CONFLICT MANAGEMENT WITHIN PLANNING

PROCESSES

(CASE STUDY – CATO MANOR)

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION: THE CONTEXT OF URBAN RESTRUCTURING

The South African apartheid cities were shaped partly as a response to the beginning of Apartheid system in the 1940s. In order to protect and enhance the interests of its white constituency the National Party government drew on past policies of racial segregation and spatial management to restructure and entrench more deeply the racial city. The process of urbanisation was blocked and racial groups were channelled into clearly defined spatial zones within the city or, in the case of illegal entrants, removed from the cities to rural homes or resettlement camps in the homelands. The urban landscape shaped by apartheid planners and bureaucrats of the past shaped the city largely for the benefit of whites. The challenge of the non-racial future is to somehow mould the present landscape towards a more equitable, viable and liveable form.

The structure of cities however, is the product of various other factors, for example, shifting economic and social processes and the appropriation of various overseas approaches to urban design and planning. It is important to understand these forces and processes that have shaped the South African cities in the past and that have brought them with a whole gamut of structural problems. Today, a substantial proportion of the urban poor is located in informal settlements mostly on the urban periphery (Hindson and McCarthy 1994). These and other informal residential areas that accommodate the urban poor tend to be dormitory towns with little commercial or industrial activity. Due to this peripheralisation, the labourers inevitably have to travel long distance to work thus incurring a heavy social and economic burden in the form of high transport costs.

More recently, there has been a proliferation of informal settlements occupying pockets of vacant land within the established urban fabric close to employment opportunities. This process has happened as peripherally located households have sought better access to employment, social services, shopping and the ability to utilise survival strategies (Briggs 1994). With the collapse of apartheid controls and institutions of neo-liberal reforms in the 1980s, the cities have already moved towards new forms of social inclusion and exclusion. It appears that the barriers between middle income Whites, Indians and Coloureds have quite rapidly fallen away and considerable integration at an economic and social level has taken place. Following the recent dropping of the Group Areas Act, there has been some residential de-racialisation but past patterns have largely remained entrenched (Maylam 1990).

The process of racial integration within the core city areas has gone ahead in a context where the vast majority of Africans of all income groups and social classes remain trapped in the peripheries in shanty towns, townships and close to but outside new, increasingly defensive, middle income housing estates. The questions that now confronts the cities are whether it can shift off this path and meet the challenge of re-integrating communities of all race and class across the spatial divide between core and periphery. The new patterns of inclusion and exclusion are resulting in new forms of conflict as different racial and income group find themselves living in very close proximity, no longer kept apart by apartheid buffer zones.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

As indicated, many forces have shaped the existing spatial forms of South African cities, but the state intervention to ensure strict urban racial segregation has been a significant factor. Indeed, analysis of the processes shaping the development of apartheid urban forms provides important insights into the politics of urban development generally in South African cities.

Specifically, the role of relationships between race, class and location in the politics of urban development is thrown into sharp focus by a consideration of the history of efforts at forging patterns of urban apartheid. Such insights, in turn, are useful within the context of contemporary debates on the perceived nature of the post apartheid society, particularly the restructuring of the fragmented cities. The urban geographical literature is replete with different interpretations of the historical origins of racial segregation in South African cities, that is, the "colonial" origins of urban racial segregation in South Africa. Essentially it is argued that, wherever colonialism had developed, the master-servant of colonial social relations has required "spatial distancing" of the residential settlement patterns of the coloniser and the colonised.

Residential segregation, in this view, became a necessary, symbolic demonstration of the "otherness" that is central to colonial system of political domination. However, in the 1990s, there is at least a rhetorical emphasis on spatial integration of cities. While there can be little doubt that broader class struggles have played a significant role in the development patterns of urban racial segregation in South Africa, the analytical problem still remains, that the system of class relations has hardly been unique to South Africa as it is evident even in developed countries such as USA and UK.

Although urban racial segregation has not been unique to South Africa, it remains clear that it has assumed a specific form here. The specificity became particularly evident in South Africa during and after the 1940s, when the Group Areas Act was implemented. This Act required the strict residential segregation of four groups recognised in terms of the population Registration Act (White, Coloured, Indian and African). One, however, wonders how feasible it is to reconstruct a divided society through racial-class accommodation also in finding new ways of living together.

Implicitly, therefore, Dewar (1990) identifies the Group Areas Act, as one of the key axes of national power block versus popular class alliance formation during the 1940s. It should be noted however, that it is not simply conflicts between racially defined residential groups which have been the basis of both political mobilisation and local state intervention over human settlement pattern, or "who lives where" in the South African city. **However, many conflicts have to do with urban poor communities and those whose property values are threatened by the presence of the former in their doorsteps.** The concentration of informal settlement is obvious and visible, at the same time it is a source of continuing stress in race relations because of (amongst other things) lack of facilities. How then does the planning process stop the future creation of islands of privilege and semi-exclusivity, which will become explosive issues in the non-racial politics of our future cities?

The repeal of the Group Areas Act has undoubtedly introduced new facets into the process of residential patterning in South Africa. The demise of the Act has, however, had little effect (at least in the medium term) on the major ongoing trends of urban residential location (McCarthy: 1988, 1990). These trends include the movement of middle to high-income blacks into formal settlements on both the urban fringes and on vacant land within urban areas.

Recent events on the periphery and in the inner cities of the metropolitan areas nevertheless point to great changes under way in the process of urban expansion in South Africa.

(a)   With the partial disappearance of land reservation, there is an encroachment of informal settlement and an invasion by Indian buyers of the land that was predominantly owned by the white lower middle-class, as there are whites that have limited financial means for further residential mobility.

(b)   In the African market particularly in Durban Metropolitan Area the lower middle classes prefer to move to areas such as Phoenix and Newlands West, while middle classes have moved to Pinetown, Westville, Waterfall etc. It has become obvious, however, that the informal settlements will be the shelters of the poorest of the poor for now and a few years to come.

The growth of informal settlements particularly has occurred outside proclaimed African townships and has emerged near high-medium and low-income established communities. This invariably sets the scene for actual and potential conflict.

This study's primary objective is to explore the conflict, and conflict management process in an area where the process has been happening - Cato Manor. Dealing with this issue is not only for the advantage of professional urban planning but more importantly for achieving community co-existence and development in post apartheid South Africa, and particularly in Durban Metropolitan Area.

1.3 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The sub-objectives are to:

- assess the varied responses and attitudes of communities living in formal housing to recent growth of informal settlement nearby.

- assess attitudes towards possible community integration through the planning process.

This study will cover both the residents of established communities in Manor Gardens and Bonella, and residents in informal settlement in Cato Crest, all of which are in the Durban Metropolitan Area. All races in South Africa – Blacks, Whites, Coloured and Indians - of both sexes, of high, middle and low-income levels and of differing educational backgrounds will be included within the study. This study hopes to make a small contribution to this process of nation building.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

In a period of transition and reconstruction in South Africa, the question in the minds of some progressive urban planners is: **Can desegregation and de-racialisation of urban space really be achieved through planning processes?** This is an important question particularly in view of limited progress in achieving spatial integration. This issue will not be dealt with fully in this dissertation. Only one aspect will be addressed, that is, the role of conflict management in reducing divisions between neighbouring communities. However, this is an important element of the broader concern.

The question posed here has particular relevance to Cato Manor. For many years there have been serious problems between the residents and leaderships of Cato Crest, Bonella and Manor Gardens. Cato Crest is a large informal settlement within the Cato Manor urban complex, while Manor Gardens is a well-established mainly White upper and middle-class area. Bonella is a predominantly Indian residential area adjacent to Cato Crest and very close to Manor Gardens. This means that the future of Cato Crest inhabitants is very linked with the other two areas. Inevitably, Bonella's population and leadership need to be a part of the possible conflict management within the planning process.

In order to have deeper insights into the possible causes of the current conflict between the dwellers of the informal settlement and the established communities, the key question the researcher poses is: **how conflict management could be achieved through planning processes and how this could be applied to the existing problems between three communities in the Cato Manor area, that is, Manor Gardens, Cato Crest and Bonella?** Answers will be sought in the field through an empirical research process. This exercise is expected to assist professional planners in utilising the most effective strategies to be adopted in the planning process in order to achieve community integration through conflict management in a hitherto racially torn society.

Also, the present study will seek to establish the roots of the problem and possible implications for the future planning processes and above all, the ideas, attitudes and wishes of the people and leadership of these areas for the peaceful resolution of the existing problems. The first question a researcher needs to ask in today's South Africa is whether there is need for a study of this kind. In this case the topic under examination is of value to the researcher, planners, the communities and the wider society, for the following reasons:

Locality Pla
Cato Mano

N

Glenwood

Manor Gardens

Cato Crest

Bonela

Wiggins
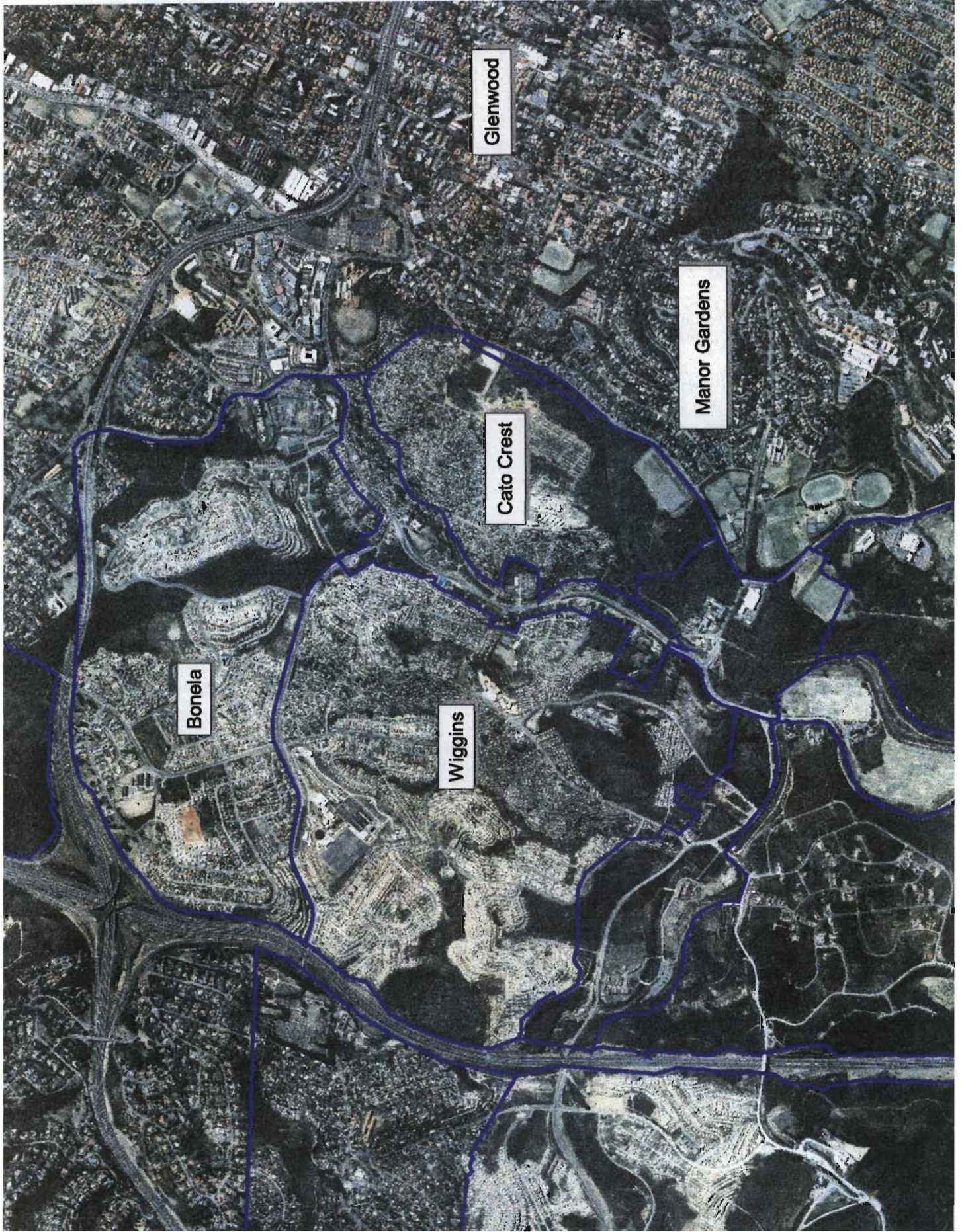
- Firstly, is important to the researcher in terms of professional interest.

- Secondly, is a real problem that needs thorough examination and investigation because of the potential damage it can cause to communities in conflict.

- Thirdly, is felt that the communities involved will hopefully benefit from the findings, can be made accessible to the leaders and the people of these areas.

- Finally, It is felt that government and civil society organisations involved in the developmental project will benefit (Durban Metropolitan Council, the Cato Manor Development Association, the development and other committees as well as the resident committees, etc) from some of the findings of this study.

The study is, however, only a number one of studies undertaken in Cato Manor. Its significance is in the particular way in which it addresses the problem, that is, through the lens of conflict management and the planning process. The problem under scrutiny is localised, but also national and international in its scope. Internationally, informal settlements built adjacent middle or working class areas, be it Brazil, South Africa or Mexico, create tensions associated with criminality, health hazards, environmental degradation etc. This means that the problems facing Cato Crest, Manor Gardens and Bonella residents, although particular in the context of local conditions, are not unique in their international set up. It is hoped therefore, that this study might make a small contribution to a better understanding of these widely experienced burning issues.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

There have been many debates amongst social scientists regarding the relative (or sometimes "absolute") "supremacy" of either qualitative or quantitative research. It has been stated (correctly) that there have been endless accusations and counter-accusations against each other by the "opposite sides" (Rudner 1982: Newton-Smith 1981). In saying that, it must be stressed that quantitative operationalisation relies on "specificity", "exactness", and "measurements", while the qualitative is characterised by varying interpretations, "rich and not rigid", meanings (Barber 1990). Researchers and theorists of research methods have pointed out that the way differences between investigators conducting their research in one of the two "ways" rely on the following:

(a) It has been said that those who use quantitative methods "impose" a "system" a "structure" and an "end" upon a phenomenon, a problem or an event. This could be a structured questionnaire, a psychometric test, an IQ test, a scaling exercise etc. (Babbie 1989; Barber 1990; Bernstein 1983).

(b) The qualitative researcher needs to be involved in the study of the phenomenon. On the contrary the quantitative researcher is more or less far away from the phenomenon and the subjects of his/her research. In qualitative research the "subjects" of the research speak for themselves while the researcher becomes more and more involved with them. Researchers utilising quantitative methods tend to be more "technical", "technicists", "outsiders" while the "qualitative" researchers are not afraid to be a part of the process, to get the first hand information and to utilise their "sociological imagination" more than utilising technical/statistical

knowledge. They prefer to study and, thus the "process" rather than the "products" becomes important (Bernstein 1983, Abrahamson 1983).

It becomes obvious then that the debate concentrates on the (contentious) issues of "objectivity" (associated with quantitative analysis) and subjectivity (associated with qualitative analysis). There can be however, successful combinations of the two methods whereby an "integrative" approach is used, that is, a combination of the two approaches. In an attempt to be integrative, the following approaches and steps were followed during the fieldwork.

1. An interview schedule, comprised of open-ended questions, was prepared. This method/tool of data collection combines the quantitative and qualitative aspects. While there would be quantitative patterns in this process the open-ended nature of the questions would give the opportunity to the respondents to open themselves and express their opinions, perceptions, ideas and attitudes in an open and non-restricted way. Their responses were not confined to a "yes" or " no", "maybe", "strongly agree", but were be related to their feelings and ideas. Thus, the analytical, innovative, that is, the "subjective"/"qualitative" side of the researcher, was allowed to come to the fore, although combined with the quantitative aspects. (The schedule is included in the dissertation as an annexure).

2. The interview schedule was first tested in a pilot study in all three areas under investigation. In this process several double barrel questions were eliminated. The wording of the questions was double-checked during the pilot studies as a common interview schedule was used in all three communities. Given the different historical backgrounds and present social positions of the prospective interviewees,

it can be gauged that the scrutiny of the schedule was of great importance. The first step of the pilot study was initiated in Cato Crest and continued in Manor Gardens and Bonella. The changes made in this process were important. The questions in this process became simpler and crisper, without "leading" or "double-barrel" bias (Gorden 1980; Bailey 1987).

3. It was impossible to interview all residents in the areas under investigation; carefully selected sampling units were to be utilised for this study. In all cases, (Cato Crest, Bonella and Manor Gardens), the sampling population is confined both geographically and numerically. The Cato Crest population consists of people who live within the physical and geographical boundaries of this informal settlement, while the Manor Gardens population consists of people who by definition reside in the formal dwellings in the said area. The "sampling units" in this case were adults (between 18-65 years of age), of which the sampling is accepted as a norm and procedures by researchers for quantification research (Sellite et al 1985; 419-425). The same process occurred in Bonella.

4. It was decided after the pilot study of the interview schedule that 90 people would be interviewed (30 from each community). These excluded the interviews with the leaders in the respective communities. Different sampling methods were utilised for the three communities:

(a) In Cato Crest the sampling procedure was based on the use of computerised household registers in the offices of the Cato Manor Development Association. These were also in the possession of officials of what was known as the Cato Crest

General Council. All households in Cato Crest are included in these registers. Cato Crest has eight districts/precincts. These districts were used as "clusters". Three people from each "cluster" were selected in this sample by using the "systematic sampling framework". This means that all households in all clusters were given a number, "X" number was randomly selected. Thus, two sampling techniques were used to select the interviewees from Cato Crest ("cluster" and "systematic"). Many substitutes were also selected as previous research has indicated strong absenteeism in the area during the day (Mantzaris 1996).

(b)   In Manor Gardens a simple random sample was utilised, as this is a formal neighbourhood. The Durban Metropolitan Property Valuation Rolls were used. In these, all existing properties are listed. Numbers were given to the households in the boundaries of Manor Gardens and the prospective interviewees (as well as a good number of substitutes were selected by computer due to un-welcoming attitude towards the researcher by some heads of household during the pilot study.

(c)   In Bonella, systematic sampling was used. After all roads and houses were counted in the area, every X household was chosen in every fourth road. This system guaranteed that all sections of the area would be represented. Following problems identified and ironed out during the pilot study, it was decided that the perceived "head of household" would be interviewed. In the Manor Gardens area females (especially White and Indian), were not willing to be interviewed. In Bonella, Indian women refused openly to be a part of the study for several reasons (amongst others, fear, ignorance etc).

Also, in Bonella, the researcher encountered suspicions by the residents, thus there was initial reluctance to participate. However, it must be noted that during the period of the empirical research many residents of this area had problems with Durban Metro officials regarding rates and selling of various Bonella properties.

(d) In Cato Crest (where unemployment is rife), the interviews were conducted during the day and in this instance several women who were classified as "heads of households" were interviewed. Zulu language was used for Cato Crest interviews, and English language for White and an Indian interviewees residing in Manor Gardens and Bonella respectively. These choices were due to socio-historical circumstances. The research assistants were trained and also those who conducted the pilot study. They were present during the interview, asked the questions (in Zulu or in English) and noted down **verbatim** the answers of the people. Several problems surfaced during the survey. As expected in Cato Crest, nine substitutes were used as five selected household heads refused to participate and four were absent. In Manor Gardens six substitutes were used because the selected interviewees refused to participate. In the same area the researcher encountered problems with vicious domestic animals.

(e) Participant observation was utilised as an observational qualitative method of data collection. This is an important step to qualitative analysis because observation takes place in the "natural settings". For example, the researcher's participation at a Cato Crest mass meeting regarding future housing development is of importance because observation takes place for several hours. In such a situation the researcher did not only analyse the words and mannerism of the Durban

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Metropolitan Mayor but also the behaviour and expressions of the participants. In such gatherings a smile, applause, a verbal expression can mean more than a long personal interview. Of course, the analysis and the sociological planning imagination, which is an integral part of it, is a matter for the researcher to undertake. Observation takes many forms, which have been examined thoroughly by several theorists (Hammond 1989; Lindsey and Aronson 1985). Participant observation in its ethical parameter requires that the researcher notify his/her subjects of the expressed intentions. This was done in the case of the present research and some of the leaders of the communities were aware of the researcher's intentions. This was obviously a prerequisite as interaction with participants was of vital importance for the success of the projects (Babbie 1989). The role of the researcher was not concealed, precisely because the relations within community settings would have been unsuccessful. It was perceived that the researcher would move freely amongst all the three communities; thus direct observation took place. Casual interviews with respondents and leaders took place during these instances.

Observations during these periods were noted down and recorded. Occasional notes of conversations were dotted down **after** they took place, and were transformed into comprehensive field notes later. The casual conversation between the researcher and many interviewees led to various changing perceptions already created in the mind of the researcher. They also opened new paths of understanding. Here is where the sociological and planning imagination of the researcher is called to revision, rethinking and re-interpretation. The researcher participated in mass meetings of the people in Cato Crest as well as in informal meetings in Bonella, where the problems of the area were discussed.

Interviews with leaders of all groups were valuable sources of information. Leaders in these communities are the political and ideological mouthpieces of the people they represent. Although the questions asked were the same as those asked to the lay people, additional meetings with them gave the researcher an opportunity to expand the questions, answers and understanding of the social settings and context. In the conversation with people living in these areas, it surfaced that their leaders had a much clearer idea of the dynamics at work than the ordinary people. Thus, it was decided that in the Cato Crest constituency, the leaders in the Development Committee which still exists today should be interviewed as well as leaders involved in the now defunct Cato Crest General Council.

This proved to be very difficult as some of the key leaders in the latter have left the area. However, several leadership figures in the community were interviewed. In Manor Gardens, the key leaders were those involved in the Residents' Association and are accepted as such by the CMDA, the Cato Crest leadership, especially through the "Social Compact Agreement". In Bonella, the people in the area accepted the two leaders interviewed as such. Initially there were several problems in all groups especially related to suspicion, but the final aim was eventually achieved.

(5)   The study of primary and secondary documents was of great value to the study. Some of the primary documents (such as minutes of meetings etc), were of immense planning and historical value. These were obtained from various academic and leadership sources. As the situation in the Cato Crest Informal Settlement is still today highly volatile, anonymity was guaranteed to various sources if this was specifically requested. This was not always the case, as several leaders did not have any problems with the mentioning of their names.

However, confidentiality was nevertheless guaranteed to them. Amongst the documents scrutinised for information were the minutes of the meeting between the various stakeholders in the area especially associated with the Cato Crest "Mayor's Committee". Also included, are minutes of the committee chaired by Durban Metropolitan Mayor, Mr O. Mlaba, and reports of technical and research companies which have done research in the area, as well as the assessment and needs studies of a scientific and professional nature etc.

1.6 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Chapter two forms the conceptual framework of this study. Here the theoretical, conceptual and empirical literature on conflict and conflict management as well as planning processes is presented. Principles drawn from international conflict, the context of South African conflict, local dimensions of conflict, planning ideology and planning processes, the role of planner in society, and various political contexts in which planning practice is undertaken, are reviewed. Chapter two explores those concepts related to conflict and conflict management within planning processes and their influences on planners' role. This chapter also set the context in which planning practice in the past took place. In this regard, it also identifies problems regarding planning processes in the context of current political development of which arises from the past practices. The chapter is informed by the debate about the role of planners in the current context and how the community is brought into planning process.

Chapter three examines the case study by outlining the background to the case study, the origins of conflict in South Africa in the broader context, a brief background of conflict in Kwa-Zulu Natal region, the dimensions of conflict in Cato Manor (Manor Gardens, Bonella and Cato Crest). Also, how they manifest themselves as well as how they influence planning processes. Chapter three also deal with recent developments in Cato Manor, also comprises the comparative analysis of attitudes of different communities towards these recent development in Cato Manor including general information collected from other sources.

Chapter four examines and evaluates the influence of both planners and communities on conflict management within planning processes and the role of planners in the current context. It also

analyses and presents the implications of these attitudes on planning and urban development processes in Cato Manor, and in general.

Chapter five presents a synthesis of the research process. It concludes the study by drawing upon the relevant literature and the case study in the formulation of summate arguments together with recommendations for the appropriate context where conflict management within planning processes could be beneficial and fulfilling to both communities and planners.

CHAPTER 2

CONFLICT FRAMEWORK: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING PROCESSES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the theoretical basis of the present study and explores conflict and conflict management, as well as planning processes and their relationships to conflict management.

"Theory... is the blueprint we use to assemble the bricks of fact and experience into the coherence structure of understanding... theory is not only a basis for understanding the world around us, it is also the foundation for developing skills and tools needed for application (Alexander 1986:2)".

As these (conflict management and planning processes) are the key elements of this research effort, it must be said that considerable attention needs to be given to these complex phenomena. Conflict and conflict management presents a difficult phenomenon. They could be local, national or international, macro or micro conflicts, on a large scale or a small scale (Singer 1982; Rotberg 1971). Planning processes also varies significantly, and has different mechanisms to deal with conflict.

2.2 CONFLICT AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Conflicts arise out of disputes between two or more parties. Even the most local of those conflicts may have wider significance as it has become accepted internationally that local disputes have turned into national struggles, especially in Africa (Zartman 1985; Singer 1982; Rotberg 1971). Africa has been the centre of inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic, class and ethnic disputes throughout its

existence. The increasingly expanding and sophisticated literature on the continent points that conflicts arise mainly (but not exclusively) over three issues:

1.   The struggle/conflict over resources, especially when the resources are scarce and socio-economic inequalities are very wide and obvious (Kriesberg 1991, Zartman 1985).

2.   The definition of self in the struggle for self-determination. This obviously is not in terms of national states but also regions or localities. (Pruitt and Rubin 1986; Harberson and Rothchild 1991).

3.   Ideology and competing social systems. This can take place at national, regional or local level (Zartman 1985; Bercovitch 1984; Mantzaris and Edigheji 1996).

Conflicts take different forms and they are based on different root causes. Their content differs, as do their effects (Zartman 1985, Harbeson and Rothchild 1991). Conflict at all levels undermines societal stability and it is detrimental to social cohesion and communal unity. Conflict is synonymous with destruction of human relations, turmoil and destruction of resources. It is usually associated with wastage of human and societal energy, misplaced priorities and loss of valuable human resources (Kressel 1989, Mitchel and Webb 1988, Bercovitch and Rubin 1984). However, if conflict is well managed it could have productive consequences and lead to social innovation and new relationships.

In South Africa conflict has taken various forms at national, regional and local levels. Conflicts arising in relation to physical space have been both complex and universal. Homelessness and informal settlements as well as, ghetto areas are phenomena to be found throughout the world from Cairo to Cape Town and from New York and Rio De Janeiro to Lagos. Economic and class

relations associated with land and housing do almost inevitably lead to conflict. Societal formations such as the State and Local Bureaucracies, Private Developers, Non-Governmental Organisations etc, have paid serious attention to potential conflict associated with such phenomena and have attempted to solve them through different levels as a form of conflict management.

Conflicts, however, are diverse and complicated. The elements of politics, ideology and economics are intertwined to a large extent and psychological, group and individual priorities also "intrude" into these processes (Bercovitch 1984, Kressel 1989). Conflict has been described as a form of competitive attitude and behaviour between individual people or groups of people. In many cases when national states or groups of states are in conflict, this can take many forms. In our particular case, the conflict which will be analysed and scrutinised is on a relatively small scale and has to do with attitudes, ideas, perceptions, behaviour and actions of individual people and group of people (Coser 1956, Boulding 1962, Axelrod 1984, Moore 1986).

L. Coser, a leading social scientist in his time examined not only the critical significance of conflict but also its empirical / material connotations and showed that conflict when (and if) tackled constructively can be proved to be just a simple resolvable dispute. This can in the long run have positive outcomes in establishing relations between conflicting groups. Such an eventuality can dialectically lead to ultimate (or medium to long-term) problem solving, communication improvement as well as positive changes in attitudes, ideas, perceptions and behaviour on the part of the groups or individuals involved (Coser 1956; Galtung 1975). However, this positive outcome of conflict is not always realised.

It has been said time and again that conflict can be seen as "natural" to the very existence of humans and group relations. Of course there are conflicts in small groups, (such as families), as well as at different levels of society (Pruitt and Rubin 1986, Burton 1987). Conflict is after all an everyday phenomenon. There are historically changing circumstances and realities, changed ideas and perceptions; new behaviours; new objectives tasks and strategies of the conflicting parties. These are some of the key fundamental issues that produce, generate and perpetrate conflict (Kressel 1989 and Pruitt and Rubin 1986).

Conflict can be as a result of stereotypes, misunderstandings, misconceptions, but also the effects of material interests or deprivation, lack on abundance of resources, as well as human emotions which tend to keep people and groups of people apart instead of together, for instance, in a hostile attitude and mood towards one another (Zartman 1985; Zartman and Toural 1989). For many years conflict has been one of the most well-researched topics in the social sciences because it has become topical due to the on-going turmoil in the world. It has been said that it only takes a spark to start the fire, the same statement is true when applied to a conflict situation, as could be the case in Kosovo in the Balkans of Europe or Eritrea and Ethiopia in Africa.

A number of authors have provided us with guidance in assessing the nature of conflict of various levels including the local. A composite of a number of useful questions is provided below:

1. a) What are the issues associated with the conflict? How complicated are they? Can they be solved fast? If not what are the reasons?

   b) Which are the parties involved? What are their strengths and weaknesses? What are their social/ historical roots? Are they prepared to seek a solution/ resolution to

the conflict? What is the quality of their leadership (when groups)? Can the leadership play a key role in the conflict resolution and management?

c) Can they be solved through conflict resolution mechanisms identified in other similar situations? What is the role of the leadership and/or management in this process?

d) What is the exact nature of the conflict and issues surrounding it? What are the possibilities of a compromise and consensus?

e) Are there underlying needs and interests of the parties, which in the short or long term inform the positions of the parties? What is the nature of these? How deeply are they rooted in historical circumstances? Are the "opposing" groups aware of these needs and interests? What are their own positions regarding them?

f) How has the conflict been expressed? What concrete manifestations have taken place? How severe are these and how determined are the parties/ groups to continue on the conflict path? How prepared are they to compromise, so a resolution of the conflict can be achieved? How determined are they to reach compromises?

g) What are the historical circumstances surrounding the parties? What have their relations been? Are they prepared to learn from their historical strengths, mistakes and weaknesses as well as similar historical experiences?

h) What are the perceptions, attitudes, ideas the parties hold of the conflict, its roots, development and repercussions and their relationships with themselves? Do they see themselves as equally responsible for the conflict? Do they see themselves as blameless? Do they perceive the conflict as an endless process?

Are they prepared to accept conflict as a phenomenon that can be resolved? How much are they prepared to help in the resolution of the conflict? In that, how prepared are they to change possible negative perceptions of the "opposing parties"/ groups?

i)   Is the conflict escalating? If this is true what are the reasons? What are the repercussions? Are there any possibilities of a resolution of the conflict? Sourced from (Kriesberg 1973, Pruitt and Rubin 1986, Kressel 1989, Zartman 1985).

Local conflicts (as mentioned earlier) take different forms and have varied root causes, hence their effects are different for the populace and the geographical area where they occur. The key presupposition of every conflict management process is the mutual belief of all parties involved that there must be negotiations, goodwill, understanding and subsequent consensus and peace. Thus the extensive and thorough theoretical and empirical exploration of concrete conflicts and conflict processes at local level have pinpointed several key aspects of "successful conflict management":

1.   An understanding of the aims, objectives and visions of the parties/groups involved in the negotiations and their mutual belief that goodwill needs to be the order of the day.

2.   The understanding of the aims and objectives of all parties involved but also their "adversaries".

3. A common understanding of the existing material realities associated with the problem, especially their economic, cultural and social dimensions. All these were based on the historical circumstances of the country.

4. An understanding of the instruments associated with the process of conflict management (De Bono 1986; Gulliver 1979; Ury et.al 1989). Understanding the key concept in the process of conflicts through "negotiations".

2.2.1   NEGOTIATION PROCESSES

Negotiation, is a very crucial concept and a useful process, the backbone of conflict management and resolution, its heart and soul. Negotiation is a mechanism, a process of attempted problem solving in which people, groups or other entities in conflict discuss their perceived or real differences voluntarily and attempt to reach joint decisions on their common concerns. In most cases the ideal end would be the complete or partial resolution of the conflict. This is achieved on many occasions but not always (Moore 1986; Boulding 1962; Axelrod 1984).

Negotiation is a multi-faced process where the participants need to identify the issues of difference, while they educate each other about their needs, interests, vision, beliefs and ideas. Possible settlement options needs to be identified and debated upon and bargaining over terms of a future agreement need to take place. This is an elaborate process. Negotiations are based on the understanding that parties/groups in conflict need to define their existing and past relationships. (Fisher and Ury 1983, Deutch 1973, Galtung 1975).

It is understandable that such particularities can be achieved (in most cases) in local societal conflicts much easier than at regional or national levels (Singer 1982, Pruitt and Rubin 1986).

However, there have been material situations, even at local level, where negotiations could not solve conflict problems. There were serious intervening factors, which played a role in such eventualities. It has been said that local conflicts in many cases have become phenomena that are so multi-diamentional that very serious and intensive research is necessary (Harbeson and Rothchild 1991, Mantzaris and Dlamini 1997).

2.2.2   MEDIATION PROCESS

There are many methods of conflict management/resolution besides negotiation including mediations, conciliation, adjudication etc. One of the most common methods is mediation. This is the intervention into the dispute/conflict or the negotiation process of a mutually accepted, neutral and impartial person /party/group who in the final analysis has no definite power to make decisions in this process. His/her main objective is to assist the parties in conflict to voluntarily reach acceptable codes of conduct, and ultimately an acceptable solution and/or settlement of the conflict (Zartman and Berman 1982; Toural and Zartman 1984).

Overall it can be said that although peace and conflict management practitioners have developed commendable skills, theories and practices, they are in the end reactive, and not pro-active. The question is can they be proactive? At what level can social-political analysis in contemporary society "project" conflict situations in a world and a country where the social, political, economic and ideological really intertwine in an almost explosive mixture?

There are sources of conflict which lead (or will lead) to future conflict behaviour, but there are also "intermediate" factors which can be catalysts, aggravators or moderators. One could say that

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the theories of conflict as a "structural" or a "process" phenomenon fail to grasp the sheer complexity of historical, social and other factors evident in conflictual processes. The structural theory/model suggests examination of underlying conditions "effects" on "events", or parameters that shape conflict behaviour (Walton 1969).

2.2.3 PROCESS MODEL

The "process model" examines the internal dynamics of conflict events and episodes and studies them in a historical sequence. Methodologically one can say that it follows a "case study" sequence of analysis (Ruble and Thomas 1978). Conceptually and theoretically the two "processes" appear different on the surface, but in fact both of them fail to address the burning complexities of localised conflict/s and the intertwining of social, economical, historical, political and, of course, human and psychological factors. The key empirical component of both "processes" is the sequence and analysis of "events", the "process" and the "structures". Let us examine a hypothetical/theoretical situation as follows:

Although there can be speculation on an informal settlement residents patience regarding the infrastructure and or housing development in a localised environment and given the process of "negotiations", how can a sudden "invasion" of the houses of a formal residential area by the Informal Settlement residents be explained? Are they not psychological, (individuals and/or group) dynamics instrumental in the process of such a development?

Theorists based on these processes fail to pinpoint the importance of factors such as the inhuman degradation of large numbers of people in the informal settlement, or the activities or inactivity of

the organs of local government. Also, failure to pinpoint the vitality of scarce resources, the factual or perceived differences of diverse economic and social groups, as well as the significance of power relationships existing in many social set ups.

These theoretical constructs can be seen as guidelines for a limited empirical practice because they fail to grasp not only local particularities, but also significant manifestations associated with the ambiguities and complexities of conflict reduction versus conflict resolution. Also, universal prevention, bilateral management versus stubborn stalemate, possibility of a decision escalation versus the probability of a partial consensus (Kriesberg 1973, Montville 1989). These theoretical foundations can only become concrete realities in the painstaking process of empirical research and analysis.

Conflict situations arise in all societies as it is evident that, the overt or covert struggles between individuals or groups of people, interest groups, organs of civil society, genders, organisations or ethnic, racial or religious collectivises become a concrete reality because of competition over access or/and of opportunities or resources (Simmel 1986, Giddens 1989). In most cases conflict is not institutionalised, especially under conditions of poverty and degradation. The pluralist view of conflict accepts that although there are competing interest groups in society, there is always a possibility (and/or probability) of resolution of conflicts via "consensus societal acceptance", "law and order etc". This means that society herself and its institutions themselves are able to regulate economic, political and/or economic conflicts (Worsley 1987, Wright 1978).

2.2.4. CONFLICT MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES

Conflict management on the other hand is based on the understanding that negotiations and consensus between individuals or groups can lead ultimately to a fundamental agreement on common basic values. The consensus based upon shared values is the key foundation upon which conflict management and resolutions are based (Eldridge 1985, Welford 1986). For conflict management and resolution to succeed the acceptance of a legitimate authority is an important issue, either in the legal or national sense. The key component of conflict management is the acceptance of fundamental rules to be followed in the process of negotiations between parties, groups or individuals (Coars 1989).

Conflict management relies very extensively on the **causes** and **processes** of conflict as well as its repercussions. There could be relationship conflict, data conflict whereby different groups of people come to a conflict situation through misinformation or interest conflicts, which occur basically through competition, conflict of interest etc (Boulding 1986). Structural conflicts are caused by people outside the conflicting groups and are difficult to manage (Eilers 1978). Of course conflicts are processes which result from various historical and other causes. They are initiated by competition, tensions and could culminate in a seasonal temporary or permanent crisis (Warfield 1993).

The theory and practice of conflict management identifies many ways of resolving conflictual situation as the component of such a process. Negotiations are processes whereby individuals or groups in conflict voluntary discuss their differences and attempt to reach consensus and joint decisions for their own benefit. In the spirit of negotiations the individual or groups redefine the

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old relationship/s which do not work to their satisfaction and attempt to create new relationships based on new relationships based on new found understanding and solutions (Eilers 1978). There have been various theories analysing pattern and styles of negotiating, the most important being the "competitive" and the "problem-solving". The competitive is the pattern whereby the negotiator uses various behaviour and strategic styles, which indicate manipulative aspirations, arrogance, and maximisation of gains from the "opposing side" and confrontation.

On the other hand in problem-solving patterns the negotiation mainly focuses on the things that are common to competitors, its objective is to use persuasion instead of threats and aspires to an inclusive and transparent agreement acceptable to all parties concerned (Brubeck 1992, Fisher 1985). Negotiations take many and varied forms and these depend principally but not exclusively on the nature of the problem. There could be vested interest negotiations, external, conciliatory, sidebar, sub-committee bilateral or multilateral (Lincoln 1992, Burley – Allen 1994).

These conflict management-negotiating techniques have found the empirical manifestations in different conflict situations at local, regional and national levels. Professional communicators, negotiators, mediators and peacemakers have been trained throughout the world and thousands of non-governmental organisations are in the business of practising conflict management. The conflict management literature has been so enriched by facilitation decision-making, where the groups of conflicting participants are enriched with substantive and procedural experts who are instrumental in good and solid decision-making and the analysis of ideas. The provision of new ideas, multiple options and the redefinition of concepts and proposals are of paramount importance (Moore 1986, Deutch 1988).

The mediation process, long being accepted as key pattern of conflict management is based on the principle of interaction, acceptability, impartiality and neutrality of the mediator. All mediation success or failure depends on the level of the dispute/conflict, its historical roots, causes and repercussions. Mediation, as all other mechanisms of conflict management depends on the designing of the proper, concrete general strategy, the role of the agenda and the attention to details associated with all issues (Hare 1986, Axelrod 1988).

This section identified causes of conflict at different levels of society, as it is sometimes disastrous, but then it has sometimes positive outcomes. The role of historical, economic, political and ideological dynamics related to conflicts were outlined as well as their roots, forms and issues of conflict management such as negotiations, mediation, conciliation and adjudication. Theoretical issues concerning the causes and processes of conflictual situations were examined briefly within the complicated parameters of both theory and practice.

Conflicts at all levels are detrimental to human potential and development in some cases. This is why various methods of conflict resolution and management have been tried and applied with varying rates of success throughout the world. Inevitably, these processes are inextricably linked to planning processes within any given society.

Urban planning internationally and in South Africa in particular is a terrain of various conflicts. The next section will attempt to identify these processes and their theoretical manifestations and importance.

2.3 PLANNING THEORIES

Urban planning is a complex process as the various participating stakeholders are many and diverse. It is inextricably linked to the various political, economic and social realities of a locality, province or a country.

The various participating stakeholders are planners, state (local, provincial or national) bureaucrats and officials, private companies and above all the communities affected by it. There have been various theories of the planning processes, which will be examined, in the following pages although not in considerable detail, due to the limitations of space. It needs to be stressed that although understanding of these theories and their potential practical application on the ground is of vital importance, it is also important to know how processes of conflict management for example, negotiation, mediation and adjudication can be incorporated within planning practice.

For researchers and practitioners alike, the divisions between theoretical, analytical and procedural debates regarding planning processes are not just stimulating professional discourses, but real and practical questions of significance, which determine the intellectual and humane aspects of planning. Planner/s could be an individual (or a group of individuals or firms) who are at no time isolated from the political, economic and social forces operating within society, and as societies change rapidly so has the planning profession (Kiernan 1983; Paris 1982).

Inevitably the planner has a direct, diverse and (in most cases) highly complicated relationships with the state and its organs as well as equally intriguing relationships with the "market forces".

For these reasons alone the study of planning process is of major value especially in the context of conflict and conflict resolution.

At present the increasingly complicated issues of legitimacy, accountability and in fact efficiency also demand the stabilisation of existing inherent or created contradictions in the arena of planning. Thus, planning processes and planners have gone through various stages of development of the theory in particular historical conjunctures and in different societies due to the key theories of planning which were prominent in the 1960's and 1970's throughout the world. The "rational process" view is still prominent among many professional planners and consultants in South Africa.

2.3.1 THE RATIONAL PLANNING THEORY

According to this theory, urban planning is based on rational problem solving, completely alienated from the political and ideological terrain of society. This process can be seen as "politically neutral". The theorists and proponents of this process believe in a balanced and orderly arrangement of land uses and a better and clean physical environment which ultimately leads to a "civilised and healthy life" (Foley 1980; Lucy 1994).

In this sense these processes are bases on a rationalist, linear process, where the planner is instrumental in looking after the "interests of the community" thus the protection of society values are of great importance (Klosterman 1985). This process presupposes a combination of technical experience and know-how as well as ideological matters associated with human values.

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In this procedure the <u>whole community</u> is serviced by the professional/ planner in an "orderly manner", where the <u>whole public interest</u> is served. In addition to that, what is paramount in this process is the scientific rationality and integrity of the planner in this process, which in turn guarantees the advancement of the public interests of everyone (the state, the various groups and the community at large). The rationality is deeply embedded in the efforts of the planning process to be an orderly, uninterrupted development, removed from the existing realities and contradictions inherent in the terrain of spatial and other dynamics of an urban environment (Burchell and Sternliel 1978).

The ideological basis of such theory and practice in planning process is individual choice, whereby both the planner and the community around him/ her are seen as isolated from the social economic and political forces surrounding them (Harvey 1961). Such planning process was seen as the effort of individuals/ professionals attempting to solve social problems by planning for the society with a healthy physical environment, spatial harmony, and an orderly rationality based on strict procedures, of a scientific nature. This process and the theories surrounding it seem oblivious of the social (economic, political, ideological) contradictions inherent in contemporary society.

The notion and reality of a "unitary common interest" has been challenged not as a purely consensual outlook to society, but as an idealist fantasy (Kiernan 1983). The reality is that the class and other economic, political and ideological interests existing in most modern societies make such processes highly questionable.

Planning as a rational process carefully - thought regarding procedural process, where planners are professionals looking after the common interests of society is in today's world as abstract as the notion of a "unitary common interest". Common interest in reality does not exist, precisely because there are numerous "specific interests" associated and intertwined with the planning process such as the "state", "the market forces", "the mediators" "the community", "the unemployed", the marginalised" etc.

According to the above theory, planning is "apolitical", its main purpose is to provide a "service" of high acceptable professional standards accompanied by a high degree of scientific rationality (Alexander 1979; Moore 1978). By utilising the values of "scientific rationality" and accepting the importance of a unitary common interest, the planner thus avoids getting involved in public affairs; because he/she restricts his/her involvement to the "demands" of professional, rational advice.

However urban planning processes are not purely scientific phenomena affecting collectivities or groups of human beings with contracting ideas, economic status culture, traditions and values. It is argued then that planners themselves are humans with the above-mentioned virtues. Planning could easily be a matter of value judgement, precisely because the planner is not isolated from his/her own ideas, visions, culture etc., which are ultimately shaped by societal forces. In every sense of the word the "technical" is highly political, as is the "professional" and the "rational". More and more "political" phases of planning processes point to the fact that citizens should have a certain degree of influence over matters important for them such as planning. Hence they have basic rights in becoming aware of policies, strategies and practical applications of planning which have a direct effect on their lives.

2.3.2 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING THEORY

In the 1970's the democratic flexible planning process substituted the incremental one and communities were certainly involved. The ideas of "a better society", "adherence to the democratic principles" etc. (Laburn Peart 1991) became important before the neoliberal disaster of the Reagan, Thatcher era entered. The "democratic" approach advocates the involvement of the community at some levels of consultation and decision making because their lives are involved and will be determined largely by the success or failure of the planning process. Ultimately the "public" (or the "community") participates within the planning process at different levels of commitment and decision - making while thus in the 1970's flexible planning process involved the communities at the certain levels. Community participation with linear modification does not give the opportunity to the wider public to make really significant interventions in the process (Gans 1968).

The theoretical and practical ideas regarding the planner, the planning process and "the community " or the general public vary, precisely because there will always be differing interests involved at various levels of society (Healy 1996; Gans 1968). The "democratic planning" has been also called "collaborative planning" because it allows the participation and collaboration of citizens in the planning process. This takes various forms, especially when there are face-to-face meetings between planners and members of the community in order to debate and iron out possible differences (Healy 1996). However, collaborative planning presupposes a community that is aware of the political, economic and social dynamics. As associated with the planning process, additionally, the planner is required to be politically and socially alert to the realities if not only of the clients/ community, but also the sensitivities of the state (national regional

provincial or local), the various economic interests (possibly conflictual) of institutions and constituencies etc. (Fanstein and Fainstein 1971).

Collaborative planning involved negotiation debates and discourses at various levels of participation and decision making within the democratic planning process. Such situations gave impetus to the theory and practice of planners as mediators. The idea of mediation in the planning process applies basically to life circumstances where competing interests exist. On many occasions within the planning process there could be details leading to direct or indirect conflict between people (individuals or groups). The building of a bridge in a peri-urban wine- producing area is likely to have diverse effects for ordinary residents and wine- producing farmers who can see the labour of a lifetime destroyed because of the prospect of the building of the bridge.

In such situations, planners, who are instrumental in studying the viability etc. of the bridge, could mediate between the groups and play (potentially) a crucial role in solving the problem. Unless of course, there are other institutions and people involved in such circumstances (i.e. politicians, developers etc). Mediation is a concrete step in the planning process and in order to succeed the social, political, spatial, cultural and other differences (or similarities) amongst people, need to be examined thoroughly. In the mediation process the planner, whose ideal is to be instrumental in a democratic planning process is not the rational scientifically-driven professional operating in isolation and driven by the correct scientific procedures. On the contrary, he/she is a part of a team and his/her specialist knowledge can be utilised especially in cases where his/her experience and know-how can solve problem. This can lead to a successful and consensual solution to complicated dynamics associated with the planning process. (Fagin 1970, Alexander 1979).

As a mediator the planner comes in direct contact with state bureaucrats at all levels of administration and the state (local, regional, national), the leadership of communities with varied understanding of many and complicated dynamics, developers and agents of the market forces etc. These institutions and people in most cases have diverse and contradictory interests, which are in need of a person (or persons) who is/are capable of intervening in the political, social and planning process.

For the planning process to continue after successful mediation, the planner needs to have several important virtues such as to be a thorough and understanding communicator, a careful mediator/negotiator and an impartial broker. He/she needs to have a solid experience in community organisation and politics, role playing capabilities, good management skills, an interactive personality and outlook to life and other technical skills.

It is this important role of the mediator that possibly prompted Forester to write his seminal article "Critical theory and planning practice" (Forester 1980:275,286). In this article, Forester explained his theory and practice of communicative planning, where he said openly that in planning practice, communication is political. The structure of the planning process reflects for Forester, a systematic patterning of communication and thus influence levels of community organisation, citizen participation and autonomous, responsible citizen action.

Forester was one of the first academic planners to give impetus to the "forgotten" sociologist of the German School of Critical Theory, J. Habermas and the theory of critical communications in society. Thus Forester's work on communicative planning strategies touched not only the theoretical "nerve" of planning processes, but also the empirical side of them. For a mediator who

operates within democratically set decision making process, who hopefully will produce a consensual decision on the road ahead, then no distorted, legitimate communicative skills are of immense importance.

The highly complex circumstances surrounding a mediation / negotiation process is well known to Forester who was involved in an 18 month serious research of such processes before he put pen on paper (Forester 1980: 275-276). The "enabling rules" advocated by Forester (1980: 278-279), inevitably lead to organising practices which in turn are determined by "truth", "legitimacy" and "(mutual) sincerity". These norms of pragmatic communication should be followed and not be taken for granted.

Different circumstance demand strategic decisions communicated and debated thoroughly and truthful face to face, organisationally and in relation to political/ economic and social structural realties. In the final analysis technical and political debates, decisions and actions intertwined are reviewed whether they are successful or not in the planning process itself and are tested in practice. Forester has shown beyond doubt the practical aspects of the planning process, whereby, the planner is not only a rational, scientific professional but also the person who cultivates community networks and, is prepared to listen carefully and absorb the concerns and interests of those involved in the process. Also, educate communities about the processes, develop skills amongst the most disadvantaged members of the community, encourage active participation and truthful, honest communication amongst groups, identify and help in setting up community led projects which will be of great value to people etc. (Forester 1980:282).

For Forester and his followers communicative planning practice was a synthesis of pragmatics with vision, which could reveal true alternatives and spread involvement, engagement and action which could lead to democracy in practice. A mediator's role is something which can be seen as some politically relevant, but in fact "neutral" in the strict ideological sense of "taking sides". A mediator is involved in disputes and potential conflict situation trying to find the "correct balance" between those on the "two sides of the table". In this process there is of course potential participation of the community, possibly at all levels if the mediator is prepared to study, research and examine carefully all sides on the ground. A mediator would do his/her job properly if he/she deals honestly and directly with the leaderships of groups and communities. However, he/she would become obviously more knowledgeable if he/she attempts (and succeeds) to involve citizens from the grass roots of these communities - those people who face the everyday problems associated with the technical, political, economic and social aspects of planning.

2.3.3   ADVOCACY PLANNING THEORY

There have been theories of planning, whereby professional planners to attach themselves to the less fortunate sectors of the society, the workers, the homeless, the poor, the marginalised, the "wretched of the earth". Planning processes, according to "advocacy planning theory" should be structured to serve the suffering, the victims of poverty and prejudice, and planners themselves must use their professional advise and expertise to assist these groups. It has been said that such groups which also include the disabled, the aged, the children etc. find it extremely difficult to be a fully fledged members of the democratic process, hence, advocacy was nothing less but an extension of the democratic process. In this planning process the planner/s either work with Non-

Governmental organisations (NGO's), and/or Community based organisations (CBO's) or directly with community organisations.

In this process the advocate/ planner represents the interests of the community especially in cases where the community is under-represented in the democratic process, or they do not have the know-how to speak for themselves. Planners, therefore, have the opportunities to delegate the existing or future problems of the community to the relevant authorities (local and/or provincial as well as national government). In such situations the planners can come into direct conflict with the official authorities, given the fact that communities in most cases do not have the necessary resources to support such efforts.

Advocacy planning, then, is all about commitment to the under-dog and relentlessly attempts to put their case/s on the map. In the larger body politic throughout the world, poor and marginalised communities are more or less "left out" of the political process, and it takes a great level of dedication on the part of the advocacy planners to identify with views, positions and priorities of these communities. In the planning phase of such nature, the advocacy planner pushes for the active participation of the communities in this process and not a passive acceptance of conventional planning wisdom. Fagin (1970) sees advocacy planners as visionaries whose main priority is the education of poor communities, which in turn bring participatory democratic processes. The advocacy planning has been criticised as limited and highly idealistic. The most important criticism was the limited influence on the "key-keepers" and decision-makers (Goodman 1971).

Advocacy planners have had in their history good intentions. However, they soon realised that their efforts were frustrated by one fundamental truth in a society where in most cases the pillars of political and economic power are in the hands of the elite. In a case where this type of society exists, there cannot be a possibility for a serious and sustainable interaction (Goodman (1971: 212-214). However, there have been several successful efforts in advocacy planning especially when advocacy planners achieve proper co-operation with committed NGO's and CBO's. In the U.S.A spearheaded by planner Davidoff, advocacy planning took advantage of the turbulent 1960's with the student rebellion, the civil rights movement etc. The USA was always a pluralist society, where the rational planning procedures and the "unitary interests" were the common norm in planning theory and practice. Davidoff and his associates challenged the existing wisdom and advocated the full representation of the disadvantaged communities in the democratic process, and hence the democratic planning. The sought to articulate the demands of the marginalised groups through an open partisanship both in theory and practice (Davidoff 1965). Davidoff believed that all shapes of opinion and ideas within society should be incorporated within the planning process with special emphasis on the disadvantaged. Davidoff (1965) has given some examples of advocacy planners in his seminal article on planning and class interest. These planners operated near urban ghettos where they could be on daily contact with the poor communities, consult with them and educate them. Others worked at institutions of higher learning.

However even within the advocacy school various streams of thought developed as Heskin has written (Heskin 1980). This was inevitable as different theorists and practitioners had their own ideas on planning, the structure of society and economy, various levels of commitment of planners etc. Additionally even poor communities are highly socially stratified and there are inherent contradictions even within them.

In Britain, "Planning Aid" also played a role in advocacy planning, because it tried to involve communities in the planning process by informing them on dynamics associated with it, relating experience to community organisations, sharing experiences with them etc.

Through these activities it was believed that relatively marginalised communities would become better acquainted with the various dynamics associated with the democratic and planning processes. Planning Aid attempted to challenge the onslaught of that cherite neo-liberal capitalism and achieved several important milestones such as its acceptance by the Royal Town Planning Institute in 1985 (Briggs 1994).

2.3.4 CONCLUSION

There is a key relationship between conflict and planning processes, as well as the role of the planner. In these realities, conflict resolution and management are, as already shown, processes where the conflicting parties attempt to solve their existing, past or future problems with the help of expert professionals. It has been previously indicated that conflicts generally take place because the conflicting parties have contradictory interests as a result this leads to unresolved situations.

In a conflictual situation involving the environment, space, housing and the public interest in general, it goes without saying that planning and planners have a role to play. In such a process, inevitably the planning process and the planner will operate at several levels (that is, technical/ professional/ advisory/ neutral/ mediator). Planning is above all a scientific applied and applicable process where technical and public interest levels are of equal importance. This is

precisely because planning processes and planners need to be an integral part of land, housing and environmental affairs from the start. There is no doubt that land-use planning, infrastructural boundaries, land and building surveys, site inspection, capacity of existing or future infrastructure, private and or public developmental project management are to be supervised research and implemented with the help of planners and a scientific planning process.

If these principles are not followed, conflict situations amongst parties with different social economic or spatial environmental, cultural agendas might arise. In this case, legal constraints and regulations are of significance as planning process and planners cannot function outside the legalistic procedures and parameters set by political elite. Despite (or possibly because of) such regulations, conflict arise, which in turn, demand management and resolutions. In such processes, planning and planners can and should play an essential role.

The key aspect of planning and planners in a scenario of conflict management and resolution, is that of a mediator. "Conflicts are created when competing interests come to a lead between different groups and various mediators are needed to lead the way to negotiations and the ultimate compromise" (Healy 1996). Planners as mediators and the planning process have a special position in the negotiating/mediating team. This, although mediation is principally a political process, practical situations throughout South Africa have shown that planners have played a key role in conflict resolution in conflicts among communities.

In Durban, several examples illustrate this point very well. In conflicts associated with spatial problems in Cato Manor, planners have been used for years as chief mediators (Interview with CMDA officials, Durban). In the boundaries issue of

Bushbuckridge (Northern Province), two firms of planners were used in the conflict between the community of the disputed area and the political parties participating in the Provincial Government (Mail and Guardian 26/02/1998).

The mediation process that leads to negotiations and management, the resolution of conflict must recognise key aspects of the conflict, that is, their political, ideological, cultural, economic and spatial or environmental nature. Conflicts arise out of differences, and the situation of boundaries between regions, suburbs, cities and towns have been in the news for the last few years. In such a situation, a planner does not only need to utilise his/her technical expertise, but also political sensibility and skills. It is thus not strange that the South African government recruited a professional associated with Town and Regional Planning (Dr. M. Sutclieff) to head the Demarcation Board, which will identify the new boundaries for municipalities throughout the country. Planners were also involved in the negotiations by different political parties held in Kempton Park (World Trade Centre) of which the positive results led this country to democracy.

The new demarcation process is probed with problems that can lead to regional conflicts, the most potent being the conditions and functions associated with the role of traditional leaders. The mediation and negotiation process that can lead to conflict resolution can only be eased by the role of planning/planners. The latter as a professional, has the capacity to identify previously unseen options as described vividly by Fagin (1970). These options can be studied, examined and analysed in comparative terms so that their potential impact can be put into a spotlight.

Salient problems that possibly escape practitioners in other fields are uncovered by the expertise of the planners. The latter, because of the capabilities of planners to develop plans and proposals capable of reducing problems, while finding solutions for the management of conflicts arising

amongst groups. This can be achieved through skilful manipulation of personal, group and/or institutional relationships. Such a process has been described vividly by a researcher such as Alexander (1979), in his writing: Planning roles and Social contexts.

Such processes take into account various theoretical and practical expositions of planning associated with participatory and flexible principles. Healy (1990 and 1996) and Gans (1968) have elaborated intensely on the principles and applications of collaborative planning in a situation of conflict and pinpoint the prerequisites for such a process to become a success. A socially and politically alert planner only can become a successful and integral part of processes that lead to conflict management and resolution as Fainstein and Fainstein (1971) have shown.

Consensus can only succeed when the professional and expert virtues of the planner shine not only in the planning process, but also complicated conflict situations in need of mediation, management, negotiation and possible conflict resolution (Alexander 1979, Fagin 1970). Planners as mediators in crisis situations have been called "facilitators" or "managers" of change (Kraushaar and Gardels 1982). The role of the planner in the mediation process needs to be structured upon the virtues of solid communication, honesty, impartiality and compassion. Organisational, professional and political experiences are also of serious importance for the success of the mediation/negotiation process.

Communication of course, as mentioned earlier is one of the key aspects of both planning and mediation processes. Forester (1980) has masterfully exposed communication as a key aspect of the negotiation and mediation process, although communicative theory certainly goes beyond conflict situations. This theory, which was based on the communicative theories of Jurgen

Habermas, is the major exponents of the German School of Critical Theory. However, the principles of truth, legitimacy, sincerity and pragmatic communication must be seen as important (if not essential) ingredients of a conflict resolution process. Communication, however, cannot really exist without information, which is associated with the many and complicated facets of a mediation and negotiation process, such as, role playing, strategy and policy analysis, management skills, group dynamics and interactions etc. Information also means acquired knowledge of the groups and communities in conflict, without such knowledge, how can a mediator, facilitator play a significant role in attempting to solve the conflictual situation and built consensus.

The "correct balance" in a conflict situation is found only through the basic understanding of the "two sides", and the efforts of the planner to become the key person in the negotiations and mediation process among the leadership of the conflicting groups. In such situations, accountability of the planner in the mediation/negotiation process seems an inevitable step forward in the process of conflict resolution. Accountability is equal to the acceptance of absolute responsibility to act fairly and openly so that the situation can be solved.

All the theoretical approaches discussed are community-oriented. The focus is on enabling the community to have a voice in the public political processes, the participation of the community in the public political process and enabling the community to have an influence in the outcome of these processes. They also encourage the poor community to be empowered through the technical expertise and information possessed by planners. According to these approaches, the effectiveness of the planning process can be evaluated by its effect on community values, needs, interests, preferences, power and capacity.

The desired role of a planner is an area of a major concern to all approaches. There is a recognition that planning is an argumentative process, involving dialogue, debate, communication and often open to public criticism and therefore, political in nature. Accordingly, planners should not only be equipped with technical skills but also with politically oriented skills. Planners are also expected to play an interventionist and participatory role in the public political processes.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE STUDY

3.1 THE HISTORY OF CATO MANOR

Cato Manor is an integral part of the Kwa-Zulu Natal Province, which for many years has been in the forefront of not only the liberation struggle, but also conflict and violence. Thus the Cato Manor violence has been in many ways inextricably linked with violence in wider society. This brief historical background of conflict in Cato Manor and Kwa-Zulu Natal in particular will be looked at with an overview of the local conditions throughout the years.

Cato Manor was one of the great tragedies associated with the apartheid regime. In 1845, Durban's first mayor, George Cato, was granted land at Cato Manor, in compensation for a beachfront property, which had been expropriated for military purposes. Cato and his descendants farmed this land until the turn of the century, after which it was subdivided into a number of smaller farms. From 1900 to 1930, the landowners tended to hire out or sell plots of land to Indian market gardeners. By this time, isolated clusters of shacks occupied by Africans had begun to appear along the banks of the Umkhumbane River. Under the then Union's laws, Africans were prohibited from owning land or building homes in an urban area, and were regarded as "temporary" sojourners (Maylam 1989, Hindson 1987, McCathy 1988).

Several parts of Cato Manor were sold to diverse institutions such as the University of Natal, the White municipality of Westville and later to the (Indian) House of Delegates. The latter planned to deliver housing to Indians during the period of "apartheid's reform", following the Tricameral Parliamentary election (Edwards 1989).

Later many Indians developed strong commercially based market gardening enterprises on the land. Their products were sold in the Central Durban Market, but also throughout the city and its suburbs. Thus the Indian population increased considerably and in the mid-1930's, there was a strong community in the area where the different cultures, religious and social groups lived. There was a mixture of schools, places of worship (mosques, temples etc) as well as, halls, places of entertainment etc (Maharaj 1994: 3-5)

Cato Manor was incorporated into the municipality of Durban in 1932, which meant that the shack settlement became "illegal". However, the authorities turned a blind eye, and people continued to pour into the area. Indian landowners found shack letting to be more profitable than market gardening, and Indian businessmen set up shops and bus services. The end of the Second World War gave impetus to various social phenomena and processes, which had direct effects on the future of Cato Manor. The accelerating industrialisation process in Durban and surrounding areas created a demand for cheap labour (Mantzaris et. al 1996). This led to migration into the cities on the part of African people and Cato Manor became one of their favourite locations because of its proximity to the city centre and the surrounding industrial areas. These migration patterns increased considerably the burden on the physical environment and the scarce resources that existed in the area due to over- crowding (Maharaj 1994, Maasdorp 1977).

Indian residents sublet large parts of their lands to African tenants and this created problems associated with such economic and social circumstances (Makhathini and Hindson 1993:3-4). As the physical spaces in the area became more and more congested, the health situation deteriorated and the surrounding white and Indian residents felt threatened in several ways (Makhathini and Hindson et.al 1993; Mantzaris et.al 1996:13). The increasing commercial and financial

competition between Indians and Africans especially the petty traders created several problems and resulted in a proliferation of anti-Indian sentiments in the area, and feelings, which according to researchers had possible repercussions associated with the 1949 Anti Indian riots (Maharaj 1994; Chetty 1990). During 1943, the squatter population had swelled to 17 000 and by 1949, the so-called "Durban riots" broke out, following an incident in which a 14-year-old African boy was allegedly assaulted by an Indian man near Durban Indian market. This sparked off two days of anti-Indian violence, which spread to Cato Manor, where Indian-owned shops and houses were razed. Most of the Indian residents fled the area.

The "Anti-Indian riots" were utilised politically and ideologically by the segregationists of the National Party which had come to power in 1948 and gave impetus to the "well- oiled social engineer and apartheid which relocated and destroyed the entire community" (Mantzaris et.al 1996:13; Mantzaris 1997). However, it would be unfair to only blame the Nationalist Government for the ideology and practice of segregation as liberal historians have done. Mantzaris (1997) has shown that the Durban local authorities had almost perfected the system of segregation by not allowing African Urban settlers to be "active participants" in the fast moving urbanisation process.

Following the riots, in 1950 Indian landlords returned to collect rents, or let entire plots to Africans who then erected more shacks and sub-let them. By 1950, there were 6 000 shacks in the area, housing between 45 000 and 50 000 people. In 1957, government instructed the municipality to begin developing a new housing scheme for Africans at KwaMashu, and to set up a temporary transit camp in Cato Manor. Two years later, attempts to begin moving people to KwaMashu met with stiff resistance and tension in Cato Manor rose. Increasing pass and liquor

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raids led to the Beer halls Riots. In 1960, nine policemen were killed by a mob in the Emergency Camp. This event tipped the scale against Cato Manor, and the rapid clearance of the entire area began. In 1968 Cato Manor was left largely vacant and a few scattered houses, shops, the beer hall and several Hindu temples remained. Cato Manor has been for many years synonymous with Sophiatown in Johannesburg and District 6 in Cape Town as the prime example of urban destruction, dispossession, struggles and conflict. It has been documented over the years that Cato Manor was for years a non-racial community where people of all races and cultural, economic and social backgrounds lived side-by-side. This is precisely because its destruction has been characterised as one of the most heinous crimes of the National Party rule (Edwards 1989; Chetty 1990; Mantzaris et. al 1996). The location is generally remembered fondly by its inhabitants as a place of "multiracial" or "non-racial" harmony (Maharaj 1994; Maylam 1990).

There is no doubt that the National Party lawmakers emulated the early local legislation with more oppressive and ruthless fashion (Maylam 1989, Maharaj 1995). The passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950 and the strictest application of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 led the central and local state onslaught on African people in general and those in Cato Manor in particular. The tactics and strategies of the local state in Durban that is the white controlled City Council were to increase the "Market Value" of the Central Business District and surrounding areas and thus "clear" all these areas completely of blacks (Maharaj 1995). Thus the promotion of White ownership of property (business and residential) became the norm. It was only in 1958 that the whole of Cato Manor was declared a "White Group Area". This decision however, did not go unchallenged. White liberals and "left" groups together with Indian groups such as the Mayville Indian Ratepayers Association, the Durban Combined Indian Ratepayers Association amongst others, made representations, held protest rallies and sent memorandum for the 1958 declaration

to be withdrawn. All these attempts were met with failure given the determination of the local and central states to exercise their draconian legal powers (Maharaj 1994; Maharaj 1995). Thus all inhabitants of Cato Manor, with the exception of very few, were removed from the area after 1958. The Indians were moved to Chatsworth and Phoenix, the Africans to Kwa-Mashu and Umlazi.

The removal of thousands of Indian landowners and tenants from Cato Manor created severe problems and political responses within the community. The struggles of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress in the 1960's and the 1980's made Cato Manor as a non-racial area, a very important historical cornerstone of an emerging non-racial culture and life. There was some mention of the 1949 riots, but the "idyllic life" in Cato Manor was one of the popular urban legends which reinforced the unity of different sections of the United Democratic Front (especially its "Indian" and African component structures in Natal).

In 1960, nine policemen were killed by a mob in the Emergency Camp. This event tipped the scale against Cato Manor, and the rapid clearance of the entire area began. In 1968 Cato Manor was left largely vacant and a few scattered houses, shops, the beer hall and several Hindu temples remained. As stated earlier, by the mid-1960's the vast majority of people who lived in Cato Manor had been moved partly because of the construction of the national N2 freeway. Chesterville however, a more or less Formal African Township which was considered always an integral part of Cato Manor was not touched and its inhabitants continued with their lives. This possibly backfired for the apartheid regime, as Chesterville increasingly became a township of struggle against the injustices of the National Party regime. This township produced large numbers of leadership, rank and file activists, who joined military wing for example, Umkonto –

Wesizwe of ANC, APLA of PAC, the United Democratic Front and other anti-apartheid organisations in the years to come (Shabalala 1997).

It is true that the 1949 riots fuelled the strategies and tactics of the National Party to divide communities who were living together for many years. In 1979, the few remaining residents formed the Cato Manor Residents Association, to resist further removals and racially based housing developments. It was at that time that the Cato Manor Residents' Association was established to help the mainly Indian residents of the area. The Cato Manor Residents' Association (CMRA) was an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and had fraternal relations with the organs of civil society in the area (Chesterville Residents Association etc) Buthelezi 1995. It was during that period (around 1987) when the first squatters moved to the area today known as Cato Crest in the Belliar Road intersection. These were mainly refugees from violence in Inanda and other areas of Kwa-Zulu Natal. However, besides the Chesterville African residents there were approximately 300 Indian Families which remained in formal housing in the Cato Manor area while very few "Coloured" and Africans played for months and years "hide and seek" with the local authorities, the police, and later settled in Cato Manor. These people lived in areas around Umkumbane and Wiggins (Butler-Adam and Venter 1988). The people formed the nucleus of the new settlements that mushroomed throughout the area in the late 1980's.

During the mid-1980s, major portions of Cato Manor were officially identified for development for Indian people and some formal houses were built at Wiggins. The area was "rezoned" for whites and despite its proximity to the city and industrial areas. The belief in many circles that it was "prime land" and it remained vacant and underdeveloped for over two decades (Maharaj

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1997). Such a phenomenon needs several explanations and a proper contextual understanding of urban, political and economic dynamics. Early 1990s, waves of informal settlement occurred in Cato Crest

Although there were several demonstrations on the part of white people against the decision of the local and state authorities to rezone Cato Manor for whites, (Maharaj 1997). Many whites preferred to live in other areas as the urban planning of Durban offered possibilities to all sectors and classes of whites to "choose", unlike the African population. Thus working class whites had Hillary, Yellowwood Park and Seaview, while the middle classes had Glenmore, Westville and Durban North. Why move to Cato Manor, which besides its "historical stigma" was located next to Chesterville? There was relatively enough cheap land for whites to purchase without having to be neighbouring African townships. The apartheid machinery under the guise of the South African Indian Council (SAIC) intervened in the process of stalemate. This apartheid created body, negotiated for many years with the National Party hierarchy at national, provincial and local levels in order to convince them that, much could be achieved if Cato Manor was proclaimed an Indian area (Maharaj 1996)

This occurred despite the fact that the SAIC leaders were aware of the fact that ownership had become extremely fragmented with institutions such as the University of Natal, the Durban City Council and the (then white) Westville municipality having purchased portions of this land (Mantzaris et.al 1996). These realities made the efforts of the House Of Delegates more desperate as the institution suffered from a severe crisis of legitimacy in the eyes of the vast majority of South African Indians (Desai 1995)

After long and protracted debates and disagreements, the apartheid Government agreed to deproclaim the land for Indians. Several political analysts have examined this "change of attitude" regarding the area. It was strongly felt that Cato Manor was (once again), used as a "guinea pig" for things to come and a "bait" of the National Party to the largely discredited SAIC members. The Indian community at large, as the first signs of a "new dispensation" to be seen on the political horizon. The rezoning of Cato Manor and the "handling" of the future processes by the discredited SAIC, (and later the infamous House of Delegates), was not widely accepted by large sections of the Indian community. Many especially of the original inhabitants, who for many years had legitimate claims on the land they occupied before the Group Areas Act was enacted (Cato Manor Residents' Association, Declaration 1979).

The SAIC, after consultations with various "experts" decided that the land would be used for development of middle and upper class housing. This strategy had many facets as it was a vital step towards complete commercialisation and comodification of housing development which in the long run would only benefit building contractors, developers and people in the middle-upper incomes. This in essence means that the original residents would not have been able to afford (let alone claim) their lost properties. A movement, which gave impetus to a new era of mobilisation, was the Cato Manor Residents' Association (CMRA) which was established in late 1979. The CMRA was destined to play a key role in the development of the historical processes unfolding in the 1980's and beyond.

Firstly, it purported to represent all past and present residents of Cato Manor and their interests. In the meantime the SAIC made public its belief that sites throughout the area should be auctioned while there were moves on the part of local government and SAIC bureaucrats to evict the last residents from the land (Maharaj 1997; Shabalala 1997). The CMRA intended to struggle for the

suspension of all evictions of families from Cato Manor, promote housing for all <u>sectors of the Indian population,</u> stop all planned auctions and give preference to the Indian people who were evicted from Cato Manor for future housing development.

The CMRA had always-good relations with African Communities and their leadership (especially those in Chesterville), but initially it was obvious that they (CMRA) catered only for the present future and past Indians residents of the area. This was at that time understood, as there was almost no sign of the individuals, groups and mass invasions of African Squatters who were to follow.

The House of Delegates did not pay attention to the debates generated by the CMRA and initiated various middle income housing development projects in areas such as Bonella and Wiggins, which are situated in the Greater Cato Manor area. Both developments were failures in the residential market, as Indian buyers in the working class did not have the necessary financial resources to purchase such houses (Maharaj 1997). Although there were many challenges to the HOD bureaucrats to rethink their housing strategies and deliveries, they continued to build houses for the middle classes

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This proved suicidal as the newly arrived African squatters in Cato Manor were politically, ideologically and in many other ways no allies or sympathisers of the HOD and its policies. However while many Indian families had moved to the cheaper houses in Bonella scores of Africans had started moving in a clandestine way to various areas of Cato Manor, especially in Cato Crest and Wiggins. Their moves were initiated in the latter part of 1987 (Mantzaris et.al 1996).

The creation of the new informal settlement expanded significantly in the early 1990s , as time went by, there was a direct effect of many burning realities. The continuous violence took various forms. For example, UDF and later ANC against Inkatha and later the IFP, criminal and gang activity, poverty, unemployment, the increasingly deteriorating material conditions in many formal townships. Also, long distances travelled by the unemployed, lack of any developmental projects due to the questions regarding the way forward for the country even after the release of Nelson Mandela. Even during CODESA, the Bisho massacre etc. many people were forced to these settlements (Chistensen and Gumede 1993; Govender 1996; Habib and Pillay 1995; Mantzaris and Dlamini 1997).

There were several "waves" of newcomers especially in Cato Crest. In this area, houses were built in bushy areas and soon there was a set of new human relationships created amongst groups of people who had never met before. Different groups who had tried to escape the ravages of an unofficial war, poverty and degradation came together (Mantzaris et.al 1996). As their numbers increased, problems started surfacing especially in relation to their neighbours in the surrounding areas especially Manor Gardens, which was inhibited at the time predominantly by whites (Hindson, Gwagwa and Makhathini 1994). As early as 1990 and 1991 there were clandestine efforts on the part of the local state authorities to destabilise the new communities together with the police. There were several attempts to uproot the squatters and hard battles were fought in and around the area (Mantzaris et.al 1996).

Although the City Council authorities and the police were initially successful in destroying many shacks, in the end, the determination of the Cato Crest squatters and their numerous supporters

won the day. After an agreement with the city authorities Cato Crest residents won the victory that allowed them to stay.

Cato Crest residents were "allowed" not only to re-erect their houses but to be considered as an integral part of any future developments taking place in Cato Manor. This was a major victory fought by the leadership and people of the area united and without the "benefit" of a political leadership of a particular persuasion. It was a political struggle won out of unity and beyond party political lines (Mantzaris et.al 1996). The squatter leaders, however, also agreed that there would be no more group or individual "invasions" to the land, and subsequently all households in Cato Crest had to be numbered so that when development occurred they would be an integral part of it. Squatters saw the numbering of houses as reassurance of their participation in future development (Hindson and Byerley 1993)

Despite these agreements scores of new African people invaded various areas of Cato Manor, especially Cato Crest, most arriving in 1993 and claiming a stake to the future. However, the "negotiation" mood sweeping the country after the release of Nelson Mandela put into the fore several Indian and African individuals and groups who had more and real claims on the land as it belonged to them before the imposition of the Group Areas Act. They formed various organisations with the aim of reclaiming their land back under the forthcoming new dispensation (Maharaj 1997). The invasion of the Wiggins formal housing in 1993 by African squatters and others from Cato Manor and Chesterville gave new dimension to the present and the future. This formal housing was completed and was destined for Indian homeowners. The House of Delegates built the houses. The invasion made blatant several important realities such as the desperation of people for housing; the housing shortage in Chesterville and seeds of animosity between Africans

and Indians. The latter, was seen as beneficiaries of the HOD and in extension apartheid (Gigaba and Maharaj 1996; Hindson Gwagwa and Makhatini 1994).

Inevitably, these groups of invaders refused to move despite the condemnation of their action by politicians of all persuasions, media and the city authorities. When, however, it was established that alternative accommodation was found for the Indian prospective tenants, it become clear that it would be difficult to remove the invaders at least in the short term (Hindson, Gwagwa, Makhatini 1994). The Wiggins invasions indicated that the process of desegregation of the city was a priority which if not taken care of, it could create severe problems in the near future.

Reallocation of resources was also a matter of priority if a new urban future was to be built (Mantzaris et.al 1996). The Wiggins invasion pointed out beyond doubt the complexities of the situation after apartheid as the land claimants in and around Greater Cato Manor were both Africans and South African Indians. Both groups had suffered under the indignities of the Land Act, the Urban Areas Act, and the urban landscape was evidently not to be "equally shared". Planned development could not really be on equal footing regarding these two groups as ideological and political considerations of major importance came to the fore.

This latter reality could possibly prove to be one of the fundamental impediments for the future development of the area (Gigaba and Maharaj 1996:228-229). The ideal solutions for the solving of a situation such as this, would be to provide equal allocation of resources to all previously disadvantaged targeted communities in the area, who are obviously the bulk of the population of over 85 000 estimated inhabitants of Greater Cato Manor. The policy and strategy of the future planners for the creation of a non-racial, desegregated Cato Manor where sustainable development

would be the key for all people, was possibly reinforced by the invasion of the Wiggins settlement. The frantic plans of local, provincial and national states were shaped over a period of time as it was seen in many circles as a "key" area that would pave the way to the whole country as a vibrant example of a non-racial, multi-cultural, and developmentally sustainable life.

In these processes Non Governmental Organisations such as the Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA), the local and provincial states, the leadership in Cato Manor but above all the people themselves would be called to play a fundamental role. By 1992, the broadly representative Cato Manor Development Forum was established after lengthy negotiations and a Policy Framework for the development was formulated. In 1993, the Cato Manor Development Association was registered as a Section 21 Company to begin implementing the re-development of Cato Manor. The CMDA as the facilitating developmental agency will be examined in detail elsewhere as there will be various other fundamental historical and social issues that could not be covered in such a brief historical background to Cato Manor.

Segregationist laws have been scrapped; South Africa has moved away from apartheid to a new form of society. Cato Manor is a prisoner of the past looking at the future with great hope. It must be said from the outset that in terms of vision and especially planning the developmental project in Cato Manor is a highly complicated and emotional issue of major proportions.

3.2 CONFLICT IN CATO MANOR – CATO CREST, MANOR GARDENS AND BONELLA.

Following the first movement of squatters into Cato Crest in 1987 the residents of the mainly white, middle class area of Manor Gardens were visibly alarmed. They started negotiations with the Natal Provincial Administration and were very instrumental in the letters attempts to evict the squatters for the next three years. Representatives of the Manor Gardens Residents Association and the ward 15 Councillors and "ratepayers" made serious attempts to "destabilise" the first squatters as they "saw things coming" (Mantzaris 1995). It became obvious that the first "invasion" would not be the last.

The middle class suburb was instantly a "neighbourhood", surrounded by hundreds of people who were unemployed, and had a "different culture", an amalgam of rural and urban dwellers who had left their homes to come into the centre of the city "carrying with them different and alien traditions, customs, culture and habits" (Mantzaris 1995). Following the strong resistance of the Cato Crest residents against the Natal Provincial Administration and the police to evict them, also, given the fact that Nelson Mandela was released and therefore, that meant that the starting of "negotiations" was upon them. In the first meetings of the new "structures", the Manor Gardens residents, communities, politicians and the newly - established Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) set down several rules which were "non - negotiable" for the negotiations to continue.

1.   There could be no development, especially in terms of housing, which could take place without negotiations and the consent of the "people" of Manor Gardens.

2.   The negotiations between Cato Crest residents and Manor Gardens would be "mediated" by "outside" parties (CMDA or preferably by independent mediators)

3.   The negotiations could only take place with "legitimate" and elected" representatives of Cato Crest.

4.   Agreements would be entered into only through "general consensus". The white middle-class leadership of Manor Gardens, thus, comprising basically of well educated people that is, "intellectuals" of some sort, set conditions which on many occasions could not be adhered to "general consensus" was not accepted as something agreeable to all parties (Conrad Buthelezi 1996).

The initial mediator (who was a paid "consultant" of the CMDA) would procrastinate and drag the meetings indefinitely. Additionally, the Manor Gardens representatives continuously introduced new agendas (Mwandla 1995 and 1996; Buthelezi 1996). The first serious crisis in the relations between the communities occurred during the period 1992-1993. At that time, there were two leadership structures in Cato Crest, i.e. the Cato Crest Civic and the Cato Crest Crisis Committee. Although they refused to amalgamate, their activities were almost identical (Makhatini and Hindson 1993).

The invasion of new squatters to Cato Crest in 1993 created severe problems as many of them moved and settled in the "bufferzone" that separates the informal settlement with Manor Gardens. The latter residents went up in arms as they saw the new "invaders" as added problems regarding security and health. There were complaints that housebreaking had increased "tremendously"

(Hindson et.al 1996). Negotiations between the Cato Crest leadership and the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) ensured that squatters in the buffer zones were removed to other ("designated areas" of Cato Crest. "Marshalls" associated with the Cato Crest Crisis Committee were instrumental in their removal with the agreement of the shack-dwellers (Makhatini and Hindson 1993:8). Although there were several aborted meetings between representatives of Cato Crest and Manor Gardens, the "real" negotiations begun in earnest around two months after the 1994 April national elections (Buthelezi 1995). It was reported that serious progress was made in the negotiations between the two communities represented by the Manor Garden's Resident's Association and the Cato Crest General Council, an amorphous leadership structure of over 60 people representing Cato Crest (Mantzaris 1997). The agreement point between the groups was that all future development on Cato Crest would be "negotiated" between the committees, especially the strip of land known as the "interface" which borders the two areas.

Throughout the process it became obvious that the Manor Gardens residents wished to have:

1. Middle to higher income housing in the "interface", no chance for subsidised low - income housing should exist.
2. The Arterial Road was to be completed before the housing development starts.
3. Infrastructural development should take place before the beginning of housing development (Hindson et.al 1996).
4. An adjudication Committee was to be established comprising of the "mediator", the CMDA and the various committees (IZWI May 1995).

One needs to bear in mind the impatience of Cato Crest residents who, like all their counterparts in South Africa, believed and hoped that after the 1994 national elections, the RDP projects envisaged would take place immediately the "Social Compact" was established between the interested parties. This was seen as a key to the attainment of consensus for the future. However, the problem was that both communities and their leaderships did not pay attention to other areas which are close by such as Bonela, where most residents are Indians because they did not see the reason for such an approach. One of the Bonella residents, who wished to remain anonymous said: "we are scared here because we have the example of the Wiggins invasion, but while Manor Gardens whites and Cato Crest Africans are in negotiations and we have various problems like the roads etc., nobody approached us to be part of these problems, how to solve them, including the CMDA (Ash, Bonella Resident 1997)".

Both Manor Gardens and Cato Crest leaders agreed on this feeling, but their belief is that, although Cato Manor is an integrated community, it is important that Manor Gardens and Cato Crest have their own problems, which they must solve amongst themselves without including "their parties" (with the exception of the CMDA and the "consultant - mediator") (Mwandla 1996).

The protracted negotiations and what Cato Crest leadership perceived as the intransigence of Manor Gardens leaders delayed the process of choosing "developers" for the informal settlement. However in March 1995, the Adjudication Committee established the Cato Crest Development Partnership (Pty) Ltd after 31 proposals were sent to it. The partnership would help in creating jobs and looking after development in Cato Crest.

Its brief was to prepare a detailed plan for Cato Crest in an "integrative framework" in consultation with the communities with special emphasis, on housing development. The key participants in the partnership were "Group Five" a housing company, ACCESS a group of consultants and professionals, and "Khuphuka Skill Training", a Durban, based training association providing on the job training (Adjudication minutes 20 March 1995).

The bridging finance was over R10 million, provided by the City Council's Durban Functional Region Development forum. The development would start "as soon as possible" (IZWI May 1995). When the first plan was presented to the Cato Crest residents for 2000 sites in the first phase of the development, the much-debated interface was ear marked for small offices and shops, sports fields, consecration areas, a primary school and small residential sites. A massive new road was also planned. As the majority of Cato Crest residents fell below the R800.00 month income stipulated in the Housing Board subsidies, this meant that their only chance was access to low cost housing, a fact that did not make Manor Gardens residents happy (Mwandla 1996; Buthelezi 1996). It was hoped that since the "technical details" were "sorted out", development was "around the corner" (Buthelezi 1996; Mthetwa 1995 and 1996; Mwandla 1996).

The Manor Garden leadership accepted the plan as "positive" but had isolated several "serious flaws". The key area of content was the "interface" which was not "properly negotiated" between the two parties. It was said that, the development of the interface should be in accordance with the wishes of the Manor Garden residents who saw the value of their properties "drastically reduced", as banks were reluctant to approve bonds on properties close to Cato Crest. This made the sale of houses in Manor Gardens "almost impossible". As Greg Diana, Chairperson of Manor Gardens residents Association put it:

"we are not racist and we do not deny that Cato Crest people have a right to a home, but you cannot put low income houses alongside upper income houses. It doesn't work anywhere in the world. This is why we propose that the interface should be a graded development for middle income homes, open space and other facilities. This could then lead down to the low income houses in Cato Crest" (IZWI July 1995)

It was obvious that a clear conflict situation was arising between the communities, as the Cato Crest leadership knew that no informal settlement residents could afford middle - income houses. Hard negotiations were in the offering as both sides (with the help of the "mediator") sharpened their "knives " for the months to come.

The Bonella community never participated in these debate as it had to face their own problems associated with the non-payment of levies by owners of sectional title homes in the area. This led to the collapse of the existing body corporate structures (Lutchman 1996).

As it was seen, despite efforts on its part, no development was taking place and that the Cato Crest Development Partnership withdrew from the Cato Crest development process in October 1995 (Mwandla 1996; Buthelezi 1996). The Cato Crest leadership and residents resorted to a "rolling mass action". In a march to the City Hall on the 21 October 1995, over 300 residents of the settlement demanded that the "interface" between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens" should be developed immediately. It was said that while the Cato Crest community and leadership had done their best to convince the Manor Gardens residents to accept the development of the area, this was to no avail (Mercury 23 October 1995). The key issue of disagreement was the loss of property

values of the Manor Gardens residents as its leader himself accepted. However, G. Diana (IZWI July 1995) also pointed out the various problems associated with the developmental process. Thus Diana outlined several factors which according to him delayed the process for over six months.

1) The choice of the Cato Crest Development Partnership was a wrong one, he said, and this was due to Cato Crest's insistence despite the "Contrary views" of the CMDA, MGA and Ward"6 ratepayers. The partnership was inexperienced and untried (Diana in IZWI November 1995). However, it was the same Diana who (as described earlier) was <u>instrumental</u> in the choice of the Partnership in the Adjudication Commission (IZWI: July 1995)

2. Diana accused the Cato Crest leadership of not participating in various meetings of the joint committees.

3. It could be easier for the Cato Crest leaders to start development in other areas of the settlement first before the "interface problem" is solved. As Diana reiterated the clear position that the Manor Gardens people wished (and would fight over) "graded development" in the "interface" which was in the line with development norms (Diana in IZWI November 1995).

The Cato Crest struggles, however were clear. In their memorandum to the Mayor, the City Council and the CMDA were urged to speed up development, Manor Gardens be compelled to practise a fair deal in the development process and the CMDA should listen to poor people and not to those who had been developed already (e.g. the Manor Gardens people). Developers should be appointed immediately and the residents of Manor Gardens and ward 15 should stop

"racial discrimination" which they were practising (Memorandum of Cato Crest General Council to his excellence the Mayor of Durban 21 October 1995). It has been true that there were several major problems developing in the relationships of the two communities and the mediators. The Cato Crest community, even at those early stages of the debates were hard pressed for delivery as there were various popular housing and other projects in the Greater Cato Manor that were already fully developed (Chesterville Extension housing project, Fast track housing, access roads throughout etc).

This created leadership problems within the Cato Crest community as the General Council, the key structure in the area was amorphous, slow and lacked decisive strategies (Mwandla 1996; Buthelezi 1996). As new projects were developing in the Greater Cato Manor Area, the pressure was on the Cato Crest leadership to achieve some sort of development and the Manor Gardens leaders positions made the situation worse. Researchers from UDW who had many discussions with leaders of the ANC Youth League and other structures in late 1995 and early and mid 1996 found a very militant mood amongst the Cato Crest people.

One of them said that they could not really wait for people who benefited from apartheid to become the friends of the squatters suddenly. The only way whites "understood" was that of the "invasion" as it happened in Wiggins, where the House of Delegates were taken over by African squatters and people from Chesterville. Such a position indicates that, in case there was no agreement from Manor Gardens residents and their leaders, soon there could be no other alternative for Cato Crest people and leaders but to invade the Manor Gardens houses surrounding the area (Zandile 1996). There was of course a hardening of attitudes on both sides as time passed. Although there was the overall belief that 1996 would be the year of "implementation" of

development at all fronts, this was the plan of the CMDA and its new Chief Executive Officer C. Forster, who outlined three main phases of development. Equipped with R150 million from the European Union, R130 million from Reconstruction Development Programme, R67 million from the Kwa-Zulu Natal Provincial Housing Development Board and R27 million from Durban Metropolitan Council and South Central Local Council, the CMDA were the Chief Architects of development in the region.

a)   Phase one would include planning land assembly, i.e. negotiations with the "previous" ("historical") owners of land in Cato Manor and mobilisation of public investment (Press release 14/12/1996). The key ingredients in the strategy of the CMDA were the good relationships between all stakeholders and the clarifications of roles within the various communities in the area. This would lead to the creation of "Social Compact Agreements" and the mobilisation of the existing "pool" of human resources.

Phase two included Cato Crest, and the following developments were envisaged:

a)   Footbridge and road connections from Cato Crest to Bellair Road.

b)   A Cato Crest multipurpose centre.

c)   A 5 000 site/houses project.

d)   Canalisation of the stream.

e)   A secondary road system in mid 1998.

While the local and national press celebrated with headlines such as "Cato Manor developmental systems go" (Sowetan 13/3/1996; Mercury 18/3/1996), a "war" had developed in Cato Crest (an on going taxi – feud) and the community was in the middle of it. Various people as allegedly belonging to the offending organisations (i.e. the Inanda Taxi Association and the Cato Crest Taxi Association) were killed and many taxis were in flames. During that period the leadership of Cato Crest was fully involved in the various peace efforts (Mwandla 1996, Buthelezi 1996; Mthetwa 1996). Thus it was very difficult to participate in meetings with the Manor Gardens leaders regarding the development of housing. The violence also seemed as a good excuse for the developing authorities to stall the developmental process (Mthetwa 1996; Mwandla 1996). Involved in the feud but also the peace efforts were the ANC politicians, the Umkonto weSizwe (MK) reaction unit (based in Cato Crest), and mediators etc. (IZWI March 1996).

The CMDA and Cato Crest leaders were also instrumental in the drafting of a "Peace Manifesto" which called for the commitment of all parties to everlasting peace. Amongst these conditions in the Manifesto were the agreement of Cato Crest leaders to have a "non party political "Development Committee", through a supervised election process based on a secrete ballot by all households on the Cato Crest house register. Also, the disbanding of the MK Reaction Unit and the key role of the Minister of Transport Mr S Ndebele as a mediator contributed significantly. (The Peace Manifesto appeared in the minutes of the Cato Crest General Council, no date). The direct "demand" of the Manifesto for the election of a "non party political Development Committee in Cato Crest" is interesting as the settlements General Council only tried to solve the problem and was not a part of the violence. Additionally, violent gangs and alienated youth criminals had appeared throughout Cato Manor and not in Cato Crest alone (IZWI April/ May 1996: - 4)

The violence, however, continued and took different forms with the "MK" 21 gang, allegedly led by soldiers of the liberation movement who were not incorporated into the SANDF, as chief culprits according to the people in the area (Buthelezi 1996; Mthetwa 1996). The police lost control of the area and there was a leadership vacuum in the community thus giving the opportunity to the Manor Gardens leaders to avoid negotiations throughout this whole period.

However, things seemed to improve when violence subsided after protracted efforts from the community, the Police and the CMDA, and a new Cato Crest "enlarged" Development Committee was established through elections. Thirty-four people were elected (four people from each area and two from the "tents" that accommodated people suffering from the floods). New developers (Condev and Exter) were appointed to take care of the development needs of the community (IZWI August 1996).

These changes came at a time when the desperation of thousands of homeless people in the Cato Manor and surrounding areas gave impetus to the phenomena such as that of Shaheen Rahiman, who claimed that she could allocate houses to people and accepted "application forms" from hundreds of aspirant home owners in Bonella. In this area many houses were lying empty and there were serious fears of invasions. Allocation of houses in Bonella was also under serious investigation by the Police and regional and City authorities (IZWI September 1996).

The "land claims saga" (whereby a large number of Indian and African land owners in Cato Manor before their evictions claimed their land through the Restitution of Land Rights Act No. 22 of 1994, complicated the process of negotiations between Manor Gardens and Cato Crest

residents. Rumours and lies regarding the very future of Cato Crest residents were spread and there were fears that long delays in this process would have very complicated effects for the development in the area. The Manor Garden leadership on the other hand believed that the legal process should take its toll and it would be much easier and positive to deal with "anyone, but the CMDA" (Diana in IZWI 1996; Hindson et.al 1996). The CMDA, according to the Manor Garden leadership, were "elitist, white liberals who felt obligated to do everything in order to satisfy the squatters". They (the CMDA) never care for the Manor Gardens community (Diana 1996).

The "Land Claims Dispute" made national headlines as it was an intriguing" court case" setting historical realities and the future face to face. However, the Cato Manor Land Claims Settlement Agreement was the first of its kind in the country and had allowed the Cato Manor project to proceed whilst claims were being resolved.

There were 433 "genuine" claimants who through their lawyers also negotiated with City and CMDA officials to solve the problem, as in most cases in transitional societies, the "consensus" in this instance was as complicated as the claim itself. It was decided that the agreement between the parties recognises the legitimacy of (both) development and restoration. On April 24th 1997, an Order of the court was issued whereby three restitution options were to be applied in settlement of valid land claims in Cato Manor as mentioned before. These include first, Financial Compensation, second, alternative land in Cato Manor, and lastly (or else where or restoration of the same piece of land from which the claimant was removed where feasible (Mercury 26/4 1997; Daily News 29/4/1997). The settlement was a complicated one, but obviously gave an impetus to the development agents, especially the CMDA to look forward to the future.

While there was still a long path of negotiations ahead to be followed, the Cato Crest Development Committee together with the CMDA, decided once again to appoint project teams for the development of the informal settlement. The team comprised of Intra Serve as project managers, Iyer Rothaug as town planners and Davis Lynn and Partners as civil engineers. These would be responsible for the delivery of housing according to the Provincial Housing Board's policies, i.e. the subsidy scheme, job creation opportunities for the local communities etc. There were promised in the promotional phase of the companies which promised speedy delivery "if peace, stability, and law and order were guaranteed by the leadership of Cato Crest" (IZWI June 1997).

It was planned that after the infrastructural developments put in place, one area of the settlement would be the "test case" in terms of the housing development. The process of speedy delivery was of course the prerogative of the CMDA, founders and all "legal requirements" (i.e. the so-called "bureaucratic hurdles"), should be met until the day of the final approval for "tender procedures" (IZWI, June 1997). Interesting in these development is the absence of mention of the interface problem, Manor Gardens and its residents.

There were a few meetings between the interested parties after the "land settlement", but the feeling was that there was a stalemate. While the "collector road" in Cato Crest was in progress and sewerage plans were at the stage of implementation, the dejected Cato Crest community kept a low profile in the face of no delivery. The layout plans for housing (including the "point of contention" between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens) had not been passed by the local authorities or the CMDA, on the other hand, the Cato Crest leaders were in dispute with both the CMDA and the Manor Gardens residents regarding the exact type of housing and their specifications in terms

of measurements. (Ngcobo 1997; Buthelezi 1997). It was speculated and hoped that housing development would be implemented by January 1998 (IZWI August 1997). This however, never became a reality as the struggle over spatial planning requirements and agreements continued. This signified that even the use of highly qualified consultants/ mediators, social compacts cannot substitute honesty, co-operation and written agreements. There were problems regarding three key issues, which were hurdles in the future development of Cato Crest. Among them:

a)   The interface:

It had became obvious that the "concept plan" i.e. the final plan set out to be followed as a guideline for the future development of Cato Manor catered for higher income group, to occupy credit linked housing in the interface with Manor Gardens. This was immediately contested by the Cato Crest leadership as there was no agreement on that. On the contrary, Cato Crest leadership hoped that low cost housing would be provided.

b)   The size of the proposed house and sites:

It was stated in the plans that the average house site would be 120 square meters as in line with the overall Cato Manor framework plan. This was consistent with high density, low income housing projects. The Development Committee of Cato Crest, however, had alerted the planners to written agreements between themselves and the CMDA that the plots would be approximately 180 square metres each, as stipulated in written documents (Memorandum of Agreement 1995). Of course such an eventuality (i.e. site of 180 square metres) could have dire consequence for

the implementation phase as fewer households could be accommodated in the proposed land allocation (Buthelezi 1998; Mwandla 1998).

c)   Housing registers:

The Cato Crest leadership had agreed on principle that all 3100 households initially in the housing registers should be included in the housing provision lists, this was accepted by the CMDA. However, the major problem envisaged was that there were a lot more households in Cato Crest in 1998 in need of housing which did not qualify for it, and were not included in the housing register.

The Development Committee of the settlement had agreed that those who were not in the housing registers could not be accommodated as they were newcomers who were building houses and shacks in Cato Crest without any authorisation, therefore, creating problems for the Community (Ngcobo 1998; Buthelezi 1998). The key issue remained the problem of the "interface" upon which according to the Cato Crest leadership, no decision was taken. The Mayor of the Durban Metropolitan Council Obed Mlaba stepped in early 1998 to give a much needed boost to delivery in Cato Crest, as impatience and alienation became evident among the people in the settlement. Mlaba's involvement was the result of several key political figures in the CMDA's "push' for development because of the 1999 elections and internal strife within the ANC's regional structures (Mwandla 1998; Buthelezi 1998).

At a mass meeting attended by hundreds of people in Cato Crest, Mayor Mlaba gave his assurance to the residents in the settlement that he himself would open the first house in the area "by the 1st of May 1998" (Mercury 23/2/1998; Daily News 23/2/1998). He accused the Cato Crest lack of

coherent and lasting leadership as a key factor in the delay for development. The mayor announced the establishment of a "Working Group" under his leadership, which would include the Metro Council, the CMDA and "representatives of the Cato Crest residents", to find solutions to the problems (Mercury 23/2/1998; Daily News 23/2/1998. The Cato Crest Development Committee, which under C Buthelezi had undertaken several "rolling mass actions" to reach to such mayoral interventions, was sidelined as a decision making body (Buthelezi 1998, Khanyile 1998). Such moves came in the period whereby the land claims mediation process was in full swing with several key problems faced in the settlement agreements (IZWI March 1998).

It was established beyond doubt that many claimants and their attorneys felt "hard hit: by the proposed monetary and housing compensations as future problems could arise from several misunderstanding etc. (IZWI March 1998).

As Cato Crest was declared a Less Formal Township, a simplified procedure was needed for the designation, provision and development of the land. This meant that land surveyors could now start preparing geographical and topographical plans, and planners and engineers could become involved in this process (IZWI March 1998). However it had become obvious during Mayor Mlaba's official trip to Cato Crest that a large part of the "interface" between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens should be in the R70 000.00 - R80 000.00 price range (Buthelezi 1998; Mwandla 1998).

This part of the plan was challenged in various meetings of the Mayoral "task group" by the representatives of the Cato Crest leadership to no avail (Cato Crest Working Group meeting 11/5/1998 minutes). The decision seemed to be final. (Cato Crest Working Group and

Professional Team meeting 08/05/1998 minutes). It was stated however, that this "decision" was

not final but a part of "a concept" (meeting of 8/5/1998).

At an open public meeting in May 1998, less than 60 Cato Crest and Manor Gardens residents

listened to the Deputy Spatial Planning and Information Systems Manager of the CMDA (Cathy

Ferguson). She was explaining the future "precinct plans", including extensions on the West

Bellair Road on the East Cato Manor Road, to the North Westridge High School and Francois

Road to the South. The "precinct" covered an area of 49 hectares, 33 of which have already been

"informally settled".

There will be roads (especially the Cato Manor Arterial, which will run parallel with the Cato

Manor Road. 40 metres from this road will link to Edwin Swales Road vicinity of Brickfield

Road and Bellair Road, which will be developed as an activity corridor with shops, offices and a

clinic, park, an informal market and residential accommodation. There will be schools (both

primary and secondary), 2 - sport fields, a multi-purpose centre and housing for the people in the

area (Cato Crest Precinct Plan 1997, 1998).

It was announced that these plans for the development of Cato Crest were submitted to the

Physical Environment Department of the Durban City Metropolitan Council for approval. Speedy

decisions were expected. These included the development of 349 residential units on a 9,5 hectare

site bounded by Phambili School in the West, Trimborne Road in the North and extending South

to the top of the ridge between Cato Crest and Cato Manor drive. The idea was to accommodate

as many people as possible, thus most of the over 300 proposed houses would fall under the

Housing Board's subsidy scheme (IZWI June 1998). There are however several questions still fresh in the minds of both Cato Crest and Manor Gardens residents:

1.   Given the turbulent historical relationships between these communities and the existing lack of trust between themselves and towards the CMDA, can there be a possibility of complete (or even partial) acceptance of the precinct plan?

2.   Given the bureaucratic hurdles facing such situations in relation to the Housing Board, and Metropolitan Structures, are there possibilities to kick-starting development soon?

3.   Bearing in mind that the "final details" of the "Precinct Plan" were more or less imposed (on both communities) by the "Mayoral task Group" and the CMDA. The question could be asked, would it be possible that not the conflict would be more visible and perhaps direct therefore, causing more damaging for both sides?

4.   Inevitably it will not be Cato Crest residents who would ultimately purchase the graded development housing. This means that it is most likely to be "outsiders" who can afford these prices. This could create new problems within the tightly knit community of Cato Crest, especially towards the purchasers/ "outsiders", but also the Manor Gardens residents who are already "accused" for not allowing low cost housing on their "front door".

There has been a major crisis simmering throughout Cato Manor, especially in areas where development has been very slow, such as Cato Crest. Very little has changed since the 1994

elections and progress is slow, most people are still unemployed, they live in degrading and unhygienic conditions, without running water, sewerage or toilets. Those trusted with development have let them down (or so goes the public perception in most cases). Above all housing, a basic human right in both the Freedom Charter and the Reconstruction and Development Programme is far to be realised after so many struggles, violence and hundreds of meetings. The 1993, Wiggins invasion has lately become a very favourite topic of discussion among people in Cato Crest. The Manor Gardens residents are keenly aware of such realities- **will it be conflict or conflict resolution?**

This chapter examined the burning realities of potential conflict in Cato Manor. The future planning and development of the area is inextricably linked to the management of potential conflict inherent in the past and present scenarios in the area. The empirical realities associated with the ideas, perceptions and attitudes of the people directly related to the areas future will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This section will attempt to assess the existing feelings, anxieties, attitudes and ideas of three groups of respondents from the informal settlement of Cato Crest, the largely middle-class formal housing in Manor Gardens and the suburb of Bonella. Bonella is an area where Indians and Africans live side by side in formal housing settlement as opposed to informal settlement in areas serviced by RDP houses.

In this section the existence or non-existence of animosity amongst the population of these areas will be examined, the possibility of its (animosity) causes and roots and the priorities that need to be tackled in the immediate, short and long terms. Also examined will be the existing problems associated with the negotiations between leaderships and their off spring and, attitudes towards those considered responsible for the developmental process. The alternative solutions to the existing situation, the root causes of possible future conflict, attitudes and perceptions towards governmental project will be looked at. In addition, the role, strengths and weaknesses of the respective leaderships of the communities, the possibilities of orderly and integrated development, the role of the ordinary people in the unfolding processes and the role of the mediators in the conflict scenarios will be examined.

This empirical analysis is the basis upon which the aims and objectives of this research are tested in the context of an integrated planning process that leads to development despite the existence of material conditions that could lead to conflict situation.

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The analysis of results of such an empirical effort can only take place in a comparative perspective. Only in such a way the differences and/or similarities can be seen in their correct context and perspective. The qualitative nature of the questions (as stated in the section on methodology) includes quantitative (or in some senses enumerative) analysis as will become evident in the process. This is a combination of the two streams.

4.2 THE SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

The ages of the respondents are to be found in Table 1 below:

TABLE 1

AGE STRUCTURE OF RESPONDENTS

AGE	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
20 – 28	12	—	—	12	20
29 – 40	10	14	13	37	62
40 – 45	6	12	10	28	47
50 – 59	2	4	4	10	17
60+	—	—	3	3	5

It can be seen that the social composition of the sample is different with Cato Crest, where there are more representatives of the younger age groups when compared with the other areas. This, however, is the reality of the situation today. In Manor Gardens the younger to middle aged groups are predominant white, Bonella represents a more balanced age picture. The interviewees level of education appears next.

TABLE 2

HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL IN CATO MANOR

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
ILLITERATE	6	—	—	6	10
PRIMARY SCHOOL	—	—	—	—	0
SOME FORM OF SCHOOLING	21	—	5	26	43
HIGH SCHOOL NOT COMPLETED	—	9	15	24	40
MATRIC	—	6	3	9	15
TECHNIKON AND OTHER DIPLOMAS	2	8	2	12	20
UNIVERSITY	1	7	—	8	13
NO RESPONSE	—	—	5	5	8

The educational differences between the three representative groups are significant, with the Manor Gardens the best educated group. In fact this middle class suburb has had over the years a concentration of educators because of its centrality and close proximity to the University of Natal, Natal Technikon etc.

Many residents in Manor Gardens attempted to sell their properties and move away before the early 1990's, especially after the mushrooming of informal settlements. By then, there were difficulties in the property market.

The Bonella group has the most spread over educational background. Table 3 includes the occupational distribution of the sample.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATION

PROFESSION	CATO REST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
TECHNICAL	—	—	6	6	10
SALES	—	—	3	3	5
UNEMPLOYED	14	—	14	28	47
PROFESSIONAL	—	5	—	5	8
SELF – EMPLOYED	—	4	—	4	7
ADMINISTRATIVE	—	9	—	9	15
HOUSE EXECUTIVES	—	6	7	13	22
INFORMAL SECTOR	8	—	—	8	13
VARIOUS (FORMAL SECTOR)	4	—	—	4	7
NO RESPONSE	—	6	—	6	10

The social disparities in South Africa become evident in this table. While the majority of Manor Gardens' residents work in the formal sector and more than 55% of the Cato Crest residents are unemployed, only 4% work in the formal sector of the economy. A little under 50% of the Bonella residents were also unemployed with a large number of housewives in their midst. Bonella has been also hit by the problem of unemployment as many Indian administrative and technical staff working for larger companies have been retrenched. These people face severe financial problems at present. This became evident in the income distribution, which appears in Table 4 below.

TABLE 4

ANNUAL INCOME LEVEL

INCOME	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
R400 – R700 p/m	18	—	—	18	30
R800-/R1200 p/m	10	—	—	10	17
R1 200 – R1 500 p/m	2	—	8	10	17
R1 500-R1 800 p/m	—	—	3	3	5
R 2000 – R2 500 p/m	—	—	7	7	12
R120 000 – R150 000 per year	—	6	—	6	10
+R200.000 per year	—	6	—	6	10
+R300.000 per year	—	2	—	2	3
NO RESPONSE	—	16	12	28	47

The economic differences between these three groups point to the existing and widening income gap in South Africa. A legacy of the past inequalities that needs to be bridged in a fast pace and also adequately for a more humane society to emerge. While the majority of the Manor Gardens respondents earn between R120 000.00-R300 000.00 and above, the majority of Cato Crest residents earn between R400.00-R1 200.00 per month, while the Bonella group sails in between. Following the demographic details of the groups, let us proceed with the findings of the survey.

4.3 REAL AND PERCEIVED PROBLEMS IN THE AREA

The first question was related to the understanding of the respondents regarding the problems between people who live in Manor Gardens, Bonella and Cato Crest. This question sought to assess the people's ideas, perceptions and attitudes, as well as their understanding in relation to

the existing problems causing conflict between the residents of Manor Gardens and the informal settlement of Cato Crest. The results obtained are produced in the following table.

TABLE 5

QUESTION 1

PERCEPTIONS, IDEAS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS PROBLEMS

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
THERE ARE PROBLEMS	20	22	—	42	70
THERE ARE NO PROBLEMS	8	8	—	16	27
DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE	2	—	10	12	20
WE HAVE OUR OWN PROBLEMS	—	—	20	20	33

It was interesting to note that the majority of people in both Cato Crest and Manor Gardens stated clearly that there were problems. On the contrary, the Bonella people stated on their own that they had problems, they said in no uncertain terms that the problems between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens were not their problems. In this essence, the Bonella residents saw themselves as **external** to the conflict. Tension is between residents of Manor Gardens and Cato Crest thus the dispute. Bonella residents saw themselves as neutral in the impeding conflict situation. As one Bonella resident pointed out that Bonella has its own problems.

As one resident said:

"The problem in Bonella is that the Metro and the people they send to us make our life a misery. They need to know that there are humans who live in Bonella and not beasts. People think that the Africans have the biggest problems in the informal settlement, but it is us Bonella residents who have the biggest problems" (respondent H. Naidoo).

The reason given by the interviewees regarding their attitudes and perceptions appear in the following table.

QUESTION 1 A : **TABLE 6**

PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEMS - (MULTIPLE RESPONSE)

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
STUBBORNNESS OF MANOR GARDENS RESIDENTS	15	—	—	15	25
CMDA SIDES WITH MANOR GARDENS RESIDENTS	14	—	—	14	23
LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS WITHIN CATO CREST	7	—	—	7	12
INFEXIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP ALL ROUND	—	8	—	8	13
CATO CREST LEADERSHIP WANT "EVERYTHING"	—	11	—	11	18
CATO CREST PEOPLE DON'T UNDERSTAND THE DICTATES OF THE MARKET	—	7	—	7	12
WE HAVE OUR OWN PERSONAL AND OTHER PROBLEMS	—	—	22	22	37
NO RESPONSE	—	4	8	12	20

It can be seen that there are completely different reasons given by the residents of the three areas regarding the creation and perception of the problems. The Cato Crest residents see the stubbornness of the Manor Gardens residents as a key reason for while they perceive the CMDA as siding with the Manor Gardens property owners in the dispute. The Manor Gardens respondents believe that the root of the problem is that the Cato Crest leadership "want

everything" that is, they are not prepared to compromise towards a solution to the problem. These are completely contrasted ideas and attitudes, which seem incompatible.

QUESTION 2 : **TABLE 7**

ANIMOSITY BETWEEN RESIDENTS IN FORMAL HOUSES IN MANOR GARDERNS - BONELLA AND INFORMAL SETTLEMENT IN CATO CREST

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
THERE IS ANIMOSITY	18	—	—	18	30
THERE IS NO ANIMOSITY	8	12	9	29	48
THERE IS ANIMOSITY ON PART OF CATO CREST RESIDENTS AND LEADERSHIP	—	13	—	13	22
THERE ARE PROBLEMS	—	—	15	15	25
NO RESPONSE	4	5	6	15	25

It can seen that different opinions, ideas and attitudes predominate among the three groups. While the majority of the Cato Crest residents believe that there is animosity, not one Manor Gardens resident believes so. They (Manor Gardens residents) believe, however, that there is animosity on the part of the Cato Crest leadership as one of them indicated:

"Every time there is a meeting to sort things out, the Cato Crest leadership do not turn up. When they do turn up, they say how can problems be solved when everyone in the group that try to solve problems is a white person who clearly do not understand our problems. Thus the whole process stopped and then we have to beg them to start again, with CMDA intervening to solve the problems. Now, the CMDA decides to procrastinate and the problem continues".

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However, a Cato Crest leader challenges this position as follows:

"There is animosity on both sides, only that we accept it, but the Manor Gardens people tell the media and the Mayor that we do not have problems with the informal settlement, they do have problems with them because they stopped development. It took them many years to understand that we also have human rights and the right to development. They only understood after 1994 first democratic elections" (interview with C. Buthelezi, Cato Crest leader).

The real or perceived reasons for animosity given are in the following table.

QUESTION 2A: **TABLE 8**

REASONS FOR ANIMOSITY (MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
LEADERS IN MANOR GARDENS ARE SELFISH	16	—	—	16	27
WHATEVER HAPPENS CATO CREST WILL HAVE LOW COST HOUSING	18	—	—	18	30
MANOR GARDENS LEADERS CANNOT STOP DEVELOPMENT	6	—	—	6	10
THE BAD FEELINGS OF CATO CREST TOWARDS MANOR GARDENS WILL SOON BE A THING OF THE PAST	—	10	—	10	17
THERE IS CRIME AND HOUSE BREAKING FROM THE SQUATTERS	—	16	—	16	27
CRIME IS VERY IMPORTANT AND CAN STOP DEVELOPMENT	—	16	18	34	57
NO RESPONSE	—	—	12	12	20

"The Manor Gardens can have the Mayor Mlaba, the CMDA, the money and the politicians who support them. We have "the people who want development and I say, it is impossible to stop it. It will take time, but it will come. We will make sure it comes" (C. Ngcobo, member of Cato Crest Development Committee).

The Manor Gardens respondents who believe that there is animosity but only on the part of the Cato Crest people towards them and not vice-versa, expressed the hope that these feelings would be a thing of the past soon, but also complained of regular incidents of housebreaking, petty theft etc. There was a general feeling of agreement amongst all groups (Cato Crest, Manor Gardens and Bonella) that crime was a key issue, it existed, and it should be tackled as a matter of urgent priority. The Cato Crest leaders indicated that crime became an important issue in the township since 1995, as things were very quiet. Both Bonella and Manor Gardens residents indicated that crime was a prime factors to be dealt with since the late 1990's, but agreed that is was more prevalent at present and is a serious problem. They agreed that the situation worsened considerably after 1995.

The feelings of the Cato Crest respondents were that, the leaders of the Manor Gardens residents were selfish and they only cared about their property values. However, it became evident that the Cato Crest residents had a strong feeling of belonging to the area and were confident that the issue of low cost housing and development was "non-negotiable and would take place sooner or later". The position was primarily based on the fact that the government at local and/or provincial level will deliver to the poorest of the poor.

4.4 DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES AND THE INTERFACE

The key issues as expressed by the twenty Cato Crest respondents were housing, eighteen for sewerage, nineteen for health and fourteen for education facilities respectively) and twenty for job the creation. (There was a multiplicity of answers, that is, people had more than one choice when asked). These are the key priorities of African squatters throughout the country, and as time goes and there are no clear signs of rapid developments, the symptoms of impatience breeds frustration as one young leader explained.

"The people want development and when the Mayor came and promised them, they were happy. He is the Mayor, and we have to believe him. Things have started to happen, the road for example, but to build the road they threw seventeen families out of their houses. The question is when will the new houses be built to house these and other families? How will the houses look like? Will they be as agreed? You know we have agreed on a 120m² plot, this is the agreement. When housing happens, everything else will follow because the people need a shelter first, then they can make their plans for whatever comes next" (Njabulo, 21 years of age, unemployed).

The first question in this section was associated with the prospect of development and the perceived priorities amongst the residents of the three areas under investigation. The responses appear in the following table.

QUESTION 3: **TABLE 9**

PERCEIVED DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES

PRIORITIES	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
HOUSING	20	—	4	24	40
SEWERAGE	18	—	—	18	30
HEALTH FACILITIES	19	—	3	22	37
RECREATIONAL FACILITIES	18	4	—	22	37
CREATION OF JOBS	24	—	24	48	80
PEACE AND STABILITY	—	19	20	39	65
GENERAL AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT	—	16	—	16	27
STOPPING OF VIOLENCE	—	8	28	36	60

On the other hand the key priorities as seen by the Manor Gardens residents/respondents are interpreted as follows: "16% general agreement on principles of development" and 12% gave were more than one answer permitted in the open ended question.

The 21% Bonella respondents stated that all aspects of development should be equally represented in the future of Cato Crest with job creation and 22% stopping of violence and 20% on peace as the key priorities. Bonella residents (even in this question) seemed to look at themselves as a "separate section" of the Cato Manor complex. Several of them (including their leaders) indicated that they wanted to be left alone so as to keep away from the conflicts in Cato Manor etc. Bonella is a multicultural community and such attitudes should not be seen as an "all Indian anti-African" syndrome. The relations between African and Indian residents in Bonella are good and this became evident in the various field trips of the researchers. However, it was felt that a possible conflict between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens could have possible repercussions for their area. As one of the interviewee explained:

"The sooner development in the squatter area takes place, the sooner the decrease of problems for us who live around them. It is very difficult to see the other side, but we meet the Cato Crest leaders often in these meetings and they tell us that the community has become very disillusioned and impatient with the lack of development at all levels. What is happening today is not what the community expects, the first things they expect are houses, job opportunities and services. These things do not happen". (Interview with Mr J Murugan).

The next question was related to the length and painstaking negotiations between the representatives and leaders of Cato Crest and Manor Gardens in order to resolve the problem of the "Interface" as to whether there will be low cost housing or not. The respondents were asked whether they knew what the real problems where and how they saw these problems. Eighteen of the Cato Crest respondents were somehow aware of the negotiations and they believed that it was the stubbornness of the Manor Garden's leadership and residents that created the "procrastination" of the problem. The answer appear in the following table:

QUESTION 4: **TABLE 10 (a)**

NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE LOW-COST HOUSING IN THE INTERFACE (MULTIPLE RESPONSE)

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
AWARE OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONGST LEADERS	18	15	4	37	62
DON'T KNOW THE REAL PROBLEM	7	12	2	21	35
NO RESPONSE / DON'T KNOW	5	3	24	32	53

While the two key constituencies (Cato Crest and Manor Gardens) seem to have a fair idea of the problems and that they are aware of the negotiations between the leaders of their communities. With Bonella, it is not the case, the general feeling of the majority of residents is that their area is not involved with the problems associated with Cato Crest and Manor Gardens. However, given the proximity and interrelations between these socio-geographical and economic entities, the Bonella residents are generally misguided in these issues.

INTERFACE NEGOTIATIONS AND ITS PROBLEMS

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
STURBONESS OF MANOR GARDENS LEADERSHIP	21	—	—	21	35
CMDA SIDES WITH MANOR GARDENS LEADERSHIP	16	—	3	19	32
CATO CREST LEADERSHIP IS IN CRISIS	5	—	—	5	8
PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL LEADERS DON'T CARE ABOUT US	18	12	5	35	58
LACK OF COMMUNICATION	—	18	4	22	37
DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE	—	6	26	32	53

It can be seen that the differences in the opinions of the respondents are more than evident. While the Cato Crest respondents have blamed the stubbornness of the Manor Gardens leadership, and the perceived fact that the CMDA sides with the white Manor Gardens residents, the latter believe that the problems are due to the lack of communication and the lack of care on the part of provincial and national leaders. The latter issue is common in agreement between the respondents of Manor Gardens and Cato Crest (one of the very few features where there is agreement between these groups). A youth leader expressed the disillusionment among Cato Crest residents as follows:

> From April 1994 we only hear promises, this will happen, housing is starting in 1995, then in 1996, then in 1997. Then Mayor Mlaba came and spoke to the whole community and gave his word of honour that by the 1st of May 1998, his Mayoral task group will have housing in place, and he himself would open the first house in May. Do you see my

house? The mayor himself plays the game of the whites that do not want Cato Crest to have housing, jobs and development. The Mayor himself said that there must be "middle-income" houses in the Interface because the Council needs high rates to be paid. Where is the commitment to low cost housing for the majority of the people? Until when the politicians will side with the minority whites against the majority of Africans? (Interview with Zandile, ANC Youth leader).

On the other hand the feelings of the Manor Gardens residents were summarised by one of its leading figures:

"Those who are close to the Interface are kept in their toes by the so-called leaders of Manor Gardens. We are a little bit far but also facing the same problems with those close to the place. When a buyer looks at the house, he knows the area, he is not a fool. Even if we are ten miles away from Cato Crest, our area is still Manor Gardens. The clients and the property valuators know that this is why our property prices have deteriorated" (J S Reddy, a resident in Manor Gardens).

The people in Bonella were by and large ignorant of the process of negotiations between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens leaderships, but some were aware of the problem of the Interface, because it became an issue at meetings they attended. It is interesting to know that Bonella residents indicated that due to the various real (or imagined/perceived) problems that face their area, they attend various meetings associated with Metropolitan Council matters which are rates, electricity and water.

The next questions openly challenged respondents to answer what kind of houses must be built in the Interface (low cost, expensive or middle of the range houses) and sought elaboration on the response for the answer. It was a question based on the historical and material circumstances surrounding the area and its people belonging to various economic and social groups. It has been the historical wish of the Cato Crest leadership since 1987 that the Interface must be the terrain of low cost housing. On the other hand the residents and leaders of Manor Gardens believe that such an eventuality would completely destroy the property values of their houses which have been

already diminished considerably. The Cato Crest residents' attitudes towards this question were very interesting. These attitudes appear in the next table:

QUESTION 5: TABLE 10 (c)

TYPE OF HOUSING IN THE INTERFACE

TYPE OF HOUSING	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
LOW COST	18	—	—	18	30
DON'T CARE AS LONG IT'S A HOUSE AND BUILT SOON	13	—	—	13	22
THE ELECTIONS WITH FORCE GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE HOUSES	12	—	—	12	20
LOW COST HOUSING IN "INTERFACE"	10	—	—	10	17
IT WILL BE BETTER TO LIVE IN "SHACKS" AS NEW HOUSES WILL BE TOO SMALL FOR US.	6	—	—	6	10
NO CHANCE TO HAVE CHEAP HOUSES IN "INTERFACE"	3	—	—	3	5
"PROPER" HOUSES (MIDDLE RANGE MUST BE BUILT IN INTERFACE	—	19	—	19	32
ALL HOUSES MUST BE BUILT ACCORDING TO "INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED STANDARDS"	—	9	—	9	15
DON'T CARE WHAT HOUSES ARE BUILT BECAUSE PROPERTY VALUES ARE ALREADY DOWN IN MANOR GARDENS	—	3	—	3	5
SUCH THINGS MUST BE DEBATED WELL	—	—	18	18	30
THERE ARE PROBLEMS WITH VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS (LOCAL GOVERNMENT, LEADERS etc.)	—	—	12	12	20

The differences in opinions regarding the houses to be built in the "interface" in the future are there for everyone to see. While there is an array of opinions emanating from the corresponding responses from the Manor Gardens residents are very limited. The latter hope that "proper house" that is, middle-class type of houses and not low-cost housing should be built in the "interface". Such houses, which have also been described as an example of "internationally acceptable

standards", have been built in other areas in Greater Cato Manor, that is, Chesterville area. However, in terms of being bought, there were severe problems there, as the prices were beyond the means of the average person.

This would be even more difficult with the Cato Crest residents due to the high unemployment rate in the informal settlement and the lack of funds. The beliefs amongst Cato Crest residents are:

(1)   Housing is needed very soon.

(2)   In the end the government would be forced by political circumstances to deliver   housing to the poorest of the poor.

(3)   Low cost housing will be built for the poor in the "interface".

The latter's wish and belief was always the position of the leadership, the rank and file of the Cato Crest community as explained by one of its leaders vividly:

> "It is not a matter for discussion because whatever happens, we believe that the building of low cost housing must take place in the interface. It is not against anyone including the Manor Gardens leadership, it is the expressed wish of the majority of our people" (interview with C. Buthelezi).

Eighteen Bonella residents said that these things should be debated, discussed and negotiated among the various leaders and constituencies, so that an acceptable solution for all would prevail. Thirteen respondents said that a process would prove to be very difficult because of the social and individual realities in the place, the different agendas of the leaders, the Local Authorities etc. The rest were unable to give answers. The attitudes, perceptions and ideas expressed in regard to this question confirm the polarised environment, which creates mistrust amongst the communities. This was one of the very roots of a possible conflict, and was sought in the next question, which was phrased as follows: do you agree that if this problem continues there will be serious conflict within and between the surrounding communities? How can this be addressed?

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In Cato Crest fourteen respondents felt that if problems continue there would be serious conflict ("or some kind of conflict") within and between the surrounding communities especially between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens. The belief was amongst these people that the negotiations should stop and action in terms of housing should take place. This group of respondents view is that negotiations, discussions, mediation and "social compacts" between various players need to be substituted by direct and "corrective action" by the authorities. The most important step towards the realisation of this goal is the immediate address and action towards providing housing, services and jobs for the Cato Crest Community. These demands are general from a group of respondents and the building of houses in the Interface, a component part. This was a demand which was (it seems) not compromised.

Six people in Cato Crest did not see the Interface issue as a potential root of conflict between the communities, but they agreed that it creates unwarranted problems. For this reason alone it had to be addressed immediately and conclusively with all communities participating and the CMDA or the Mayor as the personnel / institution could play an important role in such a process.

The rest of the people were not committed to answering this question as they were ignorant of its roots and connotations or avoided commitment. One of the latter respondents explained his refusal to answer is as follows: "whatever I hear for the last six years here, has proved to be a lie. Even if I say this or that is the solution, I know I cannot make any difference". This is a somehow prevailing attitude of many people in Cato Crest and as stated earlier is a characteristics of a deeply – rooted disillusionment at lack of delivery.

QUESTION 6: TABLE 11

PROBLEM SOLVING TO AVOID CONFLICT (MULTIPLE RESPONSE)

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
IF PROBLEMS CONTINUE THERE WILL BE SERIOUS CONFLICT	18	18	10	46	77
THERE WILL BE NO CONFLICT	—	9	—	9	15
NEGOTIATIONS MUST STOP AND HOUSING DELIVERY MUST OCCUR	14	—	—	14	23
AUTHORITIES MUST TAKE CORRECTIVE ACTION AND DELIVER	16	6	6	28	47
INTERFACE ISSUE NOT A POTENTIAL ROOT OF CONFLICT, BUT IT CREATES PROBLEMS	8	—	—	8	13
CONFLICT CAN TAKE EVEN A VIOLENT TURN	—	8	4	12	20
"POLICING " FORUM CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF VIOLENCE	—	16	—	16	27
DELIVERY OF GOOD HOUSES TO CATO CREST MUST HAPPEN QUICKLY	—	7	—	7	12
NEGOTIATIONS MUST LEAD TO AGREEMENTS SIGNED	—	8	—	8	13
NO RESPONSE	5	3	19	27	45

Many respondents in Manor Gardens felt that the problems mentioned earlier if perpetuated could lead to serious conflict as several of them reminded the researchers of the Wiggins invasion. Several Manor Gardens residents felt that the conflict could even take a very violent turn with large groups of squatters invading their houses in the vicinity if their housing was not delivered. The predominantly whites respondents said that such conflict situation was very much prevalent in other places in Africa historically and also in South Africa. They gave several alternatives to such a scenario:

(a) Better policing in the area as well as the strengthening of the neighbouring Police Station.

(b) The creation and strengthening of "neighbourhood watch" manned by private, well-armed security people with the help of residents.

(c) Delivery of houses and services to take place immediately with emphasis on "R80-90.000 houses" (i.e. "middle of the range houses" in the Government "subsidy

language"), so that the problem can be solved and we would be grateful for the delivery.

(d)   Negotiations between the parties to be concluded soon and written agreement to be debated by all parties and be signed by their elected representatives.

(e)   The local authorities in charge of the situation in the area (Department of Housing, Mayor Mlaba etc.) should be instrumental in the solving of the problem soon and in an acceptable way to all concerned.

(f)   There was loss of faith to CMDA's approach to negotiating and existing realities as the Manor Gardens residents believed that the leadership of the association had identified "historically and at present with the Cato Crest residents and were against the Manor Gardens residents.

Several respondents felt that even if the problem continued there would be no serious conflict within and between the surrounding communities. This was due to the fact (as believed by the respondents) that the authorities (Government, Local Government, or / and the Police) would not allow conflict to occur (especially "serious conflict") as this would be against the interest of everyone involved. However, even these respondents felt strongly that this was a problem that needed a solution as soon as possible. The rest of the Manor Gardens respondents declined to answer either claiming ignorance or declaring themselves unable to comment.

For one of them, the whole scenario in Manor Gardens runs parallel to the present circumstances in the whole country as it appears on television sets, newspapers and other media. Crime, fears result in most white professionals fed – up with the whole situation and ready to leave the country for greener pastures. There are no such hopes for Bonella residents, who although fearful of their future due to crime etc. see even the possibility of serious conflict in the Cato Crest area as too distant from them.

Some Bonella residents felt that given the past invasion of African people in areas such as Wigging and Bonella (their own area), the situation in the Interface could potentially lead to serious conflict within and between the surrounding communities. They also mentioned that not

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everything was well within the leadership of the Cato Crest Development Committee and this could lead to violence <u>inside</u> Cato Crest as it had occurred in 1995 and 1996. Some of the same respondents said they felt sorry for the white residents of Manor Gardens because they (the whites) were "locked" in between a group of impatient African squatters and a "bunch of incompetent whites who run the CMDA". Bonella residents believe that this "trap" was very dangerous. It has been shown in previous research that these procastinations in the delivery of housing and services could have detrimental result for the very unity of Cato Crest both at leadership and community level (Mantzaris and Dlamini 1997).

One of the very questions in the process under investigation is who can really solve this problem in the area? The Durban Metropolitan? Professional Mediators? The CMDA? Others?. How the respondent looked at the question and what was the reason for their answers? The answers appear in the following table.

QUESTION 7: TABLE 12

THE REAL PROBLEM. **(multiple response)**

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	15	5	4	24	40
MASS MOBILISATION AND CONTINUED STRUGGLE	8	—	—	8	13
CMDA AND THE MAYOR	6	3	2	11	18
PROFESSIONAL MEDIATORS	2	11	6	19	32
PEOPLE FROM CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMBINED	4	4	10	18	30
NONE CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEMS AS THEY ARE TOO COMPLICATED	6	3	4	13	22
CMDA TOGETHER WITH OTHER ORGANSATIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT	4	1	6	11	18
NO RESPONSE	3	6	5	14	23

It become evident that for the people of Cato Crest, the National Government (led by the ANC) is the key axis of delivery that can solve the problems of the community. This is easy to understand

as the ANC is the dominant political party in Cato Crest historically and at present. It must be said that there have been signs that many people within the community of the informal settlement have become disillusioned with the ANC leadership both at provincial and local levels. This, however, does not mean much, because their die-hard support of the organisation will not change. Many residents have expressed concern that the local ANC leader (Mr. S Gumede) spends more time at the CMDA offices rather than in the affected communities. There has been also some indication of disillusionment with the local ANC and community leadership inside Cato Crest, who are also local leaders of the ANC. As for professional mediators, are seen as "impartial" and "neutral" by Manor Gardens residents. The disillusioned Cato Crest residents are in contrast to the mass mobilisation and continuous struggle as advocated in this. These are the contrasts that lead to conflict.

It is also interesting to note that the Bonella residents see the central and local government as possible people to solve the problems, while the CMDA has scant support from the two affected communities, but some support from Bonella. The people who believed that mediators could solve the problem were unaware that for several years the professional planners operating as mediators attempted to solve the existing problems without success. There were only two people who suggested professional mediators as possible "brokers" in the whole situation indicate a possible mistrust for such professionals. However, it can be said that there is a noted ignorance of planners as mediators in all sectors of the population. It is thus, the responsibility of planners themselves to identify their profession as a key mediator in conflict so as to convince the people.

In Bonella four people said that the problem could not be solved by anyone as it was very complicated. However ten interviewees felt positive that a combination of people from the Central and Local Governments could play a very imported role in solving the problem. Six respondents saw the CMDA together with organs of Local Government as able to play an important role in solving the problem. Five people did not know how the problem could be solved, six respondent mentioned professional mediators on their own or in another combination as a problem solving solution in the area. The CMDA has been one of the key players in the Cato Manor special presidential lead project, hence the question: what has been the role of the CMDA in the whole process? Have they tried to solve the problem? Have they been successful? If not, what do you see as the reason? Was it inevitable. The findings appear in the following table.

QUESTION 8: TABLE 13
THE ROLE OF CMDA (multiple responses)

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
CMDA HAS NOT TRIED TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS	16	8	1	25	42
CMDA HAS BEEN AGAINST PEOPLE	16	—	—	16	27
CMDA HAS SIDED WITH THE WHITE MANOR GARDENS PEOPLE	16	—	—	16	27
CMDA HAS TRIED ALONE NOT WITH OTHER PEOPLE TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS	6	2	5	13	22
CMDA EMPLOYEES WILL NOT HAVE A JOB IF THE PROJECT ENDS	6	—	—	6	10
CMDA EFFORTS ARE COMMENDABLE	—	10	2	12	20
CMDA'S ROLE IN DISPUTE IS DETRIMENTAL TO MANOR GARDENS RESIDENTS	—	8	3	11	18
CMDA'S ROLE IS CONFUSING	—	4	6	10	17
CMDA'S EFFORTS HAS NO RESULTS	4	4	4	12	20
DON'T KNOW / NO RESPONSE	3	3	16	22	37

The Cato Crest respondents in their majority believe that the CMDA has not tried to solve the problem and that the organisation has been "against the people" (this means the poor people who live in the informal settlement are unemployed etc). The majority of the same respondents indicated that the CMDA has sided with the Manor Gardens residents and thus against the Cato Crest population as a whole, only a small number of Cato Crest residents have said that CMDA has tried to solve the problem.

There were also negative comments regarding the organisation (CMDA) from Manor Gardens' residents, but they are not as vehement or as many as those emanating from the Cato Crest respondents. Most Bonella residents did not know but those of which answers found, the CMDA's role is largely confusing.

QUESTION 9: TABLE 14 The respondents were asked whether they were aware that many months ago residents and leaders of Cato Crest and Manor Garden came together in a developmental "social compact" agreement. Has the situation been resolved? Findings appear in the following table.

THE SOCIAL COMPACT AGREEMENT **(multiple response)**

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
UNAWARE OF AGREEMENT	15	11	—	26	43
CMDA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR NOT POPULARISING AGREEMENT	15	14	7	36	60
THE MAYOR TRIES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS	15	—	4	19	32
AWARE OF AGREEMENT	12	9	—	21	35
AWARE OF AGREEMENT , BUT UNAWARE OF THE RESULT	9	9	7	25	42
THINGS ARE PROGRESSING WELL	3	3	2	8	13
NO RESPONSE / DON'T KNOW	—	6	16	22	37

It is interesting to note that there is a great ignorance of the agreement by both Cato Crest and Manor Gardens residents. This as can be gauged, is one of the few cases where such a congruence has occurred. Both sets of residents have blamed the CMDA as responsible for not popularising the agreement. The congruence of opinions, however, ends there. It becomes evident that the residents of Cato Crest believe that the efforts of Durban Central Mayor (Mr Mlaba) could solve the problems, while not even one respondent in Manor Gardens believe the same. It is interesting to note the agreement on the slow progress of CMDA, which has also been evident in other empirical studies on this topic as has been already noted in the context of the

study undertaken. It is also interesting to note that a good percentage of people were aware of the agreement and unaware of the results. This is precisely because for many months there had been a veil of secrecy, mixed with inactivity on all fronts despite the fact that the Cato Crest representatives of society had organised several marches, protests and petitions to the CMDA, Metro Council and Mayor Mlaba. The local government representatives in the area have their own "constituencies" comprising of informal settlements but the Cato Crest residents have not seen them at all as their own. Both these local representatives have been described as "very close to the CMDA Board", especially its Deputy Head, Willies Mchunu, an ANC M.L.P. There are many residents of Bonella who do not know of these agreements, while a good number of them were aware of the results. A very small number of residents believe that things are progressing well, and this perception and opinion signifies a deep-rooted pessimism regarding the situation.

QUESTION 10: TABLE 15 How can all surrounding communities (Bonella, Cato Crest and Manor Gardens) integrate themselves as a community for the future? Is it possible? Can it be achieved? How can it be achieved? The following responses were received in relation to this question.

POSSIBLE COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

	CATO CREST	MANOR GADENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
INTEGRATION HAS ONLY SLIGHT CHANCE	17	—	—	17	28
CATO CREST AND BONELLA READY FOR INTEGRATION, BUT NOT MANOR GARDENS	17	—	—	17	28
MANY INDIANS IN BONELLA NOT KEEN ON INTEGRATION	8	—	—	8	13
INTEGRATION IS POSSIBLE BUT WILL TAKE A LONG TIME	6	—	—.	6	10
AFRICANS ARE READY FOR INTEGRATION	14	—	—	14	23
INTEGRATION WILL BE IDEAL BUT MUST HAPPEN GRADUALLY AND MUST BE VOLUNTARY	—	15	10	25	42
INTEGRATION IS A "PIPE DREAM"	—	8	—	8	13
INTEGRATION IS DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF CIRCUMSTANCES	—	—	8	8	13
NO RESPONSE	—	2	7	9	15

Seventeen of the Cato Crest residents saw such a possibility having a very slight chance, because although they felt Cato Crest and Bonella residents were ready and prepared for such an eventuality, this was not the case in Manor Gardens. They saw themselves as rich and superior to other groups. Cato Crest people saw possibilities of integration with Bonella although there were also some eight respondents who believed that most Indians in Bonella were not keen on the idea of integration for their own "ethnic" reason.

Six Cato Crest residents however, believe that integration between the three communities was possible. They felt strongly that such a reality would firstly, take a very long time, secondly, it would require the death of the feelings of superiority of both Whites and Indians in the other area thirdly, will contribute to a continuous effort to stop crime in the areas. There were strong feelings expressed that the Africans in Cato Crest were open to everybody for integration, because not only it was a part of African Tradition (especially through "UBUNTU" – African Humanism), but also because of the political realities in the country, (reconciliation, forgiveness, reconstruction and development). The respondents who expressed these ideas believed that economic development would occur after the achievement of integration, because big companies would want to invest in areas where there is integration and peace.

Fifteen of the Manor Gardens residents said that although integration would be ideal and could happen in the distant future, there were two basic requirements for it to be successful:

(a)   To take place very slowly and not immediately, so that the various cultures should find time to mix properly and understand each other and

(b)   To be voluntary and not forced, in other words to be agreed upon by all people

involved. There was a feeling that the integration would be forced down their (as

the line of employment equity bill has been in the business menu) throat. There

was a strong belief that all people who had different cultures, would prefer to

associate and integrate with people of the same distinctive cultures.

Eight respondents saw integration of all surrounding communities as a pipe dream that would

never happen "under normal circumstances" because what people wanted is to mix with their own

kind. This would even happen if integration was forced up on the Whites of Manor Gardens, who

had two choices according to these respondents:

(a)   to either defend their cultures with everything they had at their disposals,

or

(b)   To leave the area, sell their houses and move elsewhere.

The general feeling was that solution (b) was difficult because of the devaluation in property

values, but it was felt that the more they are away from the area, the better as a solution. However,

there was also a belief that it was difficult for Government to force integration between people

through legal measures. Very few people refused to answer these questions in Manor Gardens. In

Bonella the feelings were mixed although Bonella's residents don't see their area as very close

(Geographical, humanly or emotionally) with Cato Crest and Manor Gardens, etc. Its residents

found the above question challenging.

Ten respondents indicated that integration was very possible given the fact that the residents of all

area would give respect for other areas' religious, cultural and social norms and behaviour.

Several of the respondents complained that African people "gate crashed" their parties consuming

alcohol and such incidents created animosity. If integration, such behaviour should be banned for good neighbourhood to reign.

Eight respondents in Bonella felt that integration was very difficult, because of many and diverse historical and present circumstances. It was pointed out that the various race groups had for many years have been suspicious towards other groups and this will make it very difficult for various groups to integrate. They also said that the various "cultures" wanted to be left alone to flourish as Whites and Indians wanted to mix with their own people so as to the Africans.

Seven people in Bonella refused to answer the question stating mainly that it was an unfair question for various reasons. One of the reasons was that the country was now multiracial and integration was the law, forcing people to integrate even if they did not wish to do so. The next question was asked in order to assess the attitude and perception of the respondents in relations to the leadership of the respective communities and their effort to solve these problems.

4.5 THE ROLE OF THE LEADERSHIP, POLITICIANS, GRASSROOTS AND MEDIATORS.

The questions associated with this section are crucial because they would obviously indicate the attitudes, ideas and feeling of the respondents towards the role of the respective leaderships, their relationships with the grassroots, and the existing and future prospects of the utilisation of mediators. The first answers appear in relation to Question 11.

THE LEADERSHIP ROLE IN PROBLEM SOLVING **(multiple responses)**

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
LEADERSHIP MUST LEAD THE COMMUNITY ALL THE TIME.	15	4	5	24	40
LEADERSHIP MUST NEGOTIATE WITH OTHER LEADERSHIP TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS.	15	–	–	15	25
LEADERSHIP MUST ENSURE DELIVERY AND SERVICES TO THE PEOPLE.	–	6	–	6	10
LEADERSHIP MUST NEGOTIATE WITH AUTHORITIES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS.	8	3	–	11	18
OUR LEADERSHIP HAS A LOT OF PROBLEMS.	3	4	–	7	12
OUR LEADERSHIP HAS NO TRAINING AND OTHER CAPABILITIES.	4	–	–	4	7
OUR LEADERSHIP CANNOT GUIDE US FORWARD.	6	4	–	10	17
THERE IS NO ROLE FOR LOCAL LEADERSHIP BECAUSE OF THE EXISTING SITUATION.	6	10	–	16	27
OUR LEADERSHIP HAS ACHIEVED CERTAIN VICTORIES.	1	4	–	5	8
ALL LEADERSHIP IN THE AREA (AFRICAN & WHITE) ARE USELESS.	–	6	–	6	10
LEADERS MUST TRY TO BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER.	–	3	8	11	18
POLITICIANS AND NOT LEADERS DECIDE THINGS NOW.	2	4	–	6	10
DO NOT KNOW.	2	5	4	11	18

It can be seen that in the case of Cato Crest there is a belief that leaders must lead the people all the time and negotiate with the hope of solving problems with the leaderships of other areas. There is also a certain degree of disillusionment amongst the respondents who say that there is no role for local leadership. This attitude is much more prominent among the Manor Gardens residents, several of whom declared openly that all leadership was useless and thus could not solve the problems. The Manor Gardens people, however, stated openly that all leadership must ensure delivery and services to the people, while a good number of interviewees in Cato Crest stated that the leaders should negotiate with the authorities to solve the problems. It is evident

then, that these respondents still keeps some hope in the impeding negotiations with local and or provincial authorities.

The Bonella residents believe that leaders must lead the community all the time and must try to bring people together, otherwise there would be serious problems in the area. Regarding the attitudes towards politicians, the following picture emerged.

QUESTION 12: TABLE 17

THE ROLE OF POLITITIANS (MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
ROLE OF POLITICIANS IN DEVELOPMENT IS NON – EXISTANT	16	—	4	20	33
POLITICIANS CAN NOT BE TRUSTED AS THEY GO TO PEOPLE ONLY BEFORE ELECTION	16	19	—	35	58
THERE ARE POLITICIANS WHO CARE FOR PEOPLE	6	—	6	12	20
POLITICIANS ARE POWER – HUNGRY GREEDY AND NEVER KEEP PROMISES	9	21	4	34	57
POLITICIANS DO NOT CARE FOR PEOPLE	—	19	—	19	32
ANC POLITICIANS HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SUPPORT CATO CREST RESIDENTS	—	12	—	12	20
EVEN IF THERE WAS A ROLE FOR POLITICIANS THEY WOULD NOT FULFIL IT	2	—	14	16	27
ALL EXISTING PARTIES ARE USELESS	—	5	14	19	32
NO RESPONSE	3	—	6	9	15

There were similarities as well as differences of attitudes, ideas and feelings between the three communities. Thus while the Cato Crest respondents in their majority stated that the role of politicians in development is non-existent. On the contrary not one Manor Gardens interviewee felt that way. There was an agreement between the two groups when they said that politicians

should not be trusted as they go to people only before elections. This agreement cuts along class and racial barriers indicate strong feeling of resentment and dislike towards politicians. However, the feelings of the Manor Gardens interviewees were much stronger, especially when they mentioned that politicians were power-hungry, greedy and never keep promises. This was also expressed by both Cato Crest and Bonella interviewees, but to a lesser extent. The Bonella interviewees had strong negative feelings about politicians, as they believed that even if there was a role for politicians, they would not fulfil it and all other existing parties were useless.

The rest of the people in Bonella either laughed at the question or refused point blank to answer because they felt a question regarding a politicians' role in a situation such as Cato Manor was basically incorrect. They loathed political parties and politicians to such an extent as to refuse to answer questions about them. One of those interviewees put his case succinctly.

> "Politicians have no role in Cato Manor. They cannot solve any problem, because they themselves are the main problem, look at the land restitution situation. I refuse to answer".

QUESTION 13: TABLE 18 The next question was related to the perception of how ordinary people saw themselves in the situation? Did they have a role to play? Could they play a constructive role? How could this be achieved?

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY (MULTIPLE RESPONSES)

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
PEOPLE HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY	15	4	7	26	43
CATO CREST PEOPLE HAVE STRUGGLED	15	—	—	15	25
PEOPLE ARE DISEMPOWERED BY POLITICIANS AND ORGANISATIONS LIKE THE CMDA	11	—	4	15	25
ORDINARY PEOPLE HAVE NO ROLE TO PLAY	5	18	9	32	53
ALTHOUGH PEOPLE HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY, THIS IS DENIED TO THEM BY POLITICIANS ETC.	3	—	—	3	5
PEOPLE ARE REMOVED FROM REAL DECISION MAKING PROCESSES	2	18	—	20	33
ONLY LEADERS PARTICIPATE	—	18	—	18	30
PEOPLE DO NOT WANT TO GET INVOLVED	—	18	6	24	40
NO ANSWER	—	3	9	11	18

The questions were as follows: How the ordinary people themselves have a role to play in this situation? Can they play a constructive role? How can this be achieved?

In Cato Crest fifteen respondents said that ordinary people had a role to play in this situation and in fact they had done good so far several years ago. It was said that, it was a well-known phenomenon in Cato Crest community, many people had helped the victims of the flood with food, money, shelter etc. The Cato Crest people had participated in several highly successful marches and demonstrations to show their concern regarding the lack of delivery of services and housing, they had operated successful small businesses on a collective basis. However, even these people who mentioned these things were reluctant to state how a constructive role that could be played by people, regarding the very issues at stake. These respondents said that the people

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sometimes were very much dis-empowered by the politicians and the various organisations like the CMDA, who did not consult the population of the various areas regarding there problems.

Five respondents felt that, ordinary people did not have any role to play in the situation. Constructive role was only played by various organisations like CMDA and certain individuals. This was the fault of the people, but CMDA, politicians, the Mayor etc did not want and did not allow the people to use their own ideas and initiatives in having a role in the situation.

Three respondents felt that although people had a role to play this was denied to them by the politicians alone, because the politicians wanted the people subservient to them and wished to control them for their own (politicians) benefit. These respondents said that it was the politicians who really stopped the ANC's Cato Crest branch from developing into a really political organ of the movement and only reopened before the 1997 conference, and they (the politicians) did not want the ANC Youth League to become a very important player. This was true because the politicians did not want the people to develop and see a role for themselves in the problem solving. Such attitudes point to a certain perception that prevails amongst some sections of the population in informal settlements.

Eighteen of the Manor Gardens respondents said that ordinary people did not have a role to play in this situation for several reasons:

> (a) They were far removed from real decision making processes. Politicians and the CMDA dictated things. It was very difficult to challenge this process.

(b) The way the problem between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens was tackled, it was planned for the "leadership" only. The leadership (and those behind them) did not see any reason why ordinary people should be involved?

(c) Ordinary people themselves did not want to get involved in these processes, because they saw nothing tangible from such an exercise. The politicians did not appreciate whatever they did in their involvement in this process.

Four respondents were of the opinion that ordinary people could and should have a role to play in this situation. The key to this role was their participation in the whole process, i.e. at meetings, forums, etc. If this participation occurred, there could have been no solutions taken behind their back, because they could have taken the relevant steps. One of these interviewees gave the example of the legal measures undertaken by the leadership of Manor Gardens against the CMDA and the Cato Crest residents several years ago.

Three respondents refused to answer the question as they said they had no idea how ordinary people had a role to play in the situation.

Nine people in Bonella said that ordinary people had no role to play in the situation because they did not have the time, appetite and the knowledge to be participants in the matter which seemed very complicated.

Seven respondents said that they saw no reason why people could not play a constructive role in this situation. However only two of them gave some ideas of how this could be achieved, i.e. through their active participation in the process under examination?

Nine respondents did not know or refused to answer how this could occur. The last question was related to the existing knowledge and beliefs of people regarding the mediator and was asked:

- Do you know what a mediator is?

- Do you think that he/she can play a role in solving the problem?

- How can it happen?

The answers are to be found in the table below:

QUESTION 14: TABLE 19 THE MEDIATOR

	CATO CREST	MANOR GARDENS	BONELLA	TOTAL	%
DO NOT KNOW WHAT A MEDIATOR IS AND HIS / HER	24	3	12	39	65
KNOW WHAT A MEDIATOR IS	6	27	18	41	68
MEDIATOR COULD PLAY A GOOD ROLE IN THE SITUATION	4	9	—	13	22
IT IS VERY DIFFICULT FOR MEDIATOR TO SOLVE PROBLEMS	8	6	10	24	40
DO NOT KNOW	18	15	20	53	88

Twenty-four respondents in Cato Crest did not know what a mediator was and his/her role in solving the problem. This despite the fact that mediators (and teams of mediators) have been busy under the auspices of the CMDA with community structures of both the Manor Gardens and Cato Crest communities in order to solve problems.

The ignorance of such a large proportion of the sample of the role of the mediator indicates once again the lack of communication between the leadership and the community in this urban informal

settlement. The CMDA's pattern of communication is questioned as well as the Association as a number of "liaison officers" throughout Cato Manor, whose main aim is to communicate key decisions and processes to the ordinary people at report back meetings, but seem to have not performed their task.

Six interviewees in the informal settlement were aware of what a mediator was, but were very pessimistic regarding a possible role in solving the problem. They did not know how this could happen. On the contrary, twenty respondents in Manor Gardens knew what a mediator was and twelve of them thought that he/she could play a role in solving the problem by following the paths of negotiation. The rest could not say how the mediators could solve the problem.

This pattern of responses indicates a wide gap of knowledge between the two categories of people interviewed, which in many ways is understandable given the disparity of educational qualifications between individuals within the groups. Twenty-seven people in Bonella knew what a mediator was, but all of them felt that it was very difficult (if not, impossible) for him/her to solve the problems. This was due to the complication of the various social and racial dynamics associated with the problems in question. Twelve respondents in Bonella did not know what a mediator was and could not answer whether he/she could play a role in solving the problem.

It can be argued at this stage that the impact of the planners' intervention as mediators in Cato Manor cannot be measured as yet since it is evident that a greater percentage of the respondents either did not know their existence nor their role in assisting to solve existing problems.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been mentioned repeatedly that urban segregation as existed under apartheid need to be replaced with harmonious integrated "spatial urban patterns in the new South Africa". However, such a task is not easy, not only because of the historical legacy of apartheid, but also due to the present and future constraints rooted in this legacy. High expectations of the African majority in terms of racial and spatial integration, provision of housing and infrastructure contrast sharply with expressed wishes of White communities to "maintain first world standards", and "high property values".

In many cases these class and race – based differences lead to unresolved conflict as the recent past throughout the communities has shown almost conclusively. These conflicts need to be resolved or managed in the interim and in Durban alone one of the most popular problem-solving mechanisms has been the creation and agreements on "Social Compact" between various "Stakeholders". While the mobility of certain sections of the African middle – classes is evident throughout the Province (and indeed the Country), the hopeless situation in informal settlements in and around the urban landscape deteriorates.

As unemployment increases and the promises of delivery wane by the day, restlessness is inevitably created. Disillusionment, anger and frustration lead to conflict, crime and violence. The present study sought to explore the conflict and conflict management process in Cato Manor and how they affect planning but more importantly for achieving spatial and community integration if

possible in post – apartheid South Africa and especially in the Durban Metropolitan Area. Its objectives were to assess the varied responses and attitudes of communities living in formal housing to growth of informal settlements nearby, and attitudes towards possible spatial and community integration through the planning process.

5.2 INVESTIGATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

The key communities participating in the study were the mainly White and middle – classes Manor Gardens, the established area of Bonella (mainly inhabited by "Indians") and the poverty – stricken informal settlement of Cato Crest). The key research question was whether conflict management could be possible within the planning processes and how this could be applied to the existing problems, leading to conflicts between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens communities. Findings could be expected to help the professional planners on the most effective strategies to be adopted in the planning process in order to achieve community and spatial integration and hopefully peaceful solutions to the existing problems. Inevitably, the attitudes, ideas, perceptions and believes of the respondents in these three target areas differed significantly. This is understandable, baring in mind the racial, cultural, historical and class differences amongst these three groups of people.

There was a general agreement however that there were problems relating to development, which need urgent attention, otherwise the already existing conflict of opinions and practice will sharpen in the near future, especially in relation to the problem of the "interface" between Cato Crest and Manor Gardens. There are identifiable leadership problems within all these communities and this crisis of leadership was seen as instrumental in the conflict experienced so far.

"Development"(in its general "form") was seen differently by the respondents in the three communities. There were differing ideas and perceptions regarding the existing problems whereby residents in the three communities blamed "the others" for the past and present problems. A certain degree of tension (and even animosity) could be detected in the respondents towards one member of other communities. The key priorities of development were also different. While respondents in the informal settlement identified housing, health and the creation of jobs as key priorities, cited also "as a general agreement on development was "peace and stability". Manor Gardens and Bonella residents saw Job creation, the stopping of violence and peace as key priorities. There were contrasting comments regarding the role of the CMDA in the "negotiation process", while generally there was an awareness of problems existing between the communities.

The burning desire of the Cato Crest community for the building of houses in the "Interface" was evident throughout the interview, while the opposing view of: **no low cost housing in the area** was supported by the majority of Manor Gardens residents. The respondents in Bonella (who although in the vicinity are not directly affected by Manor Gardens – Cato Crest problems. As they see it, negotiations, constructive debates are the only solutions to the problems.

It was believed in Cato Crest that if the situation continues as it is today, there would be serious conflict within and between the surrounding communities, and the majority of Manor Gardens respondents agreed upon this. The Cato Crest people saw the Central Government as their salvation to these problems via a direct intervention, although they were signs that many respondents were disillusioned with the ANC's "lack of delivery". The CMDA according to them had not tried to solve the problems, they were perceived to be "on the side of the Whites"(Manor Gardens residents).

Both Manor Gardens and Bonella residents also expressed negative attitudes towards the CMDA. There was noticeable ignorance on the part of both Manor Gardens and Cato Crest residents regarding certain agreements signed between their leadership, which would ultimately lead to social compacts, spearheaded by CMDA and the Durban Central Mayor Mr. O. Mlaba. This, despite the fact that these agreements were published in the news papers (including the "IZWI" newspaper), which is distributed free to all Cato Manor residents. There were differing feelings towards the "integration" of the three areas into a "wider community". While Cato Crest residents saw it as having a slight chance, because of what was perceived as feelings of superiority on the part of the residents of Manor Gardens' residents, their Manor Gardens counterparts were more positive to a certain degree.

The Bonella residents also gave different opinions regarding the integration, which were mixed in many ways. There was an all round agreement on the role of the politicians in the situation as non-existent. In Manor Gardens, the respondents were more vehemently against the politicians than those in Cato Crest, stating that politicians did not care for people. Very similar feelings were expressed in Bonella. The communities debated the role of ordinary people in such situation. While in Cato Crest the majority felt that ordinary people had a role to play in rectifying the situation, exactly the opposite was elicited from the Manor Gardens residents. The opinions in Bonella were divided on the question.

There was an almost completely ignorance on the part of Cato Crest residents of what a mediator is. These respondents were also unaware that a mediator or a Town Planner was involved for

several years in the negotiations between the parties under the auspices of the CMDA, on the contrary the vast majority of Manor Gardens' residents knew what a mediator was.

These interesting contrasts in opinions ideas, attitudes and beliefs point to the existence of certain trails of conflict which are based on historical, cultural, racial and class factors. There are possibilities of the escalation of the conflict in the near future, especially if the envisaged infrastructural and housing promises by the Government and other institution (Metropolitan Council, CMDA etc.) do not materialise. Let us not forget that 1996 was declared the "year of implementation" by the CMDA (IZWI February 1996). Despite the continuous building of the Cato Crest Multipurpose Centre, and the erection of some few "model houses" inaugurated by Mayor Mlaba in December 1998, little has really happened in Cato Crest. The "contribution" of town planners regarding the Cato Crest Precinct Development Plan (Harber, Masson and Associates) is a technically flawless exercise of a "technical" nature.

5.3 RECOMENDATIONS

Having done the investigations and the summary, the recommendations thereof respond to the investigations and the discussions. Also the recommendations are involving the planning process/approach and the conforming roles of the planner.

The human factor and the potential for conflict are completely overlooked, although the section on the "interface" indicates the dissatisfaction of Manor Gardens residents regarding the perceived devaluation of their properties (Haber, Masson 1996: 7 – 8). Yet a partner in the above mentioned company (Masson) played the role of the "mediator" in the "conflict" as a consultant to the CMDA. The type of housing (low cost) proposed to be built in the "interface" seems to be the

problem for Manor Gardens' residents as it is perceived that they will be cause for property devaluation. Negotiations are necessary once more and the mediator (planners consulting for CMDA) risks a great deal if they act as if history is unimportant to both communities. If, initially, the objectives were not clearly defined and understood by both communities, it is therefore necessary to re-assemble and set clear objectives on every bargaining item and also understand the context within which the objectives are re-established.

The challenge for planners involved is to mould the present landscape towards a more equitable, viable and liveable form. Low cost housing development proposal in the interface requires a compromise on the part of Manor Gardens' residents mainly to allow a process of spatial integration to occur. Cato Crest and Manor Gardens' residents co-exist in close proximity but are kept apart by apartheid buffer zone. Properties in Manor Gardens have been devaluated already due to the existence of shacks nearby. The development of low cost housing in the interface will improve the quality of lives of the Cato Crest residents. It is envisaged that it will bring about the provision of infrastructure and services such as clean water and sanitation, economic opportunities which will hopefully lead to the creation of work opportunities and ultimately peace and stability in the area. This requires all parties concern to interact through negotiations to reach a joint decision on this common concern in order to resolve this conflict. Capable mediators should commit in the stability of the outcome that they (together with both communities) will jointly shape.

The planning processes in this instance have been torn apart by the existing differences between the various constituencies and stakeholders. The importance of a planning process should be seen

as a means of coping with situations. Goals, dreams and hopes of these communities are suppose to be based on what is truly important and therefore, the planning process must reflect this.

The various "social compacts" agreed upon between the communities in the conflict never came off the ground. Based on the perceptions of the communities, it appears that the town planners involved saw the solution of the problem as a rational problem solving exercise completely, alienated from the ideological and political terrain of society, a "politically neutral" "highly technical process". The communities were viewed possibly as an epitome of the "wider public interest" irrespective of their contrasting cultures, educational and income status, aspirations etc. The "services" (to the CMDA and thus recording to the planners and to the community) were offered/delivered and were of an acceptably high professional standard. There was an evident lack of collaborated planning, lack of serious consultation with the communities, despite the irrefutable fact that negotiation and "mediation" did take place. These negotiations (where the planner acted as "mediator") did not come to fruition, although it was evident that there were sufficient grounds for general agreements especially concerning housing in the interface.

There were no specific agreements on development priorities hence the conflict in that regard. This should be addressed to ensure direction so that planners accomplish those things that have the most significance to both communities It must be said that community leaders in Cato Crest and Manor Gardens complained that the communication flow and channels during this exercise were weak and sometimes non-existent. Possibly this was due to the lack of co-operation on the sides of the "conflicting neighbours" but even then, this is one of the key tasks of the mediator, to solve these problems through "enabling rules as Forester put it, sharp communication skills, key strategic interventions to resolve conflict jointly. It is evident that poor communication is the

result of conflict and therefore, there is need for direct channel of communication with communities to avoid conflict so as to reach mutually satisfying outcome.

Advocacy planning seems to have waned in South Africa today as the free market forces rooted in the theory and practice of GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) reign supreme. Of course there are planners still committed to the underdogs, the have not, the poorest of the poor, but they are very unlikely to be called as consultants to such problem solving planning exercises. After all they are few and between, but they certainly have a role to play if they persist in their selfless endeavours.

The leadership of the three communities failed in the process to direct and influence the task-related activities of their group members. For example, Cato Crest need the type of leadership that has the ability to use different forms of power to influence in a number of ways the attitudes or behaviour of Manor Gardens' residents. Indeed, leaders have influenced soldiers to kill, also leaders have influence employees to make personal sacrifices for the good of the company. I, therefore, believe that ideals can be re-enforced if they are sincere. It is important that leaders of these three communities should not be hypocrites but make positive statements of ethics to influence decision-making and mediate effectively in disputes to ensure that parties involved reach acceptable results voluntarily. This can be achieved in Cato Manor with the use of skilled leadership.

Integrated developmental planning has been absent from the processes explored in Cato Manor. There has been no direct participation of communities in the planning and possibly this is a key reason why the "social compacts" agreed upon collapsed. You cannot have fruits without the

roots, it is a principle of sequence. It is therefore recommended that planners should work with communities, not against them. There have been no serious attempts to bring together the majority of "stakeholders" and defined clearly their roles, that is, (private sector, the local, provincial, state and the communities affected by the planning processes). In order to visualise and activate a proper, well – structured, widely accepted plan, hence the conflict situation and the accountability inherent in these planning processes is absent on the part of both consultants and the CMDA.

Responsibility and empowerment of communities is absent, thus the local state and market forces having the know-how and resources at their disposal continue their "developmental roles". The presence of a planner acting as a listener, mediator and a facilitator is crucial in the conflictual situation. Simmering without general consensus, integrated developmental planning cannot be transformed into a process. For this to happen the participation of all communities at all levels is imperative. Collective decisions are key elements of such a process. What is happening for years now is top - down centralised planning that has taken scant notice of the particularities of the material conditions and existing realities in the area. A visionary and intellectually sound town planner needs to take these realities into account.

A centralised top – down approach cannot lead to capacity building of the poor and the neglected and this is to the detriment of the democratically planned integrated planning process. Planners are intellectuals who possess challenging knowledge, expertise and experiences of which in turn can be transferred to the communities in a democratic manner. They can also play a key role in the conflict management or contribute to the conflict resolution, but the key question is why arrive at a conflict in the first place? It is always true that prevention is better than cure.

It is therefore, recommended that the communities should be involved in the strategic decision-making and planning processes of their development, and this is not only possible but also essential to the effectiveness and success of these processes. Communities can halt development if they are not involved in the planning process. This is to ensure that the outcome will reflect the needs, interests, preferences and values of the community/ies involved.

The planner should play a proactive role, so that he/she is able to ensure that the decision-making processes and policy-making processes are responsive and sensitive to the needs of the poor communities involved. Accordingly, planners must supplement their technical skills with informed conflict management skills. Planners, as mediators should ensure that the interests of all competing parties are taken into account from the beginning of the planning process. South Africa is highly pluralistic with pluralistic interests. The existence of inequalities in distribution of wealth, resources such as land, social and economic opportunities has made conflict endemic. Cato Manor is one of the cases amongst many where conflict or dispute is demonstrated. In such situations, there is ample scope for mediation roles in the planning process. If conflict is managed well in Cato Manor, it can have positive outcomes in establishing relation between all communities involved. There can be no relationship without confidence and no confidence without integrity. To maintain an effective relationship, maturity and strong character is required.

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

1. Buthelezi, C. Cato Crest Community Leader, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999.

2. Buthelezi, C. (1998) Personal Communication

3. Dlamini, E.S and Diane, N (1998) Personal Communication Housing Facilitator: Durban Metropolitan Durban

4. Frazer, M. (1997) Personal Communication (Housing Facilitator, Durban Metropolitan Council)

5. Khanyile, S. (1998) Personal Communication

6. Lutchman, N. (1996) Personal Communication with D Mthethwa

7. Maharaj, B. (1997) Personnal Communication, Department of Geography University of Durban Westville

8. Makhathini, M. (1997) Personal Communication (Director: Housing Delivery Durban Metropolitan Council)

9. Mthethwa, J (1996) Personal Communication

10. Mwandla, M. (1995) & (1996) Interview with E. Dlamini

11. Mwandla, M. (1998) Personal Communication.

12. Mwandla, M. (1998) Personal Communication.

13. Ngcobo, C. (1997) Personal Communication

14. Ngcobo, C. (1998) Personal Communication with E Dlamini

15. Personal Communication of E. Mthembu with G. Piana, Leader of Manor Gardens Residents Association

16. Pillay, D. (1998) Personal Communication Newlands West Development Forum

17. Shabalala, N (1997) Personal Communication

18. Zandile (1996) ANC Youth Leader

QUESTIONAIRE

1. Age   : _____

2. Level of Education : _____

3. Profession   : _____

4. Annual Income   : _____

5. Religion   : _____

6. There are problems between people who live in Cato Gardens, Bonela, and Cato Crest. Can you give us your personal understanding of these problems?

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7. There is a feeling that there is animosity between people who live in formal houses etc and those in the squatter camps, especially Cato crest. What are the reasons for this?

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8. When development starts in Cato Crest what must be the first priorities of the
   developers and for the people around to take care of?

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9. There have been negotiations between the representatives and leaders of Cato Crest
and Manor Gardens to solve the problem of the "InterFace" for a long time. Do you
know what the real problems are? How do you see these problems?

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10. What kind of houses must be built in the inface? Low cost houses? Expensive houses? Middle of the range houses? Can you elaborate on your answer?

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11. Do you agree that if this problem continues there could be serious conflict within and between the surrounding communities? How can this be addressed?

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12. Who can really solve this problem in the area? People from the central state? The Durban Metro? Professional mediators? The CMDA? Others? (specify). Giove reason for your answer.

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13. What has been the role of the CMDA in the whole process? Have they tried to solve the problem? Have there been successful? If not, what do you see as the reason?

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14. Many months ago residents and leaders of Cato Crest and Manor Gardens came together in a developmental "social compact"/agreement. What has happened since then? Why has the situation not been resolved?

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15. How can **all** surrounding communities (Bonella, Cato Crest and Manor Gardens) integrated themselves as a community in and for the future? Is this possible? Can it be achieved? How can it be achieved?

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16. What is\can be the role of the leadership of the community in solving these problems? Do they have a role to play? How this role can be played?

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17. What has been the role of politicians in the situation? Do you feel they have a role to play in solving the problem?

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18. How the ordinary people themselves have a role to play in this situation? Can they play a constructive role? How can this be achieved?

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19. Do you know what a mediator is? Do you think that he/she can play a role in solving the problem? How can it happen?

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