

Investigating the Implications of the Transition from 'Agrarian Village' to 'Edge Town': A Case Study of the Upper Highway Area in Durban, South Africa.

By

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DECLARATION

I Wendy Ann Smith hereby declare that

- a. The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, and is my original work.
- b. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- c. This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
- d. This dissertation does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers.

Signature.....

Date.....

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beautiful family

Patrick, Jesse, Reuben and Naomi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who made this dissertation possible. I am deeply grateful to my immediate family for all their love and unwavering support. Patrick, Jesse, Reuben, Naomi and Shelly you are my very best people and I could not have done this without you. Thank you for always believing in me. Very special thanks go to my supervisor Dr Hope Magidimisha for her encouragement, wisdom, friendship and professional and academic input. Appreciation also goes out to my colleagues at the office for their assistance in so many ways.

Tenax et Fidelis

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ACRONYMS

OWC	:	Outer West Local Council
GIS	:	Geographic Information Systems
CBO	:	Community Based Organisation
ITB	:	Ingonyama Tribal Trust Board
KZN	:	KwaZulu-Natal
HRA	:	Hillcrest Ratepayers Association
D'MOSS	:	Durban Metropolitan Open Space Systems
HWW	:	Hillcrest Waste Water Treatment System
CLS	:	Centre for Law and Society
IDP	:	Integrated Development Plan
SDP	:	Spatial Development Plan
OWSDP	:	Outer West Spatial Development Plan
CBS	:	Community Based Survey
SPG	:	Smith's Property Group
PUD	:	Planned Unit Development
FWW	:	Fischer Road Waste Water Treatment Facility
SPLUMA	:	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
RDP	:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
UKZN	:	University of KwaZulu-Natal

ABSTRACT

The decentralisation of cities and metropolitan areas to the periphery, and the progressive transitioning of rural areas to urban areas, is a world-wide post-modern phenomenon. Characterised by commercial, retail and residential relocation to the 'edge' of the inner city - evolving towns and gated communities represent a new form of fortified space consumption. Inner city decay and peripheral pull factors have expedited the 'rush of the resourced' to the perceived safety and tranquillity of the urban periphery. The Upper Highway area located approximately 30kms West of Durban sits on the peripheral edge of the city. In the mid-1990s the area was predominantly agrarian in nature characterised by large tracts of farmland and pockets of 'country suburbia' sitting adjacent to traditional tribal land. The intention of this dissertation is to investigate the transition of the Upper Highway area from an 'agrarian country landscape' to that of 'edge town'; particularly focusing on the impact of this transition on local resident's interactions with this transformed environment; and how the changes are conceptualised by them. Findings confirm an explosion of growth and development in the Upper Highway transforming it from a small village to a fortified edge town. Burgeoning growth and development on one hand has more than met the needs of the middle to upper class in the Upper Highway, but inadequate and sluggish development on the other hand has perpetuated inequality and poverty in adjacent traditional communities. The poor-rich buffer instilled prior to apartheid still exists, and wealth and affluence sit juxtaposed with poverty and a dearth of resources. Residents in Embo display a strong social and community Identity, and disapproval of the out-group. Despite the fact that the Upper Highway area displays the characteristics of a fortified well-resourced 'edge town', the rural-urban interface continues to widen, segregation is perpetuated, there is a glaring lack of integration, the status quo is accepted and adaptation strategies instilled during apartheid continue to exist. Future strategies to remedy change need pay special attention to the voices of residents in adjacent traditional areas, stimulate integrated development and embark on a cohesive planning strategy between all key stakeholders.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The Upper Highway area, located approximately 30kms West of Durban, was predominantly agrarian in nature in the mid-1990s and was characterised by farmland intersecting with 'country suburbia', and large tracts of under-resourced populated tribal land (Smith, 2016). Development was non-existent and there was little access to employment. Subsequently certain pockets of this area have experienced an explosion of growth from the mid- to late 1990s with extensive recreational, retail, residential and commercial development along Old Main and Inanda roads (Smith, 2016). This dissertation seeks to investigate the transition from an 'agrarian country landscape' to 'edge town'; particularly focusing on how this transitioning has impacted on local resident's interactions with this transformed environment; and how the changes have been conceptualised by them (Henderson & Mitra, 1996; Irazabal, 2006).

The change appears to be duplicitous – wide-ranging and all-embracing of the needs of the middle to upper class on one hand; and sluggish and dormant on the other in terms of adjacent communities (Smith, 2016; Sandercock, 2003). Affluence and prosperity sit juxtaposed with poverty and scarcity of resources. Any change, if any, in adjacent traditional authority land has limped along. The urban resourced / rural under-resourced buffer instituted prior to 1994 still exists (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2008; Turok, 2014). The divide between the two is clearly delineated, acceptance and even justification of the status quo is perpetuated and adaptation strategies instilled during apartheid still exist (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2008; Turok, 2014).

1.2 Problem Statement

The deconstruction and reconstruction of cities and metropolitan areas, and the process whereby rural areas transition to urban areas, is a phenomenon evidenced around the world. The urbanisation of the rural periphery in these contexts takes place at the "porous interface" of the "rural-urban divide" (Berdegué & Proctor, 2014, p.3). Decentralisation of cities to the periphery or 'edge' is often a core component of this transitioning process, characterised by residential, commercial and retail relocation (Henderson and Mitra, 1996). Inner city decay and

urban blight has resulted in a 'rush of the resourced' to the urban periphery. Edge cities and towns, and gated communities fulfill a new form of space consumption (Irazabal, 2006; Murray, 2004; Sandercock, 2003).

It will be argued in this dissertation that widespread decentralisation to the periphery and abandonment of the inner city of Durban to the Upper Highway Area – confirms and reflects characteristics of the transitioning to edge town (Henderson & Mitra, 1996; Irazabal, 2006). Additionally, associated with the advent of upper to middle class flight to the fringes of the city are the exclusionary practices of residential and commercial segregation. Newcomers to the Upper Highway area appear to have colonized the periphery; fueled by a discourse of fear they have built walls and fortified themselves against the 'ill-defined other' (Murray 2004; Irazabal, 2006; Sandercock, 2003).

This infiltration by the wealthy on a rural country landscape sharply accentuates the rural urban divide and accentuates the differences between the 'haves and have nots'. The poor, living shoulder to shoulder with the rich, continue to eke out their daily existence - excluded, alienated and abandoned (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2008; Turok, 2014). It may be surmised that the interactions between residents of rural communities and developing edge towns would facilitate social and economic integration, but this is not necessarily the case (Berdegué & Proctor, 2014). Post-apartheid urban planning instead of redressing imbalances of the past appears to have perpetuated an exclusionary system. At the point of the rural-urban interface, rural urbanisation seems to have strengthened the patterns of spatial segregation of the past - deepening social differentiation and segregation (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2008; Turok, 2014).

This rural-urban interface is contentious and there is a sharp contradiction between rapid rural urbanization of the periphery in the Upper Highway area with its forms of space consumption; and lack of development and service delivery in immediately adjacent tribal areas (Smith, 2016). It will be argued that regrettably those who 'have not', the supposedly intended recipients of transformative measures in the post-apartheid era who live in close proximity to the burgeoning commercial developments and gated communities – appear to accept and even justify the overall ideological, social and economic status quo. On one hand they hope for

change, but on the other are 'content' to accept things 'the way they are' (Jost & Andrews, 2011).

1.3 Rationale for the Study

Of the literature on rural urbanisation, it appears little research has been done in South Africa at the level of the rural-urban interface, to investigate how residents of a local community rationalise their under-resourced circumstances in the face of a social system that favours the needs of the affluent. A lack of such research is at the heart of this study, actively seeking to hear the 'voice' of residents, investigate the transition from 'agrarian village' to 'edge town', and assess whether this has deepened social differentiation and facilitated 'status quo rationalisations'.

A new and more integrated rural-urban interface agenda is needed, and more research needs to be done to contribute to the development of policies for the growth of more economically productive, socially integrated towns and urban centres (Turok, 2014). This study has the potential to inform planning at a policy level regarding land management and utilisation, and address the issue of rural-urban integration. Potentially the study could have a positive impact on the lived experiences of participants, as well as future residents of the area.

1.4 Location of the Study

The Upper Highway area approximately 30kms West of Durban is located in the Outer West region, a functional district of the eThekweni Metropolitan Area in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. It is commonly identified as the area encompassing the larger Western suburbs from Kloof in the East to Hillcrest in the West, incorporating smaller places of Waterfall, Everton and Gillitts (Smith, 2016). This study will investigate the spatial transition from the late 1990s to date, particularly taking cognisance of the unprecedented and rapid development taking place along Inanda road in the western suburbs and the implications this has had on adjacent under-developed areas such as Embo (Mkholombe). Adjacent communities falling within the ambit of traditional authority are under-resourced and have seen little to no development. These communities sit juxtaposed with over-resourced residential gated communities, reinforcing the

contentious rural/urban divide (Berdegué & Proctor, 2014; Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008; Smith, 2016).

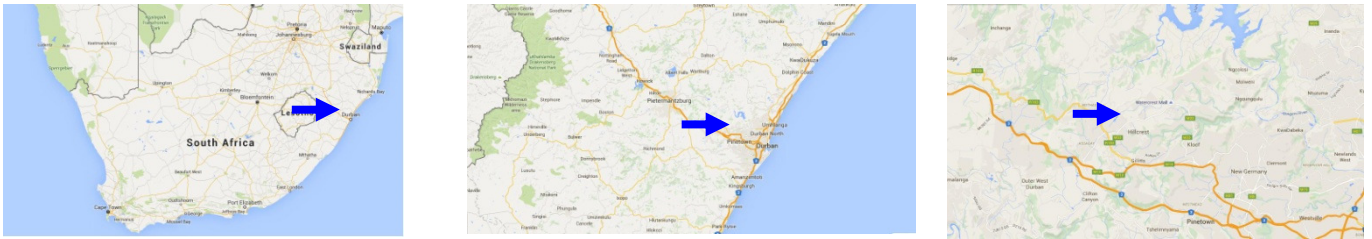


Figure 1.1: Locality Map of the Upper Highway Area in the Outer West Region. Source: googlemaps.com (May, 2016)

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 Broad Objective

The broad objective of this study is to investigate the transition from of the Upper Highway region from ‘agrarian village’ to ‘edge town’, and the implications of this transition on adjacent communities.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

- To historically assess and document the spatial composition of the Upper Highway area, and adjacent areas in the mid-1990s
- To map, describe and document the transition from agrarian village to edge town from the mid-1990s to date in terms of space utilisation
- To identify key factors that have contributed to this transition, including key role-players and catalysts central to this process.
- To evaluate the implications of the transition on how local residents interact with, interpret and experience their environment with reference to System Justification and Adaptation theories.
- To assess levels of integration and segregation in terms of the dominant discourse of ‘fear and fortification’

1.6 Research Questions

1.6.1 Main Research Question

What are the implications of the transition from 'agrarian village' to 'edge town' on local resident's interactions with this transformed environment; and how have they conceptualized these changes?

1.6.2 Sub-Questions

(See Appendix A for table indicating where questions are answered in the text)

- What was the spatial composition of the Upper Highway and adjacent area in the mid-1990s?
- What policies and plans acted as catalysts to these changes, and who were the key role-players?
- What developments have taken place since mid- to late 1990, and what suggests that the Upper Highway displays characteristics of an 'edge town'?
- What impact has the transition had on local residents?
- How have residents in local traditional authority communities experienced, conceptualised and interpreted the growth and development in the area?
- Are local residents more or less segregated / integrated than before?
- Is a sense of adaptation and system justification evident in the way local residents interact with their environment?

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This dissertation will be located and examined within the theoretical framework of Postmodern Urbanism, and theories of Adaptation and System Justification. The 'natural development' of cities and towns as framed by Postmodern Urbanism takes cognisance of the social, cultural, political nuances of society. Evolving patterns of spatial restructuring generates unique city forms as can be seen in the urban landscapes of the cities of Johannesburg and Sao Paulo (Murray, 2004). Spatial restructuring is characterised by abandonment of the inner city, peripheral urbanization, fortified architecture, strengthened segregation, and reinforcement of the urban/rural divide (Henderson and Mitra, 1996). This is evidenced in the Upper Highway

Area by the rush of the resourced to the urban periphery, yielding rapid and relentless development along the Hillcrest - Inanda road - Waterfall corridor (Smith, 2016). Such developments have taken on the form of fortified architecture, and appear to further entrench the urban/rural divide, perpetuating segregation and 'difference' (Murray, 2004).

According to System justification and Adaptation theory people tend to rationalise and defend their depressed, under-resourced, and constrained social and economic circumstances in the face of an overarching social system that favours and continues to service the needs of the affluent (Jost & Andrews, 2003). They validate the existing social order, the status quo, as legitimate and fair by rationalising that although they are 'poor they are happy', or the rich are wealthy because they 'work hard' and deserve it. Such rationalizations 'help' people to justify and adapt to their constrained circumstances, and serve to facilitate disengagement from 'unattainable' objectives. They simply adapt and accept the changes (Jost & Andrews, 2003). This dissertation aims to show that the Upper Highway transition from village to edge town has reinforced adaptation and system justification strategies, and further facilitates patterns of segregation.

1.8 Hypothesis

Decentralisation to the Upper Highway area has acted as a catalyst in the creation of an edge town; reinforcing patterns of segregation, adaptation and system justification through exclusionary forms of space consumption

1.9 Research Methodology

An open, exploratory qualitative research design methodology was adopted to investigate the aims of this study. This section pays attention to the data collection process, as well as how data is presented and analysed. Data was collected from both primary and secondary data sources. These will be assessed in more details as follows.

1.9.1 Secondary Data

Data which is collected from secondary sources refers to facts and information that can be drawn from books, newspaper articles, electronic websites, theses, journals and other documents (Silverman, 2001). Data derived from these sources provided information to locate

the Upper Highway area in its historical and contemporary context, providing a chronological timeline of events from the mid-1990s to date. Although very early historical details were difficult to obtain, the range of current data (together with interview data) was broad enough to help facilitate the construction of a timeline of events.

1.9.2 Primary Data

Primary data is gathered directly from the field and in the case of this study was gathered from a number of sources including interviews, an aerial land use survey, and observation and focus group data. These techniques are considered below.

(i) Interviews

Primary data collection was facilitated by interviewing key role-players who were considered to have been aware of the development in the Upper Highway Area in some form or other. Key role-players were identified and sampled purposively, and a total of six in-depth interviews were facilitated. Face-to-face interviews were facilitated with two town planners who worked for the Outer West municipality from the period 1999 to 2013, a local architect and property developer who had worked in the area respectively for over 19 years and who have been involved in numerous developments, a respected member of Embo community who heads up a local community based organisation (CBO) and a GIS staff member from Outer West Local council (See Appendix B for Gatekeepers Letter). Names of the interviewees have not been divulged in order to protect their privacy. Interviewees are presented in Table 1. Numerous attempts were made to secure interviews with the current Outer West Town Planners, but these were unsuccessful.

Table 1.1: Interviewees

Interviewee	Dates position held
Town Planner	1999 – 2008 (Outer West)
Town Planner	2000 – 2013 (Outer West)
Architect	1997 to date
Property Developer	1997 to date
GIS Manager	2012 to date (Outer West)
CBO Project Manager Embo	Resident of Embo for the past 30 years. CBO Project Manager since 2006

Source: Fieldwork Interviews (November 2016 – March 2017)

The aim of the interviews was to gather data with regards to the purported transition of the Upper Highway Area from village to town, and to document these changes (see Appendix C for detailed interview schedule). Interview respondents were asked to answer a number of open ended questions on a range of issues as follows:

- Has the area changed, what is the nature of the change
- What growth and development has taken place
- What have been the key catalysts for change
- Have there been changes in adjacent traditional authority areas
- Recommendations for the future

It became apparent to the interviewer that the data from the interviews formed a strong narrative – a ‘developmental story’ so to speak – wherein the recollection of the Upper Highway story was heavily imbued with a richness of experience, memory, and insight both in the public and private domain. Each interview was over an hour long. With permission the interviews were taped and then transcribed. The data generated from the recordings were analysed using Thematic Analysis whereby repeated readings of the data developed a set of broad themes (Silverman, 2003). Data from each interview was integrated and presented thematically.

(ii) Aerial Land Use Survey

Collecting data by means of surveys on the ‘ground’ has traditionally been the research method adopted by researchers in developing countries. Monitoring land use and conducting surveys by these means has not always proved economical in terms of time and energy expended. Sequential aerial photography has been used to successfully track land use in varying contexts and over different timelines (Olorunfemi, 1983).

Changes to the spatial composition of Upper Highway from 1997 to date was assessed based on aerial imagery obtained from the archives of the eThekweni Municipality Photogrammetry Department, as assisted by the manager of that department. The manager was able to collate geographical data to construct two aerial images of the Upper Highway, one in 1997 and the other in 2003. The ‘land use transformation’ of Upper Highway was documented by

scrutinising and constantly comparing the 1997 aerial photograph with that of 2003, and a third current photograph obtained from Google Earth. All three photographs were scaled to A1 size and printed so as to facilitate the research.

The 2017 aerial photograph was superimposed on the 1997 photograph to graphically outline changes that have taken place in the area over the past 20 years. This was initially done by hand by the researcher, after which the final image was drawn up on sketch-up and superimposed on the 1997 photograph. As far as was appropriately possible changes were confirmed by the researcher by facilitating a drive-by survey of the area - confirming names of gated estates, and retail and service oriented developments. The aim was to chart and tabulate the developmental changes over the years.

(iii) Focus Groups

Five focus groups were facilitated at the community hall in Embo – an area that falls within Ingonyama Tribal Trust land (ITB) adjacent to the Upper Highway. Two isiZulu speaking research assistants from Embo were employed to assist with inviting community members to participate in the focus groups. The aim of the focus groups was to investigate the implications of the transition from village to town on local residents; to explore how residents interact with this transformed environment; and to identify how these changes have been conceptualised (see Appendix D for focus group questions).

The research assistants spent some weeks going door to door informing residents of the research project and inviting them to participate in the focus groups at a certain date and time. Purposive sampling was used as a basis for selecting participants for the study. Such sampling allows for the selection of cases based on the feature in which the project is specifically interested, namely a range of community member's perceptions of developmental changes in the Upper Highway. Interestingly many participants, who indicated they would participate, did not arrive, and those who did not indicate they would participate, did arrive. Of the 27 community members who participated in the study – ten were older women between the ages of 52 and 78 years, eight were older men between the ages of 51 – 75 years, five were younger women from 25 to 34 years and four were younger men from 25 to 34 years.

Each focus group was facilitated in isiZulu by one of the research assistants. Participants were reassured of their anonymity and were asked not to say their names. Some questions focused on demographics such as age and gender, but most were open-ended as follows:

- How long have you lived in Embo, and what changes have you seen
- What do you think of the big developments
- What do you think about living here in Embo
- What are your hopes for the future

After the focus group sessions were completed the researcher met with each research assistant to facilitate translation and audio recording of the isiZulu content into English. The English recordings were then transcribed into typed script by the researcher. The data generated from the recordings was analysed using Thematic Analysis whereby a preliminary reading of the data developed a set of themes (Silverman, 2003). The computer programme Nvivo was utilised as an analytical tool to develop a set of codes. Nvivo offers a visual display of coding in a hierarchical tree structure which can be easily updated and changed as a coding scheme develops (Silverman, 2003). Repeated readings of the text looked for similarities, differences and relationships between themes.

(iv) *Observation*

By observing and paying close attention to the Upper Highway and adjacent traditional authority area, the researcher was able to gather relevant information and validate certain facts. This method facilitated greater understanding of growth and development (or lack of) in both communities. Personal observation in the form of a 'drive-by' land survey, together with photographic evidence, facilitated the confirmation / capturing of developments and changes on the ground. Importantly, observation used in conjunction with other techniques such as an aerial land use survey and interviews, was able to validate a number of changes.

1.9.3 Validity, Reliability and Rigour

It is acknowledged that this research project does not aim to make any numerical claims, and will not attempt to generalize findings to the broader population. The researcher was committed to facilitating the process in as objective a manner as possible and in so doing sought to ensure that translation, transcription and analysis of the data captures as accurately

as possible the viewpoints of participants. A systematic approach to data collection and analysis was followed. The issue of validity and reliability were addressed as much as possible by adhering to Silverman's (2001) principles of refutability, constant comparison, comprehensive data treatment, deviant-case analysis and using appropriate tabulations. Further themes specific to the South African context may be identified as they emerge from repeated, close readings of the text. It is suggested that this study has the potential to inform planning at a policy level regarding the utilisation and management of land. Potentially the study could have a positive impact on the lived experiences of participants, as well as future residents of the area.

1.9.4 Ethical Considerations

Each participant was informed as to the nature of the study, anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed, and each participant received a consent and information form (see Appendix E for consent form). Key ethical considerations in this study included the voluntary consent of the research subjects, and the right of subjects to withdraw should they have wished to (Greig & Taylor, 1999). All research participants were fully apprised of the nature and purposes of the research. It was made clear that their participation was entirely voluntary and that they were free to leave at any time should they feel uncomfortable. They were informed that their responses would be treated in a confidential manner, and that their anonymity would be ensured. They were apprised of the identity of the researcher and research assistants, as well as the name of the institution and supervisor associated with the project.

Research participants are not referred to by name in any context, in this the final dissertation, presentations or subsequent publications. The written findings will be made available to any interested parties such as the local tribal authority, and research assistants. The key respondent interviews, voice recordings and transcribed notes are stored in two electronic sites both of which are password protected. None of the names of the focus group participants or interviewee respondents have been kept on record, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality.

1.9.5 Limitations to the Study

Due to the exploratory nature of this study the subjective character of this research is acknowledged. Research questions could have prejudiced the researcher to the outcome of the study, interpretation of the data and presentation of the results. Specifically, a number of problems were encountered in the field as follows:

(i) Unavailability of key Role-players

The researcher was unable to secure interviews with all identified key role-players due to work commitments. This however was circumvented by securing interviews with other key respondents.

(ii) Upper Highway Boundary

One of the bigger issues with regards to the Upper Highway area was the difficulty establishing actual boundaries for the area. Areas such as Hillcrest, Kloof, Waterfall, Botha's Hill and Gillitts are formally acknowledged areas and suburbs that appear to fall within the Upper Highway area; however Upper Highway does not have clearly delineated boundaries and is not formally designated as such. It is acknowledged that this could have implications for the aerial land use survey and subsequent 'aerial count' of new developments since 1997. The researcher attempted to circumvent this as far as possible by confirming the informally acknowledged boundaries of the Upper Highway with key role-players in the area.

(iii) Lack of Clarity of Aerial Photographs

It also became apparent to the researcher that the lack of clarity of aerial photographs at A1 size from Google Earth could impact the efficacy of the aerial count. This was facilitated as carefully as possible.

(iv) Lack of Participation of Community Members

Another significant problem was the refusal of community members to participate in the focus groups. Although it was originally the intention of the researcher to facilitate four gender specific focus groups, this did not transpire as participants arrived at times that suited them and simply joined the group gathered at the time. Of the four planned focus groups of 8-10

participants each, five focus groups of between 4-7 participants each were facilitated in the end. Of these groups, three were mixed and two were gender specific. Although the research assistants spent weeks canvassing for participants, it became apparent on the day that community members did not attend for a number of reasons. These ranged from suspicion, fear, and disinterest to being too busy to attend on a Saturday.

Participants indicated to research assistants that they questioned the motivation for the research and were concerned that it was politically motivated. As Embo appears to be an under researched area, it did not appear that the research was the issue, rather the motivations behind the research were questioned. Additionally the hire of the local community hall became problematic as the price was increased five-fold as the focus groups were seen as aiding an institution (University of KwaZulu-Natal) and not directly benefiting the community.

1.10 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Herewith a brief outline of what is discussed and incorporated in each chapter.

Chapter 1: Introduction, Background and Methodology

This chapter seeks to provide the reader with a broad overview of the study at hand by outlining key theoretical and conceptual terms and providing a framework for investigating the transitional nature of the Upper Highway area from 'agrarian village' to 'edge town'. Broad explanations regarding peripheral decentralisation and system justification are explored. The location of the study area is identified, the rationale of the study is explained, and key objectives and research questions are presented. Additionally the methodological approach to the study is outlined as are limitations to the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The second chapter in this dissertation gives a detailed review of literature from the standpoint of Post-modern Urbanism and its impact on the rural-urban divide, and the ability of communities to manage / conceptualise this divide from the viewpoint of Adaptation and Social Justification theories. It gives a broad historical overview of past segregationist policies in South Africa, and the impact that these have had on the current rural-urban interface. It is

the changing nature of the rural-urban interface and the decentralisation of the city to the periphery that is at the heart of this review. Furthermore this chapter examines the concepts of 'village', 'edge city or town' and 'gated communities' within the framework of decentralisation. Finally, two relevant case studies in Johannesburg, South Africa and Sao Paulo, Brazil are examined.

Chapter 3: Background to the Case Study

The third chapter in this dissertation attempts to provide a framework for the research and to locate the reader with an assessment of the existing socio-economic context. This chapter identifies the area of study, provides a historical background, outlines key issues with reference to the Ingonyama Trust Board (ITB) and examines key socio-economic and demographic data. To a degree this chapter overlaps with the following chapters which outline results and data presentation as data derived from secondary sources are presented here.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion - Aerial land Use Survey and Role-player Interviews

This fourth chapter seeks to address some of the questions posed by this dissertation – namely to establish what developments have taken place since the mid-1990s, and what / who the main catalysts were. Primarily the data from the aerial land use survey and key role-player interviews are presented in this chapter. Data from the drive-by land use survey, personal observation and secondary sources contribute to / augment the results derived from the two primary sources. Aerial photographs obtained from the Photogrammetry Department and Google Earth were examined in depth to explore changes to the area between 1997 and 2017. Detailed data derived from interviews with key role-players are analysed and presented according to themes. Finally the question of whether the Upper Highway displays characteristics of an 'edge town' is discussed here, along with other emerging issues.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion - Focus Groups

The fifth chapter seeks to address the remaining questions raised by this dissertation – primarily what impact the developmental changes have had on residents in adjacent traditional authority communities, are they more or less integrated than before, and does adaptation play a role in how they interact with their environment? Data derived from five focus groups is presented here. Data was interrogated and analysed using Nvivo.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

This is the sixth and final chapter of the dissertation. Based on the findings and results a number of recommendations for future developments are made. This chapter also summaries the whole dissertation, highlighting major issue and concerns.

Chapter Two

Literature Review, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical and conceptual framework within which the transition of the Upper Highway from village to edge town can be considered, and how local communities at the rural-urban interface make sense of and rationalise the socio-economic disadvantages they face. This research facilitates this from the perspective of post-modern urbanism, and social justification and adaptation theory. The decentralisation of the inner city to the periphery and the subsequent growth of urban enclaves are well documented within post-modern urbanism and form an appropriate backdrop for this research, showing how such changes impact communities at the rural-urban interface.

Social justification and adaptation theory show how groups tend to 'stick together' in the face of inequality. This sits comfortably with this research as it demonstrates how local communities adjacent to the Upper Highway area rationale and make sense of the difficult circumstances in their lives. This chapter begins by giving a broad overview of issues of segregation and spatial planning in South Africa, and thereafter examines post-modern urbanism and social justification and adaptation theory. The chapter moves on to provide a conceptual framework examining the precepts of village, town, gated communities, the rural-urban interface and spatial inequality. The chapter ends by considering two case studies and their relevance to the Upper Highway case study – one international and one in South Africa.

2.2 Overview of Segregation and Spatial Planning in South Africa

That South Africa is a unique country in the greater scheme of the world would be an understatement – located as it is on the very tip of Africa, housing multiple cultures, ethnicities, religions and languages; notwithstanding its particular flavor of distinctiveness as a country influenced by multiple segregationist stratagems from colonialism to apartheid and segregationist urban planning policies (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2008 cited in Smith, 2015). The historically fractured, displaced, and broken narrative that developed (and continues to develop) as a consequence of these strategies – has offered a strong cautionary note against

adopting such segregationist strategies now and in the future (Smith, 2015). History, however, appears to repeat itself with the perpetuation of division and exclusion in the form of gated communities and edge cities. The status quo remains and community rationalisations abound for different groups of people along economic and racial lines (Smith, 2016). The multiple discourses of fear, of a 'better and safer life', of 'country living' have fueled the widespread development of gated communities on the urban periphery and the correlating abandonment of the decaying inner city (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2008).

Post-1994 the new government of National Unity introduced and implemented a number of strategies and initiatives to redress the discriminatory legacy of the past (Smith, 2015). By 1994, with the ending of apartheid (on paper) and based on a post-modernist paradigm, planners began to plan for and envisage new spatial forms in the city, holding to the 'never-before-heard-of' principles of participation, long-term strategic planning, process-oriented interaction, social justice, bottoms-up planning and community involvement in creating a very new South Africa with mixed and integrated cities (Smith, 2015). The aim primarily was to integrate communities socially and spatially (Landman, 2003). Planners had to recognise and acknowledge the disastrous effects of the segregationist past, but have the courage to optimistically visualise a bright future (Harrison, 2001 cited in Smith, 2015).

The 'opening up of cities' to previously excluded black Africans in 1994 ushered in an age of migration to the inner cities with people in search of employment - resulting in over population, burgeoning informal settlements and unemployment. Post-apartheid cities in South Africa continue to be characterized by inequality and imbalance. Bauman, in Murray (2004), distinguishes between two groups of 'people on the move' – so called 'wealthy travelers' and poor drifters. The former have the resources to decide where to live and when to go; and the latter are driven by despair and lured by the promise of a better life in the big city. According to Murray, when these itinerant hopefuls come to the city they are confronted with an architectural language that is forbidding, unwelcome and pervasively inward-looking (Murray, 2004). Hence, as the poor are drawn into the inner city in hopes of finding a better life, the resourced move outwards to the periphery.

The cautionary voice of the past that stood firm against the promotion of difference, and highlighted the negative consequences for South African society, does not appear to have been heeded. Differences between 'haves and have-nots' continues to widen (Smith, 2015).

2.3 Post-Modern Urbanism

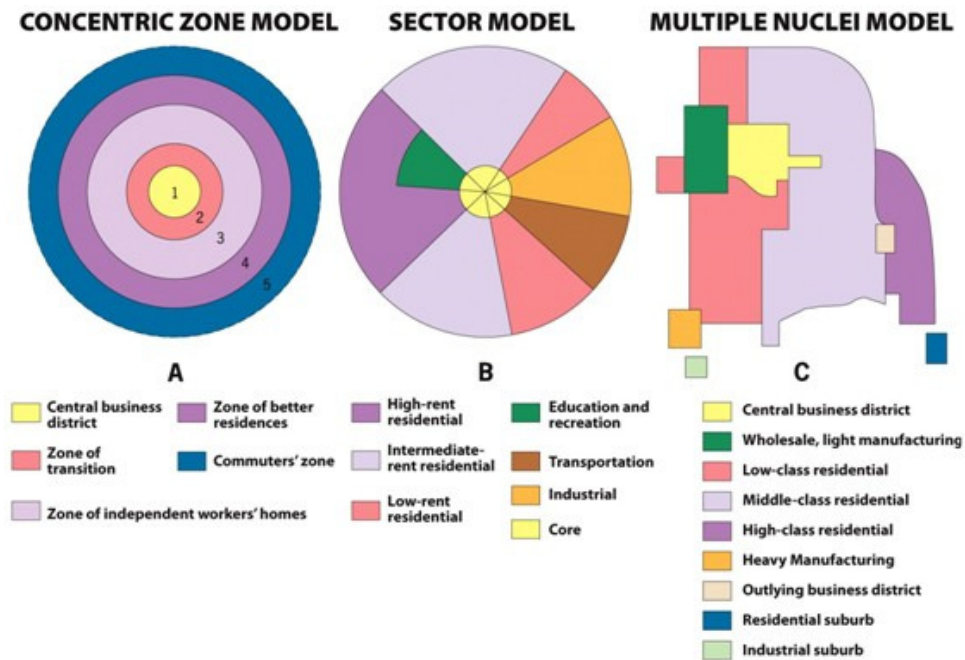
2.3.1 Introduction

It is commonly acknowledged that modernism and mass industrialisation have facilitated alienation, divisiveness and exclusivity over the past decades. It is out of this legacy and in reaction to an autocratic mechanistic approach to planning that post-modernism has emerged. Modernism, the 'defender' of technocratic impositional planning strategies has wrought havoc in cities around the world, and in South Africa, by subverting the essence of our humanity and perpetuating segregation (Gratz, 2011). Modernism had as its focus large-scale rampant developments, and massive displacement of people to make way for new developments and highways. As early as the 1960s large scale mega projects in the USA were promoted as beneficial to all - but resulted in the marginalisation of residents and local businesses (Gratz, 2011; Jacobs, 1961). The following section will investigate the move away from modernism and the adoption of principles of post-modern urbanism firstly in the international context, and secondly in the South African context. The history of post-modernism will be discussed, as well as the influence of the ideas of post-modernism in the South African context.

2.3.2 Overview of Post-Modern Urbanism

Understanding urbanism has been at the core of research and theory for decades, beginning with Burgess's concentric zone model, giving rise to Hoyt's sector model and further elaborated in Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei theory and the Chicago concentric ring model (Dear & Flusty, 1998). All attempted to develop a real understanding of the complexity of urbanism as can be seen in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Classical Models of Urban form



Source: <http://slideplayer.com/slide/3623039/> (May, 2017)

The emergence of a 'Los Angeles School' of thought in the 1980s was a reflection of widespread socio-geographic transformations occurring in the United States; evidenced as deindustrialisation and the birth of the information age. Ted Relph (1987) suggests that modernism's vision of 'skyscraper filled cities' fell at the convergence of trends such as participatory planning, cultural and historical conservation, urban design and gentrification. Twentieth-century urbanism up to the 1940s involved a transitional period, followed by modernism after 1945 characterized by cityscapes, and then a time of postmodern townscapes after 1970. The modernist cityscape was a reflection of mega-projects, rationality, mechanism, order, hard straight lines and little details. Conversely postmodern townscapes are supposedly picturesque, stylish, multifunctional and culturally relevant (Relph, 1987).

Postmodernism stands in sharp contrast to the modernist 'mechanised machine movement' "giving way to the new vogue in planning discourse: uniqueness, identity, culture, and quality of life" (Hirst, 2005 pp35). Post 1970 it attempted to adopt a humanistic approach focusing on the image of the city and place making, suggesting that the city is an urban organism within a web of interconnectedness (Lynch, 1960). Authentic regeneration, where a vibrant city retains a mix of old and new buildings, is vital to growth and development. Post-modern urbanism was

birthed in reaction to the autocratic totalitarian approach of modernism that perpetuated economic inequality (Hirst, 2005). It relies instead on the energy, innovation and commitment of citizens through the mechanism of participatory planning, acknowledges the importance of cultural and historical spaces, values identity and focuses on a mixed land use model on a human level (Gratz 2011; Hirst, 2005; Jacobs, 1961).

Post-modern urbanism and globalism with 'their' focus on spatial policies relating to ownership rights, land usage and urban spaces, and who belongs where in the cityscape - have purportedly been the champions of progress, integration and democracy within the context of humanism (Irazabal, 2006). It has been a phase of urban growth and development associated with macro-social trends, rapid sub-urban sprawl, and devaluation of public spaces and middle class abandonment of the urban centre (Irazabal, 2006). Postmodernism is described by Goodman (1972) as a 'rejection of totality', a mental state of mind which rejects large-scale comprehensive planning, a conventionally common approach to development within the modern era of town planning (cited in Smith, 2015). It is a move towards a more democratic society which emphasises the benefits of diversity in the planning process, mixed-land use and environmental awareness - challenging typical, technical rationality in planning (Hirst, 2005). Critics however suggest that the postmodern shift is less about action and more about talk and is simply modernism in another form (Hirst, 2005). The 'on-the-ground' reality of the postmodernist participatory humanist discourse in many countries has been the escape of the resourced to the fringes of decaying cities, with a spark of urban renewal and gentrification in others (Hirst, 2005; Irazabal, 2006).

Postmodern thought challenges the premises of comprehensive rationalism. The postmodern city rejects the totality of planning and structure; it is more of an organic city developing along natural lines taking into consideration the social, cultural, and political nuances of society – and incorporating these into its evolutionary march (Gratz, 2011; Hirst, 2005; Jacobs, 1961). It heralds the collapse of confidence and a declining faith in comprehensive planning as a universal remedy for social ills. Postmodern urbanism is substantiated by the rapid increase in security enclaves that engage with an architecture of fear and fortification – in the form of malls, office parks, and gated residential developments. The post-modern urban landscape is characterised by peripheral urbanisation, edge cities, fragmentation and segregation as can be

seen in this image of the city of Caracas in Venezuela (South America) in Plate 2.1. This powerful image represents the stand-off between wealth and power on the one hand, and poverty and the resolute determination of the underprivileged to survive (Gratz, 2011; Hirst, 2005).

Plate 2.1: Caracas, Venezuela (South America)



Source: <https://archithoughts.wordpress.com/2009/10/06/room-with-views/caracas-slum-2> (2009)

2.3.3 Post-modern Urbanism in the South African Context

South African segregationist policies, spanning decades, adhering to the modernist paradigm and justified by many on the basis of multiple motives, resulted in a particular brand of fragmented society where differences and diversity were actively promoted (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008 cited in Smith, 2015). The naturally inherent creativity of local communities and commercial initiatives that added social and economic value to the city, were undermined (Irazabal, 2006). In South Africa postmodernism has found expression in the development of 'sustainable urban villages' on the periphery of urban centres. Within the framework of democratic choice and freedom such villages have been founded on the notion of meeting 'local needs' of security, convenience, lifestyle, community and privacy, matching international trends and creating cities and towns attractive enough to lure in outside capital (Landman, 2003).

The result is the birth of 'edge gated communities' on the periphery of the inner city. There is a proliferation of these in South Africa; they are regarded as hugely successful by some catering as they do to the middle to upper class segment of society. Landman (2003) refers to the growing phenomenon of 'security estates' which are usually privately developed, where the whole area is fenced off and access is usually controlled through a gate. These estates are predominantly residential, with some including basic amenities such as leisure facilities and a tea-room. Some include a wider range of land uses within a secured environment, almost functioning as a small town such as Heritage Park in the Cape (Landman, 2003).

These gated communities and commercial centres often sit alongside and in sharp contrast with undeveloped and under resourced communities (Smith, 2016). Photographer Johnny Miller's work (2016) provides a powerful visual testimony of such developments. Taken with a drone the photograph below indicates the sharp discrepancy between a gated enclave on the Southern Cape Peninsula (Lake Michelle) and the adjacent informal settlement of Masiphumele with about 38 000 residents. While Lake Michelle residents spend idyllic days safely behind their electric fences in their million rand homes paddling on the lake, residents of Masiphumele struggle to survive in their tin shacks with little access to basic services. The wetlands between these two communities acts as a 'natural buffer' between the poor and the rich (Miller, 2016).

Plate 2.2: Masiphumele / Lake Michelle (Cape Town, South Africa)



Source: unequalscenes.com, Miller (July 2016)

2.3.4 The Legacy of Post-Modern Planning

Postmodern space can be characterized as a resistance toward modernist top-down planning and seeks to cultivate older community and village styles of living space. The postmodern regime, although supposedly participatory and democratic, seems to support space fragmentation and efforts of the middle to upper class to further segregate and polarize themselves from the lower class through discourses of 'fear of the other'. There is a tension between the periphery and the centre, between global and individual relationships. The devolution to the periphery operates against attempts to rejuvenate the inner city. The centre cannot hold in the face of unashamed abandonment of the inner city producing fortified gated communities, edge cities and towns and corporate strongholds (Dear and Flusty, 1998; Smith, 2016).

The resourced move out and outwards, and the under-resourced, driven by hopelessness and enticed by promises of work and a better life for their families, move in and inwards. Emboldened by their 'bravery' the 'middle to upper class escapees' colonize the periphery and build their walls, whereas the urban poor resiliently persist every day with the simple business of living (finding work, shelter, and food). They sit at the coalface of despair excluded and abandoned, but not undone, and doggedly pursue their right to space and legitimacy on the fringes of these gated enclaves. The infiltration of the poor on the landscape of the privileged is an unspoken but pervasive attempt to simply survive (Murray, 2004).

2.4 System Justification and Adaptation Theory

2.4.1 Background to the Theory

The socioeconomic disadvantages that people face vary greatly, some face none at all, some suffer greatly due to their disadvantage. According to system justification and adaptation theory people tend to rationalise and defend their constrained social and economic circumstances in the face of a social system that continues to bolster the needs of the affluent (Jost and Andrews, 2003). It is against the backdrop of this theory that this study will attempt to explore whether under-resourced communities do make sense of their world by legitimising the status quo with efficient phrases such as 'we are poor but happy', or 'the rich are wealthy because they work hard and deserve it'. Do such rationalisations 'help' people to justify and adapt to their constrained circumstances, and serve to facilitate disengagement from

'unattainable' objectives (Jost and Andrews, 2003). This section will firstly examine conventional theories that preceded theories of system justification, and why these are unable to adequately address the status quo-legitimacy issue. Secondly, this section will give an overview and description of the principles of the theory, and finally will examine the relevance in the South African context and challenges to the hypothesis.

2.4.2 Conventional Theories of Group Justification

Conventional theories of social identity and group justification suggest that in the face of disadvantage, those of a lower status and income are likely to respond negatively to those of a higher status and income. Group justification theories suggest that groups tend to 'stick together', that they favour their 'own kind' and service their own needs sometimes to the detriment of the 'different other'. Ideologically such groups defend the stand they take, they prefer the company of their own kind, may exhibit hostility towards outsiders, and won't avoid conflict when their interests are threatened (in order to advance their own interests) (Brewer and Miller, 1996; Brown, 2000; Walker & Smith, 2002). Oppression, prejudice and the imposition of one group's self-interest on another are sad outcomes of group behaviour. In this paradigmatic context, dominant groups use their socioeconomic 'supremacy' to their advantage, whereas subordinate 'revolutionary' disadvantaged groups stand ready to fight for their rights. In short it is suggested that in the circumstance of social reality, the dominant group imposes, and the subordinate group resists (Fiske, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

System justification and adaptation theories on the other hand suggest that this may not always be the case – that where a system and social order is clearly disadvantageous to some groups of people, the needs of such people can be met through justifying and even preserving the current prejudicial status quo. Jost and Banaji (1994) suggest that other forces are 'at play' that challenge this default interest-based view of the world. This is not to say that subordinate lower income and status groups don't revolt, they clearly do as is evidenced in news reports every day, but there are numerous exceptions and deviations from this normative view which can be supplemented within another theoretical viewpoint called 'system justification and adaptation' (Fong, 2001; Jost Banaji & Nosek, 2004).

2.4.3 Overview of System Justification and Adaptation Theory

The weakness of group justification theories such as social identity and dominance is that they fail to recognize the degree to which people's responses to the status quo are actively strengthened by system justification, especially those who do not enjoy economic and social advantages. The conventional 'hierarchical status quo model' that exists in many societies around the world is maintained by the dominant higher income in-group's partiality to itself, the derogation by this dominant in-group of subordinate lower income out-groups, and the seemingly passive 'buying in' to this model of inequality by the out-group through positively held attitudes of the dominant group (Kay & Jost, 2003; O'Brien & Major, 2005). In other words groups don't just have favourable opinions about themselves, but also about the social reality they live in. This leads to what is termed out-group favouritism where lower income groups 'accept' their inadequate socioeconomic circumstance and hold positive opinions of / towards higher income groups. This is the contradictory heart of system justification theory; on the one hand people support the status quo and on the other they fall prey to it (Brandt, 2013; Kay & Jost, 2003).

Jost and Banaji (1994, pp2) define this theoretical perspective as the "process by which existing social arrangements are legitimized, even at the expense of personal and group interest". The desired goals of stability and order are strong motivators for adaptation to the status quo. Interestingly, studies have shown that members of marginalized groups may hold conflicted, contradictory and stereotypical views about members of their group, but more favorable opinions towards members of advantaged groups. In a large representative national survey facilitated in the USA, Sniderman and Piazza (1993) surprisingly found that a large number of people accepted stereotypical labels of their own group such as 'indolent, aggressive and irresponsible'. Intergroup attitudes appear to be more complex than was commonly held. It isn't always as simple as saying 'us the dominant advantaged versus them the subordinate disadvantaged' within the assumed commonplace context of "in-group favoritism and out-group derogation" (Jost Banaji & Nosek, 2004, pp884).

This is particularly difficult to conceptualise in the context of economic policies relating to the distribution of resources, where low-income groups hardly support these policies even though they would benefit from them (Smith, 2016). Evidence is mounting that people will

accommodate the status quo and rationalize their position in society, rather than simply identify with their own self-interests or interest-group. Newman's work (2002) suggests that people in the ghettos are "neither the passive victims of nor the heroic resisters against capitalism or racist exploitation" (pp1586). History seems to show more acceptance of the status quo and submission to it by disadvantaged groups, than rebellion. Zinn (1968) suggested that we should be less concerned about the tendency of people to revolt, and more concerned about "the inclination of people, faced with an overwhelming environment, to submit to it." (Pp16-17).

A theory of system justification is needed to expound on the reasons why individuals and groups remain invested in the existing social order, even though it disadvantages them. Jost and Banaji (1994, pp3) argue that people justify the status quo in order to legitimize and validate their current circumstances whereby the status quo is seen as "good, fair, natural, desirable, and even inevitable". Such groups appear to reject principles that champion socio-economic equality, and even though financially challenged they hold fast to the precept that reimbursement is based on merit. They embrace the existing status quo and demonstrate preferences towards members of the dominant group (Moss, 2016). Social change can only take place when members of groups engaging in system justification yield to individual legitimacy, favouritism of their own group and in-group modes of resistance. Along with enhanced system justification is 'non-conscious' favouritism of the dominant out-group and complicit stereotyping. In their study comparing in-group bias across four groups Fairchild, Feinberg and Rudman (2002) found that minorities fairly low in socio-economic status "showed automatic preference for the dominant out-groups" (Pp. 1).

People rationalize the status quo by judging events likely to happen as more desirable than those that are not likely to happen. In the case of the urban-rural interface such as Embo and Hillcrest in the Upper Highway area, it is suggested that people in rural areas may justify the way they live and their lack of resources because it is what they know as opposed to possibly living in the up-market gated community just 100 metres away because that is certainly 'unlikely' (Smith, 2016). Additionally, people justify the status quo by employing stereotypes to highlight differences between poorer and wealthier groups so that it almost seems the inequality they suffer is 'as it should be' – natural and fair. Both high and low income groups

engage in behaviours that reiterate existing social systems, with the lower income group using out-group favouritism to do so (Fairchild, Feinberg and Rudman, 2002; Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Critics suggest that out-group favoritism by lower income groups is simply a reflection of societal divisiveness, rather than an internal set of behaviours and that when the moment is 'right' – lower income groups will move from passive acceptance of social reality, to collective resistance and protest (Wright Taylor & Moghaddam, 1990). The suggestion is that out-group favoritism and preference (crediting positive characteristics) is only valid when the lower income group is limited in its response to the status quo, or when the out-group threatens them in some way (Wright Taylor & Moghaddam, 1990). Evidence however suggests that people from lower income groups will not only favour their own group, but will positively rationalize and accept the existing unequal socioeconomic position, will motivate that the system is legitimate in a non-conscious way and that the power of this level of system justification can override their own group favouritism. Leading to what appears to be passive acceptance of the status quo. Even where research showed explicit outrage towards the status quo (in a controlled context), the behavioral response showed otherwise – it revealed an implicit passive non-conscious acceptance of the circumstances. So even in the face of disadvantage and glaring inequality – some may revolt, but most will not (Newman, 2002; Jost, Banaji & Nosek, 2004).

2.4.4 System Justification in the South African Context

Although some countries are more egalitarian than others, it is apparent that some countries evidence great disparity in equality where the distribution of wealth is horribly skewed. A small percentage of the world's population, and especially in South Africa, control the majority of the world's wealth. Why is this disparity, where the minority benefit at the expense of the majority, 'easily tolerated' by so many and why do some engage in revolt (Wakslak, Jost, Tyler & Chen, 2007)? This theory addresses the possibility that many severely marginalized and disadvantaged groups embrace an ideological reason for justifying social reality and inequality, that this fosters explicit positive attitudes towards higher status groups, and an implicit 'unaware' persistent validation and acceptance of their own circumstances.

It must be said that not everyone is motivated to accept the status quo, political conservatism is one variable that appears to contribute to a group's rationalization of inequality and a resistance to change. Brandt (2013) argues that the strength of the 'status-legitimacy' hypothesis is questionable as there are many cases in literature that suggest that people of lower status do not necessarily support the status quo. More research is required to assess why the relationship between status quo rationalisations and legitimacy vary so greatly across different contexts.

Despite these contentions, in many contexts where there is a sharp disparity between the 'haves and have nots' people seems to have

Developed generally adaptive capacities to accommodate, internalize and even rationalize key features of their socially constructed environments, especially those features that are difficult or impossible to change (Jost Banaji & Nosek, 2004 pp912).

It is this that this dissertation seeks to explore – the apparent 'passive ease' of accepting the status quo with its incumbent consequences. Where the shared social, political, cultural and economic environment is preferred, resisting the status quo is not encouraged and where inequality ultimately is perpetuated.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

2.5.1 Introduction

This section will examine a number of key concepts that form a strong working foundation for this research that collectively chart the route this dissertation will follow. In examining the transitional nature of the Upper Highway area it is necessary to scrutinize what is meant by village, edge town, gated community, rural-urban interface and spatial inequality. It is these concepts that this section will investigate in order to frame the research. The contention is that the Upper Highway area has morphed from a 'small quiet village' located around an agricultural hub to an 'edgy edge town' on the periphery of the city, reflecting the characteristics of 'fortification' in the form of multiple gated enclaves and intensifying spatial inequality and segregation at the rural-urban interface.

2.5.2 Village

In considering the notion of 'village' Landman (2003) points out the necessity of considering all the interrelated systems encompassing work, play and living. A village is more than its buildings or people; it is an interactive physical, social and economic community (Landman, 2003). Post-apartheid saw the advent of many changes in South Africa, politically and socio-economically – with implications for spatial transformation and planning policies and more specifically the concept of the sustainable 'urban village' (Landman, 2003). What does this mean for South Africa today? Are we referring to an international trend or a resurgence of / hankering after the 'old ways' of exclusivity, for whom and by what mechanisms? The South African architectural mantra for 2016 is that of 'Village, Town and City' (Smith, 2016). Is the transition naturally progressive and to what form are they referring?

The active creation of 'villages' or towns saw its genesis in the ideals of Ebenezer Howard's 'Garden City Concept' and Perry's 'Neighbourhood Unit' (Rohe, 2009). However the concept of village and town sees its true origins in antiquity in Europe and Africa (Patten, 1972). Villages were small communities with a few hundred to thousand people often (though not exclusively) located on the periphery of urban centres in rural areas adjacent to towns. In the past villages were often formed around an agricultural or agrarian function (Plate 2.3). Traditionally homes were situated together for sociability, sustainability and defense (Patten, 1972).

Plate 2.3: Early Villages in Europe and Africa



Source: <http://www.medievalhistories.com> (2014)

Source: https://www.asti.cqiar.org/south_africa (n.d.)

How have things changed, or have they? The move to create modern day villages was criticized on the grounds that it was strongly anti-inclusive and anti- the post-modernistic ideals of democracy and progress. However, despite the criticism, the trend to develop villages and small towns based on the idealism of 'community' has gained momentum (Irazabal, 2006; Landman, 2003). Unfortunately the movement has morphed and appears regressive in nature – in the form of semi-gated edge towns and gated communities for those who can afford to live in them (Madanipour, 2001). The form these take is as smaller versions of adjacent cities – mixed use developments encompassing a commercial sector, housing, leisure and retail amenities on a pedestrian-scale (at least within the confines of the community). Such projects aim to “create a secure, high quality modern community with traditional values of village life” (English Partnerships 1998 pp.2 cited in Madanipour, 2001 pp171).

Contributing factors are rapid urbanization, inner city decay, the escape to the 'healthier' periphery and wanting to replicate somehow the idealistic utopian small towns of the past (Landman, 2003). Appropriating and sourcing land on the outskirts of cities for further development is a trend, and it is suggested in this dissertation that this is exactly the theoretical model that the development of the Upper Highway area has followed. Additionally, as hypothesized, this development displays some of the characteristics associated with an edge town with mixed use facilities, gated communities, educational and leisure amenities and a commercial hub (Smith, 2016).

The advent of industrialisation was a draw-card for many people who ended up living in or close to what were predominantly agrarian villages, and the increasing arrival of people subsequently saw many villages growing and developing into towns and cities. Some may argue that the advent of industrialization was the death of the farming village (Patten, 1972; Smith, 2016). Paradoxically Irazabal (2006) suggests that although we are in an age of post-modern urbanism and globalization, there is a swing or return (regression) to older more customary ways of living. She explains this apparent anomaly as a return to the 'good old days' of community within the village context. But is it the 'good old days' or is the modern day construction of gated communities in edge towns a regression away from the post-modern ideals of integration and inclusion – simply facilitating further exclusivity and exclusion, fueling

divisiveness and not fulfilling the urban planning ideals in South Africa of “integrated governance, spatial integration and environmental sustainability” (Landman, 2003 pp.1).

What is this village concept in South Africa – are gated communities types of village complexes? Some may argue that this is true as they represent ideals of the ‘good old days’ and aspire to ideals of security, sociability and defense. But the very notion of gated community appears to stand in opposition to modern ideals of progress and an integrated society. Villages may no longer fulfill their role as important units of human society and settlements. One would think that a group of people bound together by social bonds who are ‘living in community’ would prevent alienation and exclusion. But it is these very issues, within the gated community concept, that are perpetuated as well as exacerbating impersonal societal divisions (Irazabal, 2006). Originally sitting adjacent to farming land the Upper Highway area was once small and intimate, with a few traditional stores – a greengrocer, butcher, retail outlet and garage (Smith, 2016). This dissertation argues that that a metamorphosis has taken place over the past 20 years in the Upper Highway area, and seeks to examine the transition from village to town and the how this change has been conceptualised by under-resourced and marginalised neighbours living on adjacent tribal land.

2.5.3 Edge City and Town

The deconstruction and reconstruction of cities and metropolitan areas, and the process whereby rural areas transition to urban areas, is a phenomenon evidenced around the world. The urbanisation of the rural periphery in these contexts takes place at the “porous interface” of the “rural-urban divide” (Berdegúe and Proctor 2014, p.3). Decentralization of cities to the periphery or ‘edge’ is often a core component of this transitioning process, characterised by residential, commercial and retail relocation (Henderson and Mitra, 1996). Inner city decay and urban blight has resulted in an ‘escape of the resourced’ to the urban periphery to escape the crumbling infrastructure of the inner city. Edge cities and towns, and gated communities fulfill a new form of space consumption (Irazabal, 2006; Murray, 2004; Sandercock 2003).

The term ‘edge city’, coined by Joel Garreau (1991) and based on the Los Angeles Model, became prevalent in America in the early 1990s. Such cities were noted to develop at a confluence of roads, and in response to global tendencies towards an information and

technologically driven age. Within the framework of postmodern urbanism edge city development is analogous to post-suburban development (Garreau, 1991). Suburban areas sitting alongside rural areas are no longer simply residential, new densities are being created that compete with the Central Business District. The new suburban areas, a miscellaneous mix of commerce, fortified gated residential, entertainment and retail facilities located along high tech corridors, have furtively crept outwards and appear to fulfill a 'safe haven town mandate' in the case of Upper Highway area (Smith, 2016). They are characterized by a commercial, retail and entertainment centre in what was once a rural and / or residential area, outside the boundaries of the inner city and central business district (Garreau, 1991).

Murray's (2004) expose of the disorderly city candidly examines the remorseless patterns of postmodern urbanism in the cities of Johannesburg (South Africa) and Sao Paulo (Brazil). These cases will be examined in greater detail later in the chapter as precedent case studies. Is it possible that a city can be found within, and on the edge of itself? Are these gated enclaves sitting on the peripheral edge 'border towns' within the framework of the broader city? The Upper Highway area does not fulfill Garreau's (1991) 'size brief' to be classified as a 'classical edge city', but it is suggested that it more than fulfills the characteristics and evolutionary pattern of a developing edge town.

The modern city was accused of producing segregation and alienation. The postmodern city was the darling of the new age of planning with a focus on integration and inclusivity. Contemporary urban planning, for all its promises, seems to have slipped into the abyss of fragmentation and the erection of impervious barriers to integration. Paradoxically gated communities and edge cities talk the 'integrated community' talk, but have acted as catalysts of estrangement and divisiveness (Irazabal, 2006). The question that Irazabal (2006) contemplates is whose community takes precedent where the great divide between the 'haves and have nots' is so startlingly obvious. How can the fortified aesthetic of edge cities and towns possibly facilitate community – whose community and at what cost? (Irazabal, 2006; Smith, 2016)

What constitutes a sustainable city or town is it "a series of interacting systems" (Vale and Vale, 1996)? Three characteristics that du Plessis and Landman identify (2002) include quality of life, minimal environmental impact, and good governance. But such ideals may be achieved

to the detriment of the natural environment and have a negative social effect on surrounding residents in rural contexts. So although gated communities and edge towns may, on a smaller scale, exhibit urban sustainability – their impact on adjacent larger surroundings will need to be considered. Has the urban form of apartheid been recreated, but couched in different terminology? Where previously the green buffers of apartheid planning created divisions between areas, it appears these have simply been replaced with walls and security systems. In fact, in this supposedly post-modern phase of planning, are we not even more successfully facilitating separation and distance and replicating the divisions in the past under a subtle ‘more acceptable’ form (Landman, 2003)?

The question that remains is how the ‘new’ urban forms and the fortified aesthetic are perceived by adjacent communities for whom life appears to trundle along in the same (if not worse) manner and for whom the status quo prevails. The rural-urban interface appears sharper and more inaccessible than before - what have we done and what have we succumbed to asks Landman (2003).

Has the global trend of gated community and edge city phenomenon come to town in South Africa? What does the future hold and how do we balance the evolutionary march of gated communities directly alongside adjacent rural communities and informal settlements? Will such developments have to be endured until issues of safety and security are addressed, even though they perpetuate segregation and cause fragmentation (Landman, 2003)? Despite the fact that edge cities threaten social cohesion and integration they continue to grow in the United States, South America and South Africa (Irazabal, 2006).

2.5.4 Gated Communities

Gated communities, ‘islands of refuge’ to escape to at the end of each day away from the heterogeneous decaying inner city, cater to the needs of the homogenous middle to upper class (Irazabal, 2006). Birthed out of a discourse of fear of violence these enclaves foster social rifts and create impermeable barriers with fortress-like high walls, security gates, private gardens and amenities (Low, 2001). All around the world middle to upper income groups are distancing themselves from their ‘less desirable neighbours’ by securing themselves behind high walls, electronic fences, controlled booms and gates (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Ideologically gated enclaves are sold as facilitating a return to a more traditional way of life that is that community based, protects social identity and facilitates a unique style of life catering to the needs of a largely exclusive group of people (Irazabal, 2006). As in the example of Curitiba in Brazil -

Local elites are the main instrument by which Curitiba undergoes a top-down transformation that aims to increase its attractiveness for foreign and national capitals, while putting in place mechanisms of social, economic and spatial exclusion for the majority of its citizens (Irazabal, 2006, page 92)

Opponents are severe in their criticisms suggesting that gated communities act against the postmodern principles of integration and progression and are in fact regressive and alienating in nature, cultivating segregation, inequality and exclusivity. The outcome is fragmentation and a subversion of progress where differences are highlighted rather than eradicated (Irazabal, 2006; Low, 2001). The concept of free movement across the city is thwarted in the face of impenetrable barriers. Are we seeing the 'death' of the multi-ethnic multi-class integrated world dream? Integration cannot be realized if planners foster a system whereby gated communities continue to proliferate unchecked (Irazabal, 2006).

Proponents and champions of gated communities argue for the legitimacy of these new urban enclaves as fulfilling a vital role in defeating alienation through the mechanism of communal ownership and control (Irazabal, 2006). Blakely and Snyder (1997) suggest that contrary to this gated communities dishonestly address the issue of control as they hinder access to public and commercial spaces.

The setting of boundaries is always a political act. Boundaries determine membership: someone must be inside and someone outside. Boundaries also create and delineate space to facilitate the activities and purposes of political, economic and social life (Blakely & Snyder, 1997, pp.1)

The withdrawal to gated enclaves symbolically stands against principles and values of transparency, cohesion, integration, democracy and equality – facilitating urban isolation and alienation (Irazabal, 2006; Low, 2001). Similarity and group identity are protected through solidarity with the in-group within a steady and familiar social world. The in-group social world

and order must be protected at all costs, albeit at great cost to the discarded alienated out-group beyond the high walls and electronic fences (Smith, 2016). Alienation is akin to rootlessness and disengagement from the greater community – from humanity essentially (Irazabal, 2006).

This then is the essence of gated communities, artificially created social structures that oppress and estrange people from one another as can be seen in the case of Loresho suburb in Plate 2.4. This suburb in Nairobi is home to both rich and poor, literally separated by a concrete wall but socially and economically worlds apart (Miller, 2016).

Plate 2.4: Gated community in the suburb of Loresho, Nairobi in Kenya (Africa)



Source: unequalscenes.com, Miller (2016)

Political and social upheavals nationally and locally compel local authorities to find new ways to address challenging issues regarding space. One of the key challenges is how to manage and balance the lifestyle objectives of a well-resourced populace with the needs of the marginalized that face difficult conditions in an increasingly deteriorating world (Landman, 2002). Additionally local authorities need to take cognizance of the reality of the discourse of fear as a motivation for gated community developments, while simultaneously regulating and managing the proliferation of these communities (Landman, 2002).

2.5.5 The Rural-Urban / Poor-Rich Interface

Principles of modernism have had a direct impact on spatial planning in South Africa during Apartheid, and these are still evident today. Clearly some gains have been made since the dismantling of apartheid with the housing and infrastructural backlog being significantly addressed; greater participation at local government than ever before; and a commitment to issues of economic development, equity, integration and reconstruction. The discourse of planning has changed in government; issues of participation, inclusivity, negotiation, and implementation have become part of new policy frameworks (Smith, 2015).

Despite the gains however, there is a sense of failure and disillusionment as the issue of expansive segregation has not been addressed, land reform moves slowly, people continue to live in poor quality environments, processes are fragmented, and municipal plans are hindered by meager incapacity, and budget restrictions (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008; Landman, 2004 cited in Smith, 2015). The sharp differences at the rural-urban and poor-rich interface continues to be perpetuated through the reinforcement of ‘subtle segregationist’ policies and bias planning practices – in the form of commercial, technical and residential relocation to the periphery and burgeoning gated communities. In essence, nothing has really changed and the gaps between lower income groups and middle to upper income groups continue to widen (Smith, 2016).

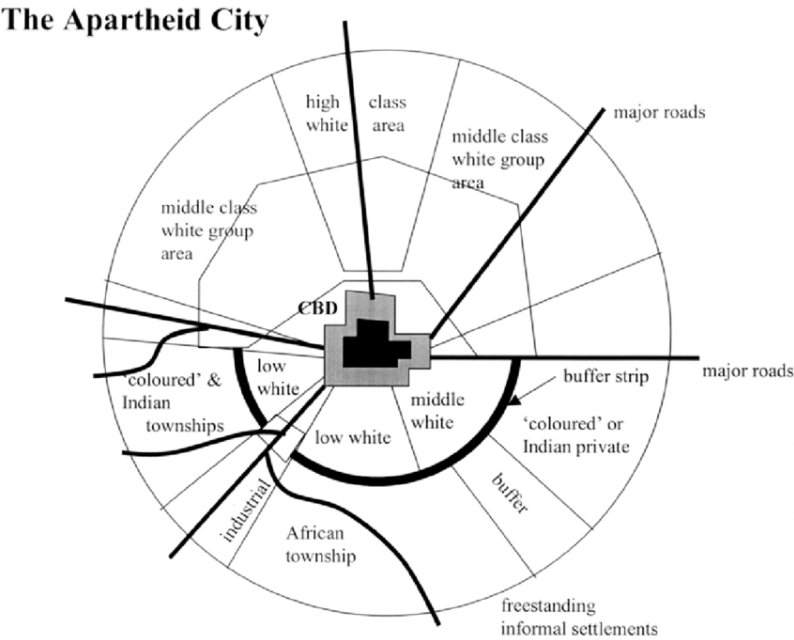
2.5.6 Spatial Inequality

Segregation and apartheid, a particular brand of urban planning strategy in South Africa, was constructed around attempts at exclusivity – the attempt to protect resources and maintain the ‘whiteness’ of the dominant class (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008; Maylam 1995 cited in Smith, 2015). Additional justification for the promotion of difference included political control and domination, and modernist planning principles for a ‘better life for all’ along modernistic neighbourhood lines of planning (Landman, 2003 cited in Smith, 2015). The principle of materialism seems to have strongly reinforced the compulsion to segregate and rezone towns, forming part of the apartheid mantra (Maylam, 1995 cited in Smith, 2015).

After 1948 “urban spatial segregation was an explicit policy of government” through town planning to “to provide healthier, more modern environments” (Harrison, Todes and Watson

2008, pp9). The rationale to do so was influenced by the international modernist paradigm – facilitated along scientific lines, with planned residential areas separated by green belts for all the different people groups in South Africa. This was the international justification for segregation, imported into Africa. Rational modernist (apartheid) planners were obsessed with controlling the how, where and who may occupy which ‘bit of land’ (Maylam, 1995 cited in smith, 2015). Figure 2.2 diagrammatically reflects these decisions in the structure of the apartheid city.

Figure 2.2: The Apartheid City structure by M. Napier



Source: du Plessis and Landman (2002)

Promoting difference in this context has produced social ills, shattered communities, facilitated poverty, and sharply divided the country along socio-economic lines. Apartheid has a tragic inheritance, sharply divided cities and urban spaces, by race and income. There is a legacy of really ‘out of town’ communities, located on the distant periphery of cities – resulting in limited access to resources; mass commuting to and from work on a daily basis, access to lower-order goods and no economic opportunities. Additionally there is the relentless pace of rapid urbanization and growth of large pulsating informal settlements with very little access to services. (Harrison & Todes, 2001; Maylam, 1995 cited in Smith, 2015).

The privileged seek to maintain their ‘elevated position’ of wealth and freedom; while the poor fight for the most basic of rights. Post-apartheid urban planning, instead of redressing imbalances of the past seemingly has perpetuated an exclusionary system. The erection of walls around virtually every home or privatized building – is a shield between ‘them and those’ and represents a visual image of inside-ness and outside-ness (Smith, 2016). This is perpetuated by local governance where segregation is reinforced, exclusivity strengthened and under-resourced urban residents are relegated to the fringes through mechanisms of privatization and law enforcement. In the post-liberal urban metropolis, governance endeavors to manage groups of people and keep them in their appropriate ‘space’. It is here that legislation can either put you on the ‘right side’ of the law, or criminalise you (Murray, 2004).

2.6 Precedent Case Studies

2.6.1 Introduction

The concepts of edge city and town, gated communities, villages, spatial inequality and rural-urban (poor/rich) interface have been discussed in depth in the previous section. In this section two precedent case studies will be considered, one from an international context in Sao Paulo, Brazil and one from a local South African context in Johannesburg. The urban landscapes of Johannesburg and Sao Paulo have both been disfigured by their colonial legacies. Both cities are characterized by rapid infrastructural and technological growth, decentralisation and the development of edge cities on the periphery of the inner city.

Map 2.1 Sao Paulo, Brazil



Source: <https://www.britannica.com/place> (n.d.)

Map 2.2: Johannesburg, South Africa



Source: <https://www.thinqlink.com/scene/> (2015)

2.6.2 International case study - Alpha Ville (Sao Paulo, Brazil)

Sao Paulo is a sprawling metropolis with widely dispersed urban areas. The coffee boom of the late 19th century saw increased industrial growth, with Sao Paulo developing into a manufacturing centre and commercial hub with a burgeoning immigrant population (Murray, 2004). Today Sao Paulo exhibits two social and economic extremes - healthy spaces made up of middle to upper class people living in highly secure gated communities on the periphery of the city; and dysfunctional densely populated urban spaces characterized by slums (Murray, 2004). Often the dysfunctional spaces sit side by side in stark contrast with the healthy spaces as can be seen in Plate 2.5. AlphaVilles developed in Brazil, more specifically in Sao Paulo, are semi-gated self-sufficient edge cities with schools, commercial centres and residences to name some (Irazabal, 2006).

The term Alpha Ville hints at ecological beginnings. The suffix 'ville' means village in French and suggests social cohesion and solidarity. This is the contradiction of edge cities and gated communities - high-tech and technologically advanced structures that return you to your 'village beginnings'. At the time of print there were seven such developments, with fifteen more in the wings in Brazil (Irazabal, 2006). Graciosa, an Alpha Ville on the periphery of Curitiba, boasts over 1000 residential lots. Alpha Ville in Sao Paulo, where economic differences are stark, boasts between 32000-34000 residents and 120000 people daily visitors who work in the commercial centre (Murray, 2004). High-rise buildings inside the gated estate boast swimming pools on most levels as can be seen in Plate 2.5. This jars with the cramped living conditions of the community in the adjacent Favela or slum on the left (Irazabal, 2006).

Plate 2.5: Alpha Ville adjacent to a Favela (settlement) in Sao Paulo (Brazi)



Source: <https://morquisp.wordpress.com/category/sao-paulo> (2011)

A large number of Brazilian urban residents have moved into the gated healthy spaces and gates communities. Neighbourhoods consist of spacious apartment blocks with high security features. Sao Paulo's Alpha Ville is modeled on this. All enclosed estates can be seen as a city within a city, mixed used developments, leisure facilities, schools, retail areas, luxury housing schemes etc. It is a lifestyle for the middle to upper class as it is safe and secure with efficient access to all necessary amenities, social facilities and residential needs (Irazabal, 2006; Murray, 2004). In contrast to this protected lifestyle, the sprawling informal settlements of Sao Paulo spread far and wide, in stark contrast to the edge cities they sit next to. The boundaries keep the insiders safely inside while the outsiders scratch out a living.

2.6.3 National Case Study - Sandton City in Johannesburg (South Africa)

A form of postmodern urbanism is featuring in a number of South African cities, such as Johannesburg. In Johannesburg two processes have impacted on restructuring the urban landscapes – one is the spatial fragmentation of industrial activities and residential populations where the city boundaries have been pushed outwards. The second is the agglomeration of clusters relating to offices, malls and leisure activities located on the periphery of the sprawling metropolis. Peripheral urbanization has reinforced existing patterns of racial segregation – middle-class abandonment of the inner city to the attractive periphery with gated residential communities behind high walls, heightened attention to security, fortified offices and retail destinations, decentralization of the city, a densely populated urban centre, and the development of vast informal settlements (Murray, 2004).

This is very evident in the growth and development of the edge city of Sandton on the periphery of Johannesburg. In addition to push factors out of the inner city (high crime rates, inaccessibility), social and market related pull factors of safety and security, lifestyle, easy accessibility, commercial advancements, and technological innovations ensured the swift development of Sandton City (Smith, 2016). Sandton City is commonly associated with 'white flight' as the affluent sought a safer more attractive area to put down new roots, away from the decaying inner city of Johannesburg. This sits in stark contrast to Alexandra Township which sits less than one kilometre away in places as can be seen in Plate 2.6. It is a stark reminder of the divide between those with wealth, and those who are poverty stricken (Miller, 2016).

Plate 2.6: Alexandra Township / Sandton City (Johannesburg, South Africa)



Source: *unequalscenes.com*, Miller (2016)

The property-less urban poor challenge middle-upper class sensibilities, and the results are exclusionary practices such as gated communities, inaccessible office and shopping complexes in areas such as Sandton City. These unwritten codes of exclusion and expulsion, as well as indifference, resentment and fear, are the calling cards of the wealthy (Murray, 2004). The dislodged urban poor, forced unwillingly to keep moving, eke out a rootless existence along the periphery of societal space. Regarded as illegitimate city dwellers who have no right to be where they are, they are excluded from housing, employment and basic services. Johannesburg is a 'dual city' and the site of multiple modernisms – cosmopolitan, opulent and technologically driven on one hand and survivalist, informal and impoverished on the other (Murray, 2004).

2.6.4 Conclusion and Lessons Learnt from the Case Studies

Although no area is exactly the same as another due to a particular brand of historical, social, cultural, religious and economic development; there are some contexts where similarities begin to emerge as is the case in Sao Paulo and Johannesburg. Tarnished by harsh colonial legacies; and characterised by rapid technological and infrastructural advancements on one hand and poverty and regression on the other, both cities show evidence of inner city decay with the escape of the resourced and the relocation of retail, commercial and industrial enterprises to the periphery. This has resulted in the development of what can be termed edge

cities and towns, where the wealthy withdraw into their safe gated worlds where all their needs are met, and the poor are pushed away to live out their impoverished informal and/or rural existence – often directly adjacent to and within visible sight of unattainable wealth and resources. As the literature and case studies have indicated, such sharply contrasting worlds where wealth and poverty sit juxtaposed at the rich-poor and/or urban-rural interface – continue to harshly perpetuate exclusivity, segregation and marginalization. In both case studies, and it will be contended in the case of the Upper Highway, there is evidence that divisiveness and exclusion continue to be perpetuated through the decentralisation to the periphery and the emergence of edge cities and towns.

2.7 Summary and Final Thoughts

The purpose of this chapter was to create a theoretical and conceptual framework within which to explore the proposed transition of the Upper Highway area from a village to a town; the contentious nature of the rural-urban / rich-poor interface and how this disjunction is rationalized and constructed by local communities. Postmodern urban planning was considered in the face of modernist totalitarian principles of the past. Questions were raised whether the new era of postmodernism ushered in principles of participation, integration and democracy. In the case of South Africa some gains have clearly been made since the dismantling of apartheid with the housing and infrastructural backlog being significantly addressed; greater participation at local government than ever before; and a commitment to issues of economic development, equity, integration and reconstruction. The practice of planning has changed in government; issues of participation, inclusivity, negotiation, and implementation have become part of the new discourse and permeate policy frameworks (Smith, 2015).

Despite the gains however, there is a sense of failure and disillusionment as the issue of expansive segregation has not been addressed, land reform moves slowly, people continue to live in poor quality environments, processes are fragmented, and municipal plans are hindered by meager incapacity, and budget restrictions (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008; Landman, 2004). The modernist dinosaur of big master plans, and rational planning seemed to become the ideology of implementation immediately after 1994 to address backlogs in housing (Smith, 2015). Postmodernist propensities of inner city abandonment, decentralisation of the wealthy

to the periphery and the rapid escalation of gated communities were further explored in this chapter. Dramatic changes to the landscape of communities have an impact on the lived experiences of different groups. How these changes are interpreted by communities living on the rural edge of the rural-urban interface was explored through the precepts of social justification and adaptation theory. This theory suggests that in the face of difficulties and inequality similarly minded people will remain unified, they will find a way to adapt and cope with daily hardships and even justify the status quo as good and fair. The issues of spatial inequality and planning, and segregation and integration in South Africa were explored. The principles of what constitutes a village and a town were examined, as well as key characteristics of gated communities. Two case studies, one in Sao Paulo Brazil and one in Johannesburg South Africa, were studied with particular reference to their relevance to the Upper Highway case study.

Community voices continue to cry out and often remain unheard as the participatory process is under-valued because of time and budget constraints, and the 'hampering' of service delivery (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008 cited in Smith, 2015). Nothing seems to have changed on the ground and 'delivery' has become rhetorical. South African cities seem more spatially divided now than during apartheid, an indictment on the ineffective implementation of planning initiatives and restructuring objectives after 1994 (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008 cited in Smith, 2015). Income disparities, defined more by race than class, are greater now and there is "growing discontent among those who remain marginalized in the spreading shack settlements and the informal economy" (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008:8). The poor have to travel expansive distances to work utilising precious and limited resources, they are excluded from the benefits of the city, and they are victims of crime and poor housing conditions (Smith, 2015).

Chapter Three

Background to the Case Study

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will give a comprehensive overview of the Upper Highway case study including a brief description of the area, historical and demographic overview and summary of land use planning in the area. Within this a statistical and descriptive overview of the adjacent traditional areas will also be given as such information will feed directly into answering questions posed by this dissertation. To a degree some of the information presented in this chapter informs chapters four and five (results). Secondary sources were interrogated in order to compile and document this section, as well as personal observation of the area.

3.2 Background to the Upper Highway Area

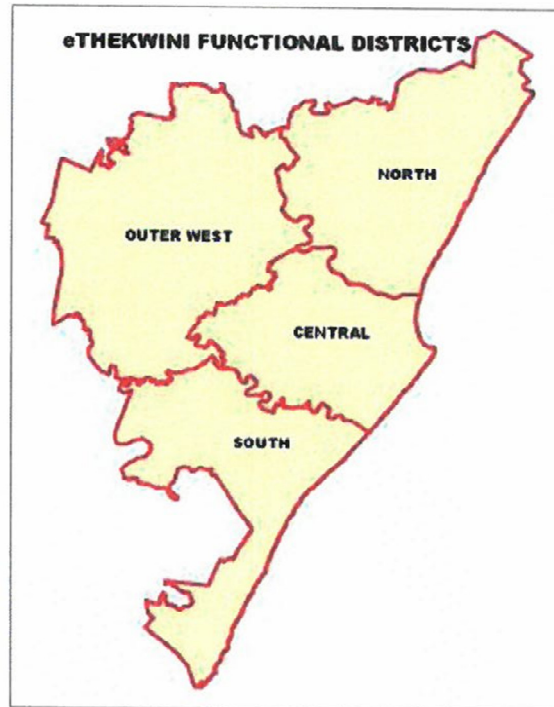
3.2.1 Regional Context

The Upper Highway area (Upper Highway) is comprised of a number of suburbs located in the Outer West Region of eThekweni Municipality in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province, South Africa. There are three categories of municipalities in South African, A, B and C. eThekweni is classified as a Category A Metro Municipality and has legislative and executive authority in their jurisdiction. The total population of the Outer West is estimated to be just under 350 000 people which constitutes about 11% of eThekweni's total population (Stats SA Community Survey, 2011). The four regions of eThekweni Municipality are known as North, South, Central and Outer West councils (see Figure 3.1).

The planning region of Outer West represents about 34% of the municipality and is just over 78 000 hectares in extent. Of this about 50% comprises areas of traditional authority and of all the D'MOSS in eThekweni; about 50% is located in Outer West. The spatial structure of Outer West is strongly influenced by ecological issues, as well as the drive for development by land owners and lack of service delivery to under serviced settlements on traditional land. Settlements range from urban to rural, informal to traditional. Outer West has been identified

as having tourism, employment and industrial expansion potential; as well as being an environmental priority area (Outer West Spatial Development Plan, 2015).

Map 3.1: eThekweni Municipality Regional Plan



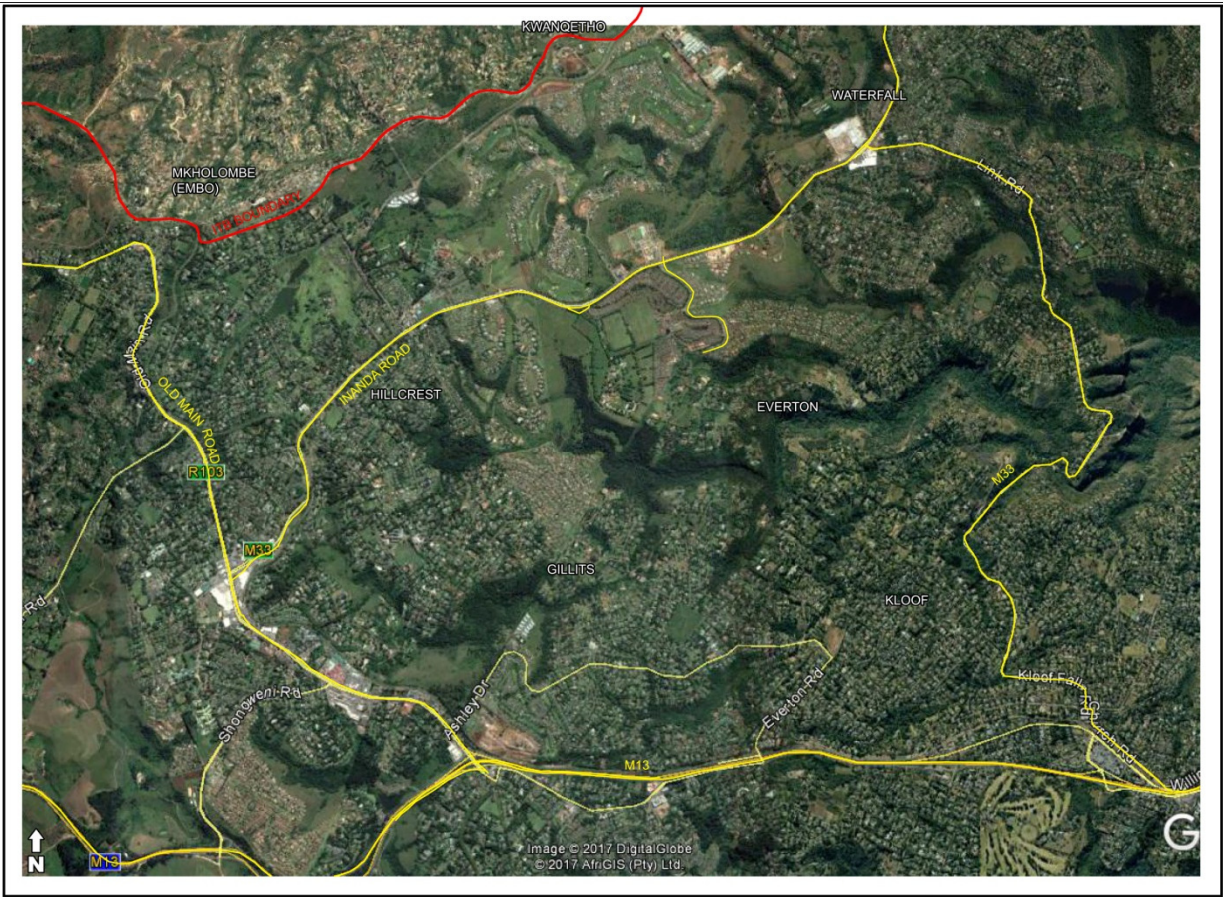
Source: Outer West Spatial Development Plan (2005)

The Upper Highway is located within the Outer West region and includes the main western suburbs of Hillcrest and Kloof, as well as smaller places of Waterfall, Everton and Gillitts. It must be noted that the term 'Upper Highway' is not a formal one and, like other areas in KZN, is known and referred to by locals by its 'colloquial unclassified and informal' name. Although it does not have formal borders it is understood to be a 'real place' as indicated on real estate signboards distributed throughout the area.

Just over 50 000 copies of the local newspaper the Highway Mail are distributed every week, this newspaper has been in existence for over 60 years. It is suggested, and commonly understood, that the term 'Upper Highway' was derived from the area's location with reference to the M13 Highway that lies primarily to the west of the area (Smith, 2016). The M13 runs in a north-westerly direction from the outskirts of Durban, past and through the Lower Highway Areas of Westville and Pinetown, and up Field's Hill. Hence the region north of Pinetown, located adjacent to the Highway is referred to the 'Upper Highway' area (Plate 3.1 Upper Highway). The wider area surrounding Upper Highway can broadly speaking be divided

into three main areas namely - open space in the form of the Kranzkloof nature reserve and Kloof, Ingonyama Tribal Trust land (ITB) and suburbia. With reference to Plate 3.1 the study site is bordered in the south-east by the nature reserve and gorge, by tribal land and the light industrial area of Brackenhill in the north, and Shongweni and light Industrial area of Hammarsdale to the north-west.

Plate 3.1: Upper Highway Region



Source: Adapted from Google Earth (July, 2017)

3.2.2 Brief Historical Overview

Hillcrest began as a ‘sleepy village’ over a hundred years ago in 1895, established by the Acutt and Gillitt families. This was predominantly a farming community functioning around a small central village. The first school was founded in 1903, and in 1943 the Hillcrest health committee was formed. The total population, all inclusive, was reported to be just over 1100 people in 1943 (School eBook library, 2016). Farms in the area included Upper Langefontein, Acutts, Gillitts and Albinia. These were primarily working farms transected by a number of dirt roads. A section of Inanda road was hardened in 1951. The population by 1971 had reached

just over 2780, which was when the Hillcrest Town Board was formed (School eBook library, 2016). The Hillcrest Ratepayers Association (HRA) was form in 1985 to oversee developments and act as a watchdog in association with the then Hillcrest Town Board (Develing, 2013). The HRA bore witness to the first traffic light being installed in Hillcrest. The area has certainly changed dramatically since the village and farming community it was then. Develing (2013: 1) said “Prior to that, a man stood on a barrel in the centre of the roads and directed the traffic. His white gloves were highly visible”. Historically the Upper Highway area has been regarded as a middle class and low density suburban area with sites over an acre (over 4000 sq. metres).

Topography and lack of infrastructural development significantly affected density and development. Many of the homes in the Upper Highway area prior to 1994 had no storm water infrastructure or water borne sewerage, and this is still the case today. Waste has to be disposed of on-site by means of septic tanks with large evapo-transpiration facilities, and the installation of drainage systems to deal with storm water. There is a geographical watershed that feeds into Inanda dam. The Upper Highway is strongly delineated by ‘fingers’ of D’MOSS (Durban Metropolitan Open Space System) that define the whole area as can be seen in Plate 3.2.

Plate 3.2: Upper Highway D’MOSS system



Source: <http://gis.durban.gov.za> (July, 2017)

Without the provision of sufficient infrastructure in the form of water borne sewerage, and restricted by the absence of a waste water treatment works, the Upper Highway Area managed to maintain its 'village and agrarian' nature for many years lagging behind development in Durban and Pinetown. As a result of these limitations there are no high-rise office blocks or apartment blocks in Upper Highway. This changed with the development of the Hillcrest waste water treatment works (HWW) in the 1990s. It was the establishment of the HWW that sounded the 'death knoll' for residents determined to halt the progress of large scale developments. The aim at the time was for the HWW to serve the commercial centre of the village, with plans for future expansion. Many residences continued to be dependent on septic tanks (Smith 2016).

Once the HWW was installed, and with the sale of the Bailles farm Upper Langefontein and Gillitts farm, the face of the Hillcrest village and Upper Highway began to change and a metamorphosis took place. A building boom was experienced in the late 1990s and early 2000s with the particular development of the 'gated community' animal with fortified architecture and exclusive separatist living. This was reflected with the birth of an unheralded number of town house complexes, gated estates and communities in the area. Attempts were made by local residents for Upper Highway to remain a separately governed entity, but this was not possible (Smith, 2016). At a community meeting the then Mayor of Kloof boldly stated that the Outer West would not be included into Ethekewini Municipality, but in the end had little say in the matter. Independent Town Board status was lost in 1996, after which Hillcrest formally fell under the jurisdiction of the Outer West Council, a region of the then Durban Unicity. This was disassembled in the year 2000 and all local councils, including Outer West, were integrated into one 'system' – the Ethekewini Municipality (Develing, 2013).

Today the Upper Highway area is regarded as upmarket suburbia characterised by a 'natural lifestyle' in touch with the environment, ecologically appropriate, with large open spaces. Traditionally speaking, people who invest in this area are making the move to a 'country type environment' on the outskirts of the city.

To the east Waterfall is linked to Hillcrest along Inanda road which runs in a west to east direction as can be seen in Plate 3.1. At the main junction of Link and Inanda road there is a

commercial, retail and service node. To the south Kloof is linked to Hillcrest along the M13. Kloof has a large established suburban component with most homes on individual sites and is serviced by a number of smaller shopping centres along old main road. Hillcrest to the north, historically quiet and flanked / dominated by farms, is now characterised by a number of shopping centres, sporting and medical facilities, and municipal offices including the Outer West Offices. Most notable are the changes to the residential composition of the area with the development of an extensive number of gated communities – which took place in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five.

3.2.3 Ingonyama Trust

In the north the Upper Highway is bordered by traditional tribal land that forms part of the Ingonyama Trust (ITB). This is characterised by a large informal settlement which provides access to Inanda dam – a recreational hub for fishing, water sports, cycling, off road biking and running. The Kranzkloof nature reserve is regarded as a place of great natural beauty and is managed by Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife and is frequented by people from all over the metropole at a minimum charge. Some of the attractions include the viewing site, nature walks, environmental education, and picnic sites in the gorge (Smith 2016).

Of all the land in KwaZulu-Natal, approximately 60% (2.8 million hectares) is owned by Ingonyama Trust for the “benefit, material welfare and social well-being of the members of the tribes and communities” in accordance with Zulu indigenous law (Centre for Law and Society, 2015). Of this, 34.8% of the land in eThekweni Municipality is owned by the ITB. The ITB was established in 1994 to hold all the land that historically formed part of the Zulu Kingdom and is held in trust by the King. While on the one hand the Trust is exempt from paying rates and taxes to the municipality, governance and development rests primarily in the hands of the Trust and partly in the hands of eThekweni municipality (CLS, 2015).

The land is administered by the ITB, traditional councils, chiefs and local leaders. Traditional land bordering the Upper Highway area includes Mkholombe and KwaNqetho. These are the formal names according to the Outer West Council; however discussion with locals revealed that historically some areas are referred to by other names. According to a respected member of the community, the area directly adjacent and north of the study site (Upper Highway) is

referred to as Embo by local residents (Dlamini, 2016). Tribal land is populated with informal developments that are not subject to the same regulations as developments in the Outer West. According to the Outer West offices, applications for liquor licenses are made through their offices. Short of this, very little else is regulated through the offices although there has been some service delivery over the years (Dlamini, 2016).

3.2.4 Land Use Planning in the Upper Highway

(i) Town Planning in Hillcrest

Historically town planning initiatives for the area that is now Upper Highway, fell under the jurisdiction of the Hillcrest Town Board, Waterfall Town Board and Borough of Kloof. A number of feasibility planning studies for a residential and industrial township were facilitated from the mid-1980s through to 1995 to investigate the possible development of the 800 hectare farm Upper Langefontein (Sutcliffe, 2005). These included environmental, traffic and infrastructural studies. Traffic's recommendation at the time was to progressively upgrade Inanda road to a dual carriageway (four lanes) from Waterfall to Hillcrest from 1995 onwards, as well as Kassier and Fischer Roads and facilitate the installation of a number of traffic lights. In 1995 the Hillcrest Town Board then became integrated into Ethekewini within the borders of what is now known as the Outer West Local Council (OWC) (Sutcliffe, 2005). The OWC offices are located in Hillcrest. As indicated earlier Hillcrest's Town Board status was lost in 1996 and in 2000 the OWC was integrated into Ethekewini Municipality (Develing, 2013).

(ii) Challenges

The wave of developments taking place in the Upper Highway area from the late 1990s began to ring alarm bells with local residents who were intent on attempting to maintain the village and small town feel of the area. Resistance proved to be a strong force against growth and development, but ultimately lost the battle to retain the village that once was Hillcrest. Alarmist articles in the newspapers suggested that the Upper Highway was on 'catastrophic path' if plans for rezoning of farmlands to residential and light industrial were passed. Without appropriate infrastructural development in terms of waste water and storm water, and increased road capacity, the area was surely 'heading for disaster' (Develing, 2013).

Accusations pointed towards possible health issues in terms of inadequate waste water treatment facilities that these were overburdened and the resulting effluent would make its way into the river network. Of key concern was infrastructural capacity to meet the growing demand – in terms of waste water and traffic (Sutcliffe, 2005). In late 2003 the then Municipal Manager of eThekweni municipality declared a moratorium on all development in the Upper Highway area in order to address infrastructural capacity. A number of water quality tests were facilitated on rivers in the area in order to assess the capacity of the local environment to deal with storm and waste-water. Despite the area being overburdened, the local tributary system was not found wanting (Sutcliffe, 2005).

(iii) Legislative and Policy context

Policies and strategies regarding spatial planning are located within the jurisdiction of eThekweni Municipality's integrated planning system. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) provides the framework for growth and development in the municipality every five years along the principles of sustainability, efficiency, safety and equity. The Spatial Development Framework (SDF) translates the principles of the IDP into a spatial framework. This is the municipality's primary land use management tool. The Spatial Development Plan (SDP) provides guidelines for actual physical development along geographical lines within the municipality. At a regional level the Outer West Spatial Development Plan of 2015 (OWSDP) addresses issues of spatial structuring, nodes and corridors, development priorities and local area plans within the Outer West and is informed directly by the IDP, SDF and SDP amongst other plans (OWSDP, 2015).

The year 2000 saw the adoption of the Outer West Town Planning Scheme and the previous fourteen separate schemes governing the area were set aside. Although new scheme controls were adopted many of the preceding zones from a spatial point of view were adhered to. After the facilitation of a Strategic Planning Assessment in 2004 in the Outer West the moratorium was lifted paving the way for future growth. A number of documents were prepared as part of this assessment including the OWSDP 2015, a proposed plan for road upgrades to be jointly funded by the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial department and the local OWC, upgrades to the existing HWW and a proposed new waste water treatment works. The Hillcrest Gillitts Activity

Corridor Local Development Plan of 2001 provided a conceptual framework for land use with due consideration of environmental, tourist and transportation issues. This plan came under pressure to be revised. The outcome was the development of the Hillcrest Gillitts Kloof Conceptual Land Use Management Plan of 2010 to guide future development for the next five years (Chetty & Braude, 2010). Plans are currently underway to generate a Waterfall Hillcrest Corridor Local Development Plan.

3.3 Situational Analysis

An analysis of the demographics of the area is based on data from Census 2011. Data from the Community Based Survey (CBS) in 2016 was based on a large-scale household sample and as such does not provide detailed demographic and socio-economic for the Upper Highway area. In short the CBS indicates that the South African population increased from 51, 8 million in 2011 to 55, 7 million in 2017 with over 11 million people living in KZN (CBS, 2016). The increase of just over 3 million people nationally represents an increase of about 5.8%. Key findings indicate that more people have access to basic services in 2016, than in 2011. Significant strides have been made in improving access to housing, electricity and sanitation. There has also been a decline in the poverty headcount between 2011 and 2016. These achievements are a measure of the goals outlined in the National Development Plan of 2030. It must be noted that this study is not making claims based directly on statistics – these will be used as a reference point for further discussion based on other facts gathered (CBS, 2016).

3.3.1 Demographics – Upper Highway

Statistical data represented in this section will give a snapshot of the Upper Highway based on 2011 statistics, and comparisons will be made between the Upper Highway and adjacent tribal land to highlight significant differences that exist between these areas, and that continue to be exacerbated. As can be seen in Table 3.1 statistical data shows that the Upper Highway population in 2011 was 60 089. At the time the majority of people living in this area were white, with the largest proportion of people living in Kloof. Kloof also boasted the greatest population density of 861 people per square kilometre, followed by Gillitts and Hillcrest.

Table 3.1: Population Composition in the Upper Highway

Place	Population	Population density km2
Hillcrest	13 329	622
Kloof	29 704	861
Gillitts	8 661	751
Everton	870	194
Waterfall	7 525	522
Total Population	60 089	590

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

Interestingly, although the population is predominantly white (an average of 72% of all residents), with about 20% and 4% black and Indian respectively - the statistics for Kloof show a growing trend of more black African and Indian people moving into what was historically a strictly 'white' area. In 2011 just over 32% of all Kloof residents were black Africans and Indians, and close on 34% were white. The rest of the Upper Highway area has the largest proportion of white residents.

Table 3.2: Population by race and area

Race	Hillcrest %	Kloof %	Gillitts %	Everton %	Waterfall %	Average
Black	11.4	53.4	11.4	18.3	14.6	21.8
White	84.3	33.8	85.1	79.1	81.8	72.8
Indian	3	11.2	2.4	1.4	1.8	3.9
Coloured	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.9	1.3

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

3.3.2 Demographic Comparisons of Upper Highway & Main Adjacent Places

Further exploration of demographic data will include comparisons with tribal community's areas directly adjacent to the Upper Highway including Mkholombe and KwaNqetho. This has been done to create an image of the discrepancies between the Upper Highway area and adjacent supposedly less resourced communities, and to feed into the interpretation of study findings and the discussion that ensues. Hence, this section will further explore statistics with specific relation to the Upper Highway area, running parallel with / in conjunction with adjacent areas. The Upper Highway area is regarded as 100% urban with immediately adjacent communities in Mkholombe and KwaNqetho regarded as 100% tribal / traditional. Most of those living in adjacent communities are Zulu speaking, while those in the Upper Highway are English speaking (74%) with some speaking Zulu (15.6%) (Stats SA Census, 2011)

Table 3.3: Comparative Population Composition

Race	Upper Highway %	Adjacent communities %
White	72.7	0
Black	21.82	99.7
Indian / Asian	3.96	0
Coloured	1.36	0.3

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

From Table 3.3 it can be noted that the population composition in adjacent tribal land is either 100% or 99% black, whereas most of the people living in the Upper Highway are white. As indicated earlier in the literature review – an exploration of the changing status of the Upper Highway area to Edge Town has to be made with reference to adjacent areas as this speaks to the evolving nature of the area.

Table 3.4: Comparative Gender Composition

Male / Female	Upper Highway %	Adjacent communities %
Males	47.9	47.5
Females	52.0	52.4
Female headed households	28.4	45.1

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

An interesting feature of the population in these areas is that there are over 15% more female headed households in adjacent tribal areas than in the Upper Highway. There are more women (52%) than men (47%) in both areas; with the statistics suggesting that far more women in tribal communities bear the burden of heading up and taking responsibility for households than in Upper Highway Households.

As far as age groups are concerned the dominant age group in both the Upper Highway and adjacent communities is that of the working age group at 65%. This is where the similarities end. The younger component of the population in tribal communities is just over 10% higher than the Upper Highway, whereas the elderly component is statistically larger in the Upper Highway. This shows that the population in the Upper Highway area not as young as adjacent tribal communities, and there is a growing elderly component. This is not the same for tribal communities where the elderly population drops off sharply at age 65, with an increase in population growth in the younger age group.

Table 3.5: Comparative Age Groups

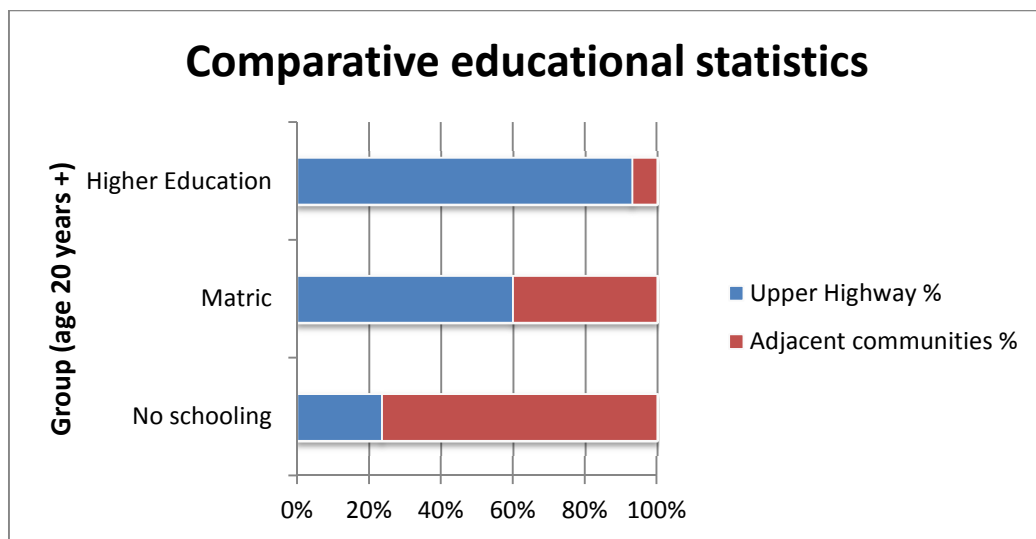
Age groups	Upper Highway %	Adjacent communities %
Young (0-14)	20.3	31.5
Working age (15-64)	65.9	65.8
Elderly (65 plus)	13.7	2.6

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

3.3.3 Socio-Economic profile

In terms of schooling it appears that residents in the Upper Highway area have received better educational input than those in adjacent tribal communities, with no more than 24% receiving a secondary education as opposed to 36% in the Upper Highway. Of the 24%, less than 4% go on to obtain a higher education as opposed to 42% in the Upper Highway. There is a huge discrepancy between those in traditional suburbia and those in tribal communities as to who goes on to obtain tertiary education and who doesn't.

Graph 3.1: Comparative educational statistics



Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

Table 3.6: Comparative Educational statistics (a snapshot)

Group (age 20 years +)	Upper Highway %	Adjacent communities %
No schooling	1.6	5.2
Matric	36.1	24.2
Higher Education	42.3	3.2

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

Close on 30% of residents in Upper Highway earn between R76,000 and R307,000 per annum, with 36.7% earning between R307,000 and R1,229,000. The percentage of highest income earners is small for Upper Highway residents (4.7%), but almost non-existent for adjacent poorer communities. Over 72% of residents in the Upper Highway earn an income of R76, 000 or more whereas the largest proportion of earners in adjacent communities (71.8%) earn between R4, 800 and R76, 500.

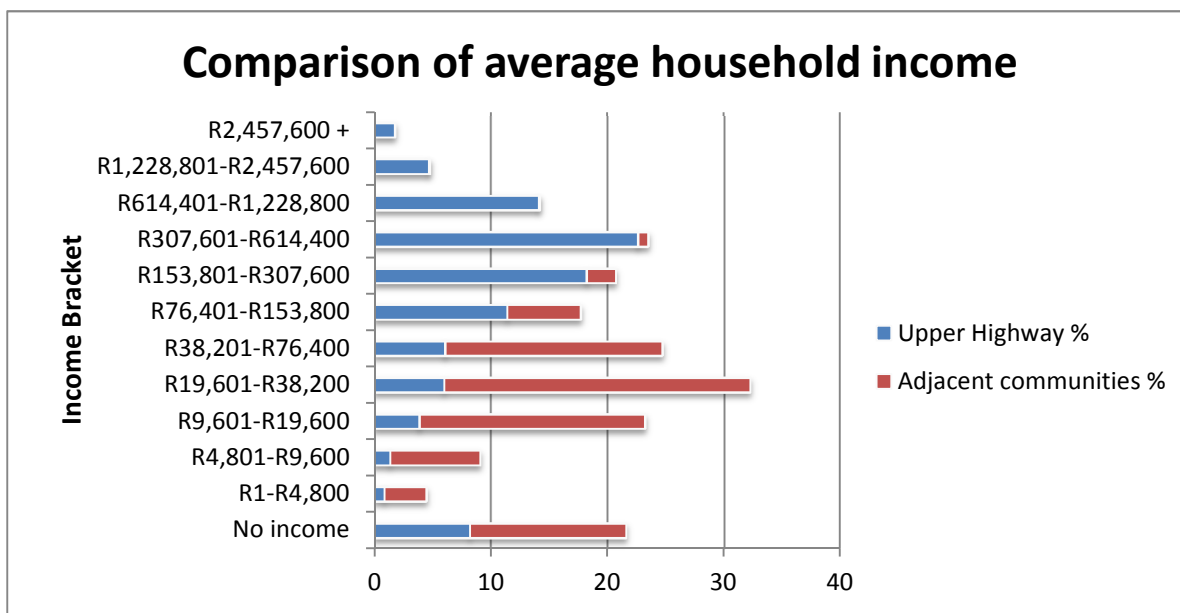
Table 3.7: Comparison of average household income

Income bracket	Upper Highway %	Adjacent communities %
No income	8.2	13.4
R1 – R4,800	0.9	3.6
R4,801 – R9,600	1.4	7.7
R9,601 – R19,600	3.9	19.3
R19,601 – R38,200	6	26.2
R38,201 – R76,400	6.1	18.6
R76,401 – R153,800	11.4	6.3
R153,801 – R307,600	18.2	2.5
R307,601 – R614,400	22.6	0.9
R614,401 – R 1,228,800	14.1	0.1
R1,228,801 – R2,457,600	4.7	0.1
R2,457,600 +	1.8	0

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

As Table 3.7 and Graph 3.2 show, there is a huge discrepancy between earnings in the Upper Highway and adjacent communities. With a larger proportion of Upper Highway residents aged 65 years plus, it may be surmised that the 8.2% who are not earning are possibly those who are retired and living off savings. In adjacent communities with a far smaller population at retirement age, and a higher proportion of individuals with either no income or a very small income (almost 20%) this could be indicative of higher rates of unemployment or part-time employment. Just over 11% of residents in Upper Highway earn between R4, 800 and R76, 500 which is vastly different from residents in adjacent communities (over 71%).

Graph 3.2: Comparison of average household income



Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

Living conditions differ vastly as well as can be seen in Table 3.8 with Upper Highway residents enjoying an almost full bouquet of service delivery. Infrastructural delivery in the Upper Highway area, although limited in some sense, is definitely higher than those living in adjacent communities. In most cases over 90% of residents have access to piped water in their homes, electricity for lighting and reliable refuse removal. The waste water infrastructural incapacity alluded to earlier in this chapter is reflected here with only 34.8% of all residents having access to this infrastructure, and most having to depend on septic tanks (59%).

The burden of insufficient service delivery can be seen to be borne by residents of adjacent communities with less than 10% of residents having access to water piped into their dwelling and flush toilets. More than 55% have to deal with the indignity of pit latrines and insufficient sanitation. Refuse removal in adjacent tribal communities is inadequate with less than 12% of residents having access to this service.

Table 3.8: Key comparisons of living conditions between Upper Highway & Adjacent communities

Key comparisons	Upper Highway Area %	Adjacent Communities %
Piped water inside dwelling	92.4	9.1
Electricity for lighting	90	92
Weekly refuse removal	96.1	11.9
Flush toilet (sewerage system)	34.8	9
Flush toilet (septic tank)	59	1.8
Pit toilet	1.5	55.6

Source: Stats SA (Census, 2011)

Interestingly in terms of population density, although Upper Highway was reported to have just over 20,000 households in 2011, the population density was 590 people per km² as opposed to a density of 3142 people per km² in adjacent communities. The OWC have made a concerted effort due to infrastructural incapacity to limit densities in the Upper Highway which is evident in these statistics, however despite a clear lack of infrastructure in adjacent communities on predominantly tribal land, densities have not been an issue. It may be surmised that these high densities together with a lack of critical services such as sanitation and water creates an overburdened environment with harsh living conditions.

3.4 Summary

The intention of this chapter was to create a backdrop for the investigation of the Upper Highway case study from a spatial, historical and socio-economic perspective. This was facilitated by highlighting statistical components of various places in the study area, and locating the area in its wider context by outlining and exploring adjacent under resourced communities. The Upper Highway has borne witness to dramatic changes over the past decades which have had a significant impact on growth and development, with implications for both the Upper Highway area and immediately adjacent communities. One of the main challenges for the Upper Highway is limited waste water infrastructure and endeavouring, within burgeoning growth and development, to retain the area's country charm and village feel. The Upper Highway is clearly a well-resourced area enjoying all advantages of mostly reliable service delivery, and good roads facilitating easy access to amenities. There is a trend towards a younger population with just over 13% of the population over 65 years old. The area comprises a fairly wealthy and education population with over 42% of Upper Highway residents over the age of 20 having completed higher education.

Comparatively, adjacent communities are not subject to the same 'protective controls' in terms of densities, with a significant lack of service delivery in terms of sanitation, water and refuse removal. This raises questions about how Upper Highway was able to develop at such a rapid rate while adjacent communities have not, what the consequences of this growth have been and how this took place. The answers to these questions will be considered in the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Results and Discussion

Aerial Land Use Survey and Interviews

4.1 Introduction

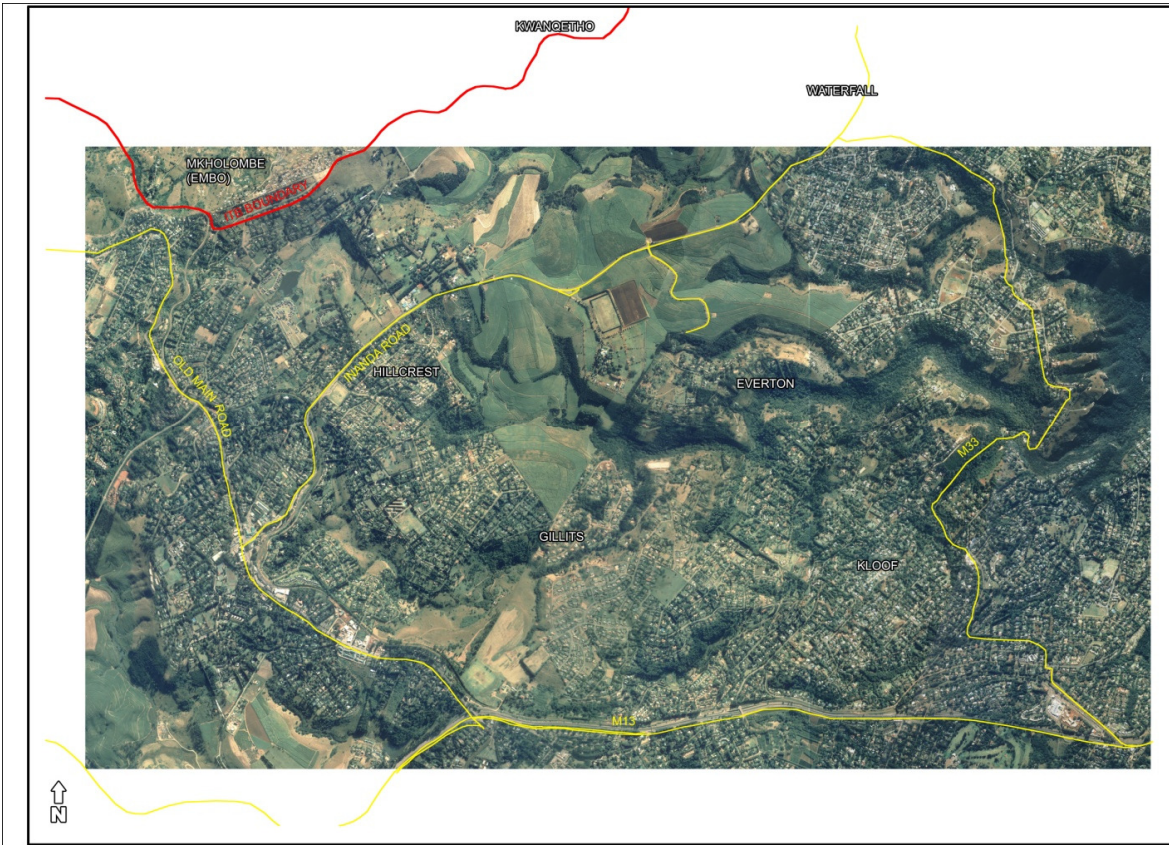
This chapter seeks to address some of the questions as posed by this dissertation. Namely – to establish what the spatial composition of the Upper Highway area was like in the mid- to late 1990s; to identify what plans, actions and role-players acted as catalysts to facilitate changes in the area; to establish what developments have taken place since the mid- to late 1990s, and finally to ascertain whether the Upper Highway displays characteristics of an ‘edge town’? In order to answer these questions a number of secondary sources were interrogated, an aerial and drive-by land use survey was facilitated, and key stakeholders were interviewed.

Data was gathered by drawing from a wealth of knowledge gained through interviews with town planners, a local architect, a property developer, a member of Embo community, a GIS staff member from Outer West; secondary desktop sources, books, aerial photographs from Ethekewini Municipality archives and Google maps, and through personal observation of the area. Names of the interviewees will not be divulged in order to protect their privacy.

4.2 Mapping the Change - Aerial Land Use Survey

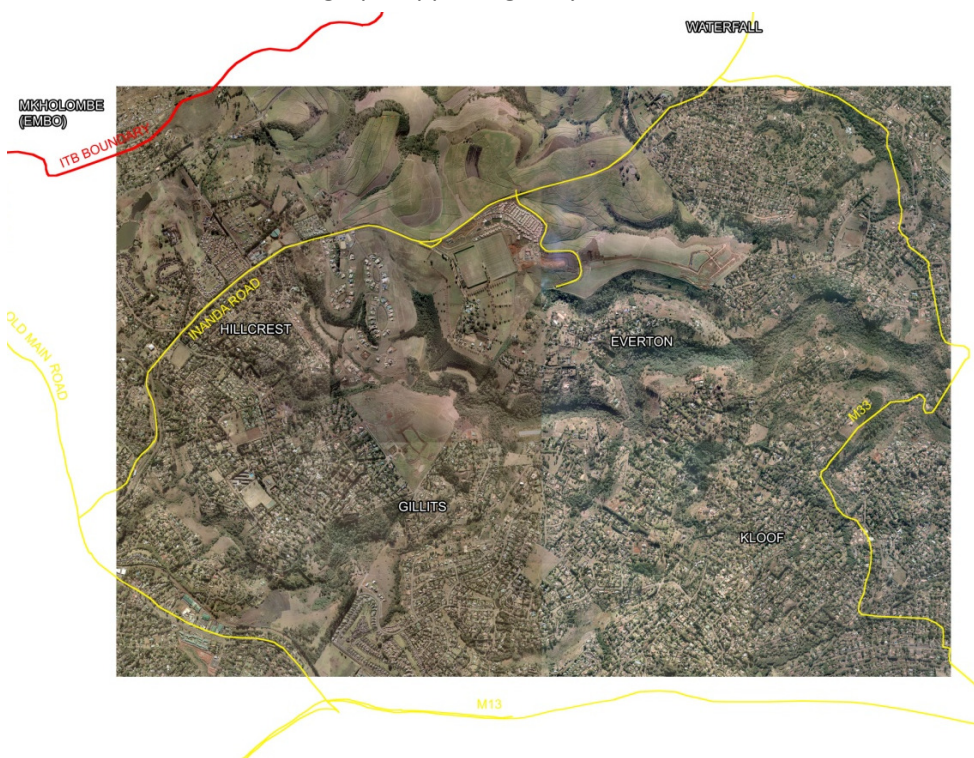
As indicated in detail in the section on methodology in chapter one, changes to the spatial composition of Upper Highway from 1997 were assessed based on aerial imagery. Two historical aerial images of the Upper Highway, one in 1997 and the other in 2003 (Plate 4.1 and Plate 4.2 respectively), and a current photograph from Google earth were scrutinised for changes. Plate 4.1 (1997) and the current 2017 aerial photo were printed to A1 scale. The 2017 aerial photograph was superimposed on photograph one (Plate 4.1) to graphically outline changes that have taken place in the area over the past 20 years. The final image was drawn up on sketch-up and superimposed on aerial photograph one (Plate 4.3).

Plate 4.1: Aerial Photograph Upper Highway 1997



Source: Ethekewini Photogrammetry Archives, Corporate GIS, adapted (November, 2016)

Plate 4.2: Aerial Photograph Upper Highway 2003



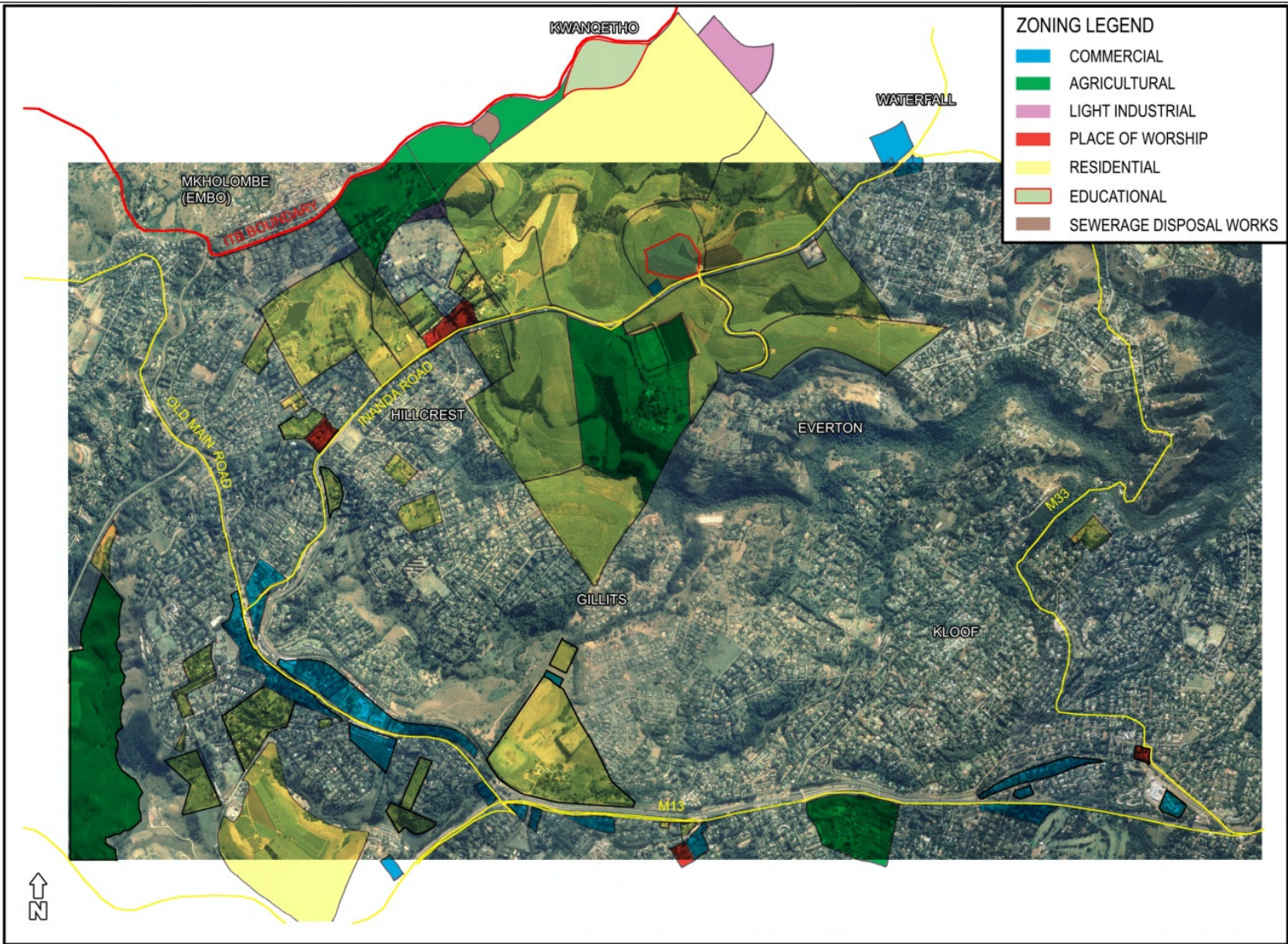
Source: Ethekewini Photogrammetry Archives, Corporate GI, adapted (November, 2016)

The defining feature in both maps is the M13 running in a westerly direction, Old Main road running in a north-westerly direction, and Inanda road which bisects Upper Langefontein in a north-easterly direction. A cursory glance of the photographs shows the beginnings of the dramatic changes to the area from 1997 to 2003, which are already evident on the farm Upper Langefontein (centre of the photographs). The 1997 aerial shows a large swath of farmland in the north-west which is Upper Langefontein, otherwise known as Bailles farm. In plate 4.2 it is apparent that some development has taken place with the initial phases of what are now Le Domaine and Kirtlington gated communities, and the beginnings of Langford.

The 2003 photograph shows some development as well as the beginnings of development with ground breaking activities and mark up of sites. Plate 4.3 shows developments that have taken place since 1997 using a light overlay. On examining this plate it becomes clear just how much farmland has been developed as residential and how much the nature of the region has changed.

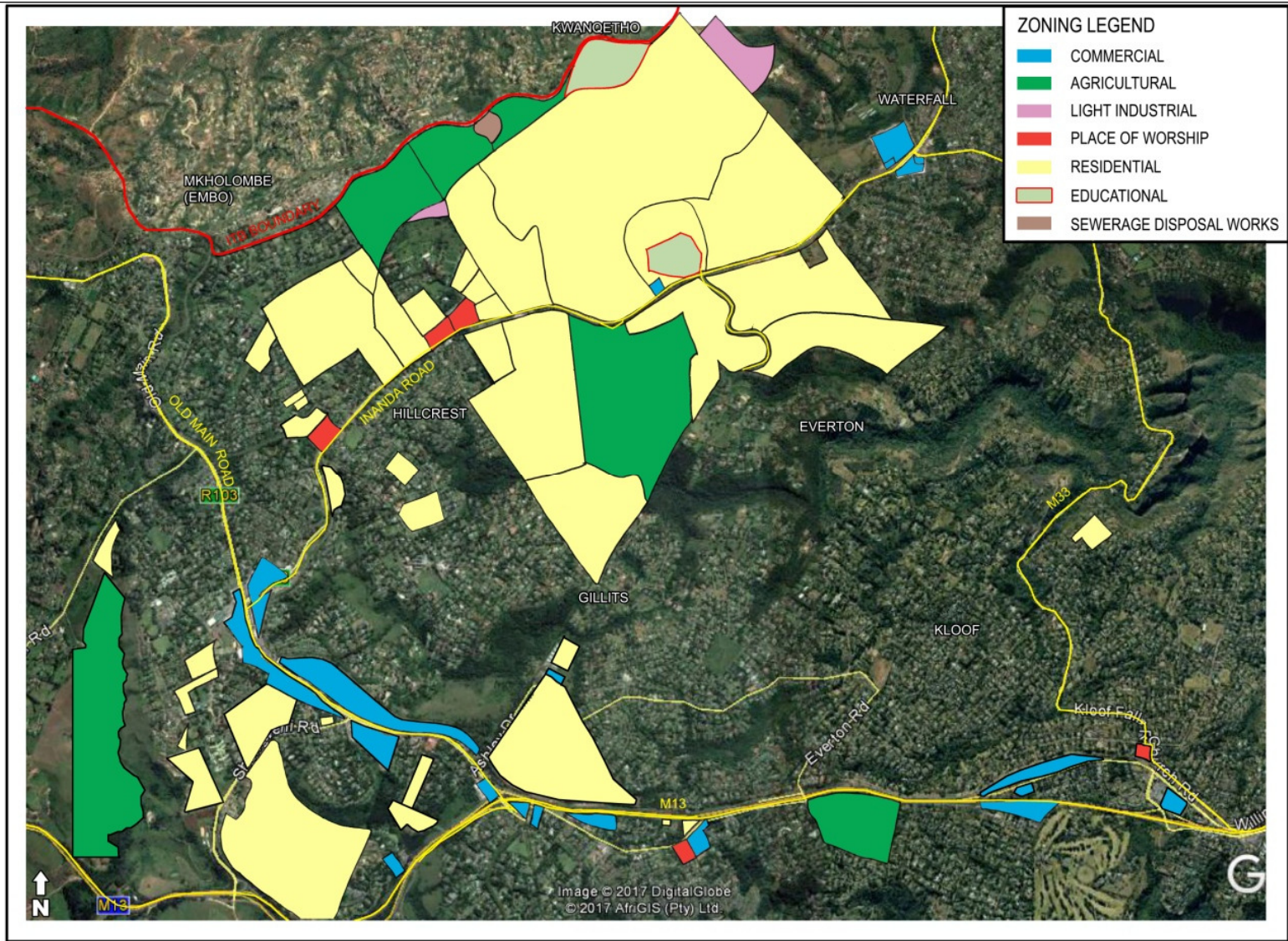
The 2017 aerial photograph (Plate 4.4) clearly shows the extent of development of the area on what were once large tracts of farmland. These tracts of land and other sites now take on the form of gated estates and complexes, malls, schools, commercial enterprises and light industrial activities. An overview of most developments since 1997, based on the aerial land use survey, is represented in Table 4.1. It must be noted that due to the vastness of the area and the limitations of the 'aerial count' this may not a comprehensively detailed analysis of developments in the area since 1997. The counts listed in Table 4.1 broadly and as much as possible indicate the number of developments since 1997. See appendix one for detailed list of developments.

Plate 4.3: Developments since 1997 (Overlaid on 1997 Image)



Source: Ethekewini Photogrammetry Archives, Corporate GI, adapted (November, 2016)

Plate 4.4: 'Now'- Aerial Overlay 2017



Source: Google Earth, adapted (July, 2017)

Table 4.1: Aerial Land Use Survey (Developments from 1997 to 2017)

Development Type	Developments 1997-2017 (Number)
Gated Estates and Complexes	60
Residential estates currently under construction	2
Planned estates (known)	5
Shopping Centres (new and revamped)	5
Office parks and Retail centres	60+
Waste water treatment centre	1
Petrol / service stations	2
Co-educational schools (G0 to G12, Private)	2
Churches	5
Gyms	9
Pre-schools	4
Private Hospital	1
Light Industrial Parks	3
Entertainment facilities	3

Source: Fieldwork and Research observation (June, 2017)

The aerial and drive-by land use surveys confirm that at least 63 new gated developments of various magnitude have been built in the last 20 years, with two new estates currently under construction and at least five more planned. Not all the estates are indicated on the aerial survey as aerial one was not quite inclusive of the full extent of Upper Highway. This information was gathered based on interviewee knowledge of the area, and a Google Earth timeline assessment from 2004 to date. This number is also not inclusive of all the gated estates and complexes that were built prior to 1997. If these were to be added to the total the number would most certainly double. It was not in the brief / scope of this dissertation to add this to the count.

The gated communities counted since 1997 range in size and extent from over 700 units in one estate, to as little as three in others. The word ‘estate’ seems to be attributed to any size of development, where some gated communities with as few as five units are referred to as estates. Some estates may be considered large in terms of number of units (700), and some may be large because although they have fewer units (50 to 200) they sit on very large properties such as Phezulu Game Estate. Upper Highway’s commercial, retail, entertainment, sporting and industrial sectors have also grown exponentially as can be seen in Table 4.1.

The area now boasts five upmarket shopping centres, over 50 new office parks and three industrial parks. The focus of the latter is predominantly light industry and also accommodates large-scale entertainment facilities such as WetRock Adventures (indoor water world) and

Jump for Joy (trampolines). Light industries represented include extensive storage warehousing, electrical contractors, signage companies, auto body / vehicle repair shops, fresh produce, panel beaters, small trucking, dry food packaging, pump and plant hire, herbal laboratories and glass manufacturers. Additionally Upper Highway now boasts a number of bed and breakfast facilities, guest lodges, lifestyle centres and a boutique hotel.

The survey reveals high levels of growth and development in the Upper Highway, significantly on the farm Upper Langefontein. Most subscribe to the discourse of 'country living in a safe, secure environment' boasting high security with biometrics, palisade and electrified fencing, towering walls and 24 hour manned security and CCTV'. To relocate to the Upper Highway is to 'flee the hustle and bustle of the city' and settle in one of the 'most stunning areas in KZN, with sweeping views and supporting a blissful family lifestyle'.

Interestingly Upper Highway still retains an agricultural component which can be seen in Plate 4.3 and 4.4. In the north the land is zoned agricultural, but is not farmed but rather maintains its purpose as an agricultural and green buffer between the Upper Highway and ITB land to the north of the red boundary. There are still pockets of farms in the area. The farms in the centre of the plates (middle and south) are representative of urban farming in Hillcrest and Kloof respectively.

Table 4.2: Gated Estates / Complexes in 2017 (Size and number of units)

Extent / size of gated estate / complex	Name	Number of Units
Large (200 units or more)	Plantations	800
	Cotswold Downs	697
	Le Domaine	700
	Emberton (under construction)	495
	Clifton Hills	212
	<i>Total units in this section – 3104</i>	Phezulu game estate
Medium (from 50 to 199 units)	Langford estate	197
	101 Acutts	150
	Augusta Country estate	150
	Camelot	150
	Hillcrest country retirement	142
	Kirtlington Park	120
	Manorfields country estate	105
	Balmoral estate	85
	Augusta ridge	82
	Greenvale estate	80
	Silver Oaks estate	70
	Chaceley estate	50
	<i>Total units in this section – 1431</i>	Stoneford equestrian estate
Medium to small (from 10 to 49 units)	Queensbridge	43
	Green Meadow Country Estate	38
	Waterford country estate	34
	Sandalwood estate	33
	Meadow Manor	32
	Highmead country estate	32
	Emeraldene Gardens	30
	Kingswood Estate	30
	Regent Park	18
	Glen Eden Country Lifestyle	27
	Kranzkloof Falls estate	25
	The Avenue	22
	Bridgewater	20
	Clair de Lune	18
	Far Horizons	18
	Duncton Wood	15
	The Links	15
	Highbridge	14
	Rockwood Estate	14
	Howards End	12
	Kensington Close	10
	Ashwood	10
	Westwood	10
	The Commanage	10
<i>Total units in this section -540</i>	Villa Vitelli	10
Small (9 units or less)	Willingdon	9
	Malden estate	9
	Hillview Park	9
	Rosewood	9
	West Bentley (under construction)	8
	Siena estate	7
	Cotton fields	6
	High Wycombe	6
	Polela gardens	6
	Waterford Estate	5
	Royal Palms	4
	Emoyeni Heights	6
	Next to the M13	4
	Emoyeni Park	3
	'Jo-Ay'	3
	<i>Total units in this section -97</i>	Torrington Close
TOTAL NUMBER OF UNITS		5 172
<i>Source: Fieldwork and Research observation (June-July, 2017)</i>		

It is believed that there are well over 6000 gated communities in SA (Smiths Property Group, 2017). Buyers in the gated estate market are flocking to enjoy the benefits of a style of living that generates a feeling of community, and of peace of mind that security brings. The market is worth a fortune with over 320 000 households. Buyers are prepared to pay a premium for safety and the convenience of on-site amenities, with many South Africans simply refusing to raise their families outside of a secured community (SPG, 2017).

As per Table 4.2 one can see that at minimum over 5100 new units have been built in estates or complexes over the past 20 years in the Upper Highway area. If one were to include the number of units (532) in the five known planned estates this would increase the total number of units to 5704. This study does not attempt by any means to make the claim to have counted every unit in every estate and office park, however what the table does indicate / show and validate beyond any doubt is the unprecedented rate of development in one area in just on two decades. Neither does this study attempt to differentiate between freehold homes, sectional title homes, townhouses, duplexes, simplexes or apartments. That would require further investigation which is not within the scope of this study

4.2.1 Conclusion of the land use survey

A number of observations can be made from the land use surveys. It is clear that the Upper Highway has experienced exponential growth over the past 20 years in the form of residential, commercial and retail, industrial and recreational developments. Land has been rezoned to accommodate this growth from agricultural to residential and industrial, and residential to commercial. A number of well-established commercial nodes are evident in the form of office and retail development, as well as the conversion of homes to businesses along Old Main Road in Hillcrest, Kloof and Waterfall. Despite the widespread sale and subsequent development of farmland, there are still small pockets of functioning urban agriculture which add to the uniqueness of the area. It is likely that this contributes positively towards reinforcing the 'country farming mind-set' of Upper Highway residents.

4.3 Stakeholder Interviews

It must be noted that although only six key stakeholders (respondents / interviewees) were personally interviewed for this section of the research, the data gathered was lengthy and rich due to interviewee's intimate understanding and well established interaction and experience with the area – more particularly during the period of change referred to. It must also be noted that the data gathered from focus groups is not presented in this chapter, but is presented in detail in chapter five that follows.

The interviews were informal and hence make no scientific or empirical claims, but rather the data gathered seeks to contribute towards a broader understanding of the position of key role-players who were actively involved in the period of development alluded to in this paper – in terms of what the key catalysts for change were, who drove the changes, what the negative consequences of the changes were, and indications of what they feel the future holds. Out of this a number of thematic categories began to emerge. The responses were collated and summarised according to key themes as follows:

4.3.1 Principal Catalysts for Change

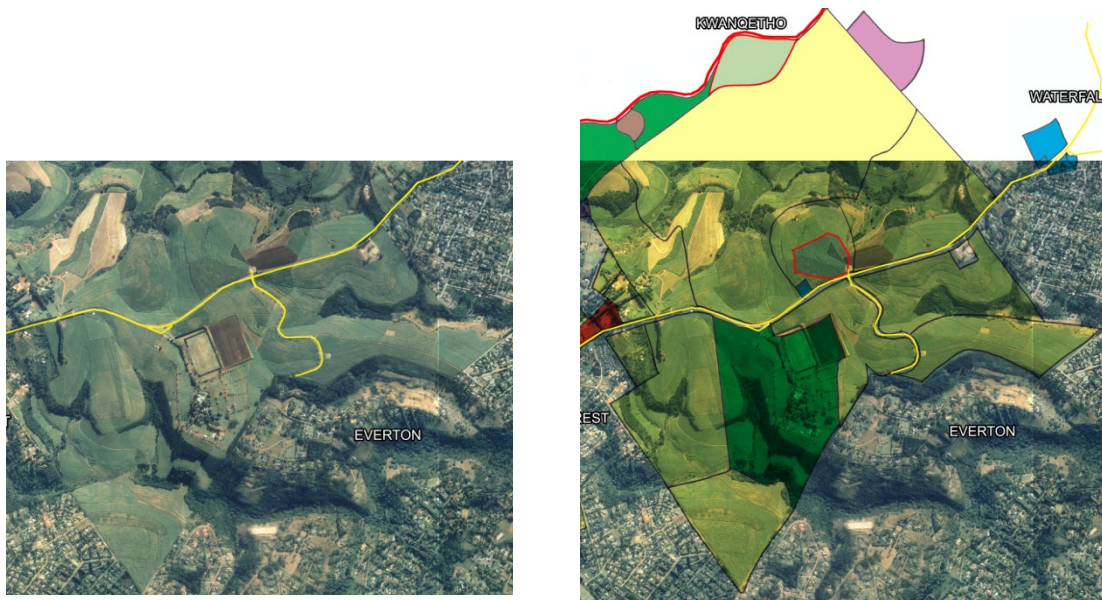
Most of the professionals, except for the community leader in Embo, gave an indication of the profound change the area has undergone since 1994. This was more particularly highlighted as the period 1998 to 2008 when things “exploded”. Respondents indicated that they knew development was going to happen, but “how quickly it happened took me by surprise”. The busiest years were from the year 2000 to the economic downturn in about 2008. There was recognition of a definite change in Upper Highway, and a transition from the ‘sleepy village’ it once was with a distinct farming feel to an upmarket edgy town. Catalysts for change were identified principally as follows:

(i) Land Sales:

The sale of large tracts of land such as Gillitts and Upper Langefontein farms, and subsequent rezoning of this land contributed greatly to the development boom. Once rezoning issues were resolved, developers who had shown keen interest began to invest heavily in the area. Prior to the boom the Upper Highway area, including Kloof, had enjoyed a slower suburban growth with houses on individual stands. The result was an explosion of growth in the early 2000s. The

then manager of planning and development at the Outer West Council from 1999 to 2007 relates that “one of the main areas worked on during the period of transition in the Upper Highway area was the Bailles farm (Upper Langefontein), and future utilisation of this agriculturally zoned land”.

Plate 4.5: Bailles Property (Upper Langefontein) – 1997, and 1997 with development overlay



Source: EtheKwini Photogrammetry Archives, Corporate GIS, adapted (November, 2016)

(ii) Town Planning Schemes and Rezoning:

Simultaneously to land sales, town planning was alive and well with the revisiting and updating of the then Kloof, Wyebank and Botha’s Hill town planning schemes and township layouts for Upper Langefontein farm. At that time the Outer West Council came up with the concept of ‘planned unit development’ for this area (PUD). The only other planned unit development in KwaZulu-Natal at that stage was in Umhlanga which was a very different sort of scenario as in the Umhlanga context; the zoning was more or less conventional.

In the Upper Highway area, the Bailles land was a working farm and it was unique in that it was assigned bulk factors. Additionally the zoning had to be changed from agriculture to residential and light industrial, amongst others

This was not unique to South Africa but it was unique in this part of the world. On the Bailles property, once the rezoning was done there were a variety of different zones namely PUD 1, 2 and 3 with different densities, and industrial land. With regards to Upper Langefontein farm most of the land roughly north of the river was zoned industrial. The site where the new Curro

High School is built was originally zoned large commercial, and the large balance of the land was all zoned PUD (1, 2 or 3).

Plate 4.6: Curro High School – Developmental Timeline left to right from 2013, 2015 to 2017



Source: Google Earth Historical Imagery (July, 2017)

The first new large gated estate to ‘get off the ground’ was Kirtlington in Inanda road with 167 proposed units. Today the estate is fully developed with 120 houses set in a natural indigenous landscape with paths meandering through forests, along a stream. At about the same time the idea for Le Domaine Retirement Estate was born, as well as others such as Langford, Chaceley, Clifton Hills and Cotswold Downs. Initial development plans attempted to introduce land use controls as well as urban design – in an effort to maintain a ‘sense of place’ along Inanda road. Consequently height limits remained two storeys; most offices have remained residential in terms of their coverage and bulk factors. The result is multi use retail and office developments, creating a low impact mixed use district.

(iii) Developers:

A number of property developers identified the potential of the Upper Highway area to become the new upmarket and sought after residential development node in KwaZulu-Natal, and began to invest. The burgeoning property market, bolstered by the availability of huge tracts of once agricultural land, led to a proliferation of new gated estates. Lead developers setting the trend were soon followed by others.

(iv) Expansive Commercial, Retail and Service Oriented Development:

One of the main sites identified as having great development potential was the old Waterfall shopping centre. It had existed in a far smaller more simplistic form with a small block of flats and a tea-room (the Honeybun) across the road where the Link Hills mall now stands. The new

Watercrest Mall now stands on land that “used to be a grass field with cows”. The original shopping centre in Waterfall was badly designed and did not work well. The centre was disjointed and not well supported. Local residents either went to Pinetown or the Pavilion shopping centre to shop. One could surmise that expansive development in Hillcrest and Waterfall has probably been in response to large scale residential developments.

Plate 4.7: Waterfall shopping centre 2004

Plate 4.8: Watercrest Mall 2017



Source: Google Earth Historical Imagery (August, 2017)

Source: Fieldwork, Authors own (August, 2017)

People in Upper Highway are looking to fulfil a particular lifestyle and enjoy the ideological ideal of ‘work live and play’ in one area – especially with the limitation of for example, Fields Hill, which is a major traffic constraint in this area. As a result of this need residential development picked up dramatically. Office development was slower, but has increased as opportunities and demand arise for medical, veterinary, fitness and service oriented facilities. Places of worship have proliferated with some seating up to 5000 people. As one of the respondents indicated “And suddenly the Outer West from being a relative backwater, was a different beast”

(v) Road upgrade:

The transformation of Inanda road into a dual carriageway from what was originally a dirt track and farm road, has been nothing short of meteoric. As indicated by the respondents “The once dusty road between Waterfall and Hillcrest does not exist in any form anymore”. The road development not only transformed the area visually, but has greatly aided with alleviating traffic congestion – particularly as at least six large estates feed into this road in both directions. From the Watercrest Mall in one direction to Hillcrest Central in the other. The

previous Outer West manager fondly remembered that “As a kid I cycled along that when it was a dirt road”.

Plate 4.9: Inanda road 2010



Source: Google Earth Historical Imagery (July, 2017)

Plate 4.10: Inanda road 2017



Source: Fieldwork, Authors own (August, 2017)

(vi) Waste Water Treatment Centre:

Waste water and storm water infrastructural limitations significantly affected development in the area, “This incapacity ensured that large-scale developments and multi-storey units could not be accommodated, therefore restricting the number of planned estates and units”. As indicated before, the development of the Hillcrest waste water treatment facility (HWW) heralded the end of this ‘incapacity’, opening up opportunities for development in Hillcrest. This hurdle was jumped with regards to planned developments on Upper Langefontein with the development of the Fischer road waste water treatment facility (FWW) for Cotswold Downs and Le Domaine, and which also services the new Watercrest Mall.

4.3.2 Pull Factors (The Pull to the Periphery)

All respondents indicated that Upper Highway “once a sleepy outpost of Durban” and regarded as a little hamlet, bordered by rural communities and surrounded by farms has seen massive changes. That there has been significant transformation is not in doubt with an unheralded number of gated estates and mixed use retail and commercial developments. Hillcrest was and is charming. Despite the recent outcry regarding the right to clean air, Upper Highway was

regarded as having one of the best climates in the province, far away from inner city pollution. With the property boom “Hillcrest was jolted out of its sleepy existence to become a boom town”.

The Upper Highway has often been regarded as a premier place to live, but with recent infrastructural upgrades, it is the area of choice especially for people wanting a home “in the country, away from the grime of the inner city, and nestled in gorgeous natural surroundings”.

It offers incredible natural beauty right on your doorstep, with a country lifestyle that is hard to beat. It offers tranquillity and peace away from the city, but with the convenience of modern amenities close at hand

The once quaint blissful Upper Highway area, to the chagrin of original residents, has effectively been ‘sold’ off to the highest bidders on the back of emotionally charged and persuasive language. There is a sense of that this is the meshing of two worlds – ‘secure individualised urban luxury’ meeting ‘country charm’. Traditionally, people who choose to invest in and move to the Upper Highway have made the move from the city with all its problems (figuratively and practically) to the ‘country’. This is as much a move ‘away’ from and rejection of the city with all its incumbent issues, as a move in the direction of the ‘unsullied periphery’ and acceptance of a new way of life. Potential buyers have been lured (and are still being lured) with the promise of the following:

(i) Country Lifestyle

Upper Highway has been known as farming community and despite massive development and in the area, somehow manages to retain its trademark label of ‘country village’ and being ‘out of town’ in the minds of people. Effective marketing by developers and estate agents continues to belabour the ‘tranquil farm country lifestyle in peaceful surroundings’ point with language such as ‘a beautiful development on the original farm nestled among dams with breath-taking views’, even if it sits in the middle of Hillcrest. Idyllic indeed!

The catalyst for this area has been and is lifestyle – it is climate, the feeling you can get out of the rat-race. You get on the M13 and you are in leafy green suburbs in Upper Highway in 10 minutes, where you have a beautiful house in indigenous gardens and forests, with walks and where you feel safe and you can ride your horse or go for a run. There is something to suit everyone in the area

(ii) *Safety and Security*

In contrast to the image of 'peaceful country lifestyle' some Upper Highway residents have fallen victim to carjacking's, home invasions, armed robbery and murder. This has seen a significant increase in private home security and in the case of gated estates, is a foundational part of the 'pull discourse' employed by developers (on the back of rampant crime in South Africa). It is no wonder that the discourse is heavily imbued with language promising safety and security such as '24 hour armed response for your peace of mind', 'secure estate with high palisade and electric fencing along the entire perimeter', '24 hour monitored gate access and security patrols' and 'ultimate maintenance-free lock-up and go lifestyle'.

(iii) *Exclusive Designs*

In many of the estates, but not all, new homeowners purchase the land and then employ someone in the architectural field to design the home. In other cases, new homeowners buy into an already designed estate but are able to select the 'design option' that best suits their lifestyle and family size. The language is equally as persuasive and encouraging –

A great opportunity for first time homeowners with young families to enter the property market and live on this estate, enjoying all the benefits gated community living has to offer.

Alternatively the sell is to those entering retirement – 'this is your opportunity to buy an architecturally designed apartment in this secure setting'. The 'sell' feeds into the 'pull discourse' informing potential buyers of 'large spacious individual sites' in the 'most sought after residential development' – less crowded and securing privacy from neighbours prying eyes. Gardens are most often landscaped with strict guidelines regarding flora that may be planted so as to maintain the integrity of the indigenous grounds. D'MOSS plays a large role in what can be built and where, as well as what can be planted and where. Sandstone and wetlands are protected by environmental guidelines. With the current focus on environmental issues 'eco estates' are the new way forward and are being pushed as the next best thing. Estates that are 'off the grid' and that don't rely on municipal electricity or water are also valued.

(iv) *Close to Amenities*

Estates that are 'close to amenities' are highly prized offering easy access to retail, sporting, business and educational facilities. In some cases, particularly with the larger estates, convenience comes even closer with in-house facilities such as golf courses, club houses, sports

tracks, walks, swimming pools, small shops / tearoom, restaurant and bar. The development of business nodes in Hillcrest, Kloof and Waterfall along Old Main road, Inanda road and the M13 and the industrial parks in Fischer road, Blessing Ninela road and Brackenhill has facilitated expansive growth of the retail, commercial and light industry sectors.

Notably this includes the new Watercrest mall, the Hillcrest Corner mall and Christians Centre to name some. Access to recreational facilities such as boating, fishing and camping at Inanda and Shongweni dams are highlighted, as well as indoor trampolines, cinemas at Watercrest mall, gym facilities and the as yet not very well known indoor 'Waterworld' in Brackenhill. Living in Upper Highway literally means that the need to go anywhere else (but for the beach) is greatly diluted.

When the first corridor plan was done 80% of people were aged 50 and above; this has totally changed and now about 20% are that age and 80% are young families and people looking for work

(v) Family Oriented

All respondents indicated that Upper Highway is the place to safely raise a family, with access to some of the best schools (government and private) in KwaZulu-Natal and close to sporting and retail amenities. This is a place children can run and play freely like "the good old days" when children were "safe on the streets". Some of the larger estates offer kilometres of walking, running, cycling and horse riding tracks. The latter is particularly applicable to equestrian, golfing and game estates.

(vi) Accessibility to Nature Reserves

There are a few nature reserves right on the doorstep of Upper Highway including Kranzkloof and Springside. The nature reserves are real gems teeming with indigenous wildlife, birdlife, plants, grasses, trees and forests. The natural surrounding natural environment is characterised by the gorge, cliffs, rivers and streams, waterfalls, thick bush and forests. Places of great ecological biodiversity and beauty, with striking landscapes, precarious precipices and well maintained picnic sites - they are frequently visited by locals and people from all over the municipality at minimum charge. It is commonly understood in some quarters that to live close to a nature reserve or overlooking a nature reserve, is the ultimate ideal in country living. With the nature reserve and 'fingers' of D'MOSS that extend deep into Upper Highway and

surrounding areas, this area is highly valued for its ‘out in the country charm’ and certainly contributes as a ‘big pull factor’ to the area.

Plate 4.11: Kranzkloof Gorge

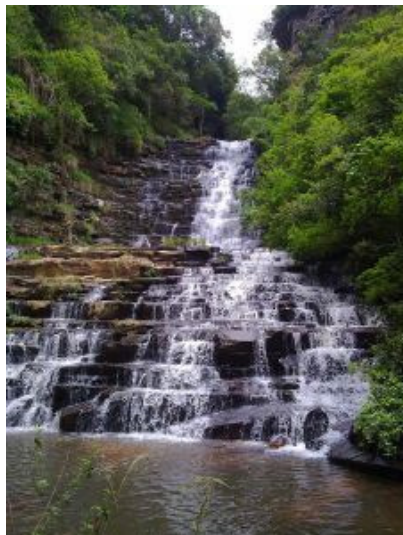


Plate 4.12: Indigenous Flora



Source: <http://www.kloofconservancy.org.za> (March, 2017) Source: Fieldwork, Authors own (August, 2017)

4.3.3 Issues and Challenges to Development:

Respondents confirmed that although growth and development in the Upper Highway has happened at an accelerated pace, there were certainly a great many challenges to impede the process. In the days when the Hillcrest Ratepayers Association (HRA) existed there were concerted efforts to constantly resist, challenge and halt development. A number of significant processes and community resistance efforts were identified as contributing to the delays as follows:

(i) Rezoning

Rezoning and the fight to either resist it or push hard for it, had many consequences as it “certainly hurt the process and caused delays”. As a case in point the vast majority of the industrial land to the north-east of the Nkutu River on Upper Langefontein was rezoned to PUD (where Cotswold Downs is now). The initial zoning was agriculture (Upper Langefontein farm) then a large part of it was zoned industrial after which it was rezoned again to PUD. The industrial zoning proposal for the land ended up extremely controversial in Hillcrest; there were massive protests at the dramatically changing nature of the area. The proposed zonings were appealed at the level of the Town and Regional Planning Commission. Despite protests, the industrial and residential rezoning was eventually agreed to and passed after a number of

years. One of the respondents acknowledged that this is very problematic now as there is the scenario of an upmarket residential estate sitting directly adjacent to a light industrial park - "one day someone is probably going to come along with no knowledge of how this happened and say how on earth this was ever allowed?"

The after effects of these decisions can be seen today in the formation of the Hillcrest Industrial township down Fischer road (on the Hillcrest side) and on the other side the Brackenhill Industrial Township in the north-east. A portion of the land to the north of Cotswold Downs and adjacent to Embo was zoned institutional, and this is where the school Waterfall College is located as well as a faith based development. There is what can be called a green agricultural 'buffer zone' between what was farm land (Upper Langefontein) and adjacent tribal land in Embo. As indicated by one respondent "The reality is that portions of this agriculturally zoned land have been invaded because of push factors from Embo".

Another drama that unfolded in the early 2000s was with regards to the commercially zoned site in Inanda road where Curro High School now stands. The original intention when the commercial zoning was put in place was for a lifestyle shopping centre between 10-12000 msq. (the zoning allowed for 20 000msq). According to one respondent

All hell broke loose and it ended up going to court. The Town and Regional Planning Commission got involved again and they issued a Section 48 order which enabled them to instruct the municipality to rezone the land as 'something', after which it effectively became a black hole in rezoning. It was zoned as undetermined. The Curro Group bought the land and had it rezoned to educational and other uses

(ii) *Local Resistance*

As indicated above resistance by locals prior to and during the big push by developers to expand hurt the developmental process, with a number of cases regarding rezoning going to court. This caused many delays and gave the appearance of a 'win' on the part of the HRA. The Hillcrest Ratepayers Association at the time had played a vital role in town planning control and advocacy. For example in 1999 when the little Richdens shopping centre in Hillcrest started with its extensions, the local populace got very agitated as this was a clear indication that "their village was disappearing and a number of objections were lodged". The developments alarmed the locals who, as part of the HRA group applied pressure to restrict development.

In its last quest to protest the rezoning of the site of the previous Shongweni Farmers Market, the HRA failed to make a significant impact losing the battle and incurring huge legal costs. This was subsequently rezoned residential with plans for an 'off the grid eco estate' on this site.

This sounded the end for the HRA and this era of advocacy came to an end. The HRA ceased to operate in November 2013. Changes in legislation and priorities led to renewed residential attention with a focus on dealing with crime in the area, and issues of environmental concern. The changes in the area and transition from 'old era' to new era' can be summed up as follows "...but the time has come to face reality and recognise that the world has moved on" (Develing, 2013:1). Reflecting on this period of resistance one respondent said "I get where people came from, they (people) looked back with nostalgia to the fact that you could ride your horse into town". It is a very different scenario today.

(iii) Infrastructural Limitations

A moratorium on development in was put in place in 2003 because with recent developments it became apparent there were severe infrastructural and road / traffic limitations in the area. The municipality needed to pull in the reins and have a chance to catch up with infrastructure. These limitations were with particular reference to lack of adequate sewerage and storm water provisions.

The moratorium was especially with reference to Inanda road with Cotswold Downs coming on stream, the plans for Cotswold Fenns, Le Domaine was being built and Plantations was being finished

Developers were allowed to submit plans, but these were not processed for a while. The Upper Highway area predominantly did not, and still does not, have access to adequate water borne sewerage and has to make accommodations for this. Part of the moratorium was the plan to develop further capacity which took many years to go through. A far more substantial sewerage works was needed and was eventually built in Fischer road adjacent to Cotswold Downs.

Both Cotswold and Le Domaine feed into this privately run and owned sewerage works and since then other smaller establishments have utilised this facility. The process to get this established was long, painful and costly. The municipal waste water department took two years to do the paperwork, but the facility was completed in the interim. The sewerage issue is still not resolved, it is still a problem. With limited infrastructural capacity to deal with waste

water, new multi-unit developments in the Upper Highway area have make provision for treating waste water either with on-site disposal or make application to connect to the existing and very successful sewerage works in Fischer road. This facility is already at capacity, but due to demand, plans for expansion are already underway. The FWW has been very successful and services not only Cotswold but Le Domaine and Watercrest Mall. Waste is pumped in from these areas, treated and pumped back. In fact the water going back is a lot cleaner than it ever was

With regards to limited road infrastructure all developers were consulted at the time and it was agreed that for every unit they put up they would have to pay a R10,000 levy. The intention was it would go towards the fund for road upgrades and for environmental goods and services. This was in about 2003. Developers agreed to the terms at the time; however this regulation does not exist anymore.

As things were going full tilt like a run-a-way train then, you were likely to end up with a situation whereby you would have major traffic congestion. Hence the drive to rehabilitate old Inanda road as a dual carriageway

The whole situation was summed up succinctly by one respondent

At the time was it was a 'ham in the sandwich situation' with people in Durban making decisions, people in Hillcrest sitting with the reality, and the developers champing to get ahead

(iv) D'MOSS and Environmental Issues

Regardless of zonings, D'MOSS incorporates a great deal of available notably environmentally sensitive land, as well as land immediately adjacent to this land. Large sections of undeveloped agriculturally zoned land in the 'buffer zone' between Embo and Cotswold Downs have been demarcated as D'MOSS to the chagrin of developers. Plans for these sites include 'gap market' developments to meet the need of the low to medium cost housing sector. Past attempts to develop this land and 'bridge the gap' so to speak were immediately subject to objections by local residents, who were trying to keep the 'push' from Embo "coming down the hill". Any developments in this zone wouldn't be upmarket but could fulfil the need for infill housing.

However, regardless, most of that land, and land close to it, has been allocated to D'MOSS because of the sandstone and wetlands and it will be very difficult to get the land rezoned.

There is a constant war between environmentalists and developers who are at loggerheads regarding just how much land can be developed, and how much development is too much? As one respondent indicated “It is always a toss-up between what to save and what can be let go of”. Some developments have been very controversial because of grassland, wetlands and sandstone. In some cases there are objections and in others none. In some cases local council may endorse rezoning land from agricultural to residential; however environmentalists have issues with proposed developments because of the D’MOSS. This may change in the near future with the entrance of SPLUMA (Spatial Planning and Land Use management Act) and the push for integration. What will take precedence, integration or environmental issues? Perhaps as one developer says

You can fulfil both requirements with careful planning, design and increased densities – building affordable homes for low to middle income groups, whilst retaining the integrity of the environment. What it does require however is a bit of give and take from both.

(v) *Land Claims and Invasions*

There was a laid claim associated with Upper Langefontein farm some years back that was lodged during the course of the approvals for Cotswold Downs. In the late 1960s there was never anyone living on this land, other than it being farmland. The legitimacy of the land claim had been in question – but local community members were paid out nonetheless. There have been land invasions onto the land just north of the Fischer Road Industrial Park, but these have been cleared away. Plans for this site include a transitional integrated development.

4.3.4 Traditional Tribal Land adjacent to the Upper Highway

Respondents indicated that the situation with who is doing what within traditional tribal areas (ITB land), and whose responsibility it is, is quite complicated. There were three key themes that emerged looking firstly at the role eThekweni Municipality plays in ITB land, what has been done by a variety of service providers in the past, and what could be done going forward. It must be noted that terms such as Tribal Trust land, ITB land and Embo are interchangeable in this section. As indicated previously Embo is the colloquial term given to the tribal land and community that is ITB and that sits adjacent to the Upper Highway area. The themes that emerged are as follows:

(i) *EThekweni Municipality and ITB Land*

Within the Ethekewini boundary about a third of all land is deemed traditional, and within these traditional areas there are ward councillors and Indunas. On the legal side of things the ITB is supposed to maintain the land; gather and allocated revenue for the King. Respondents felt however that in reality, in this capacity they are just officials. At the end of the day it is the local Induna who deals with most of the issues relating to land and the allocation of land. Residents approach the chief / Induna for permission to utilise land. Respondents believed that the channels of communication between the municipality and tribal leaders need to remain open - “It is that fundamental relationship that we as a municipality really need to engage with”. The problem unfortunately is that not every chief is as committed as other chiefs, as they allocate homesteads within flood lines, wetlands and other inappropriate areas.

It was indicated that it is actually the municipality’s mandate to control these sorts of activities. However, essentially speaking traditional tribal land is private land, which complicates things. Residents of tribal land do not pay rates and taxes, but expect the same delivery service as other areas. Considering the nature of the association between tribal and municipal, the question is do residents have the right to demand service delivery? In some cases this is possibly the case, but as in Upper Highway even if they did, services such as sanitation could not be provided due to the lack of municipal infrastructure and topography.

Plate 4.13: Embo



Source: Fieldwork, Authors own (August, 2017)

Plate 4.14: Embo



Source: Fieldwork, Authors own (August, 2017)

What this means essentially is that there are two different levels of planning, policy and control for Embo and Upper Highway. Formal building plans aren’t required in Embo, however as indicated by one respondent “some sort of standardisation and safety control is needed that

ensures that the structure being erected isn't going to flatten somebody". The biggest issue that residents in traditional areas have with the local council is the lack of provision of adequate social facilities and of course sanitation. An idea would be to get private developers on board to put land aside to create facilities and facilitate social development. High schooling in Embo is also considered a disaster, as many of the buildings are in a state of disrepair and lacking in basic services such as sanitation. The issue is that Embo is probably low down the list of schools that need refurbishing. The frustration is that on the one hand there is accelerated residential, educational and retail development in the Upper Highway, but there aren't enough funds to support schools in traditional areas.

Cognisance has to be taken of sanitation issues. As one respondent indicated "we say oh no you must have a long drop toilet and so on and yet people in Embo live next to a treatment works". The problem is what is in the public domain and what is in the private domain. In terms of sanitation this is something that the municipality will have to explore. Respondents indicated that there may be capacity to extend the waste water component to service other developments / residences. People want decent sanitation and that is something that the municipality is going to have to look at and be sensitive about.

(ii) What has been done

Although nothing like the development in Upper Highway, some progress has been made in adjacent tribal land. Roads were tarred, electricity and water was brought in and there is a refuse removal facility. This was done in the 1990s flowing out of the industrial development in Brackenhill. This is what can be termed an "old apartheid industrial area" where the powers at the time basically decided to "put everybody where we can't see them and just zone it industry". Needless to say when Brackenhill industrial park was electrified the benefits spilled over into Embo. This is why the Upper Langefontein zoning anomaly exists where the edge of a very upmarket and exclusive gated estate (Cotswold Downs) sits directly adjacent to general industry. Fortunately for residents this industrial area is not being grown.

With regards to the roads, although on tribal land they are still general provincial roads and the municipality assist when necessary to maintain these. Notably road maintenance is being facilitated using ratepayers money on what is essentially privately owned land. Going forward the question that needs to be asked is whose responsibility it is to invest in Embo? Embo

appears to fare better than some tribal communities, but it is still such an anomaly where there is a semi-rural tribal community on one side of a road and then an upmarket community on the other side “both living very very different lives with very different resources and social needs”. A great deal of charity work is being done in Embo and many churches are involved. This important issue as raised by interview respondents is addressed in the following chapter where Embo residents were given the opportunity to express their views regarding developments in the context of focus groups, so as to facilitate an authentic voice to their reality.

(iii) *What could be done*

Part of the intention of Outer West Council is to focus on issues of integration and bridge the divide between Embo and Upper Highway. How this is to be done is the critical question that needs answering. Careful consideration of the ‘upmarket communities juxtaposed with tribal communities’ anomaly must be made. The big question is how to adequately facilitate integration with people, who are in the traditional areas and those who are not,

You drive along Inanda road past all those gated estates, and then drive along Blessing Ninela and you are literally in another world. It is like someone put the floodlights on in one area, while pulling the plug in another.

Plate 4.15: Rural-Urban Divide (Cotswold Downs perimeter wall on the left, Embo on the right)



Source: Fieldwork, Authors own (August, 2017)

How can this be appropriately addressed, what is the best fit? On one hand there are upmarket enclaves, and on the other the potential for mixed use light industry and residential gap housing developments in the agriculturally zoned ‘buffer zone’. As Plate 4.15 shows at some points the distance between the two communities is under 80metres, divided by the

width of a road and concrete walls. How should this be managed? The municipality is trying to focus on how to facilitate integration between these two different worlds as it can't be forced.

Infill gap developments could act as an interface for those who have some resources to move to the outskirts of Embo into smaller start up homes / apartments. Ranging from about R500,000 to R800,000 per unit this will need to be subsidised to make such a move affordable for families. The biggest challenge as always is that there is not enough sewerage treatment to deal with the proposed increased densities – however negotiations with the Fischer road treatment works indicates that they are ready to expand and accommodate new developments if the demand is high enough.

Plates 4.16 and 4.17: Agricultural Land in the Buffer Zone



Source: Fieldwork, Authors own (August, 2017)



Source: Google Earth (August, 2017)

The planned Perez development is an attempt to facilitate integration between these two worlds with a low to medium cost high density development. The plan is that this would be a four to five storey high well designed apartment block with gardens and walks, with an adjacent small light industrial / commercial park to act as an employment link between Embo and the residential apartment block. Sewerage capacity would have to be bought in the Fischer road treatment works. However, the land is currently zoned agricultural and has a large D'MOSS component (Plate 4.16). In Plate 4.17 Embo is in the north-west, bounded by agricultural land to the south and separate from Cotswold Downs in the south-east. There is also open space separating Cotswold from the Fischer road industrial park. The question is how to address two needs – the need for integration and the need for environmental sensitivity? On one hand one needs to be relevant to bridging the gap between the resourced and the under-resourced, and on the other, remaining environmentally sensitive in every way.

Another new planned development near the Watercrest Mall intends to address this urgent issue of integration and infill gap housing with higher density apartment type housing. The developer has managed to buy some capacity in the Fischer road treatment works in order to do this. The intention going forward is to plan higher density housing that may even go as high as four to five storeys, however whether this would be passed by council or not remains to be seen.

Interestingly, the department of human settlements is doing more subsidised upgrades in traditional informal areas, rather than formal housing settlements. The problem though is that people living on tribal land do not enjoy legal tenure – and it seems that people want to own their own place.

The municipality is trying to set up steering committees to engage with the people, to facilitate ‘bottom up planning’. Engaging with a community and then understanding what they want should be factored into possible planning guidelines. Environmentally sensitive areas on tribal land need to be acknowledged, and community members could be advised to identify agriculturally viable areas where they could engage in farming activities. As one respondent indicated “In effect it would be more of a sharing of information and guidelines rather than an imposed master plan”.

Another issue to consider is whether tribal communities, who have their own particular style of design development, will want to be subject to municipal restrictions. For example down in Molweni most of the units are owner built according to their own architectural style and they may want to carry on like this from generation to generation.

People in power always want ‘fix’ things, but what if the adage ‘don’t fix what isn’t broken’ applies here? We need to ask the people what they want.

Certainly the municipality in terms of roads, electricity and water needs to keep up to date and continue to maintain that in ITB land. On the other hand “the flip side of the coin is that many people are building their three-quarter plus million rand homes on traditional land and are not paying rates”. The municipality needs to find a way to address this incongruity. The owners of these homes appear to have (and expect) all the benefits of service delivery including water, electricity, refuse removal and roads, without having to contribute to rates and taxes. The question is, is it reasonable to expect the rest of municipal rate payers to foot their maintenance and service delivery bill?

SPLUMA may not be relevant with its wall to wall schemes which sound more like the master planning of the 1960s which we have hopefully left behind. I think guidelines and the building of the relationship between urban and rural areas is important (though you can't even call them 'proper' rural areas any more, it is more r-urban). We must build relationships between urban and tribal communities to facilitate a realistic way of integration. Integration is a very relevant issue at the moment.

4.3.5 Future Plans

The vision for Upper Highway is that it is going to develop and get busier, but somehow within this the 'village' and 'less dense' feel must be retained. This area is not Umhlanga, it most certainly has its own unique identity. The challenge is how to go about keeping that identity in place. Whether this approach is still appropriate today is something that the municipality will need to explore, but the biggest challenges and constraints are still in terms of infrastructure. In the last review of the corridor plan the value of medium rise high storey buildings in the heart of Hillcrest were reconsidered very much along the lines of mixed use and residential. However, whether there is appetite for this remains unknown as until infrastructural capacity, mainly in terms of water and sanitation are urgently addressed, it doesn't seem there is much room for growth beyond what exists at the moment.

The reality is that development is economic driven, however a balance must be found between what is done and how to maintain the integrity and identity of the area. Pinetown is a case in point where development has turned old main road into a semi-industrial area.

The council has been very careful with the corridor plan in Upper Highway and strong on refusing plans that don't match the feel of the area. The Kloof Gillitts activity corridor plan has contributed to ensuring that there are mainly offices along old main road. In certain sections residences have been rezoned commercial so that "you keep the feel of the house without creating an office type scene". Hillcrest's old main road, once a cosy residential idyll, has been rezoned for office and commercial use.

One of the plans going forward is to ensure that properties that haven't been zoned are zoned. Densities and other activities around the Watercrest Mall need to be increased to ensure this facility doesn't end up as a white elephant. This is on the councils to do list. Not everything can be controlled, but there is essentially a vision going forward about what the municipality wants to do here. They see the Upper Highway area as distinctive - offering a unique lifestyle. This is inclusive of Hillcrest, to Waterfall and including Embo and Molweni. This uniqueness needs to be respected and development shouldn't just be done for developments sake.

People like this environment, it works well. It is a nice office environment and there will continue to be a demand for this and people building houses up here - because that seems to be a never ending story! The transition from Durban up the hill, somehow psychologically you have gone 'upcountry'. You would think you are asking people to drive a hundred kilometres away.

The very new development focus will definitely be what is going to happen in Shongweni with the plans for a new mall. Watercrest Mall may be extended in future because existing flagship tenants want to expand and offer their full range.

I think that will work up here. I was really worried about it in the midst of nowhere but you know what they've done incredibly well, much bigger turnover than expected.

Future developments have to be assessed in terms of how they relate to what exists, and the issue of integration. There are informal proposals. It might end up being more mixed use - residential and office. There might even be a need for social facilities and clinics and step down facilities.

4.3.6 Conclusion

This period 1998 to 2008 has been highlighted as a significant time in the Upper Highway when things 'exploded', with the busiest period from the year 2000 to 2008. The speed at which development took place took respondents by surprise. Key catalysts for change included the sale of a number of farms in the area, town planning schemes and rezoning, eager developers, commercial, retail and service oriented development, the Inanda road upgrade and the development of the Fischer road waste water treatment centre. Pull factors to the periphery have been couched in persuasive language alluding to the benefits of a secure country lifestyle, with beautifully designed homes, close to amenities and nature reserves and with a strong orientation to family.

The area has not been without its issues and years of local resistance did play a part in slowing development down for a while. This, together with the moratorium on development due to infrastructural limitations and the pressure of D'MOSS and environmental restrictions, were significant challenges to development at the time. Although some progress has taken place in adjacent communities on tribal land, these areas continue to lag behind significantly in terms of development, resources and adequate service delivery.

4.4 Discussion and Summary

The results of this chapter point towards accelerated and substantial growth and development in the Upper Highway area in the past twenty years with at least 5700 new residences in gated communities, five upmarket shopping centres, offices and industrial parks, bed and breakfast facilities, guest lodges, lifestyle centres and a boutique hotel. This stands in contrast to the lack of significant development in adjacent communities where residents have limited access to resources and service delivery. The nature of the change has been duplicitous. Where the needs of the mid to upper class have been met over and over again, development in adjacent communities has been limited and slow. Clearly some gains have been made in terms of roads and electricity; however the rate and degree of change limp far behind what has taken place in the Upper Highway.

Opulence and accelerated development sits side by side with lagging development and limited resources. As postulated, the divide between the wealthy and poor continues to exist, and the buffer between the resourced and under-resourced instituted prior to 1994 continues to be perpetuated. The 'positive' postmodern planning discourse of participation, progress and integration in contrast to modernist totalitarian impositional planning, seems to have degenerated and 'let the side down' in the Upper Highway area (Hirst, 2005; Irazabal, 2006). Instead of integration there is a perpetuation of spatial inequality and the fragmentation of space (Maylam, 2005). As is the case in Johannesburg South Africa, evidence in the Upper Highway over the last 20 years points to an era of 'unsuccessful postmodern planning' severely lacking in integration and perpetuating division and segregation (Murray, 2004).

Despite positive developmental progress made in South Africa post-1994, there is still a sharp divide between the haves and the have-nots (Landman, 2004). As is the case in the Upper Highway, poor rural traditional communities in Embo sit directly adjacent to wealthy gated communities – in some cases literally a stone's throw away. Although some progress has been made in Embo, as confirmed by interviewees in this chapter and focus group participants in the subsequent chapter, not much has changed and the gaps between the poor and rich seems to widen (Smith, 2016).

It is suggested that the confluence of push and pull factors together with key catalysts and a powerful marketing strategy, have played an important role in drawing people away from the decaying inner city and central business district to the far more attractive periphery of Upper

Highway. This has significantly contributed towards accelerated growth and development over the past twenty years. The discourse of a 'safe country convenient family oriented' lifestyle with access to commercial, retail and recreational amenities together with a discourse of fear inferred by terms such as 'crime, violence, security, lock-up-and-go', electric fencing, gated access and so on' – have been flogged to good measure. As evidenced in other contexts such as Johannesburg and Brazil these discourses of 'fear and safety' have collectively contributed to an abandonment of the inner city, flight of the resourced to the periphery and extensive development of gated communities (Irazabal, 2006; Murray, 2004). Planning policies and practise appear to be subtly segregationist in nature, facilitating the rapid expansion of the Upper Highway periphery in the form of expansive commercial, retail and residential development whilst residents in Embo continue to live in stressed circumstances with little access to basic services (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008).

The Upper Highway is certainly not the small agrarian village it once was, however the hankering after the idealistic 'agrarian village way of life' still saturates the marketing discourse and feel of many gated communities in the area. The development of 'communal villages' has rapidly gained momentum in recent years in South Africa, with the wealthy colonising the periphery and replicating the ideal values of small villages and towns (Landman, 2003). A vibrant residential hub and yet the Upper Highway is still able to retain its country charm and 'out of town' village feel. Part of the charm is being able to reap the benefits of a 'life near the country' but with access to so many complementary amenities such as work and play. The architectural mantra of 'work, play, live' could not be more true than in the Upper Highway (Smith, 2016). With the migration of a number of retailers and light industrialists to the area, one hardly needs to leave this safe haven. As indicated by one of the interviewees "I hope that Upper Highway will remain distinct enough to draw the population, and that there is enough threshold to carry the place".

Evidence from this research suggests that the Upper Highway mimics the model of a small but growing idealistic 'town of the past' on the edge of the periphery, replicating traditional ideals of village life through the creation of contemporary high quality and secure communities. Once predominantly agrarian in nature, the sale of farms and subsequent appropriation of this land for development on the outskirts of the city follows the model of development of an edge city, but on a smaller scale. New developments incorporate an assorted mix of commercial, retail,

industrial, recreational and residential developments along an upgraded road network and with increased infrastructural capacity. The Upper Highway displays the core characteristics of 'edge city development' as listed above, as well as being outside the confines of the CBD in what was once a rural farming and/or residential area (Garreau, 1991). This speaks of a definite transition from an 'agrarian country landscape' to 'edge town'.

This together with increased security and fortification suggest that the Upper Highway now fulfils the mandate of a 'safe refuge town' (Smith, 2016). Certainly one could therefore conclude that the Upper Highway in its current high-quality gated and modern form, nestled securely on the periphery of Durban, with its mixed-use corridor and espousing traditional values – has taken on the form of a smaller version of the adjacent city, a 'gated edge town' (Madanipour, 2001). Upper Highway has grown up and is a town with relevance and significance. By no means a city, it certainly fulfils the characteristics of an 'edge town'. It is important that Hillcrest, especially as the central business district for Upper Highway, remain viable and sustainable in the long run what with new proposed developments in Waterfall and Shongweni.

Chapter Five

Results and Discussion

Focus Groups

5.1 Introduction

It must be noted that results presented in this chapter are primarily qualitative in nature, examining and presenting principal constructs of status quo adaptation as identified through the voices of residents of Embo. A small quantitative component, namely the presentation of a number of extracts for some constructs in tabular form, has been included as a point of interest but is not the mainstay of the discussion. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to engage in a comprehensive comparison and analysis of the extract counts. Such an analysis warrants further investigation and substantiation.

As was indicated in chapter one, five focus groups discussions were facilitated in the Embo community hall. The focus groups were facilitated and recorded in isiZulu. The interview schedule was followed as closely as possible, however where participants digressed from the question or topic this was encouraged so as to give opportunity to for their 'authentic' voices to be heard. Repeated readings of the text revealed a number of overarching themes. The data was then subject to focused analysis using Nvivo. The themes explored in the chapter that follows are derived from this analysis and will be explored further for meaning.

Embo is the common name given to the area called Mkholombe which falls in Ingonyama Trust Land in KwaZulu-Natal. As indicated in chapter three, communities that live on tribal trust land are subject to the leadership of the chief and indunas. Community members do not own land, but are afforded the right to live on the land and build homes, shops, churches and so forth. Land tenure is an issue as is the lack of resources and often intermittent service delivery. There are roads in Embo, as is the provision of electricity, water and refuse removal. However of particular concern is the lack of sanitation and effective water delivery. At times some community members can go as long as 3 months without potable water, having to bundle

bottles and buckets into a wheelbarrow to fetch water some distance away from a communal tap when the water tank does not arrive (Smith, 2016).

5.2 Overall Findings

Although there is no one singularly identical construction of how people interpret and adapt to their constrained circumstances, this analysis has generated significant findings with regards to how this is formulated and understood in the minds of participants. Firstly, the participant's constructions appear to be primarily traditional and adaptive in nature as opposed to contemporary and confrontational. Secondly, despite traditional constructions of the status quo, participant's constructions also acknowledge a range of inconsistencies and inequality with regards to their circumstances. And thirdly, participants notably expressed a range of idealised constructions of what constitutes 'appropriate community', the best kind of community so to speak. Before exploring these, and in order to orient the reader, I look at the range of respondents who participated in the five focus groups.

5.3 The Participants

Although it was the intention of the researcher to facilitate gender specific focus groups this did not transpire as participants arrived at different times that suited them, and simply joined the group already gathered there. The plan was to facilitate four groups, two groups would include older participants (male and female respectively) and two groups would include younger participants (male and female respectively). Although attempts to canvas the community for participants had been thorough, this did not go according to plan. Where over 60 people had said that they would come, only 27 participated. As it transpired it seems that community members were either suspicious or concerned about the event, or had other commitments. People were invited, however this did not go according to plan as people had commitments, were suspicious and concerned

Many of the participants spoke of having very large family structures – with up to 18 people living at home. Whether or not this is with reference to biological family or not is irrelevant – family is community, and community is life. In some contexts family members do not 'belong' exclusively to that family and may not be biologically related. Embracing responsibility for the

care and nurture of community members who are ‘not their own’ enters the domain of social family / community lifestyle (Nsamenang, 2000). Where contemporary traditions and expressions of family often fall within an individualistic view of the self and family, tribal traditions fall within a communal view of self and family (Mkhize, 2006). Where contemporary conceptualization of the ideal family may constitute four (parents and two children), traditional contexts digress from this ideal.

The section that follows gives basic demographics of the participants, indicating gender differentials, age and whether or not they are employed.

Table 5.1: Group one

Male / Female	Age	Number of people living in the household	Employed / unemployed
F	61	16	Retired
F	52	12	Unemployed
F	64	8	Retired
F	72	16	Retired
F	76	18	Retired

Source: Fieldwork (November, 2016)

Group one was facilitated in the town hall late morning on a Saturday. As can be seen in Table 5.1 Group One comprised five participants, all women all with large extended households. Whether these are all the people living in one household at a given time or not could not be clearly established.

Table5.2: Group Two

Male / Female	Age	Number of people living in the household	Employed / unemployed
Male	61	8	Works one day a week
Male	53	6	Not permanently employed
Male	51	5	Not permanently employed
Male	60	6	Unemployed, waiting for pension
Male	57	3	Unemployed
Female	57	7	Unemployed
Female	56	5	Unemployed

Source: Fieldwork (November, 2016)

In Table 5.2 participants in Group Two were mixed. This could be attributed to the ‘trickling in effect’ – participants arrived later than expected in their own time and joined the group they felt comfortable with. Whoever arrived simply joined in with the group about to commence with the focus group interview process. Late comers were asked to wait to join the next group

rather than interrupt a group already in session. This is what transpired with Group Two and as a result the group was a ‘natural mix’ of older men and women, who were perfectly comfortable to discuss the issues raised together. There were a total of five men and two women in Group Two.

Table 5.3: Group Three

Male / Female	Age	Number of people living in the household	Employed / unemployed
Male	59	4	Employed
Male	40	5	Employed
Male	75	6	Retired
Female	53	5	Employed
Female	78	3	Retired
Female	34	5	Self-employed

Source: Fieldwork (November, 2016)

Group Three was facilitated the following weekend and comprised three men and three women, four of whom were employed. The other two participants in this group were retired. Groups Four and Five were also facilitated the following weekend. Participants in both these groups were younger and were split into female and male. They were comfortable with this situation.

Table 5.4: Group Four

Male / Female	Age	Number of people living in the household	Employed / unemployed
Female	34	4	Employed
Female	30	10	Unemployed
Female	25	8	Unemployed
Female	32	16	Employed
Female	26	10	Employed

Source: Fieldwork (November, 2016)

Table 5.5: Group Five

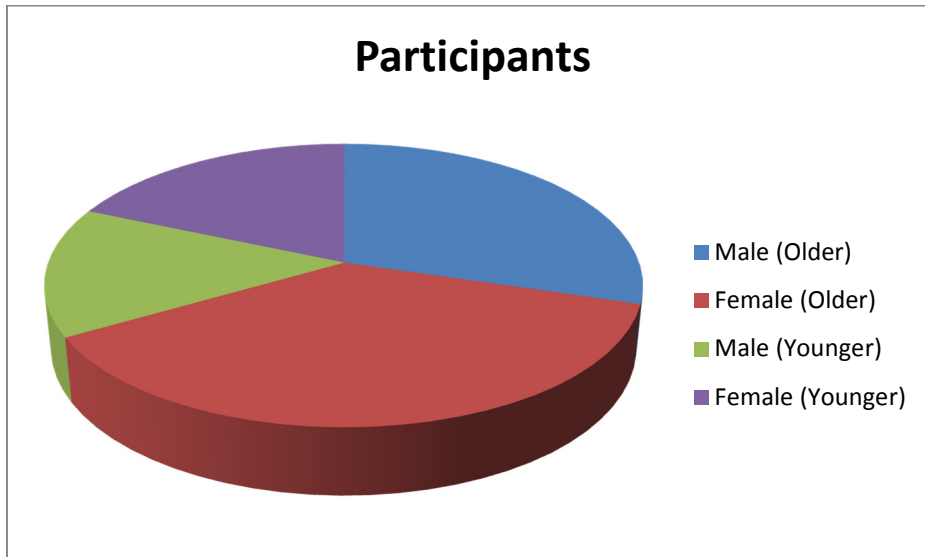
Male / Female	Age	Number of people living in the household	Employed / unemployed
Male	25	3	Unemployed
Male	28	4	Employed
Male	26	6	Studying
Male	34	3	Unemployed

Source: Fieldwork (November, 2016)

The age range of participants was 25 to 78 years. Of all 23 participants who were of working age, only 8 were employed (34%). Only one participant indicated that he was studying, and the

rest of the participants were either unemployed, had intermittent employment opportunities or were retired.

Graph 5.1: Gender and age distribution of participants



Source: Fieldwork (November, 2016)

Ten of the participants were older women between the ages of 52 and 78 years, eight were older men between the ages of 51 – 75 years, five were younger women from 25 to 34 years and four were younger men from 25 to 34 years (Graph 5.1). All of the participants were residents of Embo, and most had been living there for many years. With regards to questions regarding the past, the older participants were able to relate stories of the past, whereas many of the younger participants could either just remember some events or their ‘memory’ was based on a collective memory and community storytelling.

5.4 Results

In order to facilitate the best thematic appraisal possible it was felt that the ‘daily lived context’ of participants be explored initially to facilitate a ‘contextual framework’. This will be explored initially after which themes will be expanded on in detail. Broadly speaking themes that began to emerge included – confidence in and high approval of the ideals of community, status quo justification, in-group favouritism (adaptation and acceptance), out-group favouritism, out-group disapproval (anger, pity and disinterest), negative and positive response to life in Embo and future hopes and dreams.

5.4.1 Past Memories

As indicated previously most of the younger respondents did not remember what Embo or Upper Highway was like twenty years ago, whereas most of the elderly respondents did remember. They remember who used to own the farm and the crops that were grown such as sugar cane and sweet potatoes.

I still remember the farm that used to be in Inanda road – it used to be a sugar cane farm, it is private land and it used to belong to Mr Bailles

There were (many) farms in Hillcrest

It was a sugar cane farm as well as sweet potatoes and now they are building beautiful houses there and people were given the money for that land because it used to be people living there

I still remember the farm that used to be in Inanda road, it was a sugar cane farm and a chicken farm

I still remember that farm and it used to be sugar cane

Younger respondents did not remember it being a farm at all. Some of the older respondents remember that people used to live there (on the farm land), they remember people being forcibly removed. There was a land claim and people were paid out. The chief 'sold' the land to the farmer.

I think there used to be graves there and people were living on that land, we do not know where the graves went, and (if) they build on top of them

They ripped each and every house with a tractor that they had built. Whatever people had in those houses it was finished

There was anger about how they heard the land invasions were dealt with (speaking from historical memory, not first-hand experience). Younger respondents believe that Embo has not changed much in the recent past, however older respondents indicated that there have been a number of changes and that fifteen years ago Embo was "ok" as the children were not doing drugs. Respondents indicated that changes that took place include tarred roads, electricity and some water delivery and that this has altered how Embo functions.

They built a tarred road, brought power and brought water as far as the Mkhizes. Those things weren't there and now they have brought them. It has changed the place

Interestingly there was wistfulness among older respondent's memories as these 'seemingly positive developments' have detracted from traditional rural community activities such as gardening and agriculture. The respondent seems to be suggesting that before the

developments everything was green (there was land to plant and grow things), and since the developments there is no agriculture.

Before that there weren't any roads, there was a bus and train in those days (consensus from others). They came door to door and they took R50 to contribute to the road. There was a train to Hillcrest, and it was difficult for us. It is better now. We used to get water from the river, and this wasn't easy or good. But in those days there used to be lots of agriculture, sweet potatoes, everything was green and we used to plant a lot and we all had gardens. And then they developed everything with water and lights and roads and now there is no agriculture

It appears the intimation is that because people can go to the shops now and things are easily accessible you don't need to grow things, you simply buy instead. As the following respondent hints, growing things is no longer necessary as you have transport to take you everywhere to buy things.

It used to be like a farm and we could grow mealies. We had to have a bit of money for transport, but there were no roads. Before the roads you used to stay at home and farm and it cost a little bit of money to get transport. But now you must take transport everywhere

5.4.2 System Justification

(i) Status Quo Validation

Respondents rationalised their position in society by accommodating the status quo, engaging in legitimising what exists and validating current circumstances in terms of resource discrepancies and the high walls of their neighbours etc. Some expressed a wish to live 'there' (in a gated community) if they could afford it. They are aware of the 'hard work' and resources required to obtain and maintain that kind of lifestyle. They would love to live like that if they 'deserved it'. Some expressed unhappiness at comparative living standards - there as opposed to here (Embo) but were not envious of the actual houses per se. None of the respondents flagged 'design' as being an important issue in their lives and did not express a value for 'architecturally designed units' which are highly prized among residents in estates (as opposed to specified houses).

It is private land, it is their home, they have money that we do not have, and because they are rich they can do anything with their money....That's why they have their walls

It doesn't matter, I don't care, it is private land they can do what they want

I am not crying, look I have built here (in Embo)

It is simple, they have money and we don't

And because we are not rich and we are not educated, so black people were squashed together

People who live there are people who have money, we do not have money, and we are so poor

I wouldn't mind living there if I had enough money to live there and if I deserved to live there

The developments are not bad because it has brought employment for some people of Embo

The whites are different, they do things differently, they visit differently, and they go away (on holiday)

Respondents expressed horror at the way people have to live in a gated community. They validated why their way of life is better, and why it is ok for 'them' (people in estates) to live like that but certainly not for people living in Embo. The fact that you have to check yourself in and out (through the entrance) by choice was beyond comprehension to some of the older respondents. Reference was made to the 'dompas' system during apartheid when black people were forced to carry identification at all times and were submitted to curfews. This system of gated living seem very reminiscent of this system to one of the respondents and he found it abhorrent, another purposefully compared Cotswold to a jail. There was significant consensus among residents regarding these comments. Conceptually and in reality that 'type of living' seemed to signify a loss of freedom and peace of mind.

They don't have freedom there

People go and hide in there, you can't go in without a car, and you need a pass to go in! No no I don't like it, you need passes to go in. It is like a jail, it is like a jail, it is like a jail.

At Cotswolds and Le Domaine to go to (out) to town you have to check yourself out through the main gate and security. You can't just go out; you are captured by the security. You have to check out of the main gate. It is like the 'dompas' (pass book) during apartheid, when they had pass laws

I don't know anyone who lives there and it is not easy to visit anyone there because they have so many rules

We have peace of mind; we are safe they are not

I don't want to live like them

One respondent said with such incredulity -

You can't just walk through the gates; you have to take a car to get there

Respondents were very clear on the reasons why people live in gated estates; they recognise and understand the rationale behind such a choice. They validate the legitimacy of gated estates acknowledge that 'those people' want to protect themselves from crime, because they are afraid. They also recognise that the walls are there to keep people out.

It is the way they protect themselves that's why they have those walls

They put those big walls because they have to protect their families from crime

They are building those walls to stop the crime and protect themselves

They have built the big wall to keep the skebengus (bad people) out, so they can't get inside

(The place) it has changed, they have tidied up the place), they have put the electric fence to make it secure

It is nice for them, but not for me. I don't know anyone who stays there and I don't care

People go there to work

One respondent felt that it was a way to stop criminals from coming in as well as the people from Embo, and more specifically black people. There was agreement among some of the respondents to this comment. Conceptually this seemed to intimate a link between black people from Embo and the issue of crime.

White people built the big walls to protect themselves from crime and from the people from Embo and they are stopping black people from coming in

(ii) Acceptance and Adaptation

There was acceptance of the status quo and adaptation to current circumstances by many of the respondents, although there was some anger and disappointment at their living conditions and lack of service delivery. Overall most respondents indicated that despite living on the doorstep of an upmarket community they are happy where they are in Embo. Respondents'

expression satisfaction with the fact that they have some service delivery, they have food and they have access to transport. They indicated that they don't even notice how 'they' (their wealthy neighbours) live and they don't have a problem with circumstances as they are. They have adapted to their situation, accept that they have wealthy neighbours and accept life in Embo because 'this is just the way things are'.

We don't have a problem with it. We like their buildings but we don't like to live there.

I don't even notice (how they are living)

No I don't envy them. It doesn't worry me (how they live)

It doesn't matter (that they live there); I don't have a problem with it

I have made my own place here and I am happy here

We are well here; it is a good place to stay

It is a good area to live because we have water, electricity and sanitation

They brought electricity and lights and a road, they bring food in

Yes people of Embo some are educated and it is a safe place to stay

Embo fifteen years ago was very poor, there were not many houses, there were no tar roads, and public transport was very bad. It is better now

It is better because the municipality has opened the feeding scheme for us. The children are not going hungry anymore

It's ok, we live well here

There's nothing that we don't have

Some respondents articulated a longing for the houses in Cotswold, but expressed a desire to have those houses in Embo. They like the structures but not the place as there is any freedom in a gated community, but there is a lack of restrictions in Embo. Living in Embo is 'better' because the lifestyle 'matches' the resources they have (which is limited), and if a person is unemployed s/he would receive assistance in Embo (but not in a gated community). Living in a gated community requires resources.

We like the buildings (at Cotswold), but we would like them here (in Embo)

We have freedom

But if you are living there and you don't have work you won't be supported (helped). You can't live there without money

I am not happy but there is nothing I can do about it because I don't have money. I have accepted it

There was a positive 'spin' to some of the respondents' responses as they pointed to potential employment opportunities in gated communities. Work was seen as important to more of the younger respondents. Work brings resources and makes life 'easier'. Additionally gated communities are perceived as limited in terms of space and hinder independence.

As long as you have work, life is easy I can afford to be here (Embo)

It seems like it is unfair. Some disadvantaged people look at this and think it might be unfair – but other people see it as a good thing because it 'produces work'

The people go there by foot or by vehicle and they get work there.

The young people go and work there

We are just surviving, we are not worrying (paying attention to) about what we don't have.

I don't have a problem (with them) because I can't afford to be there. They haven't got any space, here I have space

5.4.3 In-Group Favouritism

(i) Community Approval / Community Highly valued:

In each of the focus groups respondents spent time reflecting on community life in Embo, and how important it is to them. They discussed with a sense of pride what it means to have community. It became apparent that community lifestyle is highly regarded and a traditional way of life is valued. In Embo there is an intuitive response to helping one another in times of need, people commune and worship together, and they are able to visit their neighbours without constraint. Helping and being involved in one another's lives is more the rule than the exception.

We have community in Embo

Even if you don't have a job (in Embo) you will be looked after and you will be supported. People will help, neighbours will help (in Embo) if you are unemployed. If you need food

We help the people in Embo. If people are hungry we feed them, there is a feeding scheme here every week, and it is Abambo Community project. We help them, we buy stuff for them especially the elderly. We do bible studies with them on Tues and on Sat we go into the houses, we pray for them. We go around on foot. We buy rice and cooking oil, and go with their children and distribute the food. People thank us, sometimes we eat together. We find out who needs food. We meet with the people.

When people are sick she has nursed them, and at this house she helps with the project. She wants people to be well. They get clothes and support people with clothes and food. She loves to worship as well here.

We are free we can get together and we worship nicely here

My head and heart are right when I worship. I live well with the people around me.

Respondents reflected on why they prefer to live in Embo, as opposed to the gated estates close by. They expressed disbelief and in some cases disdain for the lack of community in gated estates because as far as they can tell there is none. They query who on earth would like to live like that. This particular issue seemed to really puzzle many of the respondents. They recognised what people in gated estates are lacking in terms of community, and were quite clear that even though they may not have money, they don't want to live like that.

Maybe it is good for them, maybe they have money and we don't have money. But community they don't have, and this we have. We have Ubuntu (humanity, community)

But we have Ubuntu, they don't have a community

In my heart I like to live where I live now

People in gated communities were perceived to be living their own self-centred lives behind closed doors, oblivious to the needs of their neighbours. They don't even know their neighbours names! This is certainly an anathema to respondents from Embo.

I wouldn't like to live there because they don't have community, Ubuntu, they don't have that, they do not know their neighbours by name they just greet them and then they close their doors

No No I don't want to live like that!

It is bad to have those big walls because then you can't ask for help if you need help

It is easy to visit people here

For Embo respondents it is actually 'unhealthy' to live separately from your neighbour. You need to be able to visit at will, greet and know your neighbours. It is healthy to live in close community.

It is not the black people's way / custom to live like that. I want to live where I can fellowship with my neighbour. It is healthy to live close with your neighbour

I want to see my neighbours and greet them

I want to see other people and be able to visit them

It's not nice because we as black people we believe in visiting our neighbours

If you stay there you can't go to your neighbour to ask for sugar

No way, you can't do that, there's not much of Ubuntu there

Amidst much hilarity (but no perceived animosity) the elderly ladies and gents found the concept of 'communing' with frogs on the Cotswold Estate quite unbelievable. This was with reference to the water course and the ponds on the golf course. They referred to people on the estate as living in an 'endongeni' (a hole in isiZulu).

They only have community with the frogs

They can have their frogs and their songs!

The respondents indicated how unpleasant it would be to live in a gated estate – especially with regards to having no contact with your neighbours, possibly for years. This was an alien concept to them and definitely not one to aspire to. There was an undercurrent of shame for 'them' (in gated communities), that they choose to live this way. Although respondents accepted it, they seemed to find this way of life quite shocking. They seemed to feel sorry for the people in gated communities trapped behind their walls.

No I wouldn't like to live there

It's horrible to live there

You can't live there (plough there)

The big walls, no – it is truth you can live there for 10 years and not speak to your neighbour, and not know them! There is no ubuntu there.

When they go out and in, their neighbours don't know if they have come or gone or where they are. They come and go and no-one knows where anyone is. The children come and go (with surprise)

5.4.4 Out-Group Favouritism

Many of the respondents seemed to indicate that they don't care and don't even notice the people living in adjacent upmarket gated communities. They accept their inadequate socioeconomic circumstance and some even expressed positive opinions towards higher income groups. There was a degree of out-group favouritism by respondents in the face of their limited resources and power to change anything. Some respondents indicated that they do like the houses and would like a house like that – but not there, rather in Embo where they have real community. They indicated they wouldn't mind visiting there for a day or two just to experience the lifestyle. Existing economic and social arrangements of the out-group (those with wealth, living in gated communities) were justified by some respondents.

It is not a problem to me, it is private land, and it is private land. They can do what they want, they have paid for it

It is not bad because we were told about the new development, and it is (on) private land and they (people in Embo) were also given money for that land (in the land claim)

It is their property and they feel safe in their own space, they are not breaking any rules by locking themselves out

Over there where they have the walls and the big houses and the gates - Its fine, I am not jealous about the big houses

I am not feeling happy when I see those big houses on that land, but I am not jealous of their houses.

Gated communities were seen as 'heaven on earth' by some of the younger respondents and there was a wistful wish to live there if they had the resources to do so.

I would like to live there behind the walls because it is like heaven

We would like to live in those complexes because it is like a heaven on earth

I would be happy to live like that if I had enough money to live in there

5.4.5 Out-Group Disapproval

Interestingly although respondents did indicate some out-group favouritism, there was a definite leaning towards anger and disapproval of this group as well. The anger was expressed vocally, but there was no indication that this would ever translate into actual conflict. The notion that 'they' (white and rich people) do not want to 'see' them (Embo residents) seems to indicate that they conceptualise the division between the rural-urban interface as dismissive of them - and as further exacerbating divisiveness and segregation. There was anger and hurt at being disregarded on a racial level (rather than a rich poor level). There was anger about why the current circumstances aren't fair. Others were angry at what the others have (in the gated estate), and what they don't have.

But they are making sure that black people do not have a relationship with them

We don't have everything in Embo, but they (outsiders) have everything in those places (gated estate)

The way we live in Embo is much different than those big complexes. They have everything. And here in Embo we have less improvement

They have everything and we have nothing in Embo

They do not have humility. They do not want to see us.

They are hiding from us, they do not want black people near them

I am not happy because I feel that the reason they have those walls (in the estate) is because they treat people of Embo as criminals"

I am not happy because of my living conditions. I look at those houses and it makes me sad and angry

5.4.6 Life in Embo

(i) *Positive Response*

Respondents were very clear about what living in Embo is like and what developments over the years in Embo have meant to them. They acknowledged positive infrastructural changes such as roads, electricity and water, and refuse removal.

It was difficult for us. It is better now.

Living here in Embo there is improvement because we have lights we have electricity and we have water. We have roads now and it is much easier to travel

We have power, it is ok

We do have water and electricity, it is just the water is a bit problematic at the moment

Taxis are now able to come easily into the area and this facilitates access to amenities in Hillcrest, Waterfall and Pinetown. Embo has a number of schools and crèches, and churches and community projects are busy working to help make life easier and bring hope. Respondents indicated how much they enjoy playing sport, especially soccer. Many feel that it is a good place to live as it is quite safe in Embo, there isn't that much crime especially at the bottom of the valley and you can do vegetable gardens.

Embo is a good place to stay

It is good to have water when it is there

The place is nice to live, roads are good, and it isn't the same as other places where they just kill people

We feel safe but, we always pray

Embo is not the problem, it is the drugs and crime that is

There are soup kitchens, because there are churches that give us soup and bread to eat so that we cannot go hungry

Some people are educated

(i) *Negative Response*

Although respondents indicated that community is highly valued, life is hard in Embo. A number of issues were raised and it became evident that some of these are very problematic for residents particularly lack of infrastructural development, no houses being built, intermittent water delivery, unemployment and poor sanitation. Although respondents

acknowledged past infrastructural developments, it seems that nothing is happening now. If anything does happen it takes a long time to come to fruition. Changes were made to Embo about 15 years ago and since then major infrastructural developments have been in limbo.

We have nothing

But water is a problem, 5 months with no water

Otherwise we have to go to the river to fetch water

When the wind blows it affects the power

There is no improvement in the area

The toilets are horrible and it is not nice to stay there, in 6 months the toilets are full

Everything in Embo goes slowly, there is not much development

They haven't built us anything

The municipality said they would build houses for us but even now they haven't

They felt that the children are at risk as education is poor and there are no places for them to play safely. The issue of unreliable water delivery was raised over and over again. Some areas can go for as long as 3 / 6 months at a time without potable water, and residents have to rely on water tanks or communal taps some distance away. In some cases residents have to use wheel barrows to walk to taps to fill their buckets; which is impossible for the older residents to do. The elderly are vulnerable to lack of water delivery and poor sanitation.

There was collective agreement that crime, drinking and drugs are problematic as children are doing drugs and the 'Wonga boys' steal to feed their drug habit.

On Friday it is noisy and we can't sleep (because of drinking). It is noisy by the road. It would be nice to have a house on Marion road because it is quieter. There is theft down in the valley

Teenage pregnancy is high and life is hard for young people. Schools are in a state of disrepair, there is a lack of sporting facilities, equipment and sports grounds. Sport featured highly as important to respondents as this gives the children something enjoyable to do. There was an overall sense of 'nothing' in Embo – nothing to do and nothing happening now.

We have no space; we can't do much in the area because we don't have sports grounds

People are busy doing nothing as there is nothing to do in Embo

There is nothing happening but that the community is playing soccer only

Nothing much is happening but the community is busy trying to survive

Some of the elderly respondents decried the fact that people in Embo are not farming anymore as there is very little land to farm. Although development in Embo has not been facilitated on the same trajectory as that of Upper Highway, it appears it has also 'lost' its 'rural-ness' and farming component. In this there is a synergy with what has happened in the Upper Highway area, the agrarian days have and are disappearing. In terms of employment most respondents indicated that they either have part-time jobs, or rely on pensions and/or child welfare grants to survive.

People are not farming because they don't have land for farming anymore; they are all in one area

We haven't got a place to plough and farm. The water leaks, so we don't have water

Living in Embo is not nice anymore because Embo has run out of land and you can't do farming

We walk to work, but work isn't always guaranteed

We carry on life. It is hard. We carry on life with grants, there is no employment

According to respondents work and support from the authorities appear to be the key factors to survival in Embo, although there is a dearth of both. There is a lack of quality education in Embo with many children not making it to matric, and very few obtaining tertiary education. There is anger at the lack of input from the local municipality and delayed response to issues such as no water delivery. In some cases people expressed anger at the chief and his lack of commitment to improving the area, whereas others felt that this was not the case.

The municipality has done nothing and the chief has done nothing

Metro council does do some things; I wouldn't say the chief is doing nothing. I think the chief is working together with the councillors. The chief looks after the land and gives people land and places to build, the chief gave them this land for their church, and you can't go to the metro council for land

Chiefs have done nothing, nothing, nothing

Education is not 100% because some of the kids don't even reach matric

(Even) if you do have a degree, but there are not (enough) jobs and you sit at home without the job

People in Embo have had to 'make do' on many occasions and have developed a resilience to the challenges they face. As some of the respondents poignantly stated, although life is tough and very little has changed their response is not couched in conflict. There is a sense of hopelessness in these responses as respondents feel that they do not have legitimate channels to follow to express their discontent and effect change.

We have learned to be quiet

We have not been helped, it is better if we just pray if something goes wrong

If things go wrong, we just hope it will be fixed because there aren't proper channels to report it

Table 5.6: Main issues raised

	No Water	We have nothing	No Sanitation	Lack of arable land
Number of comments	8	11	3	7

Source: Fieldwork (November, 2016)

As can be seen in table 5.6 the main issues raised by respondents are that of unreliable or non-existent water delivery, limited or no land to plant crops and sanitation. Although there were fewer actual comments about sanitation being an issue, there was a great deal of consent when these comments were made. Many of the respondents indicated that either they or the community of Embo have nothing, that schools provide nothing, and that the municipality and chiefs are doing nothing. Of all the respondents it appeared that those in the two younger focus groups were more negative about Embo and what it had to offer. It is possible that not having remembered the infrastructural changes that took place in previous years; the lack of development in Embo appears to be non-existent to them.

5.4.7 Future Hopes and Dreams

Respondent's dreams and hopes were oriented mainly towards seeing change and improvements effected in Embo. Although some of the younger participants did indicate that

they would live in a gated community if they could, most want those sorts of facilities and improvements right where they are. As one respondent succinctly summed it up -

I do not want to see my children wanting more of what they see on the suburbs (Hillcrest), I want to see my area (Embo) improve

Older respondents definitely want to stay in Embo where community living is highly valued. Necessary changes that were expressed as central to a 'improved Embo' included better sanitation, security of tenure, safety, houses, reliable provision of water, employment, good taxi routes, sporting facilities and an improvement in educational facilities. A number of respondents made special reference to the importance of good sporting facilities and high schools in the area.

I would like it if the property where I stay was mine. If I got money tomorrow I would close up my property (fence) and keep my dogs in there, I would like it if it was mine.

My hope for the future (is) better schools, sanitation and water, which is scare in some areas in Embo

I have a hope for new houses, sports grounds, for people to live a normal life in Embo

The future will be good if they can bring good transport and taxi routes

We need sports places, good schools and places to meet

We want better sports grounds for the youth because the land they have is very bad and hope for better houses for all

Additionally, although most respondents do not seem to want to leave Embo, they do want to be treated the same as everyone else in other areas and not to be subject to divisiveness and separation.

I want to see children being safe in a safe place, to build houses, to have proper education, to be 100% as equal as white people, not to be separated

One respondent said that he wants to see improvement in Embo because 'we are close to white people, but there is no money and no improvement'. Expectations seem to be that the white people next door, the rich, could be more proactive and contribute towards developmental upgrades in Embo. There was a general feeling of not being heard or listened to. However, they do have forums and problems are reported to the Outer West council.

(We would like) to develop because we live close to white people, but some of the white people do not want to help black people

Finally, although some respondents seem to suggest that there is no hope for the future, others did not. They expressed frustration with the slow nature of development in Embo and the lack of adequate service delivery.

If I look to the future, I can't see a future

There is no future for Embo because Embo relies on Hillcrest

Three of the younger respondents indicated that they would have no problem living in a gated community as it is 'heaven on earth'. However, although the gated communities are appealing the resources needed to facilitate that sort of lifestyle are beyond reach, hence the yearning by other respondents to have the houses and service delivery in Embo.

In my heart I like to live where I live now, but I would like to own my own house

We would like to live in those complexes because it is like a heaven on earth

I would like to have a house like that, but here in Embo. I don't want to live like that

I would be happy to live like that if I had enough money to live in there

5.5 Discussion and Summary

Although the results varied there seemed to be a number of overarching themes that validated the core tenants of system justification theory as outlined in chapter two. In short these include status quo validation, adaptation and acceptance of the status quo, and out-group favouritism (Jost & Andrews, 2003). Although participant's constructions appear primarily adaptive there is evidence that that they were fully aware of the inequalities in their circumstances, and recognised the need for change (Brandt, 2013).

Respondents legitimised and validated existing current circumstances in terms of unequal distribution of resources and the high fences of gated estates. Respondents understood why 'they' (the out-group) live in gated communities, and recognize that this is driven by the need

to protect ones family and is based on 'hard work'. They did not have a problem with this, although some did interpret the high walls as wanting to keep them, the in-group, out. This is supported by Jost and Banaji (1994) who suggest that groups justify the differences because 'they' (the out-group) work hard and hence deserve what they have, and have the right to protect themselves.

Although there was a sense of deep disappointment at the lack of service delivery in their area by respondents, there was a general acceptance of and adaptation to, current circumstances. Despite the clear difference in living standards between Embo and Upper Highway residents, respondents indicated that they are happy where they are in Embo. They cited access to food, transport and some service delivery as positively enhancing their lifestyle. This hints at a supposedly passive outlook whereby the in-group 'buys into' a model of disparity by adapting to and engaging in out-group favouritism (O'Brien & Major, 2005). This adaptation is so finely honed that some respondents indicated they don't even pay any attention to how their wealthier neighbours live as in "I don't even notice (how they are living)". It is literally 'just the way things are' (Smith, 2016).

Alternatively there were a number of anomalies in the findings that suggest that respondents did not engage in in-group disapproval as was expected and suggested by social justification theory, but rather in strong in-group favouritism and out-group disapproval. This appears to fulfill the main tenants of Tajfel's social identity theory in that people in a particular group will tend to advance a source of self-validation and pride in themselves and their community (Mcleod, 2008). A community group, such as that in Embo, will enhance their self-worth by substantiating their (the in-groups) standing in the world, and hold negative views about the out-group. In essence social identity theory states that the in-group will differentiate between themselves and the out-group to bolster their self-image, which is evidenced in the focus group results as presented in this chapter (Mcleod, 2008).

The community in Embo appears to be a group of people who are on one hand very aware of the challenges they face every day, of the lack of resources in their community and the advantages and privilege of adjacent residents; and yet on the other of how strong and rich their community ties are, and how to adapt and work within the constraints of their

circumstances outside of a framework of hostility and resentment. Respondents were strongly in favour of and highly value community, and disapprove of the out-group's seeming lack of commitment to integration and perpetuation of divisiveness. This was expressed as they (the out-group) not wanting to 'see or know black people' and conceptualising them (black people) as criminals.

Out-group validation in this context is not therefore an automatic preference by the in-group as suggested by Fairchild, Feinberg and Rudman (2002). The results suggest that although some respondents definitely leaned towards anger aimed at the out-group, this was expressed vocally and did not translate into tangible resistance. This seems somewhat to support Newman's contention that in constrained circumstances the in-group are neither 'victims nor resisters' (2002). The in-group, it appears, is simply trying to survive and will employ any tools to necessitate that survival in as dignified a manner as possible (Newman, 2002). This supports Brandt's contention (2003) that there is evidence to show that people from lower-income groups do not automatically support the status quo. Why this is the case over varying contexts requires further investigation.

There is no disputing that some of the respondents disapprove of the stark discrepancies between their lives and that of adjacent more resourced communities, they expressed this aptly; however it does not seem to be a defining attribute of their lives. Who Embo residents are; what they do and how they survive seems to be more a feature of their impressively constructed social identity as a community than anything else. As indicated in Tajfel's seminal work on groups and the sense of social identity they provide, it is the "knowledge that [we] belong to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to [us] of this group membership" (Tajfel, 1972, p. 31). There was certainly some anger expressed in the focus groups, but predominantly a sense of melancholy and disappointment at what hasn't been done in Embo by the powers that be. In addition to this, respondents recognised and validated the status quo and their position in society by accepting current circumstances and legitimising what exists.

In essence the focus group results validate key precepts of social justification theory, while challenging others (Jost & Andrews, 1994; Brandt, 2003; Newman, 2002). Embo residents validate the status quo and have come to terms with their circumstances; however they are

not an inactive passive community that mindlessly accepts a disadvantageous social order. The thoughts and arguments captured through the focus groups gives credence and a voice to their constructions of how important community is and how this potentially overshadows their so-called adaptation. Adapting and accepting is not the same thing.

As respondents indicated it is 'lungile' (ok) for 'those people' to live there because they work hard, it is their money and they are entitled to do what they want with it. It became clear however that despite the beautiful houses in gated estates, most respondents have no desire to live there. They expressed a wish to 'have those houses' in Embo where community life is everything. On the whole respondents rationalised that ultimately they are 'better off socially' in that they have a powerful communal lifestyle that makes them 'richer' than their adjacent wealthier neighbours. The emerging agenda of social identity, health and well-being suggest that these precepts are inextricably linked (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes & Haslam, 2009). In Embo where one finds that even though residents are economically poorer than their neighbours, they appear to be socially healthier and wealthier. The cohesion of these ideas and expressions suggests a group whose strong sense of purpose, belonging and meaning contributes positively to their social identity and psychological wellbeing in the face of economic pressures (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes & Haslam, 2009). Embo residents believe deeply in who they are and this appears to tip the scales in their social and psychological favour.

Some respondents indicated that the developments in Upper Highway weren't 'bad' as they had provided employment for some Embo residents. A number of respondents indicated that they knew of people who worked in gated communities as gardeners and domestic workers. There were gem-filled moments laced with derision and good-humoured mocking of the 'poor little rich people' because of what they seem to value, and what by implication they don't value. In this particular case it was the ponds with their frogs. In a sense the respondent seemed to say that gated residents are 'welcome to chat to their frogs'. They spoke of residents as having to live in the 'hole valley' (endongeni). To live in such a way was mystifying and puzzling to respondents, and even quite amusing to some. This was raised a few times. There was a sense that people living in gated communities were perceived as peculiar because of the things they apparently value.

Herein lies what appears to be a sharp contradiction, as evidenced in the oxymoronic construction of the term 'Gated Community'. From the viewpoint of focus group respondents

there is no community in gated estates, there is in fact just the 'gate'. How can residents in these estates claim to live in community when in fact they live seemingly fractured, independent and intensely private lives divorced from their neighbours and constrained by kilometres of perimeter fencing and strict access control – perpetuating societal divisions (Irazabal, 2006; Landman, 2003). From the perspective of respondents in Embo the community aspect of 'gated community' is pretence and a sham as it were – as they essentially live in a 'gate'. How can a community be gated? Is it an illusion or are we looking at two very separate and distinct constructions of what community is?

Some respondents exhibited surprise and bewilderment at the extent of regulations and restrictions associated with gated communities. In some respondent's eyes gated living, with all its security features, was severely limiting and frightening. Such a lifestyle is reminiscent of the days when black people were forced to carry a 'dompas' (identification black people had to carry at all times during the apartheid era). For many elderly respondents whose rights were violated by the restrictions of apartheid this is conceptually an anathema – who would willingly agree to a lifestyle of restricted movement, having to carry an identification card, and being forced to produce this card – all in order to access your own home? They viewed the limitations to space, of freedom and not being able to easily pop in to town astonishing. The extensive security was viewed in both a positive and negative light by respondents. They were able to clearly articulate the reasons why residents live behind high walls. It was understood to be a security issue and a desire to keep families safe. Respondents identified positively with the concept of protecting your family from criminals and these efforts were respected. Conversely they felt that estates are trying to keep 'unwanted' (black) people out, and were very restrictive of resident's movements. As du Plessis and Landman suggest the positive ideals of gated living are quite definitely subjective (2002). Where on one hand a high quality secure lifestyle is highly valued by one community, this is negatively viewed by another.

Most respondents indicated that they are neither happy nor sad about those places (gated estates) because they feel that they (people in Embo) must fight for their own houses. At no point did they say they have a problem with people being rich, they do however disapprove of being treated as criminals by the wealthy, of being kept apart and not having access to resources to improve their circumstances. It became apparent that most participants found Cotswold appealing on one level (nice houses) but unappealing on many other levels. They

regard the houses as being too close, there is nowhere to farm, you do not know your neighbours, there is far too much security and it is like being in jail (trapped).

What most respondents seemed to say is that they don't want to leave Embo and go and live in a gated estate, what they want is to stay in their community and see improvements take place in that context. Embo is where they have always lived, it is where their community is and it is a 'good place' to live. However, Embo can be and should be improved with decent homes, sanitation, reliable water, access to employment and improved educational and sporting facilities. Residents in Embo have a hope for the future which includes providing a safe place to live and raise children, decent sports grounds and places to meet, places to grow food and ultimately for people to live a 'normal life'.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This dissertation sought to explore the transformation of the Upper Highway area from a village to a town, and to identify how local communities in immediately adjacent traditional areas have constructed and conceptualised this transformation. To this end an overview of the focus and methodology of the dissertation was explored in chapter one. Chapter two concentrated on the theoretical and conceptual framework in which this study is located, providing a backdrop for the investigation. A background to the case study including a situational analysis was outlined in chapter three. Chapters four and five respectively outlined findings from an aerial and drive-by land use survey, interviews with key stakeholders and the facilitation of focus groups discussions. In this final chapter the main findings will be revisited and explored in the following section, after which recommendations will be made.

6.2 Summary of Main Findings

Overall this dissertation documents and confirms the transition of the Upper Highway area from small agrarian village to fortified edge town. This transition has contributed to reinforcing pre-existing patterns of segregation and exacerbating the rural-urban divide. Additionally local communities in adjacent tribal areas employ system justification and social identity strategies to adapt and manage their lives.

6.2.1 Explosion of Growth and Development in the Upper Highway area

As indicated in the results section in chapter four the Upper Highway area has experienced an unprecedented explosion of growth and development over the past 20 or so years. At least 63 new gated developments have been built, with new estates under construction and more planned. This was expressed by one respondent as “an explosion of growth, it took us all by surprise”. The size of the estates vary from large (700 units or more) to small (3 units). Some estates are located on rolling game estates, and some are in the middle of Hillcrest on smaller sites. In terms of commercial, retail, educational, recreational and industrial developments the area is home to five exclusive shopping centres, fifty or more new office parks, large-scale

entertainment facilities and a number of industrial parks. Bed and breakfast facilities, lifestyle centres, guest lodges, and a boutique hotel also feature in the area as new developments. As one respondent succinctly commented about the rate of growth and development “things were going full tilt like a run-a-way train”.

6.2.2 Transformation of the Upper Highway from Small Village to Fortified Edge Town

As can be seen in Plates 4.1 and 4.4 (Aerial Photographs 1997 and 2017 respectively), there is evidence of large-scale development on what was once predominantly farmland, this is particularly evident on the farm Upper Langefontein. The Upper Highway has morphed from a small farming village to a fortified edge town complete with gated estates and commercial, retail, educational, recreational and light industrial activities and enterprises (Henderson and Mitra, 1996). The requisite needs of the middle to upper class for security and a ‘country lifestyle’ have been more than met as they flee the decaying inner city, and escape to the tranquil seclusion of their gated estates on the periphery of the city. Push and pull factors have contributed significantly to this transitioning.

The extensive sale of farmland and subsequent rezoning of agricultural land for development, a discourse of fear, a strong persuasive marketing drive, influential and well-resourced developers, and a new waste water treatment works all contributed to this transitioning. The withdrawal to gated enclaves represents the antithesis of the postmodern ideals of inclusion, cohesion, transparency and equality. Postmodernism has failed, facilitating alienation, segregation and urban isolation (Irazabal, 2006; Low, 2001). It seems the global trend of gated communities and the ‘edge city phenomenon’ postulated by Garreau in 1991 has come to town in South Africa. The ensuing development of edge cities and towns on the periphery of the CBD, where the affluent withdraw into their safe fortresses - often takes place at the coal-face of interaction where wealth and resources though clearly visible, always remain beyond the reach of the poor (Garreau, 1991).

6.2.3 Rural-Urban Interface Widens

Despite past gains in adjacent tribal communities in Embo, there is an overall sense of disenchantment and abandonment as the issue of integration has not been addressed, residents continue to live in a poor quality environment, unemployment is high, schooling is

inadequate, recreational facilities are almost non-existent, there is a lack of adequate housing and service delivery is marginal at best. Municipal plans and processes are fragmented and change is hindered by budget restrictions, lack of capacity and insufficient synergy between tribal authorities and Ethekewini municipality (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008; Landman, 2004). The glaring differences at the rural-urban and poor-rich interface continue to be perpetuated through the reinforcement of 'understated segregationist' policies and what appear to be bias planning practices – facilitating upmarket commercial, technical and residential relocation and development in 'peripheral pockets'. In short, development has gained huge momentum in some areas, while there is little to none in adjacent tribal areas. In essence, not much has changed and the yawning divide between lower and middle to upper income groups continue to widen (Smith, 2016). Questions about what we have done and what we have succumbed to need to be raised (Landman, 2003).

6.2.4 Perpetuation of Segregation and Glaring Lack of Integration

The urban form of apartheid appears to have been recreated, albeit in a different form. Where the green buffers of apartheid used to create 'natural divisions' between areas, this has been traded in some cases with high walls and fences. As Landman suggests, under the guise of 'postmodernism' have we perhaps been more successful in duplicating the divisions of the past under more 'subtle and acceptable forms' (2003)? The development of gated communities at the rural-urban interface has perpetuated segregation, nurturing social rifts and creating highly visible barriers that shout 'keep-out of here' (Low, 2001). The wealthy have used their resources to separate themselves from their 'inconvenient neighbours', safeguarding themselves behind high electronic fences and gates (Blakely & Snyder, 1997).

Residents in Embo are painfully aware of the intentionality of the high walls and fences on the one hand, to keep them (gated community residents) safe, and on the other to keep Embo residents (the in-group) out. The high walls seem to have facilitated a 'keep out' discourse that is couched in constructions such as "they don't want to see us" and "they think we are criminals", further facilitating division. Being disregarded on a racial level (rather than rich vs. poor) was certainly hurtful to respondents. The manner in which gated communities are entered and exited by choice by residents is seen to be an anathema to Embo residents, reminiscent of apartheid days when people had to carry a 'dompas'. High walls bellow that

segregation is alive and well, booms and gates whisper that integration is unattainable. Entry and exits are strictly controlled; only those who are sought after may enter. Planning practice and implementation in the Upper Highway shows negligible attempts at integration in the recent past. Current efforts to facilitate integration suggest a positive move towards accommodating low to medium cost high density developments between the Upper Highway and traditional areas (Smith, 2016).

6.2.5 System Justification and Adaptation by Embo Residents

The question of how the new gated urban form and fortified architecture are perceived by adjacent communities was asked in the context of focus groups. For Embo residents, life seems to trundle along pretty much the same way it always has – with little pockets of development like roads and electricity, but most often with limited service delivery, poor housing, increased unemployment, inadequate schooling and recreational facilities. True to the precepts of system justification and adaptation theory, respondents in Embo rationalised and defended their under-resourced and constrained circumstances despite a socioeconomic system that continues to prioritise the needs of the wealthy. Jost and Andrews suggest that such groups will validate, legitimise and rationalise the status quo with comments such as ‘even though we are poor we happy’ and ‘they (the wealthy) work hard so they deserve what they have’. Such rationalisations ‘help’ poorer communities to adapt to current circumstances and disengage themselves from wanting too much (2003).

Overall, focus respondents were able to rationalise and validate why people choose to live in gated estates, acknowledging that ‘those people’ need to protect themselves and their families from criminal elements. Embo residents accommodated the status quo by legitimising the high walls and security features of gated estates, confirming the resource discrepancies by saying ‘they deserve to live there because they work hard and it is their money’ (they being the out-group). This was corroborated further by residents saying that even though the wealth of their neighbours is highly visible; this did not mean they wanted to live the same lifestyle. They indicated they did not even notice how their wealthy neighbours live and they don’t have a problem with current circumstances as neither of these aspects has an impact or bearing on their lives.

6.2.6 Strong Social and Community Identity in Embo, and Out-group Disapproval

Residents identified strongly with their community values and had a robust sense of their social identity and worth. They showed disapproval for the out-groups lifestyle choices (residents of gated communities) and validated the significance of their communal lifestyle on the 'back' of poor value choices made by out-group members. Ideologically gated communities are often marketed as the ultimate way to live, facilitating a return to the 'good old days' of community life where social identity is protected and the unique lifestyle of an exclusive group of people is catered for (Irazabal, 2006).

Ironically it is precisely this model of communal life that Embo residents seem to intimate gated communities are not fulfilling. To the contrary they perceived gated communities as being anti-community and anti-traditional values and showed their disapproval of this way of life through comments such as "It's horrible to live there", "but community they don't have, and this we have, we have Ubuntu" and "the big walls, no – it is truth you can live there for 10 years and not speak to your neighbour, and not know them!"

Even though respondents indicated that they admired the homes and could understand why the out-group would choose to live like that, they could not fathom why a group of people would willingly 'incarcerate' themselves behind the high walls and distance themselves from their neighbours. For Embo residents a gated enclave is not a community, it is a jail with a gate. Most respondents discussed what it means to be part of a community with a sense of pride and satisfaction. Community is highly valued and a traditional way of life is esteemed. Embo residents appear to intuitively respond to helping one another in times of distress, they worship and socialise together without constraint.

Being involved in one another's lives is far more the rule than the exception in Embo. Although respondents did demonstrate some out-group preference, there was a definite leaning towards anger and disapproval of this group as well. The anger was expressed vocally, but there was no indication that this would ever translate into actual conflict. Focus group results suggest that Embo residents have a strong sense of belonging which contributes meaningfully to their collective identity and psycho-social health in the face of economic pressures (Haslam,

Jetten, Postmes & Haslam, 2009). Respondents were able to identify what residents of gated estates lack in terms of community. They were very clear that even if they had resources, they wouldn't want to live like that (in an estate).

6.3 Conclusion

Since the dismantling of apartheid there is no doubt that planning strategies post-1994 have facilitated substantial growth and development. Positive gains have been made in terms of infrastructural and housing development; there is greater participation at the level of local government; and an increased commitment to issues of reconstruction, economic development, equity and integration. The planning discourse has changed in government where participation, integration, negotiation and implementation are the new buzzwords and have been incorporated into new policy frameworks (Smith, 2015). Surely then in light of these positive post-1994 planning initiatives couched in all the right terminology, one could expect monumental change.

We need to ask whether these initiatives have undone the legacy of the past, have they redressed the inequities, have they shaken the foundation of institutionalized racism and segregation (Smith, 2015)? Or to the contrary, have they in fact continued to promote difference albeit in a different guise (Murray, 2004)? Principles of modernism had a direct impact on spatial planning in South Africa during apartheid and it appears this is still evident today. Despite the fact that edge cities and towns threaten social cohesion and integration with their fortified gated enclaves, they continue to grow in South Africa (Irazabal, 2006).

For all intents and purposes, the discourse of post-apartheid planning is heavily laced and imbued with constructive, optimistic, inclusive and buoyant planning principles (Smith, 2015). Have we been too optimistic in thinking that change would 'just happen' in the face of a deeply entrenched system of segregation? South Africa appears to have multiple contradictory social, economic and cultural characteristics – where great wealth sits directly adjacent to poverty, and where a well-built urban environment is positioned next to large-scale under-resourced informal settlements and rural communities (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008). Unfortunately difference and diversity have continued to grow unabated since 1994 – this in the face of grand plans to facilitate change. Apartheid's imprint has been deep, and true transformation remains

negligible. Does the answer to this conundrum perhaps lie in recognising the possible existence of two segregationist legacies – one overt, unconcealed and legislated; the ‘Other’ hidden, pervasive and furtive (Smith, 2015)? Both need to be addressed.

Pervasive deeply entrenched segregation has steadily marched through decades of planning and will prove to be a tough opponent to beat. After 1994, planning strategies appeared to focus on delivery and growth, rather than attempting to address deep structural inequalities and spatial inequity. The planning status quo appears to have prevailed and it will require an integrated effort to interrupt the continuity of diversified spatial development. After twenty plus post-apartheid years we are possibly more divided than ever, with an ever increasing divide between the haves and have-nots especially along class lines. Difference never left, it snuck in and hid behind the Initiative Door. The result is sharp spatial inequality, unemployment, poverty and a lack of access to resources (Smith, 2015).

South African towns are also spatially divided because of global markets and increasing economic inequality. Investment continues unabated in ‘historically wealthier’ areas. Growing informal settlements and RDP housing remain on the outskirts of cities (replicating the apartheid framework) (Smith, 2015). What exists is that “socially, economically and spatially segregated cities remain” (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008:12). In order to survive, the marginalized and disadvantaged resort to rationalising and justifying their social reality, accepting the status quo but also strongly validating who they are as a community. What does the future hold and what can be done to balance the scales of economic growth and development?

As Landman suggests until issues of safety and security are properly addressed, gated developments and fortified architecture may have to be tolerated even in the face of their divisive nature (2003). Gated communities act against the postmodern principles of integration and progression and are in fact regressive and alienating in nature. The stark rich-poor interface where affluence and poverty sit incongruously side by side is becoming more and more prevalent around the world. This is where segregation, inequality and exclusivity proliferate and where the already untenable circumstances of the poor are pervasively perpetuated.

A number of issues, challenges and proposals for the future were raised in the results section of chapters four and five. While developments were viewed positively by some, how these developments were interpreted differently by stakeholders and focus group respondents became apparent. From a strategic and legislative point of view stakeholder interviewees highlighted a number of issues that need to be tackled particularly with regards to the issue of integration. Focus group respondents were able to validate the substance of their community, and voice their concerns, hopes and dreams. The Upper Highway area has a rich and varied past, but what emerged from this study is how diverse these histories are from two different communities on opposite sides of the socioeconomic rural-urban fence. In capturing the varied 'voices' and their understanding of developmental issues in the Upper Highway, it became evident that a number of additional questions need to be addressed. The following section lists areas of possible interest that need to be considered going forward. A number of recommendations for future planning and development on the periphery of the city especially along the rural-urban interface are presented here.

6.4 Recommendations

6.4.1 Integrated Development

A new and more integrated rural-urban interface agenda is needed, and more research needs to be done to contribute to the development of policies for the growth of more economically productive, socially integrated towns and urban centres. Decentralised development is not the issue here; however, stimulating growth on the periphery and coming up with corridor plans must be done with adjacent communities in mind. We simply cannot continue to pursue large-scale exclusive modernist strategies of days gone by. Plans to address the 'gap market' to meet the need of the low to medium cost housing sector must be considered. In the Upper Highway this particular issue is a contentious one as developers who want to pursue the issue of integration are at loggerheads with environmentalists and local well-resourced residents. This may change with the entrance of SPLUMA (Land Use management Act) and the push for integration.

It is the intention of the local authority to focus on integration and bridge the divide between Embo and Upper Highway. However, how this is to be facilitated in reality is a complex question. How do we adequately facilitate integration and what is the best fit? Perhaps the

answer lies in infill higher density gap housing where those who have some resources would be able to move to the outskirts of Embo into smaller start up homes. As one respondent indicated you can build affordable homes for lower to middle income groups “with careful planning, design and increased densities”. Integrated development must be pursued; it is time that the needs of the lower to middle class groups are met.

Peripheral environments must become integrated environments – socially and economically inclusive, and providing a place for people to ‘live work and play’. While local authorities ensure that development is facilitated in areas such as Upper Highway, it is important that quality of life and development is addressed in surrounding areas. Such developments cannot lag, and must take cognisance of the discrepancies in progress. Such developments should provide an all-inclusive mix of land use to meet the needs of residents, facilitating social interaction and a sense of community. Good planning, development, implementation and management principles must be employed to ensure integrated sustainable urban development.

6.4.2 Heeding the Voice of Residents in Traditional / Rural Areas

Under-resourced traditional areas adjacent to wealthy urban areas must be given a voice and their perspectives considered by planning practitioners. Marginalised groups at the urban-rural interface should be consulted and given a voice to express their struggles. Planning must not assume to know the voice of the poor; it must provide a forum for such voices to be heard so that hopes and dreams can, at the very least, be considered and incorporated into future plans. Reliable service delivery, adequate housing, access to quality schools and recreational facilities, safety and security are as much the right of the marginalised as their wealthy gated neighbours. These issues must be urgently attended to.

Change is desperately needed to ensure that communities lagging dismally behind their resourced counterparts do not fall further and further behind the growth and development objectives of the local municipality. Further investigation of how residents of local communities rationalise their under-resourced circumstances in the face of a social system that favours the needs of the affluent is needed. Rapid and relentless development, at the expense of poorer adjacent communities, must be thwarted. Planning must be mindful of the

needs of immediate neighbours at all times, drawing them alongside rather than abandoning them along the way to the extent that the gulf between the two becomes impossible to mend.

Contrary to what was expected, Embo residents do not necessarily want to move away but they do want to see positive life-changing transformation effected in their community. What this does is create a space where authentic voices can be heard, not just the voices we think we will hear or want to hear. Necessary changes that were expressed as central to an 'improved Embo' included better sanitation, security of tenure, safety, houses, reliable provision of water, employment, good taxi routes, sporting facilities and an improvement in educational facilities. Additionally, although most respondents do not seem to want to leave Embo, they do want to be treated the same as everyone else in other areas and not to be subject to divisiveness and separation. Although there are forums where residents can make their voices heard there was a general feeling of not being listened to. The voice of the people must be heard and incorporated into planning strategies.

6.4.3 Cohesive Planning Strategy

An open and honest synergy between local authorities, tribal authorities, developers, environmentalists and other key groups must be expedited to facilitate integrated equitable development (Mdlalose, 1996). Although wealthy communities may have the resources and power to keep 'unwanted groups' out of their private gated spaces, this can be ameliorated through the intervention of local authorities. Channels of communication should be opened and networking facilitated between various stakeholders in the developmental process, always keeping the needs of local under-resourced communities in mind. The issue of how to facilitate comparable development in tribal communities has to be addressed.

That this land is 'privately owned' by Ingonyama Trust is contentious in terms of who is responsible for carrying the cost of development. What this means essentially is that there are two different levels of planning, policy and control for Embo and Upper Highway by ITB and by the local authority. The interface between the ITB and the local municipality is complex and this urgently needs to be addressed in order to pick up the chronic developmental shortfalls in Embo. Regardless of who is responsible, it is local residents who bear the brunt of this difficult situation. The channels of communication between the municipality and tribal leaders needs to

remain open, as unfortunately “not every chief is as committed as other chiefs” (Respondent, 2017). Full cooperation between local authorities, the ITB and developers is required. Planning on all levels must take cognisance of possible financial and human resource incapacity at a local level, and the lack of infrastructural capacity (especially bulk services). Local authorities need to ensure that the quality of developments in traditional areas subscribe to similar planning and development standards as of those in urban areas. Where growth and development has accelerated along on one side of the rural-urban interface, the other has lagged behind significantly. Importantly there needs to be continued collaboration between the municipal planning office in the Upper Highway area, and tribal authorities in Embo.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Table of sub-questions and where these are answered in the dissertation:

Sub-Questions	Where answered Page Number
What was the spatial composition of the Upper Highway and adjacent area in the mid-1990s?	Pages 59 - 62
What policies and plans acted as catalysts to these changes, and who were the key role-players?	Pages 67 - 85
What developments have taken place since mid- to late 1990, and what suggests that the Upper Highway displays characteristics of an 'edge town'?	Pages 62 – 66, 87 – 89, 116 - 117
What impact has the transition had on local residents?	Pages 75 -86
How have residents in local traditional authority communities experienced, conceptualised and interpreted the growth and development in the area?	Pages 95 - 115
Are local residents more or less segregated / integrated than before?	Pages 103 – 108, 117 - 119
Is a sense of adaptation and system justification evident in the way local residents interact with their environment?	Pages 96 – 102 119 - 120

APPENDIX B



UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI
YAKWAZULU-NATALI

18 April 2016

To whom it may concern

Mrs Wendy Smith, a Masters student in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies formally requests permission to interview staff in your institution/department and use the data produced by your institution. Mrs Smith would like to use this data for her Masters dissertation entitled: "Investigating the implications of the transition from Village to Town: A Case Study of the Upper Highway Area in Durban, South Africa". The dissertation will acknowledge the Outer West Entity (City Council) and the dissertation results will be shared with Outer West Entity if requested.

Thank you and Kind regards

NAME: Dr Hangwelani Hope Magidimisha
Supervisor.

School of Built Environment and Development Studies

Email: magidimishah@ukzn.ac.za

Tel number: 0312601353

Permission to use data Granted by:

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

NAME OF DEPARTMENT: _____ *DEVELOPMENT PLANNING*

NAME OF INSTITUTION: Outer West Entity

Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban 4041

APPENDIX C

Stakeholder Interviews Interview Schedule

Preamble:

It is acknowledged that the questions outlined below will act as a guide to the interview process, as will the Interviewee's professional involvement in the Upper Highway Area, and the period of time s/he has been working in this area. It is possible that the interviewee may not be in a position to answer some of the questions, additionally new questions may arise as a consequence of the discussion. Here follows a broad outline of questions,

Interview Schedule to guide the discussion

Introduction

My name is Wendy Smith and I am a Masters student of Town and Regional Planning at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban. I am investigating the implications of the transition of the Upper Highway Area from a village to edge town. This study involves documenting this transition historically, as well as assessing the implications this transition has had on residents in adjacent traditional authority areas. Thank you for agreeing to see me today.

1. What is your professional involvement in the Upper Highway area
2. How long have you worked in this area
3. Could you describe to me how this area has changed over the years / what changes have taken place (for the period of time relevant to you the interviewee)
4. Are you aware of any plans for growth and development for this area that were abandoned, and if yes, what were these plans and why were they abandoned
5. In your opinion have the changes been positive or negative, please explain why
6. How have the developments changed the nature of the area
7. Do you know whether any significantly positive changes have taken place in adjacent traditional authority areas - if yes, then what are the changes; if no – please explain
8. in your opinion what was the significant driving force / key catalyst for change in this area and who were the key roleplayers
9. With reference to growth and development in the Upper Highway area, what are your recommendations for the future

Wendy Smith, Dissertation, Interview & Focus Schedules, Investigation into the implications of the transition from village to town: a case study of the Upper Highway Area in KwaZulu-Natal South Africa.

APPENDIX D

Focus Group Discussions

List of questions to guide the discussion

Facilitator to welcome everyone, go through the consent forms and ensure participants understand the procedure and are completely comfortable. The focus group discussions are to be guided as far as possible by the questions / concepts listed below. It is possible that the discussion may digress, this may have a positive outcome and the facilitator will need to use his/her discretion to establish how much latitude to give.

1. Demographic information (age, gender, where do you live, are you employed,/unemployed)
2. Description of homestead. Number of people residing in the homestead (ages if possible)
3. How long have you lived in this area (did you move here from somewhere else)
4. Are people employed / unemployed
5. What activities are people involved in this community
6. Is this a good area to live – do you have access to resources like water, electricity, education, safety
7. Do you remember the farm that used to be along Inanda road – what do you remember from before
8. Have you seen what has been built - what do you think about the developments (the high walls, the electric fences, the big houses)
9. Why do they have those walls, is this good or bad
10. Would you like to live like that, behind the walls
11. What do you think it is like living there
12. What do you think about the people who live there - do you know anyone that works there or lives there
13. How do you feel about living next door to these places and those homes
14. What do you think about living here in Embo
15. Do you think it would be easy to visit someone there
16. Do you remember what Embo used to be like 15 years ago
17. Has anything changed in your area, do you think there have been any improvements
18. How do you feel about the way you live and the way the people in the big complexes live - does it make you angry or sad, or doesn't it matter
19. Do you think they have everything – what do they have, what don't they have
20. What things do you have (like community) that they don't have – what might this be
21. How do you carry on with life here, how do you manage (emotionally, socially, economically)
22. What are your hopes for the future, what do you think needs to be done to make things better for you here in Embo

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APPENDIX E

Information Sheet and Consent to participate

Date: xx June 2016

Welcome, I hope you have travelled here safely. Thank you for coming, we appreciate your time and look forward to working with you today.

My name is Wendy Smith and I am a student of Town and Regional Planning at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban. My phone number is 031-xxxxxxx and my email address is 871874154@stu.ukzn.ac.za.

You are being invited to participate in a study that involves looking at the changes that have taken place in Hillcrest and Waterfall along Inanda road, and how these changes may or may not have affected your life. This study will involve about 30 people in total, in three different groups. There will be one group of women from the age of 50 years, one group of men from the age of 50 years, and one group of younger men and women from 25-35 years. Each group will meet at a different time and will be facilitated by (research assistant name). Each group will sit in a circle and the assistant will open the discussion by asking some questions, which should lead to other questions. The group discussion will be recorded. If you decide to stay and participate the discussion should take about 1 to 2 hours long.

It is possible that some of the questions may make you feel uncomfortable or frustrated. However this won't be for the whole time and the information we obtain from the study will be very useful for the report that will be written. Even though we aren't paying you for your time, the information we get can possibly influence planning at a policy level regarding the utilisation and management of land. Potentially the study could have a positive impact on future residents and the next generation in this area.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number HSS/0800/016M).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at 031-7645515 or the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details are as follows:

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Administration
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X54001
Durban, 4000
KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
Tel: 031-2604557 – Fax: 031-2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Please note that participation in this research is completely voluntary and that you may leave at any time. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time during the project should you feel uncomfortable with any part of it. Should you decide not to participate or decide to leave early we will not be able to include your opinions in the research, these will not be included. You will be able to join us for tea after the group discussion is over, and the costs of your transport will be covered. If you do decide to leave in the middle of the discussion we ask that you wait for a pause in the discussion so as not to distract the other participants who have decided to stay. Then we ask that you slip out quietly and leave.

There are guidelines for the discussion that we all need to agree on – we would like to hear opinions from everyone and so we ask that you respect the other people in the group by allowing them the opportunity to speak. The facilitator will guide the group in this regard and will try ensuring that everyone is heard. Should anyone in this group become threatening or extremely discourteous we will have to ask you to leave as this is not fair on the rest of the participants. We are aware that there are costs to get here and have allocated R20 per participant to cover travel costs. This will be handed out after the discussion at the table at the back of the hall, after which we will have tea.

All information gathered from this discussion will be stored on a computer. You do not have to give your names and your identity will never be made known to anyone. When the report is written there will be no reference to whom you are or where you live, this information is private and will be kept confidential. The information will be kept safely on computer for 5 years, after which it will be destroyed.

Consent Form:

I _____ have been informed about the study about the changes from Hillcrest to Waterfall and how this might affect me by _____

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study

I have been offered an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any time without being penalised

If I have any further questions / concerns about the study I may contact the researcher on 031-7645515 or 871874154@stu.ukzn.ac.za.

If I have any questions about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or researchers then I can contact:

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Administration
Research Office, Westville Campus
Tel: 031-2604557 – Fax: 031-2604609

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO
Use of photographs for research purposes YES / NO

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of translator
(Where applicable)

Date