Natal's Coastal Margins

Towards a Planning Policy for the Management of Urbanization

J. J. McCarthy

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with
the assistance
of
B. M. K. Taylor

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Foreword

It has for some time now been generally acknowledged that the coastline, because of its unique character and the wide range of land uses that compete with each other for its use, requires special attention. When thinking of the Natal coast, the first image that comes to mind is that of a holiday area associated with an intensely developed port city. However, the reality is more complex — the variety of land uses that demand a slice of the coast are not always compatible. Also the perceptions of different groups of this area are vastly different: the up-country holiday maker sees the coast as only a playground, while the Blacks living only a few kilometres inland look towards the coast for employment opportunities.

It is this mulifunctional character which has made the coast such a difficult and interesting area for which to make national land-use decisions. Recent development patterns indicate that this situation is unlikely to change. With this report Dr McCarthy provides information on land-use patterns and development trends along the coast and, perhaps more importantly, an indication of the attitudes and perceptions that the different interest groups have towards different forms of land use.

This latter aspect has in the past been somewhat neglected by planners and it should thus be of assistance to planners and decision makers in the formulation of land use policy.

For this contribution Dr McCarthy needs to be congratulated, and the onus is now on our planners to ensure that the information contained in this report is translated into planning policy.

D.V. Harris
Chairman, Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission

Chapter 1

The Research Problem and Research Strategy

Introduction

The coastal margins of Natal are a luxurious subtropical physical environment in which human settlement is dominated by dense concentrations of White and Indian permanent residents in particular. Seasonally these settlements are buffetted by the immigration of many thousands of (mainly White) vacationers who are residents of South Africa's economically prosperous interior. And, on the inland perimeter of the coastal margins, live millions of Black South Africans, who increasingly gather up against the coastal or near coastal borders of KwaZulu in search of employment opportunities. Seeking to evade the travails of rural labour in a crisis-ridden KwaZulu agricultural economy, these Black South Africans are the much neglected 'second presence' that policy-makers are only now beginning to recognize as demograhically irreversible.

Natal's coastal margins are, in short, a classically colonial spectacle of wealth inequality, and contrasting hopes, fears and ambitions for the future, set against a backdrop of a luxuriant natural environment: a world, moreover, in which it is the aspirations of the colonizers which tend to predominate in terms of policy outcomes. Internal to each subsystem of this colonial order, it is true, are a complex range of tensions and diversities that no simple 'two societies' model can do justice to. Nevertheless, any serious geographical and planning study of Natal's seaboard must begin by recording the most clear-cut dimension of regional differentiation. And, as will become clear in this report, along Natal's coast it is the racial-cum-class divide amongst human settlements that is of overwhelming geographical and planning significance.

Planners in South Africa, of course, have always had to live with the facts of the colonial order, and, indeed, have been obliged to give it geographical coherence. Why, therefore, should the question of planning for settlement along Natal's coastal margins, in particular, emerge now as a problem deserving of urgent attention? The answer to this question lies in part, in the dramatic *rate* of urbanization of all sectors of the population along the Natal coast, and the accompanying environmental impact of this growth. For instance, in the past twenty years the average coastal settlement has more than doubled its official population numbers and, if current trends continue, settlement populations will double again by the year 2000.

What has been fuelling such population growth along the coast, it might be asked, and why is it especially problematic from a planning point of view? *It will emerge in subsequent chapters that the two main attractions of Natal's coast, from the point of*

view of drawing people to settle on or near to it, are:

(i) the availability of employment opportunities, and

(ii) the availability of recreational opportunities.

The former are of primary relevance to the urbanization of the Black population in particular, whereas the latter are of greater relevance to the Whites and more affluent sections of the Indian population. The reader will find in our research results time and again, then, that key determinants of coastal land use and development trends on the one hand, and patterns of public concensus and conflict over such trends on the other, are these same two underlying coastal attractions: job opportunities and recreational opportunities.

Given the potential for harmful interaction between recreational and employment oriented growth impulses (which, in turn, is often compounded by different racial appraisals of the value of each impulse), and given an increasingly pressurized natural resource base, many have begun to sound the alarm for more careful land use and growth management practices along the coast. Indeed, quite apart from the simple *rate* of coastal urbanization, its *multifunctional character* has turned it into a contentious issue. From public outcries over highrise development along the shorelines of Amanzimtoti and Umhlanga, to controversy over whether Port Shepstone should be established as an industrial growth point, to issues over the racial zoning of the coast, questions 'functional incompatability' under conditions of intense growth emerge as the key to the politicization of the coast. It was against such a background that in 1980 the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission identified coastal urbanization as a priority research area. By 1982 the Commission had invited and, in turn, accepted a research proposal by the author to deal with the problem. Specifically, the terms of reference of the Coastal Urbanization research project, as agreed to by the Commission and the author at the inception of the project, were as follows:

'The University undertakes to:

(a) ascertain the relative weightings attached by different sections of the population to the various elements of the coastal environment (from Port Edward to Richards Bay excluding KwaZulu) and to patterns of growth and change occurring within it;

(b) to devise and apply a methodology using the result from (a) above to suggest the most socially desirable forms of development along the coast, these suggestions to incorporate an assessment of projected or anticipated growth along the coast.

The geographical extent of the study area is mapped in Figure 1.1. This report constitutes the author's final summary of research results and policy recommendations after nearly three years of intensive research during which period several thousand interested parties were interviewed, all relevant local authorities consulted, and volumes of statistical tables, maps and diagrams produced. It is difficult to do justice to the full, and often very rich, complexity of the results in a short report such as this. Nevertheless, every effort has been made to provide a balanced account of this complexity in a form that is digestible by the lay person. It is hoped that this approach will facilitate the widest possible critical readership for the report thereby extending its potential as a possible catalyst for policy reform.

Conceptual Framework

An initial requirement for the Coastal Urbanization research project was a conceptual framework of ideas on *the relationship of land use and development processes in*

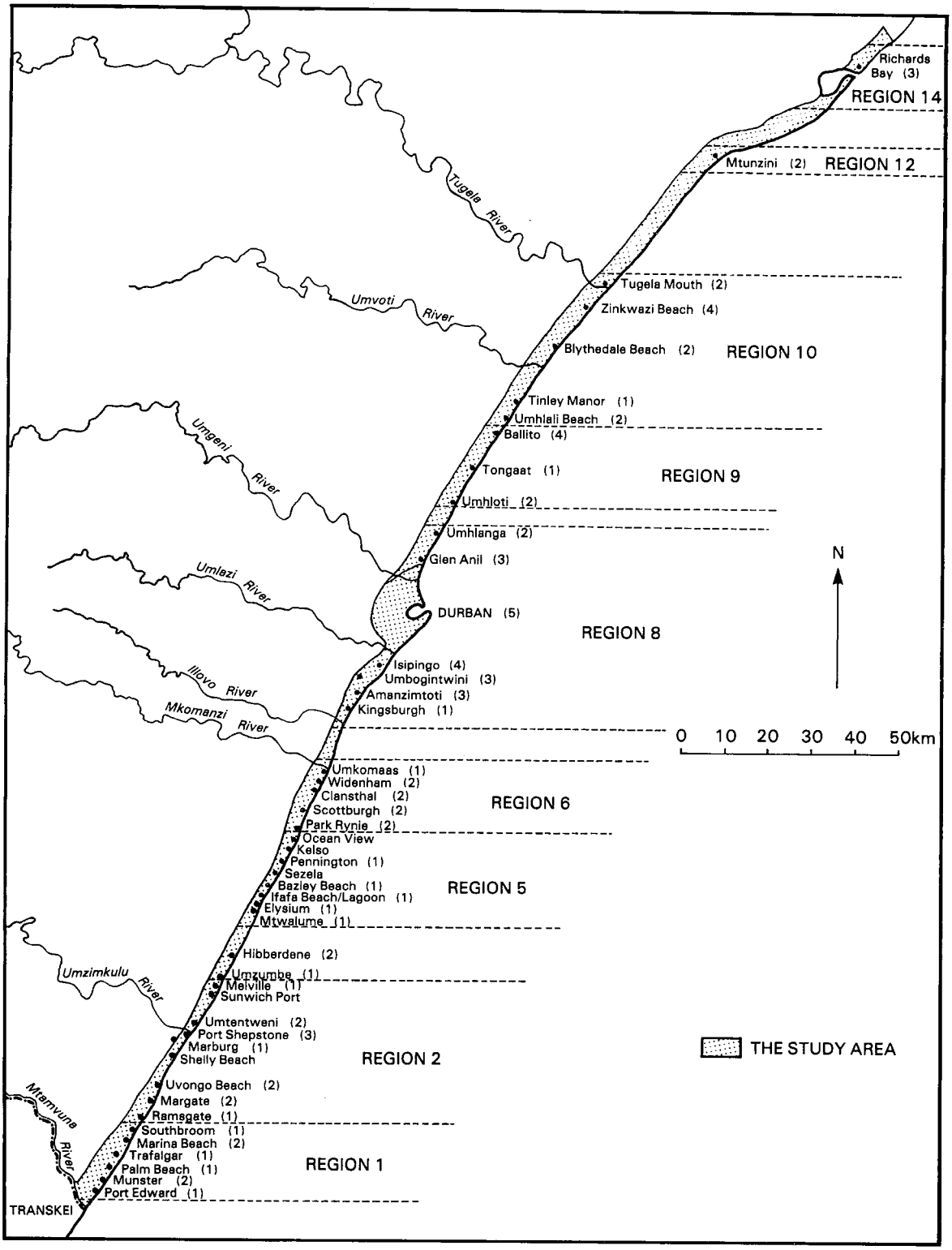


Figure 1.1: The study area (figures in brackets immediately after town names indicate the town-type that that settlement belongs to, as defined in Chapter 2). 'Regions' were identified by N.T.R.P.C. officials as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

general to the problem of planning intervention into the same. The author has distinguished elsewhere (McCarthy and Smit, 1981; 1984) between several approaches to this relationship, and the problem has also been the subject of scrutiny of previous research sponsored by the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission (Scott, 1982; Stretch and Wright, 1985).

The approach adopted in this report makes the relatively uncontentious assumption, common to most politico-economic perspectives on land use and urban planning processes, that there are three sets of activities which are fundamental to an understanding of the land use/planning interface:

(i) Activities concerned with the *supply* of goods and services which enhance or detract from the use value and/or exchange of the land (e.g. property development, industrial enterprise, etc.).

(ii) Activities which might be construed as the *demand* for or consumption of both land and those goods and services which enhance its value (e.g. people seeking recreation, jobs, etc.).

(iii) Activities which are aimed at *attenuating conflicts* either within supply activities ((i) above), or within the sphere of consumption ((ii) above), or between supply and consumption activities ((i) and (ii) above) (e.g. urban planning).

Since our interest is largely in the last of these activities, some reflection upon this category is relevant at this stage. In an hypothetical 'free market' economy for most types of goods or services, the so-called 'invisible hand' of the market is supposed to take care of the interests of producers and consumers. That is, it is assumed that markets obviate the necessity for any conflict of interest either between or within production and consumption activities. The market secures agreement and consensus on the production and consumption of the goods and services entailed.

However, because of what economists call 'externalities' resulting from *interdependence* in production and consumption of certain goods and services (and here land use goods and services are exemplary), the 'free market' model tends to break down. Producers and consumers find that in pursuing their own self interests the market alone cannot be relied upon to co-ordinate their collective well-being. In these cases the state is assumed to intervene, in the collective interest of all, by moving beyond its ordinary role as guarantor of private property rights, and enforcing certain rules as to how, when and where particular goods are produced and consumed. In effect, this is what land use planners are expected to do in the context of a private land market (McCarthy and Smit, 1981; 1984) (Fig. 1.2).

Of course, even though the planner is expected to be as impartial as possible in the process of such intervention, it is very difficult to place new restrictions upon private property rights in a market economy without making some worse off and some better off than was the case with the initial distribution of such rights. This observation is in no way intended to detract from the fact that the initial distribution of property rights itself may be seen by some, or even many, as 'unfair' or 'irrational'. It is simply to clarify that when planners intervene into the land market, problems of 'fairness' are raised which are directed at the activities of the planning fraternity itself (McCarthy and Smit, 1981; 1984). Some specific implications of this problem for the politicization of Natal's coastal urbanization processes will be considered in the final chapter of this report. In the interim, however, it need simply be acknowledged that, as a consequence of the very difficult diplomatic situation that planners find

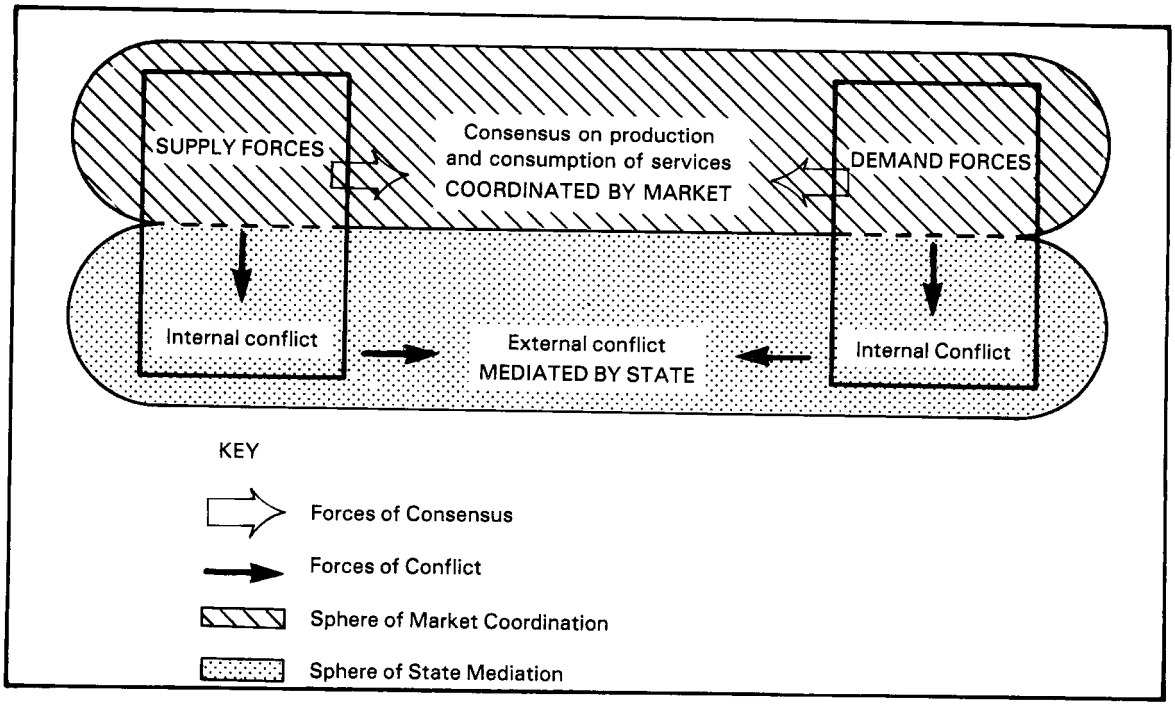


Figure 1.2: A model of state involvement in the land use process.

themselves in with regard to land market processes, the following hypothesis about planning activity applies:

> *Urban and regional planners have, as one of their main priorities, the task of acquiring information on the condition of social consensus and conflict with regard to the past, present and future use of the land. This information is then used as a basis for managing land use in such a way as to increase overall human welfare.*

This statement may be termed as the 'operating hypothesis' for the research project, to which two riders (or qualifications) must be immediately attached. The first of these is that: *the way in which information on social appraisals of land use is ordinarily acquired by planners is that of 'passive reception' as opposed to 'active inquiry'.* What planners tend to know about the state of social consensus and conflict over land use and development must be largely dependent upon the signals received in their everyday work situations. However, the communications channels that provide such signals within bureaucratic structures are, as will become evident in this report, decidedly biased in favour of particular social groups. The more critical members of the planning profession are sometimes made aware of such biases and will motivate for a more active, scientific assessment of the attitudinal environment into which they are expected to intervene — as was the case with this research project. In so doing, they seek to improve their effectiveness as planners working in terms of our operating hypothesis.

However, the second qualification that must be made is that, even assuming access to near perfect information on peoples' views of land use and development, *planners are faced with the difficult political problem of how to translate information into justification for specific forms of intervention.* For instance, Garrett Hardin's now famous essay on 'The Tradegy of the Commons' demonstrated that, in the instance of

collective use of environmental resources, peoples 'rational' individual intentions can lead to disasterous social consequences. Must planners, therefore, try to *prevent* people from realizing their stated attitudes and intentions under certain circumstances, and what exactly *are* the limits of such circumstances? These are important questions of philosophical and political principle which cannot be avoided in attempting to arrive at a planning policy for the coast. In consequence, they will be returned to in the final sections of the report.

To summarize this section of the chapter, it has been suggested that *a scientific understanding of patterns of consensus and conflict in people's attitudes towards land use and development along Natal's coast provides an invaluable aid for, but not a complete solution to, the task of devising a planning policy for the region.* Having made these basic points, the problem of research design for the project can be introduced.

Research Design

It will be appreciated that research which sought to fulfill the objectives of the Coastal Urbanization research project, as described above, would require answers to the following four questions during the planning phase:

1. How does one obtain an objective record of patterns of land use and growth within the study area?
2. How does one obtain an adequate and representative sample of individuals to provide us with subjective appraisals of (or attitudes towards) land use and development along the coast?
3. How does one devise an appropriate research instrument to measure the subjective appraisals provided by a representative sample of respondents?
4. What are the most appropriate methods for analyzing both objective measures of land use and growth and subjective appraisals of the same?

In developing adequate answers to these questions, the researcher enters into the complex but scientifically crucial area of research design. The more detailed aspects of research design that are relevant to specific stages of research are appropriately dealt with at specific junctures in the discussion of research results. Nevertheless, an appreciation of the overall structure of research design will enhance understanding of the interconnections between various facets of research results and the subject is therefore worthy of consideration even at this stage.

Figure 1.3 summarizes the overall structure of research design for the Coastal Urbanization project. The design process began with the identification of a concrete planning problem by practicing planners, and corresponding interpretation of this problem, in theoretical terms, by academics versed in the literature on urbanization, land use and planning. From the interaction of ideas in these two spheres, but more particularly from the latter, emerged the task of defining the study area and its settlement and land use characteristics. Analysis of the settlement and land use attributes of the study area, in turn, facilitated the development of an appropriate sample frame for the survey of attitudes towards land use and urbanization processes along the coast. The proportions of people living in different types of areas, and belonging to different types of social groups, in other words, were taken as determinants of the notion of 'representativeness' in the sample. In addition, structuring of the sample was informed by a theoretical understanding of what the most important 'social categories' or 'interests' are which are relevant to land use and urbanization processes.

The construction of appropriate questionnaires, or survey instruments (the more

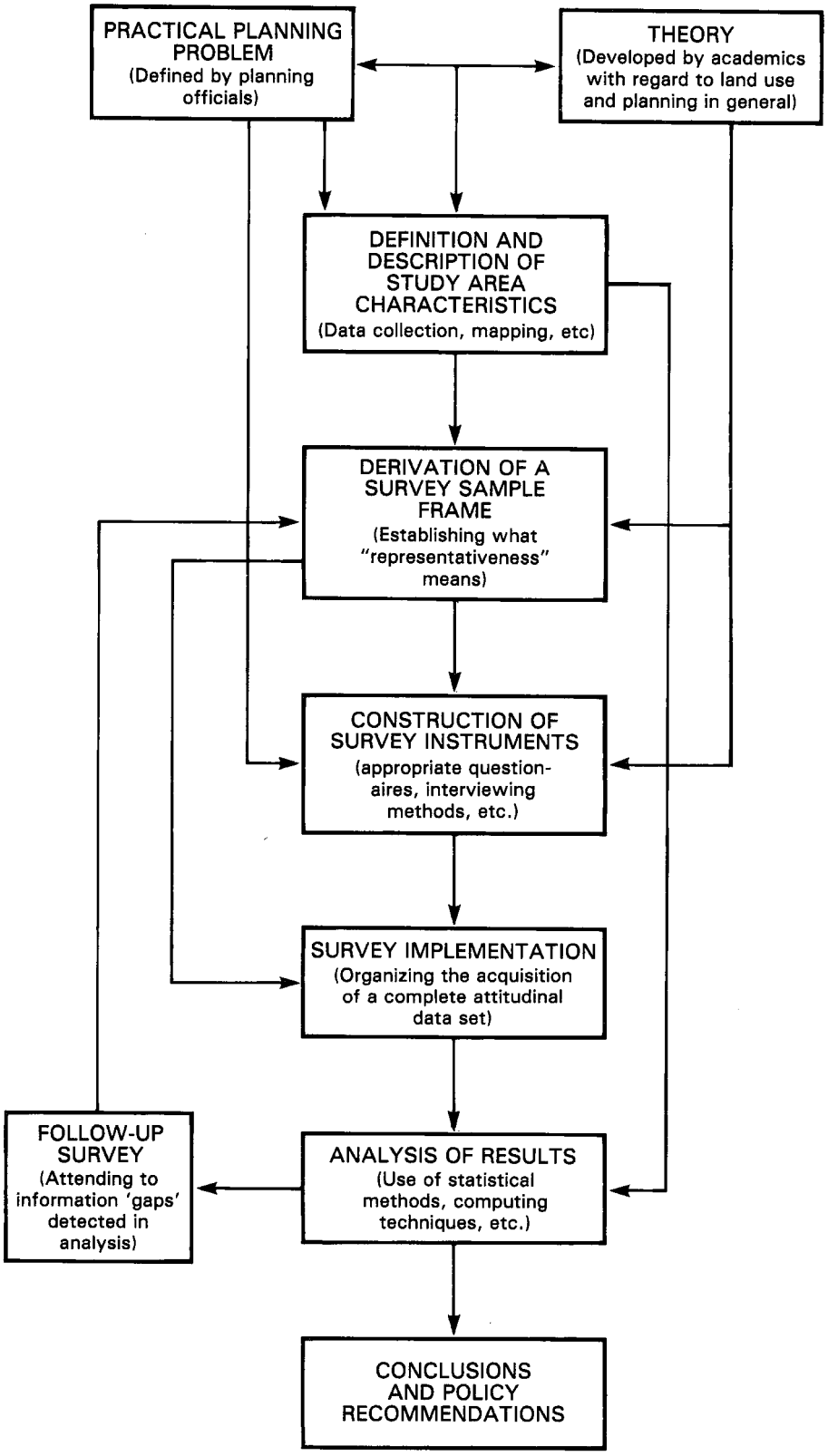


Figure 1.3: The structure of research design for the coastal urbanization project.

general term), for the identification and measurement of public appraisals of land use and development along the coast was the next task of research design. This was informed, firstly, by the specific planning objectives for the study (i.e. 'what is it that we want to know?') and, secondly, by the literature on survey research methods in general (i.e. 'how do we best measure what we want to know?'). Considerable experimentation in the form of pilot projects and follow-up research led to the refinement of viable questionnaires and interviewing formats in this phase of the research design process. Following on from this was the actual implementation of the survey amongst the full sample — an exercise in logistics and management in its own right. The statistical analysis of survey results and, indeed, of objective indices of growth and development, constituted the next phase of research, requiring the deployment of numerous statistical methods and the formulation of appropriate computing procedures. The very substantial size of the data set complicated this task considerably but, eventually, through a process of elimination, the researchers were able to distill the major relationship and findings of significance to the research problem.

Amongst these findings were the inability of certain aspects of the original research design to cope with problems of evaluating land use and development amongst Blacks and Whites simultaneously. Specifically, whilst White responses to the main survey appeared to be highly reliable, Black respondents displayed high levels of indifference to land use and development issues because of the inappropriateness of the original survey instrument. This resulted in the design of a follow-up survey geared specifically to the task of ascertaining Black attitudes towards land use and growth along the coast. In effect, this required moving once again through the procedures of sample design, survey instrumentation and data analysis.

The end result of all these activities was the production of eight interim reports to the Steering Committee for Coastal Urbanization research and this report, the final summary of research results. The structure of the remainder of the report, therefore, is as follows: Chapter 2 discusses the analysis of measures of land use and urbanization on Natal's coast, and concludes with a typology of settlements in the study area. Chapter 3 assesses public responses to land use patterns and urbanization

(i) in the study area as a whole
(ii) within different 'settlement types' and
(iii) within geographically contiguous 'planning regions'.

Chapter 4 considers the specific problem of inter-racial variations in appraisal of the coast, and other salient areas of conflict in the evaluation of coastal urbanization. Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the policy-relevance of the results and offers recommendations for the future management of coastal urbanization in Natal.

Chapter 2

Urbanization and Land Use Along the Natal Coast

Introduction

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries most of Natal was occupied by African pastoralists and a handful of Dutch speaking trekboers. Military conflict between these groups and the forces of an expanding British empire, however, resulted in the withdrawal of most trekboers to the South African interior, and the confinement of Africans in so-called 'reserves' (in Natal, roughly coincidental with the borders of today's KwaZulu). The remaining areas of Natal were then incrementally settled by largely English-speaking immigrant farmers (Christopher, 1969; 1984).

Natal's coastal margins proved especially suitable for sugar cultivation and later, on the lower south coast, for tropical fruits such as bananas. The second half of the nineteenth century, therefore, saw the growth of an export-oriented plantation agriculture system developing along much of the coast. As is now common knowledge, this colonial plantation economy led to the introduction of many indentured Indian labourers into Natal. However, Indian labour was subsequently replaced by Africans as the former's contracts expired, whereupon they migrated to Natal's growing urban areas — especially Durban. Here Indians took up positions in commerce and, later industry.

The port of Durban grew rapidly under the impetus of its vital transportation relationship with the economic growth centres of the Transvaal in the early twentieth century. However, the remainder of Natal's coastal margins were still economically dominated by agriculture in these years, and the few towns that existed were largely service centres to the sugar industry. Increasingly, however, during the mid-twentieth century, the coast's natural beauty gave it significance as a holiday haven for South Africa's White population. Dozens of hamlets sprung up with small hotels and holiday cottages servicing the needs of South Africa's vacation-hungry White workers and middle classes.

With the exception of the obvious impact of coastal sugar plantations and Durban's burgeoning commercial and industrial development, the coast remained relatively unaffected in terms of its natural environmental characteristics until the 1950's. This was because of the limited scale of population growth and development up to that point. Since then, however, growth has been spectacular and the accompanying environmental impact disconcerting.

To establish the exact extent of growth and development since 1960 (a convenient date because it is a census year) the researchers adopted two procedures: First, information on land use and growth trends within the recognized local authority areas (listed in Table 2.1) was collected, tabulated and analyzed for the period 1960—1980

and, second, aerial photographs were used to establish the character of land use outside of the local authority areas but still within the 3 km wide study area, as of 1981.

Patterns of Land Use and Growth in the Study Area

Information on land use and growth trends within coastal local authorities was derived from responses to a questionnaire (see Appendix I) sent to each of the planning authorities for the 45 places listed in Table 2.1. Many of these local authorities did not keep reliable statistics on land use and development trends within their borders, however, and it was necessary to supplement local authority responses with our own fieldwork, and cross reference to census statistics. Combining this information with analysis of aerial photographs for the study area as a whole, the researchers were able to provide the most accurate possible approximation of land use, growth and development trends along Natal's coast for the period between 1960 and 1980.

Table 2.1: List of local authorities surveyed in the coastal urbanization study.

Port Edward	Umzumbe	Umbogintwini
Munster	Hibberdene	Isipingo
Palm Beach	Mtwalume	Durban
Trafalgar	Elysium	Glen Anil
Marina Beach	Ifafa Beach/Lagoon	Umhlanga
Southbroom	Bazley Beach	Umhloti
Ramsgate	Pennington	Tongaat
Margate	Ocean View	Ballito
Uvongo	Park Rynie	Umhlali Beach
Shelly Beach	Scottburgh	Tinley Manor
Marburg	Clansthal	Blythedale Beach
Port Shepstone	Widenham	Zinkwazi Beach
Umtentwini	Umkomaas	Tugela Mouth
Bendigo	Kingsburgh	Mtunzini
Melville	Amanzimtoti	Richards Bay

An important product of the above-mentioned endeavours are the maps of land usage and development trends in the study area included here as Figure 2.1 (inserted in pocket on last page). It should be apparent from these maps that there is a highly variable pattern of land use and growth throughout the study area. Nevertheless, some gross measures of the contemporary pattern of land use within the study area as a whole should serve as a context for subsequent discussion of more detailed geographical patterns. In this regard it can be noted that, *in the 1 012 km² study area as a whole, a breakdown of basic land use categories revealed that: 36% of the area was cultivated for sugar-cane and a further 3% for forests and other plantations; 32% of the study area could be described as 'built up' or urbanized; 17% was allocated to traditional agricultural practices and peri-urban settlement within the jurisdiction of KwaZulu; and the remaining 12% was natural vegetation.* These figures, it must be emphasised, refer to *actual land use* in 1981, and not planned use beyond that date.

Excluding the KwaZulu areas of the coast (for which there are only limited objectives in the context of this study) the regional variability of coastal land use patterns is made evident in the following table, where land use is broken down according to nine so-called 'planning regions' identified by Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission

officials.

What emerges from Table 2.2 is that *the far south coast is relatively highly urbanized and agriculturally developed (sugar); the near south coast is heavily dominated by sugar cultivation; the Durban area is, of course, intensively urbanized; and almost the entire north coast is dominated by sugar cultivation, with the exception of the far north where natural vegetation predominates.*

Table 2.2: Regional variation in land usage along the Natal Coast in 1981.

	Natural Vegetation %	Forest Plantation %	Built Up %	Sugar %
Port Edward to Southbroom	16	7	43	34
Ramsgate to Melville	6	1	48	45
Mtwalume to Ocean View	7	4	14	75
Park Rynie to Umkomaas	9	3	20	68
Illovo Beach to Umhlanga	2	0	5	82
Umhloti to Ballito	13	0	5	82
Umhlali to Tugela	18	3	2	76
Mtunzini area	21	7	9	63
Richards Bay area	96	0	4	0

These gross statistics on contemporary patterns of land usasge, however, hide very important information of the complex land use and growth characteristics occurring within the 45 *local authorities* that are, effectively, the 'urbanization nuclei' for the region. The most evident changes in land use patterns in the past two decades, however, have occurred within these local authority areas. It is therefore necessary to proceed to an examination of these growth characteristics with a view to unravelling what we might term as the 'urbanization dynamics' of the study area.

Analysis of the urbanization dynamics of the 45 local authorities listed in Table 2.1 was accomplished in the following manner: First, sixteen available indices of the land use and growth characteristics of each local authority were submitted to a correlation analysis. This yielded a matrix of simple correlations between every possible pair of indices (Table 2.3). The larger the absolute values indicated within the matrix (correlation coefficients vary between the extremes of + 1 and − 1) the stronger is the statistical association between the relevant pair of growth or land use characteristics. In this regard it can be noted that strong or significant correlations between measures can usually be classified into one of two categories: 'spurious associations' or 'determining associations'. The former type of correlation occurs when two measures are either of a very similar type (e.g. measures of the volume of development and the value of development), or when they are of a logically inverse nature (e.g., in a single population, % White and % Black). These 'spurious associations' are obviously less interesting, analytically, than 'determining associations' in which the statistical relationship indicates something of a *casual link* between processes.

Turning now to the correlation coefficients in Table 2.3, it can be noted that eight pairs of variables have particularly strong associations (i.e. values greater than +0,50 or less than −0,50):

1. There is a strong negative correlation (−0,55) between the percentage of local authority lands allocated to housing development, and the percentage of land remaining undeveloped. This is a largely 'spurious association', however, indicating the somewhat obvious fact that, within a given local authority, the most space-extensive usage (houses) tends to increase at the expense of undeveloped land. (Note that all other land uses are also negatively associated with undeveloped land, although more weakly since they tend to be less space-extensive).
2. The observations made in 1 above with regard to spuriousness apply also to a strong negative correlation (−0,53) between the percentage of local authority lands devoted to transport, and the percentage of land remaining undeveloped. Clearly, roadways, etc. generally accompany the development process, and are a logical inverse measure of the level of undeveloped land.
3. There is a strong positive association (0,69) between the 1960—1980 level of residential development (measured in Rand terms proportional to 1960 population), and the amount of local authority space devoted to public recreation. That is, very rapid residential growth against a small population base tends to occur in areas which have high recreational functions. This is a largely 'determining association' reflecting *the dependence of a substantial portion of coastal development upon the recreational attractions of the coast.*
4. As in 3 above there is a strong positive correlation (0,65) between the level of local authority lands devoted to hotels and flats and the amount of local authority space devoted to public recreation. This too is a 'determining association' reflecting the *dependence of tourist orientated development upon the availability of public recreation space.*
5. There is a very strong positive correlation (0,94) between the percentage of local authority lands devoted to industrial use, and the value (in Rand terms proportional to the local authorities total hectarage) of non-residential construction between 1960 and 1980. That is, *industrially oriented local authorities appear to attract unto themselves further commercial and industrial growth.* Again, this appears to be a 'determining association' indicating the so-called multiplier effect of agglomeration economies. Here an *employment based urbanization tends to occur in an apparently self-fuelling manner.*
6. Following the pattern described in 5 above, there is a strong positive correlation (0,57) between the level of non-residential growth measured in Rand terms in relation to the 1960 population base, and the proportion of lands devoted to industrial usage within local authorities.
7. The value of non-residential development between 1960 and 1980 (measured in Rand terms in relation to the 1960 population base) is strongly correlated (0,50) with the value of residential construction between 1960 and 1980 (also measured in Rand terms in relation to the 1960 population base). This largely 'determining association' emphasizes *the logical interdependence, in so many instances, of employment oriented growth and the construction of residential units.*
8. There is a strong positive correlation (0,61) between the value of non-residential growth in relation to 1960 population and the value of non-residential growth in relation to local authority area. This is, of course, a 'spurious correlation' between very similar measures.

	% land in agricultural use (in L.A.)	% land undeveloped (in L.A.)	% land for public recreation (in L.A.)	% land for hotels and holiday flats (in L.A.)	% land for campsites (in L.A.)	% land for industry (in L.A.)	% land for commerce (in L.A.)	% land for transport (in L.A.)	% land for residential flats (in L.A.)	% land for houses (in L.A.)	Pop 'n growth (60-80)/1960 pop 'n	Pop 'n growth (60-80)/L.A. area (in ha.)	Value of residential growth/1960 pop 'n	Value of non-residential growth/1960 pop 'n	Value of residential growth L.A. area (in ha.)	Value of non-residential growth/L.A. area (in ha.)
% land in agricultural use (in L.A.)	1,00															
% land undeveloped (in L.A.)	-0,35	1,00														
% land for public recreation (in L.A.)	0,01	-0,24	1,00													
% land for hotels and holiday flats (in L.A.)	0,15	0,42	0,65	1,00												
% land for campsites (in L.A.)	-0,12	0,17	-0,13	-0,10	1,00											
% land for industry (in L.A.)	-0,09	-0,15	-0,06	-0,17	-0,11	1,00										
% land for commerce (in L.A.)	0,00	-0,23	-0,08	0,07	0,10	0,22	1,00									
% land for transport (in L.A.)	0,11	-0,53	0,10	0,11	-0,08	0,00	0,02	1,00								
% land for residential flats (in L.A.)	0,14	-0,28	-0,08	0,32	-0,04	0,03	0,25	-0,09	1,00							
% land for houses (in L.A.)	-0,15	-0,55	-0,00	0,02	-0,20	0,11	0,10	0,35	0,11	1,00						
Pop 'n growth (60-80)/1960 pop 'n	0,45	-0,21	0,21	0,42	-0,05	-0,09	-0,03	0,06	0,03	-0,20	1,00					
Pop 'n growth (60-80)/L.A. area (in ha.)	-0,04	-0,27	0,11	0,36	-0,06	-0,13	0,21	0,14	0,44	0,15	0,32	1,00				
Value of residential growth/1960 pop 'n	-0,08	0,14	0,69	0,46	0,00	-0,14	-0,26	-0,09	-0,13	-0,33	-0,02	-0,24	1,00			
Value of non-residential growth/1960 pop 'n	-0,01	0,07	0,30	0,16	0,04	0,57	-0,07	-0,09	-0,11	-0,38	-0,06	-0,19	0,49	1,00		
Value of residential growth L.A. area (in ha.)	-0,06	-0,21	0,08	0,14	-0,09	0,16	-0,07	0,19	0,00	0,28	0,07	-0,14	0,09	-0,06	1,00	
Value of non-residential growth/L.A. area (in ha.)	-0,15	0,08	-0,10	0,18	-0,12	0,44	0,17	-0,01	-0,04	0,12	-0,16	-0,18	-0,06	0,61	0,34	1,00

Table 2.3: Matrix of intercorrelations between growth and land use measures.

In summary, therefore, an inspection of the more significant correlations in Table 2.3 reveals three basic relationships of a 'determining' nature, and these can be diagrammed as follows (Fig. 2.2).

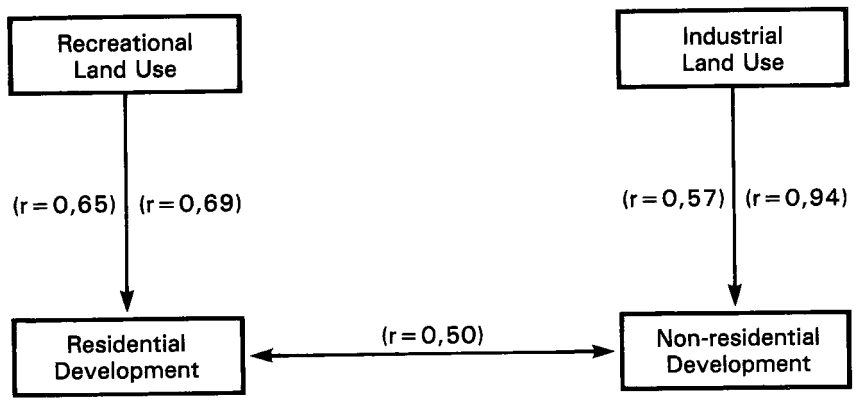


Figure 2.2: Model of major relationships between land use and growth variables.

Recreational facilities appear to stimulate residential growth of a certain type, and space devoted to industry stimulates non-residential development. Non-residential development, in turn, stimulates residential growth in a slightly different way to that of the recreational function of coastal towns.

Some towns, it might be anticipated, would have been characterized by different degrees of association with each type of growth impulse. In addition, it might be argued that by focussing on only the largest correlations in the total matrix of intercorrelations, we may have obscured some important nuances of coastal urbanization. For this reason, in the section to follow, we use the entire matrix of intercorrelations as a basis for arriving at a typology of coastal settlements distinguished in terms of their land use and growth characteristics.

Towards an Initial Typology of Coastal Settlements

The settlements of Natal's coast can be grouped in various ways, depending upon the objective entailed. N.T.R.P.C. planners, for example, arrived at a fourteen region division of the study area (nine regions if KwaZulu areas are excluded). This regionalization (see Figure 1.1) implicity incorporates some understanding of the land use and growth characteristics of coastal towns and has been determined to be useful in terms of current planning practice. However, as an *analytical* device it is of limited value because it does not explicity identify homogeneity of land use and growth characteristics as a basis for group membership. Rather it concentrates upon the *administratively* convenient principle of allocating settlements to geographically contiguous regions.

The development of an initial *typology* (as opposed to a regionalization) of coastal settlements, therefore, became a priority research area in this project. This was achieved by a well-known automated solution in which the matrix of intercorrelations (described previously in Table 2.3) is submitted to a principal components analysis; the components are then interpreted; and the component scores processed through a grouping algorithm.

In non-technical terms, principal components analysis is a computer programme

designed to extract *dimensions of common variance* from a matrix of simple bivariate correlations. These components summarize, in as simple a fashion as possible, the overall configuration of intercorrelations in terms of three or four major 'bundles' of scores, as opposed to the original sixteen variables. Component *loadings* describe the relationship of individual variables to the components themselves, and can be thought of as correlations on the new 'composite variables' (which is what, in effect, principal components are).

A table of principal component loadings for the four major components produced by S.P.S.S. version PA1 principal components analysis (with QUARTIMAX rotation) is provided below (Table 2.4). Each of these components explain in excess of ten percent of variance in the initial matrix of correlations and, together, they account for fifty-seven percent of the total variance. By inspecting the table of component loadings and identifying those variables which have very strong loadings on particular components it is possible to identify the 'character' of the component in conceptual terms. In this regard it can be noted that in the case of the first component we are dealing with a pattern of rapid residential construction — particularly flats and hotels — which is associated with high levels of recreational space. The second component, on the other hand, identifies a pattern of common variance associated with high levels of industrial land use and high levels of non-residential construction. Thus far the component structure closely mirrors our analysis of the data based upon a simple visual inspection of the matrix of bivariate correlations. However, further aspects of the growth/land use interface are identified in components 3 and 4. Specifically, component 3 isolates a simple pattern of variance associated with population growth and the intensification of population density; and component 4 identifies a pattern of variance associated with low levels of undeveloped land and high levels of transport (roads, etc) and housing use within local authorities.

Table 2.4: Principal component loadings

Variable	Component 1 Loadings	Component 2 Loadings	Component 3 Loadings	Component 4 Loadings
% Agricultural use	0,01	-0,09	-0,24	0,11
% Undeveloped land	-0,16	-0,08	-0,22	-0,77
% Public rec. land	0,90	0,01	0,04	0,16
% Hotels and Flats use	0,74	-0.10	0,42	0,13
% Holiday flats use	0,07	-0,07	0,02	0,02
% Industrial use	-0,12	0,95	0,01	0,09
% Commercial use	-0,10	0,13	0,19	0,04
% Transport use	0,05	0,00	-0,05	0,83
% Perm. res. flats use	0,01	-0,05	0,75	-0,07
% Houses use	-0,16	0,05	0,13	0,72
Population growth/'60 pop.	0,12	-0,05	0,34	-0,03
Population growth/area	0,00	-0,10	0,85	0,21
Residential Const./'60 pop.	0,88	0,01	-0,23	-0,23
Non-res. const./'60 pop.	0,46	0,77	-0,12	-0,20
Res. const./area	0,08	0,15	-0,05	0,17
Non-res. const./area	-0,11	0,95	-0,05	0,04

The component *scores* (or the score of each local authority, rating its association with each component) from the above analysis became the basis for classifying settlements according to their land use and growth characteristics. Specifically, this was

accomplished by submitting these scores to the Wards Hierarchical Grouping Algorithm — a computer programme designed to group settlements according to the overall statistical similarity and dissimilarity in terms of component scores. Clearly, as the number of groups increases, the internal homogeneity of groups in terms of the total score profiles decreases. This tendency can be monitored by checking the so-called 'stress level' statistic of the grouping algorithm at each stage of the grouping process. From the point of view of ensuring internal homogeneity in a simple structure of groups, a cut-off level of groups should be chosen (e.g. ten groups, seven groups, three groups, etc.) which minimizes stress or error levels subject to the minimum number of groups. In our case the five group cut-off level was chosen because it met this criterion (Fig. 2.3).

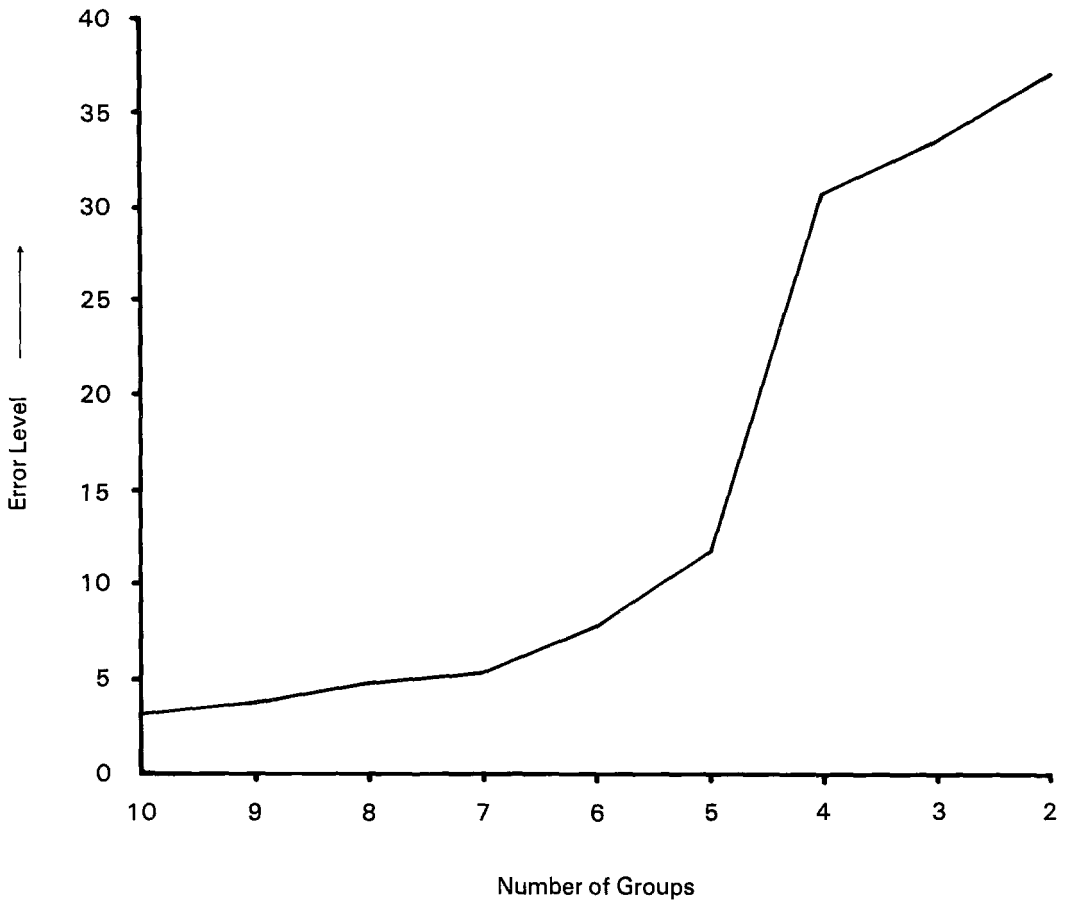


Figure 2.3: 'Stress level' chart for the Wards Hierarchical Grouping.

Membership of these groups, and the character of each group, was as follows:

Group 1 Settlements: Characterized by high levels of undeveloped land and low levels of space used for flats and houses within local authority borders.

Port Edward
Palm Beach
Trafalgar
Southbroom

Ramsgate
Marburg/Albersville
Melville
Umzumbe
Mtwalume
Elysium
Ifafa Beach/Lagoon
Bazley Beach
Pennington
Ocean View
Umkomaas
Kingsburgh
Tongaat Beach
Tinley Manor
Richards Bay

Group 2 Settlements: *Characterized by high levels of space allocated to housing, rapid population growth rates and substantial allocation of public recreational space.*

Munster
Marina Beach/San Lameer
Margate
Shelley Beach/Uvongo
Umtentweni
Bendigo/Sunwich Port
Hibberdene
Park Rynie
Scottburgh
Clansthal
Widenham
Umhlanga
Umhloti
Umhlali/Seaforth
Blythedale
Tugela
Mtunzini

Group 3 Settlements: *Characterized by large allocations of industrial land and rapid non-residential growth.*

Port Shepstone
Amanzimtoti
Umbogintwini
Glen Anil

Group 4 Settlements: *Characterized by particularly rapid levels of population growth and good supply of public recreational land.*

Isipingo
Ballito
Zinkwazi

Group 5 Settlements: *A complex mix of land and growth characteristics suggesting a mature urban form.*

Durban

Critical Appraisal of the Typology of Settlements

In appraising the value of the typology of coastal settlements developed above, two points should be borne in mind. Firstly, in any attempt at classification it has to be recognized that each settlement in the study area is unique with its own special land use and growth characteristics. Thankfully, the Natal coast is a complex and varied environment in which settlements are not popped out of some imaginary planning or development 'factory', each exactly conforming to pre-given moulds. For this reason, *individual membership of groups developed here should in no way be seen as an attempt to bury the individuality of local authorities.* In a very real sense there are as many 'settlement types' along Natal's coast as there are settlements.

However, and this is the second point that must be made, *classification is a necessary requirement of the process of generalization. And generalization is as important to the aims of science as is the identification of uniqueness.* What has been established in this typology of settlements then is that settlements can be grouped, mechanically, into broad regimes of similarity and dissimilarity according to key land use and growth characteristics. This is of value insofar as it allows us to generalize, at a later stage in the report, about what types of objective settlement characteristics are associated with different forms of subjective community response. The proof of the value of the classification, in other words, comes at a later stage in the presentation of results. If it appears that community responses to land use and development trends to *not* vary substantially, and logically, by settlement type then the classification can be deemed scientifically redundant. However, as will become evident in Chapter 3, this is definitely not the case. Indeed, in Chapter 3, to follow, it will become evident that subjective responses vary coherently within the total sample of respondents, between five subsamples based upon our settlement typology, and between fourteen subsamples based upon 'planning regions' identified by the N.T.R.P.C. It is to a consideration of this problem that the report now turns.

Chapter 3

Questions of Public Opinion: Subjective Appraisals of Coastal Urbanization and Land Use

Introduction: Problems of Method

Planning, if it is to be in the public interest, should presumably be informed of what that interest is. The previous chapter has established what the objective contours of coastal land use and urbanization are. But if these objective conditions are to be seen as either 'problematic' or 'non-problematic' from a planning point of view, a rigorous understanding of social appraisals of growth is required. Thus, as was indicated in Chapter 1, a primary requirement of the Coastal Urbanization Research Project became that of ascertaining the land use and growth priorities of a representative sample of parties interested in the Natal coast.

Following the concept of research design described in Figure 1.3 of Chapter 1, the objectives of the survey research phase of the project were initially achieved by structuring both a survey sample and a survey instrument in accordance with project needs. Each of these aspects of research methodology can be briefly considered here.

1. The survey sample

The central problem in constructing a survey sample is one of determining what constitutes a representative sample of opinion in relation to coastal urbanization processes. This problem has to be resolved in relation to three considerations:

(i) the time and financial resources available to the researcher;

(ii) problems of statistical validity as determined by sampling theory and the constraints imposed by certain methods of data analysis; and

(iii) a theoretical understanding of planning and the land use process that defines relevant categories of 'land use agents' operating in the context of urbanization processes within the study region.

With regard to the first of these considerations it was concluded that a total sample of two thousand respondents was appropriate, given available time and financial resources. These resources were substantial, but not opulent (six months management time for a junior research fellow to supervise the logistics and R4 000 to hire field assistants). It was nevertheless possible to reach the very satisfying sample size of two thousand under these constraints, though a combination of efficient management practices and a streamlined research instrument (described shortly). However, it will be appreciated that even a sample of two thousand taken from a large and diverse study area that is characterized by widely varying interest groups necessitates careful sample structuring in order to achieve representativeness. In this regard it was concluded that the most appropriate procedure under the circumstances would be to use a multi-stage cluster sample with proportional stratification within clusters. Clusters and strata, in turn, are selected in accordance with both a theoretical

and empirical understanding of land use processes and planning practices relevant to the study area (as developed in Chapters 1 and 2).

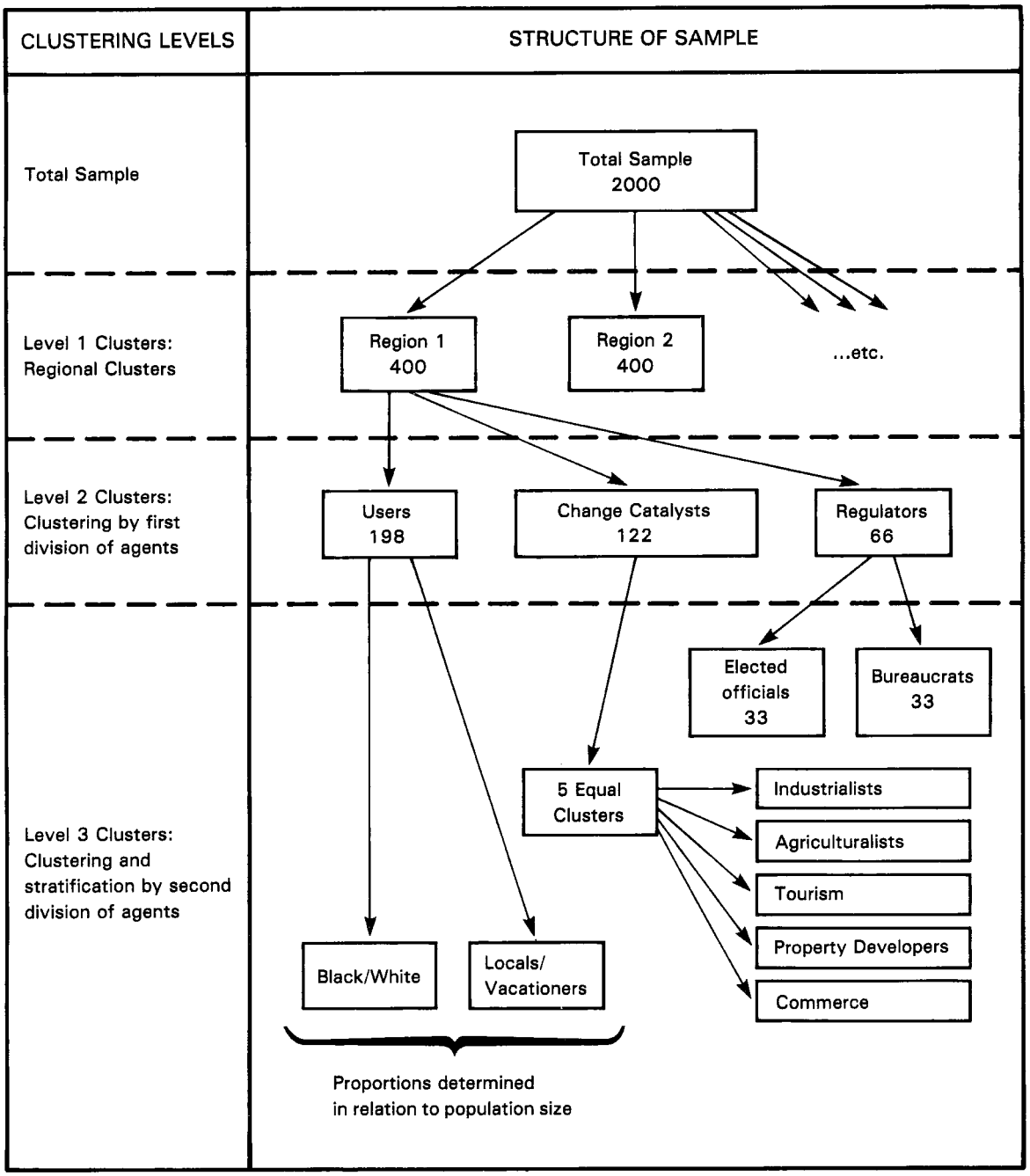


Figure 3.1: Sample structure for 2000 interviews on responses to land use and growth.

A problem of practical import here is that, as the numbers of clusters and strata increase within a survey sample, the ease of accessing appropriate respondents decreases. On the other hand, the expected level of theoretically and practically relevant information from a given sample size increases. In the present study the trade-off chosen was a mix of clusters and strata summarized in Figure 3.1. With regard to

this figure it should be noted that the first level of clustering is according to the typology of local authorities developed in the previous chapter. Four hundred respondents were chosen from towns within each of the settlement types described towards the end of that chapter. This procedure ensured that the total sample of respondents came from a representative cross-section of land use and development contexts.

Each town-type cluster was then subdivided further in the second stage of the clustering procedure. Specifically, the sample was broken down on a three-fold basis into:

(i) demand-side 'agents' or 'actors' (users);
(ii) supply side 'actors' (change catalysts); and
(iii) 'regular' groups, following the conceptual framework for land use and planning processes described in Chapter 1.

Because of the need to trade off proportional representation with statistical requirements for minimum cluster sizes, the 'users' were assigned three clusters (3 × 66), the 'change catalysts' two clusters (2 × 66), and 'regulators' one cluster (1 × 66). In this way the sample acknowledges the numerical superiority of users in real world situations, but at the same time allows statistically meaningful subsamples of the other key land use agents.

The third level of clustering and stratification divides the above-mentioned subsamples further into important divisions of the user, change catalyst and regulator groups. In particular, a range of strata for users was selected according the actual proportions, living within groups of towns, of vacationers and locals on the one hand, and members of different race groups on the other. Five clusters of change catalysts were also selected at this stage. Thus, within a given town-type group, twenty-four property developers were interviewed, and twenty-four retail business managers, twenty-four industrial executives, twenty-four farm owners/managers, and twenty-four hoteliers and/or representatives of the tourist trade. (Where any category is irrelevant or redundant — eg. farmers in Durban — it falls away). Finally, two clusters of regulators were selected within each town-type grouping: thirty-three elected representatives of the relevant local authorities, and thirty-three senior civil servants and bureaucrats involved in the management of land use. In all clusters and strata discussed above, the choice of individuals was determined according to the principles of random sampling.

In summary, therefore, the multistage cluster sample described above offers the opportunity of comparing the land use priorities and values of a wide array of different interest groups operating within quite different town-type contexts. As such it provides maximum potential for uncovering intricate patterns of social conflict and consensus with regard to land use and development along the coast. The actual number of individuals selected in each cluster or stratum should not be regarded as a prioritization, in policy terms, of the 'importance' of different groups. These sizes are simply a reflection of the *scientific* need to ensure a balance between:

(i) a reasonable sample size/population size ratio; and
(ii) minimum cluster/strata sizes, so as to render inter-group comparisons statistically meaningful.

2. The survey instrument

Having dealt with the problems of *whose* views on land use and growth should be elicited, the problem of *how* those views mights be elicited emerges. This entails a trade-off, amongst other things, between the need to preserve indigenous (or interviewee held) definitions of the coastal situation on the one hand and, on the other hand, the need to aquire attitudinal data that are comparable from individual to

individual. The researchers experimented, in several pilot projects, with a range of interviewing procedures and questionnaire formats. These experiments revealed that reliable data would have to be acquired in the following manner:

(i) There should be face-to-face interviews with individual respondents conducted by trained interviewers of the same race as the interviewee.
(ii) The interview should be as short as possible to facilitate openness, attentiveness and responsiveness amongst interviewees.
(iii) The interview should make use of both open-ended questions (where the interviewee defines the specific form of the answer), and closed-ended or 'forced choice' items where these items are of special planning relevance and require answers of a strictly comparable nature.

Finally, after consultation with planners of the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, the questionnaire reproduced here as Appendix B was settled upon. These questionnaires were directed to the two thousand persons described in the previous section by same-race interviewers selected and trained by the principal researcher. Field checks on the reliability of the interviewers were intermittently conducted. The full quota of questionnaires were then returned and coded for computer analysis: A process that receives consideration in the section to follow.

Analysis of Results

The data arrays for analysis were of very considerable proportions: 2 000 cases, times 40 variables (measures derived from each questionnaire) yields 80 000 individual datum to be sifted through for the identification of patterns of regularity. This can only be achieved with the assistance of sophisticated computing facilities, of course, and corresponding mindfulness of the objectives of the project. Researchers with a fascination for esoteric detail could be detained in perpetuity by the nuances of such a data set if they failed to keep practical objectives in mind. This is not to say that research must dogmatically pursue a mechanistic 'hypothesis testing' procedure, blind to the richness of relationships within data arrays that might not have been expected *a priori.* If that were the case, research would not be a learning experience. It would merely be an exercise in statistical support for prejudice. As in most aspects of research design, therefore, there was a need for balance: to know what is being sought after; yet being prepared, even eager, for 'surprise' in the search.

The researchers spent many months systematically searching thousands of pages of computer tables in this spirit, and applied a range of statistical tests of association to the variables. Out of this experience we have chosen to emphasize certain key relationships of policy relevance according to the subheadings set out below:

1. The impact of role in the land use process

Of cardinal significance to respondents appraisals of coastal growth and land use processes is their role within, or position with respect to, these processes. A comparison of Figures 3.2 to 3.8, for example, reveals that whether people are 'angry or dissatisfied' with specific aspects of land use and development trends in their areas, and whether they made their dissatisfaction known to those in authority, is greatly dependent upon these roles. Forty-six percent of the developer sample for the entire region, for example, claimed to be unhappy *and* had made this known to those in authority. Amongst the total user sample, this percentage was much lower (9%), although 24% of the total user group claimed to be angry and dissatisfied, yet had *not* complained to authorities. All other 'catalyst' subgroups registered relatively high levels of anger, dissatisfaction and complaint, although not quite to the extent of developers.

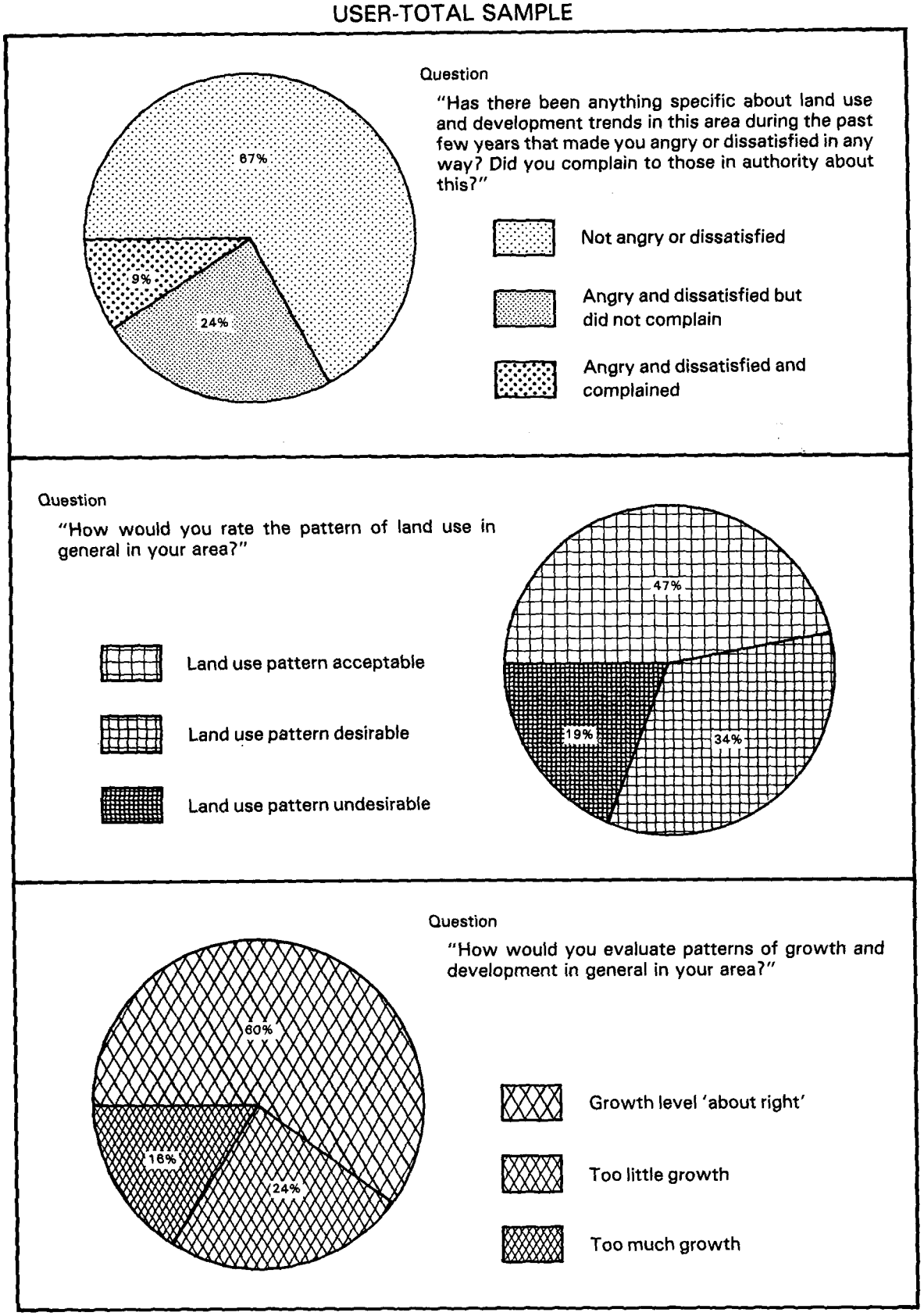


Figure 3.2: Responses by users

DEVELOPERS-TOTAL SAMPLE

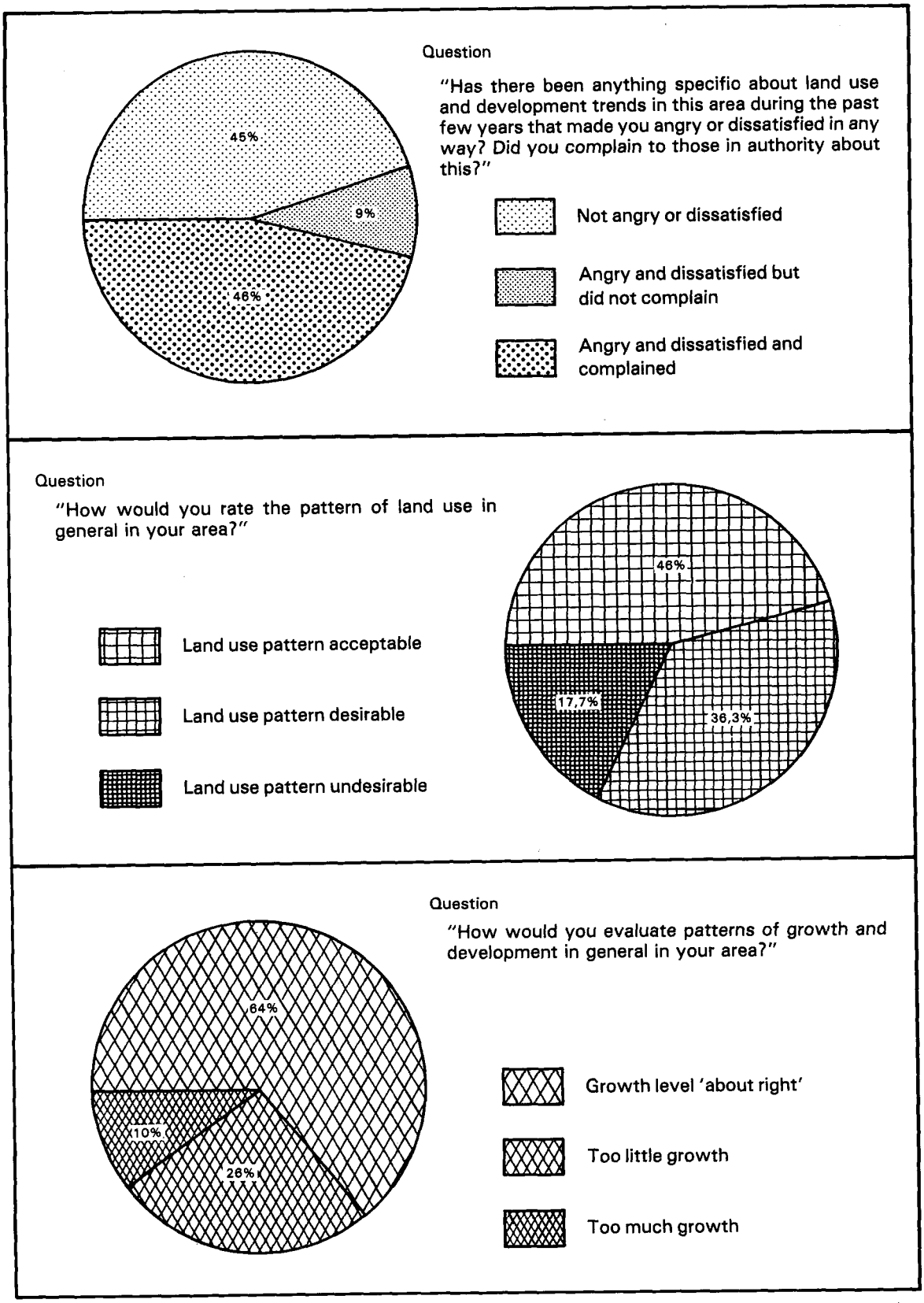


Figure 3.3 Responses by developers

COMMERCE-TOTAL SAMPLE

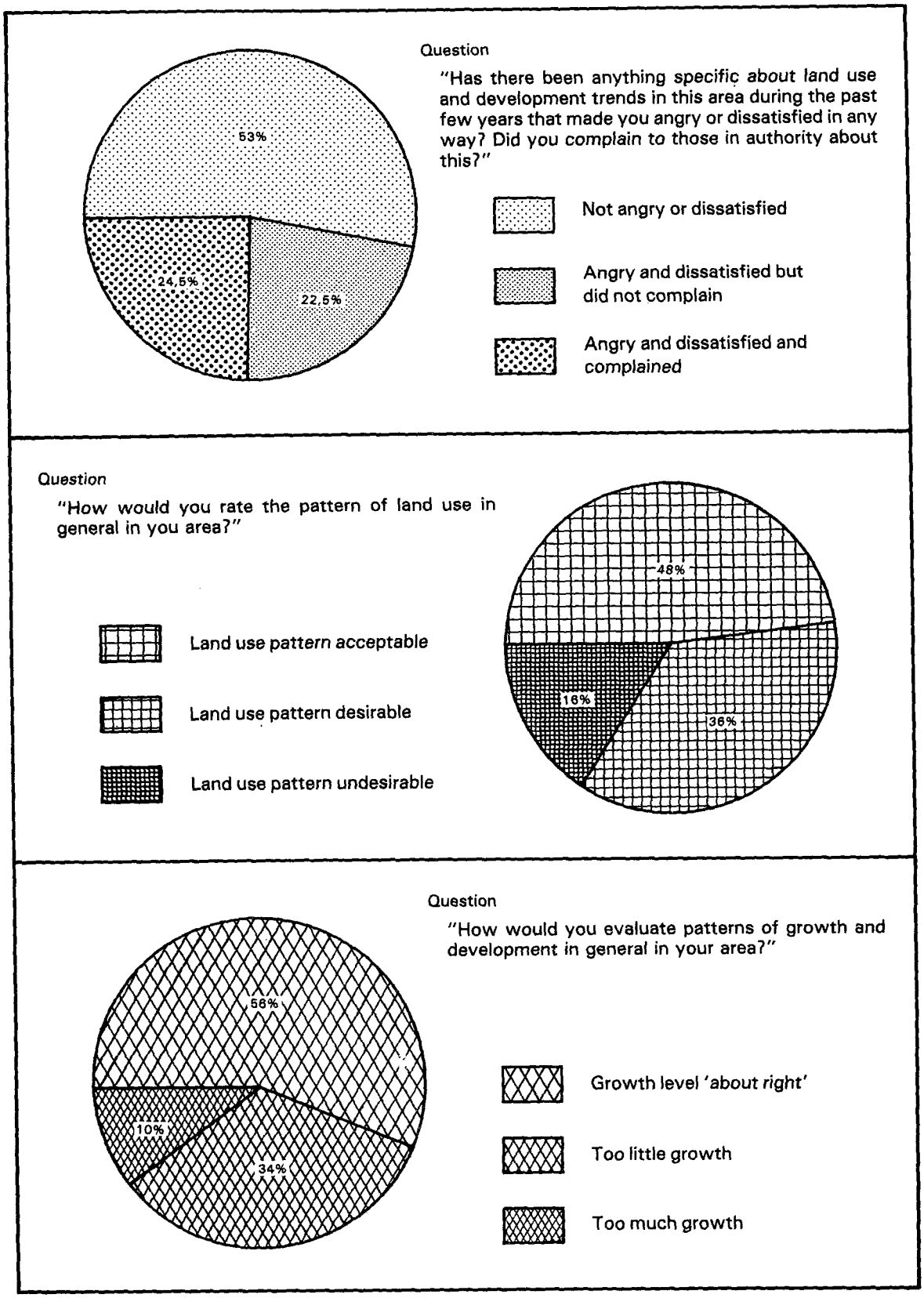


Figure 3.4: Responses by commercial entrepreneurs

INDUSTRY-TOTAL SAMPLE

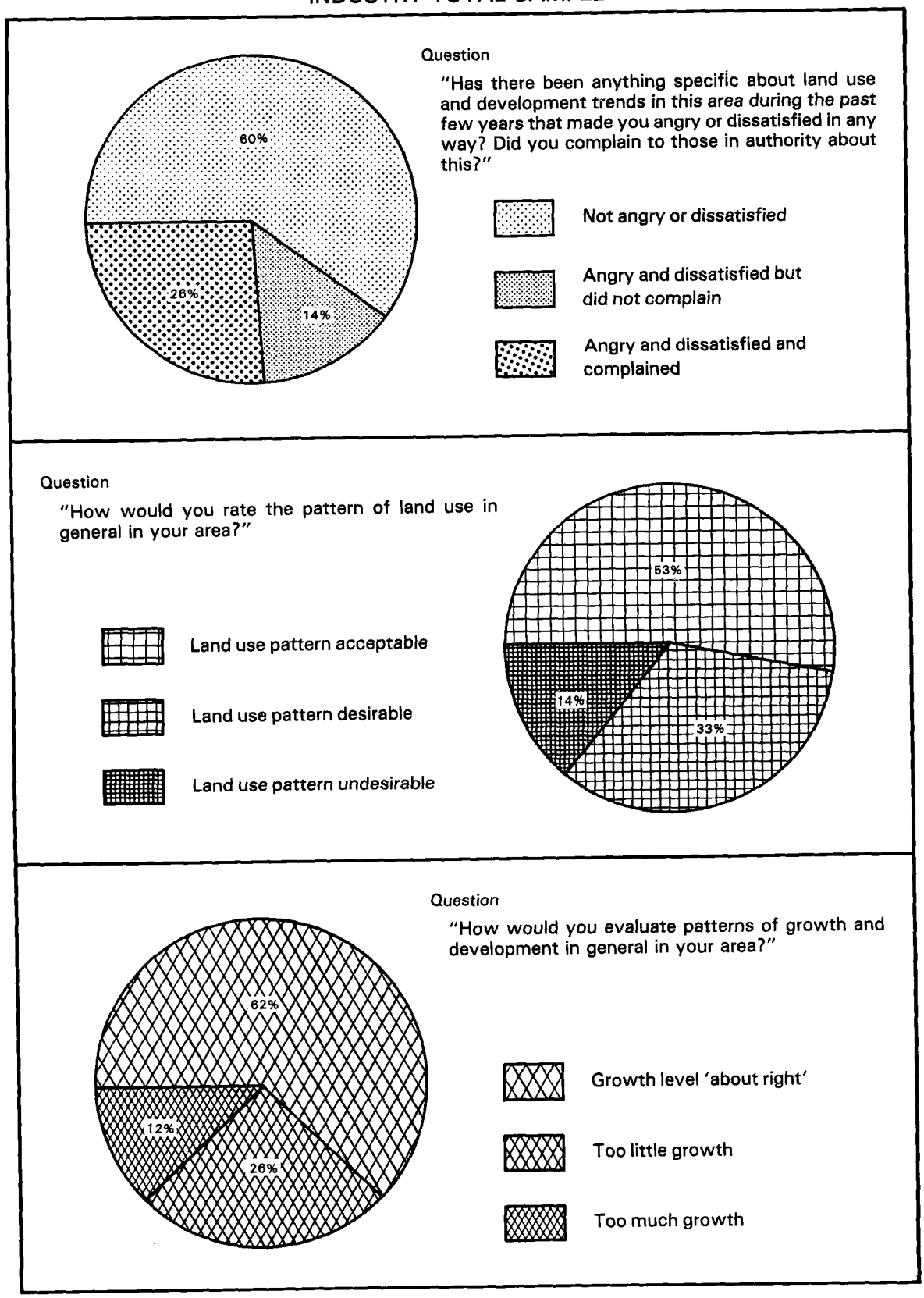


Figure 3.5: Responses by industrialists

TOURISM-TOTAL SAMPLE

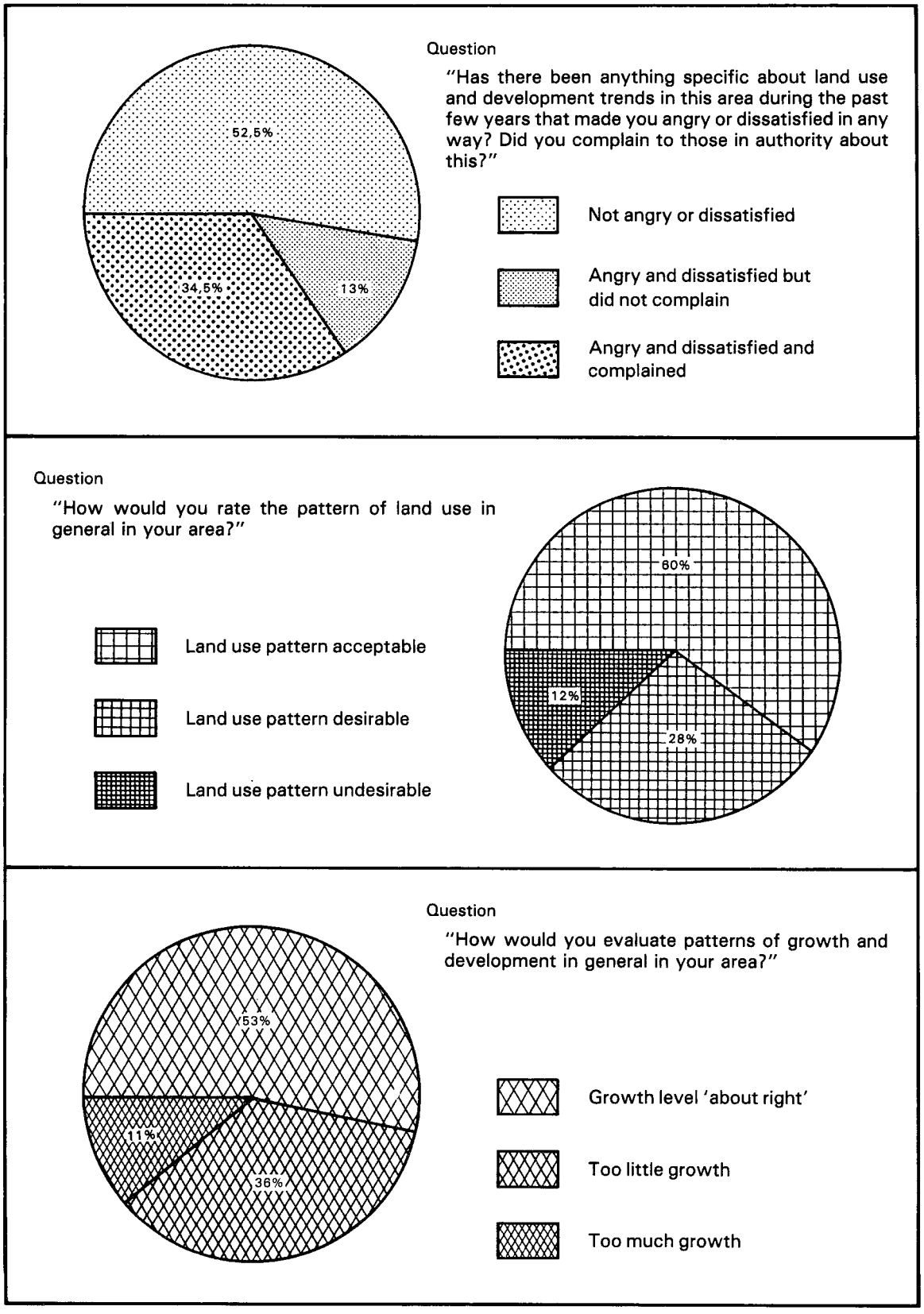


Figure 3.6: Responses by tourism entrepreneurs

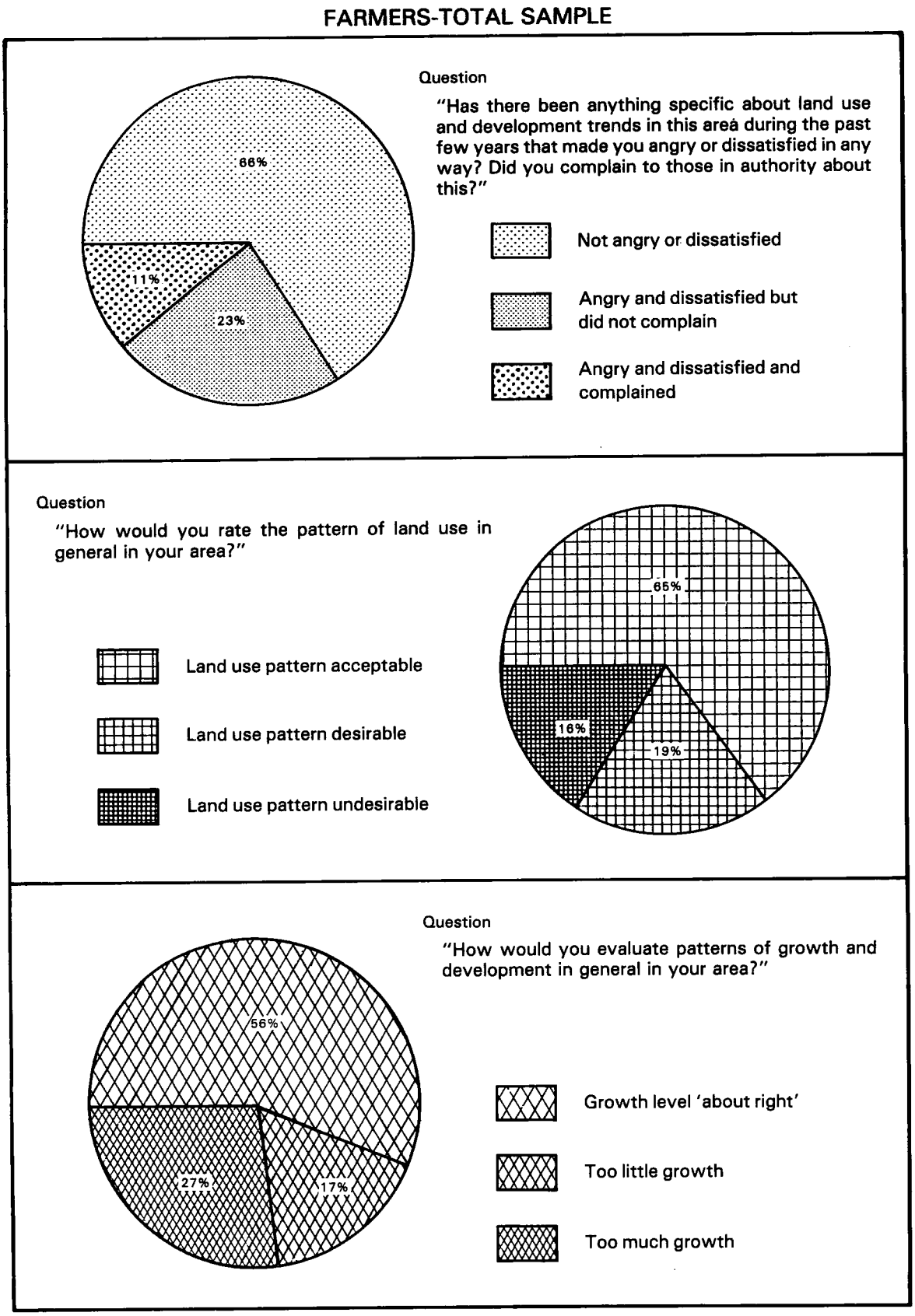


Figure 3.7: Responses by farmers

OFFICIALS-TOTAL SAMPLE

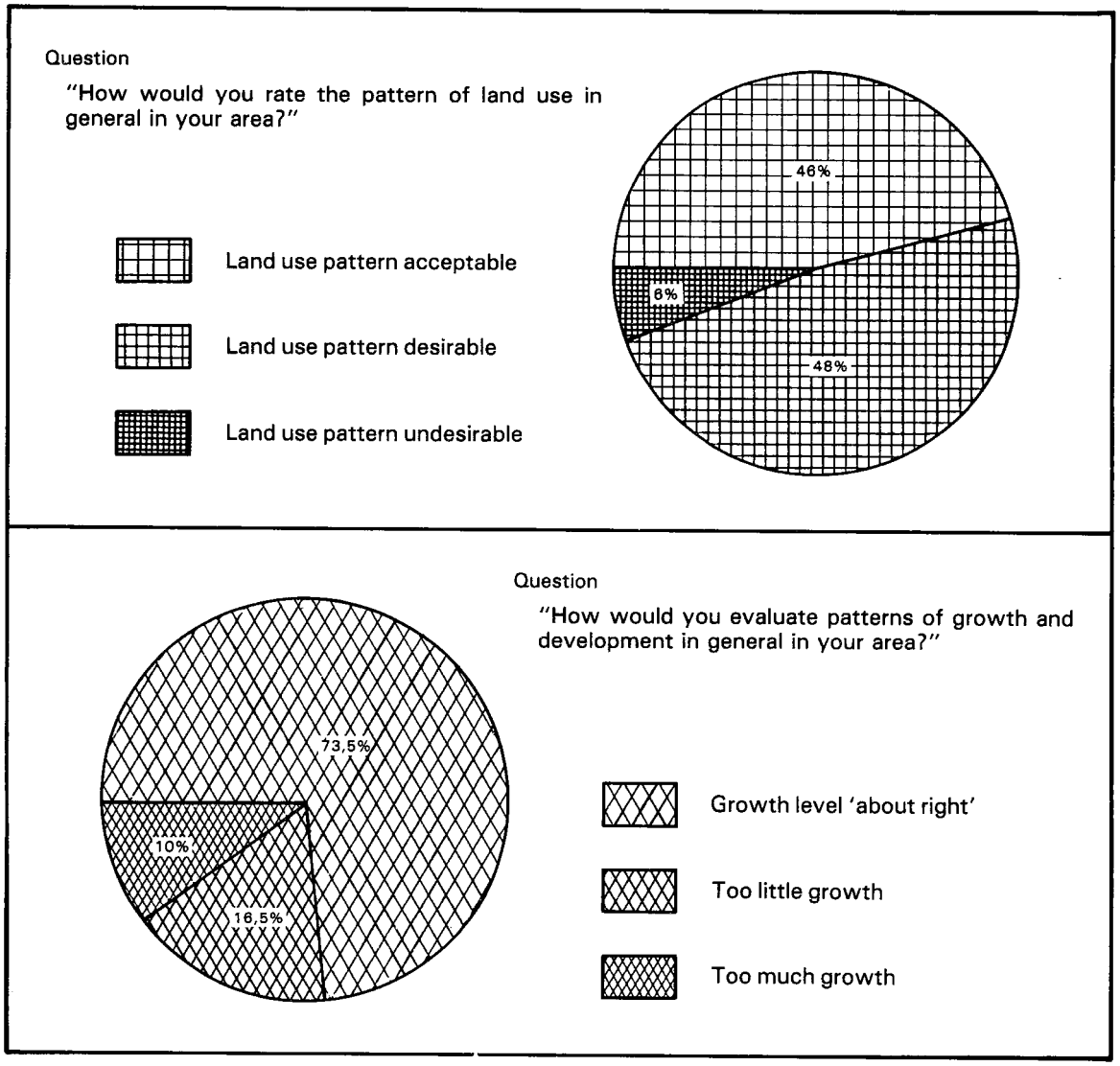


Figure 3.8: Responses by officials

The planning relevance of these results should be clear. Whereas there are similar degrees of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with land use patterns and growth levels in general amongst the various land use agents (Figs. 3.2 to 3.8), *it is the change catalysts in general and most particularly the developers who formally express dissatisfaction with specific aspects of land use and development to those in authority.* Planners may have become so accustomed to this process as to see it as 'natural', but it could be argued to be problematic. Those in authority are essentially faced with a concentrated barrage of signals from a single component of the overall land use and development process: those motivated by monetary gain from development.

However, it is important not to be simple-minded here and posit a crude version of what has been termed elsewhere as a 'manipulated city' hypothesis on land use and development where developers are thought to 'run' cities 'their way' (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). After all developers or, for that matter, industrialists can usually only make profits if there is a *demand* for growth, and a comparison of Figures 3.2 to 3.8 will reveal that a fair proportion of users felt that there was 'too little growth' in their areas. *When asked what it was that they most liked about growth and development* (Question 8 in the questionnaire) *the most popular response amongst white users was 'increasing property values' and amongst black users 'more jobs'.* Some degree of support for coastal urbanization processes, in other words, comes from those in need of jobs and from those who seek modest capital accumulation through homeownership. In this there is common cause with developers on the principle that 'growth is good'. As will become evident later, however, similarities of interest between such groups are by no means inevitable. In many instances there are sharply conflicting views about the *specific* form that growth should assume, not only between users and catalyst groups, but also between fragments of each of these groups. In these situations, imbalances in levels of information supplied to those in authority can lead to policy outcomes that are not very different from those assumed in manipulated city models.

Table 3.1: Evaluation of whether there is 'too little' or 'too much' of specific land uses (T/M = too much, T/L = too little).

Land Use Type	Public Recreation		Agriculture		Industry		Flats		Houses		Shops		Transport		Hotels		Campsites		Undev.	
Survey Subsample	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %	T/M %	T/L %
Users	2	46	5	12	6	18	7	32	5	35	7	38	4	38	9	24	2	33	8	29
Developers	5	40	2	12	2	38	9	43	4	52	4	47	4	42	11	22	3	38	15	35
Farmers	3	53	16	10	6	19	9	37	9	33	3	34	7	51	10	24	3	36	29	30
Officials	2	33	0	7	2	36	4	39	1	39	3	22	0	39	11	25	3	42	11	30
Tourism	4	39	1	9	7	11	10	45	3	35	6	36	6	45	18	21	8	40	12	33
Commerce	1	47	5	9	5	25	4	48	1	45	9	37	4	49	5	28	0	44	12	28
Industry	3	40	6	11	5	40	8	42	3	40	5	35	2	48	6	21	0	44	23	17

Some indication of similarities and differences in the various groups' views with regard to specific land uses in their areas is provided in Table 3.1. This table indicates the proportions of different groups who feel there is 'too much' (T/M) or 'too little' (T/L) of certain basic land uses within their areas. In general, all groups tend to feel there is 'too little' of everything except agricultural land. This 'too little of everything urban' tendency in attitudes confirms earlier suggestions that *high levels of pro-growth sentiment exist along the coast.*

But variations in the *degree* to which different groups see specific uses as being in undersupply are also instructive. For instance, *whereas approximately forty percent of industrialists and developers felt that there was too little land for industry in their respective areas, both users and representatives of the tourist trade assign only a modest priority to industrial use.* That hoteliers and representatives of the tourist trade are not especially predisposed towards industrial growth is to be expected. After all, their well-being depends upon the enhancement of the recreational function of the coast for holidaymakers in particular. Industrial growth is ordinarily seen as detracting from this function. On first appraisal, however, the fact that *users* appear at variance with developers and industrialists over prospective industrial growth is a fact that flies in the face of an earlier conclusion: that is, the ostensible congruence of these groups' interests over questions of growth (through job creation and the enhancement of property values). The problem, however, is not quite as contradictory as it seems. *Some* users are quite strongly pro-growth because their interests are served by growth. But others feel strongly otherwise since they favour the recreational function of the coast. The *average* user view, therefore, hides important aspects of the results: aspects which must now be considered if we are to enhance our understanding of the data.

2. Differentiation in user views

It will be recalled that the user subsample was stratified according to the local/vacationer breakdown, and also according to race. Taking the same three questionnaire items dealt with in the previous section, it can be seen that, whereas both Blacks and Whites and locals and vacationers report very similar levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with patterns of land use (Figs. 3.9 and 3.10), both *Blacks and locals tend to feel there was too little growth in their areas, in comparison to Whites and vacationers* (Figs. 3.9 and 3.10). This fact is presumably related to the observation made in the previous section, that the material interests of workers and local homeowners appear to be dependent upon sustained growth. Vacationers on the other hand, and upper income White residents in particular, have less of a material stake in growth. Indeed, as we remarked in the previous section, to the extent that growth in general impacts negatively upon the recreational function and the perceived 'higher needs' (in the Maslowian sense) of materially well-off conservationists, the lower pro-growth sentiment of the White and vacationer subsample is to be expected.

A final point to be noted in this section is that, whereas anger and dissatisfaction levels are quite similar between locals and vacationers on the one hand and Whites and Blacks on the other, levels of *complaint* expression vary considerably between groups. *Vacationers and Blacks complain less, presumably because they are unfamiliar with grievance procedures and do not feel it is 'their place' to complain (each for different reasons).* Again this is suggestive of a bias in the information system available to those in authority.

3. The impact of growth and land use context

We have seen that attitudes towards land use and growth vary according to the social positions of respondents when the study area as a whole is the object of investigation. But, to what extent, it might be asked, do these appraisals vary according to the objective growth and land use *contexts* that respondents find themselves within?

This question can be answered at several levels, including that of the 5-level 'town-type' typology developed in the previous chapter, the fourteen level 'planning region' division developed by N.T.R.P.C. planners or, indeed, at the level of the individual local authority. In this section we examine the problem at all three scales, although it is not possible, of course, to be exhaustive in the detail for each scale. Rather, attention is once again drawn to those findings that are of major policy relevance.

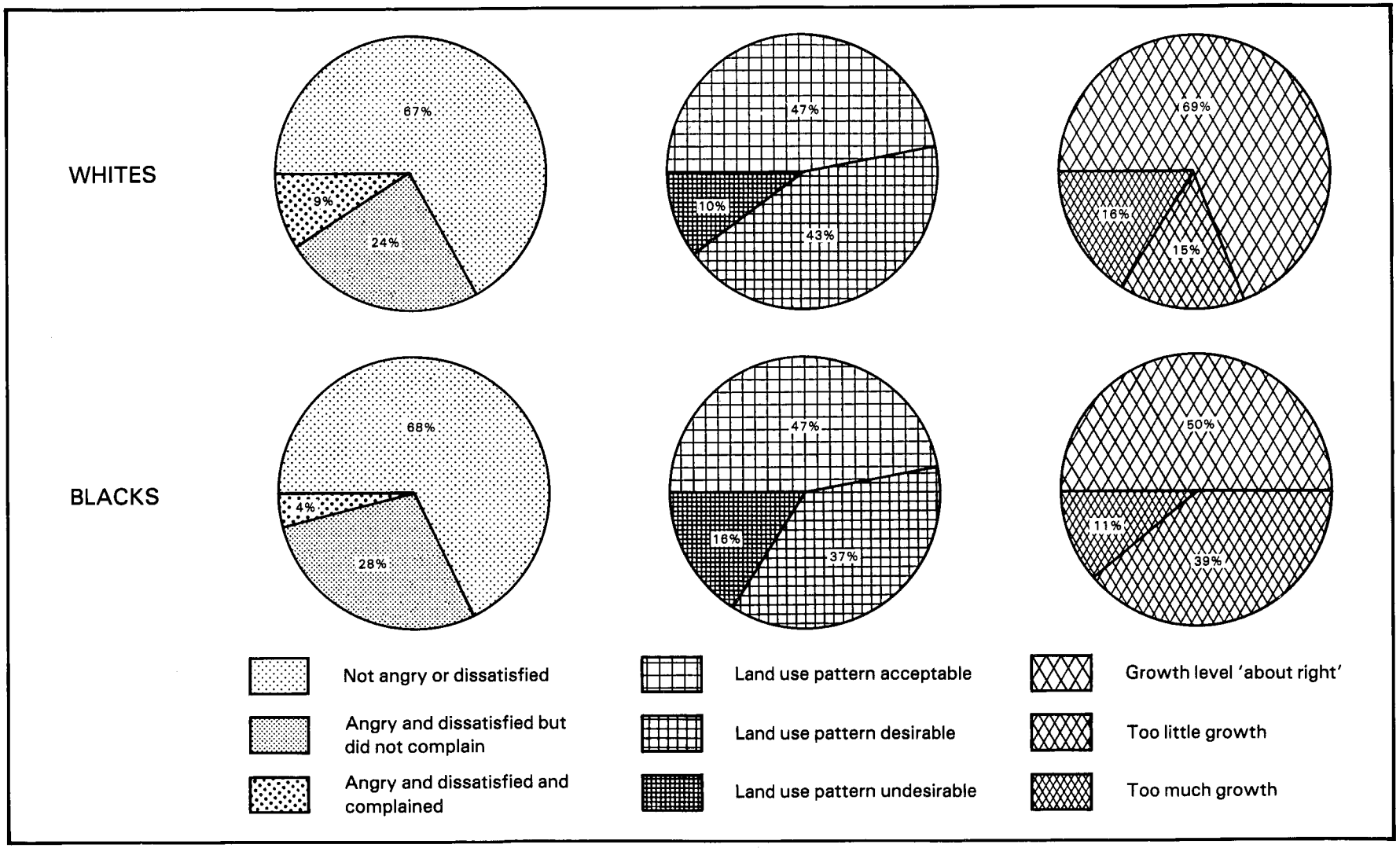


Figure 3.9: Racial breakdown of results for Figure 3.2

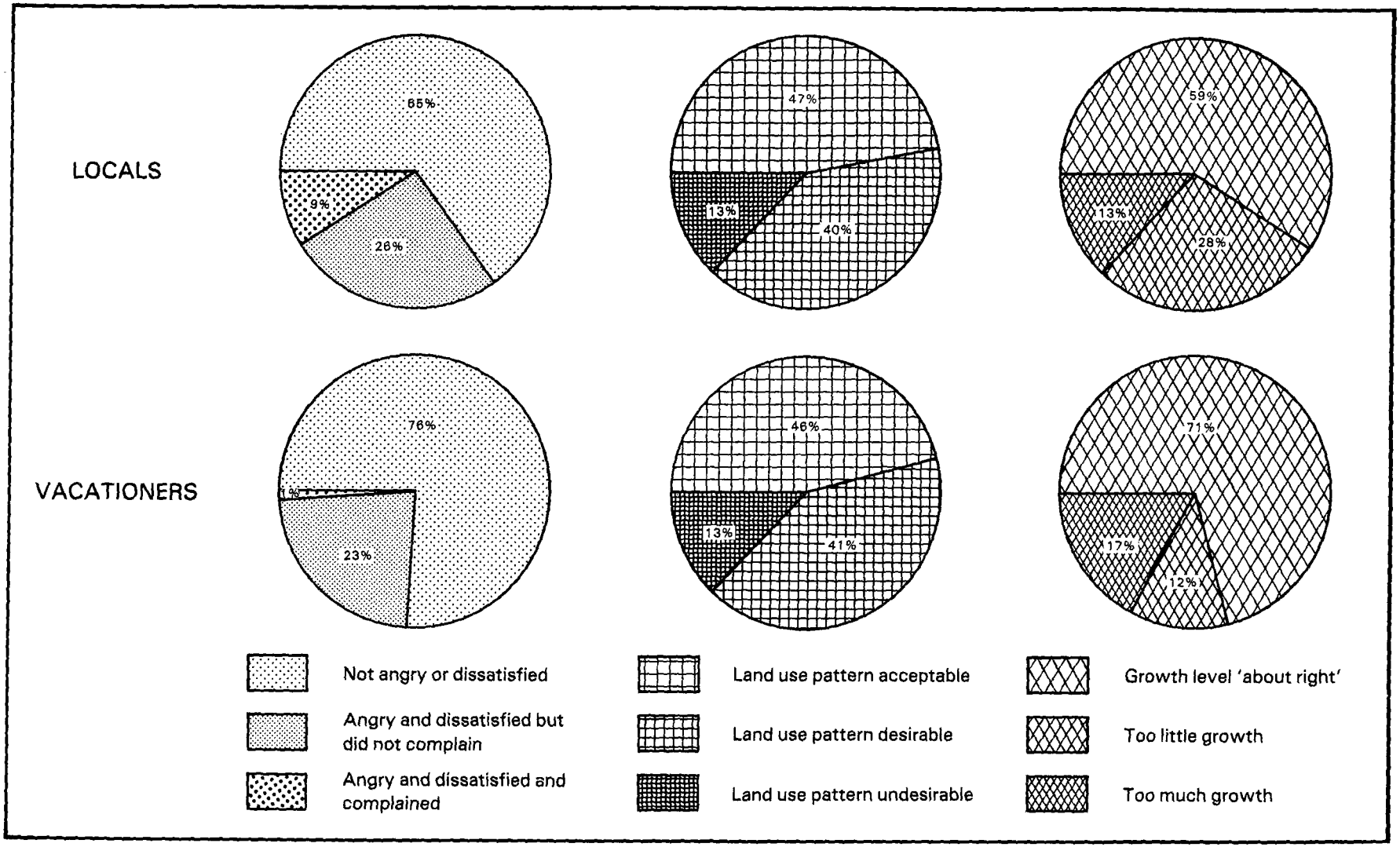


Figure 3.10: Locals — vacationers breakdown of results for Figure 3.2

At the five town-type level, *users* displayed very little variation in terms of anger and dissatisfaction levels, although *rates of complaint were particularly low in town type 5 (Durban)(1%), notwithstanding quite high levels of anger and dissatisfaction (30%) there.* Perhaps this suggests the *greater difficulty of articulating dissatisfactions in larger, and more bureaucratically complex, settlements.* Indeed, this hypothesis tends to be born out by the fact that in town types 1 and 2 (including most of the smaller coastal settlemens) complaint levels were nine times and ten times as high, respectively, as they were in Durban. This is despite the fact that anger and dissatisfaction levels were very similar in each instance. Interestingly enough this same tendancy towards lower complaint levels (holding constant anger and dissatisfaction) in Durban was evident amongst developers, industrialists, tourist trade spokespersons and, to a lesser extent, commercial entrepreneurs. Anger and dissatisfaction levels amongst developers and commercial entrepreneurs (holding complaints constant) were also considerably higher in Durban (type 5) and in other rapidly growing or industrialising areas (type 3 and 4). The reverse, however, is true of anger and dissatisfaction levels applicable to *industrialists and tourist trade managers,* who *tend to be more unhappy in the smaller coastal towns* (types 1 and 2). *Here, apparently, the former are all but excluded from town planning schemes, and the latter feel that the interests of locals take precedence over those of the more transient (and therefore politically voiceless) vacationers.*

As regards attitudes towards growth and development trends in general (Question 7 on the questionnaire) there were very substantial variations by town type. This is perhaps not surprising since some of the major criteria for the derivation of the 5-level typology developed in the previous chapter were, of course, objective measures of levels of growth and land use change. Thus, for instance, in the subsample dealing with town type 1 (small, relatively slow growth coastal settlements), almost half the user population (44%) felt that there was 'too little growth' in their area. Similar sentiments were expressed by 40% of developers, 33% of industrialists, 39% of commercial entrepreneurs and 36% of tourist trade representatives in the same subsample. These levels of pro-growth sentiment are higher than for all other town types except one: paradoxically, that of the City of Durban (town type 5)! Here, however, (i.e. Durban) support for growth by *user* subsamples was quite modest, with pro-growth sentiment clustering around tourist trade management (56%), commercial entrepreneurs (52%), property developers (43%) and even the regulator group (34%). The objective conditions that determine such a coalition of pro-growth sentiment are quite different from those obtained in small coastal towns. Indeed, pro-growth attitudes in the Durban case seem to be characteristic of what Americans term the 'booster lobby' in the big cities. Here coalitions of local businesses which have stakes in substantial urban real estate portfolios exert their influence, often through Chambers of Commerce but usualy in concert with local government, for policies which are enhancing to their investments. And in the case of Durban's hoteliers, shop owners and developers, the assumption seems to be that 'growth' is good for business.

Interestingly enough, anti-growth sentiment does not vary substantially by town type. The single exception to this is town type 3 (rapidly industrializing areas such as Port Shepstone or Amanzimtoti) where industrialists themselves (44%) strongly register anti-growth sentiment. Perhaps this is in appreciation of the *dis*economies of scale and agglomeration that can set in beyond certain critical growth levels, or perhaps it is in recognition of the costs to individual enterprises of too much competition.

Few clear patterns emerge by town type with respect to the evaluation of land use patterns (Question 4) as well. In general, most groups register higher 'desirable' appraisals of land use patterns in the smaller type 1 and 2 towns. However, there are

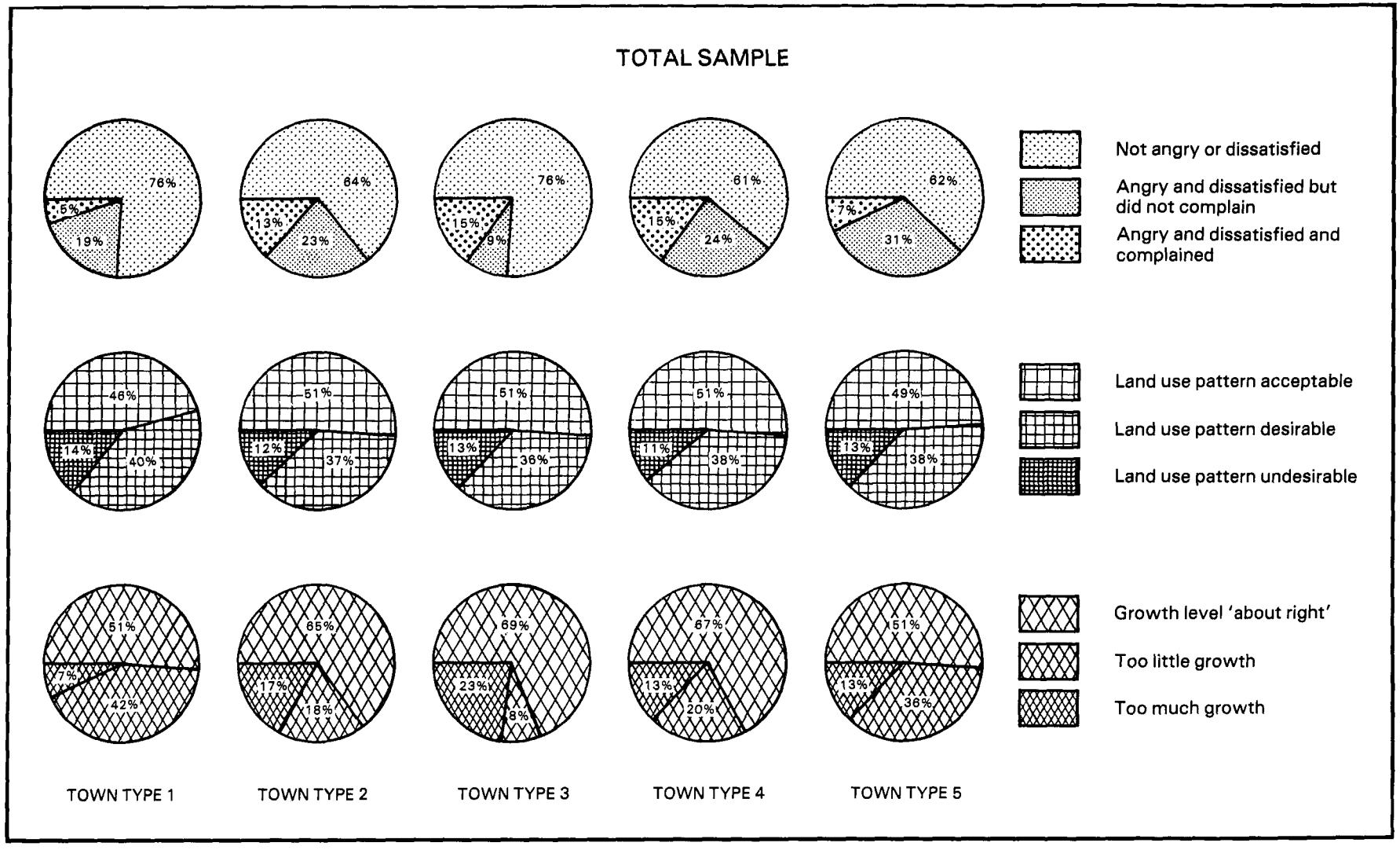


Figure 3.11: Responses by town type

exceptions to this, with Durban's *users* (but not other groups) registering the highest 'desirable land use patterns' response of all user groups.

Accepting, then, that the *general* growth and land use contexts of goups of towns help us to understand, in theoretical terms, variability in attitudes to growth and land use, it is now possible to turn to more practical and specific aspects of regional variability. We begin here by making some remarks on conditions applicable to the fourteen contiguous, and administratively convenient, planning regions (nine planning regions excluding KwaZulu Areas) identified by N.T.R.P.C. officials. Each region we classify as either 'problem free', 'moderately problem rich' or 'problem rich' according to the number of group identifying either the supply or the situation of specific land uses as problematic in some way. This allows us to identify the character of the 'planning problematic' for each region.

Port Edward to Southbroom (Region 1) — Problem Free

The only significant land use problems agreed upon by at least two groups here were the under-supply of campsites and bad placement of hotels. The only significant area of *conflict* between groups was between vacationers in particular and Whites in general, who favoured 'slow growth', 'conservation' and 'good planning' for the area, and Blacks who favoured 'development'.

Margate to Sunwich Port (Region 2) — Problem Rich

The most important problem here concerns industry. All subsamples thought industry was 'badly placed' in the region, yet three subsamples thought this same use was 'under-supplied' within the region. A second major problem in the region was flats. Seven group remarked on the shortage of this use. Other problems identified were the short supply of campsites (4 groups) the bad placement of transport facilities (4 groups) and the short supply of recreational facilities (3 groups).

Not suprisingly 'anger and dissatisfaction' levels were high in this region (39% amongst users and higher in other groups). When asked what sorts of problems made them dissatisfied, catalyst groups in particular referred to 'bureaucracy' and 'lack of services', Whites and vacationers in particular referred to 'overdevelopment' and 'environmental problems', and Blacks referred to 'lack of development and jobs'.

Mtwalume to Ocean View (Region 5) — Moderately Problem Rich

The most important problem in this area seems to be the under-supply of campsites and hotels noted by 4 and 3 groups respectively. Lack of housing and low growth rates were also noted by 3 groups, and there was some dissatisfaction over 'bureaucracy' amongst catalyst groups and 'racial issues' amongst Black users. As on the far South Coast (Region 1) most White users tend to identify 'environmental issues' as specific problem areas but some Whites and many Blacks identify 'lack of development' as a problem.

Park Rynie to Umkomaas (Region 6) — Problem Rich

The most widely agreed upon problem here was the shortage of flats (6 groups). Industry and transport facilities were also seen as being in short supply by 5 groups but, as in the case of Region 2, they were seen as being 'badly situated'. Housing was also seen as being in short supply by 3 groups, and 3 groups were concerned about the growth rate in general. As in Region 5 there was some dissatisfaction wth 'bureaucracy' and 'racial issues' amongst those affected.

Kingsburgh to Umhlanga (Region 8) — Problem Rich

This is a diverse and heavily populated area in which it is difficult to generalize about attitudes. For instance, whereas in Amanzimtoti and Umhlanga 'anger' levels amongst

users are as high as 50% and 40% respectively, in Durban and Kingsburgh user anger and dissatisfaction levels are more modest. The *nature* of specific objections differs, moreover, with Amanzimtoti and Umhlanga residents very concerned about beachfront development, and Kingsburgh users, for example, being concerned with too *little* growth. Interestingly enough, though, as was remarked earlier in this chapter, *complaint* levels have been very low amongst users in this region as a whole, despite high levels of expressed dissatisfaction.

Within the region as a whole specific land uses which have been agreed to be problematic are the short supply of campsites (6 groups), the short supply of flats (5 groups), and the short supply of houses (4 groups). Undeveloped land was considered in short supply by 5 groups, industrial land by 3 groups and recreational facilities by 2 groups. In short, this is very much a 'more' region attitudinally, with the pressures of dense settlement and urban growth receiving expression in repeated evaluations of across-the-board land use 'under-supply'.

Particular problems identified by different strata of the user subsample were: local Whites concerns with housing issues, holidaymakers and Indian concerns with racial issues (integration, discrimination, etc.), Black concerns with lack of development, and holidaymaker concerns with environmental issues. The functionally complex Durban metropolitan area, which this region comprises, is bound to be problem rich at a planning level, possibly necessitating a detailed study in its own right. But one thing is clear from our results. Despite high levels of sensivity to and concern for problems, 'anger and dissatisfaction' levels in this region are not receiving much overt expression in the form of complaints to those in authority. This is an ominous situation, perhaps indicating a need for greater levels of local government democracy.

Umhloti to Ballito (Region 9) — Problem Rich

The problematic character of this region is mainly associated with its recreational function. Public recreational facilities were seen as being in short supply by 5 groups, campsites were seen as both under-supplied and badly placed by 5 groups, and a lack of shopping and transport facilities was identified by 6 groups. Flats were regarded as 'badly placed' by 3 groups. On the whole, however, 'anger and dissatisfaction' levels amongst users were modest (27%) and not variable within the region. The main sources of dissatisfaction amongst user groups were growth and concomitant population pressure. Change catalysts tended to be dissatisfied in this area for a range of reasons, the most important being 'bureaucracy', 'overdevelopment' and 'environmental issues'.

Umhlali to Tugela Mouth (Region 10) — Moderately Problem Rich

There were numerous small problems identified in this area, but there was not much clustering of consensus amongst groups as to the overall nature of these. Variability in problem identification is also evident geographically within the region. For instance only 5% of Umhlali users report that they were angry or dissatisfied with land use and development in their area whereas the equivalent figure in Tinley Manor was a remarkable 64%. Indeed, the major conclusion to be derived from examining the results for this area is that it should not be treated as a 'planning region' at all, but attention should be given to the individual character of specific towns.

The Mtunzini Area (Region 12) — Moderately Problem Rich

The relatively rapid growth rate of this small area was identified as problematic by regulators and users, although developers here are satisfied with growth conditions. The recreational function of the area, it was widely agreed, was underdeveloped with 5 groups noting a shortage of campsites and 3 groups a shortage of hotels. Regulators

and users noted a shortage of houses here, and other groups pointed to what they saw as the bad placement and supply of industry and shops.

Richards Bay Area (Region 14) — Problem Rich

The distinctive attitudinal character of this area is, on the one hand, a general consensus about a shortage of accommodation (5 groups identified shortages of houses, flats and campsites) and, on the other hand, marked variations in other priorities amongst different groups. As regards the latter, commercial groups felt there was too little growth in general but developers felt there was too much. Developers, in turn, thought undeveloped land was in under-supply with farmers feeling there was too much of this use. Those in the municipal bureaucracy tended to feel there was too little development in general with town councillors holding to the opposite view. The latter, in particular, saw a potential contradiction between the tourism/recreational functions of the town and industrial development. Both groups, however, tended to feel that there were higher levels of dissatisfaction in the area than users usually reported. (Sixty percent of bureaucrats thought people were dissatisfied and 40% of the councillors thought the same. However, only 25% of the user group expressed anger and dissatisfaction.) Where dissatisfaction existed amongst White users it was with regard to population pressure and development, whereas Black residents were dissatisfied with the availability of recreational facilities and the lack of development and employment opportunities.

To conclude this section on the analysis of attitudes we can do no better than to draw attention to the detailed tables of responses to certain key questions at the level of individual local authorities (Tables 3.2 & 3.3). By definition, of course, these tables are directed towards the identification of specifics as opposed to generalities in responses. We have chosen to focus, however, on developer and user group appraisals here, and to divide user responses according to race. In perusing these tables the reader will unavoidably be struck not only by the *geographic diversity of responses,* but also the *social homogeneity. Across a complex tapestry of relatively unique settlements, each with its own land use character and problems, two regularities are striking: We have developers and to a lesser extent White users complaining about a range of specific issues and Blacks not; and we have developers and Blacks feeling there is 'too little growth' and Whites not. This is, in brief, the central story of Natal's coastal urbanization planning problem, at least as it is revealed in the survey responses considered so far.*

Nevertheless, like all simple scenarios it leaves many things unexplained. Some of these amount to very detailed questions about the specific problems of local areas. Questions such as these are too numerous to answer in a summary report. They can, however, be dealt with, if need be, by consulting the data appendices now at the disposal of the N.T.R.P.C.. More important, in the context of the present report, are those more general questions of a methodological and thematic nature that pertain to results presented thus far.

The main methodological problem outstanding at the conclusion of the survey research described in the present chapter pertained to Black respondents. *On the whole, throughout the interviewing process White locals and holidaymakers, and catalyst and regulator groups, were amenable and even eager to be interviewed. They expressed their opinions freely and readily. Blacks, however, responded differently. They were often both surprised and suspicious at being interviewed. Apart from the general climate of suspicion that characterizes any relationship between Blacks and 'official' institutions (such as the University or the N.T.R.P.C.), interviewers reported that Black respondents were after incredulous at the very nature of the problem being*

Table 3.2: Anger and complaint levels by race and town (n/f = no figures due to sample form)

Town (Region)	Whites		Blacks	
	Angry %	Complain %	Angry %	Complain %
Port Edward (1)	13	0	33	0
Munster (2)	22	11	0	0
Palm Beach (1)	22	11	50	0
Trafalgar (1)	13	12,5	33	0
Marina Beach (2)	0	0	0	0
Southbroom (1)	75	37,5	33	0
Ramsgate (1)	20	20	33	0
Margate (2)	13	0	0	0
Uvongo (2)	37	12,5	0	0
Shelley Beach (2)	71	28	0	0
Marburg (1)	n/f	0	33	14
Port Shepstone (3)	37	14	20	0
Umtentwini (2)	38	0	0	0
Bendigo (2)	41	23	20	0
Melville (1)	21	20	14	0
Umzumbe (1)	44	0	0	0
Hibberdene (2)	60	30	0	0
Mtwalume (1)	13	0	50	0
Elysium (1)	50	25	29	0
Ifafa Beach (1)	0	0	58	16
Ifafa Lagoon (1)	67	22	n/f	n/f
Bazley Beach (1)	25	25	0	0
Pennington (1)	33	0	0	0
Ocean View (1)	13	12,5	0	0
Park Rynie (2)	50	16	33	0
Scottburgh (2)	25	0	33	0
Clansthal (2)	50	16	40	0
Widenham (2)	40	10	0	0
Umkomaas (1)	14	14	0	0
Kingsburgh (1)	24	0	9	0
Amanzimtoti (3)	59	1,5	n/f	n/f
Umbogintwini (3)	21	0	54	15
Durban (5)	0	0	44	1
Glen Anil (3)	22	7	0	0
Umhlanga (2)	46	4	11	0
Umhloti (2)	39	15	14	0
Tongaat Beach (1)	27	9	21	0
Ballito (4)	2	4	0	0
Umhlali (2)	19	12,5	33	0
Tinley Manor (1)	100	n/f	50	9
Blythedale (2)	13	12,5	n/f	0
Zinkwazi (4)	24	12	0	0
Tugela (2)	43	43	33	0
Mtunzini (2)	20	0	n/f	n/f
Richards Bay (1)	25	0	25	9

Table 3.3: Pro-growth sentiment by race and town (n/f = no figures due to sample form)

Town (Region)	Too Little Growth	
	Whites %	Blacks %
Port Edward (1)	13	33
Munster (2)	0	n/f
Palm Beach (1)	44	0
Trafalgar (1)	25	67
Marina Beach (2)	0	n/f
Southbroom (1)	25	33
Ramsgate (1)	20	0
Margate (2)	13	0
Uvongo (2)	0	n/f
Shelley Beach (2)	14	0
Marburg (1)	n/f	73
Port Shepstone (3)	17	40
Umtentwini (2)	0	33
Bendigo (2)	14	40
Melville (1)	20	50
Umzumbe (1)	78	n/f
Hibberdene (2)	30	0
Mtwalume (1)	25	75
Elysium (1)	25	86
Ifafa Beach (1)	n/f	83
Ifafa Lagoon (1)	44	n/f
Bazley Beach (1)	50	71
Pennington (1)	0	50
Ocean View (1)	13	50
Park Rynie (2)	50	0
Scottburgh (2)	38	0
Clansthal (2)	0	60
Widenham (2)	0	100
Umkomaas (1)	57	100
Kingsburgh (1)	43	0
Amanzimtoti (3)	26	n/f
Umbogintwini (3)	14	31
Durban (5)	13	30
Glen Anil (3)	2	n/f
Umhlanga (2)	2	11
Umhloti (2)	8	29
Tongaat Beach (1)	14	33
Ballito (4)	2	15
Umhlali (2)	13	33
Tinley Manor (1)	n/f	38
Blythedale (2)	38	n/f
Zinkwazi (4)	12	33
Tugela (2)	71	67
Mtunzini (2)	20	n/f
Richards Bay (1)	0	25

considered. Blacks were ofter bewildered at being asked for opinions on problems about which they had never been consulted before. In consequence, their responses often reflected an indifference towards land use and development issues which was symptomatic of the very limited roles that they were expected to play in the planning process. We shall return to this methodological problem in greater depth in the next chapter.

In the interim it must be noted that the problem has important consequences for the interpretation of results presented in this chapter. Specifically, Black opinion tends to be under-represented and insufficiently elaborated beyond a general interest in 'jobs', 'growth' and 'discrimination'. There is very little revealed about the specifics of land use and growth priorities amongst the Black sample beyond this. This is an important limitation upon the planning relevance of the results. As far as the data presented to this point are concerned, for example, it would appear that there is a rough congruence of interest between the land use priorities of developers, industrialists and Blacks in coastal towns on the one hand, and a parallel but conflicting congruence of interest amongst the remainder of the groups that are oriented towards the coast's recreational function. Yet the former congruence of interest, in particular, is by no means made self-evident in the results discussed in the chapter to follow. Here we make use of more sophisticated research techniques to deepen our understanding of the land use and development aspirations of those Black South Africans who are assuming an increasingly significant demographic relevance along the Natal coast.

Chapter 4

Blacks Projections About Desirable Coastal Developments: Refining the Survey Analysis

Introduction: The Research Problem and Methodology

One of the most important developments in the field of urban planning practice in the past few decades has been a recognition of the need to plan with urban communities in matters of land use and development control instead of *for* them. It is partly this recognition that has led to an increase in popularity of survey research methods as an instrument of effective planning policy. Given the existing constraints of planning bodies in South Africa, it is impossible for planners to establish effective contact with all sectors of the population affected by every instance of policy formulation. Under these circumstances, as we argued in Chapter 1, the aims and objectives of democratic planning practice can be approximated through scientific surveys of the views of a representative sample of individuals affected by a specific area of policy.

Even in its most rigorous form, however, survey research is not a foolproof method for establishing the authentic wishes of all sectors of an affected population. One reason for this is that many people tend to develop attitudes with regard to existing land use and development practices (or 'what is') whereas planning is usually concerned with the realm of future alternatives (or 'what might be'). A second reason is that, for those whose life experience suggests a very weak objective relationship between the formulation of attitudes or desires on the one hand, and the actual determination of social events around them on the other, there seems to be little point in articulating and expressing their attitudes.

As indicated in the previous chapter, these problems surface in the present context through the suspicion and resigned indifference with which most Blacks approach surveys on planning problems. In the first instance, Blacks seem to have a relatively poorly developed sense of 'the possible world' of development futures than do Whites. In addition to this 'present orientation', Blacks apparently find it more difficult than Whites even to express attitudes on the present land use and development order, because attitude formation on such questions is seem to have little functional relevance for the circumstances in which they find themselves (ie. relative political powerlessness).

Some might argue, of course, that black indifference to a development process occurring mainly within a so-called 'white area' (ie. the Natal coast) is symptomatic of their tacit acceptance of the principles of separate development. Black opinion on land use and development problems within so-called 'black areas', it might be argued, would be correspondingly strong whereas white opinion on these areas is likely to be characterized by indifference. In the absence of research, however, this view would remain only an hypothesis and not a proven fact. More importantly, however, the

policy environment of South Africa is currently such that there is anything but consensus — even amongst the ruling group — on what the proper extent of 'our areas', 'their areas' and 'areas of mutual interaction and co-responsibility' are likely to be in the future. In soliciting black views on land use and development, therefore, it seemed advisable to test opinion in terms of a range of different assumptions about what the political future of this country is likely to bring in terms of degrees of integration and segregation, and in terms of degrees of power sharing and power concentration.

In this context, two concerns became of overriding methodological significance in a sub-project intended to resolve the information deficiencies already described. Firstly, it was clear that there was a need to penetrate beneath the sense of black powerlessness and indifference which bedevilled earlier results. The second, and related, concern was to gather data in which a representative sample of Blacks (ie. Coloureds, Indians and Africans) thought *projectively* in terms of 'possible worlds' of future urbanization and development.

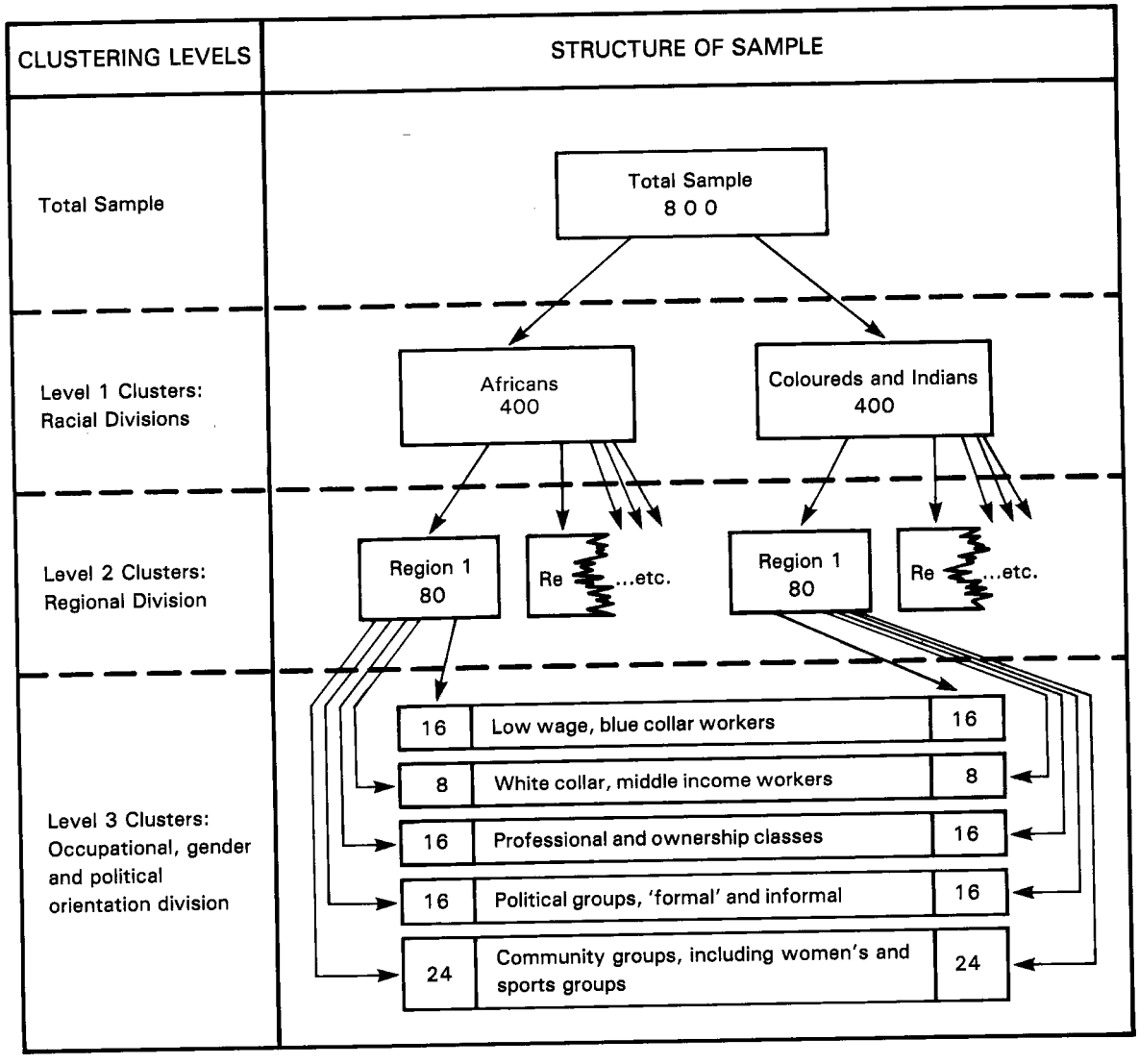


Figure 4.1: Structuring of 'focus group' survey sample for Blacks.

In this regard it was decided that the sample frame should be constructed so as to elicit the views of one hundred and sixty Blacks, randomly selected from centres in each of the five town types established in Chapter 2. Apart from clustering the sample by town context, further clustering was by race (African, Indian/Coloured), gender, political persuasion and occupational status (Fig. 4.1). As in the all-race sample discussed in the previous chapter, the overall sample size (in this case 800) was determined according to time and financial constraints and statistical requirements of representativeness.

Fundamental to the objectives of the follow-up survey of Blacks, of course, was the problem of a refined research instrument. Here experimentation proved that our objectives would be best fulfilled through the use of highest quality, trained and experienced Black interviewers in a 'focus group discussion' format of interviewing. This method had already been used with considerable success by Professor Simpson of the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business in investigating Black attitudes to different socio-economic systems. The principle is that interviewers initiate discussion and debate around specific themes amongst a group of eight respondents who are known to each other and the interviewers in an informal and relaxed atmosphere. The idea is to recreate, as closely as possible, an 'airing of views in the pub'. Whilst the analogy might suggest a lack of scientific rigour to some, quite the opposite is true. People are usually most honest and forthcoming under such circumstances, and with skillful guidance and prompting from two interviewers they formulate views amongst their friends on topics that they might not otherwise have considered. The entire proceedings are recorded on tape and then content-analyzed for systematic regularities and themes by the research team.

Specifics of the focus group methodology were refined with the assistance of the staff of the University of Natal's Centre for Applied Social Sciences and the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission. The final interview schedule, or list of topics for discussion, was as follows (assuming, say, African respondents in Durban):

1. We have heard people say: 'If Durban was a Black governed city like Umtata in Transkei, Mbabane in Swaziland, or Maputo in Mozambique, life would be better for everyone.' Do you agree with this? In what way do you think things would improve and what things would not improve?
2. Thinking of Durban as a whole now, if you could control the way land was used and development occurred in the *city as a whole*
   a) what changes would you make?
   b) what changes would you not make?
   (Explain why)
3. Think of those parts of Durban where Blacks live now. If you could control the way land was used and development occurred within these areas
   a) what things would you change?
   b) what things would you not change?
   (Explain why)
4. Some people say that Blacks have benefitted just as much as other people by the ways in which Durban has been developed. Would you say this was true? What developments have improved things for Blacks? What developments have made things worse for Blacks?

The aim of these questions was to stimulate participation by all members of the group and to invite a level of thinking that goes beyond the present institutional framework. Through the order of questions, discussion was gradually concentrated onto everyday urban realities and experiences, thus avoiding a situation where interviews simply

became a record of complaints regarding the Black situation in general in South Africa. Specifically, the first question was intended to encourage respondents to project the urban, social and political scene they would foresee under 'Black majority control'. The second sought to discover what land use and development changes Blacks identified as 'desirable' and 'undesirable' within the whole area of concern, e.g. Durban as a whole. The third question attempted to uncover attitudes towards land use and development at the more specific level of the existing Black areas themselves. Finally, a deliberately provocative question was included to incite debate on the *processes* held responsible for urban problems experienced by Blacks. The average interview length was 1 ½ hours.

The method worked very well. Interviewers indicated that interviewees participated well and spoke freely and openly. Centre for Applied Social Sciences researchers had suggested that to relieve the formality of the interview situation, interviewers should provide the group with snacks and drinks. Occasionally groups responded with scepticism to these offerings querying whether it was an attempt to 'buy off' respondents. Also occasionally groups were suspicious of the whole interview situation, wondering whether interviewers were 'police agents'. This sort of problem, however, was only encountered on those few occasions where the interviewer did not have a personal contact with the group. Invariably, therefore, interviewers preferred to organise their own groups, finding it easy to do so through their own social networks. This was encouraged by the researchers in the interest of spontaneity and honesty of response, so long as it did not violate the principles of sample design described earlier.

Analysis of Results

The transcribed discussions were content-analyzed by the researchers to identify major themes of discussion and problem identification. Comprehensive, region-by-region summaries of results have been produced and made available to N.T.R.P.C. planners. For our present purposes however, it is sufficient to extract the major themes to emerge from the two racially defined subsamples (i.e. the 400 Africans and the 400 Indians and Coloureds). Regional or town-type variations in results were much less in evidence than those between the racially defined subsamples, and the latter are consequently the more obvious basis upon which to subdivide discussion.

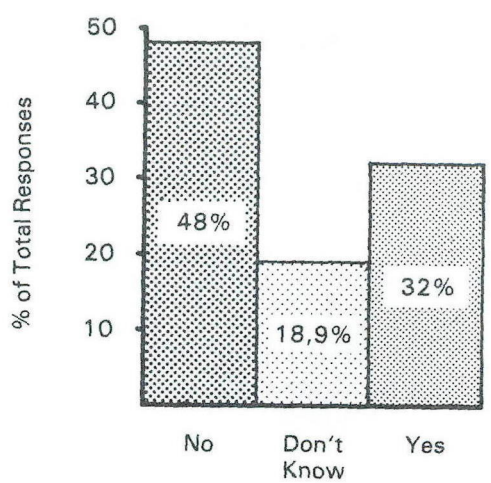


Figure 4.2: African responses to the question of whether 'life would be better for everyone' if their own town were majority governed.

1. The African subsample

Responses to the question of whether 'life would be better for everyone' under a majority government were divided. Thirty-three percent of the groups felt that things would improve (especially urban, upper occupational groups), 19% of the groups were divided on the question, and 48% of the groups broadly agreed that improvements would not occur (Figure 4.2). The reasoning of the last set of groups was largely based upon experiences drawn from towns such as those in Transkei, Ciskei and KwaZulu. In addition, approximately half of the groups which did not expect improvements cited the lack of education and command over capital amongst Blacks as the basis for their pessimism. Amongst those who foresaw improvements, the reasoning was that the elimination of discrimination and a reduction of wealth inequality would result from the diffusion of power in South Africa. At the level of urban planning practices, it was held, this would improve the quality of life of all South Africans except a tiny minority of the greedy and the bigoted.

Having spent some time projecting themselves into scenarios of 'running their own cities', respondents were able to articulate their land use, development and planning priorities more precisely. Some town-type bias emerged in responses here, with those in small peri-urban locáles placing stronger than average emphasis upon improving services and reducing discrimination, and the emphasis in Durban being more on housing problems. Nevertheless, as was remarked earlier, regional variations in responses were otherwise not strong.

The five most important areas of planning concern identified in all responses to the second and third discussion items were as follows:

Whereas jobs and industry emerge as one of the top five priorities in these results, one is struck by the wider array of land use and planning concerns of interest to Blacks in comparison with the results discussed in Chapter 3. Services in particular emerge as a priority concern, particularly when respondents are discussing 'own areas' problems. In the interest of further clarifying the meaning of these results, we consider each of the subcategories listed in Table 4.1 in turn (See also Figures 4.3 to 4.8).

Table 4.1: Major areas of planning problem identified in the African focus groups

Planning Problem	Frequency	% of Total
Services	303	36
Racial Discrimination	181	21
Industry/Jobs	147	17
Education	124	15
Housing	90	11
Total	845	100

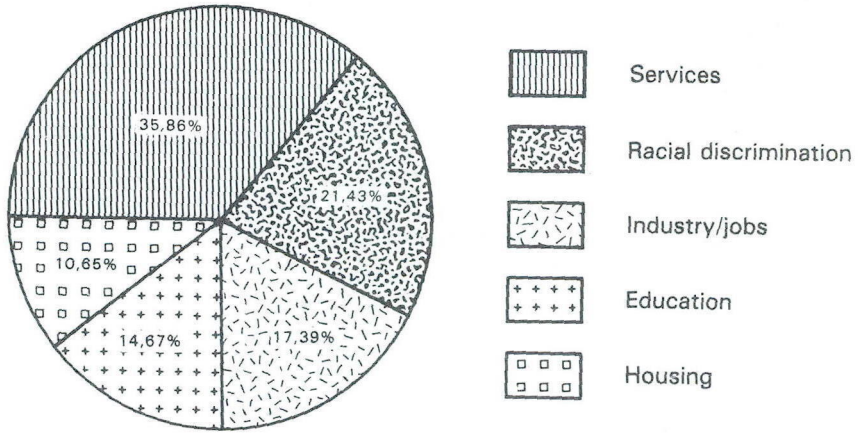


Figure 4.3: Breakdown of major planning issues identified by Africans

The biggest issue with regard to *services* is transport (34% of all services issues) (see Figure 4.4). The condition, number and even existence of roads is a popular subject of complaint amongst Africans, as is the dearth and cost of public transport facilities (eg. busses). Only six of the one hundred and four mentions of transport issues were indicative of satisfaction. The other ninety-eight mentions were of a critical nature. Second in importance in the services category were health issues (20% of all services mentions). Over half of the points made about health services referred to the non-existence, meagre number or bad location of hospitals and clinics. The remainder of health issues referred to the lack of clean drinking water, and unhygenic waste disposal and sanitation. Health and transport service problems were seen as being interrelated. The small number of existing hospitals and clinics are located far away from each other. The majority of people do not own cars and thus have to rely on public transport for access to health services, yet these services are seen as insufficient.

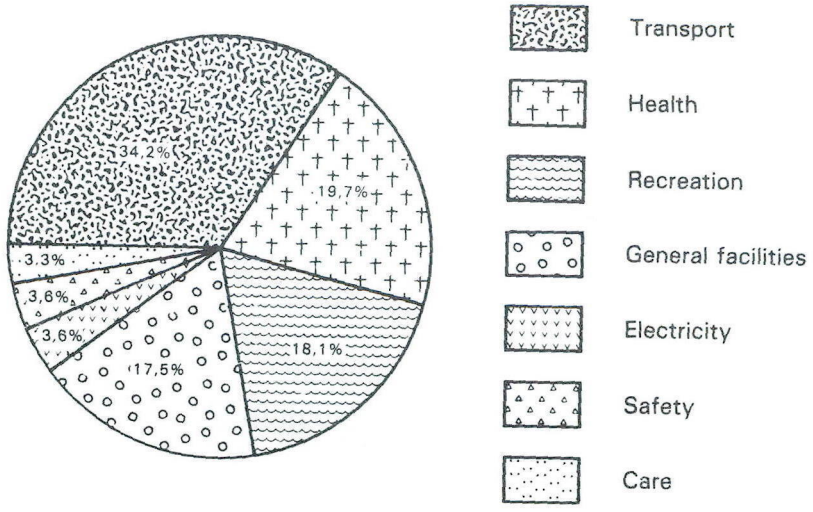


Figure 4.4: Services issues for Africans broken down into constituent elements

The third most frequently mentioned service problem was that of recreation facilities, or rather the lack of these and their poor condition (18% of all services issues). Very little interest was displayed in beaches, but sports fields, swimming pools and playgrounds were often mentioned as outdoor facilities in demand, whilst indoor facilities in demand were community halls, beer halls, cinemas and hotels and churches. The focus on recreation facilities often fell on the needs of youth who, it was felt, had nowhere to go except the township streets.

Other often-mentioned services problems included the lack of commercial facilities in black areas (21 counts), the need for electrification of townships streets and houses (11 counts), and the need for more protection against personal crime and improvements to other personal safety conditions, road and rail crossings (11 counts). Facility requirements for the aged, orphans and handicapped were mentioned ten times.

Whereas services issues were usually directed at conditions within existing black areas, the second major issue of planning relevance, *discrimination,* focussed on debate about the nature of coastal settlements as a whole (i.e. Question 2 in the schedule). Over forty percent of the items in this category amounted to *general* critiques of Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts (Figure 4.5). In only one case out of seventy-three was there specific mention of beaches, which seemed to occupy a very low priority in the minds of African respondents. More important as examples of discrimination were services such as transport, hospitals, shops, hotels and places of entertainment, with the general argument being that these illustrated that 'everything should be multiracial'.

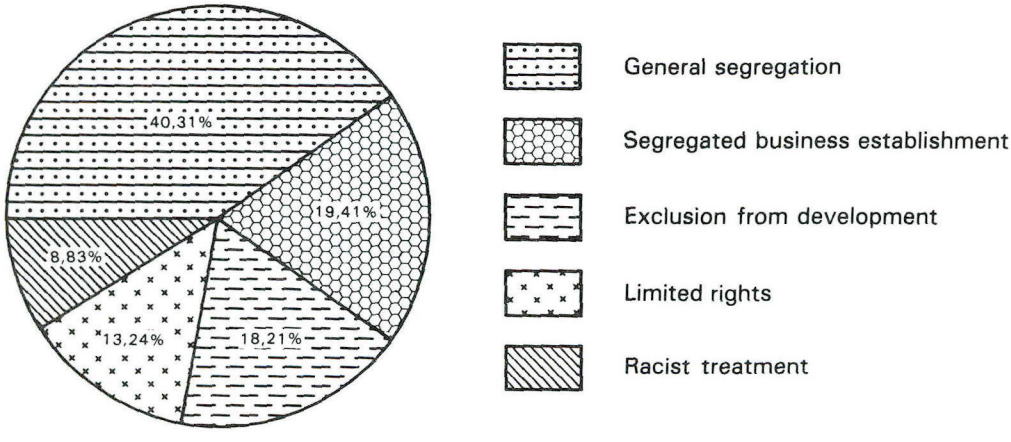


Figure 4.5: Discrimination issues for Africans broken down into constituent elements

A particular bone of contention apart from those described above was the segregation of business establishments mentioned specifically in twenty percent of the discrimination issues (or 35 times in total). In effect, these boiled down to pleas for African controlled businesses in the C.B.D.s and black townships. Some antagonism towards Indian traders was expressed here too, the argument being that they received preferential treatment.

Other major issues to emerge under the heading of discrimination were 'exclusion from development' (compared to Indians and Whites) (33 counts), pass laws and influx control (24 counts) and racist treatment from Whites (16 counts). In general,

discussion of racial discrimination was expressed in very bitter terms — much more so than in any other area of planning concern.

The third most often mentioned issue of planning concern was that pertaining to *industry and jobs.* Almost one half of these (44%) referred to employment conditions, in particular low wages (Figure 4.6). Roughly a third of the items (32%) referred directly to the lack of development and the need to create jobs, and the balance (24%) referred both to the lack of jobs and obstacles to obtaining them (permits, pass laws, etc.). There was very little discussion of the location of industry and employment opportunities.

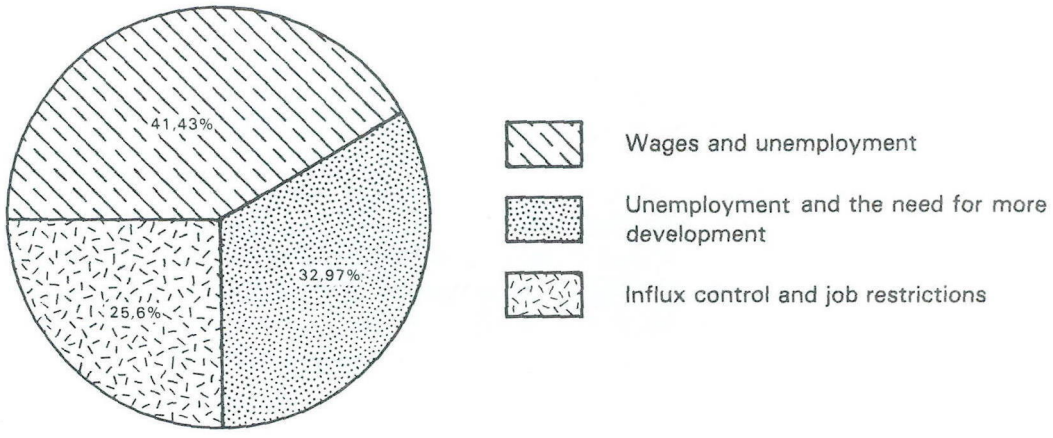


Figure 4.6: Jobs and industry issues for Africans broken down into constituent elements

Educational issues were fourth in frequency of mention. The two main issues here were the general quality of black educational services (44% of items) and dissatisfaction with the allocation of physical buildings (too few schools) (37%) (Figure 4.7). Access to schools was not seen as a very important problem in comparison with the general quality and quantity of the service.

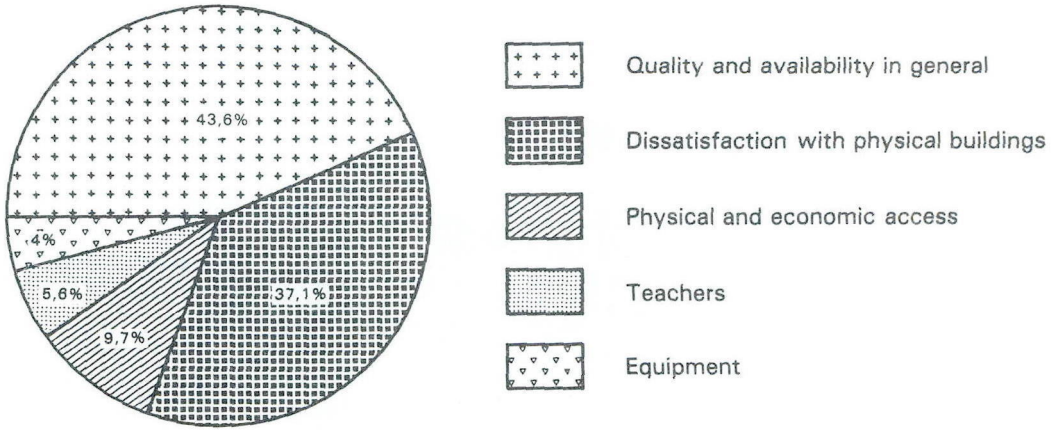


Figure 4.7: Education issues for Africans broken down into constituent elements

The *housing issues* were very similar to those raised with respect to education. Essentially they were about problems of resource allocation in South African society. The main observations were that there were too few houses (mentioned 33 times), and that those available were too small and of poor quality (mentioned 51 times) (Figure 4.8). The lack of hostel dwellings was also mentioned (11 times). As in the case of services and education, housing issues were implicity processed by respondents as an 'own affair', as well as issues which focus problems of resource distribution in society at large. This, in turn, raises the question of African respondent's interpretations of the *processes* responsible for the planning problems that affected them (ie. responses to Question 4).

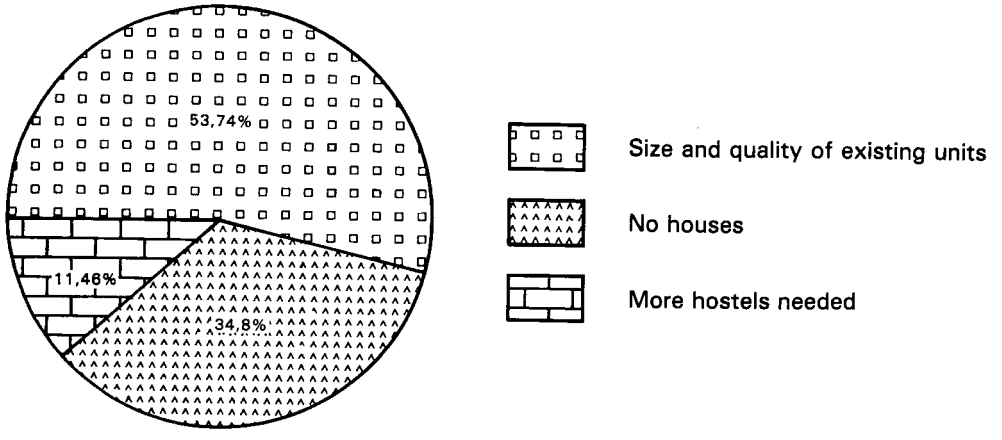


Figure 4.8: Housing issues for Africans broken down into constituent elements

African groups found the final question in part amusing and in part annoying. The amusement stemmed from the suggestion that they might have been adequately served by the processes of urban development and planning along the coast in comparison to other groups. This suggestion was dismissed by all except one group. Annoyance became evident as they probed the reasons for their perceived disadvantages. As lay-sociologists they seemed to be more Weberians than Marxists, emphasizing their exclusion from 'market capacity' via discrimination in the educational sphere in particular as the source of their deprived condition. The concept of *apartheid* was seen to lie at the centre of their environmental problem — a term which they used to describe the entire range of state structures from 'homeland governments' to the central government.

2. The Indian and Coloured subsample

In contrast to the African subsample, Indian and Coloured responses were slightly more regionally specific. This being the case the pattern of responses for the subsample as a whole is considered first, followed by an examination of the distinctive nature of responses applicable in certain areas.

In response to the opening question projecting a majority governed urban system, the vast majority of Indian and Coloured groups (89%) reached a consensus that 'life

would be better for everyone' under such circumstances. The remaining 11% of the groups disagreed, all the these being Coloured groups. This is, of course, a much higher level of consensus on the question of one-man-one-vote urban government than was evident amongst the African sample. It will be recalled, however, that it was largely upper occupational status blacks that held that majority control would be desirable. Bearing in mind the higher overall occupational status of Indians in comparison to other groups, it would seem that support for majority control amongst Blacks in general is function of the interaction of race and class.

The distribution of major planning problems identified by Indians and Coloureds had a number of similarities with the African group. Poor services, housing shortages, inferior educational facilities and discrimination, for example, were all seen as major categories of problems to be improved in terms of Questions 2 and 3. However, there were also important differences in comparison with African priorities. Indeed, the character of debate in the Indian and Coloured subsamples was sufficiently different and more complex to merit a separate set of categories for the enumeration of priorities during content analysis. These categories, and the levels to which items within each were raised in debate, are listed in Table 4.2. Figures 4.9 to 4.16 provide breakdowns of the particular attributes of each issue identified in Table 4.2, and the relative importance of each attribute.

Table 4.2: Planning priorities of Indian and Coloureds

Planning Problem	Indian		Coloured	
	Freq. Count	% of Total	Freq. Count	% of Total
Facilities	87	22	96	24
Employment	31	8	4	1
Education	38	10	30	8
Housing	56	14	67	17
Land	25	6	8	2
Discrimination	61	16	49	13
Services	55	14	75	20
Planning	39	10	53	14
Total	392	100	382	99

It will be noted from this that a distinction is made between 'services' and 'facilities' (instead of the single category of services used for the African subsample), and it will be observed that two further categories ('land' and 'planning') have been added.

Services are defined here as those so-called 'hard' components of the built environment and particularly residential areas that are supplied by local and regional government (eg. roads and electricity). Facilities are defined as those so-called 'soft' features of urban environmental quality, largely oriented towards recreation, which are supplied by a mix of private and agencies. Both of these are clearly uppermost in the minds of Coloureds and Indians when they envisage majority control of urban government, and in this there is much in common with the African subsample. However, in contrast to Africans, Indians and Coloureds place more emphasis upon facilities — sufficiently so for them to discuss them as a different concept. The recreational component is particularly important here, with beach integration not being an insignificant issue (mentioned 34 times).

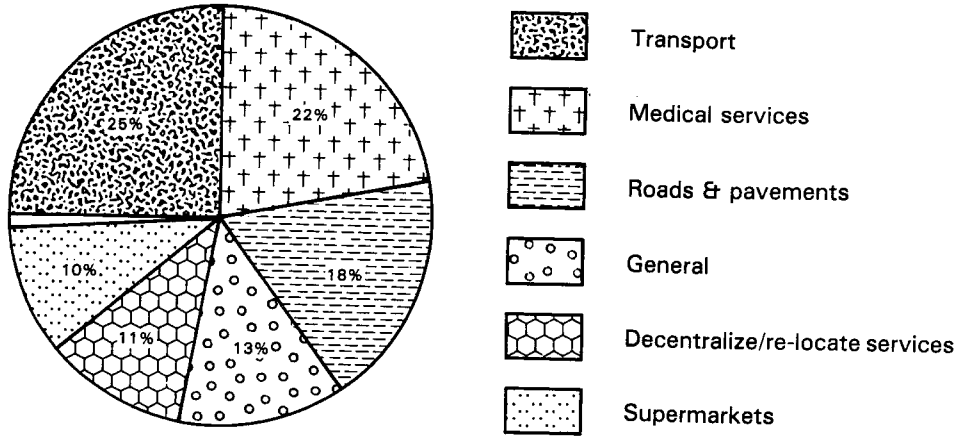


Figure 4.9: Breakdown of major facilities issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

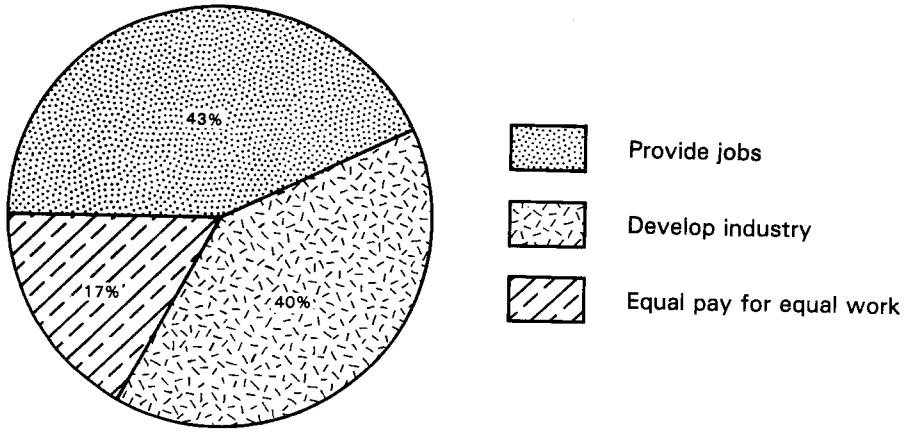


Figure 4.10: Breakdown of major employment issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

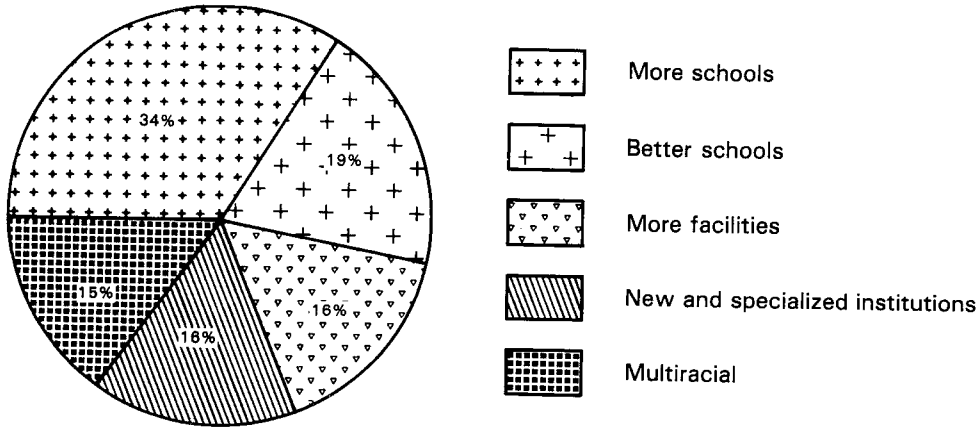


Figure 4.11: Breakdown of major educational issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

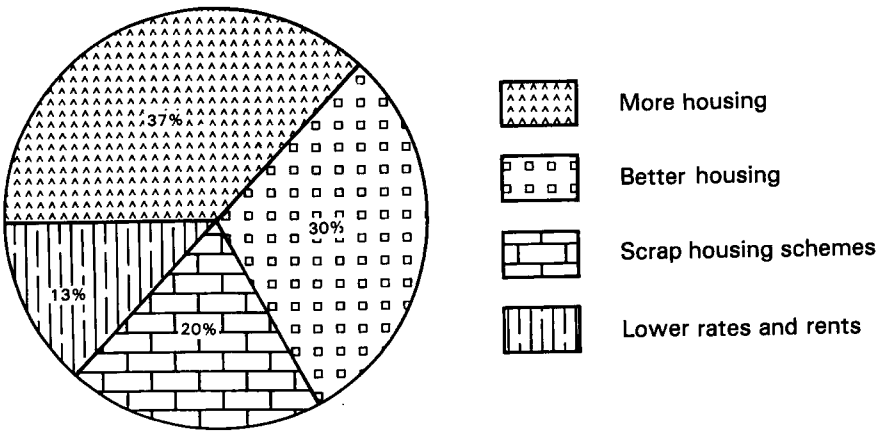


Figure 4.12: Breakdown of major housing issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

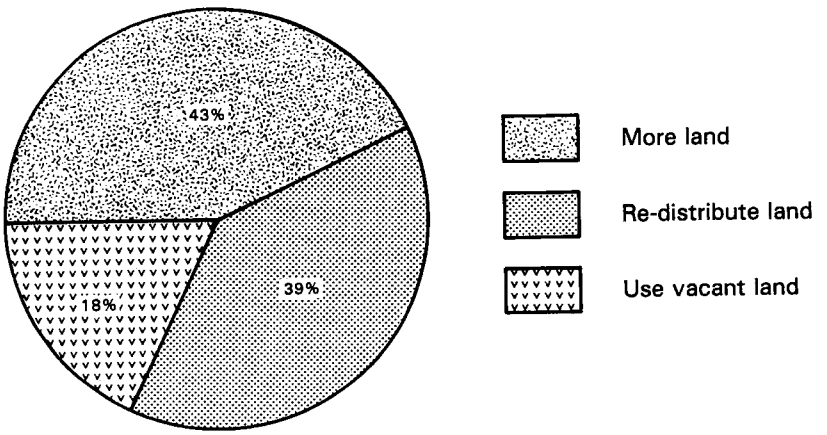


Figure 4.13: Breakdown of major land issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

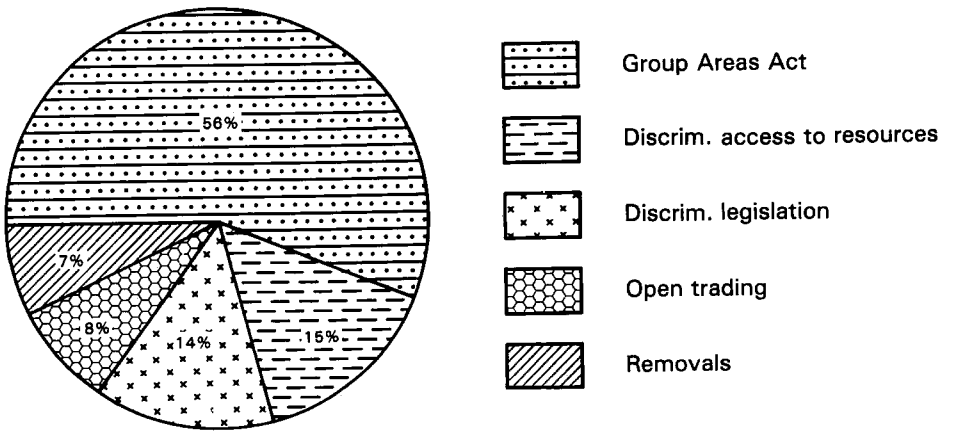


Figure 4.14: Breakdown of major discrimination issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

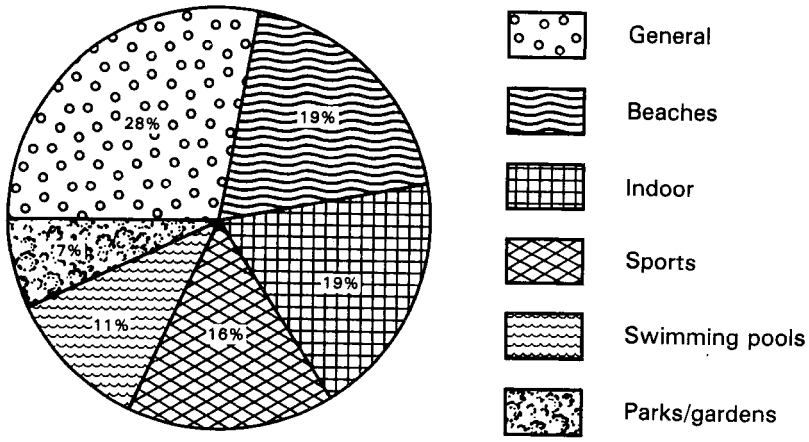


Figure 4.15: Breakdown of major services issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

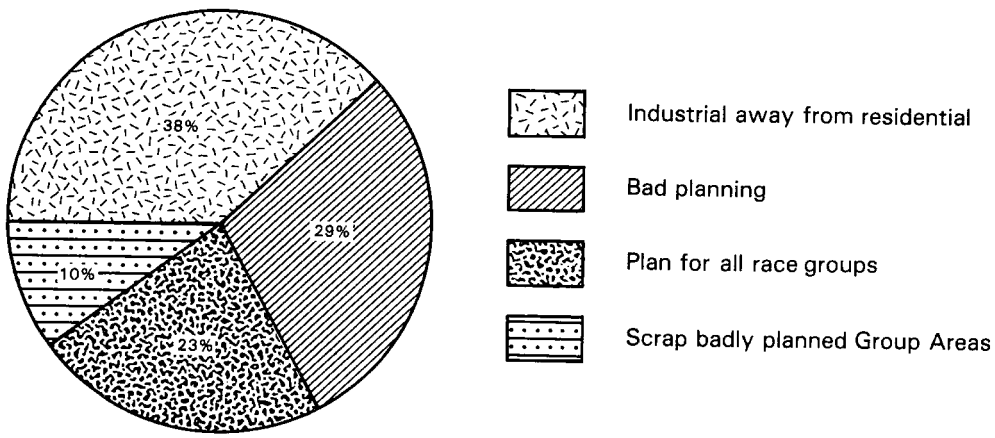


Figure 4.16: Breakdown of major planning issues identified by Coloureds and Indians

Other popular issues were concerns for access to swimming pools, sports facilities, and the like, amounting to a general critique of the Seperate Amenities Act (Figure 4.15).

The Group Areas Act also came in for very heavy fire, being mentioned critically 57 times. The idea was that this Act and the Separate Amenities Act prevented 'total integration' of facilities, whereas these facilities were in high demand.

Educational services emerged as an important priority, but not as clearly as in the African case. Similarly, the general problem of 'racial discrimination' was mentioned often, but not as frequently as amongst Africans. Perhaps this is because Indians and Coloureds conflate concepts such as Group Areas with access amenities more than Africans do. Problems of jobs and industry were mentioned but not nearly as often as amongst the Africans. Two problems which did emerge as distinct ones in Indian and Coloured discussions, but not in African ones, were those of land shortages and 'bad planning'.

In many respects, of course, the distinctive character of Indian and Coloured responses in comparison with those of Africans are a reflection of their different

objective circumstances. Indians and Coloureds are generally more affluent than Africans and have both more time and money for recreational pursuits. Also, they have not been quite so peripheralized, geographically, to remote locations where the use of central facilities becomes of little practical relevance. In addition, Indian and Coloured educational services are better than those provided for Africans. Partly as a consequence of this, their access to employment prospects are so much better. It is in this context that the lower emphasis upon educational and job issues amongst Indians and Coloureds becomes understandable. On the other hand, having had the unique experience of being constrained by the Group Areas Act to very limited and compressed geographical districts without a 'homeland hinterland', the question of land supply has been of special relevance to Coloureds and Indians (cf. Daries and McCarthy, 1984; Maasdorp and Pillay, 1977). Likewise, the planning practices of the old Department of Community Development and the L.A.C. System have been unique and apparently disappointing experiences for Indians and Coloureds.

The major regional deviations from the general pattern of responses described above were as follows. In the Tongaat area, problems of employment and education received markedly higher emphasis in comparison to the region as a whole (twice and four times as high respectively). Services issues in this area, on the other hand, were a much lower priority than average. Indian and Coloured groups in Durban corresponded very closely to the norm in terms of priorities, although a concern with facilities was a below average priority for Durban Indians (but not Coloureds). In Isipingo, planning issues emerged as of particular importance. There was widespread feeling that the area was badly planned, blame for this often being layed at the door of the Council. All other areas tended towards the norm except that in smaller and more remote places discrimination issues were mentioned more frequently.

Summary of Results

The responses as a whole go a long way towards fleshing out our understanding of land use and development priorities along Natal's coast. Rather than glibly asserting a simple interest in 'growth and development' amongst Blacks, as we might have been tempted to do on the basis of results presented in the previous Chapter, the specific character of this interest has now been clarified. *In simple terms, African preoccupations are largely with redistributive issues aimed at improving their basic standard of living. They do not, at this stage, appear to be especially interested in integrating with Whites or partaking of the recreational functions of the coast. Rather, their planning aspiration focus upon the provision of basic services, the creation of jobs and the improvement of educational facilities. Indians and Coloureds, on the other hand, whilst not unconcerned with redistribution, appear to be more interested in the relaxation of a host of discriminatory measures that limit their participation within, and appreciation of, an urban fabric which they feel should be unconditionally shared with Whites.* Many planners might feel that these issues are not the proper substance of urban and regional planning, but they are rather those of politics. As will be argued in the Chapter to follow, however, now more than ever in South Africa, planners can ill-afford to be technicians in a narrow sense. In a changing policy environment they need to take heed of how people *themselves* define issues pertaining to 'the quality of the environment'.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Policy Considerations

Introduction

The ultimate objective of the Coastal Urbanization Research Project has been that of working towards the formulation of a policy for the management of coastal urbanization. It was argued in Chapter 1, and at several other points in the report, that the acquisition of reliable information on the land use and environmental priorities of different interest groups could be of great assistance in this process of policy formulation. The operative term here, however is *assistance.* In what specific ways, it might be asked, is it possible to translate the valuable information on growth histories and attitudes reported here into the basis for a planning policy?

Posing this question immediately introduces complex questions of the theory and practice of planning. We can begin with questions of theory. In a previous publication on land use and planning, co-authored by the principal researcher, the following points were made by way of introduction to the domain of planning theory:

> 'Planning theorists traditionally distinguish between three major types of planning theory:
>
> 1. Theory *in* planning
> 2. Theory *of* planning, and
> 3. Theory *for* planning.
>
> Theory *in* planning deals with the substantive aspects of the environment which planning is to affect. In other words theory *in* addresses the objects of planning action. Planning intervention in declining central city neighbourhoods, for example, is usually based on theories about the nature of these central areas and the processes giving rise to blight in much the same way as a mechanic's adjustment to a car's engine are based on a theory of the way the engine works ....
>
> Theory *of* planning on the other hand focusses on the procedures, operations, methods and organization of planning. Theory *of* considers questions such as why planners should take big or small steps in pursuing their objectives; how far into the future they can or should plan, how fixed their goals are or should be; how societal goals are to be specified and translated into action and so on. By way of contrast to theory *in,* much theory *of* has been essentially aspatial and largely prescriptive rather than explanatory ....
>
> Theory *for* planning deals with the context within which planning takes place and tries to explain why, in a particular milieu, planning is as it is.

> Furthermore theory *for* often takes a prescriptive form spelling out what planning should in fact be, given its context. Much of theory *for,* then, has its roots in political economy and moral philosophy. It is concerned with such issues as the relation between the organization of production and consumption activities in particular societies and the nature of planning; the impact of certain social institutions such as private property rights (or, for that matter, *apartheid*) on the way planning is conducted and the social legitimacy and justice of planning practice'
> (McCarthy and Smit, 1984).

We went on to argue that it was the last of these types of theory — theory *for* planning — that was especially deserving of attention amongst the South African planning fraternity. We hoped thereby to convince planners to eschew their traditional preoccupation with planning procedures and techniques and to focus instead upon planning *objectives.* This invocation had a great deal to do with our perception that planning was perhaps overly concerned with questions of economic efficiency and social consensus, and was perhaps insufficiently concerned with problems of inequality and social conflict. This is a position which is still endorsed by the author, and probably agreed to by a majority of N.T.R.P.C. officials.

Nevertheless, theory *for* planning practice is not simply concerned with the problems of priorities. It is, as the passage above suggests, also concerned with 'the *context* in which planning takes place'. It is this context, of course, which often defines the extent to which priorities can *actually* be realized. Certainly, 'moral invocation' alone cannot change this context. The political process will.

At the present time in South Africa, of course, the political context in which planning takes place *is* changing, although it is not very clear how (cf. Cobbett *et al,* 1985). Indeed, as the entire system of local, regional and national government undergoes a process of restructuring, planners find themselves less certain than ever before of their tasks. Planning, after all, is about the use of certain state structures to achieve improvements in people's environmental condition *in the future.* And if the state structures, that might provide the vehicle for effecting such improvements in the future, are themselves in doubt, the ability to formulate planning policies is obviously made more difficult. It is against this background, therefore, that we can turn to a consideration of major conclusions and policy recommendations.

Key Policy Problems : Ideal and Reality

The research reported in previous Chapters can be taken to suggest a very wide range of specifics, here, however (eg. should there be more/less flats in Amanzimtoti, etc.) and more concerned with principles applicable at a *regional* scale. *In retrospect, four important areas of practical planning problems emerged out of our empirical research:*

1. *People feel more or less aggrieved about land use and development conditions along the coast. However, information systems available to planners about such grievances are biased. This is partly because of variable levels of official objection about land use and growth emerging from different interest groups.*
2. *Different types of land use priority are identified by different groups and in certain instances these are conflicting.*
3. *Certain regions and/or town-types are relatively 'problem rich' or 'problem free', and there are distinctive characteristics to the planning problems of different regions.*
4. *Amongst the Black population of the Coast planning problems tend to boil down to a concern for wealth distribution and a reduction, if not elimination, of racial*

discrimination and segregation. Whites do not explicitly oppose these interests but tend to be pre-occupied with their own, largely leisure-oriented priorities with respect to the coast.

In addition to these four, there were certain practical planning problems identified by the N.T.R.P.C. at the inception of the Coastal Urbanization Reasearch Project that were not strongly identified by respondents in our very generous samples. Here the priority of environmental conservation stands out as a key issue. The fact that this does not emerge as an important priority amongst the samples is arguably a fact which defines it as a fifth practical planning priority for the future. Thus we may write:

5. *To the extent that conservation is a real planning issue for the coast, it is an issue which, at this stage, is recognized by a surprisingly small group.*

These five problems, in a nutshell, would logically be best dealt with in a Coastal Planning Policy which emphasized four things: democratization, redistribution, education and the segregation of incompatible land uses (but not people). Planning problems 1 and 3 — those of biased information systems and the local specificity of planning problems — would, for example, be best dealt with by decentralizing and democratizing planning practices, with assistance from more centralized planning research and policy organizations. Planning problem 4, on the other hand, (that of the need for desegregation and wealth redistribution consistent with the leisure-oriented demands on the coast) would be logically best dealt with in a planning system which sought to achieve a redistribution of community wealth and the democratization of planning and local government structures. Planning problem 5, the problem of environmental conservation, would most obviously be resolved through education programmes aimed at enhancing environmental awareness; whereas planning problem 2 — the existence of preferences for different and sometimes conflicting development processes — would be logically best resolved through the time honoured practice of separating incompatible land uses (for example, through zoning). These proposed planning principles will be returned to, and amplified upon, in subsequent sections of this chapter.

It must be stressed at this stage, however, that the above-mentioned planning principles suggest themselves logically from our analysis of actual urban processes and people's responses to these. As such they are mainly the product of so-called theory *in* planning, and might be regarded by many practicing planners as 'idealist' in nature. Planners, it will be pointed out, must execute their task in specific institutional contexts. Before we can discuss procedural issues (theories *of* planning), it will be argued, we need to discuss the institutional context within which such procedures may be executed.

This brings us again to the theory *for* planning. We have already remarked on the shadowy nature of the policy and institutional environment for planning in South Africa at the present time. However, from discussions with senior government officials, academics and certain parliamentarians, it would appear that *at least six features of current central government policy will have a bearing upon the context for the planning of Natal's coast.*

1. *Coastal zones in general and beaches in particular may be designated as areas of national environmental interest (general affairs) and all significant developments in these areas may be required to submit Environmental Impact Assessments prior to planning permission being granted.*
2. *The Natal coast may be affected by the new national industrial decentralization programme, first unveiled at the Good Hope Conference of 1982. In terms of this programme an industrial growth point is envisaged 'somewhere on the Natal South Coast'.*

3. *It seems likely that the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts will be amended to accomodate criticisms emanating from the Houses of Representatives and Delegates and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the basic principles of Group Areas are likely to be retained, albeit in a modified form, through the creation of a system of local authorities whose boundaries will correspond closely to those of the existing Group Areas.*
4. *African urban settlements along the Natal Coast are likely to be managed, at the local level, through an upgraded Community Council system. The question of the proposed relationship of these entities to National level government structures and the KwaZulu Government, however, remains the subject of contention and speculation, and current political negotiation.*
5. *The provision and co-ordination of 'hard' services (water, electricity, roads, etc.), previously the preserve of the largest local authority in a region, is now to be managed at the regional level itself by proposed Reginal Services Councils. The administrative structure of these Councils is likely to be such that voting powers, and control, will be determined according to the service consumption levels of participating local authorities. A substantial portion of the revenue for the provision of services is likely to derive from a tax on employers.*
6. *Physical planning and development control practices are being encouraged to privatize and decentralize to the local level throughout South Africa. However, it would appear that policy is to be determined more centrally in interaction between departments such as those of Constitutional Development and Planning, the Directorship of Local Government and Planning, and the Ministry of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture.*

These 'top down' developments in governmental organization and political policy did not occur in total issolation from 'bottom up' forces, of course, and it would be well to recognize that in the future there is likely to be some modification of them in response to similar 'bottom up' pressures. It is noteworthy, however, that insofar as these developments represent a departure from previously established structures and policies, such deviations are more obviously of *degree* than of kind. Specifically, government seems to have been impelled into its latest adaptation of the institutional environment for planning in part by demographic, environmental and geographical imperatives (features 1 and 5 above); in part by its new political liason with certain sections of the Coloured and Indian groups (feature 3 above); in part by its new working relationship with the private sector (feature 6 above); and finally, and possibly most significantly, by its concern at the rising tide of black urbanization, unemployment and extra parliamentary political mobilization (features 2 and 4 above).

Having clarified something of the likely shifts in the institutional context *for* planning that will affect the execution of planning tasks with respect to the coast, it becomes important to reflect on the planning tasks and procedures (theory *of* planning) that will become necessary in such a context. Here we subdivide discussion into planning of production, planning of consumption and planning for natural resources, according to the conceptual scheme for planning described in Chapter 1.

1. Planning of production

Production is defined here, as in Chapter 1, as the combination of labour, capital and natural resources giving rise to goods of social value. At present on the Natal Coast there is a complex of production activities of a primary (eg. sugar farming), secondary (eg. industry) and tertiary (eg. services) nature. These activities can secure profits for the owners of capital and wages to those who command labour power. *The results of*

this study have indicated that insofar as problems are identified by respondents with the operation of production processes along the coast, these consist of 'too much bureaucracy' in the case of owners of capital, and 'too few jobs and too low wages' in the case of workers.

These observations should be compared to the observations made in parallel reports submitted to the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission by Nattrass (1984) and Nattrass and Glass (1985). Following Natrass (1984) and Glass (1983), *the creation of employment opportunities in South Africa can be partly assisted (33% of new job creation?) by the stimulation of the small business sector, much of which operates in an informal manner outside of the strictures of government controls.* However, other recent research has cautioned that the informal sector, at present, tends to be very much a dependent, redistributive appendage to the black township economy (Wellings and Sutcliffe, 1984). This township economy, in turn, depends heavily upon wages from formal sector commerce and industry located in the white-dominated core municipal areas. *If informal sector activity therefore is to be wealth-creating and not merely job-creating for Blacks, it will need to tap markets beyond the black township borders, and possibly even enter into export markets. One way in which this could be achieved is to orientate the informal sector towards the coastal recreation industry in a manner that is enhancing to the quality of the recreational environment.* There are a few instances of such practices already in existence along the coast (for example, at Umgababa). Much more could be done by town and regional planners, however, to stimulate and enhance the growth of such a sector, which is rich both in cultural expression and in potential for economic growth. In effect, this would require intervention aimed at restructuring the basic urbanization and growth relationships of the coast, as identified in Figure 2.2 of Chapter 2. The 'missing link' in that diagram, it will be recalled, was a strong connection between the employment and recreational functions of the coast.

In many respects, however, the informal sector does not need to be planned for. It needs rather to be *not 'planned against'*. The planning schemes of many local authorities are, at present, too strict and inflexible in character to permit the kind of developments that informal markets and production centres tend to thrive in (cf. Dewar, 1981). At the very least the policing of current planning schemes and building regulations needs to be conducted in a much more flexible manner than has hitherto been the case. Such policing should respond, perhaps, *only* to the expression of legitimate grievances by neighbours against any noxious external effects of informal sector activities, and without reference to the race of the parties involved. In order for this to be achieved, however, both the Group Areas Acts and the Separate Amenities Acts would need to be modified (at the very least) and local control over the policing of planning schemes would need to be curtailed. Both of these eventualities seem possible in terms of the emerging institutional context for planning. However, in many instances *a complete revision of local planning schemes and licensing laws will be required to create a favourable environment for the informal sector.*

It is likely, however, that the creation of *formal* sector job opportunities (in larger private and public corporations) will remain the mainstay of job creation possibilities in the forseeable future. It is clear that many Whites (and also some Coloureds and Indians) object to the intrusion of such enterprises into the leisure-oriented environments which they have appropriated for themselves along the Natal Coast. Nevertheless, the urban territories historically assigned for accupation and now, apparently, self administration, by Africans, Coloureds and Indians are notoriously undersupplied with developed industrial and commercial land; so much so, in fact, that they lack the property tax (rates) bases necessary for the upgrading of facilities which

are so obviously in demand. The solution therefore, seems simple. *Government should encourage, as strongly as possible, the growth of the formal sector industrial and commercial zones in Coloured, Indian and especially in African administered areas. Given the persistence of economies of scale and agglomeration in production worldwide, it is likely that such initiatives would meet with greatest success in the existing metropolitan areas* (in the case of the Natal coast, the greater Durban area). This would be consistent with international trends towards the *sub*urbanization and *ex*urbanization of industry (cf. Butler-Adam, *et al*, 1983, pp 9 — 14). Specifically, it is proposed here that deconcentration points in the wider Durban metropolitan area — such as Tongaat/Verulam — have more potential for economic growth than sub-regional growth points such as Richards Bay. As research into industrial decentralization has proven time and again, it is at such *deconcentration* points on the perimeter of existing metropolitan areas that the geographical dispersion of industry is most successful (cf. Wellings and Black, 1985). Major transportation costs and travel time savings are also effected by such policies, as the bulk of the potential industrial labour force is located in exurban areas surrounding the metropolitan areas. In a period of rapidly escalating transport costs that both imposes an increasing fiscal drain on the state and absorbs increasing shares of worker's wages (South Africa, 1985) such an industrial location strategy seems by far the most reasonable.

However, recognizing that the central government remains committed to regional industrial *decentralization* policies, *it seems likely that at least two other sub-regional growth points will emerge as formal sector industrial growth point centres: the Port Shepstone area and Richards Bay.* Both of these have the potential to become 'mini-Durbans' in a matter of decades, particularly the former. If the industrial and commercial growth of these centres is channelled away from the coastline and incorporated into the local authorities administered by Africans, Indians and Coloureds our results indicate that such development would be widely regarded as socially beneficial.

Also of significance to the problem of employment creation is the tourist sector. In previous chapters we perhaps drew too sharp a distinction between the material interests of (predominantly White) leisure seekers and (predominantly Black) work seekers with regard to the development of the Natal Coast. Although it sometimes brings South Africa's system of racial inequality into uncomfortably close focus, *the creation of work opportunities for Natal/KwaZulu Blacks through the promotion of the (mainly White, Coloured and Indian oriented) tourist industry in smaller Natal Coastal towns must be an attractive option for policy makers. According to an authoritative work by de Kadt (1979) tourism is notably labour-intensive and, therefore, peculiarly well suited to areas which are both well-endowed scenically and characterized by high levels of unemployment. Much of the Natal coast, of course, conforms to these conditions, and it is arguably the case that very little growth ought to be encouraged in such places unless it is tourist-trade in orientation.* This recommendation is complimentary to the recommendations made with regard to the stimulation of informal sector activities oriented towards tourism in the paragraphs preceding. As de Kadt (1979) observes, it is not only jobs created through formal sector tourist facilities (hotels, restaurants, etc) that make the tourist industry an attractive option in a third world context. A wide range of ancilliary craft industries and retail outlets can be made to benefit substantially from tourism if planners make the appropriate provisions for their development.

Given that the views of both holiday makers and tourist trade management have been revealed to be strongly anti-growth in character, but given also the desire for jobs amongst blacks and the accompanying fact that traditional crafts industries and retail

outlets are generally seen as being complimentary to recreational environments rather than detracting from them (de Kadt, 1979), it follows that it would be advisable to identify a large number of small coastal towns in which the tourist sector is the *only* sigificant form of production encouraged. Towards the end of this chapter a tentative list of such towns along the Natal Coast will be identified.

2. Planning of consumption

The last mentioned observations on managing production processes along the Natal coast provide a suitable entry point for the discussion of planning for consumption. The results of the present study indicate that the consumptive priorities of the occupants of Natal's coast vary widely. *Crudely put, the Maslowian 'higher needs' of more affluent White residents determine that they are concerned with finessing 'leisure class' consumption styles along the coast; the more basic needs of economically disadvantaged Africans determine a focus on upgrading absolute consumption levels; and Coloureds and Indians occupy a somewhat intermediate position, trying to gain entry into the leisure class consumption style.*

It is difficult to know the extent to which modification of the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts, and the upgraded Community Councils and Regional Services Councils will allow an accommodation of these diverse interests. This poses major problems for planners. From a land use planning point of view, for example, forecasting the demand for, say, recreational facilities and their attendant services (restaurants etc.) in particular areas, is crucially dependent upon what happens to the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts. Likewise, aggregate 'real demand' for similar facilities in African townships (their 'need' is undisputed) will be dependent upon an understanding of the likely funds available for such purposes. This, in turn, is dependent upon developments affecting the constitution and funding of Community Councils and Regional Services Councils.

More fundamentally still, of course, the entire question of aggregate demand for the full range of land use services along the Natal coast will depend upon tendencies within national and international capital markets. The level of income available nationally for disposal on coastal second homes or seasonal hotel visits, for example, will depend upon such considerations. Planning at the regional or local level for specific land use allocations, therefore, should take account of anticipated demand levels for various land use services, and here it is important to corroborate the results of the present research report with those deriving from research into economic futures for South Africa.

In the past the planning profession has often been forced to adopt the position that agencies of supply (developers, etc.) are the best judges of anticipated demand, but this poses major problems, even from the point of view of the development industry itself. A previous research report submitted to the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission put the problem in the following terms:

> 'It might be argued that developers will be particularly well informed on demand conditions in general since their ability to gain financially in the development process depends substantially upon the accuracy of their market knowledge. The point should be made, however, that since developers are motivated fundamentally by maximising the expected profits of land use change; and since expected profits at particular points in time depend not simply upon a knowledge of demand considerations but also on the price of capital and a range of risk factors, it follows that developer decisions to purchase land, sell land, or develop the same will depend not only on a knowledge of demand forces but also on responses to the costs of capital, risks to investment, and a range of other costs of construction

considerations.

> Thus, for example, developers may bombard planners with subdivision applications when conditions in the capital market or other costs of construction factors are optimal, even though the demand for housing at that point in time may be modest. Planners, in turn, may interpret this pressure as an indication of an increase in demand for housing (reflected through the agents of supply) and grant the appropriate planning permission. The result is that a surfeit of land comes onto the market relative to existing demand; a process that can only end when prices begin to fall, profits drop and/or when conditions in the capital market change. The problem can then be compounded if developers withhold land from development in the hope of recapturing profits when demand pressure once again causes prices to rise, for this is when the costly process of leap frog development or 'sprawl' is likely to occur.
>
> The conclusion, in short, is that planners cannot expect to effectively regulate the gyrations of the private development industry by relying upon signals from the supply side of the market alone. This strategy is simply reactive and results in the application of control measures only *after* the problem of over/undersupply has arisen' (Davies and McCarthy, 1974, pp 70 — 71).

As the above-mentioned report observed, the financial collapse of major development companies in the 1970's was at least partly a consequence of the imbalance in information sources being made available to planners, and it is with regret that we note in this report a continued tendency towards such unbalanced information flows. This is by no means the fault of individual planners themselves, but rather an artefact of particular institutional contexts and planning procedures created at the provincial and national levels. The recent report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Establishment of Townships and Related Matters (the Venter Commission), in the author's view, does little to alleviate this unsatisfactory situation. Indeed, *since the thrust of current developments in planning procedures is to further privatize and localize planning practices, it can only be hoped that this will be balanced by more sophisticated management of policy and development control at higher levels.*

The research results presented in previous chapters will presumably facilitate such management, although it must be reiterated that it can only do so in combination with reliable forecasting of demand. Whatever concept plan is devised for the Natal coast, on the basis of this and other research, assumptions will have to be made about expected growth patterns. It should be borne in mind that precise evaluations of the quantities of land to be allocated to specific uses in specific areas cannot be determined from a concept plan, although the basic land use pattern and survey research results made available by the researchers to N.T.R.P.C. officials, in combination with other population and economic forecasting data, should provide a reliable basis upon which to evaluate specific development proposals and local town planning schemes.

A second important point for consideration here will be the distinction that must be made, from a supply point of view, between so-called committed and uncommitted land. As was pointed out in a previous report to the Commission, co-authored by the present author, a very substantial quantity of land was alienated for township development in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s which has not subsequently been developed (Davies and McCarthy, 1984). This often creates the illusion that there is more 'undeveloped' or 'natural' land available along the coast than is actually the case from a planning point of view. As will be recalled from Chapter 2, the research reported here identifies 'undeveloped land' only in functional or use terms, and it

makes no distinction between committed (already subdivided) and uncommitted (unsubdivided) undeveloped land. In consequence, the real scarcity of *undevelopable* land is underemphasized. In practical terms, however, this does not constitute a difficulty for regional planners since they already have at their disposal analyses of the committed/uncommitted ratios in different areas of the coast, as a result of the internal research activities of N.T.R.P.C. officials.

A final point to be made about the Natal coast as a consumption environment is that *consumption opportunities can be considerably enhanced through the encouragement of compact and contiguous growth nodes. The creation of efficient and rich collective consumption communities can only be effectively achieved through the utilization of economies of agglomeration and scale. Good schools, public facilities, commercial facilities, and the like are most effectively and economically provided in compact settlements of a specific threshold size. This objective is also consistent with the conservationist ethic of protecting the few remaining open spaces from further intrusions of scattered development. In addition, if it is recognized that there are a variety of tastes for particular kinds of consumption environments, it would be sensible to encourage the development of a variety of town types. This would also be consistent with the recognition of site and locational specifity along the coast from a production point of view. Certain locations and sites favour certain kinds of production activities, and from the point of view of maximizing productivity, wealth creation and job creation, it is reasonable to expect maximum performance when these locational and site advantages are taken into account in planning policies.* All of this is suggestive of the need for a classification of coastal towns in terms of their respective growth potentials — a task that is undertaken in a preliminary sense in the conclusion to this chapter.

3. Planning for resources

The natural resource inputs into production and consumption processes on the Natal coast are, of course, substantial. The physical space afforded by land for various forms of urban development, the soils which nurture agricultural production, and the ocean, beaches, river estuaries, natural bush and dune zones which attract so many visitors and residents to the coast annually are all part of a natural endowment which is essential to the very existence of coastal production and consumption processes. There are several reports besides the present one which detail aspects of this natural endowment and which suggest methods for its optimal utilization (cf. Begg, 1979; Little, 1984). In addition, research in progress by van de Vegte (pers. comm.) details aspects of the relationship between human activity patterns and the natural endowment (particularly the beaches) of the Natal coast. All of this work is clearly valuable to the development of planning measures aimed at ensuring the optimal use of natural resources along the coast, and the findings of such work will hopefully be integrated into any ultimate coastal policy.

The concept of 'optimal resource use', however, immediately implies a social appraisal. Pantheism aside, there can be little basis for arguing for the 'intrinsic' value of natural resources. What, then, can be said on the basis of present knowledge about the formulation of planning policies and procedures aimed at optimizing man-environment relationships along the Natal coast?

Three findings from the present research project are of particular importance in answering this question. The first is that all land uses are regarded as being 'in short supply' by at least one interest group in all areas. Space itself along Natal's coastal margins, in other words, is being heavily competed for. The area is therefore likely to be one of intense landuse conflict requiring particularly sophisticated mediation by planners as a problem region in its own right. A distinctively coastal policy, in other

words, will be required to secure an optimal future for the region, in contrast to a more general development policy that might be applicable to any region in Natal.

The second finding of relevance is that as of 1981 only 12% of the 3 km wide coastal strip from Port Edward to Richards Bay remains in a state of contiguously undeveloped (committed or uncommitted) land, the remainder being used for agricultural and urban uses. In a context of strong competition for the expanded supply of agricultural and more particularly urban land uses, those who desire to protect the remaining undeveloped spaces face a particularly critical and urgent challenge. One response to this challenge is to propose, as Minister Wiley already has, that future coastal developments be subject to stringent Environmental Impact Assessment requirements. This need not be motivated simply by elitist or quasi-religious commitment to conservationist ethics. As our results have shown, there is a strong social and economic rationale associated with the interests of the holidaymakers, the tourist trade and the workers who are employed in this sector. The Environmental Impact Assessment solution, of course, could generate an enormous demand for Environmental Impact Assessment skills that is not yet matched by supply in South Africa. Nevertheless, planning schools and the environmental sciences should be able to rise to the occasion, and the necessary accommodations will have to be made to existing planning procedures at the local, provincial (or second tier) and national levels. However, unless the 'top down' initiatives towards more stringent controls over environmental impact are accompanied by a sustained effort to educate the public into a heightened state of environmental awareness, it is probable that they will flounder in a sea of political resistance.

This brings us to the third result from the present project that is of relevance to the problem of resource management: that is, the startlingly low level of conservationist and/or environmental awareness amongst virtually all participants in our survey. As remarked earlier in this chapter, this problem will only be effectively resolved through an intensive environmental education programme, hopefully assisted by the media and school systems. Planners may be unaccustomed to thinking of themselves as educators but, in the author's view, one of the most important potential developments in planning procedures in South Africa (theory *of* planning) would be to reorientate planning practice in such a direction. *Instead of the current, largely one-way flow of information from a highly biased sample of critics (mainly developers) to a group of so-called planning bureaucrats, there should be a two-way flow of information both from and to an unbiased sample of concerned citizens, aided by a well organized research programme. In addition, if a number of small-scale (and therefore low-cost) national parks were established in particularly environmentally deserving areas accessible to all South African people, they could become important incubators for the practical demonstration of the value of conservation.* It can only be hoped that the resources for such a project can be found before the rapid destruction of natural environments along the coast is almost complete.

Planning the Natal Coast: Summary and Concept Plan

The author is of the view that the proper realization of the ideal planning principles identified earlier in this chapter — those of democratization, redistribution, education and segregation of incompatible land uses but not people — can be properly accomplished only in a future *democratic* South Africa. There is, unfortunately, little that practising planners can do, as planners, to hasten the emergence of such a society. But this does not mean that debate over planning possibilities, even within current and evolving institutional constraints, is either worthless or inherently biased towards state priorities. On the contrary, by outlining a concept plan for the Natal

coast which could be implemented within the terms of current and proposed institutional arrangements, different views about *how* to achieve a desirable coastal environment (either through planning or otherwise) can be developed, aired and/or put into practice. *The concept plan, in other words, is merely intended as a catalyst for debate and action: the result of scientific research in geography and planning which can inform but never replace the process of policy and political determination.* Because this is the case the initial concept plan will not project itself onto any real geographical terrain with actual place names. Rather, it will concentrate upon the geographical and planning principles that are relevant to the optimal management of urbanization and land use along a 'typical' portion of the coast that corresponds, perhaps, to a Regional Services Council area.

In this regard we assume a portion of the coastline (perhaps conforming to a Regional Services Council area) which includes the following typical features:

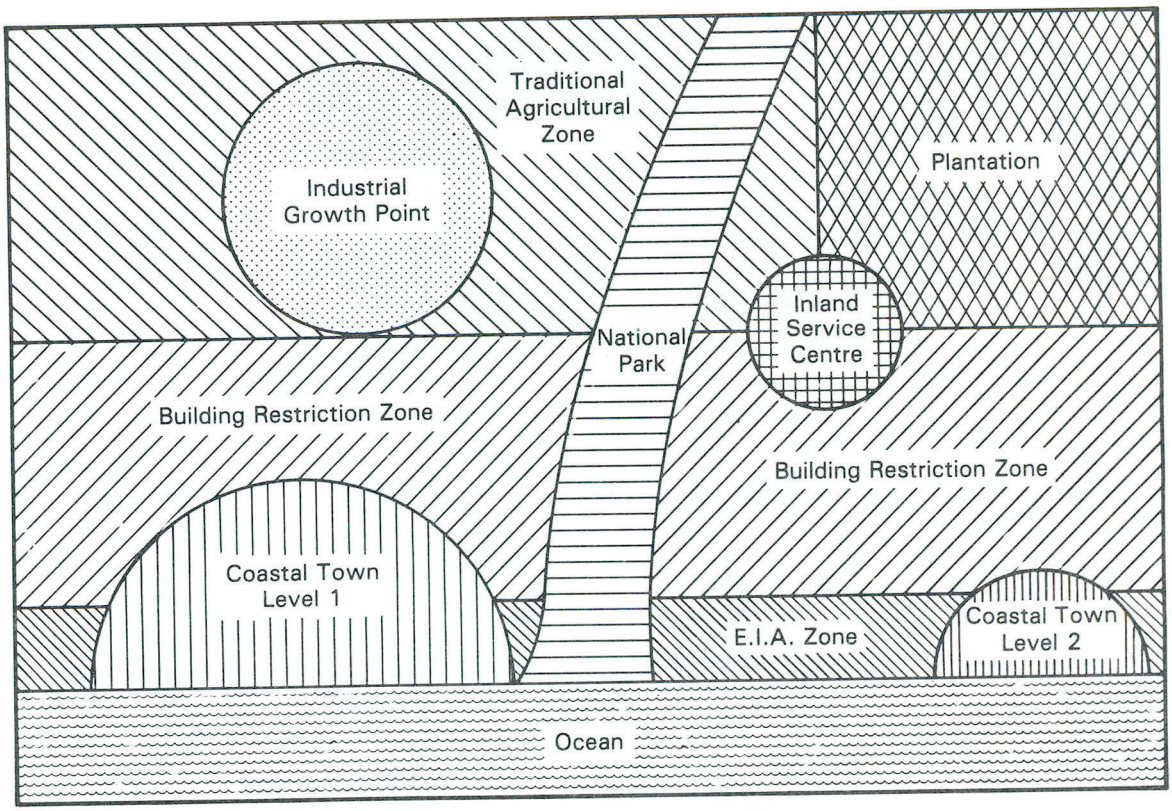
(i) an existing set of human settlements characterized by a larger, functionally diverse and residentially segregated coastal town, some smaller specialized towns and rural settlements;

(ii) zones of traditional and formal-sector, 'corporate' agriculture;

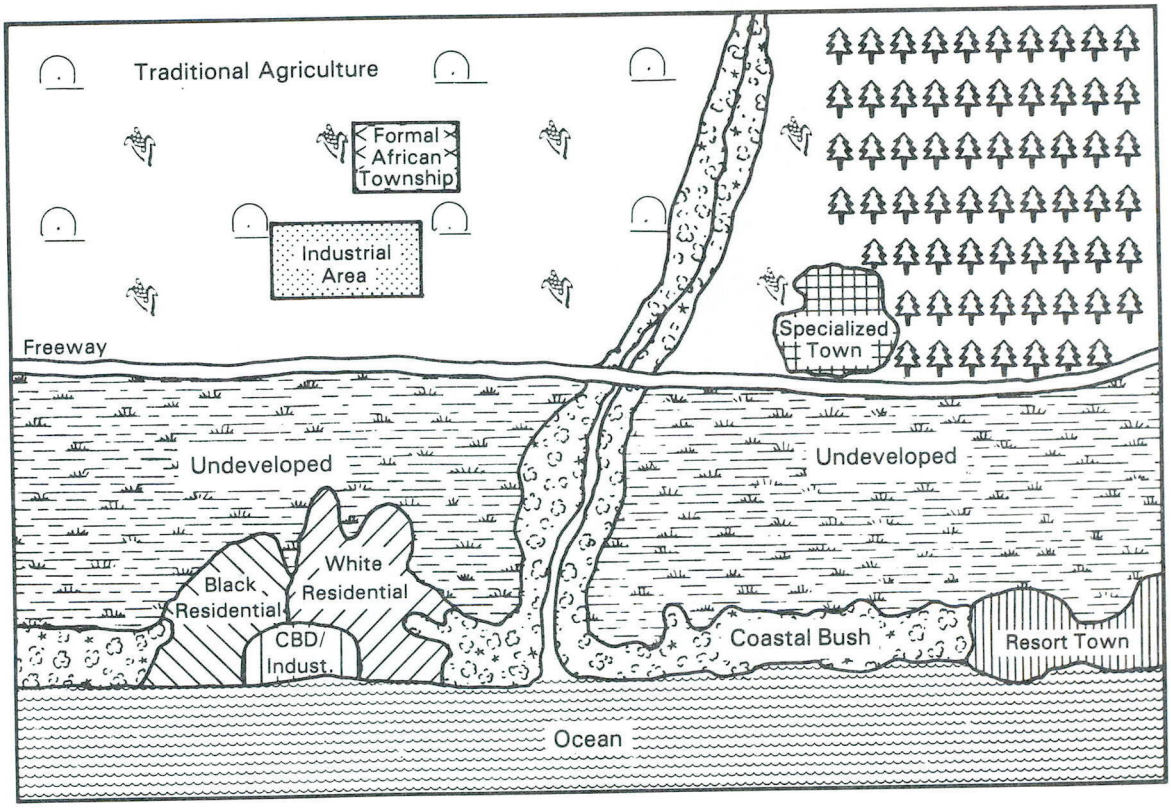
(iii) undeveloped land of varying ecological and scenic significance, the most valuable in terms of these criteria being coastal and valley bush (Figure 5.1).

We then hypothesize that the area as a whole is subject to some (known) projected demand for the expansion of all land uses, and planners face the difficult task of evaluating, at the regional or sub-regional level, various specific proposals for the modification of town planning schemes, the creation of new townships, etc., within the region as a whole.

In such a context, the following planning procedures are suggested. First, the planning sub-region could be demarcated into discrete spatial units, the extent of which is determined according to projected effective demand for the land uses currently in existence in the area. Thus, for example, if we assume a planning period of, say, twenty years and an expected demand for all land uses in the larger coastal towns during this period which equals 30% over and above existing stock for white residential, 50% over and above existing stock for black residential, and 40% over and above existing stock for commercial and industrial use; we can set some expected outer geographical limit for this, let us call it for the moment 'level 1 coastal town', according to a simple arithmetic calculation based upon the assumption of *spatially contiguous* expansion. In setting the boundaries of this outer geographical limit, consideration might be given to the very reasonable current provincial policy of biasing coastal town growth *inland*, as opposed to laterally along the coast. This encourages minimum interference into the scenically and ecologically meritorious coastal bush and dune zones. All development proposals submitted within this outer limit can then become the focus of sympathetic appraisal in terms of town planning concepts relevant to towns defined as 'level 1 coastal'. The derivation of these town planning concepts should conform with what is known about such towns, and the patterns of conflict and consensus within them as identified, for example, in the present study. In addition, all proposals for commercial and industrial expansion should be favoured where they occur within Group Areas or local authorities other than White (if indeed the Group Areas Act remains) for the reasons discussed earlier in this chapter.



Planning Concept



Geographical

Figure 5.1: Concept plan and geographical base for a typical Regional Services Council area.

All applications falling *outside* the spatial limit set by projected demand, however, should be dealt with in an entirely different manner, according to one of three possibilities:

(i) if they fall into a zone which has been determined (in research) as ecologically and scenically meritorious, these applications should be rigorously scrutinized according to the most stringent Environmental Impact Assessment requirements;

(ii) no development *at all* should be considered in areas identified as either potential or actual National Parks; and

(iii) in all other undeveloped areas outside the projected geographical limit of contiguous expansion there should be a stringent evaluation of an upgraded Need and Desirability application requiring detailed motivation and evidence on the part of the developer. This may be termed as a 'building restriction zone'.

The same general principles could be applied to development control in other settlements, with the qualification that particular encouragement and sympathy ought to be extended to particular *types* of development application in these areas. For instance, if a small coastal town already has a recreational or retirement cottage oriented economic base, and attitudes there (revealed in research) indicate hostility to other uses, planners should make every effort to make it known to prospective developers of similar uses that their applications will meet with particular sympathy there. Similarly, efforts should be made to encourage industrial entrepreneurs to submit applications to develop in areas in which the bulk of residents favour such growth, and where other (eg. central government) incentives apply. This, in turn, presumes an *information feedback* relationship as discussed earlier in this chapter. Finally, as far as the allocation of R.S.C. funds is concerned, the results of Chapter 4 indicate the urgent need to upgrade services in the African areas in particular.

The implementation specifics of such a Regional Services Council concept plan will, of course, be best dealt with by planning officials familiar with particular portions of the coast, in consultation with local authorities, community organizations and the more detailed empirical materials made available through this research project and others. What is urgent, at this stage, however, is that agreement on basic concepts and procedures be reached so that the implementation specifics can hastily be arrived at.

A final set of considerations necessary in devising a concept plan for the coast will be the identification of desirable coastal Regional Services Council areas, and appropriate coastal town types within such R.S.C. areas, at specific locations and sites along the coast. The obvious criteria for determining the geographical limits of an R.S.C. will be those commonly identified by geographers who have researched the concept of 'the functional region' (cf. Berry and Horton, 1970, pp. 250-271). The basic procedures here are that local authorities are grouped on the basis of studies of commuting patterns between centres, and other measures of functional interdependence between them. The present study does not directly facilitate such an exercise in boundary determination because commuting patterns were not part of the original research problem, and were not, therefore, specifically investigated. Nevertheless, on the basis of geographical information already available, *it is possible to suggest that three 'urban' R.S.C. areas should emerge along the coast — the Richards Bay area, the Durban metropolitan area (Umhloti to Kingsburgh inclusive) and the Port Shepstone area (Melville to Ramsgate inclusive). Outside of these areas, four 'rural/recreational' R.S.C. areas could emerge — Far North Coast (Mtunzini to Tinley Manor), Near North Coast (Seaforth to Tongaat Beach), Near South Coast (Umkomaas to Umzumbe) and Far South Coast (Southbroom to Port Edward).* Alternatively, if a finer grid was

required, the fourteen 'planning regions' identified for the coast by N.T.R.P.C. officials could be used as the basis for R.S.C. boundary determinations (see Figure 1.1). All of this, however, presupposes continued administrative separation between Natal and KwaZulu, whereas current indications are that the matter is being renegotiated. Certainly *if the administrative separation between Natal and KwaZulu was terminated, this would affect the geographical specification of R.S.C. limits, since areas such as Umgababa, to choose but one example, would fall within the functional region delimitation for the Durban Metropolitan Area.* At this stage, however, the matter can only be a subject for speculation.

It is possible, however, to be clearer with regard to the designation of *town* types within potential Regional Services Council's along the Natal coast. The research presented in this report allows the definition and classification of coastal towns in a number of ways, and it is not the author's intention to be dogmatic about details of individual town membership of different town classes. Rather he intended to emphasize that a number of clear settlement types do exist, and that the main features of individual towns within such settlement types are sufficiently similar to merit treatment as different types of planning problem within an overall coastal planning context.

Table 5.1: Coastal town types from the point of view of future planning

Complex urban core

- Durban

Emergent urban cores

- Port Shepstone
- Richards Bay

Suburban residential areas

(a) *Recreational/Residential*

- Umhloti
- Umhlanga
- Kingsburgh
- Mellville
- Bendigo
- Umtentweni
- Shelly Beach
- Uvongo
- Margate
- Ramsgate

(b) *Recreational/Industrial/Residential*

- Glen Anil
- Isipingo
- Umbogintwini
- Amanzimtoti
- Albersville/Marburg

Medium size coastal towns

(a) *Recreational/Residential*

- Ballito
- Scottburgh

(b) *Recreational/Industrial/Residential*

Tongaat
Umkomaas

Small coastal towns

Mtunzini
Tugela*
Zinkwazi*
Blythedale*
Umhlali*
Tinley Manor*
Seaforth*
Widenham
Clansthal*
Park Rynie
Ocean View*
Pennington*
Bazley Beach*
Ifafa Lagoon*
Ifafa Beach*
Elysium
Mtwalume*
Hibberdene
Umzumbe*
Southbroom*
Marina Beach*
San Lameer*
Trafalgar*
Palm Beach*
Munster*
Port Edward

To this end Table 5.1 and Figure 5.2 set out the individual settlements of the coast according to their membership of five categories. The basic parameters of category determination were:

- settlement size
- land use mix
- distance from one of the three growth centres
- rate of growth
- natural environmental context.

Each of these factors influences the planning policies and procedures that may be relevant to a specific settlement, and are used because our classification is now a classification for *planning*, as opposed to geographical/analytical purposes, as was required in Chapter 2.

1. Complex urban core

The first category of planning settlement — that of the *complex urban core* — has only one member, the City of Durban. *It is recommended here that:*

1.1 *Durban remains an autonomous administrative entity with a specific set of local resources and skills for dealing with the unique planning problems of a high density, concentrated urban area.*

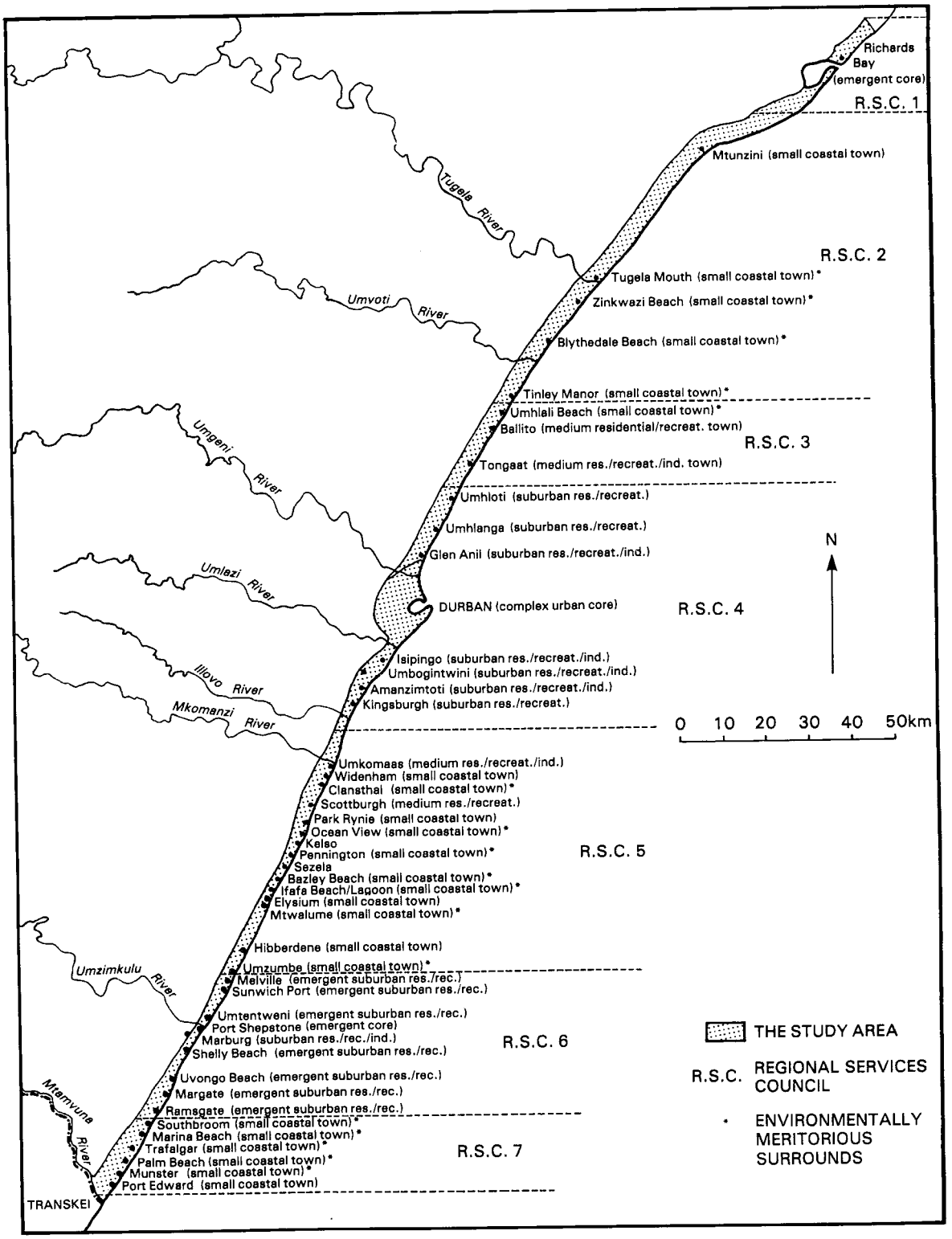


Figure 5.2: Map of town types for coastal planning purposes.

1.2 *Notwithstanding (1) above, in the light of results reported in Chapters 3 and 4, Durban should democratize its planning and administrative styles so as to allow for a more fluent expression of planning opinion from an apparently frustrated constituency of user and growth catalyst groups.*

1.3 *Employment creating development should be encouraged in this Municipality, particularly on its inland perimeter where jobs can be located close to black residential concentrations.*

1.4 *Any policies encouraging the relaxation of restrictions on the sharing of amenities and the ability of Blacks, in particular, to engage more freely in formal or informal sector production and trading throughout the city should be supported.*

1.5 *The removal of the Group Areas provisions for the area, and the promotion of racially redistributive supplies of services and amenities would be strongly supported by the town's Black majority.*

1.6 *The principle of spatial segregation of the productive and recreational/ consumption elements of the urban fabric be reinforced, unless they are demonstrably compatible.*

2. Emergent urban cores

The second category of town identified is that of the *emergent urban core.* The two settlements that fall into this category are Richards Bay and Port Shepstone. *It is recommended with respect to these centres that:*

2.1 *They proceed towards a form of administration and planning similar to that which obtains in Durban, with due caution being afforded to the problem of poor public access to planning control that tends to arise in large urban centres.*

2.2 *Incentives be provided at all government levels to encourage industrial and other job creating developments, particularly in inland areas near or within Black residential areas.*

2.3 *Items 1.4 to 1.5 listed for Durban, above, also be applicable to the emergent urban cores.*

3. Suburban residential areas

The third category of town is that of *suburban residential areas.* These fall into two subcategories:

(a) predominantly residential/recreational suburbs of urban cores or potential urban cores and

(b) suburbs with a mix of residential, recreational and industrial usage.

Most of these suburban or potentially suburban areas are already heavily developed. *It is recommended of these areas that:*

3.1 *They retain a high degree of administrative and planning autonomy, but they be required to submit proposals for any major developments to a planning (and not political) co-ordinating committee at the R.S.C. and provincial (or equivalent) levels.*

3.2 *Particular emphasis is given in these areas to ensuring the maximum possible degree of harmony between the industrial, recreational and residential components of development. Specifically, in the dune zones and river estuary zones of such suburbs, all new development proposals should be accompanied by an Environmental Impact Assessment Report and should demonstrate community acceptance of the proposed project.*

3.3 *No industrial development should be permitted in such areas unless it is on the inland perimeter of the local authority area.*

3.4 *Items 1.4 to 1.6 for Durban should also be applicable in such areas.*

4. Medium size coastal towns

The fourth category of settlement identified is the *medium size coastal town.* Again these can be subdivided into recreational/residential towns and those that include an industrial component. *It is recommended of these towns that:*

4.1 *The recreational/residential towns within the group retain their characters and do not permit growth of a non-residential or non-recreational character.*

4.2 *The towns within this group that include and industrial component be allowed to expand their industrial function only on their inland perimeters.*

4.3 *Items 1.4 to 1.6 and 3.2 are also applicable here.*

5. Small coastal towns

The fifth and final category of settlements, *small coastal towns,* is perhaps the most important category in terms of the formulation of a coastal policy. Many of these towns have grown rapidly against very small bases in the past two decades, yet many are also surrounded by some of the best examples of natural coastal bush, dune zones, beaches and estuaries. Those towns that have particularly meritorious surroundings in this last mentioned respect are asterisked in the list in Table 5.1. *It is recommended of such settlements that:*

5.1 *They strictly retain residential and recreational functions only within their own planning schemes.*

5.2 *They permit only small-scale development projects within their planning schemes (non-asterisked towns possibly excepted).*

5.3 *Their overall growth rates should be carefully controlled and restricted, particularly in the case of asterisked towns.*

5.4 *Provision should be made for public useage of the towns, and their surrounds, which does necessitate further growth and development. Examples here include, adequate parking facilities for visitors and, where possible, campsites.*

5.5 *Items 1.4 to 1.6 and 3.2 (where applicable) should also be enforced in these areas, with special attention being given to the promotion of traditional crafts industries and informal sector trading at suitable sites.*

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that the Natal coast is a unique national resource endowment whose lush subtropical vegetation, warm ocean waters and magnificent beaches and estuaries have delighted millions of South Africans and visitors from abroad for decades. If current growth trends are sustained, and if a comprehensive coastal planning policy is not enforced, it is very likely that future generations will be denied these delights. It can only be hoped that the results of this research project will assist in ensuring that this does not occur. However, equally important is that coastal development should fulfill the aims and ambitions of those hundreds of thousands of South Africans who are seeking jobs and improvements to their basic living conditions along the coast. Unless there is a resolution to this problem, planning for coastal conservation will seem like a gross elevation of leisure needs over the more pressing survival problems facing South Africa's Black majority.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire Sent to Local Authorities

Coastal Urbanization Survey

Questionnaire to all Local Authorities

1. Name and portfolio of person supplying information.

   .....

2. Who is the relevant person (their name, portfolio and telephone number) to contact for further information, should it be necessary for future reference?

   .....

   .....

   .....

   .....

3. Please indicate on the enclosed map the *geographical limits* of your authority. In addition, briefly explain in words and/or provide a small sketch that delimits the boundaries of your area.

4. Please state what the *other local authorities* are immediately to the north of your boundary and immediately south of your boundary.

   .....

   .....

5. In the box on the right of each line, please indicate the percentage of land up to 3 km from the coast that falls into each *land use category* within the area of your authority. (5% error tolerance levels are acceptable).

	%
1. Agriculture/cultivated areas	
2. Undeveloped/natural vegetation land	
3. Public recreational land (e.g. parks, beaches, etc,)	
4. Hotels and holiday flats	
5. Other holiday accommodation (e.g. chalets, cottages, campsites, etc.)	
6. Industrial areas	
7. Commercial areas	
8. Transport areas (e.g. S.A.R., roads, highways, etc.)	
9. Flats (permanent residential — all races)	
10. Houses (permanent residential — all races)	

6. Indicate below the *population breakdown* of all races in your total area of authority.

	Whites	Blacks	Coloureds	Indians
1960				
1970				
1980				

7. (a) What was the *number of building plans* passed for residential and non-residential purposes in the following years:

	Residential	Non-residential
1970		
1971		
1972		
1972		
1973		
1974		
1975		
1976		
1977		
1978		
1979		
1980		
1981		

(b) What was the *value of buildings completed* for residential and non-residential purposes in the following years:

	Residential	Non-residential
1970		
1971		
1972		
1973		
1974		
1975		
1976		
1977		
1978		
1979		
1980		
1981		

Thank you very much for your co-operation and assistance in completing this questionnaire.

Appendix B

Questionnaire Directed to 2000 Respondents

Coastal Urbanization Survey: Questionnaire

Date of interview: _____ No. of trials: _____

Respondent's Name: _____

Respondent's Address: _____

Telephone Number: _____

Introductory Remarks

Hello, my name is ..... of the University of Natal, Durban. I'm working with a group from the University who are co-operating with the provincial planners. We are studying people's attitudes towards land use and urban development along the Natal coast and what they feel policy ought to be there. You have been selected to be one of our respondents and we would be very grateful if you would agree to be interviewed. The questions don't take long to answer, and of course your response will be treated in strictest confidence.

Would this be a convenient time for you to answer a few questions?

(If 'yes', proceed, if 'no' record when it will be convenient.)

Phone back: _____

Area of Concern

1. To begin with we would like to clarify the specific area we're dealing with. Which local authority or area on the Natal Coast is *most* relevant to your everyday (holidaymakers = holiday) activities? We can then confine our questions specifically to this area.

Local authority of concern: _____

General Sense of Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction

Catalysts and user groups only

2. Before we go any further, can I ask you if there has been anything specific about land use and development trends in this area during the past few years that has made you angry or dissatisfied in any way?

   Yes/No

   (If yes) What was it that caused you to become dissatisfied? _____

   _____

3. Secondly, might I ask you if you have ever attempted to make your views on land use and development in this area known to those in authority — city councillors, local authority officials, etc.?

   Yes/No

   (If yes) Record how the expression of view occurred:

   _____

Regulator groups only

2. Before I begin could I ask if, in your experience and opinion, the various parties interested in land use and development in this area — the developers, holiday-makers, the 'man in the street', and so on — are relatively happy about the state of land use and development here?

   Yes/No/Qualified response: _____

3. (If No or qualified response to (2)): What would you say the main sources of dissatisfaction have been? _____

   _____

   _____

4. Now, thinking of _____ (local authority previously mentioned) as a whole, how would *you* rate the *pattern of land use* in general here? In any local authority, there is for instance a certain *proportion* of land used for some purpose or other, like housing, commerce or agriculture. These land uses are also *arranged* differently in different local authority areas. Some areas may have lots of flats near to the sea, others may have industry and shopping placed close together, and so on. Taking all these things into account, would you say that the land use pattern in (your area of concern) as a whole is:

   very desirable _____ desirable _____

   acceptable _____ undesirable _____

   very undesirable _____.

5. Still thinking of this land use pattern, would you say that:

things were better in the past _____
that they have remained largely unchanged _____
or that they are better now _____ ?

6. I'm now going to read you a list of land use types that planners would typically recognize in a local authority. We would like to know whether you feel any of these land uses is in *oversupply* in your area, in *undersupply,* or if it is badly *placed* with respect to other land uses:

For (your area of interest) as a whole is:	Badly situated	Is this use in: Over supply (Too much)	Under supply (Too little)	About right	DK/QR
1. Space used for public recreation.	Yes/No				
2. Space used for agriculture.	Yes/No				
3. Space used for industrial purposes.	Yes/No				
4. Space used for flats or perm. res. type.	Yes/No				
5. Space used for houses (perm. res.)	Yes/No				
6. Space used for shops and offices.	Yes/No				
7. Space used for transportation routes and services	Yes/No				
8. Space used for hotels and holiday flats.	Yes/No				
9. Space used for campsites.	Yes/No				
10. Space kept in a totally undeveloped form.	Yes/No				

7. This leads me to the problem of *growth and development patterns in general* in (your area). We might say that, as distinct from land use patterns, we can recognize different growth and development trends in different areas — there may for example, be increasing population growth, construction or industrial development in some places but not in others. At this stage we just want to think of growth in *general* terms in relation to (your area). Would you say of (your area) that there has been:

too much growth _____
about the right level of growth _____
too little growth _____ ?

8. Now lets talk in more *specific* terms about growth and development trends in (your area). May I ask you first what things you most like about growth and development in (your area):

(List): _____

_____

_____

9. I'll now put the problem in reverse. What do you *dislike* most about growth and development in (your area)?

(List): _____

_____

_____

10. Thanks very much. Now I'd just like to conclude with some questions about yourself.

For catalysts/regulators

(a) What is the name and function of the organization that you work in?
(Can be filled in in advance if known) _____

_____

(b) What is your specific job description within that organization?
(Can be filled in in advance if known) _____

_____

For user groups

(a) Are you a permanent resident of this area or are you on holiday here? ____

_____

(b) Race: *(Interviewer to fill in)* _____

(c) What is your occupation? *(If 'housewife' note husbands occupation)* ____

(d) Married/Single/Divorced/Widowed *(delete as applicable)*

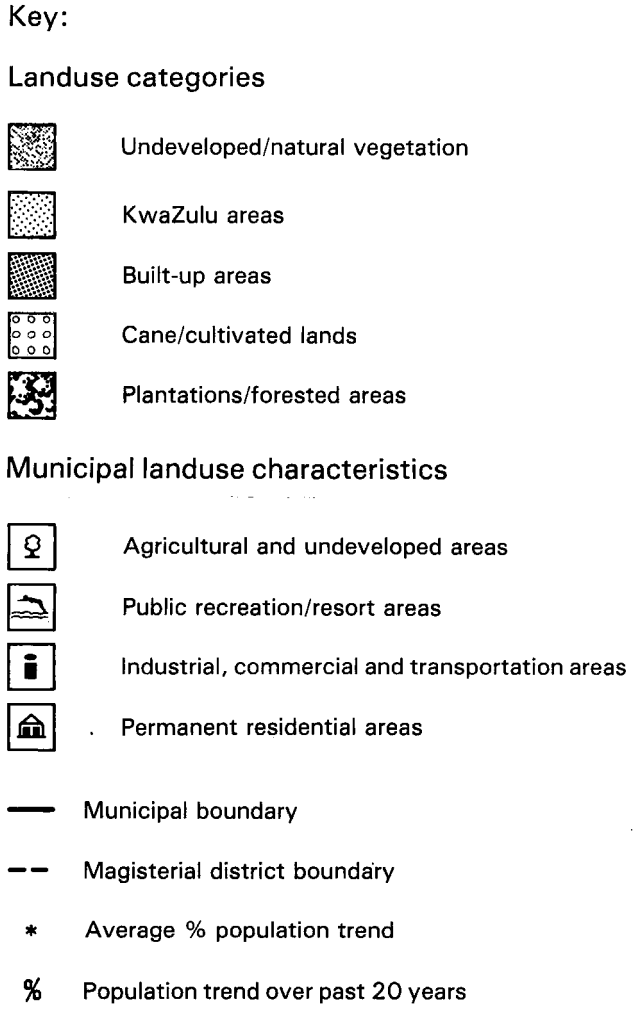
(e) Do you have any children at home? Yes/No *(delete as applicable)*

(f) What is your highest level of educational qualification?

_____

Thank you very much for your assistance in this research project. We hope we will be able to put your ideas to good effect.

Figure 2.1: Maps of coastal land use and growth characteristics.

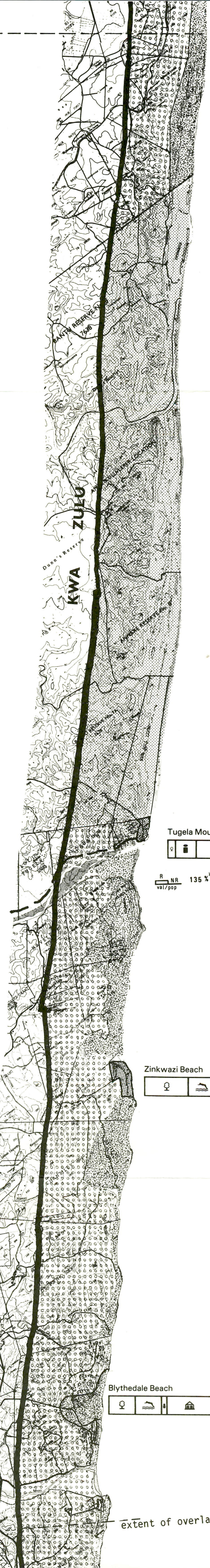


1


Richards Bay
R
NR
val/pop
1021%
R
NR
val/ha
Nzingazi
RICHARDS
BAY
Cubhu
KWA
ZULU
NATAL
RESERVE
No 10
MT
UNZINI
Scale 100 000
0 1 2 3km
Mtunzini
R
NR
val/pop
25%
R
NR
val/ha
extent of overlap

2

extent of overlap



Scale 100 000

0 1 2 3km

Tugela Mouth

R NR val/pop 135 %* R NR val/ha

Zinkwazi Beach

R NR val/pop 252%

R NR val/ha

Blythedale Beach

R NR val/pop 30%

R NR val/ha

extent of overlap

extent of overlap

Tinley Manor

R NR
val/pop

135 %*

R NR
val/ ha

Scale 100 000

0 1 2 3km

Seaforth

R NR
val/pop

135%*

R NR

Umhlali Beach

R NR
val/pop

30%

R NR
val/ha

Ballito

R NR
val/pop

1200%

R NR
val/ha

Port Zimbali

R NR
val/pop

135 %*

R NR
val/ha

Tongaat Beach

R NR
val/pop

135%*

R NR
val/ha

Umhloti

R NR
val/pop

135 %*

R NR
val/ha

Umhlanga

R NR
val/pop

R NR
val/ ha

249%

Glen Anil

R NR
val/pop

-33%

R NR
val/ha

DURBAN

R NR
val/pop

28 %

R NR
val/ha

extent of overlap

DURBAN

DURBAN METROPOLITAN AREA

extent of overlap

DURBAN

NATAL BAY

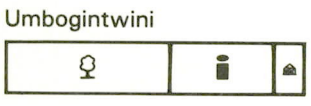
ISIPINGO

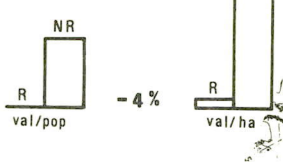
DURBAN

UMBUMBULU (KWA ZULU)

Isipingo

Umbogintwini

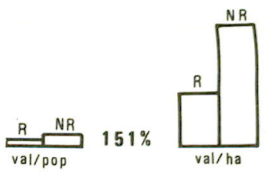




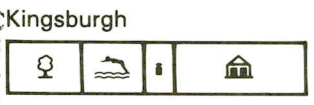
Scale 100 000

0 1 2 3km

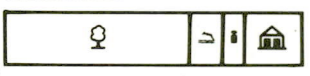
Amanzimtoti

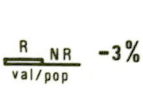


Kingsburgh

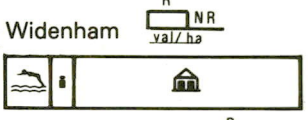


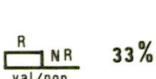
Umkomaas





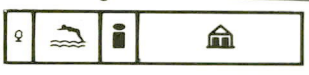
Widenham





Clansthal

Scottburgh



157% NO DATA

extent of overlap

extent of overlap

5

Park Rynie

135 %*

Ocean View

135 %*

Pennington

47%

Bazley Beach

-19%

Itata Lagoon

135%*

Itafa Beach

105%

Elysium

155%

Mtwalume

16%

Scale 100 000

0 1 2 3km

Hibberdene

100%

Umzumbe

161%

Melville

50%

Bendigo

-17%

Umtentweni

39%

Albersville

135%*

Port Shepstone

10%

extent of overlap

Melville

R NR val/pop 50% R NR val/ha

Bendigo

R NR val/pop -17% R NR val/ha

Umtentweni

R NR val/pop 39% R NR val/ha

Albersville

R NR val/pop 135%* R NR val/ha

Port Shepstone

R NR val/pop 10% R NR val/ha

extent of overlap

Marburg

R NR val/pop 135%*

R NR val/ha

Scale 100 000

0 1 2 3km

Shelly Beach

R NR val/pop 2%

R NR val/ha

Uvongo

-16% NO DATA

Margate

67% NO DATA

Ramsgate

R NR val/pop 14%

R NR val/ha

Southbroom

R NR val/pop 0%

R NR val/ha

Marina Beach

R NR val/pop 35%

R NR val/ha

Bevro

R NR val/pop 135%*

R NR val/ha

San Lameer

R NR val/pop 135%*

R NR val/ha

Trafalgar

R NR val/pop 47%

R NR val/ha

Palm Beach

R NR val/pop 293%

R NR val/ha

Munster

R NR val/pop -9%

R NR val/ha

Port Edward

R NR val/pop 165%

R NR val/ha