Planning for Table Valley

THIS THESIS

is submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

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by

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MY THANKS GO TO

My wife DELL for five long years
of unswerving support,

Brian Rees, who has taught me
so much of what I know, and to

Dave Dewar who will never
take NO (or YES) for an answer,
and most of whose best ideas I fondly imagine were
mine all along now.

Synopsis of the Thesis

This study takes as its starting point the hypothesis that the Table Valley area of Cape Town is in need of resh policies and planning.

It avoids preconceptions by looking critically at the work, methods and principles of present day planning in South Africa, and sets out to establish far broader standards for the good life by returning to fundamentals: man's need for being part of a human community and his need of a rich and varied life.

It then sets out to measure the environment of Table Valley against these values to ascertain both subjectively and objectively whether it is a satisfactory place to live in, and if not, what its shortcomings are.

In the course of this assessment it considers both the built and natural environment, and looks at selected components in detail when appropriate, providing a small research component.

In identifying the shortcomings and problems it is not content to consider only the negative issues, but also the many positive opportunities apparent.

Finally it outlines suitable overall policy for Table Valley, making it clear what role this area should play in the future, and also the roles of subareas in an around it.

It then puts forward an energetic programme for action to achieve the desired ends and overcome the problems, outlining briefly the tasks and responsibilities of some of the professional planners and designers who would next become involved.

1.0 Introduction

1.1 TERMS OF REFERENCE

Without clearly stated terms of reference, a study of this sort will be hard to place in context, hard to make use of, and difficult to judge in professional or academic terms. This is particularly so since planning is of all disciplines the least theoretical and the most applied. In fact it is arguable that planning can only finally exist in applied form, for if robbed of a real-life context it ceases to be planning and becomes mere wishful thinking. This Thesis document must then needs serve not one but several masters.

(i) Its academic function is to complete the requirements of the degree and to satisfy the school and its Head that the student is capable of practising as a planner.

Daytime professional demands on the author's time have meant that this project, unlike many earlier MURP theses, could not overlap other work and benefit from office time or related projects. The writer has no connection with the Cape Town municipality other than as a ratepayer and the study area falls completely outside his own areal responsibilities. The study is therefore the result of some ten months continuous part-time work only. These tight limits may in fact be all to the good. No complaints will be found here about lack of time, manpower or data. Commissioned projects are often - almost invariably - completed under equally wearing limits of time and staff, and it is a professional responsibility to gear the assignment and its depth to the resources available.

(ii) Its professional function is as important to the writer as its academic function, and that is quite simply to help improve the lives and environment of the people who live in Table Valley.

We trust that the document may be read by fellow professionals, decision-makers and interested laymen, and that it may even have some impact on their opinions. In spite of its limited scope, it does not hesitate to state opinions : we reach hard conclusions and make recommendations that we will stand by. There is no guarantee that we are right, but decisions have to be made; our decisions here are made knowing full well that within twelve months our understanding may be far greater and our conclusions quite different.

(iii) Its informing function . We felt that the study should not only demonstrate a planning process, but should also have a research component, however humble. Therefore we have attempted to to assemble as much relevant recent data as possible, to update earlier studies within their original frameworks where these seemed useful, and to illustrate as clearly as possible what life is like in Table Valley

However, only data relevant to the central arguments is presented in the main text. Where appendices carry further information it has been kept to a minimum, and instead the emphasis is on comprehensive and annotated references that may make later work easier for others.

(iv) But in the final analysis, its stimulating function is possibly most important of all: to show not only what is, but also what could be , to show the opportunities open to us with wise policies and programmes.

1.2 THE ORIGINAL HYPOTHESIS

In March 1974, a variety of potential Thesis subjects were put forward by the writer for assessment by the school. The topic that seemed to provide most effective scope for a learning process, and of most local relevance, was a study of the Cape Town amphitheatre, Table Valley, and the development of planning policies for it. This Thesis is a direct development of the original outline statement, the body of which ran as follows:

"Renewal and Rehabilitation in Table Valley

It is my contention that the Cape Town amphitheatre is in need of renewal and rehabilitation. This is a famed and remarkable area of considerable age, and it is my opinion that:

"1. There are no clearly defined city policies for this area at all.

2. No coherent design concepts of any kind underlie such planning as has been done for many years for its diverse quarters, each of which: Vredehoek, Gardens, Oranjezicht, Higgovale and Tamboers Kloof - differs greatly in its climate, housing and social character.

3. Its dense population, who are ideally located near the city and its work opportunities, may be finding this inner core less than ideal for raising families. However, inflating housing costs are making more and more young families into 'cost captives' of the area.

" The Thesis will aim at establishing planning policies for the Table Valley area and/or certain selected districts within it, and will draw up plans and programmes of priorities for renewal and rehabilitation . It will approach the people of the district directly in reaching these policies and programmes. . . . "

The draft outline then went on to discuss public participation in particular, and the extent to which a Thesis could draw on local people :

"... the depth of this involvement would depend on the ... work load.... the people of the Valley are after all the real reason for undertaking the Thesis at all. Table Valley is a remarkable and internationally famous physical setting. How do the people of this beautiful place see their surroundings ? What do they and their children want, collectively and individually ? What kind of environment could be brought about here ? "

The study is really a testing of a hypothesis put forward a year ago; to reinforce it or confute it. The testing of such hypotheses is of course not new to this school or thinking elsewhere. The School's Corridor Project of 1973 tested a formal hypothesis. Of the approach, Chadwick writes

"Karl Popper (1965) has concluded that science proceeds not by induction or inference based on many observations, but by conjecture and refutation: we hypothesise, and then we test our hypothesis in an attempt to refute it. "

During the period of this project, it seemed at times that this view of Table Valley was pedestrian and uninspired , and that the real potential of this staggesringly beautiful site was so great that once scarcely dared touch it. At other times, problems of homelessness and poverty elsewhere in the city left one thinking that Table Valley, rich and comfortable by comparison, needed no help at all : hypothesis invalid.

In fact the truth lies between these two polar extremes. Definite problems have been encountered and identified, past errors in approach have been made clear, much will have to be changed. The Valley has been found to be a greater asset than ever expected, with enormous potential for improvement, and we believe that major efforts are justified. As a place to live in, and as a place to visit, Table Valley and its mountain are unique in all the world.

1.3 The Overall Process

More than anything else, we have tried to avoid the artificial separation of 'theory' and reality, and to integrate our knowledge of the amphitheatre, as it grew during the study, with our investigation of what might be the good environment. This attempt has not been easy, and we may not have fully succeeded.

Nevertheless, we believe that this was the best way to set about the task: to learn from observation and from the study area, and at the same time learn from concepts, theories, hypotheses, utopias and history. each field continually informing the other. The process we have followed is shown in the accompanying diagram.

The Idea of the Thesis: An observed condition leads to a wish to take some sort of action.

↓

A first hypothesis; based on very vague and undefined Criteria.

First detailed look at study area, city and region:

What potential problems might there be ?

Compared with these problems, what improved or ideal state do we seek ?

↓

The Search for the Ideal city.; planners beware. Role of planners, their principle, methods and hopes, the successes and failures and the lessons from them.

Further Observation.

What potential opportunities might there be ?

What kind of environment do we finally seek ? what community in it ? We set up CRITERIA

AND AGAINST THESE WE MEASURE ....
..... through a series of

Performance Reviews

Table Valley's natural and built environment assessed against our own explicit criteria of the good life : how does it work at present ?

A Planning Balance Sheet : the dominant themes established,
the main problems and priorities
the outstanding opportunities. Which leads to

POLICY

What should Table Valley be and do ?

What must be done
How to set about it

Stage two : Beyond this Thesis
outlines of the programme immediately following.

↓

1.4 Stumbling Block: Planners and Information

Next to his attitudes and values, the most important part of the planner's job is his handling of information. His skill at this will largely determine whether he succeeds or fails professionally. It may be simple general information or elaborate research findings, but from his handling of it will spring the policies that will eventually shape our surroundings.

All too often, planners and local authorities know too little about their subjects to develop effective policies. While there is no reason why a local authority should not undertake research long before making important policy decisions, two factors tend to cloud the picture.

Firstly, for maybe subconscious reasons, research is often just not done. Existing policies are pre-decided issues, personal projects or whims, and only when resistance appears or problems occur, is recourse made to research, either to find an answer in a hurry or to bolster a predecided case for political reasons. This is understandably human, but quite unacceptable: to quote the old epigram, research should not be used like the drunkard uses the lamp-post, for support rather than illumination.

Secondly, a generation of planners has fled the responsibilities of decision making in ever more complex fact-gathering rituals. Planners almost always have more information at their disposal than they know what to do with. But faced with the intellectually demanding tasks of interpretation and commitment, many "planners" choose rather to set out on further and usually more detailed searches for information. Mechanical data handling is one particularly blind alley that can keep a skilled prevaricator occupied for years.

Frequently information is ignored as being "out of date" before even interpreted. This is a common failing: more often than not, information at the broad level where it is often of most value remains relevant for some years.

We mention this problem in some detail because it is particularly relevant in Cape Town at present as more and more computer facilities and databanks become available to not always discriminating minds or model-builders. Planning shares, in some ways, two types of fact with another field of analysis and policy, namely, military intelligence. In their training programmes the military discriminate clearly between (i) information and (ii) intelligence. "Intelligence" is information that has been digested and analysed to reach a conclusion on which a decision can be made. At present, planning here has more than enough 'information' but not enough 'intelligence.

Certainly there are difficulties in handling data. There have been many alleys in this study that were explored to no avail. One method used that is valuable when time is short is the "dummy data" technique.

The dummy data technique can be used when one has data available in raw form which will require time-consuming preocessing or calculations before it is usable. One has therefore to estimate how useful, or not, this data will be. Let us say, for example, that we could establish the destinations of all the car commuters in a district, from raw and time-consuming data. Using common-sense estimates, and avoiding absurdities and contradictions, one allocates dummy information as if it had reached through accurate methods. Then one assumes that this "information" is true and applies it to the problem, asking oneself how one will use what one now knows.

Invariably some of the information will soon seem of doubtful utility, and what is really needed stands out clearly. Only then need processing of the original data start.

1, 5 Methods and Principles.

Throughout this study we have followed certain simple principles and methods that we believe give excellent returns for the effort put into them. Although they may seem deceptively simple, we believe that they generate a wealth of insight, and that they would bring many planners back to the cities that they now see as mere professional abstractions.

The principles that we believe are suitable to a city planning operation of this scale are :

1. Exhaust all readily available information first; attempt to draw conclusions and develop hypotheses even at the earliest stages.

2. Maintain the same scale and grain of investigation and data throughout any one cycle of the operation.

3. Use the dummy data method described above if new information seems of uncertain value.

4. Where direct information does not exist, use knowledgeable second parties in any relevant field: estate agents, headmasters, PTA's, politicians and shopkeepers etc.

5. Where you have no information at all, make your assumptions explicit, and make it clear that they are only assumptions.

6. Cultivate simple powers of observation ; never ignore the obvious or the familiar, search for the implications behind simple facts: closing-down sales, children in the street, renovations and property sales.

7. Make diagrams and sketches everywhere you go; take notes and photographs whereever possible. Do not rely on memory.

8. Try to experience what other citizens experience. Take bus rides on unfamiliar routes, make purchases at unknown cafes, take 'longer routes' via unfamiliar streets, visit other libraries, swimming pools, parks, synagogues.

9. Walk whereever possible. One learns most on foot. Remember that many people ; domestics, older people and those under twenty, do not have cars and rely on foot or public transport to get about.

10. /.....

10. Remember that understanding the city is a cyclical process, as is policy-making. Revisit areas you have not seen for for some time, re-examine earlier and apparently completed study, re-examine earlier earlier ideas and hypotheses continually. If the planner does not turn his own ideas upside down for inspection, other people will do so for him in due course, and less kindly.

11. Learn to think laterally, associating the unlikely with the unexpected. True creativity in thinking does not come from straight lines but from the by-ways of the mind. (Lateral and oblique thinking cannot be learned; but the devices to encourage it can be.)

8 A

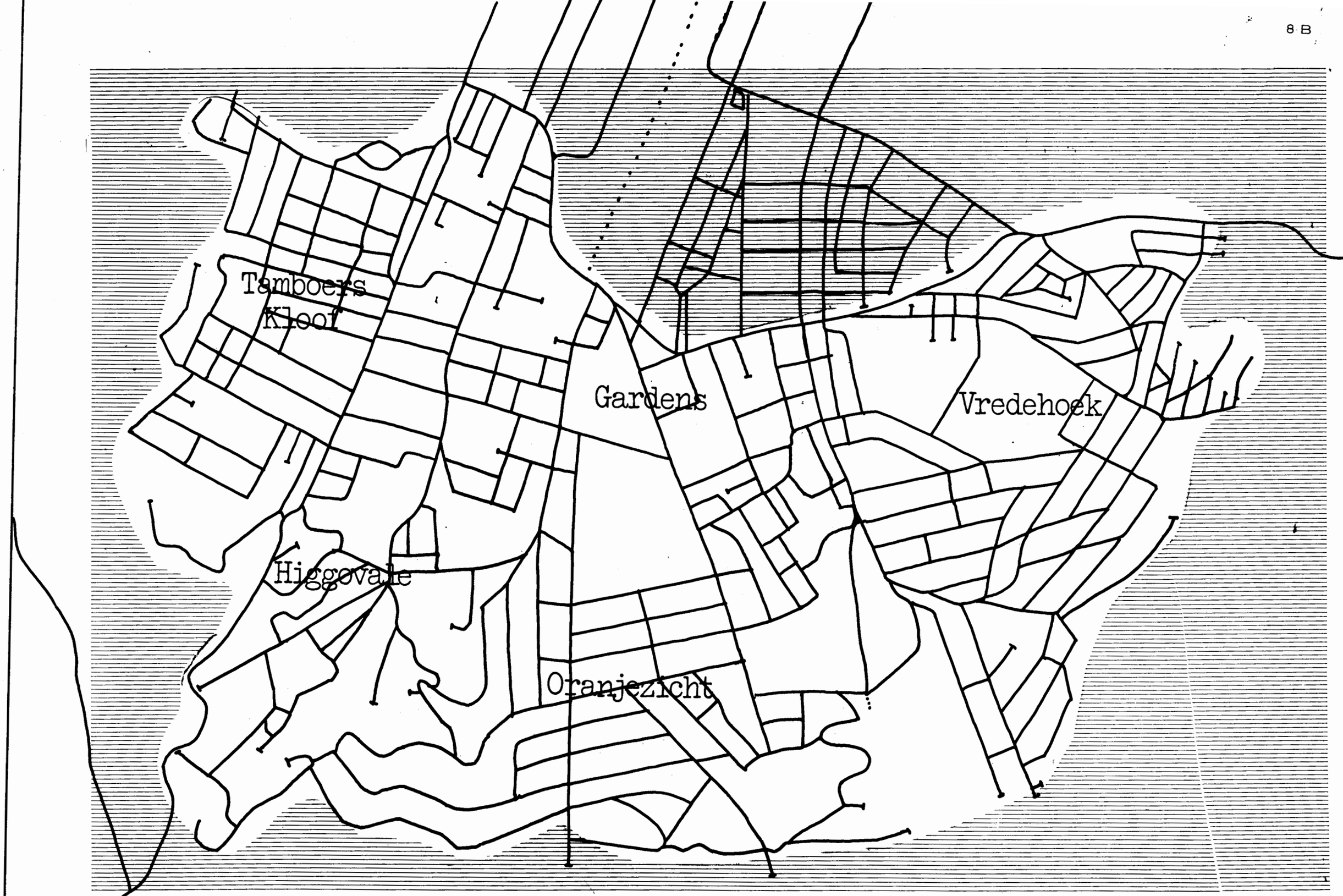
1,6 The Study Area

The study area consists of the long-established suburban areas of Vredehoek, Oranjezicht and Tamboers Kloof, along with a part of Gardens; all lying in the curve of an arc between the lower slopes of Table Mountain and the portion of the Central city Ring Road that cuts across the floor of the Amphitheatre from de Waal Drive to Buitengracht Street.

We have looked beyond the study area at the frame, District Six and the Malay Quarter as well, but our main concern was the dynamic of the future of the former suburbs. No plans for action had occurred in these areas at all, whereas the Malay Quarter and District Six are both currently in the throes of redevelopment or prposed redevelopment.

Also of concern to us was the whole north facing area of Table Mountain, Devil's Peak and Signal Hill-Lion's Head because of its importance as a natural and recreation area, not only to those in the study area but to everyone else.

Certain problems fall even beyond these limits; where necessary we make recommendations though these questions are not in our brief.



The Study Area

2.0 Table Valley: its City and Region

2, 1 THE PROSPERITY OF THE METROPOLIS:
Forecasts and assumptions for the city's economy

Cape Town's original raison d'être was her port function. However, although originally Mother city, and part she has long been eclipsed by Durban as a port, and recently by Port Elizabeth, and in 1973 ranked as South Africa's number three port. This has not been the result of absolute decline, but of slower growth compared with other port cities. As in so much of her economy, her growth in goods handled has been steady but not spectacular. The harbour has been consistently full. Berth occupancy for the twenty main commercial berths was 94, 6% during 1974.

TABLE 2. 1

CARGO SHIPPED, TRANSSHIPPED OR LANDED

Percentage distribution of tonnage by port.

Port	% 1972 - 73	% 1973 - 74
Durban	57, 74	58, 94
East London	6, 24	3, 42
Port Elizabeth	15, 98	17, 73
Mossel Bay	0, 52	0, 42
TABLE BAY	16, 89	16, 65
Others *	2, 60	2, 82
TOTAL	100, 00	100, 00

* Other ports are Walvis Bay, Luderitz, Port Nolloth.

(1)

Cape Town's leadership in fruit export is unlikely to be challenged except possibly in citrus products.

TABLE 2. 2

FRUIT EXPORTS THROUGH S. A. HARBOURS

Percentage distribution by port

Port	Citrus %	Deciduous %
TABLE BAY	35	84
Durban	26	00
East London	4	3
Port Elizabeth	15	13
Lourenco Marques	19	00
Beira	1	00
TOTAL	100	100

(1 +2)

The effects of the Re-opening of the Suez Canal

The revenue from diverted vessels from JUne 1967 to the end of 1972 to all ports totalled over R10 million. Suez will be re-opened during July 1975 and the main effects on Cape Town are likely to be:

(I) Loss of some revenue to SAR & H.
(ii) A slight easing of congestion
(iii) a decline in off-limits chandlering services
(Iv) a decrease in bunker fuel sales and
(v) a decline in repair contracts.

However some two hundred of the supertankers trading round the the Cape will be unable to use Suez and will continue to pass. The re-opening of the canal will have only smallish sectoral effects on Cape Town's economy.

Harbour Investment

Three deep-sea container berths are under construction in the Ben Schoeman dock, capacity 6 000 containers, and also three coastal container berths. The new docks will be operational

in 1979, by which time investment in the extensions will total R56,00 million .

These facilities are smaller than those under way for Durban harbour; about the same as those planned for Port Elizabeth, so investment levels seem appropriate and suggest that capacity will exist for quiet but reasonably steady growth of harbour business in Cape Town. But it seems doubtful that Cape Town, once premier port and now number three, will change its ranking without other stimulus.

2. 2 CHANGES IN CAPE TOWN's INTERNAL STRUCTURE

It is a truism to observe that Cape Town is decentralising many once exclusively central functions as her physical size and population increase. Insofar as the Central City may no longer be the economic centre of gravity of the metropolis, Table Valley's present 'centrality' and rôle could change.

We can only comment briefly on shifting functions here, and only insofar as it affects our study area. Recent unpublished figures on industrial location reinforce and give more substance to trends towards polycentrism .

TABLE 2, 3
NUMBER OF REGISTERED FACTORIES IN GREATER CAPE TOWN AREA, 1962 to 1971

District	1962	1971	% Growth over decade .
Northern Suburbs	181	532	293, 9 %
Urban	2117	2136	8, 9 %
Rural	831	1400	.68, 47 %

(3) (For definitions of districts see reference cited)

The following figures however amplify those above, suggesting that numbers of factories are less important than floor space. Extensive floorspace is no guarantee of extensive employment though, sometimes the opposite, and it is conceivable that larger firms in the 'urban' (essentially Cape Town municipal) district are less important to our future prosperity than small new entrepreneurs seizing opportunities on the periphery where land is cheaper and population growth is rapid. Without being able to map daytime job locations and numbers, one can only infer how jobs are really moving.

TABLE 2, 4
INCREASE IN FLOORSPACE IN GREATER CAPE TOWN 1962 - 1971

District	millions of m^2	% increase
Urban	1, 969	54, 33
Northern Suburbs	, 971	26, 78
Rural	, 684	18, 88
Total	3, 624 million	100, 00

(3)

2, 3 State Policy affecting Cape Town

The Table Valley citizens, although an elite, are of course dependent on the region's economic health. The State has been aware in recent years of the need (i) to attract further investment to the Western Cape and (ii) to overcome internal regional disparities in Western Province growth. For a variety of reasons regional development poles ('growth points') and urban decentralisation have been confused as concepts, and may well be operating in conflict. (4)

Whatever the success of Saldanha and Dassenberg, in the medium term, the skills offered by the white resident of the study area should find a ready market within the city region. He has good roads and public transport, and his present income and mobility is such that even noticeable shifts of employment into the outer 01 Region would affect only his discretionary income and convenience. We see his income and economic position as being secure, rather than of great potential, and that this situation will be affected only slightly by regional problems.

3.0 The Search for a Better City

3, 1 Some questions about Planning

South Africa is a politically conservative country: not only the dominant parties of her white elites, but also her African peoples. Her short history has been a stormy one of deep-rooted tribal tensions, black tribes as well as white. Among these groups change has hitherto been absorbed slowly: deep divisions about land, language, loyalties and nation provide both stumbling blocks to progress and, paradoxically, fine foundations.

In this conservative climate order and strength of authority have been accepted to a degree now rare in the West, although more comprehensible in what is after all essentially an African state. Although give-and-take is accelerating in both domestic and foreign policies, broad social progress will be slow compared to the developed welfare economies of Europe. Even rapid political liberalisation, if it were to occur in post-colonial Southern Africa, would be no guarantee of social progress, the redistribution of wealth or of genuine human development. Swift political change is often as counter-productive as it is beneficial.

In this tightly controlled, and yet fluid and dynamic situation, South African planners are in a position of great power and more than usual responibility. Planners and government are increasingly the co-allocators(with the market) of scarce resources, and central, provincial and city planners are responsible for an enormous slice of the nation's spending: investment in the natural and built environment.

The critical questions to ask are then these:

- Who are these planners ?
- What are their principles ?
- What are their means ?
- amd to what ends do they work ?

" The planner is a bespoiler of the environment, the friend of the developer and the moneyed interests, the wrecker of homes and communities. Razing the old and the beautiful he is more likely to put up instead monstrous concrete viaducts or thirtey-storeyed airconditioned nightmares whose sole purpose is 18% return after tax. He is intoxicated with his own powers and seldom concerned with the people who might get in the way. "

This extreme and hostile description would find quite wide acceptance in Europe and particularly in Britain today, where for many people , the "planners" symbolise all that is powerful, bureaucratic, remote and out of sympathy with the lives of ordinary people. Such a picture exists of planners both at a project and a day-to-day level. If the planner is involved in the location of a new London airport, then he is a monster, an earth-raper ; if his job is Development Control then he is the one who turns down the little man's application to keep more than ten pigeons in a built up area.

"... too often in the past, the only contact people have had with planning has been essentially disillusioning because they have been prevented from doing something that they had set their hearts on . " (Sir Colin Buchanan) (5)

We feel then that a planner who has chosen to interest himself in a district such as the Table Mountain amphitheatre needs a more precise awareness of what he is about than usual. It is invidious to rank the environment qualitatively, but the unique mountain setting that is known all round the world deserves even more attention than the average beauty spot.

3. 2 Who are the Planners ?

If the image of the planner has become so muddied in Britain and many other states, it is different in South Africa, although likely to change. Who is the South African planner ?

As seen by the layman he is usually part of a local or a central government department. He may be an engineer, a land surveyor, a demographic research worker, or even a " t. .n planner". He may also be a city or provincial councillor: even a cabinet minister, for the subtle differences between technical staff and politicians are usually lost on the man in the street.

The Planner as seen by himself is of course different. In this country a strong self-image has grown up among many - if not most - of those who style themselves "town planners". This self-image is of a group apart, apart from the engineering oligarchy who until recently have dominated professional control of national and city contruction. Planners have seen themselves as " on the outside looking in" to some extent; their complaint has been that they do not have enough power, that they play second fiddle.

They have felt moreover that their more generalised training and philosophies give them a better grasp of urban issues, and that a liberalisation of engineering and administrative attitudes would give them a chance to show what "planning" could do. This term has not generally been defined, but has tended to be synonymous with fashions of the day, such as pedestrianisation of our cities, strong views on the control of the motor car, and a loose range of opinions on social studies, the environment, consultation of the public, old trees, metropolitan government and the poor. These opinions have largely been assumed ready-made rather than in response to conditions which they themselves have studied.

This self-image varies from city to city and from organisation to organisation, depending on local personalities and history, or upon the level of government. Clearly the Pretoria planners concerned with 'Growth Point' finance have far more power than the lone town planner of a tiny peri-urban municipality. However if the planners concerned have undergone a university education in planning, architecture or landscape architecture, they are likely to share a loose but common set of concerns about our cities and the way we live that with luck go rather deeper than the ideas mentioned earlier.

Very few such concernes have been explicitly applied to the study area, Table Valley, much of whose built environment was in existence before the inauguration of the first part of the Town Planning Scheme - Bakoven to Trafalgar Park Woodstock - in 1938. Where older building or monuments have been preserved, ring roads built or business expanded for example, this has been more in response to simple economics, personalities and opinions than the result of overt and explicit policy.

If asked, those who have held planning responsibilities since the 1940's would doubtless say that ' sound town planning principles ' underlay their work and decisions: in fact such principles have been sketchy at best, amounting chiefly to a firm belief in zoning, the inviolability of residential areas, and the need for easy traffic circulation.

If we go on to consider planning technicians, those non-university people who have had a technical college training, we find first principles even more lacking. Their training tends to be fragmented into a series of tecnical introductions to the usual related fields. Studies are almost totally " applied " in character, but without a real enveloping philosophy or rationale. Technicians going on to planning responsibilities tend as a result to respond to the opinions and methods of their professional seniors.. A technician attached to an engineer handling road-widenings will tend to develop similar job attitudes; another who is doing

drafting work for a proposed coastal reserve may become highly conservation-minded. It is clear that the methods and opinions of the planners in charge have a great impact on their staff, and now increasingly determine whether they attract or lose staff.

3.3 The Arrival of Responsibility

The demand for planners and planning management is now increasing rapidly though, and the position of the planner as an outsider 'looking in' is now almost completely over. This temporary phase was not unlike the position of an opposition political party: much to say without the responsibilities.

But just as the built and natural environment are indivisible, so also are the attitudes of the public, who are not aware of these subtleties and historic rivalries. Planners can no longer regard themselves as a group within a group, for the public measures the achievements of all those professionals who are involved with the built environment. And those who shape policy - the planners - have frightening responsibilities ahead.

3.4 Responsibilities: the Increasing Scale of Intervention

The late nineteen sixties saw a rapid change in the nature of building development in South Africa. Until then the market for homes had been fairly simply structured. After World War Two and the end of the poor white problem, whites were in general able to pay for their own housing, and their homes, whether single dwellings or flats, were typically built in small numbers by private, often speculative builders. The proportion of state-aided housing for whites was small. Black housing was traditional or semi-shack in the country, and in the cities was either self-built or part of a housing scheme.

Another field of development, shopping, was still largely atomised, both in central cities and in the suburbs. Developers seldom assembled anything more than small clusters of shops in single buildings which were usually added to existing focusses or retail strings.

Since then, scale economies, larger companies, and foreign example have rapidly introduced the privately financed large-scale scheme to both white and coloured housing and to shopping, although not yet extensively to offices. The names of Paradise Valley, Ormonde, Sandton City, The Firs, Hyde Park, Forest Glades, Marina da Gama, Edgemead etc are all familiar.

The State too has enlarged its scale of operation. The small 'native townships' of twenty years ago are now growth points with target populations of hundreds of thousands: in the Dassenberg scheme contracts worth R35 million have already been let. At the same time as this expansion of scale, the disastrous results of many municipal developments for coloureds and Africans that were built in the 'anderkant-die-buit' tradition have led (even) the State to (re) appraisals of what 'housing' is all about.

For the first time ever, South Africa is facing complete living environments to be built as a whole within a specified time scale.

Where the existing city fabric is concerned, the scale of action is also increasing rapidly. The clearance of the blocks of District Six that have so far gone displaced more than the population of Malmesbury in a couple of years.

The numbers of people involved in these public and private undertakings is - maybe regrettably - growing greater all the time. At the same time, the risks involved if there are errors of judgement grow astronomical.

This is why we make no apology for much of what follows in this Thesis: our protracted investigation of what a decent living place might be, and how to arrive at it.

3.5 Looking at Table Valley: what are the principles ?

It is arguable that cities, man's most remarkable creation, have also been his most misunderstood. Man has excelled at building and living in cities, and until very recently ran their affairs and their economies with skill. But throughout the ages, thinkers who enquired into the workings of cities have seldom understood what they have seen there.

The despised merchant class of classical Athens understood the city far better than did Plato. Plato could see no order in the ' cpnfusion ' of the city, and believed as have many others that order could only be achieved by remaking the city : either its fabric or its citizens. Almost all utopias, and most city planning in recent years has consisted of attempting to force some kind of 'fit' between coat and body toaccord with beliefs that are usually banally simplistic, but usually not even explicitly stated.

We are considering in detail what the good environment consists of, and we can learn from the misunderstandings of others. Let us then look at Plato's conceptions of the ideal as seen by Mumford.

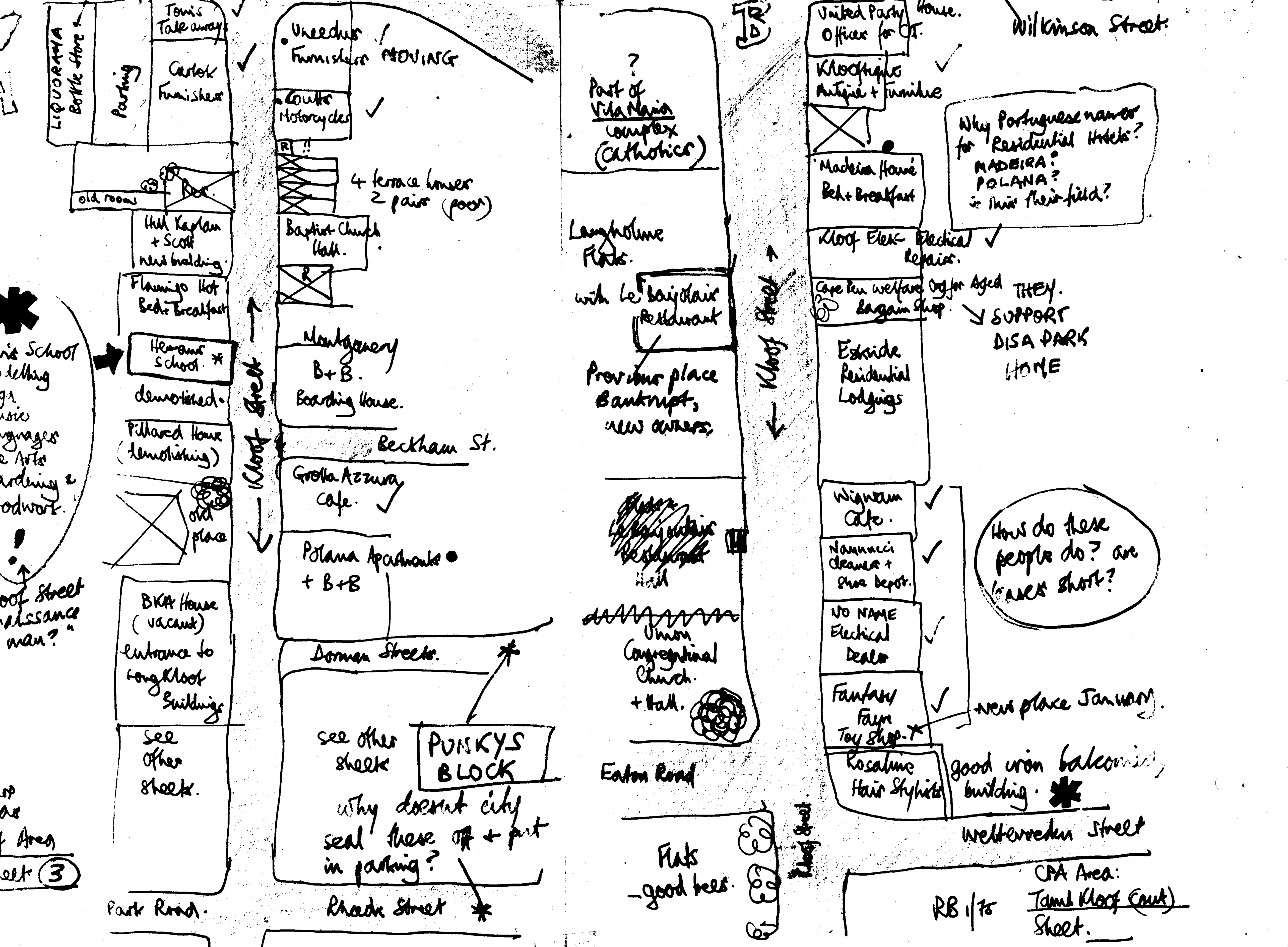
"If we have no book of Hippodamos' to guide us, Plato's various excursions into utopia are enlightening. But they are dismaying, too, for they show that one of the greatest minds that ever flourished... was unable to understand the source of his own great qualities. "

"... From the fact of nature that men were different Plato jumped to the gratuitous conclusion that they should stay that way, and even deepen their original differences by a lifetime of occupational specialisation. "

"... For Plato wholeness and balance were not to be found in individual men, only in the hive. For the sake of the polis he was ready to sacrifice in the individual personality the admirable qualities that had begun to emerge from its life - harmony, moderation, poise, symmetry, organic balance. "

".. when Plato turned his back on the disorder and confusion of Athens to rearrange the social functions of the city on an obsolete pattern, he also turned his back, unfortunately, on the essential life of the city itself, with its power to cross-breed, to intermingle, to reconcile opposites, to create new syntheses, to elicit new purposes not predetermined by the petrified structure itself.... he returned to the order of an insect community whose social adaptations are sealed in biological structures that have remained unchanged for millions of years. What he did not suspect , apparently, was that this geometric heaven might, in terms of man's suppressed potentialities, turn out to be a living hell. "

(from Chapter Six, 'Citizen versus Ideal City' in Lewis Mumford, The City in History. (6)



LIQUORAMA Bottle Store
Parking
Tonis Take away
Carlok Furnishers
old rooms
Hill Kaplan + Scott new building
Flamingo Hot Bed + Breakfast
Hermans School
demolished.
Pillared House (demolishing)
old place
BKA House (vacant)
entrance to Long Kloof Buildings
see other sheets.
Park Road.
Kloof Street
Uneedus Furnishers MOVING
Coulter Motorcycles
4 terrace houses 2 pairs (poor)
Baptist Church Hall.
Montgomery B + B. Boarding House.
Beckham St.
Grotta Azzurra Cafe.
Polana Apartments + B+B
Dorman Street.
see other sheets
PUNKYS BLOCK
why doesnt city seal these off + put in parking?
Rheede Street
Part of Villa Maria complex (catholics)
Langholme Flats.
with Le Beaujolais Restaurant
Provinar place Bankrupt, new owners,
Union Congregational Church + Hall.
Eaton Road
Flats good trees.
Kloof Street
United Party Offices for G.T.
House.
Wilkinson Street.
Kloofnight Antiques + Furniture
Why Portuguese names for Residential Hotels? MADEIRA? POLANA? is this their field?
Madeira House Bed + Breakfast
Kloof Elec Electrical Repairs.
Cape Pen welfare Org for Aged Bargain Shop.
THEY SUPPORT DISA PARK HOME
Eskside Residential Lodgings
Wigwam Cafe.
Nannucci cleaners + shoe Depot.
NO NAME Electrical Dealer
How do these people do? are cash short?
Fantasy Fayre Toy Shop.
new place January.
Rosaline Hair Stylists
good iron balconies building.
Weltevreden Street
CPA Area: Tamb Kloof (Cont) Sheet.
RB 1/75
Kloof Street Renaissance man?
Sheet 3

We have quoted this passage at some length because it shows, at an early point in history, the basic misunderstanding that has plagued city planning for generations, and seldom more so than in the twentieth century.

And this basic misunderstanding has been the attempt, again and again, to reduce the city to some simplistic conception of order as the planner or observer sees it.

The true genius of the city is almost never recognised: its power, as Mumford says,

> "... to cross-breed, to intermingle, to reconcile opposites, to create new syntheses, to elicit new purposes not predetermined by the petrified structure itself. "

Recreating reality has always been necessary for man. Chorley and Haggart write:

> " The traditional reaction of man to the apparent complexity of the world around him has been to make for himself a simplified and intelligible picture of the world. He then tries to substitute this cosmos of his own for the world of experience, and thus to overcome it. (7)

It is the nature of this 'idealisation' that is so critical in planning. As we look at the randomly chosen field sheet opposite, of one single street, and we consider the livelihoods, lives, business problems, the joys and sorrows of its residents, it is worth adding a warning:

> " The development of cultural forms over space is not a haphazard process and principles of spatial evolution can be developed. But no simple monolithic principle holds the key to explanation, not even do a few principles combined offer an adequate explanation of the tremendous complexity of change in the real world. (7.1)

It is this weakness for oversimplification that motivates such savage criticism as that of Jane Jacobs :

" I think it (town planning) has failed. It has a fundamental intellectual failure behind it. Town Planning as we know it today was built on a set of prefabricated principles; the principles came first, and the real world is supposed to conform to them. This is cult thought. This is not the sort of thinking that has ever produced progress for use... "

"... The second indication of this failure is that Town Planning has not really contributed to human knowledge. Town planning is not doing that, has never been doing that. It is a parasite of modern knowledge, and most of the knowledge it is a parasite of is very out of date today. "

"As far as the future of Town Planning is concerned, I do not believe it has any, any more than astrology, which was based on the notion that the sun revolves round the earth... "

Jane Jacobs, RIBA Lecture,
LOndon 1967
(8)

We believe that this failure can be analysed - even more specifically than she does. The roots of this failure lie

(i) In the way planners idealise their world, and

(ii) in that their idealisation continues to be based on the nineteenth century's response to industrialisation: the fit environment as Public Health.

It was the Public Health movement that was the father of land-use zoning and of building regulation, and it is these that have brought about much of what Table Valley is today.

3, 6 The fit environment as Public Health: the rise of Zoning

Friedman's view of planning as largely a response to crisis can be well seen in Britain's nineteenth century Public Health Acts and sanitary reforms. The contemporary urge of the City fathers to clear, regulate and reconstruct in the flooded squatter camps of the Cape Flats is no different from Engels' horrified reaction to Manchester in 1844.

Lest we later criticise our achievements too superficially, let us consider first the environment that land use zoning and the regulation of building has replaced, that of Industrial Manchester:

The Built Environment, Manchester 1845

"... a multitude of covered passages lead from the main street into numerous courts, and he who turns in thither gets into a filth and disgusting grime the equal of which is not to be found - especially in the courts which lead down to the Irk, and which contain unqualifiedly the most horrible dwellings I have yet beheld. In one of these courts there stands directly at the entrance a privy without a door, so dirty that the inhabitants can pass into and out of that court only by passing through foul pools of urine and excrement..."

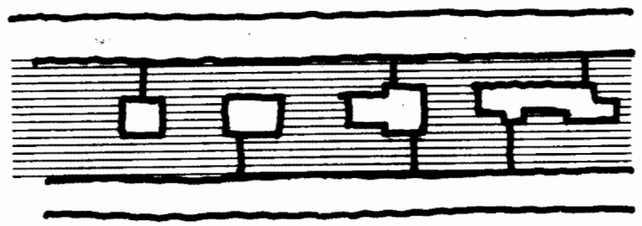
"Below it onethe river there are several tanneries which fill the whole neighbourhood with the stench of animal putrefaction... ...Allens Court was in such a state at the time of the cholera that the sanitary police ordered it evacuated, swept and disinfected with chloride of lime..."

"... at the bottom flows, or rather stagnates, the Irk, a narrow, coal-black, foul-smelling stream full of debris and refuse, which it deposits on the shallower right bank. In dry weather, a long string of the most disgusting, blackish-green slime pools are left standing on this bank, from the depths of which bubbles of miasmic gas constantly arise and give forth a stench unendurable even on the bridge...

"above the bridge are tanneries, bonemills and gasworks, from which all drains and refuse find their way into the Irk, which receives further the contents of all the neighbouring sewers and privies."

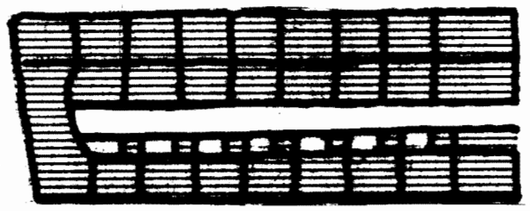
"Every house is built without reference to anyother, and the scraps of space between them are called courts for want of any other name. In the somewhat newer portions of the same quarter, and in other working men's quarters, a somewhat more orderly arrangement may be found.

The space between two streets is divided into more regular usually square courts, more or less as follows :



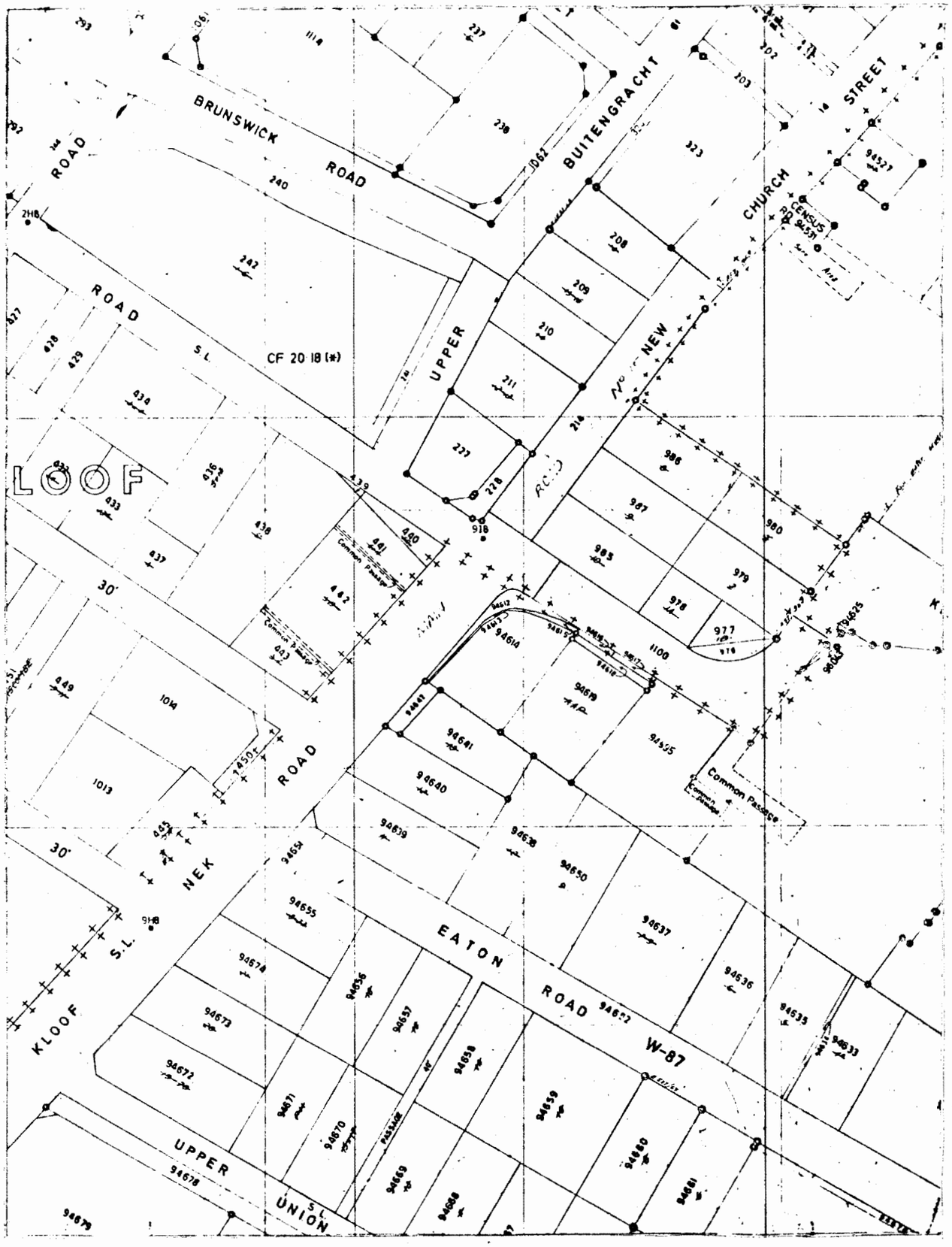
They were built in this way from the beginning, and communicate with the street by means of covered passages. If the totally planless construction is injurious to the health of the workers by preventing ventilation, this method of shutting them up in courts surrounded on all sides by buildings is far more so. The air simply cannot escape; the chimneys of the houses are the sole drains for the imprisoned atmosphere of the courts...

"... working men's cottages are almost never built singly, but always by the dozen or score; a single contractor building up one or two streets at a time. These are then arranged as follows:



...in a curve of the Medlock stand two groups of about two hundred cottages, built chiefly back to back, in which live about four thousand human beings, most of them Irish. The cottages are old, dirty and of the smallest sort, the streets uneven, fallen into ruts and in part without drains or pavement; masses of refuse, offal and sickening filth lie among standing pools in all directions ....a horde of ragged women and children swarm about here, as filthy as the swine that thrive upon the garbage heaps and in the puddles. In short the whole rookery furnishes such a hateful and repulsive spectacle as can hardly be equalled in the worst court on the Irk."

(8. 1)



The Built environment, Cape Town 1975

By contrast with Manchester's almost uncontrolled chaos, laissez faire run amok, in the tiny area of Table Valley shown here, not only is a multitude of Parliamentary legislation of effect, but in addition, the Cape Town Municipality, through its legal controls of the Map and Statement of its Town Planning Scheme, control all of the following:

- Reservations of Land for special puposes
- Use zoning
- Sizes of erven
- Coverage of an erf
- Floor areas of buildings
- Building lines about buildings
- Height and spaces about dwelling houses etc.
- Height and spaces about all other buildings
- Street widths
- Parking, garaging, loading, footways
- Special types of buildings, and special areas.

The Statement is a document of over one hundred sections. It is worth observing that in the entire document only seven lines are devoted to explaining what the purpose of these controls might be.

Sec. 3. "Purpose of Scheme.

The General purpose of the Scheme is a co-ordinated and harmonious development of the area of the Municipality... in such a way as will most effectively tend to promote health, safety, order, amenity, convenience and general welfare as well as efficiency and economy in the process of such development. "

(9)

We have been arguing that 'public health' remains the implicit justification for use zoning in South African planning, rather than a more widely defined environment.

Then let us at this stage look at the philosophy behind "mainstream" zoning thought in South Africa. The views of Floyd are probably typical, and the implications run very deep. Rather unusually, the fit environment as seen by Floyd is spelt out in detail.

> "... certain uses or the manner in which they are conducted may be a source of inconvenience or nuisance to others. Because of this impact of one use upon another, as well as for other reasons (?) use zoning arose. It developed largely as a means of protecting uses in the enjoyment of their amenity and convenience...
>
> "... when comparing the detrimental effect of one use upon another and classifying them in order of nuisance value, the best basis for comparison is the dwelling house. The reasons for this are as follows:
>
> (a) the dwelling house usually occupies the greatest area in a town.
> (b) it is the most sensitive of all the uses to the impact of other uses
> (c) it is the least objectionable or innocuous (sic) of all uses
> (d) it is a use that seeks quiet pleasant surroundings and seclusion.
>
> "... the dwelling house is the home of the family where rest from the day's activity and where privacy or even isolation from other persons is sought. By adapting this use as a basis, all others may be classified in their order of nuisance value from the least to to the greatest as follows:

Increasing Nuisance Value

1. Dwelling House
2. Places of Instruction
3. Places of public worship
4. Residential buildings (boarding houses etc)
5. Social Halls
6. Hotels (liquor serving)
7. Institutions
8. Offices
9 Cafes
10. Shops
11. Business premises
12. Places of Amusement
13. Public garages
14. Industries
15. Noxious industries "

(10)

While we cannot reject his views out of hand - since he is being specific in his assumptions; there is much in this 'idealisation' that we cannot accept. There is quite obviously no element of choice in his schema: your dwelling house (presumably detached, and only occupied by a family with children) WILL be in quiet secluded surroundings, a good distance from any work, business or amusement.

That there are strong natural forces countering this idealisation, Floyd recognises:

> "... the problem of the non-conforming use is one that has worried town planners and local authorities all over the world. The non-conforming use is a use that established itself prior to the preparation of the Town Planning Scheme and which is located in an area... zoned for a use or uses other than this particular one....
>
> "... The person who is the cause of the non-conforming existing use has usually acted in good faith when he established his use. No scheme existed to guide (?) him and he had to rely on his own resources in the

'in the selection of a site. . . . few persons embarking on a business realise the nuisance they might be to neighbours. Most such persons usually consider their use as a social benefit."

> " Some existing uses have been got rid of but experience in the USA seems to be that existing uses seldom die and whereas early ordinances allowed existing uses to continue with the idea that they were few, unimportant and likely to disappear, latterly the attempt is made to remove them. "
> (10.1)

One asks: if these existing uses "seldom die", are there not excellent economic and social reasons for their existence ? Do these planners fully understand all that they see ? Is it not the old problem of misunderstood complexity ?

Negative Impacts versus Positive contributions

Probably much as Engels might have tackled the sqalor along the River Irk, the views above are those of planners who see planning - with the best intentions in the world - as a separating out of nuisances, the sterilization so beloved of 20th century planners, purely NEGATIVE protection rather than the POSITIVE juxtaposition of uses that could be of mutual benefit. And it is this negative sterilization that has become the theoretical stock-in-trade of South African planning.

We would argue instead that the public health base is strong enough today, and our design concepts good enough, to start reversing the procedure.

4.0 What kind of Environment ?

This section is divided into two parts

In the first, we deal with what we feel are the more organic or social issues of environment

Community
Continuity
& Complexity

In the second part we look at the more physical performance of our surroundings in their need to provide us with

Safety and Comfort
Convenience
Human Scale
Economy of means
Asense of Place and Identity

As always this division is purely one of convenince for in the final analysis, all these issues are quite inseparable.

" It is quite easy to learn the HOW of planning. That is like learning to drive a car. But the WHAT of planning.... that is a different matter....."

Jane Jacobs

What kind of environment = What kind of Community ?

4. 1 Planners and Sociologists

Dialogue between planners and sociologists has not been very profitable. Social scientists have often acquired a reputation for 'ivory tower' academicism, planners a reputation for wanting oversimplified 'bolt-on' results from sociologists. As a result the sociologist has tended to swing either to highly theoretical work or to very straightforward opinion and social survey work – hired factgathering.

The small contribution that sociology has made to planning shows up clearly when sizes or characteristics of towns are discussed; most planners will have been influenced , not by sociology, but but in the main by the planners or planning ideologists that their experience has brought them up with, or by the crop of New Towns or planned communities that they are most familiar with. They will have their own opinions too; seldom explicit, based on their own lives, childhoods, travels and the like. Thus, what constitutes good towns, good cities, the good environment, is not clear in the planner's own mind, nor are attitudes on society, race, class .

It has been widely observed that planning has too long tended to leave its underlying ideologies and assumptions unstated, or that a broad goal statement of 'human welfare' (of the sort quoted from the Town Planning Scheme of Cape Town) was sufficient. This is no longer adequate. If there is to be consensus – or for that matter disagreement – then the premises must be known.

Few areas in sociology have a hard body of theory. But there are areas of consensus, which seem to be of more use than the more elaborate and often conflicting social models of modern theoretical sociologists. Two such areas concern

(i) Neighbourhood and

(ii) Community

(i) The Neighbourhood

This is a word, that like 'community' has achieved a high level of use and a low level of meaning. It is applied to cluster housing, corner shop market areas, and superblocks quite indiscriminately and now means almost nothing. However, the forces behind the word have had very definite origins and effects.

In Britain, early twentieth century reformers envisaged residential districts with neighbourhoods for all classes. One of the (still) most successful of such attempts was Parker and Unwin's Hampstead Garden Suburb. Perry's creation of the superblock neighbourhood unit in the 1920's was more a design response to the physical dangers of thoroughfares and traffic, and while Perry had definite hopes for the interaction that design might bring, he was cautious in making claims for the neighbourhood unit.

The Second World War reminded Britain and much of Europe how fragile real property was, and how important good neighbours were. The wartime spirit of co-operation seemed to have been a leading influence in the Mark One New Towns: we read of goals such as " to preserve and develop the spirit of co-operation through neighbourhood grouping, representative of all aspects of urban life, complete towns in miniature.

Today, neighbourhood and class are still among the most embattled territories in planning, and controversy continues without end. However, there are some guidelines from sociology that are worthwhile starting points for a place such as Table Valley.

There has been some agreement on "community" as a concept in sociology. The brpad principles are:

(ii) Community

1. Community should be defined in terms of behaviour and interaction that can be measured.

2, Community must be related to geographic place.

3. Community must refer to a group that has a common life that distinguishes it from other groups

4. That community is a relative term: not an absolute, but a degree. A groups can exhibit community to a greater or lesser extent extent than another group.

We can use these basic principles to develope some guidelines that are of even more use to us when we plan and design for Table Valley.

Community can be primed and then reinforced only

1, If people are brought together. A use or activity is needed to generate the contact, and

2. Multiple use generates multiple contact,

3. If contact becomes frequent or regular

4. If contact takes place in comfort : if one can linger in peace

5. If those brought together have something in common,

6. If there is choice : if contact is natural and those who choose against contact can go their own way.

Table Valley's built environment is complete, and our power to modify it is necessarily limited. Within these contrán ts, and an existing built environment we therefore find that the possibility of generating frequent contact in humanly scaled surroundings is at its highest

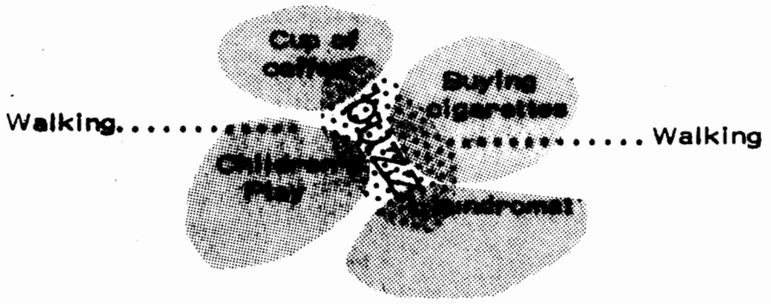
- Where there are the most people to support the most uses
- Where uses are lacking or suggest themselves
- Where people share common social, economic or personal ground.

We find also that these design guidelines become criteria by which we can assess the environment as well.

Opportunities for interaction

Let us take several activities that might occur from a family home or that of an individual. These are simple and commonplace activities, but placed in juxtaposition in a well-thought out environment, all sorts of possibilities open up.

Toddlers Play
Cleaning and working on car or motorbike
Housewife's Shopping and other jobs
Walking for pleasure
Eating or drinking



The missing element now is TIME, for interaction can only build effectively in an atmosphere of continuity.

4. 2 The need for Continuity in human affairs

The planner can do only a little to further the sense of continuity in people's lives as opposed to their surroundings. Those in society who intend to move on will do so. But the destructiveness of the endlessly-mobile American lifestyle is becoming apparent to many. From 'Fortune' magazine:

> " While it is obviously important for children to encounter new experiences and come to know a variety of people, it is also important that there be a set of social certainties and continuities providing a sense of place and identity, and a confidence that even if things do change, not everything changes at once. Have the managers of companies promoting their executives from one side of the continent to the other forgotten the tumults of their own childhoods when they moved to a new house or a new town ?

And of adults:

> "When one's social network will be destroyed every few years there is little gain and considerable cost in trying to establish the complex mixture of trust, commitment, self-exposure and freedom that is essential to serious friendship... "

And of one's surroundings:

> " ... an executives efforts to convince a local planning authority that the plant his company wants to build will have no severe ecological impact will hardly be helped if by the time the installation is at work, this particular executive and his family will no longer be around. "

(11)

In similar vein Margaret Mead in a recent talk, said

> "... and what do we do with widows, what do we do with single people and divorced people, and childless people ? There is no place for them in the kind of planning where every single house is supposed to be a family of perennially young children. I notice they never grow up. Every little family has its lovely little children in a nice, close little spot; and then the baby moves out from there, until he finds another little family with some other little children ; and then we don't know what happens to the family till they get aged. When they get old they use the nice courtyard again. But there's about forty years inbetween that's left out; and in most projects there's no planning for the variety of people who make up what I would call a real community... "
>
> " I think one of the reasons that ten thousand communes in the United States have failed (the figure varies depending on what you call a commune) is because they were all young people on the edge of exploration and change and seeking life styles of different sorts. There were no older people to give continuity, and you need older people both to provide continuity and to give the little children a sense of community.
>
> "... now I don't think this means that you have to live in the same place all your life, any more than I think it means that you have to own your own house and stay there. But it does mean that you have to grow up as a child in a community that has some centre and focus and set of relationships, and that has to be held together by the members of the third and fourth generations: not necessarily your own grandparents, but somone's grandfather. I don't believe that we are ever going to to go back to the extended biological family, but we need three generations to give a sense of the past so that we can have a sense of the future. The unit of memory is about five generations ations : from my grandparents to my grandchild. Because I saw saw my grandparents, I can tell my grandchild about them. This is the human link in society, and if we rob people of this link link, we rob them of a part of their humanity. "

(26)

4.3 Complexity

No one looking at the arts of man would deny that the human eye and mind feast on the tangled and the complex: the intricacies of an illuminated bible, a Persian carpet, the convoluted writhiings of Portuguese Manueline architecture, the lace tablecloth from a peasant village.

Complexity is the last of the three elements discussed here, and probably the most elusive. We will discuss several aspects of complexity: in relation to functions, and its aesthetic importance.

Complexity of function

The little model we set up earlier to show interaction at work and the opportunities it creates lies of course at the heart of what cities are about. The more complex the mesh of activities, the greater the 'buzz', and it is in the sterilisation and separation of activities discussed earlier that planners have achieved some of their worst end results, and the dullest of environments. We believe that, within limits, the more complex the set of functions that we can stimulate to come about, the livelier the human scene will be and the richer the lives as a result.

Complexity of appearance, sound, smell and event

The two complexities are bound up with one another. Where there is no complexity of function there will be nothing else to go with it. If there is no market, there are no barrows, blaring loudspeakers, shouting barrow boys or smell of fish.

The love of complexity apparently derives from the older and more autonomous or limbic part of the human brain.

> " It is only possible to hint at the visual preferences of the older brain which is so much involved in the stimulation of emotion. Human beings certainly display a marked preference for saturation complexity - the kind of complexity in which there is a mass of redundant information, as in the visually orgiastic interiors (note how the writer has unconsciously used the connotation 'orgy' in the description of something complex) or mediaeval ceremonial exteriors.....
>
> "... whenever there is redevelopment, there is invariably a sharp decline in the incidence of visual interest. Psychologists have issued a stern warning that modern environment is not just negative, it is positively harmful in that it denies to the mind the nourishment of visual complexity, ambiguity and inference; the modern aesthetic is 'pure as laundered sheets and just as dull'
>
> " In urban terms the need for this kind of mental nourishment is met by high density open air markets of the traditional kind. The kaleidoscope of people artefacts and merchandise is constantly forming into new patterns.. the contemporary alternative of indoor shopping emporia in which advertising is carefully controlled, is no substitute...
>
> " almost every town and city has its area of paved prairie crying out to be given over to anarchic human activity, itinerant vendors, demonstrators and 'repent men'. " (24)

Excellent understanders of the fascination of complexity at even the small scale are the shopkeepers of small country general goods stores, and in the cities and towns where African trade is important, the windowsof bicycle and musical instrument dealers. Literally hundreds of shiny items, stacked, hanging, taped up, each with a clear price tag onit, from torches to spare bicycle cogs and cotter pins, thermos flasks and cheap Japanese toys. Customers stand silent in front of these windows for minutes on end; the illuminated models at John Orr's get a ten-second glance.

Lest the reader find such reflections fanciful, we must add that we are in dead earnest about the importance of complexity; the high incidence of suicide,neurosis and every conceivable social pathology is essentially the result of alienation from a machine made world, a world of Specifile architecture and DIN A4 everything, where the organic, human and illogical human being finds no support for his needs.

4. 4 Some physical principles for man's environment

In man's physical activities, a few fundamental principles have been at work for thousands of years, and for all tribes and races and ages of man.

We seek an optimum personal space for ourselves in every physical setting : when talking round a table, sleeping with the opposite sex, standing in a lift with a stranger, talking on the street, or choosing a spot on the beach. In every case we translate these optimum spaces into stances, rooms, buildings and cities: all the way from body language and proxemics to urban design.

We seek to maximise our potentials. We want maximum value in what we do: in our earnings, our satisfactions, our homes and our movements. Cities are places of maximum potential contact, where we can achieve our potentials - and this is after all why men live in cities - for the opportunities they present.

We seek to minimise the energy we expend doing anything. Just as a cyclist will weave his way up a hill, or water trickles downhill, we tend to seek the path of minimum resistance in our affairs. The only exception here is that of sport and play

All our built environment stems from these physical needs or instincts in conjunction with the emotional and organic needs we discussed earlier. Is it not then a simple matter to design to these criteria ? It seems not. Fortunately for human life, man is not a rational creature. He is unpredictable in his likes and dislikes and his doings. In spite of the gneralisations of statistics and behavioural psychologists, man is the ultimate variable.

And this irrationality of man means that it is impossible to offer a stock solution to any of his activities. Every design and planning problem is a unique event and will never happen again in quite the same way. Every response man makes to his own environment is unique and unpredictable. Which is why in his heart of hearts everybody despises the Holiday Inn standard hotel room. It is the ultimate insult to the human personality.

This makes for a situation where we cannot design from the specific to the general, and we cannot design from the general to the specific. It is from the specific to the specific in every case.

Man's demand impossible to satisfy

In the city man translates into physical terms what he attempts in his private life: to both have his cake and eat it.

- He wants the maximum accessibility for his business calls, and yet he rages at parking restrictions and fines
- He will complain of cars crowding his favourite beach, and yet hates walking very far himself
- He would like not to be thought a snob and yet goes out of his way to send his children to a 'good' school, spending heavily on housing in the process.

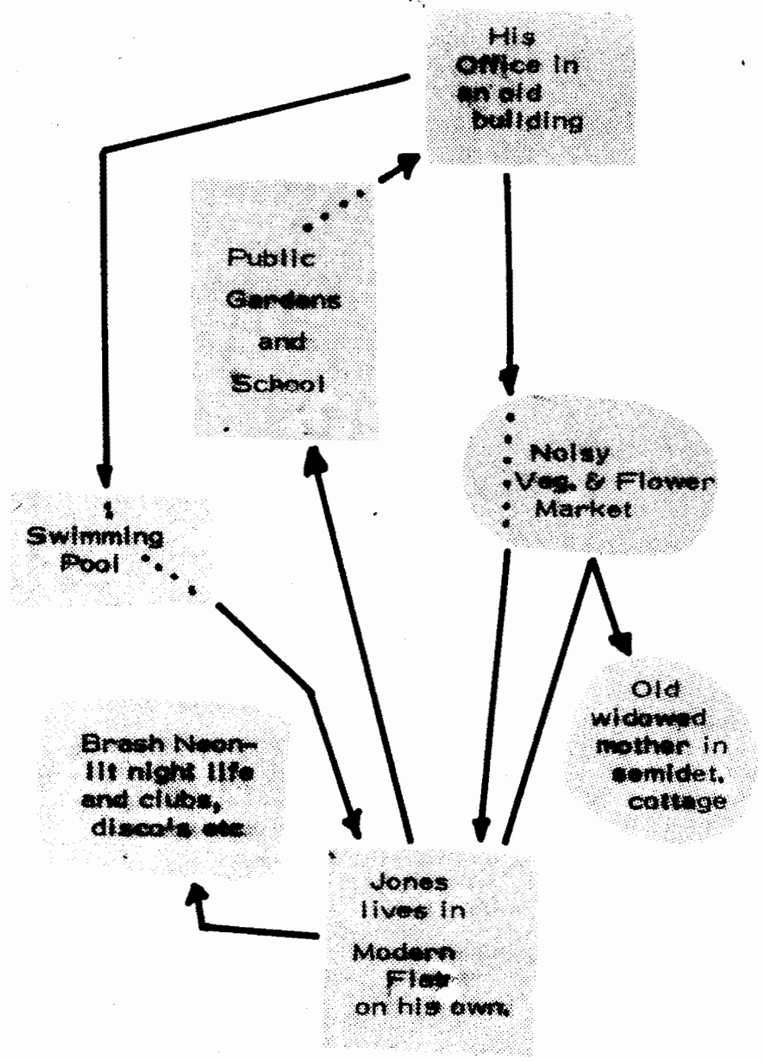
In a nutshell, he makes the impossible demand on his city that it be all things to all men at all times.

Planning and design are in the final analysis no more than interpreting , with our universal criteria, what it is that every new situation needs, and seeking the dynamic balance between the conflicting demands.

In the light of what we have said about planning solutions, we certainly cannot assemble 'standardised' levels and types of convenience, comfort, safety, economy, scale. While these are always valid demands, sometimes one will take precedence ove another over another, depending on the role a place plays and its citizens. Clearly the standard of comfort demanded by a fisherman's pub is different from a night club, the satisafactory levels of comfort orsafety for those using a builder's yard are different from those outside a boutique.

The policy that we assemble in this Thesis will be based on offering a variety of different settings within one overall setting; to offer choice and different levels of satisfaction. And the more we cancreate in microcosm a <u>holon, a complete subsystem</u>, offering a good differentiation of internal functions, a rich and complex scene within a <u>limited physical compass</u>, the closer we will be to our target.

We feel that arguments in favour of the 'aspatial' metropolitan community have been overstated. Certainly, on-line bank accounts, direct dialling, air travel and the ubiquitous car have vastly enlarged the living 'realm' of the well-to-do, but we do not think that anything can take the place of closeness, the richness of personal human contact, at work home or play.



<u>Opportunities for a single man:</u> How many things can he see and do just on the way to work for example... ? Or on a SAturday, Without driving fifteen miles ?

5.0 A Review : Table Valley's Natural Environment

Of Table Mountain : "To interfere with it is to desecrate what should be our national temple, our Holy of Holies. We, as a nation, valuing our unique heritage should not allow it to be spoiled and despoiled, and should look upon it as among our most sacred posessions, part not only of the soil, but the soul, of South Africa.

General J. C. Smuts, writing shortly before his death

5. 1 Introduction

The division of our study area into built and natural environment is areal rather than conceptual, since the natural and man-made environments coalesce, and no clear demarcation line can be drawn between the two, nor should it. We will try to move as smoothly as we can from the built environment across the continuum to untouched nature.

That such a division seems necessary at all is evidence of Gutkinds thesis of the change from the " intimate and direct I - thou relationship between man and nature and man and man " to the estranged I - It relationship,"the harsh and purely utilitarian attitude towards nature. " (12) The settlement of Table VAlley is not a natural or organic one: the interfaces between dwellings and mountain slope are not the organic fit of ancient tribal village, but the mediator's cut-off point of the five - hundred foot contour line: the demilitarized zone,as it were, between two unequal rivals locked face to face.

Our examination of the natural environment of Table V.alley is an attempt at a welfare review: the welfare of man and nature. Not quite in the way we attempt elsewhere to assess the health of homes or transport systems, but instead trying to judge the interaction between man and the natural valley.

By what yardstick ? should be the question . What constitutes a healthy relationship between man and nature... ?
A simple answer to that question in the twentieth century is beyond any one man's vision. The way ahead is murky for the many billions that already live on this small and battered planet, and we can only hypothesise. But our hypothesis must be rooted in fundamentals.

For Gutkind, the criteria for such an assessment must lie within (i) the recognition of the permanence, the continuity of change in man's adjustments to nature, (ii) the always dynamic relations within human affairs and (iii) the increasing scale of man's works. It is within these that relations are assessed:

> "... the relations between the individual and the group, between the functional and personal life, between the man-made landscape and the natural landscape, between the immediate environment and the wider world all round us. "

Doxiadis says much the same thing in his perennial search for Balance : balance in his five-element contruct,between Nature - Man - Shells - Networks - Society; analysis and then synthesis.

We could review very much more of the literature than this, but again and again we return to the primaries: synopsis, synthesis, balance. There seems no issue in nature or in human settlements that can be looked at without recourse to these fundamentals.

Table Mountain is today a Natural and Historical Monument. This is as a direct result of the recommendations made in 1951 by the Table Mountain preservation Committee, and since then, practically all privately owned land within the defined area has been acquired by local authorities through the efforts of the Tabel Mountain Preservation Board.

While there are a number of official owners, the Cape Town City Council owns all the mountain land in the Amphitheatre study area, from Signal Hill to the north- west round in an anti-clockwise direction to the Queen's Blockhouse in the east above Woodstock.

There are three public roads in the Proclaimed area: TAfelberg Road, Signal Hill Road and Roundhouse Road. Two of these fall on the edges of the study area.

Natural Character of the Amphitheatre slopes.

The character of the Amphitheatre differs from other parts of the preservation area. The Eastern side from Woodstock south to Constantia is a natural forest area with well wooded slopes and ravines, a fairly wide selection of indigenous trees, and a generous rainfall. The Western side facing the Atlantic is dry and arid and not suitable for trees, but did and still can support a wide variety of indigenous plant life.

The Northern face of Table Mountain overlooking the city is rather different. On the lower slopes of the skirt it is heavily forested in places, but higher up it is exposed sandstone where little but the hardiest shrubs can survive. However there are still pockets of sufficient soil to carry indigenous flora.

One overall difference in character is particularly worth bringing out; that between the "Lion's Rump" of Signal Hill and the other main slopes of the amphitheatre. Signal Hill, exposed to close human use for three centuries, has suffered countless burnings and has to all intents and purposes a "domesticated" vegetation. The dominant ground cover is briza maxima, or oatgrass. This tends to dry out during the dry seasons and is prone to fire. Much of Signal Hill is covered by stands of trees, particularly the stony pine, pinus pinea, and also various eucalypts.

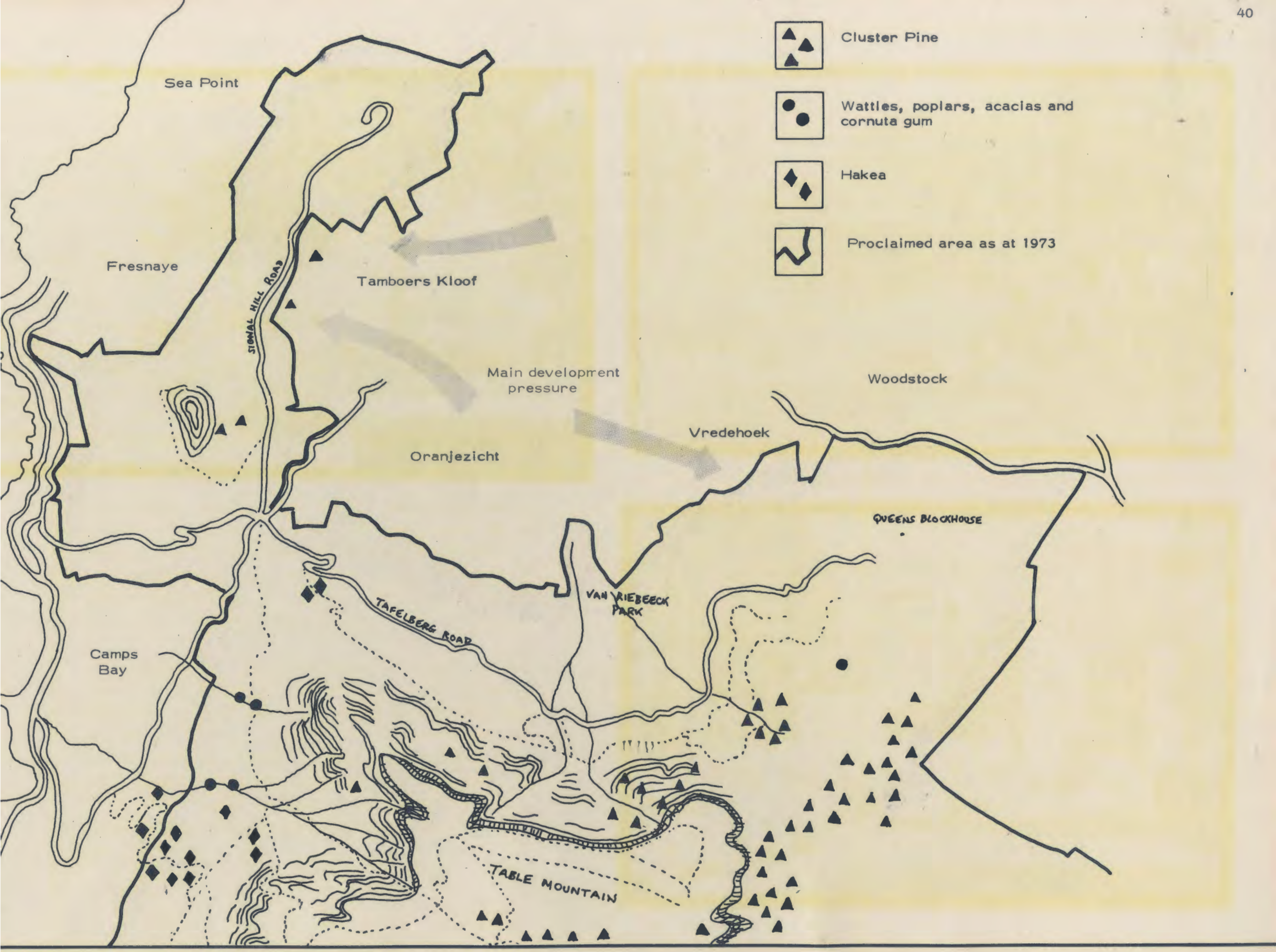
The road along the crest, Signal Hill Road, is tarred and carries large numbers of sightseers to the parking and look-out area that gives fine views of the city, harbour, west coast and the Atlantic coast. IN addition there are many paths and tracks popular with walkers from the Table Valley side as also the Atlantic suburbs, and the route to the top of Lion's Head is as Berman points out (13) mostly a steep walk. The famous spiral 'climb' can be easily done by non-mountaineers, and for those familiar with the path, even the moonlight climb is fairly safe, and utterly spectacular.

The changeover from the largely alien character of Signal Hill occurs approximately at Kloof Nek. From here on towards Table Mountain, a more indigenous character starts to re-establish itself. From the Nek, the tarred Tafelberg Road leads first to the Lower Cable Station and then on to a cul-de-sac six kilometres from the Nek above Woodstock. This road is a popular scenic drive and has scattered roadside picnic places and a toilet block.

Top Left: Picnic on the Slopes of Signal Hill. [illegible] this way.

[illegible] of Signal Hill overlooking Sea Point are the [illegible] ides some concrete fireplaces there are no other amenities.

[illegible]t: [illegible] Lower Cable Station: It is surprising that there are no [illegible] at the bottom - it is only for departure. Occasional [illegible] their trucks etc to the parking area.



ble Mountain Preservation Board area

5. 2 The State of Table Mountain in 1975

If successful interaction between man and environment is our criterion for judging the slopes of Table Mountain, then its present condition suggests that we are failing altogether. There are imbalances both in natural relationships and in man-nature relationships. The condition of the mountain has been described as no better than itwas in 1951, and the Cape Town city council has voted a sum of R50 000 in response to the Mountain Club 's report on the condition of the area. The main problems are the following:

Erosion. Chronic erosion of roads, paths and gulleys, as also short-cuts, has occurred as a result of vastly increased numbers of persons using the mountain. Most of the paths have been made on foot and all are, without exception, eroded. Some gulleys and ravines may even be beyond saving.

Alien fauna The Himalayan Tahr, a hardy wild goat that escaped from the zoo many years ago, nownumbers some 500 to 750 animals and is starting to severely damage the mountain through overgrazing. Portions of the area "have the appearance of an overgrazed Karoo farm," says the report (14). The paths made by the Tahrs also contribute to erosion.

Alien vegetation The Club's report is not deterministically anti-alien . Many aliens have made the lower slopes of the mountain attractive and shady and prevented soil erosion. But above the level of about 100 feet, where the krantzes start, there is no place they feel, for exotics, and they recommend that the upper area deserves complete restoration of its indigenous vegetation. At present though there are bad infestations of hakea, pinus pinaster (the cluster pine) and the almost ineradicable blackwood wattle.

Fires

The summer of 1972 was the driest in twenty two years and the tinderbox peninsula suffered 523 fires in one year which destroyed 5 000 hectares of indigenous vegetation. Over 70% of this damage took place during the twelve weeks of the summer season. At some stages thousands of men from the S. A. Air Force, the Navy, the City Council, the Cape Divisional Council and the Department of Forestry were simultaneously fighting fires.

Some five per cent of all fires are believed to be arson; the rest are carelessness, or (rarely) nature. The mountaineers feel that even the present stringent fire controls are not enough, and that all fires be banned in the Proclaimed area.

Unfortunately both Hakea and the Wattles are favoured by fire; the heat facilitates release and germination of seed. Thus the damage caused by fire is also indirect, weakening the hold of indigenous species. The slopes above Tamboers Kloof have not fully recovered in two and a half years.

Human Use. This is the greatest problem of all, and in part the reason for other problems. The mountain suffers endless vandalism: spray-painting of rocks, fires, tree chopping, flower and plant destruction and the like. Trail motor-cycles are now often taken in illegally, baboons are fed and become dangerous : in short the familiar problems of any National Park. In addition, the slopes are not only littered, but even used as a dumping ground for builders' rubble, domestic and café refuse.

Signal Hill has sufferred burning so frequently during its years of access to the City that the indigenous vegetation has been almost completely superseded. The fire shown here occurred during the dry season of 1973 and threatened the homes of Tamboers Kloof along the slopes.

5, 3 The Need for a clearly understood role

Not surprisingly, the Mountain Club's report is generally gloomy. While they are not policy makers, the kernel of what is at heart the problem. emerges in their discussion. :

> "... many of the campers who today frequent Table Mountain are not lovers of nature. All they seem to want is some place easily accessible where they can picnic. A cacophony of blaring radios, twanging guitars and raucous shouts and shrieks is not unusual. " (14, 1)

> " In what form is the proclaimed area to be developed ? Is it to be a park-cum-recreational area with amenities for the general public, or is it to be preserved as a mountain sanctuary for those who love nature and who seek spiritual regneration in an atmosphere of peace and quiet ? ... The answer may be one of compromise, by having amenities such as camping areas with latrines, ablutions, fire-making facilities only in places such as van Riebeeck Park and the Glen and possibly other carefully chosen places. "

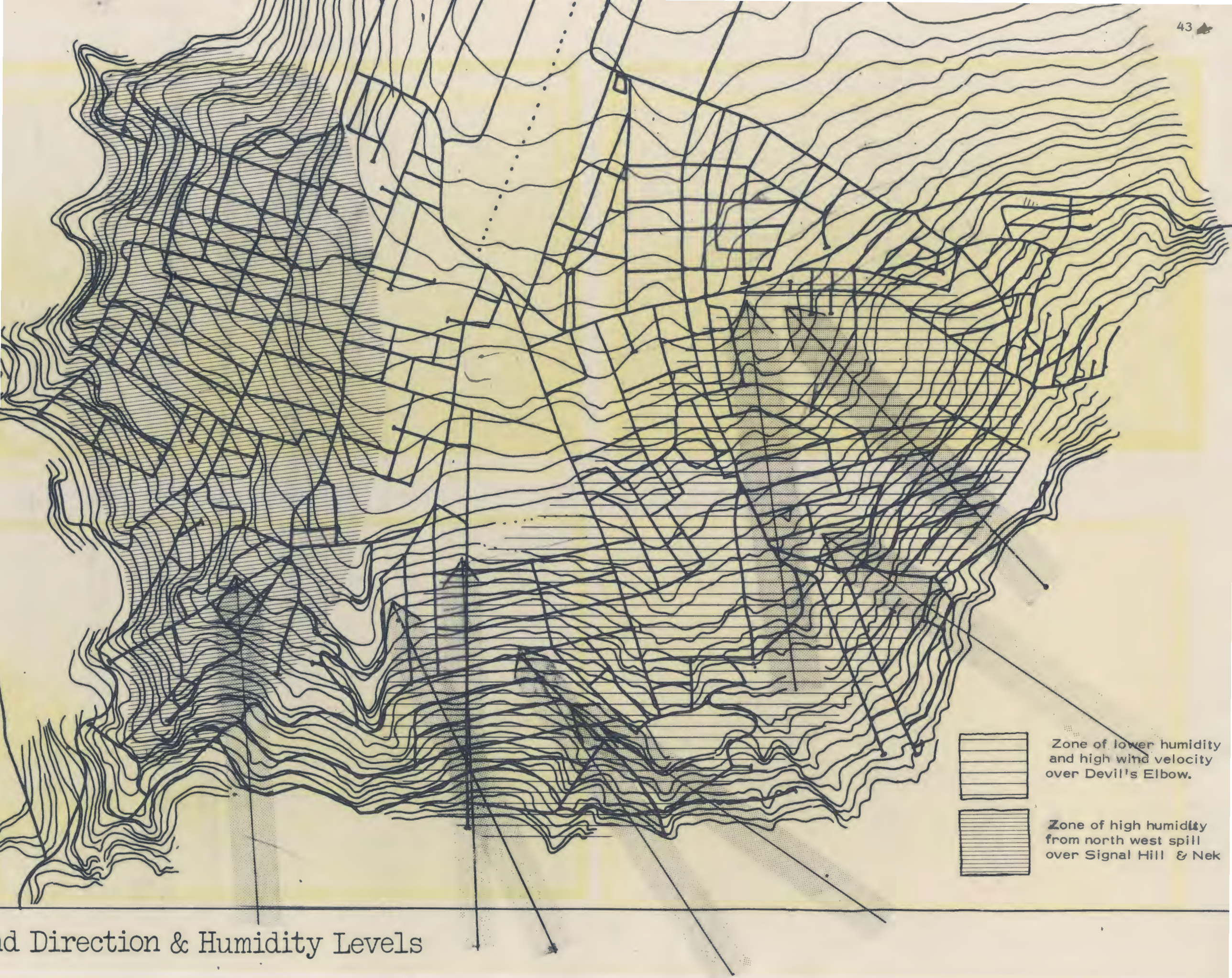
The Mountain Club - like all conservationists a somewhat elitist minority - recognises that the demands of the ordinary public have to be met: their suggestion of providing popular facilities for the run-of-the-mill picnicker is sound. Its is curious that management of the area has done so little to "defuse" potential damage and abuse by providing robust , easy-access facilities for those who seek only a view, a braai and a drink rather than spiritual regeneration. There must be choice, and there must be a place for both.

Considering , too, the enormous tourist traffic up the Cable Car and to the scenic drives of the southern Peninsula it is surprising to us that there should be no facilities at the seemingly natural pressure point, intersection and bus stop of Kloof Nek. In earlier eras such a natural pausing place would surely have thrown up an inn or at least refreshments. The little Roundhouse restaurant in the trees lower down above the Glen seemsthe only response to location. The public might well benefit from an imaginative venture at this site.

Left: The source of winter moisture arriving in
ampnit[illegible] the damp northwestern air flow
the coast, here shown over Camps Bay.

Right: Here the moist air can be seen streaming over
the Valley.

t: The [illegible] phenomenon in the morning in t
evening.



nd Direction & Humidity Levels

Top Left: Kloof Nek, the divide between the Table Valley and the Atlantic Coast, the old "drummers' gap"

Top Right: Movement of winter humidity over Kloof [illegible] over Higgovale. Humidity plus shelter from [illegible], and warmth creates different type of [illegible] t [illegible] Vredenoel.

[illegible] t [illegible] the Preservation Board boundary on the lower slopes of Lion's Head above Higgovale

5.4 Rainfall and Humidity

There are really two main climatic zones in Table Valley, (i) the damper western zone, and (ii) the dry eastern zone. There are no vegetation maps of the Cape Peninsula , either the built areas or the natural areas, and the general information quoted earlier is by the staff of the Bolus Herbarium. Nevertheless , rough field notes in the Amphitheatre show a shift from shrubs and trees preferring moist conditions, to those which prefer dryer conditions, as one moves from West to East.

Great care is necessary when assessing climate through domestic plantings (palm trees , for example, were a fashion of pre-war years rather than a response to climate) but in Higgovale and Tamboers Kloof, one can find almost semi-tropical conditions where shelter is good. Our records include poinsettia, rubber trees, jacarandas, syringas and even a cluster of bananas in Leeuwendal grounds.

The success of these species seems to be the result of (a) the heat of the amphitheatre, and (b) the humidity spill from the North-western macro wind movement down the Cape West Coast from Saldanha. Spills can be seen over the top of Signal Hill at about 300 m and occasionally in reverse flow over Kloof Nek down into the extreme shelter of Higgov le, which is almost a warm "Newlands" in Table Valley.

Humidity decreases as one moves West across the valley towards Vredehoek. The sub-tropicals become scarcer and disappear, or are confined to very sheltered garden corners, and the stony or umbrella pine is more typical of Oranjezicht and Highlands Estate.

5.5 Wind Records.

It is customary to quote the quite useless wind roses when weather is discussed. We have used rather more direct methods.

In a recent workshop session with CSIR Air Pollution staff it emerged that the Dines weather recorder records little or nothing below approximately four mph. This is of great significance , because it is flows of this order that are the chief distributors of aerial effluent, and the chief air movements during inversions and stable air conditions. The only simple devices to record air behaviour of this sort are tracers and observation or regular photography.

However it is not air flows at four mph that are the summer bane of life in the amphitheatre, but the high speed southeasters. It was discovered that there were enough free-standing pines on the Eastern side of the Valley to make compass-type plottings on maps possible from direct observations of distorted trees. The wind-direction arrows on the climate map are developed from such trees , which were logged across that side of Table Valley. Care is necessary to make certain that the nearby buildings do not influence the tree, but otherwise the method seems very effective. It confirms that the main source of wind across Oranjezicht and Vredehoek is directly ove the Devil's Elbow between Devil's Peak and Table Mountain, but that thereafter it moves in many directions. It drops off almost completely at about Kloof Street, and comparatively speaking, Tamboers Kloof and Higgovale are windfree.

Low speed air drift

There are two main conditions as observed to date, that is, clockwise and anti-clockwise. The clock-wise drift, which has been photographed, occurs at a stratum corresponding roughly to the built-unbuilt interface at about 150 m. Whether this is because the built areas constitute a heat island is not known. This layer is stable for the first hour or so after sunrise before breaking up. Counterclockwise drifts at similar height were probably responsible for the high SO_2 counts of 1973 in Tamboers Kloof , where measuring gear may have been on-axis to drifts. At present they are only tracers and could disappear altogether after the power station closes in the late 1970's.

5.6 Air Quality Problems

During 1973 the private readings of a biochemist living in Tamboers Kloof precipitated several months of continuing press publicity on the increased sulphur dioxide pollution from the Tab Bay power station as a result of its conversion from coal fired to oil fired. Although the issue became an environmental bandwagon, it had the necessary results. The City Council, which had hitherto been little concerned with criticism of air quality, took steps both to reduce the emissions and the city's dependance on the station. The power station, contructed in 1938, has for many years been regarded as a misplaced eyesore; now in 1975 it is used only as a standby for peak periods and is to be phased out of operation altogether by 1977.

As we have made clear, we felt that the Valley's microclimate was the natural topic needing most investigation - for interdependent reasons. The 'power station issue' had dropped out of the public eye, and it was our concern to establish to what extent poor air quality continued to affect Table Valley bearing in mind the power station's reduced impact.

There are other sources of pollution, notably coal-fired shunting locomotives, harbour shipping and motor vehicles. 23 000 commuter cars find their way to the central city each day, besides off-peak commercial and private traffic. Diesel buses move another 12 000 passengers into the city and then out again. In addition there are the hospitals, factories and businesses of the inner residential core; lying to the east are the commercial and industrial concentrations of Woodstock, Salt River and Paarden Eiland, and the coal fired Salt River B power station.

Dr E. C. Halliday, speaking in Cape Town at the 1975 seminar on urban planning and clean air, said:

> "The planner of towns, of regions, of industries, has to meet a number of requirements, usually a great many. His task is to give the requirements priorities and produce a compromise solution to the problem. We, who are concerned with the physics and chemistry of materials in the atmosphere, donot think that "clean air" whatever that may be to be taken to mean, can be given the first priority. It should be given a higher priority than it has received in the past, but it should not be made such a holy cow that the very existence of a zone of residences for persons who gain their livelihood by some technical activity should be made impossible."

Most planners would share Halliday's views. To become unrealistically air-deterministic would be the polluters' error in reverse. Halliday, note, does not define "clean air". We, however, have to be more certain what we feel reasonably clean air is. How for example does Cape Town compare with other cities in the Republic ? And with international standards ? Selected figures for sulphur dioxide (SO_2) are given in the Table following.

TABLE 5.1

Selected SO_2 levels in South African cities 1959 - 1968

Year	Cape Town	Durban	Joh. burg	Pretoria
Station	Mayor's Garden	City Hall	CityHall Mkt. St.	Church Square
1959	70	95	275	155
	70	95	230	130
1960	35	120	180	110
	100	110	225	105
1961	55	55	130	70
	50	65	125	-
1962	25	105	85	100
	35	120	100	90
1963	25	120	85	95
	20	105	50	90
1964	40	115	70	115
	30	100	-	135
1965	60	150	85	95
	45	165	70	75
1966	50	25	60	80
	20	30	-	105
1967	15	95	-	60
	15	75	-	60
1968	30	90	95	70
	25	85	100	85

Notes: Upper figure in each couplet refers to June, lower to July. Allfigures are in microgrammes per m^3.

(18)

The figures quoted here are all in microgrammes per m^3, the standard unit of measurement, and are made by the municipalities to the standards of the Air Pollution Research Group of the CSIR. There are a number of sampling sites in most cities; here the approximate city central stations have been quoted.

Not surprisingly, air behaviour is a complex phenomenon and impossible to generalise about. But in South Africa, the critical pollution levels, interestingly, are those recorded in winter, during conditions of high air stability (and hence stagnation) and - on the highveld - frequently clear skies. Winter levels can be used almost as a shorthand expression for annual problems. Hence our quoting the figures for June and July.

Throughout the 1960's central Cape Town's SO_2 levels were lower than those of any other city centre here. These low levels changed dramatically in the early 1970's. 1971 and 1972 were years of unusually stagnant air movement, and during late 1972 1972 and early 1973 the levels of SO_2 in Table Valley reached dangerously high levels. Under stable conditions at night two years ago, SO_2 could be smelt on the slopes of Signal Hill, which meant that localised levels were exceeding 1 600 microgrammes per m^3 since the odour threshold is between 1 600 and 2 600 $\mu g/m^3$.

Such short-term peaks would exceed the 48 - 72 hour readings taken by the City's equipment, but additional readings made by Belfort (15) Kemeny (16) and Fitschen (17) showed that SO_2 levels had soared far above the comfortable levels of most of the previous decade. This was largely the result of the switch to high sulphur-content fuel oil. It was these findings that precipitated the Council's actions on the station.

Domestic Fires:

For reasons of climate, coal railage costs and possibly servant availability, Cape Town has never burnt coal in domestic grates on the scale that is common in the Highveld's cold winters. A windscreen check of Table Valley's domestic chimneys will show them to be concentrated in old private single dwellings, terraces and semi-detached homes. These are mostly well placed to contribute to pollution; stagnant and polluted air would certainly result if use here was on a par with that of the older Transvaal suburbs. However domestic smoke is not a problem in Table Valley and not likely to become one.

Top Left: The power station during 1973 before ouput was reduced. Plume here is rising almost vertically into table (stagnant) conditions.

Top Right: Clockwise drift. Here the plume is moving eastwards, will eventually form a stratum in Wrecchock at varying heights near the 150 m contour.

Left: Stagnant Air at night. The power station has fallen to second place as chief source of pollution, which is now the SAP & H which creates a lower denser and more particle laden layer which moves inwards from the docks. Table Valley continues to be terribly vulnerable to pulleted air.

Private/Industrial polluters

Fortunately the CBD and frame hold few firms who are emitters on a par with those of Epping or Philippi, for example. Hotels, schools, hospitals and nursing homes operating boilers and incinerators seem to be the only other small group; these the CSIR would class as low-level emitters and there do not seem to be enough of them to cause concern.

Public Industrial Polluters

Table Valley does however have a mojor transport industry in its port. The SAR&H has been the most widely criticised body next to the power station. Certainly SO_2, a problem on its own, is more menacing in combination with a particulate, a and the incomplete combustion of the harbour's locomotives provides particulates in abundance (1973 dust-fall figures are highest in Green Point and Paarden Eiland, which might confirm their source as Table Bay harbour) . The Municipality has bitterly criticised the SAR (1970 MOH's report) for locomotive smoke and also for incinerators and uncontrolled ships in harbour. With electrification still suspended, the outlook does not look promising until Koeberg A comes on stream in 1982, when adequate Mw should be available for the complete electrification of the harbour.

Conclusions

With Escom already supplying an additional 90Mw, the Table Bay station is now only providing stand-by power. The improvement in visible drifts and in the MOH counts is noticeable. It would seem that the power station is nollonger a threat to Table Valley's air quality.

The same cannot be said for Cape Tonw harbour. Stagnant conditions sketched in April 1975 fromm Woodstock hill showed clearly the relationship in emission of the station and the SAR&H area. The counter-clockwise air drift had taken the faint blue plume from the station stack along the slopes of Signal Hill at 600-800 feet. The SAR&H emissions, on the other hand, with an exceedingly high particle content, lay at the 0 - 250 foot level, from the harbour to the upper Gradens area of the frame. Two discrete pollution movements were thus visible, of which the harbour 's was the worse, by far. By noon such a pattern usually loosens up and forms the familiar slightly pink blanket right across the Amphitheatre.

In general then , the Amphitheatre remains a major problem area for air quality. No other residential area is as easily polluted or suffers such stagnant air flow patterns in times of heat and stability. Moreover, while the population of the study area is some 32 000, the overall valley has an influx of 33 000 commuter cars every day, none of which are fitted with any kind of emission control device. Their output of hydrocarbons and NO_2 is considerable . During the week, the district's population rises to over 100 000 including central city workers, and this non-resident population is also exposed to all of these emitters.

With the increased capacity of the almost completed freeway network coming on stream in the next three years, we believe that the most likely threat to the district's air quality by 1980 will be photochemical smog of the Los Angeles or Yokohama type. This, we believe,will be only spasmodic, but would occur during long

periods of stable air conditions, particularly between May and September in clear weather, and tending to the ends of working weeks.

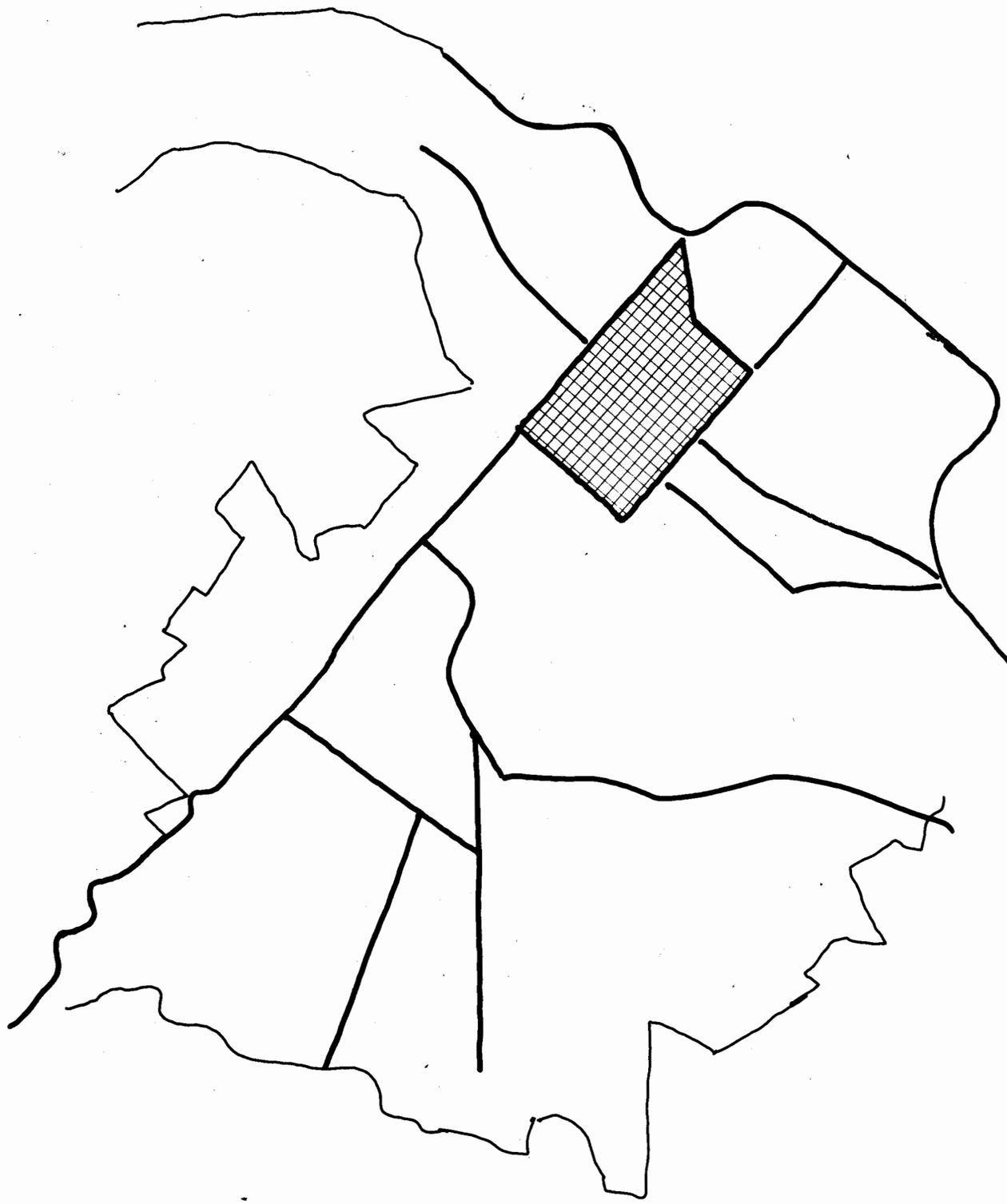
Air Pollution Model

An independent two phase air-pollution study has been recommended by the Town Clerk, in which Table Valley is treated not as a separate problem but as part of the whole. The first phase of the study would examine ground-level concentrations throughout the city and adjoining municipal areas; the second phase would also start monitoring hydrocarbons. Ultimately an air-quality model of Cape Town is planned. (Fuggle &Dutkiewicz)

Such air quality monitoring is a matter of urgency, and it would be preferable if the second phase, monitoring hydrocarbons, be brought forward to start immediately, if not for the whole city at least for Table Valley and the CBD, and that the monitoring of NO_2 also be considered. These questions are discussed later under Policy.

Central City Smokeless Zone

The smokeless zone (sic) accepted by the Cape Town City Council (5th March 1974) is bounded by Adderley Street, Hans Strydom Avenue, Dock Avenue, Buitengracht Street and Wale Street. As there are no major emitters in this area, and it is also the destination of many thousands of autos with unmodified exhaust systems, the declaration of this zone seems to be the toothless lip service characteristic of most early "environmental" measures, and as such deserves no serious comment...



First Smokeless Zone

6.0 A Review: Table Valley's Built Environment

6, 1 Introduction

In this section we set out to compare the Amphitheatre with some overall standards that we believe are valid for all people. Such universal standards are coloured, and we freely admit it, by our opinions on trends of the age and the problems they have brought with them.

To some extent we will also be looking at the South African city as a whole, because Table Valley, no matter what its unique character, is to some extent South African society writ small. That is not to say that the god of national trend is our master: many present trends promise only future troubles. In fact we may need to resist some trends completely, no matter how widespread, convincing or inevitable they may seem.

Facing Page: The Houses of Central Oranjezicht mirrored in the water of the Molteno Reservoir

6, 2 Cape Town's Housing Characteristics.

The increasing sameness of contemporary life can be well seen when comparing Table Valley's building stock with that of other parts of South Africa. Cape Town in general offers a greater variety of house types than any other South African city, and Table Valley is the visual acme of this variety .

TABLE 6. 1

Dwelling Houses in Cape Town and other Cities:
percentage distribution by size

City	Number of Rooms						
	2	3	4	5	6	7+	Total
Cape Town	1, 8	12, 9	38, 9	28, 3	11, 3	6, 9	100
Port Elizabeth	1, 0	12, 0	31, 1	36, 6	12, 6	6, 7	100
Durban	1, 0	4, 6	23, 7	46, 6	15, 8	8, 3	100
Rand	1, 2	8, 2	25, 5	42, 6	15, 3	7, 3	100
OFS Goldfields	0, 3	1, 3	30, 1	58, 0	8, 0	2, 3	100

(18)

The recently built South African house has typically been a five-roomed detached dwelling on 500 m^2, and in the OFS Goldfields, for example, whose growth has mostly occurred since the war, 88% of all homes are five-roomed. Almost no smaller houses have been built and few large houses either . The population is probably equally homogeneous : young married family people of similar earnings and suburban life-styles.

Cape Town's three centuries of development have on the other hand given her a large number of cottages and small two- and three-roomed houses. The city also has more smallish three-roomed and four-roomed houses than any other. Only Port Elizabeth among the big cities rivals Cape Town for variety of building sizes.

What does this wide renge of house types mean to us ? It suggests that Cape Town, or more specifically the older quarters of municipal Cape Town in Table Valley and the Southern suburbs, offer homes to a variety of different homeseekers : from students to pensioners, from poor immigrants to wealthy MP's who maintain second homes in Cape Town. A square mile of Table Valley would almost certainly be found to be more physically caried than a similar square mile of Bloemfontein or Durban. This variety makes for a stimulating urban scene, but also for the problems that come with age and change.

The older core suburbs of which Table Valley is part, differ not only from the national picture, but also from other parts of the 01 Region. This was evident just by looking at architecture, and some field surveys available,

However it was not possible to establish detailed house and flat characteristics for Table Valley from national sources, and local data available was not that detailed. However, the Cape Town magisterial district portion of the Municipality corresponds to the older core of Sea Point through the study area to about Maitland. Figures for this area, if tempered by observation approximate Table Valley in age and character of building.

TABLE 6, 2

Houses in different parts of the 01 Region: percentage distribution by size.

Area	Number of Rooms								
	1+2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+	Total
Cape Town Core Suburbs	3, 4	21, 8	32, 0	22, 3	12, 6	5, 0	1, 7	1, 1	100
Bellville Mag. Dist.	1, 2	10, 7	42, 9	31, 2	10, 3	2, 7	0, 7	0, 3	100
01 Region	1, 9	12, 8	37, 6	28, 1	12, 3	4, 6	1, 6	1, 0	100

The study area is almost completely built up. The Council's Land Use Survey of 1968 recorded 62 unbuilt stands out of 3676 buildings (residential) of all types, or 0, 6 %. Only increases in density or the opening up of more slopes of the mountainside would increase the population.

In the years 1969 - 1973, in the Cape Town metropolitan area a mean of about 3200 dwelling houses and 80 flat blocks per annum were built for whites. Ast the next table shows, there was to all intents and purposes no growth in Table Valley, and it can now be regarded as a stationary population area, with all that that implies.

TABLE 6, 3

Buildings completed in Table Valley 1971 - 1974

Year	Total	O'Zicht	T. Kloof	Higgovale	Gardens	Vrede
1971 (d)	8	5	0	1	0	2
(f)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972 (d)	8	4	1	0	0	3
(f)	36	12	0	0	24	0
1973 (d)	6	2	1	1	0	2
(f)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974 (d)	10	6	2	1	0	1
(f)	30	0	0	0	0	0

Left: Vredehoek has very large numbers of small flat blocks which although not usually attractive, offer excellent quality apartments with a human scale.

Above: Wind and Heat are the chief drawbacks of the Vredehoek area; heat is reinforced in static air conditions by the very high (estimated 40%) concrete and tar ground coverage and by the lack of trees. The long term programme for Vredehoek envisages a massive tree planting programme to reduce the district's summer local temperature and soften wind where possible.

The building rate for flats is of more concern to us than houses. In some South African cities there has been a decline in flat construction over the decade 1964 - 1973. Others have maintained or increased their flat output, such as Durban or Pretoria. The drop in flat contruction in Port Elizabeth has been dramatic; in Cape Town, it has declined steadily from 136 in 1964 to 63 ten years later.

The detailed pros and cons of Rent Control are outside our field but worth touching on. Flat buildings constructed before May 1965 are rent controlled, and the shadow of this control hangs heavily over entrepreneurs. Control almost certainly damps down flat contruction, which as we have seen is slack in Cape Town. Indirectly therefore, rent control is also probably holding off problems for the Council connected with zoning, which we will discuss later. Rent Control is naturally popular with the renting public, but its incidence is often unfair: many rent-controlled flat tenants are actually well-able to pay higher rents, and one suspects that subsidy of the tenant might be fairer.

The average Cape Town flat block is likely to be smaller than its counterparts in the country's other large cities, at about 12 flats to the block. Durban's blocks are about 16, Johannesburg's are 17 and Pretoria's almost twice as large as Cape Town's at 22 units per block. A glance at Table Valley will show how many smaller flat blocks there are, even down to units of two to six apartments each. Many of the latter were built just before or after the last war.

Small one and two-roomed apartments are a fairly recent trend trend that have followed widespread Western changes in house - hold formation. There are more one-person households than ever before. This is a well-documented Western phenomenon : more affluent and independent young people, more elderly people living apart from grown families, and more separated or divorced persons. In South Africa, these smaller flats seem to vary in quantity from city to city. Compared with the other main cities, the Caep Town flats may be slightly larger, more likely to be a three-, four-, or five roomed flat than one- or two-roomed. For example, 66% of all Pretoria's flats are two rooms or less, compared with only 36% in Cape Town.

This may be the result of Cape Town's having more small houses, or older subdivided houses, as substitutes for smaller flats.

TABLE 6, 4

Flat sizes in different parts of the 01 Region:
percentage distribution of flats by rooms

District	Number of Rooms				
	1	2	3	4	TOTAL
Cape Town core Suburbs	11, 1	28, 3	42, 4	18, 2	100
Bellville Mag. Dist.	7, 3	29, 4	56, 3	7, 0	100
01 Region	9, 2	25, 7	48, 0	17, 6	100

(20)

Within the 101 Region, as nationally, core Cape Town has slightly more very small apartments and larger apartments than the newer districts such as Bellville.

6, 3 Permanent and Transient Residents.

South Africans do not as a rule rent furnished homes as readily as Europeans do. Nor do they generally rent houses if they can avoid it. There are differences in the tenure patterns of big city dwellers and small town dwellers that distort this view, but here we are concerned with city dwellers.

Flats, on the other hand, have almost always been rented, although also usually unfurnished, and Sectional Titles sales have not yet changed the picture.

TABLE 6, 5

Tenure of Houses in different parts ofthe 01 Region

Area	Fully paid off	Partly paid off	Rented unfurn.	Rented furn.	Free	Total
Cape Town Core	25, 0	28, 2	41, 4	3, 6	1, 8	100
Bellville Mun.	17, 6	61, 3	19, 8	0, 5	1, 5	100
01 Region	21, 5	47, 7	27, 2	1, 8	1, 8	100

(20)

TABLE 6, 6

Tenure of Flats in different parts of the 01 Region

Area	Rented unfur.	Rented furn.	Free	Total
Cape Town core subs.	87, 7	9, 5	2, 8	100
Bellville Mun.	97, 4	1, 0	1, 6	100
01 Region	90, 5	7, 4	2, 1	100

(20)

Let us assume - and this is only assumption - that Table Valley ischaracteristic of the Cape Town core suburbs, and thus has a slightly higher proprtion of rented houses and flats than other parts of the region, also that they are rented furnished more often than elsewhere . Why could this be, and what does it imply ?

Furnishing accommodation is one of many devices used to bypass Rent Control ceilings, certainly. But there may be other reasons why this condition exists. Although it is numerically small, it may be important.

Left: Here the Tamboers Kloof district can be clearly seen against the slopes of Signal Hill. It was the Jurgens estate until 1900 when it was subdivided. It contains many of the better terrace houses in Table Valley.

Below Left: Rows of Terrace homes intermesh with single dwellings and flats to create a most varied texture, which is however vulnerable to over-scaled intrusions, legacies of the past.

Below: Lions Head seen from the Tafelberg Road on the slopes of Table Mountain. The well known contour path that encircles Lions Head can be seen on the left side.

Firstly, Cape Town is a seaside and holiday town, and some of its flats and houses are rented regularly to holiday-makers. Secondly, many people move to CApe Town for the six months of the year that Parliament is in session. Diplomatic, and some academic and executive people rent quality accommodation, and prefer to be able to tie their movements to this floating market for furnished houses and flats. Immigrants too are often a market for furnished homes for some time after their arrival; Cape Town and Durban are both points of arrival for immigrants, although less so with the decline in sea travel.

In general, too, older housing stock is just more likely to be rented out. That the vacancy rate in Cape Town is 1,3 %, higher than the weighted national average of 0,9% is possibly the result of delays between occupants, be they parliamentarians, migrants, or holiday visitors.

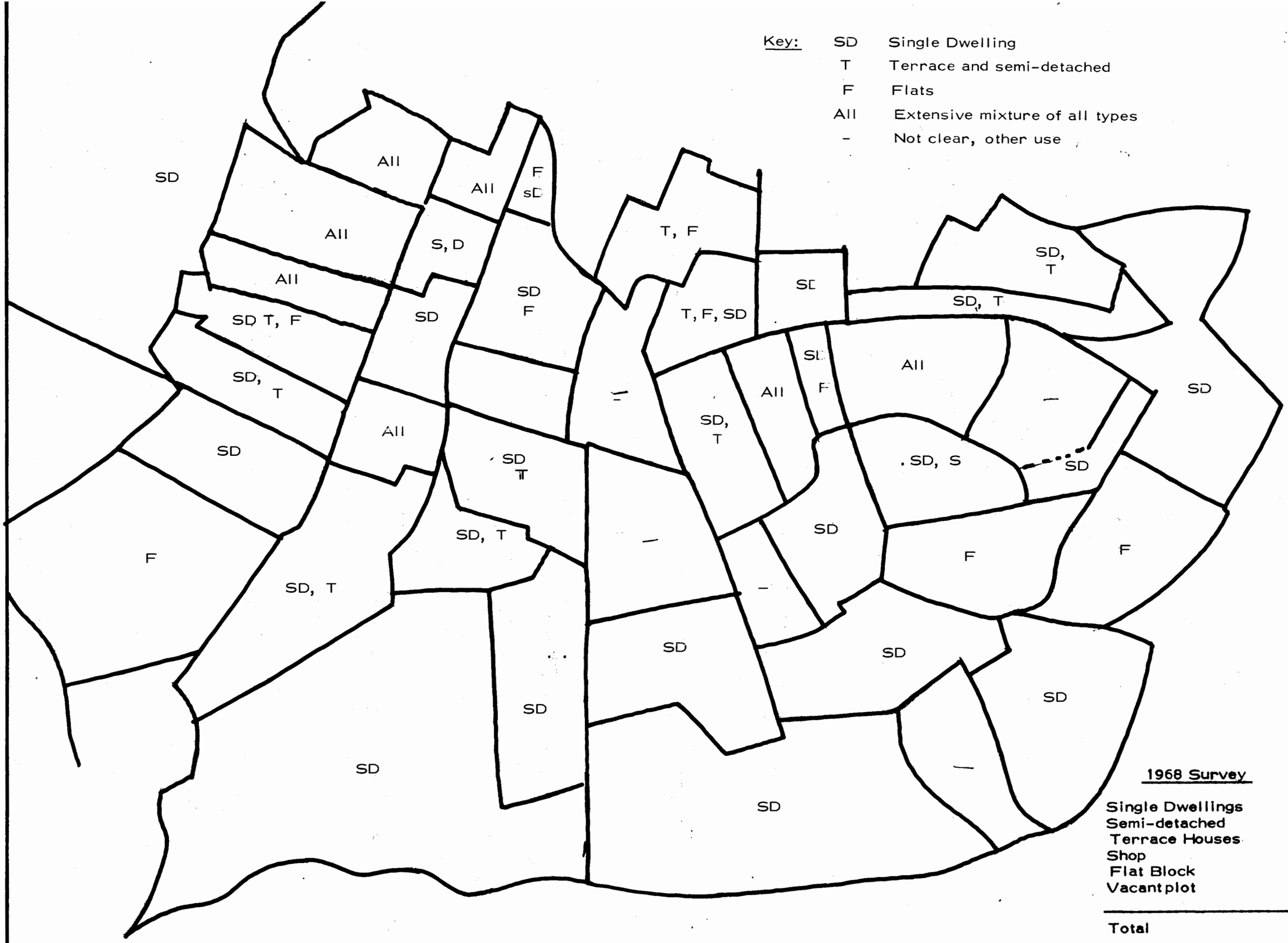
6,4 Table Valley's Past

Little remains in most of the Amphitheatre to recall the original farms and estates which became the present-day suburbs. We feel that the early Esates are of great interest and that they could perhaps be recalled to the public's eye . This we touch on later.

Most of Table Valley was of course farmed. The Leeuwenvoet estate at the foot of Lion's Head was an estate of the Jurgens family from 1765 and at that time eighty thousand vines grew there; the Tamboers Kloof district was part of that Leeuwen-voet estate.

Vredehoek was still a farm, amazingly, in 1923, although closely encircled by the spreading town. It was also originally the property of the Jurgens family. Oranjezicht, named for its view of the Oranje bastion of the castle, was long the property of the van Breda family; it also had vineyards. During the late nineteenth century, the city acquired the right to the estate's water supply for reservoirs, and, waterless, it was eventually sold to a speculative villa company. Leeuwenhof, presently the Administrator's residence, was a very successful farm, selling market produce that was hawked round town from baskets by their slaves. Welgemeend was one of the most fruitful estates in the Cape and at one stage stretched from Camp Street right up to the mountain slopes.

Only a handful of buildings in the study area have been declared Historical Monuments. The present system is quite inadequate: as a planning tool the isolated monument is quite useless; only effectively created and managed, economically viable precincts can make use of the past constructively. Where old buildings are concerned we recommend immediate action before it is too late (see Policy section). (25)



1968 Survey

Single Dwellings	2 290
Semi-detached	362
Terrace Houses	441
Shop	148
Flat Block	435
Vacant plot	62
Total	**3 676**

Dominant Dwelling Types

Flats built without sympathy or thought. After all these years we still have to go down the steps, out into the rain to throw away the kitchen waste; the children still play second fiddle to parking requirements, and many flats are barracks in all but name and facade detail. A total freeze on all flat construction is recommended under policy until such time as the existing flat districts have been redesigned and made into a livable environment.

6, 5 Transport Review

Transport and Human Welfare

We used our earlier criteria once again to open the assessment of transport in Table Valley. Transport exists only to improve human welfare human welfare, and that welfare is our main concern. How well is the Valley's population served by its transport ?

	Buses	Cars	Walking	Cycling
ensures Health	poor	poor	good	good
ensures Safety	good	poor	fair-poor	poor
Comfort	fair	good	-	-
Convenience	good	excell.	good	fair
offers Choice and Variety	limited	excell.	fair	fair
Continuity	good	poor	good	good
creates Community	good	poor	good	poor
human Scale	fair-good	poor	good	good
fosters Place & Identity	good	poor	good	good
Economy	excell. -fair	poor-fair	excell.	excell.
true Development	fair	good BUT	limited	fair

Comments on the Matrix and its use

Matrices have been widely used in this study although not all attempts have been useful or are recorded here. A matrix is is essentially only a stimulus to thought, especially lateral thinking; it has no magical qualities besides juxtaposing factors or ideas . More subjective comment on the matrix follows.

- Buses in Table Valley.

Man always chooses to ride rather than walk (when not taking exercise) and buses do not contribute to health obviously, except for the elderly and infirm. They also, quite seriously, tend to be plague-ridden in winter by flu and cold infections. Professional bus-driving and slow movement of most buses make them score fairly well on Safety, although many of Table Valley's routes are difficult or congested for them. Such tight routes are a boon to passengers however. The bus service is on the whole convenient, except for communications, where City Tramways have failed for years to provide either really good time-tables, posters or coupon tickets. Coupons are sold only at obscure depots and at only six other points in the whole metropolitan area.

Choice and variety of destination or route are of course limited. Buses counter by scoring well in creating a sense of continuity and community, for in old built up areas, routes are often of long standing. Most regular bus-users get to know their fellow travellers, conductors and local residents at least by sight ('he's that strange quiet man who lives with his old mother") or occasionally meet friends on the bus. Routes and route names create strong images and memories of places, even if never seen - London's bus destinations, like those of the underground, are deep memories and symbols to those who have known them.

Economy of bus transport varies from fair to poor. For two parents in Vredehoek to take two children to Town on a Saturday morning now costs R1, 20 ; such a price is far higher than the (private) costs of driving one mile to town and metered parking. Increasing costs are entering the danger zone in Cape Town for white passengers as well as black.

Cars in Table Valley

They do not contribute to human health but are again even more of a boon to the less mobile or frail. For their occupants they score well on comfort, and safety compared with pedestrians is good. The convenience of the car in off-peak hours is excellent, although poor circulation design makes their presence highly inconvenient for others, and a ubiquitous hazard. They are unrivalled in giving their owners a choice and variety of activities and destinations. No other invention except television and radio has so expanded man's living horizons. Cars are poor at fostering any continuity or community : cars are the ultimate disposable in their makers' eyes, are continually replaced; their drivers become "atomised" out of society, even changin g personality behind the wheel. Scale of car movement has become quite unsuitable through mis-matched design for car and place - see safety - and the identity of places has become much eroded by far-reaching mobility. Economy of the private car is hard to assess within a tradition of unpriced roads and social costs. Most white South African users have hitherto been able to ignore personal car costs as a natural fixed overhead, as also the expensive anomalies of the auto culture. Human development has been greatly extended by mobility of this sort, although there are many negative counts... this is a study in itself.

Walking and Cycling.

Cycling is not widespread because of the steep slopes and is mostly confined to children's after-school play. Bau many Table Valley residents walk to work in the central city, taking the bus only in wet weather, or home uphill. No other area in Cape Town is as convenient in this regard. Scale is good for walking, although the slopes are often rather extreme, and an interest and awareness of one's community and its contnuity obviously flow from this. The poor circulation patterns make many ideal pedestrian or traffic-free routes unnecessarily dangerous however.

Some districts which should have shops or services within convenient walking distance, lack them, and a car trip becomes necessary.

More routes obviously geared to walking would bring out the walkers out. With the dense and mostly attractive surroundings and the mountain setting and parks, the Table Valley resident is al is already pre-disposed to walking in a way that other Cape - tonians are possibly not.

Detailed Assessment (1) Buses

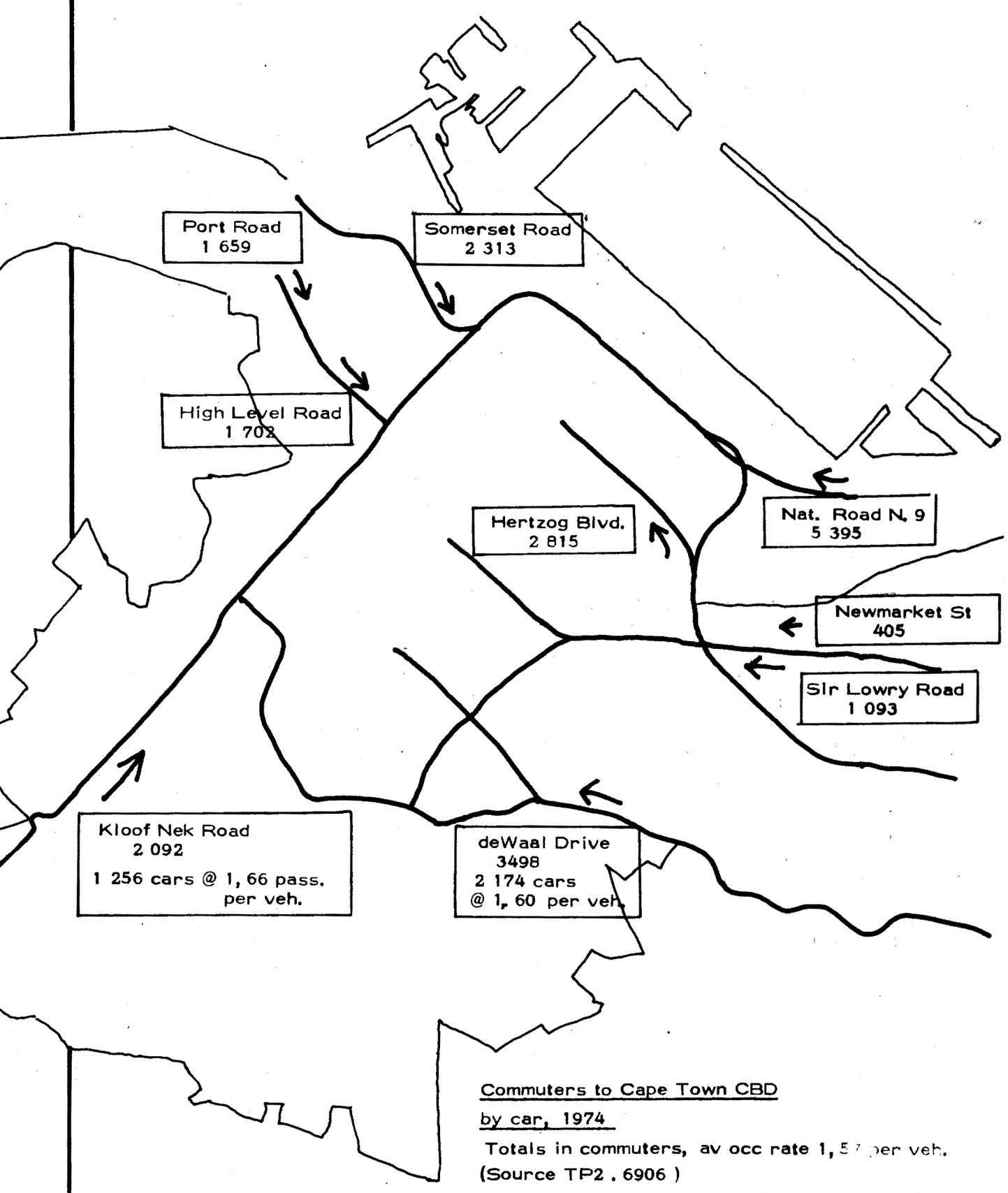
There are presently thirteen bus routes running into or through Table Valley. Many of these share common arteries and branch to serve sub-areas. The routes are:

111	Camps Bay
109	Devil's Peak via Mill street
108	Devil's Peak via Roeland street
109	Highlands Estate
106	Kloof Nek
105	Kloof street
138	Molteno
104	Oranjezicht
107	Tamboers Kloof via Poyser Road
107	Tamboers Kloof via Warren Street
108	Vredehoek Estate
103	Gardens via Long Street
103	Gardens via Plein Street

These routes are shown diagrammatically on the accompanying map.

1975 Passenger Movements.

The Public Transport Survey by the CPA in 1967 is the most recent source of information on passenger and bus movement in Table Valley. Without fresh direct survey, which was planned by the author but could not be executed for lack of time, the changing levels of use on these routes cannot be established, not even from City Tramways. Since the introduction of rotary ticket dispensers, detailed analysis of passenger movement has ceased to be possible. The same ticket dispenser records sales on many routes in one day. Only observers on bus-by-bus trips could chart passengers alighting and descending. Earlier time-tables, amazingly are not kept either, so bus frequency changes cannot be compared either.



Commuters to Cape Town CBD

by car, 1974

Totals in commuters, av occ rate 1, 5[illegible] per veh.

(Source TP2 . 6906)

Detailed Assessment (2) Car Use

In a district so close – much of it less than one mile – from the central city, the emptying of car-filled streets each working morning is surprisingly complete. It is not clear how many workers take their cars the short distance to the CBD or commute elsewhere in the 01 Region. This draining of the amphitheatre occurs down Kloof Nek Road, Molteno, Hof , Upper Orange and Upper Buitenkant Streets and into the almost completed ring-road system on its Table Valley side.

The Cape Town central screenline counts for 1974 affect Table Valley only in two corridors , namely the Kloof Nek route from the Atlantic suburbs and coast, and the southern peninsula; and secondly the massive flow across the base of the Valley from de Waal Drive along Mill and Orange Streets.

The screenline counts are shown in disgrammatic form opposite.

Car Ownership

Many of the Valley's residents do not hav e the use of a car. We estimate non-drivers to be about 47% of the population or some 15 000 residents.

TABLE 6.7

[illegible]

Ages	01 Region	% dist	Non-drivers	% dist
0 – 19	[illegible]	37	121 995	90 *
20 – 64	210 719	58	31 606	15 *
65 +	20 000	5	17 032	85 *
	[illegible]	100	170 633 or 47 %	

(23)

Notes * distributions are arbitrary assumptions

Major Road Corridors in Table Valley

Cases for and against the Mill Street Ringroad

We have seen no motivation for this portion of the ring-road system in print and cannot comment on its adequacy. However, the consultants' motivation for the design of the Foreshore freeway (24) is poor to the point of being non-existent; and it is unlikely that any better argument was advanced for Mill Street : the precedent of having seen 'ringroads' built elsewhere was doubtless adequate to decide to build one here.

For peak -hour traffic the upper or western frame is a dead end of diffused all-day parking. Rapid circumnavigation of the city by the commuter on this inner route rather than on the foreshore seems pointless. For off-peak commercial and private traffic flows this section seems satisfactory at present. There are presently no businesses in the Buitencingel - Buitengracht quarter of the frame that warrant a R1,8 million subsidy - the cost of the Mill Street widenings 1974 - 1978. The dominant uses there include motor servicing and tune-up centres which cater for the all-day parker, and improved access to this part of the frame will just incestuously increase the business that only exists as a result of access by car commuters. There are to our knowledge no parking garages planned on the Mill Street corridor (1972 Revised Plan TPR 5232)

However weak the case for a ring road the scale of the short remaining section (Orange and Buitencingel Streets) although out of scale with its surroundings, is not that of a motorway, but of a dual carriageway, and only 800 m remains to be built. We will recommend later that this section be completed subject to certain design controls. If it is completed to its intended standard, other subsequent urban design measures may be made easier. The main significance of this link is the land-use changes that will follow its completion, on the Table Valley side, and more particularly on the CBD-Frame side

The Kloof Nek Corridor

In 1974 , this route carried 2092 passengers, or 1 256 cars past the cordon at Kloof Nek. Growth of this traffic is mainly dependant on urbanisation on the Atlantic coast, on growth in Hout Bay, Noordhoek and reverse commuting from Constantia. The City council has no direct control over urbanisation out - side its area, but potential growth is assessed below :

The potential population centres on the Atlantic axis south of Table Valley include Camps Bay, Hout Bay, Noordhoek, Kommetjie , Fish Hoek and Scarborough. At present traffic planning here in an incestuous and self-defeating process. The Consultants' report to Fish Hoek municipality, for example, dealing with Transport Planning in the South Peninsula, and in particular the Boyes Drive proposals, battles valiantly with the problem. With no reference points, and no guiding policy, it inevitably relies on the all-too-familiar methodology:

Ad Hoc Pressure

↓

Accept existing Zoning

↓

Calculate potential max population at Year X

↓

Vehicles generated and assigned

↓

Build Route Model

↓

Allocate Traffic to Routes

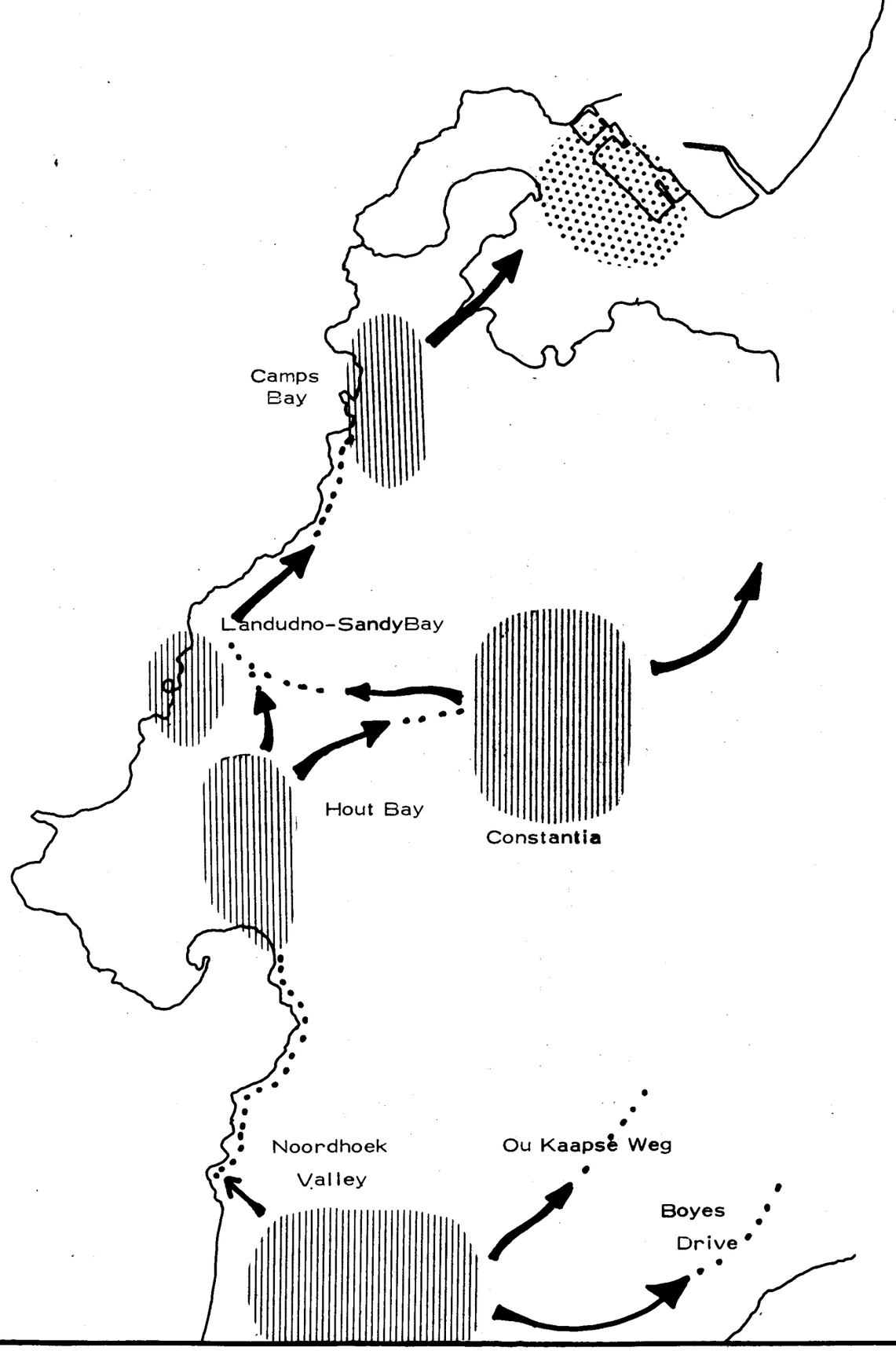
↓

Assess costs and environmental impact against unknown/unstated criteria

↓

PERPETUATE THE PROBLEM

(28)



In this way both the Consultants and the Cape Town City Engineer generated similar "ultimate" populations of 50 000 persons in the area of Noordhoek Valley and south thereof, and a corresponding figure of approximately 4 200 vehicles.

Such projections clash immediately with likely Guide Plan policy, as also with the prevailing public mood regarding development in the Peninsula. The Department has stated privately (and unofficially) that it is strongly against further residential growth on the Cape Peninsula. Such a principle may appear formally when the Guide Plan for metropolitan Cape Tonw is published.

However, vacant land does exist for residential growth and the growth is steady if not spectacular.

TABLE 6, 8

Vacan t Erven and Annual Building Rates in South Peninsula

Area	1974 Vacant Erven	buildings comp. 1972 - 73	1973-74
Camps Bay	?	16	18
Hout Bay	645	20	28
Noordhoek	271	5	14
Kommetjie	420	10	20
Scarborough	458	5	8
TOTAL	1794		

(21) and (23)

Such annual rates could rise or drop depending on the economic climate, but also, will be most sensitive to nearby spending on infrastructure, particularly roads. The figures above could then quite quite easily be taken as trend add the 'demand' for road space calculated. But this would merely perpetuate the problem.

The late Ian Fergus, one of Cape Town's more perceptive traffic engineers, believed that "Design-on-demand" had become the largest error that the profession had fallen into. We feel that our original intention to assemble a simple model of the impact of Peninsula growth on Table Valley was futile.

Instead the time has come for policy statements to be made. These will be based on our professional opinions, as follows.

(i) The environmental quality of Table Valley takes precedence over other new residential growth on the peninsula.

(ii) The physical scale of Table Valley is such that a grade-separated route or expressway along the route of Kloof Nek is unacceptable.

(iii) The existing road could if necessary be marginally improved to limited dual carriageway standard, but no further.

(iv) The Council will be obliged to restrain excessive development in Camps Bay, which is within its own area of jurisdiction, and

(v) make clear to local authorities further south that there is a ceiling to the increase in traffic that can be accepted on this corridor; and that they make the necessary adjustments to their long-term planning.

6, 7 Shopping: Introduction

Parhaps no other activity in the country involves so many people every day than moving the goods of our capitalist economy of their shelves. Retail location is a tremendously complex field which we are not competent in, and the facts that we have to hand are few and superficial.

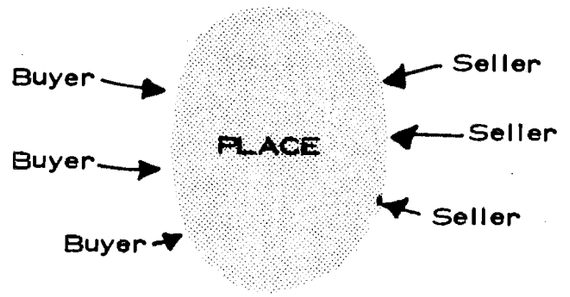
But the same values that we are applying to this entire study have been used to test the shopping in the Amphitheatre: how do the facilities compare with the ideal ?

At the same time as this assessment, we have surveyed all the shops in the study area, and compared their 1975 numbers and characteristics with statistics for 1965 and earlier. The intervening years gives some idea of recent trends and changes. There are no figures on sales, floorspace or market areas. These are certainly important but would only come later in any case. We have tried only to give a broad picture of what it is like to shop in Table Valley.

The act of buying and selling is essentially simple. It is also as old as man himself. But the place where this act takes place is less simple, and it can be many things. We believe that the PLACE, the interface between buyer and seller, is next to economics, the most important factor of all.

The enormous effort presently being poured into the design of integrated shopping centres tends to confirm this. The cus - tomer is fickle, lazy and human: great efforts are therefore made to steer him about, to attract him, and then to make him spend. In the Western world this has become a manipulative process with the customer as consumer - victim rather thanthe active participant of other times and societies; an unhappy situation rather beyond our brief.

Nevertheless, no matter what the motives or the setting, the relationship is always the same:



Streets . .
Alleyways . . .
. . . Pavements
Walls ?
:::: Vehicles::
Trees . .
Homes
Buildings
etc. . .

.6, 8 Criteria for Shopping

Listed below are the factors we used in looking at the three shopping "districts" as defined by the CPA report , as also examining local clusters.

The assessment is personal and descriptive: there are no score scores or rankings. We have tried nevertheless to be as comprehensive and objective as possible , and to see these places as others do as well, but with an awareness that much might be improved - must be improved.

The place where shopping is done should have ,

- Health
- Safety
- Comfort
- Convenience
- Choice and Variety
- Continuity
- Community
- Scale
- Place and Identity
- Economy
- True development potential

The categories overlap one another, and are not mutually exclusive. This is all to the good, as there is reinforcement of ideas, and categories are a mere vehicle for thought. Moreover, nothing in the city is discrete. Overlap and synthesis is the essential condition of the city.

A place to shop should be more than a developer's manipulative package of bolt-on multiples and muzak. [illegible] should be a place for other things besides; things old, things new, things borrowed and (midst the clean graffitti) things blue.

Criteria for Shopping

Health — Foodstuffs for sale, restaurants, pollutants, drugs of potential danger, etc. have to be controlled to avoid public hazard: shop legislation, certain building regs., etc apply

Safety — The physical design of the place should protect buyers and sellers from motor vehicles, risks of personal violence, any unsafe associated activities.

Comfort — Sun, wind and weather should be considered, and handled well - which is not to say they should be eliminated. Shopping is living: the place should be good to stay, eat, idle, play (and buy) in.

Convenience — All sorts of persons should be catered for; the old, the child, the invalid and disabled, the housewife, those in cars and those out of them, delivery scooters and brewery semi-trailers. The place must be located and designed for all these participants.

Choice & Variety — The maximum range of goods and services, that the market will bear should be available, and geared to real customers in the trading area, not only to marketing abstractions.

Continuity — Businesses should be able to establish themselves securely, however grand or humble they are; they can then foster credit, goodwill and friendship with their customers, or their customers' children. The future of the district must be secure and certain.

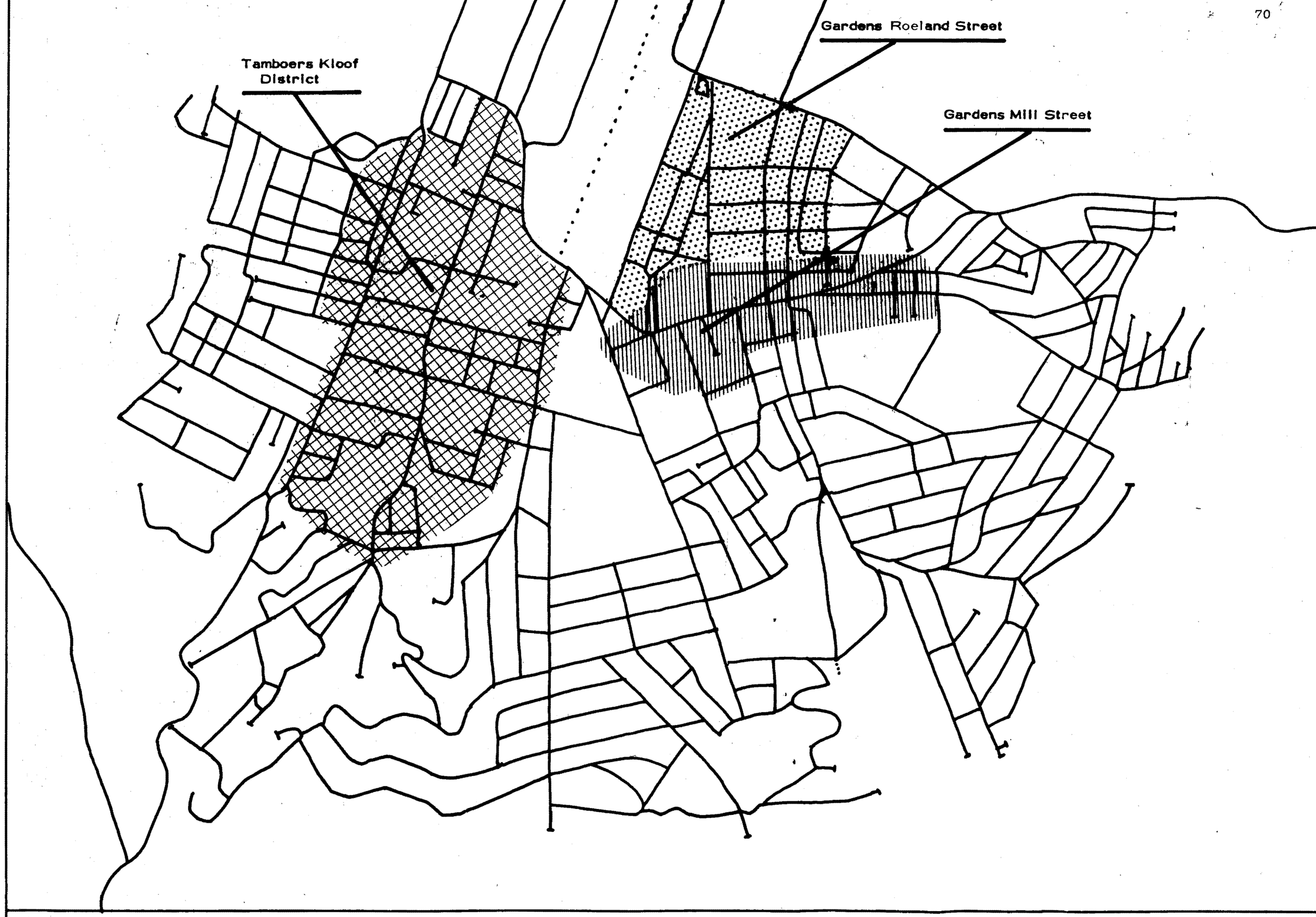
Community — This is much the result of continuity, above, but also of attitudes in society as a whole. Community is allied to places, and can definitely be reinforced by careful design. Hence...

Scale — A shopping place should be in scale and sympathy with its buyers and sellers, and its surroundings. Even if bright and new, it need not suffer from from gigantism, monotony or remoteness, and certainly not from road/car dangers.

Place & Identity — Every place needs its own character and should be permitted to retain or develop it. Human beings do not want to live in a "DIN. A4" world, useful though standardisation may be. Local character, architecture, styles and approach must be kept. Ther is no case against it.

Economy — There should be the maximum result for the minimum social cost and waste. Apparent profits are often social losses. Buildings and resources that are still good should be used up, exploited, and converted, not demolished or discarded. Locations should suit pedestrians, train and bus routes. The running costs should be as low as possible. Non-electric buildings are preferable.

Development. Here we refer to true human development and physical development rather than the 'growth' philosophy. This leads in the direction of new ideas <u>within</u> the framework of what exists, rather than replacement; of software instead of hardware, of common use rather than private use, of action by individuals solving their own needs rather than an authority solving them for them.



Shopping Survey Districts 1904 - 1975

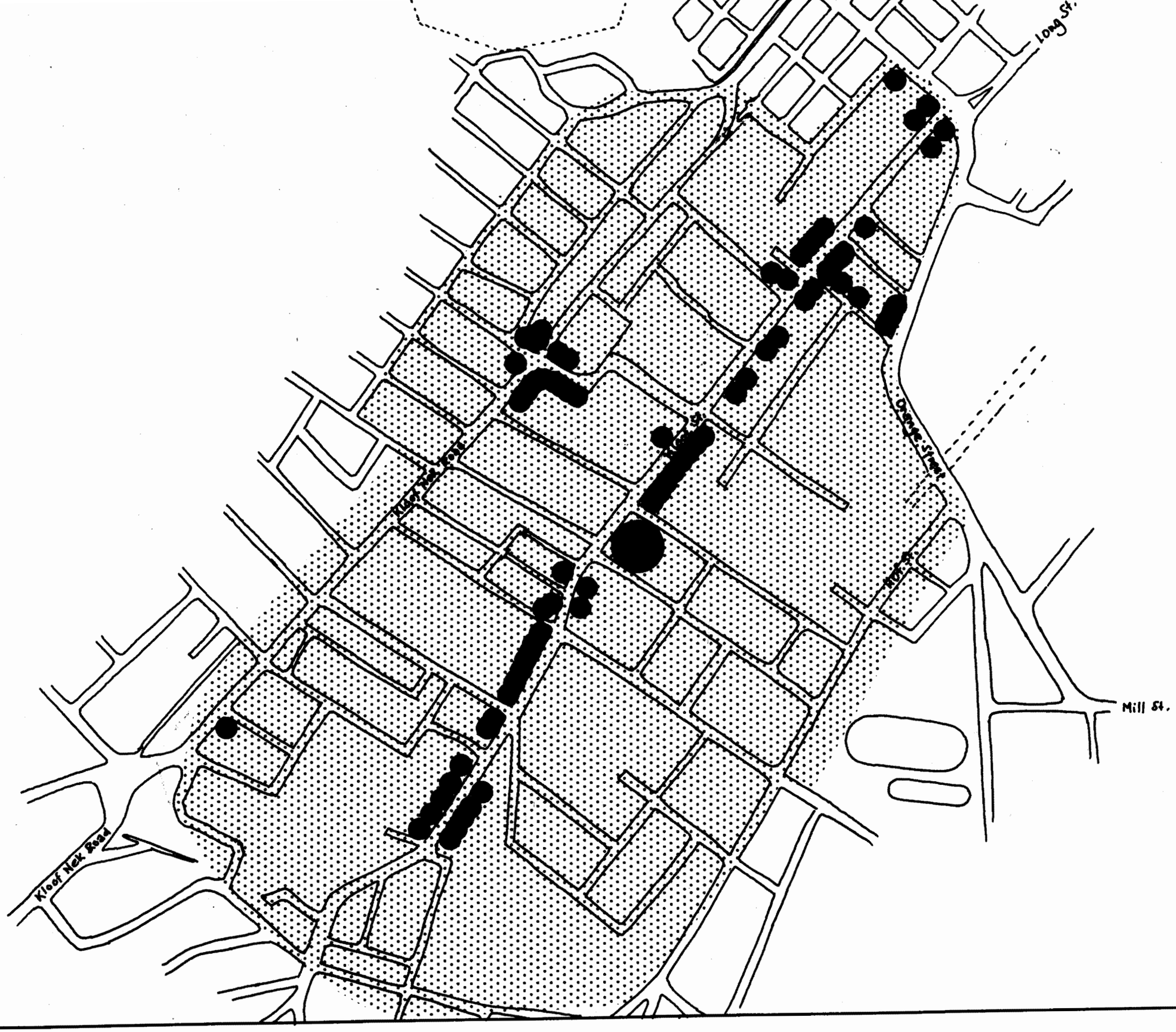
Key sheet to three areas for shopping as defined in CPA Shopping Survey.

TABLE 6.9

SHOPPING 1904 - 1975

Tenbpers Kloof Survey District

SHOP TYPE	1904	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1965	1975
CONVENIENCE SHOPS: TOTAL	51	52	49	63	61	56	66	66	54
Food Shops 'A'	4	11	6	10	9	9	10	10	8
Food Shops 'B'	29	23	29	30	28	27	32	31	18
Bottle Stores	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Chemists	3	3	3	5	5	5	7	6	5
Service Shops	14	15	10	17	18	14	16	18	20
SELECTION SHOPS TOTAL:	6	14	14	11	12	11	22	12	16
Clothing and Ftwr.	4	11	12	10	9	8	13	6	4
Household Dur.	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	4	6
Shopping Suppl.	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	4
Jewellers	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	0
Variety Shops	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	2
DEPARTMENT STORES	-	-	-	—	-	-	-	-	0
SPECIALITY SHOPS	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
GRAND TOTAL	57	66	63	75	73	67	90	80	71



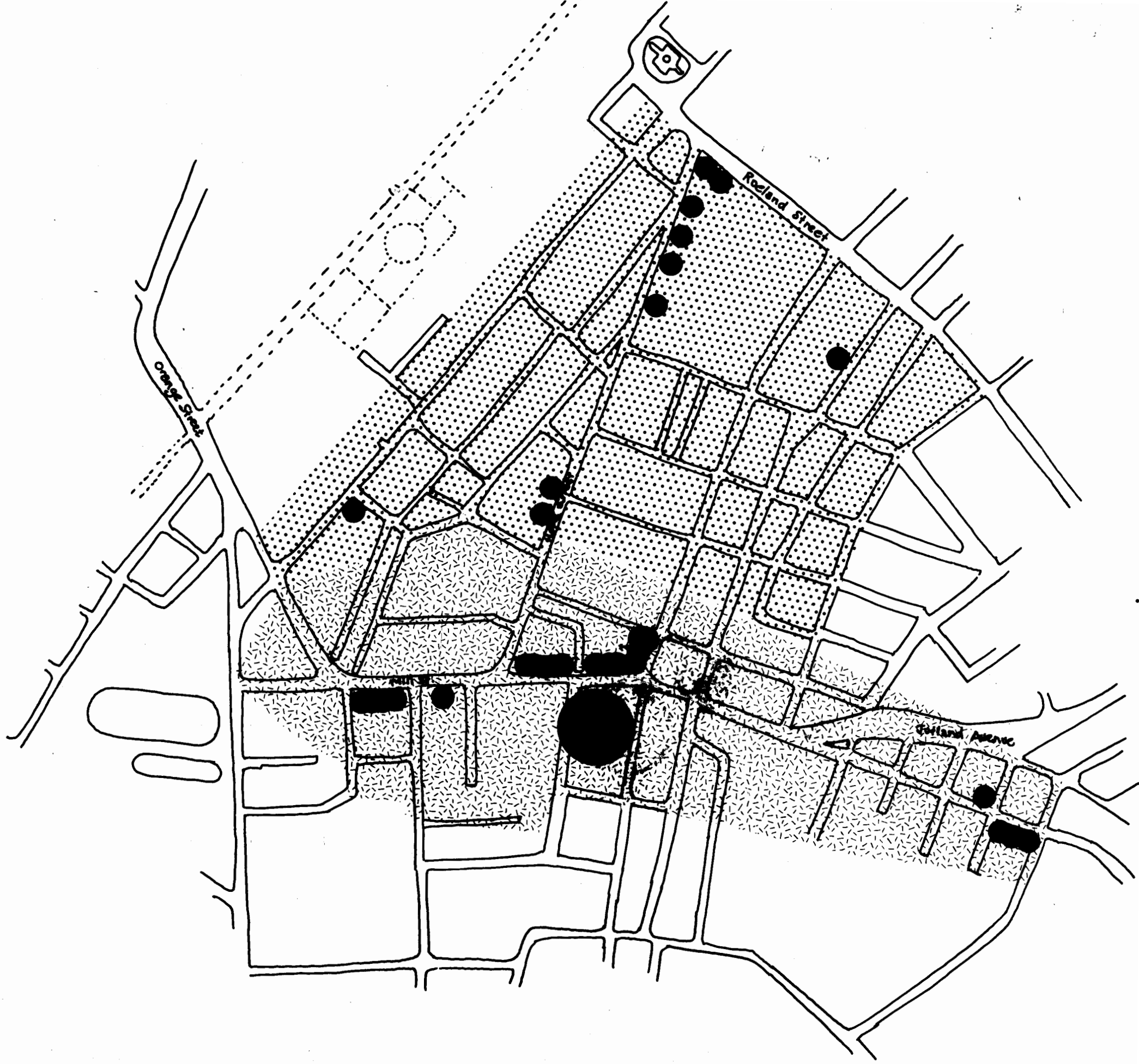
Shopping District 1: Tamboers Kloof

TABLE 6.10

SHOPPING 1904 – 1975

Mill Street Survey District

SHOP TYPE	1904	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1965	1975	Gardens Centre only 1975
CONVENIENCE SHOPS: TOTAL	9	13	12	37	35	37	44	46	28	9
Food Shops 'A'		3	2	10	11	10	14	12	5	3
Food Shops 'B'	6	4	6	14	10	13	14	16	7	2
Bottle Stores									2	1
Chemists	1	2	1	3	3	4	5	5	4	0
Service Shops	2	4	3	10	11	10	11	13	10	3
SELECTION SHOPS TOTAL:	3	7	9	9	10	12	13	12	25	19
Clothing and Ftwr.	3	7	8	9	10	11	8	5	12	10
Household Dur.							1	5	4	3
Shopping Suppl.							3	2	5	2
Jewellers									1	1
Variety Shops						1	1		3	3
DEPARTMENT STORES									0	0
SPECIALITY SHOPS						1	1		3	3
GRAND TOTAL	12	20	21	46	45	49	58	58	57	32



Shopping Districts 2 & 3: Gardens; Roeland & Mill Streets

TABLE 6.11

SHOPPING 1904 – 1975

Roeland Street Survey District

SHOP TYPE	1904	1911	1921	1936	1946	1951	1960	1965	1975
CONVENIENCE SHOPS: TOTAL	32	31	26	36	28	18	25	12	10
Food Shops 'A'	3	3	3	10	7	7	5	2	0
Food Shops 'B'	21	17	14	14	12	6	11	9	7
Bottle Stores	1	1	1	1	1	1			2
Chemists	1			1	1	1	2	1	1
Service Shops	6	10	8	10	7	3	7		0
SELECTION SHOPS TOTAL:	7	8	6	8	8	2	5	1	2
Clothing and Ftwr.	6	4	6	7	6	2	3	1	1
Household Dur.									1
Shopping Suppl.	1	2					2		0
Jewellers				1	2				0
Variety Shops									0
DEPARTMENT STORES									0
SPECIALITY SHOPS						1		1	0
GRAND TOTAL	39	39	32	44	36	21	30	18	12

Other Shopping Clusters

1. Corner of Vredehoek Avenue /Upper Buitenkant Street

Apollo Dry Cleaners and Launderers (shop and works)
Jack's Café and Gneral Dealers
Niko's Cafe and Superette
The Swiss Butchery
Gardens Fisheries
Vacant Shop (6)

2. Top Of Mill Street, Esher to St James St String

London's Electrical Service
Caledon Kosher Butchery
Apollo Cafe and 'supermarket'
Salon Chic Hairdressers
Swift Drycleaning (depot)
GPO Herzlia
Eureka Supply Store
Vacant Shop or storage
Disa Supermarket (superette)
Disa Pharmacy (9)

3. Corner of Highlands Avenue and Deer Park Drive

Highlands Pharmacy
Alec's Cafe and Minimarket
Toppies Book EXchange
Vacant Shop
Mountain Take-Aways (and a dry-cleaning depot)
Edmore Home appliances and repairs
(5)

Miscellaneous Others

On theCorner Bellevue and upper Kloof Streets

Petite Supermarket and Café
W. Clark, Elec Services
Curtain Parade - Materials

Upper Orange Street

Model Stores and Café
Oranjezicht Pharmacy

Burnside Road

Sammy's Second Hand Book Exchange

Kloof Nek Road

Kloof Supermarket - cafe

Brownlow Road

E. Kapdi General Dealer

Hof Street

Brown's Pharmacy

---

4. Tamboers Kloof Cluster, cor Kloof Nek Rd & Kloof Road

Madeira Market Gardens/Café
Unisex Hair Boutique
Royal Dairy Retail Shop
Monte View Fisheries
Popular Café
Lawson and Kirk Dry Clnrs.
Dasma Outfitters /Haberdashers
Supermeats Butchery
GPO Tamboers Kloof
Tamboers Kloof Pharmacy
Mitchell's Pharmacy
Tamboers Kloof Butchery
Park Cafe
Van Riebeeck Bottle Store
Bar B Q Steak House
Strempel's Delicatessen
Continental Shoe Repairs and Swift DryCleaning Depot
(16)

Other Shopping Clusters

Zones around shops clusters are 250 m walking distance. The numbers refer to the lists given opposite. Note that the Tamboers Kloof cluster is part of the CPA grouping elsewhere, but is included here because of its strongly clustered form.

Rating the Shopping Districts

1. Tamboers Kloof Survey Area

All these CPAareas are quite arbitrary and chosen for data collection rather than function. This "area" consists of what a geographer would probably be able to class as strings or clusters to the extent that this was meaningful. The entire area scores well o on convenience, being on arteries of one kind or another, but very poorly in terms of safety and health: heavy traffic, poor crossings, exhaust fumes, vague parking, etc. There seems to be no continuity in Kloof Street; threat possibly of the proposed road widening (not on any estimates yet) seems to be keeping shops vacant or leading to short leases and tenants of the poorest kind who survive only a few months. Comfort is poor, as is play space for children (none) and even in the Checkers "shopping centre" there is not even a place to have tea.

However Kloof Street is a natural artery and we feel that it would respond excellently to redesign and some investment, particularly if a focus somewhere on the string could be found.

2. Gardens Mill Street

The opening of the Gardens Centre has vastly increased the range of comparison shopping (slender though these shops' hold on survival may be). The remaining non-centre shops have note changed in character; and many have disappeared with the road widenings that have taken place. The contrast with the Centre's internal quality , and the large dangerous scale of the motorway bridge make the remnants of the old Mill Street String even more unattractive by comparison. It is however, highly accessible from all directions.

3. Gardens Roeland Street.

This is not a shopping district at all any more, merely a scattering of convenience stores through a portion of the frame that features mostly institutional uses and residential homes in poor to fair condition.

The 'Neighbourhood' Clusters

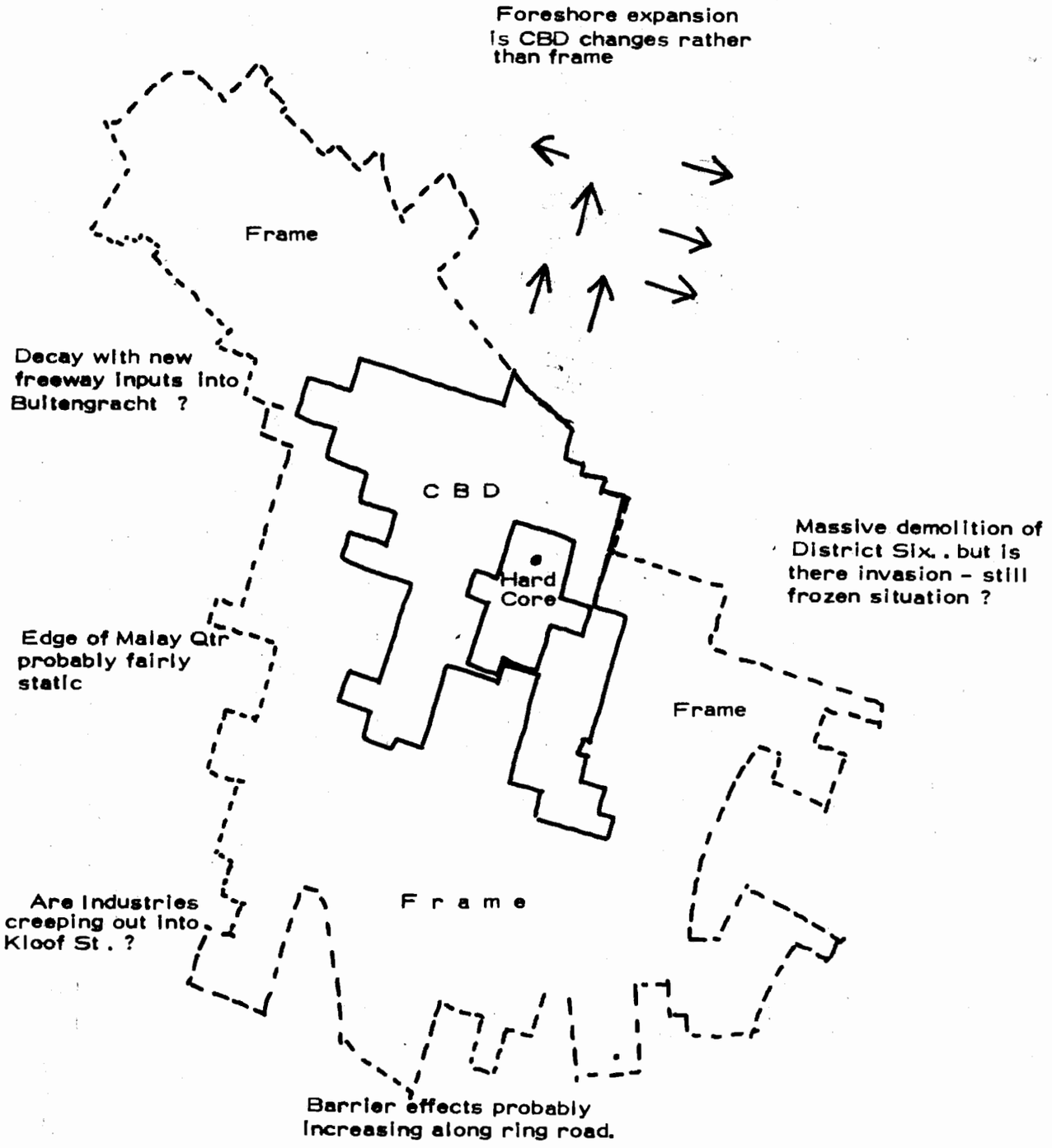
These have appeared at fairly logical points and feature the lower threshold conveniences of dry-cleaners, pharmacies and superettes. They are none of them of any attraction or real local comfort or quality.

The Gardens and Shopping Centres

It is worth commenting on the appearance of the Gardens Centre. South African shopping centres of this kind have all too often been located optimistically or just plain foolishly on overlapping trading areas. There are already a number of large white-elephant centres on the Rand. Many centres coming on stream in the Cape have hard years ahead of them.

Gardens Centre offers an excellent atmosphere in which to shop and high standards of safety, comfort , amenity compared with the local string on Mill Street.

The disturbing thing about such centres though is that they have only come into existence by default. They are the result of appalling standards of traffic handling and urban design in our cities. To spend a couple of million rands as in the case of the Gardens centre, to achieve reasonably pleasant (although rather predictable) and traffic free surroundings for a supermarket and only forty shops is in fact a poor social return on the capital.



6, 9 The Frame since 1959

The Original delimitation

In 1964, Davies and Hirschon, intheir study of a portion of the Table Valley (Oranjezicht, Gardens and Vredehoek) wrote:

> "... it offers the home owner the real security of proven resistance to the type of commercial development that threatens loss of amenity in many other inner residential areas.
>
> "... there is little reason to suppose that it will lose its essentially residential character, for neither the Gardens not Table Mountain can be swept away, the suburbs cannot be levelled, and Kloof Nek Road will lead only to dormitory suburbs along the Atlantic coast in the foreseeable future. Indeed, development of Orange and Mill Streets as part of the inner distributor loop for the central city will strengthen this artery as a functional area boundary.
>
> "... it is the comparatively static character of this urban backwater as revealed by the feebleness of functional succession that leaves the dominant impression on the observer. " (25)

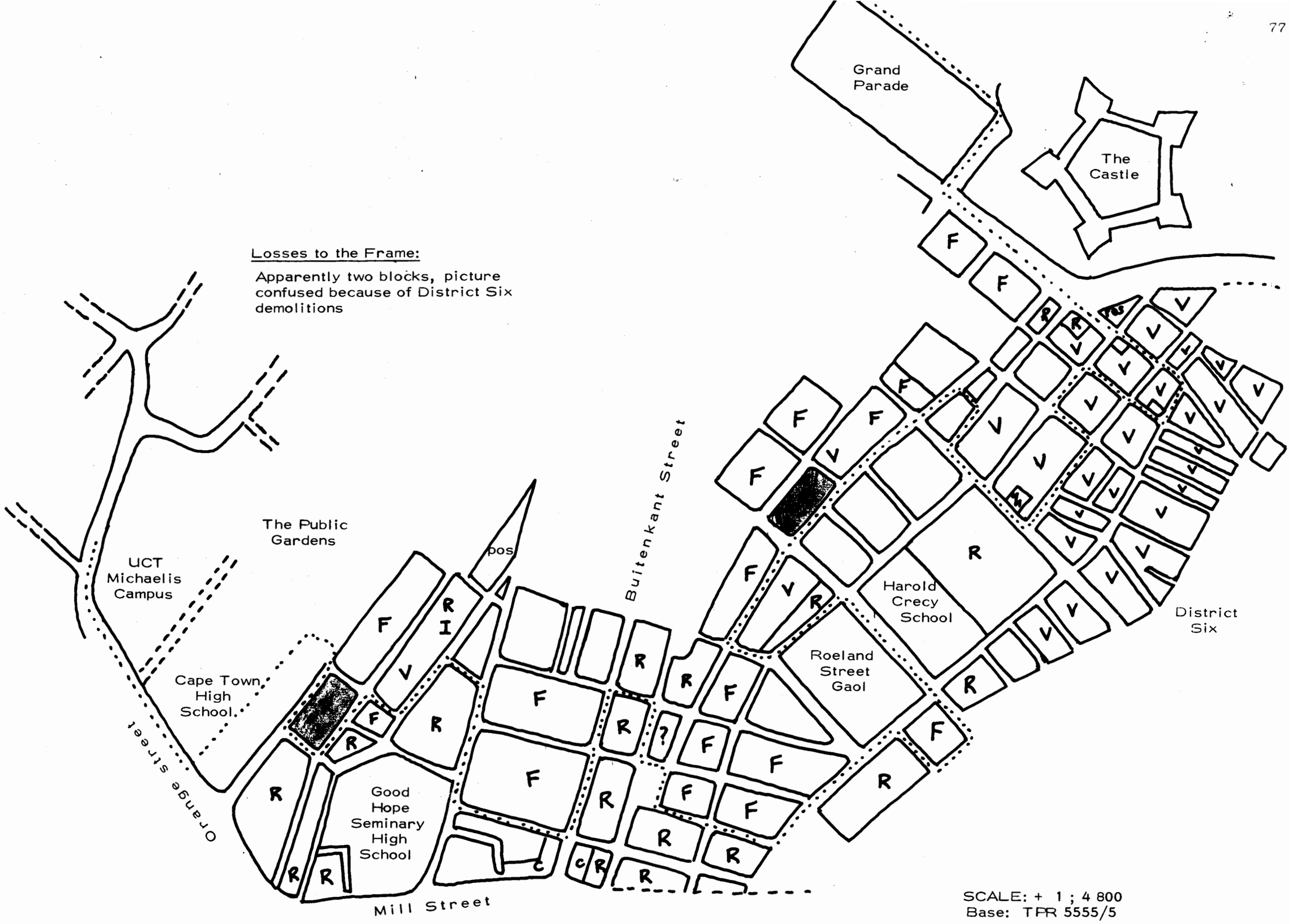
It seemed important in assessing functional stability of Table Valley, and the likely continuity - or otherwise - of its life, to see if the 1964 assessment quoted above still held good. But we decided to look at more than the short interface between the smaller 1964 study area (Mill and Orange Streets) and the frame, and examine the whole frame in the process.

The frame as mapped by D. H. Davies in Land Use in Central Cape Town was the starting point. Although the book was published in 1965, field work dated back to 1957 and 1959, as much as eighteen years ago. How much had the frame changed since then ?

The Frame since 1959

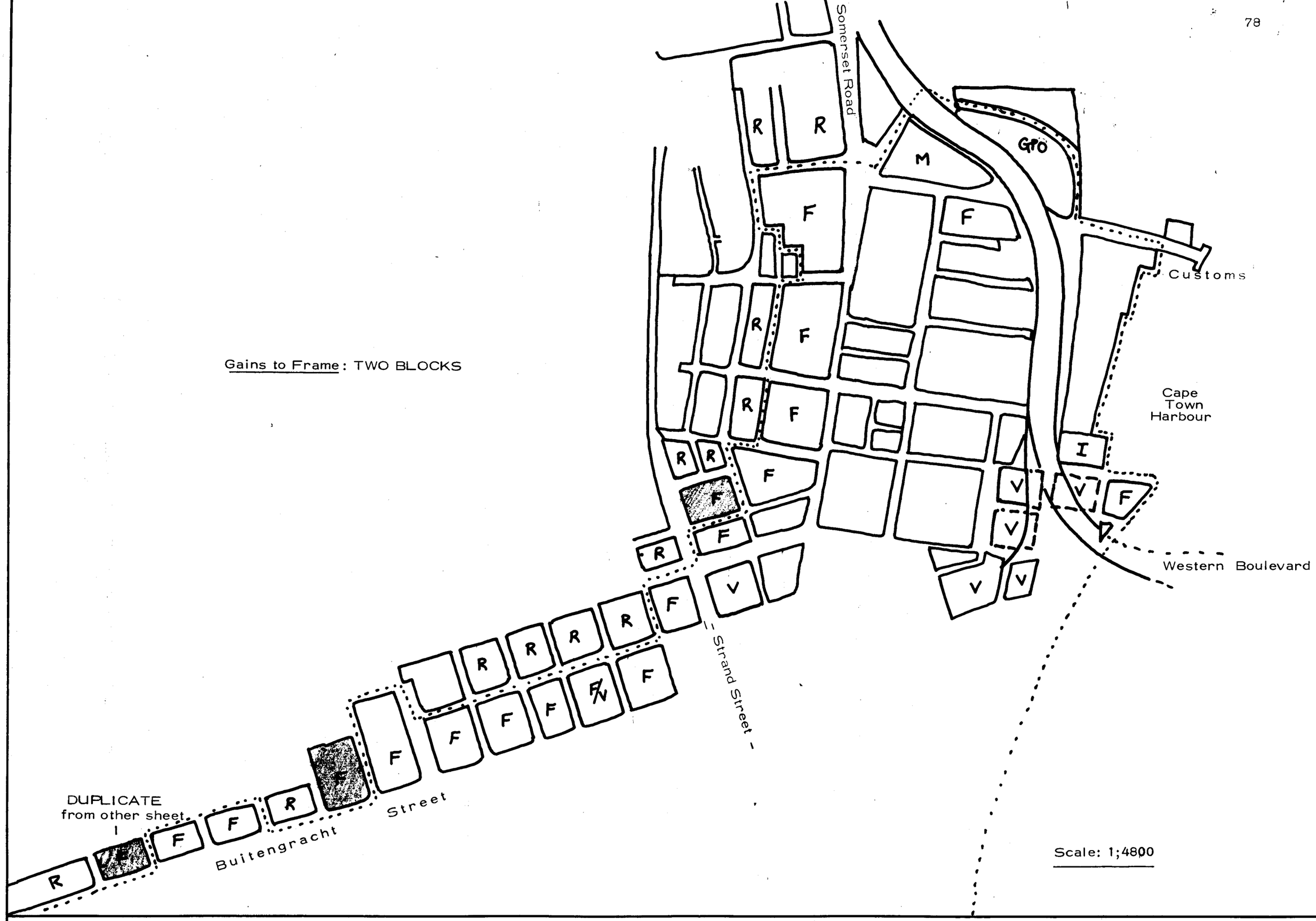
Our interest was solely in the outer edge of the frame and not internal changes in use or clustering. Davies's straightforward technique for delimiting the frame were used once again. Blocks had to have acquired auto sales, wholesale or industrial uses, commercial storage or general offices to qualify, within the further quantitative rules and conditions laid down.

The result of this re-delimitation are shown on the following pages .

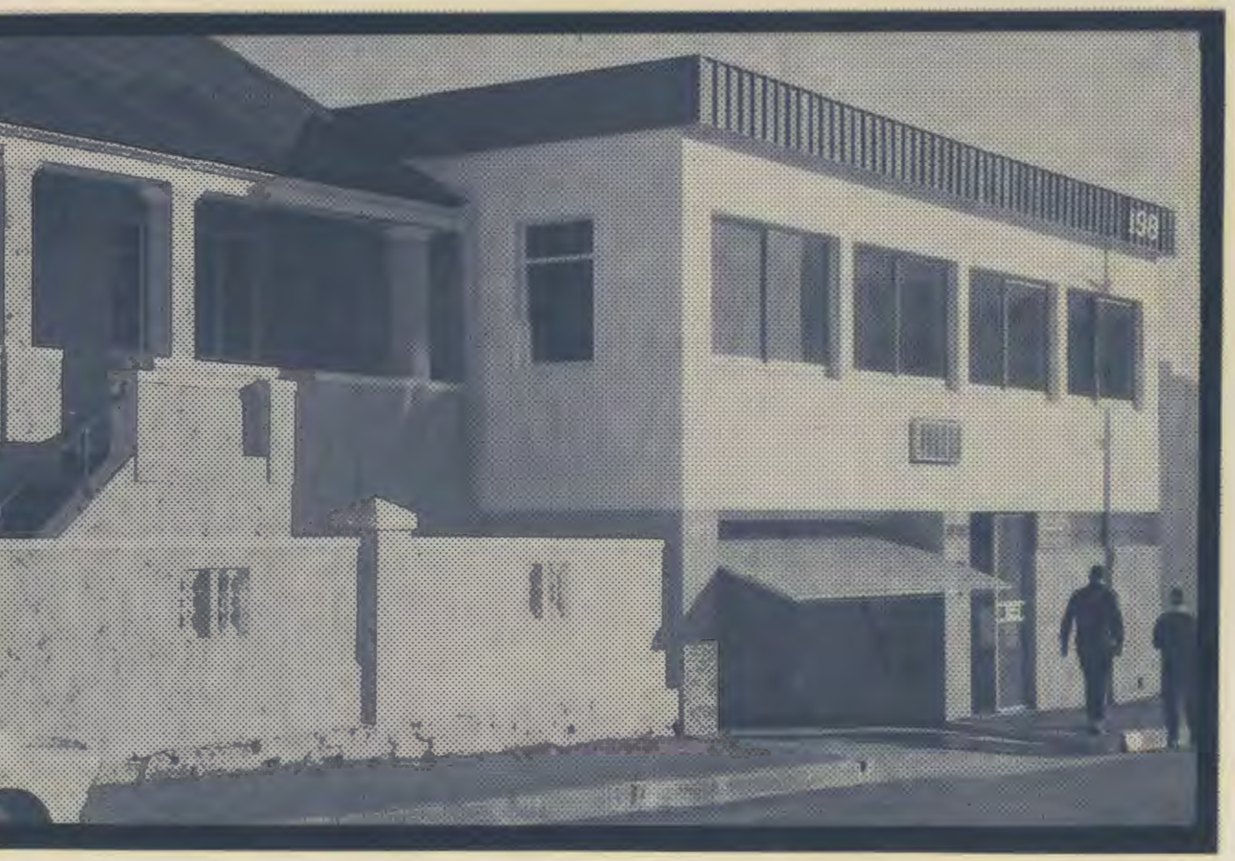


Frame edge redelimitation: south-east

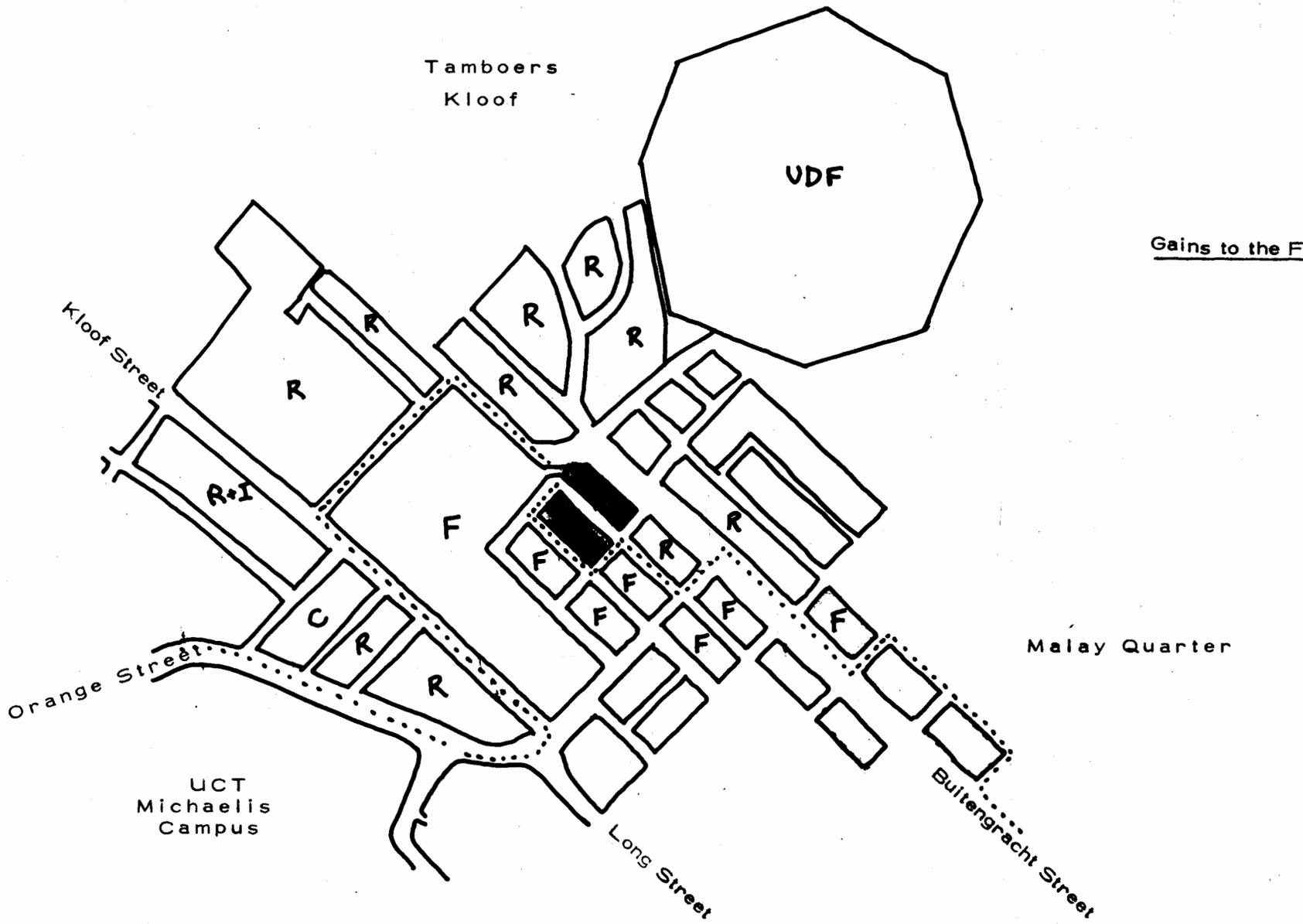
Gains to Frame: TWO BLOCKS



Frame edge redelimitation: north-west



Left and Left below: Differing examples of what conversion in the frame can be. In the one case, a complete restoration of a pleasant original building for an advertising agency owner; in the other case, the conversion by the architects of an undistinguished residential building into an even less distinguished business building. (for their own use...)



Gains to the Frame TWO BLOCKS

Scale: 1 : 4800

Frame edge redelimitation : west

6, 10 The Overall dynamics

Changes in the Frame

It would be incorrect to say that there has been "little change" . The drastic demolitions in the District Six area have created a quite artificial frame situation right along its eastern boundary. Nevertheless, as the diagrams show, natural successions of land use over the years have been few: only a handful of blocks have changed status.

The period concerned though saw no major investments in the area till the building of the Ring Road 1973 -76. Pressures for land use change are likely to accelerate from now on.

Spontaneous Renewal during the last decade

Large numbers of homes in the Gardens, Vredehoek and Tamboers Kloof areas have been rehabilitated, and although we have no statistical evidence, we would assert that rehabilitation and 'gentrification' are accelerating, and that maintenance levels have improved throughout the Valley during the five year period the author has lived there. (His own home was a rundown terrace house in multi-occupation in 1969.)

Changing fashions and costs of new building have made smaller cottages, semi-detached and terrace homes far more popular with the middle classes than they were ten years ago, although they are not universally accepted. The detached "ranch style" dwelling and its larger plot remain the norm for most South African buyers. However many such homeseekers will never be able to afford such a house. The rich variety of houses in the Valley is an asset , and demolition should be avoided as a cornerstone of policy.

Council-induced Blight

It is a matter of great concern to us that after extensive field surveys in the district we find that the major force operating against small businesses, rehabilitation and confidence, and causing blight or decay, is the City Council

Nervousness, abandonment and short term leases etc caused by expropriations and widenings is costing a fortune in wasted social resources. Such decay can be seen in Buitengracht Street, Canterbury Street, and Kloof Street.

While the city is a more robust organsim than conservationists sometimes believe, the continual ripping at the inner fabric is reaching crisis level. The economic damage done by the District Six bluder is considerable, and the Council dare not further exacerbate such decay through its own deliberate programmes.

7.0 A Planning Balance Sheet

7, 1 HOW THE COUNCIL SEES THE PROBLEMS

A letter came to the Cape Town City Council from the Director of Local Government in 1967, asking what steps the Council was taking to have the Town Planning Scheme reviewed and making special reference to the Gardens and Tamboers Kloof areas. (29)

A second letter in 1968 dealing among other things with tower blocks in suburban areas, requested the Council to proceed with the review of the Town Planning Scheme, and particularly the population densities permitted. It made special reference to the Oranjezicht - Tamboers Kloof and Sea Point - Green Point areas.

The Council's Review published in May 1974 touches - vary timidly - on some of the problems. It points out that amendment of a Town Planning Scheme: in other words a change in zoning : that decreases the value of any land will mean a call for compensation in the light of Section 35 of the Ordinance. " This fact, " says the Review, " severely inhibits a local authority's freedom to amend its Town Planning Scheme. . . "

> ". . . .to give one example , in certain parts of Cape Town, because of the extent of the multi-unit terraced form of residential development that already existed, dating back to the 1860's - that is in the seventy years before the Town Planning scheme was initiated in the 1930's - a residential zoning policy was adopted in conformity with the then existing position. This is reflected in the First and Second sections of the Scheme which cover the areas in which most of the older development took place.
>
> " It can bee seen that the new statutory provision on compensation could well inhibit, on the score of cost, the making of certain changes, such as a reduction in density, which might be considered desirable in the interests of the Town Planning Scheme. "

What this feeble and emasculated mumbling means in plain English is that the present zoning is a disaster, that flats are therefore being built where they create problems, and if City Hall changes the zoning, property owners will demand a fortune in compensation.

If we look are to look at the problem briefly in the light of these zonings, some abridged statistics will give scale to the picture. We can then go beyond the question of zoning and develop the picture more fully.

TABLE 7, 1

RESIDENTIAL LAND ZONING IN THE MUNICIPALITY

Zoning	Area in acres	% of total
Single REsidential Land	18 550	83, 4
General Residential Land	3700	16, 6
TOTAL	22 250	100, 0

TABLE 7, 2

WHERE GENERAL RESIDENTIAL LAND IS CONCENTRATED

District	Acres	% of total
Section 1	1365	37, 0
Section 2	1840	50, 0
Sxction 3	479	13, 0
Section 4 *	-	-
TOTAL	3684	100, 0

Notes: In both above Tables the original imperial figures have been retained from the Source.

* Section 4 is substantially Housing Schemes., etc.

TABLE 7, 3

EXISTING AND POTENTIAL FLATS

Effective Potential Flats *	111 947	100 %
Flats Built at June 1968	34 392	31 %
Remaining Potential Flats	77 585	69 %

At the average building rates of 1100 flats per year (average was 1094 p. a. from 1965 - 1970) land zoned general residential will be sufficient for seventy years' building. These figures apply to private sector contruction on the white market only. Statistics available since this study was done by the city in fact show a slowing down in flat contruction in Cape Town compared with the rest of the country.

TABLE 7, 4

RATIO OF FLATS TO SINGLE HOMES BY DISTRICT

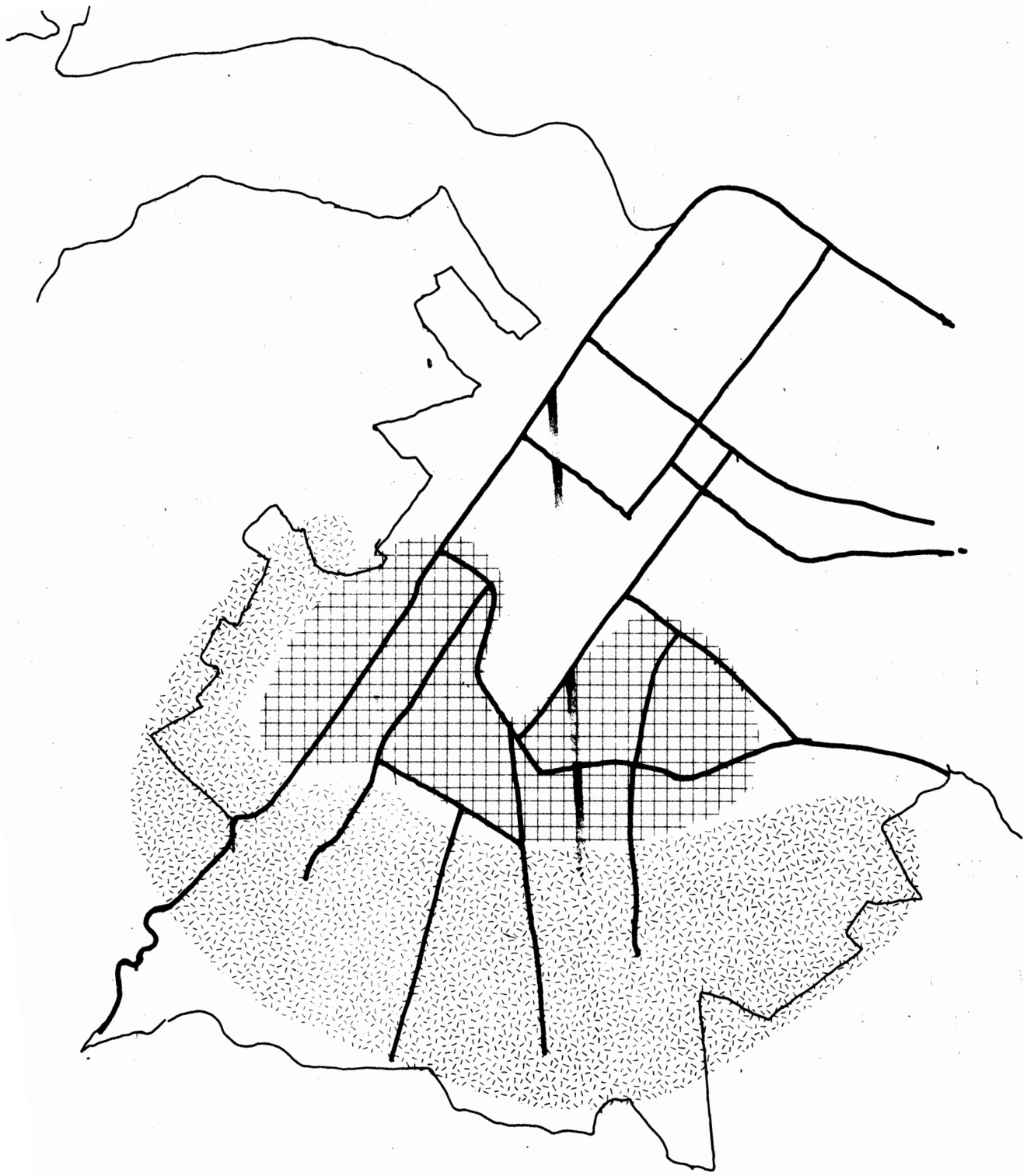
District	% Flat Units
Mouille Point	94
Three Anchor Bay	81
Sea Point	79
Kenilwaoth	70
Green Point	67
Gardens, Vredehoek + Tamboers Kloof	58
Rondebosch	46
Mulzenberg	44
Wynberg	26

To state a problem solely in terms of zonings is of course inadequate. It suggests that "General Residential" housing is in itself a bad thing, but does not say why. It suggests no new course to improve matters in the presumably offending areas. But this "view of the problem" is useful to use here because it helps highlight the differences in what different people see as "planning".

In recent years it became more and more clear that City Hall's views on manyissues and "problems" were out of gear with those of many of the public. Critics of the city's planning, with varying axes to grind, were calling more and more frequesntly for a "master plan', a 'conservation plan', a 'development plan' ; the former City Engineer re-iterated repeatedly in the press that Cape Town had a comprehensive Town Planning Scheme for its entire area, and that there was no problem.

The two sides were talking different languages. Nothing could have shown more clearly that a Town Planning Scheme, important as it might be, is not a plan, it is a statement of zoning rights, a status quo rooted in the past. The critics naturally see a plan as an evolving statement of policies, of intents, of future action in the face of needs and problems, in the classic simple sense of the Afrikaans proverb " 'n Boer sal 'n plan maak. "

The phrase "Town Planning" has, in fact, become so debased a coinage that the absurd term "Forward Planning" has come about to differentiate active policy-making from the zoning maps. Real planning attempts therefore what we have attempted here, going far beyond a Review of the zoning - important though the zoning plans will be at a later stage.



7, 2 Problem Identification THE OVERALL PICTURE

The overriding impression is one of stability - and also in some areas of sterility - on the Eastern, Central and far Western slopes of Table Valley. It is the lower areas : Gardens, lower Tamboers Kloof and lower Oranje-zicht that have the age, the attractive period buildings, the thriving commercial areas, the through roads: Where the main problems and opportunities lie.

7,3 The Problems in Greater Detail

General Problems of Approach

There tends to be a misunderstanding of the functioning of the city, and particularly of the repercussion chain of building infrastructure and changing land uses.

There has been a lack of professional balance. There has been an overemphasis on one facet of the city, namely road contruction, and in fact an overemphasis on hardware solutions of all kinds.

Policy-making is generally weak. Areas of problems and opportunities that can in fact be easily handled have been left for years because of lack of policy.

The Town Planning Scheme is now tied to unfortunate decisions of the past on zoning, many of which are highly unsuitable and causing problems. Nothing moreover has been done about this but idle talk from time to time.

Contact with the public is at too elevated and remote a level and thereis no true dialogue. This is made worse by the increasing (and incomprehensible) centralisation and gigantism of municipal offices and staff.

City Planners all too seldom take the initiative. For this reason we have deliberately taken a positive approach in our policy statements. The planning balance sheet that follows balances negative with positive in a very general way. Later on we will amplify what should be done with these opportunities.

CREDIT

1. The mountains surrounding the Valley are of quite amazing beauty and magnificent views, and a great deal more can be made of the hills and slopes, both high up and at the home-mountain interface.

2. The housing stock of Table Valley is one of its chief strengths: it offers a remarkable variety of homes of every conceivable age, character and type, suitable for all sorts of individuals and communities.

3. The whole district enjoys magnificent access to the Central City, to countryside and coastline, and although it is growing to be 'off-axis' to current growth, it has good access to most of the metropolitan area.

4. Many quarters of Table Valley have an inherent age and and beauty which can be greatly enhanced and still protected through the right measures.

DEBIT

Built Environment

1. Many densely populated districts are unsatisfying living places because of poor physical design, and the lack of the vital amenities that make for a lively human scene.

2. Some sub-areas are therefore losing their reputations as good permanent homes : too many residents are transients and move on, making no contribution to the valley, or to their own or other residents' lives.

3, Good homes, shopping and areas of historic quality are being destroyed or blighted through flat building , road building or widening programmes; this threat hangs over yet further districts.

4. The present stability of the lower amphitheatre will change as a result of the building of the Ring Road. (This, is described as a problem only if the repercussion chain of the access is not anticipated imaginatively.)

Natural Environment

1. Table Mountain is being both abused , and not working as effectively for the public as it might ; its uses, role and publics must be clarified.

2. The Table Valley continues to be highly pollutable by sources against which measures are STILL not being taken.

3. The climatic extremes of the Amphitheatre can be unpleasant - particularly heat and wind - and wind pretection will have to be created, and its summer temperatures reduced.

8.0 Policy for Table Valley

" Although we cheerfully speak about the environment of an organism or population, we know well there is no such thing. A population of individuals lives in a range of environments, narrow or wide as the case may be; and adaptability is just as much being adapted to environments which differ from time to time as to environments which change from place to place. "

Peter Brian Medawar

The Future of Man ; Reith Lectures of 1960

8.1 Introduction

In the political and economic confusion of the 1970's there are no signposts that have biblical permanence, least of all in a country like South Africa which is changing so rapidly. It is for this reason that we believe that continuity of environment is enormously important .

8,2 Change Overload

It has been suggested by psychologists that the unsettled state of much of the Western world during the last five years has been the result among other things of change overload. Human beings can only absorb a limited amount of change at one time, and the human personality , as Mallows has pointed out is not so much a communication channel as a bottleneck

The British people for example have had several enormous changes in their way of life thrust on them within a very short period of time. The British imperial system of coinage was unique, but this was metricated, with weights and masures and distance likely to change as well it was the end of systems that went back to time immemorial. Even more traumatic was the entry to Europe and all that it symbolised as an end and a beginning. If that were not enough, the crisis over fossil fuels brought in its wake political crisis and a new government which threatened to leave Europe once more.

Human beings can stand extremes of many kinds, but not uncertainty and the unknown. It is wise whereever possible to space out known social and political changes to give people time to adapt. We believe that South Africa has entered a period of great change and that this affects our proposals for the study area.

Underlying our overall policy for Table Valley is the concept of manageable change all of which should be at a human and comprehensible scale. While not thrusting ideas forcibly at Cape Tonians we do believe that many improvements can be made and made sensitively; and that they will be welcome improvements that will reinforce the specially Capetonian quality that the city still has. There is no need for the city to become 'Anywhere 1975'.

8,3 Overall Policies for the Table Valley Amphitheatre

1 - To keep the built and natural environment of Table Valley attractive and stable in an era of great social and political change when we need roots and a sense of continuity; " to keep it good while we make it better. "

2 - To make the most of Table Valley's opportunities by establishing a clear role for it to play, and potential roles for subareas within the valley ; and to guide or institute development that best fits such roles.

3 - At the same time to improve its physical quality through improvements in function, safety, convenience and variety at an understandable, human scale.

4 - To emphasise place, closeness and convenience through the decentralisation of as many uses and services into the amphitheatre as possible.

5 - To develop objectives and policies that relate to real human beings and not to the usual abstractions, platitudes, quantitative standards or past ideologies.

6 - To concentrate the local authority's activities on what it is best fitted, or uniquely able to do; otherwise encouraging the private market to take the initiative.

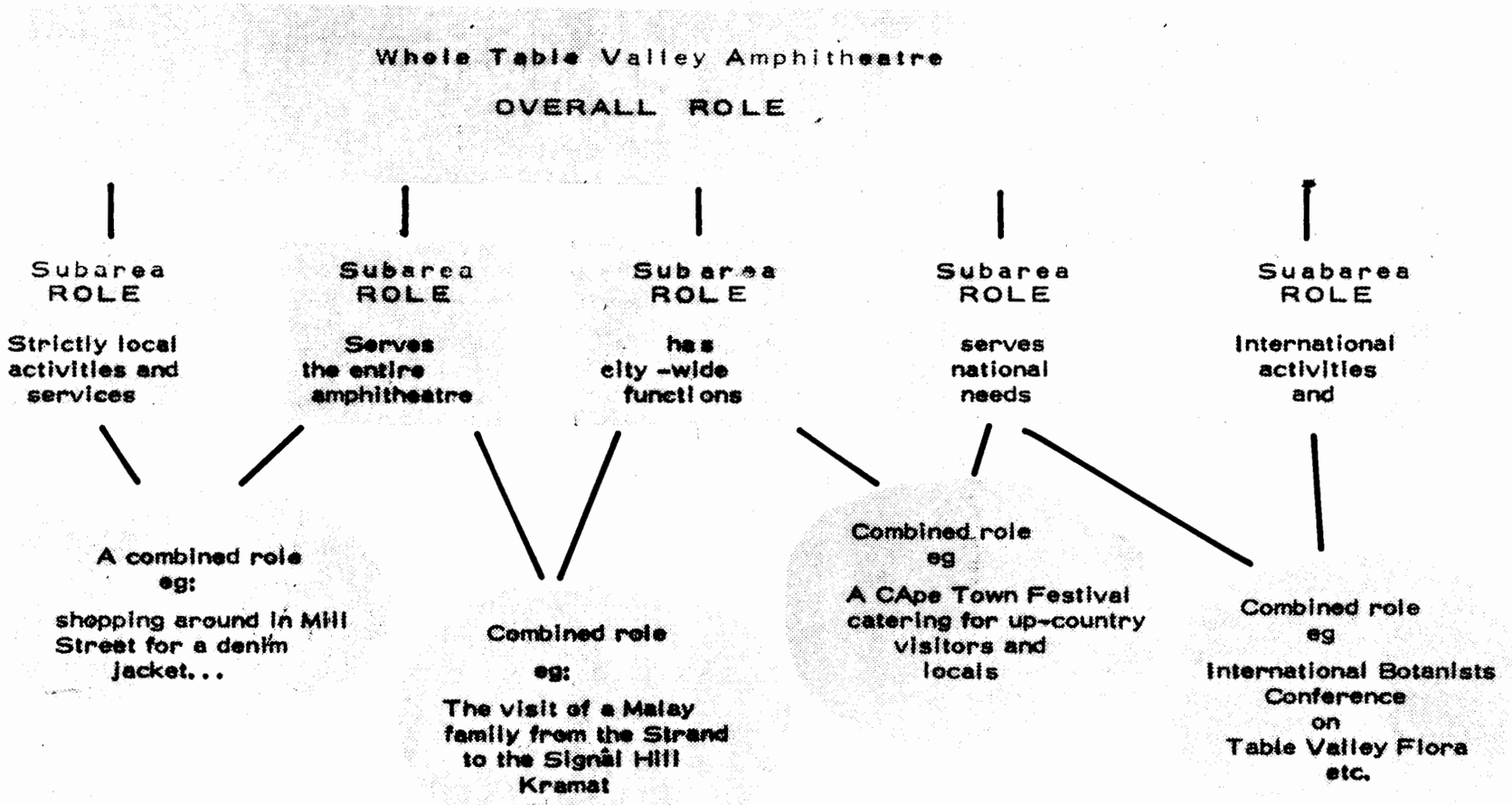
7 - To free ourselves from the zoning decisions of the past where they are inappropriate by setting up new legal devices relating to bulk,development rights and the transfer of same.

8 - To eliminate public fears, distrust, uncertainty or ignorance about the Council's planning and its projects.

8, 4 The Idea of 'Roles' for the Amphitheatre

The amphitheatre fulfils many differing needs and will always do so. We visualise the roles that we put forward as overlapping and supporting one another, and not being mutually exclusive. Interaction is the essence of the city. However, each subarea does have a primary role, and efforts should be directed first at achieving this.

No single place can be "all things to all men," as we have said earlier, but the notion of intermingling areas with different roles is aimed at offering choice and variety within a clear and stable overall setting. The diagram below shows how the functions of any subarea might be quite local ones, might meet those of another at an interface, or even overlap greatly with others.



Once the roles of various quarters are clear in the planner's mind, the enrichment and revitalisation of such quarters can start through a combination of protective policies and the injection of new activities or services at existing or potential pressure points.

8,5 The principles behind the revitalisation of the Valley are clear :

1. An area should have more than one function within it. It is only when functions overlap that a city achieves any variety or real personality.

2. Obviously then, areas and their roles overlap, in many cases. There is not necessarily a clear boundary between them; though sometimes it is necessary.

3. Where there are clear interfaces between one role area and another, the physical design is critical and must be well done.

4. Functions should overlap in time as well as area. This creates additional support and a lower threshold for many kinds of shops and services.

5, Existing buildings should always be converted where possible when a new use is contemplated. The principle of 'new wine in old bottles' is sound and leads to fresh ideas in a framework of continuity .

6. The sizes of areas performing certain roles and their roles are important. An area may cease to be a viable entity if a road is widened, for example, an historic street or precinct may be too small to survive if its surroundings have been too much changed. Size is closely related to stability and instability.

7. A mixture of ages and types of building is always beneficial. This provides natural opportunities for buyers and sellers at very different costs: eg., a supermarket with a one-roomed book-swop shop close by; cheap pre-war flats for pensioners across the road from them.

A

8.6 Role Areas Defined

Overall Role of the Table Valley Amphitheatre

The Amphitheatre's overall role is that of the birthplace of the nation, the first settlement of the founding fathers. Its development and maintenance in the future must be geared to enhance this role as a local and national showpiece both for its natural setting and also for its domestic architecture, not just Cape Dutch, but of all periods.

Additional Sub-roles

Within this overall role, subareas are to play additional more specialised roles. Broadly we see these roles as being as follows. -

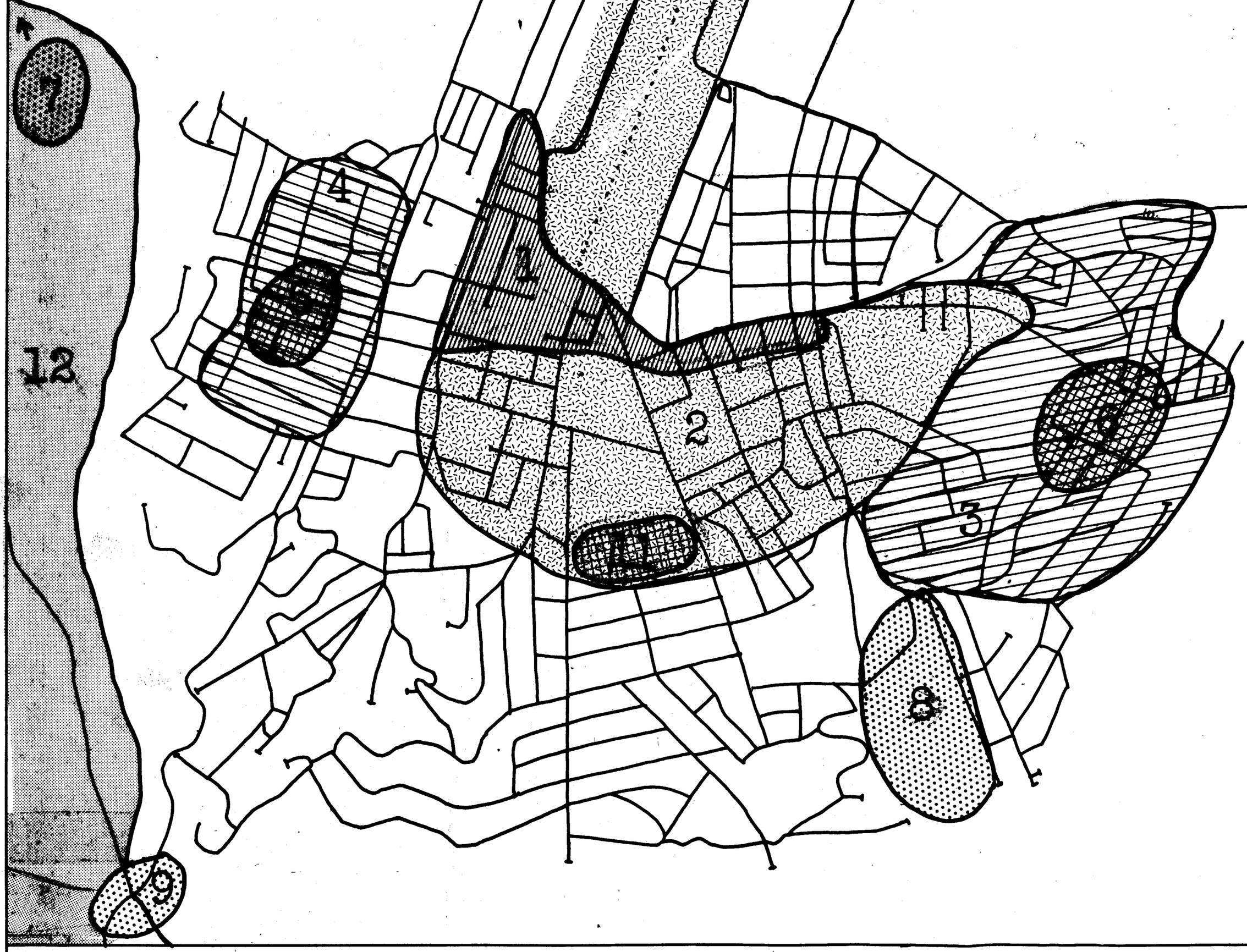
Area (1) A lively entertainment area based on the hotels, restaurants, theatre and cinema already in existence there, also containing an integrated centre and a shopping street (Gardens Centre and Kloof Street).

Area (2) A Conservation area in which the maintenance of period architecture, streets, trees and vistas is paramount, taking precedence over all other development.

Areas (3) and (4) Two high-density residential clusters with small local focuses (Cores 5 and 6) in Tamboers Kloof and Vredehoek, where internal circulation and design have been completely overhauled

Area 12 An overall 'outdoors zone' along Signal Hill or parts thereof, catering not for the mountain climber or club nature lover, but for the general public, such a zone to offer trails, picnic sites, running water, with easy access to braai and picnic facilities via easy parking.

Areas (7) and (9) are geared to serving sightseers enjoying a beauty spot and offer a comprehensive snack bar or restuarant, toilet and children's play facilities, at the tip of Signall Hill and/ or at the focus of the Nek.



Role Areas

Limited Access Only to Slopes

Access to the main face of Table Mountain from below should be be limited to the existing routes. Only this cul-de-sac system can give this face the protection from over-use that it requires.

8,7 The Programme of Action

A. Short Term Developments

1. To place the redesign of Kloof Street in the hands of architects and designers with a view to its retention as a motor street, but with reduced traffic flow, improved and more intimate quality, and making use of penetrating side streets into area 1, buildings that can be attractively converted, and any other new business business or other potential.

2. To investigate the possibility of attracting a top class 'live show' theatre geared to the bigger shows, of say 1ooo seat capacity; such a theatre to be located within area 1.

3, To commission architects to make an immediate small-scale start with the redesign of Areas 3 and 4, as also with the conversion of existing buildings in focus areas 5 and 6 (which are purely schematic). These focusses will provide residents with new places for meeting, socialising and minor shopping, and must feature completely traffic freeand safe soft and hard court for children's play, as well as tea or snack facilities

The oveeall redesign is intended to increase safety, make use of wasted road space whre possible, provide new traffic free places for children to play and provide new common space for adults with a view to stimulating community and interaction.

4. For Landscape architects to report [illegible]gating the potential of the whole of the Lion's Rump from Signal Hill lookout to Kloof Nek for its use as outlined in Role Area 12.

Short- term preventitive measures

1. To allocate municipal funds, as also approaching the State, for funds approximately amounting to R10 million for the purchase of all remaining privately owned land in the Table Mountain Preservation Area or beyond as seems fit. Such purchasing to be done in co-ordination with other buying programmes and the proposed South Peninsula Mountain chain Trust.

2. To place a freeze on the building of any aprtments in the study area or the Gardens until

(a) A committee of enquiry, to be set up under the guidance of the CPA, has reported on the action necessary to launch a 'bulk bank' or similar device for the equitable transfer or movement of development rights and until

(b) the redesign programme in the built up areas of Tamboers-Kloof and Vredehoek has provided suitable new design standards and methods to govern the construction of later flats where appropriate.

3. With the help of the interested bodies such as the Vernacular Architecture Society to survey the whole of the amphitheatre, in particular areas 1, 2 and 4 for all buildings of pre-World War I vintage. With an inventory available, the Council should then investigateways and means of providing these quarters with a secure future.

4. The loosely proposed road alignments or widenings that have appeared on mapping from time to time, in particular those relating to Kloof Street, Camp Street, and the Countour road along the face of the mountain, be abandoned forthwith as being quite prejudicial to the interests of the Valley as clarified in this study.

8.8 The "How" of Policy

In our hypothesis and original programme of ten months ago, we mentioned the matter of the public's participation in some detail. This has not been done here because of tother priorities. However certain general points must be made .

Most city officials are loathe to embark on any programme of dialogue or consultation with the public, often feeling the public to be no competent of really judging the issues. However, the the question is no longer whether dialogue is essential or not. That decision has already been made - by the public. The City's officials will have dialogue whether they suggest it or not. And an angry misinformed public spell's doom to any plan - good or bad. Dialogie of that kind on the public terms is damaging and too late.

In the fairly wide-ranging programme we have put forward we have had to be loose about the details. The following points, taken along with the 'Principles of Revitalisation', which is our scale of philosophy, should avoid projects being misconceived.

1. Eliminate UNCERTAINTY for the public
2. Show the public in physical terms what it is all about.
3. Prevent long term stagnation , waste of money, land and buildings, or neglect of property by programming the job properly.
4. Create confidence through early results
5. Make sure that Councillors can feel these results are their own 'babies'.
6. Keep the scale of each little phase small enough for the public, the Councillors, and the technical staff to be able to see the job start AND FINISH.
7. Make sure that there is a response to these stages; learn from your mistakes.

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