more equitable to all its citizens. One of the initiatives proposed was the containment of urban growth inside the Province. The idea of a more compact urban environment held the promise of increased accessibility to urban opportunities, greater viability of public transport, as well as environmental advantages. Together with its three metropolitan municipalities, Gauteng province proved to be pioneer in initiating and implementing an "Urban Growth Management" approach (The Gauteng Urban Edge) in its urban areas, however, this approach has been reduced to 'only a guideline' and is moving increasingly closer to 'just-a-line-on-a-map'. Since its announcement and inception in 2001-2002, the Gauteng Urban Edge has been regarded by development role-players in Gauteng, both public and private, as a somewhat alien concept that suddenly entered into their lives and now needed to be adopted and cared for. This experience within the development and planning community led to many a debate on procedural and legal issues pertaining to the Urban Edge, however, most of the concerns raised by interested parties remained unanswered. Amidst the Provincial Drivers of the Edge's commitment to establish a rather draconian measure, they have since become slaves to what now remains as the ghost of a/someone's/something's planning ideology. The purpose of this study is to research the urban growth management movement, its history and its expressions. This growth management history will form the background to and inform the story of the Urban Edge that unfolded in Gauteng, South Africa.

1.4 Methodology

Since the Gauteng Urban Edge was one of the first pioneering efforts towards an urban containment and urban growth management approach in South Africa, the study is based on the case study of the Gauteng Urban Edge and gives a detail perspective on the specific spatial and planning conditions within Gauteng Province. It also considers the role and experiences of the local municipalities affected within Gauteng Province i.e. the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. Very little has been written and researched in respect of growth management and specifically the Gauteng Urban Edge in South Africa, considering its widely debated nature as well as its significant impact on land development. The research explored

the background to growth management and the urban edge within the Gauteng Provincial context with a view of providing some direction towards future research and studies on growth management in South Africa.

The study follows five chapters:

i. **Chapter 2** explores where the idea of urban growth management originated from and the reasons that underpin the justification of such an intervention; The contents of the chapter is mainly founded on a literature review of planning theory development from before World War I to modern day planning (2000+). It explores a history of cities and urban growth that leads to an explanation of how the idea of growth management evolved.

ii. **Chapter 3** considers different alternatives and tools available when considering the implementation of urban growth management, and also indicates the appropriateness of each approach to address different urban challenges; This chapter is based on a literature and case study review into the tools and mechanisms applied by different cities worldwide as well as their experiences pertaining to the successes or failures of these measures.

iii. **Chapter 4** discusses the policy and legislative framework in South Africa within which any urban growth management approach would have to be enabled, and from which it must be motivated; The chapter takes a detailed look at policy and legislation on National, Provincial and local level that has/had reference to spatial planning during the last decade. An array of National and local legislation applicable to government operations, urban challenges and spatial planning were scrutinised for any direction towards growth management. Gauteng Provincial legislation and policy documents formed the main basis for the conclusion of the chapter in determining how and to what extent growth management options/ideas were enabled in provincial policy and legislative frameworks.

iv. **Chapter 5** provides the detail of what happened within the Gauteng Province once the Urban Edge had been implemented. The basis of this chapter is the Gauteng Urban Edge Spatial Policy Framework, supplemented by the personal experiences of the role-players involved in implementing and defending the Urban Edge since 2001. A number of interviews were conducted with officials that have been dealing with/are still dealing with the Gauteng Urban Edge within their respective spatial planning

circumstances. These were mainly officials from the Gauteng Provincial Department of Economic Development (the department responsible for delineating and managing the Gauteng Urban Edge), the consultants who were employed by the aforementioned department to conduct the project of delineating and drafting the Gauteng Urban Edge policy, as well as officials from the three mentioned Metropolitan Municipalities who are specifically responsible for their local Spatial Development Frameworks and therefore for the inclusion of the edge into these frameworks.

The questions that were asked to the interviewees related primarily to the following:

- The general development direction of the Province/Municipality
- The rationale behind the specific growth management approach
- The roleplayers involved in shaping the Province/Municipality's spatial development agenda
- The nature of the relationship and communication between the Gauteng Province and the municipality
- How provincial policy trickle's down into local spatial plans and policies
- Problems encountered during delineation and review of the Gauteng Urban Edge

v. **Chapter 6** explores possible reasons for what happened to the Gauteng Urban Edge and the associated urban growth management practices within the metropolitan municipalities. The chapter looks specifically at the reasons and rationales underpinning the implementation of a growth management approach as gathered from international literature, and whether these reasons were in fact informing the Gauteng Provincial government's reasons for initiating an urban edge. It also considers the different tools and mechanisms available for urban growth management and how these tools and mechanisms and their respective objectives informed the idea behind an urban edge specifically. The chapter also reviews the opinions and ideas of role-players who were involved in delineating and implementing the urban edge and based on these factors, draw some conclusions on what could possibly have improved the process of initiating and implementing the Gauteng Urban Edge.

Chapter 2: A History of Evil

The Beast and the Heart of Darkness

Luke: "I'm not afraid, I won't fail you"

Yoda: "You will be, you will be…"

(Luke Skywalker and Yoda in

Star Wars V: The Empire Strikes Back)

Urban Sprawl and the containment thereof have been key components of the planning agenda over the last 3 decades; despite their apparent novelty, these concepts have their origin in very early planning practices and theories. As early as the years preceding the World Wars, urban sprawl and the 'management' and 'containment' of urban growth was identified as key components of maintaining sound planning practices and associated good urban living. The years following the Industrial Revolution and the World Wars seemingly perpetuated the obsession with/fear of urban growth and subsequent control over everything that is urban and evil. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the history of urban planning since the nineteenth century with a view to illustrate the trends that gave rise to the evolution of various urban containment/urban growth management mechanisms.

2.1 Pre-War Planning: 1800-1900

Modern urban and regional planning has arisen in response to specific social and economic problems, which in turn were triggered by the Industrial Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. The last decade of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century was the critical formative period for the development of town planning thought and policy in Britain and other major urban industrial countries. It was during these years that the specific reform movements that created the body of thought that underpins modern town planning came to prominence. And it was during these years that the very term 'town planning' was invented as an umbrella term to encompass the activities and thoughts of these separate and in some ways rather divergent discourses[111].

During the nineteenth century, major industrial cities had become massive, complex urban societies. Although the rate of urbanisation was less rapid than that experienced in cities during the twentieth century, it was of major significance. Between 1870 and 1914, virtually all British cities rapidly acquired a cheap and efficient public-transport system, first in the form of horse trams and buses, followed by electric trams and ultimately in the form of motor buses just before the outbreak of the First World War[112]. The availability of cheap public transportation had a profound impact on urban growth; London in 1801, with 1 million people was still a pristine compact city, and by 1851, with 2 million people remained compact with higher density concentrations in the inner areas. By 1914, London had a population of 6.5

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111 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University
112 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.

million people, and the availability of steam trains that gave fairly easy and rapid access to middle class commuters at distances up to 15 miles from the centre had facilitated the development of a 'spread' city[113]. Whereas towns and cities had formerly fulfilled essentially trading and mercantile functions, they now became central to the new; more concentrated and sophisticated areas of capital accumulation[114]. The growing urban populations supplied the labour that was essential to the functioning of the new, more intense economic activity node.

The economic and demographic changes associated with urban growth also remodelled the spatial structure of cities. By the late nineteenth century, and before the appearance of town planning, there were already recognisable zones within the cities that were highly specialised in particular activities[115]. Central office and shopping districts had emerged. Beyond them, typically, were mixed areas of industry and tightly built working-class housing, usually built in the earlier part of the century. Further away from the centre these very high densities gave way to more recent and rather less packed and more ordered development of housing, often close to, but less intermingled with industry. There were also distinct middle-class residential areas. Finally in the urban-fringe areas were large areas of single use residential development, varying from upper-working class terraces, to the rather grander detached villas of the better off. By the end of this century the rapid growth of these suburbs, catering for a widening lower middle-class was becoming one of the most striking aspects of urban change[116].

The immense scale of urban growth and change gave rise to a completely new range of urban problems. Although there had been an abundance of private capital to fuel economic transformation, the vast increase of urban population associated with this created major social problems[117]. There was a prevailing political faith in laissez-faire over much of the nineteenth century allowing market processes to exclusively dictate most economic, social and spatial aspects. However, unregulated private enterprise proved incapable of creating or maintaining the social investment and services that was the essential cornerstone of the city to provide for these demographic changes,

113 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.
114 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University
115 Stephen Ward. 1992. *The Garden City: Past, present and future*. E & FN Spon: London
116 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University
117 Sutcliffe, A. 1984. *Metropolis* 1890-1940. Mansell: London

while still functioning as an efficient unit[118]. The problems of coping with populations of unprecedented size surfaced quickly: shelter, water, food, sewering, burial of the dead, industrial waste and pollution[119] became critical issues as the big city became synonymous with poverty, disease, violence and danger.

A minority of thinking people were alarmed at the result of massive urbanisation. They included town planners, who by then existed as a profession (the Town Planning institute had been incorporated in 1914) and rural conservationists. They were concerned with the fact that development was uncontrolled by any effective planning. Though Acts of Parliament had provided for local authorities to make town planning schemes for their areas (in 1909) these Acts did not give them any power to stop development that was not in the public interest[120]. The two main concerns within this group were the depletion of rural land at an unprecedented rate by uncontrolled development, and the fact that homes were being constructed at greater and greater distances from city centres and job opportunities[121].

By the early twentieth century small estates of villas for middle-class families were being developed at several points on or close to the periphery of London's built-up area. The roads and plots were laid out by private land developers[122]. Suburbanisation became as unavoidable as the migration of landless poor into the cities, and continuing suburban expansion posed a recurring problem of where the city's boundaries were to be drawn. As was natural at a time of sharply contrasting rural and urban economies, it was assumed that towns were, or should be, distinctly bounded and separate from the countryside. When they sprawled into the rural fringe where infrastructure was yet to be provided, it was seen as a diseased condition needing correction. Above all, the spread and merging of urban areas, for which the word 'conurbation' was invented early in this century, was to be avoided at all costs[123].

118 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University
119 See Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.
120 *ibid*.
121 *ibid*.
122 Whitehand, J.W.R. and Carr, C.M.H. 2001. *Twentieth-Century Suburbs, a Morphological Approach*. Routledge: London
123 Ravetz, A. 1986. *The Government of Space: Town Planning in Modern Society*. Faber and Faber: London

Given the changing environment and nature of urban development, it was perceived by planning contemporaries that sprawl, at any rate, was a physical evil, with a physical solution[124].

This solution was posed by one of the most important contributions to planning thought during the early 1900's, Ebenezer Howard[125]. Howard was an English court reporter for whom planning was an avocation, he looked at the living conditions of the poor in late-nineteenth-century London and "did not like what he smelled or saw or heard"[126]. He hated the city and considered it an outright evil and an offence to nature that people should get themselves into an agglomeration. His solution to the problem was to do the city in[127]. The proposed programme was to halt the growth of London while repopulating the countryside by building a new kind of town – the Garden City[128] or Town-Country[129], where the poor might again live close to nature. The garden cities were to be slumless and smokeless, with good quality[130], planned development, large amounts of open space and greenbelts separating one settlement from another. Howard argued that this type of settlement could uniquely combine all the advantages of the town/city by way of accessibility, and all the advantages of the country by way of environment, without any of the disadvantages of either[131].

This could be achieved by planned decentralisation of workers and their places of employment, thus transferring the advantages of urban agglomeration to the new Garden City. The new town would be deliberately outside commuter range of the city. It would be fairly small (Howard suggested 30 000 people) and it would be surrounded by a greenbelt that is easily accessible to all[132]. The long-term idea was to create self-sufficient small towns strictly controlled by the authorities in terms of

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124 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison.* The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

125 *ibid.*

126 Jane Jacobs. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. In Readings in Planning Theory. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. 1996. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

127 *ibid.*

128 *ibid.*

129 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore and Ebenezer Howard. 1965. Garden Cities of Tomorrow. Faber: London

130 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

131 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.

132 *ibid.*

land uses, densities and population. The biggest fear was that expansion of these Garden Cities could create more cities[133].

In 1899 the Garden City Association was formed to promote and market the concept and in 1903 the first garden cities appeared in Letchworth in Hertfordshire. Thanks to an effective propagandist campaign, many other countries, especially in the United Kingdom also established their own Garden City Associations. By this time, it became evident that this form of town extension offered an attractive solution to the ills of big, overcrowded cities. In the United States, the suburb of Radburn, New Jersey and the government-sponsored Greenbelt towns were all incomplete modifications on the idea of Garden Cities. In many instances the garden city concept was implemented far from the blue print idea put forward by Ebenezer Howard, it did however succeed in creating the notion of 'satellite' locations outside urban areas removed and isolated from the perceived and experienced urban poverty and disease[134].

There was no shortage of evidence of, and comment on, the significant growth of cities in the nineteenth century, but during these years, it was the moral and social conditions of cities, which attracted most attention. The physical characteristics of urban populations were anxiously observed since it was widely believed that health and vigour had declined[135]. Consequently, the limited practice of town planning in this century was concerned with addressing poverty, disease, crime and general poor living conditions resulting from the nineteenth century overcrowded city. This was the time of practical men grappling with practical/physical matters[136], and all resources were focused on finding physical solutions to these life-threatening issues and hence little attention was given to finding longer-term solutions in urban planning practices[137].

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133 Jane Jacobs. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. In Readings in Planning Theory. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. 1996. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

134 Hall, P. 1998. *Cities in Civilization: Culture, Technology and Urban Order*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London.

135 Cherry, G.E. 1974. *The Evolution of British Town Planning*. Leonard Hill Books: UK

136 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.

137 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

Diagram 2.1 Ebenezer Howard's Social City[138]
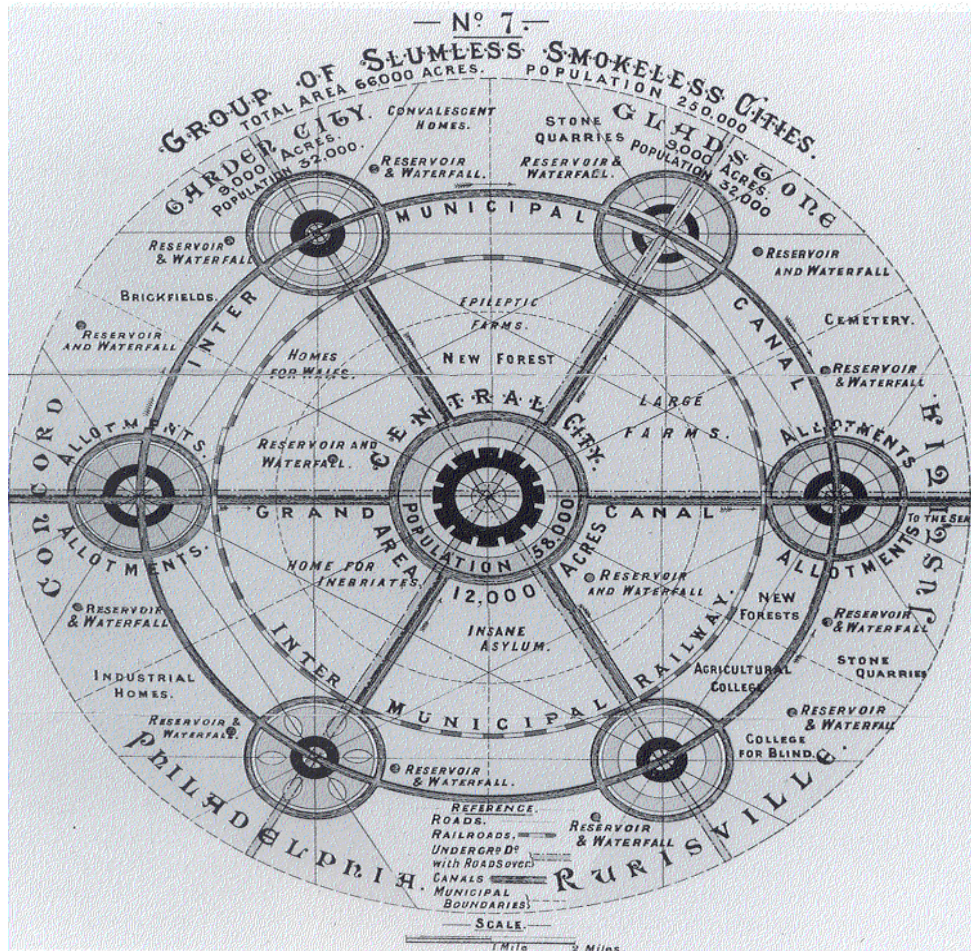
2.2 Inter-War Planning 1900-1948

"Europe is more exceptional than sometimes it likes to think of itself." (Tony Blair 2008)[139]

The years between the outbreaks of the First and Second World Wars were extremely significant in the evolution of all dimensions of urban planning. For the first time planning was having real, if not always recognised, impacts on the way towns and cities were developing. Town extension policies were now implemented on a vast scale. Meanwhile the conceptual base of planning was widened to embrace new spatial problems and configure new policy solutions.

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138 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.
139 Blair, T. 2008. Tony Blair's Leap of Faith. Time. June 2008.

During the years before and after World War II town planning assumed a very prominent role in the reconstruction and rebuilding of cities. Pollution, general poor living conditions and unemployment brought on by the depression years in the 1930's were the driving force behind most of the planning interventions undertaken during these years[140]. Both economic and population growth were slow, however, there was a considerable internal redistribution so that some large urban areas such as London and Birmingham grew rapidly by internal migration[141]. Transport technology had a fundamental role: In London, the public transport undertakings, such as the Southern Railway, the Underground Group and later the London Passenger Transport Board played a key role in facilitating the spread of suburbia. Underground extensions had opened up a whole sector of the urban fringe for development[142]. In other parts, the motor bus allowed formerly inaccessible rural areas to be brought within easy access of the cities. Similar tendencies were apparent in other cities affected by the World Wars, especially those where electrified commuter rail systems were being created. Everywhere though the role of public transport was a decisive element in the private suburban development process[143].

In all some 4.3 million dwellings were built in Britain between the wars, a greater addition to the housing stock than in any previous comparable period. The great majority of these dwellings were built in the new suburban areas at very low densities. Consequently, big cities expanded into even bigger areas, and combined with a rise in the number of motor vehicles contributed to mounting congestion problems, especially in central areas. London grew in population from 6.5 million people to 8.5 million people during the two World Wars, but the physical extent of the agglomeration approximately doubled[144]. Suburban living undoubtedly proved immensely attractive and popular with the majority of people who were able to bear the extra costs of living there, yet it could not offer the bargain shopping and cheaper food products that were available in the street markets of the older districts[145].

There was also a growing critique of the social coldness and soullessness associated with suburban living. The dynamic and seemingly unstoppable suburbanisation

140 Sutcliffe, A. 1984. *Metropolis 1890-1940*. Mansell: London

141 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

142 Sutcliffe, A. 1984. *Metropolis 1890-1940*. Mansell: London

143 *ibid*.

144 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

145 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University.

process was unsettling, particularly when residents' homes spilled more and more into rural areas. The rural landscape and sense of being in the country, a quality that developers frequently emphasised, rapidly became more remote[146]. Moreover it was a way of life that was increasingly subject to intellectual and left-wing criticism for the way it encouraged a sense of escape from the social realities of both the cities and the wider world. The famous socialist writer George Orwell remarked, that the 'huge peaceful wilderness of outer London seemed, along with most of the rest of the country, to be sleeping the deep, deep sleep of England'[147].

In the United States, about three-quarters of a million new housing units were built each year before 1920. Employment was high, and in general it was a period of high prosperity. While some of the new housing was in suburbs or on the periphery of cities, most was well within established town/city boundaries. This period ended abruptly at the end of the 1920's and the early years of the 1930's with the coming of the Great Depression, an economic depression of length, depth and severity without parallel in United States economic history. Formation of new households fell off drastically and the construction of new dwelling units plunged to less than 100 000 in 1933. Unemployment rose sharply and the normal migration of young people from rural areas to cities slowed down or even reversed as the rural areas were less unattractive than the unemployment experienced in cities[148].

Consequently when World War II ended in 1945, there was a severe backlog of pent-up demand for housing. As soldiers returned from war, they sought a living place of their own with their wives and families, and moreover, they had the money to do so. This introduced an era of great economic and spatial expansion[149].

In the late 1930's two strains of thought became intertwined. The idea of urban growth containment and the creation of new towns/communities were combined with the notion of correcting regional economic imbalances brought on by the economic depression. This was the contribution of The Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, under the chairmanship of Sir Anderson Montague Barlow in 1937, who pointed out that the continued growth of large urban areas represented

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146 Stephen Ward, 2004. *Planning and Urban Change*. Second Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

147 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

148 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

149 *ibid.*

an economic, social and strategic problem demanding remedial action[150]. In part, this was simply a reaction against mass suburbanisation. The Barlow Report thus recommended Howard's Garden City ideas to be reconceptualised into a model for the management of urban growth that involves planned decentralisation and containment[151] of new communities. Another recommendation stemming from the Barlow Report was the basic notion that agriculture should occupy a specially privileged place in the national economy[152]. It was advocated that agricultural land should not be regarded as any other industry, subject to the 'hard' rules of the economy and market competition, but was to be protected against decline and invasion[153]. This recommendation needs to be understood in the context of the growing threat of war during this period when farmers made a remarkable effort to increase local food supplies in order to overcome the wartime blockade. Between 1934 and 1939, the loss of agricultural land to urban uses averaged 60 000 acres a year[154].

Other reports stemming directly or indirectly from the Barlow Report made significant contributions in terms of central planning and state land ownership. The Uthwatt Report in 1942 recommended that development rights on rural land should be nationalised and that the state must buy land when it was needed for development. Another contribution came from the committee on new towns under Lord Reith in 1945-1946 who recommended that Garden Cities be built by public corporations drawing finance directly from central government[155].

Meanwhile, the concept of the region, wider than the individual town or city began to arise in planning circles. Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan was pioneer in encouraging ambitious regional plans[156]. This plan was the embodiment of the ideals stemming from the Barlow Report. The continued economic growth of London was to be curbed by stringent industrial location controls. Its physical growth was to be limited by a greenbelt, some five miles wide, around the existing built-up agglomeration. Beyond that, new towns were to be built according to the Garden City

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150 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

151 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

152 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

153 *ibid.*

154 *ibid.*

155 *ibid.*

156 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.

prescriptions, to accommodate the overspill population from slums and congested inner areas. Beyond that, expansion of existing small market towns was to take the rest of the overspill, at distances up to 100 miles from the city[157].

The consequence of metropolitan decentralisation was containment, stopping the big city growing so that its growth could be channelled into garden cities and satellites. Decentralisation policies were revisited and consequently the idea of garden cities were redeveloped and found expression in self-contained new towns, municipal satellite towns and neighbourhood units. The general principles of these towns were small residential satellites with full community facilities (though no industrial areas) in a generous green-belt setting that separated them from larger metropolitan centres[158]. These small units would place emphasis on pedestrian access to facilities and segregation between vehicular movement and pedestrians. The idea now began to involve the spatial limitation of urban growth, giving a firm edge to the city to preserve rural landscapes for scenic and recreational enjoyment and retention of agricultural land[159].

This, in turn, reflected an underlying belief that the pace of social, economic and physical change would be slow enough to monitor and control. It was assumed that a basic objective of the plan was to limit and control change, for uncontrolled change was felt to be an inherently unstable and unhealthy condition of society, rather like a piece of machinery outside anyone's control. This belief, of course came in conflict with the reality of the postwar period[160]. Within the United States context, Jane Jacobs describes this belief as "conceiving planning as essentially paternalistic, if not authoritarian…uninterested in the aspects of the city that could not be abstracted to serve [his] Utopia…simply wrote off the intricate, many faceted, cultural life of the metropolis."[161]

The mounting critique of suburbanisation during the 1930's is frequently represented as unplanned sprawl. Yet it essentially did exactly what the dominant strand of pre-1914 planning opinion had wanted: Inter-war suburbanisation had extended the

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157 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

158 Stephen Ward, 2004. *Planning and Urban Change*. Second Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

159 Stephen Ward, 1994. *Planning and Urban Change*. First Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

160 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

161 Jane Jacobs. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. In Readings in Planning Theory. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. 1996. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

towns, providing huge quantities of good-quality and relatively cheap garden housing for a much wider section of the population than before. Moreover, statutory planning played a significant, if not major role in allowing mass suburbanisation and providing some rudimentary framework within which it could happen. What was happening was that, for the first but not last time, a planning solution was in its mass implementation turning into a planning problem[162].

2.3 Post-War Planning 1948-1980

The years following World War II were recognised by mass consumption, increased ownership of consumer durables, especially the private automobile and by implication great economic growth. Britain showed a sixty percent increase in growth in gross national product between 1945 and 1970. The increased economic capacity after the World Wars subsequently contributed to a rapidly rising population. Coming together, these trends have resulted in pressure for urban living space much greater than was anticipated by professionals at the end of World War II[163]. All over the world massing of large agglomerations began to gather speed. By 1950 there were about 80 'metropolitan areas' with over one million inhabitants. In 1960 there were 112 'metropolitan areas' holding 285 million people (nearly 10% of the world population at that time) – 23 in the United States and 6 in Great Britain[164]. This demand for living space and expansion of cities were heavily constrained by the philosophy of conservation and containment that was the basis of the planning system at war's end[165].

The planning system that was brought into being between 1946 and 1952 was designed for a very different set of circumstances. It assumed that change would be slow and controllable, and that the task was to restrict the rate of change in the interest of the community. It was fixated on urban containment in an era when social and economic forces contributed to unprecedented pressures for decentralisation of urban areas[166]. The conflict of this planning system drew from two ends: The urban-biased constituents that sought the decentralisation of large agglomerations into new/small/garden cities/towns at 'safe' distances from urban centres, hence locating

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162 Stephen Ward, 2004. *Planning and Urban Change*. Second Edition. Sage Publications Limited: Oxford University

163 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

164 Frederick Osborn and Arnold Whittick. 1969. *The New Towns: The Answer to the Megalopolis*. Leonard Hill: London.

165 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore

166 *ibid.*

well into the country side vis-à-vis the rural-biased constituents canvassing the conservation of rural/agricultural land and the protection of the countryside. This compelling set of fears inspired specifically three individuals during these years to conjure up visions of what they considered to be the ideal city.

The ideal cities proposed by Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright spoke directly to the fears experienced in urban areas. They reflected in particular the fear of the ever-growing nineteenth century metropolis, the sense that modern technology had made new urban forms possible, and a great expectation that a revolutionary age of freedom was at hand[167].

Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier hated the cities of their time with an overwhelming passion. The metropolis was the counter image of their ideal cities. All three visualised the great city as a cancer, an uncontrolled, malignant growth that was poisoning the modern world[168]. The ideals put forward by Howard, Wright and Le Corbusier were founded on the principles of control, social order and the utilisation of technology to facilitate these goals. Howard's Garden Cities, Wright's radical decentralisation model and Le Corbusier's[169] vertical city are all examples of the post-war drive and fixation towards containment and control of all that is urban and dynamic. This fixation is also reflected in the key pieces of legislation that were passed during the post-war years.

The distribution of Industry Act of 1945 gave the central government the power to control new industrial location to move into regions in need of development. The New Towns Act of 1946 provided for the construction of new towns to accommodate the 'overspill' of population from London[170]. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, the cornerstone of the post-war planning system nationalised development rights in land so that it could be transferred to local planning authorities that would then have absolute and effective power over new developments and redevelopments. The Act provided further that subsequent increases in land values due to development should

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167 Robert Fishman. *Urban Utopias: Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier*. In Readings in Planning Theory. 1996. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford

168 *ibid.*

169 See *inter alia* Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England. and Robert Fishman. Urban Utopias: Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier. In Readings in Planning Theory. 1996. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford

170 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England and Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

revert to the state by means of a charge on development by public authorities[171]. In 1949 the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act had given stronger powers to local authorities to regulate the use of land in the countryside, and thus 'preserve fine landscape for the enjoyment of the community'[172]. Lastly, the Town Development Act of 1952 provided for an alternative way of building new communities through government funding[173]. The intervention of these legislative frameworks into the urban growth process is the central theme of British post-war planning. The United States has no equivalent interventionist system[174].

It seems that all were agreed that continued growth of large urban agglomerations was bad on economic, social and strategic grounds. The employer suffered as much as the employee from congestion, long commuter journeys and inflated housing costs. It was considered best at the time that best interests would be served by a policy of urban containment coupled with the building of new communities. Similarly, the building on good agricultural land was an economic and strategic disaster for the whole nation. Most planners in post-war years therefore paid service to the ideals of urban containment, conservation and the creation of self-contained communities. Most of them subscribed to the view that the physical environment has a demonstrable effect on the performance of the economy or the quality of social life. They therefore naturally believed in making physical plans for the future shape of the built environment[175].

By the 1970's it seemed that these core values were shifting. In more progressive planning authorities there was a growing concern with social objectives among younger planners. The planners of the 1950's and 1960's were therefore divided between the objectives and fears of the post-war planners, and the new progressive social objectives in planning thought.
The 1960's and 1970's marks a period of economic affluence in Britain and the United States. The increase in private automobile ownership facilitated mass suburbanisation and subsequent increased city footprints. This ongoing trend also brought renewed attention to inner cities losing favour, and the decline and degeneration of urban centres into slums. It became a growing concern that those

171 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore
172 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.
173 Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. *Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison*. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore
174 *ibid*.
175 *ibid*.

who could afford the suburban lifestyle and private transport were quickly evacuating from traditional urban centres into suburbs and new communities, ridding the city of its affluent tax base[176].

In the United States this period is known as the malling of America. The interstate highway programme introduced by President Dwight Eisenhower in 1956 facilitated the beginning of mass suburbanisation in the United States. This was followed by the movement of marketplaces out to suburbia and consequently the rise of "Edge Cities" as they are referred to by Joel Garreau[177]. Some of the most prominent of these Edge Cities are New Jersey, Boston, Detroit, Atlanta, Phoenix, San Francisco and Washington[178].

For almost 20 years following the Second World War, town planning theory and practice was dominated by a conception, which saw town planning essentially as an exercise in physical design for physical problems. What came to be seen and described as town planning was assumed to be most appropriately carried out by architects. This conception of town planning persisted down to the 1960's, as was shown by the fact that most planners in the post-war years were architects by training, or architect-planners. It was only at the end of the 1960's that the prevailing design-based view of town planning gave way to a new systems and rational process view[179]. This shift in planning thought can be summarised under four points:

- An essentially physical or morphological view of towns was to be replaced with a view of towns as systems of interrelated activities in a constant state of change.
- Whereas town planners had tended to view and judge towns predominantly in physical and aesthetic terms, they were now to examine the town in terms of its social life and economic activities.
- Because the town was now seen as a live functioning thing, this implied a process, rather than an end-state or blueprint approach to town planning and plan making.
- All these conceptual changes implied a change in the kinds of skills, or techniques, which were appropriate to town planning. If town planners were trying

176 Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England.

177 Joel Garreau. 1991. *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*. Doubleday: New York

178 See Edward Soja. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Blackwell: Oxford and Joel Garreau. 1991. *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*. Doubleday: New York

179 Taylor, N. 1999. *Anglo-American town planning theory since 1945: three significant developments but no paradigm shifts*. Planning Perspectives, Vol 14. 1999:327-345.

to control and plan complex, dynamic systems, then what seemed to be required were rigorously analytical, 'scientific' methods of analysis[180].

2.4 Planning, Post-Modern, Neo-Modern, 1990+

Campbell and Fainstein[181] characterise the history of cities into three areas: 1. The formative years during which pioneers like Howard did not yet identify themselves as planners, 2. The period of institutionalisation, professionalisation and self-recognition of planning, and 3. the era of standardisation, crisis and diversification of planning. The post-war period witnessed a planning system that predominantly focused on planning for the physical built environment to address physical problems or needs associated with burgeoning city- and population growth[182], while still institutionalising and establishing itself as a profession carrying great responsibility and great power.

However, as early as the 1960's 'new' (probably longstanding overlooked) urban and regional issues/problems were introduced to the planning agenda, forcing planning as defined in 1947 from the drawing board into a much wider and diversified field. During, this period, events like the major Oil Crisis in 1960, as well as the decadent low density sprawl leading to inner city degradation in both the UK and the USA forced planning ideas away from traditional thinking around higher densities and cities as bad/evil. This period also introduced the notion that the answer to these problems did not lie in suburbia, or satellite towns. It was evident that a new approach was needed.

Developments in planning theory in the 1980's and 1990's cannot be disassociated from the changes to planning practice brought about by the 'New Right' political shift driven by Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States. The ideology practiced by these regimes were strongly founded on the notion that state planning should play a far less interventionist role, and that planning decisions on the ground could easily be exercised by free market expertise[183]. A decade of New Right control did not in fact alter significantly the system of planning which had been put in place in 1947; moreover, although planning control was weakened in the early years of Thatcherism, the later 1980's saw something of a backtracking from the hard-line

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180 Taylor, N. 1999. *Anglo-American town planning theory since 1945: three significant developments but no paradigm shifts*. Planning Perspectives, Vol 14. 1999:327-345.

181 Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. *Introduction: The Structure and Debates of Planning Theory*. In Readings in Planning Theory. 1996. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

182 See Peter Hall, 1975. *Urban and Regional Planning*. Penguin Books: England and Marion Clawson and Peter Hall. 1973. Planning and Urban Growth: An Anglo-American Comparison. The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

183 Elizabeth Wilson. *Planning and Environmentalism in the 1990's. In Urban Planning and the British New Right*. 1998. Edited by Philip Allmendinger and Huw Thomas. Routledge: London

free market strategy. This was partly brought about by a sudden upsurge of environmental concern, arising mainly from evidence about global warming and ozone depletion, and the feeling that the state – including statutory town and country planning – had an important role to play in environmental protection[184].

From the early 1980's onwards, planning theorists turned away from the grand theorising about physical planning, and instead sough to research and develop theory which focuses more sharply on issues and problems which town planning seeks to address. The following are some of the more focused issues that were introduced to the planning agenda since the beginning of the 1990's:

i. Urban economic decline and regeneration

The massive suburbanisation (as a result from both unplanned sprawl and planned decentralisation) during the post-war era in many parts of the world, especially Britain, the United States, Australia and many other parts of Europe (see Paris, Belgium, The Netherlands, Sweden and Germany) had left traditional urban centres rife with poverty, unemployment, congestion and physical degradation. Urban regeneration initiatives and the marketing of inner cities to new industries and business have become critical parts of many city plans in modern days i.e. Canary Wharf, London Docklands, and San Francisco Bay.

ii. Social inequalities and equal opportunities

Social inequalities have been recognised as a result of the plight of the poorest of the poor and most disadvantaged groups in society, who have been hit hardest by the decline of urban centres, inefficiency of public transport systems, and the shift of employment and economic opportunities from centres to suburbs. During the course of the 1990's the focus shifted to inequalities not only created by levels of income, but also to other reasons for inequalities like gender, race and disability, and consequently planning thinking adopted in addition to an economic reasoning, a growing social and moral flavour during these years[185].

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184 Taylor, N. 1999. *Anglo-American town planning theory since 1945: three significant developments but no paradigm shifts.* Planning Perspectives, Vol 14. 1999:327-345.

185 Paul Davidoff. *Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning*. In Readings in Planning Theory. 1996. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford and Gordon Cherry. 1970. Town Planning in its Social Context. Leonard Hill: London.

iii. The global ecological crisis and sustainable development

In the 1980's, a number of environmental disasters (such as the accident at Chernobyl), together with some alarming scientific evidence of changes to the earth's global ecology (such as global warming and ozone depletion) generated serious environmental concern. In 1992 an 'Earth Summit' was held at Rio de Janeiro at which the world's nations gathered to try to reach some agreement on common action to avoid environmental catastrophe. At the global scale, member states at the Rio de Janeiro Summit committed themselves to an action plan called 'Agenda 21', part of which was a key role for local governments (Local Agenda 21). The nature, location and density of urban land uses and the way people travel within and between cities affect the ecology of the city, and therefore the global ecology as well. In the 1980's and 1990's there was some theoretical thinking on planning for environmentally sustainable cities. Overall environmental concern gathered greater significance within planning theory[186].

iv. Local democratic control and popular planning

During the late 1980's the notion of establishing a platform for urban debate about planning issues and concerns took root among societies worldwide. The debate was voiced mainly in either protest marches of citizens, or the involvement of local communities in the decisions and plans for their local area. Popular planning and protest movements ensured that the questions of democracy and public participation were kept on the agenda and the subject of popular planning, and democratic planning more generally, became a further focus of attention in planning theory[187].

2.5 Making Sense

"More than any time in history mankind faces a crossroads. One path leads to despair and utter hopelessness, the other to total extinction. Let us pray that we have the wisdom to choose correctly." (Woody Allen)[188]

The history of planning and cities are a direct consequence of the context in which it took place. The nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century witnessed a planning profession primarily concerned with rectifying physical problems and

186 Taylor, N. 1999. *Anglo-American town planning theory since 1945: three significant developments but no paradigm shifts*. Planning Perspectives, Vol 14. 1999:327-345.

187 See Patsy Healy. *Planning Through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory*. In Readings in Planning Theory. 1996. Edited by Scott Campbell and Susan Fainstein. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

188 Allen, W. Taken from Woody Allen Quotes at www.quoteworld.org

providing for physical needs, as was required at a time of preparation for, and recovering from severe warfare. This period is also recognised by its extremists and conservatism regarding the growing city as a threat and an almost beast-like monstrous character that needs to be controlled at all cost. The modernist planning objectives of containment, conservation and control generated during this time is in line with the modernist views expressed by theorists from that period who were generally concerned only with survival, addressing existing physical needs and finding solutions to immediate problems. It was unfortunately exactly this mindset that drowned the planning profession for more than a century. It was only until the late twentieth century that the need for forward and future planning saw the light. After more than a century's worth of overlooked problems manifested themselves in urban living, it was recognised that the beast itself may not have been the enemy all along, but that which the beast created. Socially unjust cities, inner city degradation, environmentally unsustainable and even hazardous practices had cities on their knees for deeper and more diversified planning. The fights against high density inner cities that were more congested, heterogeneous and diverse[189] contributed mostly to the movement towards suburbs with their high prevalence of single-family houses that were perceived to be more stable, safer, better places in which to raise children. This growth had ironically impacted more negatively on urban areas and had achieved more destruction of cities than that which was feared. This fear of urban expansion and the perceived solution in planned decentralisation (new towns, garden cities, etc) came to a rude awakening during the late 1960's and 1970's when it was realised exactly what the solution had created. The unplanned spill-over of urban growth into rural/agricultural areas had generated a 'new' list of urban problems relating primarily to environmental degradation, low density developments leading to mass consumption of rural/peri-urban land, private vehicle dependence and poor degraded inner cities. The realisation that moving away from traditional inner cities was bringing to life a new dangerous beast, resulted in a shift away from planning decentralisation. All that had set foot beyond the city edge had to be stopped.

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189 Ewing, R. 1997. *Is Los Angels Style Sprawl Desirable*? Journal of the American Planning Association. Winter 1997. V63, nr 1: 107 - 126

Chapter 3: A New Hope

Fighting Fear with Fire

"One of the obvious impediments to making reliable forecasts, especially in the social sciences, is the fact that - to state it in only slightly exaggerated form - everything depends on everything else"
(Helmer 1998: 942).

The preceding chapter followed a broad history of urban development that unveiled city growth and expansion as a beast-like character that threatened to destroy a well managed and controlled urban environment as well as a pastoral country side. The fear implied by this threat gave rise to a movement that sought to control and redirect, a practice that commonly became known as urban growth management. This chapter seeks to explain the different approaches towards controlling and managing urban environments and how they were developed to fight a war against and a fear for urban growth.

3.1 The Purpose of Urban Growth Management

In chapter 2, a number of fears were identified from which the need for fighting and controlling urban growth evolved. These fears spread tales that connected city growth with horrible conditions like city-inefficiency as a result of mass suburbanisation, private transport dependence, environmental injustices, the loss of agricultural land, social and moral degeneration and the general decline of urban centres. Given this perception of city expansion and sprawl in cities throughout the world, and the different ways in which it has taken root, the following can be noted to be the desired outcomes/objectives that a growth management approach seeks to achieve[190]:

i. Minimising the Footprint of the City

Modern cities from all over the world (London, Boston, Sydney, Los Angeles)[191] exhibit vast tracks of land developed at very low densities. One of the primary and most significant anti-sprawl arguments is to put an end to the gluttonous consumption of land and moving closer to the notion of a compact urban form.

ii. Preventing the loss of High Potential/Value Agricultural Land and Protecting Environmentally Sensitive Areas

Urban sprawl often eats into areas of high-value, very well located agricultural land in close proximity to urban markets[192]. In many developing countries urban agriculture also provides employment and food security to the urban poor. Consequently, the

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190 *Burgess, R. 2000.* The Compact City Debate: A Global Perspective, *in Jenks M and Burgess R eds Compact Cities: Sustainable Urban Forms for Developing Countries, Spon Press, London.*

191 See Garreau, J. 1991. *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier.* New York: Doubleday.

192 Lynch, K, Binns, T and Olofin, E. 2001. *Urban agriculture under threat: The land security question in Kano, Nigeria. Cities*, Vol 18, No 3, pp 159-171.

loss of this resource will have a detrimental effect on the economy of an urban area, and should be regarded as an asset worth conserving. Environmentally sensitive areas such as wetlands, rivers and ridges also offer specific competitive advantages to urban areas as a public amenity and tourist attractions, in addition to the essential ecological value offered by these areas. It is therefore imperative that these resources be protected.

iii. Improving the Use of Public Transport

Since the reliance on private transport has severely compromised the mobility function of many urban connector roads, encouraging the use of public transport is vital to ensuring future mobility efficiency in urban areas. One of the key means of achieving this is regarded as increasing residential densities in nodes and along public transport corridors, as a way to ensure the greatest and most efficient accessibility to public transport facilities and consequently minimising the dependence on private transport.

iv. Improving the Efficiency of Urban Areas

The installation and maintenance, as well as the affordability of infrastructure are key areas of concern in cities. Compact cities in which infrastructure investment is planned are more efficient than cities in which infrastructure planning takes place on a piecemeal basis. Many studies have shown that providing services infrastructure for low density developments, are far more expensive per capita than providing for higher densities.

v. Reducing Inequality

Due to the dominance of market forces and the generally perceived reactive nature of planning, new private, non-residential developments tend to only take place in areas where risks are low and profits high. These coincide with the places of residence of more affluent people, while areas in which poorer communities are struggling to survive remain underdeveloped. This is an inhibiting factor for development in such areas, as they increasingly look derelict and backward vis-à-vis the constantly changing and rejuvenating wealthier areas. One of the objectives of intervening in the form and density of development of urban areas is to ensure greater access for all to the benefits of urban living, something that the current fragmented, separated city works against.

vi. Increasing the Marketability of the City

The physical urban environment of a city, including its quality and liveability plays a major role in its competitiveness. Compact, well-planned cities tend to be more legible and user friendly. In addition to this the message that potential investors get from a city that seems under control and functions efficiently is that it is well planned and managed in an integrated way.

3.2 Urban Growth Management Approaches

Internationally, growth management approaches find expression in different shapes and sizes. This section will explore these approaches as witnessed in various countries throughout the world. Each approach will be defined and discussed against the backdrop of the specific negative consequences and evil it aims to battle.

"I just want you to know that, when we talk about war, we're really talking about peace." (George Bush)[193]

i. The Top Down Centralist Approach

China has entered a period of rapid urbanisation, with experts predicting that 1.12 billion people or 70 percent of the total population will live in cities by 2050[194]. This means that more than 600 million Chinese people will move from rural to urban areas in the next 50 years[195]. In this country, where one of the major reasons for curbing sprawl is to protect valuable agricultural land, a top down, centralist approach is followed[196]. The central government attempts to control sprawl both from a supply and a demand side. From the supply side every person who converts agricultural land to another use has to recreate an equal amount of land for agricultural purposes. This is typically land that was previously developed for urban uses and idle land in rural areas. Secondly, in terms of a land quota system, every municipality is only allowed to convert a certain amount of land into non-agricultural uses. The central government decides on these quotas and the provincial governments manage the quotas. Any new conversion for land from agricultural land to other uses is, however, decided upon by the central government. Finally, by assisting farmers, agricultural land is made more expensive, which makes it "harder" for farmers to sell

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193 Bush, G.W. Taken from George Bush quotes at www.thinkexist.com

194 China Daily ,March 10, 2003 China Information Center. webmaster@china.org.cn

195 *ibid.*

196 Zhang, Tingwei. 2000. *Land market force and government's role in sprawl. Cities*, Vol 17, No 2., pp 123-135.

their land. The central government also requires review and revision of land use plans by municipalities in order to avoid the unnecessary waste and loss of land assets.

Despite this centralist onslaught, an unwillingness to comply with central control and a desire to earn great returns from new land development results in local decision makers seeking ways of frustrating the efforts of central government[197]. Because of the restrictions on supply of land for urban development deal making and corruption are rife[198]. Pro-development coalitions between officials, powerful local players and foreign investors are also proving to be a key contributing force to ongoing urban sprawl[199]. In addition to this differences of opinion about the nature of urban sprawl abound in, and between different levels of government. Because it does not lead to central city decline, because the population is growing and because it is a key selling point to international investors, i.e. availability of vast stretches of relatively cheap land, there are many who believe that, in this instance, sprawl is actually *"healthy urban growth"[200]*. However, this approach places a very strong emphasis on the prevention of loss of valuable agricultural land, and are perceived to be successful in that regard.

ii. Lines/Edges and Zones of no Growth

A very forceful approach to curbing sprawl is to demarcate a line beyond which, or strip/zone in which no further growth will be allowed. One of the best-known modern examples of the zone of no growth is the "Development Control Zone" that was introduced in South Korea in 1971 as part of the 1972-1981 National Comprehensive Physical Plan[201]. In the case of Seoul the belt was approximately 10 km wide, starting at a radius of about 15 km from the City Hall. Beyond the zone is a transition zone wherein development pressures have increased considerably in recent years. While this belt was found to have contributed to inner city densification, and prevented urban decline, it has stimulated "leap-frog" development[202].

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197 Zhang, Tingwei. 2000. *Land market force and government's role in sprawl. Cities*, Vol 17, No 2., pp 123-135.

198 *ibid.*

199 *ibid*.

200 *ibid.*

201 Jun, Myung-Jin and Hur, Jae-Wan. 2001. *Commuting costs of "leap-frog" newtown development in Seoul. Cities*, Vol 18, No 3. pp 151-158

202 *ibid.*

Another classic example of the line of no growth is to be found in the Netherlands[203]. Using very detailed information regarding occupation, economic development, the quantum of houses built, etc. over the last 25 years, projections are made to accommodate the natural population and economic growth for the planning horizon of 2030. This approach is accompanied by an appropriate densifications strategy focused on the intensification of existing urban areas, together with the notion of protecting and maintaining natural/environmental areas. The approach is therefore mainly directed towards preventing inner city decline, improving the efficiency of urban areas as well as protecting environmental resources. The tool that is used to ensure this is a system of red and green contours.

Red contours are boundary lines that remain in place for ten years and that demarcate the area around existing towns and cities within which all future urban development must take place[204]. Local authorities recommend the location of these lines to provincial governments who have the final say as to their exact location. It is proposed that red contours should be supported by positive planning of what is to happen within the areas demarcated by these contours. In order to ensure that the principle of spatial quality is adhered to in new developments the quality of development that has to take place in the areas demarcated by the red contours is also specified.

Green contours demarcate natural, cultural and heritage areas within which urban development may not take place. This approach treats agricultural land as a land-use in its own right that has to be protected and planned for, and not as a "residual category". The demarcation of these contours is the responsibility of provinces. National government does, however, have the right to demarcate the contours where it is not undertaken by a provincial government. In order to ensure implementation the Minister of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment has to report at least once every two years how implementation is proceeding.

Another good example of a line of no growth is the Urban Edge or Urban Development Boundary as deployed in a number of States in the USA (Oregon,

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203 VROM. 2001. *Vijfde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening 2000/2020. Deel 2, Resultaten van inspraak, bestuurlijk overleg en advies*. Available at http://www.minvrom.nl.

204 A national guideline that 50% of all new development up to 2015 must be accommodated within the 1996-boundaries of urban areas is also set.

Iowa, California), a few cities in the UK, Sydney and Copenhagen[205]. This edge can be defined as an institutional boundary with the sole purpose of containing physical development and sprawl and re-directing growth towards a more integrated, compact and efficient urban form. Together with the edge, integration and compaction of the city are advocated to ensure the development of quality, well-maintained urban environments within the edge. Although a very draconian measure in nature, the concept of an urban edge has proven to be a very strong form of urban containment if supported by the appropriate densification and development-redirection mechanisms.

An Urban Service Boundary (USB) denotes the edges of an urban service area and is typically more flexible than an Urban Edge. It denotes a line beyond which a city has decided that its infrastructure, typically sewer, water and electricity should not extend, this implies that infrastructure must be in place before development is permitted. In many metropolitan areas in the United States, urban service areas support a tiering system, a system that directs public infrastructure into new areas in a particular sequence in order to eliminate leapfrog development, encourage orderly urban expansion, and reduce the cost of public infrastructure. Urban services are often also tied to tools adopted by municipalities to restrict or prohibit new urban growth unless that growth is served by roads, public water, public sewers and other urban infrastructure[206]. Much of the motivation for adopting these tools is financial, not geographic – that is, they seek to reduce the cost of infrastructure to the communities hosting the growth.

One of the first applications of the USB system came in the early 1970's in Minneapolis-St Paul. The Metropolitan Council was created by the state legislature in 1967 in response to a variety of familiar problems: receding agriculture, inner city depopulation, scattering new development and the rising costs of community services. Despite unusually strong powers, however, considerable evidence indicates that the designated Urban Service Area has not curbed sprawl in the region[207].

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205 Nelson and Moore 1993. *Assessing urban growth management*. Land Use Policy. October; Simmie *et al* 1992. *Urban Containment and land use planning*. Land Use Policy. January. 1992; and Meyer and Britz 2006. *Whose Line is it anyway*? The Origin and Evolution of the Gauteng Urban Edge. Town Planning Review. Vol 27, nr 2.

206 Pendall, R and Martin, J. 2002. *Holding the line: Urban containment in the United States*. August 2002. A discussion paper prepared for the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy

207 *ibid.*

When assessing the effectiveness of UGBs, it is important to distinguish between *local* urban growth boundaries and *regional* urban growth boundaries. When an individual local community draws a UGB within its own borders and constrains future development to within that boundary, and establishes rules and regulations within the UGB that are designed to slow local growth, the local UGB can result in higher density and less extensive new growth within that community than would have occurred if no such UGB were adopted. Hence, viewed solely from the perspective of the local community, the UGB can be an effective tool for slowing and/or stopping growth[208].

However, when a number of local communities draw their own UGBs within a metropolitan area, the effect will be to divert future growth away from these communities themselves to other communities in the same market area that may not have established UGBs or adopted other growth limiting measures. This will result in increased growth pressure on those communities. If a large number of communities within a region adopt local UGBs, the net result may be to divert future growth to more remote locations, hereby spreading out development into a pattern of "sprawl," contrary to the basic purpose of an urban growth boundary[209].

Where the urban growth boundary is established on a *regional* basis, this usually requires the coordination of different levels of government officials. *Whether* UGBs are effective depends upon how stringently growth is restricted outside the UGB line. For example in Florida, developers who are willing to pay for the necessary infrastructure can develop new projects outside the *regional* UGB (if they receive local planning commission approval). In Oregon, most development outside the regional UGB is prohibited, even if developers are willing to pay the costs of all the additional infrastructure required[210].

The extent to which the UGB will affect property values depends upon how expansively the UGB is drawn. If it is drawn to include only a small amount of vacant, developable land in relation to the amount of land that has been absorbed by new growth historically, property values *within* the UGB will increase. This is because the UGB reduces or eliminates the potential for market competition between owners of land inside the UGB and those with property outside the UGB. In effect, the UGB

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208 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book.* Robinson & Cole: US
209 *ibid.*
210 American Planning Association, *Growing Smart: Legislative Guide Book Phase 2*, Interim Edition, Chapter 6

confers a market advantage on the owners of land within the UGB. Outside the UGB, it can be expected that the value of property will decrease because of the loss of its potential to be developed[211].

Additional critique on Urban Growth Boundaries relate to UGBs that increase price pressure on land within the boundary, causing home values in inner-city neighborhoods to rise, and ultimately leaving poor households to be displaced from such areas because they cannot pay required taxes, and forcing them to move further out of the urban area where affordable housing may or may not be available[212].

iii. Greenbelts

Greenbelts were a product of the need and desire to plan urban regions, and were viewed to be important means of controlling the development of the town or city into its countryside[213]. They are usually implemented as tight bands of green space, either for permanent open space or for working landscapes around an existing urban area. They may be protected either by public acquisition or by regulation of rural land. As it has been practiced in different countries the greenbelt concept has included the notion that a central city will inevitably create satellite cities outside the greenbelt[214]. This is especially true in Korea and the United Kingdom. The earliest greenbelts were established in the United Kingdom in the late 19th century as introduced by the Garden City pioneer – Ebenezer Howard. As part of the UK physical land use planning system and Town and Country Planning Act promulgated in 1947, this country formalised the implementation of Greenbelts with the aim of urban containment. In Korea a greenbelt was established in 1971 around the entire city of Seoul in which construction was absolutely prohibited. The aim was to prevent urban sprawl and consequently it caused real estate prices in the inner city to rise so precipitously that a constant renewal of the building stock commenced, preventing urban decay[215]. The experience of Greenbelts in these examples were also that satellite communities/new towns locating outside Greenbelt areas create a range of

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211 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book*. Robinson & Cole: US

212 *ibid*.

213 Thomas, D. 1970. *London's Green Belts*. London: Faber and Faber.

214 Pendall, R and Martin, J. 2002. *Holding the line: Urban containment in the United States*. August 2002. *A discussion paper prepared for the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*

215 Eckart Dege. 2002. Department of Geography. University of Kiel. Megacity *Taskforce of the International Geographical Union*. General Information.

other inefficiency problems as travelling distances to employment opportunities in city centres increased drastically.

A number of communities in different parts of the world have followed suite in the adoption of conscious greenbelt policies. San Francisco, Ottawa, Adelaide and Dunedin (New Zealand) have implemented this tool in an attempt to curb urban sprawl. These cities have also experienced varying degrees of success in curbing urban growth, and critics point to the fact that the implementation of a Greenbelt, in many instances, encourages leap frog development. This leads to Greenbelts ultimately acting as land reserves for future highways, where people living in leap frog developments needs to commute very long distances to reach the inner city[216].

iv. The Construction of New Towns

Often the boundary/zone of no growth-approach is accompanied with the construction of "new towns"[217], these are towns in which all aspects of development are determined before construction takes place. The emphasis within these towns is the limitation of size and density, limitation of automobile dependency, and that it should be surrounded by a belt of undeveloped land or open space[218]. The first New Town was established in England (Letchworth), and later the ideology spread to the United States and established in Radburn, the first New Town in America. In the case of South Korea five such new towns were constructed between 1989 and 1995 in Seoul, adding 330 000 housing units to the city and accommodating about 1.16 million people. Concern has, however, been expressed about the density of the development in the new towns, which is about 5 to 10 times higher than in the thirteen new towns that were developed in the UK in the three decades after the Second World War. The location of the new towns has also been criticised – it has been argued that they have resulted in many of the same problems of sprawl, such as long commuting distances, and are in actual fact nothing else but a good example of "leap-frog" urban sprawl. It has also come under criticism as creating "islands" of development that do not relate well to other urban centres. For those that live and work in these new towns it has, however, meant very short trips to work.

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216 Harford, T. 2007. *The Undercover Economist*. Random House Trade Paperbacks.

217 Jun, Myung-Jin and Hur, Jae-Wan. 2001 *Commuting costs of "leap-frog" newtown development in Seoul*. Cities, Vol 18, No 3. pp 151-158

218 *Planned Communities*: Part 1. University of Maryland Libraries. 2001.

vi. The Development of Polycentric Cities

Another approach calls for the development of polycentric cities. This entails the development of a dense, well-connected network of nodes of specialized activity, each performing a specific function in a metropolitan area/region[219]. Polycentric urban regions are described as systems of distinctly independent cities that are located in close proximity and that lack a dominating city in political, economic, cultural and other aspects[220], the focus of each "independent city" being its specific specialised function. A diversity of more or less synonymous concepts is in circulation, including "city networks"[221], "multi core city-regions"[222], and polynucleated metropolitan regions[223]. Typical examples of such regions include the Randstad, the Flemish Diamond and the RheinRuhr area. Polycentric cities do contain general day-to-day activities, but these functions are not the reason for their existence or a metropolitan-wide force of attraction.

vi. The Development of Public Transport Corridors/Routes

A well-known approach to densification is that of developing areas of intense, high-density mixed land use along public transport corridors/routes. The best-known example of this approach is that of Curituba in Brazil[224] (diagram 5). In terms of this model five linear bus-focused corridors fan out from the centre of the city. High-density residential and high intensity non-residential land uses are located along the full length of the corridors. Very strict zoning regulations and a master planning approach driven from the Mayor's Office are used to ensure that high-density housing is built in the corridors. In Singapore, transport corridors are also used as a tool to achieve densification, reduced transportation costs and less congestion. Transportation corridors of a cross-border nature were planned extending through Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia. The respective national governments of these

219 Harrison, P and Oranje, M. 2002. *Between and Beyond Laissez Faire Expansion and Planned Compaction: The Pragmatic 'Poly-City' Approach*, in South African Property Review, March/April.

220 Kloosterman R and Lambregts 2001 *Clustering of economic activities in polycentric urban regions: the case of the Randstad* Urban Studies

221 Camagni, R.P. & Salone, C. 1993. *Network urban structures in Northern Italy: Elements for a theoretical framework*. Urban Studies, 30 (6), 1053-1064

222 Westin, L. & Osthol, A., 1992. "*City Networks and the Search for Regional Potential,*" *Papers* 1992d, Umea - Center for Regional Science.

223 F.M. Dieleman & A. Faludi 1998 Randstad, *Rhine-Ruhr and Flemish Diamond as one Polynucleated Macro-Region.* Journal of Economic and Social Geography 89 (3), pp. 320-327

224 Herbst, Kris. 1992. *Brazil's model city. Planning*, September: 24-27.

nations are defining a consolidated and standardised framework for implementing higher densities by means of multi-modal transportation corridors[225]

vii. Smart Growth

Smart Growth is not a single approach, but rather a collection of the aforementioned urban development strategies aimed at reducing sprawl and promoting growth that is fiscally, environmentally and socially responsible[226]. Smart Growth does not mean "no growth", or even slow growth, but it does offer an antidote to the sprawl that has resulted in long travelling distances, environmental degradation, inner city decline, and generally inefficient cities[227]. The Smart Growth approach is based on the notions of compact neighbourhoods, transit-oriented development and pedestrian and bicycle friendly design[228]. A number of States including Maryland, Pennsylvania, Cleveland, Virginia, Minnesota as well as Washington have implemented Urban Growth Management approaches that are premised on the principles of Smart Growth.

The objectives of this approach are to[229]:

Encourage Community and Stakeholder Collaboration

By ensuring the involvement of those who will live, work and play in the future neighbourhoods their needs are no only satisfied better, greater understanding and support for growth management is nurtured.

Strengthen and Direct Development Towards Existing Communities

Smart Growth directs development towards existing communities, in so doing seeking to utilize the resources that existing neighbourhoods offer, and conserving open space and irreplaceable natural resources on the urban fringe.

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225 Rodrigue, Jean Paul. 1994. *Transportation and Territorial Development in the Singapore Extended Metropolitan Region*. Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, Vol 15, No 1. p 56-74

226 Smartgrowth Network, *SmartgrowthBC*. 2004 Author Unknown. Principles of Smartgrowth.

227 Hudnut, William H. 1999. *Smart Growth in a Three-Tiered City*. Urban Land.

58.8: 20-23.

228 Smart Growth Network. 2000. *About Smart Growth*. www.smartgrowth.org

229 Smartgrowth Network, *SmartgrowthBC*. 2004 Author Unknown. Principles of Smartgrowth.

Preserve Open Space[230], Farmland, Natural Beauty and Critical Environmental Areas

Over and above the ecological reasons, protection of open space provides many fiscal benefits, including increasing local property value (thereby increasing property tax bases), providing income from tourism and minimising local tax increases (due to the saving of not having to construct new infrastructure). Management of the quality and supply of open space also ensures that prime farm and agricultural lands are retained, flood damage prevented and less expensive and natural alternatives for providing clean drinking water provided.

Create a Range of Housing Opportunities and Choices

No single type of housing can serve the varied needs of diverse households. Smart Growth represents an opportunity for local communities to increase housing choice not only by modifying their land use patterns on newly-developed land, but also by increasing housing supply in existing neighbourhoods and on land served by existing infrastructure. By using Smart Growth approaches and a wider range of housing choices, communities can mitigate the environmental costs of private transport development, use their infrastructure resources more efficiently, ensure a better workplace/homeplace balance, and generate a strong foundation of support for neighbourhood transit stops, commercial centres, and other services. It can also ensure more diverse population demographics and allow for a more equitable distribution of households of all income levels across the area/region in which it is applied.

Mixed Land Uses

Through the integration of mixed land uses better places to live in can be achieved. By putting different land uses in close proximity to one another alternatives to driving, such as walking or biking, can become viable. Mixed land uses also provide a more diverse and sizable population and commercial base for supporting viable public transit. It also enhances the vitality and (perceived) safety of an area by increasing the number and attitude of people on the street. In so doing it helps streets, public spaces and pedestrian-oriented retail spaces to once again become places where people can meet and in so doing helps to revitalize community life. Where well

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230 Smart growth uses the term "open space" broadly to mean natural areas both in and surrounding localities that provide important community space, habitat for plants and animals, recreational opportunities, agricultural land (working lands), places of natural beauty and critical environmental areas (*e.g.* wetlands).

planned, commercial uses in close proximity to residential areas often result in higher property values, thereby assisting in raising local property taxes.

Provide a Variety of Transportation Choices

Over and above providing people with more choices in housing and shopping, Smart Growth also seeks to provide communities with different transportation alternatives, such as walking, cycling and public transport. This has become a growing area of concern in the USA as congestion has worsened over the last several years in nearly every major metropolitan area in the country.

It has been argued that Smart Growth is an anti-growth mechanism that actually inhibits the free-market's potential for new urban development. Others have expressed the fear that Smart Growth is a form of fascism, communism or liberal-elitism that seeks to eliminate private transport and force alternative lifestyles onto people by cramming them into high-density developments without considering the loss in quality of life[231].

Another criticism to Smart Growth is the fact that the phrase "smart growth" implies that other growth and development theories are not "smart". There is debate about whether transit-proximate development constitutes smart growth when it is not transit-oriented. The National Motorists Association of the USA does not object to smart growth as a whole, but strongly objects to some of its components, such as traffic calming, and other tactics intended to reduce automobile usage[232].

3.3 Tools and Measures for Implementation

The approaches as discussed above cannot be implemented as stand-alone policy directives, but in most instances needs implementation mechanisms to give effect to the objectives envisaged by the approach. The research into the international case studies brought a number of such tools to light. Most of these tools and measures seek to impact on the location, type, density and intensity of land-uses supporting the broader growth management approach. The following section provides a broad overview of such instruments in two groups, viz. (1) measures to curb/restrict/prevent

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231 Hudnut, William H. 1999. *Smart Growth in a Three-Tiered City*. Urban Land.
58.8: 20-23.
232 Cox, W. and Utt, J. 2004. *The Cost of Sprawl Reconsidered: What the Data Really Show*. The Heritage Foundation, June 25, 2004.

[a certain kind of] development in an area and (2) measures to stimulate [a certain kind of] development in an area[233].

i. Tools and Measures to curb development in non-desirable locations

Tax Increment Financing (TIF)

Tax Increment Financing is a tool to use future gains in taxes to finance the current improvements that will create those gains. When public projects are carried out there is an increase in the value of surrounding properties. This increased property value and investment creates more taxable property, which increases tax revenues. The increased tax revenues are the "tax increment". Tax Increment Financing dedicates that increased revenue to finance debt issued to pay for the public project[234]. This tool could prove to be useful in regenerating derelict urban areas to attract investment and development back to inner cores, whilst discouraging investment in peripheral areas.

The criticism surrounding TIF districts centres around the question whether TIF actually serve the resident population. TIF districts are often implemented in degraded, low income areas. As investment in an areas increase, it often happens that property vales rise and gentrification subsequently occurs[235].

Placing a Moratorium on new rights

A moratorium is a type of interim zoning control that either prohibits all development, or certain types of development, for a defined period of time. It is typically adopted by local government ordinance and, if adopted in good faith, is intended to provide a community and the planning authority with the time to conduct and review studies necessary for adopting or revising a land use plan and related regulations. Because such planning activities are time consuming, the moratorium allows for a "planning pause" period during which period land development activity is frozen or limited until permanent regulations implementing the plan can be adopted[236].

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233 Oranje, M. and Meyer, L. 2001 *A desktop study of tools and measures for the creation and sustenance of a land-use regime in support of the High-Priority Public Transport Network* (HPPTN). Durban.

234 Johnson & Man. 2001. *Tax Increment Financing and Economic Development: Uses, Structures and Impact.* State University of New York Press: New York.

235 *ibid.*

236 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book.* Robinson & Cole: US

Planning authorities could place a moratorium on the approval of new rights for land-uses such as retail, offices and low-density residential developments in areas on the periphery and far from commercial and economic cores. Guidelines to this effect could be incorporated into the appropriate spatial planning policy documents and given teeth through the Land Use Management System.

By definition, a moratorium, when adopted, achieves its immediate purpose of halting all development or limiting development to certain uses for a specific period of time. However, the true measure of its success depends upon what is accomplished in the planning process during that interim control period. A moratorium can rationally serve its purpose only if it is preceded and supported by a planning process that identifies and evaluates the community's needs and objectives and uses the time period when the moratorium is in effect to develop permanent regulatory mechanisms to address the desired objectives and policies[237]. A restriction on the extension of new rights in large parts of a city implies a massive intervention in the space economy, land-use structure, infrastructure provision and transport system of such an area. Hence it needs to be very well researched and managed.

Bulk Services Contribution

Bulk Services Contributions are a cost assessment imposed against new development in order to generate revenue to fund or recover the cost of reasonable service improvements necessitated by the development. Obligations imposed during subdivision review, generally require developers to build, fund, and dedicate for public use basic facilities required by future residents of the new development[238].

Planning authorities could utilise a Bulk Services Contribution system to make certain locations more or less desirable for new development. An area where development is to be discouraged i.e. on the periphery of an urban area could be liable for higher Bulk Services Contributions than areas where development is to be promoted i.e. inner cities.

Bulk Services Contributions have often been criticised on the basis that the contributions received are often not "ring-fenced" for the area within which it was

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237 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book*. Robinson & Cole: US.

238 Gauteng Department of Economic Development. 2007. *Revision of the Gauteng Urban Edge Policy*. Third Draft Report. January 2007.

collected, it therefore has no benefit to the community responsible for paying the contributions.

Tolling roads

Tolls are typically charged to enable the construction and maintenance of roads, and to influence travel behaviour by making trips longer, more costly and more frustrating. This tool could also be used to encourage the use of public transport and frustrate the development of private motor car-focused suburban development. In the longer run it may also prompt private motorcar commuters into moving closer to their places of employment.

Criticism regarding tolling roads relate to the artificial impact it could have on travel patterns. As commuters attempt to avoid extra costs and congestion from imposed toll gates, additional traffic is generated in residential neighbourhoods.

Suspending infrastructure provision in areas on the periphery

In many states in the USA, local governments have the power to, via their comprehensive, long range plans, indicate areas in which infrastructure will not be provided over a 15-20 year period. This can also be done by using an urban containment measure very similar to the urban edge, viz. that of demarcating 'Urban Service Boundaries' beyond which no public infrastructure will be provided, thus forcing developers to invest closer to the urban core.

In order for this tool to be successful, the planning authority needs to have management control over all their public utilities. The planning authority will also need to spend time on a comprehensive growth policy considering issues such as an estimate of service demands in a specific area and recommended growth capacities ceilings for specific locations[239].

The negative/regulatory instruments employed in areas in the suburbs and on the periphery to stimulate development in economic centres and along corridors could create a negative perception of the ideal of restructuring the city. These measures also imply that planning authorities will have to reject land-use applications proposed on the urban periphery, which could have been potential employment opportunities.

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239 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book*. Robinson & Cole: US

ii. Tools and Measures to stimulate development in desirable locations

Comprehensive Plan

The Comprehensive Plan is a document of written goals and policies as well as maps used to guide the type, location, and quantity of development in a community over a 10-20 year period based on existing conditions and future hopes. This plan is strategic in nature and should include goals for economic growth and how it can be contained within existing areas or areas designated for growth. Such plans can be compiled at regional as well as local (precinct) level[240].

Precinct plans could prove useful in locations that require long-term forward planning, however, in growing and dynamic urban areas, these plans could ultimately be inflexible and the level of detail could be deemed redundant.

Fiscal Impact Analysis

This refers to a municipality conducting a study of the projected short and long term costs and revenues associated with new development in a community. It can be used to evaluate the most appropriate time and place for development to occur based on using existing utilities and rate of development[241].

One of the major challenges in conducting a Fiscal Impact Analysis is the extensive data that is required before the analysis can be undertaken. Information regarding the description of a specific development, local revenue, local property values, number of workers/residents within a community as well as the anticipated number of workers/residents within a community forms the basis of the analysis[242].

Another limitation of such an analysis is that it does not capture the interactions among land uses when development occurs. A commercial development, for example, may show a positive impact, yet it may also generate costs outside the development that are not necessarily captured in the fiscal analysis, costs such as increased traffic congestion around the area leading to higher expenditures for street maintenance and repair[243].

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240 Gauteng Department of Economic Development. 2007. *Revision of the Gauteng Urban Edge Policy*. Third Draft Report. January 2007.
241 *ibid.*
242 Edward, M. Date Unknown. *Community Guide to Development Impact Analysis*. www.lic.wisc.edu
243 *ibid.*

Fast-tracking land development applications in areas close to the urban centre

Special provisions can be made by the planning authority concerned for the fast-tracking/streamlining of land-use applications in areas demarcated for densification. This, however, has some legal dimensions, which would need to be worked through to ensure that it is constitutional.

Transfer of Development Rights (TDR)

Used in conjunction with a set of incentives, planning authorities have used TDR to ensure the transfer of existing rights from areas where further development is not desirable, to areas where it is desired. This would work well in an environment where specific areas within the city are so called 'marginalised or disadvantaged' and where economic injections are needed[244]. A TDR program can be an effective means of preserving open space in circumstances where there is a viable market for the development rights created. However, criticism towards TDR indicates that property owners are not always guaranteed fair market-related prices for their properties[245].

Enterprise Zones/Brownfield Revitalisation Areas

These are programmes to promote economic development and redevelopment in needy and rundown areas with the use of tax incentives, regulatory waivers, infrastructure improvements and urban revitalisation. These could include Central Business Districts in decline and areas where concentrations of disadvantaged communities are located[246]. These zones, also referred to as Special Development Zones require the following components[247]:

- The geographical delineation of the Zone, ensuring that the boundaries are cadastrally based or geographically identifiable;
- A clear statement of policy and intention that elaborates on the given developmental perspective and which will be used by the planning authority in the assessment of land development applications within the Zone;
- A consultation result, which elaborates on the consultation process with interested and affected parties within the proposed Zone, as well as their response and uptake;

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244 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book*. Robinson & Cole: US

245 *ibid.*

246 Gauteng Department of Economic Development. 2007. *Revision of the Gauteng Urban Edge Policy*. Third Draft Report. January 2007.

247 City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. 2007. *Mayoral Committee Report on Land Development Incentives*. Unpublished.

- Background information, development standards and proposed land management tools that will be in force in the Zone;

- A monitoring and assessment mechanism along with the planning authority's investment commitment for the public areas and facilities within the Zones, including proposed achievement timeframes.

In addition to requiring detailed information and administrative structures to be able to implement an Enterprise Zone/Special Development Zone, another limitation of this tool is the fact that such a Zone are usually only implemented for a set period i.e. 5 years. This implies that after the expiration date, the incentives applicable to that Zone no longer apply, and in the event where the objectives for that Zone have not yet been met, the process will have to be started from scratch.

The location process is very complex and it must be known exactly what kind/set of incentives would trigger which investors and what the role of incentives in various sectors, company sizes and locations is[248]. It will be very difficult to find a standardised approach that can be applied on a citywide or regional-wide level; the dynamics of different locations will require tailor-made incentives. Adding to this, the timing of incentive-schemes must be right[249]. Most often localities only react to a wave of new investment(s) after it has broken.

Open Space Preservation Techniques

There are a variety of mechanisms by which local governments can attempt to protect open space from development, ranging from market based techniques such as open space acquisition programs, development rights purchases, and transfer of development rights, to design techniques such as cluster subdivisions, to exactions requiring the dedication of parkland or payment into an open space fund, to restrictive regulations such as large lot zoning and riverfront buffer zones. Many state and local governments have undertaken open space purchase programs by which parcels of land identified as valuable for open space purchases are acquired with public funds. Properties acquired under such programs may be purchased in *fee* after which the purchasing entity owns the property outright. Fee purchase is

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248 Pollina, R.R. 1997 *The Clients*. Economic Development Review, Vol 15, No 1, pp 70-74.

249 Bartik, T.Y. 1996 *Eight Issues for policy toward economic development initiatives*. Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis: The Region, Vol 10, No 2, pp43-46.

commonly used to acquire land for parks, where it is desired that the public entity have both ownership and control over the property[250].

The effectiveness of programs for the purchase of land or development rights in land depends upon how well the program does at identifying its priority sites for acquisition and focusing its expenditures on those priority sites. Such programs are constrained by the limited funding made available for open space purchases, and the need to identify and plan for the most effective use of these financial resources[251].

Inclusionary Housing/Zoning

Inclusionary zoning is a technique that originated in the 1970s to generate affordable housing via private development. But it relates to "Smart Growth" objectives in several ways. By providing housing for all market levels, it furthers the social goal of sustaining a balanced, diverse community. When new development includes affordable housing, then development of cheaper, outlying land to achieve affordability is, in theory, curbed. Where growth management/growth control measures either encourage gentrification of older areas or increase the cost of housing by severely limiting land available for development, inclusionary zoning attempts to ensure that affordable housing gets built, countering the exclusionary effects of growth management programs[252].

Inclusionary zoning programs typically include the following elements[253]:

- A density or other bonus to those who participate (for voluntary programs, the bonus is the incentive; for mandatory programs, it is used as compensation to avoid a "takings" claim);
- Income limits for eligibility of buyers;
- A distribution mechanism (lottery or other method);
- Pricing criteria for the affordable units;
- A period of control over resale price on rental increase;
- Building standards, including how affordable units are designed and located.

When the inclusion of affordable units is mandatory, this technique has been effective in creating affordable housing units. Voluntary programs are effective where

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250 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book*. Robinson & Cole: US
251 *ibid.*
252 *ibid.*
253 *ibid.*

the underlying density is much lower than the bonus allowed, but typically produce housing affordable to moderate, not low, income households[254].

Following the discussion of different approaches to urban growth management, it becomes clear that various alternatives exist at the disposal of planning authorities. However, in order to achieve the biggest/most successful yield from any growth management approach, a combination of different approaches, supported by the appropriate implementation tools and mechanisms will be required. In order to apply the most relevant and appropriate mechanism to local conditions, the rationales behind the approach, reasons for and envisaged outcomes of the approach must be determined. From this an approach or combination of approaches can be selected. Each individual approach will also be supported by implementation tools and mechanisms, which will vary in relevance to the approach. To establish these will require in-depth research of local development circumstances.

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254 National Association of Realtors. 2001. *Growth Management Fact Book*. Robinson & Cole: US

Chapter 4: The War at Home

Paper beats Rock

"But what excites and convinces is a function of the needs and purposes of those who are being excited and convinced (Rorty in Eco, p105)

4.1 An Evil Path of Destruction

South Africa has a legacy of segregated towns and cities combined with sweeping suburbanisation that took place during the late 1980's. As a result the country has not been exempted from the harmful tides of sprawl and the wounds of scattered, low-density development are still alive and bleeding in its cities. In the South African context, sprawl and its associated ills such as private vehicle dependence, long travelling distances between home – and workplaces and sterile urban environments can be attributed to two defining elements.

Firstly, the pre-1994 apartheid regime, a period during which all legislation and policies manifested in severe segregation along racial lines. The spatial implication of this period found expression in black settlements in homelands[162] and rural areas far from city centres and urban opportunities, separated from predominantly white cities by distinct buffer zones usually in the form of industrial land uses or natural features. Consequently South Africa is characterised by severe income disparities and spatially distorted patterns relating to access to employment, residential and other social opportunities. Marginalised communities face the longest travelling distances to these opportunities, and have very limited transportation alternatives due to the inefficient nature of the local public transport system.

Secondly, during the 1960's and 1970's, South Africa experienced a period of economic stability and prosperity following the depression of the 1940's. The economic upswing, improved welfare combined with government subsidies for white government officials allowed individual homeownership to become more affordable for white citizens. This, together with road infrastructure and increased utilisation of private transport prompted many white South Africans to leave the city centres for suburbia. Consequently, consumer markets and employers moved to the suburbs leaving inner cities redundant and stricken with poverty.

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162 As part of the apartheid government's policy of separate development the African population was divided into artificial ethnic 'nations', each with its own homeland and the prospect of independence. They were however, mostly landlocked labour pools, not really economically or socially independent. The former homelands were reincorporated into the republic of South Africa on 26 April 1994.

4.2 The Post-1994 Vision

"As you know, you go to war with the army you have, not the army you might want or wish to have at a later time." (Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld)[163]

Following the 1994 elections and the subsequent rise of a democratic dispensation, the government regime in South Africa shifted significantly from a focus on separation, elitism and segregation of classes, races, rich and poor to a new emphasis on integration along class and racial lines, poverty alleviation together with economic growth, and environmentally sustainable development. The newly elected government committed itself to deliver upon a number of strategic objectives in order to achieve the goals of a democratic and equal society. The main thrust of these objectives relate to[164] healing the divisions of the past and establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. It also envisages establishing a democratic and open society that serves the needs of all its citizens, in an attempt to improve the quality of life and potential of all people.

These goals and objectives translated into focused and specified strategies in a number of plans, policies and legislative documents drafted and put forward by the post 1994 government. During this time government underwent a period of major transformation as each "distinctive, interrelated and interdependent"[165] sphere namely national, provincial and local government were delegated with entirely new powers, functions, boundaries and principles. On all three levels/spheres of government a mandatory commitment was made to eradicate the (negative) legacies inherited from the apartheid dispensation relating to *inter alia* the severe segregation along racial lines and general inefficiency found in South African towns and cities.

The South African government faced, and still faces tremendous spatial challenges in creating equal and efficient cities. The following section elaborates on the various urban planning plans/policies/legislative frameworks that have been put into place since 1994 in the pursuit of eradicating the negative spatial consequences inherited from the

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163 Rumsfeld, D. Taken from Stupid Quotes on Iraq at www.Politicalhumor.about.com
164 *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (Act 108 0f 1996). Preamble.
165 *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (Act 108 0f 1996). Chapter 1.

previous political dispensation. The section will discuss the relevant plans/policies and legislative frameworks on a National, Provincial and Local level, in an attempt to determine how these contribute to create a favourable environment for the implementation for an urban growth management approach.

4.3 Big Brother

National Government is the overseeing and overarching sphere of government, bound by a mandatory programme of action that dictates and informs all decisions in parliament. This programme of action together with all other goals and visions put forward by national government are supposed to provide direction and guidance to the objectives and strategies of the other two spheres of government in order to align government action across spheres. The Department of Provincial and Local Government is the primary responsible department for co-ordination of planning between provinces and municipalities. On this level a number of spatial plans and policies have seen the light since the rise of democracy. These are discussed below, by firstly, defining what the policy entails, en secondly, relating the content to the encouragement or discouragement of urban growth management:

i. The Reconstruction and Development Programme

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) was one of the pioneer policies to introduce a new era of spatial reconstruction and development in South Africa. The aim of the RDP was to serve as a policy framework for integrated and coherent socio-economic progress that sought to mobilise all people and resources in South Africa towards the final eradication of the legacy of apartheid. The RDP was premised on five key programmes i.e. 1) meeting basic needs, 2) developing human resources, 3) building the economy, 4) democratising the state and society and 5) implementing the RDP. The RDP was designed to be a programme that is achievable, sustainable, and meets the objectives of freedom and an improved standard of living and quality of life for all South Africans within a peaceful and stable society[166]. According to the White Paper on RDP, co-ordinated, efficient, transparent and consultative government was a basic premise of the RDP. National Government set the broad

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166 *The Reconstruction and Development Programme*: A Policy Framework. 1994.

objectives of the RDP and together with provincial and local governments provided a policy and regulatory framework that facilitated its implementation at provincial and local level[167]. This White Paper describes the exact responsibilities of each of the three spheres towards implementation of the RDP, breaking ground for a new era in governance and spatial planning.

As mentioned above, this programme was the first to work its magic among the vast amount of spatial challenges in the country. Its focus was directed mainly towards addressing the tremendous formal housing backlog in previously disadvantaged areas. Six years after the 1994-elections the outcomes of the reconstruction project have been mixed. While significant progress has been made on a wide number of fronts, such as in the deepening of democracy, human resource development, the provision of housing and the provision of primary health care, economic growth and job creation have not been as satisfactory[168]. Hard proof of mixed successes points to the closure of the RDP Office in May 1996[169]. Since 1996 the only visible remainder of the RDP has been the delivery of housing, which has provoked many controversial perspectives as to the sustainability of the expanses of "matchbox" housing, a phenomenon that is greatly associated with urban sprawl. However, the principles put forward in the RDP, relating to sustainable, economic growth and sustainability have been carried through into many subsequent policy frameworks as will be seen below.

ii. Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995

The Development Facilitation Act was promulgated in 1995 commencing the way forward for future land development practices. The aim of this Act was to introduce extraordinary measures to facilitate and speed up the implementation of reconstruction and development programmes in relation to land, and in so doing laying down general principles governing land development throughout South Africa. Chapter I of this Act

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167 *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development.* Cape Town, 15 November 1994. Notice Nr 1954 of 1994.

168 Oranje, Mark. 2000. *Constructing a user-friendly "Manual for Reconstruction" using the South African post-Apartheid and the Dutch post-World War II-reconstruction projects/stories.* Paper read at the *"Planning for Reconstruction and Transformation"*-Millennium Conference, 29-31 May 2000, University of Natal, Durban.

169 Platzky, Laurine. 1998a. *Reconstructing and developing South Africa: The role of Spatial Development Initiatives.* Ruth First lecture, University of Durham, 5 May 1998. Paper available from the author.

prescribe these governing principles relating specifically to integrated land development. The principles stipulate that all land development policies and practices should[170]:

- Promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development;

- Promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas in support of each other;

- Promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to or integrated with each other;

- Optimise the existing use of resources relating to agriculture, land, minerals, bulk infrastructure, roads, transportation and social facilities;

- Promote a diverse combination of land uses, also at the level of individual erven or subdivisions of land;

- Discourage the phenomenon of urban sprawl in urban areas and contribute to the development of more compact towns and cities;

- Contribute to the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in the Republic and to the optimum use of existing infrastructure in excess of current needs; and

- Encourage environmentally sustainable land development practices and processes.

In addition, the Act enables local authorities to speed up land development, especially the provision of serviced land for low-income housing. This Act and its principles became a foundation for any planning policy framework that was to follow. Its unambiguous reference to the promotion of more compact towns and cities also became a vital component of urban planning in subsequent years.

iii. The Urban Development Framework 1997

Subsequent to the RDP, the Urban Development Framework was introduced in 1997. After the dismantling of the RDP offices, the aim of the Urban Development Framework was to take the work of the RDP one step further towards a policy that reshape and restructure the spatial distortions and dysfunctionalities experienced in urban areas. The

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170 *Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995.* Office of the President. October 1995.

implementation of the framework focused on four key programmes: 1) Integrating the city, 2) improving housing and infrastructure, 3) promoting urban economic development and 4) creating institutions for delivery. The Framework also expressed South Africa's commitment to the goals of the Habitat Agenda, which was adopted at the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in Istanbul (June 1996). These are: "adequate shelter for all" and "the development of sustainable human settlements"[171]. The aim of the Framework can be translated as promoting a consistent urban development policy approach for effective urban reconstruction and development, guiding development policies, strategies and actions in the urban development process and to steer them towards the achievement of a collective vision.

As one of the Urban Development Framework's Urban Development Programmes it mentions specifically the planning for higher density land-use and development, with its main aim to promote the effectiveness of Public Transport[172]. The Framework also introduces structures and processes to facilitate the kind of development it supported. It clearly indicates the roles and responsibilities of all spheres of government, as well as the private sector, by means of joint-venture public-private partnerships. The framework also places emphasis on monitoring the progress of programmes and activities[173].

iv. National Spatial Development Perspective

A recent policy document that has specific relevance to urban growth in South Africa is the National Spatial Development Perspective. One of the key objectives of the NSDP is to act as a common reference point for national, provincial and local government to analyse and debate the comparative development potentials of localities in the country. Part II of the document provides an overview or narrative of the changing spatial economy in South Africa, as well as its impact on government's commitment to reconstruction, sustainable economic growth and social and environmental justice. The spatial narrative relates to the character of macro-economic constraints, differentiating levels of service in urban compared to rural areas, low levels of education, unemployment in rural and urban areas, HIV/Aids as well as environmental resource

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171 *Urban Development Framework*. 1996. The Department of Housing.
172 *ibid.*
173 *ibid.*

concerns. Part III of the document conveys government's strategic response to the nature of the space economy as described in Part II[174]. This response is premised on the notion of directing government spending and infrastructure investment to areas of economic potential[175] while at the same time recognising the need for basic levels of service in areas of less economic potential. Since the adoption of the NSDP in all spheres of government, provincial governments have been considering superimposing the level of information in the NSDP down to a more detailed level by identifying areas of economic potential within the provinces.

The NSDP of 2006 sets forth a set of five normative principles that reflects the purpose of this perspective. They relate to:

- Rapid economic growth that is sustained and inclusive;
- Government as institution with constitutional obligation to provide basic services to all residents – wherever they reside;
- Government investment should be focused on localities of economic growth and economic potential in order to stimulate private sector investment;
- Efforts to address past and current social inequalities should focus on people, not places, implying that in locations with high levels of poverty and economic potential investment should go beyond basic services to exploit the potential of these localities;
- In order to overcome the spatial distortions of apartheid, future settlement and economic development opportunities should be channelled into activity corridors and nodes that link to main growth centres[176].

While the 2003 NSDP provided a spatial vision and framework to steer detailed policies and investment, the 2006 NSDP advances the realisation of this vision by providing a systematic overview and framework for understanding and interpreting the national

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174 *National Spatial Development Perspective*. The Presidency: Republic of South Africa. 2003.

175 Areas were classified in terms of categories of development potential (nature of economic activities found within an area). These are:

    i. Innovation and experimentation

    ii. Production: High value, differentiated goods (not strongly dependent on labour costs)

    iii. Production: Labour-intensive, mass-produced goods (more dependent on labour costs and/or natural resource exploitation).

    iv. Public services and administration

    v. Retail and services

    vi. Tourism

176 *National Spatial Development Perspective*. The Presidency: Republic of South Africa. 2006

space economy[177]. The NSDP has proven to be quite controversial in planning and economic circles regarding its focus on economic growth and potential, however, its continued reference to balancing investment in economic growth with the alleviation of poverty has made its vision and objectives less intense, and hence less powerful.

4.4 The Centaurs

Provincial government is the intermediate sphere of government, informed and supported by national government while directing and supporting local authorities. Its powers and functions relate specifically to Provincial legislation and governing in general, and in overseeing the coordination between local municipalities. For the purposes of the study, the focus in this section will be primarily on the Gauteng Provincial Government as middleman between National Government and local authorities in Gauteng.

i. Provincial Growth and Development Strategy 2004

One of the most significant policy documents in Gauteng is the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy drafted and implemented by the Gauteng Provincial Government in 2004. All nine provinces within South Africa drafted and implemented similar strategies during the course of the last two years. These strategies mainly aim to support national government's goals of:

- Halving unemployment through ensuring high levels of labour absorbing programmes and projects, ensuring that economic growth contributes to reduced inequality and leads to the development of provinces, the nation and continent; and
- Halving poverty levels through growing secure and prosperous communities with jobs, schools, clinics and other services, ensure safe communities and create a healthy environment, which supports families, social, cultural and volunteer activities[178].

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177 *ibid.*

178 *A Growth and Development Strategy for the Gauteng Province.* April 2005. Gauteng Provincial Government.

The Gauteng Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) was launched in 2004 and strategically focuses on building a smart province concept by improving growth sectors, enhancing employment generating potential, transforming the economic sector in terms of representation of the population as well as providing appropriate social and economic infrastructure in support of building sustainable communities in Gauteng. The GDS argues that Gauteng Provincial Government has been considerably successful in transformation of the Province during the last decade of democracy. It ascribes these successes to the "notable number of policies and legislative frameworks that Gauteng has developed and adopted over the past ten years, aimed at deepening democracy and ensuring socio-economic transformation of the province"[179]. The GDS also commits itself to implementing projects and activities that will not only benefit the Province but that will also advance the cause and implementation of larger scale policies and plans such as NEPAD[180]

National policy frameworks, goals and challenges such as the National Spatial Development Perspective and other goals adopted at the National Growth and Development Summit inform the GDS objectives. The GDS also provides a framework for the integration of the Province's policies and objectives in various areas of operation. The GDS specifically integrates the Province's Trade and Industry Strategy[181], the Gauteng Integrated Development Plan[182], the Local Economic Development Strategy[183], the State of Environment Report and Environmental Implementation Plan[184] together with emerging policy initiatives on building Gauteng as a global city region[185]. Generally, the GDS is envisaged to be the main point of reference and an anchor for the development and implementation of all Provincial strategic plans, programmes and

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179 *A Growth and Development Strategy for the Gauteng Province.* April 2005. Gauteng Provincial Government.

180 New Economic Partnership for African Development. NEPAD's objectives in respect of poverty reduction, sustainable growth and development, beneficial integration into the global economy and inclusion of particularly marginalized sectors of society correlate with the objectives and approach of the GDS.

181 Gauteng's TIS list 5 key areas that can contribute to provincial growth namely: Re-alignment of manufacturing sector, Transforming Gauteng into SA's smart centre, Promoting financial and business services, Ensuring employment generation and Broadening business activity.

182 The GIDP provides a Smart Spatial Planning approach and framework to deal with the legacy of inequality and under-development that has a distinct spatial dimension. The Smart Spatial Planning approach is informed primarily by the NSDP.

183 The draft LED strategy provides key actions towards the development of targeted localities *inter alia* new business creation, improved infrastructure and improved skills and knowledge

184 This is the provincial response to ensure that the resources on which economic activity and social well-being depend are used at a sustainable rate.

185 The primary objective of the Global City Region is to build Gauteng into an integrated and globally competitive region where the economic activities of different parts of the province complement each other in consolidating Gauteng as an economic hub of Africa and an internationally recognised global city-region.

actions. The overarching objective is to ensure that Gauteng Provincial Government fulfils its leadership role in all socio-economic development of the Province.

The objectives of the GDS can be summarised as follow:

- To ensure that all Provincial socio-economic development is based on the principles of sustainable, holistic and participatory planning and development;
- To provide economic growth, job creation and related targets for the Province for the next decade of democracy;
- To build on co-operative governance and inter-governmental relations towards ensuring integrated service delivery to support growth and development;
- To consolidate and increase relationships and partnerships with other sectors of society i.e. Public Private Partnerships;
- To identify opportunities for all sectors of society to be involved in reconstruction and development;
- To provide growth and development implementation guidelines;
- To build on existing socio-economic successes and address gaps and weaknesses;
- To support Gauteng Provincial growth and development policies to be implemented within the next decade; and
- To ensure that the successes of Gauteng are beneficial to South Africa as a continent.

ii. Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective - 2006

The Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective (GSDP) was established to provide a common platform for planning and investment in the Province. It is a tool that assists all stakeholders in the province to agree on a common understanding of the nature and functioning of the provincial space economy. The GSDP contextualises itself within the NSDP policy environment, and in respect thereof identifies four development principles[186]:

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186 APS Planafrica. 2007. *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2007*. Third Draft.

Principle 1

Existing spatial concentrations of economic activity, areas showing potential for the expansion of economic activity and areas that play a supportive role in the regional economy should be prioritised for public sector fixed investment that supports economic activity;

Principle 2

Promote socio-economic inclusion in the Gauteng province with its significant overlap in economic activity and poverty and high levels of spatial fragmentation and exclusion. This inclusion will have to be achieved by (1) creating overlaps between economic activity and poverty through improving spatial accessibility profiles of poverty concentrations, and (2) investment in people in areas of high levels of poverty;

Principle 3

Stimulate emerging and new spatial overlaps of economic activity and poverty by focused investment in poverty concentrations that show potential for economic development in their spatial and socio-economic context;

Principle 4

Develop a sustainable urban region through promoting equitable access to basic services, the protection of natural and cultural resources, and as an urban form that supports greater efficiencies in land use and service provision.

iii. Gauteng Global City Region Perspective - 2006

The concept of a city-region implies an urban settlement that has 'over spilled' its political and administrative boundaries and has simultaneously created very strong linkages into the hinterland. Accepting this perspective will entail a common vision for the province and the integration, alignment and harmonisation of the internal functioning of Gauteng. It will also entail the common branding and marketing of Gauteng as a compact entity, and the subsequent building of appropriate human capital and knowledge[187].

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187 APS Planafrica. 2007. *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2007*. Third Draft.

Gauteng Premier Mbhazima Shilowa championed the idea of Gauteng as a Global City Region since 2004[188]. The primary objective of the Global City Region is to Build Gauteng Province into an integrated and globally competitive region where the economic activities of different parts of the province complement each other in consolidating Gauteng as an economic hub of Africa and an internationally recognised global city-region. The strategy seeks to align the various planning instruments, structures and sectors in Gauteng in order to realise the Global City Region.

Some of the positive and negative impacts of campaign for and becoming a global city region as listed in the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework of 2007 are:

- Global competition becomes a priority and international investment increases in the region;
- There is an increased pressure on resources to deliver higher levels and quality of services and infrastructure;
- There is a lessening of unhealthy localised competition;
- There is rapid population growth due to in migration from other areas and /or neighbouring countries;
- A high level of social and physical fragmentation could occur;
- There could be high levels of poverty, especially in developing countries, as in migration surpasses the employment rate and threatens local population employment; and
- There could be an increase in crime and violence due to increased poverty.

iv. Gauteng Strategy for Sustainable Development – 2006

The Gauteng Strategy for Sustainable Development (GSSD) is a concise strategy that illustrates the desired state for sustainable development in the Province. There are several critical factors that need to be taken into account when looking at a long-term development strategy for the province. These include poverty and unemployment; intergovernmental co-operation; socio-economic sustainability and global competitiveness; environmental deterioration; population growth and health issues such

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188 Pillay, U. 2006. *SA's global city region of the future*. Business Day. 11 July 2006.

as HIV/AIDS. Linked to its mission the strategy identifies four priorities through which sustainability must be achieved. These are:

Priority 1: Promote capacity building and human resource development for sustainable development;

Priority 2: Strengthen intergovernmental and societal relations;

Priority 3: Promote economic development for sustainable development; and

Priority 4: Promote sustainable human settlements and resource use[189].

v. Gauteng Planning and Development Act 3 of 2003

The Gauteng Planning and Development Act was promulgated in 2003, and has as its main aim to repeal the conundrum of ordinances currently in practice within the Province. The Act defines a number of principles prescribing future land development. These principles relate to promotion of spatial restructuring and development, sustainable development, development in general, land use management, inter-governmental planning and development, human resource development and decision making[190]. The Act elaborates on the procedure for formulation of Provincial and Municipal spatial plans and policies. It provides a comprehensive framework for coordination and alignment of plans and policies within the province and among municipalities.

The premise of spatial objectives on which this Act is founded constitutes of *inter alia* the following:

- To promote more compact development of urban areas and the limitation of urban sprawl;
- To support the correction of historically distorted spatial patterns in Gauteng;
- To promote integrated land development in rural and urban areas;
- To result in the use and development of land that optimises the use of existing resources; and

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189 APS Planafrica. 2007. *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2007*. Third Draft.

190 *Gauteng Planning and Development Act* (3 of 2003). Office of the Premier. No 26. 17 October 2003.

- To encourage positive development qualities, particularly with regard to public environments[191].

Against this backdrop of principles, the Act establishes a comprehensive framework to ensure cooperative governance and integration. It is prescribed that during the process of formulating the Provincial Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and Spatial Development Framework (SDF), Provincial Government shall have regard to the IDP's and SDF's of municipalities as well as those from neighbouring provinces. It is added that the Provincial SDF shall be the guideline policy document for spatial development in the Province, and that the SDF's of municipalities shall be compatible with the Provincial SDF.

Municipalities can, in support of their SDF also formulate land development policies that provide norms and guidelines for the interpretation and implementation of the SDF. These land development policies also need to inform/guide or be informed/be guided by Provincial plans and policies[192].

The regulations of the Gauteng Planning Act, that will give legislative power to a Provincial Urban Edge, are in the process of being drafted but has of yet not been promulgated.

vi. Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2007

The Gauteng Spatial Development Framework review (2007) aims to steer all spatial development in Gauteng according to the vision and objectives set out for the Province. The objectives included *inter alia*[193]:
- Supporting an urban form that discourages dependency on private vehicles while encouraging a more reliable and efficient public transport system;
- Increasing residential densities; and
- Providing marginalised communities with better access to urban opportunities;

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191 *ibid.*

192 *Gauteng Planning and Development Act* (3 of 2003). Office of the Premier. No 26. 17 October 2003.

193 APS Planafrica. 2007. *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2007*. Third Draft.

The components of the Provincial SDF are centred mainly around the development of the economic core, transport catalysts and urban compaction, the development of nodes and corridors, densification, the upgrading of low-income peripheral settlement areas, environmental quality and an urban edge.

In respect of implementing and maintaining an urban edge the GSDF states that "managing urban growth is about acting in line with the market, though bending and shaping it to achieve desirable outcomes. It is not about punishing the market or swimming upstream. Managing peripheral growth is best served through appropriate local level growth management strategies compiled for specific areas to address the local circumstances and realities". In this regard, it is said that local government's responsibilities should be:

- "To demarcate, align and manage the urban edge in its municipal area (with Provincial Government only ensuring alignment across municipal boundaries); and
- To develop a growth management strategy linked to its spatial development framework that would manage growth in a predetermined manner by employing a range of tools. The growth management strategy should in due course, render the urban edge null and void."[194]

It is also recommended that local authorities consider the following critical factors as part of their Growth Management Strategies:

- Administrative support;
- Detailed SDFs and associated development policies which indicate the intended systems of nodes and corridors to be strengthened;
- Opportunities for redevelopment and infill;
- Incentives to promote higher densities;
- Urban design guidelines to direct higher density transit oriented development;
- Speedy approval of applications within the edge area;
- Guarantee that further sprawl will not be allowed in terms of council policy.

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194 APS Planafrica. 2007. *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2007*. Third Draft.

4.5 The Bounty Hunters

Similar to national and provincial governments but unlike many other countries, municipalities in South Africa have been granted original powers under the Constitution. Not only are municipalities empowered to make decisions about which services to provide and how to provide them; their powers include the promotion of social and economic development. Municipalities have a role to ensure the delivery of services at community level within an agreed upon planning framework and are responsible for integrated development and physical planning[195].

The main function of this sphere of government is to be sensitive to community views and responsive to local problems. Partnerships should be built between civil society and local government to address local issues. During the last decade, local governments were faced with a number of challenges in the effort to provide basic services to all communities in South Africa[196]. These challenges originate from the tremendous scope of the existing backlog, together with various financial and capacity constraints. In this respect, many endeavours have been undertaken to facilitate and speed up the transformation of local government. In broad, local governments are placed at the centre of the planning for, and delivery of reconstruction and development[197]. A number of key pieces of legislation exist that inform the developmental role assigned to local government.

i. Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000

In terms of the Municipal Systems Act (2000) it is provided that municipal planning must be developmentally oriented and in line with the principles of co-operative governance. The Act stipulates that all municipalities must, within a prescribed period after the start of its elected term, adopt a single, inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the

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195 *Urban Development Framework*. 1996. The Department of Housing.

196 Ministry for Provincial and Local Government: *Toolbox. Local Government in South Africa, Understanding Local Government*. 23 June 2005.

197 Oranje, M. and Meyer, E. 2000. *Retracking the "Reconstruction" Idea(l) in the Discourse of 20th Century South African Planning*. Paper read at the "Planning for Reconstruction & Transformation" Millennium Conference of the South African Planning History Study Group, 29-31 May 2000, University of Natal, Durban.

municipality[198], commonly accepted as the Integrated Development Plan. An IDP must reflect the following:

- The municipal council's vision for the long term development of the municipal area with specific focus on the most critical transformation needs;
- An assessment of the existing level of development within the municipality, also identifying communities without access to basic services;
- The council's priorities and objectives for its elected term;
- The council's development strategies, aligned with national and provincial sectoral plans;
- A Spatial Development Framework;
- The council's operational strategies;
- Applicable disaster management plans;
- A financial plan including a budget projection for the next three years; and
- Key performance indicators and performance targets[199].

An IDP adopted by the council of a municipality is the principle strategic planning instrument that guides and informs all planning and development, and all decisions with regard to planning, management and development in the municipality. This Act gives legal standing to a municipality's Spatial Development Framework, however states that Provincial legislation could override a municipal SDF.

ii. White Paper on Local Government 2000

In 2000 the White Paper on Local Government shed more light on the developmental role of local government by defining and elaborating on the exact definition and parameters of the concept. Section B of this White Paper is dedicated to explaining the notion of developmental local government, and it was stipulated that developmental government has the following characteristics[200]:

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198 Local Government: *Municipal Systems Act* (32 of 2000). The Presidency. No 21776. Cape Town. 20 November 2000.

199 Local Government: *Municipal Systems Act* (32 of 2000). The Presidency. No 21776. Cape Town. 20 November 2000.

200 *White Paper on Local Government*. 9 March 1998

Maximising social development and economic growth

Everything that a municipality does should be done to impact as much as possible on the social development of an area. In particular, municipalities must be serious about their responsibility to provide services that meet the basic needs of the poor in their communities in a cost-effective and affordable manner. Equally important, development within a municipal area should have an enabling and stimulating effect on economic growth in the pursuit of job creation.

Integrating and co-ordinating

Developmental local government must provide leadership to all those who have a role to play in achieving local prosperity. One of the most important methods for achieving greater co-ordination and integration is Integrated Development Planning.

Democratising development

Municipal Councils play a central role in promoting local democracy. In addition to representing community interests within the Council, councillors should make sure that citizens and community groups are involved in the design and delivery of municipal programmes. Ward committees and community consultation are important ways of achieving greater involvement.

Leading and learning

Extremely rapid changes at the global, national and local levels are forcing local communities to rethink the way they are organised and governed. All over the world communities must find new ways to sustain their economies, build their societies, protect their environments, improve personal safety and eliminate poverty. The leadership of a developmental municipality should stay on top of developments and change. They should be able to strategise, develop visions and policies and mobilise a range of resources to meet basic needs and achieve developmental goals in their area.

The principle challenges confronting local government transformation[201] were identified as policy refinement and clarification, full implementation of existing legislation and policy, attending to the basic service delivery functions and extending the coverage of these services, and re-examining the way in which national, provincial and local government are individually and collectively giving effect to the Constitutional mandate given to municipalities. Based on the premise of addressing these challenges, Project Consolidate was introduced with a particular emphasis on a hands-on, practical programme of engagement and interaction by national and provincial with local government for the period 2004 – 2006. The key tasks of Project Consolidate (Consolidation Phase) focus on entrenching the core developmental systems of municipalities and extending and accelerating service delivery.

4.6 Conclusion

The preceding chapter illustrated the policy and legislative frameworks on different levels of government that could/should provide an enabling framework for the implementation and establishment of an urban growth management approach. Below is a summary of principles pertaining to spatial development that are found in some form or the other within each of these frameworks:

- To promote more compact development of urban areas and the limitation of urban sprawl;
- To support the correction of historically distorted spatial patterns in Gauteng;
- To encourage development of land that optimises the use of existing resources;
- To ensure that all Provincial socio-economic development is based on the principles of sustainable, holistic and participatory planning and development;
- To promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to or integrated with each other; and

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201 Since 1994, the democratic government adopted a systematic and phased approach to local government transformation. These phases were associated with key tasks that needed to be attended to *i.e.*:
  i. Pre-interim Phase (1994 – 1995)
  ii. Interim Phase (1995 – 2000)
  iii. Final Phase (2000 – beyond)
  iv. Establishment Phase (2000 – 2002)
  v. Consolidation Phase (2002 – 2005)
  vi. Sustainability Phase (2005 – beyond)

- To contribute to the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlement in South Africa.

However sound, these principles remain vague on specific counter measures to address the spatial distortion in South African cities. The Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (2000[202] and 2007) was the first policy to make specific reference to an urban edge, accompanied by an appropriate growth management approach consisting of nodes, corridors, densification and environmental management. This reference was made mainly from the perspective of containing urban sprawl and achieving more compact urban environments and without mention of any other tools/measures considered. It would appear that, even though an urban growth management approach does have the support of National, Provincial and Local policies and legislation, an urban edge as growth management approach is not specifically mentioned or punted as the most appropriate growth management approach. It was only the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework of 2000 and 2007 that introduced the idea of an Urban Edge.

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202 See Chapter 5

Chapter 5: Once Were Warriors

Gauteng Practice

"Morality, like art, means drawing a line someplace"

(Oscar Wilde)

Gauteng Province, together with its three metropolitan municipalities were pioneers in the direction of Urban Growth Management. However, many of the good intended pro-active initiatives brought forward by different parties within this province, have not achieved the anticipated outcomes, or simply fell flat. This chapter explores the introduction and practice of urban growth management in Gauteng, the role-players as well as the current situation with regards to the mechanisms implemented.

5.1 What Went Down

The Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (GSDF) was published in 2000 with the intention to serve as an instrument for addressing past spatial imbalances in Gauteng, while at the same time guiding development towards a sustainable, equitable and economically viable future settlement pattern. The following five critical factors were identified for the successful implementation of the GSDF:

- Base economic development on existing resources;
- Urban growth should be contained;
- Urban growth should be redirected. Infill development and densification practices should be promoted;
- Rural development beyond the urban edge should be defined and controlled; and
- Mobility and accessibility to settlements should be supported by the existing urban structure.

In addition to these factors, the report also stated that "current global economic trends, where industry and office developments are shifting to more decentralized areas, has resulted in shifts in residential spatial patterns too. Market driven housing follows the industrial and office property market while non-market driven housing development takes place on cheap, poorly accessible land on the periphery of the city. The residents of these peripheral settlements are often the urban poor with low levels of mobility. Over the past 7 years very little has been done in addressing the existing dispersed spatial pattern, rather it has been reinforced by spatial planning practices placing untold pressures on existing engineering infrastructure, bulk services and public transport[203]".

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203 Department of Development Planning and Local Government: *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework Review Sub-project 4: Management of Urban Edge*. Final Report – February 2002

Based on the critical factors listed above, the GSDF furthermore proposed the establishment of a provincial urban edge to serve as a mechanism towards ensuring the containment and redirection of urban growth, while addressing rural development beyond the urban edge. There is no evidence to suggest that any other growth management approach or tool was considered towards these goals, however, **the urban edge was intended to form part of a broader growth management strategy as** proposed by the GSDF. In light of this, the following land use issues needed to be dealt with through policy tools:

- Densification principles and guidelines ensuring that densification happen in a planned manner and in desirable locations;
- Brownfields' development requirements, guidelines and locations;
- Service delivery integration to facilitate high density greenfields and brownfields development; and
- Revised town planning controls in public transport corridors to encourage densification and compaction in a planned manner.

From the Gauteng Urban Edge draft policy document the main motivation for the implementation of an urban edge was concluded to be the following:

- To promote the integration of land uses and transportation routes;
- To encourage densification that supports the provision of public services/public transport;
- To develop an enabling mechanism for acquisition of better located land for housing and businesses within the urban edge;
- To promote and maintain the rural character of surrounding land and towns;
- To support declining areas within the urban edge by redirecting financial and other resources to areas where bulk services infrastructure already exists; and
- To promote a compact and sustainable city.

The review and refinement of the urban edge as defined in the GSDF was consequently undertaken by the Department of Development Planning and Local Government in

October 2000. The project brief stipulated that "the process of defining an urban edge in the GSDF incorporated the proposals of the Land Development Objectives as prescribed by the Development Facilitation Act 67 of 1995, discussions with local authorities, the impact of natural features and an assessment of the extent of existing urban development. However, the alignment of an urban edge still needs to be confirmed through a process of policy formulation and further consultation with various parties, with a view to refining the GSDFs proposed urban edge to such a degree that it can be implemented throughout the Gauteng Province"[204].The project brief further stipulated that an investigation was required which sought to:

- Set criteria and principles for the delineation and management of the urban edge;
- Set principles on legitimizing the delineation through a process of approval at the local level;
- Outline a definition of the uses that are acceptable on either side of the urban edge; and
- Set clear guidelines required for an implementation strategy.

The project specific objectives as stipulated in the study brief were:

- To clarify the process of delineation of the urban edge i.e. where exactly to define it and how to define it.
- To confirm the alignment of the urban edge through a consultative process with district, local and metropolitan authorities.
- To define the process whereby future amendments to the urban edge may be made.
- To define appropriate uses in the interface zone immediately inside and outside the urban edge, including the parameters with which low-income housing projects and urban agricultural projects might be developed in this interface zone. 5. To define the process for ensuring the implementation of the urban edge.
- To define the conditions to also address the causes of pressure of urban sprawl.

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204 Department of Development Planning and Local Government: *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework Review Sub-project 4: Management of Urban Edge*. Final Report – February 2002

A tendering process for the refinement of the Gauteng Urban Edge was lodged and a Pretoria-based firm, Plan Associates appointed to commence the project with Mr Theo Pretorius as project leader. The process was to be conducted in association with the three affected metropolitan and three district municipalities: City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, Sedibeng District Municipality, Metsweding District Municipality and West Rand District Municipality. On provincial level a liaison committee (referred to as the "**Urban Edge Task Team**") was established that consisted of representatives from the mentioned local municipalities and Gauteng Provincial Government representatives from the Department of Housing, and the then Department of Agriculture, Conservation, Environment and Land Use (DACEL)[205]. The purpose of this liaison committee was to provide input and give guidance as to how the edge should take face on ground level. Figure 5.1 illustrates the process as envisaged from the drafting to final implementation of the urban edge.

The approach towards delineating the urban edge was based on a combination of the following factors:

- The existing border of urban activity (e.g. residential towns and other urban features). Agricultural holdings were in principle excluded from the urban area;
- Existing approved development rights;
- Natural features like rivers and mountains and other conservation areas;
- Local authority boundaries;
- Functional boundaries like major roads, strategic development areas etc; and
- The availability/lack of bulk infrastructure.

The Gauteng Provincial Urban Edge as delineated in 2002 is indicated in the diagram.

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205 This Department is currently known as the Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment (GDACE).

Built Up Areas
Regional Open Space
Provincial Urban Edge 2002
Highway

Nokeng

DE WILDT

MARIKANA

Tshwane

Sterkfontein

Kungwini

Mogale

MULDERSDRIF

Ekurhuleni

Randfontein

Lesedi

Merafong

DE DEUR

NE 4

Midvaal

Emfuleni

Scale 1:1100000
0 5 10   20   30   40   50 km
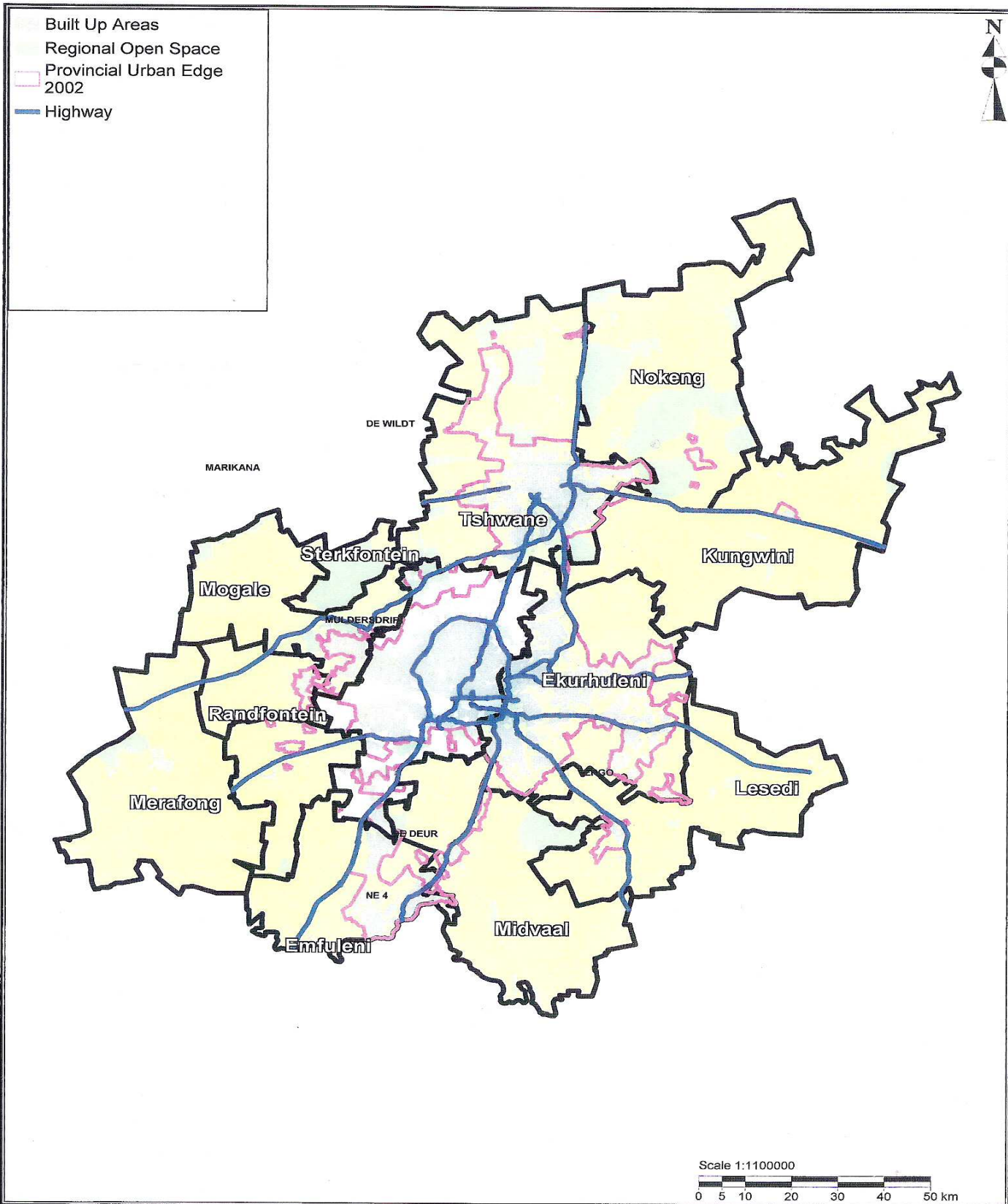
Joburg   Gauteng Provincial Urban Edge 2002

The management of land uses inside and beyond the urban edge was stipulated as follows:

"As far as land uses inside the urban edge are concerned, a land use that is consistent with the relevant local authority's IDP, Spatial Development Framework, land use management plan or townplanning scheme should be permitted, subject to the normal procedures and legislation e.g. environmental considerations, transportation requirements etc. It is important to note that the urban edge does not imply that the entire area within it can/should be allowed to develop, and that development rights are therefore guaranteed. Factors like timing, availability of services, the environment etc must still be applicable when considering an application."[206]

The following figure illustrates the intended process that was to be followed during the delineation and implementation of the Gauteng Urban Edge.

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206 Department of Development Planning and Local Government: *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework Review Sub-project 4: Management of Urban Edge*. Final Report – February 2002

Urban Edge Implementation Phases

GSDF Preliminary Urban Edge

↓

Refine Conceptual Edge

↓

Draft Report

↓

Final Report

- -

Phase 1:
Interim Phase

↓

Approval: Provincial GSDF/ Joint Steering Committee

↓

Approval: Provincial Exco

↓

Local IDP Process: Public Participation

↓

Motivate Adjustments / Amendments

↓

MEC Approval of Adjustments

↓

Exco Approves Amendments

- -

Phase 2:
Final Phase

↓

Implementation
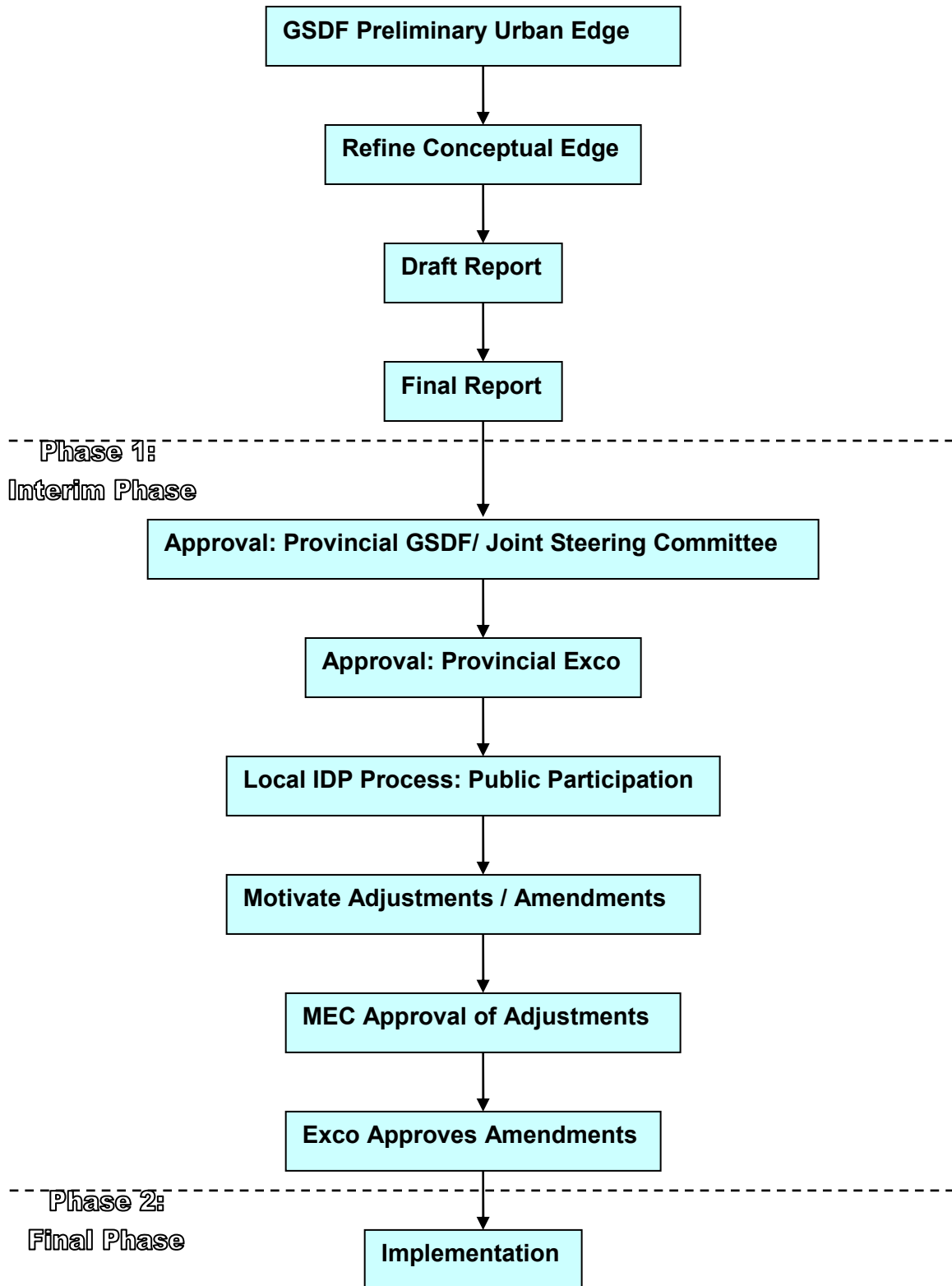
"Land uses that are rural in nature would be more desirable, and should therefore be promoted outside the urban edge rather than inside it. Where applicable, it will also have to be in line with provincial policies e.g. DACEL policy on subdivision of land and/or the local development frameworks compiled for the various rural areas by the relevant local authorities. The following land uses should be allowed in rural areas outside the urban edge:

a. Extensive agriculture;

b. Conservation areas/nature reserves;

c. Tourism and related activities e.g. curio markets;

d. Recreational facilities e.g. hiking trails/hotels/game lodges;

e. Farm stalls and home industries;

f. Rural residential uses/agricultural holdings in specific areas;

g. Any other related development/service;

Provided that the proposed development/service

h. Services primarily the local market; and/or

i. Is resource based; and/or

j. Is located at a defined and approved service delivery centre."[207]

It is important to note that, together with the proposal for the implementation of an urban edge as growth management tool, recommendations were also made in terms of the future management of the edge. It was predisposed that some form of regional governance – either provincial or regional – is necessary to implement and manage an urban edge. The more fragmented and smaller the authorities responsible for implementing the edge, the lesser the chance towards the successful implementation of the concept.

It was also recommended that the urban edge form part of a comprehensive, multi disciplinary provincial framework that integrates all development disciplines, and that in order to successfully implement the urban edge, local authorities needed to rethink their growth management strategies, and specifically focus on promoting concepts like infill

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207 Department of Development Planning and Local Government: *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework Review Sub-project 4: Management of Urban Edge*. Final Report – February 2002

development, redevelopment, transit oriented development, densification, mixed use development and streamlining their planning administration procedures in terms of the above types of development. In addition to the above, it was suggested that local authorities provide detailed urban design guidelines to promote the above types of development and to illustrate and guide the way in which it should take place.

The report made reference to conservation areas/sensitive natural environments that are good features to define the urban edge as these areas form natural boundaries to the urban areas. It also stated that public housing/government subsidized housing, both in terms of location and type e.g. family housing, high density etc. is a strong instrument to use in order to redirect growth patterns or to promote concepts like infill development, densification and transit oriented development.

A suggestion was made in the report to utilise a Bulk Services Contribution Program that places heavy burdens on developments that contribute to urban sprawl to contribute significantly towards the successful implementation of the urban edge. Together with this public transport must be actively promoted through the provision of proper train, bus and taxi services and facilities whereas private vehicle usage should be penalised by means of toll fees, fuel levies, car levies, and parking restrictions. Accordingly, public funding towards transport should be focused on public transport instead of private transport.

The report made reference to some potential negative effects associated with an urban edge, including the increase in land prices due to restricted land availability, a decrease in rural land prices and increased land speculation.

The process of delineating the Gauteng Urban Edge was documented together with the above-mentioned recommendations and handed to the Provincial Cabinet on June 22nd, 2000. The edge was approved almost a year later on the 15th of May 2001 by the Gauteng Provincial Government and was a binding policy on all provincial departments, however, had no legal standing since the regulations of the Gauteng Planning and Development Bill, which would legalise the delineation of a provincial urban edge, had not been promulgated. The local municipalities were advised to reflect the urban edge in

their first round of Integrated Development Plans[208]. By also reflecting and adopting the urban edge in the respective municipal Spatial Development Frameworks (a policy requirement from the Municipal Systems Act of 2000), the urban edge gained legal standing on a municipal level. Municipalities were then awarded the opportunity to consult with all interested and affected parties through the public participation opportunities offered by the Integrated Development Planning process. It was decided that subsequent to the completion of the first round of IDPs, local municipalities could propose a formal amendment of the edge to the Gauteng Provincial Government, Department of Development Planning and Local Government[209].

5.2 Denial

"President Bush spent last night calling world leaders to support the war with Iraq and it is sad when the most powerful man on earth is yelling, 'I know you're there, pick up, pick up." (Craig Kilborn)[210]

The Gauteng Urban Edge was presented to the municipalities for inclusion into their respective IDP's and SDF's. The Urban Edge as presented to the municipalities was the only urban growth management tool formulated into a policy, and had at that point no supporting growth management mechanisms as recommended by the GSDF refinement of the Gauteng Urban Edge Report. The municipalities struggled to get to terms with the mechanism since it was a very crude mechanism for implementation without the necessary enabling tools, such as infill, densification, public transport and mixed-use strategies. In 2004 a workshop was held by the Gauteng Provincial Government: "Gauteng Urban Edge: Three years down the line, what have we learned?" In this workshop the Provincial Government communicated that the urban edge was not satisfactorily dealt with in the respective local IDPs and SDFs, and that they were therefore not willing to accept the proposed amendments to the urban edge as submitted by the local municipalities.

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208 Integrated Development Plans have to, in terms of the Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) be prepared by every municipality in the country on a five-year base and be annually reviewed.

209 Interview with Mr Theo Pretorius, Plan Associates, March 2003

210 Kilborn, C. Taken from Craig Kilborn Quotes on www.thinkexist.com

It has also since been communicated by the Gauteng Development Tribunal to the local municipalities that the urban edge is only a 'guideline' for development, and that the provincial government does not necessarily always apply it as a mandatory instrument in evaluating land development applications. The only provincial department that is still enforcing the urban edge management guidelines to all land development applications is the Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Conservation. Consequently, confusion exists regarding the status of the Gauteng Urban Edge as growth management policy, and if local authorities are required to reflect and enforce the urban edge as part of their spatial plans, how can Gauteng Provincial Departments only apply the policy on an ad hoc basis?

In 2007, a renewed effort to amend the Gauteng Urban Edge according to the submissions made by local authorities was initiated. After **resubmission** from all the municipalities, the inputs were considered by Provincial representatives from Department of Economic Development[211], Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment, Department of Housing and Department of Transport. A two-day workshop between the municipalities and the provincial sector departments were scheduled in September where the inputs from the municipalities were to be negotiated. The submissions generally canvassed for more developable land to be included within the urban edge. This notion was punted especially hard by the smaller district municipalities (Mogale City, Kungwini and West Rand) who have been experiencing severe development pressure for low-density high-income developments and/or investments for the last seven years. The inputs were widely debated and generally criticised by the provincial sector departments for being too expansive and not conservative enough. However, the Gauteng Department of Housing also requested the Gauteng Department of Economic Development for inclusion of more peripheral land into the urban edge for the purposes of low-income housing projects. On some submissions consensus have been reached but in most instances conflict remains between the Provincial Urban Edge and municipal urban edges. The 'new' Provincial Urban Edge was approved by the Provincial Executive Committee in January 2008, however, municipalities still apply their respective urban edges to development applications since the Provincial Urban Edge to date still has no legal standing.

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211 Previously known as Department of Development Planning and Local Government

5.3 Anger

The City of Tshwane has an approved Municipal Spatial Development Framework in place, it does however not include an Urban Edge. The reasons for the City of Tshwane rejecting the inclusion of the Urban Edge into their Spatial Planning Frameworks include the inconsistent application of the Edge experienced in the former cross-border areas (such as the Temba/Hammanskraal area which falls in the North West Province), and the confusion between the provincial and local edge resulting from poor administration. The Third Draft Policy on the Revision of the Gauteng Urban Edge identifies the following issues that the City of Tshwane experiences with the Gauteng Urban Edge[212]:

- Kungwini Municipality on the eastern boundary of Tshwane makes use of Tshwane's services, but ignores the Urban Edge and creates problems in terms of congestion and poor urban structure. There is no coordination and alignment between these two municipalities regarding the Urban Edge;
- In terms of densities the City of Tshwane wants to provide a choice (variety of densities and typologies), based on location. Higher densities in inappropriate locations provide more problems than lower densities; and
- The Gauteng Department Of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment's definition of "high potential agricultural land", especially within the Urban Edge is problematic to the City, as most of this land is not used for agricultural purposes anymore due to the surrounding urban activities.

Mr Kestell Serffontein from the City of Tshwane's Department of City Planning communicated that the City's growth management approach are based on the "smart-growth" concept. It focuses on linkages between places, mobility routes, activity routes and people rather than on a strict zero-tolerance line of no growth. Appropriate areas i.e. areas experiencing economic growth are identified for further urban expansion, while in other areas development is contained. While the Central Business District is historically regarded as the centre around which urban development should gravitate, the City now recognizes other important nodes as centres for development as well. This approach is slightly more problematic around areas with limited economic growth and so-called marginalised localities, which would implicitly require continued public investment.

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212 Gauteng Department of Economic Development. 2007. *Revision of the Gauteng Urban Edge Policy.* Third Draft Report. January 2007.

The Smart Growth approach as applied in Tshwane consists of the following components:

i. Densification and Infill of appropriate locations

The intention of the densification strategy is to restructure the fragmented, inequitable and inefficient urban form to create a more equitable and environmentally sustainable urban area. The compaction and functional integration of the city imply 1) higher density urban development, 2) greater mixing of compatible land uses and 3) focused concentration of high-density residential land uses and intensification of non-residential land uses in nodes and along activity corridors. The formalization of existing informal settlements which are not well located in terms of subsidized housing schemes to provide a minimum level of service is not opposed, but the growth of these areas is actively discouraged, as it would only perpetuate the apartheid spatial development patterns with its associated inefficiency[213].

The City is applying the densification strategy and its proposed high densities along linear urban systems, modal transfer points, stations, interchanges, and areas of concentrated activity. According to Serffontein the application of the densification strategy is complicated in marginalised areas that are removed from traditional urban centres. Even though these areas are developed at a relatively high density, developers are not yet prepared to privately invest in these locations[214].

ii. Protecting and enhancing valuable natural resources

The City places a high premium on its non-renewable natural resources. On a metropolitan scale the protection, conservation and enhancement of natural resources are of specific significance and the development of the city is strongly influenced by the location of these resources. This strategy has been structured into four specific goals in order to establish a clear and tangible framework for environmental management:

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213 City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. 2005. *Municipal Spatial Development Framework*. 2005/2006 Review.

214 Interview with Mr Kestell Serffontein. April, 2005. City of Tshwane, Department of City Planning.

Green Structuring (Conservation)

Ecologically sensitive open space is easily lost and only recovered at high cost and effort, yet is essential for sustaining life. Urban growth should therefore be guided, informed and influenced by the ecological factors as a significant structuring element.

Largest possible green space (Compaction)

In order to protect as much open space as possible for ecological processes and productive agriculture, urban development should be concentrated and compacted, as opposed to sprawling.

Interconnectedness/ an integrated network (Connection)

Efficiently functioning ecological processes requires linkages and interrelated open spaces stretching over the entire city.

Place making

The natural structure provides the setting for the city and creates opportunities for place making when combined with the urban structure.

The City's approach to urban growth is therefore premised on areas that are appropriate and desirable for growth, vs. areas that are environmentally sensitive and requires protection and maintenance[215].

iii.   Managing the urban growth of the city

In terms of the Smart Growth approach the aim is to guide intensive urban development towards the most appropriate places within the urban structure and considers the optimal use of existing infrastructure and re-development to be preferable to most green field development[216]. This approach considers the location context of an area as the key factor in determining its desirability or non-desirability for future development. This is also linked to the availability of bulk infrastructure and an incremental approach to the development of greenfields.

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215 Interview with Mr Kestell Serffontein. April, 2005. City of Tshwane, Department of City Planning.
216 City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. 2005. *Municipal Spatial Development Framework*. 2005/2006 Review.

The remainder of the Spatial Development Framework for Tshwane is in support of the Smart Growth urban development approach as it identifies and demarcates specific areas for growth and development i.e. within activity centers (nodes), around transport and development corridors as well as around public transport routes. This provides a clear framework as to where the City's resources should be invested for future development.

During the Gauteng Provincial workshop in September 2007 where provincial departments and municipalities could negotiate the position of the urban edge, the City of Tshwane did motivate their position of not using a line or edge as growth management tool; however, the City was awarded a provincial edge despite their best efforts.

5.4 Bargaining

After the delineation of the Gauteng Urban Edge, the City of Joburg Metropolitan Municipality embraced the opportunity to implement a growth management approach within its municipal boundary. The Gauteng Urban Edge was revised within the municipality to take the shape of an even lesser expansive Urban Development Boundary. The motivation for the implementation of the Johannesburg Urban Development Boundary (UDB) was founded on the notion of curbing urban sprawl, promoting infill and densification within the urban core, and preventing expansion of development where a lack of services infrastructure exists. After five years of having a UDB, densification and infill within the city's nodes has been slow, but unserviced, undeveloped land outside the UDB has no doubt been protected[217]. A further rationale for the UDB was the fact that low cost/social/government subsidized housing has historically always been provided on the periphery of the city as a result of the availability of affordable land for this purpose. However, this perpetuated the disparities and imbalances of past development trends, since marginalized communities still ended up with long traveling distances to employment and economic opportunities. It was envisaged that the UDB would 'force' government to provide for low income housing within the urban core, and thus ensuring better locations and accessibility to

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217 Interview with Mr Peter Ahmad. June, 2005. City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, Department of Development Planning and Facilitation.

opportunities for lower income communities[218]. Unfortunately, the land outside the UDB that has been protected from development has now become very attractive to local and provincial housing departments for low-income housing projects (e.g. Diepsloot East, Kya Sands, Ruimsig/Poortview).

The City of Joburg and Gauteng Provincial Government have a long-standing complicated relationship. Johannesburg is the largest contributor to the provincial GVA, and also the top employment contributor in Gauteng. As fastest growing metropolitan municipality in the province, the City of Joburg has in many instances taken a leadership role in the implementation of new policy as well as coordinating planning between the other metropolitan municipalities in Gauteng[219]. The Gauteng Provincial Government has regarded these informal coups as arrogance, while the City's experience has been one of lack of leadership. After numerous fruitless submissions of Urban Edge amendments to the Provincial Department of Economic Development, the City submitted a list of concerns regarding the management of the Urban Edge to the Department. The purpose of the list was for the City and the Department to come to an agreement of some sort in terms of the *inter alia* following[220]:

- The City would prefer to have an Urban Edge, but would want to manage it themselves (thus local rather than provincial edge);
- There should be an integrated approach to decision-making around issues such as the Edge, which should take aspects such as budget for and availability of infrastructure, timing of growth and proper growth management into account;
- It is critical that planning focuses on the empowerment of poor communities and improving their mobility, location, access to urban opportunities and shared growth. The Edge as planning tool should consider these aspects; and
- GDACE's position regarding the Urban Edge needed to be clarified. GDACE comes across as the 'custodian' of the Urban Edge.

At the Gauteng Provincial workshop in September 2007, the City motivated amendments to the Urban Edge that were in some instances more expansive (due to market pressure, previously approved rights or subsidised housing initiatives) and in other areas more

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218 Interview with Mr Clinton Heimann, March 2003. Plan Associates.

219 Interview with Mr Peter Ahmad. June, 2005. City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, Department of Development Planning and Facilitation.

220 Gauteng Department of Economic Development. 2007. *Revision of the Gauteng Urban Edge Policy.* Third Draft Report. January 2007.

restrictive (as a result of a lack of supporting infrastructure)[221]. Not all amendments have been approved but the City has indicated that they will continue to apply their own UDB to land development applications until such time as the Gauteng Urban Edge is legally binding on the municipalities.

The City of Joburg recognized that the UDB would not achieve its intended outcomes as a stand-alone policy, and therefore needed the support of a number of other initiatives. Consequently, nodal development, corridor development, mobility and densification strategies form part of the City's Spatial Development Framework to support the UDB. The aim of these policies was to identify and locate specific areas within the City where growth and development must be focused and directed. The following section provides a brief overview of the components of the City's Spatial Development Framework and how it supports the notion of a growth management approach[222].

i.   Nodal Development

Within the City of Joburg, a number of areas were identified as areas of economic concentration. The denomination of these nodes differs from functioning as a node of Metropolitan, Regional, District or Neighbourhood level significance. Within these nodes a high concentration of economic activity, as well as higher residential densities are promoted. Nodal boundaries were drawn around the Metropolitan and Regional nodes to prevent non-residential spillover of these high concentration activities into residential neighbourhoods. The aim with the identification of these nodes is to provide developers with direction on where to take their development initiatives as opposed to developing on peripheral areas and to avoid the intrusion of high concentration non residential and high density residential development into areas with a special residential character and ambience.

ii. Corridor Development

The purpose of development corridors within the City of Joburg is argued as being:

- To connect the identified economic nodes;
- To provide a number of movement options; and

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221 Interview with Mr Peter Ahmad. June, 2005. City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, Department of Development Planning and Facilitation.

222 City of Joburg Metropolitan Council. 2005. Spatial Development Framework. 2005/2006 Review.

- To provide an opportunity for intense, high density land uses;

In addition the corridors are meant to ensure that the city does not become an island of development within the province, but establishes valuable, physical links with its neighbouring municipalities. The central and northern regions of the City as well as the Central areas of the City of Tshwane has been identified as the areas within the province experiencing the highest growth and most rapid intensification of existing activities[223]. The City identified three development corridors within its boundaries where specific land uses would be supported and encouraged. The corridors are:

Central North Corridor

This corridor links the Inner City of Johannesburg with the City of Tshwane in the North and is characterized by high degrees of investment and economic and employment opportunities.

Central South Corridor

This corridor has fewer economic and employment opportunities and a greater pool of labour resources. This corridor is based primarily on the existing public transport infrastructure that links the Inner City with Soweto, Lenasia and Orange Farm in the south of the City.

East West Corridor

This corridor runs midway through the City linking with Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality to the East, and Mogale City to the West. It incorporates the traditional mining belt that has been perceived as a barrier to the integration of the northern and southern parts of the City.

iii. Mobility

The purpose of introducing the mobility policy within the City is to facilitate the operation of an efficient public transport system between economic nodes and residential areas. The mobility policy is founded on the implementation of the Gautrain Rapid Rail Link, as well as a Bus Rapid Transit system (BRT) consisting of a network of bus routes connecting economic nodes and serving as a feeder system to the Gautrain Stations.

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223 Gauteng Provincial Government. 2007. *Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective*.

These public transport initiatives will serve the higher density developments within the UDB to ensure equal access for all to employment and other economic opportunities.

iv. Densification

The City's densification strategy is premised on the densification of specifically demarcated areas or areas appropriate for higher densities. Instead of promoting higher densities across the board across the City, higher densities are particularly encouraged in the economic nodes as well as along public transport routes (BRT). The aim of the strategy is to re-attract development to economic centres and move development away from peripheral areas where accessibility is limited.

5.5 Sadness

The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality has a Spatial Development Framework and Environmental Management Framework in place, which are used to guide development, but no broader Growth Management Strategy as yet[224]. The Municipality identified the following issues with regards to the Gauteng Urban Edge:

- The biggest problem with the Urban Edge was with regards to the Serengeti Estate Development east of the R21 freeway, which the Ekurhuleni Municipality approved, but which was rejected by GDACE. This was due to the fact that the R21 was the line of the Urban Edge and GDACE did not agree to the principle that development could occur on both sides of this route. The other criteria for applications were also not considered;

- Boksburg, Benoni, Isando, Edenvale, Brakpan and Springs are Ekurhuleni's major contributors to the provincial GVA (in terms of high value manufacturing and labour intensive industries). These areas have experienced the largest number of migrations in the municipality[225], however, the remainder of the Ekurhuleni Municipal area had experienced little growth and hence little pressure for the expansion of the Edge; and

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224 Gauteng Department of Economic Development. 2007. *Revision of the Gauteng Urban Edge Policy*. Third Draft Report. January 2007.

225 Gauteng Provincial Government. 2007. *Gauteng Spatial Development Perspective*.

- The Municipality would want more direct control over the Urban Edge (thus a local rather than a provincial edge)[226].

The Gauteng Provincial workshop that took place in September 2007 saw Ekurhuleni Metro proposing limited expansive amendments to the 2002 Gauteng Urban Edge. As with the City of Joburg, some amendments were approved but based on limited infrastructure availability and environmental sensitivities, others were not.

The implementation of the edge did have some positive spin-offs, such as the shift towards exploring housing opportunities in the mining belt, and a focus on infill development and densification around corridors[227]. The Spatial Development Framework for the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality defines the following objectives as the reason to implement an urban growth management approach[228]:

- To promote the development of a compact urban structure which optimise the utilization of all resources – land, engineering services, transportation infrastructure and social infrastructure;
- To integrate the disadvantaged communities of Ekurhuleni into the urban fabric by way of infill development on strategically located vacant land, and promoting corridor development along the main linkages between these communities and the major concentrations of job opportunities;
- To actively promote public transport; and
- To create a sustainable and continuous open space network.

Ekurhuleni's Spatial Development Framework provides the following list of usual suspects in support of a growth management strategy[229]:

- Support a statutory Urban Development Boundary.
- Establish a system of functionally defined and geographically demarcated activity nodes.

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226 Interview with Mr Pieter Swanepoel. March, 2003. Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, Department of Town Planning.
227 *ibid.*
228 Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. 2005. *Spatial Development Framework*. 2005/2006 Review.
229 *ibid.*

- Optimise linkages and connectivity within the Metropolitan Activity Area.
- Link disadvantaged communities to the Metropolitan Activity Area via a system of Public Transport Corridors.
- Promote mixed-use high-density development along development corridors and in and around activity nodes.
- Promote infill residential development in vacant areas within the Metropolitan Activity.

To facilitate the execution of these development strategies, the municipal area were divided into areas identified for very specific interventions i.e. Peripheral Uses, areas demarcated for Extensive Agriculture, Activity Nodes, Infill Development Areas, Strategic Development Areas, The Core Economic Triangle within Ekurhuleni, Service Upgrading Priority Areas, Regional Open Space and Development Corridors. Each of these specific 'management zones' will have its own set of management criteria relating to the way in which future development proposals will be dealt with within the specific 'zone'.

5.6 Acceptance

The three metropolitan municipalities in Gauteng have expressed various levels of commitment towards urban growth management, and have tried to follow through on the initial Gauteng Urban Edge process as introduced in 2001. Each of the municipalities under discussion has since 2002 submitted formal amendments to the original Gauteng Urban Edge resultant from internal and external participation within the respective municipalities. However, the Gauteng Provincial Government failed to adopt these amendments as official policy for five years and as a result a lot of confusion were created in the Gauteng planning community. The three municipalities consequently managed their own urban edges/boundaries and growth management approaches independent from the Gauteng Urban Edge, even though the official Gauteng Edge had not been repealed. At the time, it was understood that Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment was the only provincial body that still utilized the Gauteng Edge to the letter as a tool to evaluate land development applications. Other provincial bodies have adopted the opinion that the Gauteng Edge was never meant to be a strict management tool but rather to serve as a 'broad guideline'/fuzzy

edge for future development proposals[230]. This view was adopted as a result of the Provincial Government explicitly stating that the urban edge was to be a "short-term control measure that would ultimately fall away"[231] as more detailed growth management approaches and practices are applied.

On a practical level, the confusion regarding the urban edge generated disputes in decision-making and ambiguity of jurisdictions during the evaluation of land use applications. It created a situation where the Gauteng Development Tribunal as well as the Gauteng Townships Board needed to approve or reject applications in the so-called 'no-man's land' between the Gauteng Urban Edge, and the particular local authority's Urban Boundary[232], in which most cases, the provincial urban edge prevailed.

Five years down the line, the Gauteng municipalities resubmitted their respective amendments to the urban edge in order to establish a single line in the province. The workshop that took place between provincial sector departments and the municipalities towards amending the provincial urban edge resulted in a boxing match of metropolitan municipalities proposing amendments to include pressures and projects emanating from the five years in limbo, while provincial departments stuck to the guns of the 2002 urban edge refusing to accept the inevitable: that the metropolitan municipalities have long surpassed the limitations posed by the provincial urban edge, and were now functioning as a ménage a trios of well established growth management zones. However, the provincial urban edge was amended to include some proposed amendments, and some not. The Gauteng Provincial Government is still awaiting the promulgation of the Gauteng Planning and Development Act Regulations, the mechanism that will legalise a provincial urban edge, and in the mean time municipalities reflects their own urban edges in municipal plans and policies.

Aside from the ambiguity regarding the status of the Gauteng Urban Edge, it appears as if other provincial initiatives might prove the Edge completely redundant. The Gauteng Global City Region initiative seeks to promote Gauteng's development agenda by positioning the province as a globally competitive city region. The key objective is to

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230 Interview with Mr Kestell Serffontein. April, 2005. City of Tshwane, Department of City Planning.

231 Interview with Mr Johan van der Merwe. January, 2008. Gauteng Provincial Government, Department of Economic Development.

232 Interview with Mr Peter Ahmad. June, 2005. City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, Department of Development Planning and Facilitation.

reduce unemployment and poverty through promoting economic growth, integrated strategies and joint planning between the different spheres of government. Among these priorities are safety and an integrated transport network. The strategy also seeks to address inequality and uneven development in the province. Gauteng is already recognized as a global city region with a population of over 9.5 million people, the fourth largest economy in Africa. Given the objective of furthering the concept, the reinforcement of island economies and spatial locations within the province does not make any sense anymore. Instead, the vision relates to well-connected and well-functioning urban concentrations that operate across municipal (and even provincial) boundaries.

This situation has already become critical on the municipal boundary between the City of Tshwane and the City of Johannesburg, which has become visible from outer space. The Northern fringe of Johannesburg is under severe development pressure from both private and public development. The Diepsloot informal settlement in this area needs an area three times its existing size in order to be de-densified, let alone expanded. Market led development also lusts after this area as a result of its prime location for commuters between Johannesburg and Tshwane. The Southern fringe of Tshwane is a mirrored image. The Olievenhoutbosch informal settlement is in dire need of formalisation, and private developers are increasingly looking for residential development opportunities along the N1 corridor. However far from traditional urban cores (a.k.a CBDs) these locations are in close proximity to significant economic centres i.e. Centurion, Fourways, Sunninghill and Midrand. The Urban Edge and City of Johannesburg's Urban Development Boundary prevents further development into the jurisdiction of Mogale City Local Municipality, even though this is an area of burgeoning growth for Mogale City. Continuing the notion of a Global City Region will increase the occurrence of similar situations on the boarders of the municipalities in Gauteng.

After having an Urban Boundary in place for almost five years, it seems that the pressure for outward development has finally overthrown any logic planning reasoning for maintaining such boundary. The City of Johannesburg is currently undertaking three different investigations into expanding their Urban Development Boundary to the North, West and South. In the Northern areas (Diepsloot) the rationale behind expansion is the need for the formalization of the Diepsloot Informal Settlement. Even though the initial

reasoning was that further growth should not be allowed in peripheral informal settlements to avoid the creation of economically isolated communities, it appears that expanding the area today would magically not imply these negative consequences any longer. The Gauteng Department of Housing is in the process of acquiring a number of land portions (presently outside the provincial urban edge) in the vicinity of Diepsloot with a view to low-income housing projects and upgrading of existing Diepsloot informal settlement. To the Western side (Poortview/Ruimsig), private, middle to high-income development pressure has twisted the arms of council to consider collapsing the entire Urban Development Boundary in that area, on the condition that a financial or physical contribution towards social integration in that area is made. This will facilitate the incorporation of low-income communities into that peripheral area. To the South of the city (Klipriviersberg), private middle to high-income development pressure initiated the investigation into a possible relaxation of the Urban Development Boundary in that area for the purposes of subsidised housing projects.

The research revealed that the Gauteng Provincial Urban Edge drew a lot of critique and attention during the last eight years. The enabling legal and policy framework within which the provincial edge was to be established created difficulties with regards to the prevalence of provincial vs. municipal urban edges. The Gauteng municipalities seemed to be sidelined throughout the initial process of delineating the edge, and when the time came for them to provide input, they were left out on a limb for another five years. This, together with many other questions and issues relating to the Gauteng urban edge, as discussed throughout the chapter, seems to illustrate that the notion and concept of a provincial urban edge has lost credibility. The next chapter will conclude with the influences and circumstances that lead to this predicament.

Chapter 6: Something Ventured, Something Gained…

Seeking Answers

"Cheers to a new year and another chance for us to get it right"
(Oprah Winfrey, O Magazine)

Concluding from the preceding chapter, the Urban Edge in Gauteng lost credibility before its failures or successes could be measured; it was however, not through a lack of good intentions. This chapter will seek to find some reasons for the downward spiral of the bold intervention in Gauteng Province. The reasons will be sought in firstly, the rationale for an urban growth management approach, secondly, the most appropriate tool/mechanism to be applied, thirdly, the enabling policy and legislative framework and lastly the operational framework within which the process took place.

6.1 Rationale for Urban Growth Management

In chapter 2, the history of urban growth management from an international perspective was discussed. It illustrated the processes and dynamics that took place in different countries at different times, which lead to the need for some form of urban growth management. These reasons related specifically to major population growth that resulted in mass urbanisation and central government's inability to accommodate an ever-growing urban population. This phenomenon went hand in hand with public health and safety issues, and was further fueled by the fear for an unstoppable growing city.

As a result of planned decentralization to avoid a sprawling, growing beast, residential and commercial suburbanization gained momentum as communities settled in new towns, satellite towns and garden cities. This was also facilitated by the availability of public transport systems, which contributed to the "opening up" of vast expanses of land far beyond the traditional urban boundary. Commuters traveling long distances from satellite towns to inner cities' increased reliance on private transport gave rise to massive road network congestion, while public transport systems declined.

Subsequent flight/movement of private enterprises to suburban areas left inner cities derelict and redundant, while the increased demand for suburban space drove urban development deeper into rural landscapes. This especially prompted environmentalists to canvass for urban containment since this suburban movement came firstly at the expense of the natural environment. The final consequence of sprawl and suburbanization lies in the sterile urban environments that are created without a proper mix of uses, and consequently limited accessibility to economic and social opportunities.

Within Gauteng Province, the reasons leading to the Urban Edge proposal were similar to those mentioned in an international context. In addition, the provincial urban edge also aimed to integrate land uses and transport routes and encourage densification that could support these land uses and (public) transport systems. It also aimed to develop an enabling mechanism for the acquisition of better located land for housing and businesses within the urban edge.

The municipalities in Gauteng added other motivations, such as the provision of lower income housing closer to urban centres, and not on the cheaper peripheral land as the habit had been. In most of the municipal areas suburbanisation had been a big problem and had lead to inner city decline while other decentralised areas were booming. The Urban Edge was hence also a tool implemented to redirect investment to inner city areas. Infrastructure provision on the periphery of urban areas had also become increasingly expensive and in many instances unaffordable to local authorities. Applying an urban growth management approach would allow municipalities to "catch up" on the services backlogs in these areas.

The reasons behind the implementation of an urban growth management approach in Gauteng seem to be sound and well informed. All the reasons provided correlate to those derived from chapter two. It is clear that the need for such an approach was duly justified by the Gauteng specific circumstances, and that various other problems contributed to the urgency of the matter. However, it would also appear that the provincial urban edge was seen as a saviour/magic wand that, as a single growth management tool, could solve longstanding historical urban challenges by itself. Herein lies a problem.

6.2 Alternatives Available for Implementation.

In chapter 3 the different possibilities for implementing a specific urban growth management approach was stipulated. The chapter explored each alternative, and also made reference to the specific set of urban problems each approach aims to address.

The Top Down Centralist approach focuses strongly on the protection of agricultural land and conservation of environmental resources. Lines and Edges of no growth assist

directly towards minimizing the footprint of a city, while indirectly improving public transport efficiency, improving services efficiency and reducing inequality. Greenbelts are a combination of minimizing the footprint of a city, preventing loss of environmental resources and improving public transport efficiency. While New Towns and Polycentric Cities seemingly address the same problems as greenbelts, it created long traveling distances and contributed significantly towards urban development in rural landscapes. Public transport corridors places emphasis on improved public transport efficiency, as well as services efficiency. Smart Growth, the most comprehensive urban growth management approach as it involves a combination of all the aforementioned approaches, proved to be the only approach that addresses a wide array of urban challenges i.e. promotion of densification and infill, improving accessibility to opportunities, improving public transport efficiency, protection of agricultural resources and encouragement of a compact urban form. It is obvious from these findings that addressing a wide array of urban challenges, would require a combination of more than one growth management approach as each approach address different objectives.

The Urban Edge or Urban Development Boundary mainly focuses on minimising the footprint of an urban area, improving access to and use of public transport facilities, improving the services efficiency of urban areas as well as reducing inequality in respect of accessibility of urban opportunities. These outcomes are parallel to the objectives put forward by Gauteng and the three metropolitan municipalities in which they stipulated what they expect from an urban growth management approach. However, some of the expectancies from Gauteng are not addressed by these approaches i.e increased densification and access to urban economic opportunities. While it was assumed that these additional outcomes would be implicit to an urban edge, it was not taken into account that more direct tools and measures would be required to achieve these goals. As stated by Gauteng Provincial Government, the main objective of the urban edge was to first and foremost regain control over urban development[233]. It is therefore clear that the Urban Edge could not be implemented as a stand-alone tool and expected to fix the entire list of associated urban problems. Implementation mechanisms and tools would be critical to the success of such intervention.

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233 Interview with Mr Johan van der Merwe. January, 2008. Gauteng Provincial Government, Department of Economic Development.

Some of these implementing tools (as discussed in Chapter 3) relate strongly to a local authority's land use management system where development applications are processed as either supported or rejected. This would imply that any local or provincial authority who wishes to implement an urban growth management approach and its associated tools and mechanisms, will need to revise their land use management system in order to establish a more sophisticated and tailor-made framework for the evaluation of land development applications. Some of the other implementation mechanisms relate to more comprehensive and strategic planning frameworks, i.e. specific areas within the boundaries of an urban area must be identified as "strategic development areas" or "focused economic development and growth areas". This will necessitate local or provincial authorities to adapt their existing spatial and strategic plans to incorporate these requirements. Since these supporting growth management tools were not considered at the time when the provincial edge was promulgated, land use management systems and strategic frameworks on provincial level were not adapted to cater for this level of sophistication.

In Gauteng, the necessary enabling mechanisms only very recently appeared in some of the municipalities' Spatial Development Frameworks (i.e. Nodes, Corridors, Densification strategies, areas identified for growth etc.). The City of Johannesburg has also embarked upon the process of revising its Land Use Management System to provide a more detailed and specific system for the implementation of spatial plans and policies. Even so, all these mechanisms have only seen the light well after the establishment of the Gauteng Urban Edge. This implied that even though developers were discouraged or prevented from developing outside these growth boundaries, they were offered no real alternatives within the urban edge. The comprehensive growth management approach, of which the urban edge were to form part of as per GSDF 2000, at the time did not exist, and despite attempts to get provincial densification, nodes and corridors policies off the ground during the course of 2005, still do not exist. And even though government started off with the best intentions to place lower income communities closer to economic and social opportunities, the Gauteng Urban Edge and the municipalities' urban growth management mechanisms were not accompanied by the relevant and appropriate expropriation schemes to acquire state owned land for subsidised housing. Consequently, land inside the boundary became too expensive for government to utilize for subsidised housing initiatives, resulting in the last but very familiar resort towards

cheaper land on the periphery. It becomes obvious that a more comprehensive framework was imperative at the time of the announcement of the Urban Edge.

6.3 Legal and Policy Enabling Framework

Chapter 4 provided an overview of the legislative and policy framework within which a growth management approach had to operate. Most of the policy and legislative frameworks discussed made reference to the general principles of sustainability and integration, which implies support for a growth management approach. Only the Development Facilitation Act, the Gauteng Planning and Development Act and the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework made specific mention of the intention to implement a growth management approach and hence supporting growth management principles. The Municipal Systems Act provided a legal vehicle for the establishment of municipal spatial frameworks, and indirectly the establishment of municipal growth boundaries and urban edges. This proved to be problematic from a provincial point of view since no legal mechanism currently exists for the establishment of a provincial urban edge policy. Even though a multitude of legislative and policy frameworks exist within which and through which the urban edge could be established, in attending primarily to the business of making decisions about appropriate plans, insufficient attention was given to the problems of how these policies and plans might get implemented. John Friedman refers to the overemphasis on the task of making decisions over that of taking action[234]. In this context, so much emphasis was placed on the urban edge as policy framework, that very little attention was given to providing an appropriate and supporting implementation framework.

Chapter 5 pointed towards the possible conflict between the Gauteng Global City Region policy and the provincial urban edge. Although this conflict is implied rather than direct, it still needs to be determined whether the urban edge does in fact support the notion of cross-municipal-boundary development. If Gauteng Province, through the application of the urban edge are serious about maintaining no-growth zones on the periphery of municipalities, a system of interconnected, well-linked and efficiently functioning nodes

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234 Friedman in Taylor, N. 1999. *Anglo-American town planning theory since 1945: three significant developments but no paradigm shifts.* Planning Perspectives, Vol 14. 1999:327-345.

and corridors does not seem possible, especially since, as pointed out in chapter 5, most of the high economic growth areas in Gauteng lies on municipal boundaries.

6.4 Gauteng Operational Framework

Within the context of Gauteng Province, the problems experienced with the implementation of the Urban Edge can be ascribed to the following reasons:

- Participation from the Gauteng municipalities during the delineation of the original urban edge was limited. Five years went by before the amendments to the urban edge from municipalities were considered, and in many instances after that not even adopted. During these five years, municipal spatial plans and policies, as well as urban challenges have changed dramatically. However, Gauteng Province was headstrong in maintaining the urban edge rationale as announced in 2002. The conflict rising from these different perspectives, as well as the matter of the provincial urban edge's legal standing has resulted in Gauteng still not having one comprehensive, coherent growth management approach.

- The pressure of burgeoning development in various parts of Gauteng resulted in political pressure to allow for development on the periphery that will 'positively contribute to the economic development in Gauteng', despite its seemingly sprawled nature. This was also made possible by the fact that in many instances, the provincial urban edge was regarded as a "guideline/fuzzy edge".

- Even though the Gauteng Spatial Development Frameworks of 2000 and 2007 make reference to a broader growth management approach within which the urban edge will only serve as short-term containment measure, to date, no such supporting growth management approach exists. This is further complicated by the notion of the short-term edge, which implies that the urban edge must be reviewed on an annual basis. In this respect, no medium or longer term planning is done for areas experiencing development pressure, and when the urban edge is reviewed it will result in a 'now you see it now you don't' forward planning scenario.

- Provincial and local government's lack of institutional mechanisms to acquire land within the urban edge has, as a result of ever increasing land values inside the edge, made it impossible for government to purchase land within the urban edge. It is therefore impossible for housing departments to provide lower income housing in

locations close to urban economic opportunities. As a result of political pressure for speedy delivery of low income and/or subsidized housing, most housing projects now take place on peripheral land located outside of the urban edge.

These are some of the conclusions drawn from the answers provided by provincial and local officials when questioned about the apparent failure of the Gauteng Urban Edge, however it is acknowledged that many more intricacies below the surface contributed to this unfortunate event. Following the study into the pursuit of finding reasons for the loss of credibility of the Gauteng Urban Edge, it can be concluded that the main reasons for its premature failure was firstly, the lack of supporting implementation tools and mechanisms and secondly, reasons specifically pertaining to the political and administrative nature of urban planning in Gauteng. It was definitely not a result of unjustified rationales for the implementation of the Urban Edge and the intentions were pure. The provincial urban edge had no doubt protected land outside the edge from gluttonous private development. But in the absence of a proper growth management approach, municipalities were each to their own in constructing supporting growth management mechanisms. It is vital that, if the urban edge is to regain prominence and credibility in the Gauteng planning environment, it needs to be supported by a provincial-wide growth management strategy.

6.5 Back to Boot Camp

The research revealed the importance of taking cognizance of factors that inform a growth management approach. Any mechanism initiated to manage urban growth cannot be dissociated from local conditions and context. An essential component of a selected growth management approach would be the identification of a set of growth management mechanisms that most appropriately confronts the challenges presented by specific circumstances. It is important to note that a single/stand-alone growth management mechanism, while addressing a single urban growth issue, needs to be assisted by an array of growth management mechanisms that would contribute to the effectiveness of the specific mechanism, and that could prevent negative consequences from a stand-alone growth management intervention. Further research into growth management in Gauteng would be useful in exploring the efficiency of growth management mechanisms in providing solutions to specific problems. Another area of

research that could assist in refining a growth management approach is the cost of urban growth mechanisms. This relates to possible increases in land prices, the cost of public infrastructure as well as returns on public investment.

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