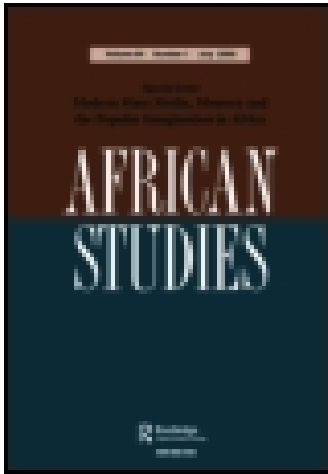


This article was downloaded by: [The Library, University of Witwatersrand]

On: 01 July 2014, At: 07:18

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



African Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cast20>

New African Suburbanisation? Exploring the Growth of the Northern Corridor of eThekweni/KwaDakuza

Alison Todes^a

^a University of the Witwatersrand

Published online: 12 Jun 2014.

To cite this article: Alison Todes (2014): New African Suburbanisation? Exploring the Growth of the Northern Corridor of eThekweni/KwaDakuza, *African Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/00020184.2014.925188](https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2014.925188)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2014.925188>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

New African Suburbanisation? Exploring the Growth of the Northern Corridor of eThekweni/KwaDukuza

Alison Todes*

University of the Witwatersrand

(Received 5 February 2014; accepted 19 February 2014)

Suburbanisation, understood as ‘the combination of non-central population and economic growth with urban spatial expansion’ has been on the rise in African cities, as well as internationally, and has taken on diverse forms. This article contributes to an understanding of the dynamics of suburbanisation through exploring the growth since the 1990s of the northern corridor of eThekweni municipality and the adjacent KwaDukuza municipality. The article outlines the evolution of development in these areas, the role of various actors, agencies and institutions in shaping growth, and the influence of changing governance structures and rescaling. While the growth dynamics of the two municipalities are interrelated, the main agencies and actors, and thus the forms of growth, are rather different. Within eThekweni’s north, a major landowner has been key in driving growth and in shaping development, in contrast to KwaDukuza where far more fragmented landownership patterns prevail. There are also contrasts in the way various parts of the state and forms of regulation, particularly urban planning, have influenced development in the area. The influence of private sector planning is also explored. The article shows the complexity of suburbanisation dynamics, and the way they vary even in two municipalities in the same region.

Key words: African cities, suburbanisation, urban growth, urban planning, rescaling, local government, urban land, South African cities, eThekweni, KwaDukuza

The last two decades have seen massive growth of many African cities, in part linked to economic growth. Much of this growth takes the form of expansion on the urban periphery (Angel et al. 2011), and may involve new types of urban development linked to the rise of the urban middle classes, such as new towns, estates, and new economic nodes (Bloch 2011). Although peripheral urban expansion is a very significant trend in African cities, as it is internationally (Angel et al. 2011; Keil 2013b), there is little research on its dynamics and drivers. Earlier attempts to understand peripheral urban expansion internationally have tended to focus on particular forms, such ‘edge cities’ (Garreau 1991), ‘exurbia’, and so on, but these approaches are limited in that they speak to instances of such growth, rather than seeing generic, but diverse forms of urban expansion in increasingly complex cities and city-regions (McGee 2013). Ekers, Hamel and

*Email: Alison.Todes@wits.ac.za

Keil suggest that the concept of suburbanisation, defined as ‘the combination of non-central population and economic growth with urban spatial expansion’ (2012:407) is useful as a more generic concept to encapsulate a range of forms of peripheral growth. Mabin, Butcher and Bloch (2013) point to the diversity of forms of ‘suburban’ growth in African cities. Of course, the term ‘suburbs’ has particular histories and connotations, hence its use in this way is open to debate (Harris 2010; Mabin 2013). But the focus on suburbanisation is useful in opening up a broader set of inquiries into these new forms of urban growth.

Richard Harris (2013a) argues that while the social and cultural dimensions of new forms of suburbanism are well documented, there are relatively few studies which examine the dynamics of urban expansion, exploring the specificity of land development processes, the role of various agencies and actors, and the way politics and power play out in the development process. This is partially true in the African and South African literature, where a rich literature explores the meaning of new forms of suburbanism such as townhouse complexes, for example Chipkin 2013; Buire (in this Cluster), but there is less work on the dynamics of urban expansion.

This article contributes to an understanding of the dynamics of peripheral urban expansion through exploring the growth since the 1990s of the northern corridor of the Durban city-region in South Africa – the area of eThekweni municipality’s former North Local Council (called ‘eThekweni north’ here) and the adjacent KwaDukuza municipality (Figure 1). The article outlines the evolution of development in these areas, the role of various actors, agencies and institutions in shaping growth, and the influence of changing governance structures and rescaling. While the growth dynamics of the two municipalities are interrelated, the main agencies and actors, and thus the forms of growth, are rather different. Within eThekweni’s north, a major landowner has been key in driving growth and in shaping development, in contrast to KwaDukuza where far more fragmented landownership patterns prevail. There are also contrasts in the way various parts of the state and forms of regulation, particularly urban planning, have influenced development in the area. Greater attention is however given to the dynamics in eThekweni north. The article points to the way patterns of spatial inequality have been reproduced in the post-apartheid era through the acceptance of the discourse and practice of dual corridors, raising questions as to whether current developments represent a real departure from these patterns.

The article builds on and draws from an existing literature on development in the area which illuminates aspects of these dynamics, for instance Bill Freund (2002), Vishnu Padayachee (2002), Shannon Moffett and William Freund (2004) on Tongaat-Hulett, the major landowner within eThekweni’s northern area; Alison Todes (2000, 2002) and Ken Breetzke (2008) on strategic spatial planning and its impact in eThekweni; James Duminy (2008) on KwaDukuza; Jennifer Houghton (2013) on the Durban Growth Coalition; Robbins, Scott and Sutherland (2011) on the King Shaka airport; and Sutherland et al. (2011) on the development of Cornubia. It also draws on a range of documentary and sec-

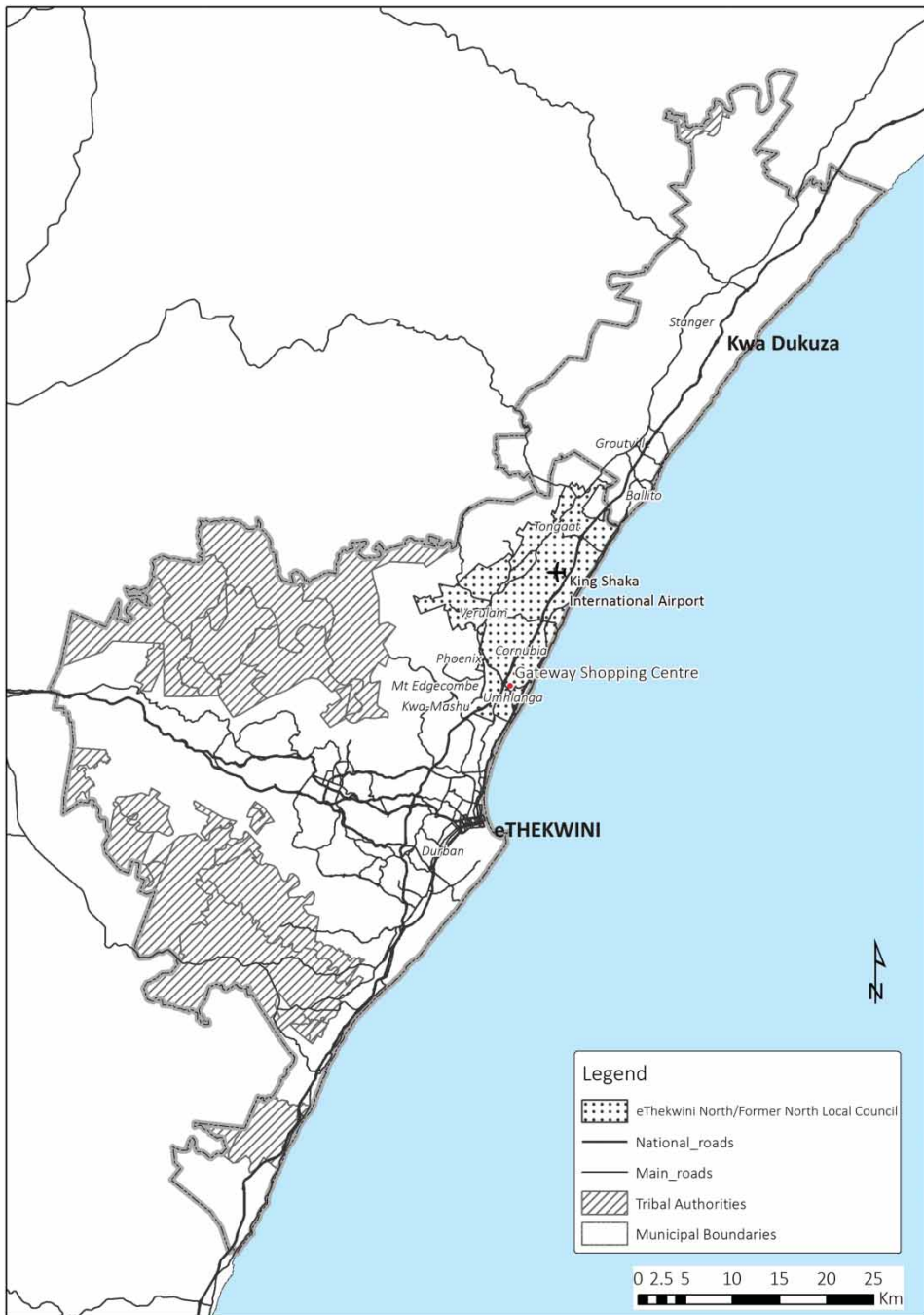


Figure 1. eThekweni North and KwaDukuza

Source: Based on boundary data on EtheKweni Municipality Corporate GIS website.

ondary sources and some 21 key respondent interviews conducted since late 2011.¹ Respondents were chosen for their knowledge of the dynamics of development in the area, and they were thus key players in provincial and local government and development agencies; private property developers; and planners, engineers and consultants working on the area.

The article is structured as follows. The first section reviews literature that enables an understanding of the dynamics of urban expansion. The next section provides a contextual overview of the region and its growth drawing on census and other data. The main part of the article discusses the dynamics of growth in the two areas, considering eThekweni's north in the period prior to and post-2000, and then the KwaDukuza area. The article concludes by reflecting on the varying dynamics in the two municipalities, and the implications for understanding suburbanisation in African cities.

Shaping Growth on the Urban Periphery

A range of literature provides an understanding of the various dimensions of urban expansion on the periphery. For the purpose of this article, the focus is on how the production of this space is driven and shaped from the 'supply' side, i.e. by the landowners, developers, agencies of the state at various scales, and by governance processes, in particular those linked to the planning and regulation of land and the development of infrastructure. While processes of economic restructuring and their influence on the type of space required by various capitals, and the changing nature of residential spaces sought by consumers is important in understanding the 'demand' for new space on the periphery, it is beyond the scope of this article.

Traditional land economics points to the way urban expansion occurs on the periphery since land there is cheaper than in more central and already urbanised areas. However, profits from converting land from agricultural or non-urban uses to urban uses can also be considerable and can drive urban expansion, although whether and how this occurs tends to be shaped by regulation (Harris 2013b). Exchange values of land are also influenced by the existence and availability of infrastructure (Filion 2013). Transport infrastructure in particular improves accessibility, raising land values, and thus often attracts development (UN-Habitat 2009). The way land development occurs will also be influenced by how land is held and controlled, i.e. by the system of land tenure and land ownership, including who owns land and the structure of ownership – whether land is held by the state, private sector or in some form of communal ownership, and by large landowners or many small landowners. Informality and the legality or otherwise of land transfer processes may also be significant in shaping growth on the urban periphery (Harris et al. 2012). Robin Bloch (2011) suggests that in a number of African cities, the role of a large landowner in driving suburbanisation has been important, although this has not yet been documented in the academic literature. More broadly, a significant literature points to the role of capital

accumulation (Harvey 1982) and the influence of the property development industry and finance capital in shaping urban development (see Ekers et al. 2012), including the way ‘growth machines’ and ‘growth coalitions’ drive urban expansion in some contexts (for example Logan & Molotch 1987; Feinstein 1994; Jonas & Wilson 1999).

The role of the state and governance at various scales is also significant (Ekers et al. 2012; Harris et al. 2012; Hamel 2013). State institutions of different types may be direct actors in driving development, for example through development projects linked to housing or economic development, and as landholders in certain contexts. However, states also play important roles in shaping urban growth through urban planning and the regulation of urban development, as well through the way infrastructure development is provided and financed. Urban planning includes both strategic spatial planning intended to shape territorial development over the long term (Healey 2007), and land use management providing for forms of zoning and development rights on specific parcels of land, as well as for the assessment of applications for development. Planning may be undertaken by institutions within various spheres of government, with differing interests, discourses and politics. Inevitably, the state, planning and regulation are sites of social conflict and contestation (Ekers et al. 2012), and it is critical to understand how the relationships between various capitals and parts of the state shape the suburbanisation process. Finally, processes of rescaling (Brenner 2004), including the restructuring of local government, the shifting of responsibilities and powers between spheres of government, can also affect how growth is shaped on the urban periphery as different politics, relationships and interests are evoked.

Context

eThekweni is a city of 3.4 million on South Africa’s eastern seaboard, while KwaDukuza is a smaller municipality adjacent to eThekweni in the north, with a population of 231,187 in 2011 (Statistics South Africa 2012). Like municipalities elsewhere in South Africa, they were created through two rounds of local government amalgamation, which brought together fragmented and racially divided administrations in the post-apartheid era. In eThekweni, over 60 municipal administrations, including the large Durban municipality, small municipalities and areas falling under provincial, ‘homeland’ and national authorities, were amalgamated first into six local municipalities (including the North Local Council) and a weak metropolitan authority in 1996, and then into a unitary metropolitan municipality in 2000. A similar process occurred to establish the KwaDukuza municipality.

Physically, the city region is located in a coastal plain with a hilly interior. Urban development historically occurred around the port and central business district, and later moved outwards from the centre around transport routes along the coastal plain and into the west. Large sugar cane holdings in eThekweni’s north and in parts of KwaDukuza have historically limited development there, although

distance from the main economic nodes in Durban also played a role. Both municipalities include inland areas which under apartheid fell within the KwaZulu homeland, but these areas are tiny within KwaDukuza. Under apartheid, areas close to the coast and along the main route to Johannesburg were reserved for white² settlement, with Indian and African areas further inland, although these patterns began to break down from the 1980s. By the late 1980s, eThekweni's north comprised a fragmented set of settlements, with some development along the coast (including Umhlanga), a few small towns inland (Verulam and Tongaat) and some informal settlements. National government policy to create large African settlements on the edges of cities in the late 1980s eventually led to the establishment of the major Waterloo low-cost housing project in the area. What is now the KwaDukuza municipality includes a series of coastal holiday resorts, including the growing Ballito area, which has increasingly come to accommodate a more permanent population commuting into eThekweni (Duminy 2008). The largest town however is the Stanger service/industrial centre, close to which is Groutville, historically an area of African freehold (Figure 1).

eThekweni is now South Africa's third largest city – a major port, tourism destination, and a significant regional service centre. It is also an important industrial centre, although some sectors such as clothing and textiles have declined in the post-apartheid era. Very few large firms have their headquarters in the city, and it is often characterised as a branch plant economy (Freund 2002). The power of Tongaat Hulett, the large sugar company with major landholdings in the north, as one of the few locally headquartered firms within the municipality, needs to be seen within this context. eThekweni north historically developed around sugar and tourism, although some clothing and textile firms also emerged. Since the 1990s however, office, retail and townhouse complexes have developed within the area, and a major new airport was established in 2010. KwaDukuza's economy centres on tourism, agriculture and services, but increasingly, areas close to eThekweni (especially Ballito), have become part of eThekweni's commuter zone, particularly with the growth of economic nodes in eThekweni north. Gated townhouse and holiday complexes and shopping centres have developed in the area.

eThekweni experienced relatively slow population growth post-apartheid – on average 1.5 per cent p.a. between 1996 and 2011, while KwaDukuza grew much more rapidly at 3.2 per cent p.a., albeit from a low base. Figure 2 shows areas of population growth and decline in eThekweni and KwaDukuza. It shows the complexity of patterns of growth and decline around eThekweni: there was significant growth on the periphery, primarily in and around former townships reserved for black people and areas of concentrated settlement, but there were also areas of decline within these places and in rural traditional and commercial farming areas on the edge. Some growth occurred in the inner city and in pockets within eThekweni north (Umhlanga, Tongaat, Verulam, Waterloo), but parts of the latter also saw population decline. Overall, population in eThekweni north grew

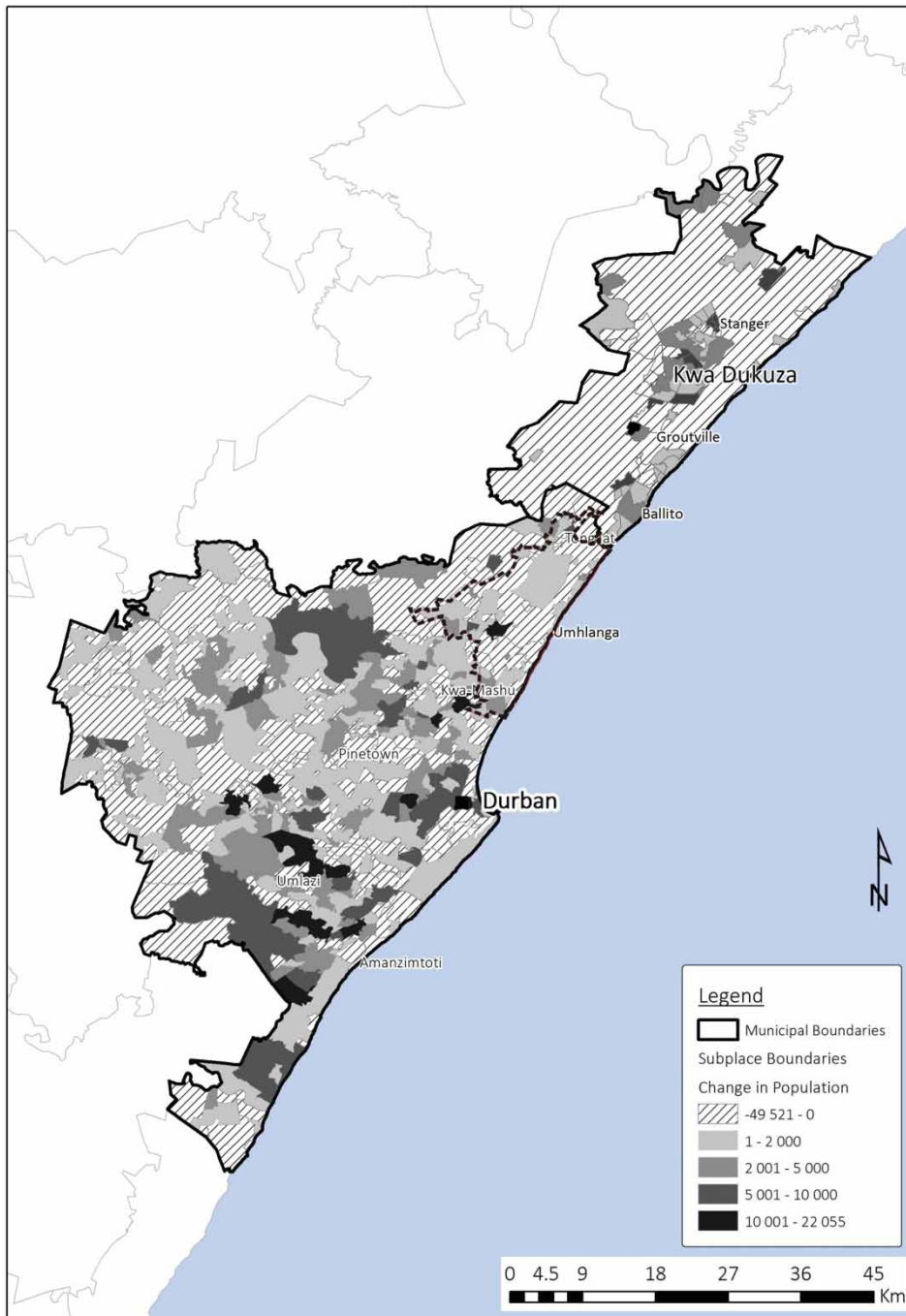


Figure 2. Population growth and decline by sub-place: eThekweni and KwaDukuza, 1996–2011
Source: Quantec (2013).

by only 22,425, much of it within Waterloo. In KwaDukuza, growth was concentrated in Ballito, Groutville, Stanger and townships close by, as well as in some of the rural areas on the edge of the municipality, while commercial farming areas experienced population decline (Figure 2).

eThekwini experienced moderate economic growth at 3.7 per cent p.a. between 1996 and 2011. KwaDukuza grew faster at 4.8 per cent (Quantec 2013). Figures 3a, b and c show the value of building plans passed for new developments between 1996 and 2012 in eThekwini, eThekwini north, and KwaDukuza. The figures demonstrate the significance of property development in the north for eThekwini,³ with eThekwini north accounting for between a low of 16 per cent of the value of new building plans passed in the municipality in 1996 to a high of 69 per cent in 1999, with peaks in the late 1990s and 2010, broadly corresponding to the development of the Gateway shopping complex and the new airport. Non-residential development has been particularly significant in eThekwini north, reinforcing arguments that new economic centralities are emerging in the area. Residential development has been far more significant than non-residential development in KwaDukuza, and in some years, the value of building plans passed for residential development has surpassed that in eThekwini north, especially since 2005. Thus the data demonstrates that suburbanisation as defined by Ekers et al. (2012) is occurring in the northern corridor of eThekwini/KwaDukuza, although the residential and hence population component within eThekwini north may be somewhat lower than might be expected.

Landownership, Planning and Local Government: The Dynamics of Urban Expansion in eThekwini North Prior to 2000

A significant part of eThekwini north's growth dynamic is linked to conversion of Tongaat Hulett's land under sugar for urban uses. Tongaat Hulett is a large company listed on the Johannesburg stock exchange, with land and operations in six countries in Southern Africa, and more than 42,000 employees (Tongaat Hulett 2011). From the 1960s, shareholders included Anglo-American, which increased its share of the company to over 50 per cent in 1998. Since the 1990s, the company has diversified into land management and property development. In 2011, it held some 8,763 developable hectares of cane land for property development in KwaZulu-Natal, about half within the eThekwini growth corridor⁴ (Tongaat Hulett 2011).

For many years, Tongaat Hulett's property interests were relatively marginal, partly due to the tax implications of large-scale property development, but some developments did occur on its land, such as the KwaMashu and Phoenix townships and the wealthy La Lucia suburb (Freund 2002). The La Mercy airport site was purchased from the company in the 1970s. The company however resisted development of its land for low-cost housing. According to a former planner at the Durban City Council:

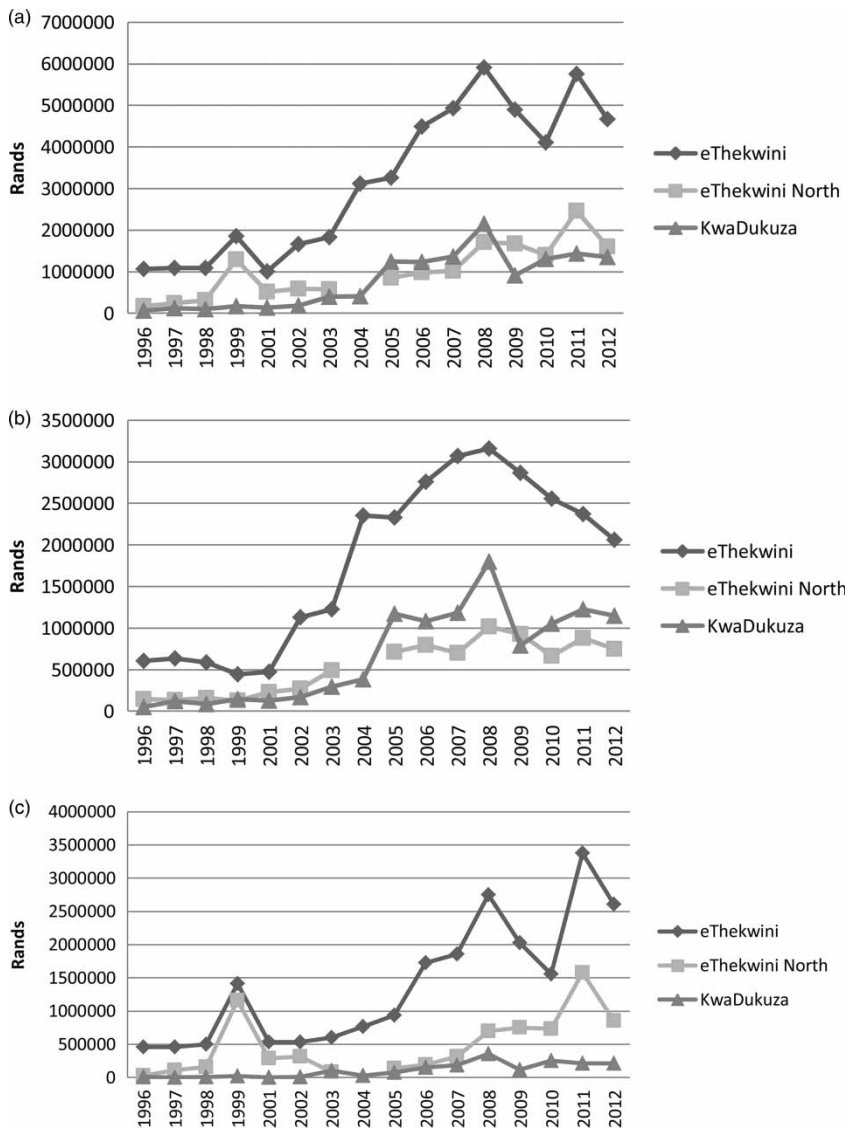


Figure 3. Value of building plans passed in eThekweni, eThekweni north and KwaDukuza, 1996–2012

- (a) Total
- (b) Residential development
- (c) Non-residential development

Source: Statistics South Africa (2013).

In the 1980s ... [Durban] wanted to do a major expansion of Phoenix ... Tongaat Hulett used their political contacts (most of the councillors in Umhlanga Rocks were ex-employees of Tongaat Hulett) who were very influential folk, and persuaded everybody that if Mount Edgecombe or Phoenix East were expropriated ... the mill

would become uneconomical. And the mill was worth R20–40 million ... So we had to leapfrog over Mount Edgecombe. (Respondent 1)

However over time, the company recognised the reality of and potentials associated with urban development and established the Morelands property company, later renamed Tongaat Hulett Developments (THD⁵), to maximise the value of its land. Because its land holdings were so large, it took a strategic approach to maximise value. According to THD planner:

There was good sense when Moreland was formed in 1981 that the primary purpose ... was to protect and enhance the value of the land. You don't do that if you just cut it up and sell it. You need to get the right planning context, and then develop in accordance with a plan and release it at the right time over a phased period of time. (Respondent 2)

Interviewees (Respondents 1, 2, 3) argued that if THD had not owned this land, it would have developed much faster and on a more ad hoc basis. This is a continuing theme in the period post-2000.

In the late 1980s, as the apartheid state came into crisis, THD set up a strategic planning process, the Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum, looking at the future development of the Durban Functional Region. It was among the first strategic spatial planning exercises in South Africa, and included extensive stakeholder consultation. It drew in important leaders and consultants in Durban, from a range of political groupings, including the African National Congress (ANC). It was run by prominent academics and consultants, and key people in THD. The planning process occurred at a time when there was something of an institutional void, with little long-term planning occurring in any of the major authorities responsible for the area. While some provincial plans in the 1980s did suggest development in the north, they remained relatively basic (Respondent 4). Arguments were made that the Durban economy was too skewed to the south, and that it was necessary to promote growth in the north (Respondent 5).

The plan posited development in the north along a two-corridor model – a wealthier coastal strip with higher income residential, tourism, retail and office development, and a poorer, inland strip, with lower income housing, industrial and retail development, in part reflecting existing patterns of development and associated property values. The plan drew from ideas of promoting urban restructuring through corridors, which were popular in alternative planning circles at the time (Respondent 5) but also accepted a class divided city. It is interesting that this aspect of the plan was accepted by participants, and has never really been challenged, perhaps reflecting tacit agreement that 'urban policy should make cities safe for capitalism' (Mabin 1998:13). In later years, developments in the high-income corridor were motivated using the language of urban competitiveness (Todes 2000).

The plan also included a set of population projections which justified significant growth in the north. Although it recognised that the very rapid urban growth in the early 1980s had resulted in projections that were probably too high, it estimated a

population of 5.7 million by 2000 (Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum 1989). It is apparent that this was a vast overestimate, but other projections at the time were of a similar order.

The two-corridor concept and the idea of significant growth in the north became highly influential as a discourse and practice – not far from Healey's (2007) conception of the potential power of strategic spatial planning. The core concepts were incorporated into several later plans for the north (including provincial plans), and has effectively shaped development there. By 2000 development was largely consistent with the plan, except for some industrial areas for which demand had not yet emerged (McCarthy & Robinson 2000). Ironically, the plan represents one of the few South African examples where strategic spatial planning has been able to shape development in this way.

In the 1990s, THD began to develop strategic parcels of land linked to the plan, especially around Umhlanga and Mt Edgecombe: the Gateway shopping mall (shoppertainment), office estates (such as Mt Edgecombe and La Lucia Ridge), golf estates and townhouse complexes, inter alia.⁶ By 2000, these included residential developments valued at some R1.68-billion, industrial construction to a value of R281-million, and commercial and office development of R1.1-billion (McCarthy & Robinson 2000).

THD's proposals in the early 1990s occurred in a context where local government was still fragmented. Most developments were in the small municipalities of Mt Edgecombe and Umhlanga, where the company had considerable influence. Padayachee (2002) for example notes that a member of the company's planning section doubled for a time as planner for the Mt Edgecombe municipality, and the company provided bridging finance to the municipality of some R150-million for infrastructure to support the new development. There were greater tensions between the Umhlanga municipality and THD over who was directing development in the north, with their planner reportedly arguing that 'You can plan whatever you want on our land, but none of it will happen unless we agree to it as the landowner' (Respondent 6).

Development in these small municipalities was overseen by the Provincial Town and Regional Planning Commission, which had the power to intervene in relation to major developments. Interviewees however argued that there were few instances where the Commission did so. Although the Commission assessed applications on the basis of traditional planning concepts of 'need and desirability', it nevertheless accepted the development of the major Gateway shopping complex well in advance of proven demand. For the Commission, arguments that the development was part of a major growth corridor, and that it would help to reimage Durban towards greater competitiveness, were important (Todes 2002).

The establishment of the two-tier system of metropolitan and local government in eThekweni in 1996 led to a new set of dynamics. At one level, there were close relationships between THD and the newly established North Local Council, which recognised the company as the only large investor in the area and a

major source of rates in a municipality, which now included a significant low-income population and limited economic activity. The former head of eThekweni planning commented:

The North Local Council played an administrative role, not questioning Tongaat Hulett's development proposals, but rather just implementing them ... The political dynamic between the North Local Council and Tongaat Hulett was so interwoven ... Tongaat Hulett had a strong political influence. (Respondent 7)

Although a metropolitan spatial planning process was initiated in 1997, it largely provided a broad framework within which the individual councils could develop their own spatial plans (Todes 2002). Although THD was not directly involved in the production of the 1997 North Local Council spatial development framework, and there was extensive participation in the plan, THD's two-corridor concept was evident in the plan, and was incorporated into metropolitan spatial plans. Participants agreed that no low-cost housing should occur east of the highway, although existing informal settlements might be upgraded. The Umhlanga New Town Centre – part of the Gateway complex – was included as a major regional node in the metropolitan spatial plan. The acceptance of spatial inequalities might have reflected the limited presence of Africans in the area, and a rates shortage, but as elsewhere in Durban, communities and local politicians were more concerned about improvements in their areas than abstract spatial restructuring (Todes 2000).

At another level however, concerns were raised within metropolitan government about the positioning of the North Local Council as Durban's 'jewel', and the impact of the growth of the north on the central business district. By the late 1990s, retail and office decentralisation was already underway, and the old central business district was reorienting towards a lower income consumer market. There were fears that the new developments in the north would exacerbate these trends. There were tensions with THD as a result. Partially in response, THD entered into public-private partnerships with the municipality to develop strategic parcels of land in other parts of the city, including on its own land in Riverhorse Valley and Bridge City close to KwaMashu and Phoenix townships, but also in the Point close to the city centre, where proposed development by Malaysian investors had fallen through as a consequence of the Asian economic crisis (Respondent 2).

THD's involvement in these projects was also linked to its participation in the Durban Growth Coalition, a forum of major businesses and local government to facilitate development in the region (Houghton 2013), which had emerged in the aftermath of the Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum (Freund 2002). While THD's participation in the Coalition helped to build its relationships with the municipality, it was not directly involved in the development of the north (Respondent 5), although it did push for the construction of the airport, which was to become the next major driver of development there in the post-2000 era (Respondent 2).

Planning, Infrastructure and Mega-Projects: The Dynamics of Urban Expansion in Durban's North since 2000

The establishment of a unitary metropolitan council shifted dynamics in the north. It meant that metropolitan planning theoretically had greater weight, and that development proposals were judged by a single authority. The position of the former Town and Regional Planning (now Development and Planning) Commission was also weakened. Nevertheless, while a 2002 metropolitan spatial development framework espoused compact development, particularly on the grounds of infrastructure costs and limitations, the municipality was forced to accept much more extensive development as a consequence of pressure by provincial government to allow the construction of a major airport in the area. Thus the municipality had to adjust its planning, and the pressure created by airport development led to new rounds of planning in the north. But tensions remained around infrastructure development.

The airport in the north was initially planned in the 1960s, but the 1970s oil crisis put paid to further development at that time. The idea of developing a new airport in the north resurfaced in the context of initiatives to promote KwaZulu-Natal as a tourism destination in the mid-90s. It was supported by (current president) Zuma, political head of economic development in the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government at the time. In later years, motivation for the airport was reoriented towards cargo and logistics, arguing on the basis of macro-economic benefit rather than feasibility (Respondent 8). At national level, there was resistance by the Airports Company of South Africa (ACSA), which had taken a strategic decision to develop a hub and spoke system focused on Gauteng's OR Tambo airport, and saw the Durban airport as premature. After considerable debate, the national cabinet finally agreed to develop a multi-modal logistics gateway in Durban using a public-private partnership. The potential role of the new airport in accommodating the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup also contributed (Respondent 9). ACSA however remained sceptical of the idea (Respondent 6). KwaZulu-Natal linked politicians at national level facilitated the process and helped to establish the Dube TradePort (DTP) Company, the development vehicle for the airport and related facilities (Respondent 8). The airport was developed in 2010, after a contested Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). At a cost of R8-billion, it was one of the two largest infrastructural projects in the city in that decade (Robbins et al. 2011).

Robbins et al. (2011) argue that eThekweni's response to the airport was at best ambivalent. There were differences in the municipality between the mayor and municipal manager (Respondent 6). Objections were raised through the EIA process. 'It only changed its tack because we had to go to the premier and say please sort this out' (Respondent 8). 'Ultimately politics made the shift' (Respondent 6). Rivalry between different groupings within the ANC combined with technical concerns of municipal officials came into play (Robbins et al. 2011). Technical reasons for eThekweni's resistance to the airport included its lack of

alignment with the city's compact city approach as reflected in its 2002 spatial development framework, and its concern to maximise existing city resources and infrastructure. The airport was beyond the urban edge designated in the 2002 plan, and wastewater services were not available. Substantial investment in new infrastructure would be required, while existing infrastructure in the central city was underused. Funds could be better used for other demands in the city. In addition, the municipality questioned the scale of the airport, the plausibility of rapidly escalating demand figures, and the claimed economic and employment benefits. A range of environmental concerns related to particular areas of land around the airport were also raised (Respondents 7, 10, 11, 12, 13).

Once eThekweni was forced to accept that the airport would go ahead, it focused on mitigation, but it did not actively support it. The extent of development close to the airport was fiercely contested, and in one case, the Provincial Planning and Development Commission stepped in, forcing the municipality to accept it. However, from 2007, eThekweni reoriented its planning to support growth in the region, and to respond to the impact of the airport (Robbins et al. 2011). The Spatial Development Framework was updated in 2011 to align with the airport, and the urban edge was shifted to the boundary with KwaDukuza. The 2008 Northern Spatial Development Plan emphasised the role of the airport in shaping future growth in the region. A subsequent Northern Urban Development Corridor (NUDC) plan was initiated to respond to and unlock development generated by the airport and the Dube TradePort. Hence the establishment of the airport has influenced the city's spatial development focus, seeing the north as the city's priority growth area.

DTP's planning saw the airport developing into an 'aerotropolis', with significant economic impacts on the wider region. It included a cargo terminal, business and warehousing areas, and an agrizone, growing crops to be flown out by air. Its broader regional plan conceived of a northern corridor, developing around a series of nodes, focused on two main corridors – similar to the earlier Tongaat Hulett and provincial plans. These broad ideas were also present in the NUDC planning (Respondents 12, 14), and in more recent provincial planning (Respondent 6).

However in reality, the impact of the airport has been far more modest, with little demand for air cargo, in part as a consequence of recession. Most development has been on the DTP site itself, but even this has been limited, although THD has brought forward the development of land to the west and north of the airport.⁷ Overall, DTP's growth projections were significantly overstated, in part reflecting local economic dynamics (Respondents 1, 3, 14).

Beyond DTP's projections, the very broad type of planning which had occurred tended to obscure questions of land demand. NUDC planners noted:

for the first time ever we quantified the proposed land uses, and compared them with historical trends, and realised that we were dealing with a 200 year plan; and when everyone, including the developers, was saying that within 5 years it will be built. (Respondent 14)

Whereas earlier municipal plans saw development as occurring incrementally from Umhlanga going north, municipal infrastructure departments were having to deal with quite fragmented development in pockets of land across a very large area, raising bulk infrastructure costs and resulting in underused infrastructure (Respondents 10, 13, 15). The slow pace of development has also meant that infrastructural capacity has to be provided for developments that either fail to occur or only happen slowly, putting pressure on municipal finances. While a 'development phasing line' has been put in place which attempts to limit development to a smaller area than the urban edge, it still includes a very large area.

Robbins et al. (2011) suggests that the very considerable costs of infrastructure that will be required to develop the north may undermine the provision of basic needs in the city. Clearly there are tensions here. Several interviewees in the public and private sectors however argued that the municipality had not given the north the required high level strategic commitment and financial support for infrastructure development (Respondents 2, 7). How the costs of development there are to be covered remains contested. The financial contributions by developers required by eThekweni for infrastructure development were low compared to other metropolitan municipalities,⁸ and there were initiatives to raise it, which were being fiercely resisted by developers, including THD. The exact formula to be used was under debate. However, this has led to a situation where the city is now in desperate need of finances to fund bulk infrastructure.

THD has continued to be a major player in the area,⁹ although ironically, its strategy of developing strategic parcels of land has meant that development in the area has been more limited than what might otherwise have occurred. Nevertheless, by the end of 2012, some 1,398 ha of their developable land had been sold in the area, including some 1.2 million m² for commercial development, 7,937 residential units, and 1.9 million m² for industrial development.¹⁰

With the creation of a unitary municipality, and a new municipal manager in 2002, tensions with THD grew. Centralised management was far more critical of Tongaat Hulett and wary of its proposals than previous authorities. Tensions were exacerbated by some of the personalities involved on both sides, and were improved by personnel changes within THD. Over time, relationships seem to have improved: some interviewees argued that Tongaat Hulett had a direct line to the municipal manager, and met frequently with him to address issues (Respondents 11, 12), although others suggested that the relationship remained difficult (Respondents 6, 10). Conflicts occurred around the development of particular parcels of land, over the details of some developments and their style and form (for example gating, visual impacts, densities), as well as over questions of who pays for infrastructure costs and the provision of public transport.¹¹

Relationships however have improved since the mid-2000s. Plans for the north have created a clear framework within which THD can engage with the municipality, and it has worked proactively with eThekweni around the NUDC plan. According to the head of planning at the time: 'There is a need to negotiate in planning processes ... By having spatial plans in place, the fight has been taken out of

the relationship; now they are working together around the plan' (Respondent 7). THD is increasingly seen as a 'good developer':

it makes sense to work with a 'willing and able' landowner/developer such as THD. Currently the city's relationship with THD is a healthy one, with necessary tensions. Even during the time of the development boom one could not ... be too dogmatic towards THD. They have been the city's most long term development partner. The quality of their developments, their experience, their rigour is notable in a world where developers come and go. (Respondent 7)

THD meets regularly with the municipality in a special forum involving representatives from various departments: 'they are given special treatment compared to other developers ...' (Respondent 11). Nevertheless, these were still spaces where the municipality tried 'to push for more "public good" and financial contributions from THD in their developments' (Respondent 12) as well as deal with servicing and other issues.

The partnerships that Tongaat Hulett has entered into with the municipality have also helped to build relationships. Within the north itself, the most important partnership has been around the large Cornubia housing and mixed-use development, another major development that will drive growth in the north.

I think the close planning work with them over Cornubia has helped to bring them across, to say 'We aren't your enemy. You do the planning, we just want to implement it'. So we increasingly have tried to support the city's planning initiatives, the city's plans and policies ... Hopefully it should be a benefit to have a single landowner. (Respondent 2)

Although relationships have improved, THD is still critical of the municipality, arguing that it has not been sufficiently visionary or strategic in its thinking.

Cornubia is located south of the new airport, on land originally owned by THD, about half of which was bought by the municipality. It is east of the highway, but between the two corridors, and close to new economic nodes. The Cornubia Framework Plan provides for some 24,320 residential units across a range of incomes from low to middle income (about half fully subsidised by government for low-income households), and a population of 100,000. The development was intended to be relatively high density,¹² and to include social facilities, business and light industry. Phased over 10 to 20 years, the development is expected to require more than a R6-billion in infrastructure (Sutherland et al. 2011).

While Cornubia seems to offer space for lower income groups in an area where much post-apartheid development has been focused on upper income residents and business development,¹³ the nature of the development in Cornubia has been negotiated on an ongoing basis (Sutherland et al. 2011). Originally mooted in 2004, negotiations between THD and the municipality resulted in an agreement to incorporate 'inclusionary housing', i.e. a proportion of affordable housing within a private property development, as proposed by draft national policy at the time, and one of the very few cases where this has been realised (Klug, Rubin & Todes 2013). However the number and proportion of low-income

units has been debated between the municipality and THD, with the former arguing for a higher proportion of low-income units, and the latter raising concerns about creating an unsustainable development with a predominantly low-income population. The population and number of residential units were reduced in negotiation, and through the environmental impact assessment process, while land for commercial and industrial development land has increased (Sutherland et al. 2011).

Cornubia is now a priority presidential project supported by several government departments to enable a more integrated settlement pattern.¹⁴ Nevertheless, it has been contested in various ways, for instance by higher income residents who fear a low-income development on their doorstep and by shack dweller organisations concerned that it will be used to displace residents from informal areas. As Sutherland et al. (2011) argue, the project is likely to evolve over time, and the way it evolves will be critical in shaping development in the north in coming years. It remains to be seen whether Cornubia – better located than most such developments, but in an area of lower property values – enables a break with patterns of spatial inequality.

By the end of 2013, the new developments of the airport and Cornubia were resulting in new forms of growth in the area, but growth had been far slower than initially anticipated. Planning – negotiated and contested – was beginning to shape growth after a period in which it largely followed development. However, the main drivers were still the private sector and other parts of government. Dynamics of development in the north of eThekweni differ from those in adjacent KwaDukuza where a far more *laissez faire* approach has been adopted, but in both cases planning has had to respond to development dynamics and infrastructural crises emerging out of development driven by the private sector and other state agencies.

Dynamics in KwaDukuza

The dynamics of suburbanisation in KwaDukuza are quite different to those in the north of eThekweni, but growth in the two areas are interrelated. In some respects, growth at least in the Ballito area is a classic example of the way fragmented local governance is associated with suburbanisation as consumers and developers ‘vote with their feet’ and shift to municipalities where conditions are more favourable. As the previous section has argued, constrained growth in eThekweni’s north – the result of both Tongaat Hullet’s strategic approach to land release, and eThekweni municipality’s demanding approach to developers – is directly linked to growth in KwaDukuza, as development leapfrogged into an area where land was available and planning permissions for development were easy to acquire (Respondents 1, 3, 16, 17).

Land ownership in the area is far more fragmented, and THD had only limited holdings in the area, although its development of Zimbali in the 1990s was one of the spurs to later growth in Ballito (Duminy 2008). Ballito had long been a popular

tourist destination, but the demand for permanent accommodation grew from the 1990s. The growth of economic activity in the north of Durban, including in Umhlanga and later the new airport stimulated demand for housing in the area. Growth was particularly rapid after 2000 and in the boom years of the mid-2000s, as [Figure 3](#) shows. A property expert (Respondent 3) argued that the movement to Ballito also had a racial dimension, as whites moved out of the increasingly racially mixed northern areas of eThekweni to Ballito. Growing demand for residential development and rising property prices provided an alternative to sugar farming where profitability had declined, the consequence, *inter alia* of the demise of apartheid agricultural support policies, a more competitive world environment, and drought in the early 1990s (Duminy 2008). Growth in the high-income coastal area has also stimulated migration into existing townships within the municipality, and into Groutville, where rapid population increase has occurred ([Figure 2](#)).

In contrast to eThekweni, the Development Tribunal set up in terms of the 1995 Development Facilitation Act (DFA) was used extensively by developers to enable rapid development.¹⁵ Development Tribunals were intended to speed up development of low-cost housing, and to cut through legal obstacles to land development, but they have more often been used to facilitate upmarket private development, in all parts of the country. Tribunals were shut down after a constitutional ruling in 2010 that planning was a local municipal competence that could not be superseded by provincial decision-making, but during the period of its operation from the early 2000s, some 90 per cent of planning applications in KwaDukuza went through the Tribunal (Respondent 17). The Tribunal system was a far quicker process for developers than standard application through the municipality, and brought together all parties required, including the environmental impact assessment process. However it was disliked by the large metropolitan municipalities such as eThekweni, which saw it as an encroachment on their autonomy, and as interfering with their planning processes. In deference to eThekweni's position, THD did not use the Tribunal route within their area. About 50 applications for over 30,000 units were approved in KwaDukuza during the boom period, most in the Ballito area (Respondent 17). The majority of applications were for upmarket housing estates, but there were also a few government housing applications. In contrast to eThekweni, where several Tribunal applications were appealed or contested by the municipality, the Tribunal worked closely with the KwaDukuza municipality, and did not approve developments contrary to their recommendations.

Both the KwaDukuza municipality and the Tribunal encouraged and enabled growth, even when it was contrary to existing spatial planning. According to KwaDukuza planner:

As far as whether the SDFs have directed development, it has pretty much been the municipality responding to developers. The municipality has really just been mapping what has been approved ... In our IDP in 1996 we predicted the growth

the way it actually happened, but the scale was totally wrong ... I remember the earlier DFAs, and Rob Kirby saying 'Yes, it is not in line with the SDF, but the municipality is in the process of revising the plan'. And we ... always said 'Yes, we are ...' (Respondent 17)

The rapid pace of development approvals in the KwaDukuza area eventually resulted in a crash in the recessionary years, and a crisis around infrastructure capacity and availability. Most development in the Ballito area was directed at the middle- and upper-income housing market, but this market has been oversupplied, and the property bubble seems to have burst. Some of the larger developments have failed or have not yet started, or are developing slowly, in some cases also for other reasons such as land claim issues. According to the Ilembe¹⁶ official: 'Nobody could see the recession coming, so a lot of developments are standing there – zoned land, infrastructure and they just don't have a market' (Respondent 18). Since the recession, some developers have focused on the lower end of the private housing market, and most of these developments are succeeding in their own terms. Developers have also shifted into industrial, retail and office development, but the demand for offices was exhausted within a year. Retail development continued, but now appears to be oversupplied.

However, the municipality is still confronted with the problem that there are huge swathes of land approved for upmarket development which is unaffordable for the majority of the population in the municipality, while the supply of land and housing to meet their demands is lacking. Groutville is probably the fastest growing area in the municipality. Private farms long held by Africans or Indians under freehold tenure are being sold irregularly for housing without any plans or infrastructure services in place. According to KwaDukuza planner:

You will see how these houses are just popping up. They are not squatter homes; they are homes that you can have any day in Ballito. The landowners have created the perception that a person can come and buy a piece of land ... it started at R30,000 ... and then can build a house ... They have no building plans, no insurance, no title. So it is some form of an arrangement ... It must all be cash, because they can't get bonds. If you look at the scale of the houses they are building, I am sure some of them cannot be so naïve not to know. So maybe someone gave them political promises to carry on and that the services will come. (Respondent 17)

Many of these sites are within wetlands or areas with a high water table, which cannot be serviced with septic tanks or Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP) latrines. It has become very sensitive politically as councillors have been calling for the officials to provide services to these settlements. At the same time, public housing projects are being identified on the periphery of the municipality where there are no services. The district municipality (Ilembe) (which manages housing) is trying to give people spatial choice, but they cannot find well-located land. There are no timeframes within which DFA applications need to be developed, so approvals are still valid. Councillors are starting to ask why the upmarket DFA-approved land cannot be opened up for social housing, but the very high land value (on land with sea views) is a huge stumbling block.

The rapid growth in KwaDukuza has resulted in an infrastructure crisis in the area. Capacity constraints on bulk infrastructure for various services, particularly water, is a major barrier to provincial plans for strong growth in the northern corridor (Respondent 6). In the early part of the property development boom in Ballito, infrastructure capacity was still available, and developers could pay the standard developer contribution. However, as capacity ran out, the municipality required developers to pay up-front for bulk services. Sometimes they had to pay for more than they needed with the promise that they would be reimbursed when other developers connected. Developers in this situation were forced to take a risk as repayment was not guaranteed. Some developers did not continue with their developments as a result, but retained development permissions. In some cases, the additional costs of infrastructure led to the failure of these developments. The fragmented and sprawling pattern of development in the area has also contributed to high costs. Rapid illegal development of houses in Groutville has also contributed to a servicing crisis. There is no planning for bulk services in the area yet, and government will only provide for basic services (VIPs) that are not appropriate in many areas (Respondent 18).

Since 2010, both the municipality and the district council have put in place processes to develop clearer and more specific spatial plans (Respondents 1, 16), and to link these more closely to infrastructure. There is an attempt to focus on key priority areas and to compact development to reduce infrastructure costs. Development is then allowed only where infrastructure is available. A development forum has been set up between developers and authorities (KwaDukuza and Ilembe), where future development is negotiated, and it is possible to align planning, infrastructure and development to a greater degree.

Hence development in KwaDukuza has been relatively *laissez faire*. Recession and the infrastructural crisis is now leading to a more cautious, planned approach, which is receiving greater cooperation from developers. Informal development in Groutville, however, is proceeding apace.

Conclusion

This article has shown the different patterns of suburbanisation and the varying influences on development in the two areas. In both cases, most rapid development occurred in the boom years, as capital switched into the property market. Nevertheless, growth was driven in important ways by local landowners, although the way it occurred varied across the two areas. While a large landowner drove property development in eThekweni north, it also contained and controlled it in order to maximise profits. In contrast in KwaDukuza, more rapid and fragmented growth was associated with multiple landowners, including more informal development within Groutville.

The varying ways in which the state, governance and rescaling have influenced development, the conflicts and contestations between spheres of government and their relationships to private initiative have also shaped patterns of growth.

The airport was promoted largely by provincial government, although it was also pushed by a public-private growth coalition involving THD. The differing approaches and attitudes of provincial and local authorities responsible for decision-making on development applications are also evident: the relatively laissez-faire approach of the DFA Tribunal and KwaDukuza municipality contrasts with eThekweni municipality for example, enabling rapid development in KwaDukuza. Planning in this context has had varying influences. Ironically, THD's strategic planning has been most influential in shaping discourse about development in the area, and the long-term thinking about growth within the region. Its dual corridor approach is evident in most subsequent planning for the area. Municipal planning in both municipalities however has tended to be post-hoc, responding or reacting to de facto growth. While earlier plans might have been broadly consistent with the dual corridor idea, they were either out of scale with the growth that did occur, as in KwaDukuza, or intended to develop in a more limited and compact way, as in eThekweni north. Subsequent planning however has occurred in a more interactive way with stakeholders and developers. But development has not been straightforward – several developments, particularly those around the airport in eThekweni north have been contested and negotiated between various actors.

The study shows the influence of fragmented local government in promoting suburbanisation, even once levels of local government consolidation occurred (i.e. KwaDukuza vs eThekweni). It also shows how the relationship between THD and eThekweni municipalities changed with local government consolidation. In the post-consolidation period, especially since 2000, the relationship has been more strongly contested and negotiated, but THD has nevertheless managed to build a special relationship with the municipality, in part through its partnerships with the municipality both outside and within the area. In the process, eThekweni has managed to negotiate for higher proportions of affordable housing and other conditions than might otherwise have been on offer, although the way development occurs is still unfolding.

There are still tensions and contradictions in the way property development is occurring in both areas. In both cases, developments have been approved in ways that result in fragmented patterns of growth, contrary to national and local policy commitments to urban compaction, and increasing the costs of infrastructure development. The dual corridor idea accepts socio-spatial inequalities, and has been the basis for much development in the region. However, it may be weakening. In KwaDukuza, land for upmarket development along the coast has been oversupplied, while in eThekweni north relatively accessible affordable housing is occurring through the Cornubia development, although the nature of this development is still evolving. It will be a good test case in assessing how far new forms of suburbanisation depart from the older logics of a divided city.

The article shows the complexity of suburbanisation dynamics, and the way they vary even in two municipalities in the same region. It shows the influence of agencies, actors and institutions which make for very different dynamics

even in ostensibly similar contexts. It invites comparison with and understanding of how suburbanisation is driven and shaped in other contexts. It also provides a case study of the role of a powerful landowner in shaping urban development – a relatively unexplored dimension in African cities – and the way it has negotiated in its own interests in a shifting governance context. Finally, it provides a more nuanced view of the role of urban planning in shaping urban development, beyond perspectives which render it as either wholly ineffectual or as a saviour.

Acknowledgements

The assistance of Vicky Sim in collecting data, undertaking interviews and organising material thematically is gratefully acknowledged. Miriam Maina assisted with maps. Respondents are thanked for their time and insights.

This material is based upon work supported by the National Research Foundation (NRF), South Africa. Any opinion, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author and therefore the NRF does not accept any liability in regard thereto. This research was also supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through funding from the Major Collaborative Research Initiative ‘Global Suburbanisms: Governance, Land, and Infrastructure in the 21st Century (2010–2017)’.

Note on Contributor

Alison Todes is Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. She was previously Research Director in the Urban Rural and Economic Development Programme at the Human Sciences Research Council, and a Professor in the School of Architecture, Planning and Housing at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Notes

1. Tabulated after the References.
2. The use of racial categories reflects pervasive realities in South Africa, and is not intended to condone them.
3. eThekweni north corresponds to the North Local Council in Statistics South Africa’s definitions. No figures were available for eThekweni north in 2004.
4. Includes Bridge City and Riverhorse Valley, outside of eThekweni north.
5. For simplicity, THD is used to refer to the property development arm of Tongaat Hulett for the whole period.
6. Other pre-2000 developments included: Sunningdale, Sibaya Casino, Umhlanga New Town Centre, Riverhorse Valley.
7. Inyanginga, uShukela Highway and Compensation.
8. It includes charges for electricity, but not water or sanitation.
9. Their developments and proposals post-2000 have included: Umhlanga New Town Centre, Riverhorse Valley, Bridge City, Umhlanga New Town Centre extension, Ridgeside, Inzinga, Kindlewood, Cornubia, Inyanginga, Sibaya (Umdloti ext).
10. Data supplied by Tongaat Hulett, December 2012. Figures include Riverhorse Valley and Bridge City.
11. Wanted by THD but not supplied by the municipality, but both thresholds and finance have been lacking.
12. Net density: 40–80 units per ha, 150 near public transport routes and facilities.
13. Apart from Waterloo.

14. The first 482 houses were ready for occupation in September 2013. See <www.property24.com/articles/482-new-houses-for-kzn-cornubia/18466> [Accessed 22 January 2014].
15. The Provincial Planning and Development Commission did not have much of a role in the area after 1996.
16. Ilembe is the district municipality in which KwaDukuza is located.

References

- Angel, S., Parent, J., Civco, D. & Blei, A. 2011. *Making Room for a Planet of Cities*. Washington: Lincoln Land Institute.
- Bloch, R. 2011. 'Africa's New Suburbs. Growth, Expansion and Governance'. Paper for the Global Suburbanisms Workshop on Suburban Governance, Leipzig, 1–2 July.
- Breetzke, K. 2008. 'From Conceptual Frameworks to Quantitative Models: Spatial Planning in the Durban Metropolitan Area, South Africa – the Link to Housing and Infrastructure Planning'. Case study prepared for the Global Report on Human Settlements 2009. Available from: <http://www.unhabitat.org/grhs/2009> [Accessed 28 November 2009].
- Brenner, N. 2004. *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chipkin, I. 2013. 'Capitalism, City, Apartheid in the Twenty-first Century'. *Social Dynamics* 39(2):228–47.
- Duminy, J. 2008. 'Rapid Urban Development and Fragmentation in a Post-apartheid Era: The Case of Ballito, South Africa, 1994 to 2007'. Unpublished MTRP dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Ekers, M., Hamel, P. & Keil, R. 2012. 'Governing Suburbia: Modalities and Mechanisms of Suburban Governance'. *Regional Studies* 46(3):405–22.
- Feinstein, S. 1994. *The City Builders*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Filion, P. 2013. 'The Infrastructure is the Message: Shaping the Suburban Morphology and Lifestyle', in Keil (ed), *Suburban Constellations. Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Jovis, 79–84.
- Freund, B. & Padayachee, V. (eds). 2002. *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Freund, B. 2002. 'City Hall and the Direction of Development: The Changing Role of the Local State as a Factor in Economic Planning and Development in Durban', in B. Freund & V. Padayachee (eds), *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 11–42.
- Garreau, J. 1991. *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*. New York: Doubleday.
- Healey, P. 2007. *Urban Complexity and Spatial Strategies: Towards a Relational Planning for our Times*. London: Routledge.
- Hamel, P. 2013. 'Governance and Global suburbanisms', in R. Keil (ed), *Suburban Constellations. Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Jovis, 26–32.
- Harris, R. 2010. 'Meaningful Types in a World of Suburbs', in M. Clapson & R. Hutchison (eds), *Suburbanization in Global Society*. Bingley, UK: Emerald.
- Harris, R. 2013a. 'Keynote Address on Land to the Conference, A Suburban Revolution', City Institute, York University, Toronto, 26–28 October. Available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ktf-o9EGxPg&feature=youtu.be> [Accessed 27 January 2014].
- Harris, R. 2013b. 'How Land Markets Make and Change Suburbs', in R. Keil (ed), *Suburban Constellations. Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*.
- Harris, R., Lehrer, U. & Bloch, R. 2012. 'The Suburban Land Question'. Paper for the Global Suburbanisms Workshop on Land, Montpellier, 24–26 October.
- Harvey, D. 1982. *The Limits to Capital*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Houghton, J. 2013. 'Entanglement: The Negotiation of Urban Development Imperatives in Durban's Public-private Partnerships'. *Urban Studies* 50(13):2791–808.
- Jonas, A. & Wilson, D. (eds). 1999. *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*. Buffalo, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Keil, R. (ed). 2013a. *Suburban Constellations. Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Jovis.

- Keil, R. 2013b. 'Welcome to the Suburban Revolution', in R. Keil (ed), *Suburban Constellations. Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Jovis, 8–15.
- Klug, N., Rubin, M. & Todes, A. 2013. 'Inclusionary Housing: A Tool for Reshaping South Africa's Spatial Legacy?' *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 28(4):667–78.
- Logan, J. & Molotch, H. 1987. *Urban Futures: The Political Economy of Place*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mabin, A. 1998. 'Commentary on Vusani Amadlobha – Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres'. Paper Presented to the Symposium Re-integrating the (post) Apartheid City, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- Mabin, A. 2013. 'Suburbanisms in Africa?', in R. Keil (ed), *Suburban Constellations. Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Jovis, 154–160.
- Mabin, A., Butcher, S. & Bloch, R. 2013. 'Peripheries, Suburbanism and Change in Sub-Saharan African Cities'. *Social Dynamics* 39(2):167–90.
- McCarthy, J. & Robinson, P. 2000. 'Patterns of Moreland's Urban Development: Impact on Employment and Investment in Infrastructure'. Unpublished Report to Moreland, Durban.
- McGee, T. 2013. 'Suburbanization in the Twenty-first-century World', in R. Keil (ed), *Suburban Constellations. Governance, Land and Infrastructure in the 21st Century*. Berlin: Jovis, 18–25.
- Moffett, S. & Freund, W. 2004. 'Elite Formation and Elite Bonding: Social Structure and Development in Durban'. *Urban Forum* 15(2):134–61.
- Padayachee, V. 2002. 'Financing Durban's Development: 1970–99', in B. Freund & V. Padayachee (eds), *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*.
- Quantec. 2013. *Easy Data RSA Regional Indicators Database*.
- Robbins, G., Scott, D. & Sutherland, C. 2011. 'Taking Flight: The Impact of the Dube-TradePort/ King Shaka International Airport Mega-project on City Resource Allocation Decisions in Durban, South Africa'. Paper for the Workshop on Rethinking Development in an Age of Scarcity and Uncertainty. New Values, Voices and Alliances for Increased Resilience. University of York, 19–22 September.
- Statistics South Africa. 2012. *Census 2011 Statistical Release P0301.4*. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Statistics South Africa. 2013. *Statistical Release P5041.3 1997–2013*. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Sutherland, C. et al. 2011. 'The Urban Politics of a Large Scale Housing Investment: The Case of the Cornubia Housing Project in Durban, South Africa'. Paper for the Workshop on Rethinking Development in an Age of Scarcity and Uncertainty. New Values, Voices and Alliances for Increased Resilience. University of York, 19–22 September.
- Todes, A. 2000. 'Reintegrating the Apartheid City? Urban Policy and Urban Restructuring in Durban', in S. Watson & G. Bridges (eds), *A Companion to the City*. London: Blackwell.
- Todes, A. 2002. 'Spatial Change and Durban's Spatial Framework', in A. Bouillon, B. Freund, D. Hindson & B. Lootvoet (eds), *Governance, Urban Dynamics and Economic Development: A Comparative Analysis of the Metropolitan Areas of Durban, Abidjan and Marseilles*. Durban: Plumblin Publishing.
- Tongaat Hulett. 2011. 'Roadshow Presentation May'. Unpublished.
- Tongaat Hulett Planning Forum. 1989. 'Durban Functional Region. Planning for the Twenty-first Century'. Unpublished.
- UN-Habitat. 2009. *Global Report on Human Settlements*. London: Earthscan.

Interviews

Respondent	Institutional location	Date
1 Planning consultant	Rob Kirby Associates	30 January 2012
2 Planner	Planning Director: Tongaat Hulett Development	12 January 2012
3 Property valuer	Ken Davies Associates	23 April 2012
4 Planning consultant	Former Planning Professor, University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), consultant to THD	14 April 2012
5 Urban development consultant	Former Geography Professor, UKZN, consultant to THD	13 April 2012
6 Official	Acting Head of Secretariat: Provincial Planning Commission	17 January 2012
7 Municipal planner	Former Head: Development Planning, Environment and Management, eThekweni Municipality	28 October 2011
8 Official	Former Chief Executive Officer, Dube TradePort	18 January 2012
9 Municipal manager	Former Municipal Manager, eThekweni Municipality	13 April 2012
10 Joint interview, infrastructure planner and consultant	Strategic Executive: Infrastructure Planning, eThekweni; consultant to eThekweni on infrastructure costing	23 November 2011
11 Group interview, municipal planners	Head: Framework Planning Branch and three planners, eThekweni Municipality	1 November 2011
12 Planning/environmental researcher/consultant	Former Senior Planner, Northern team, Framework Planning Branch, eThekweni Municipality	Written notes April 2012
13 Joint interview, water engineer and consultant	Senior Engineer: Planning; consultant – both for eThekweni Water and Sanitation Unit	11 January 2012
14 Planning consultants	Principal (Planning); Associate Principal (Planning), Stewart Scott International South Africa, Engineering and Planning Consultants	16 January 2012
15 Transport planner	Manager: Transport Planning, eThekweni Transport Authority	23 November 2011
16 Planning consultant	Iyer Urban Design Studio, former Planning Professor, UKZN	9 October 2011
17 KwaDukuza planner	Planning consultant on contract to KwaDukuza Municipality, and former planning official there	31 January 2011
18 Ilembe planner	Former Manager IDP Planning, Ilembe District Municipality	27 January 2012, 13 February 2012

(Continued)

Interviews Continued.

Respondent	Institutional location	Date
19 Joint interview, eThekweni economic development officials	Deputy Head: Policy, Strategy, Information and Research Department, Economic Development Unit (EDU), eThekweni Municipality; and Project Manager, Projects Department, EDU	25 January 2012
20 Planning consultant	Planning lecturer, Durban University of Technology	12 December 2011
21 Planning consultant	Planning consultant, The Planning Initiative	11 October 2011