THE EFFECTS OF CONSERVATION AND CHANGE OF LAND USE IN THE FLORIDA ROAD AREA FROM A RESIDENTIAL TO A MIXED USE AREA

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents i-iii  
List of Figures iv  
List of Plates v  
List of Tables vi  
List of Appendices vii  

## 1.0 Introduction

1.1 Topic 1  
1.2 Background 1 - 2  
1.3 Research Problem 2  
1.4 Primary Research Question 2 - 4  
1.5 Hypothesis 4  
1.6 Research Methodology 4  
1.6.1 Zoning and Development Control 4  
1.6.2 Existing Land Uses 4 - 5  
1.6.3 Problems and Benefits 5 - 6  
1.6.4 Initial Resistance to Land Use Changes 6 - 7  
1.7 Approach to Topic 9  

## 2.0 Conceptual framework

2.1 Bodies of Literature 10  
2.2 Key Concepts 10 - 11  
2.3 Theoretical Position 11 - 12  
2.3.1 Instances of Intervention as a Result of Market Failure 12 - 14  
2.3.2 Processes of Change 15 - 17  
2.3.3 Office Decentralisation 17 - 18  
2.3.4 Historical Preservation and Conservation 19 - 23  
2.3.5 Precedent 24 - 26  
2.4 Conceptual Framework 26 - 29
3.0 Case Study – Florida Road

3.1 Introduction to Case Study

3.2 Background to the Area

3.2.1 Study Area Context

3.2.2 Town Planning Scheme Zoning

3.2.3 Existing Contextual Land Use

3.2.4 Contextual Spatial Structure

3.2.5 History of the Area

3.3 Land Use Patterns and Mix

3.3.1 Development Control and Zoning

3.3.2 Existing Land Use Florida Road

3.3.3 Spatial Structure Florida Road

3.4 Attitude to Use Change

3.4.1 Town Planning Scheme Zoning and Development Controls

3.4.2 The Influence of Rates

3.4.3 Approach of Local Authority of Incompatibility of Business and Residential Land Uses

3.4.4 Attitude of the Council to Florida Road

3.4.5 Conditions Applied to Decisions for Change

3.4.6 Reasons for Opposition to Land Use Change by Local Authority

3.5 The Influence of Building Conservation

3.6 Stakeholder Groups

3.7 Interaction of Land Uses

3.7.1 The Sample Area

3.7.2 The Questionnaire

3.7.3 The Respondents

3.7.4 Periods of Activity

3.7.5 Problems and Benefits

3.7.6 Nature of Land Use Interaction

3.7.7 User Perceptions

3.7.8 Changes Recommended by Users
4.0 Recommendations

4.1 Issues of Concern 94 - 95
4.2 Physical Recommendations for Florida Road 96 - 104
4.3 Other Mechanisms 104 - 108
4.4 General Co-ordination Recommendations for Areas Undergoing Similar Change 108 - 111

5.0 Conclusion 112 - 118

6.0 Bibliography 119 - 121
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FLOW CHART</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>LOCATIONAL PLAN</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>CONTEXTUAL AREA</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TOWN PLANNING SCHEME</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>EXISTING LAND USE</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>CONTEXTUAL SPATIAL STRUCTURE</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>295 FLORIDA ROAD, SQUIRES LOFT ZONED AS SPECIAL ZONE:</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ATHERTON</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>TOWN PLANNING SCHEME FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>EXISTING LAND USE FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>FLORIDA ROAD SPATIAL STRUCTURE</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>CONTEXTUAL AREA</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>LISTED BUILDINGS</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>SAMPLE AREA</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>POINTS OF VEHICULAR PRESSURE</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>DIRECTIONS OF TRAFFIC FLOW</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>WOONERF SYSTEM</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>PHYSICAL RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF PLATES

PLATE 1 LANDMARK OPEN SPACE 41
PLATE 2 PRIMARY NODE 41
PLATE 3 SECONDARY NODE 41
PLATE 4 VICTORIAN STYLE 72
PLATE 5 EDWARDIAN STYLE 73
PLATE 6 UNION STYLE 74
PLATE 7 BONKERS NIGHTCLUB AND HOTEL CALIFORNIA 86
PLATE 8 TATTOO PARLOUR, PALM READERS ETC 86
PLATE 9 ARTIFICIAL SPEED BUMPS 99
PLATE 10 GERMAN SPEED CONTROL MECHANISMS 100
PLATE 11 LACK OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN LAND USES 103
LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1 PERMITTED USES AND DEVELOPMENT CONTROLS GENERAL RESIDENTIAL 1 & 2 47
TABLE 2 LAND USE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE 80
TABLE 3 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE 83
LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  DESCRIPTION OF LISTED BUILDINGS IN FLORIDA ROAD
APPENDIX B  LAND USE QUESTIONNAIRE
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 TOPIC
The effects of conservation and change of land use in the Florida Road area from residential to a mixed-use area.

1.2 BACKGROUND
The Florida Road area has recently emerged as a unique feature of the Durban landscape with its restored Edwardian and Victorian houses. These historically significant dwellings now containing small businesses, especially offices and restaurants catering for a specific niche market creating a district of unique character.

Traditionally, however the area has always been residential with the only gradual commercial activity in the form of boarding houses. (Schauffer, 1998: 34) Thus the Florida Road area is still zoned for residential use in terms of the Town Planning Scheme. However, land use has been completely transformed as a result of a process of trigger developments which have bred a wide range of commercial activities in converted conserved historical houses.

There are 22 listed historical buildings in the area and their conservation as well as that of other buildings has attracted small professional firms, banks and especially restaurants and has significantly contributed to the distinctive nature of the area. In this way small business has had the resources to faithfully restore and maintain this architectural heritage while maintaining a non-urban image.

However, in terms of the current Town Planning Scheme none of this activity is permitted and thus these activities have arisen out of Special Consent applications or have occurred in contravention of the Town Planning Scheme. The approach has been change on a site by site basis with no overall planning framework to guide the area.
Superficially, it would appear that the solution would be for the area to be rezoned. However, there has been a traditional reluctance to rezone the area. This has been in order to consider the interests of the residents and maintain the residential quality. Yet, a flourishing and fertile commercial district exists and dominates the area. The residential land uses, in the past protected by the local council, on the other hand, is in conflict with this activity. An assessment of the area is therefore necessary to question and examine this resistance. An assessment also needs to be made of the process of change that the area is undergoing and where disjunctures occur and harmonious co-ordination of activities takes place. Thus co-ordinating recommendations can be made so that the full potential of the area can be harnessed.

A specific research problem therefore needs to be considered with a number of research questions that need to be answered. This forms a platform on which basis recommendations can be made.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM
In spite of the authority's resistance to changing land use, change has occurred without pre-considered planning guidance. The reasons for the Council's reluctance to allow this process of change have not been questioned nor tested against what has been the result of a gradual site by site change. There are consequent implications in terms of land uses, traffic, parking etc., which need to be identified as well as appropriate strategies considered for similar future development.

1.4 PRIMARY RESEARCH QUESTION
What are the negative and positive changes that have occurred, and what is the nature and extent of land use mix which has resulted in spite of resistance by authorities? Thus, what planning implication measures could be deduced to what has occurred in the area, and what general recommendations can be made for other areas undergoing similar change.
Specific answers to this research question can be gained by means of a number of subsidiary questions which explore the primary issues:

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

What is the nature and extent of land use mix which has resulted in light of resistance by the local authority to land use change?

**SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- What are the present zoning and development controls?
- What are the actual land uses that co-exist and interact with each other?
- Who are the stakeholders affected by the co-existence of activities?

What are the negative and positive changes which have occurred and to whom?

**SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- Why was there initial resistance to land use changes?
- To what extent have initial fears proved to be unfounded and could be challenged and what new land uses justify the reasons for the councils' concern?
- In terms of land use change, what is problematic and what is beneficial and to whom?
- What is a likely process of change that can be anticipated and adopted for such areas?

What planning implications emerge and what planning measures could be applied to other areas undergoing similar change?

**SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- What recommendations can be made for the area both physically in terms of mix of land uses, parking, access, architectural aesthetics, pedestrian linkages etc and other mechanisms?
• What lessons have gained from this process of change and thus what general guidelines and recommendations could be carried over to be applied to such change elsewhere?

The research of these questions are intended to reinforce the following hypothesis:

1.5 HYPOTHESIS
The change of land use uses through conservation in historic areas needs to be accepted and therefore evaluated with the reasons behind authority resistance to change and mix of land uses examined and questioned. This is so that a planning framework and guidelines can be recommended to achieve integrated outcomes of this process.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
In order to answer the primary and subsidiary research questions, the following distinct tasks have to be performed in a particular sequence.

1.6.1 ZONING AND DEVELOPMENT CONTROLS
A copy TOWN PLANNING SCHEME Zonings and DEVELOPMENT CONTROLS that are relevant to Florida Road will be obtained. These will then be described and explained in order to determine the legal allocation of land uses and built form allowed.

1.6.2 EXISTING LAND USES
a) LAND USE SURVEY – A survey of the approximately 100 sites in terms of land use, type of building, age of building, condition, parking, access will be undertaken. This existing land use data is then represented in plan form.
b) REZONING DIVISION – The rezoning Division of the Development and Planning Unit of the local authority, has undertaken a land use survey of Florida road and its surrounding context. This plan will be obtained in order to determine the actual land uses of the context surrounding Florida Road.
c) SPECIAL CONSENT APPLICATIONS – A record of Special Consent application are recorded by means of a schedule in the Special Consent Use Division of the Development and planning Unit of the local authority. These record the changes of use that have been given consent and include the nature, date and level of authority of decisions.

d) LISTED BUILDINGS - Historical listed buildings are protected by the council and have spearheaded the land use changes. These need to be mapped to indicate the extent of their spatial distribution in Florida road. The listed building are listed in Appendix 7 of the Town Planning Scheme.

Comparison of the land uses and zonings according to the Town Planning Scheme, the land use survey, land use plan produced by the council and special consent applications would illustrate how present land use differs from the Town Planning Scheme. This comparison also illustrates what uses have occurred, apart from those that have been given consent. Thus the exact nature of the area can be assessed and measured against what the council has permitted. Furthermore, the relationship between land use change and the conservation of buildings can be drawn.

1.6. 3 PROBLEMS AND BENEFITS

a) STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF EXISTING LAND USERS
   – Once the land use plan has been completed, then a representative sample area will be selected. A survey of the various land uses of all the sites in the area and the neighbouring sites (30 with be distributed) needs to be undertaken to assess specific problems with regard to parking, access, after hours disturbance etc. This questionnaire will also assess the effects of land uses on each other. Furthermore, this survey identifies the nature and distribution of the land uses in this sample area.

b) UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE – Once there is knowledge of problem areas, such as difficult traffic intersections and businesses that cause disturbance, those involved can be interviewed. These would occur in a snowball fashion with inhabitants
and tenants in the area alerting to problem areas and other people who have experienced problems.

c) OBSERVATION – Once problem areas have been identified then observations of activity, such as heavy traffic, parking problems and dangerous intersections, throughout the day of these areas can occur. Furthermore, observation of the patterns of activity throughout the area gives an indication of the how the elements of the functions together as a whole.

This study will highlight the effects of some land uses on each other, which land uses have the greater impacts; and which have little effect on others. Thus the effects of juxtaposition of land uses, who is effected and the perpetrators of these effects can be assessed; thus indicating how well the area performs on the whole. The extent to which initial fears proved to be unfounded and what new land uses justify the reasons for the councils' concern can thus be deduced.

The stakeholder groups need to be identified from this research, as it is the stakeholders who ultimately are affected by and make or prohibit change and thus are integral to the change process. Different stakeholder groups also consider certain issues from different perspectives. What one stakeholder group considers positive, may be considered negative by another. Thus the reasons for and objection against change can be uncovered by interviewing the stakeholder groups.

1.6.4 INITIAL RESISTANCE TO LAND USE CHANGES

The following need to be interviewed with a series of prompts:

a) SENIOR PLANNING CONTROL OFFICER BEREA NORTH: TOWN PLANNING CONSENT DIVISION - This interview is to determine what the reasons were for initial resistance to land use changes, what is the nature of the current policy and what brought about this change. Furthermore this interview gives insight into the conditions applied to changes of use.
b) REGULATIONS OFFICER: REZONING DIVISION - Describes the official procedures of land use change and provides an interpretation of the council decisions regarding land use changes.

c) DEVELOPMENT CONTROL ARCHITECT - This determines the nature of protection of listed buildings in indicating which changes to listed building that change use are approved and which are not. This indicating the intentions for the overall character of the area. The extent of development control mechanisms are there to co-ordinate the area as a whole can be assessed as well as fiscal measures of listed building protection.

These people need to be consulted to determine the reasons behind initial resistance to change and controls to assess whether these reasons still apply or could be challenged in the present context. These interviews also determine what guidelines and criteria are used to convince the authorities of a change of land use. Thus the Local Council’s position on the change of land use in Florida Road can be established.

These people can also lead to relevant records and documentation of decisions which reveal the precise nature of these individual decisions. In this way trends can be traced by the examination of the bulk of isolated individually decided cases which are reflected in documentation over time.

Different sets of information need to be extracted from particular sources, while much research cannot occur until another process of investigation is complete. For this reason the research methodology is represented diagrammatically in figure 1 indicating the process that the research will follow. Each stage is represented in a different colour.
Figure 1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY FLOW CHART

- TOWN PLANNING SCHEME
- COUNCIL INTERVIEWS
- LAND USE SURVEY 100 SITES
- SPECIAL CONSENT
- LISTED BUILDINGS

COMPARISON WILL INDICATE LAND USE RESULT OF PROCESS OF CHANGE

STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS -

IDENTIFY STAKEHOLDERS & BENEFIT/PROBLEM AREAS

REASONS FOR RESISTANCE TO CHANGE

STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH STAKEHOLDERS

OBSERVATION OF BENEFIT & PROBLEM AREAS

EFFECTS OF LAND USES ON EACH OTHER

ACTION
RESULT
1.7 APPROACH TO TOPIC

Florida road is an area of unique characteristics which is the result of its past which has brought about its metamorphosising present. The approach to the topic is that research will determine how patterns of land uses have emerged and what factors have hindered change. The intention is to examine these processes and illustrate how the status quo has arisen, what the effects of local authority policy has been, and what is experienced presently in the area by means of a case study. The intention is thus not to provide solutions, but to provide a platform for recommendations. Thus only when the process which the area has undergone and is undergoing is fully investigated, can guiding mechanisms be suggested.

The planning implications are to be deduced in terms of theories of likely processes of change. It is thus necessary to determine what theoretical framework is able to explain this process of change.
CHAPTER 2 - CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 BODIES OF LITERATURE

The conceptual framework consists out of a set of concepts that inform and explain the topic under discussion. These sets of concepts together result in a theoretical position which describes the processes occurring in the study area.

These informing ideas have been derived from a number of sources. The following bodies of literature have acted as sources for this conceptual framework:

- Urbanism
- Urban renewal case study precedents
- Urban renewal
- Building conservation

2.2 KEY CONCEPTS

In order to explore and explain a theoretical position and processes of change, the following concepts should be defined in the context of the theories discussed. The following are working definitions for the purpose of this study and thus when referred to have the following meanings attached to them.

**WORKING DEFINITIONS**

**Action plans** - A set of design principles applied to an area that takes into account what exists and applies urban design principles to small areas (Roberts)

**Business Improvement Area** – Members of a historical area are taxed a levy to all businesses within the area to enhance the streetscape and promotional programmes

**Conservation** – Renovation of historical building with change of use

**Co-ordination** – Management of differing and conflicting activities so that the area functions as a harmonious whole

**Pedestrian-based environments** – Environments performing well at the level of people on foot while also accommodating vehicles (Dewar)
Performance zoning – Development allowed according to performance criteria that assure compatible development (Porter)

Revitalisation – Term uses to describe renewal of older deteriorating areas

Robustness – Places offer a wide range of choices in terms of design not limited to a single type of use (Bentley)

Zoning – Predetermined permitted and prohibited land uses for land

As a result of the nature of the Florida road residential land uses, they will be described in the following terms:

✓ Low density residential - In the context of the case study low density residential refers to single dwelling units and will be represented by yellow in all diagrams.

✓ Medium density residential - In the context of the case study medium density residential refers to duplexes, maisonettes and any other single and double storey attached dwelling units and will be represented by orange in all diagrams.

✓ High density residential - In the context of the case study low density residential refers to flats greater than 3 storey and will be represented by light brown in all diagrams.

2.3 THEORETICAL POSITION

These concepts are the vocabulary used to describe a theoretical position. The theoretical position attempts to place the processes occurring in a framework that will explain how and why these processes occur. In this way likely processes for the future can be anticipated and managed. The theoretical position of the Florida road scenario can be determined by examining:

• Instances of intervention as a result of market failure
• Processes of change
• The process of office decentralisation
• Historical Preservation/conservation
• Precedents where similar change has occurred
These concepts can then be consolidated into a conceptual framework in terms of which the case study will be defined.

2.3.1 Instances of Intervention as a Result of Market Failure

The Florida Road development represents a site by site land use development where change has been dictated by the market. Conservation of older buildings has occurred by a process of residential dwelling units converted to higher order commercial uses. The land use change has therefore been as a result of competition for land, and thus has been dictated by the market. If this trend were to continue, a Neo-classical approach to land use would be adopted by assuming that the market operates efficiently thus planning intervention is not necessary. Yet McCarthy and Smit (p103-112) suggest that there are various instances of market failure where planning mechanisms must intervene to manage the urban environment. These include:

- **Externalities** – Production or consumption activities which involve impacts on third parties. The management of factors such as increased parking, vehicular activity, effects of new land uses on each other, such as noise and control of architectural historical heritage has to be undertaken.

- **Public goods** – There needs to be a management of public goods such as roads which is a commodity that society wants but cannot produce. These are often the elements which serve to integrate the activities that occur on individual sites are used by all the users and thus need as careful consideration.

- **Imperfect information** – The allocation of resources often occurs where there is not enough information on other suitable options and thus often depends on what others do. McCarthy and Smit (1984:112) illustrate the argument that in the renewal of older dilapidated neighbourhoods; individuals are willing to invest in the restoration of a home only if they know that other investors will do the same. Thus it is suggested that planners could stimulate renewal by using public funds to act as a signal by the private sector that the neighbourhood is improving.
If these factors which have arisen from market forces are not considered then planners will not intervene effectively. Site by site development does not achieve an effective co-ordination of elements that constitute the urban environment and does not address the residual effects of development by the market. Thus an understanding of the conditions that have arisen in the Florida road area is necessary so that the appropriate forms of planning management is applied to ensure that such environments operate satisfactorily. Furthermore an understanding of the market related process is important so that change can be anticipated and accommodated into other changes such as fiscal actions applied by local authorities.

However, what are the conceptual terms in which such a management framework should be judged? Clearly the concept of static single land use zoning is challenged and confronted in a constantly changing urban environment. The effects of site by site Special Consent change should be carefully examined to determine co-ordination mechanisms for a better integrated solution.

The aim should therefore be to formulate recommendations for a management structure that does not impose rigid land use restrictions, but effectively guides the allocation of land use process so that a variety of uses can occur with sufficient control. Included in these broad planning terms should be flexible Action Area design mechanisms so that the character of the area is maintained and that there is sufficient architectural conservation protection to conserve the historical genius loci.

In theoretical terms, Urbanism is a popular body of literature which has had current influence that proposes vibrant mixtures of land uses by advocating overlap and mix of land uses (Dewar, 1995:9). It is thus useful to examine its theoretical approach land use management model.

Urbanist concepts represent a broad approach mixed use areas. The value in this flexibility is reflected in urban design approaches towards physical problems such as the need for pedestrian-based environments and mixed
use. These concepts on the surface appear to be the most effective solution for an integrated environment.

However Urbanist interventions should not be applied blindly. Urbanist literature tends to be too broad with a few key concepts which are not adequately explained to illustrate their exact meanings. These concepts can be interpreted in various scenarios and at various scales. The precise meaning of these terms is difficult to define and thus they can be shaded with whatever conceptual hue that suits the research problem. Furthermore, urbanism also concentrates on the physical aspects of planning where other mechanisms have been applied in practice to co-ordinate mixed use areas. To derive interventions it is more useful to study and evaluate precedent to determine how these concepts can be applied to practice.

What Urbanism does offer however, is an alternative to blanket land use zoning. Comprehensive design, with design decisions taken down to the individual plot is rejected, and it is claimed that positive environments contain qualities of complexity which cannot be achieved through design and thus planning should create the pre-conditions for this complexity to emerge. Thus actions taken should be minimum, but should provide logic and constraint to which private decision-makers should respond. (Dewar, 1995:11) The urban environment is recognised as being dynamic and in a constant state of flux and for this reason an approach that is concerned with the quality of the whole is considered to be more appropriate. (Dewar, 1995:16)

Thus the primary criterion according to which the Florida Road should be assessed is - are the pre-conditions for such complexity in place? If not, then what planning decisions should be made so that the emerging complexity can function effectively while maintaining its vibrancy? In order for this to be done, there needs to be an understanding of this complexity in terms of instances of where market failure where the planner must intervene.

In order to understand the complex nature of the current land uses, the processes that have resulted in the land use patterned need to be identified.
2.3.2 PROCESSES OF CHANGE

The complexity of land use that has arisen in Florida Road is the result of a number of processes that the area has undergone. Therefore, in order for effective management mechanisms to be put in place to allow complexity to occur, there needs to be a clear understanding of how these change processes have occurred.

The land use pattern in Florida road is a unique manifestation on the Durban landscape. Yet, the commercial regeneration of historical residential areas has been experienced elsewhere, revealing a series of stages that areas that undergo this transformation encounter. Allowing for local factors there is thus a defined lifecycle of change in theoretical terms that can be anticipated.

Couquhoun (1995:32) echoes the process of regeneration from Peter Hall’s ‘Cities of Tomorrow’. A quality of life not offered in the shopping mall is found in restored areas with the result Yuppies gentrify the residential areas close to the area and spend their incomes in restored boutiques, bars and restaurants. The restored city becomes an attraction for tourists and a new economic base.

Similarly, the process by which residential uses are changed to higher order commercial uses has taken place in the following way in the Florida road area as described by Davies (Land Use and property Market analysis and Assessment, 1999: 9). If a dwelling is purchased for use as an office, the buyer is prepared to pay a higher price than a home buyer as interest on the bond payments are offset by the income from the lease of the property. He thus anticipates that if the market is left to own devises many more conversions of dwellings will occur.

Where these descriptions of processes generally identify the trends that these areas follow, a specific evolution of stages of development can be traced.
Stages of processes of change are outlined by Birch (1971:79) in the hypotheses that neighbourhoods change over time following a defined sequence. Birch identifies six stages of residential development in a New Haven case study. These stages are:

**Stage 1: Rural** - characterised by low population densities and predominance of single family units.

**Stage 2: First wave of development** - subdivision begins with new construction. Still predominantly single family units.

**Stage 3: Fully developed, high-quality residential** - Single family units still prevail, but densities are considerably higher. An increasing number of multi-storey structures have been built. Property values and rents are close to their maximum relative to other neighbourhoods.

**Stage 4: Packing** - As the age of structures increases, rents fall and lower income groups begin to inhabit the dwellings. To make up for lost rent as a result of a drop in rents, more people are packed into units and thus densities are at their maximum. In many cities these are referred to new slums.

**Stage 5: Thinning** - The buildings have deteriorated further with the children of low income families are moving out to Stage 4 or Stage 2 areas. Population declines leaving older couples behind resulting in old slums.

**Stage 6: Recapture** - The land occupied by the old slum becomes too valuable to justify its use and its inhabitants become too weak politically to hold on to it. The property is then reacquired, levelled of rehabilitated, as in the Florida road example, and put to more efficient use.

**Stage 7: Recapture decay** - The recaptured areas begin to decay. (Birch, 1971: 80-81)

Birch does add however, that this model is an oversimplification, with characteristics of one stage appearing in another as the area, slowly evolves. (Birch, 1971: 81) Furthermore, local contextual factors need to be considered that influence individual evolution processes, for instance in the case of Florida road where the evolutionary pattern has been interrupted or modified by means of factors such as the protection of listed buildings, the rates system and trends of office decentralisation.
There are a number of other local factors that have resulted in deviations from the typical process sequence. According to Davies (Land Use and Property Market Analysis and Assessment, 1999, 9-10) in the past as older houses deteriorated, these were often acquired by developers of flats which resulted in a number of unattractive residential developments, such as parts of the nearby Windermere road. However, this process does alter the land use pattern in that high residential opportunities are now lost to higher order commercial uses, while existing blocks of flats in the area act as a barrier to any other use.

However, Birch adds that what this model does illustrate is that what is regarded as decline by one group may represent opportunity to another. "What may appear as decay to an older Italian couple earning $5000 a year, or to a city planner, may be viewed as an opportunity by a black whose income is just beginning to rise." (1971: 86) Similarly, what residents regard as an intrusion by business into a residential area, is regarded as an area of opportunity by new businesses. Thus what is beneficial and problematic is relative to the position of the stakeholder group.

Thus the processes occurring in Florida road and other areas should be fully anticipated and management systems put in place to manage such change.

2.3.3 OFFICE DECENTRALISATION

A process that overlaps the natural lifecycle of a neighbourhood is the recent office decentralisation process, with Florida road subject to these two processes at the same time. The recent trend of office decentralisation is presently coinciding with Birch's 'Recapture' stage.

The Berea is a favoured decentralised location for smaller companies as the use of houses allows many small companies to own their own properties. Larger companies are now mainly focussed on Umlanga/ La Lucia/ Mt Edgecombe. It is likely that the recent drop in bond rates will accelerate this trend. Furthermore the trend towards smaller companies and downsizing,
means that the demand for such office space will continue into the future. (Davies, Land Use and property Market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 9)

Davies argues from figures extracted from The South African Property Owners Association - May 1998, (Land Use and Property market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 8) that relatively little of Durban's office space is decentralised. (24.5% compared to 60% of office space decentralised in Johannesburg and Pretoria and 45% office space decentralised in Cape Town). Over a 5 year period 1993 -1998, decentralised office space in the Durban area increased by 101 588m² compared with 70 194m² in the CBD. The largest area of decentralised office space is on the Berea and mainly on the Berea north with 133900m² of office space. This was an increase of 35 579m² from May 1993 and Davies adds that this figure is probably understated because of little attention paid to consent use and widespread illegal use.

It is clear that the conditions are fertile in the Berea north area for decentralised development to occur with its accessibility and number of listed buildings. The trend is that of smaller firms decentralising to the historical residential areas to take advantage of the importance of image associated with these upmarket, professional new small firms. These firms are then located in a context of high environmental quality, close to their client base. In the context of these factors it is thus not surprising that development has occurred in the Florida Road area.

The conservation of listed buildings has played an important role in the proliferation of decentralised offices in the Florida road area. The nature of historically conserved buildings is an important determinant of the character and scale of businesses that are attracted to the area. It is therefore useful to examine the concepts behind historical preservation and conservation.
HISTORICAL PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION

The conservation of historical buildings, and the fiscal and zoning implications attached to it, is instrumental in any area undergoing a process of renewal. In the Florida road case study, as in many other areas, any land use change is allowed as long as the historical integrity of the building is maintained. In most cases, mainly private enterprise has had the resources for restoration as well as taking advantage of the associations conjured up by location in a particular district. There is therefore a strong relationship between conservation, mixed-use and private business.

Private business is often a catalyst for conservation. The North American and British experience, as a result of the neo-liberal economic revolution of the 1980's, has led to the idea of marketing the historic buildings of the city as products or commodities that could make a profit. Monahan (1997:26) The rise of conservation projects through the market led policies of the 1980's also reveals that the emphasis in conserving historic buildings has shifted from individual buildings to conservation of whole areas. (Cantacuzino, 1989: 9-11) It has increasingly been realised that apart from architectural value, conservation is the economic argument for conservation is strong. Laudry (1997:8) also stresses the link between refurbishment as a trigger for renewal by improving confidence in an area so that the quality of an area improves.

In the developing world context, when historical heritage is marketed as a commodity, successful renewal is achieved and that renewal occurs within a district with individual development of sites influencing each other. Thus attributing economic importance to conservation is necessary for conservation to be taken seriously in a country such as South Africa.

It is useful to examine attitudes towards conservation and urban renewal in developing countries and countries such as our own; in order to manage the multiplicity of factors that interact with each other in mixed use conservation areas. Thus the broad lessons that can be learnt from the North American context need to be extracted and placed in the context of local concerns. Policies applied in first world countries have been successful because they...
have been effectively applied in countries that are fortunate enough to have the luxury of allowing development associated with conservation to become a primary issue, while having the economic and skilled staff resources to implement strategies.

However in country such as South Africa there are far more urgent concerns. Serageldin (1997:5-6) likens the complex issues and parties involved in conservation in developing countries to a rubic cube where aligning one face tends to undo the matching of the other faces. The facets of sensitive architecture, adequate municipal finances, incentives for the private sector and concern for the community all need to be balanced and often seem impossible to resolve.

According to Serageldin (1997: 5-6), conservation in developing countries with more pressing priorities than conservation, needs to consider three primary factors in any conservation exercise:

**Sustainability** – Conservation activities often fail because there are insufficient resources. Conservation relies heavily on investment by the private sector as well as funding from the local authority that sustains the overall functioning of the area by means of taxes and levies. Yet the structure of levies needs to be examined so as not to stifle investment.

**Incentives** – Private sector agents needs to produce positive financial flows if they are to participate in conservation efforts – otherwise they will actively oppose them. Thus incentives should be provided to make investment attractive.

**Equity** – Some groups are adversely affected by proposed investments who are unable to make their voices heard.

There needs to be a balance between the propagating effect of the private sector and affected groups by means of planning mechanisms. However, a strong attachment needs to be made by conservation efforts to economic development opportunities and this should influence local authority rates structures.
Serageldin (1997: 6) further indicates the important role of local government in that the revenues of tourism, for example, are often captured by central government giving local authorities little incentive to encourage such activities. Thus the economic implications of conservation of areas needs to be spelt out to create the incentive for proactive planning and to encourage public/private partnerships.

Where recommendations refer to conservation in developing countries generally, it is also useful to consider debates within the familiar South African context. Harber & Kearney (1996: 27-28) include the following recommendations for conservation in South Africa which are relevant to areas such as Florida road. These recommendations can be broadly described by means of four primary categories:

1. **Inclusive listing processes**
   - Ensure that the protection of resources is to be as inclusive as possible.
   - The listing process to be as inclusive and democratic as possible.

There is the recognition that previous listings may have excluded many buildings and thus it is suggested that a policy of greater exclusivity should be adopted. These include groups of buildings of historical importance and places of historical value associated with an important person or event. Also included are townscape features such as major streets, vistas and significant trees. (Harber & Kearney, 1996: 12) This represents a step away from the individual site specific listing currently in use.

2. **On going studies performed by planning authorities**
   - Planning studies are required for parking.
   - The local authority is to facilitate the continuous revision of the listing.

This recommendation is opposed to the static nature of the listing which has remained unrevised for over a decade. Furthermore, areas where intervention
is necessary can be more easily identified and acted upon if there is an assessment process.

3. The provision of fiscal and non-fiscal incentives
   - The local authorities should be enabled to offer rebates to the owners of historic resources.
   - The local authorities are encouraged to offer changes in land use and/or town planning relaxation as incentives to the owners of historic properties in a manner that ensures the conservation and planning objectives.
   - The local authorities are encouraged to utilise development rights bulk transfer as a conservation mechanism.

Harber & Kearney (1996: 16) consider historic conservation to be at the interface between private ownership and the public benefit that is derived by the protection of the building in order for it to contribute to the urban environment. Therefore conservation has to balance private rights with the public interest. Incentives, it is argued offset the demands made on the private owner to conserve the historical resource.

4. Co-ordinating mechanisms
   - The local authorities should formulate and publish a clear conservation policy.
   - The local authorities should to be enabled to establish conservation funds through a portion of rates rebates for community conservation purposes.
   - The local authorities are encouraged to use negotiations on the basis of a package of incentives to promote the conservation of historical resources.

Conservation issues relate to more than the physical protection of resources by means of cataloguing listed buildings, sensitive parking arrangements and incentives. There needs to be a conservation management package where these factors are combined in terms of a clear conservation policy. Co-ordinating mechanisms serve to integrate the conservation of individual buildings together so that conservation areas function as entities.
These recommendations illustrate that the role of the local authority becomes increasingly important. There is a genuine need that Local authorities should formulate and publish a clear conservation policy so that co-ordinating mechanisms are applied in a consistent manner. The role of the local authority is also important in ensuring an inclusive listing process, on going studies to ensure that listing information is accurate and that informed interventions are made and the balanced structure of fiscal and non-fiscal incentives.

It emerges therefore that in order for conservation to become viable in a country such as South Africa, the local authority needs to facilitate the attachment of conservation to economic benefits. Apart from economic potential, a strong argument for conservation projects in a developing country such as South Africa is that conversion work is labour-intensive, employing small builders, whereas new building is capital intensive.

Thus, if the commercial advantages of renewal are clear in Florida Road as seen abroad, then why the conflict of interest? In Florida Road plans to create a special zone with an appointed committee who evaluate a potential development in term of the overall scheme have in part been stagnant because of resident resistance to rezoning. (Schauffer, p39) Thus it is imperative that their interests are included in any master plan to achieve equitable co-ordination of all land use types and that the application of rates is carefully considered.

However, how can this be achieved? Examples of where this co-ordination has been attempted gives an insight into the success of conservation strategies.
2.3.5 PRECEDENT

The theories and concepts described are derived from the evaluation of precedent where similar historical residential areas have been reclaimed by new uses. Since the concepts discussed need to be translated into physical actions and mechanisms, considering case studies where similar processes have occurred can test the tangible validity of management frameworks.

However, literal translation of concepts and course of events can not be assumed. The first world context, where many urban renewal case studies occur, does not share South African history, public planning approach and land market forces. For instance, in the North American context, the primary issue was that most historical areas were threatened by the popularity of shopping malls.

In North America some of the goals for renewal of historical areas echo those of the Urbanists in their broad goals. As early as 1988, Porter (2-5) suggests the following basic principles for revitalisation of historic areas:

1. Promote diversity of use
2. Emphasise compactness
3. Foster intensity
4. Ensure Balance
5. Provide for accessibility
6. Create functional linkages
7. Build a positive identity

This list constitutes an ideal for such areas, but what were the effects of applying these ideals and what mechanisms has been put into place in order to achieve this?

What characterises most revitalised areas in North America, is that the initiative to revitalise a decaying historical area came from the business community rather than the public sector, often against much opposition. (Colquhoun, 1995:31) This parallels the market led scenario in Florida Road. However, there are a number of examples where the private sector together with the public sector has taken a proactive approach.
San Francisco was one of the first of decaying waterfronts in the USA to be rejuvenated, creating a model which has often been repeated elsewhere. The San Francisco funding came from a mixture of public and private sources with resultant legislation in 1977 with the Urban Action Grant (UDAG) which ensured a public/private investment ratio (Couquhoun, 1995:32). Thus the public sector benefited from the potential of such areas and recognised the development opportunities that such areas offered.

The Business Improvement Areas (BIAs) in Toronto is an example of where the originators from the business community organised a self help programme, operating under Provincial Administration, empowering members to use their own money to make physical improvement to the area to attract more potential customers. These projects are financed through a levy, which is applied to all businesses, located within the geographical boundaries of the BIA. Thus the private sector recognised the need to establish its own management structure to co-ordinate an integrated outcome.

A neighbourhood-based planning initiative in New Orleans, the Community Resource Partnership (CRP), was similarly formed to improve overall quality of life and enhance the environment. The panel identified principles for revitalisation based on a holistic approach which included:

- Striving to create a growing fully integrated mixed-use community
- Embrace a holistic approach to community planning that encompasses social, cultural and physical improvement.
- Preserve and enhance the historic resources that are found in the community
- Capitalise on existing street patterns to create linkages

(Bookout, 1994:13)

The CRP includes representatives from a diversity of neighbourhoods of mixed income and developers and serves to illustrate the importance of consultation of all stakeholder groups. Thus the master plan was inclusive of
all resident groups and business interests and eventually lobbied for federal enterprise zone designation and recommended tax abatement zones. (Bookout, 1994:14) The commercialisation process was recognised from inception with a consciously considered inclusion of all stakeholder groups as opposed to the history of denial practised by the Durban local authority.

The overall trend derived from these precedents is that the private sector takes the initiative to change the land use of an area. It is also the private sector that is responsible for forming an overall representative management mechanism to co-ordinate and to ensure that the qualities of the environment are maintained, thus providing the need for a structuring framework that accommodates flexibility. Furthermore, planning groups and master plans include all relevant groups from the public and private sector achieving an integrated outcome from which everyone benefits. There is recognition by all parties that if there was commitment to an area of conservation and commerce, then proactive management could be undertaken and co-ordination would ultimately benefit the area.

However, it should be borne in mind that these mechanisms arise from a completely different context and thus must be customised for the South African context. The plans and actions implemented in North American examples can provide some guidance, but should not be literally translated.

2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The ideas that have been extracted from the theoretical bodies of literature and case study precedents can be synthesised into a conceptual framework. This framework is useful in explaining the emergence of the land use pattern and the need for intervention and in this way will inform the Florida Road case study.

There is a definite need for planning intervention in the Florida Road area. The land use site-by-site changes that have occurred in Florida Road have been market-led and a neo-classical approach to this process assumes that
the market will perform efficiently. However, there are various instances of where the market has failed and where planning must intervene to manage the urban environment. These externalities need to be identified in the case study so that the appropriate interventions can be recommended to manage these effects of site-by-site development and to achieve effective co-ordination of all the urban elements.

If planning intervention is necessary to co-ordinate the effects of the processes occurring in Florida Road, what are these processes?

Florida Road is currently undergoing two processes of change. Firstly, like other historical areas, it is experiencing a lifecycle process where an area gradually develops to reach a point of decline, with the eventual recapture of the area for rehabilitation. Where there are contextual factors to be considered, Florida Road is essentially in the 'Recapture phase' of this lifecycle. This stage coincides with a national and citywide trend of office decentralisation. The Florida Road area and other older areas on the north Berea with their historical buildings suit the image and scale of small businesses. Their accessible, yet decentralised location and neighbourhood surroundings are thus fertile grounds for decentralised small offices.

An important factor in this office decentralisation process is the historical preservation of buildings. This attachment of historical building to an economic concern has ensured their high quality condition; especially where there are more urgent planning priorities than conservation. In a context such as the South African context, incentives to attract the private sector while ensuring the sustainability of conservation areas through sufficient fiscal funding have to be carefully balanced. Furthermore, co-ordinating mechanisms are necessary not only to manage the balancing and packaging of these factors but also to move away from the isolated and non-inclusive conservation approach of the past. What also emerges is that the role of local authority becomes increasingly important as the facilitator of these mechanisms.
The implications of these strategies can be tested and assessed by means of examining precedent, where similar transformation has been undergone with planning interventions. Precedents also offer other mechanisms that have proved to be successful and that can be applied elsewhere.

What characterises case study precedents is the success of public/private partnerships. The private sector proactively unites as a managing organism which imposes management mechanisms to ensure the qualities of the environment. The case studies (such as the San Francisco example) illustrate that private sector organisations can form coalitions with the public sector to form an effective partnership in a reciprocal relationship for the common good of the area. Where relevant, the surrounding residents have been included and made to benefit from the process. In this way many successful and profitable renewal areas have been established.

However, in the South African context the private sector has taken the initiative only by following a market led site by site trend. Furthermore, the town planning regulations have been inherited from abroad and rigidly applied with little questioning and evaluation of the reasoning behind these regulations. When amendments have occurred they have been reactive and as a result of localised private arguments which have been confrontational and localised in nature. A broader framework has not guided conservation efforts. There are thus co-ordination lessons to be learnt from the North American experience with more active interaction of the public and private sector.

The effects of the processes that Florida Road has undergone have not however, been co-ordinated and if allowed to continue will result in effects which may inhibit its potential. Careful management of areas such as Florida Road not only ensures the conservation of architectural resources, but also provides local economic opportunities. This demands a more proactive approach to the planning of historical areas with interventions in terms of a co-ordinating policy.
The case study will thus reveal areas where interventions can be made in terms of a co-ordinating policy in response to the specific issues facing the area.
CHAPTER 3 - CASE STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDY
The theories and concepts discussed explain the process occurring in a physical case study. In order to understand the nature of the area, the study commences with an analysis of the overall general context in which Florida Road is situated. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the land use patterns and mix in the Florida Road area itself. The reasons for opposition to these land use changes and the influence of building conservation in the land use change process are then explored to determine how this pattern emerged. Once the stakeholder groups are identified, the case study concludes with an analysis of how these land uses interact with each other. The findings from this case study will in turn form the basis for recommendations to be made.

3.2 BACKGROUND TO THE AREA
Florida Road occurs within a larger context which needs to be described in order for the Florida Road study area to be understood. A large scale analysis illustrates the role that Florida Road plays in the spatial structure of the greater area. An examination of the overall history of the area also reveals the general attitude of the council to this area and its plans for Florida Road in terms of this policy.

3.2.1 STUDY AREA CONTEXT
Florida Road is located on the Berea north which is one of Durban's oldest suburbs and lies adjacent to the CBD. It is an area characterised by sloping topography and rich vegetation. (City Engineering Department, 1982: 4) (Figure 2)
Florida Road is located with direct access to Musgrave Road linking the area to the Berea and Musgrave Centre and Argyle Road (M17) giving access to the city. As a result the area is extremely accessible from the city and the surrounding suburbs. The Florida spine loosely links Robert Jameson Park and Mitchell Park, Greyville Race Course and the Botanical Gardens. Nearby shopping centres are Windermere and Game City in Umgemi road, with Windermere Centre as the dominant shopping centre within walking distance. (Figure 3)
In this contextual area, Umgeni Road is a major corridor. Windermere, Florida and Cowey Roads are lower corridors with a mix of activities with firmly engrained residential development. According to Davies (Land Use and Property market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 7), the Florida Road area has become a significant office/commercial corridor. Cowey Road is also a significant office corridor and he contends that the purchase of houses west of Windermere for offices is beginning to become widespread.
3.2.2 TOWN PLANNING SCHEME ZONING

Although a mixed use spatial pattern emerges, the zoning for the area in terms of the Town Planning Scheme is primarily residential. In terms of the Town Planning Scheme, the Berea north area is generally zoned as General Residential 1 and General Residential 2 around Florida Road. A Maisonette zoning is applied between Montepelier Road and Argyle Road and along Lambert Road, with a gradation of density down to special residential. The Scheme loosely follows the pattern of higher residential density theoretically allowed along Florida Road. (Figure 4)

3.2.3 EXISTING CONTEXTUAL LAND USE

Comparison between the Town planning Scheme zoning (Figure 4) and actual land uses (Figure 5), reveals that the existing land use pattern is far more finely grained. There are substantial deviations from the zoning prescribed in the Town Planning Scheme, especially along Florida Road.

In terms of existing land use (Figure 5), the area north of the Berea is primarily residential with density generally increasing eastwards towards Umgeni Road. A denser residential pattern is also observed along Florida Road and the intersections of Musgrave and Florida Roads, Florida and Argyle Roads, Argyle and Avondale Roads.

Interspersed between the residential land uses, a pattern of office development occurs along Florida Road and Windermere Road stretching through to Stamford Hill Road. Where Florida Road includes other commercial activities such as restaurants, hotels, bed and breakfasts, shopping opportunities and other activities, the Windermere/Stamford Hill precinct is more office orientated, with a significant home office component.

Between Stamford Hill Road and Umgeni Road the office and uses intermingle with strong service and light industry elements. Activities in this district include service industry, warehousing, second car sales, factory shops, panel beating and motor vehicle repairs. These businesses include home and informal panel beating and motor vehicle repairs.
3.2.4 CONTEXTUAL SPATIAL STRUCTURE

To determine the spatial structure of the context in which the Florida Road area operates, Lynch's (1960: 47) criteria of districts, landmarks, nodes, paths and edges, serve as useful tools in an analysis the area. (Figure 6)

A significant land pattern thus emerges of two distinct concentrations of mixed use activities. These are the commercial office oriented district along Cowey, Windermere and Florida Roads and the light industrial strip district along Umgeni Road, with which these commercial activities gradually merge. These two districts are essentially at right angles to each other with the Umgeni spine running north/south and with Argyle and Florida Roads linking this route to the major routes through the Berea such as Essenwood and Musgrave Roads. Residential density tapers away from the routes.

In this spatial structure the Mitchell Park and Robert Jameson Park open space area is an important landmark that suggests perceived entry into the Florida Road area. These public spaces are at an intersectory location at the meeting point of many roads. Windermere centre is also an important landmark as it is the major shopping node. However, its role is complex as it the meeting point of three sub division grids and thus acts an edge to three areas of distinct character. Thus, in terms of user perception, Florida Road effectively has its 'back' to the Windermere Centre edge.

Apart from these two broad districts, the area has is finely textured with small precincts of distinct character that range from residential in different densities to mixed use with varying levels of commercial activity. These general land use areas are represented in Figure 6.

Umgeni Road then runs parallel to the railway line and thus acts as an edge to the northern Berea district.
3.2.5 HISTORY OF THE AREA

The history of the area is extremely important as it is as a result of its history that the spatial pattern has emerged. By tracing the history of the area, Birch's stages of development can loosely be identified with a few significant deviations.

Most of the buildings in the area pre date the Town planning Scheme currently in use. Originally the north of the Berea had been laid out along the Umgeni Road axis by 1867. The area of the city, in which Florida Road falls, north and east of the Greyville racecourse, had been sub-divided by 1886. (Kearney, 1984: 94) These stages represent the transition from 'Rural' to the 'First wave of development' of subdivision of single dwelling units as outlined by Birch (1971: 80-81).

The smaller plots in this area reflected the lower status and class of 'working class' areas in contrast to the views and settings offered by the Berea. In 1891 the Florida Road tramline was opened as far as Mitchell Park and the development of variations in local domestic architecture was stimulated. The tree-lined avenues and corner shops found in the Florida Road area lent great richness to the neighbourhood. (Kearney, 1984: 94) Thus the residential quality that is appreciated today was established.

Birch's 'Fully developed high quality residential' stage had already been reached when the historical character of the north Berea was threatened by the demolition of large numbers of houses to be replaced by flat accommodation in the late 1960's and early 1970's. This was as a result of the boom in the building industry and large-scale immigration from Europe. Since 1970, 700 houses have been demolished, with 2400 flats built by 1982. (City Engineering Department, 1982: 6) This activity had dropped by the late 1970's, yet had substantially influenced the spatial pattern and had led to a shrinking of the historical residential stock. Yet, this illustrates the influence of the scheme over the land use pattern where it can be developed to its full potential as this increase in density was fully planned for in terms of the Scheme.
The Florida Road area was thus in danger of experiencing the 'Thinning' and 'Packing' stages of development where density increases and deteriorated conditions arise, especially when the younger people move out and only older populations are left creating an old deteriorated area. However, this process has been mitigated by the upmarket conservation trend as a result of office decentralisation due to the great location and robustness of the area.

The conversion of houses for uses other than residential is not new, especially on the lower Berea as will be discussed below. Yet, the trigger in the conversion process of the Florida Road area was the approval of the conversion of 295 Florida Road, an Edwardian villa into offices and the Squires Loft restaurant. To allow for this conversion the Council approved Special Zone : 38 : Atherton (No. 295 Florida Road). (Figure 7) The property was then subsequently zoned Special Zone 39 : Office Zone which was approved in the same year. (Davies, Land Use and Property market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 8) Since this approval there have been a multitude of land use changes, gradually in the form of boarding establishments to fully commercial offices and restaurants.

3.3 LAND USE PATTERNS AND MIX FLORIDA ROAD

In this context, a specific pattern of change of use has emerged along Florida Road. Even though a variety of uses are represented, there is a finer grain within the land use structure and not all of the commercial uses have the same needs and generate the same kinds and level of impacts.
3.3.1 DEVELOPMENT CONTROL AND ZONING
The majority of sites along Florida Road, with a few exemptions were zoned as General Residential 1, north of Gordon Road, and General Residential 2 south of Gordon Road. (Figure 8) Both these zones permit primarily residential use, however Special Consent is required for the licensed hotel, place of instruction, place of worship, social hall, crèche, special building or use and office uses which are the primary existing uses.

3.3.2 EXISTING LAND USE FLORIDA ROAD
Again a comparison of the Town Planning Scheme (Figure 8) and actual existing land uses (Figure 9) illustrates how far Florida Road has deviated from the zoning allocated by the Town Planning Scheme. Where the length of Florida Road is almost entirely zoned as General Residential 1 and 2, there are only a few actual sites in residential use. Out of approximately 100 sites along the length of the road, 36 sites are in residential use with 9 single dwelling units. In reality there is a varied mix of land uses primarily in converted dwelling units rather than high density residential buildings provided for by the Scheme.

There are notable changes in character in the nature of the mixed use pattern. The land use is mainly residential around the Mitchell Park area and in the form of medium density, mainly duplex complexes, maisonettes and higher density flats of 4 - 6 storeys. Gradually land use becomes strongly professional office with long narrow sites. This is where the process was triggered with the Squires Loft. Offices in this area include Diners Club, Overseas Visitors Club and professional offices such as quantity surveyors, doctors and architects who are primarily visited by appointment.

As the road changes direction, the character of the road changes with a wider carriageway and shorter, wider sites arranged in small blocks serviced by access lanes. The land use character also changes with a greater mix of commercial activity with restaurants, shopping and hotels and bed and breakfasts towards the end of the road such as the Benjamin Hotel. Office activity becomes more public in nature with specialised businesses such as...
the Voice Clinic and the Ear Institute as well as a number of travel agencies. Shopping activities tend to be in the form of showrooms where professionals can be consulted.

3.3.3 SPATIAL STRUCTURE FLORIDA ROAD

These land uses have evolved into a defined spatial structure that is expressed in Figure 10. The perceived Florida Road district begins and terminates with public open space that serve as important landmarks as the perceived entry points of the Florida Road district.

The existing land uses reveal that throughout the length of the street there are three clusters of land use mixes that can be perceived.

1) The **medium density residential dominant** area adjacent the Mitchell park area,
2) The **professional office dominant** area with the Squire’s Loft north of Gordon Road,
3) The **mixed hotel/office/restaurant/residential area** south of Gordon Road.

Although the entire road is a spine of activity, there are sections of concentration where users converge. The First National Bank/ Spar area is the primary nodal area of commercial activity and a mix of activities that attract all users in the area with take away eating places, a pharmacy and shopping opportunities. The steers/Denonairs cluster and the Keg sections can be considered secondary nodes as concentration points. (Plate 1,2,3)
3.4 ATTITUDE TO LAND USE CHANGE

Throughout the history of the Florida Road area, there has been adherence by the local authority to the concept that the area should remain residential. When new land uses have intruded, the approach has been conservative and cautious. What are the reasons for this reluctance to accommodate and accept these land uses, even though it was clear that change was underway?

The attitude of the authority is reflected in and has resulted in the provisions of the Town Planning Scheme and the development controls. These express the intentions for the area. However, what are these intentions based on? To determine these motives and fears, the general historical approach to incompatibility of land uses in this area needs to be examined and the role Florida Road was intended to play in terms of this approach needs to be determined.

Many of the changes that have occurred are only the result of overturning of refusals by means of the Appeals Board. However, where change has occurred it has been implemented under certain conditions that give insight into apprehensions. According to Mr Linton Vernon, the Regulations Officer, (Rezoning Division, Development and Planning Unit of Durban local authority), there is no clear record of the Council's decision making process. This is especially since the process has occurred in such a site by site fashion. Thus the patchwork of individual records and reviews need to be examined in order to understand the reasons behind decisions that have resulted in the present land use pattern.

The land use pattern has also been influenced by the application of rates, which has a relationship with land use zoning to determine land value. An examination of the relationship zoning and rates is therefore useful.
In order to determine the reasons for opposition to land use change therefore, the following have to be explored:

- Town Planning Scheme zoning and development controls
- The influence of rates
- Approach of local authority to incompatibility of business and residential land uses
- Attitude of council to Florida Road
- Conditions applied to decisions for change

3.4.1 TOWN PLANNING SCHEME ZONING AND DEVELOPMENT CONTROLS

Before the contents of the Town Planning Scheme currently in use can be assessed, the manner in which it operates, needs to be outlined.

Table 1 expresses the free entry rights, permitted uses and development controls allowed for General Residential 1 and General Residential 2, which are the land use zones that predominantly apply to Florida Road. The Town Planning Scheme essentially consists of two parts. Firstly, the Town Planning Scheme map that indicates intended land use for an area. Secondly, the development control table, which spells out the three dimensional building envelope allowed for each land use zone by means of a number of controls. These controls are density, coverage, floor space ratio, height and parking controls as well as other plan controls such as building lines, side and rear spaces and minimum sub division area.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 USE ZONE</th>
<th>2 PURPOSE FOR WHICH CONSENT IS REQUIRED</th>
<th>3 PURPOSE FOR WHICH SPECIAL CONSENT IS REQUIRED</th>
<th>4 BUILDING LINE</th>
<th>5 SIDE SPACE</th>
<th>6 REAR SPACE</th>
<th>7 MIN. SUBDIVISION</th>
<th>8 DENSITY</th>
<th>9 COVERAGE</th>
<th>10 FLOOR SPACE RATIO</th>
<th>11 HEIGHT</th>
<th>12 PARKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Residential 1</td>
<td>Dwelling House, Ancillary Unit when ancillary to a Dwelling House, Maisonnets, Residential Building, Institution, Cluster Housing Development. [Appendix 1]</td>
<td>Agriculture, Licensed Hotel, Parking Garage, Place of Instruction, Place of Worship, Social Hall, Creche, Special Building or use, Offices in terms of clause 7, any other use authorised in terms of clause 6.</td>
<td>7.5m [e118(1)] Swimming Pool - 1.0m [e118(2)(d)] For Ungnai Park refer to clause 18(6)(a) for details regarding the broken red line.</td>
<td>1.2m for each floor to a maximum of 15.0m, minimum 5.0m.</td>
<td>1.2m for each floor to a maximum of 15.0m, minimum 5.0m.</td>
<td>[e120(2)]</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>[e120(2)]</td>
<td>40% Hotel - 50% Place of Instruction - 20% [e123(4)] East of Prospect Hill Road - not more than 10% above the 3rd storey. [e121(3)(a)]</td>
<td>1.0:1 [e123(4)]</td>
<td>N/A unless as otherwise indicated on the map. [e122(2)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Residential 2</td>
<td>Dwelling House, Ancillary Unit when ancillary to a Dwelling House, Maisonnets, Institution, Residential Building, provided that in Merewest, Chatsworth, Austerville South and North areas a Licensed Hotel may be erected without special consent on a site marked by the symbol &quot;H&quot; in red, Cluster Housing Development. [Appendix 1]</td>
<td>Agriculture, Licensed Hotel, Parking Garage, Place of Instruction, Place of Worship, Social Hall, Creche, Special Building or use, Offices in terms of clause 7, any other use authorised in terms of clause 6.</td>
<td>7.5m [e118(1)] Swimming Pool - 1.0m [e118(2)(d)]</td>
<td>1.2m for each floor to a maximum of 15.0m, minimum 5.0m.</td>
<td>1.2m for each floor to a maximum of 15.0m, minimum 5.0m.</td>
<td>[e120(2)]</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>[e120(2)]</td>
<td>40% Hotel - 50% Place of Instruction - 20% [e121(1)]</td>
<td>1.0:1 [e123(4)]</td>
<td>1.2:1 - between Mitchell Crescent and First Avenue. [e123(4)(v)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Permitted uses and development controls General Residential 1 & 2
Source: Town Planning Scheme, Appendix 1
The development controls in Table 1 have the following implications:

**Density** - Density controls the intensity of development and is controlled by plot sizes. The plot size controls the number of dwelling units per hectare and hence, the smaller the plot the greater the number dwelling units per hectare.

**Coverage** - Building coverage is the total land area that is taken up buildings. (E.g. on a site of 1000m², 40% coverage means 400m² of the site is covered with building) In this way the amount of open space allowed on the site for sufficient ventilation and circulation is controlled.

**Floor Space ratio** - The Floor Area Ratio or F. A. R. limits the amount of floor space that can be built on a single site and is calculated:

\[
F.A.R = \frac{\text{TOTAL BUILDING FLOOR AREA}}{\text{TOTAL LOT AREA}}
\]

**Building lines** - Setbacks from the site boundary control the position of the building on the site as well its proximity to neighbouring buildings and the road reserve.

**Parking** - The number of parking bays required varies with different land uses. Residential land uses require on 1 parking bay per unit. However, other land uses require substantially more parking. The number of parking bays is calculated by means of a number of formulas appropriate to different land uses such as number of parking bays per area floor space or seats or beds. (Roberts, 1997: 14 -19)

These controls are important in maintaining the scale and character of an area. By increasing the control factors, the building envelope and parking requirement increases. The nature of an area is then in turn changed in terms of intensity of uses with increased numbers of users and vehicles if full advantage is taken of these controls. Similarly a change of land use could demand greater parking requirements that the original land use was initially not intended to absorb.
Where the Town Planning Scheme clearly sets out the type and nature of land uses there is a measure of flexibility which allows for other land uses. All sites in terms of the Town Planning Scheme are allocated with land use zonings that are free entry uses. For instances the free entry uses for table 1 are General Residential 1 & 2 in column 2. However, there are ancillary uses that it is recognised for which the need might arise which are listed in column 3 of table 1. These uses are permitted in terms of the Town Planning Scheme, but require the consent of the council that this change will not be detrimental to the area.

A general procedure is usually followed with special consent changes of use with applications accepted, accepted with conditions or refused. An application is made and if the changes are not in compliance with the Scheme then the decision is at first referred as a departmental decision. If a decision is not reached then the matter is referred to the Planning Committee. If a decision is still not reached it is referred to the local Council. If refused, then the matter may appear before the provincial Appeals Board. The terms, in which these decisions are made, follow the guidelines of the Town Planning Scheme. Yet they are made in terms of the individual sites, especially with regard to Council and Appeal decisions.

The changes of use that have been allowed from dwelling units to offices in the Florida Road area are usually in terms of Clause 6 bis of 1991 of the Scheme. This clause was added specifically to offer relaxation from the Scheme to protect listed buildings.

In terms of the Clause:

"1a No person shall demolish all or part of an important Building without the prior written approval of the City Engineer
b No person shall alter or redecorate any important objects without the prior written consent of the City Engineer.
c Any person aggrieved by a decision of the City Engineer under this clause may appeal to the City Council and if aggrieved by a decision of the City Council, to the Town Planning Appeals Board against such decisions."
2 Notwithstanding any other provisions of this scheme, the Council may, by special consent, relax any provision of this scheme in respect of the site upon which an Important Building or Object stands and the Important Building or objects itself provided that it can be shown to the Council's satisfaction that such a relaxation is necessary and will:
(a) Ensure the conservation of either the architectural, historic or artistic value of the building
(b) Not reduce the architectural, historic or artistic value of the important building
(c) Not unduly interfere with the amenities of the neighbourhood existing or as contemplated by the scheme."

(Amendment to Town Planning Scheme, 1991: 42)

Neighbouring historical building exempted from the listed building list for reasons such a changes of roof material but are of similar historical, architectural interest could apply for a change in use in terms of Clause 6 (28) of 1978 which states:
"(a) The Council may grant exemption from the provision of clause 6(1) and approve an application with or without conditions, for the use of land or the erection and use of buildings which is in conflict with the provision of Appendix 1 Attached hereto. Provided that there are special circumstances relating to the proposal and the Council considers that the proposal will not prejudice the general purpose of the scheme
(b) if an application as described in paragraph (a) is made to the Council for its authority, such application shall be deemed to be and be treated as an application for the special consent of the Council and notice of intention to make such application shall be given in accordance with the provisions of Clause 25."

(Amendment to Town Planning Scheme, 1978: 39)

In recognition that conflicting uses were becoming neighbours and that arguments emerged for further development, once the process of special
consent change had been triggered by 1988, in July 1989 the following was added to the clause:

(c) Any applicant or objector who is aggrieved by the decision of the Council in terms of this sub-clause shall have the right to appeal to the Town Planning Appeals Board.

Thus, there is regulatory room for businesses to manoeuvre in order to operate their businesses from residential buildings. Gradually widespread advantage was taken of these clauses and the land use character of the area has rapidly changed. Yet, this land use change has not occurred with the blessing of the local authority.

Since the implementation of the Town Planning Scheme in 1954, the building control and zoning attitude of the local authority in Durban has been primarily reactive and cautious. Change of land use has mainly occurred in a confrontational manner by means of Special Consent applications. Changes to the Town Planning Scheme i.e. rezonings, are also by means of amendments which are applied and motivated for in a similar site by site manner. Thus although there are criteria and guidelines for which change of use is allowed these decisions are subject to the decision making discretion of departments and individuals and their views.

Furthermore the original rationale on which many amendments were based has not been documented and is therefore lost and could no longer be relevant, yet these are only challenged by isolated site applications in a localised manner. In this way the Florida Road area has taken on a life of its own, resulting in area of unique quality and character.

However, there was a time when the Scheme was relevant to the processes occurring in the area. The Berea Town Planning Scheme was published in 1965, being a landmark in Durban’s planning history, as it was the first area to be comprehensively analysed towards a statutory Town Planning Scheme. This replaced the previous system of special consent procedures which resulted in lack of co-ordination and created uncertainty in the minds of
prospective property developers. Creating certainty was one of the primary arguments for the formulation of the Scheme.

Between the publication of the report in 1965 and the 1967 approval of the Scheme, there were many amendments made to the draft proposals as a result of objections from the members of the public, with little record kept of the effects of the changes on the balance of the Town Planning Scheme. Further rezoning made after 1967 also bore little relation to the 1965 report. In 1982 the scheme came under review for this reason. (City engineer's department, 1982:1) The recommendations of this report however, are merely a suggestion to change zonings in the Town Planning Scheme to more appropriate uses at that time without reference to any planning framework or anticipation of future change.

In 1991, clause 6 (bis), described above, allowed a relaxation of the provision of the scheme as long as the historical integrity of listed historical buildings was maintained and eventually acted as a catalyst for change. However, this clause too was a reaction to a trend that was triggered in the late eighties.

This reactive approach stretched further than the Scheme. Previous theses, such as Roberts (1997), approached mixed use by applying action plans which are a set of design principles applied to an area and thus take into account what exists and applies urban design principles to small areas. The issues addressed are parking, pedestrian linkages and access and thus design principles are formulated to respond to trends. However, this response with physical interventions is still largely reactive and physical. Although it encompasses flexibility it does not suggest a multidimensional management system to preserve the integrity of the area which is mindful of the evolution such areas nor does it illustrate to the processes leading up to these problems.

Physical action plan recommendations are useful in maintaining and improving the physical environment, however they need to be placed in the context of a flexible framework with other mechanisms such as rates
incentives to fully sustain and effectively manage the process of change. In this way the physical environment will be restructured in such a way that is integrated with the guiding plan for the area which allows for harmonious complexity of activity. Thus there needs to be consideration of an organic framework that anticipated trends and change and their complexities and impacts.

3.4.2 THE INFLUENCE OF RATES
The land use pattern has also been influenced by the manner in which rates have been applied which have an important relationship with zonings and actual land uses in order to determine the value of land.

As Davies (Economic viability - Market Desirability and Property Taxation, 1999: 2) argues, the present system of zoning is intended to offer a degree of certainty to property owners and investors. Zoning is an important factor in determining the value of land in that it is a legal prescription of what could be developed on a site at the date of valuation. However when there is an economic demand for a use of higher order than the intended use then the probability of changed zoning or consent use is more important than the legal zoning. This is important when as in Florida Road and surrounding areas the zonings have lost their relevance.

In order to determine the implications of this rates system on the land use pattern the rates systems needs to be outlined and critically assessed.

Davies (Review of City's Property Taxation System, 1999: 1-7) outlines the city's taxation system as reported in 'The Sub-Committee-Rating and Taxation (13/1/3/3) (1996)

The property taxation of KwaZulu-Natal is governed by the Local Authorities Ordinance No. 25 of 1974 with part 6 regulating rates and valuations, yet the present system of rating has been in operation since 1942 and thus, as in the case of the Town Planning Scheme, are anachronisms as the conditions that led to their formulation in some cases no longer apply.
There are 3 means of rating land available:

a) Site rating - based on the land alone

b) Differential rating - a different rate could be imposed on land and buildings on the other.

c) A flat rating - an equal rating on land and buildings

(Section 151 Ord. 25/1974)

A water and sewerage rate may also be imposed. These alternatives enable authorities to change the incidence between different land use groups.

Rebates awarded (Section 151 (10) of Ord. 25/1974) included a rebate to be granted to senior citizens and declared national monuments. There is no rebate for a listed building.

In terms of Section 151 (4) a building is not classified as a residential building, "if the net floor area of such a building or buildings used for such other purposes (non-residential), exceeds thirty-three and one third percent of the total floor area of such building or buildings." This section has led to abuse by understating space to avoid paying rates or because they cannot comply with parking requirements.

This is because, if a residential property changes use the rates implications are as follows:

a) The granting of a consent use (e.g. office) results in a **threelfold increase** in rates payable to the Council. The municipal value of the land remains unchanged, because the consent change applies to the house and not the site. Thus when the Code 3 rating is applied then there is only a threefold increase, however;

b) **Rezoning of the site to Special Zone (office zone)** produces a **sevenfold increase** in rates when the Code 3 rating is applied as a result of the increase in building and land value. Rezoning could potentially make the rates payable on the limited space of a house uneconomical as a result of the great increase per m². Lower rental for converted houses is a significant factor in attracting offices to the Berea and leading to
conversion. As a result the redevelopment of the site can occur to take advantage of the full F. A. R. permitted

Under the present system of rating rates are levied at the higher commercial rate of Code 3 once more than a third of the property is used for a use other than residential, with a significant increase in rates with rezoning. This is because Code 3 places much emphasis on land value - 12 times the rates on buildings. (Davies 1999: 8, Review of the City's Property Taxation System)

Thus a climate has occurred where it is more convenient to pay residential rates or to apply for special consent, especially in light of the Local authority's approach of maintaining the historical residential scale.

Davies warns (Review of the City's Property Taxation System 1999: 8) that the increased demand for office space along the Berea has led to an increase in land values, while complemented by a decrease in values and demand in the CBD. Thus the burden of rates has shifted to the Berea where the rates are very high for certain properties, especially those which have not been to the full development as allowed for by zoning in the case of properties that have been rezoned:

"These highly burdened properties which should preferably be limited in their further development/redevelopment, yet the rating system encourages or even compels further development. Clearly if there are to be changes of zoning, care must be exercised to ensure that this is not considered desirable, because it detracts from the overall value of a particular area, to the detriment of the other property owners and Council, whose rates base is eroded."

Offices are not the only commercial use to have penetrated the area. Some of the larger houses have been converted into hotels and bed and breakfast establishments, however they are not as profitable as offices as offices secure long leases with income. However the rates payable for Code 2 (Private hotel and boarding house) are marginally above Code 1 (Dwelling) and substantially less than Code 3 (Business including licensed hotels) (Davies, Review of the City's Property Taxation System, 1999: 13)
Mixed use zones could cause problems for valuers as there is likely to be a base value and variations around that base and the danger is that lower order residential cannot compete with higher order uses. Thus a system is called for the fair distribution of rates for the property as a whole with appropriate rebates for residential uses. (Davies, Economic Viability - Market Desirability and Property taxation, 1999: 2)

Thus there is strong relationship between rates, zoning and development trends such as office decentralisation.

3.4.3 APPROACH OF LOCAL AUTHORITY TO INCOMPATIBILITY OF BUSINESS AND RESIDENTIAL LAND USES

In spite of the zoning of the Town Planning Scheme and recent office decentralisation trends, the Berea north has had a long history of conflicting land uses. The Council's attitude to the Florida Road area was in terms of its intentions for the greater area. The problems of incompatibility of land uses between residential and business were described in The Interface Report on problems of incompatibility prepared by the Town planning Branch, City Engineer's Department in August 1987. This report coincides with trigger developments in Florida Road, as recalled by Davies (Land Use and Property Market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 3-5).

This report argued that Durban's growth was reflected along the major transportational axes leading to the city to the north, south and west and thus many small scale businesses would be attracted to an arterial route and would compete for other business and older residential areas along these routes. At the same time the impact of increasing traffic volumes and business activities would reduce the residential desirability and thus result in greater commercial use favouring such choice locations. In this way an interface problem arose along these routes. (in Davies, 1999: 3)

The report also argued that these land use patterns are not only as result of market forces but also as a result of the land use controls applied at various points in time. The early land use controls prior to the current Town Planning
Scheme were incorporated into the building bylaws and allowed commercial and industrial uses on both sides of Umbilo, Umgeni and North Coast Roads. Thus the first Town planning Scheme to incorporate non-residential areas of the city in 1954, zoned the western sides of both the Umbilo and Umgeni roads for "General business" purposes. These zonings were reaffirmed in 1956 with the western side of Umgeni Road from Churchill to Goble remaining general business. These relatively low key commercial and industrial uses in these areas were considered to form an effective barrier between residential areas and areas such as Umbilo which flanked industrial areas. (in Davies, 1999: 3-4) (Figure 11)

Figure 11 Contextual area
This approach was then reversed in May 1965 report by the City engineer for planning of the Berea recommended that the entire western side of Umbilo and Umgeni Roads be rezoned for General Residential purposes. It was argued that the only appropriate barrier between industrial and residential development was an arterial road. In order for the western side of Umbilo Road to be retained as a light industrial zone there would have to be construction of an arterial road behind it. The construction of such a road was eventually rejected by the council and Umbilo and Umgeni Roads became the interface boundary between residential and industrial zones. (in Davies, 1999: 4-5)

This principle was accepted until the 1982 report by the City Engineer in the review of the Berea North Town Planning Scheme, which introduced a General business 2 zone which permitted business and light industry to regenerate an area that had proved unattractive for residential development. The introduction of this commercial zone shifted the interface boundary again west of Umgeni Road. (in Davies, 1999: 5)

The report thus came to the conclusion that:

"It can thus be concluded that, by permitting commercial and service industrial uses, earlier planning controls gave a free hand to market forces in establishing this pattern of development. The fact is that a number of these residential zones were introduced along these routes more recently suggests that non-residential penetration is not a recent occurrence, but extends over an lengthy period of time, and a period where land use controls were more flexible. Further, the pattern of development along these routes, viz. Non-residential development on both sides suggests that the actual roads themselves were inappropriate interface boundaries."

The penetration of other land uses in this area is therefore not new and was strongly influenced by historically liberal land use controls as well as market forces. The reactive authority approach was to establish interface zoning
barriers and divisions to separate land uses and protect residential even though there was a long history of commercial use.

This approach was not necessarily successful, as these zones did not prevent bleeding of land uses into other areas. Mr T. Burgess (Senior Planning Control Officer Berea North, Consent Division, Development and Planning Unit of local authority) acknowledges that the concept of interface zones was problematic in that did not address the control of how far back impacts of different land uses occurred. The current land use situation that has emerged is a gradation of industrial to residential land use west of Umgeni Road (see Figure 5 for existing land use pattern)

What this history does illustrate is the Council's disregard for mixed use and its insistence of separation of residential land uses from other land uses. It also illustrates the intention that the area west of Umgeni Road, in which the Florida Road area is to be found, remains residential.

In light of this contextual history, What was the specific attitude towards Florida Road?

3.4.4 ATTITUDE OF COUNCIL TO FLORIDA ROAD
With regards to Florida Road, in the context of plans for Berea north, the intention was for the area to remain residential at all costs in spite of the trends that were beginning to occur.

The 1982 Berea North District Scheme Review proposals to the area make no provision for offices and are an attempt to amend the Scheme without sacrificing the character of the district. According to the review, the priority concern at that time was the protection of low density, historically significant, residential dwellings units from demolition in favour of an increase in residential density by means of the building of blocks of flats. (p25) In terms of the so-called 'Windermere and Morningside communities', which were demarcated districts in which the Florida Road area was included, the following was proposed:
"No change is proposed to the special residential zones in the communities of Windermere, where most of the land already has a higher density zoning, or Morningside where the special residential areas are either fully developed to a low density, or are areas where the need to preserve a special environment is recognised." (The Berea North District Scheme Review, 1982: 26)

Where the special residential zonings were of concern, no amendments where planned for the General Residential zones such as Florida Road. The attitude was simply that the area would remain residential. The subsequent processes of changes that ensued from the late 1980s were not at all anticipated.

According to the Mr T. Burgess, Senior Planning Control Officer Berea North, Consent Division, Development and Planning Unit, the few conversions occurring during the late 1980's were unique exemptions, where the residential character remained a priority. The council's approach was that of strict application, consideration and interpretation of the Town Planning Scheme in order to retain the residential integrity of the area. Initially Special Consent change of use was only granted if a listed building was in a very bad condition in order to rescue the building and to cause minimum intervention into the residential fabric. This prudent approach was as a result of the belief that the commercial land use would be isolated and temporary exceptions to what was essentially a residential area and that the possibility was considered that the area would return to its residential status.

However, it has become apparent that with those early conversions in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a trend had been sparked. R200 000 - R250 000 is presently required for such an historical house to undergo restoration and thus only businesses have the financial resources to facilitate the conservation demanded by these buildings. Residents could not afford to maintain the listed buildings at the same quality that businesses were able, and as a result residents gradually gave way to the offers from business for their properties.
However, the trend of change was the result of a number of factors such as small professional firms taking advantage of comparatively lower rates in the case of Special Consent and relaxed regulations for listed buildings. Small professional firms often did not bother to gain Special Consent and occupied these houses illegally in order to capitalise on the image and safer environment offered.

Under the pressure that the market had exerted by initiating this trend of change of use, the Council became more flexible with its approach to land use change. A new executive director of the Development & Planning Unit in 1997, at whose discretion many conditions are decided has also led to what the Council considers a more proactive approach, as opposed to the initial careful approach.

3.4.5 CONDITIONS APPLIED TO DECISIONS FOR CHANGE

According the special consent procedure outlined in 3.4.1 above, the chain of higher authority in terms of recommendation and decisions for applications for Special Consent is as follows:

- The application is in compliance with the Scheme
- It becomes a departmental decision, (i.e. at the discretion of the Executive Director)
- A Planning Committee decision.
- Council local authority decision.
- A provincial Appeals Board decision.

The land use changes can be permitted or refused at any point of this sequence. However, often it was only at the Appeals Board level where a decision was overturned in light of local authority reluctance to accept land use changes.

However, at whatever level a change of use is accepted, in most cases there are conditions attached to these decisions. The conditions stipulated, however, area usually in terms of the isolated site with the impacts with respect to only the immediate neighbours considered. However, examining
these conditions and individual cases gives an insight into the fears that these conditions were intended to address.

The typical common conditions for Special Consent uses (especially decisions at the discretion of the Executive Director) are:

- There should be a landscape plan indicating the horticultural treatment of the site to the satisfaction of the Executive Director (Physical Environment).
- A certain number of parking bays is specified should be constructed and, demarcated and maintained to the satisfaction of the Executive Director (Physical environment), and the parking thus provided should readily be accessible to staff, guest and patrons.
- A specified architect shall be responsible for the supervision and management of the renovation work to a listed building to ensure that the features of the building enumerated in Professor Kearney's revised list of Important Places and Buildings in Durban are preserved and are not compromised.
- The listed building may not be occupied as offices until such time that the listed building has been renovated and restored in accordance with the restoration report prepared by the architects.
- In the case of restaurants, the proprietor shall make himself/herself available at all times to discuss with residents of the surrounding neighbourhood any problems or complaints which may arise out of the day-to-day running of the restaurant.

More importantly however, reasons for not allowing Special Consent changes include:
- The site is neither opposite, nor contiguous to a site zoned Special or General Shopping and thus cannot be considered in terms of Clause 7(5) of the Town Planning Scheme.
- The site does not contain a listed building and thus the application cannot be considered in terms of clause 6 (bis) of the Town Planning Scheme.
• The Executive Director (Physical Director) is not satisfied that proposed development is necessary to ensure the conservation of listed buildings and that the proposed development will interfere with the neighbourhood.

• There is the absence of any proven special circumstances to warrant consideration of the application in terms of Clause 6 (28) of the Town planning Scheme.

Thus a negative precedent will be set in respect of other listed buildings in the city.

These conditions illustrate that the local council was chiefly concerned with maintaining the scale and appearance of a residential neighbourhood and attempted to mitigate any non-residential activity, but only in an isolated site specific fashion.

Prior to the late 1980's, the only official change of uses by means of Special Consent was in the form of additions of garaging and servants' quarters. However, the late eighties and early nineties have witnessed a proliferation of commercial Special Consent applications. There were many refusals at the local departmental decision level, however these changes were gradually accepted as a result of decisions overturned by the Appeals Board at the provincial level.

The local authority attitude did not discourage the change of land use process by the market, yet the Scheme was adamantly applied by the authority. There were many uses that were established in the area even though they were prohibited. For instance, Heritage House (136-140 Florida Road) was warned in for the use of a place of entertainment and gambling casino (Letter City of Durban Engineering Department, 14 October 1991) that:

"The continuation of the unauthorised use of this property of this order will leave the council with no alternative but to take legal action as is necessary to secure the cessation of such use and to ensure that the property is only used in compliance with the provisions of the Town Planning Scheme..."
The attitude of local authority reflected the fears of the residents. This is illustrated by means of objections that were submitted a throughout the evolution of the area. A resident from Madeline Road which runs parallel to Florida Road, voiced the following concerns with regards to the land use implications of the conversion of dwellings to offices of 144 Florida Road in a letter dated 1 October 1992 to the Executive Director (Physical Environment):

"The three entertainment uses on the adjoining property are all exceptionally high generators of traffic and put considerable pressure on Florida Road and the surrounding roads for parking. The sixteen parking bays offered by the applicant on the site in question cannot be seen as a solution to the parking uses generated by non-residential parking in the area."

As early as 1992 she adds the warning that,

"Offices in residential areas are a sensitive matter for those on whom they impact and applications which threaten the environmental quality of an area such as Florida Road should be treated holistically viz. the wider implications should be taken into account when the local authority is applying its mind to special circumstances which applicants claim as justification for developing against the provisions of the Scheme."

Yet, even though the local authority represented the needs of the resident comments like these were not fully heeded and the piecemeal consent development continued in the belief that only special exemptions were allowed.

However, some proposals have been shied away from as a result of their potential negative impact on the overall townscape and visual quality of the street in spite of no objection to the change of use. For instance Prof. Kearney advises that the proposed office development of 237, 241, 245, 249 Florida Road:
"...is piggying back on one listed building" and that "the scale is problematic with respect to the significant change of texture of the built form and resulting townscape character, from one where the present houses occur in a regularly repeated rhythm of buildings separated by side spaces, to a curious combination of single-storied bungalow form surrounded by a continuous three and four storey structure."

(letter from Prof. Kearney to Architect, Elevation Control, Development Control Section, 2 June 1994)

The Council has taken a very firm stand against an increase in three-dimensional scale of the area and thus any change in the bulk conditions. The demolition of 264 and 284 Florida to make way for parking for adjacent offices were refused in 1990 and 1991 respectively. Similarly, the demolition of 200 Florida Road and the building of a three storey office block was refused in 1998. The erection of an office block in addition to the conversion of 2 houses were refused in 1994 as this development too was considered to result the loss of housing stock.

However, concern for townscape value was the extent of attempts at coordination. The specific conditions attached to sites however, were often relevant only to the site and the immediate neighbours rather than overall coordination of the entire area.

An example is the set of conditions that were attached to the conversion of 174-178 Florida to offices for Standard Bank International Business Centre/Offices; and with 178 Florida converted to the St Geran, Plantation room restaurants. Apart from the standard conditions there were a number of specific conditions. The use of grass blocks to be used for parking areas at ground floor level was specified. The setback from Florida Road was to be at least 12m and any development between the 12m setback and 7,5m building line is at the discretion and to the satisfaction of the Executive Director. In addition the setback from Tenth Avenue to the new building was to be at least 12m. No usage or storage of goods was allowed on the veranda of the listed building. The building was to be declared a national monument within 12
months of the decision. (Letter from Physical Environment to Simon Elliot Associates, 28 August 1995)

These conditions consider the surrounding environment in that they take cognisance of parking implications and maintaining the integrity of the building so that its scale and character is maintained in an overall streetscape. However, these are still largely reactive conditions to temper the effects of the new land use and to compromise with the surrounding environment rather than proactive steps to co-ordinate with other land uses which all play a role in terms of a defined vision for the area.

Co-ordination between neighbouring sites was sometimes attempted for parking purposes. An example is the condition by authorities that 190 Florida Road conclude a suitable agreement with the neighbouring Standard Bank of South Africa for the use of their on-site parking facilities in the evenings for as long as the restaurant continues from the premises. (Letter from Physical Environment to P Arjoon, 6 March 1998) This approach is not always been successfully applied. Mr T. Burgess Senior Planning Control Officer Berea North, Consent Division, Development and Planning Unit) cites the example of Heritage House that operates as an office and as a restaurant. There is an arrangement where restaurant patrons use day office parking in the evenings - when the owner does not close the gate at the end of the day. This too is a localised attempt that failed in the absence of a co-ordinating policy.

Thus the council wrestled with the new land uses and the activity generated by attempting to protect the residential status quo by conditions that were intended to act as extinguishers of the effects of commercial activities.

What an examination of the consent histories of isolated cases does reveal is that the attitude of the Council was strict initial interpretation of the scheme in the shifting backwards and forwards of proposals and refusals. There are many examples of this bouncing back and forth of proposals and refusals with the eventual acceptance on appeal. Such an example is John Hudson and Company (304 Florida Road). The conversion of the dwelling to offices and
The out building to dwelling unit was refused in 1994, which was accepted on appeal with conditions in 1995.

The concern for the residential amenity was of such importance in influencing decisions that this preoccupation was even reflected in the provincial appeal process. Hotel California and Bonkers nightclub, which has experienced a long history of change of use application and refusal as a generator of vast volumes of parking and after hours activity. An appeal to approve the construction of 320sqm of new office space and to extend the Bonkers nightclub by 56sqm and to erect a double storey parking garage for 62 parking bays produced the following comments by the Appeal Board:

"The proposed parking was inadequate and the proposal was regarded as a unwarranted intrusion and traffic generator into the predominantly residential neighbourhood. The Board is unanimous in accepting the local authority's description of Florida Road as being a collector road and on a ("Mynah") bus route carrying a substantial volume of mainly private motor vehicles, and ninth Avenue as being a uni-directional crossroad (North-east to south-west) carrying a low volume of traffic. The Board's mind can but boggle that activities of this kind should allowed to continue uninterrupted (with reference to gambling activities) Moreover the hours of business (17h 00 to 04h 00 the following morning) of the casino or Bonkers, or both of them, has at times had an adverse affect on residential amenity."

(Appeal heard on 14 November 1996:1-5)

Yet, in spite of these harsh criticisms, which according to residents hold equal relevance in 1999, businesses such the Bonkers nightclub have flourished in spite of this attitude.

More recently the Special Consent approval is simply a concretisation of the status quo which has illegally manifested itself without formal consent having been granted. In some circumstances the local authority has no choice but to allow these activities to continue and the consent procedure is merely an
affirmation of what exists. An example, one of many, is the cases of 153 Florida Road, where on 14 April 1999 special consent was allowed for,

"Conversion of double storey maisonette building to offices for Starlight Cruises on relaxed building lines and on a relaxed side space on a site zoned general residential 2." (Letter to Simon Elliot and associates from Development and Planning unit)

However, this premises has been in use by Starlight Cruises since at least 1997.

By the late 1990s it had become clear that the market forces had manifested the commercial activities. With coming to terms with the commercial proliferation as an inevitable process under a new executive director, almost the entire street has been converted, in some cases with the retroactive acceptance after application of activities that were occupied illegally.

3.4.6 REASONS FOR OPPOSITION BY LOCAL AUTHORITY TO LAND USE CHANGE

It is only through market public pressure that the land use changes have been recently accepted. It is clear the local authority was opposed to the land use changes that occurred and it was often only at the provincial appeal level that applications for new land uses were approved. However what were the reasons for this opposition and were they justified concerns?

The conditions attached to land use change decisions, especially at the departmental level, reveal the scepticism of the local authority to land use change. The commonly held intention was that the area was to remain residential and that the commercial uses would cause an unwelcome intrusion into the quality of the residential environment.

These fears related to the provision of sufficient parking and vehicular pressure, an apprehension that has proved to hold validity. However, these problems are not solely the result of land use change and the manner of site
specific intervention in order to contain non-residential activity have contributed to the pressure. In the absence of a co-ordinating framework, parking bays were specified for businesses such as offices on isolated sites, yet the cumulative effects of entertainment and business activities have resulted in areas of conflict.

It was also anticipated the restaurant activities would be an intrusion into residential amenity. A condition attached to restaurants was that the proprietor was to be available at all times to discuss with residents of the surrounding neighbourhood any problems or complaints which may arise out of the day-to-day running of the restaurant. This illustrates that day-to-day conflicts were anticipated.

The main concern and the basis for decisions were that the proposed developments would interfere with the neighbourhood amenity. This neighbourhood amenity was in terms of an image of a single use residential area, where separation of land uses was considered the most effective form of land use management. It was feared that the effects of land uses on each other in terms of noise, traffic etc. would spiral out of control and a negative precedent would be set in the city.

The local authority attitude largely reflected fears of residents, who were uncertain of the effects of change, having chosen the area for its solely residential qualities. It was from this position that all land use decisions were considered. What the local authority failed to realise was that the land use change process resulted in a new dominant stakeholder group with a new set of priorities. As Birch illustrates what one group may regard as decline is regarded as an opportunity to another. (1971: 86) The reason why the local authority was opposed the land use changes was because it took the position of one stakeholder group. It was unable perceive the area from the point of view of a number of stakeholder groups that could function together in a complex environment.
Where, there have been problems associated with traffic and parking, the area has not transformed into a chaotic environment. Some land uses do exert pressure. Yet there are land uses that have minimal impacts. Thus, what is necessary is proper management in terms of a realistic vision for the area that takes into account the historical residential resources that it offers.

3.5 THE INFLUENCE OF BUILDING CONSERVATION

The listing of historically important buildings has been extremely instrumental in shaping the land use pattern that has emerged in the Florida Road area. It is the protection of the integrity of these buildings that is the basis for many of the Special Consent applications.

There are 22 listed buildings along Florida Road and they have had a powerful influence on the evolution of the street. If Florida Road can be considered a "spine" than the listed buildings are the "vertebrae" around which development has formed. (Figure 12) Although they are situated in four loose clusters, they are evenly distributed throughout the length of the road and are interspersed with buildings of similar age and character. As a result of the conditions attached to the conversion of these listed buildings, they have defined how the neighbouring buildings have been developed. In this way a distinct historical conservation precinct has emerged with a well defined character.

Listed buildings are protected under Clause 6 bis of the Town Planning Scheme (added in February 1991). According to the amendments to the Scheme, this clause is intended to control the development and conservation of specific structures (or objects) that are of unique architectural and historical value to the city and contribute to the environment as listed by Prof. Kearney in *A Listing of the important Places and Buildings in Durban* and Appendix 7 of the Town Planning Scheme. As long the historical integrity of these buildings is maintained, the provisions of the Scheme are relaxed and the building may change its use. The neighbouring sites may enjoy the same relaxation if special circumstances are considered.
These buildings represent various architectural styles between 1840 and 1920, each with unique features to contribute to the urban landscape. They have defined the street's aesthetic identity and thus have influenced the height, scale and nature of development. The following styles are represented in Florida Road with the following elements of townscape importance:

**Victorian**

Early domestic buildings in Durban during the Victorian period were characterised by the development of the veranda. Two common domestic types emerged during that period, both of which are represented in Florida Road. The front veranda house had the veranda to the street elevation, while the gabled veranda house also incorporated a veranda but its horizontally was counterbalanced by a strong vertical gable or gables with bay window, ventilator and decorative bargeboards. (Kearney, 1984: 7-8)(Plate 4)
Edwardian

The Edwardian period witnessed the demise of the veranda, with an increased interest in solidity and complexity of detail. The veranda became a means for embellishment rather than a protective device. Elements of Baroque Cape Dutch revival were also popular with heavy masonry work in walls and verandas and Cape Dutch gables. (Kearney, 1984: 10-11) (Plate 5)

Plate 5 Edwardian style

Union

This period was characterised by modern international ideas as well as the search for a local appropriate style. In some cases the veranda was reduced to a simple porch. The Berea style emerged during this period which was based on a Spanish colonial. Thus mediterranean character emerged with verandas becoming loggias, balconies and arcades. (Kearney, 1984: 12-13)(Plate 6)
Plate 6 Union style

These styles are well represented along the length of the street. A comprehensive description of these listed buildings (Appendix A) illustrates the aesthetic and three dimensional terms in which development has occurred according to the Special Consent provisions in the Scheme. It also indicates the economic terms in which development has occurred as all but 4 of the 22 listed buildings now occupy a commercial use and have been restored so that they are in an excellent condition.

Proposals for alterations to listed buildings are sent to the National Monuments Council as well as Elevation Control Department of the local authority. The physical criteria for these proposals is that the elevational integrity is maintained and that the spirit of the interior elements such as cornices and mouldings is maintained and are replaced by those resembling that of the original structure.

In addition an architect must be responsible for this restoration to original form. An assessment of the traffic conditions is performed by considering the
parking proposals. Typically for offices 1 bay is provided per 25m². The traffic implications are decided especially in circumstances of unusual implications (such as restaurant situations) by means of sending the proposal to the Department of Transport, who then liaise with the Consent Division. Each decision occurs in an individual site by site manner with juggling between departments.

However, it can be argued that where these listed building have played an important role in defining the area the listing of these building is by no means perfect and this is acknowledged by Miss R. Ramiah, (Development Control Architect, Development Control Department, Development and Planning Unit). Firstly, the listing was performed over 15 years ago and thus there has been one burnt down structure and 20 recorded demolitions, with an unknown number of unrecorded demolitions and alterations. Furthermore, the listing while comprehensive, was primarily executed by a single person and thus it is inevitable that exclusion of areas would occur.

Furthermore, during the initial listing process the owners of the building were approached to permit the listing of the building. There were thus a number of refusals as the implications of such a listing would means that each subsequent alteration would require permission, while keeping the listed building in the condition demanded by the listing would require great cost. As a result many significant buildings have been left out of the listing.

The listing thus suffers from effects of an isolated, architecturally specific, piecemeal approach. Where it does take stock of the vast historical inventory of buildings, there are structures which are not listed due to technical reasons that have slipped through the cracks, especially in groupings and clusters of buildings that form part of a greater pattern of the urban fabric. Yet the listing is the primary source of special consent applications.

However, more significantly in terms of decisions regarding conservation of the Florida Road area, many departments contribute sometimes these efforts
are not always co-ordinated. (Miss R. Ramiah, (Development Control Architect, Development Control Department, Development and Planning Unit)

Using these mechanisms, business activities such as offices have taken advantage of these opportunities and is often more than likely been the only party with the resources to renovate these buildings to the condition demanded by the Clause 6 (bis) of the Scheme. This is illustrated by comparing the conditions of the few houses that are in residential use in the area to the renovated dwellings. Where these houses are no doubt well maintained by their owners, it is clear that they are not able to keep their buildings in the same conditions with regular upkeep that the image conscious firms that are attracted to Florida Road are able to do. Most of the buildings in Florida Road were constructed between 1905 and 1920 and thus a need for attentive maintenance would be inevitable. These firms have the resources to hire professionals to keep these buildings in excellent condition compared to the homeowner who does not have the time or financial resources to attain similar standards.

There does however, seem to be a gradation of maintenance quality from south to north. Houses on busy roads such as those close to or on Florida Road, especially between Florida and Montpelier Roads, which are occupied by older residents who have owned their properties for decades, have greater difficulty in keeping up with maintenance than those on the service lanes towards Windermere centre. On the lower North of Florida Road residential properties are in such good condition that they are often indistinguishable from offices. These are typically inhabited by younger families with the service lanes are far quieter in nature with a strong residential character in spite of the immediate context.

In order to address the problem of the burden on residents of listed buildings, the intention of the implementation of Clause 6 bis was to have fiscal incentives as well non-fiscal incentives. The non-fiscal incentives have been expressed in the Scheme by means of the relaxation allowed. However, the fiscal incentives were never implemented, as consensus was never reached
as how they would be applied. The issue never gained momentum, as conservation was not the main issue in the early nineties when the local authorities were concerned with far more political issues. (Miss R. Ramiah, (Development Control Architect, Development Control Department, Development and Planning Unit). It is only recently that this issue has resurfaced. However, the question must be raised how should these incentives be applied in the current context?

Where the historical buildings define the aesthetic character of the street, what is the character of the people who are present in the area? In order to determine the nature of the users in the area, the various stakeholder groups need to be identified.

3.6 STAKEHOLDER GROUPS

Due to the fine grained nature of the street and its neighbours, there are a wide variety of stakeholders who use and have an interest in the functioning of the area. Thus, before impacts of land uses on each other can be assessed the stakeholders in the area must be identified.

The stakeholders in the area can be broadly categorised into the following:

Residents - who reside in mainly in flats and in the few remaining houses

Commercial business operators - offices

hotels and restaurants

shops

Local Authority - who manage the land use change and potential for economic development

Clients/customers - the stakeholder group whom the changed land uses serve.

The evolution of the area by the market has shifted its functional emphasis from mainly a residential use to the upmarket businesses that attract a "yuppie" clientele. However, they are not the only stakeholder group that
needs to be considered. There is a resident contingent that is still present as well as other commercial stakeholder groups which have to function together. Thus an analysis of these interactions is necessary to determine what the effects of land uses on these stakeholders are and what their stakehold is, so that these effects can be resolved.

3.7 INTERACTION OF LAND USES

What are the effects resulting from the juxtaposition of different land uses that now occur in Florida Road? It is important to examine this interaction as, apart from the authorised Special Consent changes, there is widespread illegal use of dwelling units for business purposes. Aside from the rates implications of taking advantage of lower residential rates, there are negative impacts of illegal use where there is no control of the effects of land uses on each other in addition to the effects of authorised activities. (Davies, Land Use and Property Market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 14).

3.7.1 THE SAMPLE AREA

In order to investigate the interaction of the various land uses, a survey was taken of a sample area. This sample was chosen by a number of criteria:

- The sample area contains almost all of the land uses represented throughout the road and is where the greatest mix of side by side activity occurs. These representative land uses exert maximum effects on each other.
- The mix of land uses represent activities that occur at different times during a 24 hour period.
- The residential flats and dwelling units are firmly engrained in the commercial and other uses and thus receive full impacts from activities.
- There are a number of listed buildings in the sample area.
- The Keg, Bonkers and Youth hostel have generated documented complaints by residents.

(Figure 13)
The sample was based on a survey of each site out of the representative cluster along Florida Road. The form of this cluster was determined by including sites along Florida Road and off the street, on the cross roads of Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Avenue. This was in order to determine the extent of the effects of Florida Road to land uses further away from the major spine. The Eighth Avenue - Florida Road intersection was assumed as the starting point with the sites interviewed radiating from this point. Hence, when there was no potential respondent available, the next site of the same land use was approached. In this way the sample area was formed with the stratification of land uses arising out of the land uses present in the representative area.

Table 2: land use distribution of sample (1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Use</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/Restaurant</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident - Dwelling Unit</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident - Flat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yet in spite of this stratification, the assortment of the activities represented into these general groups is a broad categorisation. These activities, especially in the case of the commercial activities, cater for a specific niche market and for this reason do not always take the form of the conventional definitions of these land uses.

The shopping activities tend to be showroom scenarios, such as Toko Trading, where upmarket clients are served in consultation with professionals such as interior decorators. Entertainment establishments fall into two categories. Hotels tend to be small or bed and breakfast establishments, and these with restaurants serve the same upmarket clientele as the rest of the
street. On the other hand there are clubs, bars and backpackers lodges that serve a younger, more boisterous set of patrons. Offices specifically contain small businesses that offer widely differing services and serve specific clients who generally arrive by appointment such as the Voice Clinic and the Ear Institute.

3.7.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE
The sample area represents a wide variety of land uses. Each of these land uses has different needs, concerns, periods of activity and sets of users. By distributing the same questionnaire (Appendix B) to the different stakeholder groups, their respective positions could be elicited. The intention of the questionnaire was to determine the following:

1. Who are the users of the area?
What is it that the respondents do in Florida Road? Do the respondents live or work in the area or both? If Florida Road is a place of work what is the nature of this activity? What stage of lifecycle do the different stakeholder groups represent?

2. When are these stakeholder groups present in the area?
Do users spend time in the area for defined intervals and then leave and if so at what times? If not, when are they present in the area? It can be deduced from these times when the effects of land uses on each other are likely to occur. An indication is also given of activities that do not interact with each other, as they do not occur simultaneously.

3. Why have the stakeholder groups chosen this area?
What are the different qualities that have attracted businesses and residents to this area?

4. What are the difficulties experienced by the different stakeholder groups?
What are the specific complaints to each group in terms of other land uses and the functioning of the area?
5. What is the nature of interaction with other activities?
What other land uses do the stakeholder groups take advantage of and when and where does this interaction occur? This gives an indication of the overall functioning of the area as a mixed use district.

6. What are the user perceptions about the area?
What are their overall negative and positive perceptions of the area? Do they consider the Florida Road area to be a safe environment and what is their attitude to the historical character? The different stakeholder groups regard the area in different ways and in this way the image of each group can be derived.

7. What changes do those who spend time in the area consider need to be made?
The respondents are in a unique position in that they are confronted with the day-to-day functioning of the area and can offer suggestions to chronic problems. Changes that stakeholder groups believe need to be made also gives insight into their normative positions by highlighting what they consider to be negative areas.

The questionnaire was brief in order not to discourage the respondents from completing it and to act as a series of prompts for further discussion about specific problem areas. In this way, apart from the overall impressions of the area, distinct areas of concern could be identified.

This analysis alerts attention to the issues to which the recommendations respond.

3.7.3 THE RESPONDENTS
The office respondents primarily only work in the area during office hours, while residents occupy the area at all times of the day. Those residents who both live and work in the area are typically those who have their own
businesses or are in the hotel industry. Office from home work is not widespread.

A profile of users begins to emerge from the age distribution. Over a third of the respondents are between 24 - 35 illustrating that the Florida Road area is hub for young professionals. Over two thirds of the sample were between 24 - 50 indicating that the area is young in its nature with the majority of these people in the office commercial uses. Those few over 65 were mainly residents, while those in dwelling units were distributed over all age groups, suggesting that there are resident families at various stages of their lifecycles.

Table 3: Age distribution of sample (1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAND USE</th>
<th>0-16</th>
<th>16-24</th>
<th>24-35</th>
<th>35-50</th>
<th>50-65</th>
<th>65+</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OFFICE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOTEL/RESTAURANT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENT - DWELLING UNIT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENT - FLAT</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL PERCENTAGE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7.4 PERIODS OF ACTIVITY
These users have different periods of activity. Apart from the offices and shops, most land uses are occupied 24 hours a day. Thus there are four patterns of activity that emerge each with a different sets of implications, especially in traffic terms:

6h 00 - 17h 00 - Office hours, where the area operates as a business district.
12h 00 - 2h 00 - Business people have lunch in the area
21h 00 - 3h00 - The area operates as an entertainment district
24 hours a day - A residential and boarding area
These activities all have effects on each other at different times of the day. For instance, residents often complain of early morning trucks and even earlier morning revellers. Daytime noise is not a serious concern for residents, where parking at lunchtime and late at night when the restaurants and clubs are visited, is a more serious issue. During these times entrances to offices and houses are also blocked by parked cars, especially during business lunch hours. Furthermore these heavy traffic periods also result in a number of accidents and potentially accidental situations. These periods of activity also attract criminals who commit petty theft of items from motor vehicles and pedestrians.

3.7.5 PROBLEMS AND BENEFITS
With these periods of activity generating activity, there are problems and benefits of these activities that are specific to each stakeholder group. What are the particular concerns that each land use experiences as a result of the land use pattern that has emerged?

The hotel and restaurant industry is attracted by the entertainment precinct that has emerged, as well the historical character and atmosphere, and thus there are even concerns about the high level of competition. The vibrancy and "trendiness" of the area are quoted as important factors to this industry. However, where offices enjoy controlled on site parking, the restaurants particularly experience problems with lack of parking. Most patrons are forced to park in the street where cars are often the targets of crime from petty break-ins to car theft which has followed the up market patrons.

Offices enjoy easy access for clients by being located centrally, yet decentralised from the city in an upmarket environment that matches the image these businesses wish to project to their clients. Offices also experience petty theft, but tend to have on site parking with sophisticated security control. They also enjoy convenient access to the large variety of restaurants for business entertainment purposes. Furthermore, employees consider the area relatively safe and consequently are more willing to spend time in the area, for example remaining in the office after hours. Of all land
uses, offices tend to experience the least disadvantages and the area seems to lend itself to this land use most effectively, by being relatively quiet with controlled on site parking with the need for relatively fewer parking bays.

Residents, especially those that settled before the business intrusion in the last decade, were attracted to the area for a number of reasons traditionally associated with residential amenity. Environmental and architectural quality, proximity to the city and amenities, efficient public transport, quietness were all reasons residents cited as incentives to live in the area.

These residential qualities, such as scenery, trees, quietness, clean streets and variety of shops and restaurants are also however valued by the other land uses and it is this neighbourhood image to which many businesses are attracted.

This residential amenity has however, been severely corrupted. As a result of the commercial activities there are a number of problems such as petty crime, noise, accidents and parking difficulties. Further away from the Florida spine, problems such as garden theft is a common occurrence. Residents of houses can often not park their own vehicles outside their own dwelling if they do not have provision for parking on site and if they return to their homes at peak restaurant times. Yet, these residents enjoy extremely convenient access to every amenity.

The few remaining houses in the area have specific complaints in terms of the activities of other land uses. Residents in the vicinity of Bonkers nightclub and the Tekweni backpackers' lodge complain of music and revelry in the early hours of the morning. These complaints are not confined to a few houses. Blocks of flats have erected fences around the premises to prevent revellers from loitering on the grounds in the early morning. Office neighbours also complain of noise from the backpackers' lodge. This activity is also associated with the littering of fast food packaging to be found in the streets the following mornings which pollute the area. Furthermore, houses off the street on the
access roads are faced with the back of restaurants where refuse is often placed.

The main problem areas identified by the respondents were:
1) The restaurant and clubs between Gordon Road and Seventh Avenue (Plate 7)
2) The 'Monkey Bar, Tattoo parlour, palm readers' cluster on the intersection of Florida Road and Lambert Road. (Plate 8)
Apart from the benefits and problems associated with each land use, there are concerns that affect the area as a whole. Respondents to the questionnaire indicated that, lack of parking with the resultant effects of increased accidents, crime and restricting access emerged as the primary problem in the area. Security emerged as the second most pertinent issue that effected all land uses.

3.7.6 NATURE OF LAND USE INTERACTION
Where the respondents experience problems and enjoy benefits, they are as a result of the effect of land uses on each other. Land uses thus produce effects that influence the functioning of the street as a whole. What is the nature of the relationship between the different land uses?

A number of residents believe that the street has become over commercialised in some areas. It is believed that some activities, particularly the night clubs have lead to a loss of quality of character as an upmarket commercial area which residents and businesses value. The overwhelming concern, however, is that Florida Road is not able to service the great volume of traffic that has been generated by these activities as well the increase of parking requirements.

The traffic and parking problems during the day are a primary concern in the area as a result of the entertainment activities. Both offices and residents are concerned by the noisy traffic that travels at a great speed. Parking occurs as close as possible to the restaurant visited and thus there are areas of parking concentration and congestion. Parking occurs in the narrow cross streets resulting in blocked accesses to residences and offices. There is also an increase in the likelihood of accidents when cars leave the side streets and join the high speed traffic of Florida Road. There have been several accidents at many awkward intersections. An example is the Florida/Lambert intersection as large vehicles block the view. Also dangerous are the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Avenue intersections with Florida Road, where parking occurs for the nearby restaurants and where accidents occur as a result of vehicles turning these corners with great speed. (Figure 14)
One of the reasons for these problems is that Eighth and Ninth Avenues are two way streets between Florida and Montpelier and become one way between Florida and Madeline road. Residents in this area suggest that Eighth and Ninth Avenues become one way streets to prevent accidents by limiting traffic volume and reducing the number of directions in which vehicles are travelling. (Figure 15)

This high speed traffic, in both directions also makes pedestrian crossing the street difficult and dangerous. At these points there are many people crossing the street to and from their parked vehicles. In addition the residents (many elderly) and those employed in the area, often cross the street to take advantage of the mix of amenities available. The public service Mynah buses constantly drop off pedestrians who then criss-cross the street. Yet for such a highly pedestrianised environment, there are few pedestrian safe crossing points.

Thus it is clear that the area has a strained capacity on its roads and lanes. Apart from Florida Road, the access roads and service lanes are very narrow. However, these roads cannot be widened because of the costs of acquiring the land. (Davies, 1999: 15) However, even if it were possible to widen the roads the historical buildings and proportions would be undermined. Such an alteration would lead to a change in three dimensional development
proportions. This in turn would lead to the loss of the character of the area which initially acted as the catalyst for development.

In spite of these negative land use impacts there are a number of benefits that the close proximity of land use leads the users in the area to enjoy. Almost all the users regular use the shopping facilities, such as the Spar supermarket. Windermere centre, which is in close proximity, is also frequently used, but is not considered to be the preferred shopping location. It does not appear to have the same up market appeal as the Florida Road area and lies behind the perceived Florida Road district. Banking is also well used by all the users.

In addition, it is mainly the restaurants and clubs that have exerted this pressure and these are concentrated in two major clusters along the length of the road. The office activities offer relatively controlled parking and vehicular activity, well maintained historical buildings and are relatively quiet.

In terms of how the respondents make use of other land uses in the area, as it may be expected, shopping, buying lunch and banking for the office employees occurs primarily at lunch hours. The hotel/restaurant staff make use of amenities and other restaurants/clubs in the area at all times during a 24 hour period.

Residents make use of a wide range of activities in the area and enjoy very convenient, walking distance access to all amenities and efficient bus route to which some far flung suburban residential areas do not have such ready access. Apart from the shopping, banking and restaurants, there is convenient access to a video store, fast food outlets and professional services such as dentists, doctors etc. Residents use the library in Windermere centre and attend any of the many churches. Furthermore, the residents often visit neighbours and go for recreational walks. All of these activities occur within walking distance, which is of great convenience to residents who do not own cars or with small children. Thus in spite of complaints, the change of land uses do offer a contribution to residential amenity.
The potential thus exists for a rich mixed use environment that functions smoothly. However, in order to achieve this the specific problems areas where conflict of land uses occurs have to be identified and addressed.

3.7.7 USER PERCEPTIONS
What is the level of impact that the users of Florida Road perceive? Are these major concerns or do they believe that the area functions well, with a few minor inconveniences? This level of concern is useful in providing an indication of the appropriate level of intervention.

The users only consider the area safe with respect to other areas, yet there is a rising concern over petty crime. There has been a marked increase in petty crime in the last year and many of the residents anticipate that this trend will increase.

The historical character is extremely important to all the users in the area. The commercial uses described the area as a pleasant, well balanced living and working area, that functions smoothly and this opinion is shared with residents living in flats. On the other hand, residents in dwelling units described the area as an area with potential that requires control and intervention by authorities to smooth out problems caused by the mix of activities. However, there is feeling amongst the sparsely distributed residential units that voicing their concerns would be futile as they would only be 'one small voice'. Some residents are now turning their attentions onto capitalising on the commercial potential of the area and have plans to start offices from their homes.

At the other end of the residential land use scale, inhabitants of the Tekweni Backpackers Lodge enjoy the close proximity to revelry producing activities. This illustrates the tourism potential of the area, as all the inhabitants of the Lodge are all international tourists and the Lodge is also the base for a number of tours around the city. Florida Road is an area where all amenities and entertainment establishments are within walking distance as well as being
serviced by a regular public transport system which satisfies the casual tourist lifestyle.

3.7.8 CHANGES RECOMMENDED BY USERS
What are perceived to be areas of change is useful in determining the current state of the area. Changes that users believe should be made are indicators of what the priorities in the area are, and what futures the sets of users envision for the street.

In terms of the entertainment persona of the street, hotels and restaurants call for the promotion of the area as an entertainment district. There are suggestions of better street lighting for night time pedestrians and ideas about street cafes, the reintroduction of the tram and the laying of pedestrian cobbles are popular with every land use user. There is a strong identity of the area which could benefit from reinforcement.

However, in the recognition of this potential there is a definite need for greater vehicular and pedestrian control before any functional future for the area can be considered. Suggestions of users are that there is a need to be demarcated crossing points for pedestrians, and most agree that the flow of traffic needs to be slowed down by means of traffic calming. There are also suggestions that the two way cross routes should become one way roads to facilitate more controlled traffic and prevent accidents. This illustrates that the traffic volume that filters through the area as a result of the concentration of activities is of a higher order than anticipated. This has resulted in an area, which lends itself to a pedestrian dominated environment as a result of the mix of entertainment and shopping opportunities, being excessively dangerous for pedestrians and vehicles.

However, the residential inhabitants do not share the entertainment image of the area. These residential land uses believe, in particular, that the restaurants and clubs should not be allowed in the area. They believe, as it is these businesses that have lead to the great increases in traffic and parking volume and have led to a decrease in residential quality by the nature of their
activities. Furthermore, greater maintenance was called for to ensure the cleaning of the debris from these activities which further detracts from the upmarket quality of the area. The issue is therefore not that commercial activities have penetrated the area, but the nature of activities that have taken place. The residential land uses experience few difficulties with the office land uses which maintain upmarket appeal by means of high quality maintenance, produce a relatively low level of traffic volume and noise during the day and no activity at night.

However, the multitude of offices also have concerns. In some cases, offices call for more parking areas and control and wider roads in order to facilitate the traffic volume. This illustrates that the area is nearing saturation point in terms of traffic and parking influx. Many of the office staff also felt the need for more shopping facilities which was not a view shared by residents who were satisfied with the level amenity offered. This suggests that those who work in Florida Road do not consider it a residential area into which business is intruding, but rather an undeveloped commercial district.

A view that is shared by all land uses however, is that there is a widespread wish for more security such as police patrol to address the rising crime.

What this case study illustrates is that it needs to be recognised that the residential amenity, so jealously guarded by the local authority, is now vastly reduced in terms of a natural process of change and there are new priorities that have to be addressed. The problems areas identified can form the basis of recommended interventions.
CHAPTER 4 - RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 ISSUES OF CONCERN

An effective platform for recommendations is an identification of the issues of concern. It is clear from the case study that there are a number of alternative desired images for the future, depending on the perspective of the stakeholder groups and each of these directions of development requires a different set of interventions. As a result there are different, often contradictory issues of concern for different stakeholder groups. However, in order for any planning interventions to be successful, the holistic functioning of the area as an entity needs to be achieved. There are a number of issues as a result of the uncoordinated infiltration of commercial land uses that effect all interest groups that can be deduced. Addressing these issues would assist in facilitating a smoother functioning of the area as a whole:

Physical issues:
- Need for parking control (improved access to sites, reduction of on street parking, etc)
- Dangerous intersections
- Slowing down traffic
- Greater security

Management issues:
- Land use change is not in terms of a co-ordinating policy
- Lack of co-ordination and co-operation between sites (in terms of issues such as shared parking)
- Code 3 rating that increases rates to such an extent to make illegal use of property more convenient.

In addition to these overall issues the following are stakeholder specific visions for the area:
- Residents desire control and limiting of club/ restaurant activities in the early mornings in certain areas.
• Restaurant and Hotels desire the promotion of entertainment district and pedestrian friendly environment.
• Office uses are generally satisfied with the environment but would welcome greater vehicular control.

By addressing the physical and management issues in specific areas, it is possible for these alternative visions for the future to be achieved, if the area is planned in a co-ordinated manner.

These circumstances are mostly particular to Florida Road, which it is recognised is the result a unique blend of a variety of historical factors and of office, shopping and entertainment land uses. However, general lessons can be learnt from this experience. The rest of the north Berea is fertile ground for the anticipated trend of further office decentralisation. Areas such as Cowey and northern Windermere Roads are already in the midst of such a transformation into office precincts and there are similar commercial intrusions in the Davenport area and Stamford Hill Road.

In light of these proven processes of change, these areas can also be effectively managed by deriving general lessons from the case study with regard to the appropriate land use change. The Florida Road case study also reveals the true level of impacts of different land uses so that future interventions are not based on authority prejudices.

However, the physical recommendations are made in response to the Florida Road case study, then these recommendations are by nature relatively localised. These recommendations are not intended to be a prescription for the area but intended to supplement and assist future decisions.
4.2 PHYSICAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FLORIDA ROAD

Mechanisms to deal with the Florida Road area are presently under consideration by authorities and thus the intention is not to suggest a new town planning system, but rather to offer localised physical suggestions based on a study of the area's evolution so that more effective co-ordination can occur.

The first three physical issues that have been derived from the study are primarily associated with the traffic generated by the influx of vehicle generating activities, while security problems are in part a result of the excessive numbers of parked cars in defined areas. These problems are interrelated facets of the same problem. The control of parking and traffic could not only soothe some of the problems in the area, but can also contribute to reinforcing a district or precinct that is unique in nature. Thus a change in approach is needed where the uniqueness of the Florida Road that has emerged spontaneously is celebrated, rather than isolated interventions to contain activity.

The unsafe conditions in Florida Road are however to be expected. According to Tolley (1989: 7) Older residential areas are typically less safe as a result of mix of land uses and higher densities and safety is at its lowest in long straight streets with many junctions. This description comfortably fits Florida Road. Thus imaginative physical interventions are necessary to slow traffic.

Techniques applied in other parts of the world and evaluating their effectiveness can lend insights on how this is to be achieved. Traffic calming and traffic restraint approaches were pioneered in the Netherlands in the 1970s by means of the so-called 'Woonerf' system which was applied in residential areas. Although Florida Road is of a strong commercial and mixed use nature, it is the residential quality that needs to be protected and thus the 'Woonerf' system deserves consideration.
Vehicles are restricted to slow movement with other speed reducing devices are added such as regular shifts in the axis of the road and ramps and speed humps. There are also narrowings that do not allow a second car to pass and these are reinforced by the placements of trees, planters and street furniture. Parking is allowed only in places indicated. (Figure 16)

![Characteristics of a Woonerf](image)

**Key:**

(Source: Royal Dutch Touring Club (KNOV), 1977)

Figure 16 Woonerf System (Source: Tolley, R (1990), Calming Traffic in Residential Areas)

However, evaluation of the Woonervern reveals that reactions towards them were mixed. There was dissatisfaction with having to zigzag across the street. Corners needed to have radii suitable for service vehicles also made them wide enough for them to travel through quickly. Furthermore there was the danger of slalom-style driving of young people particularly, moped riders. Parking was also a problem where only a limited number of parking spaces could be allowed in such a system. (Tolley, 1989: 21-22) Thus these details do not suit the volume and patience of the traffic in Florida Road.
Furthermore, not only is remodelling of an area where the system is applied costly, but there should be an efficient system of constant labour intensive maintenance. Thus the application of these principles would only be suitable in a higher income area where the extensive investment in the street design would guarantee returns. But more importantly, given that streets have to be completely dug up there needs to be complete co-ordination between different service that are responsible for pipes and conduits. There also needs to be close co-ordination between residents, shopkeepers and planners and thus in the Dutch experience costly and flexible planning is necessary. (Tolley, 1989: 22) Considering the Florida Road’s history, it is unlikely that such close co-ordination could occur overnight, especially for a system where the benefits are indefinite.

However, the ‘Woonerf’ system did slow speeds down to an average of 13-25km/h thus resulting in a decline in severity of injury in accidents. The number of accidents involving injury decreased by 50%. (Tolley, 1989: 21) The ideology behind Wooerven thus suits the Florida Road area, however is not suitable in the detail. However, there are benefits of such systems that need to be considered and derived and adapted to the local context such as the introduction of planters mid-street to limit traffic flow contribute to environmental quality and pedestrian friendly street furniture.

The area south of Gordon Road, between Gordon Road and Seventh Avenue could benefit form such treatment. It is here where most of the restaurant/entertainment activities are clustered and where the major area of parking and traffic congestion has been identified. Florida Road not only changes direction at this point, but also becomes slightly wider, making it easier to accommodate planters and street furniture. (Figure 17) Furthermore, these measures will contribute to the environment quality and improve the entertainment appeal of the area.

However, there are other alternatives that are more appropriate to the local example. In some areas in Holland, speed restrictions were imposed with a
limit of 30km/h. This was imposed with effective street reducing mechanisms such as speed bumps without eradicating the distinction between road and pavement. Some traffic slowing mechanisms were simple such as street markings arranged as bumps even though there were no bumps at all at 40m intervals. (Plate 9) (Tolley, 1989: 25) Thus traffic is slowed with less expensive intervention into the status quo with simple but effective mechanisms. This could be applied in and leading to the entertainment clusters to slow traffic.

Plate 9 Artificial speed bumps (Source: Tolley, R (1990), Calming Traffic in Residential Areas)

The German solution similarly slows traffic down to 30km/h with so-called 'Tempo 30' laws. In addition there are a set of design elements that assist in speed reduction with the retention of the pavement unlike the Woonerven. (Plate 10) Pinch points or gateways with formation of vertical elements such as trees to narrow the carriageway. Parking is incorporated at right angles to the pavement in 50m stretches. This divides the street into short segments, which is intended to slow traffic down while no parking spaces are lost. Planting in this arrangement is thus generous.

A functional innovation developed by German planners, is a speed table which is designed as a ramp up to a raised plateau with a descending ramp on the other side so that front and rear wheels are in contact with the table at the same time. Tables are placed at gateways and at intersections where they are raised to the level of the footpath allowing easy crossing by prams and wheelchairs. The speed table also restrains the traffic to avoid the racetrack
effect of straight roads as a result of offset parking. Furthermore, it is considered more effective than the stop-go driving of speed humps.

Plate 10 German speed control mechanisms (Source: Tolley, R (1990), *Calming Traffic in Residential Areas*)

These mechanisms can be applied to potential areas of physical intervention in the Florida Road case study illustrated in figure 17.
The case study identified two particular areas of parking congestion. The area of the north of Lambert Road is too narrow and not as busy to warrant major interventions. However, it could benefit from the slowing down of traffic by means of artificial speed bumps and the provision of right angled parking around the nodal area. The major area of vehicular congestion area should be provided with pinch points at the intersection of Florida and Gordon Roads. From these points, parking should be provided at right angles to the pavement in approximately 50m intervals. This will result in a pattern of two sets of parking between two Avenues that cross Florida Road. In this way the cluster becomes a defined entertainment area. The intersections of Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Avenues provide opportunities for the application of speed tables to slow traffic and to better serve pedestrians. Greater attention should also be paid to the pedestrian areas with better lighting so that the area could constitute a safer pedestrian environment. (Figure 17)

In an evaluation of these mechanisms, maintenance costs and capital have not been considered excessive, however, these are by European standards. (Tolley, 1989: 35-36) However, for these mechanisms to be applied there need to be consensus between the different specialised departments for it to be successful. (Tolley, 1989: 127)

Yet the German features, best suit the Florida Road scenario as it incorporates parking while, slowing through traffic. Again institutional and public/private participation is essential for the successful implementation of such measures. Thus institutionally departments need to be far more co-operative with consultation with each other at the design phase rather that the shuffling of plans and applications from one department to another. In this way the potential of simple inherent solutions can be explored.
The on-site parking of most of the offices deals effectively with the office traffic volume during the day. Thus if these parking areas could be made less exclusive, then they could be utilised at night to accommodate night restaurant volume. Although there have been isolated examples where this has been attempted, they have lacked a committed overall strategy in order to be applied with any effect. Many of the offices have activity excluded after hours parking. (Plate 11)

Plate 11 Lack of co-operation between land uses.

Restricting traffic to the area by not allowing cars into the main street as occurs in the case of street parties, will not benefit the area as a whole as it will only result in distribution of the parking and traffic to the parallel roads and service lanes. These are the areas where a strong residential quality still exists and thus this strategy would further contribute to the corruption of residential quality. It is thus more beneficial to deal with the traffic and parking on Florida Road itself.
The changes that have been suggested are in terms of a commercialised environment as, unfortunately for residents, this is future for the area if the likely trajectory of trends that is anticipated. Yet most of the European examples from which control mechanisms are derived were specifically designed for mixed use residential environments and thus facilitate easier use of the area by residents, with a safer, quieter environment.

However, none of the above physical changes can occur if the area is not developed in terms of its economic potential such as tourism and if effective co-ordination of all those effected such as business owners, residents and departments of the local authority is not achieved. What other mechanisms result in the improved functioning of the area?

4.2 OTHER MECHANISMS

Physical mechanisms alone will not solve the problems facing the area. They have to be in terms of a governing policy, while there are a number of non-physical issues which cannot be solved by means of design.

Any co-ordinating mechanism would be in terms of what is envisioned for the area. It seems inevitable that the office decentralisation trend will continue and in terms of historical lifecycle patterns, the area is likely is maintain its commercial nature, with it being only a matter of time before residentially use houses are extinct. However, a strong residential component is likely to remain in flats and thus the needs of these people must be considered.

It is necessary to determine what precise complaints of these people are so that there are areas where the appropriate interventions can be focussed. There needs to be constant consultation with residents by the local authorities and this needs to be conducted in an on-going manner. Thus there needs to be a closer relationship of the local authority with the users of the area.

Each of the stakeholders groups has their own versions of a preferable possible future. Thus, the nature of the future needs to be expressed so that
effective co-ordination can occur in terms of realistic and judicious foresight, but with enough flexibility to accommodate further possible change as a result of the robustness of the area.

Kearney and Harber (19: 10) also emphasise this need for strong vision in terms of a clear conservation policy.

"There is a need for local authorities to formulate their own clear policy statement regarding the protection of their historic resources. This should contain their own reasons and purposes, their desired objectives, and the various mechanisms and procedures. This will be a useful measuring device against which difficult decisions may be judged. The publication of such a policy by a council would also set a public example and would ensure a degree of future continuity."

Only once the authority has committed on realistic and flexible intentions for the area, can flexibility of planning be allowed so that the historical and associated commercial potential of the area can be tapped, while coordinating entertainment activities to ensure a balance between residential and commercial uses.

However, what this balance is needs to be carefully considered so that the mix of activities that are allowed can be monitored and kept in equilibrium. According to Davies with reference to Florida, Windermere and Cowey Roads,

"We have seen the proliferation of small-scale offices throughout the study area, and clearly a decision needs to be taken as to where one 'draws the line'" (1999: 11)

"Intensive redevelopment along these three roads, and the reduction of residential use/development, would undoubtedly detract from their character and the character and attractiveness of the Berea as a whole. " (Land Use and Property Market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 12)
He further argues for maintaining the integrity of residential areas as a result of effects such as the closure of schools. (Land Use and Property market Analysis and Assessment, 1999: 15)

Many of the reasons why the Florida Road area has flourished has been as a result of the high residential quality and thus ignoring the residents present or adopting a policy where they are flushed out will not benefit the area as a whole. Residents already enjoy access to and convenience of the mix of uses and thus apart from specific complaints they enjoy an agreeable living environment. Thus their needs should be sensitively co-ordinated with the entertainment activities.

However what should this policy envisioned for Florida Road be? There should be control of what development occurs where. This should not be in the form of prescriptive zoning by allocating where land uses are to occur, but rather a policy that monitors the level of impact that the street can absorb. The Florida Road example the entertainment activities cannot be permitted to continue for the rest of the street. An area of mix has spontaneously arisen and if this can be recognised as the entertainment hub, then the integrity of the rest of the street can be maintained with the offices that produce lesser impacts.

It is thus useful to consider that there should a ratio of land uses to each other to act as a guideline when considering future land uses. The nature of this ratio should be determined by all the relevant stakeholders. In this way the advantages of the mix of uses is maintained by stabilising the urban 'ecosystem' so that the impacts of uses can be managed means of physical interventions. The definition of a precinct area by physical means will encourage the concentration of development in the appropriate clusters in along the road.

However, a major obstacle to the formation of a proactive approach to Florida Road so far has been the lack of institutional co-ordination in order to achieve physical co-ordination. There is no single department that deals with
conservation issues or is responsible for the updating of historical listings. When decisions concerning the area are made they are considered in different departments with plans that float around with from department to department. In order for this co-ordination to occur, there needs to be a new system of zoning and land use control that accommodates these decisions and a single department that has the responsibility of monitoring the effectiveness of control of the area.

There also needs to be co-ordination of the business community so that co-ordination and co-operation between sites is arranged. For example, offices with unused parking in the evenings should arrange to make parking available in the evenings to restaurant goers where possible. In this way businesses should be encouraged to become more proactive in the management of their area. A level of organisation could lead to the investment in communal organised security for the whole area and more controlled, better surveyed parking.

Where development is to occur, it is imperative that development controls recognise that it is beneficial to the functioning of the area that the residential amenity and historical integrity of the area be maintained. There should be recognition groups of buildings of historical interest, rather than 22 isolated buildings. It is important that the conservation of these areas is treated sensitively and holistically. The preservation of isolated buildings and immediate neighbours is of no relevance if they the historical context does not remain intact. It is the quality of the area that has led to the attraction of new land uses. If this quality were to be corrupted, it is likely that the area will suffer from over-saturation and eventually, deterioration.

For this reason, any new development should be the scale and proportion of these historical buildings. Where the style of the building can be contemporary, the height and number of storeys should not be incongruous with the neighbouring buildings. Furthermore, plans should be approved in terms of architectural syntax in terms of similar modulations of window, the continuation of horizontal lines and the use of materials and technology that
will not detract from the character of the street. New proposals need to undergo careful scrutiny by a department responsible for co-ordination of the area.

Thus the policy adopted should be of a conservation of character, and scale of development, with control of mixed use development so that the full benefit of potential of the area can be reaped.

4.4 GENERAL CO-ORDINATION RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AREAS UNDERGOING SIMILAR CHANGE

There are other areas on the Berea that are undergoing similar change and although it is recognised that the process that is occurring in Florida Road is unique, there are set of factors that also apply to other areas. These include the mushrooming office communities along Cowey and Windermere Roads and the proliferation of commercial activities in areas such as Davenport Road and Stamford Hill Roads. Thus what general recommendations can be derived from the case study that can better facilitate the process of change in these areas?

The interventions suggested are solitary small-scale recommendations and have not been placed in the context of a greater management framework. Clearly the rigid Town Planning Scheme zoning system is no longer appropriate or relevant. Currently the Florida Road area is a pilot project in land use structure and is to become a Conservation Precinct, the details of which have not been finalised. In terms of land use the new town planning scheme is as follows. It is intended to be a different way to consider ancillary uses. Each spatial area is have a statement of intent that are translated into use zones with schedules of freely permitted, permitted and prohibited uses and associated intensity levels. This results in town planning scheme districts over which development control templates are applied. Thus for residential and industrial zones there would be high, medium and low impacts where different intensities of activities would be allowed according to the schedule.
This system has the advantage of accommodating different densities and intensities of land uses and thus adds flexibility and mixes of land uses to the town planning scheme, especially in light older residential areas. However, its effectiveness is yet to be implemented and tested.

A primary factor that would better co-ordinate activities would be rate structure reform as rates are extremely influential in restructuring space. Davies (Review of the City’s taxation System, 1999: 9-12) suggests a new system of taxation, proposed in the “6th Draft of the Local Government: Property Rates Bill” which will be gazetted for comment in February 2000. This new system is imperative as the present rates climate encourages illegal use of residential properties for business by businesses claiming that less than a third of the premises are used for non-residential purposes, thus enjoying residential rates. Furthermore, the rates structure encourages Special Consent procedures, which only increasing rates payable on the use of the building and not the zoned use of the land. With these structures it is very difficult to bring about co-ordination when the most convenient rates situation promotes exemptions to the scheme which is intended to be the co-ordinating mechanism.

This Bill suggests that each municipality should adopt a rates policy and review it annually. However where the Bill fundamentally differs from the rates system in current use is that it provides for the assessment of the improved value of the property which is determined as, "...an amount equal to what the property would have realised if sold on the date of valuation in the open market by a willing buyer to a willing seller." This refers to the property as a whole rather than the market value of the site and is considered the best indicator of wealth and ability to pay in the absence of other, non-property criteria. Code 3 rating is based on a differential rating based on separate land and building values with rates on land twelve times those on buildings. This has an influence on the preference for special consent change by making it more convenient.
The Bill does not compel the levying of rates on the improved value, but gives the option to rate on the site value or to differentiate between rates payable on the sites and on improvements. Rates on land are twelve times rates payable on buildings for uses other than residential (Code 3), while the value of improvements are calculated by deducting the site value from the improved value of the property.

These reviewed rates will assist in achieving a more co-ordinated framework for areas undergoing such change.

Kearney and Harber, (1996: 16) also considered rates a particularly useful tool because in their opinion taxation offsets the need of the wider community to provide services. Reducing the rates on historic property sends the message that the community values the historical contribution to the general environment. The suggestion is the establishment of funds through rebates. For instance if a nominal rebate of 50% was to be applied, then 25% would be to the advantage of the owner, while 25% would go into a discretionary fund. This fund would provide for:

a) Low interest loans to accredited owners of listed properties on application.
b) Emergency buying up or restoration where there are no other courses of action
c) Interest from the investment of the fund could be used for general conservation purposes.

However, if such mechanisms are put in place then they should only apply to residential properties where residents cannot keep up with the upkeep of the historical building and where there is the danger of the loss of historical heritage. Mechanisms such as these, however are the rudimentary initial steps towards the public/private funds that have led to the successful North American precedents and a step closer to a more co-operative relationship between business and the local authority.

The major lessons that thus can be learnt from this study are that in order for these changes to be effective, there needs to greater co-ordination of legislation, fiscal arrangements and institutional departments. Areas need to
be identified where the impacts occur and are the root of conflicts of land uses and thus these can be treated to co-ordinate land uses.

Furthermore, there needs to be a recognition at the authority level that these processes are inevitable and that it up to the planning body to facilitate and guide the process by means of a flexible framework, rather try and contain development by means of isolated, localised interventions. In this way the inherent economic potential of these areas can be harnessed to create successful mixed use environments.
CHAPTER 5

5.0 CONCLUSION

The research problem initially considered was that in spite of the authority's resistance to changing land use, change has occurred without pre-considered planning guidance. There have therefore, been implications which need to be identified in order to provide a platform for appropriate strategies for future development. In order to attempt to find a solution to this problem, the processes experienced by the land uses have been explained in terms of overlapping processes of residential development and office decentralisation as a result of market forces. The effects of these changes have then been described by means of a case study. Thus in conclusion, the answers to the research questions that were initially spelt out are provided.

In terms of land use change, a very specific land use mix has resulted, as a result of a number factors and in spite of local authority resistance. The Town Planning Scheme that has been applied is a high density residential zoning has been applied in a blanket fashion. Ancillary uses are allowed by special consent, however these ancillary uses have now overwhelmed the area through the special consent process.

In reality the Florida Road spine is mixture of a number of upmarket commercial uses. These uses are arranged in cluster areas along the length of the street, each with a dominant land use with different levels of impact. There is a major entertainment cluster, a shopping node and residential and office clusters. The small professional offices that have been attracted by the accessibility, neighbourhood quality and upmarket appeal of the area are an important component of the office decentralisation process to areas such as the north Berea. This process overlaps the lifecycle processes that older, historical areas naturally experience.

The Florida Road area is thus currently in the 'Recapture' stage of its development, where a residential area faced with decline is revitalised by
business. Thus the flourishing of a unique commercial precinct is inevitable and should be expected.

In addition to the office uses there are a number of restaurants and boarding establishments such as small hotels and bed and breakfasts that cater for a niche market. There are also a number of clubs, bars and backpackers lodges that cater for a younger group of patrons. These places have established themselves in this area to take advantage of the "trendiness" of the area. However it is these activities that other land uses fear will lead the area to lose its upmarket appeal.

In terms of shopping, there is a primary nodal area consisting of a grocery store, chemist etc in a fairly large cluster, however the shopping activity is primarily in the form of showrooms visited by a small number of clientele. Thus in terms of land use, the area has been redefined as an area visited by upmarket clients for a range of specialist activities.

Residential land uses are still well represented though, with a number of high density residential structures along the length of the road. There are very few single dwelling units, as the majority have been converted into offices.

From these land uses the following stakeholder groups can be derived. The residents are represented by a few single dwelling units and medium to high density flats. In terms of commercial land uses there are restaurant and hotel and club entertainment owner stakeholders with their patrons and office professionals and their clients. Furthermore, the local authority is intended to manage the juxtaposition of all these land uses and their interaction with each other.

The interaction of these land uses produces a number of effects for these various stakeholders. The restaurant and entertainment activities generate a great volume of cars that are forced to park along the street and into the service lanes. This in turn results in accidents of cars exiting these service lanes by colliding into the high speed traffic that travels at a great speed down
the straight stretch of Florida Road. Furthermore, as a result of the presence of expensive vehicles and their similarly expensively accessorised owners, petty crime in the area has increased and residential properties have been targeted by these thieves. Furthermore, parked vehicles of restaurant patrons often block the vehicular entrances of offices and residential properties. The parking and vehicular issues are thus the most pertinent management issues.

Residential complaints relate to the clubs and bars that produce noisy early morning revelry, while the partygoers often litter the area with polystyrene fast food debris. What the residents thus object to is not the commercial uses, but the nature of some of the businesses that in their opinion detract from the upmarket appeal of the area. Thus activities such as the relatively quiet, professional image offices are welcome, whereas the clubs are not. In reality the residential land uses enjoy convenient access to a wide variety of high quality amenities, within walking distances. In spite of isolated complaints, these residents enjoy the fruits of mix use living environments.

Thus the council's concern for the preservation of residential amenity was justified in part, as it is this quality that has defined the area's character. There was also a valid basis for parking capacity apprehensions. However, the isolated manner in which the effects of land use changes were attempted to be contained, only contributed to the problems that the area now faces. There was no co-ordinated management of the new vehicular volumes and the authority's fears were realised.

The local authority was shortsighted in its view that the area would remain residential by means of the certainty offered by its Town Planning Scheme or that this quality would be preserved by exclusively residential land use. The business intrusion has in fact allowed the quality of the street to be maintained by prevention of the natural decline of this older historical area. The residential land use of the area has become an anachronism. The area is presently rather a complex mix of commercial and residential uses, which while reaching a saturation point without appropriate management, yet harbours a
great deal of potential. Thus, what is needed is the effective management of the new identity of the area that has arisen.

Initial reasons behind the resistance to the changing land uses was the retention of the local council's image of an absolutely residential area, protected from the disorderly effects of other land uses. Commercial uses were intended to be confined to the Umgeni Road corridor with an interface zone that separated the commercial/mixed use area and residential land uses. These early approaches to planning were blindly followed, with the reasoning and rationale of many early decisions and approach lost and forgotten. The result was that decisions were in actual fact interpretations of the rigidities of the Scheme. It is only recently that there has been a bending of interpretation of the rigid Scheme, revealing that there has been a gradual recognition of the changes that have occurred. This recognition and an attempt at a more proactive approach have been brought about by the appointment of a new executive director.

The recognition is that due to market forces the area has taken on a life of its own and thus the original rationale according to which the Scheme responded has become irrelevant. There have been many factors that have led the area to become what it is today. The protection of listed building made it impossible for residential owners to keep up with the standard of maintenance that could be achieved by businesses. In this way businesses used this opportunity to establish themselves in an area with an image that their clients could identify with and that was accessible to them. Furthermore, the rates conditions made it more convenient for businesses to be zoned as residential, by gaining Special Consent for commercial activities.

What this approach has achieved is that the residential scale and environmental quality has been preserved, with the refusal of high scale and high density development which would detract from the qualities that initially attracted the new land uses.
As a result of the recent history of the area, a likely process of change can be plotted. The office decentralisation trend has not yet gained as much momentum in Durban compared to the rest of the country. It is therefore anticipated that this trend will continue, not only in Florida Road, but also the rest of the north Berea. Thus it is only a matter of time before the few dwelling units along Florida Road are converted into offices and the only residential land uses that will remain will be the existing flats. It is important that this process of change be accepted as inevitable and that the area should be effectively managed in order to realise its full potential without losing the essential qualities that make it unique.

It is clear that there are planning implications that emerge from these processes. There are recommendations that can be made for the area both physically in terms of mix of land uses, parking, access, architectural aesthetics, pedestrian linkages etc and in response to management issues. These findings can also act as a platform for planning measures that could be applied to other areas undergoing similar change.

In physical terms the area could benefit from the slowing down of traffic by means of a speed limitation and speed reduction devises such as speed tables and artificial speed bumps in the specific problem areas. Furthermore, the area could benefit from planting, which could further facilitate the slowing of traffic, while articulating better defined parking control. Greater attention should also be paid to the pedestrian environment. The prohibition of traffic from the area would not be beneficial in terms of the spatial pattern of the area, as it would only push the existing volume into the residential pockets behind the street.

However, these innovations mean nothing if they are not applied within the context of a realistic policy regarding this area that is mindful of the interests of all stakeholder groups.

The departments involved in the decision making process need to better coordinate with each other and with the residents and business owners in the
area. This will only occur if the potential of the area is recognised in terms of tourism and the kind of businesses that have occurred. Co-ordinated action can lead to many communal benefits such as communal arrangements for parking and security.

This co-ordination stretches further than localised decisions for the area to rates climate in which development occurs. Reforms in the tax structure will contribute to development in a co-ordinated climate rather the encouragement of exemptory actions.

A single local authority department that monitors the equilibrium in the area should facilitate this co-ordination. This department should ensure that the land use balance of the area is maintained by allowing a manageable ratio of each land use to each other. It should also ensure that new development conforms to the architectural scale and language of the area.

This process of change has resulted in a number of important lessons with general guidelines and recommendations could be applied to such change elsewhere. It needs to be accepted that the nature of the older residential areas is changing to mixed use office, specialist shopping areas. Thus a more flexible town planning scheme that accommodates levels of intensity is necessary. The inherent potential of these areas must be recognised so that sensitive localised management of these areas can occur with attention paid to their unique qualities, rather than decisions made by means of a series bureaucratic procedures. However, at the same time there should be a clear realistic vision for these areas in terms of a flexible management framework so that local authorities can manage these areas effectively. If this can be achieved then these areas have the potential to be positive mixed use environments for business owners, clients and customers and residents.

The issues relating to the Florida Road area are like the rubic cube described by Serageldin (1997: 5). There are different facets of conflicting effects of land uses and stakeholder perceptions. Like a rubic cube, aligning one facet can
undo the matching of the other faces if the problem is not considered in a holistic manner. In the same way, the Florida Road area has the potential to be a well balanced, vibrant mixed use area if each facet is recognised and dealt with in terms of a defined vision of a co-ordinated whole.
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http://www.toronto.com:Bloor-Yorkville
APPENDIX A
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADDRESS</th>
<th>CURRENT USE</th>
<th>DATE OF CONSTRUCTION</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>COMMERCIAL COLLINGWOODS</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Single storied commercial frontage of the Union period with colonnade to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pavement with alternating columns and piers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>COMMERCIAL - HEAD - START HAIRDRESSERS</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Edwardian group of residential flats in red brick, plaster and tiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Considered to play a townscape role.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>DWELLING</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Single storied house of the Edwardian period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>COMMERCIAL: TRUST TELEPHONE CORPORATION</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Two storied Edwardian house with front and side veranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>QUARTERS HOTELS</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Two storied building, originally a house with articulated front veranda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>102 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>Single storied gabled Edwardian house with veranda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>118/120 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>Single storied semi-detached houses of the Union period with veranda and Cape Dutch Revival gables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>124 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>Single storied gabled Edwardian house with veranda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>136/140 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>Two storied Edwardian commercial/residential building with two floors of verandas to two streets. Considered to be of townscape significance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>178 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>Two storied Edwardian house in Baroque revival style with arched revival verandas on two sides.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>198/202 FLORIDA ROAD</td>
<td>Significant two storied Victorian commercial frontage with veranda on two floors.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>204/206 Florida Road</td>
<td>Single storied Victorian commercial building with cast iron veranda over pavement.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>223 Florida Road</td>
<td>Two storied Victorian house with two floors of articulated front veranda.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>241 Florida Road</td>
<td>Single storied Union period house with pyramidal roofs and verandas under lean-to roofs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>284-288 Florida Road</td>
<td>Union period Gothic revival church. Of historical significance.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>295 Florida Road</td>
<td>Significant two storied Edwardian villa with gable and two verandas in timber.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>303 Florida Road</td>
<td>One of three Edwardian villas in a group. Gabled two storey with corner veranda in timber. Group and townscape value.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>304 FLORIDA</td>
<td>FABRIC LIBRARY</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROAD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>309 FLORIDA</td>
<td>STAUCH</td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROAD</td>
<td>VORSTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>324 FLORIDA</td>
<td>APPLETON</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROAD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>330 FLORIDA</td>
<td>RESIDENTIAL:</td>
<td>1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROAD</td>
<td>DUPLEX FLATS -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>366 FLORIDA</td>
<td>RESIDENTIAL:</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROAD</td>
<td>FLATS - JAMESON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22b</td>
<td>366 FLORIDA</td>
<td></td>
<td>1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROAD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kearney, 1984: 95 -101, 131, 136, Survey: Rezoning Division
APPENDIX B
Florida Road Land Use Questionnaire

1. What activity/ies do you perform in the area?
   - Resident
   - Student
   - Business owner
   - Business employee
   - Client/customer
   - Other (please specify)

2. What is your age?
   - 0 - 16
   - 16 - 24
   - 24 - 35
   - 35 - 50
   - 50 - 65
   - 65 +

3. During what times are you generally present in the area?
   - 24 hours a day
   - 7h00 to 17h00
   - 17h00 to 21h00
   - 21h00 to 0h00
   - 0h00 to 7h00
   - Occasionally

4. What are your main reasons for performing these activities in this particular area?
5. What are the main disadvantages of performing these activities in this area?

________________________________________

________________________________________

6. Which of the following do you experience difficulties with?

☐ Lack of parking space
☐ Difficult vehicular access
☐ Traffic noise during the day
☐ Traffic noise after hours
☐ Security
☐ Other after hours disturbance (please specify) ________________________________
☐ Other (please specify) ________________________________

7. What other activities do you perform in the area? (E.g. shopping, buying lunch etc)

________________________________________

________________________________________

8. How often do you perform these activities?

☐ Regularly
☐ Occasionally
☐ Seldom

9. At what times do you perform these activities?

________________________________________
10. Do you consider this a safe area to live/work
☐ Yes
☐ No

11. Is it important to you that the historical character of the area be maintained?
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't care

12. Do you feel that the Florida Road area is:
☐ A pleasant well balanced living and working area that functions smoothly
☐ An area with potential that requires control and intervention by authorities to smooth out problems caused by the mix of activities
☐ A lively area that should have remained residential with unwelcome new activities
☐ An area that completely does not function

13. What do you like the most about the area?

14. What do you dislike the most about the area?

15. What changes do you believe need to be made in the area?