CASS.8/83

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL AND
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
KING GEORGE V AVENUE
DURBAN 4001
SOUTH AFRICA

ATTITUDES TOWARD BEACH INTEGRATION

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BLACK AND WHITE REACTIONS TO MULTIRACIAL BEACHES IN DURBAN

Valerie Møller
Lawrence Schlemmer

November 1982

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
Durban

DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Durban's first multiracial beach was officially opened today. In the coming holiday season white and black bathers will be able to mix freely on the beach and in the sea within the framework of the South African law. This historic moment has only been achieved after several years of struggle and numerous setbacks, for beach integration has always been a sensitive issue in Durban.

This report traces the developments which culminated in the Durban City Council decision to open one of Durban's beaches to all races and seeks to document the attitudes and popular opinions of South Africans on the subject of integrated facilities and integrated beaches in particular. Attitudes towards beach integration are seen within an intergroup relations framework, and black as well as white reactions to the integration concept are reviewed.

To preview three of the most important findings emerging from the research reported here: Firstly, although intergroup contact in a beach situation has some sensitive moments, it was discovered that mixing on beaches was viewed with only slightly less tolerance than mixing in other areas in which the structures of apartheid are gradually being dismantled.

Secondly, black and white reactions to the integration of Durban's beaches were found to be remarkably similar. A generally positive attitude towards the integration of beaches emerged in all the studies undertaken during the past few years.

Thirdly, black and white people tended to share similar fears regarding the implementation and integration of beaches. This latter finding is particularly encouraging. Given their common concern it is hoped that black and white beachusers will find reason to disprove the misconceptions and fears related to beach integration and will make a concerted effort to prove the multiracial

beach a success by all standards. A success which will eventually lead to further progress in the field of intergroup relations. It is our sincerest wish that the new beach will indeed prove successful and will generate much goodwill amongst users and the general public alike.

The authors gratefully acknowledge the financial support for this research granted by the *Maurice Webb Trust*. This study is part of an ongoing small series of investigations into aspects of the environment of Durban and the utilisation of Durban's amenities by members of its different communities. Earlier studies include a report published in the *Natal Mercury* in 1981 under the title: 'This is Your City' and a memorandum published earlier this year in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences under the title: 'Black Attitudes towards Multiracial Beaches in Durban - A Preliminary Investigation Among Residents and Holidaymakers'.

Information on Durban's beaches was freely supplied by Mr. E. Scarr, the Provincial Director of Parks and Recreation and Beaches, Mr. C. Troger, the City's Manager of Parks and Beaches, and Mr. J.R. Yelland, Senior Architect - Beachfront (Development) of the City Engineers. This assistance is greatly appreciated. Needless to say, the authors alone are responsible for the representation of the facts and findings which appear in this report.

The authors wish to thank the diploma students in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences and the public relations students of the Technikon Natal for their assistance in conducting the interviews amongst Battery Beach users as part of their practical training in survey research. A vote of special thanks goes to Loretta van Schalkwyk who acted as co-ordinator of the public relations students working on the beach project. Ms van Schalkwyk kindly gave permission to the authors to draw on the results of a municipal election survey conducted by her students.

The authors are particularly grateful to Jay Nivison and Gijs Dubbeld for their efforts in evaluating the reactions to the open-ended questions contained in the Battery Beach survey. Mrs. Nivison kindly made available the background material which she had compiled for her diploma dissertation on attitudes towards the desegregation of Durban's beaches.

The authors wish to thank Elizabeth Dostal of the Unit for Futures Research for supplying comparative data on social distancing for this study.

Thanks also go to all the members of the Centre staff who so efficiently contributed toward the production of the study: Patsy Wickham undertook administrative tasks; Nicolette Wells, Lynne Davies and Rosemarie Fraser the typing of the manuscript; and Ulla Bulteel the data processing on the University's computer. Lastly, the authors wish to thank their colleague, Roger Allen, for taking the photographs which accompany this report and capture certain perspectives which can only be conveyed visually.

Valerie Møller Senior Research Fellow
Lawrence Schlemmer Director

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
4 November 1982

CONTENTS PAGE

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS i
LIST OF TABLES viii
LIST OF FIGURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ix

CHAPTER
1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. HISTORICAL NOTES - BEACH POLICY 3
2.1 Policy directions 3
2.1.1 Phase I: The origins of formal beach segregation 3
2.1.2 Phase II: The policy shift of the mid-seventies 5

3. HISTORICAL NOTES - THE REACTION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO BEACH POLICY 7
3.1 The reaction to official beach policy 7
3.2 The Cape coast 7
3.2.1 Cape Town 8
3.2.2 Port Elizabeth 9
3.2.3 East London 10
3.3 The Natal Coast 11
3.3.1 Natal coastal areas outside Durban 12
3.3.2 Durban 12
3.4 Conclusions 14

4. THE 1981/82 DURBAN BEACH DEBATE - PRESS COMMUNICATIONS 18
4.1 Chronicle of events relating to the establishment of a multiracial beach in Durban, October 1981 - September 1982 19
4.2 Letters to the editors of local daily newspapers 28
4.2.1 Viewpoints of letter writers 28
4.2.2 A content analysis of topics covered in letters commenting on the beach situation 29
4.2.2.1 Opposition sentiments 29
4.2.2.2 Pro-integration sentiments 32
4.2.2.3 Other topics 34
4.2.3 Comments on readers' opinions 35

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
5.	THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BEACH DEVELOPMENT IN THE DURBAN CONTEXT	37
	5.1 Outdoor recreation patterns and beach activities	37
	5.1.1 Summary	41
	5.2 The significance of the 1977/78 demarcation developments	42
	5.2.1 Differential viewpoints	42
	5.2.2 Conclusions	48
6.	THE EMPIRICAL STUDIES	50
7.	THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	54
	7.1 Intergroup attitudes	54
	7.1.1 Predicting intergroup behaviour from intergroup attitudes	55
	7.2 The motivational aspect of attitudes : measurement techniques	57
	7.3 The social distance scale	59
	7.4 Local applications of the social distance scale	61
	7.5 Situational analysis of intergroup attitudes	66
	7.5.1 Social distance on beaches	68
	7.6 The valence of the beach situation	70
	7.7 Parallels between beach and neighbourhood integration	75
	7.7.1 The 'invasion and succession' mechanism	76
	7.7.2 'Invasion and succession' and the Durban beaches	77
	7.8 Conclusions	78
8.	BLACK ATTITUDES TOWARDS BEACH INTEGRATION	81
	8.1 Research conducted for the Buthelezi Commission - 1981 black attitude survey	82
	8.1.1 Black social distance reactions	82
	8.1.2 Attitudes toward restaurant and beach integration	83
	8.1.3 Summary	85

CHAPTER CONTENTS PAGE

8.2 The black beaches survey 1981 86

8.2.1 An assessment of 'separate but equal' facilities 87

8.2.2 Attitudes toward beach integration 89

8.2.3 Preference for a specific model of beach integration 90

8.2.4 Motivations for preferring integrated beaches 92

8.2.4.1 Preference for the solution: Fully integrated beaches 92

8.2.4.2 Preference for the solution: Separate beaches and one beach open to all 93

8.2.4.3 Preference for the *status quo* solution : separate beaches 95

8.2.4.4 Introducing controls on integrated beaches 96

8.2.5 Conclusions 96

9. WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD BEACH INTEGRATION : THE ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY 1981 99

9.1 Survey results 99

9.1.1 Groups positively disposed toward beach integration 102

9.2 Conclusions 104

10. WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD BEACH INTEGRATION : THE BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982 105

10.1 Introduction 105

10.2 Battery Beach One users 106

10.3 The research setting 107

10.4 The survey 111

10.5 Findings 114

10.5.1 Attitudes toward beach integration 114

10.5.2 Attitudes toward using the multiracial beach 116

10.5.3 Proposed strategies for integrating Durban's beaches 122

CHAPTER CONTENTS PAGE

10.5.4 Typical fears associated with beach integration 130
10.5.4.1 Crowding and encroachment 131
10.5.4.2 Categories of people 134
10.5.4.3 Lifestyles 138
10.5.4.4 Standards of cleanliness 138
10.5.4.5 Physical security 139
10.5.4.6 Behavioural and moral standards 140
10.5.4.7 Discrepancies between expectation and desires 141
10.6 Summary 141

11. THE AFTERMATH 144
11.1 The Municipal Election Survey 1982 146
11.2 Conclusions 148

12. CONCLUSIONS 150

APPENDICES 161
Appendix 1 Methodological notes: 162
Environmental Survey 1981 162
Black Beaches Survey 1981 163
Battery Beach One Survey 1982 164

Appendix 2 Battery Beach One Survey 1982 165
Sample characteristics

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
	DURBAN METROPOLITAN RECREATION SURVEY:	
5.1	Percentage distribution of recreational activity by setting and group	38
5.2	Visits to suburban, urban and regional recreation facilities in the Durban Metropolitan Area	40
	UNIT FOR FUTURES RESEARCH 1982 SOCIO-POLITICAL MONITOR:	
7.1	Percentage South Africans accepting blacks in various situations	68
7.2	Social distance between groups in the beach situation	69
	BUTHELEZI COMMISSION RESEARCH - 1981 BLACK ATTITUDE SURVEY:	
8.1	Social distance patterns among Natal Zulus	82
8.2	Black attitudes toward the integration of bioscopes and restaurants	84
8.3	Black attitudes toward the integration of Durban beaches	85
	BLACK BEACHES SURVEY 1981:	
8.4	Recommended improvements to the facilities on Durban's black beach	88
8.5	Black attitudes toward mixing on beaches	89
8.6	Preferred solution to integrating Durban's beaches	90
8.7	Main reasons given for preferred solution	92
	ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY 1981:	
9.1	Attitudes of white Durban ratepayers to the integration of buses	100
9.2	Attitudes of white Durban ratepayers to integration of beaches	100
	BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982:	
10.1	Attitudes of white beachusers toward the integration of Durban's beaches	115
10.2	Attitudes of white beachusers toward beach integration by age and residence	116

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
	BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982: (Continued)	
10.3	Intention to use the integrated Battery Beach Two	117
10.4	Proposed strategies for integrating Durban's beaches	123
10.5	Typical fears associated with beach integration	131
	MUNICIPAL ELECTION SURVEY 1982:	
11.1	Major issues	147
12.1	ATTITUDES TOWARD BEACH INTEGRATION 1981/82 - AN OVERVIEW	150

LIST OF FIGURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS

FIGURE		
1.	The Durban beachfront 1982	x
2.	Beach developments and zoning	xi
3.	Social distance in South Africa	70
PHOTOGRAPHS		xiii - xxv

(X)

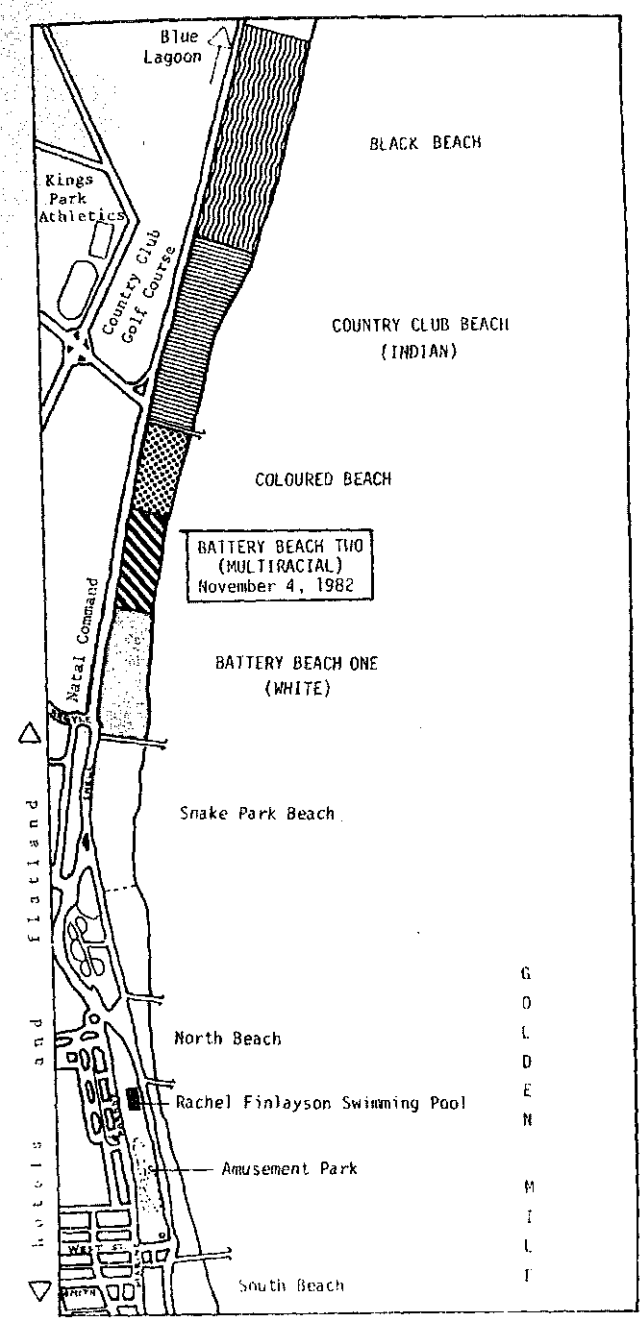
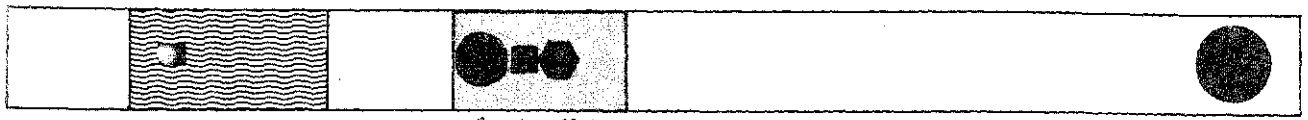


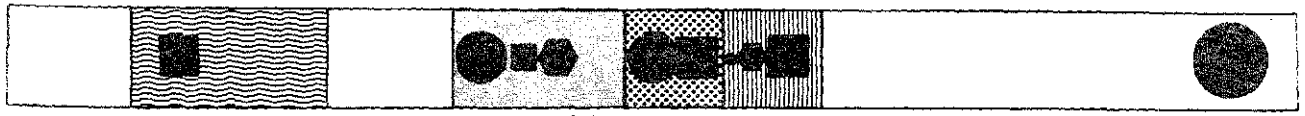
Figure 1: The Durban beachfront 1982

PHASE ONE:

Pre-1965 developments: INFORMALLY DEMARCATED BEACHES AND MIXED BEACHES



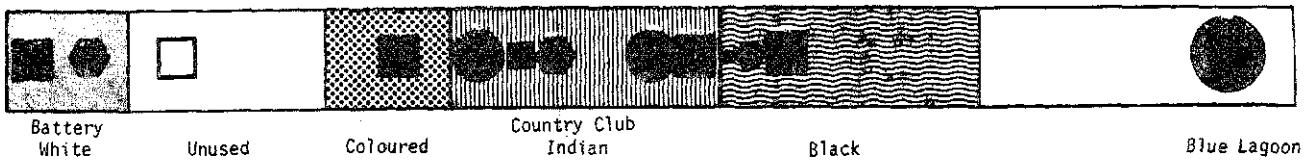
Post-1965 developments: BEACH APARTHEID



(xi)

PHASE TWO:

1977/78 developments : REDEMARCATED BEACHES



1982 developments : SEPARATE BEACHES AND ONE OPEN BEACH

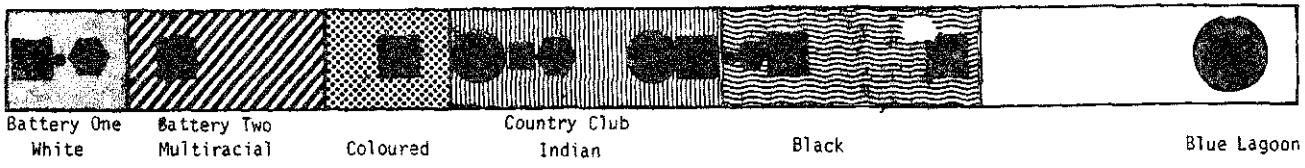
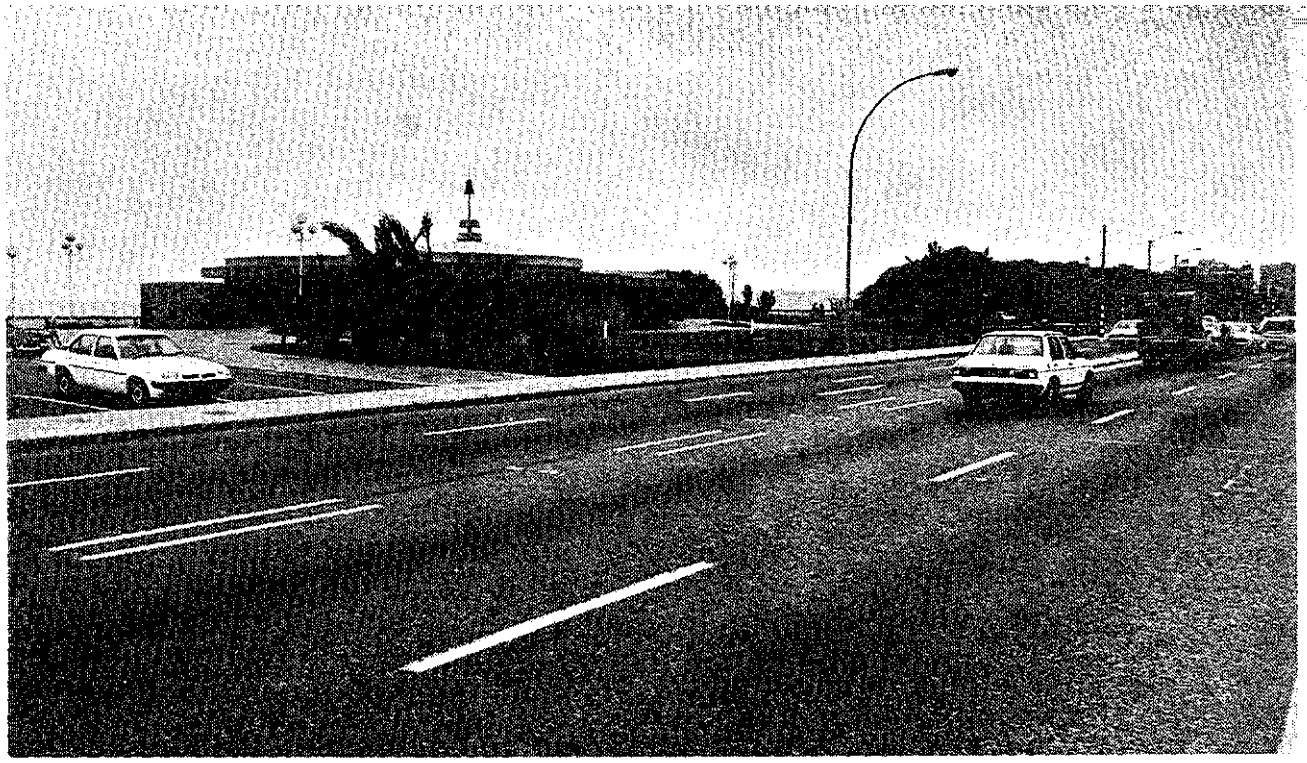
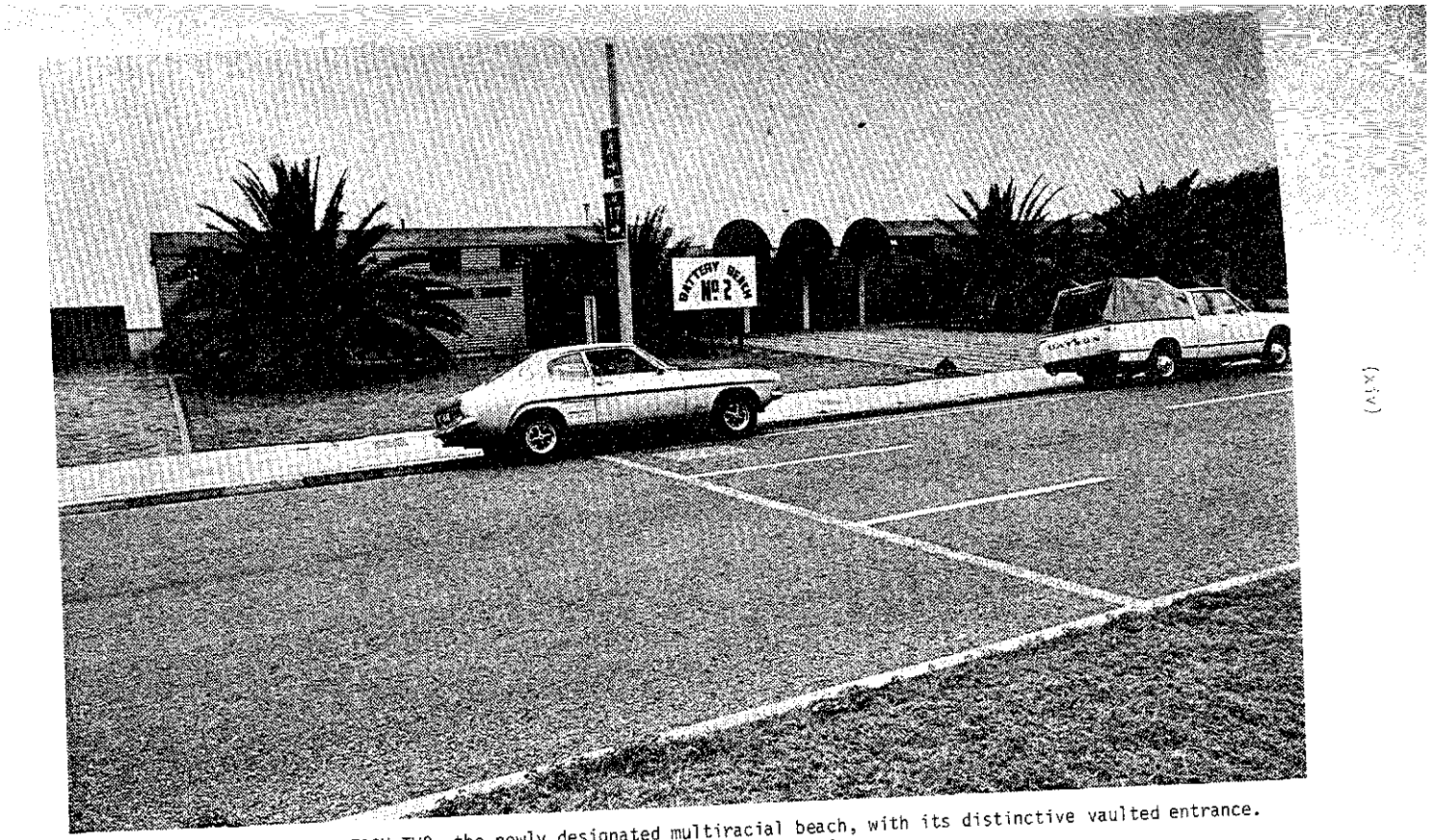


Figure 2: Beach developments and zoning

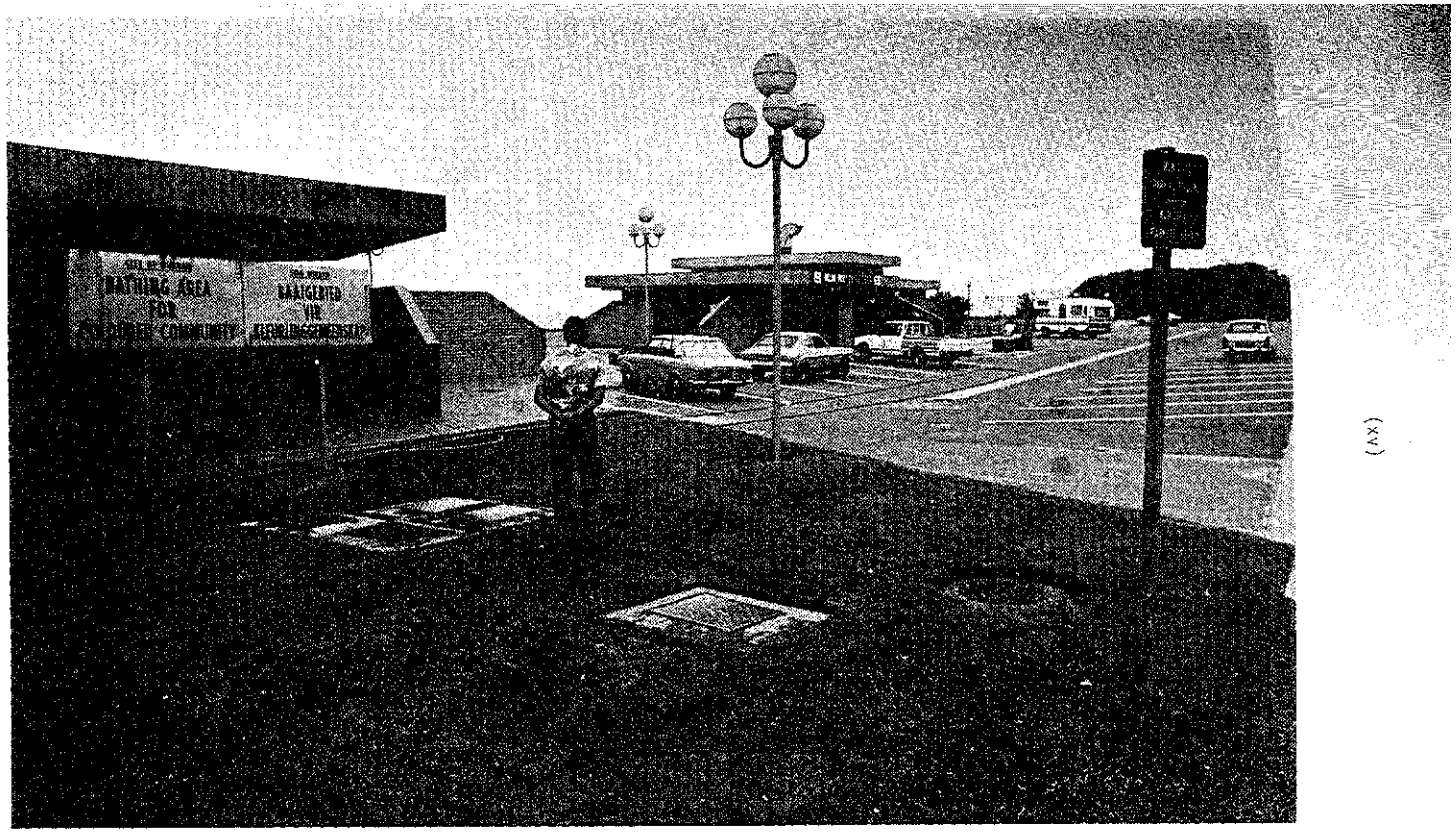


Suppose we were to take a stroll along the Durban beachfront - starting at the Blue Waters Hotel and ending at the Blue Lagoon on the Umgeni River mouth. We would pass a series of racially demarcated beaches: Our first stop is at BATTERY BEACH ONE situated diagonally opposite the Blue Waters Hotel - beautifully landscaped and conspicuously lacking a racial label. The facilities were erected during the beach redemarcation period of 1977/78.

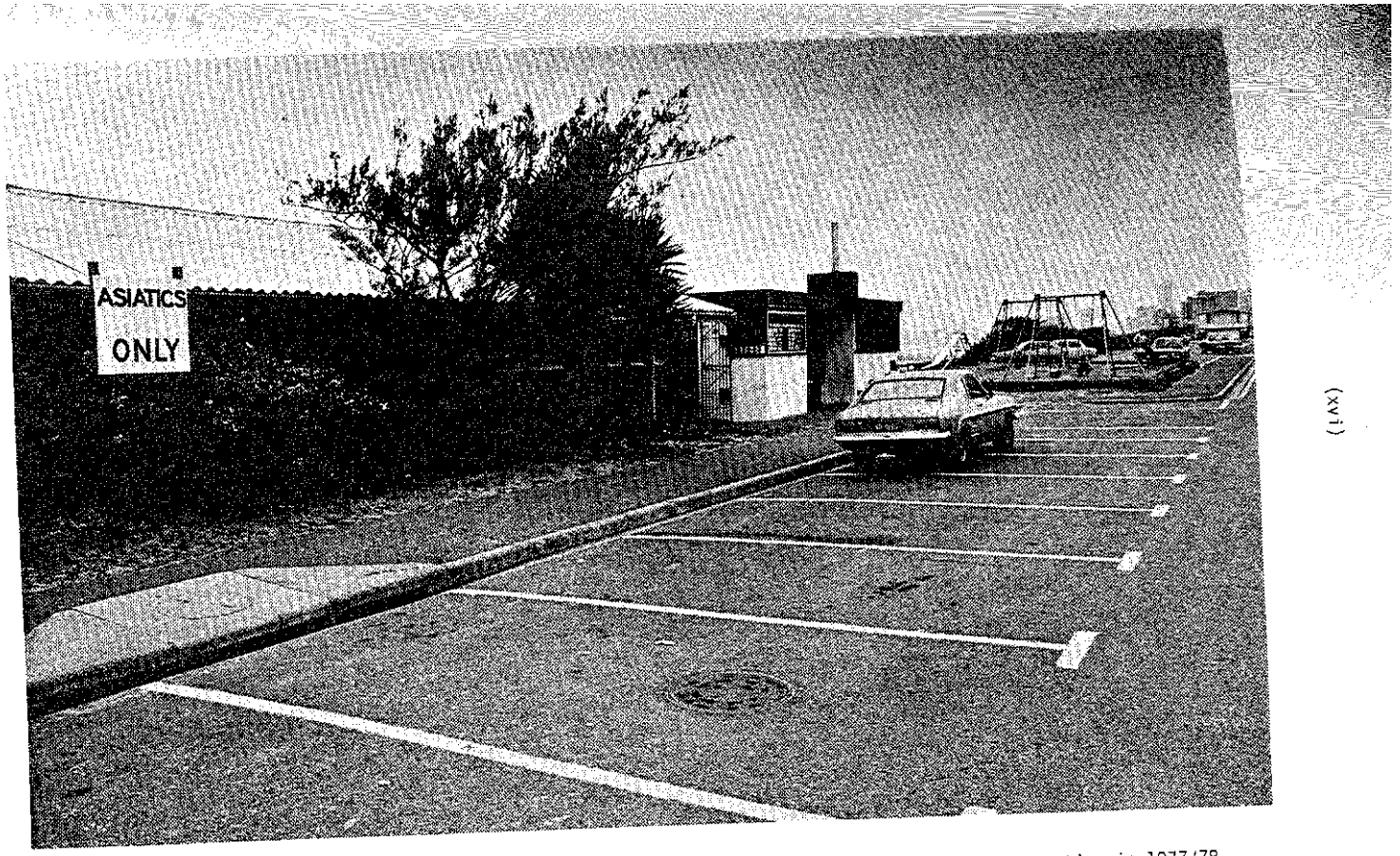


Next we pass BATTERY BEACH TWO, the newly designated multiracial beach, with its distinctive vaulted entrance. The 'non-racial' sign was erected for opening day on November 4, 1982.

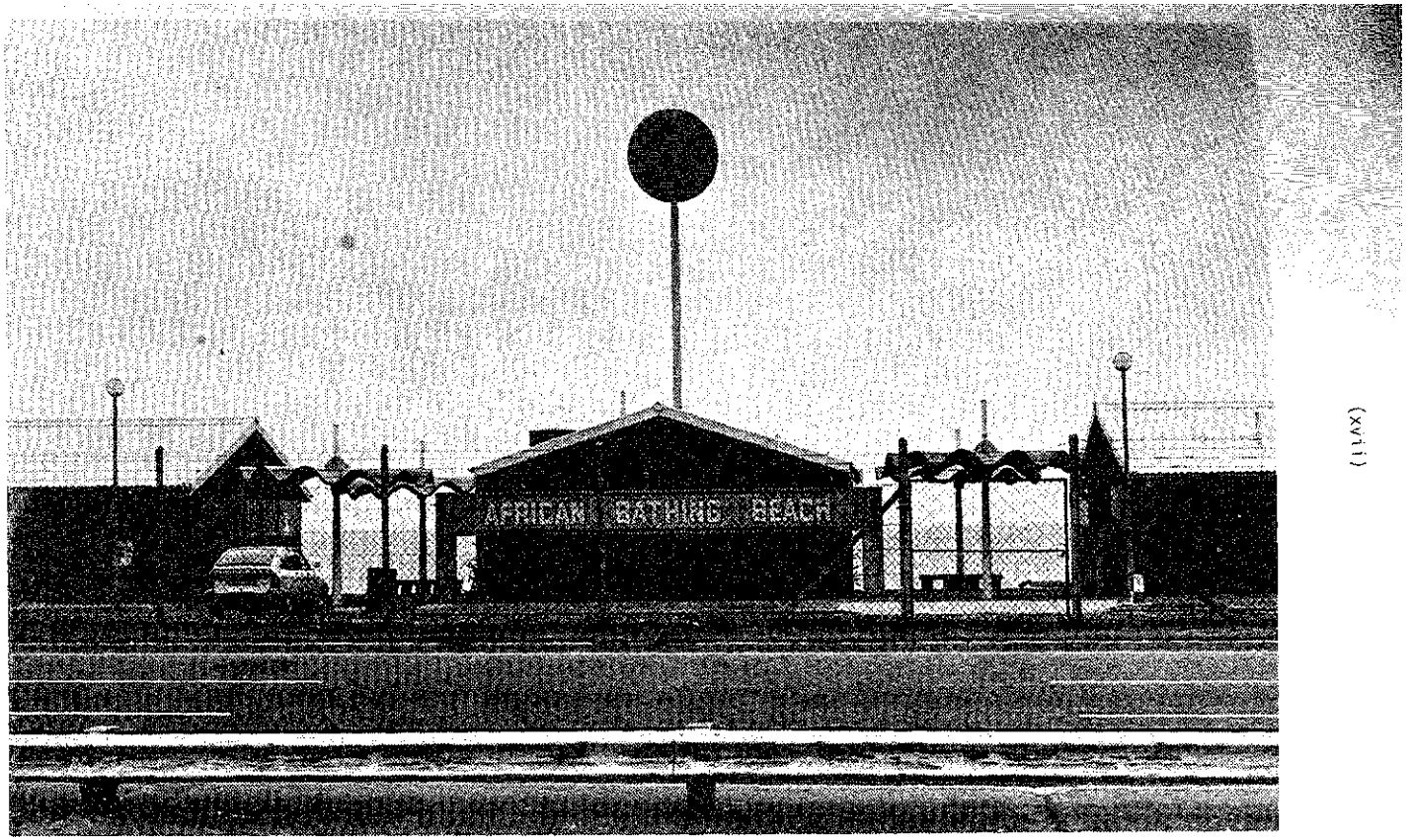
(XIV)



We then come to the first of the 1977/78 redemarcated beaches: the distinctly designated COLOURED BEACH.
In the background: the playground area, a popular feature common to all the redemarcated beaches.



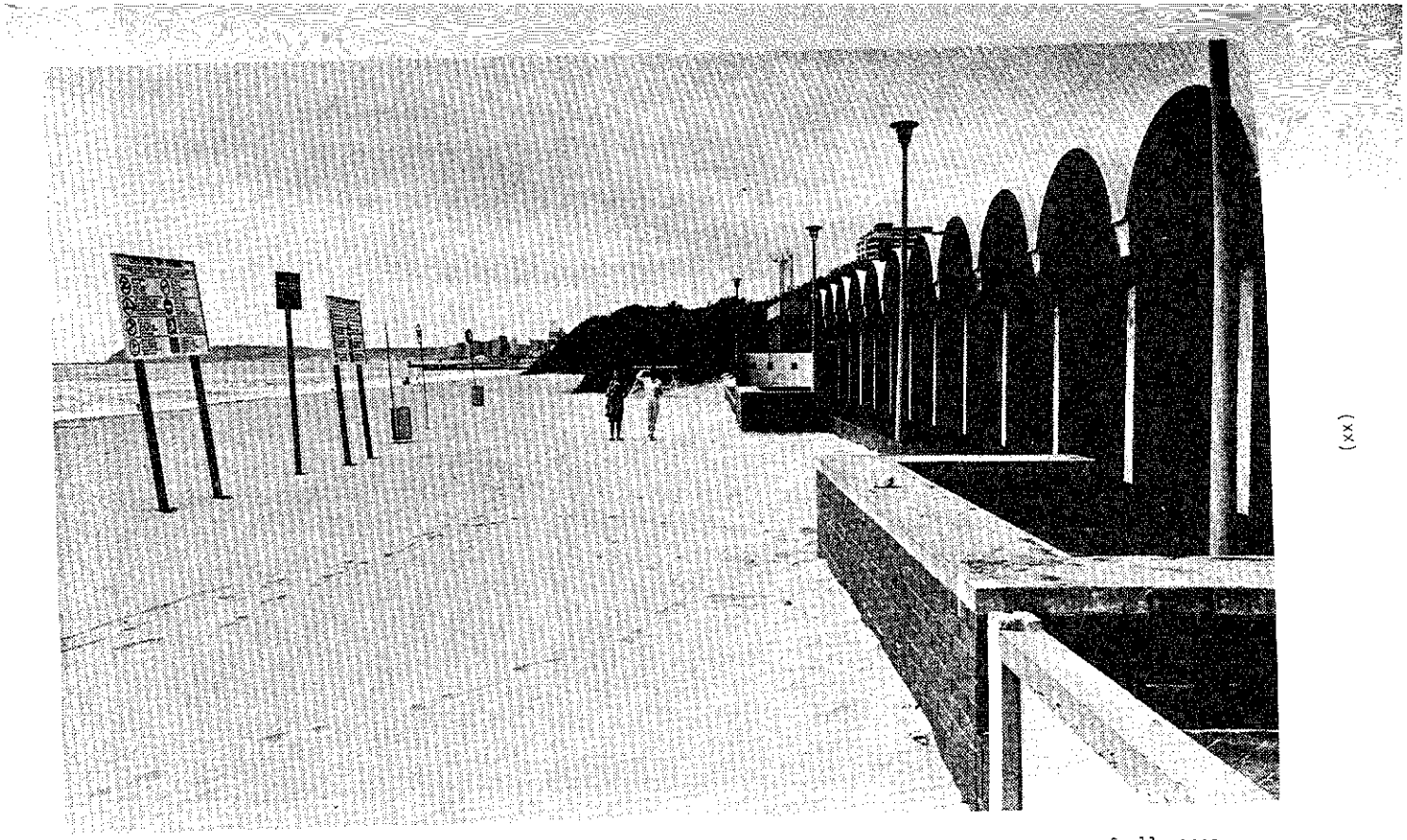
The sign posted in front of the formerly white-zoned Country Club beach dates back to redemarcation in 1977/78. In the background is one of the original club buildings which are now part of the INDIAN BEACH facilities.



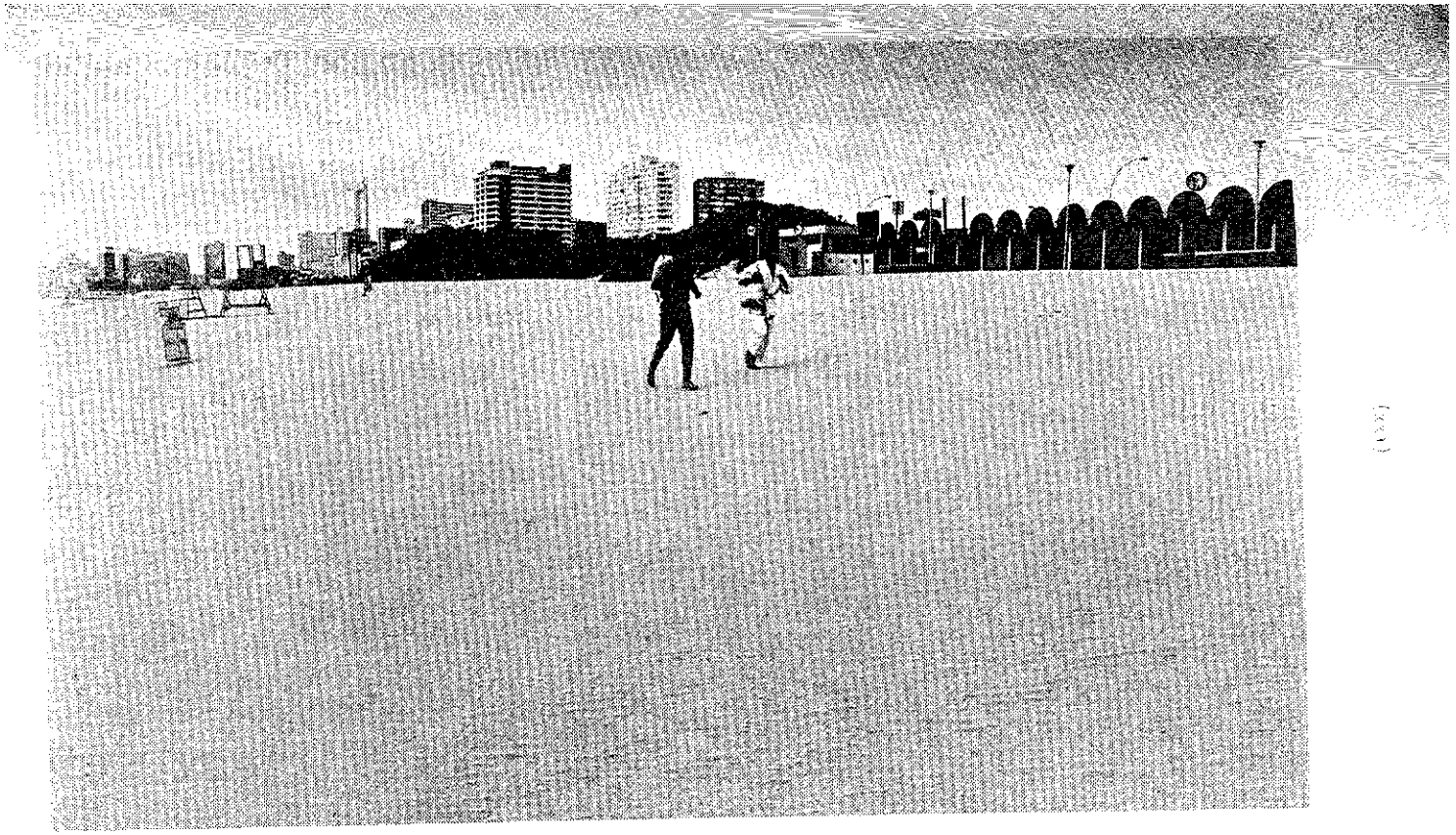
Finally we arrive at the BLACK BEACH. Its sign blends into the design of one of the main buildings. Not shown in the photograph are the playground close by and the new change-rooms at the far end of the beach towards the Blue Lagoon.

Let's retrace our steps and take a closer look at Durban's first multiracial beach. On opening day beachgoers approaching the entrance to Battery Beach Two were offered a splendid view of the sea only partly obscured by the first signs posted on the beach.

Under the vaults: A glimpse of the sea between the first signs of a controlled bathing situation: A plethora of beach furniture including signs, litterbaskets and a lifeguard tower. In anticipation of the Christmas bathing season provisions for parking opposite the beach entrance were underway with catering facilities still to come.

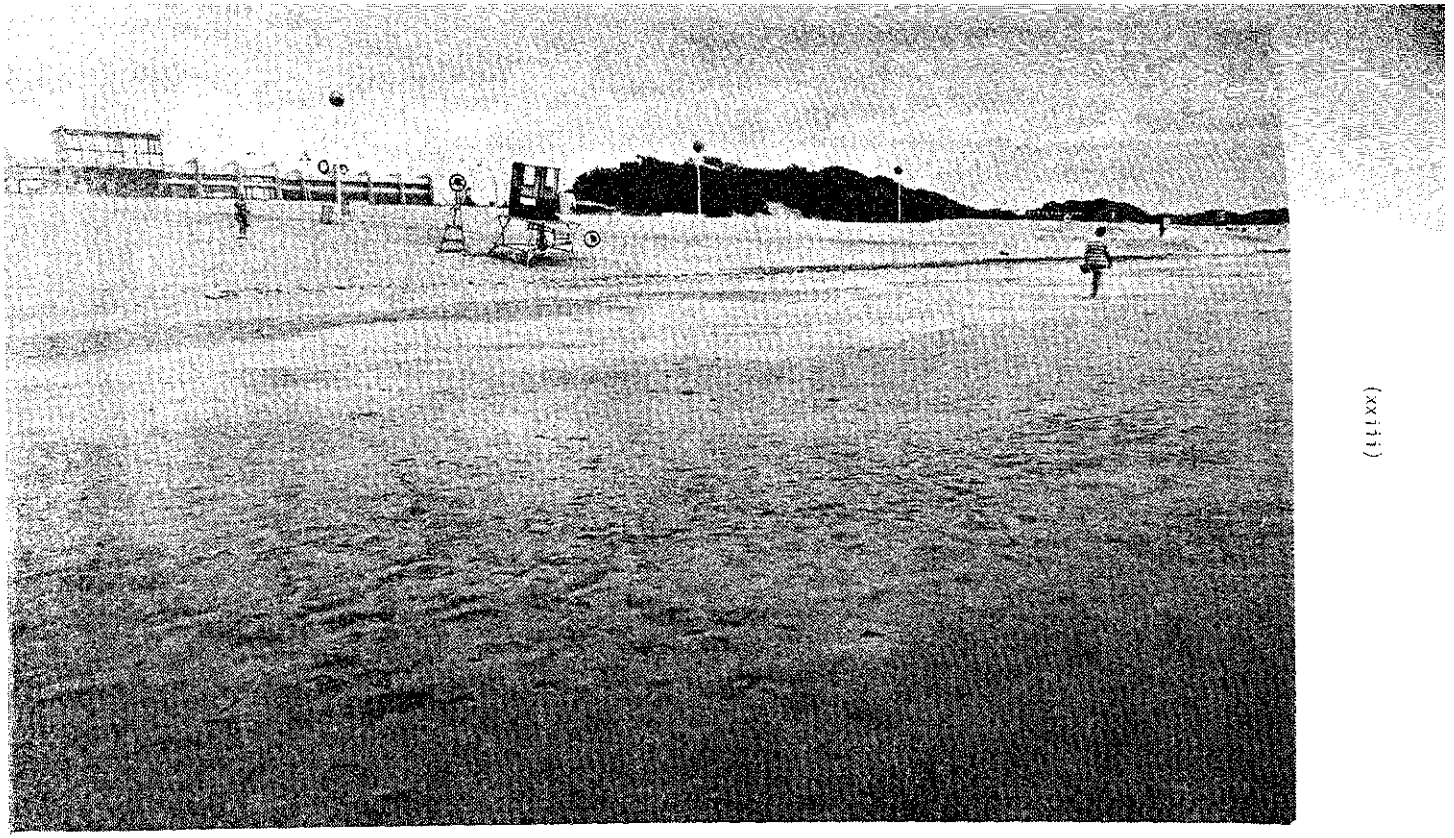


The buildings on the right were erected long before Battery Beach Two was opened to beachgoers of all races in 1982. Battery Two fell into disuse after Durban's beaches were redemarcated and was only infrequently visited by sunbathers.

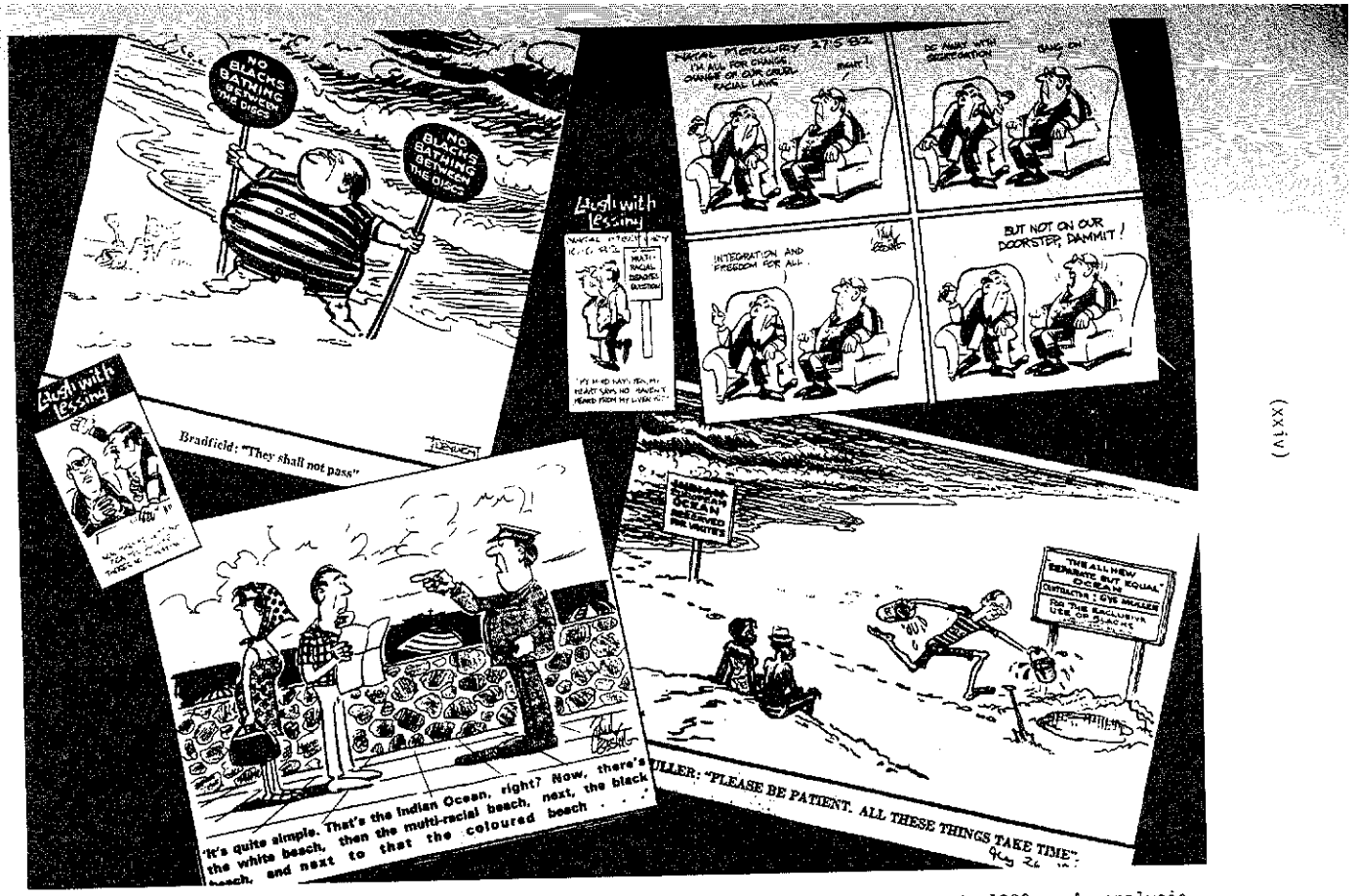


Early morning joggers cover the some 175 metres distance from the lifeguard tower on Battery Beach One shown on the far left and the newly installed tower on Battery Beach Two.

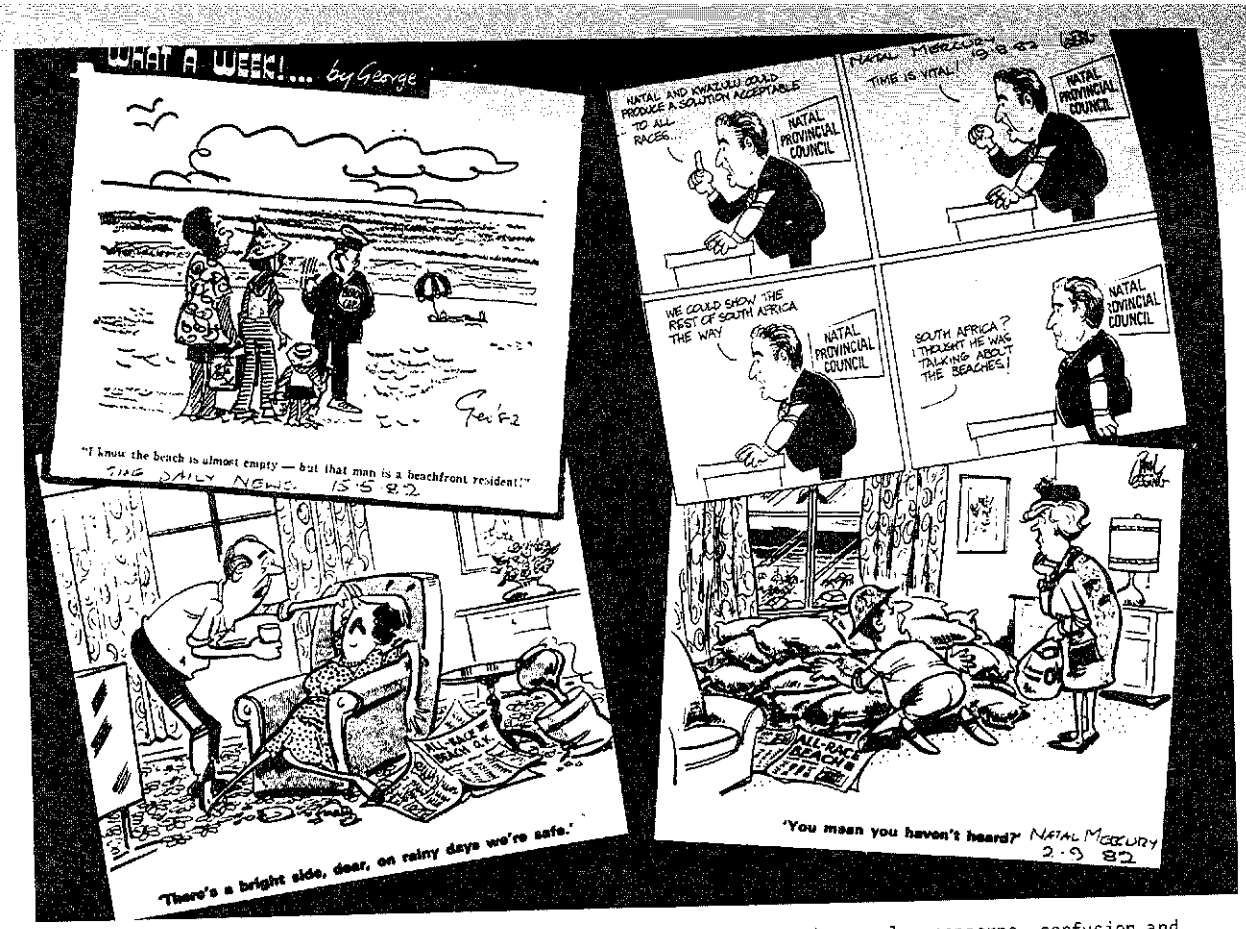
A bather's view of Battery Two facilities and some of Durban's 'international' hotels rising up behind Battery One facilities on the left. The multiracial beach is within a short walking distance from the beachfront hotels.



A white bather's perspective of the newly opened multiracial beach on Battery Two (far right). Some of the white beachusers polled on Battery One in mid-1982 were concerned that their beach would be encroached by Battery Two users. The photograph shows that their fears are probably unfounded.



Cartoonists capture the flavour of the controversy surrounding the Durban beach issue in 1982. An analysis of press reports formed part of the study reported on here.



A second set of cartoons used in the analysis which illustrate the popular concerns, confusion and frustrations involved in the Durban beach debate.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In South Africa, the last decade has seen subtle changes towards a more open society in the 'common areas' where blacks and whites tend to mingle more freely when sharing amenities and facilities. This, despite the policy of providing 'separate but equal' facilities for black South Africans in many central spheres of life.

Under circumstances where common practice differs from the backing legislation, incongruities between formal prescriptions and informal behaviour patterns are likely to occur from time to time. Caught up in this maze of divergent policies and practices, white and black South Africans may find it necessary to revise their conceptions of 'appropriate behaviour' from time to time.

Regarding intergroup situations, it might be suggested that behaviour patterns are most stable at times when the prevailing codes of conduct governing the relationships and interactions between groups are commonly accepted and backed by corresponding official rules and regulations. In this case there is little likelihood that individuals will ever be required to 'act out of character' in intergroup situations. Clear-cut rules of conduct will ensure relatively frictionless intergroup relations - even though partners to a specific relationship may be interacting on an unequal basis.

However, in a period characterised by rapid change when public opinion, common practice and policy are fluid, individuals will frequently feel the need to modify their behaviour patterns and reorient their attitudes from one situation to the next.

It is obvious that a system in which multiple norms govern behaviour in various situations places great demands on

individual capacity to react in the appropriate manner and might therefore be accompanied by resistance to change. It is also probable that many factors are involved which may effectively accelerate or retard behaviour modifications which occur in response to this type of strain. Moreover, these factors may be situation-specific to some degree. It may therefore be appropriate to limit our attention and to focus on one particular instance of group interaction in order to clearly identify the interrelationship between these factors.

In this paper we shall attempt to review the constellation of prevailing attitudes, common behaviour practices, and their legal base in connection with the sharing of beach facilities in Durban. We acknowledge that the sharing of beach facilities is by no means a central area of intergroup relations in South Africa. However, the issue has become controversial from time to time, as during the past year in Durban. For this reason one might presume that attitudes, behaviour practices and policy decisions surrounding the issue of beach desegregation may have consequences which affect other and possibly more critical spheres of South African life.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL NOTES - BEACH POLICY

At the outset it will be important to see the issue of beach integration in its proper perspective. National policy governing beach developments has undergone a number of remarkable shifts in the course of several decades, a pattern of policy change which has been closely paralleled in many other spheres of South African life.

We shall commence our paper with a brief review of the history of beach policy.[1] For purposes of this paper it will be convenient to make a distinction between two major policy directions. The gradual enforcement of beach apartheid characterised the period before the mid-seventies, which we shall refer to here as Phase I. The period after the mid-seventies, referred to here as Phase II, shows a trend towards opening South African beaches.

2.1 Policy directions

2.1.1 Phase I: The origins of formal beach segregation

Although beach segregation had been formally practised throughout this century, beach segregation was only strictly enforced after the National Party came to power after 1948. A delay occurred in implementing beach apartheid until beach occupation could be defined in terms of existing discriminatory legislation such as the Group Areas Act.[2]

---

1) The historical notes in this section have been compiled from *Surveys of Race Relations in South Africa* published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, for the years 1959 through 1981.

2) Davies (1975) describes a similar situation in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) of 1972. For purposes of new regulations effectively barring blacks from using public swimming pools in white areas, attendance (in public baths) was defined as 'occupation' in terms of the Land Tenure Act (the Rhodesian legislation corresponding to Group Areas legislation in South Africa). Davies notes that public pools had been multiracial since a successful court action in 1961 had challenged the 'whites only' notices at municipal swimming pools. (Dorothy Keyworth Davies (compiler), *Race Relations in Rhodesia, A Survey for 1972-73*, London: Rex Collings, 1975, pp. 321-322.)

In South Africa the interpretation of 'occupation' in connection with swimming baths may have been equally ambiguous in the early sixties. For example, the Mission to Seamen Centre in Durban found it necessary to seek legal opinion concerning the situation in a new swimming pool which would be used by seamen of different races. It was not clear whether swimming would constitute occupation in contravention of the Group Areas Act. (Race Relations Survey 1963, p.300.)

Moreover, official plans for apartheid on the beaches was held up because it was found that the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 did not empower local authorities to implement beach segregation. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Amendment Act of 1960 contained a definition of land as including the sea and the seashore as defined in the Sea-Shore Act of 1935 which stated that the sea is "the sea and the bed of sea within the 3 miles limit", and that the seashore is "the land situated between low-water mark and high-water mark" (Race Relations Survey 1959/60, p.263).

Later, a Reservation of Separate Amenities Amendment Bill was published in 1966 which empowered any person in charge of any public premises to reserve such premises for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race. The term 'public premises' was defined to include seashore. Although the Act did not empower any governmental authority to force a local authority to reserve beaches for the different racial groups, local authorities could, in their discretion, reserve beaches for the different racial groups. The Act was not proceeded with but the scene for beach apartheid had been set and after this period the Minister of Planning recommended to local authorities to reserve specific beaches for members of one or other racial group.

Later, beach apartheid was further extended by the Sea-shore Amendment Act of 1972 which empowered the Minister of Agriculture to delegate to the executive committee of a province control over any part of the sea or the seashore. In turn, executive committees could confer control on local authorities. The effect of this was that provincial and local authorities might enforce apartheid on beaches by applying to them the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. Breach of the Act involved a fine of up to R200 or imprisonment for up to 12 months or both.

The zoning of beaches called for the development of many new beaches which outstripped the financial capacities of many local authorities, particularly the smaller ones. During this period

provincial funds were channelled into beach development projects and in some instances the private sector became involved as well. It is noteworthy that these funds were earmarked mainly for the development of black beaches. For example, in 1968 the Administrator of the Cape stated that the responsibility of providing amenities at undeveloped beaches that had been allocated to blacks lay with the local authorities, but it was appreciated that not all of them were in a financial position to do so. His recommendations regarding development of facilities were as follows: As a first stage, proper access roads, sanitary facilities, and water supplies should be provided. Pavilions, change rooms, and showers would be made available later.

2.1.2 Phase II: The policy shift of the mid-seventies

The aboutturn in beach policy occurred in the mid-seventies which saw the relaxation of 'petty apartheid' in several spheres of public life. For instance, the Durban City Council decided to abolish racial discrimination in queues at rates and licensing offices and in the use of benches in public parks. In a number of cities in the Cape discriminatory signs had existed only where they had been required by the Government or the Provincial Administrations, notably on beaches and in public transport vehicles. However, in the same year, the then Prime Minister pointed out that the use of a number of facilities was subject to permit control and that the provision of separate amenities for the various groups, wherever this was practicable or desirable, prevented friction.

A few years later in 1977 the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. 'Pik' Botha, made a widely publicised speech in which he said that he was not prepared to go to war in defense of 'little apartheid'. In the same year the Theron Commission reporting on the situation of the coloured people in South Africa recommended that the gradual and selective opening of public places, amenities and certain beaches be accepted as an objective.

The year 1977 and 1978 saw pressure building up in and around several South African coastal cities to open white-zoned beaches. In several instances local authorities recommended that racially allocated beaches in their areas should be undemarcated and these suggestions were accepted by higher levels of government. As a consequence, stretches of the coastline were opened to all races. However, as a general rule, the main white beaches, specifically those in municipal areas, remained allocated for white use only.

Referring to this trend in 1978, the Administrator of the Cape, Dr. Munnik, stated that while it was not policy to open all beaches to all races and control was necessary to prevent incidents he was prepared to consider concrete and well-motivated proposals from local authorities for changes in demarcation. Dr. Munnik emphasised that he was not proposing a general phasing out of race demarcation. This might come but if it did it would be through natural progression. "We have reached the stage where certain beaches can be opened, but others because of the nature of the residential areas surrounding them must retain their zonings." [1] Whereas, provincial funds were made available to develop racially demarcated beaches in the previous phase, Dr. Munnik now announced that provincial funds set aside for beach facilities would be spent only on beaches that would be open to all races.

In this section we have outlined the major characteristics of two distinct phases of beach policy in South Africa. Equally important, however, for shaping the development of beaches was the role of local authorities. It is to this topic that we turn in the next section of this report.

---

1) *Rand Daily Mail*, November 17, 1978.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL NOTES - THE REACTION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO BEACH POLICY

3.1 The reaction to official beach policy

This was not uniform in all areas of the country. Some communities appeared to welcome legislation which entrenched white access to beaches during Phase I outlined above, or at least accepted racial zoning. By contrast, other local authorities resisted beach demarcation during Phase I and were quick to open allocated beaches during Phase II.

Let us review the situation in the major centres along the South African coastline by way of illustrating the range of reactions to beach policy.

3.2 The Cape Coast

The Cape Provision of Separate Amenities Ordinance of 1955 provided (*inter alia*) that after consultation with the local authority concerned, the Administrator might direct this body to reserve any, or all, or parts of any beach for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class. If the local authority failed to carry out the instructions, the Administrator might direct the Provincial Secretary to carry out any works necessary at the local authority's expense.

In the early sixties, numerous commissions and committees were appointed to inquire into the beach situation in the Cape. The recommendations of the first commissions, the Starke and Heunis Commissions, fell away when in 1965 the Minister of Planning appointed a committee headed by Mr. P.H. Torlage, to make recommendations in regard to the allocation of beaches in the Cape Province. The Torlage Commission then established the need for beach apartheid. In 1968,

as a result of suggestions by these various commissions and committees the Minister of Planning made recommendations to local authorities in the Cape for the reservation of beaches for members of one or other racial group. Most of the local authorities accepted the recommendations but a few, for example Cape Town and East London, made objections or delayed decisions. At this point, let us examine the situation in three Cape coastal areas in greater detail.

3.2.1 Cape Town

Phase I:

In 1964 the Cape Town City Council showed itself reluctant to act in matters of the racial zoning of its beaches and postponed decisions in this respect. On the 3 February 1964 the Council was informed that unless, within a fortnight's time, it had informed the Provincial Administrator that it had agreed to erect beach zoning notices, the Province itself would be reluctantly compelled to see that the beaches were demarcated for the various groups. At this stage the Council asked for an extension of time. The City Council later stated to the Torlage Commission that it opposed enforced segregation, and preferred to try to attract people to various beaches by providing facilities for them there. Notices reserving beaches for one group or another merely caused ill-feeling. There were various areas which had traditionally been used by coloured bathers, and the Council would prefer this system to continue. In 1968 the Cape Town City Council continued to be dissatisfied with the recommendations for beach zoning that had been made by the Minister of Planning in 1966. After a joint inspection of the beaches had been carried out by the Provincial Administration and the City Council three beaches in the Council's area were provisionally allocated for coloured use. However, the Council remained fast in its attitude concerning the erection of beach apartheid signs and the Provincial Executive then decided that it would arrange for the boards to be put up.

Phase II:

Following a recommendation of a committee representing various local authorities in the Cape Peninsula, a 27 km stretch of beach along the False Bay coastline of Muizenberg was undemarcated in 1978. Further reallocation of beaches in the Cape Divisional Council areas of the Cape Peninsula followed. By 1979 roughly half of the False Bay, Table Bay and Atlantic coastlines of the peninsula were open to all races. It is important to note that vested interests were not touched. For example, beaches immediately adjoining white and in some cases coloured residential areas by and large remained reserved for the race groups living in those areas. These included the most popular white beaches.

3.2.2 Port Elizabeth

Phase I:

The coastal stretch at Port Elizabeth had been allocated for different groups since 1965. However, as in several other cities in the Cape, Port Elizabeth had refrained from posting discriminatory signs unless required to do so by law. Such notices were required on zoned beaches.

Phase II:

In late 1976 it was announced that Port Elizabeth beaches were to become multiracial. In 1977 the Divisional Council removed signs demarcating beaches, but the City's municipal beaches were kept reserved for whites. Later, it was reported that the removal of the signs had been misinterpreted and created problems, and they were being put back. Indeed, some 20 blacks had been arrested in 1977 on Port Elizabeth beaches for trespassing on white beaches. In 1978 the Divisional Council stated it was planning a more fair division of beaches than previously allocated and envisaged several open beaches. At the same time coloured and Indian groups urged for the opening of all white-zoned beaches in the city. A committee representing all communities involved was formed to discuss beach allocation and the planning of amenities. Represented on the committee were the City Council, the Divisional Council, Coloured and Indian Management Committees, and the Cape Midlands

Administration Board. By 1979 most of the Port Elizabeth beaches north of the harbour were declared open, but the main Port Elizabeth beaches remained white. The black communities voiced their dissatisfaction with this new demarcation and the Coloured and Indian Management Committee called for all beaches to be open. As a sign of protest, the Indian Management Committee later withdrew from the multiracial committee formed to plan the development of beach facilities.

3.2.3 East London

Phase I:

In 1964 the recommendations for zoning of East London beaches made by the Heunis Commission were said to have shocked City Councillors. The Commission had criticised the Council for not placing recommendations before it. Apparently, the Council had declined to do so because it did not consider that zoning was necessary. However, the recommendations of the Heunis Commission later fell away, when the Torlage Commission was appointed in 1965. When the Torlage Commission visited the East London area, the Council suggested that two of its beaches be left open to all races, and that one be reserved for whites only. East London continued to delay decisions regarding beach zoning, but it is reported that in 1969 beach apartheid had nevertheless been enforced in the area.

Phase II:

In late 1977 the East London Council voted for the undemarcation of all municipal beaches. (Apparently this vote was taken in the absence of opposing councillors who had boycotted the meeting in which the vote was taken. They left the meeting intending to leave the Council without a quorum.) It is interesting to note that beachfront and commercial interests were against the move, as they feared losing inland tourist trade. In 1978 it was announced that all beaches in the Divisional Council area with one exception would be open to all races. However, the beaches in the municipal area remained white. In the following year the Coloured Management Committee continued to press for the opening of all beaches in the East London area. It was

pointed out that as the open beaches had been used without incident by all races over the Christmas season there was no longer any need to keep some beaches reserved for whites.

3.3 The Natal Coast

Phase I:

During the first phase of beach development some of the Natal coastal towns complied with the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, or plans for racial zoning under the Group Areas Act, or submitted to indirect government pressure, and zoned various beaches for members of specified racial groups. In 1967 the Natal Provincial Council passed an ordinance which empowered the Administrator to direct any local authority in charge of public premises to reserve such premises in such a manner as the Administrator might determine for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class. The term 'public premises' was widely defined to include any land including the seashore. During this period zoned beaches were developed by public and private agents.

Phase II:

The issue of open beaches was first openly debated in 1977. The New Republic Party-controlled Natal Provincial Administration stated it was opposed to racial beach zoning, but in favour of the provision of separate beach facilities. However, it left beach zoning to local authority option. If coastal local authorities applied for beach zoning, permission would be given only if equal beach facilities were made available to all groups. The Administration was firm on the point that the right of local option should be recognised but must be exercised fairly. Local authorities should not request demarcation of their beaches for whites only. Natal favoured a system of allowing all races to get together unobtrusively.

The pattern of beach development in Natal occurred as follows:

3.3.1 Natal coastal areas outside Durban

Phase I:

In 1963 Isipingo Beach to the south of Durban was zoned for Indians in terms of the Group Areas Act. By implication, contiguous towns and their beaches further south were intended for white occupation. However, the coastline bordering on Indian and coloured group areas could be developed for local residents. In 1968, it was observed that Indians were themselves developing some of the beaches that had been allocated to them, Tongaat beach to the north of Durban was a case in point.

In the early sixties, it was envisaged that certain stretches of coastline adjoining black areas of Natal were to be zoned for blacks. In 1966 a spokesman for the Bantu Affairs Commission stated in the Assembly[1] that on the entire south coast of Natal there were only two places where blacks could enjoy beach facilities, at a small area at Umgababa and at a resort to be developed at Turton. By 1970 no beaches had been set aside for blacks on the north coast of Natal.[2] Subsequently, the Bantu Investment Corporation developed a holiday resort for blacks at Umgababa. Facilities planned included an hotel, chalets for families, dormitories for groups of young people, facilities for caravans and campers, a modern restaurant, and a wide variety of sporting and recreational amenities. The resort was in operation by 1970.

3.3.2 Durban

Phase I:

According to the Race Relations Survey Durban's beaches had been racially demarcated since 1930.[3]

---

1) Assembly Hansard 11, col. 3922.

2) *Natal Mercury*, January 10, 1970.

3) Race Relations Survey 1978, p. 370.

In the early sixties the fact that the Indian beach[1] was sited in close proximity to the newly developed white luxury hotels and flats gave rise to many complaints on the part of white residents. Subsequently, beaches for Indians and coloured people were developed and equipped in the area north of the Country Club beach. Effectively, this meant that a stretch of about five miles of beach from Durban harbour north to the Umgeni River had been reserved for whites, except for two areas, each about 500 years long, which had been allocated to Indians and coloureds, respectively.[2] In 1970 the one small beach for all Africans of the Durban area was reported to be pitifully lacking in necessary amenities.[3]

Phase II:

In June 1977 the Durban City Council voted against a proposal to open the city's beaches to all races. Instead, the Council rearranged the demarcation of its beaches so that coloured swimmers instead of Africans would be nearest the white beach border and the white flatlands and hotels. Next was the Indian beach and furthest the African beach. Meanwhile pressure was mounting to halt the encroachment of non-residents and members of other groups on zoned beach areas and amenities. The Council reacted by not going to tender on a contract in order to provide facilities on the redemarcated beaches as swiftly as possible. The Administrator of Natal subsequently appointed a committee to investigate alleged maladministration by councillors. The Council was cleared on the grounds that it had wished to avoid racial friction and had seen the need for urgent action.

In 1977/78 the Council spent R500 000 to upgrade facilities on the new beaches to bring them up to par with those on white beaches. For the years 1979/81 a further R40 000 each was allocated for

---

1) For the sake of brevity and clarity only, reference will be made in this report to white, Indian, coloured, and black or African beaches. There is no intention that this usage should in any way cause offence.
In this connection it is noteworthy that the Durban municipal departments in charge of the beachfront are seeking to coin and popularise non-racial names for Durban's beaches.

2) Hansard 3 cols. 992-3.

3) *Natal Mercury*, January 10, 1970.

improvements to the African and Indian beaches. Attempts in Council to have a mixed beach included in the zoning were defeated. However, in 1978 the beachfront amusement park was integrated.[1)]

In 1978 an ad-hoc survey of six international hotels on or near the Durban beachfront showed that they enjoyed significant black patronage. The Durban beach office was instructed not to apply the by-law regarding beach zoning rigidly in order to avoid incidents. In the same year the Chairman of the Amenities Committee of the City Council recommended that a section of the beachfront be opened to all races. A more extensive survey of existing needs to be conducted by hotel managements was instigated by the Council. The Director of Parks and Recreation and Beaches was asked to report on a possible site and the feasibility of such a beach. In 1981 a sub-committee of the Durban City Council was appointed to investigate the possibilities of establishing a multiracial beach, and by mid-1982 the issue of a multiracial beach caused considerable public debate. After much deliberation a site was eventually selected and initial approval was given by the Council for the planning of a multiracial beach.

The fact that the beach issue was raised a few months before municipal elections were scheduled may have influenced the course of the debate. On August 30, 1982 the Council finally voted in favour of opening a stretch of beach to all races. On November 4, 1982 Battery Beach Two, situated between the white-zoned Battery Beach and the Coloured Beach was officially opened to bathers of all races.

3.4 Conclusions

Local authority response to beach policy during both phases of development distinguished here appears to have differed significantly in Natal and the Cape. In particular, the beach situation in Durban may be contrasted with that in Cape Town. Referring mainly to Phase I developments, a political correspondent writing in the *Daily News* described these contrasting situations succinctly as follows:

---

1) The amusement park is leased to a tenant who controls access to the premises.

> "The situation in the Cape and Natal differs significantly in the administrative decisions on beach segregation.
>
> In Natal the New Republic Party-controlled Provincial Council refuses to establish or force local authorities to segregate beaches. Durban has done the segregation of its own accord.
>
> In the Cape the Cape Town City Council refuses to segregate the beaches while the National Party-controlled Provincial Council has done its best to prevent integration."[1)]

The writer went on to outline the undeterred manner in which beach integration had proceeded on Cape beaches and cited the lessons to be learnt by the Durban City Council which was at that time still moving "gingerly" towards opening a single beach to all race groups.

To sum up impressions gained from the historical overview of the changing beach situation resulting from policy shifts and local authority reactions, five trends are observed:

1. Beach integration was strictly enforced as soon as beach occupation could be defined in terms of existing discriminatory legislation. The late fifties and early sixties saw the successive demarcation of the coastline into beaches defined for the exclusive use of one racial group. Beach apartheid was in effect in almost all coastal areas by the early seventies. Then, in an aboutturn of policy, more liberal views regarding the sharing of amenities and facilities were adopted and the question of open beaches arose. A number of local authorities rezoned some of their beaches for multi-racial use, whilst other local authorities made representations to higher levels of government to rezone all the beaches in their jurisdiction for non-racial use. Thus, while the gradual enforcement of beach apartheid characterised the period before the mid-seventies, the period after the mid-seventies showed a definite trend towards opening South African beaches.

---

1) The *Daily News*, May 12, 1982, p. 19.

2. Since beach legislation came into effect in the early sixties, several tiers of government have been involved in policy decisions and implementation. One Durban councillor speaks of the 'bedevilment' of Durban's beaches by government statute, provincial ordinances, and city by-laws.[1] Differences in outlook at the local and provincial level of government hampered first the smooth enforcement of apartheid policy on beaches until the mid-seventies and later the move towards beach integration after the mid-seventies.

3. In most coastal areas white use of the beaches for recreational purposes was widespread. For this reason, the most popular beaches and those most suitable for bathing had traditionally been occupied by whites. Consequently, when beaches were zoned for the exclusive occupation of one race group, the black groups were allocated the remaining less popular, less suitable, and less accessible beaches, which were also under-provided for in terms of amenities and facilities. Providing facilities on newly zoned beaches during Phase I overtaxed the financial resources of many of the smaller local authorities. Whilst the opening of multiracial beaches during Phase II did not necessarily improve the situation regarding effective beach space which could be utilized by blacks, it did tend to accelerate the rate with which beach facilities became available for blacks.

4. The demand for beach facilities by blacks increased tremendously during Phase II and promises to grow further still. Factors involved in the growing demand for beach facilities include:
The increasing urban black population,
increasing popularity of various recreation activities among urban blacks such as beach recreation,
increasing affluence among urban blacks which allows larger proportions of the black population to engage in recreational activities, and

---

1) Reported in the *Northglen News*, June 17, 1977.

increasing mobility of urban and rural dwellers inclusive tourists. We shall return to this point later.

5. It would appear that relatively few incidents of racial tension have occurred on beaches in South Africa. Reported incidents occurred mainly in cases where the rezoning of beaches led to confusion about usage, that is in cases of overcrowded and uncontrolled beach situations. It has been observed that beachusers tend to gravitate to the beaches most familiar and accessible to them, and to beaches where adequate facilities are provided. Hence overcrowding and racial incidents are unlikely to occur under normal circumstances.

CHAPTER 4

THE 1981/82 DURBAN BEACH DEBATE - PRESS COMMUNICATIONS

In this section we shall focus on the various moves towards beach integration undertaken by the Durban City Council during the year 1981/82 drawing on press reports.

In Durban the beach issue stirred considerable debate in 1977 when redemarcation of municipal beaches took place, and again in 1981/82 when the feasibility of a multiracial beach was examined more closely. During these two key years, the beach issue was given considerable press coverage. By way of example, we shall limit ourselves to a review of press coverage during the 1981/82 period.

During the period 14 October 1981 to 5 September 1982 at least 107 items appeared in the local press, of which 97 items appeared in two daily newspapers and 10 in a weekly newspaper.[1)] The surveyed items included:

26 municipal reports
22 newsstaff reports
5 editorial comments
3 political reports
6 commentaries by columnists
8 cartoons
3 maps
34 letters to the editor

107 items

It is noteworthy that the beach issue made front page headlines on several occasions. The relatively large number of cartoons making reference to the beach issue is a further indication of the controversy surrounding the debate on beach integration.

A brief survey of newspaper items is included here to fill in details of developments in the key year 1981/82 and to illustrate shades of public opinion surrounding the issue at stake.

---

1) Only English-language communications were included in the analysis.

4.1 Chronicle of events relating to the establishment of a multiracial beach in Durban, October 1981-September 1982

Following press reports in the local newspapers a chronicle of events relating to developments in the beach issue reads as follows:

October 14, 1981: A Durban City Council Sub-committee (hereafter Sub-committee) has been set up to investigate and report on whether a section of the (municipal) beachfront should be opened for use as a multiracial beach.

November 24, 1981: Municipal officials are asked to prepare a report on the most suitable stretches of beach for desegregation. The Chairman of the Sub-committee on Beach Desegregation indicates that no established beach will be suggested. According to later reports, the City Engineer was called to report on the feasibility of opening Battery Beach Two or the beach adjoining the Snake Park for multiracial use. The Department of Parks and Recreation was also requested to prepare a report. For the first time Durban's local affairs committees, which represent the Indian and coloured communities of Durban, were approached to give their views on desegregating beaches and swimming pools in their areas. (The provision of multiracial beachfront toilet facilities is to be discussed shortly. A request for the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool[1] to be opened to all races is shelved until the question of the open beach is settled.)

March 24, 1982: The Administrator of Natal confirms that the decision concerning beach integration rests squarely with the City Council. The Province had no right to interfere with what the Council did with its beaches.

---

1) A saltwater pool situated on the beachfront in the vicinity of North Beach. (Cf. Figure 1, p.x)

March 25, 1982: The City Engineer asks the Sub-committee on Beach Desegregation whether reporting on the beach in question should be based on controlled or free entry. Controlled access posed fewer problems, but the only beach suitable for controlled access was the beach adjoining the Snake Park. This was the only beach not used by a specific race group which had natural barriers. If access were to be free the matter would have to go to the Management Committee because it was a sensitive issue and public opinion might have to be sought.

May 6, 1982: The Sub-committee on Beach Desegregation votes in favour of the establishment of a controlled non-racial beach on a beach known as Snake Park Beach. The Sub-committee votes narrowly in favour of charging an admission fee as the best means of controlling the beach. However, one member of the Sub-committee while supporting the principle of an open beach disagrees with the Sub-committee recommendation, *inter alia*, on the siting of the beach. All four Durban Indian local affairs committees at the meeting vote in favour of the desegregation of all Durban beaches. The Sub-committee also recommends that the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool be opened to all races. A decision on the opening of all municipal pools to all races is referred.

Regarding procedure, it is noteworthy that the Sub-committee's recommendations are to be passed on first to the Amenities Committee and then to the City's Management Committee (MANCO) which will in turn make further recommendations until finally the matter will be discussed by the full City Council.

May 7, 1982: Two Durban city councillors pledge to oppose the establishment of a multiracial beach at Snake Park. Beachfront ratepayers move to call a public protest meeting. The possibility of a multiracial beach effectively becoming a black beach and the desirability of charging an entrance fee as a means of crowd control are discussed in various quarters. A group of board sailers express concern about the choice of the Snake Park Beach for establishing a

multiracial beach. The board sailers had been assured that the Snake Park Beach could be used exclusively by board sailers. The Chairman of the Hotel and Bottle Store Association states that with the large number of international hotels in the city it is obvious that the multiracial beach must be within easy walking distance. The Secretary-General of Inkatha welcomes the plan to establish a multiracial beach as a step to eliminate racism and apartheid. Similarly, the Progressive Federal Party welcomes the move. The Secretary of the South African Indian Council states the establishment of a multiracial beach would provide a testing ground.

May 9, 1982: On the basis of an earlier opinion survey [1] commissioned by the newspaper concerned, the editor predicts an overwhelming majority (85%) of whites in Durban would react negatively to a multiracial beach at the Snake Park and to the opening of the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool to all races (editorial comment, May 9, 1982). In response, the author of the survey disputes the newspaper's interpretation of his findings as a total misrepresentation which is seriously misleading. According to the author's reading of survey findings, fully one half of Durban whites would be prepared to sympathise with the need for beach integration (letter to the editor, May 12, 1982). However, the editor insists on his assessment of the survey findings.

May 11, 1982: The Durban City Council Amenities Committee agrees in principle to a free, all-race beach but is divided on its location. It is reported that the Committee was not in favour of a levy charged in the absence of levies at other beaches within the borough. Reputedly the Committee also endorsed the recommendation that the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool be opened to all races. However, the Committee resolved that no action be taken concerning the opening of all Council-controlled swimming pools in the same way.

---

1) The results of this opinion survey will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9.

May 14, 1982: A meeting convened by the Beachfront Ratepayers' Association to protest against the planned multiracial beach is strongly supported. Observers note that persons attending are mainly elderly. Sufficient signatures are collected to petition the Mayor to call a public meeting on the beach proposal. A second petition is to be sent to the Administrator of Natal asking him to intervene in terms of the Separate Amenities Act.

May 24, 1982: Following an on-site inspection of the whole beachfront area and a lengthy meeting, the Durban City Council in committee votes 17 to 9 in favour of plans to establish a multi-racial beach and integrate the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool. Recommendations are to be forwarded to the Management Committee for approval. Although voting in committee is not made public, newspapers later report the names of councillors voting for and against the proposals.

Battery Beach Two is chosen in place of Snake Park Beach as the site for the multiracial beach. Reasons stated for this choice include the fact that changeroom and toilet facilities are already there. It is stated that provision would be made for suitable refreshment facilities and a temporary car park would be constructed. Battery Beach Two is bordered by the Battery Beach One (white) on the one side and the Coloured Beach on the other. As Battery Beach Two is sufficiently distant from the white beach no need is seen for the erection of physical barriers and no tarrif would be charged for those who use it.

Regarding the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool, it was the only salt water pool in Durban and the Council was committed to a policy of sharing limited facilities. The suggestion made by one councillor, a known opponent of the beach proposal, to integrate all fresh water swimming pools in the city is not taken seriously by his fellow councillors.

May 26, 1982: The KwaZulu Minister of the Interior who is also responsible for sport in KwaZulu, welcomes the Durban City Council's moves to open a city beach to all population groups.

May 27, 1982: The Mayor of Durban [1] invites the Beachfront Ratepayers' Association to submit its petition opposing the beach desegregation move and request for a public meeting. The Mayor states that she wishes the public meeting to be held as soon as possible. The manner in which the desegregation issue was being debated was destroying the goodwill built up between the various race groups and harming the city's image, she states. Meanwhile, representatives of several non-white local affairs committees and a ratepayers' association state their support for the Council's integration efforts.

June 1, 1982: A petition opposing the multiracial beach with 1 000 signatures is handed to the Mayor. The Beachfront Ratepayers' Association request that the public meeting to discuss the beach issue be delayed until after mid-July when nominations close for the forthcoming municipal elections. If the meeting were delayed candidates seeking election or re-election would have an opportunity to voice their attitudes on the beach issue on this occasion for the benefit of voters who were asked to make a choice of candidates.

In reply, the Mayor states it is imperative that the meeting be called as soon as possible on such a vital issue. Moreover, it was customary for an election candidate to declare his or her attitudes in a manifesto which should provide voters a guide on how to vote.

June 3, 1982: The Mayor sets the date for the public meeting to discuss the proposed multiracial beach and the opening of the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool to all races. The meeting is to be held in the City Hall on the evening of June 14.

---

1) It is noteworthy that the Mayor of Durban, in her second term of office at this time, is in favour of beach integration, unlike her predecessor of the 1977/78 redemarcation period.

June 14, 1982: At the public meeting in the City Hall a ratio of three to one vote to oppose the integration of Battery Beach Two and the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool. Approximately 500 persons attend the meeting. Observers note that the meeting was often reduced to a racial slanging match and it was difficult to maintain order on occasion. Among other points raised, residents of one beachfront area (North Beach) claim to be upset that their councillors had not been asked to serve on the Desegregation Sub-Committee. The Chairman of the Management Committee explains that the move to desegregate the beach was merely the completion of the programme begun in 1977/78 when the Council had provided 650m. of beach for Africans, 550m. for Indians, 300m. for coloured people and a total of 2 100m. for whites. All that remained was to provide a beach for a group which wished to swim with friends belonging to different races.

June 15, 1982: Durban's Management Committee decides to press for the opening of Battery Beach Two and the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool for all races in spite of the outcome of the public meetings. In justification of its decision it is pointed out that all the objections raised related to fears people had about insufficient control of crowd movement rather than to the beach itself. The Management Committee is of the opinion that these fears will not be realised.
The Committee's recommendation calls for the provision of temporary parking, a pedestrian crossing, and refreshment kiosk at Battery Beach Two. A further proposal concerns the provision of a bus service between the nearest railway stations and the existing black beach. The Management Committee also decides to again recommend the desegregation of the city's bus service.

June 18, 1982: A Councillor and former Mayor who had not attended the Management Committee meeting whilst on leave of absence, states that the decision to open Battery Beach Two is untimely considering the haste with which it had been taken and the objections by the public.

June 20, 1982: A map published in a Sunday newspaper shows the beach proposals incorrectly. *Inter alia*, the multiracial beach site is indicated on the Snake Park Beach. A map to correct this one is published a week later on June 27.

June 21, 1982: After a lengthy debate the Durban City Council votes 17 to 10 to open Battery Beach Two and the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool to all races. Points raised at the open meeting include the need for barriers between beaches, the distance of Battery Beach Two from beachfront residential areas, and the feasibility of providing salt water pools for blacks. Information on a survey conducted on Battery Beach One adjacent to the proposed Battery Beach Two among 170 beachusers is supplied to the councillors at the meeting - 75 percent of a cross-section of bathers of which ca. one-third were holidaymakers, would not oppose the mixed beach proposal.
The newspapers again report the councillors voting for and against the proposals. News commentators note the racial overtones of the debate and that voting takes place strictly along party lines.

June 22, 1982: Two councillors representing beachfront constituencies pledge to fight the multiracial beach issue.

July 6, 1982: According to an *ad hoc* newspaper survey, the majority of up-country holidaymakers interviewed were against the idea of Durban having a multiracial beach. The report is accompanied by photographs of four interviewees voicing various shades of opinion ranging from positive to negative.

July 18, 1982: A Sunday newspaper reports that an anti-pollution campaign on beaches is scheduled in which several members of the Indian Community are to participate. The Chairman of the organising committee is a local Indian businessman. The article headlines read: "Blacks help keep beaches whiter."

---

1) A more detailed report of this survey which was carried out by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences during the period May - June 1982 follows in Chapter 10.

July 20, 1982: A petition with 7 877 signatures opposing moves to integrate Battery Beach Two and the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool is handed to the Natal Provincial Secretary. It is reported that 5 389 signatures had been collected in the Durban municipal area, the remainder had come from other parts of Natal and South Africa.

July 21, 1982: The July holiday season is reported to be the worst in years for Durban businesses directly affected by the tourist industry. In the opinion of the Director of the Durban Publicity Association, the controversy over the proposed opening of a multiracial beach no doubt had a direct negative short-term effect on the fall-off in number of visitors.

July 30, 1982: The Council in advertising its intention to change the by-laws affecting the opening of Battery Beach Two and the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool to all races stipulates July 30 as the date by which objections must be submitted.

August 11, 1982: It is reported that the Durban City Council Amenities Committee has deferred a decision approving by-laws allowing the integration of Battery Beach Two and the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool until it has studied all objections submitted including those sent to the Administrator of Natal. The matter will be considered on August 20.
Eight formal objections representing an estimated 3 500 people have been lodged with the Durban City Council. The Province is asked to send petitions lodged with it. The Province has already been handed an 8 000 name petition objecting to the desegregation of any amenities. Another protest petition on its way to the Administrator is signed by some 1 600 Golden Mile [1] families.

---

1) Popular designation for Durban beachfront area around Marine Parade.

August 17, 1982: R358 000 are approved for the improvement of the South Beach area, a priority area in the plan to give the beachfront a facelift. Other areas to be improved when funds become available include the Indian and black beaches.

The Durban City Council's Amenities Committee has decided by five votes to one to over-rule objections and to proceed with the integration of Battery Beach Two. At the same time it is stipulated that subsidised transport should be provided directly to existing black beaches. The Committee decides that many people signing the petitions opposing the move to integrate the beaches were unaware of the Council's actual intentions. For example, objections had been made to the opening of "city beaches" and not, as was proposed, to the opening of a single beach. It is reported that a councillor representing a beachfront constituency has been criticised by the Amenities Committee for circulating a petition which indicated that there were moves afoot to integrate all the city's beaches and not only Battery Beach Two.

August 27, 1982: The Durban City Council Management Committee over-rules objections to the integration of Battery Beach Two. The Committee similarly decides that the objections lodged do not constitute a valid reason for not proceeding with the integration plans. At the same time, the Management Committee directs that adequate subsidised transport be introduced timeously between the city's two railway stations and the black beaches.

August 31, 1982: The Durban City Council votes 18 to 11 to open Battery Beach Two to all races despite objections lodged.

September 1, 1982: Municipal elections are held in Durban. According to the editorial comment in a local newspaper "It (is) probably the first time that a concerted effort (has) been made here to introduce racial prejudice as a general municipal election issue - in the shape of the multiracial Battery Beach issue."[1] However, according to many election candidates, the beach issue did not seem to influence voters.

---

1) *Daily News*, September 2, 1982, p.22.

This dairy of events provides us with a time framework within which to conduct our analysis of public attitudes towards beach integration. In the next section we shall attempt to review popular opinion towards the integration of Durban's beaches by scrutinising letters written to the daily newspapers during the period of analysis.

4.2 Letters to the editors of local daily newspapers

Apart from press reports, the topical nature of the beach issue is also reflected in the relatively large number of public contributions to the debate in the form of letters to the editor. Some thirty letters which appeared in the local daily newspapers, mainly during the months May to July 1982, are content-analysed here with the aim of identifying the main arguments which were brought forward by members of the public.

The largest single group of letter writers consisted of beachfront residents. It would appear that North Beach residents living in the vicinity of the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool felt particularly affected by the Council proposals on beach and pool integration and this was reflected in their communication activities. However, we also observe that persons living in Durban suburbs and in other parts of Natal or South Africa put pen to paper because they felt they could offer a more balanced view of the situation. Writers frequently identified themselves as white ratepayers and one may assume that the majority were white. It is interesting to note that some writers entered the debate because they felt compelled to respond to remarks made in the letters-to-the-editor section of the newspaper, including an Indian ratepayer who challenged the arguments put forward by his white counterparts.

4.2.1 Viewpoints of letter writers:

Letter writers divided into three almost equal-sized groups:
Impartials: writers who wish to offer practical or impartial solutions to the beach dilemma, balanced views of the situation, or information pertinent to the debate. Includes corrections to erroneous or misleading reporting. (12 writers.)

Pro-Integrationists: those favouring the Council proposals in principle or the general idea of sharing beachfront amenities. (10 writers.)
Anti-Integrationists: writers, mainly beachfront residents, who disagree with the proposed beach plans, and or express fears associated with beach dezoning. (9 writers.)

It will be noted that the pro-segregation sentiments are very easy to identify, whilst distinctions between neutral/impartial and pro-integration viewpoints are less readily discernible.

4.2.2 A content analysis of topics covered in letters commenting on the beach situation

A content analysis was applied to the letters written by readers commenting on the beach issue. The results of the analysis are shown below. It was discovered that the arguments entered into the debate could meaningfully be classified under some few headings. The numbers in brackets refer to the estimated number of writers making the argument in question and give some indication of the frequency with which popular sentiments were expressed. A major distinction is made between anti- and pro-integration sentiments. We shall commence with the anti-integration arguments put forward by readers:

4.2.2.1 Opposition sentiments

Overcrowding and related fears (9): Beachfront residents and elderly persons writing to the local newspapers were most likely to express these types of fears. In some cases writers feared a return to the situation prior to beach redemarcation in 1977 when beachfront parks and other amenities were 'overrun' by blacks. For some residents the new beach proposals appeared to represent a complete policy circle: In response to public protest the African beach had been removed from Battery Beach Two to a more distant site in

1977/78 [1] and in 1982 the Council was again proposing a mixed beach on the old site or even closer to the white residential area. Crowding was feared most in the North Beach area which is situated immediately outside the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool and adjacent to the originally proposed site for a multiracial beach near the Snake Park. It was argued that this beach was very popular and tended to become crowded during the holiday season and could not cope with the extra traffic which would result if a beach and pool were opened to other groups in the area. In one writer's opinion it was preposterous to expect a minority to share facilities which had been planned for use by only a small sector of the population with the entire population, overcrowding would inevitably result.

Related fears included the deterioration of standards of amenities and cleanliness, increasing incidence of crime in the area, the reduction of property values, and the disappearance of a cherished lifestyle.

The following excerpt from a letter to the editor written by a beachfront resident epitomises the typical fears of crowding and diminished quality of life in a residential area likely to result from the integration of facilities:
"The area is unsafe as it is, with vagrants permanently living round the new toilets built there, and muggings daily. In summer the shops in the area are unaccessible because of the hordes of drunken and disorderly people trekking to the beaches north of the Snake Park." [2]

---

1) In this connection it is noteworthy that a councillor who was in office at this time emphasised the quick response on the part of the Council to overcome the problems of perceived crowding: "The North Beach area and the Carpendale Park in particular were overrun by black people and the racial incidents were so bad that the Council had to undertake a crash programme to adjust beach facilities. We even entered into a contract for facilities at the new African beach without going into tender in order to expedite the programme." Cited in the *Natal Mercury*, May 7, 1982.

2) Letter printed in the *Natal Mercury*, June 3, 1982.

Inclusion of North Beach in the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool rezoning scheme (4):

It was pointed out that if the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool were opened to all races so must the adjacent North Beach whose capacity was already perceived to be severely strained. Plans for rezoning the beach or the pool in this area which was essentially a white area would result in the piecemeal and anomalous application of the Group Areas Act.

A number of beachfront residents stated they resented the "grossly impertinent" remarks of a pro-integration councillor who reprimanded them for their lack of foresight and for harbouring unwarranted fears regarding the establishment of a multiracial beach in their ward. According to views expressed in what one reader considered as a "well-reasoned leader" article [1] some fears were justifiable. "Reasonable fears" included the overcrowding of amenities designed only for limited sectors of the population, deterioration of law and order and standards of cleanliness, declining property values, and a fall-off in Durban's holiday trade.

Effect on the tourist trade (3): Mentioned in connection with fears and reservations of a more practical nature was the negative effect beach integration and its consequences would have on Durban's tourist industry.

Objections to the siting of the multiracial beach (4): Some writers stated that whilst they agreed with the idea of integrating a beach in principle they did not approve of the site chosen for this purpose, especially if their neighbourhood was affected. Preferred sites included a site on or closer to the Blue Lagoon Beach (which is adjacent to the post-1978 African beach), and Vetch's Pier [1] where mixed bathing had informally been practised for many years.

1) Editorial comment published in the *Natal Mercury*, May 18, 1982.

2) Vetch's Pier is situated on the southernmost tip of the beachfront in the Point area. It is interesting to note that a a councillor writing in the earlier period of debate on beach integration had already suggested this site and described it as follows: "It is presently patronised by whites with a sprinkling of other races - it has lovely sands, is free, untrammelled by racial nonsense, open in vista and refreshing." *Northglen News*, June 17, 1977.

Quoting from the same letter as before: "If a multiracial beach must be created then do it down at Vetch's Pier, ... but don't foist this unpleasantness on the North Beach residents. We will fight it tooth and nail..."[1)]

Who should share amenities? (3): Related to the above point is the objection to being required to share amenities whilst others are not asked to make this sacrifice. In this connection one writer suggested that the beach facilities provided for "non-whites" as well as for whites should be shared, in response to which an Indian writer retorted that sharing of amenities already occurred on "non-white" beaches.

4.2.2.2 Pro-integration sentiments:

Change is inevitable/welcome (8): A substantial number of writers were of the opinion that beach integration was inevitable or part of a more general pattern of change in South Africa. "Mixing is an increasing fact of life" as one writer put it. Some writers in this group endorsed the move towards beach integration taken by the Council. The Council was right in grasping this opportunity for change. In some instances the establishment of a multiracial beach was interpreted as a first move towards full beach integration. Persons unable to envisage that some changes which would take place in future were criticised or pitied. It was pointed out that even if older persons were unable to accept sharing in an ever increasing number of facilities, younger whites must be allowed to participate fully in the process of change in order to invest in the future of this country.

Sharing is a right not a concession (2): In support of a 'beach for all' type of policy, some few writers pointed out that the assumption that white ratepayers carried the full burden of financing beach facilities was erroneous. For example, "non-white" ratepayers contributed to the city's income, and blacks also made an indirect contribution to the city's prosperity in the form of labour inputs.

1) Letter printed in the *Natal Mercury*, June 3, 1982.

Reactions to racial prejudice (2): Some readers said they were appalled to hear of the racialistic views expressed by members of the public at the meeting held in the City Hall to discuss the move towards creating a multiracial beach.[1] In another instance, the openly prejudiced statements of one writer regarding the sharing of beaches drew retorts from both white and black writers.

Beach integration is a minor issue (3): Some writers felt councillors were devoting too much of their time to a relatively minor issue whilst many other problems needed their urgent attention. By the same token other writers felt members of the public were over-reacting to an issue of little consequence and that they had blown it up out of all proportion. One elderly writer predicted that the novelty of a multiracial beach would soon wear off and no harm would be done by its establishment. Other writers thought that when the dust settled over the beach issue it would become simply another milestone in the process of change in South Africa.

Beach integration : a political move? (6): Opinions were divided as to whether the move towards beach integration was a political move or whether it should be interpreted as such.

One category of writers clearly wished to politicise the issue, for example, by expressing support for a postponement of the public meeting until after registration of election candidates or by attaching party or similar types of identifying labels to councillors supporting or opposing the beach proposal. One writer pointed out that both support for and opposition to mixed beaches constituted political moves.

Another category of writers wished to defuse the political nature of the move to integrate beaches by placing the issue in its proper perspective or viewing it in a more detached manner.

---

1) As set out above the press referred to 'slanging matches' during the meeting.

Among beachfront writers, there was a tendency to declare solidarity with the local councillors who opposed the multiracial beach proposal. However, one elderly beachfront writer stated emphatically that she wished to dissociate herself with these councillors. It must not generally be assumed, she wrote, that all beachfront residents held anti-integration views.

Council disregard of public opinion (4): Related to the above point, it is noteworthy that a substantial number of anti-integration writers voiced their indignation regarding the lack of communication between the Council and city residents. They maintained that popular opinion expressed through the representatives of beachfront residents' associations and at protest and public meetings had been consistently disregarded by the city councillors responsible for the planning of the beachfront.

4.2.2.3 Other topics

Further isolated topics covered in letters to the editor regarding the debate on the beach proposals included the following:

- Development of the beachfront by private enterprise on non-racial lines.
- The comparison of the Durban beach situation with that in Cape Town is invalid. (*Inter alia*, Durban has a more limited stretch of municipal beach than Cape Town, hence crowding is a more important consideration.)
- The rezoning of the Snake Park beach disaccomodates the surfer community.
- Discussion of church views of beach integration.
- Reminder that beach integration was informally practised earlier (before the period described as Phase I in this report).

4.2.3 Comments on readers' opinions

The opinions enumerated under the opposition-sentiment heading mainly reflected disapproval of the move towards establishing a multiracial beach, those under the pro-integration heading approval. Writers expressing the former type of opinion tended to regard the Sub-committee's and Management Committee's beach proposals as "preposterous", "untimely", "ridiculous", or as a "flight of fancy" on the part of the councillors. By contrast, those expressing pro-integration sentiments were more likely to consider the Council proposals to be reasonable. We also observe an intermediate category of persons who approved of mixed beaches in principle but did not support plans to establish an integrated beach "on their doorstep".

The range of arguments put forward in support or opposition of the beach proposal appears to be remarkably comprehensive. One would expect to encounter most of these shades of opinion in a wider-scale survey. Some of the viewpoints expressed have a peculiarly local flavour. However, many reflect wider concerns which typically emerge during the initial stages of an integration process.

A last point is apposite. An analysis of readership opinion may prove useful by way of an introduction to our topic of discussion. Nevertheless, it has its limitations. The arguments covered are by no means exhaustive, no matter how comprehensive they appear to be in the first instance. It is also well-known that reader reactions do not necessarily reflect the views of the total population, even in a milieu in which it is quite commonplace to write to one's local newspaper. The data base is limited in scope, it included only a small number of letters. Most important of all, we do not know how the opinions expressed in the letters analysed are distributed among all Durban residents. The writers have given us some clues, but they are insufficient. Therefore, we shall have to seek a wider data base if we wish to learn how

various sectors of the population feel about beach integration. This preliminary analysis has equipped us with some insights and has provided a firm basis from which to undertake this task.

CHAPTER 5

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BEACH DEVELOPMENT IN THE DURBAN CONTEXT

After having worked through the reviews and analysis of the preceding sections readers will have become thoroughly familiar with the background of events leading to the decision to establish a multiracial beach. At this point it may be useful to pause briefly to discuss the significance of Phase II developments and beach desegregation in Durban.

Supporters of open beaches have drawn attention to the fact that the number of black beachusers is increasing, thereby stressing the need for additional beaches to be opened to blacks. On the other hand, pro-integrationists have also been quick to point out that the numbers of black beachusers are still comparatively small compared to those of other race groups, whilst pro-segregationists have argued that black beachgoers will in any case outnumber whites on a multiracial beach. Factual evidence on the outdoor recreation activities of blacks is undoubtedly needed to clarify this point.

5.1 Outdoor recreation patterns and beach activities

A recreation survey [1] carried out in the Durban metropolitan region provides this type of information. In this survey a distinction was made between three groups of recreation activities and facilities:

Regional recreation activities/facilities: recreation takes place in a region surrounding an urban centre.

Major urban recreational activities/facilities: metropolitan facilities attract people on a city-wide basis.

Suburban recreational activities/facilities: locally-based recreation in a variety of venues nearer people's homes. Essentially neighbourhood facilities as the term is used in this report.

1) L. Schlemmer, *Durban Metropolitan Recreation Survey*, Report submitted to the Town and Regional Planning Commission, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban 1974.

It will be noted that pro-integrationists tended to view the Durban beaches and the Rachel Finlayson (saltwater) Swimming Pool as major urban facilities which by definition should be accessible to all. Pro-segregationists, on the other hand, emphasised the suburban characteristics of the pool and the beaches adjoining the beachfront residential areas and the pool. The author of the Durban Recreation Survey also experienced methodological problems in this connection. He remarks that "Many major urban facilities are in fact located in "suburban" areas and participation at these places clouds the definition of "local" activity". [1)]

The Durban Metropolitan Recreation Survey gives a breakdown by race group of the relative importance of suburban, urban and regional facilities in terms of visits per 1 000 persons per annum as in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

DURBAN METROPOLITAN RECREATION SURVEY

Percentage distribution of recreational activity by setting and group

Recreational activity	Whites %	Indians %	Coloureds %	Blacks %
Suburban	40	43	54	69
Urban	53	54	43	30
Regional	7	3	3	1
	100	100	100	100

The figures clearly demonstrate the importance of major urban facilities including beaches which accommodate a major proportion of leisure activity in the city - slightly over 50 percent for all groups. We note, however, that black use of major urban facilities - with only 30 percent - lags far behind.

1) L. Schlemmer, *op. cit.*, 1974, p. 106.

White participation rates in outdoor recreation are much higher than those for other groups as shown in the selected percentages given below. Above average use of existing major urban facilities might justify the zoning of larger stretches of beaches for whites as in the formula quoted for the municipal beaches demarcated in 1977/78.

	Whites	Indians	Coloured	Blacks	
	%	%	%	%	
Visiting rates: major urban facilities	59	14	18	9	= 100%
'Phase II': Zoned municipal beach area	58	15	8	18	= 100%
					= 3600m

However, visiting rates do not only reflect recreational interests, they also reflect opportunities. It will be noted that black groups are barred from many of the major urban facilities listed in Table 5.2, therefore comparison of visiting rates across groups is methodologically unsound. Also striking is the relative importance of major urban beach and beachfront recreation for coloured and black people - the proportion of visits in the coloured and black groups surpasses that of whites - a fact which would speak for additional black-zoned beach facilities or integrated beaches to which blacks can gain access. Moreover, the only kind of regional recreation activity engaged in by Indian, coloured and black people are beach activities.

From a more detailed table contained in the Durban Recreation Survey not shown here we also observe that of all the black groups the coloured people were the only group which visited municipal beaches at the time of the survey which was conducted around 1970. The frequency of swimming for sport or exercise and casual beach activities (414 and 203 visits per 1 000 p.a. respectively) among the coloured respondents in the survey were relatively high.

Table 5.2

DURBAN METROPOLITAN RECREATION SURVEY

Visits to suburban, urban and regional recreation facilities in the Durban Metropolitan Area. (Visits per 1 000 persons per annum)*

	Whites	%	Indians	%	Coloured	%	Blacks	%
SUBURBAN								
Swimming pools	330	12	30	4	40	3	-	
Other	2370	88	660	96	1330	97	1240	100
TOTAL SUBURBAN	2700	100	690	100	1370	100	1240	100
MAJOR URBAN								
Beach pools °	130		-		-			-
City pools °	30		-		-			-
Central beach parks and paddling pool°	30		-		-			-
Other central beachfront amenities	50		2		1		30	
Durban beaches	1560		410		620		270	
Total beaches and pools	1790	51	412	48	621	57	300	57
Total other x	1746	49	455	52	470	43	228	43
TOTAL MAJOR URBAN	3536	100	867	100	1091	100	528	100
REGIONAL								
Beaches	300	68	50	96	70	82	14	100
Other	140	32	2	4	15	18	-	-
TOTAL REGIONAL	440	100	52	100	85	100	14	100

* Rates of under 1 per 1 000 per annum have been omitted

° Only accessible to whites

x Includes Durban harbour and offshore boating activities

Compiled from Table 35, L. Schlemmer, *op. cit.*, 1974, pp. 104-105.

In these areas, the coloured respondents approximated most closely to whites - (1562 swimming and 318 beach visits per 1 000 p.a.) as regards the rate of participation. In this connection it is noteworthy that several tentative proposals made prior to the redemarcation of the Durban beaches in 1977/78 suggested establishing a mixed beach for whites and coloureds. The coloured beach was also sited adjacent to the white-zoned Battery Beach One in the redemarcation plan.

5.1.1 Summary

To sum up, it would appear that white participation in all outdoor recreation, including pool and beach activities is generally highest. All black groups, in particular the Africans, engage in outdoor recreation to a limited degree. The author of the recreation report attributes the low participation rate to lack of opportunity rather than to lack of interest. Many recreation facilities were not open to black groups at the time of the survey and are still not at the time of writing. Cost factors may also have been prohibitive, a factor which obviously limited the regional recreation of Africans. Among whites there appeared to be a tendency for rates of some types of active sporting activities to improve with socio-economic status, and similar but weaker trends were observed among blacks.

The most important finding emerging from the Durban Metropolitan Recreation Survey for present purposes, however, is the role of beach activities as a major form of recreation for blacks. According to survey evidence beach activities accounted for over half of all major urban recreation among coloured and black people and for just under half among Indian people. For this reason alone the planning of Durban beaches is a crucial factor for the well-being of Indian, coloured and black people in the sphere of outdoor recreation. In the light of these findings, let us now consider the new recreational opportunities for blacks which were created as a result of Phase II beach developments in Durban.

5.2 The significance of the 1977/78 demarcation developments

By South African standards, Durban was a late starter as far as moves to integrate the beaches were concerned. Durban was still very busy implementing its 'separate but equal' policy of beach development by the late seventies during a phase when racial barriers were being removed elsewhere. The effective outcome of the improvements of the 1977/78 period might be briefly summarised as follows:

1. New beaches north of the 'Golden Mile' were developed.
2. The standard of amenities on existing racially zoned beaches was improved.
3. The black beach was shifted from the Battery Beach Two site to a site further away from the 'Golden Mile'.
4. Beach zoning became a dominant feature of the Durban beachfront.

The latter may have been unintentional, but the fact remained that bold signs were posted on the improved facilities.[1] However, it was noteworthy that there were no physical barriers separating the demarcated beaches.

5.2.1 Differential viewpoints

Let us now review the significance of Phase II beach developments in Durban from the viewpoints of the various groups involved:

Environmentalists: The beach developments of the late seventies were highly visible, as was evident to any motorist travelling along the freeway running parallel to the beachfront. Although the new facilities might have been regarded as a symbol of progress by some, the environmentalists deplored the development of further beaches which detracted from the 'natural' beauty of the seashore.

1) It might be argued that the signs posted at the entrances to the demarcated beaches would be less offensive than official notices posted on the beaches proper. The signs might be seen to form an integral part of the design of the new facilities. (Cf. photographs on pp. xiii-xvii)

Beach developments inevitably involved the loss of irreplaceable environmental resources because large stretches of bush had to be cleared to make room for additional beach facilities.

Beachfront residents: Generally speaking, the white residents of the beachfront wards who had complained of the encroachment of blacks onto their territory prior to the redemarcation move, welcomed the rezoning of the beaches. They reasoned that the close proximity of a black beach attracted unsavoury elements, such as vagrants, petty thieves, and violence to their residential neighbourhood.

However, this group of whites was to be given only a brief reprieve from their fears. The eighties were to bring an aboutturn in beach policy with the proposal for the establishment of a multiracial beach in the heart of Durban's beachfront flatland. Beachfront residents tended to interpret this move as a contradiction of the 'separate but equal' beach policy of the seventies and a dramatic shift toward the complete integration of beach facilities. This despite the assurances to the contrary given by local policymakers.

Planners and policymakers: A major spokesman for the Sub-committee in charge of planning the multiracial beach argued that the Battery Beach Two proposal should be considered merely as the completion of the 'beach demarcation' scheme of the late seventies. The multiracial beach was part of the package deal offering a range of opportunities for beach recreation to suit all tastes including those who wished to mix with friends of another race group.

In this connection it is perhaps significant to recall that in 1977 the then Mayor of Durban did not support the call for a multiracial beach. However, the then Mayor did not outrule the possibility that the implementation of a 'separate but equal' beach policy would eventually lead to the development of a mixed beach at some later stage. According to a news reporter the Mayor did not think people really wanted mixed beaches but they did want proper bathing facilities. Mixing might become acceptable later and in

fact might work out "naturally" under the new zoning.[1)]

Coloured beachusers: The 'winners' in the beach redemarcation game of the late seventies were clearly the members of the coloured community whose beach was moved closer to the 'Golden Mile' and equipped with completely new facilities. However, some coloured persons may have been disappointed that their group was not invited to share a multiracial beach with whites.

Black beachusers: The 'losers' in the beach redemarcation scheme of the late seventies were mainly the black beachusers. By the same token, blacks also stood to gain from the establishment of the new multiracial beach. Seen from the black point of view, the 'separate but equal' beach solution of the late seventies contained several flaws.

a) Unequal access: After 1977/78 local blacks were required to travel longer distances to access their new beach, and public transport services to the black beach were inadequate. The relocation of the black beach also affected black holidaymakers staying at the 'international' hotels who were now required to walk some 15-20 minutes to the beach zoned for their use. During peak periods black pedestrians accessing their remote beach were observed to encroach onto beach areas zoned for Indian use. An attempt was made to reroute the black pedestrian flow through fenced walkways and over special pedestrian crossings. This solution proved to be effective to some degree, however, it was regarded mainly as a temporary measure. Moreover, the fenced walkways were considered aesthetically displeasing.

b) Unequal beach capacities: According to the Durban Recreation Survey reported on in 1974, blacks were not keen beachgoers, however they made disproportional use of Durban beaches for recreation purposes. Planning projections also predicted that the number of black beachgoers would increase in future and the new black beach facilities would not be able to cope with the increased demand.

1) Reported in the *Natal Mercury*, January 18, 1977.

It was observed that as a result of crowding on the black beach at peak periods of use black bathers encroached onto the neighbouring Indian beach. By late 1982 additional change-room facilities were nearing completion on the furthest end of the black beach. It was envisaged that the erection of additional changerooms and the provision of a second lifeguard operating tower might affect a better distribution of bathers on the black beach.

Despite these planned improvements the capacity of the black beach itself would remain limited. The black beach with 650 metres comprised the largest stretch of beach zoned for one of the black groups in the 1977/78 reallocation scheme (550 metres were zoned for Indian, 300 metres for coloured, and 650 metres for black use), but it was far smaller than the total stretch of beach set aside for use by whites.

However, the comparison in terms of length of beaches was also deceptive. The black beach was narrow and it was estimated that the black beach comprised an area which was only about two-thirds of the Coloured Beach and less than half of the Indian beach or Battery Beach One (white-zoned) respectively.

Assuming that beach recreation is becoming increasingly popular among blacks, the inadequacy of the black beach might also be demonstrated in terms of <u>potential</u> users. A recent estimate gives the racial composition of metropolitan Durban as 46 percent black, 28 percent Indian, 22 percent white and 4 percent coloured.[1)]

Thus, it is clear that blacks may have real reason to use the newly established multiracial beach for space reasons. Further factors which might be conducive to black use of the new multiracial beach include accessibility, especially for holidaymakers staying in beachfront hotels, and the quality of the beach environment.

---

1) Urban Foundation (Natal Region). *An Urban Needs and Resources Survey: Preliminary Studies and Statements about Functional Durban*, Durban, Urban Foundation, 1977, p. 23.

Mixed viewpoints regarding outcomes

a) Prospects for full integration: Official spokespersons putting forward the new beach proposals during the 1981/82 period made no explicit mention of the Council's intention to open all beaches in the near future. Nevertheless, some members of the public - both supporters and opponents of the proposal, interpreted the multiracial beach as the forerunner to the implementation of complete beach integration. A councillor supporting the move to establish a multiracial beach is reported to have stated in committee that Council's proposal was just the beginning of an inevitable change. "By the year 2000 all beaches will be multiracial, and the sooner Durbanites accept that the less traumatic the change will be."[1] By the same token, the suggestion put to the Council by a councillor opposing the beach proposal to the effect that all municipal pools and not only the one saltwater pool in the city should be opened to all races, clearly evoked the notion of impending complete integration. The wording used in the petitions signed by the ratepayers protesting against the new multiracial beach also suggested that all beach facilities would have to be shared. These examples demonstrate clearly that the establishment of the multiracial beach was interpreted by many whites as the first step towards the opening of all beaches.

b) A multiracial beach or a second black beach: The consequences of establishing a multiracial beach were also ambiguous on another count: Misgivings were voiced in many quarters - both black and white - that the open beach would be multiracial in name only. Effectively it might become a second black beach.

---

1) Reported in the *Natal Mercury*, May 25, 1982.

"...The question arises whether a white or a non-white beach should be declared multiracial. Either way it has problems which conceivably could dilute the intentions behind this move. A non-white beach would attract very few whites, and a white beach could see a migration of whites to another white area. At most any move towards multiracial beaches could be no more than a token gesture, however commendable the thinking may be."[1]

"...Experience (has) shown that the beach (will) not be truly multiracial - it (will) become black by sheer weight of numbers and (will) be of no service to other race groups."[2]

"The (multiracial) beach might end up becoming African only. There is the possibility of it not being patronised by other races."[3]

"It would not improve the situation. I see it as a white elephant."[4]

If the multiracial beach became a second black beach, whose objectives would be achieved? Was the failure of the multiracial beach experiment a foregone conclusion?

This consideration brings us to a central question: Which type of factors will effectively determine the outcome of the decision to establish a multiracial beach in Durban? Will socio-political attitudes rather than practical factors be the dominant ones?

Socio-political viewpoints

The tabling of the beach issue for discussion by the City Council shortly before municipal elections were to take place meant the debate was conducted with various political overtones.

1) Reader, who identified himself as an Indian, writing to the editor of the *Natal Mercury*, January 14, 1977.

2) Report on a statement issued by beach ward councillors, published in the *Natal Mercury*, May 7, 1982. Tenses changed from the original.

3) Black clerk interviewed on the black beach in 1981, cf. V. Møller, T. Nzimande, and L. Schlemmer, *Black Attitudes towards Multiracial Beaches in Durban*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, 1982, p. 29.

4) Black saleslady interviewed on the black beach in 1981, cf. Møller *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 1982, p. 29.

One might therefore expect that the multiracial beach, once established, would assume a political significance, at least initially until new use patterns became established. As we have seen in the previous section, the opening of a Durban beach to all races was decried as a conspiracy to undermine the basic security of white ratepayers by the progressive faction in the Durban City Council. In other quarters attempts were made to deflate the importance of the multiracial beach. The latter group assumed that the beach issue was simply one of a series of hotly debated local issues involving public expenditure such as the pumping of effluent into the sea, the renovation of the old railway station, and the acquisition of an unpopular work of art.
However, there are other reasons why the beach debate cannot simply be set aside as an overstated local issue.

5.2.2 Conclusions

It is proposed here that the beach issue is central to Durban. Firstly, Durban regards its beaches to be one of its finest assets and in the past has expended great efforts to continually maintain the attractiveness of its beachfront facilities. In this respect the beach issue may be more central to Durban than, say, to Cape Town, which might be seen to offer a different and more variegated mix of tourist attractions.[1] The 'Golden Mile' refers not only to an expanse of golden sand (according to tourist brochures) but also to a golden source of revenue for the city. It is, as some persons debating the beach issue in 1981/82 put it, the 'goose' which lays the golden egg for the city. Thus, the sea and the beach are not only central features which make up the city's image,[2] they are also central to the economic viability of the city.

1) It is true that Durban's proximity to the Natal Game Parks greatly enhances the attractiveness of the city as a tourist centre. However, here we are discussing mainly city-based tourist attractions which are the concern of the local authorities. Moreover, beaches and game parks may both be classified under the same heading, say, of 'environmental' attractions.

2) Seventy-two percent or the largest response category among the white Durban ratepayers interviewed in a 1981 opinion survey conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences associated Durban with holidays, the sea, and the beach in response to a question exploring what things made Durban interesting and gave it a good image.

For this reason all changes which in any way affect the functioning of the 'Golden Mile' give rise to considerable debate.

Secondly, the opening of a section of the Durban beach to all races strikes at one of the basic tenets of a racially divided society. The reservation of amenities for the use of a particular group is entrenched in the Group Areas Act which, as we have seen, was successfully applied to the use of seashore and swimming pools since the sixties. Durban, due to its population make-up and the spatial distribution of its population in and around the city may be more affected by issues touching on intergroup relations than other cities in South Africa. Consequently, reactions to such issues have tended to be relatively strong in the past and will presumably continue to draw strong reactions in future.

In an attempt to shed more light on the relationship between public thinking regarding the existing separate beach policy and the proposal to open up certain sections of the Durban beach, the Centre for Applied Social Sciences has in several instances sounded public opinions. This, in order to test the congruence between existing beach policy and public approval, and the willingness of various groups to move in the direction of a more open society. In the next section we shall describe the empirical studies reported on in this paper.

CHAPTER 6

THE EMPIRICAL STUDIES

Much of the evidence presented so far to provide a background for this study has been extracted from press reports. Although media reports are an extremely useful source of information, it will also be necessary to explore public opinion on a more systematic basis. A number of surveys have been undertaken to date which provide a point of departure for a more systematic study of attitudes toward beach integration.

In the following sections of this report we shall draw mainly on four surveys conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, which are briefly characterised below in chronological order of data collection. Methodological notes are given in Appendix 1.

* Research for the Buthelezi Commission - 1981 black attitude survey: (301 Zulus in Natal/KwaZulu).

An attitude survey conducted in 1981 by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences for the Buthelezi Commission. The study inquired into the needs and aspirations of Zulus in Natal/KwaZulu. In all, 301 men and women were interviewed, half in the urban and half in the rural areas.

* Environmental Survey - Mid-1981 (whites: 355 municipal voters).

A study conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in conjunction with a local daily newspaper, the *Natal Mercury*, among Durban ratepayers concerning environmental issues in mid-1981. Among other items, questions were posed concerning attitudes toward the sharing of pool facilities and beaches. A report on the results of this study appeared in serial form in a number of issues of the *Natal Mercury* during August 1981 and later.

* The Black Beaches Survey - October/November, 1981:
(black beachusers: 78 Durban-based residents and holidaymakers).

A pilot study undertaken by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences in late 1981 among black beachusers to test reactions to the opening of the Durban beaches. The study was conducted on the Durban Black Beach and on the Umgababa Beach, a holiday resort for blacks on the Natal South Coast. A brief report on this study appeared in early 1982[1] and was circulated among policymakers and practitioners concerned with the planning of the Durban beaches.

* The Battery Beach One Survey - April/May 1982:
(white beachusers: 180 Durban residents and holidaymakers).

As soon as it became apparent that the question of beach integration was to become one of the more controversial local issues, an *ad hoc* study was undertaken by the Centre of Applied Social Sciences among white beachusers on Battery Beach One. It was assumed that this group of beachusers would be most affected by the new beach proposals, because their beach would be situated adjacent to the new multiracial beach. An initial handcount of the results of this study were placed at the disposal of the City Council in late May 1982. This information was issued to assist the Council in taking a well-considered decision regarding the multiracial beach proposal. The reporting in this paper gives the first full account of the results of the Battery Beach study.

Apart from the research conducted for the Buthelezi Commission, the *ad hoc* surveys described above are all part of an ongoing study of public opinion concerning attitudes towards changing social circumstances in and around Durban. In continuous research of this kind, the results of any one piece of research provide important inputs which are fed into *ad hoc* studies undertaken at later dates.

---

1) Valerie Møller, Themba Nzimande and Lawrence Schlemmer, *Black Attitudes towards Multiracial Beaches in Durban - A Preliminary Investigation among Residents and Holidaymakers*. Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, February 1982.

Thus, although a particular *ad hoc* survey may not be sufficiently comprehensive to constitute a complete study in its own right, it fits into an overall research strategy. This research framework provides for a systematic approach to the study of attitudes towards various social issues.

Ad hoc studies are essentially applied studies and the results of applied studies have immediate practical uses. The results of the Environmental Survey and Battery Beach Survey were communicated to the public through the media almost immediately. Therefore, we can assume that these survey results will have had some impact on both public opinion and decision-making concerning the multiracial beach before this report is published. To give some specific examples:

1. It was mentioned above that a local newspaper made public the percentages of white voters favouring or opposing beach integration based on the results of the Environmental Survey. According to the author of the study the high opposition figure cited was based on a misinterpretation of the survey findings. This argument concerning the correct interpretation of results was carried out in the media.
2. It is theoretically possible that Battery Beach Survey results were in part influenced by the knowledge of public opinion as cited in the media.[1)]
3. The councillors deciding on the beach proposals were possibly also aware of the results of the Environmental Survey regardless of which interpretation of survey results they wished to accept. More importantly, the initial handcount of the Battery Beach opinion poll was announced in a Council meeting and therefore could have made a considerable impact on decision-making.
4. It is theoretically possible that the decision to improve transport to the existing black beach may have been influenced by the recommendations to this effect contained in the report on the results of the Black Beaches Survey. This report was made available to councillors about May 1982.[1)]
5. Lastly, it is expected that the findings emanating from this study will in turn influence public thinking. The cumulative effect of attitudes, once exposed, in shaping new attitudes is not uncommon in this type of practically oriented research.

---

1) Valerie Møller, Themba Nzimande, and Lawrence Schlemmer, *Black Attitudes towards Multiracial Beaches in Durban*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, 1982.

Apart from its practical uses, *ad hoc* research derives longer-term validity from the orienting framework within which it is conceived. If interpreted skillfully, data obtained in a series of *ad hoc* surveys can be used to convey a broad picture of trends occurring in society.

By the same token, attitudes towards the integration of beaches can and should be analysed not only in historical perspective, but also in terms of adaptation to the wider social changes taking place in South Africa today. If we are to review the results of the surveys above within this broader framework it will be useful to briefly consider some theoretical aspects of social attitudes in relation to policy matters. We shall mainly be concerned here with intergroup attitudes which - notwithstanding practical and socio-economic considerations, may be said to form the basis of people's willingness to share facilities in general and beach facilities in particular.

CHAPTER 7

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

7.1 Intergroup attitudes

Attitudes elicited in opinion surveys, such as those conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences concerning the beach issue, are complex phenomena. It is conventional to distinguish between at least two essential components of attitudes pertaining to any type of subject matter, including intergroup attitudes.

The first component concerns the reaction tendency which may vary from positive through neutral to negative. This component is readily discernible in attitude surveys.
The second component refers to the various facets of an attitude. Three such facets are commonly identified in the field of intergroup relations.

1. The cognitive aspect refers to the beliefs persons hold of other groups,
2. The affective aspect circumscribes the feelings persons hold towards other groups, and
3. The conative or motivational aspect reflects the desire to see the situation of members of the other group (the attitude object) in a certain way.

Thus, attitudes may include shades of rationality and cognition, gut-level feelings and emotions, and motivations and dispositions to react. Surveys will typically tap one or the other aspect of attitudes, but statements received from respondents will usually include nuances of all three.

The two attitude components described above can be married together in statements elicited in attitude surveys as follows:

Attitudes towards other groups:	positive	neutral	negative
cognition	favourable beliefs	neutral beliefs	unfavourable beliefs
affect	friendly beliefs	neutral feelings	unfriendly feelings
motivation	desire for improved situation for other group	desire for status quo situation	desire for worsened situation for other group

The distinctions set out in the schema above are purely theoretical, in practice the categories tend to fuse and overlap to a certain degree.

Policy makers taking decisions which touch on intergroup relations will need to take cognisance not only of intergroup attitudes but also of actual intergroup behaviour. What then is the connection between attitudes concerning intergroup relations elicited in opinion surveys and observable intergroup behaviour?

7.1.1 Predicting intergroup behaviour from intergroup attitudes

It is commonly agreed that the relationship between intergroup behaviour and attitudes is an extremely complex and variable one. An extreme view is that of Arnold Rose[1] who proposes a disjunction between attitudes and behaviour patterns in the field of race relations. Rose maintains that attitudes and behaviour can vary independently under certain circumstances. They can have an independent existence in the same individual.

By contrast, a proponent of the opposite school of thought,

1) Arnold M. Rose, 'Intergroup Relations versus Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for the Study of Social Change', *Social Forces*, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1956, pp. 173-176.

Blumer,[1] suggests a temporal and causal linkage between racial attitudes and intergroup behaviour in the sense that attitudes determine corresponding behavioural outcomes.

A more moderate viewpoint is that while verbal attitudes and overt behaviour are closely linked in most cases, they may fall apart in some instances. There is a considerable body of research evidence which attests to persons subscribing to less favourable attitudes toward other groups whilst exhibiting more accommodating behaviour in an actual intergroup situation. To cite but a few examples: Rose, whose work has been referred to, makes a general observation that opinion polls conducted in the late 1950s showed proportions of white Americans to be opposed to desegregation whilst integration occurred without incidence. To cite another example of inconsistency between verbal attitudes and behaviour: Experimental work conducted in the United States during the height of the segregation debate showed that hoteliers and restauranteurs were more likely to accept guests, who were not members of their own race group, if faced with a real situation than if they were asked to state their policy of admission in telephone interviews.[2]

In a similar vein, Pettigrew [3] draws the conclusion that expectations of change toward a more open society may be relatively independent of strong desires for the status quo. In support of his argument Pettigrew cites a study of Afrikaans students conducted in the mid-fifties. Only 14 percent of the students interviewed expressed desires for greater equality between races, but 73 percent of this group (approximately the same proportion as in the nine other student groups surveyed throughout the world) believed racial equality was going to come about. [4]

---

1) Herbert Blumer, 'Social Science and the Desegregation Process', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 304, 1956, p. 140.

2) B. Kutner, Carol Wilkins, and Penny R. Yarrow, 'Verbal Attitudes and Overt Behaviour involving Racial Prejudice', *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology*, Vol. 47, 1953, pp. 649-652.

3) Thomas F. Pettigrew, ' Desegregation and its Chances for Success: Northern and Southern Views', *Social Forces*, Vol.34, No.4, 1956, pp. 339-344.

4) J.M. Gillespie and G.W. Allport, *Youth's Outlook on the Future*, Garden City, New York : Doubleday, 1955, p. 54.

The examples cited suggest that predicting overt behaviour from verbal attitudes elicited in opinion surveys may be a delicate operation and attitude indicators should be used with great caution for such purposes. Furthermore, it would appear that if policy changes shift towards a more open society, individual members of society tend to accommodate these changes and adjust accordingly. Returning to the beach integration issue in Durban, this type of argument was used liberally by pro-integrationists. They pointed out that South African society had seen numerous changes in the last decade in the field of 'petty apartheid' and these changes had occurred relatively free of tension. Formal and informal integration had been accepted in various recreational and leisure situations, such as parks and gardens, and amusement centres, and therefore would similarly be accepted on beaches.

Given the possible discrepancy between stated attitudes and actual behaviour, which type of exploration is likely to yield the strongest predictors of popular reactions to changing group situations? According to the diagram set out above, a study of the conative or motivational facet of attitudes would provide the best clues to potential intergroup behaviour. This choice is based on the general observation that where individuals are emotionally predisposed toward a particular group in society, there is also an accompanying conative or policy orientation. That is, a pattern of beliefs exists about the way in which members of the group in question should be treated in specific contexts. It will therefore come as no surprise that the research reported on in this memorandum focusses mainly on explorations into the motivational aspects of attitude reactions although the other dimensions of attitude tendencies are touched upon in passing.

7.2. The motivational aspect of attitudes : measurement techniques

In the sections of this report to follow, we shall attempt to deduce behavioural tendencies from reactions to survey questions. It stands to reason that if the conative aspect of attitudes are to be used as predictors of future behaviour, the phrasing of survey questions

will be all-important. Questions must be asked in such a way that particular types of answers will most likely correspond to overt behavioural responses. Chein [1] suggests that at least a three-fold division of conative responses be made. Accordingly, cues eliciting conative attitudes can be analysed in terms of:

1. What individuals feel should be done,
2. What they feel they should do, and
3. What they think they actually would do under a given set of circumstances.

The degree of personal commitment and involvement increases from the first to the third analytic dimension. Thus, the third dimension is likely to yield the most telling basis of information for policy making concerning intergroup relations. Moreover, the validity of responses to questions formulated in such a way that they probe reactions to real situations, is also likely to be higher.

A word of caution is apposite. Even if poll questions are linked to real-life situations, congruence between verbal statements given in response to such questions and actual behaviour under corresponding circumstances cannot be automatically assumed. It is commonly accepted that race relation patterns are traditional cultural patterns which are learned during childhood socialisation and are therefore relatively stable. Such patterns in turn will define an individual's behaviour and lend it direction. Because race relations patterns are learnt at such an early age, they form part of an individual's role repertoire, that is, an unreflected response pattern which comes 'naturally' to the individual, hence may be assumed to be an entirely spontaneous response. In a racially divided society such as South Africa, race relations patterns are deeply engrained in all members of society, regardless of group membership. For this reason it will be difficult to elicit individual reactions to survey questions which differ substantially from group norms. In other words, we are extremely likely to obtain socially desirable or socially acceptable responses rather than true reflections of spontaneous individual reactions.

1) I. Chein, 'Notes on a Framework for the Measurement of Discrimination and Prejudice', in Marie Jahoda, M. Deutsch, and S.W. Cook, *Research Methods in Social Relations*, Vol. 1, New York: Dryden, 1951, pp. 382-390.

This is particularly the case when respondents feel they are making a public statement in the opinion poll situation. Thus, unless the interview is conducted in the form of a private conversation, responses will tend to reflect general socially acceptable codes of intergroup conduct rather than individual behaviour tendencies. This suggests that assessments of actual behaviour based on results from opinion polls will yield 'conservative' estimates of the proportion in any population group likely to adjust their intergroup behaviour to changing circumstances.

However, if one is fully aware of the methodological pitfalls outlined above, attitude surveys designed to test motivational tendencies can prove very worthwhile, in particular, for the observation of broad shifts in the pattern of intergroup relations.

7.3 The social distance scale

Possibly the most widely adopted 'conative' approach to attitude measurement is the one developed by Bogardus [1] who made use of Park's concept of 'social distance'.[2] Park defined social distance as "an attempt to reduce to something like measurable terms the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relationships generally." [3] In a simpler definition Bogardus described social distance as "the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, between person and group, and between group and group." [4] Bogardus constructed social distance scales which appeared to measure the threshold of tolerance towards other ethnic groups. In answering scale questions individuals respond as if they were saying to members of another ethnic group: come this close but no closer.

---

1) E.S. Bogardus, 'Measuring Social Distance', *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 9, 1925, pp. 299-308.

2) R.E. Park, 'The Concept of Social Distance', *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 8, 1924, pp. 339-344.

3) R.E. Park, *Race and Culture*, Illinois: Free Press, 1950, p. 256.

4) E.S. Bogardus, *Social Distance*, Los Angeles, 1959, p. 5.

Put very simply, the scale tests the degree of social acceptance or rejection of a social group or groups.

In the originally formulated social distance scale subjects were asked if they would be willing to admit members of a particular ethnic group to each of the following classifications:

- to close kinship by marriage,
- to their club as personal chums,
- to their street as neighbours,
- to employment in their occupation in their country,
- to citizenship in their country,
- as visitors only to their country,
- would exclude from their country.

Bogardus experimented with different versions of this social distance scale and administered his test at regular intervals to large numbers of subjects in order to assess consistency in social attitudes. He discovered that his social distance scale comes very close to satisfying Guttman's criteria for a unidimensional scale. When applied in the United States context the first five scale items are logically independent of each other. When administered to large numbers of people, there generally tends to be a regular progression in the percentages of respondents willing to admit members of the group in question to the successive relationships specified in the first five categories of the scale.[1)]

Various criticisms have been levelled at the Bogardus scale of which we shall single out only two which are of relevance here.

It has been pointed out that the measure may tap different types of reaction, say, the relative willingness or unwillingness to be exposed to the group in question, or the relative willingness or unwillingness to be identified with the group. In this study the

---

1) cf. John Harding, Bernard Kutner, Harold Proshansky, and Isidor Chein, 'Prejudice and Ethnic Relations', in G. Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, Vol. II, Chapter 9, pp. 1 027 - 1 028.

latter is largely irrelevant, the major focus being on exposure in the form of what might be referred to as associational links. Therefore, the application of a variation of the Bogardus approach may be more appropriate for the purpose at hand. We shall return to this point shortly.

Another criticism refers to the Bogardus scale being culture-bound. For example, Mitchell [1] drew up a seven-item scale analogous to the ones developed by Bogardus and applied it in the Zambian context. He found that the order of the scale items had to be corrected in order to measure social distance as it was defined by his Zambian subjects.

Similarly, in the South African situation one might anticip that the order of the scale items might have to be slightly modified and extended, whilst the operative principle remained intact. To complicate matters, one must be aware that in South Africa at the present moment the 'right' or socially acceptable response patterns to items contained in the social distance scale are in part prescribed by legislation and prescriptions would be negative in most cases. Thus, a high degree of tolerance as measured in terms of social distance would most probably be indicative of acceptance of social change reaching far beyond the reforms envisaged by the government in power at the moment.

7.4 Local applications of the social distance scale

Despite these difficulties Bogardus-type scales have been administered with some success in the South African situation. To quote some examples:

---

1) Cited by M. Banton, *Race Relations*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1967, pp. 324-325.

* Mac Crone[1] made extensive studies of race attitudes among South Africans in the 1930s using a modified Bogardus social distance scale. Respondents were required to spontaneously indicate the extent to which they would admit different specified groups to five situations.

A condensed version of the test reads:

According to my first feeling reaction I would willingly admit: any/most/some/few/no (group in question) to:

a) live and work in my country
b) full citizenship, including the right to vote in my country
c) my school or university, to my profession or occupation
d) my home as my personal friends
e) close kinship by marriage.

It is interesting to note that Mac Crone rolled one or more separate but assumedly closely related role situations into one statement. Thus, reactions to a given statement may have been ambiguous and difficult to interpret.

* A few decades later, in 1956, Pettigrew[2] administered a social distance test to white students in Natal which consisted of the following equal interval statements in order of intimacy of social relationship.

a) If I wanted to marry, I would marry one of them
b) I would be willing to have one as a guest for a meal
c) I prefer to have one merely as an acquaintance to whom one talks on meeting in the street
d) I prefer to have nothing at all to do with them
e) I wish someone would kill all of them.

Again attitudes of the white students were tested towards a wide range of South African groups. The most striking feature of Pettigrew's social distance scale is the gradation from feelings of neutral dissociation to feelings of violent antipathy.

---

1) J.D. Mac Crone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 181-184.

2) T.F. Pettigrew, 'Social Distance Attitudes of South African Students', *Social Forces*, Vol. 38, 1960, pp. 246-253.

The extreme statement of hostile feelings is seldom contained in conventional social distance scales. It will be remembered that Pettigrew was undertaking his research during a period of social upheaval in South Africa, so that incitations of violence may have appeared plausible to his subjects.

* In 1960, van den Berghe[1] applied a social distance test to 374 white, coloured, Indian and black students in the Natal region as part of a wider focus of inquiry. Social distance was measured by a 14-item schedule that attempted to isolate two main variables: intimacy and equality in contact. The first seven items held intimacy constant (low in all cases) but ranged from subordinate to superordinate status, whereas the last seven items held equality constant (equal status in all cases) but ranged from casual to intimate contacts.[2] Although van den Berghe does not indicate the exact wording of the instructions given to his subjects we surmise from his report that subjects were asked if they would accept or reject persons of another group in the following roles.[3]

1) servant
2) shop assistant
3) business associate
4) business superior
5) teacher
6) minister of religion
7) M.P. of own district
8) casual acquaintance
9) fellow student
10) neighbour
11) table guest
12) intimate friend
13) dance partner
14) husband or wife

---

1) P.L. van den Berghe, 'Race Attitudes in Durban, South Africa', *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 57, 1962, pp. 55-72.

2) P.L. van den Berghe, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 61.

3) P.L. van den Berghe, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 64.

Some of the conclusions drawn from van den Berghe's investigation are also relevant for the present study. van den Berghe noted that group distinctions along racial lines were so dominant in South Africa, that the social pressure towards colour prejudice was such that it would be found among persons who had no personality predisposition towards it at all. For example, in answer to the question "What different groups of people would you say there are in South Africa?" the single most common response given by van den Berghe's subjects was in terms of the four official racial groups.[1] van den Berghe also observed that race prejudice, though not absent among blacks and Indians, was strongest among whites, and that whites rejected non-white groups more than blacks and Indians rejected them. Social distance increased with the subject's position in the South African race hierarchy, being highest amongst whites and lowest amongst blacks. Contrary to expectations there was no clear-cut relationship between social distance and either parental occupation or education.

During the mid-sixties Grové[2] employed a modified Bogardus-type scale to measure the social distance between coloureds and Indians in Pretoria.

In 1970/71 Edelstein[3] undertook an attitude study among 200 urban black school children in Soweto which included a social distance scale comprising the following items:

a) I would marry
b) I would have as close friends
c) I would allow to live in my street as neighbours
d) I would allow in my area as temporary residents only
e) I would keep out of my areas.

---

1) P.L. van den Berghe, *op. cit.*, 1962, p. 57.

2) D. Grové, *Sosiale Afstand Tussen Kleurlinge en Indiërs in Pretoria*, M.A. Thesis, University of Pretoria, 1967.

3) Melville Leonhard Edelstein, *What do Young Africans Think?* Johannesburg: Labour and Community Consultants, 1974.

Respondents were requested to endorse the statements which fitted their personal attitude to thirteen South African ethnic groups. An interesting feature of the social distance scale developed by Edelstein is that in contrast to the conventional Bogardus scale fewer items were employed and the step-intervals between scale items were not assumed to be equal. Only items which were readily understandable to subjects were included in the scale. The order of the items as given above was confirmed by the subjects who were required to arrange the scale concepts on a continuum ranging from 'near' to 'far' relationships.

This overview, which cannot claim to be exhaustive, nevertheless shows that there is a relatively long history of application of Bogardus-type scales in this country. Furthermore, the social distance scale has been applied to South African groups in comparative studies of racial attitudes.

However, the examples cited above appear to have one short-coming. With the exception of van den Berghe's scale, social distance is measured in relatively few areas of life and measurements are therefore insensitive to the subtle changes occurring in South African society in day-to-day situations. (We have referred above to the gradual removal of 'petty' apartheid after the mid-seventies.) Therefore, it may be worthwhile to increase the number of situations covered in the Bogardus-scale, even if this involves loss of unidimensionality of the scale. In the South African situation it may be more appropriate to use a conative approach to attitude measurement which is closely related to the Bogardus scale but includes more items. This technique is referred to in the relevant literature as 'situational analysis'. [1)]

---

1) In distinction to van den Berghe's approach which emphasises the roles played in society which may not be tied to a specific situation.

7.5 Situational analysis of intergroup attitudes

Situational analysis is based on the assumption that individuals react differently according to the particular set of circumstances in which they find themselves. Behavioural situations may vary considerably in the extent to which they allow intergroup attitudes to be expressed. Typically, situational analysis requires subjects to indicate how they would react under a given set of circumstances. If a time-series study of situational reactions is made, this method can be highly revealing of shifting trends in intergroup attitudes. It is important to note that the conative aspect of reaction tendencies is precisely identified so that survey results obtained in situational analyses may also provide a useful input for policy formulation. Furthermore, situational analysis makes use of a higher number of scale items than used in the original Bogardus scale or in versions of the Bogardus scale used in the South African research cited above.

To illustrate a local application, an example of a situational analysis undertaken by the Unit for Futures Research at the University of Stellenbosch in 1981 is given here.[1] The baseline study was conducted among a panel of 2 300 whites in the whole of South Africa, 400 coloureds in the Cape Peninsula, and 300 Indians in Natal. The samples were representative of the populations from which they were drawn.

'Social distance' was determined by the type of interaction in which a person was prepared to engage with other group members. It was assumed that the rank order of socially acceptable contact situations would go from the most intimate forms of contact to the more superficial ones.

---

1) The results were published in the following year. E. Dostal, 'Socio-political Monitor', *Unit for Futures Research*, University of Stellenbosch, April 1982.

It was hypothesised that the degree of acceptability of the various population groups in South Africa would increase over time as a result of the increasing contact between the various groups as more and more barriers of separation are removed.[1)]

Application of social distance indicators such as those developed by the Unit for Futures Research in time series will provide insight into the relationship between intergroup attitudes and the legislation. Measurements affected can be used to indicate:

1. The rank order of social situations in which integration is acceptable at any one point in time.
2. The type of changes affecting removal of barriers which will be acceptable to people at any point in time regardless of existing separation of amenities laws.
3. The *post facto* reaction and adjustment after the amenities and facilities have been opened or alterations to racial laws have been introduced.
4. Differences in reactions of groups to intergroup contact in specific situations.

The following contact situations were included in the Unit for Future Research scale in order of presentation.

Acceptance of group as a whole:

a) as relative by marriage
b) as personal friend
c) as member of my club
d) to dance with at a party
e) in my profession/occupation
f) as my superiors at work
g) as neighbours in my street
h) to sit beside in a train or bus
i) to sit in the same restaurant
j) ON ALL BEACHES
k) in the school of my children
l) in my political party.

Reactions to contact with Afrikaners, English-speaking whites, coloured people, Indians, and blacks were explored.

---

1) E. Dostal, *op. cit.*, 1982, p. 11.

The results of the study indicated the current order of social situations in which intergroup contact or integration with other groups is acceptable.

A wealth of social-distance data emerged from the Unit for Futures Research study. Let us concentrate only on attitudes towards blacks, as this group constitutes a common outgroup for all the respondent groups included in the study and is also of particular relevance for the Durban multiracial beach controversy.

Table 7.1

UNIT FOR FUTURES RESEARCH 1982 SOCIO-POLITICAL MONITOR

Percentage South Africans accepting blacks in various situations:

(Compiled from the Unit for Futures Research Socio-political Monitor April 1982)

Whites (N=2 300)	%	Coloureds (N=400)	%	Indians (N=300)	%
profession	49	political party	72	personal friend	49
restaurant	38	train/bus	71	train/bus	48
political party	38	profession	70	restaurant	48
train/bus	38	restaurant	68	BEACH	47
club	28	BEACH	66	club	47
superior at work	27	school	64	school	46
personal friend	26	dance partner	61	profession	46
BEACH	22	superior at work	60	superior at work	46
school	19	neighbour	60	political party	45
neighbour	16	club	59	dance partner	44
dance partner	13	personal friend	53	neighbour	42
relative by marriage	5	relative by marriage	39	relative by marriage	35

In Table 7.1 we observe that whites exhibit very low tolerance for beach integration relative to other social situations and to the other groups in the survey which indicated social distance reactions.

7.5.1 Social distance on beaches

Of particular interest here is the relative acceptability of intergroup contact on beaches. Focussing on the beach situation in Table 7.2 we find that whites are least accepting of beach integration followed by Indians with coloureds indicating highest levels of

tolerance towards other groups. Generally speaking the results tend to be supportive of van den Berghe's observations regarding greater acceptance of groups higher up the official racial hierarchy. Unfortunately, the Unit for Futures Research, due to limited funds, could not elicit the reactions of blacks, so we cannot compare their attitudes towards beach integration with those of the other surveyed groups.

Table 7.2

UNIT FOR FUTURES RESEARCH 1982 SOCIO-POLITICAL MONITOR

Social distance between groups in the beach situation

(Compiled from the Unit for Futures Research Socio-political Monitor April 1982.)

Percentage South Africans in sample groups accepting beach integration:

Involving outgroups:	Whites (N=2300) %	Coloureds (N=400) %	Indians (N=300) %
Whites:*			
(Afrikaners/English)	(89/93)	66/81	39/54
Coloureds	29	(97)	53
Indians	32	79	(86)
Blacks	22	66	47

( ) Percentages in brackets refer to social distance to members of own group

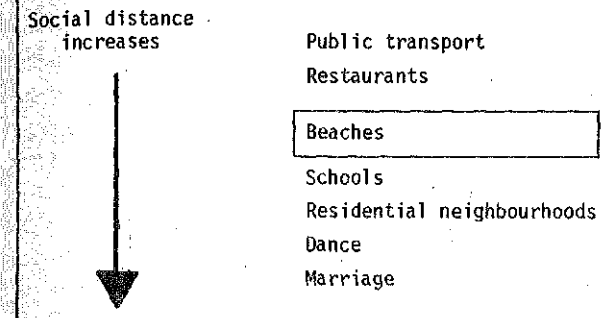
* Social distance to whites was measured in terms of acceptance of 'Afrikaners' and 'English whites'. Lower proportions in all surveyed groups accepted Afrikaners than English-speaking whites.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the socio-political monitor refers to a situation of fully integrated beaches, not only to mixing on one selected multiracial beach. It may be necessary to bear in mind this distinction between the hypothetical situation presented to respondents in the monitor survey and the real-life Durban beach situation when comparing the results above with those emerging from studies conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences. Nevertheless, all the groups surveyed by the Unit for Futures Research indicated that they would be more agreeable to mix with other groups in situations such as restaurants and buses

than on beaches. Consensus was also achieved regarding the situations in which separation is more desirable than on beaches; these include schools, residential areas, dances, and marriage. Thus, a common ordering of situations indicative of social distance in the South African context emerges as shown in the schema in Figure 3.

Figure 3

SOCIAL DISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA



7.6 The valence of the beach situation

From a theoretical point of view willingness to share beach facilities may be used as an indicator of social distance. We might also attempt to define intergroup contact on beaches in terms of its situational valence. What meaning is attached to mixing in a beach situation? How differently do people feel about mixing on beaches than, say, about rubbing shoulders with members of other groups in a queue in the post office? To our knowledge, the Unit for Futures Research survey includes the only locally-applied social distance scale which has featured a beach item. However, the social distance data collected for the Unit's socio-political monitor provides only a limited answer to the question of situational valence as no attempt was made to get subjects to order the test situations in terms of 'intimacy' or on a 'nearness-farness' continuum as in Edelstein's study referred to above.

The larger number of items used in the socio-political monitor social distance scale also outrules equal-step intervals and unidimensionality which are important assumptions underlying the Bogardus scale. It would appear that there is insufficient empirical information available to define the situational valence of beach integration in South Africa. Therefore, we shall have to rely on speculation based on the literature and the general observations of public reaction reported on earlier.

How are we to assess the valence of different social situations? Obviously a number of test criteria might be applied. Let us assume that sitautions can be ordered along two slightly overlapping dimensions:

a) public-private
Situations may be described as public or private. It might be assumed that greater social distance would be preferred in private than in public spheres of life.[1)]

b) central-peripheral
Some situations may refer to central societal values, that is to pivotal institutions which form the basis of social stratification and opportunities for social mobility. Other situations may refer to spheres of life in which people only act out their minor roles in life. One might propose that the integration of institutions representing less central values would be less contested than mixing in the more important areas of life.[2)]

Using this classificatory system let us test the assumption that the beach situation might be considered a purely public and peripheral situation, in which case beach integration would pose few problems.

Regarding the 'public' aspect of the beach situation, there is a strong feeling in some quarters that the beaches are a natural resource and as such should be accessible to all. Persons of the 'beach for all' persuasion generally hold this view.

---

1) A public/private or casual/intimate dimension underlies most social distance scales.

2) This dimension is related to van den Berghe's (*op.cit.*,1962) equality variable. However, the emphasis here is on societal values as reflected in situations rather than in interpersonal relations.

'Public' use of the beaches connotes purely recreational use of beaches for swimming and like sporting activities. Thus, in terms of our second dimension, the beach may be classified as a recreational domain which occupies a less central position than, say, the institutions of the family, education, or work in South African society. In terms of the proposition above, integration on beaches should theoretically pose less of a threat to South Africans than integration in other areas of life which involve competition for material and social rewards.

However, the placement of the beach situation along the public/private continuum is not unambiguous. Contradicting views certainly exist in the Durban beach controversy. For example, it is noteworthy that a concern for boundaries was dominant in the controversy surrounding the establishment of a multiracial beach. The need was expressed for a clear division between what might be identified as public and private beach areas. Initially, turnstiles and entrance fees were suggested as a means of defining the threshold between public and private beach spheres. Later, the choice of Battery Beach Two as the optimal site for the new multiracial beach was contested on the grounds of inadequate boundaries.

In some instances the felt need for privacy on beaches may involve a sexual connotation which pushes the beach situation far along towards the 'private' pole of our continuum. As one Indian newspaper reader pointed out, the proposal to establish a multiracial beach connotes mixed bathing which in his view was "an intimate form of recreation and relaxation".[1] Strong reactions to swimming pool integration and beach integration may both be based on negative attitudes towards mixed bathing. To give a preview of survey observations to be reported on later by way of illustration, one black informant viewed mixed bathing as a contradiction of the South

---

1) Letter to the *Natal Mercury*, January 14, 1977.

African Immorality Act which prohibits sex between members of differently classified race groups. Sexual exploitation by members of other groups on multiracial beaches was a type of fear alluded to by a minority of both black and white respondents participating in the surveys conducted by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

Another related dimension of privacy emerges in terms of 'being-at-home' on the beach. As one councillor writing in the late seventies concluded on the basis of discussions with members of his constituency: "on this subject (of multiracial beaches) the pattern has emerged quite clearly that separate beaches is neither a political nor a racial issue but the desire for privacy - to be able to sit upon the sands amongst kith and kin, to share what is common and not to try and blend in with the cultures of others. In fact the beach is a place of relaxation!" [1] The picture painted here is one of a place of withdrawal from the world, being oneself in thoroughly congenial and supportive surroundings which make no demands in terms of social conventions.

The implications of viewing the beach situation as a 'private' type of domain and thereby exaggerating its 'centrality' are by no means negligible. For example, if the 'neighbourhood' aspect of the beach situation is underlined, mixing on beaches would signify integration - so to speak - on one's doorstep. It will be remembered that in terms of the conventional Bogardus social distance scale, acceptance of other groups in a neighbourhood

---

1) Reported in the *Northglen News*, June 17, 1977.

situation calls for a very high level of tolerance.[1] Moreover, if the beach is viewed as an integral part of the neighbourhood or an extension of it, mixing on beaches may be prohibited in terms of Group Areas legislation, one of the foundations of apartheid society. It will be remembered that beach zoning was mainly implemented to coincide with demarcated residential areas.[2]

One might suggest that the pro-segregation lobbyists wittingly or unwittingly portrayed the beach situation as 'private' and 'central' in our terminology in order to morally justify their strong stand on the beach issue. This was particularly the case so far as beachfront residents were concerned who protested against a multiracial pool and beach in their area.

---

1) A recent opinion poll shows that tolerance for neighbourhood integration is generally low among white South Africans and among Durban residents in particular. According to a poll conducted by Intercontinental Marketing Services Africa among 1 000 whites throughout the country 31,2% were in favour of mixed suburbs, 55,6% were opposed to the idea and 11,5% were undecided. In the Durban/Pietermaritzburg area 31,4% voted in favour and 50,5% were totally opposed to the idea. The question asked was: "Would you be in favour of or opposed to people of all groups who could afford it, acquiring property in the normal way in your suburb?" Comparative figures (rounded) for other cities in terms of 'yes' and 'no' response categories are as follows:

	Yes %	No %
Johannesburg	50	34
Bloemfontein/Welkom	42	53
Port Elizabeth/East London	40	41
Cape Town	38	49
Durban/Pietermaritzburg	31	51
Pretoria	14	74
Total sample	31	56

Sunday Times, January 31, 1982.

2) More recently, local authorities along the Natal south coast have closed their beaches to blacks on the grounds that no black residential areas fall within their jurisdiction. Reported in the *Daily News*, October 2, 1982.

7.7 Parallels between beach and neighbourhood integration

At this point it may be worthwhile digressing somewhat in order to reflect on the full import of the Durban beach situation being equated with a neighbourhood situation. From a theoretical standpoint, if the beach is viewed as a neighbourhood situation, which by most conventional standards is both a private and central sphere of life, a different set of circumstances applies to it than to a public realm of only minor significance. The mechanisms involved in neighbourhood integration are by now well-documented for the United States and may also be relevant for the local situation. A few very brief remarks on neighbourhood integration may be pertinent here.

Firstly, the degree of personal involvement in the beach situation increases tremendously if it is defined as a neighbourhood rather than as a public domain. The literature on changing race relations in integrating communities suggests that desegregation will be more readily accepted in areas of life with relatively low degrees of involvement. Accordingly, we would expect a higher proportion of negative attitudes toward beach integration among those who define it as a neighbourhood rather than as a recreation situation.

Secondly, the fears associated with beach integration are likely to be increased if the beach situation is perceived as a neighbourhood issue. The underlying motivations of maintaining social distance is a fear reaction. In the case of a neighbourhood situation, it is a response to a perceived threat of penetration into one's home territory. It is proposed that prejudiced persons (i.e. persons who register negative reaction tendencies in terms of cognition and affect) will be most likely to succumb to these fears. It is also suggested in the literature that prejudiced persons will be more likely than others to react impulsively on the basis of their fears and take preventive action or passively retreat from the situation. From a theoretical viewpoint, cognitive, affective, and conative aspects of attitudes held by persons perceiving threat in an intergroup situation will form a highly integrated and consistent pattern.

7.7.1 The 'invasion and succession' mechanism

Furthermore, reactions to threat in a neighbourhood situation form the basis of the so-called 'invasion-succession' sequence. This mechanism describes a situation where a neighbourhood is opened to members of another group, who 'invade' or penetrate the area in such large numbers that they 'succeed' the original residents who retreat to another area. Some observers describe a preliminary phase in which the threatened residents resort to protest action of an overt or more subtle kind before retreating. Whilst prejudiced persons as suggested earlier may be the first to take protest action and to retreat if these measures fail, it has been observed that the 'invasion-succession' mechanism gains a momentum of its own which eventually forces residents who hold neutral or even positive views of neighbourhood integration to react in a similar manner to their prejudiced neighbours, if only for practical or economic reasons.

The 'property' market constitutes an important conditional factor which sets the scene for the invasion-succession mechanism. In the United States of the sixties blacks in the middle income brackets had little choice but to 'invade' newly opened white residential areas because there were no suitable residences available in traditionally black-occupied neighbourhoods. By contrast, whites faced with the alternative of staying or retreating, had plenty of choice to live in other white residential areas. The role of estate agents in stimulating residential moves was also deemed to be an important factor in bringing the invasion-succession mechanism into operation.

Typically, a number of threats follow in the wake of 'invasion'. These include the deterioration in standards of services and maintenance in the area, and decreases in property values. The established residents feel 'crowded out' or 'swamped' by the newcomers who over-burden neighbourhood services and facilities which may in turn become inadequate. The weight of numbers is seen to be a crucial factor in the invasion-succession sequence.

A balance between established and newcomer groups must be maintained if a neighbourhood is to remain integrated rather than to transfer into the succession phase. Any emerging indications that one group may dominate in the near future may signal a retreat on the part of the numerical minority.

According to some observers of the American scene the typical fears associated with the integration of neighbourhoods are rational and therefore justified, if only because these fears have materialised in many cases. By way of explanation, it has been suggested that the 'invasion-succession' mechanism may operate along the lines of a 'self-fulfilling' prophecy. Widespread belief that succession is inevitable among established residents and other agents involved in the property market may actually be instrumental in rapidly bringing about an originally undesirable situation. Under these circumstances, the practical implementation of neighbourhood integration has in fact led to the lowering of standards in integrated residential areas. However, it is maintained that deterioration of neighbourhood standards occurs mainly due to the lack of controls available to regulate the process of integration.

7.7.2 'Invasion and succession' and the Durban beaches

There are many parallels between the American property market of the sixties in which the 'invasion-succession' mechanisms operated and the Durban beach situation. Furthermore, invasion-succession principles may apply to the Durban beach situation regardless whether it is interpreted as a recreation or neighbourhood situation.

Firstly, we have seen that there is only a limited beach area available to blacks on the Durban beachfront. Beach facilities are less accessible and as we shall learn later in this report, are also considered by black users to be less well-appointed than those provided for white beachgoers. Crowding on an integrated beach may well lead to

black 'succession' due to the fact that whites have access to alternative beaches to which they can retreat, whilst blacks cannot avail themselves of suitable alternatives.

Secondly, it is perhaps telling that the arguments and counter-arguments used in connection with neighbourhood integration have also been heard during the Durban beach controversy. For example, we have already referred to the editorial comment which intended to give a balanced viewpoint of the issue and spoke of "reasonable" fears, some more "justifiable" than others. "Justifiable" fears included *inter alia* deterioration of standards of cleanliness and a decline of property values. We have seen that white ratepayers and those living near the beachfront in particular, voiced these fears and organised protest action to save their neighbourhood from encroachment by blacks. Pro-segregationists, as well as persons looking at the practical problems of establishing a multiracial beach argued that crowding would inevitably occur on this beach and the sheer force of the numbers of black bathers would lead to whites retreating from this beach. The official spokesperson for the beach proposal, in order to allay such fears, repeatedly emphasised that crowd control would be introduced on the new multiracial beach, i.e. assurances were given that the beach integration process would be orderly.

7.8 Conclusions

In summary, the theoretical considerations made here suggest that the Durban beach issue can be related to shifting race relations in South Africa. However, from a theoretical as well as an historical point of view, the classification of the beach situation is fluid, a point which parties to the beach debate have attempted to use to their advantage. If beaches are placed in the same category as other public and relatively trivial aspects of life such as post office queues, one would expect beach integration to proceed without much further ado. However, our theoretical analysis has shown that the social significance

of beaches has tended to be interpreted along the lines of central and intimate spheres of life, in which case negative attitudes toward integration can be legitimated in terms of the preservation of personal and family values. We have considered in some detail the implications of the beach issue being fused with a neighbourhood concern. Opposition to integration in the neighbourhood setting is certainly a strong and in some instances even a morally justifiable cause. There is every reason to believe that typical reactions to neighbourhood integration were dominant in the Durban beach debate.

There is, however, one major disadvantage to regarding the Durban beach proposal solely in the light of intergroup relations theory. There are many practical considerations involved in the integration of Durban's beaches. Opposition to and conditional acceptance of the beach proposals may stem mainly from practical concerns with no or few racial overtones rather than from racial prejudice. Examples of this type of concern were certainly to be found in public statements made regarding the beach issue. We have noted that the attitude constellation involving motivational, affective and cognitive moments are likely to be most crystallised and consistent in the case of prejudiced opposition to beach integration. By the same token 'practical' opposition or acceptance may be characterised by a far more complex attitudinal structure in which the inter-relationship between motivational and other aspects are very difficult to unravel. If practical considerations rather than racial attitudes are major determinants of behaviour, attemps to predict future behaviour in a multiracial beach situation on the basis of motivations will be hazardous. Practical considerations might intervene between motivations and actual behaviour. We have already referred to the delayed retreat from integrating neighbourhoods of unprejudiced residents whose longer-term reactions belied their basic convictions. Similarly, one might also cite the observed discrepancies between expectations and desires which were thought to explain the occurrence of orderly integration under circumstances in which social distance to other race groups was prevalent. These examples suggest that it will be essential to test future expectations and practical concerns as well as intergroup attitudes when exploring the possibilities of successful beach integration.

Bearing these theoretical considerations in mind we now turn to the attitude surveys in which reactions to the Durban beach issue were probed among various groups of residents and beachusers.

CHAPTER 8

BLACK ATTITUDES TOWARDS BEACH INTEGRATION

We have seen that representatives of the Indian and coloured communities supported the Durban City Council proposal to open a multiracial beach, although preference was given to the opening of all beaches. Similarly, black leaders expressed their satisfaction with the beach proposal which would allow greater participation in recreation for blacks. However, initial reactions may be misleading as we have seen in the Port Elizabeth situation. In Port Elizabeth, coloured and Indian community leaders who had agreed to sit on the committee looking into the planning of the beaches eventually withdrew. They withdrew on the grounds that they were not prepared to give their support to the 'half-measures' (i.e. partial rather than full integration of beaches) proposed by the committee.

Nevertheless, returning to the Durban situation, let us for the time being assume the continued support for the multiracial beach proposal by Indian, coloured and black community spokesmen. If we also assume that the opinions of community leaders are truly representative of rank-and-file attitudes, we would expect to find general acceptance of the Durban beach proposals and positive attitudes toward beach integration among all black groups. Unfortunately, no survey data is available for Indian and coloured people so we shall have to concentrate on black attitudes.

In this section we shall draw on the evidence emerging from two studies undertaken in 1981, a more general attitude survey conducted among urban and rural blacks in Natal/KwaZulu for the Buthelezi Commission and an in-depth study of black beachusers in the Durban area.

8.1 Research conducted for the Buthelezi Commission - 1981 black attitude survey

8.1.1 Black social distance reactions

Research conducted for the Buthelezi Commission in 1981 among 150 urban and 150 rural Zulus contains evidence that social distance reactions among blacks closely resembles those of other South African groups.

Respondents were posed the question: "What things would you be happy for whites to keep separate for themselves in South Africa?" Between half to one-fifth of the sample were not prepared to accept the principle of separation in six different areas of life. Table 8.1 shows the pattern of results which emerged. Typically, persons who had been more exposed to urban life and who were educationally and occupationally more mobile were more insistent than others that separation should be abolished.

Table 8.1

BUTHELEZI COMMISSION RESEARCH - 1981 BLACK ATTITUDE SURVEY

Social distance patterns among Natal Zulus

Percentage willing to share with whites in the following areas:

		%
(a)*	Transport	79
(b)	Recreation and leisure	78
(c)	Schools	68
(d)	Farming land	68
(e)	Neighbourhood	60
(f)	Marriage	51

Actual N = 301
Weighted N = 424

The question read: "What things would you be happy for whites to keep separate for themselves in South Africa?

(e) - Their own housing areas,
(c) - their own schools,
(b) - their own places of recreation and leisure,
(f) - laws preventing blacks and whites marrying,
(a) - their own transport and buses,
(d) - their own areas for farming."

* Corresponds to the matching option in the question below.

However, the percentage figures are of less importance for the discussion here. More significantly the order of the situation items follows that of the classical social distance scale perfectly. According to survey findings the principle of mixing in the more public spheres such as trains and buses is acceptable and desirable. Mixing in areas which may serve to further social mobility, such as schools, and agricultural enterprise, is also desirable to a large degree. However, the closer we get to the more intimate spheres of life, the more accepting are Zulus of the principle of segregation. Whereas almost 80 percent of Zulus wish to mix in buses, only 60 percent wish to share residential neighbourhoods and only 51 percent accept intermarriage.

Of major interest here is the fact that the item 'recreation and leisure', which theoretically could include beach recreation, figures very low in terms of social distance, similar to transport. Seventy-eight percent of the respondents desire integration in recreation, 79 percent in transport situations. This finding suggests that recreation and leisure is interpreted as a relatively public sphere in life by blacks.

As stated earlier, the order of the social distance items in the research conducted for the Buthelezi Commission is strikingly similar to that established among the white, coloured, and Indian groups surveyed by the Unit for Futures Research (cf. Chapter 7.5). However, the percentages willing to share in any particular situation are significantly higher for blacks than whites. This is to be expected on the basis of van den Berghe's finding that social distance is closely related to position in the South African racial hierarchy.

8.1.2 Attitudes toward restaurant and beach integration

The responses to two further survey items provide a more detailed analysis of attitudes toward mixing in the recreational and leisure sphere.

In the Unit for Futures Research study integration in restaurants was relatively acceptable to whites; the item achieved an acceptance rating similar to mixing in buses. In the study conducted for the Buthelezi Commission 72 percent of blacks voted for open restaurants. Thus, one may conclude that blacks and whites generally agree that social distancing can be minimised in a restaurant situation (cf. Table 8.2).

Table 8.2

BUTHELEZI COMMISSION RESEARCH - 1981 BLACK ATTITUDE SURVEY

Black attitudes toward the integration of bioscopes and restaurants

Percentage preferring:	%
(a)* Integrated bioscopes and restaurants	72
(b) Separate but equal bioscopes and restaurants	28
	100

Actual N = 301
Weighted N = 424

The question read: "Which do you prefer:

(a) - that bioscopes and restaurants in towns should be open to all races;

or

(b) - that there should be bioscopes and restaurants built in African areas which are as good as those for whites."

* Corresponds to the matching option in the question below.

Lastly, the respondents in the attitude survey conducted for the Buthelezi Commission were requested to give their views on the situation of the Durban beaches. The results are shown in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3

BUTHELEZI COMMISSION RESEARCH - 1981 BLACK ATTITUDE SURVEY

Black attitudes toward the integration of Durban beaches

Percentage preferring	%
(a)* Fully integrated beaches	73
(b) Partially integrated beaches	8
(c) Separate but equal beaches	19
	100

actual N = 301
weighted N = 424

The question read: "Think of the beaches in Durban. At the moment they are separate for whites, Indians, coloureds and Africans. What do you think should happen:

(c) - remain as separated as they are but improved so that all are the same size with the same facilities;

or

(a) - all beaches should be open to everyone;

or

(b) - there should be separate beaches but there should also be one good beach which everyone can go to."

* Corresponds to the matching option in the question below.

Almost three in every four respondents were in favour of fully integrated beaches, 8 percent voted for the establishment of a multiracial beach, and approximately one-fifth wished for Durban's beaches to remain separate but to be improved to the standard of all other beaches.

8.1.3 Summary

To sum up, in this section we have presented survey evidence which suggests that social distance patterns are similar among all South African groups. The majority of the respondents interviewed in a survey among rural and urban Zulus in Natal/KwaZulu accept mixing

in public spheres such as transport and recreation/leisure, in general, and in restaurants, and cinemas and beaches, in particular. Three quarters of the surveyed Zulus wished to see Durban's beaches open to everyone. These results are unambiguous, both rural and urban blacks in Natal/KwaZulu assume a pro-integration stand as far as beaches and other public situations are concerned.

However, we do not know if the blacks interviewed in the 1981 attitude survey were responding to the theoretical or the real-life situation when they cast their vote in favour of open beaches in Durban. For example, one might ask which proportion of the survey respondents would be immediately affected by beach integration as beachusers? Did the beach-users in the sample react any differently from the respondents who had never visited the sea? An in-depth study of black beachusers conducted later in the same year provides the answers to some of these questions.

8.2 The black beaches survey 1981[1)]

In this study a cross-section of black beachusers were interviewed mainly on the Durban black beach and on Umgababa beach on the South Coast. A total of only 78 interviews was obtained in this preliminary study, so that we cannot speak of a representative sample survey. Nevertheless, survey findings left little doubt that widespread acceptance of fully or partially integrated beaches would be a foregone conclusion in a more comprehensive survey of black beachusers. The results obtained were very similar to those emerging from the black attitude survey conducted earlier in the same year for the Buthelezi Commission.

Before reviewing in detail the reactions among black beachusers to the Durban beach proposals, let us first test the application of the 'separate but equal' principle to Durban's black beach.

---

1) This section is based on a more comprehensive report, cf. Valerie Møller, Themba Nzimande and Lawrence Schlemmer, *Black Attitudes towards Multiracial Beaches in Durban, A Preliminary Investigation among Residents and Holidaymakers*, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban 1982.

8.2.1 An assessment of 'separate but equal' facilities

Results emerging from the Black Beaches Survey suggested that this principle was not seen to function adequately in the beach situation. In fact, dissatisfaction with inferior facilities was a major factor motivating acceptance for the proposals to open beaches to all races.

Interviewees were asked to comment on Durban beach facilities for blacks. Their responses focussed mainly on the lack of beach facilities rather than on an evaluation of existing amenities (cf. Table 8.4). The black beach was generally considered to be the cinderella of the racially-zoned beaches and approximately four out of five respondents suggested improvement of the black beach. Interviewees felt the development of the black beach had been neglected and frequently invidious comparisons were made with the beachfront areas reserved for whites, in particular with the 'Golden Mile'.

A significant proportion of the respondents felt that the standard of facilities provided on their section of the beach should match the standard of the white beaches. According to the respondents, the provision of restaurant facilities, an amusement park, play equipment, a swimming pool, and a shopping centre would contribute to the upgrading of the black beach.

Access to the black beach was generally considered difficult. A need was also felt for the provision of additional seating and shaded areas. It was apparent that some beachgoers preferred to lie on a lawn rather than on the sand which reportedly was of poor quality on the black beach.

Table 8.4

BLACK BEACHES SURVEY 1981

Recommended improvements to the facilities on Durban's black beach

Percentage respondents who urged for the improvement of beach facilities in the following areas:	%*
Restaurant, kiosk facilities	36
Shaded seating and rest areas, lawn	29
Higher standard facilities	26
Easier access to beach	24
Lockers, security	21
Amusement park, playgrounds	19
Swimming pool	17
Additional lifeguard services (larger bathing area)	9
Privacy in change rooms	9
Shopping facilities	9
Parking	4
Maintenance	2
	N = 41**

* Multiple responses

** Subsample includes only those persons referring to Durban beaches

A significant proportion of the sample was concerned about the safety of personal belongings. One respondent confided that he had spent over an hour deciding whether he should risk leaving his belongings on the beach unguarded while he went for a swim. Respondents recommended that lockers be installed in the changerooms as this would solve the security problem on the beach. Lack of privacy in the changerooms was considered a problem in some cases.

Durban bathers also felt the bathing area between the beacons became very crowded at times. It was thought that if more lifeguards were placed on duty during the height of the season the bathing area could be extended.

Some few respondents stated that the parking space provided was inadequate during the peak of the bathing season, and others called for shade trees in the parking area.

It should be noted that some of the problems enumerated in the 1981 Survey may in part be solved in the near future. At the time of writing additional changerooms are nearing completion, and it is envisaged that an additional bathing area will be provided in front of these new facilities. However, to our knowledge no lockers will be provided in the changerooms. We have reported above that recommendations have been made for the improvement of transport services between the main railway station and the black beach.

8.2.2 Attitudes toward beach integration

In a later section of the interview respondents were asked how they would feel about other race groups visiting beaches reserved for blacks. Just under two-thirds of the sample held positive views of mixing, whilst approximately one-fifth had some reservations and a further fifth were opposed to the idea (cf. Table 8.5).

The white collar workers and the scholars represented in the sample tended to respond more positively than other respondents to the idea of free association of the races on the beaches. Ninety percent of the 11 scholars, and 63 percent of the 22 white collar workers, but only 47 percent of the 36 persons in other occupational categories felt positively about mixing on the beaches.

Table 8.5

BLACK BEACHES SURVEY 1981

Black attitudes toward mixing on beaches

	%
Positive	62
Apprehensive, reserved	19
Negative	19
	100
	N = 78

8.2.3 Preference for a specific model of beach integration

Immediately after probing into people's feelings on mixing with other races on the beaches, respondents were told that the Durban City Council was considering opening up sections of the Durban beachfront for the use of all races.

Respondents were asked to state their preference for one of two proposed models of integration:

- All beaches open to all race groups, OR
- Separate beaches but one big beach open to everyone.

The majority of the respondents (62%) voted for the opening of all the beaches, whilst 31 percent preferred the model in which separate beaches were retained but one open beach was accessible to all race groups (cf. Table 8.6). Only 6 percent voted for the *status quo* model, in which separate beaches are reserved for the use of one race group.

Table 8.6

BLACK BEACHES SURVEY 1981

Preferred solution to integrating Durban's beaches

	%
All beaches open	62
Retain racially separate beaches and create one large open beach	31
Separate beaches only	6
Undecided	1
	100
	N = 78

Attitudes toward racial mixing on the beaches and stated preference for a particular model of beach integration were closely related. There was a tendency for persons who had initially supported mixing on the beaches to choose the open beach model, and for persons who had initially expressed reservations regarding mixing on the beaches to elect the partial integration model.

As far as the limited data base allowed fine distinctions to be made, preferences for the open beach model of integration tended to be more dominant in persons who might generally be characterised as less conservative or more progressive in outlook and background. For example, 81 percent of the scholars and 77 percent of the white collar workers, but only 44 percent of the persons in other occupational categories voted for fully integrated beaches in contrast to partially integrated or racially separated beaches. However, age as such was not a statistically significant factor in influencing attitudes towards the integration of beaches, although a higher proportion of younger than older persons in the sample voted for a fully integrated beach. Seventy-two percent of the respondents who had suggested that improvements be made to the black beaches, but only 41 percent of those who were satisfied with beach facilities preferred the open beach model to other options.

The number of visitors to Durban included in the study was small. Nevertheless, it might be pointed out that the response pattern regarding beach integration was similar among local residents and visitors.

The relationship between frequency of beach visits and attitudes toward beach integration was irregular, indicating that other factors were influential. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that relatively higher proportions of the persons who stated they visited the beach infrequently, say less than once a year, were conservative in their attitudes towards beach integration. On the other hand, annual beachgoers who might be expected to visit the beach on New Year's Day, were more likely than all other survey categories to support completely open beaches, mainly beacuse race relations might be improved.

8.2.4 Motivations for preferring integrated beaches

Motivations for preferring a particular type of integration model tended to be specific. An overview is given in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7

BLACK BEACHES SURVEY 1981

Main reasons given for preferred solution

*Preference for all beaches open: N = 45

	%
Blacks stand to gain	38
Would improve race relations	29
Represent move in the right direction	18
Only natural for people to mix	7
Separation of beaches is unnecessary and costly	7
Blacks can learn from whites	2

*Preference for retaining separate beaches and opening one large beach: N = 23

	%
Mixing should be voluntary	30
Danger of race tension	30
Integration of beaches is premature	17
Danger of blacks being exploited by other races	9
Mixing on beaches unacceptable on moral grounds	4
Only natural for people to mix	4
Would improve race relations	4

*Preference for separate beaches: N = 4

	%
Integration of beaches is premature	25
Mixing on beaches is unacceptable on moral grounds	25
Mixing on beaches in unnecessary	25
Danger of blacks being exploited by other races	25

8.2.4.1 Preference for the solution: Fully integrated beaches

Preference for this model was chiefly based on the conviction that blacks had nothing to lose and everything to gain from full integration. The black beach had been neglected, the facilities

provided were inferior, and the beach was inaccessible. If the Durban beaches were opened, all these inhibiting factors would be removed. For the most part, this type of motivation was based on very practical considerations, although in some instances deeper feelings of general discrimination prevailed. It was usually reasoned that full integration of the Durban beaches would automatically raise the standard of beach facilities available to blacks.

Secondly, a relatively large group of respondents felt that mixing on the beaches would promote social harmony and improve race relations. In the long run there would have to be a greater understanding between race groups and beach integration was seen as a first step in achieving this end. Beach apartheid was considered an anomaly because mixing between races in other spheres of life was commonplace and peaceful. In this connection, a smaller number of respondents based their choice on common denominators binding the different race groups to each other, insisting that it was as natural to mix on beaches as in other places; essentially all people were human beings.

Some respondents specifically dismissed the partial integration model as an unnecessary and costly exercise. Opening up the beaches to all races in terms of the full integration model could be achieved at little or no extra cost to the city, whilst the partial integration model would require the development of an extra beach and an unnecessary duplication of facilities. There was also the danger that the newly developed beach might be under-utilised for various reasons and this might set back any progress made towards full integration.

8.2.4.2 Preference for the solution : Separate beaches and one beach open to all

The second solution to beach integration was more conservative than the foregoing. It generally appealed to those members of the sample who in principle accepted the idea of beach integration but were apprehensive about its practical implications. Some respondents

were opposed to the idea of imposing a new structure of association on other people against their will. Large proportions in this response group felt mixing with other races should be voluntary and the partial integration model was consistent with this notion. It was also pointed out that only a certain class of blacks, by and large representing the more educated or 'emancipated', was accustomed to free association with other races in various domains of life. Whilst the open beach might appeal to this group, it might be a source of embarrassment to others.

Lastly, some respondents saw the implementation of the partial integration model as a preparatory stage leading to full integration at a later stage. If the second more conservative solution to integrating the beaches were introduced as a type of social experiment and it proved successful, there would be fewer risks involved in graduating to the full integration model.

Other persons in this response category were afraid animosity between members of the different race groups might increase if all beaches were integrated. If unpleasant incidents of race tension were to occur, the gradual removal of discriminatory practices in all spheres of everyday life in South Africa would suffer a serious setback.

The impression was gained from some of the statements given by survey respondents that equal access to beaches was not a particularly high priority issue in itself and the integration of the beaches might detract attention from more important issues which needed to be resolved in South African society. Reasoning along similar lines, other respondents pointed out that the apartheid system had not prepared the majority of South Africans for social interaction of any kind between races and it would be unwise to introduce multiracial beaches before other spheres of life had been integrated.

A number of respondents argued that if beaches were integrated before other aspects of apartheid policy had been abolished, a multiracial beach would be very conspicuous. The multiracial beach might attract exaggerated publicity and the image of a mixed bathing area would be defined in negative terms from the outset. Visiting a mixed beach might assume a social significance which had not been anticipated by the planners. In particular, it was feared that black women bathers might be taken advantage of by members of other race groups as had occurred elsewhere, in some of the so-called 'national states for instance.

Under these circumstances respondents anticipated that a mixed bathing area might be under-utilised. And if the introduction of a multiracial beach proved to be unsuccessful, they feared that further moves to break down racial barriers in other spheres of life might be delayed.

Furthermore, if an open bathing area were planned in a remote part of the beach the present disadvantages suffered by black beachgoers, such as inaccessibility and lack of restaurant and amusement facilities, would not be removed.

8.2.4.3 Preference for the *status quo* solution : separate beaches

A small minority in the sample was completely satisfied with separate beaches and rejected even the compromise solution of partial integration. Motivating factors included those enumerated above: beach integration was premature and unnecessary, and blacks stood to be exploited by members of other race groups. A small minority in this group was fully committed to apartheid ideology and rejected racial mixing on the beaches on moral grounds. In this extreme case beach integration was thought to lead to an increase in racially mixed marriages which would contribute to the breakdown of the social order in South Africa.

8.2.4.4 Introducing controls on integrated beaches

Whilst the majority of the respondents welcomed beach integration in one form or another, the success of such an undertaking was not considered a foregone conclusion. Even some of the more enthusiastic supporters of the full integration model voiced their misgivings regarding the practical implementation of beach integration. However, hopes of achieving success in the long run tended to make the risks involved appear less significant. Respondents urged that proper measures should be taken to ensure its success. There was common consensus that any potential source of friction between the races should be avoided at all costs. Therefore adequate controls would have to be introduced to ensure that the process of integrating the beaches was orderly.

In short, respondents supporting the two models of integration were aware of some of the problems which might be encountered in implementing the scheme. These problems were not thought to be insurmountable, but finding the proper solutions to them would require foresight on the part of the planners and administrators. It was essential that such problems be anticipated at the planning stage in order to ensure that the open beach experiment had every change of success.

8.2.5 Conclusions

In broad outline, the Black Beaches Survey and the attitude survey conducted for the Buthelezi Commission yielded similar results regarding beach integration. The overwhelming majority of blacks voted for open beaches. Higher proportions of the beachusers interviewed in the former study would favour partially integrated over separate beaches. On the other hand a slightly higher proportion also had reservations regarding fully integrated beaches.

The Black Beaches Survey was conducted in 1981 before the Sub-committee of the Durban City Council had put forward a specific

proposal for beach integration, thus reactions could only be tested to the principle of open beaches. Generally, reactions to two hypothetical models - full and partial beach integration, were positive. Inferring from survey results the establishment of a multiracial beach as proposed by the Sub-committee would be acceptable to most black bathers although the majority would prefer all Durban beaches to be open.

The question remains if one can assume that black bathers endorsing full integration will also accept partial integration of beaches, and in particular will support the newly opened Battery Beach Two. Survey results are highly suggestive that they will for the following reasons:

1) The site of the proposed multiracial beach meets the expectations of black beachusers. It is central and therefore accessible. In the 1981 Black Beaches Survey and other surveys it was established that blacks view beaches as multipurpose recreational areas. They tend to associate beaches with recreation activities offered in an amusement park. Therefore, the choice of Battery Beach Two is ideal because it is situated reasonably close to the amusement centres on the 'Golden Mile'.

2) Battery Beach Two will presumably offer most of the advantages of white beaches, and therefore meets black expectations regarding improved beach facilities. However, it may be expected that black aspirations will be frustrated as long as the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool remains reserved for white use only. It will be remembered that a pool was included in the list of improvements proposed for black beaches. The same might apply if the nearby restaurant facilities on the beach-front are not opened to all races.

3) The partial integration solution caters for the more conservative members of the black (and white) community who feel they are not ready for integration at the present moment.

4) The multiracial beach, although viewed as a half-measure or a token gesture by some blacks, may be welcomed by others as a useful and legitimate experiment which may pave the way to full integration at a later date.

Judging from the survey findings it would appear that Battery Beach Two will be popular among some blacks for the above reasons. However, the question remains if the multiracial beach will be an open beach in name only and become in effect a 'separate but equal' beach. Whilst this might satisfy those blacks whose interests are practical and who are concerned mainly with the standard of black beach facilities, it would certainly not please the pro-integrationists who are extremely anxious that beach integration should work. The latter group argue that only if beach integration is successful can it become a passport to black advancement in other spheres. Therefore, blacks of this persuasion may be just as anxious as whites that their ranks should not 'swamp' the multiracial beach, offend members of other race groups, and pose security risks and threats to white residents nearby.

It is small wonder then that roughly two out of every three black beachusers who were in favour of beach integration also expressed a preference for all Durban beaches to be open. If all Durban beaches were open to all races those factors which jointly if not singly have the potential to fulfil the prophecy of invasion and succession, would not be concentrated on just one small stretch of the Durban beach.

CHAPTER 9

WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD BEACH INTEGRATION: THE 'ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY 1981

Whilst black reaction towards beach integration may be fairly predictable, white reactions are the crucial factor because they are by and large determinant of policy change in local matters. Let us therefore look at a series of opinion polls conducted recently which have focussed on attitudes towards beach integration among whites in Durban.

In a 1981 opinion poll white Durban ratepayers were invited to give their views on two integration issues, the integration of buses and beaches. The integration items were presented to respondents along with some thirty other environmental issues for comment. One can therefore assume that the two integration items would not in any way attract unwarranted attention, and responses to these two items would closely follow the general pattern of individual reactions to survey topics.

It is interesting to note that the phrasing of the integration items did not follow the usual pattern of social distance scales which mainly focus on intergroup attitudes. The environmental study also probed practical considerations which may colour or even override prejudice where integration issues are concerned.

9.1 Survey results

As might be expected from our review of the Unit for Futures Research survey (cf. Chapter 7.5), white ratepayers were far more accepting of integration in buses than on beaches. Of those interviewees responding to the poll questions, 69 percent favoured the integration of buses and 50 percent voiced a preference for full or partial integration of the beaches. The full details of the response distributions are given in Tables 9.1 and 9.2.

Table 9.1

ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY - 1981

Attitudes of white Durban ratepayers to the integration of buses

"If the choice is between reducing white bus services or integrating them with blacks, how would you react?"

(Choice of fixed option)	N	Adjusted %
1. I am in favour of integrating buses regardless of the financial aspects	33	10,2
2. I would rather have more frequent buses and integrate them	188	58,4
3. I would rather reduce bus service but keep them white	69	21,4
4. I would rather have no bus services than integrate them	32	9,9
no information	33	-
	355	100,0
		N = 322

Table 9.2

ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY - 1981

Attitudes of white Durban ratepayers to integration of beaches

"What do you think should happen to the beaches of Durban?"

(choice of one or more fixed options.)

	N	1st response adjusted %	all responses* adjusted %
1. Should remain separated for the races as is the case presently.	169	49,7	49,7
2. I would prefer integration but because I fear incidents, they had better remain as at present	47	13,8	15,9
3. Should be integrated for all races	40	11,8	11,8
4. Should be integrated but with a reasonable charge (about 50 cents) for their use with turnstiles	13	3,8	6,2
5. Should remain segregated but with the addition of one mixed bathing beach in a good location	71	20,9	33,2
no information	15	-	
	355	100,0	
		N = 340	N = 340

* Percentages add to over hundred, because several options could be chosen if desired

It will be noted that whilst majority support for the integration of buses (option 2) also included a practical advantage for whites (namely, improved bus service), the open beaches options (3,4,5) were a reflection of basic intergroup attitudes. Support for beach integration in principle combined with practical fears (option 2) was a favourite option which may have closely reflected a fairly widespread feeling among concerned citizens.[1)]

1) As mentioned earlier the interpretation of the environmental survey findings regarding beach integration were a subject of debate which may have influenced public opinion at the height of the controversy surrounding the Durban beach issue. The *Natal Mercury* which had commissioned the research stated that 85% of whites in Durban opposed beach integration (implying that only the remaining 15% were in favour of a mixed beach). The author of the survey stated that 50% supported some form of beach integration. The two radically different interpretations were based on different approaches to combining survey categories:

- The *Natal Mercury* (7 May 1982): "And white reaction (to the proposed mixed beach at the Snake Park and the opening of the Rachel Finlayson Swimming Pool to all races) will be fairly predictable in the light of the opinion survey commissioned last year by the newspaper and conducted by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal. His findings showed that an overwhelming 85% of whites in Durban wanted the beaches to remain closed to other races even though 65% would have no objection to mixing in buses"...
- Letter to the Editor of the *Natal Mercury* (12 May 1982): "In the *Natal Mercury* of May 7, 1982 an editorial appeared as well as a news report which suggested that a survey undertaken by my department showed an overwhelming majority of whites in Durban opposed to any form of beach integration.

  This is a complete and total misrepresentation of the findings. The results in fact showed that while 50% (option 1) wished the status quo to remain, the other 50% (options 2 through 5) were in favour of beach integration. Some (reference to option 2) had certain fears and most wished for a phased approach with safeguards (reference to options 4,5), but the fact remains that fully one half of Durban whites are prepared without any encouragement to sympathise with the need for beach integration in a sensible way.

  Professor L. Schlemmer, Director, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal."
- Editor's footnote: ..."We drew this conclusion (that an overwhelming 85% want the beaches to stay segregated) on the basis that 50% of those polled maintained that the beaches 'should remain separated for the races as is presently the case'(option 1), 14% preferred integration 'but fear incidents, so they should remain as at present' (option 2), and 21% said 'they should remain segregated' but with the addition of one mixed beach (option 5). We submit that a logical reading of that collective vote is that 85% (options 1,2,5) want the beaches to stay segregated. The remainder favoured either unqualified integration of the beaches for all races (option 3), or integration with a reasonable charge (50c) and the use of turnstiles (option 4)... On a further examination of the responses to the survey, we see no reason to change our assessment."

* Options in brackets added to text correspond to those shown in Table 9.2.

9.1.1 Groups positively disposed toward beach integration

The environmental survey revealed that generally the higher educated persons in the sample tended to hold what might be called more 'enlightened' views on issues concerning their environment. Similarly, higher educated respondents were more likely than others to favour bus and beach integration.

Further respondent groups which were significantly more positively disposed towards beach integration than others are as follows: (Percentages favouring bus integration are listed alongside for comparative purposes.)

	Beach integration %	Bus integration %
Matric or higher level education	63	79
Under 34 years	61	not above average
White collar or professional worker	67	77
Gross income over R10 000 p.a.	60	not above average
English is home language	57	75
Durban North resident *	73	80**
Assesses 'Golden Mile' negatively	68	78
Assesses beachfront amusement park negatively	64	74
Favours integration of buses	66	-
Favours integrated beach(es)	-	89

* small numbers involved

** not significantly above average

The above results indicate that persons who were critical of the beachfront area including the amusement park were also more likely than others to favour integration of beaches and buses. However, interestingly, frequency of actual visits to the beachfront amusement part was not in any way associated with attitudes toward beach integration.

As a corollary to the above results, survey groups which emerged as being less in favour of beach integration included older persons (38%), the less educated (35%), lower income earners (44%), persons not in professional or white collar jobs (31%), persons

speaking Afrikaans as (one of) their home language(s) (35%), and persons holding a good opinion of the beachfront area (38%) and the beachfront amusement park (33%). Bluff (32%) and beachfront (40%) residents were also less likely to support a move towards integrating the beach than other residents of Durban, in particular Durban North residents.

This last result tends to confirm the notion that the integration of beaches was viewed as an immediate threat by persons living close to the beaches. Bluff as well as beachfront residents live in residential areas which incorporate stretches of beach, so that the question of integrating Durban's beaches may have been interpreted as a neighbourhood issue, which according to 'social distance' theory could have a higher salience than other types of local issues.

If we wished to predict attitudes toward the integration of Durban beaches using only the few parameters at our disposal, regression analysis [1] indicates that reactions (positive) toward beach integration can best be jointly accounted for in terms of occupational standing (high), opinion of the beachfront situation at present (low), home language (English), length of residence in Durban (under 15 years), residents (Durban North), age (low), opinion of the quality of the beachfront amusement park (low), in that order. Occupational standing, which is highly associated with educational achievement, and therefore detracts from the latter variable's explanatory power, is by far the most influential variable in its own right and when the effect of other factors are controlled. The regression analysis also demonstrates that our understanding of public opinion regarding the beach issue is still relatively superficial, as only one-fifth of the variance in the beach integration variable was explained.

---

1) Technical notes: Parameters were included stepwise into the regression equation and missing data were deleted pairwise. One-fifth ($r^2 = 0.20$) of the variance in the trichotomised beach integration variable was explained. All parameters contributed significantly to the explanation of the independent variable with the exception of the last one added to the equation.

9.2 Conclusions

We therefore conclude that our present knowledge of individual background characteristics and views held on beach-related matters are insufficient for us to fully grasp the complexities of motivational dispositions concerning beach integration. A further study, conducted at the height of the beach controversy, may provide further insight into white views of beach integration. Let us now turn to this study.

CHAPTER 10

WHITE ATTITUDES TOWARD BEACH INTEGRATION: THE BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

10.1 Introduction

Of all the studies reported on so far the Battery Beach One Survey, conducted at the height of the controversy over beach integration, possibly provides the most insight into white reaction to the opening of public amenities to all races. This is mainly because the survey design incorporated some unique features:

1) The study was conducted as an *ad hoc* study at a time when public debate on the beach issue was at a highpoint. No decisions had been taken and the outcome of the issue was inconclusive.

2) The study was conducted on the beach itself. One might assume that a more valid assessment of opinions can be achieved in a real-life setting than in a neutral interview situation.

3) The probes employed in the study covered various facets of behavioural tendencies. Major emphasis was placed on the conative or motivational facets.

Battery Beach One[1] was selected as the research setting because it could be assumed that the users of this beach would be most affected by the establishment of a multiracial beach on the adjacent Battery Beach Two. The research was conducted over three weekends from May 29 to June 12, 1982. The bulk of the interviews was conducted over the first weekend (May 29). Just before the survey commenced on May 24, the Sub-committee planning the multiracial beach rejected the Snake Park beach in favour of Battery Beach Two as the site for the proposed multiracial beach.

1) The official designation of this beach is Battery One in distinction to Battery Two. This nomenclature was introduced around 1977 when the beaches were rezoned and is consistent with efforts on the part of municipal departments to avoid attaching racialistic labels to Durban beaches. At the time of writing the beach of concern here was still commonly referred to simply as 'Battery Beach' and we shall often follow popular usage unless it is necessary to distinguish Battery Beach One from Battery Beach Two.

10.2 Battery Beach One users

A profile of Battery Beach One users as established in the survey has been compiled in Appendix 2. Users included a slightly higher proportion of men than women. The dominant age group was 20 to 29 years. According to survey results Battery Beach One caters predominantly for local beachgoers, roughly 6-7 in every 10 users are Durban residents. The data revealed that Battery Beach One tends predominantly to attract Durban residents from the Berea area of town. Beachfront and central city residents were also well-represented in the sample. Transvaal holidaymakers dominated in the non-local user category. Also noteworthy was the fair proportion of overseas visitors in this category.

Battery Beach One users on average reported that they came to the beach daily or at least once a week. The majority of holidaymakers reported visiting the beach daily. Holidaymakers showed a clear preference for Battery Beach One over other beaches. Some 60 and 30 percent of local residents and holidaymakers respectively stated that they also visited other Durban beaches. Over two-thirds of all users also visited beaches on the Natal Coast.

A relatively pronounced preference for north-situated beaches was indicated and this preference held for municipal as well as regional beaches. This choice may have been dictated by convenience factors but there were also indications in the data that preferences might be quite specific to Battery Beach One users.

Survey responses suggested that Battery Beach One users were particularly attracted to quiet beaches and preferred to use regional beaches if the Durban beaches became too crowded during the holiday season. In this respect the recreation habits of Battery Beach One users may differ from those of the majority of beachgoers in the Durban area. There is evidence in the data obtained in the Durban Metropolitan Recreation Survey cited earlier (in Chapter 5.1) that northerly Durban beaches and Natal north coast beaches are less

popular than their southerly equivalents.[1] Assuming that recreation patterns have not changed markedly over the past decade one might deduce that the Battery Beach One users in our sample exhibit relatively 'exclusive' beach visiting patterns. We shall return to this point shortly.

10.3 The research setting

Battery Beach One is one of the newer beaches established during the period of redemarcation after 1976. The facilities provided are well-appointed. The beach setting is particularly pleasant and attractive. Noteworthy is the landscaping which includes brick paving, tropical trees and plants, lawn areas, and thatched shades and a natural tree sculpture on a relatively wide beach. Secondly, Battery Beach One tends to become less crowded than other white beaches adjoining the 'Golden Mile', mainly because fewer holidaymakers make their way to this beach. Battery Beach One is separated from the 'Golden Mile' beaches by a stretch of bush and it is the most northerly of all the white zoned beaches in Durban. To the north of Battery Beach One are situated all the racially demarcated beaches, more recently the multiracial beach, and the Blue Lagoon recreation area which is open to all races. However, this is not to say that Battery Beach One is inaccessible. On the contrary, the beach is within a few minutes walk from a number of beachfront hotels and is particularly accessible by road from the Berea. There is parking available on and around the beach.

---

1) The beach visiting pattern of whites compiled from this data are as follows: Durban beaches: northerly beaches 590 of 1 000 visits/ southerly beaches 870; Natal beaches: north coast beaches 170/south coast beaches 230. L. Schlemmer, Durban Metropolitan Recreation Survey, Report submitted to the Town and Regional Planning Commission, Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, 1974, pp. 104-105, Table 35.
From a more objective point of view, confer also the generally positive evaluation of beaches along the Natal South Coast in research undertaken for the Town and Regional Planning Commission Natal: National Research Institute for Oceanology of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research: *Evaluation of Beaches along the Natal South Coast*, Town and Regional Planning Commission Natal, Pietermaritzburg CSIR Report C/SEA 7604, Vol. 35, 1977.

Battery Beach One users are appreciative of the positive features of their chosen beach. In response to the question "What attracts you to this beach?" the following factors were enumerated:

Less crowded than other beaches	21%
Proximity, convenient location	20%
High quality environment	15%
Cleanliness	12%
Adequate facilities	10%

Favourable comments were received concerning the spacious lawns, parking facilities and the manner in which the facilities blended into the landscape. One respondent referred to Battery Beach One as the "most unspoilt" beach in Durban, another referred to it as "a select beach".

- *"The beach is not as crowded, you don't get as many holidaymakers. It's convenient because we come straight down Argyle Road."*
- *"The holidaymakers don't have any respect for beaches. They come and mess it up and use it like a picnic area - so I prefer to come here."*
- *"I don't like other beaches where you fight for parking, you can't spread out and do your thing."*
- *"I like the grass and the beach is pleasant and it is pleasantly laid-out with palm trees - has a mediterranean look about it."*
- *"It's a large beach and doesn't get overcrowded. Also it has facilities which are always clean."*
- *"A nice beach near to the hotels. People even pick up rubbish on this beach."*
- *"It's nice and big and I like the facilities here. It's not as swamped as the beaches further down."*

By contrast, the respondents in the survey tended to hold a poor opinion of the beachfront in general. [1] Ninety-five percent were critical of one or more aspects of the 'Golden Mile'. When questioned about dislikes concerning the beachfront areas ("What do you dislike most about Durban beachfront area/s?") the following factors were enumerated:

Crowding	20%
Litter	16%
Small and poor quality beaches	13%
Commercialism and prices	9%
Holidaymakers	6%
Inadequate parking facilities	6%
Noise	4%

It is obvious that Battery Beach One users enjoy all the major advantages of their well-appointed beach and few of the disadvantages of other beachfront areas.

---

1) The survey item used in the Battery Beach One Study does not compare directly with an item referring to a similar topic in the 1981 Environmental Survey, so we cannot assume that Battery Beach One users are more critical of their environment than other Durban residents. Respondents in the Environmental Study rated the beachfront as a whole as follows: very good and tasteful (19%), good (26%), not so bad and not too good (31%), spoils the area and the environment (15%), too terrible for words and a disgrace for Durban (8%).

However, Battery Beach One users in mid-1982 were without doubt more critical of beachfront development than holidaymakers were some fourteen years ago. Johnston and Frange writing in 1968 noted that "there is evidence that the average beachgoer wants to have more amenities and catering laid on... It is, however, important to record that no visitor said that the beaches were over-commercialised or that they should be left unspoilt". P. Johnston and E. Frange, *A Survey of Durban's Beach-goers*, Institute for Social Research (now Centre for Applied Social Sciences), University of Natal, Durban, 1968.

In this connection it is interesting to note that a 1968 survey conducted among beachgoers by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences[1] before Battery Beach One was developed indicated the need for more cleanliness and improved beach facilities on the north section of Durban beaches. It would appear that Battery Beach One fulfils these needs very adequately.

Clearly, many Battery Beach One users wished to avoid the busy holiday atmosphere of the 'Golden Mile' and enjoyed the peaceful seclusion of Battery Beach. One respondent, a beachfront resident, mentioned that he had been forced to "migrate" from North Beach at his doorstep to Battery Beach One to escape the throngs of holiday-makers during the peak of the season.

Given this emphasis on the exclusive nature of Battery Beach One, one might expect the users of this beach to object if a popular beach attracting large crowds were to be developed alongside from which beachgoers might overspill onto Battery Beach One.

On the other hand, the 1981 Environmental Study revealed that Durban residents of higher socio-economic standing who were more critical of their built environment also tended to be more tolerant of integration than others. By way of an analogy, given the more 'exclusive' nature of Battery Beach One and the fact that its users tend to be critically aware of their environment, one might also hypothesise that relatively large proportions of Battery Beach users would support the move to establish an integrated beach, at least in principle.

Of course we cannot expect to obtain clearcut trends along the lines outlined above from an *ad hoc* survey of beachgoers, mainly because the population from which our sample was drawn will be relatively heterogeneous.

---

1) P. Johnston and E. Frange, *A Survey of Durban's Beachgoers*, Institute for Social Research (now Centre for Applied Social Sciences), University of Natal, Durban, 1968.

However, by studying beachgoers' attitudes on location we are creating a relatively unique opportunity to observe the delicate balance between basic motivating factors and practical considerations which may colour or distort 'pure' attitude tendencies.

10.4 The survey

Initially, the study was introduced to the interviewees as a survey of Durban's beach facilities. Accordingly, interviewees were questioned regarding their beach visiting patterns and their views of Battery Beach and the beachfront. This first set of formal questions served as a 'warming up' exercise during which the interviewees were to achieve the rapport which would enable them to successfully complete the second, less formally structured section of the interview. The interviewers were instructed to close their questionnaire folders when they came to the second part of the interview and to continue a conversation with the respondent in which three probes were made into attitudes concerning the establishment of a multiracial beach.[1)]

1. The first probe assessed spontaneous reactions. It was phrased in such a manner that respondents need not feel committed to giving personal views if they did not wish to do so. The question was aimed at the affective facet of attitude tendencies,

> "It seems from the papers that they are going to change beaches - bring in an integrated beach for blacks and everyone there (interviewer: say "there" while pointing to Battery Beach Two). How do you think people using this beach will feel?"

Responses differed widely in that some respondents immediately projected their attitudes, whilst others made a more careful distinction between categories of beachgoers which might react differently from themselves.

---

1) Cf. the section on measurement techniques in Chapter 7.2.

In some instances, normative assessments of the projected reactions were made, in the sense that respondents indicated approval or disapproval of the views they projected onto other people. Generally, respect was shown for the views of others. Or at least practical consideration was given to other views especially in the case of projected majority views of which respondents disapproved. A tendency to state more liberal views of integration than attributed to others was detected.

2. The second probe was intended to measure attitudes toward beach integration along the conative or motivational dimension. This time respondents were requested to speak only of their own intentions and not of those of others. An attempt was made to assess behavioural tendencies by asking the question:

"Would you use that beach or not?"

As we have learnt, of all dimensions of attitudes, behavioural tendencies are most sensitive to situational factors, and the situational valence of the interview situation was deemed to be fairly high. The reality of the situation called for a high degree of commitment to act according to stated intentions. For this reason a relatively high response validity was expected, although behavioural tendencies can never be used as a proxy for actual behaviour. It is, however, noteworthy that two factors detracted from situational authenticity:
Firstly, reactions to the integration of a neighbouring beach and not to one's own beach were being tested.
Secondly, a time lapse existed between stated inclination and opportunity to behave in corresponding manner. The respondents were forced to project their behavioural intentions into the future because the multiracial beach on Battery Beach Two had not yet been developed. Thus, the degree of commitment was reduced accordingly. Despite these flaws in the test situation it was thought that the responses to the second probe called for a fairly high degree of commitment on the part of interviewees. Replies reflected affective or cognitive overtones, or both.

3. The last probe was pitched at the more cognitive and normative level of attitude tendencies. Responses required were of a more public nature and as such involved less personal commitment. Respondents were requested to outline a strategy for action:

> "If the Durban authorities feel that (beach) integration will come sooner or later, what should they do now? How should they go about it?"

It will be noted that the phrasing of the question was biased in the sense that a social setting was given in which integration was inevitable. Thus, respondents were required to indicate whether immediate or gradual commitment to integration was an expedient public policy regardless of their personal attitudes toward sharing beach facilities.

The phrasing of this question tended to capture the typical decision-making situation in which people may find themselves when expectations do not match desires. If people do not wish to integrate but "know" integration will occur in future, this expectation may influence practical solutions to conducting intergroup relations in the interim period. Judging from the observations made elsewhere it was thought that this type of discrepancy was fairly widespread among South Africans and therefore provided a realistic decision-making situation in which to probe attitudes concerning beach integration.

Interviewers were instructed to record the responses to the three probes immediately after the conversation, if possible verbatim. On the basis of the spontaneous and probed responses interviewers made an overall assessment of the respondent's acceptance of beach integration using a prescribed set of categories. Interviewers were also instructed to use a prepared checklist to indicate various types of fears associated with beach integration which had been expressed during the conversation. Interviewers worked in pairs throughout the study. This system was thought to improve the quality of the data by ensuring that memory recall and assessment were based on the joint skills and judgement of two fieldworkers.

Interviewers were instructed to record the responses to the three probes immediately after the conversation, if possible verbatim. On the basis of the spontaneous and probed responses interviewers made an overall assessment of the respondent's acceptance of beach integration using a prescribed set of categories. Interviewers were also instructed to use a prepared checklist to indicate various types of fears associated with beach integration which had been expressed during the conversation. Interviewers worked in pairs throughout the study. This system was thought to improve the quality of the data by ensuring that memory recall and assessment were based on the joint skills and judgement of two fieldworkers.

10.5 *Findings*

10.5.1 Attitudes toward beach integration

By way of a summary of findings we shall commence with the assessment of beachusers' attitudes toward beach integration. The assessments were made on the basis of reactions to the three probes outlined above.

> Some 70 percent of the 180 respondents, of whom one-third were holidaymakers accepted multiracial beaches. Just over one-fifth thought beach integration should be limited to one beach, 29 percent were opposed to a mixed beach, and 50 percent accepted that over a period of time all beaches would be integrated (cf. Table 10.1).

Table 10.1

BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

Attitudes of white beachusers toward the integration of Durban's beaches

	%
Favours fully integrated beaches	28
Favours fully integrated beaches but expresses concerns of various kinds	22
Favours one integrated beach	21
Opposes integration	29
- ambivalent - 16%	
- firm - 10%	
- rigid - 3%	
	100
	N = 180

It will be noted that only some 10 percent of the sample were firmly opposed to the concept of beach integration and a very small minority of 3 percent were rigid in their convictions that beaches should not be integrated.

Younger persons and holidaymakers were more likely than others in the sample to hold more liberal views concerning the integration of beaches.

Some 60 percent of the under-thirties in the sample, but only 43 percent of over-thirties favoured the integration of all Durban beaches. And only 22 percent in the younger category as against 34 percent in the older category wished to retain separate beaches. Fifty-five percent of holidaymakers voted for full integration of Durban beaches, and 22 percent for separate beaches. In comparison, 48 percent of local residents thought Durban beaches would eventually become multiracial whilst 33 percent wished beaches to remain separate (cf. Table 10.2).

Table 10.2

BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

Attitudes of white beachusers toward beach integration by age and residence

	Full integration	Partial integration	No integration	
Age				
- 29 years (N=85)	60	18	22	= 100%
30 years and over (N=94)	43	23	34	= 100%
Residence				
Durban residents (N=114)	48	19	33	= 100%
Transvaal holidaymakers (N=45)	58	18	24	= 100%
Overseas holidaymakers (N=12)	59	33	8	= 100%

10.5.2 Attitudes toward using the multiracial beach

It does not necessarily follow from the fact that people are favourably disposed toward the establishment of a multiracial beach in principle that they will also wish to use this beach. However, in the Battery Beach One Survey a surprisingly high proportion of the sample indicated they would consider using the integrated beach.

> Sixty-two percent of the respondents said they would use Battery Beach Two, whilst 32 percent felt disinclined to visit the multiracial beach. A further 6 percent said they would not use the multiracial beach for practical reasons (cf. Table 10.3).

Younger respondents (72% of under-thirties) were more likely than older persons (54% of over-thirties) to state they would use the integrated beach. There was a tendency for holidaymakers to be more inclined to use the beach than locals if certain conditions were met, but this difference was not statistically significant. Men were tendentially more likely than women to say they would use the multiracial beach but again the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 10.3

BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

Intention to use the integrated Battery Beach Two

"It seems from the papers that they are going to change these beaches - bring in an integrated beach for blacks and everyone *there* (interviewer points to Battery Beach Two)... Would you use that beach or not?"

		%
Yes		62
	- for bathing	34 %
	- limited use	5 %
	- conditional	18 %
	- non-committal	5 %
No	- practical reasons	6
No	- prejudice	32
		100
		N = 179

Whilst the conative flavour of this probe was relatively strong, one must also bear in mind that many respondents were making a statement of principle rather than of intent. One gained the certain impression that only a small minority of respondents would use the multiracial beach for purely personal reasons, say if they wished to swim with black friends. Larger proportions commended the multiracial beach ("it's a good idea") and indicated that they might use it as a matter of course for instrumental purposes, say if the surf or beach conditions were particularly favourable there.

- *"Would definitely use it, have black friends and like to visit the beach and swim with them. I often go to Blue Lagoon beach with them in summer."*

- *"Depending on the surf - I already mix among the blacks, it's really no big deal."*

It was observed that few respondents thought it necessary to frequent the beach deliberately in order to make a definite political statement or to prove the experiment successful. A low-key formula to mixing on beaches was thought to be more effective and also more appropriate. In most instances, respondents would not go out of their way to use the newly established multiracial beach.

- *"I wouldn't have any objections to using it* (the integrated beach), *but I wouldn't go there simply because it's integrated. I would still come here."*

- *"Yes, why not. But I would use it as much as any other Durban beach which is not very much."*

- *"If whites don't use the Battery area, there will just be two black beaches."*

A substantial proportion of the respondents thought they might use the beach if certain conditions held. The most important condition concerned crowding. We have reported above that the members of the sample practised informal crowd control by gravitating to less densely populated beaches including Battery Beach One. Similarly, if Battery Beach Two were to become too crowded for their liking, a substantial number of respondents indicated that they would - in most cases reluctantly, move to other beaches.

Habit is a further factor which might act as a deterrent to using the multiracial beach. Many of the Battery Beach One users represented in the sample appeared to be fully satisfied with their recreational patterns and preferred to come to Battery Beach One which was familiar to them; they saw no reason to visit the neighbouring multiracial beach.

- *"Why should I go there, when I come here all the time?"*

- *"I wouldn't go out of my way to use it or avoid it, I wouldn't change my old habits."*

- *"I would prefer to come to Battery Beach which I know. I would still come here if it were integrated too."*

- *"I would continue to use this beach. You become fairly possessive about a beach and this wouldn't change."*

By the same token, if the establishment of a multiracial beach next to their 'home territory' were to interfere with their recreation habits, some respondents felt they might have reason to become upset. Others thought they would resign themselves to the new situation and adjust by going to another, less crowded section of the beach. For example, the following response reflects great flexibility on the part of one beachuser.

- *"If this* (Battery One) *beach became crowded, I would use the mixed one* (Battery Two) *and vice versa."*

An interesting category of respondents included persons whose convictions did not completely coincide with their emotive responses. Although they accepted mixing on the beach in principle, they thought they would feel uncomfortable if they were placed in a multiracial beach situation. It was usually assumed that white women felt particularly self-conscious on the beach if members of other race groups were present. (As mentioned above the survey showed that men were in fact more likely to state they would use the multiracial beach than women but the difference was not statistically significant.) Socialisation which emphasised social distance between race groups was considered to have laid the foundation for this type of attitude. Although persons brought up with racial prejudices thought they might use a multiracial beach eventually, they stated they would not do so of their own choice.

A last category included persons who wished to maintain social distance from other groups, at least in a beach situation. In some few cases, a distinction was made between mixing on the beach proper and sharing the sea. It was generally obeserved that social

distance was greater in the water than on the land, but very few cases were involved.

- *"To walk along yes, but not to lie or swim at."*

- *"Just to sit or walk through, but not to swim."*

- *"I wouldn't mind sitting amongst blacks - but would object to bathing amongst them - I'm too old to change my ways."*

It is interesting to note that even among prejudiced persons, we encounter a willingness (sometimes with a hint of own superiority) to tolerate other people breaking down social barriers.

- *"The blacks will outnumber the whites and take over all the facilities. If anyone else wants to use the* (integrated) *beach they should feel free to do so."*

Thus, for socio-political as well as practical reasons Battery Beach One users might eventually not use the new multiracial beach although at the time of the survey the majority saw few reasons preventing themselves or other persons from doing so.

Some sample excerpts from conversations held with Battery Beach One users serve to illustrate the wide range of viewpoints.

Potential users:

- *"Wouldn't worry at all, I'd enjoy the beach no matter who shares it."*

- *"The sea is what matters. There's room for all in the sea."*

- *"Yes - it doesn't bother me. I run past there anyway. Maybe I'll get as brown as them over there!"*

- *"If blacks and others are allowed to fish together on most beaches and piers, don't see why they can't suntan and swim together."*

- *"Yes, my children go to a multiracial school, so why should I worry about beaches being multiracial?"*

- *"Yes I think it's a good idea. If all the races get together in an informal place - all the better for future relations."*

Conditional users:

- *"As long as the other races don't interfere or go wild because they can now use the beaches."*

- *"It depends on how it's integrated. If whites are outnumbered, I wouldn't* (use the beach). *If its 50-50 I would, ... but I know it won't be."*

- *"Yes, I have nothing against people of other colours - as long as it's not crowded."*

- *"Yes, if other races mind their own business and don't interfere. If they're clean and respectable."*

- *I would go first to see what it is like out of curiosity and if the situation is pleasant I would continue going. If trouble arose, then I wouldn't return to that beach."*

- *"I wouldn't mind as long as it was in control and kept clean. If it got out of hand, I wouldn't."*

- *"Perhaps - provided it was not too crowded and I had a choice."*

- *"Yes, if it was the closest and most convenient beach."*

- *"Yes, if I had a black friend - wouldn't come by myself."*

Non-users:

- *"Not if there was a white beach. Africans are inclined to gawk at practically nude white girls."*

- *"Considering the difference in population sizes it will be overrun. No, we prefer to stick to our own beaches and our own colours."*

- *"I don't want to mix with other race groups or the white people using that beach."*

- *"No, if I go with a girlfriend. Also I don't want to go to a beach where blacks dress in their underwear."*

Selected female respondents:

- *"My mother wouldn't want me to use the beach."*

- *"No, there is a social difference. I'd feel uncomfortable when a black man looks at me."*

- *"No, I don't want blacks ogling at me. I don't mind high class blacks but not just every black in the street."*

- *"It's bad enough having white men staring at you and I imagine I would feel degraded and not at ease with a black man staring at me. Would rather use a pool as they are not integrated."*

- *"I would feel too self-conscious in front of other races."*

- *"I wouldn't have a coon lying down next to me - or for that matter a coolie."*

10.5.3 Proposed strategies for integrating Durban's beaches

Towards the end of the interview the respondents were requested to advise the City Council on integration procedures. The assumption was made that the Council was committed to integration in the near or distant future. An overview of the strategies put forward by the respondents in the survey is given in Table 10.4

Table 10.4

BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

Proposed strategies for integrating Durban's beaches

"If the Durban authorities feel that integration will come sooner or later, what should they do now? How should they go about it?"

	%*	%**
BOLD APPROACHES TO INTEGRATION:		23
Integrate all beaches immediately	19	
Integrate all beaches with maximum publicity	2	
Integrate North Beach or beaches in front of international hotels first	2	
CAUTIOUS, GRADUAL OR LOW-KEYED APPROACHES TO INTEGRATION:		27
Integrate all beaches with minimum publicity	8	
Prepare public psychologically for full integration	2	
Integrate one beach first and then other beaches	18	
Integrate one beach on an experimental basis	8	
CONTROLLED APPROACHES TO INTEGRATION:		15
Integrate one beach only	11	
Patrol integrated beach(es)	4	
Erect barriers between integrated and other beaches	3	
Charge entrance fee to integrated beach	2	
Locate integrated beach far from residential areas	2	
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING CONCERNING INTEGRATION:		7
Integrate after conducting opinion survey or referendum	9	
Integrate only with the consent of the beachfront residents	1	
PRACTICAL APPROACH TO INTEGRATION:		5
Improve facilities before integrating beaches	2	
Improve parking before integrating beaches	1	
Mark multiracial beach as such	1	
Integrate beaches after by-laws have been amended	2	
DELAY FULL INTEGRATION:		11
Integrate non-white beaches only	3	
No integration in any circumstances	12	
DON'T KNOW:	8	8
	N = 177	N = 177

* Percentages based on respondents allowing for multiple responses.

** Percentages based on respondents and corrected for multiple responses given within major response categories.

The cautious, gradual or low-keyed approach to integration: The modal category, just over one-fourth of the respondents suggested that integration should proceed gradually but steadily and quietly. The public should be prepared for each step involved in the integration process.

The controlled approach to integration: Similarly, some 15 percent of the sample called for a more controlled approach to integration. The types of controls recommended are already familiar from previous discussions and include:

economic	: demarcate the integrated beach and charge entrance fees
location	: select a distant site for the multiracial beach
barriers	: erect barriers between beaches to prevent overspill
security	: provide extra staff to patrol beaches to prevent the incidence of anti-social behaviour
limit integration	: control the problems expected to arise from the integration process by limiting the number of 'problem areas'.

The majority of these controls are measures to prevent crowding and problems arising from crowding. The fact that these controls may also promote social distance may be purely coincidental in some instances. It is interesting to note that the desirability and effectiveness of these controls had been debated in public discussions before the Battery Beach One Survey commenced and have also come up for discussion more recently.

For example: economic safeguards were originally considered by the Sub-committee which proposed the establishment of the multiracial beach. The idea was later abandoned. The practice was considered foreign to South African thinking in that it offended the principle of 'beaches for all'.

Economic controls were for example, also suggested by one writer to the editor shortly after the survey.[1] More recently, a representative of Durban's commercial interests again proposed a system of economically controlled beaches along the lines of the French and Italian riveria, but this idea was declared unacceptable in an editorial comment.[2]

Location has always been a sensitive issue and cannot easily be resolved to the satisfaction of all. The Sub-committee drawing up the full proposals spent much time considering a suitable location. Regarding barriers, the early choice of the Snake Park Beach was in part determined by the fact that natural barriers were given there. The final choice of Battery Beach Two was disputed mainly on the grounds of inadequate barriers. The erection of physical barriers was considered distasteful and impractical whilst the introduction of natural barriers was technically impossible.[3]
The principle of limited integration was acceptable and practicable at least as a temporary measure but hardly consistent with the notion of eventual complete integration.

---

1) The writer tellingly identified himself/herself as an 'ex-continental'. The letter was printed under the title 'A plan for the Golden Mile' in the *Natal Mercury*, August 12, 1982.

2) Reported on in the *Daily News*, October 5, 1982 and in the *Natal Mercury*, October 6, 1982. The editorial comment appeared in the *Daily News*, October 6, 1982. According to the proposed system of public and private beaches, some of the private beaches would be linked to hotels and restaurants. On a public beach one had to be prepared to mix with whoever else was there but those who wanted to be exclusive paid a fee to go on one of the private beaches.
A letter to the editor of the *Natal Mercury* echoed the sentiments of the *Daily News* editorial and was published under the title 'Don't fence off our beaches' on October 21, 1982.

3) A newspaper columnist gave a detailed satirical account of the Council debate on barriers in the *Natal Mercury*, June 22, 1982. Cf also the reports in the June 22, 1982 editions of the *Natal Mercury* and the *Daily News*, respectively.

Lastly, the provision of extra security controls is perhaps the most widely accepted recommendation. We have seen that black beachusers made similar recommendations and this point was also discussed by the Council. The provision of security was considered as a necessary albeit costly measure to ensure successful integration.

Public participation in decision-making concerning integration: A small but substantial group suggested that beach integration - full or partial, should be made subject to public approval and/or the consent of the beachfront residents. Some respondents declared themselves generally in favour of opinion polls concerning public issues and supported the beach survey. The public at large had a right to review issues and voice their attitudes. It is noteworthy that concern was expressed not only for the welfare of beachfront residents; some few respondents referred to the need to poll black as well as white opinions.

The bold approach to integration: A large group of respondents, just under one-fourth, recommended that bolder strategies should be employed by the City Council which would have a greater social impact and create greater awareness of the need for social change in Durban in particular and in South Africa in general. Implicit in some of the recommendations in this response category was the notion that changes should be introduced rapidly, and the opinions of disapproving persons should be overruled for the good of the majority. It was frequently argued that people would soon adjust to the new situation. In the long term the radical strategy would be less painful because it was swift and incisive. Gradual strategies and interim solutions, such as the creation of one multiracial beach, were wasteful and caused greater social disruption.

The practical approach to integration: A small minority made mention of the more practical tactical procedures required before the beaches could be integrated.

Postpone integration: Lastly, the minority group which opposed beach integration suggested to the City Council that delay tactics be employed

so that segregation could be retained as long as possible in the foreseeable future.

Residual category: A relatively large proportion of the respondents (some 8 percent) did not wish to make any proposals pleading ignorance of the situation.

Discussion: It might be expected that local users would be more familiar with the issue under discussion and would therefore be more appreciative of the difficulties involved in integrating Durban beaches. Moreover, local residents would also have to live with the results of the integration strategies they were asked to suggest. This might account for the significantly higher mention of safeguards and controls, and delay tactics among Durban residents.

As might be expected, attitudes towards using the proposed multiracial beach and suggested strategies for integration were closely linked: Persons indicating they intended to use the beach were more likely than otherstо suggest bold integration strategies. Those specifying conditional use tended to outline cautious strategies. And persons not wishing to use the integrated beach were most likely to suggest safeguards or delay tactics.

To illustrate how respondents outlined strategies for integration some excerpts from interviews conducted on Battery Beach One are included below.

The bold approach:

- *"I think they should open up the beaches now, because it is going to become more and more difficult the longer they leave it."*
- *"They should just make all the beaches multiracial....stop beating around the bush."*
- *"They should go ahead and do it now. They should have done it in the first place without creating such a fuss. Now everybody is complaining."*

- *"Some may not like it, but I think they should just go ahead - everyone should have the right to use the beach without being charged or anything."*

- *"They should open up all the beaches - if people don't like it, or if it's too crowded, they should go elsewhere but all beaches should be open to everyone."*

- *"They should open all the beaches. By opening only one they are drawing attention to the situation which calls for complaints by those who object."*

- *"Complete desegregation is the way to go. To have some beaches integrated and others segregated would result in awkward and embarrassing incidents."*

The gradual, subtle approach:

- *"Go carefully, be subtle but make the public aware of any further development. The press should be careful on how they handle any information they might obtain."*

- *"They should go about it in the quickest way possible. They should try to keep it out of the press: If people woke up to integration there would be some protest but it would die down soon."*

- *"Find a secluded beach between Battery Beach Two and the Coloured Beach and integrate it and see how it works. And over a period of three years if all is right then slowly integrate other beaches starting with the black beaches first."*

- *"I feel that the beach in front of the international hotels should be opened first and integration should progress outward from that point."*

- *"It's not a bad idea to open one beach and when people become accustomed to the idea to extend the area."*

- *"Open one beach first and then quietly and without the press getting wind of it, gradually open other beaches."*

Safeguards:

- *"They should open one beach to appease the owners of the international hotels; all other beaches should remain segregated. The open beach should be far away from the residential areas where people who have bought flats live."*

- *"Charge an astronomical gate fee."*

- *"All beaches should be integrated but heavily controlled by inconspicious officials who should have the right to remove troublemakers."*

- *"They* (the open beaches) *should be well policed. The change rooms should have a person permanently on duty to keep them clean."*

Public participation:

- *"They must find out how each member of the public feels: old, young, holidaymakers. It might affect the elderly flat residents as there has been trouble with other races before in this area. If everyone doesn't mind, then they should just open it as a multiracial beach."*

- *"Public opinions from both sides should be one of the first considerations here. It's no use creating unnecessary friction. There is enough as it is."*

- *"They should do a survey. If the majority were in favour all beaches should be opened. They should find out which percentage of people go to the beaches to quell fears of overcrowding. "*

- *"There should be a referendum among blacks and whites to find out about opinions. Blacks must be consulted because maybe they won't even want an integrated beach. "*

- *"They should consider public opinion above all else - it's not fair to go ahead and make decisions without public participation."*

- *"They should first ask the people what they think about it. It could be done in the same way as this research is being done. "*

- *"Start with one small beach but get people's opinions first before they integrate any more beaches."*

Practical approaches:

- *"Firstly, they should develop the amenities to cater for increased usage. Then they should integrate all the beaches in Durban. There would be an initial outcry but people would get used to it. "*

Delay tactics:

- *"It should be pointed out to all groups that they have their own beaches, that they are not denied anything. Why aren't they satisfied with their own beaches? They have all the same facilities. Why do they want more?"*

- *"They should rather push to integrate other things. Wait for government policy to change. Before integrating pleasure places they should educate people about integration, get them used to each other, start at schools."*

10.5.4 Typical fears associated with beach integration

Spontaneous reactions to the concept of beach integration varied considerably. They ranged from lack of concern for proposed development to the neighbouring beach, to dismay, or to delight over prospects for social change. For some respondents, particularly for overseas visitors, beach integration was a non-issue or a peculiarly South African problem. By contrast, Durban residents tended to show greater interest and concern, though by no means all locally-based interviewees were well-informed about the topic of discussion. As mentioned above, some respondents aired their personal feelings about the beach issue whilst others attempted to assess the viewpoints of others.

Typical fears - respondents' own anxieties or those attributed to others, included mainly practical fears such as crowding and lack of parking, deteriorating standards of cleanliness, various types of unacceptable behaviour on the beach, political incidents and lack of security and safety. The complete list of concerns is given in Table 10.5. Durban residents were more likely to make mention of these fears, either because they were more familiar with local concerns or because they were more anxious about changes due to take place in their city.

In the course of the conversations with the beachgoers, a number of arguments and viewpoints emerged relatively frequently. Some of these arguments had a familiar ring about them because they had been aired in the media time and again. Nevertheless, some well-worn opinions acquired a sense of immediacy and authenticity when repeated in the beach setting. Interestingly enough, it was observed that some types of argument could be used both in support of as well as to oppose the idea of beach integration. An attempt is made here to list some of the dominant themes which emerged during the study and to illustrate the manner in which they were discussed by the survey respondents. Under each heading excerpts from interviews which express these dominant fears are given.

Table 10.5

BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

Typical fears associated with beach integration

Percentage respondents mentioning issue during conversation on beach integration

	% *
Crowding	41
Pollution of beach	26
Bad behaviour on beach	22
Noise on beach	15
Thefts	14
Assaults	14
Political	14
No parking	12
Indecency	12
Swamping	9
Pollution of water	8
Sensitivity change rooms	8
Drinking on beach	8
Squatting and sleeping on beach	8
Lack of facilities	7
Indecent black dress	6

N = 180

* *multiple mentions*

A word of caution: by highlighting the fears of respondents for illustrative purposes only, the incidence of stated fears will be exaggerated. For this reason, some few statements which demonstrate that individual respondents were well able to cope with the typical fears described here, have been added at the end of each section for good measure.

10.5.4.1 *Crowding and encroachment*

Crowding was the most dominant fear among the surveyed beachusers which had also been anticipated by the Sub-committee proposing the multiracial beach. Most safeguards discussed in committee were effectively aimed at distributing beachusers more

evenly. Whilst it is common belief in some quarters that people naturally gravitate to less crowded beaches, members of other schools of thought contend that articifial controls must be introduced to boost natural distribution. The notion of crowding, use ratios, encroachment, and invasion and succession are familiar from our discussion of neighbourhood integration in Chapter 7.7. We mentioned there that experts in the field of neighbourhood integration agreed that control is necessary if residential integration is to proceed smoothly. The same may apply to beach integration.

Returning to the survey findings: fairly widespread among the respondents was the idea that Battery Beach Two would prove to be a very popular beach and that crowds from the multiracial beach would encroach onto Battery Beach One. One cannot outrule the possibility that Battery Beach One users were particularly sensitive to crowding issues. We have seen that a large proportion of Battery Beach One users chose to come to Battery Beach One precisely because it was less densely populated than the other beaches typically visited by holidaymakers. In this connection it is interesting to note that all categories of users, not only predominantly local beachgoers, expressed fears of crowding. Some respondents anticipated that the crowding factor would be responsible for the "failure" of the multiracial beach in the sense that it would effectively become a black beach. White beachgoers would avoid the multiracial beach because it would be over-utilised by black bathers who had no access to other less crowded beaches. By contrast, if all beaches were open natural crowd-control mechanisms stood a better chance of operating successfully.

It might be argued along neighbourhood integration lines that those beachgoers who identified strongly with Battery Beach One and wished to preserve exclusive rights to the beach would be more likely to fear encroachment. Persons in this response category felt they were being asked to make an unreasonable sacrifice by sharing white beaches, especially as they anticipated that the

formerly white-zoned beaches would effectively become black beaches.

Therefore, the fear of encroachment along the lines of invasion and succession, is closely related to the fear of unsuccessful integration and the political consequences arising.

- *"The blacks would take over the beach eventually. For example in Cape Town the coloureds took over the mixed beaches driving the whites away."*

- *"It will be far too overcrowded. If I could go to a white beach, I'd prefer it. It wouldn't be swamped. Battery Two will probably develop into a black beach anyway."*

- *"All they can do is experiment. They'll probably find that multiracial beaches develop into black beaches."*

- *"Blacks will only visit these beaches because now they can use specific white beaches. They don't use their own beaches as much as they can. Just because they're allowed on white beaches they will come in full force."*

- *"Go ahead, but I feel that the beaches will soon become unintegrated. Either whites would move elsewhere or blacks and Indians. Integration would be by "law" only."*

- *"We won't visit the beach anymore. We'll feel wary of coming. We'll feel threatened. Blacks will take over the beach. Once you give them a finger, they'll take the whole hand."*

- *"They* (present beachusers) *won't like it because it will be too crowded and parking will be a problem."*

- *"They come to this beach because it is less crowded and if it's multiracial it will be just like when the holidaymakers invade."*

- *"Blacks won't stay on Battery Two. They'll move over to this side. They don't tan and that beach is only good for tanning. The whites won't use the same facilities which are really nice now. There is no ways that Battery One will remain a white beach, whites will feel threatened, it won't have a peaceful atmosphere anymore."*

- *"Battery Beach is an unpopulated beach compared to the rest. They* (present users) *won't use the beach they'll feel outnumbered."*

- *"It depends on the numbers of non-whites. If more blacks visit beaches than there are whites, then the whites will probably feel their privacy is being intruded upon."*

- *"The selection of the beach will be lost. The young Zulus are arrogant and just want to have more than is necessary."*

- *"The blacks may simply use it because it is multiracial not because they are interested in this beach."*

- *"The Indians would probably mob the place and creep over onto this beach - the people wouldn't like that."*

- *"Considering the political situation in South Africa, I don't think they'll like it. They won't want to mix, so that will probably be a black beach anyway."*

* * * * * *

- *"The novelty would wear off. Crowding would diminish in time."*

- *"The beach is big enough to accommodate everyone. People will have to get used to each other."*

- *"It won't bother them because there is quite a distance to that beach and there will be no overlapping."*

- *"Shouldn't really bother them because it is not their beach that is being integrated."*

- *"The beach which might become integrated is not used now so it won't be too bad if it does become integrated."*

One respondent also observed that instead of promoting crowding the full integration of beaches would effectively increase user choice for whites:

- *"People may welcome the idea of full integration because then there will be more beach for all people. People will be able to move out to other beaches that were proclaimed black."*

10.5.4.2 Categories of people

Various categories of people were thought to be more accepting of beach integration than others. Typically, younger persons were considered to be more attuned to the rapid changes taking place in South African society. By contrast, it was thought that Transvaal holidaymakers, beachfront residents, and elderly people in general would be opposed to open beaches. It is interesting to note that the views of overseas visitors and Durban's image overseas were not explicitly mentioned by the respondents.

Some, but not all of these popular notions are supported by survey data. In the 1981 Environmental Study above-average proportions of elderly respondents and beachfront residents were opposed to integrated beaches (cf. Chapter 9.1.2). The younger persons interviewed on Battery Beach One were also significantly more likely than others to indicate they supported the move to establish an integrated beach and would also be prepared to use it themselves.[1)]

However, the other popular views were not confirmed in the Battery Beach Survey One Survey. To cite some examples: although numbers were small, the 45 Transvaal holidaymakers in the sample were generally more sympathetic than local residents towards the proposal to open a Durban beach to all races and were also more motivated to use it. The few overseas visitors in the survey were overwhelmingly in favour of the move to open Durban beaches. Lastly, roughly equal proportions of women and men were accepting of the proposal to integrate Durban's beaches and only an insignificantly lower proportion of women than men stated they would use the proposed multiracial

---

1) This may be a general trend. The more positive attitudes toward integration among younger South Africans have been observed in other areas. For example, the poll conducted by IMSA cited in a footnote to Chapter 6.6 found that the younger persons between the ages of 16 to 24 years were more accepting of mixed residential suburbs than the older persons in the survey (almost 35% in favour in the younger category versus 31% in the total sample). *Sunday Times*, January 31, 1982.

beach.[1)]

1) The South African evidence pertaining to sex differences in the determination of social distances is somewhat contradictory. For example, Pettigrew (1960,p.252) found white Natal women more distant to blacks than men. Van den Berghe (1962,p.71) reached similar conclusions. MacCrone (1936,p.232) however, discovered that variation in sex was a relatively minor factor.

Bogardus (1959) in commenting on the role of sex in social distancing suggests reasons for differences in the reactions of males and females. These include factors such as women being more restricted by convention and public opinion from making social contacts than men, and women being more vulnerable to the possible adverse consequences of racial contact than men. Along similar lines, Lever (1966, p. 342) noted that girls were tendentially more reserved than boys in the more intimate categories of social distance.

It is proposed here that among the Battery Beach One users women who perceived the beach situation as a relatively intimate sphere were more likely than others to wish to increase social distance. Women also appeared to be affected by public opinion as suggested by Bogardus. For example, a number of parents, spouses, and boyfriends in the survey indicated that they would be reluctant to let their womenfolk use the multiracial beach.

T.F. Pettigrew, 'Social Distance Attitudes of South African Students', *Social Forces*, Vol. 38, 1960, pp. 246-253.

P.L. van den Berghe, 'Race Attitudes in Durban, South Africa', *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 57, 1962, pp. 55-72.

J.D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

H. Lever, *A Comparative Study of Social Distance Among Various Groups in the White High School Population of Johannesburg*, Ph.D. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1966.

E.S. Bogardus, *Social Distance*, Los Angeles, 1959.

- *"As long as people don't encroach on the white beaches. Holidaymakers and tourists would definitely stop coming, if they had no choice. Transvaalers don't like blacks and Indians. I don't like to share either, I feel people should preferably stick to their own groups."*

- *"Older people will be very upset, they are set in their ways, feel they can't change. It's all the young ones who want it. They should make sure it is what all the people want."*

- *"They* (Battery Beach Users) *shouldn't mind. That was originally a black beach anyway. Holidaymakers will probably object. Women too, they don't like being stared at."*

- (A young person:) *"I think it will be okay. But my folks and everyone will have a fit. Everyone wouldn't be all that happy but the younger people won't mind."*

- *"Looking at people who come to this beach - mainly old people - they would be apprehensive and say the blacks will mess it up!"*

- (An elderly lady:) *"Old fuddy daddies aren't going to be happy about it, they must dig out and then it will come about. It is unfair, it must be open to all."*

- *"Girls will stay away, but for guys it won't be too bad."*

- *"People from up-country can't usually tolerate blacks so there would be quite a few fights and unpleasantness on the beaches."*

- *"They shouldn't integrate the beach as it would chase a lot of locals away."*

- *"The Transvaal Treurnicht supporters would not like it and may cause incidents if beaches were opened fully. Control may be necessary to keep militant right wingers away - but control would be difficult."*

- *"The locals will feel put out, the 'radicals' will not visit the beach anymore. It definitely won't improve the holiday atmosphere."*

* * * * * *

- *"They* (Battery Beach users) *might initially stay away but will eventually come back. It might drive holidaymakers away.... they'll get used to it."*

- *"You always have the extreme right and the extreme left but slowly people are becoming accustomed to acceptance of change."*

10.5.4.3 Lifestyles

A related theme refers to the style in which other groups use the beach. It was feared groups would conflict over the manner in which they used the beach. Respondents anticipated that white user styles would be in the minority and would be overruled by black recreation styles. Black use of beaches was thought to be typically boisterous and playful in contrast to the emphasis among white users on quiet relaxation and suntanning.

- *"Blacks don't really suntan so it might cause a problem - they'll be fishing, playing and generally getting in the way."*
- *"They should think of making certain beaches for certain activities, so blacks don't get in the way - like fishing, surfing, running."*
- *"There'll be too much noise from the black buses, and the crowds will put people off."*
- *"The customs of the Zulu are very different from white people."*
- *"The blacks are by nature very noisy, the noise might upset some whites."*
- *"Blacks don't lie in the sun- they just come for the day and sit and play games."*

10.5.4.4 Standards of cleanliness

It is a proven fact that physical standards deteriorate under conditions of crowding: Users in a crowd typically become inconsiderate of the needs of fellow users and abuse their physical surroundings. Similarly, uncleanliness is a trait which is typically attributed to members of an outgroup. A significant proportion of the respondents were anxious about littering on the beach and general uncleanliness, but it was not always clear if this type of reaction was related to practical fears of crowding or to racial prejudice. However, there was general consensus amongst those who expressed this fear that measures should be taken to prevent the deterioration of physical standards.

- *"I've seen what beaches look like after the blacks have left - dirty, they go to the toilets everywhere, have no respect for others, they are very noisy, talk on the top of their voices, blast out radios and don't believe in using bins for litter, just leave it* (the litter) *where they were."*
- *"Everything will be ruined. Blacks don't understand conservation."*
- *"I'm afraid this beach will be taken over because it is so near. If integration spreads this beach will be overcrowded and become dirty."*

* * * * * *

- *"The fact that blacks are on the beaches doesn't mean the beaches will be distasteful. I go there for the water not for the people."*
- *"They should make sure that the beach is clean and facilities kept clean - then people won't complain."*
- *"It will be difficult to begin with....there will have to be more litter bins."*

10.5.4.5 Physical security

The increasing incidence of theft and crime was feared by a significant group. As was the case above, it is difficult to discern whether this fear was an expression of practical concern or racial prejudice.

- *"If there were too many bantu I would be afraid of being robbed. Only the cheeky ones will come."*
- *"It wouldn't be safe leaving stuff on the beach. Also like at Cape Town one gets coloured gentlemen coming to the beach to leer at the young white ladies - very degrading - Also, the way in which groups drink and squat on the beach - if you say anything to them there is no pause before pulling a knife."*
- *"If the girls lie around in bikinis there might be danger of assault."*
- *"Blacks will not stick to the beaches but will move to the surrounding parks. Muggings and thefts will occur. This will also annoy people who live on the beachfront and their privacy will be threatened."*

- *"They would feel threatened - I mean just having blacks on your doorstep - it wouldn't be safe."*

* * * * * *

- *"People in South Africa have a resistance to integration. They don't live together or work together."*
- (Overseas visitor) *"Sure, a lot of people will think it's dangerous because blacks will be using it - which is rubbish."*

10.5.4.6 Behavioural and moral standards

If some beachusers were fearful that physical standards and physical security would deteriorate, others were worried about moral standards deteriorating. Anxieties in this category ranged from unacceptable dress codes, to unacceptable behaviour such as drinking or squatting on the beach, to sexual exploitation. The latter is a serious fear for those who hold it because it raises the spectre of miscegenetion, that is the complete lack of opportunities for social distancing. Among all groups surveyed in the studies reported here this type of social contact was least acceptable.

- *"The only thing I would have against it is if they bathe at Battery without tops on."*
- *"Only females will be affected, especially by Indian men staring, chatting up etc. etc."*
- "(I would use it) *only if the surfs are good. I'd never take a girlfriend there, but if they have culture and breeding I wouldn't mind sitting next to them."*
- *"It depends if blacks behave themselves and don't try to make advances or molest people."*
- *"Blacks often don't wear costumes, they have no culture."*
- *"Big groups of blacks are just out to cause trouble - to pick up the white girls."*
- *"I don't think anyone will go there, there might be bad vibes and this would cause racial unrest. Social racial interaction will increase and there will be sexual indecency.*

* * * * * *

- *"I don't think people worry too much. Most people are just interested in the beach and the sea and not so much in other people on it - provided there is no trouble."*

10.5.4.7 Discrepancies between expectation and desires

Finally it is important to emphasise that despite the fears expressed by some respondents, we observed widespread expectation that integration would take place[1] and the feeling that it would be necessary to accept change despite one's initial misgivings. Perhaps the need to adjust to a changing situation is at the core of the predominantly supportive attitudes of Battery Beach One users towards beach integration.

- *"I can't really say anything, it's going to happen sooner or later."*
- *"People are not used to this so it would be hard for them to accept."*
- *"It's going to come some day anyway, but they won't like it at first."*
- *"I think people will be a bit hesitant to begin with.... but I think it's a good idea."*

10.6 Summary

To sum up, when surveyed in May 1982 the Battery Beach One users gave their overwhelming support (71%) to the establishment of a multiracial beach (21%) or to the full integration of beaches over time (50%), and the majority (62%) of the sample also stated they were prepared to use the beach. However, practical concerns were expressed by the respondents, particularly by the local residents in the sample. Crowding was a major fear shared by all groups

---

1) It will be remembered that the phrasing of the last probe used in assessing attitudes was based on this expectation. Only a minority in the sample queried the assumption that facilities would be integrated in future.

of beachgoers which tended to threaten present beach visiting patterns as well as the success of the multiracial beach. Battery Beach One users appeared to be particularly concerned about crowding. Many respondents emphasised that they came to Battery Beach One because it was less crowded than other beaches. Conservative solutions to crowding suggested by the respondents included the provision of safeguards: limiting the number of integrated beaches to one or two, creating barriers between beaches, and in some instances, charging entrance fees to beaches. A more progressive solution to crowd control, suggested by only a small minority, would be to integrate all Durban beaches in which case people would automatically gravitate to the less densely populated beaches. This mechanism would lead to a more even population distribution on the beaches.

According to popular opinion, which was also shared by the respondents in the survey, holidaymakers from the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the elderly, and women would be most apprehensive about plans to integrate Durban's beaches.

In the case of Battery Beach One, survey results did not fully support these popular views. The generally positive attitude of the young was confirmed. Younger persons in the sample emerged as overwhelmingly in favour of beach integration. At the same time this survey category was more interested in swimming activities than other groups[1]. These findings support the proposition put forward earlier that persons who view the beach situation chiefly in instrumental terms, that is as an opportunity for recreation, will be less concerned than others about social distancing.

Contrary to popular opinion the Transvaal visitors in the survey were generally supportive of integrated beaches whilst local users were more concerned about safeguards. However, it should be

---

1) Sixty-one percent of persons indicating swimming as the major beach attraction were under-thirties, the remainder were older.

noted that the number of Transvaal holidaymakers in the sample was small and Battery Beach One appeared to attract atypical tourists who preferred the less popular beaches. Finally, only a statistically insignificantly higher proportion of the women (38%) than the men (28%) in the sample expressed their distaste for using a multiracial beach.

CHAPTER 11

THE AFTERMATH

- *"Being neither a young nor an old resident of Ward 1, but merely middle-aged and a flat-owner in that ward, equidistant from the Rachel Finlayson Pool and Battery Beach Two, I would like to take issue..... My friends and I, all in the same age group, feel that the whole thing is A STORM IN A TEACUP..."*[1]

Was the initial controversy over the establishment of Durban's first multiracial beach at Battery Two merely a "storm in a teacup"? Would the dust settle over the issue as soon as Durbanites became used to the idea of an integrated beach? So thought many of the Battery Two beachgoers interviewed in May 1982.

It is certainly true that press coverage of the beach debate subsided somewhat during the month of August 1982 and at the time of writing in September/October 1982 column space in local newspapers devoted to topics concerning the beachfront was back to the average of the year before.

It was feared in some quarters that the beach issue would become politicised and affect the outcome of the impending municipal elections scheduled for the 1st September, 1982. Under the given circumstances, each candidate standing for local elections was forced to take a strong, if not necessarily unambiguous stand, on the beach issue. Thus, whilst some candidates stood to make political capital out of the issue, others stood to lose from their convictions concerning the multiracial beach. Reporting on the outcome of the municipal elections held on the 1st September, 1982,

---

1) Letter printed in the *Natal Mercury*, July 14, 1982. Emphasis added.

the editor of the *Daily News* commented: "It was probably the first time that a concerted effort had been made here to introduce racial prejudice as a general municipal election issue - in the shape of the multiracial Battery Beach issue."[1)]

The City Council had attempted to cool the debate before election time by responding immediately to demands for a public meeting to discuss the issue and bringing the issue to vote before Durban residents went to the polls at the beginning of September. The *Sunday Times* reporter comments:

> "....the right wing made the small area of Battery Beach Two their battlefield. But only the day before the election, months of heated and often bitter debate was ended when the Council voted 18 to 11 to open the beach to all races. Yet the issue did not seem to influence voters, according to many of the election candidates. Several candidates said they had been surprised at the lack of concern or interest over the beach issue."[2)]

How strongly were local Durban residents influenced in their political and social thinking by the debate concerning open beaches?

In the Battery Beach One Survey some 14 percent of all the respondents and a significantly higher proportion of the men (19%) than the women (8%), referred to the beach proposal in political terms. However, political concerns tended to be overshadowed by concerns of a more practical nature related to, say, crowding, pollution, parking, etcetera.

---

1) *Daily News*, September 2, 1982

2) *Sunday Times*, September 5, 1982.

11.1 The Municipal Election Survey 1982

A further *ad hoc* study undertaken on election day sheds more light on this question. A class of public relations students at the Technikon Natal undertook a survey of Durban voters approaching the polling stations in six wards, none of which were beachfront wards.[1] In all, 138 voters were interviewed. The average estimated age was over 50 years and women with 59 percent were somewhat over-represented in the sample. The composition of the sample may have been influenced by the fact that the survey was carried out during the daytime only. Some 30 percent of the sample were interviewed in the morning and 70 percent in the afternoon until three o' clock.

Some 8 percent of the voters interviewed spontaneously and explicitly mentioned the beach issue as a major factor which had influenced their voting behaviour and a further 4 percent explicitly recalled reading about the beach issue in the media reports on their candidate. However, this is not to say that further voters remained uninfluenced. Respondents frequently couched reasons for voting in abstract and general terms and respondents were not allowed to divulge the name of the candidate they had voted for. Respondents frequently referred to voting for the candidate who stood for the "right ideas" or the "right policies" with which indirect reference may have been made to the candidate's stand on the beach issue without our knowledge.

Therefore, 8 to 12 percent represents a conservative estimate of the number of voters influenced by the beach issue. There is also further evidence which suggests that the debate over the beaches may have brought about a greater awareness of integration issues among Durban residents.

---

1) The sample distribution in the six wards was as follows: Ward 4: Brighton Beach (15%), Ward 6: Durban-West (7%), Ward 8: Glenwood (14%), Ward 9: Congella (7%), Ward 10: Essenwood (28%), Ward 12: Stamford Hill (29%).

Towards the end of the interview a subsample of respondents were asked which issues they wished their councillor to take up. Table 11.1 shows the types of issues which were enumerated.

Table 11.1

MUNICIPAL ELECTION SURVEY 1982

Major issues

Percentage respondents mentioning issue.

		%*
Integration		22
pro-integration	11%	
anti-integration	11%	
Ward facilities		11
Pollution		8
Local transport		8
Roads and pavements		4
Parks, beaches, and recreational facilities		4
Improved local management		4
Art controversy		4
Orchestra		4
Pensioner subsidies		3
Party politics in local government		3
Pet control		2
	N = 138	

* Multiple mentions

Direct or indirect mention of the beach issue could be made under the headings: 'pro-integration', 'anti-integration', and 'beach facilities'. All these categories of issues appeared to be prominent in the minds of voters before going to the polls.

Overall, pro- and anti-integration issues constituted some 7 percent of all issues which the respondents wished to raise with their candidates. Pro- and anti-integration issues were felt to be important by just over one-fifth of the respondents. Twenty-one percent of the voters in the younger survey category (persons

estimated to be under 50 years) wished their councillor to attend to integration matters, whilst only 9 percent of the voters in the older category (persons estimated to be over 50 years) did so. Among the voters who were concerned with integration matters, almost three-quarters in the younger category, but only one in every five persons in the older category assumed a pro-integration stand.

A further question was posed to voters in four wards (Brighton Beach, Glenwood, Congella and Essenwood). Voters were asked explicitly to state how they felt about the beach issue. Of the 75 persons responding to the survey question, the majority (63%) were in favour of an integrated beach, although 15 percent in this category also had reservations. The minority of 37 percent were against integrating Durban's beaches. These findings follow the same pattern as the ones obtained in the Battery Beach One Survey. Due to the age structure of the sample the size of the opposition category may have been slightly inflated in the Municipal Election Survey. However, 73 percent in the younger age category (versus 51% in the older age category) were in favour of integrated beaches. This figure for the younger age group approximates the one obtained in the Battery Beach One Survey: namely 71 percent in favour of partially or fully integrated beaches.

11.2 Conclusions

Judging from the necessarily somewhat superficial results of the *ad hoc* Municipal Election Survey, we conclude that the beach debate may have had some influence on public awareness even if it did not necessarily exert any direct influence on voting behaviour.

However, our observations are derived from wards whose boundaries do not touch on the beachfront. If the election survey had included the two beachfront wards the results would undoubtedly have been different. For example, one of the beachfront councillors who retained his seat in the municipal election had strongly

opposed the open beach move. This Councillor felt he had been re-elected on the strength of his firm stand on the beach issue. Also, the findings from several surveys reported here indicate that older persons are tendentially more conservative in their acceptance of open beaches and it is a known fact that elderly people turn out in greater numbers on local election days than younger people.

However, there will be little point in overemphasising the last two points raised. Firstly, Durban municipality is divided into 15 wards of which only two are beachfront wards.[1] Secondly, not all voters are elderly conservatives, if at all, this group may be concentrated in the beachfront wards.

Therefore, on the basis of the 1982 Municipal Election Survey, we may safely presume that public debate over the beach issue created greater public awareness of the problems and opportunities related to the integration of facilities in the common area, but did not necessarily influence voters to take a more conservative stand than under usual circumstances. Judging from the results of this and other attitude surveys reported on here, we conclude that the majority of white ratepayers, residents, and beachgoers will continue to support the City Council's move to create a multiracial beach. Especially if the new beach situation is closely controlled in order to allay some of the fears and concerns of local residents.

---

1) Three if Ward 4: Brighton Beach is classified as a beachfront ward. However, the beaches in this ward are local in character and were not directly affected by the beach issue under discussion here.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSIONS

In this report we have described in some detail the results of attitude surveys which tell us how whites and blacks feel about mixing on beaches in general, and on Durban's beaches in particular. Although this may invite the danger of oversimplifying trends, an overview is given below of the results of these surveys conducted in 1981 and 1982

Table 12.1

ATTITUDES TOWARD BEACH INTEGRATION 1981/82 - AN OVERVIEW

	Favours integrated beaches	Favours partially integrated beaches	Favours fully integrated beaches	Sample size N =
	%	%	%	
South African whites [a]	22			2300
South African Indians [a]	47			300
White Durban ratepayers [b]	50			355
White Durban voters [c]	63			75
South African coloureds [a]	66			400
White beachusers in Durban [d]	71	21	50	180
Zulus [e]	81	8	73	301
Black beachusers in Durban [f]	93	31	62	78

Note: Figures for a) samples refer only to sharing beaches with blacks. All other figures refer to attitudes toward the integration of Durban beaches.

a) Unit for Futures Research Socio-political Monitor 1981 (nation-wide survey)

b) Environmental Survey 1981

c) Municipal Election Survey 1982

d) Battery Beach One Survey 1982

e) 1981 Attitude Survey conducted for the Buthelezi Commission (urban and rural sample)

f) Black Beaches Survey 1981 (Durban and Umgababa beaches)

In all the evidence reviewed in this report, there was substantial support for beach integration. Whites tended to be more cautious in their support, although the majority of Durban whites expected that beaches would be fully integrated in time. Blacks were generally more accepting of mixed beaches.

The partial integration solution, that is, the creation of one open beach in the midst of racially demarcated beaches, was considered a safeguard by whites but was less acceptable to blacks. Substantial pockets of conservatism were found in all groups. This is possibly a reflection of anxiety and mistrust on the part of both whites and blacks: fear of change and of all the risks involved, or simply reluctance to change the habits of a lifetime acquired in a divided society.

2. When reviewing the black and white attitudes presented in this report, we were amazed to see how similar they were. Firstly, the pattern of social distancing was very similar. Generally, blacks and whites wished to retain segregation in the more intimate spheres of life whilst sharing was acceptable, tolerated or welcomed in semi-public and public spheres according to the situational circumstances. As a rule of thumb the proportion in all race groups wishing to mix decreased gradually along the social distance scale. Progressing from public to more private situations scale items included public transport, restaurants, beaches, schools, residential neighbourhoods, dances, and marriage.

However, the level of acceptance varied from group to group, so that a lower proportion of whites would be prepared to tolerate blacks in all situations. Bearing in mind the different levels of tolerance among South African groups, the levels of acceptance concerning the integration of beaches are fairly comparable.

Similarly, the results emerging from the studies conducted on the beaches showed that blacks and whites tended to share the same fears and misgivings. All surveyed groups were anxious that the

multiracial beach should not become overcrowded, and social ills related to crowding should not increase, and the wrong elements should not gravitate to the multiracial beach. On the other hand all groups anticipated that social interaction between races would increase in a pleasant setting, and race relations would improve. Furthermore it was hoped that the multiracial beach would become a symbol of progress and change in a divided society.

3. In this connection it should be noted that at this stage of developments 'separate but equal' facilities still hold some attraction for substantial minorities of blacks and whites. We have seen that whites, especially local whites, were concerned with safeguards which would prevent them from being crowded off their familiar bathing spots and forestall the anticipated 'invasion-succession' mechanism from coming into operation on formerly white-occupied beaches. Similarly, some blacks opted for the retention of a segregated beach as a safeguard while experimentation with the multiracial beach commenced. We have pointed out in this report that blacks have little choice of beaches, therefore the existing black beach represents the only area of retreat for blacks at the present moment.

The study revealed that apart from wishing to retain the black beach as a type of haven of safety, the 'separate but equal' formula held little promise for blacks mainly for two reasons. Whilst whites stood to lose to a certain degree from the partial integration of beaches, blacks whose choice had been severely curtailed hitherto, stood to gain. Secondly, the 'separate but equal' principle was found to be wanting by blacks, insofar as the black beach was underprovided and less accessible than the most popular white beaches.

4. Both the white and the black groups agreed that the integration of beaches might be a risky undertaking. Therefore, the most conservative members in each group opted for the *status quo*, but the majority supported the more gradual introduction of full

integration which would avoid unpleasant consequences at all stages. In this respect the proposal by the City Council to develop a multiracial beach earned widespread support, however, to a greater extent among whites than among blacks. The latter group wished all beaches to be opened.

Some blacks perceived the very establishment of a multiracial beach as a risk in itself. They feared that the establishment of a multiracial beach might be used as a panacea to forestall further progress towards a fully integrated society. Whites were equally fearful of a cataclysmic event if full integration should occur overnight, and the 'given a finger, taken a hand' syndrome.

5. We have reported here that the controversy over the desirability and feasibility of creating a multiracial beach came to a head in mid-1982, when it was widely discussed in the media and in public meetings. However, we have presented evidence which suggests that the issue had subsided by the time the local biennual elections were held at the beginning of September 1982.

It is therefore concluded here that the debate over the multiracial beach was indeed 'a storm in a teacup' as one Durban resident proposed. Concern over the opening of beaches is to be accepted as an integral part of the process of social change in a divided society. At the time of writing in October 1982 the prospects for "an all-race Christmas on the beach" were excellent [1]. Urgent arrangements were being made to ensure that swimming at Durban's first non-racial beach could take place as soon as possible. On November 4, 1982 Durban's first multiracial beach was opened to the general public.

6. The Mayor of Durban echoed a similar sentiment when she

---

1) Headline in the *Sunday Tribune*, September 5, 1982.

stated that the opening of the beach was part of a continuing process in which apartheid structures were being dismantled in Durban.[1] Continuity in this type of social change is also reflected in the fact that new integration issues have emerged on the local scene now that the beach issue has been resolved. To cite some examples:

The newest integration issue concerns the integration of public toilets. After some public outcries the Council recently voted by an overwhelming majority for the introduction of multi-racial public toilets on November 1, 1982. In terms of the social distance scales reviewed in this report one would expect the lavatory situation to carry a connotation of privacy far greater than the beach situation which was debated in public for so many months in 1982. It would therefore appear that slowly inroads are being made into areas in which South Africans wished to retain social distance in the past.

Meanwhile the question of integrated buses and pools is still under consideration. It will be remembered that the question of integrating the Rachel Finlayson (saltwater) Swimming Pool was initially linked to that of integrating Durban's beaches. After voting to open Battery Beach Two to all races at the end of August 1982 the pool issue was provisionally set aside. Up to the time of writing the issue has not yet been taken up again. Meanwhile, the feasibility of upgrading the Pool to meet Olympic standards is being discussed. If the Pool were upgraded, its significance as a major urban rather than suburban or neighbourhood facility would be emphasised. The trend to open Durban's major facilities to members of all races has been noted.

These examples suggest that the 'domino principle' applies to apartheid structures in Durban and we may expect various types of integration issues to emerge in quick succession. This notion

---

1) Reported in the *Daily News*, October 27, 1982.

was alluded to very recently, this time by a conservative City Councillor who reportedly made the following statement: "Although the issue of multiracial toilets may seem insignificant, seen in the context of other amenities such as buses, beaches, pools, libraries and parks, they are *"in the frontline of the integration process"*, he said and predicted it would lead to a descent *"into the melting pot of common society"*.[1)]

Thus, it would appear that gradually the structural requirements for intergroup contact in most public and semi-public spheres of life are being met. This will enable South Africans of all hues to go about their daily business in the core areas and to interact in a variety of settings without encountering any problems or embarassment. The gradual opening of society, which we have referred to simply as Phase II developments in this report, will have reached a climax when all public facilities are shared. The 'opening' of park [2)] and library facilities during the late seventies were the precursors of the opening of Durban's first multiracial beach at Battery Two. The multiracial beach in turn may lead to further steps in the integration process.

7. The fact that no firm moves have been made to integrate Durban's buses may appear anomalous in the light of South African findings on social distancing. Acceptance of mixing in public transport and restaurant situations was found to be generally higher than, say, acceptance of mixing on beaches which we have argued can under certain circumstances be likened to the more private sphere. Meanwhile integration in restaurants has now become common practice and black and white may officially even dance together in hotels. Durban's multiracial beach is operative.

---

1) Reported in the *Natal Mercury*, November 16, 1982. Emphasis added.

2) The 'opening' of Durban's parks was frequently alluded to during the debate over the establishment of a multiracial beach. This is a popular misconception. Access to Durban's parks as such was never reserved. However, the integration of park furniture and amenities was facilitated during the late seventies.

Clearly, separate transport does not fit into this pattern.

Here we may have a case in which a discrepancy between public opinion and policy exists in the sense that legislation lags behind public opinion. The lag factor may be partially explained in economic terms. Integrating buses on certain routes may disadvantage certain groups whose economic interests are vested in transport. Nevertheless, we have presented survey evidence that the majority of white users who stand to gain from the integration of buses would welcome the move to desegregate buses.

8. Now that Durban's first multiracial beach has been opened we may ask ourselves why it was such a contentious issue in the first place. The historical review of events leading to the debate over the multiracial beach provides us with an answer. Initially, it may have appeared paradoxical for the City Council to redemarcate the Durban beaches and to attach racialistic labels to reserved beaches at a time when many vestiges of apartheid were quietly being dismantled after the mid-seventies. We must, however, not exclude the possibility that the redemarcation of beaches in 1977/78 was in actual fact a rather roundabout way of introducing desegregated beaches in stages.

If this is the case, Durban may have come full circle after 1977 and may rapidly progress to the opening of all beaches after an interim period in which it conspicuously supported separate beaches.

- Firstly, consider that the rezoning of Durban's beaches in 1977 meant that the whole stretch of beach north of Battery Beach was developed and existing beach facilities were upgraded to meet the 'separate but equal' standard. There may have been some disagreement about the standard, but certainly the outlay on improvements was considerable.

- The second step saw the establishment of a multiracial beach to cater for those residents who could not be accommodated on separate beaches, i.e. mixed groups of local residents, and black holidaymakers. It will be remembered that the Sub-committee entrusted with the planning of the multiracial beach maintained that the development of a fifth multiracial beach had been part of the initial beach redemarcation plan which also provided for four reserved beaches. It was also argued that whilst the nonracial beach might ostensibly cater for nonconformist beachusers, it would also serve an educational purpose. Local beachusers would slowly grow accustomed to the concept of integrated beaches.

- Thirdly, the stage is now set for full integration whenever it is deemed desirable. During the preceding phases the physical facilities will have been developed and practical operational problems solved. Public acceptance of integrated beaches will have been nurtured. Full integration can now be introduced simply by removing the signs on the redemarcated and fully developed beaches. If necessary a reserved beach could be set aside for the new nonconformists of this era.

Outlined above is a typical strategy for the gradual integration of Durban's beaches. The impression was gained from the Battery Beach One Survey that most respondents expected integration to occur in South African society although they did not necessarily desire or welcome all the consequences resulting from these changes. If given a choice the majority of the respondents would prefer the Durban City Council to adopt a more gradual, subtle strategy for introducing changes, at least as far as beaches were concerned.

The point we wish to emphasise here is simply this. Contrary to first impressions the redemarcation of Durban's beaches in 1977/78 did not necessarily represent a major move towards entrenched separation of groups. It may have been necessary to

take a detour on the road towards full integration in order to create the right structural and attitudinal preconditions to support full integration.

9. Our research among whites also indicates that Durban residents are anxious to learn about the types and degrees of changes taking place in their social environment. They wish to be consulted before major decisions are taken which will affect their day-to-day lives and their opportunities in society. Opinion polls and *ad hoc* surveys appear to be useful instruments to sound popular views on a regular basis.

10. This brings us to a final point. How are we to evaluate the success of the multiracial beach and the beach integration process in Durban. What type of criteria can be employed?

Some might suggest that the mere fact that the decision was taken to establish a multiracial beach is sufficient indication of success. In which case we would have already proven unambiguously in this report that the stated objective has been achieved.

Similarly, one might take as our measure of success the Council decision to implement beach desegregation combined with popular support of this move. Again this report has supplied sufficient evidence that popular support for the Council decision to introduce a mixed beach was forthcoming.

However, it is doubtful that these criteria represent satisfactory indicators of success. Other measurements will have to be developed. Examples of several objective type indicators immediately come to mind:

(a) For example, one might compare the facilities provided at Battery Beach Two with those existing on the sister beach reserved for whites to the south.

(b) Battery Beach Two might be evaluated in terms of the major concerns associated with its development. Objective criteria would include the incidence of crime, nuisance

factors such as noise, littering, and the rate of spillover from Battery Beach Two onto the adjacent Battery Beach One and the 'coloured' beach, respectively. However, these criteria represent mainly negative approaches to the measurement of successful outcomes.

(c) A more positive approach would be to observe the popularity of the multiracial beach in terms of numbers of visitors over a period of time.

(d) Similarly, the white/black ratio might be measured at regular intervals to check whether Battery Beach Two is emerging as a truly multiracial beach or as a multiracial beach in name only. We have presented survey evidence which indicates that this is the only type of test which will convince substantial groups among blacks and whites of the success of the new beach. According to this criterion of success the multiracial beach must not be merely an oddity or a showcase. It should be incorporated into the general pattern of beach developments in Durban.

(e) The criteria enumerated above are all objective measures which can be applied by impartial observers. Perhaps a more telling and less superficial measure of success would have to be a subjective one. One might attempt to assess the pleasure derived from the multiracial beach by questioning swimmers and other groups of beachusers.

(f) Lastly, there is yet another level of success which cannot be overlooked. There are groups among blacks and whites which regard the creation of the multiracial beach as an experiment, or as an interim step which will eventually lead to full integration. Therefore, one might say that full success would only be achieved once Durban's beaches are fully integrated, possibly with the provision of some safeguards as a concession to the more conservative and fearful. Measuring success along these socio-political lines would entail a trend analysis of events.

(g) Meanwhile, a related measure of success might be applied which is perhaps most telling of all: one might attempt to understand

> the meaning of the multiracial beach in the lives of Durban's people. How does the multiracial beach affect the quality of people's lives. In our view the *symbolic value* of changes which signify decreasing social distance and increasing opportunities in various spheres of life may be all-important. Furthermore, the application of this type of measure need not be limited to the group of beachusers, it affects all members of our society. For example, we might inquire whether the existence of a multiracial beach in Durban affects the self-esteem of urban and rural blacks in Natal/KwaZulu. Or we might ask whether young blacks, as a consequence of the opening of Battery Beach Two expect that beaches may be fully integrated at some stage in the future, and how this affects their overall morale. Similarly, we might test reactions among whites to the changes taking place on Durban's beachfront: how it affects the pride they take in their city and their country and how it influences their general well-being.[1)]

Whichever measure of success is selected from the above list, one point is certain. It is apparent that we shall have to revisit the Durban beaches to observe changing uses and attitudes and shall have to apply measures of success in regular intervals. Today, the establishment of Durban's first multiracial beach may appear to be a major achievement and a milestone in the process of integration. Tomorrow, the opening of one beach to all races in Durban may lose its social significance in view of the further changes to take place in South African society.

---

1) For example, in the Battery Beach One Survey one respondent stated in May 1982 that she would be proud to take her overseas visitors to the multiracial beach if it were established to show them that things were better in South Africa than most people thought. One might presume that the opening of Battery Beach Two would improve the self-confidence of this respondent in her role as a citizen of South Africa.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY 1981

The study due to limited resources, concentrated on municipal voters who were all white ratepayers. The sample was drawn by randomly selecting 63 points spread throughout the municipal areas of Durban in which municipal voters reside. Interviews were conducted on these points and at fixed intervals along roads surrounding these points.

The fieldwork for this study was completed before June 1981. The interviews were conducted by post-graduate university students, who had been well briefed about interviewing procedures. The response was good and refusal rate was less than 10 percent. A total of 355 interviews were obtained. The results were coded and processed on the University's computer.

The poll covered a wide range of local issues. Questions on these issues were worded and presented as neutrally as possible. Because most people find it difficult to crystallise their views about environmental issues quickly in interview situations, they were presented with response categories to choose from in most questions. These were designed to cover the full range of views, including indifference and lack of knowledge or concern. Pollsters were also invited to add their comments on most topics which they frequently did.

BLACK BEACHES SURVEY 1981

The fieldwork was conducted by a black interviewer who was also a member of the research team. Weather permitting, the interviews were conducted on the beach during the period 22nd October through 16th November 1981. Fieldwork was carried out mainly on days late in the week and over weekends. Fieldwork commenced on the black beach in Durban, where one-third of the total number of interviews were conducted. The study continued on Umgababa Beach, a resort on the South Coast where a further third of interviews were obtained. The remainder of the interviews were conducted at a township shopping centre. On the beach the fieldworker posed as a bather and involved other beachgoers in loosely structured interviews. In the course of what appeared to be a casual conversation the interviewer worked through a number of set topics including attitudes toward beach integration and the establishment of a multiracial beach. The intention was to survey as wide a range as possible of black adult beachgoers and persons interested in beach recreation. Although no rigid sampling frame proved practical for this purpose, the fieldworker devised a method whereby he approached adults of both sexes, of various age groups, social ranking and place of residence for interview purposes. The response rate was good and few refusals were encountered. In all 78 interviews were obtained. The results were coded and processed on the University's computer.

BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

Interviews were conducted on or near Battery Beach One over three consecutive weekends in May and June 1982 as follows:

weekend 29 - 31 May 1982	59%
weekend 4 - 6 June 1982	35%
weekend 11 - 13 June 1982	6%
	100%

In order to involve as wide a variety of beachgoers in the survey as possible, interviewing was carried out at various times of day from early morning until late afternoon. Roughly one-third of the interviews were recorded in the morning, over noontime, and in the afternoons, respectively. In all, 180 interviews were obtained. The interview team consisted of 8 post-graduate students participating in a research course at the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal and 11 Natal Technikon students involved in a public relations course. The students were fully briefed for their interview task and worked under the close supervision of the project leaders. Responses to questions concerning personal particulars, beach visiting patterns and evaluations of beach amenities were recorded on questionnaire schedules during the interviews. Verbatim accounts of reactions to the establishment of an integrated beach on Battery Beach Two were recorded immediately after the interview. The interviewers worked in pairs in order to be able to assist each other with recall. The results of the survey were coded and processed on the University's computer.

APPENDIX 2

BATTERY BEACH ONE SURVEY 1982

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

N = 180

1. Sex

	%
Male	55
Female	45
	100

2. Estimated age

	%
- 19 years	7
20 - 29 years	41
30 - 39 years	18
40 - 49 years	16
50+ years	18
	100

3. Residence

	%
Local residents	64
Tourists	36
	100

4. Residential address

	Locals	Holidaymakers	Total
	%	%	%
Beach, city centre	18		12
Berea	32		20
Glenwood/Umbilo	8		5
Bluff/Montclair/Woodlands	3		2
Pinetown	5		3
Westville	7		4
Durban North	9		6
Other local, unspecified	18		12
	100		
Natal		8	3
Transvaal		70	25
Cape		3	1
Orange Free State		1	0
Africa		1	0
Overseas		17	7
		100	100
	N = 114	N = 66	N = 180

5. Frequency of visits to Battery Beach (locals:) in summer/ (holidaymakers:) while in Durban

visits Battery Beach:	Locals	Holidaymakers	Total
	%	%	%
Daily	27	73	44
Weekly	41	11	30
Fortnightly	15	2	10
Monthly	9	3	7
Once every 2 - 3 months	4	5	4
Annually	4	1	3
Less frequently	-	5	2
	100	100	100
	N = 144	N = 63	N = 177

6. Other Durban beaches visited

	Locals	Holidaymakers	Total
	%	%	%
Beaches north of Aquarium	26	13	21
Beaches south of Aquarium	15	13	14
Both types of beaches	11	5	9
Unspecified Durban beaches	7	2	5
No other Durban beaches visited	41	67	51
	100	100	100
	N = 106	N = 64	N = 170

7. Other Natal beaches visited

	Locals	Holidaymakers	Total
	%	%	%
Beaches on north coast	26	39	31
Beaches on south coast	19	14	17
Both types of beaches	14	11	13
Unspecified Natal beaches	13	2	8
No other Natal beaches visited	28	34	31
	100	100	100
	N = 103	N = 64	N = 167

8. Frequency of visits to other Durban and Natal beaches (locals:) in summer/(holidaymakers:) while in Durban

	Locals	Holidaymakers	Total
	%	%	%
Daily	4	31	14
Weekly	29	19	25
Fortnightly	14	15	14
Monthly	23	2	15
Once every 2 - 3 months	12	3	9
Annually	13	10	12
Less frequently	5	20	11
	100	100	100
	N = 100	N = 59	N = 159

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/