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Other experiences of planning for reconstruction and transformation: A narrative of planning and development histories in Hammanskraal-Temba²

Abstract

Hammanskraal-Temba is one of the areas in South Africa that experiences a multitude of problems, ranging from an informal settlement lacking services, a struggling local economy, unemployment and housing shortages, to land claims and border disputes. However, a study of the historical development of the area and the impact of development initiatives such as planning policies and legislation on the area indicated the wide range of experiences and interpretations of the role of planners and planning. In an attempt to highlight these interpretations and the various [hi]stories, an alternative approach towards local historic analysis is used and is illustrated by some extracts from the Hammanskraal-Temba case study. The article aims in particular to illustrate some other experiences of planning for reconstruction and transformation and their implications for planning and planners. The article is based on a paper delivered at the Planning History Study Group: Millennium Conference in May 2000, at the Howard College at the University of Natal in Durban. The conference focused on the role of planning and planners in reconstruction.

Keywords: local historic analysis, planning, reconstruction, transformation, planners.

ANDER ERVARINGS T.O.V. BEPLANNING VIR REKONSTRUKSIE EN TRANSFORMASIE: 'N VERHAAL OOR DIE BEPLANNING- EN ONTWIKKELINGSGESKIEDENIS VAN HAMMANSKRAAL-TEMBA

Hammanskraal-Temba is een van die gebiede in Suid-Afrika wat gekenmerk word deur 'n magdom probleme, wat wissel vanaf 'n informele nedersetting met die minimum dienste, 'n sukkelende plaaslike ekonomie, werkloosheid en behuisingstekorte, tot grondeise en grensdispute. Uit 'n studie van die historiese ontwikkeling van die gebied en die impak wat ontwikkelingsinisiatiewe soos beplanningsbeleid en wetgewing op hierdie gebied gehad het, het dit duidelik geword dat daar 'n wye verskeidenheid en selfs teenstrydige ervarings en interpretasies ten opsigte van die rol van beplanners en

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2 Hammanskraal-Temba is located approximately 50 km north of Pretoria on the border between Gauteng and the Northern Province.

beplanning in ontwikkeling bestaan. In 'n poging om hierdie interpretasies en verskeidenheid na vore te bring is daar gebruik gemaak van 'n alternatiewe benadering tot historiografiese navorsing wat geïllustreer word deur sekere uittreksels oor stories uit Hammanskraal-Temba se geskiedenis. Die artikel illustreer die verskillende benaderings tot beplanning vir rekonstruksie en transformasie en lig die implikasie daarvan uit vir beplanners en beplanning. Die artikel is gebaseer op 'n referaat gelewer tydens die Planning History Study Group: Millennium Conference, in Mei 2000 by die Howard College aan die Universiteit van Natal in Durban. Die konferensie het spesifiek op die rol van beplanning en beplanners in herkonstruksie gefokus.

Sluitelwoorde: historiografiese navorsing, beplanning, rekonstruksie, transformasie, beplanners.

1. Introduction

My son will understand. As much as for any living being, I'm telling my story for him, so that afterwards, when I've lost my struggle against cracks, he will know. Morality, judgement, character [...] all starts with memory [...]. I told you the truth [...]. Memory's truth, because memory has its own special kind. It selects, eliminates, alters [...] it creates its own reality [...] and no sane human being ever trusts someone else's version more than his own (Rushdie in Onega, 1995: 80).

The contested nature of reality and experiences of reality is no new theme and has been quite eloquently debated and adopted in post-modern (Jenkins, 1991; Rosenau, 1992) and planning (Sandercock, 1998) discourses. According to Ryan (Rosenau, 1992: 95) "post-modernists argue that in the absence of truth one must welcome multiple interpretations, whereas representation assumes something out there is true or valid enough to be represented. Modern representation assumes meaning or truth preceded and determined the representations that communicated it. Post-modernists argue it is the other way around; representations create the 'truth' they supposedly reflect."

Many post-modernists doubt the existence of reality and post-modernism has a few theories on this subject. Reality is regarded as existing only in so far as the perceived has meaning for those perceiving it (Rosenau, 1992: 110). Others see reality in terms of context, where truth for example is that which is agreed upon by a specific professional community and where "[r]eality is the result of the social processes accepted as normal in a specific context" (Rosenau, 1992: 111). Another point of view is that language represents the only form of reality and therefore reality is actually seen as a 'linguistic habit' (Rosenau, 1992: 111). Despite these discourses it is realised that just as there are different

realities and experiences, there are different histories, including histories of planning and planning for reconstruction — the theme of the recent planning history conference held in Durban during May 2000. In terms of the latter, some questions could and should probably be raised:

- What is planning for reconstruction and transformation?
- Who are the role players in planning for reconstruction and transformation? What is the role of so-called planners versus non-planners?
- What are the implications and experiences of planning and implementation of reconstruction and transformation?

Before answering any of these questions, the following points should be put into perspective:

Who asks, who is asked, and who answers? Historicising planning (and most other disciplines such as architecture or engineering) can quite easily become experiences of realities and interpretations of a discipline, usually those of the planning (or professional) community, or in an event such as a planning history conference, those of the study group, the conference delegates or historians (Bauregard in Laburn-Pearl, 2000).

2. Taking into account 'others' in planning and the relative nature of history

Today's debates about planning take place in an always contested terrain of race and gender, class and ethnicity, against a permanent backdrop of long-term economic and environmental problems. Can we, as planners, still afford to dream? Can we afford not to, even knowing that our dreams amount to grains of sand in an ever-shifting dune? I still believe in dreaming. I am historian futurist. When I look into the future I see Cosmopolis, or rather a necessary journey towards a cosmopolis — a journey of coming to terms with difference, of connection with the cultural Other, of an emerging sense of an intertwined destiny (Sandercock, 1998: 4).

According to Leonie Sandercock (1998: 4) "coming to terms with difference" and "creating an intertwined destiny" are some of the major challenges facing planning in the future. Against this background and even more so in South Africa, planning should take into account difference and diversity, and be participatory, democratic and inclusive. This approach to planning differs drastically from the modernist approaches to planning in the past. However, according to Sandercock (1998), we as planners

will not be able to visualise another future if we do not get another perspective of the past, as

[i]n telling stories about our past, our intention is to shape our future. If we can uncouple planning history from its obsession with the celebratory story of the rise of the planning profession, and demonstrate its multiple and insurgent histories, we may be able to link it to a new set of public issues. If we want to work towards a politics of inclusion, then we had better have a good understanding of the exclusionary effects of planning's past practices [...]. And if we want to plan in future for multiple publics [...] we need to develop a new kind of multicultural literacy [...] and] familiarity with the multiple histories of urban communities [...] (Sandercock, 1998: 44).

3. Background to the research

Qualitative research was undertaken in the Hammanskraal-Temba area by:

- Analysing various planning and development texts on the area
- Telling the various role players' stories, and
- Playing off these various texts against each other, such as the eminent against the local discourses.

Hammanskraal-Temba was used as a case study in the research. It should be noted that the original research focussed on a narrative of stories or texts about experiences related to planning and development intent, as well as physical and non-physical divisions (borders, boundaries and barriers), which in many instances resulted from these planning and development initiatives. Hammanskraal-Temba is located in the former Bophuthatswana Homeland about 50 km north of Pretoria (Gauteng), and developed, among others, from the reconstruction of the veld into a homeland town (Temba), a border industry town (Babelegi) with an adjacent white sleep town (Hammanskraal), and the transformation of a squatter area into a formal township (Mandela Village). The research for the study was undertaken during the course of 1996/1997 and therefore only includes texts, discourses and stories until the end of that period. All these stories are still unfolding and will inevitably continue to be much more far-reaching than we will ever grasp, predict or follow in future.

The following sources regarding the issues of planning and development in Hammanskraal-Temba were used in the research:

- Official documentation and reports of various government departments or parastatals involved in planning and development in the area
- Academic discussions, critiques and articles on planning and economic development policies, programmes, acts, etc.
- Academic discussions and articles regarding the constitutional development policies within South Africa and the former homelands
- Interviews with local industrialists
- Interviews with local officials and officials from interested government bodies
- The expressive narrative — a text reflecting on peoples lives and experiences within planning for reconstruction and transformation/development. According to Colin Falck (1994: 151) “[p]oetry or imaginative literature is our most fundamental mode of inscription of reality, and it is imaginative or imagistic concreteness that we need for this purpose, rather than the abstractions either of the intellect or of the traditional systems of religious symbolism”. Although the stories are not drawn from people of Hammanskraal-Temba, they represent comments by artists, writers and photographers of both eminent and local narratives, particularly those related to planning for reconstruction and transformation/development.

The aim of this research is not to give an account of events, actions and discourses but rather to give some accounts that influenced my interpretation of the ‘evidence’ at my disposal. These narratives should not at all be regarded as an attempt to be the only narratives of those involved in planning for reconstruction and transformation/development in Hammanskraal-Temba. However, the reader should bear in mind that the various stories reflect the researcher's experiences and are not aimed at providing the ultimate truth. These stories reflect the various interpretations of the truth experienced by different role players.

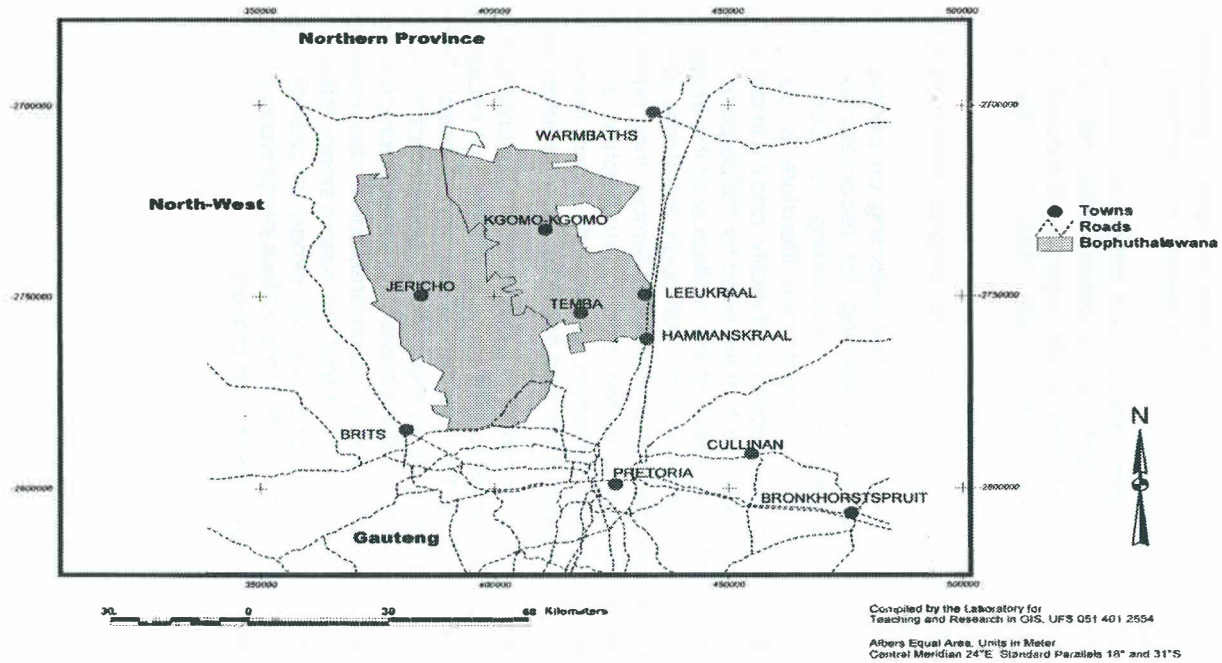


Figure 1: The Hammanskraal-Temba region now forms part of the Northern Province

4. Reconstruction and development in Hammanskraal-Temba

As indicated, a significant proportion of, in some instances interrelated and in other instances conflicting texts and stories about planning for reconstruction and transformation/development in Hammanskraal-Temba unfolded during the research. In order to set the scene and make the interpretations more meaningful, the following extracts from stories about development in Temba briefly illustrate the various experiences of planning for reconstruction and transformation/development.

4.1 Temba and its origin

In the early 1940s the farm Bezuidenhoutfarm was situated about 50 km north of Pretoria besides the Kekana tribal land. The farm was guarded by rangers and off-limits to all members of the tribe. Squatters arrived by truckloads and settled on Bezuidenhoutfarm. A tent-town soon started to develop. Eventually the farm was bought by the South African Native Trust to resettle people who were not allowed in the white South Africa and who were forcefully removed from places such as Lady Selbourne, Orlando and Klipspruit (Pretoria and Johannesburg areas).

The inhabitants of the tent-town were desperate due to lack of services, and named their town Sofasonke, meaning 'we are going to die'. The Bantu commissioners asked the Kekana chief to allow the people of Sofasonke to make use of the tribal authority's schools, churches and other facilities, in return for payment. He agreed. Soon afterwards permanent housing structures for the inhabitants of Sofasonke were being built. This was good news as some people could now live in houses rather than in tents. Sofasonke was renamed Temba, meaning 'place of hope'.

Between 1946 and 1947, more people were forcefully relocated to this area. For a few years the town continued to grow and houses were built. However, not nearly enough houses were built for all the families in the town. Circumstances were dire and people still had to make use of the adjacent tribal facilities. A group from Wallmansthal was also resettled there. A heavy burden was placed on the tribal facilities despite the fact that the required payment was made to the authorities. The tribe possessed too little land and could not meet the needs of their people, due to the large number of cattle and people in the villages.

4.2 Temba: the first planned black town in a homeland

Temba was developed during the 1940s and was the only town developed in the then Tswanaland, with a total of 250 houses before the 1960s (Campion, 1977: 18-9). The responsible authority, the department of Bantu Administration and Development (South Africa, 1964: 11), stated that for the period 1960-1962:

The townships [...] are being planned properly and houses are being erected by the SANT (South African Native Trust) for leasing or sale to the Bantu [... this] planning is done according to modern planning principles [...]. Originally only three such Bantu townships were established, namely Zwelitsha, Umlazi and Temba, near Hammanskraal. The eagerness with which the Bantu bought or hired sites and houses in these townships was beyond all expectation, and consequently these are now all occupied and a rapid expansion is being experienced. Industrialists gradually realised the proposed mutual advantages of the establishment of border industries, and so, for example [...] a cane furniture factory, at Hammanskraal came into being (1964: 11).

4.3 Temba: Babelegi industrial development

It appears that Temba experienced a continual population increase — this was not true of economic activity. Temba's growth can possibly be ascribed to the development of Babelegi (the nearby industrial growth point), as well as Temba's close proximity to the PWV (the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area). By 1973 Temba had a population of 15 000 people and was one of 13 proclaimed towns, even though there was no town council as yet. The town had one general dealer and 2 087 housing units developed by the South African Native Trust (SANT) – a major role player in providing housing. By 1975 these figures increased to 3 015 houses and 3 596 properties with an occupation of 6.94 persons/unit (*Streekbeplanningsprojek No 5 1975: 71*).

In 1969 Babelegi was proclaimed on a bare piece of land as the first industrial area in a black homeland with white capital investment (Republic of Bophuthatswana, 1977: 144). The Hammanskraal township, situated just inside the border of a white South Africa, was established especially as high-income housing area for white industrialists and by the 1990s it had about 350 houses. Temba's growth and the large number of non-Tswanas (even though this is Bophuthatswana) were probably the result of the resettlement programme and urbanisation of the

region, further exacerbated by the proximity of Babelegi's industrial area (Olivier, 1984: 225).

4.4 Babelegi's development: The 1960s and later

During the 1960s, Dr Koornhof (the then minister responsible for Native Affairs) negotiated with the Kekana tribe for land in order to develop an industrial area. The government undertook to pay an agreed amount for the lease of the land. The government leased approximately 138 ha of grazing land from the tribe for the development of industries. However, the tribe was convinced that they had not been compensated for the full amount. In the same year the tribe stated that the contract for the sale of the land had never been adopted by a majority of adult male members of the tribe.

Babelegi was developed as agreed upon by the Tribal Authority (South Africa, 1995: 4) and the tribe received the amount of R 100 764.00 on 22 October 1980. The State registered Portion 9 of the Farm Leeuwkraal 92-JR in its own name (South Africa). A dispute regarding chieftainship in the tribe caused the problem regarding land ownership. In 1977, Bophuthatswana became independent and Temba was renamed Kudube.

This initiated the development of Babelegi, which according to tradition owes its name to a Tswana word meaning "to carry on the back". This refers to the aim of the industrial area, namely to carry the population economically. According to local industrialists, the name may simply have been derived from the Afrikaans term 'Bantoe-Beleggings'.

Babelegi was well-situated for the import of raw materials, and could be developed due to the neighbouring South African infrastructure. The adjacent Temba can accommodate some 80 000 black people, and the whites working in Babelegi can stay some 5 km away in Hammanskraal (*Die Beeld*, 1982: 4-5). In 1977 Chief Mangope, Bophuthatswana Chief Minister (Campion, 1977: 33), said in his speech at the opening of a new factory in Babelegi: "Seven years ago (1970) Babelegi was a stretch of cattle-grazing land. Today there are 80 factories in full production with another 20 under construction or on the drawing board [...]."

An article in the *Pretoria News* (Cokayne, 1986: 23) reported that no problems were envisaged with the provision of housing, as there were stands available for the possible influx of workers to Babelegi. He also indicated that by 1977 about R25 million had

been invested in Babelegi and that by 1986, there were 122 factories. It was regarded as the growth point with the largest number of industries in Bophuthatswana (Cokayne, 1986: 23). In 1989 Babelegi was incorporated into the municipal boundaries of Kudube and industrialists could, for the first time, buy the land on which their industries were situated from the Bophuthatswana Government, for which they were supposed to pay land tax. By 1992 Babelegi had a total of 165 industries and a strong infrastructure, in an area of almost 50 hectares (Beeld, 1992: 4).

4.5 Temba (Kudube): Conflict regarding exclusion from the New South Africa

With the dawning of the 1990s and president F W de Klerk's reformist speech, South Africa ushered in considerable change in Bophuthatswana, especially in the Temba-Hammanskraal area. The future of Bophuthatswana came under discussion with the establishment of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) at the end of December 1991. The aim of Codesa was to create a climate for free political participation and, inter alia, to discuss the future of the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei). According to Jeffery (1993: 137), Working Group Four of Codesa was to investigate the re-incorporation of the TBVC states. Seemingly Chief Mangope (together with the IFP) decided not to sign the Declaration of Intent, and stated that "the homeland was not a 'creature' of apartheid but had taken independence in 1977 to regain the sovereignty usurped by the British in the nineteenth century [...]. Bophuthatswana would exchange its independence only for something better, or alternatively, for a future [...] at least as good" (Jeffrey, 1993: 138).

4.6 Temba: Incorporation in the New South Africa

With the dawning of the New South Africa and the first democratic elections in April 1994, the Temba-Hammanskraal functional area eventually formed part of one country and the town was renamed Temba. It was the task of the negotiating council of the multi-party negotiating process to set up a commission on the demarcation/delimitation of the SPR's (States/Provinces/Regions) to "make recommendations on the demarcation of SPR's in South Africa, realising that regional boundaries will be relevant to the electoral process, as well as to the structures of the constitution [and to] hear representation from the public at large and from different areas of the country [and to] allow interested parties and persons to submit their views

within a specific period [...]" (Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of SPR's, 1993: 4). According to the Commission's report (1993: 7), it was clear that the Hammanskraal area was one of the sensitive areas regarding the inclusion of this area (amongst others) into the PWV Area and the Northern Transvaal (Nomvete and Du Plessis, 1993: 6-7).

In Temba the lack of housing, services and job opportunities, and the increasing number of people moving into the area, caused most families to look for jobs and incomes in Pretoria where they were at least afforded better opportunities for shopping. A large number of people commuted to the city daily. The situation was exacerbated by the termination of the train service between Pretoria and Hammanskraal in 1989, resulting in Bophuthatswana's bus system being responsible for transport.

During the 1970s, with self-governance, border demarcations, consolidations and later independence, the scene was set for the start of a new chapter of local dramas. Being a non-Tswana, living in Bophuthatswana where almost half of Temba's population and all members of the Kekana-Ndebele tribe lived, meant possible eviction and no business rights. This prompted the Kekana tribe's chieftain, Esther Kekana, to stand up for her people's rights. She challenged Mangope. The conflict in Bophuthatswana was mainly between the Bophuthatswana Government and the non-Tswanas, and it ranged from unresolved issues and court cases of evictions to the banning of trade unions and inevitably to the resolutions and protests to cut ties with Bophuthatswana.

Obviously there was considerable support for the freedom fight — the right to vote, the right to be part of a democratic South Africa in Temba and surrounding areas where people demanded reincorporation with South Africa. At the start of the 1990s with the reform in South Africa, and Mandela's release from jail, people felt strongly about freedom and the mockery of the homelands. Immediately following Mandela's release on 14 February 1990, 15000 residents of the Hammanskraal area marched to the magistrates court and submitted a petition calling for the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana in South Africa. An enormous rally supported by thousands of people was held in Temba.

5. A new South Africa with new prospects

Hammanskraal and Temba anxiously awaited the dawn of the new South Africa, hoping to become a functionally and administratively integrated settlement and society. With the dawning of the New South Africa and the first democratic elections in April 1994, the Temba-Hammanskraal functional area eventually became part of one country. The borders once again caused problems as local leaders regarded the Hammanskraal and Temba functional area as sharing the same geographical area, as well as social and economic environment. Apparently the Demarcation Board (in its demarcation of the amalgamated South Africa in 1994) divided the functional area of Temba and Hammanskraal in such a way that parts of the former Hammanskraal and Babelegi became part of Gauteng, while other parts, including Temba, now formed part of the North West Province.

Local elections in Hammanskraal which were supposed to have taken place on the 4th of November 1995 were suddenly postponed until the 29th of November due to the overabundance of candidates. According to members of the local authority committee "the postponement lay in the dispute over the demarcation of Hammanskraal, specifically over the incorporation of Mandela Village into Hammanskraal (which was now inhabited by higher-income local people). People were afraid that their living standards would drop if Mandela Village were incorporated in Hammanskraal. To them it was unconstitutional to deprive people of their living standards. The incorporation of Mandela Village was never published" (Stucky, 1995: 7).

The Hammanskraal residents' association consequently appealed to Gauteng's Premier, as well as to the Ministers of Land Affairs and Constitutional Development, to declare the incorporation of Mandela Village in Hammanskraal invalid. Various interest groups felt cut off from the functionally integrated area of Temba, and Babelegi, while being 'stuck' with Mandela Village and without any tax base. The Temba residents, in particular the Kekana tribe, were part of the North West (mostly former Bophuthatswana) and once again separated from the Pretoria area. This was obviously a brewing pot for more dissatisfaction.

In addition to the local authority committee and the Hammanskraal residents' association, "the Amandebele ba Libalo (sic) tribal authority, which owns the land where Mandela Village is situated, was also added to the list of affected parties [...]. The purpose of the local authority committee's application

was to declare invalid the incorporation of Mandela Village in Hammanskraal. It argued that this portion of land should fall under the North-West Province, not Gauteng. In October, the Supreme Court in Pretoria postponed its decision on the application indefinitely.

Despite community actions and developmental projects and efforts, the Mandela Village (Leeuwkraal) Development Forum still faced a major problem, viz. the issue of landownership. Government cannot develop people who officially illegally stay on other people's land. In a letter to the Minister of Local Government and Housing, the Development Forum of Mandela Village stated that it "would like to voice its deepest disappointment in the manner in which the land ownership issue is handled by Province. This is the only piece of land owned by a chief. Until or unless the Minister takes a position on this matter our people will never know what it means to be free in their own country. This problem makes it difficult for us to implement any RDP projects since the Government insists that it will not put money on tribal land" (Barnard, 1994: 1).

Meanwhile, the Kekana Tribe or rather Amandebele-Ba-Lebelo Tribal Authority also proceeded to lodge a rather extensive land claim. It did not seem that this would be solved easily, not only because of the complexity of the land claims, but also because there were problems regarding the validity of some of the portions claimed and the still unresolved disagreements regarding chieftainship in the community. There was consequently doubt regarding the rightful claimant. According to an official of the North-West Development Corporation, the issues in the area caused serious economic problems. Industrialists and businessmen indicated that they experienced problems with the delivery of basic services and the expansion of economic development.

Fortunately, industrialists seemed not too keen on relocating from Babelegi, due to their large capital investment in the area. Apparently North-West Development Corporation now owns most of the land and sold some of the properties to interested industrialists. Even though the opinion holds that in the past, money was taken out of the area and working conditions were bad, it was pointed out that an effort should be made to reinvest in the area and attract development.

"The local communities have engaged on some own initiatives in order to make things happen. In Mandela Village, the community and in some instances institutions, are working towards the provision of basic needs and services, despite the

ownership restriction. People are eager to develop in the area. As a SANCO representative in Hammanskraal put it 'people should do something to uplift themselves' (and) the local civic organisation and other role-players, have (sic) embarked on various community projects aimed at uplifting the living standards of the approximately 8 000 residents of the Mandela Village informal settlement, situated east of Hammanskraal" (Tibane, 1995: 7). This spirit is definitely present in the community and can be noticed in some of the developments that have taken place since October 1994 (Barnard, 1994: 2-4) due to local initiatives and the effort by the Civics, the then PWV Provincial Administration and other parties:

- The pre-paid card electricity-metering system in almost every shack installed by Escom — for which every household contributes R40 towards installation costs
- Water provided by a tanker system, subcontracted by the former TPA upgraded via a main water supply pipeline to the area, providing water taps installed by the Magaliesberg Water Board in Rustenburg, for which every household contributes R100 towards the installation
- The agreement of the Development Bank of South Africa to the community's request for the installation of toilets and a sewerage system
- Telkom's contributions for underground telephone cables to improve communication
- The addressing of literacy by means of a special programmes.

The construction of Temba City is under way and in Morokolong (one of the tribal villages) the community built themselves a community centre — a sign of tangible upliftment for themselves.

6. Problems facing Temba as a homeland town

It can be inferred from an article by Professor P Smit on the mobility and urbanisation of the homeland population (Smit, 1976: 41-66) that, even as one of a few towns with an economic foundation, Temba experienced many problems. Like other homeland towns, it had an unnatural origin (as a result of the policy of separate development). It was planned and developed by whites to be inhabited by blacks, had too little economic development in order to cope with urbanisation, had economic links with rural areas or other towns and the town had too few retail facilities, a large number of migratory workers and an efflux of buying power to neighbouring white towns and cities, such as Pretoria (Smit, 1976: 55-58). Other contributing factors for

the population increase in the homelands between 1960 and 1970, were the restrictions placed on housing for blacks in white areas, as well as the growth of industrial towns such as Babelegi (Smit, 1976: 41).

Where consumer patterns in western settlements indicated a multiplier effect of between 3 and 4, it was between 1.08 and 1.21 in Temba in 1975-76 (Smit & Booysen, 1977: 28). However, towns bordering the homelands drew population from inner rural areas, resulting in the formation of large squatter camps. It was estimated that approximately 10 000 people commuted to Pretoria daily by the end of the 1970s.

7. The problems facing planners

In her article on planning history Patricia Burgess (1996: 20) deliberates whether planning history is still meaningful. She concludes that planners do not use their history effectively and can actually benefit by doing so. It is through history that we can understand or come to know about the hidden hopes, fears, dreams and offences. She argues that understanding planning history will presumably lead to better planning practice and concludes that even though it is debatable whether things are better or worse than in the past

because of planning history we are better able as a society to address the problems than previous generations. We better understand the nature and number of forces and factors involved in urban and suburban growth and development. We know more how they relate to one another. We know better, too, the part that planning has been able [or in some instances unable] to accomplish (Burgess, 1996: 20).

A look into the history of planning in South Africa can help us to better understand the differences in experiences of planning for reconstruction, role players in planning and the forces that are actively shaping planning and being shaped by it. It can probably be argued that much has been said and written on the policies of apartheid and its crippling effects. It can also be argued that from a post-modern approach the cause-and-effect relationship between past policies and its manifestations on local level cannot be pinpointed in the complex and interconnected nature of events and intentions. Planning history, however, bears little relevance if it is but a duplication of work done or a broad modernistic outline of planning policies.

Taking the approach of a "reflexive historian", proposed by Jenkins (1991: 168-169), as a starting point, it could be argued that by critically reflecting on the approach and methodology one can 'choose' a history that is aware of what it is doing and be able to study the well-known past (that has been so aptly constructed by historians, politicians, officials, institutions and academics) from a different and more democratic perspective. This "reinterpretation of the past in ways which give local meaning to the present" (Cooke, 1990: 114-115), with the focus on the various texts and stories playing off the local against the modernistic and eminent policies and power relations of apartheid, highlights the unjustifiability of reflecting only on those eminent and general narratives.

8. Conclusion

As Goodchild (1990: 121) notes, eminent narratives lost their legitimacy and "politics have to become more concerned with the practical impact of policies and events, more directly related to the 'life goals' of the self", implying political and cultural diversity in institutions, the public sector, grass roots action, etc. Such an approach to histories/stories/texts of planning and development can help us to:

- Become critical of where we get information from and which stories we subscribe to or choose to ignore
- Be sensitive to and reflective on the way our own role and efforts can be perceived
- Realise and acknowledge different interpretations and experiences, taking into account difference and diversity, not only of people in the planning process, but also of stories, realities and histories
- Not subscribe to one interpretation of reconstruction and transformation — as it can mean different things to different people
- Emphasise the role of public participation and local knowledge from analyses to implementation
- Acknowledge our own limited role as so-called professionals in reconstruction and transformation, and give credit to contributions by other planners and developers, and local initiative and hopes, which reiterates an emphasis on empowerment and capacity-building.

Only by being attentive and sensitive to the way we as planners construct stories or allow others to construct their own 'stories' will we be able to enrich planning history and planning itself with these alternative experiences.

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