Urbanization in South Africa:
A Frontier Between the First and Third World

I. J. van der Merwe
University of Stellenbosch*

South Africa's apartheid-induced cities are in the process of a critical restructuring in the changing South Africa of the 1990s. The reform of an effective and just post-apartheid city require careful consideration of international links as a frontier between the First and Third World urbanization realities. This paper seeks to provide answers to the following two questions: What are the general characteristics and problems of the South African city; and where do these cities fit into the international framework? Research has shown that the South African apartheid city corresponded to a multi-faceted international profile of First World prosperity, Second World central intervention and Third World deprivation. While the South African city displayed numerous similarities to international city form, it also obtained a unique character as a result of the legal enforcement of apartheid. This is demonstrated in an analysis of South Africa's national urbanization patterns as well as its internal social and management structure. Restructuring the post-apartheid city will have to take account of the reality that the present South African city is intrinsically a frontier version of the colonial Third World city and the Western first world city and that it is likely to revert increasingly to the former as apartheid disappears.

Keywords: South Africa, urbanization, post-apartheid city, first-third world frontier, demographic structure, spatial patterns, international city model.

South Africa's apartheid-induced cities are in the process of a critical restructuring in the changing South Africa at the turn of the century. South Africa has a unique mix of First World and Third World urban landscapes. This dichotomy is based on race-space outcomes resulting from years of apartheid social engineering that affected, among other things, urban governance, development, lifestyle, morphological form, and general performance of our cities. The reform to an effective and just post-apartheid city requires careful consideration of South Africa's frontier position between the First and Third World urbanization realities. In this regard we need to understand the concept of a *'frontier'*. Being a condition, a process and a place, this effectively means that a frontier has at least two dimensions: spatial and social (Giliomee, 1992). Unlike a boundary, which evokes the image of a line on a map and demarcates spheres of control and undisputed difference, a frontier is an area

* Office of the Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Stellenbosch, Private Bag X1, 7602 Matieland, South Africa.

where transformation and overlap is taking place. Here two or more situations usually co-exist with conflicting claims. Frontiers are spaces with dynamic processes of change and restructuring. Such a frontier situation is exactly the case with the South African city at this point in time. Frontiers normally carry definitions with connotations like 'an interface', 'a margin or periphery', 'contact or transitional areas', and 'zones where certain conditions converge'. It is in the latter context that the concept 'urbanization frontier' figures in this paper. Therefore, convergence theory and urban change modeling, operating against a globalization and urbanization policy framework, constitute the theoretical base for the preset research exercise (Nijkamp, 1998; Rogerson, 1989; Simon, 1984). However, being primarily an empirical study, these theoretical aspects are not amplified further at this point, but are rather utilized in the text that follows where appropriate.

It is the aim of this paper to paint a general profile of the urbanization pattern in South Africa against the international picture of First World and Third World cities. More specific it seeks to provide answers to the following two questions:

1. What are the national trends and internal characteristics inherent to the South African 'frontier city'?

2. Where do these cities fit into the international framework?

NATIONAL URBANIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Urbanization is a worldwide transformation process whereby communities change from a rural to an urban environment and lifestyle. In its historical, demographic and spatial image the South African urbanization phenomenon demonstrates specific features.

Historical Development

National urbanization in South Africa has historically been closely intertwined with economic, technological and political-administrative factors, as reflected by the following four development phases (Van der Merwe, 1983).

1. *Pre-industrial Phase.* The origin of South African urbanization is relatively recent compared to that of the rest of the world. Whereas urban centers in the Middle East date back as far as 6,000 years ago, the first urban centers in South Africa only came into existence after 1652, with the arrival of European colonists who were familiar with the urban way of life in Western Europe. Until then the original inhabitants living at the southernmost point of Africa had an exclusively rural existence. During this early phase, urbanization was primarily concentrated along coastal areas in the southern and eastern parts of the country. This reflects the influence of sea transport and the agricultural activities of the European farmers on the establishment of urban settlements.

2. *Industrial Phase.* The discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1870s resulted in an acceleration of the urbanization process in South Africa. Road and transport networks linked the inland mine centers to the coastal harbors, which resulted in the development of smaller towns adjacent to the connecting transport routes. Urbanization then spread rapidly throughout the entire country as large numbers of people flocked to the cities. Harbor towns, industrial towns, transport centers, market towns and mining towns each developed a distinctive character. Industrialization and commercial activities in the cities exerted an irreversible force of attraction on the rural population due to the wider variety of employment opportunities, higher living standards and more sophisticated social facilities provided in the urban areas.

3. *Apartheid Phase.* In a multi-racial society such as South Africa the different ethnic population groups were not exposed to the forces of urbanization to the same degree. Different urbanization patterns evolved for the different population groups as a result of discriminatory apartheid laws since 1950. The black homeland policy and influx control regulations were some of these outcomes. Blacks were attracted by employment opportunities offered in the large industrial and mining centers but their urbanization rate was controlled to a very large extent by White institutional forces. Although Black labor was a crucial factor in the urban economy, their large numbers were a political threat to White interests.

4. *Post-apartheid Phase.* Since 1990, government policy has changed dramatically and this has resulted in a marked shift in Black urbanization patterns. The initial suppressive discriminatory measures of forced settlement in homeland areas, temporary migrant labor, influx control and group area regulations have changed to allow unrestricted movement to and within our cities. The South African city is now accessible to all South Africans. This has resulted in a marked population increase in our urban areas, together with numerous physical and social problems associated with high-density urban areas.

Demographic and Spatial Pattern

Since its early beginnings, the national urban system of South Africa has progressed dramatically, both demographically and spatially. According to the preliminary 1996 census estimates, the population in South Africa totaled 38 million of which 58 percent (22 million) lived in urban areas (Central Statistics, 1997). The urban population is increasing by 3.1 percent each year (Table 1). Both these parameters are considerably higher than the world average of respectively a 43 percent level and a 2.5 percent rate of urban growth. Although urbanization in South Africa commenced at a much later stage than in the rest of the world, it has developed considerably faster than in most countries. By way of comparison, South Africa's level of urbanization is more inclined to that of the First World, but its higher growth rate relates to that of the Third World. Figure 1 illustrates the growth of the urban population since 1904.

Table 1: Comparative urbanization tendencies in South Africa, 1996.

	Urban population (million)	Urbanization level (%)	Urban growth rate annual (%)
World	2,286	43	2.5
First World	525	77	0.9
Third World	1,483	36	3.4
South Africa	22.0	58	3.1
Black	14.0	50	4.0
White	4.7	92	1.1
Colored/Asian	3.7	87	2.1

Source: United Nations, 1989; Urban Foundation, 1990.

South Africa's pattern of urbanization acquires a different perspective when eth-nic sub-groups of the population are compared to different world regions. Whites have already attained a 92 percent level of urbanization, with a decreasing growth rate of 1.1 percent. This is comparable to the saturated high level and low growth rate of the First World. Coloreds and Asians have an 87 percent urbanization level and 2.1 percent growth rate, which is also comparable to Western countries. In contrast with these figures, the relatively low level of 50 percent and high growth rate of 4.0 percent among urban Blacks indicate a phase of acceleration which is observed internationally in Third World countries (Table 1). It appears that Whites will not attain a much higher level of urbanization than at present, while the scope for an increase among Coloreds and Asians is marginal. The large rural Black popu-lation, on the other hand, still offers enormous potential for urbanization. We are
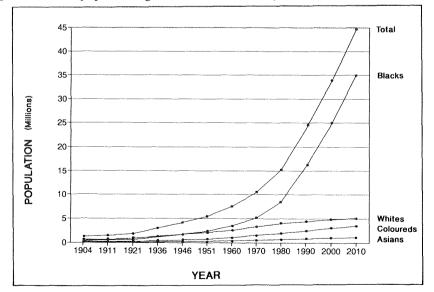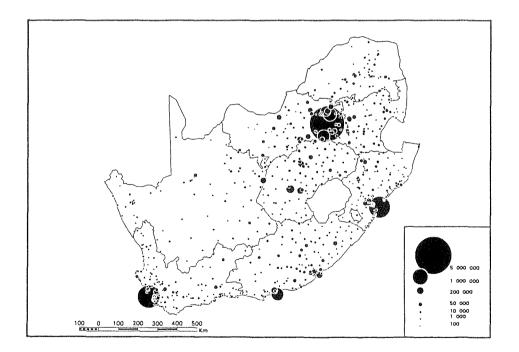
Figure 1: Urban population growth in South Africa, 1904–2010.

therefore confronted with the natural and inescapable urban forces of a developing Third World community, which cannot be averted and therefore have to be accommodated and skillfully administered. This poses one of the greatest challenges for the future South Africa. With an urban population increasing by approximately one million per annum employment opportunities, housing and services will have to be provided for this rapidly increasing population (Urban Foundation, 1990).

National urbanization is not only ethnically uneven, but is spatially unbalanced in its distribution and magnitude. The urban cores in South Africa are primarily concentrated along the coastal areas and in the northern and eastern parts of the country (Figure 2). These settlements are not only situated in close proximity to each other, but also accommodate considerably larger populations. This pattern reflects the existence of abundant resources, which has attracted large numbers of

Figure 2: Distribution of urban population in South Africa, 1991.

people to the metropolitan areas. In the Northern Cape, Free State and the North West provinces, the towns are significantly smaller and more widely dispersed. According to future estimates it is clearly evident that the concentration of cities in the northern and western regions of the country will increase in intensity, due to the large rural population currently residing in this region, with the future potential to urbanize.

Figure 3 illustrates the rank order of South Africa's approximately 800 urban settlements according to its population size. An exceptionally high concentration of people resides in metropolitan areas. Three metropoles in particular are attractive to urban migrants. The Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex, with 5.7 million inhabitants in 1991, is the most prominent primate city. It represents approximately one third of the country's urban population. This is followed by two other agglomerations, i.e., Cape Town (2.0 million) and Durban (1.8 million). Together these three metropoles accommodate approximately two thirds of the country's urban population. However, these three urban complexes form only a small fraction of the more than 250 cities in the world with a population exceeding one million inhabitants. An interesting fact is that the Gauteng metropolitan area (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) is rated approximately twentieth in the world in terms of its population, while Cape Town fills the 85th position (United Nations, 1989). South African cities are small by international standards, but the accelerating national trend of urbanization could soon place some of them amongst the top category of the world's largest cities. Johannesburg, especially, is rapidly internationalizing within the global city system. In contrast with the high concentration located in
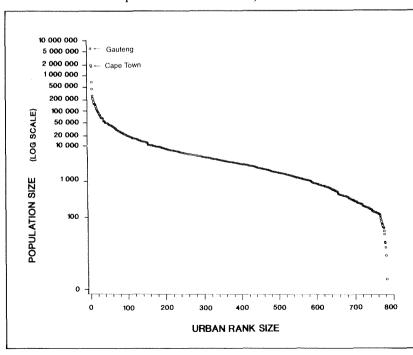
Figure 3: Urban rank size pattern in South Africa, 1991.

metropolitan areas, numerous small rural towns lead an increasingly precarious existence as many of their inhabitants are migrating to the larger cities (Dewar, 1996).

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

Although the South African city is set within the Western capitalist market economy, the apartheid system has imposed a specific structure and distinctive character on it, unique in the world. This ideology was based on the assumption that the incompatibility between ethnic groups is such that contact between them can lead to friction, and that harmonious relations can only be secured by minimizing proximity. State induced racial zoning on ethnic lines resulted in an artificial duplication of the residential, economic and administrative functioning of the cities. Legal enforcement of urban racial segregation made South Africa anomalous in international terms. The internal structuring of the South African city displays politico-economic, functional-morphological, social and managerial dimensions with clear resemblances to city structures elsewhere in the world. South African cities have, however, also responded to local conditions, and to some extent have acquired a distinct character. Although international city forms resembling the First, Second and Third World respectively are to some extent present, the overall impression of the South African city is predominantly that of a frontier colonial Third World city, which has historically developed in roughly four different phases (Davies, 1981; Western, 1986; Krige, 1988; Simon, 1989; Bernstein and McCarthy, 1990; Lemon, 1991; Swilling, Humphries and Shubane, 1991; Simon, 1992; Van der Merwe, 1993).

1. *Colonial Beginnings.* True to the Simon (1984) model of colonial urban development, South Africa's urban settlements originated in the 17th century as an alien implant established in a territory without an urban tradition. Dutch and later the British colonial settlers established the first towns, and regarded them as their cultural domain. Notwithstanding this European origin, South African cities displayed more similarities to the North American city than to the West European version, due to their more recent origin. The indigenous African population was soon drawn to the urban centers to serve the colonial masters. Upholding the spirit of the colonial Third World city, class differences and spatial segregation were characteristics of the South African city from its inception. Historical records indicate that segregation was one of the dominant features of British colonial societies. Structural ethnic separation was a reality in places such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth (Christopher, 1983). The motivation for urban segregation took several forms, ranging from the fear of health hazards, whereby English officials regarded non-Europeans as unhygienic, to the perception that they pose an economic and political threat to established European dominance. The heritage of the British colonial city, or even the generalized European colonial city, supplied the foundation for the evolution of the segregated and later the apartheid city in South Africa.

2. *The Segregated City.* From 1910 the South African government took over the role of the colonial power in the South African city. Notwithstanding some racial and segregationist overtones during the colonial beginnings, centralized state control over Black urbanization was only introduced in 1923. During this year the Native (Urban Areas) Act empowered, but did not compel, local authorities to set aside land for African occupation in segregated townships (Lemon, 1991). By and large segregation in the South African city evolved spontaneously as a result of the high level of social distance created by a colonial mentality of dominance-dependency relationships between Whites and Blacks. The overall impression was that of a fragmented city with some mixed zones and scattered ethnic enclaves within certain neighborhoods. These cities were highly, but not completely segregated. During this phase segregation indices of Whites fluctuated between 70 and 80 percent, which indicated the high level of natural division in the residential areas (Christopher, 1990).

3. *The Apartheid City.* The Group Areas Act of 1950, as amended in 1955, was a cornerstone of the apartheid policy, producing for the first time legally enforced segregation in South Africa's towns and cities. Housing and services were provided separately on a highly uneven basis, and access of Blacks to the cities was strictly controlled by means of influx control regulations. The result was that cities in South Africa became more highly structured and divided than any multi-ethnic colonial city elsewhere in the world. White segregation indices increased to 93 percent (Christopher, 1990). Equivalent figures in Africa were between 70 and 75 percent, while in most First World cities the segregation levels ranged somewhat lower between 50 and 60 percent.

Group Areas planning resulted in the inner city and suburbs being proclaimed for Whites, while the Colored, Asian and Black residents were usually relegated to certain sectors on the periphery. This policy caused great dissatisfaction and discomfort. By 1990 approximately 1,700 group areas had been proclaimed in South African cities, resulting in the forced removal of between 750,000 and 1,000,000 people (Bernstein and McCarthy, 1990). This action was accompanied by disruption and great human suffering (Western, 1981). Apartheid laws did not only have damaging effects on human lives, but also resulted in the artificial structuring of cities in terms of economy, administration and morphology. Increased distance between places of residence and work was one such outcome. Another feature was that the public service system was unequally fragmented and ethnically duplicated by intervention from the central government.

The South African Apartheid city manifests a dualistic frontier character, similar to the colonial cities of the Third World. Firstly, there is a White-ruling component, structured in an orderly manner and well developed according to First World Western norms. Additional characteristics include vigorous capitalistic land use competition, an extensive urban area with low building densities, well-planned layouts, private vehicle use, modern architecture, domination by single dwellings, decreasing population densities in combination with increasing social status towards the periphery, high living standards, sound infrastructure and services. Sec-

ondly, alongside the Western city sector, there existed a disadvantaged Black component in a relatively disordered and inferior city structure. Phenomena such as over-urbanization, limited space and high densities, unemployment, poverty, informal economic activities, illiteracy, housing backlogs, informal settlements and peripheral squatting, insufficient infrastructure and services, ill health and scant medical care are widespread. The overall impression of the Apartheid city is therefore one of decreasing socio-economic status and increasing density towards the periphery. The phenomenon is illustrated in Davies's (1981) and Simon's (1989) apartheid city model in Figure 4. It shows that the spatial structure of the apartheid city took the form of a sectoral divided frontier pattern.

4. *The Post-Apartheid City.* Based on moral grounds and disfunctionality, the apartheid structures of the South African city came increasingly under pressure towards the end of the 1980s. Influx control measures were abandoned in 1986, followed by the scrapping of various other apartheid laws, including the Group Areas Act in 1991. In theory this opened the South African city to all races. In future, no legislative segregation will be enforced on ethnic grounds thereby discriminating against certain urbanities. A new era lies ahead, wherein the South African city must recover socially from the damages caused by apartheid policies. Drastic economic and administrative changes in the decolonizing process of the South African city can also be expected.
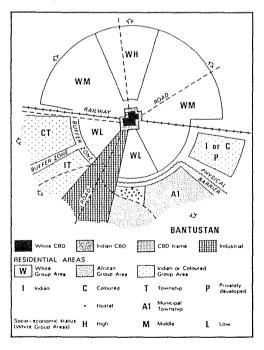
Figure 4: The apartheid city.

(Source: Davies, 1981; Simon, 1989).

Accelerating Black urbanization will increasingly be regulated by natural market forces and human needs, and less by political decisions to favor mainly White interests. Forced apartheid on ethnic grounds might be replaced by a spontaneous separation structure in the residential areas according to socio-economic status and individual cultural preference, corresponding to South Africa's pre-apartheid 'segregation city'. Based on experience elsewhere in Southern Africa this does not imply total residential integration (Lemon, 1991).

As a frontier city the post-apartheid city will increasingly be inclined towards the Third World city structure. Its economic structure and social environment will become more and more Africanized. The South African city thus retains its colonial structure in its basic features, but in a less rigid and racially biased form. The dualistic frontier structure of the South African city will persist with a developed component reminiscent of the First World Western city, together with a dependent component linked to the Third World colonial model. In the Western orientated sector North American characteristics will increasingly make way for West European features as the cities become more compact, accommodating higher densities, portraying a more integrated land use pattern, relying increasingly on public transport, and implementing desegregation processes. Problems such as space for urban growth, homes for the homeless, jobs for the jobless, food for the famished, air for polluted lungs, peace for the violence-stricken townships and care for the sick remain great challenges in our future cities. The post-apartheid city will therefore require drastic re-adjustment in attitudes, aspirations, policy and management by the authorities, the private sector and the general public in order to fulfill its function as a pleasant living and work place.

Effective management of urban problems in the post-apartheid city will require a delicate balance between central planning by the government and devolution of power at local level. The outcome might be a more just and accessible city with equal opportunities, as well as a more functional city acknowledging both First and Third World requirements and standards. However, considerable sacrifices will be unavoidable within the Western city component in order to achieve these goals and to raise living standards in the Third World sector. Several urban scenarios on the future South African post-apartheid city are envisaged (Bernstein and McCarthy, 1990; Swilling, Humphries and Shubane, 1991; Simon, 1992; Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991; McCarthy, 1992; Smith, 1992; Tomlinson, 1990).

URBAN PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

One of the numerous functions of a city is to satisfy the needs of its urban inhabitants regarding employment opportunities and income, housing and services, security and safety, comfort and recreation, and personal fulfillment. South African cities have not altogether succeeded in this regard. This has resulted in a wide variety of problems which impact on the effective functioning of cities as optimal living envi-

ronments and has lead to the destruction of various elements of the city system. Some of these problems will be referred to briefly.

Economic Problems

The large scale poverty and low quality of life experienced by many South African urban residents are reaching alarming proportions. The low quality of life of many urban residents is indicative of an uneven distribution of resources and income which is essential in order to provide individuals with those basic needs essential for survival. Poverty, for millions of urbanites, has reached horrifying dimensions and many, out of necessity, are forced to resort to informal sector activities. Millions of new migrants stream annually to urban areas under the false illusion of plentiful employment opportunities and a more attractive lifestyle. However, due to the present economic system and high growth rate of many cities, the generation of sufficient work for the expanding population is inadequate. In order to pursue a more profitable profession, an increased level of education for all South African citizens is essential.

Social-cultural Problems

Social phenomena such as crime and violence are reaching alarming proportions in our cities and is threatening the safety of the urban inhabitants. The high level of conflict and unlawful behavior is to a large extent motivated by poverty and the lack of basic needs. Many urban residential areas are becoming almost unbearable to live in due to the escalating crime rate. Poor hygienic conditions and high stress levels threaten many urbanites' physical and mental health. Family happiness is threatened due to the lowering of traditional value systems in an impersonal city environment. Alcohol abuse, drugs, family disintegration, child neglect and family murders are part and parcel of community life. The stabilizing influence of religion is to a large extent also diminishing.

Various subgroups in the cities require special needs. The aging of the population, for example, leads to an increasing proportion of elderly people. The distinctive needs and care of this dependent group of people are not always managed successfully in the impersonal cities where a high premium is placed on achievement and productivity. Modern women in the urban environment experiencing unique problems and discrimination is a common occurrence. Their traditional household role becomes stressful due to their becoming an economic force by entering the employment market. In a similar vein, children are also vulnerable and are disadvantaged in the urban environment when both parents are economically active and the many related community demands intrude upon valuable family time.

Institutional Problems

The action of authorities in large urban areas often results in various institutional problems. Large urban populations place high demands on the provision of housing

and public services such as schools, recreational facilities, libraries and health services. Communities which do not have equal access to good quality public services, often experience frustration, dissatisfaction and a lower quality of life. High demands are placed on the administrative systems of cities in order to provide an adequate infrastructure and sufficient services for the rapidly increasing urban population. The management of large quantities of solid waste and the provision of water, electricity and sewage is often inadequate. Ineffective administration of urban environments hampers the effective management of urban problems. In such cases where local authorities possess jurisdiction over a section of the metropolitan area, which should function as an integrated system, planning is often fragmented and uncoordinated.

Physical Problems

The physical environment of a city determines to a large extent the quality of life of its inhabitants. One of the largest problems currently experienced in urban areas is the increase in the volume of traffic which results in traffic flow problems, accidents, long commuting distances, high traveling costs, increased air pollution and inadequate parking facilities. Roads and highways are overloaded in South Africa's cities due to the lack of support for public bus and train transport by the affluent section of the population.

Pollution and the disfigurement of the environment increases when the amount of waste products exceeds a city's capacity for waste disposal. Smoke, gasses, solid waste, noise, unpleasant odors and heat release disturb the ecological balance in and around the large cities. Pollution not only impairs the health and comfort of urban dwellers, but also has in addition far-reaching ecological implications.

Uncontrolled urban sprawl occurs in and around the large metropoles. Cities are continually expanding on the urban fringes and encroaching into the surrounding rural areas. The compactness of the city decreases resulting in an increase in commuter movement and the costs of providing services. The expansion of residential and commercial areas in the suburbs resulting from this suburbanization process leads the decay and decline of the older central city area.

Housing Problems

The functions provided by housing for individuals and the community are numerous. Although the material benefit of housing as protection against the elements is fundamental to human survival, housing in advanced urban societies is generally required to satisfy a far wider range of demands. The symbolic value which a dwelling confers on its inhabitants, including personal status, worthiness, security, love and place identity, is equally important and to a large extent a means of status affirmation (Cater and Jones, 1989). The location of a dwelling, furthermore, provides the inhabitant with access to facilities such as employment, health services, schools, shops and public services. In order to satisfy the different human needs and aspirations of urban inhabitants, the delivery of a wide variety of different types of

housing is essential and should include low density single dwellings, medium density dwellings, high density flats and informal dwellings.

Despite tremendous advancement in the provision of housing, a lack of shelter remains one of the most serious problems affecting the quality of life of people living in South African cities. There are between 7 and 8 million homeless people living in South Africa at present and it is estimated that South Africa's existing urban housing backlog is approximately 1.5 million units. This means that 150,000 housing units will have to be built annually over the next 10 years, plus an additional 200,000 houses in order to keep up with the projected rate of population growth—350,000 units per year (White Paper, 1994; Barnard, 1994).
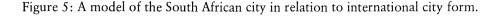
The most severe housing problem occurs predominantly within the existing proclaimed Black townships in the urban areas. These areas are extremely disadvantaged and lack affordable educational, health and other basic services. The lack of basic services such as sanitation and refuse removal increases the incidence of disease and inadequate access to potable water and an insufficient system of sewerage removal severely affects the health of a population. Extreme poverty due to high levels of unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, crime and violence are common phenomena in these informal urban settlements (Ramphele and Heap, 1991).
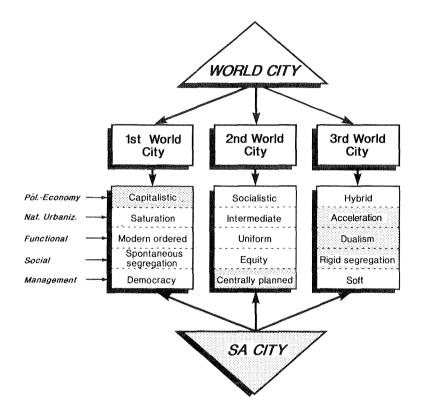
The current housing crisis in South Africa is to a large extent the result of failed public policies of the past. Little was done to develop an effective housing policy until recently and previous attempts were fragmented and inadequate. The recent publication of the White Paper on Housing (1994) may provide a breakthrough in this respect.

WHERE DO SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES FIT INTERNATIONALLY?

The question now is where does the South African 'frontier city' fit into the international urban model? The search for a definition of the international city form suggests a threefold profile (Figure 5). When evaluated according to its politico-economic base, its national urbanization tendencies, its internal urban patterns and its management structure the South African city reveals fundamentally a complex and convergent structure, reflecting facets of three types of international city form, namely a Western city in the First World, a Socialist city in the Second World and a Colonial city in the Third World.

- The South African apartheid cities of the past functioned on a First World *politico-economic base,* in which a free market capitalist economy dominates, but future post-apartheid cities may find themselves to some extent in a frontier capitalist-socialist environment.

- Although the *national urbanization* pattern reflects a First World saturation level amongst White, Colored and Asian people, the large Black population is still in the typical Third World acceleration phase. This tendency will continue in the future post-apartheid city.

Figure 5: A model of the South African city in relation to international city form.

- The colonial dualism of the South African apartheid city is most discernible in its *internal structure*. The equivalent of the advanced White component is found in the North American version of the modern Western city. The relatively inferior Black component, on the other hand, is comparable to traditional Third World city characteristics. Segregated development and class differences dominate the social functioning of the South African city. In the future post-apartheid city segregation and dualism will continue but in a more spontaneous way without ethnic induced legal controls.

- *Management* intervention by the central government in the apartheid city of the past resembles the top-down approach of the Second World cities. The post-apartheid city, on the other hand, needs a 'softer' and more informal administrative style and may even show some Third World signs of Africanization.

The South African 'frontier city' corresponds to a multi-faced international profile with a blend of First World prosperity, Second World central intervention and Third World deprivation. While the South African city displays some similarities with the form of international cities, it has also obtained certain unique characteristics as a result of the legal enforcement of apartheid policy. The restructuring of the post-apartheid city can, however, not take place without the acceptance of the reality that the South African city is intrinsically a transitional frontier version of the Third World city and will become even more so in the future. In African situations it is now widely accepted that urban morphology cannot be meaningfully analyzed unless situated within the broader context of colonialism and the relation of specific socio-spatial features to the political economy. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the distinctive apartheid city, which loses all meaning unless seen as a reflection of state policy. This, in turn, requires incorporation into theoretical constructs of a global political economy of urbanization (Simon, 1984). Rethinking national urban policies for the South African frontier city, therefore, requires a special kind of sensitivity (Rogerson, 1989).

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