

Cape Peninsula University of Technology, South Africa

Department of Town and Regional Planning

Nigel Tapela

1. Introduction: Defining the context

Rapid urbanisation in Africa generally, and in Southern Africa particularly, has manifested itself in a variety of problems that relate to governance, the organisation of space, resource contestation, provision of services and the emergence of extreme forms of poverty and patterns of exclusion across both rural and urban spaces. These urbanisation processes were initiated by a largely colonial settler capitalism, and the relative 'recency' of decolonisation of the subcontinent has meant that the space economies of the region have been more wholly incorporated into the international system of late (or globalised) capitalism (Mkandawire 1985). While the processes of decolonisation in the region assumed more protracted and violent nationalist struggles, the abilities and resilience of these 'settler economies' and communities to absorb and ride out the shocks and impacts of globalisation have often been weakened and undermined.

The result has been that in Southern Africa, where various forms of 'controlled urbanisation' have broken down in the last three decades, the failure of several colonial and apartheid social engineering experiments to create European settler colonies, towns and regions (the so-called dominions) has brought to the fore extreme contrasts of wealth and poverty across urban and rural spaces. It could be argued that the preoccupation with controlled urbanisation associated with colonial and settler domination underpinned a paradigm of planning praxis and education that still struggles to respond to democratisation processes that have swept through the region in recent times. The effects of the broadened contestations over resources, particularly an increased citizenry's claims to 'rights to development and to the city', have increasingly thrown urban development praxis onto several contradictory planes.

On one level there has been an emergence of a robust industry involving the (re)construction of development discourses through language and concepts that draw from an essentially sanitised or benign national, regional and international discourse on urban development (Huchzermeyer 2006). This is overlaid onto continued uncritical usage of western planning models and those adapted to other 'successful' dominion states like the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, despite demonstrably different contexts and realities arising from the collapse of gate-keeping experiments of controlled migration, the shifts in the legitimating political and moral paradigms for planning and urbanisation being evidenced by the sheer size of the local and regional indigenous population (Cohen 2006). These unfolding contestations over resources arising from the political gains made in the region in the last few decades have brought into play new forms and consolidations of power by emerging political and class elites (including inherited, racially configured ones) as they re-position, use and abuse their newfound power bases to further marginalise their constituencies, and thereby apply development and planning discourses and practices that resemble, rather than depart from, the colonial paradigms they sought to replace (Saul 2005, 2006).

On another level, there has been an increasing distance between a 'progressive' language of policy and its intentions on the one hand, and actual outcomes on the other; a fossilised or trapped practice

in which language, concepts and policy-making and strategy options chosen still orchestrate practice-contradictions, to the extent that the emerging development discourse that purports 'to improve quality of life for all' often tends to entrench rather than eradicate poverty, marginalisation and exclusion.¹ In practice we see postcolonial state instruments still relying on 'practices of the old order', and being increasingly anti-developmental, authoritarian and intolerant of community-driven initiatives, and with little tolerance for difference. The postcolonial state, despite its stated commitment to developmentalism, is increasingly ineffective, caught as it is between the powerful forces of globalisation and the lived experiences of the poor and marginalised.² At the centre of these emerging contradictions is the role and type of planners and planning education needed to forge this transition in the postcolony.

This paper presents an assessment of the experience of planning education programmes at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) in relation to the urban and regional context, and of how they respond to the emerging development challenges, the changing tertiary education landscape and the existing and potential complementarities that exist and/or may be forged in planning programmes offered in three of the tertiary institutions in the Cape Town region. The paper will not limit itself to the local region (Cape Town) where CPUT is located, but will attempt to grapple with broader understandings of the 'region', in both spatial and shared political economies and planning systems, and the reality that CPUT has traditionally trained for a much larger region in the almost 40 years of the existence of its planning programmes.³

2. The urban and regional context of the Department of Town and Regional Planning

Cape Town is the oldest and second-largest city in South Africa, with a population exceeding three million. Like many cities in southern Africa, Cape Town is largely a product of European settlement and a subsequent recruitment of Malay slave and indentured labour. For a long time the migration of African people into urban areas was controlled through the general 'influx control' laws, and particularly the preferential policy that favoured employment of the so-called coloured racial group in the Cape Colony. With the implementation of formal apartheid after the Second World War, there were ambitious social engineering experiments to move African and coloured people to the periphery of the city, leading to the construction of the current typical apartheid spatial structure that continues to define its urban form. Paradoxically, the principal beneficiary of the intensely contested forced removal of the black population from the inner-city residential area known as District Six to the Cape Town urban fringe was the tertiary education institution Cape Technikon, which was constructed on the site in the 1970s and 1980s after its residential structures were destroyed, and which became the 'home' of the new Department of Civil Engineering, Land Surveying and Town

¹ See Roundtable Discussions on Challenges of Urban Development, DAG 20th Anniversary, www.dag.org.za/.

² At the African Ministers Conference on Housing and Urban Development (AMCHUD) held in Cape Town in 2005, the Kenyan Minister unashamedly defended Zimbabwe's brutal clearance of informal settlements ('Operation Restore Order') by claiming that the state often has to use the bulldozer to remind communities to respect property and land rights (Chief Directorate of Research 2005: 19).

³ The National Diploma in Town Planning at CPUT had its first graduates in 1975 and the Higher National Diploma graduates appeared in 1977. These programmes were offered at the former Cape Technikon before the merger took place that gave rise to the present CPUT.

Planning! This institution would become the restructured 'university of technology' CPUT in 2005, as part of a general restructuring of higher education institutions in South Africa.

2.1 Population and migration

With the repeal of the influx control laws in the 1980s and democratisation in the 1990s, a new wave of urbanisation saw the entry of migrants (largely from other parts of South Africa and from the rest of the continent) into the Cape Peninsula, and the Western Cape more generally, leading to the growth of informal settlements. According to the 2001 census the population of the Western Cape Province was 4.5 million people, which represents an increase of 14.3% from the 1996 census (Western Cape Department of Local Government & Housing 2003: 27). Cape Town accommodates some 65% of the total population of the province; a high proportion (some three-quarters) of the population across the province is urbanised. Unemployment in the Western Cape was estimated at 18.4% in 2001 – the lowest rate in the country and almost half that of the Eastern Cape, which has the third-highest unemployment rate at 32% (Labour Force Survey September 2001, cited in Western Cape Department of Local Government & Housing 2004: 28).

Based on 1996 census data, the Western Cape Housing Plan shows that African heads of household make up 41% of the lowest income group (i.e. those with household income of less than R1 000/month) although this group comprises less than 22% of the total provincial population – and that 39% of those in this category are female. The population pyramid of age/sex ratios depicts a typical developing population, being skewed towards the younger age groups with 65% younger than 35 years of age and 27% aged 14 years or younger.

The Western Cape and Gauteng are the only provinces experiencing a net gain from in-migration. Factors influencing migration are generally seen as resulting from economic 'pull' forces, as migration usually takes place from areas of less to areas of better economic opportunity. Most migration takes place over relatively short distances and the flow decreases with distance (Western Cape Department of Local Government & Housing 2004: 35). During the 1997–2001 period, 184 971 people moved to the province. Rural-urban migration is significant as all the nine major urban areas experienced a net inflow of migrants, with the metropolitan areas reflecting the highest gains and Cape Town showing the highest net migration figure. In spite of a 47% increase in in-migration to Cape Town during the period 1997–2001, the number of people moving from the province to other provinces also more than doubled, from 11 921 in 1997 to 26 567 in 2001.

These migration patterns, combined with the age/sex ratio, point to the likelihood of an increase in the number of the poor in the city. Unemployment figures are higher for migrants than for non-migrants, possibly due to the limited education of the latter, and to language barriers or reduced social networks. The majority of migrants to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape move to the poorest areas of the city (Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Nyanga) (Smith 2005: 7). Within the province two main regions are identified as possessing economic growth potential: the city region of Cape Town, which encompasses the adjoining Overberg, Boland and West Coast district municipalities, and the region adjacent to George, Mossel Bay and Knysna municipalities. The Cape Town City region comprises some 90% of the housing need.⁴

2.2 The state of human settlement in Cape Town

The City of Cape Town Human Settlement Unit bases its understanding of housing need on an identification of those households that are accommodated in unsatisfactory conditions; for 2005 the

⁴ Housing need refers to estimates of households that need housing – usually based on housing waiting list databases compiled by the city council(s).

estimated housing need was as follows (City of Cape Town Human Settlement Unit 2005):

- Informal areas: 120 000 families
- Backyards: 45 000 families
- Overcrowding: 60 000 families
- GAP (credit-linked):⁵ 15 000 families
- Serviced sites (top structures only): 20 000 families

The above official figures suggest a total of about 260 000 inadequately housed families within the City of Cape Town; they take into account those housed in overcrowded conditions in addition to other inadequate circumstances. The households accommodated in these settlements, together with those living in backyard shacks and in the overcrowded rental units across the city, point to a greater number of people living without adequate access to municipal services and the basic services of water, sanitation etc., than the figure presented in the 2001 census data. It is recognised that access to sanitation in the backyard shack type of dwelling is most often shared with the main household, which access might be denied when this house owner/landlord is not present and/or during the night hours.

The 2006 map of informal settlement location in the City of Cape Town (Figure 1) highlights the fact that the majority of these settlements occur in the already poorly serviced south-east sector of the city, and correlates to information compiled in earlier maps.

Figure 1: Informal settlements in Cape Town



Source: Western Cape Department of Local Government & Housing 2006: 106

The City of Cape Town Human Settlement Unit Fact Sheet of March 2006 notes that the city's delivery rate over the four years 2002–2005 was as follows:

- 2002/03: 9 729 housing opportunities
- 2003/04: 1 808 housing opportunities
- 2004/05: 3 500 housing opportunities
- December 2005: 2 533 housing opportunities

This represents a total of 17 570 housing opportunities created over a four-year period, or an average of some 4 392 housing opportunities being delivered by the City of Cape Town per annum – barely enough to meet annual household formation, let alone make any dent in the housing backlog.

The above scenario of existing conditions of human settlement in the Western Cape Province paints a particular picture and understanding of the problems faced by the province in fulfilling its mandate to create sustainable human settlements. Taking into account the shift in policy towards providing sustainable human settlements and achieving balanced growth and development across the province, it becomes immediately apparent that this necessitates a shift in the implementation approach, which likewise has implications for both the institutional capabilities and the capacity of those responsible for implementation. Similarly, this developmental approach requires an active citizenry in whom empowerment will be encouraged through active engagement with the delivery process.

2.3 Current dynamics of urban land markets in the Western Cape

At the centre of international debates and initiatives on land and property markets and how they impact on housing provisions for the poor, the intersection of land, housing and financial markets has played itself out in two broadly polarised views which increasingly mirror, and indeed inform, the South African context. Recently the relationship between land, housing and finance markets has been captured as follows:

Urban land markets cannot be considered in isolation; they are deeply connected with housing markets since the majority of urban land has a residential use, and [with] financial markets, which provide the instruments for the purchase of housing and land. The nexus between these three key markets needs to be better understood and explored...and the state has a major role in the regulation and conduct of each of the three markets. Of these three, the land market is often ignored, or subsumed into the housing market. However, in...developing countries enjoying urban house price bubbles, the price of land constitutes an increasingly higher proportion of total purchase price of housing. (Affordable Housing Institute 2005: 9–11)

The new national Housing Plan, *Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements* (Department of Housing 2004) begins to respond to some of these concerns that were earlier raised on a national level by several other sources, including the widely influential FinMark Trust's Township Residential Property Market study (Shisaka Development Management Services 2004). Cape Town is particularly illustrative of booming land and property markets at the upper end of the spectrum and a dysfunctional secondary market at the lower end. There is a close correlation, in the spatial concurrence of positively performing and stagnant land and property markets, with the racial structure of apartheid planning in both urban and rural areas. This structure largely remains intact and was in fact reinforced by continued development of 'first-generation'

subsidised housing on the periphery of urban areas in the post-1994 period in South Africa.

Another manifestation of the dysfunctionality of land and property markets and the persistence of the apartheid urban form is the burden on public transport, which continues to be heavily subsidised to the extent that in the 2000/01 financial year public transport subsidies (for rail and bus transport) in Cape Town increased from the 1998/99 level of R415 million to R430 million. At around the same time, actual expenditure on housing in Cape Town was R206 million in 2001/02 and R231 million in 2002/03 (Behrens & Wilkinson 2003). In this period, the amount spent on public transport subsidies in Cape Town was probably more than double that spent on housing, and with a new subsidy for minibus taxis to be introduced.⁶ This illogical and unsustainable pattern of low-income housing development is the antithesis of the type of sustainable human settlement development that *Breaking New Ground* aims to bring about:

The location of housing projects has been criticised as reinforcing apartheid spatial settlement forms. The objective of spatial restructuring demands a more decisive intervention in land markets. (Department of Housing 2004: 13)

While government has focused in its housing and land policy responses on the poorest segments of South African society, the growth of the economy, and in particular of the residential property market, has created additional gaps that extend beyond the parameters of what has traditionally constituted the state's responsibility. This has brought the issue of urban land markets to the fore, not only for government but also for the public at large. As property price appreciation – seen as a boon by economic analysts – has increased, housing and urban land ownership rights have become less and less affordable to greater proportions of the population. The result has been increasing forms of shelter poverty, as evidenced in the numbers of households living in inadequate shelter – in informal settlements, backyard shacks and overcrowded townships and other housing.

A cursory analysis of building statistics in the two years between January 2004 and December 2005 across the provinces in relation to building plans and buildings completed confirms the existence of a booming property market in the Western Cape, second only to Gauteng in terms of number of units built, total floor area coverage and growth rates. Using the building plans approved and actual buildings completed as an index for the performance of the residential property market, the figures show that while there has been a negative growth in the number of both plans passed and buildings completed in the category of residential buildings smaller than 80m² in the Western Cape (–15% and –12.9% respectively), they contributed 13.9% and 23% of the national total (as compared to 53.4% and 45.1% respectively for Gauteng) in this category (Du Toit 2006).

Interestingly however, the upper end of the residential property market (houses, new flats and town houses bigger than 80m²) in the Western Cape has continued to grow steadily in terms of both plans approved and units completed, again only surpassed in number and rate of growth by Gauteng, a wholly metropolitan province. Because the formal lower end of the residential property market has grown negatively in the period, it would be interesting (if not tempting) to infer a positive growth in informal settlements, backyard shacks and other forms of overcrowding.

The current dynamics in the land and property markets prevent the most vulnerable urban households from entering most areas of the economy of the Western Cape and Cape Town, which is increasingly being incorporated into global land, property and financial markets, resulting in rampant speculation. This presents a fundamental barrier to the achievement of sustainable human

⁶ *Business Report* 18 July 2005

settlements, by reinforcing the persistence of informality as an 'affordable' vehicle for the poor in navigating the urban economy, and ultimately making the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals unattainable. Financial capital and markets continue to be selective in investing in land and property development in certain favoured locations; the result is the entrenchment and reinforcement of the apartheid geographies with distorted markets, driven by speculation, failing to create an enabling environment for sustainable human settlement development, and NIMBYism perpetuating a value system which fuels spatial segmentation of land and property markets.

The challenge posed by the current operations of land, property and financial markets is the extent to which the (developmental) state can influence the status quo by leveraging resources under its control (land, budgets, legislative and planning regulatory tools) in the interests of inclusive and equitable urban development. There are opportunities for using the current fragmented nature of 'public land', and the contradictory stance of organs of state that have custody of this land, to consolidate the assembly of state land and other strategic resources in the public domain (public transport and infrastructure) as a lever for spatial restructuring to benefit the poor. Currently planning and regulatory frameworks and instruments are weak and fragmented, and often work against each other rather than in tandem to address market distortions and failures in the land and property markets.

Lastly, there is an unsophisticated grasp, in policy and praxis, of the nature of migration and how livelihood strategies straddle urban and rural spatial domains, and of the resultant decisions made by migrants concerning investment, residence, and how these influence household identity and commitments to place and property. Access to and affordability of land and property markets have created other forms of housing conditions in both rural and urban areas, where labour tenancy options (rental) characterise the farming areas while access to urban property markets by migrants from rural and other urban areas varies, and investment choices depend on the extent of migrants' commitment to staying in a particular place, often resulting in unexpected land use assemblies and informal settlement development.

3. The planning system in South Africa

The relaxation of aspects of racial segregation and influx practices in the late 1980s signalled creeping changes to the social geography of urban areas. Despite the difficulties of the constitutional negotiations, which resulted in the uneasy coexistence of foregrounded progressive socio-economic rights against the backdrop of protection of property rights, optimism was still high concerning not only the possibility, but also the reality of transforming the spatial footprints of the apartheid heritage, through new enabling planning regulatory and management instruments. Such optimism was reinforced by the promulgation of the Development Facilitation Act (No. 67 of 1995) which, with its normative principles, was to guide the processes of restructuring the urban landscape of South African human settlements. What has since followed this initial optimism has been a combination of structural, political and strategic intersections of elements of the South African transition that has led to the South African planning system being the last area in which apartheid laws still need to be repealed and replaced.

The interim planning legislation put in place in 1995 (the Development Facilitation Act) set out a process which should have culminated in a new legal framework for planning, but the national department charged with this task, the Department of Land Affairs, seems not able to produce this framework. As a result, efforts to produce parts of a new planning framework have emerged from other national government departments (the Department of Provincial and Local Government, and

the Office of the Presidency) and from certain provinces. Some municipalities have made efforts to put new directive and regulatory planning systems in place. New environmental and other legislation also conflicts with planning processes in a variety of ways. But apartheid planning legislation remains in place until such time as national government, in the form of the Department of Land Affairs, can produce an acceptable law, and in the meantime the planning system is confused, fragmented, conflicting and inefficient.

There is also a lack of clarity in the Constitution as to where responsibility for planning lies. 'Land' is an area of exclusive national legislative competence, raising doubts about the competence of other spheres (tiers) of government to legislate at all on planning. The current stasis in planning legislation probably reflects broader contradictions in the Constitution between clauses that entrench socio-economic rights and the 'sunset clauses' that entrench the status quo of property rights that structured the colonial and apartheid spatial formation.

3.1 Current legislation⁷

Key pieces of national post-apartheid planning legislation are important. Chapter 1 of the Development Facilitation Act sets out normative principles to guide the urban form of all settlements (they should be compact, mixed use, sustainable, etc.) and these apply to all municipalities. It also allows for tribunals to be set up to facilitate the fast-tracking of decision-making – some provinces have implemented these measures. The Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000), which set in place new systems of local government, makes provision for Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) at municipal and provincial level, as part of an Integrated Development Plan (IDP). Every IDP is required by law to include a SDF, and this has to include at least basic guidelines for land use management by the municipality. The Land Use Management Bill (most recently in its 2008 draft form) has still not been passed into law.

In terms of the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, each municipality is required to produce an IDP every five years. This is a municipal plan involving all departments, and linking plans and priorities to the budget of the municipality. One of the elements of the IDP is a SDF, which is seen to play an integrating role in relation to other plans. The law states that an IDP should contain:

- a vision (external and internal);
- assessment of existing levels of development;
- development priorities, objectives and strategies;
- a SDF;
- projects, operational strategies and a disaster management plan;
- a financial plan (including a three-year budget) – containing capital and operational budgets; and
- key performance indicators and performance targets.

The SDFs must provide a visual representation of desired spatial form showing:

- land development and infrastructure development;
- desired or undesired use of space;

⁷ This section is based on, and borrows liberally from, Watson's paper in this volume, with some interpretations that are wholly mine.

- an urban edge (optional);
- places for strategic intervention (i.e. projects);
- places where priority spending is required.

At the provincial level legislation includes the Land Use Planning Ordinance (No. 15 of 1985) which is still the main piece of planning legislation that provides for management of rezonings, subdivisions and departures from planning schemes that are still in force. The new provincial planning Bill is still in the drafting process.

3.2 Current planning 'products'

The IDP and the SDF are the two key planning products to emerge from the post-1994 transition. At the municipal or city-wide level the term 'structure plan', used until 1994, has been replaced by the term 'SDF'. This suggests a 'forward' plan which is more strategic, flexible and implementation-oriented than a structure plan. These plans are specifically spatial, but are supposed to link to environmental, economic and infrastructural aspects of planning through the IDP. Given the lack of new national legislation on planning, cities tend to have developed their own 'bottom-up' ideas about these plans, and often copy ideas from each other.

In Cape Town the first post-apartheid spatial plan (the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) of 1996) was aimed at countering apartheid spatial planning by achieving spatial redistribution and equity, as well as environmental sustainability. It had much in common with the Compact City idea of a city with an urban edge, nodes, corridors, densification, mixed use, and being public transport-based. Unlike the previous structure plans and town planning schemes that the SDF plan sought to replace, it had little statutory backing and offered little guidance on implementation. This is largely because the SDF did not have the necessary statutory enforceability to rein in the workings of land and property markets. The result has been that colonial and apartheid planning trajectories, processes and products have been reinforced and adapted to reproduce the current persistence of inefficient spatial forms, patterns of inequality and poverty.

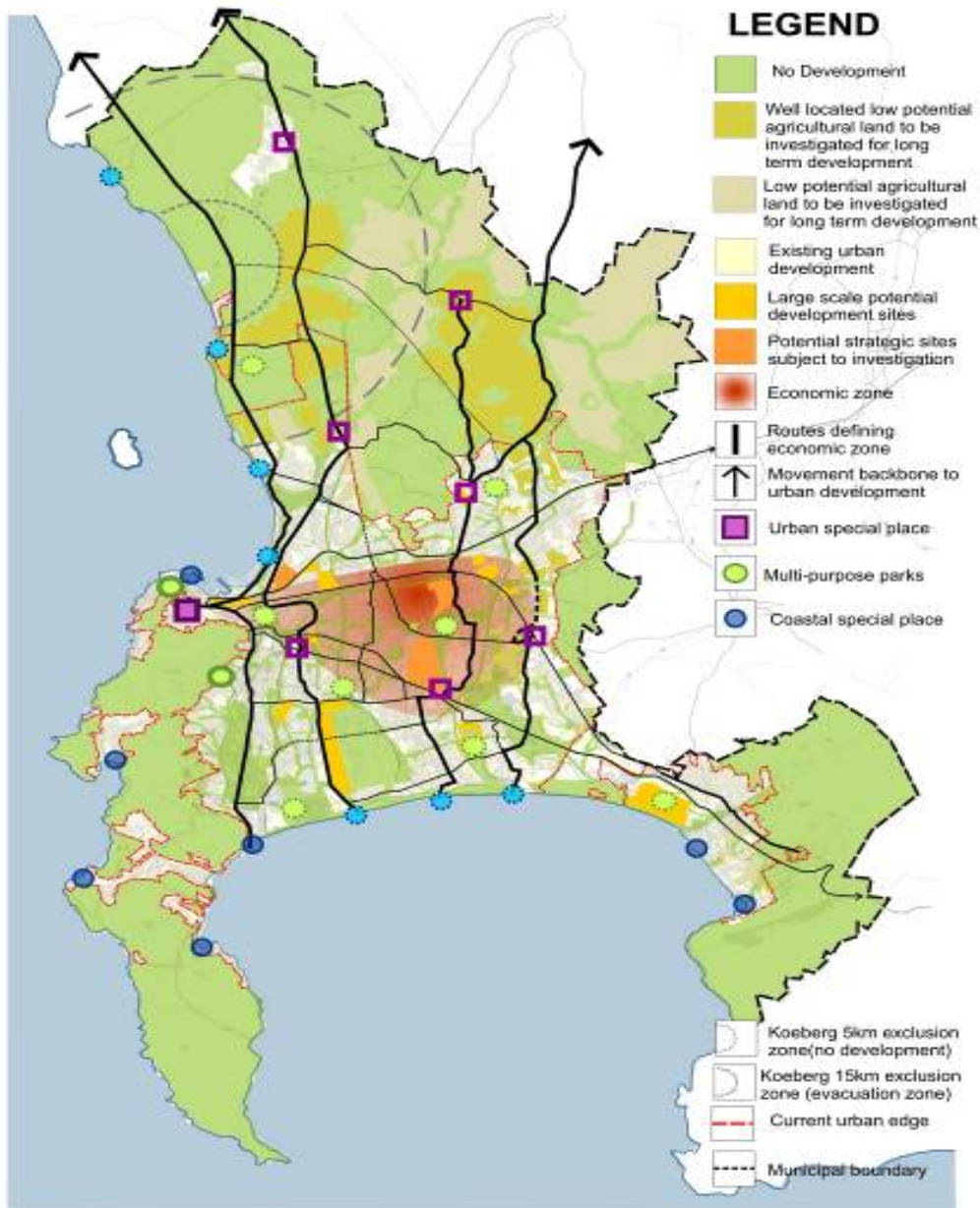
As a result, ten years later Cape Town has changed very little spatially, and post-apartheid planning has had very little influence on urban form in the metropolitan area. The demarcation of the urban edge and a metropolitan open space system in the 1996 plan has had some effect in terms of protective actions, but directive actions – attempts to change locations of work, residences and commerce – have been largely ignored by private developers. At the same time, new public sector low-income housing projects have continued to occur on the Cape Flats (the site of all apartheid-era low-cost housing for black people) as this is where land is the cheapest. This in turn worsens the spatial inequality of Cape Town (now driven by market forces rather than by apartheid ideology) and adds to the volume of travel across the city every day. In terms of densification and the promotion of mixed use, this is gradually happening but it is not clear if this is due to planning. Rising property rates have encouraged subdivision and the threat of crime has encouraged higher-density 'gated villages'. Paradoxically, with the exception of the controversial N2 Gateway 'redevelopment', housing densities in 'upgraded' and 'new greenfield' projects are often considerably lower than those in the informal settlements (and older townships with backyard shacks) that they replace, in spite of the stated intentions of densification policies.

Currently a new city-wide plan is being prepared by the municipality (see Figure 2). There is more contact between the spatial planners and the other municipal line function departments, but almost no participation by the general public in this process. There is still little understanding of the Cape

Town space economy, but a recognition that it is necessary to identify implementable projects. There is greater activity at the sub-metropolitan scale of planning, where the city has been divided into eight planning districts, and more detailed plans are being prepared for these areas. These more detailed plans are aimed at giving guidance to infrastructural investment and have arisen in response to complaints from the engineering departments in the municipality that the SDFs are too vague and conceptual to be helpful.

In terms of the land use management leg of the planning system, there is still little in place to ensure that there is linkage to the SDF. The Municipal Systems Act states that this linkage should occur. But this Act only deals with SDFs, and the regulatory side of planning has been left to a different national department (the Department of Land Affairs) to deal with in their new Bill – which has to date not made it through Parliament. In the meantime most municipalities, including Cape Town, have gone ahead to merge the various regulatory systems which applied to the racially divided municipal system under apartheid. This the City has done under the still-existing 1985 provincial legislation (the Land Use Planning Ordinance). The approach to land use regulation contained in this ordinance followed the UK zoning system, and this approach has largely continued in the merging of previously separate zoning schemes across the metro. A final and consolidated zoning scheme for the whole metro is still being prepared. A central problem with the 1996 MSDF is that it was not supported by the regulatory system, and often the two worked to contradict each other (for example, the MSDF advocated high-density corridors while the zoning scheme reflected low-density residential activity). At the present time there is an intention to link the two aspects of planning but it is not yet clear if this will be achieved.

Figure 2: Cape Town's twenty-year Spatial Development Framework, 2006



Source: City of Cape Town 2006

3.3 Levels of government

Government in South Africa, in terms of the 1996 Constitution, is organised into 'spheres', not tiers (as under apartheid), of national, provincial and local government, with a supposed degree of autonomy for each sphere. Each sphere has specific powers conferred upon it by Schedules in the Constitution. The significance of this is that power in certain domains is no longer centrally held by national government, but is delegated to provincial government:

- *Legislative authority*, the power to make laws, is vested in national, provincial and local spheres of

government. Schedules 4 and 5 determine which sphere of government creates the law.

- *Executive authority*, which is the power to carry out the laws and to take decisions in terms of laws, is also vested in national, provincial and local government.
- *Judicial authority* is vested in the courts.

The relationship between the various spheres of government is dealt with in several sections of the Constitution, which provide that the spheres of government are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated. All spheres are enjoined to work together in a spirit of cooperative government. The principles of cooperative government are set out in section 41 of the Constitution, which inter alia provides that all spheres of government must:

cooperate with each other in mutual trust and good faith by...:

...

- (ii) assisting and supporting each other
- (iii) informing and consulting with one another on matters of common interest
- (iv) coordinating their actions and legislation with one another, avoiding legal proceedings against one another.

Spheres are also not entitled to encroach on each other's functions, although this has happened a number of times in the spatial planning arena. Hence national and provincial projects have on occasion taken place in the municipal area in ways which do not align with or recognise the local spatial plan, and often with very little consultation with the municipality.

Municipal IDPs are approved at the municipal level, then submitted to the provincial level of government, not for approval but for checking that they do not contradict national or provincial policy, and that there is alignment between the SDFs of neighbouring municipalities. Provinces can also draw up SDFs and these also need to align with municipal SDFs.

Municipalities are responsible for implementation of the spatial plan, but may have to try and lobby national and provincial levels to fund certain elements of the plan. Linking the SDF to the IDP can potentially support the implementation of the spatial plan, but one problem is that IDPs have a five-year lifespan, and SDFs need to be long-term plans.

3.4 Ability of the spatial plan to manage growth in an equitable and sustainable way

While the goals of the various Cape Town spatial plans have been to achieve equitable and sustainable development, it is not possible to argue that the planning system in Cape Town is achieving this. This is so for the following reasons:

- Spatial planning is a weak instrument relative to the ability of private developers and investors to gain council approval for projects, and the ability of other levels of government to use their land within the metro for their own purposes.
- Spatial planning has also been a weak instrument relative to the spatial plans of other line function departments in the municipality (e.g. the Departments of Transport and Housing).
- Until recently spatial planners have not had access to instruments to implement their plans. Potentially the IDP could change this, but spatial planning is still not playing the necessary

integrating role in local government, and still tends to function as a separate line function department.

Despite the spatial development challenges South Africa (and Cape Town) face, there is a better resource base here than in other countries and cities on the continent. The delinking of spatial planning from the national transformation, redress and development agenda has been manifest not only in the absence of an integrated development vision but also in the presence of contradictions in development policy in general, and specifically in a contested development trajectory internally, a weak 'developmental' state that lacks the ability not only to enable but also to ensure that development occurs (i.e. to demonstrate capacity, will and intention). Because land and property markets are fickle and politically adaptive in facilitating transitions across spatial scales, there is a need to develop an intelligence system (research and monitoring) to understand the workings of the these markets. While the sheer impact of forces of globalisation limits the strategic choices that the postcolonial state in South Africa has available to it, there are opportunities for spatial planning to contribute to more equitable urban development.

Central to this re-imagining and re-positioning of the spatial planning strand in the development planning agenda is a critical review and realignment of legislative, policy and institutional frameworks, in order to fast-track the identification of land that is available, affordable and appropriately located for enabling the realisation of sustainable human settlements. Some of the lost opportunities include:

- using existing and devising new, innovative instruments (legislative, policy and strategic) for effective spatial planning and land development (synchronisation of SDFs, restructuring zones, zoning (in terms of use and density), urban edge instruments and IDPs) to achieve spatial and social equity in the functioning of land and property markets;
- development of pro-poor mechanisms for capturing additional value from benefits of surplus values accruing from 'boom conditions' at the upper end of the land and property markets to promote densification, integration and the generation of new resources for low-income residential development on well-located land;
- strategic and incremental targeting of infrastructure investment and upgrading to trigger crowding of public investment (linking budgets, IDPs and SDFs), and thus wooing of private investment, in specific nodes, zones and corridors identified in strategic spatial planning and development frameworks to promote densification along public transport spines;
- use of public land (in all spheres of government, and by parastatals) and other state resources (public transport routes and public infrastructure investments) as a strategic lever for spatial and social restructuring, particularly targeting development zones as identified in SDFs and linked to IDP priorities;
- invoking the intergovernmental relations framework to transfer suitable and well-located public land, and target this for sustainable human settlement development that is prioritised for integrated low-income housing.

4. Planning education at Cape Peninsula University of Technology

Cape Town hosts four tertiary education institutions, three universities and one university of technology. The Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) is the result of a merger of two

technikons (read polytechnics) to form a university of technology which took place as part of the recent restructuring of higher education institutions in South Africa. CPUT offers an accredited planning programme in the form of a three-year National Diploma (ND), a Bachelor of Technology (BTech) and a Master of Technology (MTech) in Town and Regional Planning. Two of the traditional universities in Cape Town, the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch, offer accredited postgraduate programmes in Urban and Regional Planning. There is some articulation between the programmes and collaboration between the departments at the three institutions.

4.1 A brief history of the Department of Town and Regional Planning

As indicated above, CPUT came into being in January 2005 as a result of a formal merger of two tertiary education institutions - Cape Technikon and Peninsula Technikon. Having been operational for the last three academic years, the more difficult operational and institutional restructuring processes have been completed but the realignment of the policy framework of the new institution is still under way. The Department of Town and Regional Planning started at the former Cape Technikon in the early 1970s as a diploma study programme within the Department of Civil Engineering and Surveying, offering the National and Higher Diploma qualifications in Town and Regional Planning. It has since changed its faculty home several times, from the Faculty of Engineering to the Faculty of Built Environment and Design in 2000 to its current location in Informatics and Design at the time of the merger in 2005. The effects of this merger are still being felt within CPUT, but for the Department of Town and Regional Planning, which was only based at the former Cape Technikon, the transition has been less traumatic (since there was no Peninsula Technikon department with which it needed to merge) save for the restructuring of faculties and the department's move to occupy a new building with the Department of Interior Design and the merged Architectural Technology departments.

These recurring changes in departmental and faculty homes in the 35 years of its existence have left several footprints in the department:

- The fact that the department originated in the School of Civil Engineering in the early 1970s (as indeed the profession itself had evolved out of engineering earlier on, in the larger context), accounts for the preponderance of engineering-oriented subjects at the National Diploma level.
- This historic connection with civil engineering pervades the department to the present day, in a de facto situation of classrooms, equipment and other infrastructure shared by the Departments of Town and Regional Planning and Civil Engineering and Land Surveying.

The effects of these historical connections on departmental disciplinary autonomy and identity, its philosophy and the planning curriculum, are profound and linger on. A more important impact, though, came from the enmeshment of technikon-type planning programmes in the apartheid planning project which facilitated and entrenched an unquestioning technicist view of town planning, one that to a great extent implemented the social engineering experiments of forced removals and spatial apartheid with little conscience.

These issues have formed the backdrop to a concerted lobby since late 2006, as the department has sought to position its planning programmes within a new vision that would be more responsive to the unfolding realities, trends and democratic spaces that are emerging. This began with agitation for resources (space, facilities and staffing), disciplinary autonomy (curriculum focus) and the critical opportunity to define the identity of planning at CPUT. The easy part was that the need to rebuild an eroded departmental resource base intersected with the institutional mandates for merging departments, and the battle was won by default. The result was the acquisition of about 850 m² of

dedicated floor space for the department in the Cape Town Foreshore area, to provide three planning studios, a computer teaching laboratory, classrooms and staff offices. The more difficult part of the process has been the consolidation of staff complements and the restructuring of the programme offerings in order to reposition the department within the context of planning programmes offered in the Western Cape and nationally.

4.2 Programmes offered

The department offers three programmes in Town and Regional Planning leading to the following qualifications:

1. a National Diploma (ND) in Town and Regional Planning (offered since 1974, this is a three-year full-time programme). The second year of study consists of a minimum of 42 weeks of work-based or experiential learning;
2. a Bachelor of Technology (BTech) in Town and Regional Planning offered since 1995; this is a one-year full-time or maximum four-year part-time programme for those students who successfully pass the ND programme with an average of over 60% in all courses in the third year of study;
3. a Master of Technology (MTech) in Town and Regional Planning (offered since 2001, this is a research degree).

The three programmes offer a natural vertical articulation with entry and exit points at each level. There are also articulation possibilities with other planning programmes in other tertiary planning schools, as well as access options for entrants from the profession on the basis of a recognition of prior learning entry option. The ND and BTech programmes are very popular with both students and employers, and create the greatest demand for teaching and student-support time. These programmes attract students from all provinces in South Africa as well as from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region and sub-Saharan Africa, and from as far afield as China.

The effects of the restructuring of the tertiary education landscape since 2003, particularly with regard to the repositioning of planning programmes, has resulted in some former technikons merging with traditional universities (e.g. Wits Technikon and Rand Afrikaans University merging to form the University of Johannesburg) or several technikons merging (as in the cases of the Durban University of Technology and CPUT). In all cases, though, there were no planning departments involved in the merger process as only one of the merged institutions offered a planning programme, with the effect that planning programmes in these institutions still remain largely unchanged. The BTech programme has helped to mediate and narrow the differences in the content of the programmes, making them equivalent to four-year degree programmes offered at universities, to the extent that BTech graduates qualify to enter into master's planning programmes at universities. This 'equivalence' is not, however, unproblematic as BTech graduates still qualify for professional registration only as technicians or technologists and not as professional members of planning accreditation bodies.

In addition, CPUT has initiated a master's degree programme (by research) which four former BTech graduates have successfully completed. The MTech degree is defined as one in which 'utilising science and technology in identification and solving of developmental problems relating to the discipline of Town and Regional Planning' is recognised as a critical outcome. The master's programme at CPUT has not been as popular nor as successful as the other two programmes for a variety of reasons, principally because it has no professional standing but also because of inadequate preparation of potential students in the undergraduate programmes for independent research work.

A salient objective of the curriculum review currently under way is responding to this disarticulation in the department's programmes, as well as to the nationally determined Higher Education Qualification Framework (HEQF).

4.3 Staffing

Currently the department runs on a full-time academic staff complement of four people, with a technician and an administrative assistant. We are currently recruiting a lecturer to lead the restructuring of the IT and design cluster of the curriculum. This has been enabled by conversion of teaching hours of some civil engineering staff who have been teaching our students, with the intention of reconfiguring the curriculum. The department uses five part-time lecturers from outside and five other staff members from the Department of Civil Engineering. The full-time staff complement in the department represents an addition of three staff members (one academic and one technician on renewable one-year full-time contracts since January 2007, and an administrative assistant since March 2008). The challenge of recruiting the requisite staff is compounded by the general austerity budgets that tertiary education institutions face, particularly under institutional merger conditions, and the low remuneration of academics relative to opportunities in private consulting and salaries offered by the state to technician and planning professionals.

4.4 Student numbers and gender composition.

The intake of new students into the ND programme rose between 2004 and 2006 as a result of increased pressure of applications for the programme, but some effort has been made to keep new entrants to 40 students – this being the realistic size of class that can be accommodated in light of departmental staffing, space and other resource capacities and capabilities. In the last two academic years there were on average 250 applicants to the ND programme whose first choice was ‘town planning’, with about 60% of these meeting the minimum entry requirements for the programme. The programme is quite popular with students both nationally and regionally (with between 5% and 10% of students coming from other countries on the continent), and with employers where graduates are employed; some of these graduates return to do the BTech programme.

The BTech programme is equally popular with mid-career planning technicians and with ND graduates; we take between 18 and 20 new entrants annually who meet the minimum entry requirements of a 60% average for the third-year ND programme subjects or equivalent.

The gender composition of both programmes still continues to be male-dominated. The equity composition in terms of historical population group categorisations continues to mirror regional demographics, and selection procedures have become normalised where merit and equity contestations have been reduced in the last three years.

The MTech programme has had four graduates since it started in the late 1990s. The low intake and graduation rate are a result of a variety of factors, mainly the limited capacity for supervision, limited facilities and the generally inadequate preparedness of BTech graduates to undertake independent research.

Table 1 summarises the trends in enrolment and graduation into the three programmes over the three years 2005–2008, by gender.

Table 1: New entrants and programme throughputs, by gender, 2005–2008

Programme	Year	No. of students			Throughput/ graduates	Full-time staff	State of accreditation
		Male	Female	Total			
ND	2005	70	42	112	21	3 academics	2003
	2006	90	46	136	27	3 academics	
	2007	88	49	137	28	4 academics & 1 technician	
	2008	49	47	96		4 academics, 1 tech. & 1 admin.	
BTech	2005	15	13	28	12	3 academics	2003
	2006	18	11	29	13	3 academics	
	2007	10	18	28	17	3 academics & 1 technician	
	2008	9	10	19		3 academics, 1 tech. & 1 admin.	
MTech	2005	1	2	3	1	2 academics	2003
	2006	1	1	2	1	2 academics	
	2007	1	1	2	2	2 academics	
	2008	1	1	2	0	3 academics	

4.5 Links with planning profession institutions

CPUT has links with other national planning schools through the Committee of Heads of Planning Schools in South Africa and has had close links with the other three former technikons that offer similar programmes. Its programmes are accredited by the South African Council of Town and Regional Planning, the forerunner to the current South African Council for Planners (SACPLAN). Its staff are registered with SACPLAN as well as being members of the South African Planning Institute (SAPI). Our current students and graduates are also active members of these professional institutions.

4.6 The department's strategic priorities

Mission, vision and objectives

The department is currently reworking its vision and mission statements by reflecting on the broader institutional mandate, and responding to our reading of the conditions, demands and expectations of society; in particular those relating to the profession of town and regional planner. The institutional mission has been revisited and rephrased over time, and at the time of writing reads as follows:

Our mission is to develop and sustain an empowering environment where, through teaching, learning, research and scholarship our students and staff, in partnership with the community and industry, are able to create and apply knowledge that contributes to development.⁸

Our draft strategic plan thus presents our strategic vision statement as:

Providing leadership in supporting an innovative planning education that is responsive to societal needs, promotes and supports the development of sustainable human settlements. (Department of Town and Regional Planning 2008)⁹

The substantive thrust of the departmental restructuring has targeted the following strategic areas:

- reviewing an alignment of curriculum across years of study and programmes to ensure student progression, multiple exit points and articulation with other planning programmes nationally, regionally and internationally;
- ensuring the recruitment, retention and development of qualified staff with the requisite balance of specialisation in teaching and research;
- firming accountable and transparent systems for teaching, research and academic administration;
- addressing departmental needs for space, equipment and teaching and research facilities;
- improving research capacity and outputs through attracting good quality research students, staff and funding;
- engaging in focused external collaboration, community outreach and service linkages that enrich the teaching, learning and research activities in the department;
- developing teaching and research niches in the department that are complementary to other local and regional initiatives in other planning schools and organisations; as well as enhancing research

⁸ <http://www.cput.ac.za/institution/mission.php>

⁹ This departmental document is currently being revised in the light of the institutional self-audit undertaken in August 2008.

capacity and outputs in the department.

The departmental vision, mission, and strategic objectives are currently being aligned and integrated with those of the university and faculty to ensure that overall institutional performance is synchronised and measurable.

The department's evolving view of planning

The earlier mission or goal that the department is revising was formulated as 'the creation of professional planning expertise so as to promote the quality of life in South Africa, in both the urban and rural contexts'. This stated goal was to be achieved through the following objectives:

- to develop the 'whole person' in the student, over and above expertise and ethical concern, for him or her to emerge as an able and responsible role player in the profession of planning;
- to achieve in the graduate a desired balance between theory and practice, between the philosopher and the practical person and therefore to offer relevant vocational training in the field of Town and Regional Planning up to the highest levels and standards permitted by the available time, resources and technology.

This view circumscribed an enduring binary that defined the products of planning education in a way that distinguishes between planning technicians and professionals. Simplistically put, the former, produced by technikons, emphasised the technical skill of 'how to do planning' while the latter produced strategic planners with higher doses of theoretical understanding of the discipline, including skills in policy formulation and analysis. In a position paper presented to the South African Council for Town and Regional Planning's Visiting Committee to CPUT in its last programme re-accreditation visit in late 2003, an analysis was given of the differences between planning programmes offered by universities and those offered by former technikons (CPUT was part of latter category) (Theunissen 2003). Below is a summary of some of those observations:

The differences between planning programmes offered by Universities and former Technikons, having evolved out of their institutional autonomy over the years, are evidenced by the particular balance between theory and practice, the philosophy of teaching and indeed the philosophy of planning itself. The latter have tended to be relatively more vocation-orientated than the former, traditionally recognised to offer a heavier theoretical bias to subject matter. ...

Stated otherwise, Technikons had traditionally been deemed to offer the skills, knowledge, learning and application aimed at the practising and mastery of skills and techniques, including the application of existing knowledge and technology in the profession. Universities on the other hand, are still seen as institutions aiming at the mastery of a basic theoretical substructure and the inculcation of the fundamental principles of process and method. ...

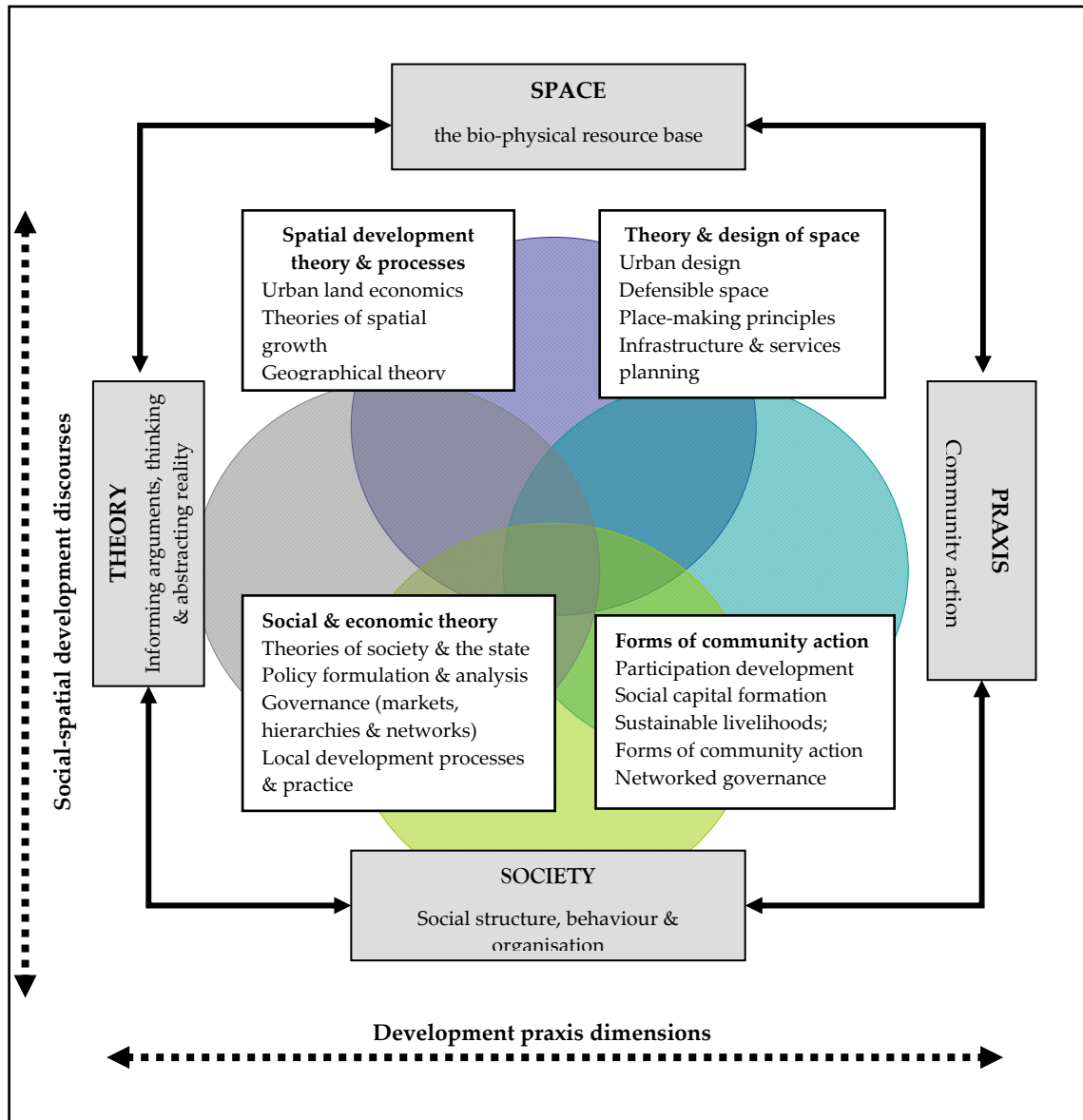
The issue of a technological focus in training and production of training in the former Technikons may have been over-generalised and has not been so much the case in Town and Regional Planning programmes as in other National Diploma programmes such as in Civil Engineering, Life Sciences or in Design, where artifacts are manufactured. The re-curriculum of Town and Regional Planning courses offered at Technikons in the 1990s [has] resulted in a trend which tended to blur this theory-practice distinction: the National Diploma now incorporates more theoretical foundations than earlier, whilst the BTech degree introduced in

1995 is heavily biased towards 'the mastery of a basic theoretical substructure'. One could further argue that by the very nature of the discipline, the balance between theory and practice (or substance and process) is always critical. ...

The identity of former Technikon training had until the introduction of the BTech been fairly clear-cut: only the National Diploma was offered, (which includes one year practical in-service training) and holders of this qualification were absorbed into the workplace, generally to perform less complex tasks and assist a planner under supervision. Technikon training programmes have therefore strictly speaking produced technologists (National Diploma) and even less so 'super-technologists' (BTech) in the field of Town and Regional Planning. BTech graduates are increasingly carving out careers in advanced planning work that are expected of university graduates.

The distinction between planning education programmes in traditional universities and in the new universities of technology has become blurred, and there will continue to be convergence as the tertiary education landscape reshapes itself in response to the changing policy environment and the nature of planning and development challenges facing the profession in the next decade. The distinction between training planning technicians or technologists and training professionals is problematic as it tends to feed into the notions of planning being an apolitical activity, particularly when demands and pressure from an increasingly informed citizenry are beginning to challenge the conventional town planning approaches and practices that have tended to be cast in terms of technocratic approaches and technical conceptions for solving what are largely developmental problems – thus the ascendancy of development planning. It could be argued that this distinction is in fact dangerous as it traps planning once again in a type of social engineering experimentation like colonial and apartheid spatial planning, under the guise of some unquestioning technical and/or professional superiority. The balance between doses of theory and practice therefore becomes less mathematical, and essentially strategic.

Figure 3: Conceptual framing of planning programmes, curriculum and research at CPUT



Theoretically, this is also associated with the need to recast our understanding of, and responses to, the problems of the post-industrial/colonial city in the South, and the dialectical linkages between the so-called ‘first and second economies’ as they manifest in the increase and persistence of informality, evidenced in the growing challenges of informal settlements, enterprises and institutions, and the ways they impact on sustainability of community and household livelihoods (Tapela 2008). A critical issue in this convergence will be the re-circulation of planning programmes and in particular the intellectual and strategic traditions that inform the process.

At CPUT the beginnings of a conceptual framework are emerging (Figure 3). Two interactive axes that frame our conception of a responsive planning education programme envisage a constant engagement between *discourse* and *praxis*, where the theory-practice interface that informs planning praxis constantly intersects with the substance or object of planning interventions comprising contestations by people (society) over access to the resource base (space) to shape the built

environment. The embedding of research themes in the structure of the curriculum that underpins the departmental programmes is strategic and intentional – to reinforce the growth and quality of strategic objectives that foreground the nurturing of a teaching, learning and research culture and development of research capacity, skills and outputs.

Emerging engagements with shifts in planning at CPUT

The current strategic review involves an overhaul of departmental programmes and operations that includes a re-examination of the curriculum, the structure of programmes, subject offerings and postgraduate research, to deal with the seven strategic areas identified above. The ‘growth’ we plan for and envisage relates to an improvement in quality of throughputs, while mindful of the equity and demographic profiles of products, the limitations of our capacity, our professional understanding of market absorption capacities and the limitations of what academic quality assurance standards and statutory accrediting institutions can allow. Following from a critical assessment of these limitations and based on our departmental resource capacities, the following principles were derived to guide ‘growths’ in student and staff numbers and resources within the strategic plan period:

- stabilisation of student numbers at both ND and BTech programme levels through improved throughput rates;
- significant growth in research outputs, premised on increase in research students at master’s level and possibly the introduction of a doctoral programme in the plan period;
- an aggressive staff development programme through mentoring of existing staff members and well-performing students, and recruitment and retention of high-quality staff to improve teaching, research and supervision capacities in the department;
- increased resources, space and facilities to support the growth and quality projections identified above, and taking particular cognisance of the gradual erosion of departmental critical resources and identity issues and the need to rebuild these as elaborated elsewhere;¹⁰
- significantly growing library resources through purchases of library materials and building of a departmentally-based resource centre, and through donations;
- establishing and nurturing of partnerships and collaborations with international, regional and local planning partners in government, the industry and other and NGOs.

Reviews of programmes and curricula, particularly professional programmes, will be focusing on the repositioning of professional training and curricula that respond more innovatively and with greater relevance to emerging development problems. For the current plan period, the focus will be on the following:

- ensuring that the internal structure of our programme offerings articulates coherently across years of study and programmes, particularly in terms of progression of course content, increasing levels of complexity, and determination of competence clusters that are aligned to our strategic objectives;
- firming up outputs of the experiential training year to ensure that students maximise reflection and learning about planning practice and the nature of the planning environment;

¹⁰ It took eight variations of detailed motivations for staffing, space and resources presented to management over fourteen months to get some movement in these areas, in which period there was a succession of three deans with whom we had to deal.

- ensuring that we appropriately make the transition from ‘technikon status to a university of technology’ in philosophy, form, content and practices.

In relation to the first issue, the curriculum is structured around four main competence clusters or constellations (Table 2).

Table 2: Competence clusters structuring the curriculum

Competency-based clusters	Description of embedded competencies & outcomes
<i>Core planning curriculum</i> (Theory & practice)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Understanding strategic and synoptic dimensions and the interconnections between different facets of planning (social, economic, political processes and how they inform spatial forms and processes)
<i>Planning design</i> (Studios, project work & portfolios)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Understanding the design process ▪ Aesthetic dimensions and design awareness
<i>Support / specialisations</i> (Technology, communication skills & research)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relating and developing specialist or interdisciplinary interest areas that impinge on and enrich planning theory and practice ▪ The use of information technology (CAD, GIS and the use of the internet) ▪ Problem definition, gathering alternatives and collaborative problem-solving ▪ Written, oral and graphic communications ▪ Orderly gathering of information and drawing of conclusions ▪ Communicating effectively using accepted reporting and discursive methods ▪ Contributing to an understanding of a planning problem and recommending possible and innovative solutions

While these structuring clusters are horizontally conceived, the challenge in curriculum design and implementation is fostering their integration and realising the ‘higher or meta’ competency of ‘understanding the strategic and synoptic dimensions and the interconnections between different facets of planning’: i.e. the vertical integration of knowledge and skills across clusters and their application in innovative ways to engage with current planning and development problems. The balancing of these outcomes and competencies is expected to be reflected in the critical thinking (research) and planning design (conceptual thinking) skills that students produce; and their handling of the interface between theory and practice in addressing the ongoing contestations over, or sharing of, resources within the limitations or constraints thereof.

The complexity and sensitivity of this restructuring project lies in the need to align processes, gain consensus and reconfigure the curricula across years of study and programmes on the one hand; and balancing the tensions between the so-called technical and the social-political or tactical skill-sets – the so called hard and soft skills – on the other. Dealing with this balance involves deliberative engagements with resourcing and resources and the quality-versus-quantity dialectic that is increasingly characterising the politics of funding of higher education.

The Technology & Research cluster has been identified as the growth sector in the department; but equally important will be the consolidation of the other clusters to enable a focused kick-starting of

integrated and sequenced implementation of the strategy. To enrich teaching and learning it will be necessary to embed the research agenda within the broader curriculum framework of programmes. This will also provides a framework for staff development, recruitment, specialisations and interests on the one hand, while shaping the direction of postgraduate research and building capacity for supervision and research outputs on the other. The research programme is negotiated through our understanding of the regional contexts of competition and complementarity within the community of practice and an interpretation of the substantive developmental challenges on the ground, utilising the strengths and opportunities our programmes offer, and riding on the potential collaborations and resource capacities already available in the local and regional discourse community.

5. Challenges and opportunities for planning education: Some reflections

Democratisation in Southern Africa was accompanied by serious questioning of the kinds of practices that town planners had been preoccupied with and the ways in which planning problems had been seen as largely technical rather than developmental problems. The relevance of inherited colonial statutory, policy and institutional frameworks that circumscribed planning practice became problematic as they were revealed to be impediments to more inclusive development. In Zimbabwe, the physical planning and development control orientation of the profession (Wekwete & Mlalazi 1990) that derived from the limitations of statutory frameworks entrapped planning practice for a long time, and still continues to be used for crude slum clearance like the famous Operation Restore Order of 2005 (Kamete 2008). In South Africa, while the early agitation by academics, practitioners and civil society for more progressive and developmental planning discourses and interventions helped to reshape statutory, policy and institutional frameworks, contradictory outcomes of the current status quo still result from the structural embedding of development policy in market fundamentals and an uncritical embrace of globalisation.

Several unfolding trends in the external environment nationally, in the region and globally have important implications for the assembly of critical outcomes and competencies that planning graduates will need. The emerging global economic and governance architecture, with its impacts on political economies and ecologies of local, national and regional access to, and utilisation of, resources, increasingly creates and reproduces various forms, processes and inequalities in human settlements. Two main substantive challenges face South African planning schools:

- the existing challenges of up-scaling the quality of planning professionals to meet the needs of the increasingly complex transformation agenda of the national development project, as it intersects with the global and regional (continental) demands and competitiveness that underpin it;
- the fact that South African planning schools have been attracting students from the rest of the continent. Both students and planning schools are then confronted with the various regional substantive forms and challenges of urbanisation and the associated approaches and interventions applied to solve them.

These challenges should also be seen in the context of the restructuring of the tertiary education landscape and professional planning institutions, and increasing capacity constraints and institutional overloads in the state planning departments, systems and bureaucracies that define their operations. The current power crises, peaking of oil and rising food prices present new challenges of deepening poverty that increasingly define cities and regions in the South as sites of emergency, struggles and

protests. These emerging challenges foreground the kinds of social and political skills, knowledge and competencies that are needed by planners and planning education in the realm of conflict resolution, negotiation and mediation.

As a key stakeholder in the training of planning professionals, the Planning Department at CPUT is repositioning itself to fit this context. Some of the key determinants of future directions of our planning programmes will depend on the ways in which our strategic objectives and thrusts are implemented in relation to the following issues:

- determining the critical exit outcomes and key competencies, and how these will be incorporated and weighted in the curriculum and programmes;
- balancing and sequencing the breadth and depth issues in the curriculum programmes, and the ways in which synergies and relevance will be enhanced and facilitated within our faculty and university disciplinary mix;
- engaging with the (scarce) skills debate in balancing technical planning skills with the more tactical and strategic skills to ensure that the enabling and progressive provisions of planning policy and legislation provision translate into equitable development and empowerment;
- strengthening research capacity, policy analysis and promotion of more appropriate planning technology and methodologies in practice.

In the short term the following specific challenges for the CPUT Planning Department are:

- adapting to a new faculty home and creating departmental identity (consolidating adequate space needs, staffing and resources);
- repositioning of technikon-type planning programmes in response to the requirements of the new HEQF uniform qualifications policy and the institutional 'merger' process, and balancing these with the requirements of professional institutions and industry, while retaining the necessary academic autonomy, competitiveness and quality of work;
- managing tensions between 'growth and quality' (student enrolments versus throughputs) and of adequate staffing and resourcing of planning education and training, as well as facilitating the achievement of a balance between 'teaching and research', particularly in emerging universities of technology.

Within the context of urban and regional development challenges in Southern Africa, one important planning education response is to recognise that the historical links between migration, labour control and town and regional planning practice were at the centre of a purposeful shaping of urban and regional spaces and therefore, with democratisation, there is a need to rethink planning education in order to engender practices that are responsive, inclusive and sensitive. Planners' essentially instrumentalist role as problem-solvers (often of problems that have been insufficiently analysed, arising from policies and practices that are ineffective) thus needs more reflection. The planning educator therefore occupies a critical role at the interface of defining the problems more developmentally through framing more inclusive discourses, and implementing practices that can begin the rollback of poverty and make real the vision of shared growth and sustainable settlements and development.

It is at the broader intersection of planning theory, policy and practice relative to actual development practice that planning education programmes should constantly interrogate planning and development praxis (including innovations in planning education) through theory-policy-practice discursive engagements with both changing external environments and internal dynamics in development agencies – particularly the state, as it remains the critical (if waning) locus for planning in the developing world. This

discourse should in part talk to contextual analyses, interpretations and experiential engagements with the external environment (globalisation), and reflections on practice in the Southern African context (rural and urban); and in part shape itself in response to the unfolding substantive challenges on the ground that include reconfiguring planning education for transformation in the postcolonial transition.

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