Desegregation, resegregation and centre/periphery relationships in Durban

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Introduction

While urban theorists differ on the nature of the urban today, on how it is changing, and on what processes are operating to bring about these changes, almost all agree that there has been "a pronounced resurgence in inequality, a widening gap between the rich and the poor" which "remains the most challenging public and political finding of the literature on urban restructuring and needs to be seen as an integral part of post-modern urbanism and post-modern urban politics" (Soja, 2001, 44). This inequality has clear spatial impacts. "Given a high and rising level of urbanization, growing income inequality, and rising class segregation, an increase in the geographic concentration of affluence and poverty is all but inevitable. These spatial processes are magnified, however, when they occur in a group that is also segregated on the basis of an ascribed characteristic such as race" (Massey, 1996, cited in Cooke, 1999).

In South Africa, while "the basic legacy of the apartheid city structure remains, elements within both its core and periphery have nevertheless been undergoing substantial changes" (Saff, 1994, p 377). Indeed, "in the post-apartheid state the class (as opposed to racial) dimensions of struggle are likely to become more overtly pronounced, with access to urban space based on wealth rather than racial criteria becoming the defining characteristic of South Africa's cities" (Saff, 1994). This paper examines how changes in segregation by class and race are reflected in the physical landscape of the post-apartheid city. It focuses on two concurrent trends in South African cities, taking Durban as a case study. These trends are: the racial desegregation of (previously white) suburbs and the implications of this, and the development of a postmetropolitan (or edge) city (Soja, 2001) e.g. Umhlanga in Durban and Sandton in Johannesburg.

The first trend involves the movement of blacks from townships into suburbs. This suggests that, within the city (excluding the townships and informal settlements), race is no longer the most important defining basis of analysis. Class becomes more important as the South African urban landscape normalises. However, this movement leaves townships and informal settlements increasingly inhabited by the poor and marginalized, rendering them vulnerable to crime, violence and exploitation. The poorest of the poor are black, in townships or informal settlements, and unable to move. In the past, although racially segregated, townships had a more heterogeneous population in terms of class, with some wealthy, educated, storeowners, etc. These people served as role models and support, and as a basis for economic development. Now, as those who can move out, those who stay behind are becoming more homogenous in terms of class – the city as a whole is therefore tending to becomeing more segregated according to class.

The second trend is the development of a postmetropolis (Soja, 2001), or edge city (Garreau, 1991), such as the regional shopping centre of Gateway, and its neighbouring residential and office developments in Umhlanga, north of Durban, or the older complex of Sandton in

Johannesburg. In the US, this kind of development is based on the fiscal realities of competition between suburb and central city. This is not the case in South Africa, as the new demarcation into one large metropolitan area has precluded this. Public-private partnerships have been created to develop areas both in and outside the central city. This development is extremely controlled, resulting in a planned environment such as Umhlanga/Mount Edgecombe. This appears to be more secure than either regular suburbs or the central city streets.

These trends have resulted in changes in the nature, and perceptions of, public space. In townships, informal settlements, and, to a certain extent, central city areas, there is a perception of public space as being "at risk" areas of personal vulnerability, with high levels of increasingly violent crime. On the other hand, there is the new, and more contrived "public" space of the suburban malls, gated communities and, possibly, the planned waterfront development. Here, privatised security is highly visible, access is more strictly controlled and monitored and there is a perception of personal safety. In fact, not only is access and security strictly controlled, but so too is the overall experience of residents and visitors. For example, the new Gateway "Shoppertainment" centre in Umhlanga boasts a wave centre, simulating the ocean for surfing enthusiasts, a skateboard rink, and rock climbing wall, while its counterpart in the west, the Pavilion, the third largest shopping complex in the country, has a putting course "with jungle features such as caves and waterfalls to add a sense of adventure", a ceiling that artificially changes from night to day, and security that ensures a "safe and secure environment (which) will be the central element in increasing late night family outings" (*The Mercury*, November 16, 1999).

The paper consists of three further sections. The second section provides a background to the racial integration of suburbs since1990. The third discusses the growth of new, planned areas on the outskirts of the city, while the fourth considers the link between these two, the nature of public space in Durban, and the possibilities for future planning of development in the city.

Racial desegregation in residential areas

After the 1950 implementation of the Group Areas Act, vast numbers of people in cities throughout the country had to be relocated. In order for Durban's development to fit that of the model Group Areas city, approximately 60% of the black population (Indian, African and Coloured), and 10% of its white population were moved (McCarthy and Smit, 1984). This resulted in a fairly clear sectoral pattern of development (McCarthy, 1990). Since the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991, people have been legally entitled to live in any residential area, irrespective of race. Despite predictions to the contrary, this did not result in a flooding of black residents into formerly white areas. However, there has been a steady increase in the number of black and Indian residents in "white" suburbs. At the same time, a number of black families has moved into formerly Indian areas. "Desegregation has in large measure been concerned with the return of previously excluded groups to the former White group areas" (Christopher, 2001, p 454). Some movement has taken place, notably into poorer, and therefore more affordable, suburbs and new suburban developments where all the householders arrived together" (Christopher, 2001, p 455).

Although the Group Areas Act was not officially repealed until 1991, with the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, prosecutions effectively ceased. Even prior to that, a number of homes in

"white" areas were sold to black and Indian residents through various means[1], and interviews with estate agents in Durban identified 1986 as the year in which movement of black and Indian residents into white areas began, with 1990 effectively marking the end of Group Areas (Kitchin, 1992).[2] Although the 1996 census indicates comparatively few major changes in segregation levels when compared to that of 1991, "the trends for the first time were almost uniformly downwards, indicating that the 1991 census coincided with the peak of effective residential segregation" (Christopher, 2001, p 452). However, examination of property transfers for Westville, a relatively wealthy suburb of Durban, showed that sales to black and Indian buyers prior to 1990 represented 7% of the total, with this rising to 33% of the total number of sales in the area in the period 1990 – 1991[3] (Kitchin, 1992). It must be remembered that this was prior to the elections in 1994.

An interesting aspect of desegregation in South Africa is that it is "characterized by the in-migration of blacks of an income status equal to or higher than those moving out. Once in these areas, they are generally accepted, if not necessarily welcomed, by the white residents and gain access to the facilities and social services within that area" (Saff, 1994, p 382). Various projects have been conducted to examine the experience of black residents moving into previously white areas – asking questions such as who moves, why did they move, what has been their experience in the new suburb? For example, in-depth interviews with five middle-class black women who had recently moved to previously white suburbs showed that all five indicated violence and/or crime as a reason for their move (Rasser, 1997). One stated that she faced resentment from her neighbours in the townships as she and her husband were quite successful financially. Her husband was shot and killed and her home burned down, which precipitated her move. Although the women missed their friends and support, they felt safer in the suburbs. One woman indicated, of her new neighbours in Woodlands (a lower middle class previously white area), "these people are poor whites. They are not any different from us". This shows evidence of an increasing awareness of class as a distinguishing feature, rather than race. Similar results were found by Pearce Anderson, who points out that social capital declines with the move to the suburbs, although this is offset by greater feelings of security (Pearce Anderson, 1996).

The repeal of the Group Areas Act meant that, "for the first time, professionals and middle class are able to differentiate themselves from other Africans residing in the same geographical locations and using the same resources and facilities available to them in the townships. Suburban areas represent a demarcation between persons of different economic

[1] Prior to the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the sale of houses to people of other races was accomplished either by obtaining a permit, by using a white person as a nominee, or by forming a company, trust or closed corporation.

[2] Unfortunately, it is difficult to follow up this type of research for more recent years, as the Property transfer registers prior to 1994 have been archived, and, with new demarcations, property transfers are not recorded by suburb. However, research is being conducted to overcome these problems, and provide more accurate recent statistics on property transfers and the movement of blacks into previously white areas.

[3] Total property sales in Westville between 1986 and 1989 was 2576, with 3739 in 1990 and 1991. Of these, 235 were individual sales to black or Indian residents, 94% of which occurred in 1991, and only 6% of which were prior to 1990. In addition, the total number of sales to companies or closed corporations, identified as actually being sales to black buyers (to avoid the Group Areas Act), was 137, 42% of which occurred between 1986 and 1989, 51% in 1990, and only 7% in 1991. Thus, sales to black buyers prior to 1990 represented only 2.6% of the total if company sales of uncertain ownership are excluded. If these are included, however, as black sales, the proportion rises to 7%. This proportion rose dramatically between 1990 and 1991, with sales to black buyers representing 2.6% of the total, and 33.5 % if companies of uncertain ownership are included. Company sales peaked in 1989 and 1990, dropping dramatically after the repeal of the Group Areas Act. It therefore does seem likely that a substantial proportion of these sales were, in fact, sales to black buyers.

backgrounds … For white South Africans, spatial differentiation has already been a means of establishing differences in class and social status. Therefore as Africans move into those new formerly white areas, they are met with the class distinctions that are defined by the domain of the homes, and now choose these areas as a sign of their rising social status" (Schlemmer, 1989, cited in Fleurinor, 1996). Fleurinor's survey of 15 black residents of Westville showed that they were highly educated (all had secondary education, 80% with tertiary education, all owned their homes, and they had lived in them for an average of 3.8 years). Five of the 15 cited crime and violence in the townships as a reason for moving (Fleurinor, 1996).

The urban African population is becoming increasingly differentiated in terms of income and employment (Gilbert and Crankshaw, 1999). It seems that those who are moving into formerly white areas are the better educated, and employed. Those that are left in the townships and informal settlements are generally extremely poor. "The removal of blatant racial discrimination has opened new residential areas only to a limited number of affluent non-whites." Thus, "as most whites are affluent and most Africans poor, market forces will have effects similar to earlier legislation. … the shift from race to income as a basis for residential 'choice' will make all too little real difference to the lives of the poor." This is similar to the situation in Latin America where "in most cities it has been income that has been the dividing line between those with decent housing, and those without" (Gilbert and Crankshaw, 1999, p 2395).

The fact that it is those who cannot afford to move out of the townships or informal settlements who are left behind has grave implications. As Rusk found in his comparison of "white American" cities with more diverse ones, "white poverty is generally an individual household hardship; Black poverty is a community crisis" (Rusk, 1998). He found that it is not overall poverty which is the problem, but, rather, the concentration of poverty by race, neighbourhood and political jurisdiction. Anti-poverty programs have helped individuals, who then "leave poverty-impacted neighbourhoods for improved housing opportunities, safer neighbourhoods, and better schools elsewhere. The residents that remain behind are proportionally poorer than ever, and the climb out of poverty becomes steeper and steeper" (Rusk, 1998, p 761). This increasing concentration of poverty spatially has been documented by numerous researchers in the U.S. (Holloway, 1999).

In the South African situation, increasing racial mixing in previously white suburbs is likely to lead to the increasing concentration of the poor and marginalized in townships and informal settlements.

In order to test some of the hypotheses, a number of equivalent data sets had to be created. The equivalence needs to be in terms of spatial units as unfortunately, the various censuses have different enumerator areas (EAs) and/or place-based statistical units. It was decided to aggregate data for each EA using the wards finalized for the 2000 municipal elections in order to trace changes in racial composition of each ward over time.

The data are available for the 1991 and 1996 periods and in the following tables the percentage racial composition of wards in formerly white areas of Durban are provided.

The general trends support the arguments provided above:

Municipality	1991	White %	Coloured %	Indian %	African %
Amanzimtoti	1991	91	0	0	8
	1996	79	0	1	18
Morningside	1991	87	1	1	9
	1996	72	3	9	14
Montclair	1991	87	0	0	11
	1996	67	2	8	21
Escombe/Malvern	1991	86	0	3	10
	1996	71	0	18	8
Glenmore/Umbilo	1991	81	0	0	17
	1996	71	2	4	20
Westville/Pinetown	1991	80	0	5	13
	1996	75	0	9	13
Durban North	1991	80	0	3	15
	1996	75	1	5	16
Northdene	1991	76	0	13	9
	1996	48	0	11	38
Umhlanga/Glen Ashley	1991	70	1	15	12
	1996	63	3	18	13
Kloof/Gillitts	1991	68	0	6	25
	1996	77	0	6	15
CBD/Beachfront	1991	67	6	10	15
	1996	37	7	14	39
Bluff/Brighton Beach	1991	67	1	17	13
	1996	58	6	10	19
Upper Morningside	1991	56	1	29	12
	1996	46	2	32	17
Bellair/Brettonwood	1991	52	0	39	7
	1996	34	1	41	21
Berea South	1991	51	6	20	21
	1996	24	7	20	45
New Germany	1991	45	0	0	54
	1996	36	0	1	60
Westville	1991	43	1	12	43
	1996	36	1	15	45

Nevertheless, while "there might be a tendency in the direction of ethnic desegregation and deconcentration in many societies" …. "it also means that we will end up with a spatial concentration of the most marginalized groups in (urban) society" (Van Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998, p 1648). These areas of concentration can then be perceived as "isolated territories viewed by both outsiders and insiders as social purgatories, urban hellholes where only the refuse of society would accept to dwell" (Wacquant, 1996 cited in Van Kempen and Ozuekren, 1998). There is a danger that, with increasing poverty, violence and marginalization, townships and informal settlements could become ghettos, areas which

"impl(y) a high level of spatial concentration.., ethnic homogeneity and the concentration of disadvantage" (Burnley, 1999, p 1296).

As Harvey points out

> "Residential differentiation in the capitalist city means differential access to the scarce resources required to acquire market capacity. For example, differential access to educational opportunity – understood in broad terms as those experiences derived frorm family, geographic neighbourhood and community, classroom and the mass media – facilitates the intergenerational transference of market capacity and typically leads to the restriction of mobility chances… The homogenisation of life experiences which (residential segregation) produces, reinforces the tendency for relatively permanent social groupings to emerge with a relatively permanent structure of residential differentiation" (Harvey, 1989, p 118).

Although it is clear that "the racial dimension of the urban landscape in South Africa is changing, the urban poor nevertheless remain excluded from the fruits of desegregation" (Saff, 1994, p 378). Saff introduces the term 'the deracialization of space' to account for those parts of the process that cannot be conveyed by the term 'desegregation'. Desegregation implies the racial mixing of an area that allows new black residents access to the facilities and resources of that area on an equal footing with the white residents. On the other hand, deracialized space results from the process of simultaneous access to 'white areas' and exclusion from the facilities in those areas on the basis of class (e.g. when townships or informal settlements expand into the former boundaries of 'white' areas). He argues that the apartheid city "is simultaneously undergoing a significant process of deracialization (of space) and a far less significant process of desegregation. The aim of progressive planners and of policy-makers should be to translate the deracialization of space in to the real desegregation of urban areas (and hence of services) as a means of empowering the urban poor" (Saff, 1994, p 378).

Gated communities

While those black residents who can afford to leave the townships appear to have been doing so in increasing numbers, prompted by fears of crime and violence, their counterparts in relatively wealthy and usually previously white areas have responded to their security concerns by moving into areas of tighter security such as townhouse complexes, cluster homes and have even gone so far as to construct "gated communities" in some cases.

Christopher cites Bremmer (1998) as commenting that "resistance to integration is still in evidence as witnessed by the development of exclusionary 'gated' White suburbs" (Christopher, 2001, p 457). However, informal interviews and observations of neighbourhood interaction in several gated communities in Sandton, Johannesburg, suggest that although these gated communities are exclusive in terms of class, they are not exclusively white, as several wealthy black families live in the community, and seem welcome there (Kitchin, pers. obs., 2001).

Indeed, the concern with security is not confined to the South African situation, and can be found in cities from the U.S to Latin America and south-east Asia.

> "In post-independence south-east Asia, the street is typically perceived as a source of danger. Decorative fences and hedges are no longer a deterrent to thieves. Open suburban living thus becomes very insecure. One solution … was the compound … a group of dwellings with a single controlled point of entry. An increase in scale allows controlled access and patrolled security to be provided to an entire suburb. By the logic of the market, in which the rich people sought the highest level of personal security, real estate developers were almost obliged to construct gated communities" (Dick and Rimmer, 1998, p 2312).

Similarly, in Sao Paulo, spatial and social segregation is being organised in new ways, the main instrument being "fortified enclaves, and the main rhetoric which legitimates them is the fear of crime" (Caldeira, 1996, p 53). These are advertised as islands of calm and security from which one can escape the deteriorated environment of the city, and interact with one's equals (Caldeira, 1999, p 121).

> "The common experience which draws together the separate urban experiences of North America and south-east Asia is the perceived deterioration in personal security. In the US, the fear of public space – in fact, the fear of the city itself – is grounded in racism and drug-related crime. In south-east Asia … rising real household incomes and the emergence of an identifiable middle class have been accompanied by a growing differentiation from, and fear of, the rest of the inchoate urban mass" (Dick and Rimmer, 1998, p 2317). "The increase in violence, insecurity and fear comes with a series of transformations, as citizens adopt new strategies of protection. These strategies are changing the city's landscape, patterns of circulation, everyday trajectories, habits, and gestures related to the use of streets and transportation" (Caldeira, 1996, p 60).

Caldeira points out that "to relate security exclusively to crime is to fail to recognise all the meanings it is acquiring in various types of environments. The new systems of security not only provide protection from crime but also create segregated spaces in which the practice of exclusion is carefully and rigorously exercised" (Caldeira, 1999, p 122).

The aim of gated communities, "closed condominiums and other fortified enclaves … is to segregate and the change the character of public life by bringing to private spaces constructed as socially homogenous environments those activities that had been previously enacted in public spaces" (Caldeira, 1999, p 129).

It can be seen then, that concerns with the rising levels of violent crime have prompted people to react in different ways, according to their means and mobility. On the one hand, economically secure black township residents have moved out, either into wealthier suburbs such as Westville, or into more middle and working class areas like Woodlands. On the other hand, wealthy (and predominantly white) residents of suburbs have moved to secure themselves either through gated communities, neighbourhood patrols by private security companies, or by moving into townhouse or cluster home complexes. This suggests that former black areas are increasingly becoming repositories for the poorest of the poor (all of whom are black), while older, working and middle class suburbs are becoming more integrated in terms of race, although they continue to be homogeneous with respect to class.

Even within former black areas, however, differentiation by social class had increased over the last few decades. The social polarization of the black African population over the last two

decades is evidenced, on the one hand, by the upward occupational mobility of some (nurses, teachers, clerks etc., with the proportion of semi-professional jobs filled by Africans doubling from 19% in 1975 to 41% in 1990. On the other hand, there has been growing unemployment – from 18% in 1975 to 33% by 1995 (Crankshaw, 1999). This increasing social differentiation among black Africans is matched by a residential differentiation. A private housing sector has emerged in the townships, with homes being rented and sold as their owners move out of the townships. At the same time, there has been a burgeoning of squatter settlements subsequent to the crisis of urban government in townships in the mid 1980s, which opened up the opportunity for land invasions. Those people who could not afford private housing, but for whom there was no subsidised state housing due to the lack of new construction, resorted to squatting. These differences in the class profile of different residential areas tend to be reinforced by other differences – ethnic, political, rural vs. urban backgrounds etc. (Crankshaw, 1999).

At the same time, there are various new developments, many on a large scale, which also have potential ramifications for race and class segregation. These are the rapidly growing areas on the outskirts of the city, also known as "edge cities".

Growth of edge-city developments

"For a variety of reasons relating mainly to convenience of business operations, edge cities were where the global "urban development action" was during the 1990s (McCarthy, 2001). Two areas which may possibly qualify as edge cities, either now or in the near future, are Sandton in Johannesburg, and Umhlanga in the north Durban corridor. The economic success of the corridor in Durban is "largely a product of the normalisation of Durban in the post-apartheid era" (McCarthy, 2001).

As in South Africa, in Sao Paulo huge new shopping malls are being built on the old periphery. "Both office complexes and shopping malls follow a pattern of fortified enclaves equivalent to that of the closed condominiums", and some of these areas have the highest average income and highest population growths in the metropolitan area (Caldeira, 1996, p 64). This is similar to the situation in Sandton, and, possibly even more so, in Umhlanga.

Like many cities throughout the world, retail activity through the mushrooming of huge shopping malls in the north of Johannesburg has been followed by office space in the form of office parks, with an increase in the volume of white-collar workers (Beavon, 2000). Large numbers of townhouse complexes, cluster units and other types of housing have been built to accommodate these workers, many of whom are concerned with security. Recent research in Johannesburg has attempted to "spotlight the rapidity with which the affluence of the northern sector is being reinforced" (Beavon, 2000). "The movement of businesses out of the CBD has created new spatial patterns, spaces which exclude on the basis of class rather than race" (Maharaj, 2001). Maharaj maintains that

> "class warfare is being waged in the reconstruction of post-apartheid urban spaces as public spaces are increasingly appropriated and infused with an overt class texture. The construction of mega-malls, anchored by exclusive boutiques and upmarket stores catering for the existing white and burgeoning 'black' middle classes are cases in point. The working class is allowed access to these spaces, usually as cleaners and shop assistants. These are the spatial templates on which a middle class consciousness is produced and reproduced" (Maharaj, 2001).

Many researchers have, therefore, pointed out the importance of class rather than race, as distinguishing factors in the new developments. The case of Umhlanga in Durban is a case in point. The largest of its kind in the southern hemisphere, the R1.4 billion Gateway shopping mall and entertainment centre in Umhlanga opened in September last year (*The Mercury*, 25 Sept., 2001). This, alone, is expected to generate over 6000 jobs (*The Sunday Tribune*, 11 June, 2001). It followed the rapid growth of office blocks in an area that has mainly been developed by Moreland Estates, the property development arm of Tongaat-Hulett. The Umhlanga/Mount Edgecombe complex differs from that of Sandton in Johannesburg in that its development has been made far less complex as most land was sugar cane farms owned by Tongaat-Hulett. It has been possible, therefore, to assemble extensive tracts of land for development very easily, and to plan and control that development carefully. Moreland aims to achieve a balanced community, but will need to build some 2500 residential units to avoid a pattern of reversed commuting[4]. It is in the process of doing this, in the form of housing developments such as Gardens, Somerset Park and Broadlands and Mount Moriah, one of the largest private sector, affordable housing initiatives in southern Africa (*The Mercury*, 25 September, 2001). Umhlanga is also different from Sandton in that it is located close to the proposed new airport. Although it is not clear when, or if, this will be constructed, given its "on-off"status historically, if the new airport is built, development in north Durban is likely to explode, creating a huge edge-city, and fundamentally changing the urban landscape of the city.

One of the key aims of the Umhlanga development is to ensure that it does not only involve upmarket projects, but also provides housing and jobs for the poor. This is to prevent creating an island of wealth in a surrounding sea of poverty. It is estimated that 30 000 permanent jobs have been created in the area to date. Most companies (over 77%) are less than 10 years old, and only 9% have moved there from other areas, indicating that, so far, the location of firms in the area does not represent flight from the central city (*The Mercury*, 25 September, 2001). However, Unilever, which occupies most of two large office blocks in central Durban, is moving its head office to the north this year, which may herald a steadier stream of business out of the central city in 2002.

The Umhlanga development is one of a number of public/private partnerships underway in the Durban metropolitan area, with some of the others including the Point Waterfront, casinos, upgrading of the port and regeneration of the southern industrial corridor (*The Mercury*, 21 May, 2000). Public/private partnerships to facilitate or fast-track development are becoming increasingly important in South Africa.

As has been noted, the development of the "edge-city" north of Durban is directly related to the large tracts of land held there by Tongaat-Hulett. In the late 1980s, Tongaat-Hulett established a Planning Forum, which included academics, activists and politicians from various political groupings, including the ANC alliance and the IFP "to hedge their bets" (Sutcliffe, 2002). This became urgent as the viability of their mill north of Durban was being questioned (it need to be re-located further north), and land in north Durban therefore became less viable as sugar land, and more profitable as developed or urban land (Sutcliffe, 2002). With the diversification of the company, they saw the potential for a higher return from their land linked to property development, and proceeded to encourage the establishment of a high

[4] It is possible that, given the current distribution of townships and informal settlements, commuting across the entire metropolitan area may be necessary e.g. from Umlazi or Chatsworth in the south, to Umhlanga in the north.

income corridor north of Durban (Sutcliffe, 2002). This was delayed with the construction of Durban's first regional shopping centre in Westville, the Pavilion. As a result, Tongaat initially focused on developing gated communities like Mt. Edgecombe, resorts/golf course development, office parks etc. Only much later was Gateway built.

Prior to 1994, the only public sector regulators in north Durban were the Umhlanga council and the provincial planning authority (Sutcliffe, 2002). Most of Tongaat's land lay beyond the boundaries of Umhlanga. Although the Umhlanga/Mt. Edgecombe development is generally touted as a successful public/private partnership of the new, democratic South Africa, its origins date back to 1983, when the original plan to shift the town centre of Umhlanga was mooted. This was not a problem with the council of Umhlanga at the time, as it "was packed with Tongaat-Hulett/Moreland people, so there was no problem shifting the administration as well" (Kahn, 2000). The new town centre to be located in the middle of land they owned was to capture the externalities from the centre, e.g. in the form of upmarket residential development. "Moreland had a strategic view of planning and were highly Machiavellian, with a huge advantage accruing to them by virtue of their large, contiguous land holdings" (Kahn, 2000).

After 1994, Tongaat's land fell within the north Durban council. It was the smallest of the councils in terms of population, and was very willing to see development in the area. Tongaat therefore faced little resistance to its plans at a government level, and experienced little competition from other property capital (Sutcliffe, 2002). "A fair amount of public sector development occurred e.g. roads, with the private sector only becoming involved a bit later, which resulted in some controversy and the accusation of a 'Tongaat deal' by some" (Sutcliffe, 2002). With the creation of a single metropolitan area in December, 2000, "it became more difficult, at one level, for Tongaat to engage with its interests[5]. Its needs are linked to housing development etc., and they needed a major intersection to be built. Tongaat-Hulett agreed to drive the stalled Point waterfront development if the city guaranteed public sector investment into the intersection. This resulted in a 'win-win' situation for both parties" (Sutcliffe, 2002). As one councillor remarked "we need each other … council needs Moreland and Moreland needs council" (Naidoo, 2000).

It seems that the Umhlanga case is unique as it involves only one, powerful property developer and was facilitated by large tracts of undeveloped land. Moreland is proceeding with its plans to develop an entirely new town centre for Umhlanga Ridge over the next 20 years. Unlike Sandton, which was not planned to be a major centre, developers of Umhlanga have the opportunity to create a well-planned centre. Development rights are now for 310000 sq m, with plans for a further 333 000 sq m in later phases. Building heights will be restricted to 6 storeys, and mixed used development will be encouraged. (e.g. retailers on the ground floor, offices in the middle, and flats on the upper) (*The Sunday Tribune*, 20 August, 1999). The design of the centre strongly encourages urban living, aimed at providing a "positive, attractive and convenient place to live". Although it has been charged with elitism by critics, the developers obviously deny this. However, various legislative measures will enable the management association to prevent "negative land use", which includes street trading, vagrants and homeless people sleeping on the streets. "Safety and security will be tight, with a highly visible policing presence, CCTV surveillance systems along public thoroughfares and police stations" (*The Mercury*, 25 September, 2001). It appears, then, that Umhlanga will represent many of the characteristics of gated communities throughout the world.

[5] An important aspect of the north Durban development is that there has not been the competition between capital and between jurisdictions found in similar developments in the U.S.

Christopher comments that "the main driving-forces leading to residential integration" are "rapid economic development and the reduction of income disparities" (Christopher, 2001, p 464). These conditions are probably true within the newer edge-city type development like Umhlanga in Durban and Sandton in Johannesburg. Although there are efforts to create a social mix in the new Umhlanga, and the Mount Moriah complex is geared towards lower income families, it does seem, to date, that the newly developed areas north of Durban are attracting the wealthier "yuppies" of all races.

The concern with safety and security, and the spatial re-organisation of the city that accompanies this, has far-reaching implications, particularly for the public space within the city.

Public space

The construction of huge, self-contained shopping/entertainment complexes, and the closing off of homes and roads into gated communities has fundamentally altered the nature of public space and public interaction.

As Caldeira laments

> "Streets where children used to play and where neighbours congregated sociably, streets where walking was once not only an everyday routine but even a pleasure, are now empty and dominated by high walls, fences, private guards, and security posts. Apartment buildings and houses which used to be connected o the street by gardens are now separated by high fences and walls, and guarded by electronic devices and armed security men … A new aesthetic of security shapes all types of constructions and imposes its new logic of surveillance and distantiation as a means of the display of status. As a result, the character of public life and communication changes. Encounters in public spaces become increasingly tense and even violent because they are framed by people's fears and stereotypes. Tension, discrimination, and suspicion are the new marks of public intercourse" (Caldeira, 1996, p 64).

Caldeira suggests that the contemporary public space being created in cities throughout the world

> "no longer relates to the modern ideas of commonality and universality. Rather, its ideal is one of separateness and assumes that social groups should live in homogenous enclaves away from those perceived as different and with whom social interactions tend to disappear. Consequently, the new pattern of spatial segregation grounds a new type of public sphere" (Caldeira, 1996, p 53).

This change in the nature of, and access to, public space brings about changes in the nature of social interactions people have on a daily basis.

> "Private enclaves and the segregation they generate deny many of the basic elements that constituted the modern experience of public life: primacy of the streets and their openness; free circulation of crowds and vehicles; impersonal and anonymous encounters of the pedestrian; unprogrammed public enjoyment and congregation in streets and squares; and the presence of people from different social backgrounds

> strolling and gazing at those passing by, looking at store windows, shopping, sitting in cafés, joining political demonstrations or using spaces especially designed for the entertainment of the masses" (Caldeira, 1999, p 125).

Public space, therefore, is undergoing a deep transformation. "Felt to be more dangerous, …privatised and fortified in various ways (chains closing streets, security posts, walled parks, streets full of dogs and armed guards), it is increasingly abandoned to those who do not have the chance to live, work and shop in the new private, internalised, and fortified enclaves …. The modern public space of the streets is increasingly left to the homeless and the street children … the new public space (in Sao Paulo) is structured on the basis of the principles of separateness and emphasis on irreconcilable differences" (Caldeira, 1996, p 65).

This is also true of many aspects of urban life in South Africa. Many families do not window-shop in downtown Durban at night, or stroll through the neighbourhood, or along the beach. They are more likely to be found in shopping/entertainment complexes such as the Pavilion in Westville or Gateway in Umhlanga, not only shopping, but also playing miniature golf, surfing or skateboarding. These privatised, apparently secure areas have become the new public space of the middle class, while the streets of the central city are left to the homeless, street children, and criminals. In Durban, the one public space that remains open to people of all classes and walks of life appears to be the beachfront. Although avoided by some wealthier citizens, it continues to reflect a "rainbow" of race and class, with greater police visibility and improved crime prevention methods introduced over the last few years to counter perceptions of increasing crime.

Conclusion:

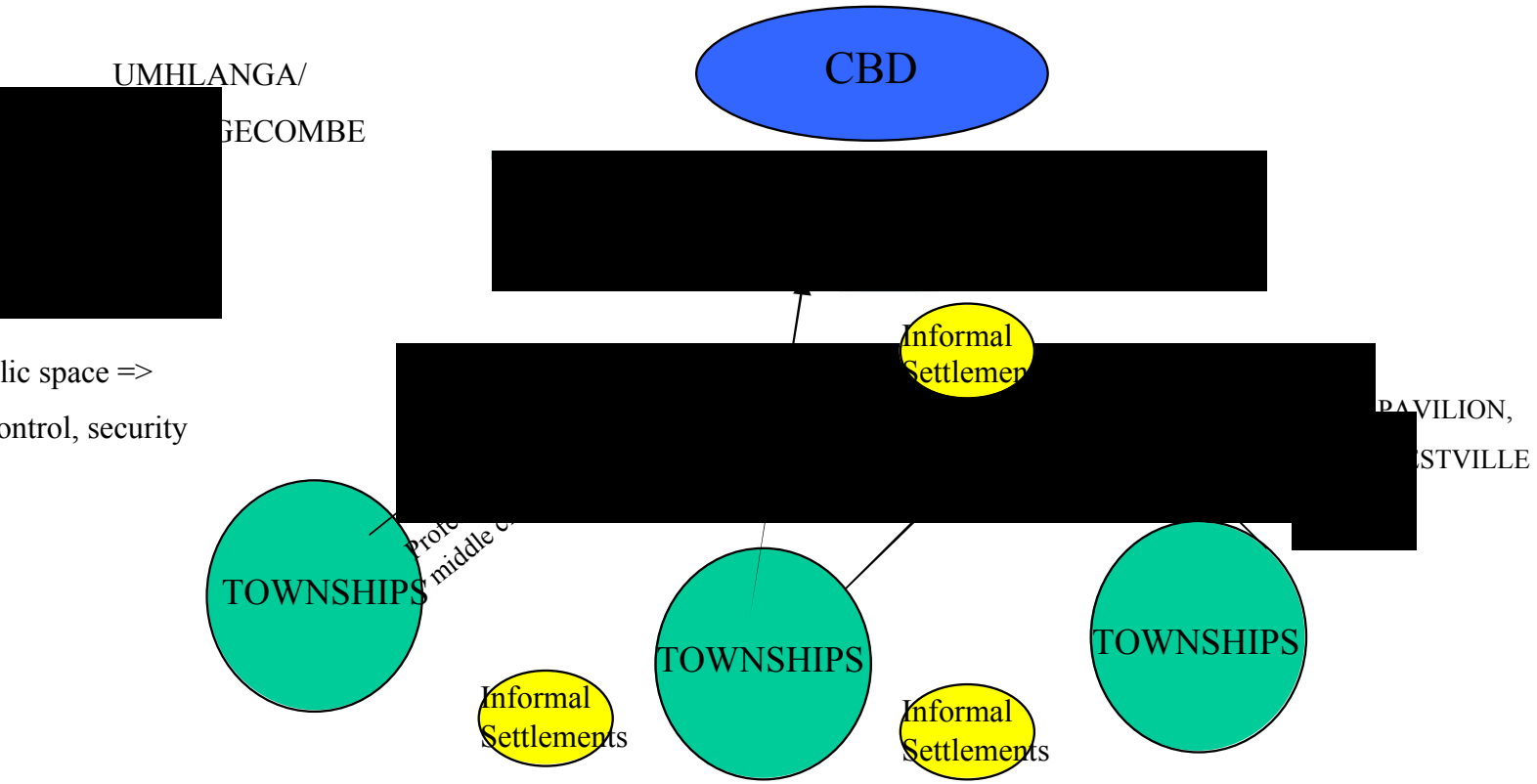
"Middle class people, therefore, seek to control their environment by insulating themselves from the uncertainties of casual social interaction with the poor. They live in air-conditioned houses in gated communities, travel in private air-conditioned vehicles to air-conditioned offices and shopping malls. Homes, offices and malls are increasingly patrolled by private security personnel backed up by overhead video cameras" (Dick and Rimmer, 1998).

While it may appear that race is no longer the defining characteristic of segregation in South African cities, as these cities normalise and the new urban landscape is developed by public/private partnerships to reflect increasing globalisation, the majority of South Africans seem to be likely to spend the rest of their lives in an increasingly segregated world, where people of the same class, characterised by low income, soaring rates of unemployment, high crime and increasingly elderly and female, live.

The diagram provides a schematic representation of recent residential moves in Durban, from townships to suburbs, the rise of "edge-city" type developments in Umhlanga, and, to a lesser extent, the Pavilion area in Westville, and the implications this has for public space in the central city, the beachfront and the more controlled, privately developed areas on the periphery.

Beach Front

PUBLIC SPACE – perception of increased vulnerability, crime and loss of personal control (although perception is improving recently)



There is a danger that that two types of “edge cities” will develop – one, a concentration of affluence, being new, modern, and highly planned, inhabited and utilised by people of the same class; and the other a concentration of poverty, being old, deteriorating, bordered by new, growing and unplanned squatter settlements, inhabited by the poorest of the poor, all black. This latter type is reminiscent of the description of Moreno Valley in California, where “local services are poor, schools are overcrowded, freeways are gridlocked, and family life is deeply stressed as residents contend with their location in a very different kind of Edge City” (Soja, 2001, p 48). Between these two types of areas are the public spaces of the central city and, in Durban’s case, the beachfront, with sectors of the beachfront being the only likely areas where residents of the two are likely to coincide beyond the workplace (where township residents are likely to work as domestic servants or unskilled labour for the residents of the wealthy area).

It is important that the kind of innovative development initiatives used to promote areas such as Umhlanga, along with the constitutional protections of our new democracy, are used to ensure that this does not become the case. Indeed, “contemporary cities that are segregated by fortified enclaves are not environments that generate conditions conducive to democracy. Rather, they foster inequality and the sense that different groups belong to separate universes and have irreconcilable claims. Cities of wall do not strengthen citizenship but rather contribute to its erosion” (Caldeira, 1999, p 136).

“If the imbalances and inequalities associated with apartheid are to be redressed, it is imperative that racial segregation of residential areas in any form is prevented, and that locally based interaction is encouraged” (Kitchin, 1992).

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