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The Privatisation of Public Space

Case Study of the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area

By

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Dissertation submitted to the School of Built Environment and Development Studies,

University of KwaZulu-Natal, in partial-fulfilment of the requirements

For the degree of Master in Town and Regional Planning, Durban

ABSTRACT

This research investigates the extent to which public space is privatised in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. Public spaces at Vetch's Beach and the Point Development area are being privatized due to mechanisms of security. Privatization of public space has also occurred through the encroachment of private development projects. Concepts of Postmodern Urbanism refers to this process as the commodification of public spaces. Through the use of a case study methodology, public space users' perceptions, municipal officials of eThekwini municipality and developers of the Point Development Precinct have provided an insight into the privatization of public space. People are excluded from, or have limited access to public spaces showing that people have few rights to protect public space in the case study areas.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided and work carried out exclusively by myself under the supervision of Dr K Mchunu. It is being submitted for the degree of Master in Town and Regional Planning at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It has not been submitted before, for any degree or examination to this University or any other.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBD   Central Business District

DMOSS   Durban Open Space System

DPDC   Durban Point Development Company

EIA   Environmental Impact Assessment

EIAP   Economic Impact Assessment Plan

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

GEAR   Growth, Employment and Redistribution

GIS   Geographical Information Systems

IDP   Integrated Development Plan

KZN   KwaZulu-Natal

LUMS   Land use Management System

NEMA   National Environmental Management Act

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

PDA   Planning and Development Act

RDP   Reconstruction and Development Programme

RSA   Republic of South Africa

SAAMBR The South African Association for Marine Biological Research

SDCEA   South Durban Community Environmental Alliance

SDF   Spatial Development Framework

TNPA   Transnet National Ports Authority

V&A W   Victoria and Albert Waterfront

UKZN   University of KwaZulu-Natal

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to Study

The privatisation of public space is a global phenomenon. Public spaces in postmodern cities are purchased by private developers so that development may be possible as the state often does not have the financial resources to ensure that development is possible (Kayden, 2000). Privatization of public spaces regulates spatial land use in cities. Public spaces are facets of public spaces, such as beaches, parks or hotel lobbies. In these spaces people are able to converge, interact, socialise or even engage in activities together, or as a micro-community.

Presently cities' socio-economic functions are transformed by private ownership. The term functions refers to the way in which capital, infrastructure and development is produced in the city. In contemporary cities the public sector has retreated from being in charge of all developments. Instead, the private sector, which has large qualities of financial capital to aid in development, urban renewal and, in this case the redevelopment of public spaces has stepped in. Private developers may impose development control which impacts upon sustainable development (Kayden, 2000).

According to Murray, (2004:16) ―This privatisation of space entails a new regulatory mechanism of urban governance that cede the real power of spatial management to private corporate entities who establish their own legally sanctioned rules of game." This restricts management, development of and use of spaces to authorised users." This allows for strategic development (Minton, 2006). This means that privatisation of space regulates the way that space is used in the city. Public space is now governed or perhaps controlled by external ‗private companies' thus making it less public or accessible to the public. Private entities inevitably enforce regulatory mechanisms such as security, which restricts the public's use or access to the public space. Such conditions are implemented according to the private company that owns or maintains the space. According to Minton, (2006:2) ―Urban development internationally was also characterised by private ownership, development control of the public realm, which has now become part of the process identified by the government as the ‗urban renaissance', as the former industrial areas of the inner-city were redeveloped and revitalised."

Presently, in the United States the privatisation of public space is similar that of 19th century Europe. In city centres, development did not provide socio-economic service to citizens projects were instead developed to serve the interests of capital for private capital accumulation (Melik et al. 2009). Streets and open spaces are privatized (Minton, 2011). An urban renewal project like Canary Wharf is a good example of, an urban public space that would be privatised by the public sector for redevelopment. The redevelopment of the Wharf will ensure that investment and financial capital is attracted. In future, one of the biggest public squares in Europe: Granary Square, in the new development around Kings Cross will be privately owned for the same reason.

With regards to the privatization of public space locally in the Durban Inner-city coastal area, public spaces such as the promenade, parts of the beach and public spaces within urban renewal projects like uShaka Marine World are being completely privatized. This has consequences for the public's access into these ˍpublic spaces.'

In the next segment of this chapter post-modern urbanism will be discussed. It is a concept that accounts for the changing nature of cities at present, reflecting the fact that public spaces are becoming privatized as a trait of post-modern urbanism. Indeed, postmodern urbanism theory accounts for the fact that presently, cities are experiencing mass privatisation of public entities, such as services, property, and land. With regards to this research project specifically, the focus is on the mass privatization of public space in the city. Post-modern urbanism accounts for the reality that the government is not the only entity in charge or in control of public space, but that private companies with financial capital are buying up of public space in the city, which changes the characteristics, uses and ability of people to use space. The Point Development Precinct which includes both case studies for this research, uShaka Marine World and Vetch's Beach are the focus of the study. The main aim of the study is to discover how public space is privatised within this Inner-city Coastal area and how this impacts on public's access and use of it.

Durban Inner-city Coastal Area is the area of study, while The Point Waterfront development provides the first case study. The Point Development Company is jointly owned by Malaysian-controlled RocPoint and eThekwini municipality's Durban Infrastructural Development Trust. Sunrise and Laurusco have a management contract with the Point Development Company and the Point Development Precinct has intended to expand onto the

Public Beach area for almost a decade. The uShaka Marine World and the Point Development Precinct at large, have public spaces within their development schemes, which are vital for the recreational use of the public. The public value these areas and occupy them especially at uShaka Marine world, as the Precinct is recognised as one of Durban's top ‗places to be' and venues for public use when to engaging in social activities and recreation. The controversy surrounding the privatization of public space in the Durban Inner-city Coastal area is that although the Point Development Area offers public space to its users, it has the intention of expansion through town planning resulting in the minimisation of natural public open spaces.

Vetch's Beach in the Durban Inner-city coastal area is under threat of privatization in order to expand the commercial development of the Point Development Precinct. Vetch's Beach is protected by its own NGO called Save Vetch's Association. In this second case study the researcher has attempted to understand the value of these public spaces and the validity for the privatisation of Vetch's Beach according to developers and eThekwini municipality. Should one venue that offers public space encroach upon Vetches Beach, which is another public space that may be valued equally by the public? Is the expansion of commercial development compromising people's access and rights to public access to public spaces? Do citizens have rights to their public spaces that may or may not include these remaining in its original state?

Postmodern planning is described in relevance to inner-city planning as the way the political economy of space is now influenced as a result of postmodern thought. The researchers' aim in this study is thus to identify and understand how these postmodern cultural, economic and political changes and trends are effective within the context of a contemporary South African city, impact on the redevelopment of city centres and the development of new public spaces. This investigation will enable the researcher to discover how and why public space is privatised as the privatisation of public space is a phenomenon within the context of postmodern urban environment.

1.2 Introduction to the concepts of Postmodern Urbanism

Postmodern Urbanism is defined as a sophisticated explanation for the social, political, economic and technological transformation of industrial development in a new-service and commerce-driven economy (Murray, 2004). Post modernism puts into context the social, political and economic transformations that occurred as a result of globalisation and the interdependencies and interrelationships between the economies of the world. Cities and local

economies are, in fact, microcosms of the world. According to Minton (2006: 4) ―Post Modern cities which are looked at in Post Modern Urbanism are transformed by the changing technologies and the pressures of consumerism, selling ‗experiences' as products to ensure the triumph of image and unreality over ‗authenticity' in places."

Postmodern cities are constructed through power, knowledge and new cultural ideals that are translated in the style of landscapes it produces (Harvey, 1989). The postmodern city is characterised as a fragmented space, self-contained and categorised by a culture motivating gentrification and the spiralling fear of crime (Lemanski, 2006; Sandercock, 1998). Postmodern cities are founded on pluralism, post-positivism, exclusivity, materiality and power which are reflected by private exclusive developments and gated communities in cities (Sandercock, 1998).

Postmodernism, as an epoch, also embodies the totality of practices seen as a cultural ensemble; and a characteristic of capitalism (Dear, 2000). According to Harvey, (1989:299) ―This period signifies the ‗sea-change' in the socio-political and economic condition based upon a global phenomenon of the economic restructuring of space." Urban planning, therefore, follows ideals and principles of postmodernism which has resulted in postmodern urbanism. Following the age of enlightenment, city planning became a tool by which capitalist cities were transformed (Harvey, 2006). Cities are planned and developed to serve the interests of private companies and their interests (Irving, 1993: 479).

In postmodern urbanism, urban governance also is influenced by the postmodern school of thought. The shift to political and social conservatism is evidence of the citizen's uncertainty, but also the loss of trust in allowing control by the state. Private developments seek to take full advantages of citizen's lack of confidence in the welfare state (Kent, 1987). Through privatisation, public space is minimised and controlled. Private developers are more concerned with their personal interests in government expenditure, redesigning space for specific objectives in development thereby leaving overall social welfare behind (Franszen, 2011).

More significantly, the postmodern cities have been revolutionised by the privatisation of public spaces. This predetermines a new way of how the spatial economy will be controlled and thus creates new dynamics in contemporary spatial planning. According to Murray,

(2004: 16) ―The spatial dynamics of postmodern urbanism have produced an urban landscape carved into fragments disconnected ‚micro-worlds' cut off from one another. This inevitably changes people's rights to access based on capital ownership, instead a political control approach to development and ownership in the city (Minton, 2006). Postmodern urbanism has also been evident in displaying definitive public spaces in urban areas where the urban poor struggle for survival and dignity (Murray, 2004: 18).

―Postmodern cities are also associated with poly-nucleated and fragmented city forms where spatial politics have caused conflicts over the use of space" (Murray, 2004:4). This postmodern trend towards privatisation has transformed the environments of urban public life. Post modernity and globalised urban cultural change has enhanced social isolation, security and surveillance, segregation, limited access, exclusion on the basis of class and behavioural control in public spaces (Minton, 2006).

1.3. Problem Statement

Historically, the spatial economy of Inner-city Durban was redesigned by post-apartheid planning. In post-Apartheid South Africa, the inner-city still bears a resemblance of colonial and modernist planning. In addition, contemporary postmodern planning and the privatisation of space in cities reinforce fragmentation (Michel, & Scott, 2005). Over the last decade, the inner-city, particularly has drawn a lot of private investment. The inner city area or the central business district had been a thriving hub of social and economic activity.

Public space in the city has been invaded by private development plans that have been encouraged by the local municipalities. Public space has become fragmented through its privatisation through private companies reasoning that they need to implement urban renewal in the inner-city area. Public spaces have become enclaves of exclusive economic and development activity. Privatisation has caused division and facets of public spaces to become disconnected from each other.

> Public space is easiest to define by establishing what is ‚not' public space. Public
> space is not public property (Kayden, 2000: 20) as it is not owned by the city or the
> people it represents, nor does the city attempt to take private property and convert it to
> public space. Public space does not refer to privately owned property, *de facto*

devoted to public access and use, like a department store, movie theatre, or restaurant (Kayden, 2000:22).

The privatisation of public spaces through neoliberal economic policies for development has resulted in pockets of spaces being spatially segregated from one other (Luk, 2009). This is problematic as it is effective in promoting limited access, exclusion to the poor and entry to an elitist group of people. Public space also has been privatized for the sake of security whereby only paying visitors and cardholding members can gain access (Murray, 2004). The Point Development Precinct which includes uShaka Marine World will be investigated to discover how public space is privatised and whether this has an impact on peoples access to these public spaces.

Presently inner cities also have become targets for investment and economic growth. The inner-city coastal area of Durban has alongside its port has, been placed under tremendous pressure to activate public space. As a result of private developments within the Point Development Precinct, the use of public spaces has been minimized. This has limited the diversity of users in the inner-city space because, in order to promote economic development, the government has leased out property in prime inner-city areas along the coast to private development companies (Nel et al., 2003). A major problem to be investigated is whether Vetch's Beach, as a valued public space, now encroached upon by the Point Development is under threat of extinction.

Public open spaces which are also recognised also as green open spaces are being diminished. They are not recognised as being a vital component of cities, as they do not necessarily prioritise large scopes of development. For example Vetch's Beach has been a protected beach, a public open space for beach users, for decades but private development and the pressures to construct tangible development has led to development authorities persisting in converting public open spaces into commercial public spaces. A beach, for example, is a public open space which is accessible, much as a city mall development, is accessible as a public space. These are natural, open public spaces for people to inhabit and occupy (Murray, 2004).

The problem arises as a result of capital investment and the pressures for development whereby constructed public spaces such as the uShaka Marine World have aimed at

expanding over Vetch's Beach which is a natural public space. The public question why value these public spaces for their own use and intrinsic value, built up developments that are public spaces for citizens should encroach on natural open public spaces and diminish them? In a neoliberal, micro economic system, natural spaces are not valued when as compared to the potential that the land has to allow for rapid commercial development.

The idea of public space is at the heart of the idea and the life of the city, as Paul Kingsnorth wrote, in his book Real England,

> ―It is the essence of public freedom: a place to rally, to protest, to sit and contemplate, to smoke or talk or watch the stars. No matter what happens in the shops and cafes, the offices and houses, the existence of public space means there is always somewhere to go to express yourself or simply to escape. From parks to pedestrian streets, squares to market places, green open spaces, public spaces are being bought up and closed down.‖

Over the last decade, numerous public spaces and property along the Durban coastline have been sold to private developers. Private developers thus have rights to restrict the movement of people through their properties and again, this creates limited access, behavioural control and the exclusion of people from accessing and using those vital public spaces.

Public spaces here are owned by property owners and businesses.

> ―Private developers as influential cooperates make also strong demands to dictate the design and management of public spaces around them too. So paradoxically, therefore they have their own private interests and often know exactly what they want to do with these public spaces thus limiting ―openness‖ through development or renewal ‖ (Franzen, 2011: 23).

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1. To discover the meaning of public space in the context of a postmodern era.

1.4.2. To investigate the impact of local governments and private development on public space

1.4 3. To investigate how security mechanisms result in the privatization of public space

1.4.4. To determine how the privatisation of public space through security causes exclusion, behavioural control and limited accessibility.

1.4.5. To investigate people's perceptions of public space and whether the public have rights to public space.

1.5. Research Questions

1.5.1 Main Research question: What are the impacts of the privatisation on public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area?

1.5.2 Sub-questions:

1. What is the postmodern city and how is public space perceived in the city?

2. What is the role of the municipality and the private sector in privatizing public space?

3.What influence does mechanisms of security have on the privatization of public space?

4. Does the privatisation of public space cause inaccessibility and exclusion?

5. Who has rights to public space and privatised public space in the inner-city?

1.6 Introduction to the case studies.

The research was conducted using a case study methodology. A case study methodology allows for an in-depth contextual understanding of the complex issues concerned with the research. This method has been chosen so that privatized public spaces along the coast of Durban can be compared.

The researcher has chosen two main case study areas. The Point Development Area which includes uShaka Marine World is the first case study. It is currently experiencing privatized development managed by EThekwini Municipality and Point Development Company. This case study has been chosen as it focuses on Public Open Spaces within the Point Development Precinct. The first case study has been chosen to discover how private developers affect the use of and access to public space.

Vetch's beach is the second case study. This case study is a beach, which is also supposed to be a public open space, as this area, historically was a prime public space which people were able to access and use. Presently, development in the area has been privatised and access to

public spaces has been limited to specific users only. An in-depth analysis of the case studies will allow the researcher to discover the impacts of privatisation on these public spaces.

The last case study was to be the military base in Durban. Mr Annat Singh, an internationally recognised film producer who had produced the Mandela Movie, purchased the property which is prime open space in the city. This case study of public space dealt with land affairs and purchasing of land in the city. The case study has therefore been omitted as it extends the scope of the study too far, since the aim of the research primarily is to investigate case studies portraying the privatization of just open public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

1.7 Validity

The methodology has been carefully selected with the intention of acquiring the greatest validity of information. Data will be collected within certain timeframes, resources and access to information. Primary data is specifically important and is reliable for the study since the researcher is able to derive first-hand information based on people's experiences within the relevant case studies

The collection of qualitative data is reliable as the aim of the qualitative method is to derive the opinions of experts or participants to enable deductions to be made regarding the research objectives. The type of information collected is mainly of peoples understandings or perceptions of the subject derived from their own world views or knowledge, which by nature, is empirical evidence, values, meanings and experiences. It is not analytical and factual based on hard existence of scientific proof as is quantitative data (Longwe, 2010). There will also be a collection of subjective data to evaluate the impacts of the privatisation of public space through people's experiences in the field.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 1 Introduction

This chapter aims to unearth the different types of theories which will be able to properly explain and put into context the privatization of public space in a contemporary urban setting. Firstly the theories will be discussed as they have been used to portray the reasons for the privatization of public space within the inner city region. Important theories that will be discussed are postmodernism, capitalism and neo-liberalism. These theories will be used to explain why the phenomena of the privatisation of public space are occurring so rapidly in the inner-city areas.

2.2 The Postmodern City

Postmodernism city theory is based upon the ideology that the city is driven by the free market system and thus it is transformed into an economic facet of a global capitalist system. This theme of the economy of openness is referred to as liberalism. With liberalism, post modernism as a process brings about an unprecedented level of social unpredictability, economic openness, competition and chaos. The hyper- differentiation that is promoted by post-modernism ensures that the consequences of any given space of a bureaucratic or economic manipulation can't be predicted. States loose administrative power, leadership and sovereignty in governance. Economic activity incorporates free trade more rapidly that making it un-manageable, while extended democratic distribution of power produces social inequality (Beauregard, 1989).

Postmodern cities evolved around the concept that inner cities are multi-functional centres with abundant transportation hubs that connect surrounding suburban areas to the core. They are often referred to as places of opportunity and employment. They have multiple land uses that accommodate a variety of functional uses such as residential commercial and cultural land use functions. They contribute the bulk of economic growth and revenue to municipalities. Therefore, the aim of local government is to attract investment, particularly private investment for its development of such spaces. Neoliberal and economic policies have been adapted so that inner-cities may enhance investment for growth.

In order to understand the way contemporary cities are planned, it must be stated that the present ideology by which society is influenced has to be examined. In the 21st century, the

world has transformed into an entity that it is driven by global capitalism, neoliberal and economic openness as well as a homogenous global culture that cities are conforming to. In a postmodern era, postmodern theories may be able to explain why cities have undergone a complete transformation and seemingly the criteria by which cities are planned and transformed have similar built design and local cultural characteristics all over the world. The privatization of public space, in particular is a characteristic of a postmodern city (Minton, 2006).

According to Ellin, ―Postmodern Urbanism" is well-defined and in contrast to Modernism by arrival to historicism and an improved search for urbanity (Ellin, 1996).As stated in the introduction:

> "Post modernism city theory accounts for and puts into context the social, political and economic transformations that occurred as a result of capitalism, globalisation and the interdependencies and interrelationships between economies of the world. Microcosms of the world or referring to local economies are cities Postmodern Urbanism is defined as a sophisticated explanation for social, political, economic and technological transformation of industrial development in a new service and commerce driven economy that has transformed cities.

Murray (2004) states that the Postmodern city is a poly-nucleated and fragmented city-form.. Ellin adds that ―Postmodern urbanism is an epoch that has resulted in the decline of the public realm, the increasing prevalence of physical controls, surveillance and policing, and the growing privatisation of public space due to Form Following Fear" (Ellin, 1996: 1). Minton (2006: 6) asserts that

> ―In the ultimate post-modern city, by contrast and chance encounters are minimised in an environment stereotyped as one of segregation and fear, surveillance and control. Simultaneously, changing technologies and the pressures of consumerism, selling ‗experiences' as products is to ensure the triumph of image and unreality over ‗authenticity' in places."

2.3 The formation of the Postmodern City

To understand what is postmodern city entails, first you have to perceive what modernity entails as like modernity; post-modernity is an era of transformation that has succeeded modernity with has in turn changed the way the city has been translated as an environment that we inhabit. The way people think and perceive the environments they live in has undergone a complete transformation from the modern city- to the postmodern city. Post modernity is the destruction of the meta-narrative of modernity or rather is a reaction on modernism. It highlights the indistinctness, the fragmented, the multi-dimensional, disorderly development and of big ordering ideologies that influence contemporary space and society (Soja, 2001). These big-ordering ideologies are neoliberal principles of economic development and urban development for capitalist growth of cities.

Credibility was given to the importance of the built environment when there was a gradual shift in paradigm from modern to post-modernist in the 1980s. Planners and developers attempted to respond to the global competition of cities and their spatial fragments of segregated land uses. This highlighted the purpose of urban design for integration more profoundly in the construction of the built environment (Velibeyoglu, 1999).

2.3.1 Modernity

From a philosophical perspective, modernity is considered ―a mode of spatial and temporal experience which promises adventure and self-transformation while threatening to destroy the familiar. It bisects geographic, ethnic, class, religious and ideological boundaries." (Cooke, 1998, cited by Graham and Marvin, 1996: 176).

Modernism resulted in the development of an industrial revolution where an economy was influential as its industrial power (Murray, 2004). Land uses were designed so that the labour forces could be housed close to the means of production, and industry had to be located on prime transport nodes to minimise the friction of distance and transport costs for maximum profit. This was the core philosophy of the modernist approach to planning that entrenched the capitalist need to design cities for accumulation and mass production (Beauregard, 1989). The concepts of physical planning and design were relocated from producing good and good-looking forms to planning techniques based on the needs of mass culture, the social context, the site and its history (Velibeyoglu, 1999).

Modernist planning aimed at reducing the excesses of industrial capitalism, while mediating the intramural frictions among capitalists. Marx and Weber make it clear that they analysed the modernised approach as one that commodification of resources to promote industrial capitalism and a rationalised form of organised governance which determined the forms of distribution of power in society. This resulted in the disorganized and fragmented development of the city through production and reproduction.

Substantive theorists believe that the city is synthetic, which means that it remains in its single form and does not change over time. The purpose of modern planners was to integrate theories involved with the expansion and reform of the industrial city. The spatial component of modernist planning intended that development was to support and make way for the basic principle of the production of commodities to expand markets by designing more efficient transportation routes and being able to situate labourers close to the means of production to increase profit output and investment in the city (Beauregard, 1989).

Planning was implemented from a top to bottom approach and it was central to governmental authority. Modernist concept enforced the state of the city into industrial capitalism which became institutionalised through state intervention (Crooks et al, 1992). Modernity is a universal truth that manages society for the benefit of the human race. Modernity thus had criteria by which society functioned based on objective knowledge, power and discourse, central and concentrated governance, homogeneity and sustainability (Hurd, 2009).

2.3.2 Post-modernity and Postmodern Urbanism

According to Postmodern principles there is not one universal truth, but multiple views or theories which are always bounded to place and time. Meanings are related to the given context. Postmodern development in cities succeeded modernist rooted theories of development (Knox, 1994; Jencks, 1992).

The postmodern city instructed the structural change of the economy of cities , from mass production for a society at large to flexible production for a fragmented society that brought with it new awareness of the built environment (Velibeyoglu, 1999). From a planning perspective, the post-modern approach to city planning encouraged the notion that liveliness and diversity could be restored by good land use allocation and sound urban design principles. These could be implemented by inspiring integrated and mixed land use and building uses for pedestrians. They directed planning to create a close physical environment that supported the

communal character. Post-modern urbanism rejected homogeneity in planning an also influenced gentrification and the rejuvenation of old city landscapes to new ones (Crooks et al, 1992). Urban redevelopment and renewal is one of the reasons why public spaces are privatised.

2.4. Postmodern urbanism and its result in privatization of Public Space

Knox & Pinch (2006) state that public space in the postmodern city of today is privatised space. It is ‒a space that is owned by the state or local government and in theory is accessible to all citizens but which in reality may be policed to exclude some sections of society" (Knox & Pinch, 2006: 329). Claiming ownership of public space means that the concept has evolved. If the privatisation of public space implied investment and development for a city, a micro-engine in the global capitalist economy, the social importance of public space and people access to it was reduced.

 More specifically related to the privatisation of public spaces and enterprises Harvey states that ‒Post modernism is effective, for example, in the organisation of urban life and the capacity to build space in such a way as to contain the intersecting processes that have made for a rapid urban change in twentieth-century capitalism" (Elliot, 2010:32)

2.5 The Characteristics of Postmodern urbanism

2.5.1 Neo-liberalism
Neo-liberalism in the context of a city can be referred to as the contemporary form of capitalism that drives city development. This term is used to describe the transformation of the government's role and in the rearrangement of public action for the economic development, , as well as the advertisement of the city for capital investment for the development and boom of a city's market's service potential (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010). Neo-liberalism and the need for economies to privatise city space, public open space and development became priority (Smith & Low, 2006).

 Democracy and neo-liberalism have spread the influence of private capital over urban space to the degree that ‒for urbanists of a Marxist persuasion, it is this crucial dependence between the dominion of capital and the configuration of space in the modern metropolis that holds the key to understanding the logic of the city" (Parker, 2004: 104).

Neo-liberalism is a concept that allows for the promotion of freedom off independent entities with individual; interests such as the private sector. It enables these independent entities or role players to be active in performing in the free market and promoting economic development perhaps through business activity, infrastructural development or capital investment in projects in the city (Pryke, 1999).

According to (Murray,

‖Under the Neoliberal mantra of private and public partnerships; municipal authorities have experimented with a new regulatory mechanism of urban governance that cede the real power of spatial management to private, corporate entities which in turn establish their own legally sanctioned ‗rules of game' to authorised users only" (2006:16)

By allowing private investment or capital input from independent agencies the government benefits, as its area of responsibility for development and even planning in inner city areas, in this context, becomes minimal. Privatisation not only reduces the state's role in development but it may be a catalyst for development as the state often suffers from a lack of funding for the renewal and management of space. Inner city areas have, through neoliberal agendas thus become the ‖chief agents of economic change in the global economy" (Thrift, 1999: 305).

Neo-liberalism and the free trade ideology that drives cities have caused the city itself to be something which that is marketed by institutions and the state through government procedures. Therefore through these economic processes which are a characteristic of postmodern urbanism, even public space, by norm, is marketed and sold within the city.

2.5.2 The commodification of public space:
Today, in postmodern urban areas nearly all space is owned by somebody. Space is owned either by the government, private organisations, private individuals or financial institutions such as multi-national companies and international finance consortiums. In the United Kingdom, for example, most beaches are owned by the Crown, while parks are owned by local authorities. The idea of ‗free space' or ‗public space is an unusual topic, as the norm is for areas especially in the inner-city to be privatised for development (Minton, 2006). For economic development there is a creation of ‗extra-territorial' spaces in the city that are out of public jurisdiction that promotes the intensified division and fragmentation of space in the city (Murray, 2004).

The openness of public space means that all people have a right to use it which then goes to show that public space has a democratic value to citizens and the public domain. Also public space has a social value to all those who ought to use it. It is open, or ought to be open for people's use and expression. Although this is a sincere socio-political argument, in the context of our contemporary society, where urban space has developed an even more immense economic value, urban space has become the forefront of the economy. This has made urban public space attractive for private and corporate interests (Franzen, 2011).

Urban public space is said to be under threat as a result of the growing privatisation and commodification of the public space and growing fear of others, (Mitchell, 1995; Aurigi and Graham, 1997; Allen, 2006). The _reconstruction' of public space shows a very evolutionary change – urban public spaces in Europe and North America were open and democratic, yet presently they are threatened by the growing fears and encroaching private ownership and interests (Allen, 2006).

This contemporary view of public space is usually accepted by corporate companies and by the government when they come into partnership with business in public-private partnerships or private ownership in a neoliberal economy. Postmodern cities are driven by the capitalist ideology. Public spaces are sold for investment so that the interests of private sector companies and their capital can be materialized (Irving 1993).

In an economic sense, the contemporary city is redefined by inequalities between the various classes of inhabitants. There are so many disparities and inequalities in the standards of living between the wealthy and the poor, inequalities are prevalent in contemporary cities and it is mirrored by a segregation on the basis of class. Postmodernism is said to have legitimated class privileges, thus creating cities active in developing geopolitical margins of social inequality and exclusion (Murray, 2004).

As Nan Ellin states according to the work of such architects as Johnson and Graves:

> ―Keen to exploit the power symbolism corporate clients have commissioned ―star‖ architects to design buildings which confer status and corporate recognition and which help to ―sell‖ their corporate identity by providing a colourful package for it as a commercial artist would do for other products.‖ (Elliot, 2010:12)

Cities promote local attraction and investment within the city through the use of culture. Cities often use the perception of ‗contemporary culture' in areas of redevelopment and gentrification in order to draw citizens into the inner city areas (Zukin, 1995). Private companies which purchase urban space use a globalised culture that is made to seem more attractive irrespective of local culture. This means that space is commoditised through the transformation of culture produced by business and the privatization of public urban space. The point is that the design of urban space through privatization has commoditized public space to an extent that it has become exclusionary public spaces for use of specific social groups or the elite. As a result the authentic and democratic value of public space has been devalued through commodification (Madanipour, 2003).

2.5.3 Capitalism and fragmentation of space

Cities are driven by capitalist planning devices which were adopted by famous planning theorist such as Le'cobusier. Rationality was regarded the core of human reason and this created the objectivity by which cities were planned and constructed. Only by the late 1960s had the school of thought governed by ideologies of reductivism, determinism and mechanism were manipulated and questioned, bringing upon a new era resulted in the transformation of city development and planning.

Thereafter Postmodern cities can be said to have legitimated class privileges, thus creating cities active in developing geopolitical margins of social inequality and exclusion (Murray, 2004). Examples such as Johannesburg in South Africa and Rio-digenerio in Brazil where disparities between rich and poor are great, and this can be witnessed in the construction of gated communities to house the upper-class alongside informal settlements on the periphery, which excludes the poor (Minton, 2006)

The foundation of the contemporary city in a postmodern city is the service economy. This means that the physical land space and planning of the urban area has been transformed according to the postmodern tenets of capitalism. Postmodern cities in the progressive capitalist-driven world economy have become microcosms of the control structures of private company and co-operate design and management. Previously, even public areas could be accessed by any inhabitant of the city, irrespective of their class, race or ethnic group. Presently, people in a contemporary society are mobilised by economic structures of

exclusion. People are excluded from gated communities, private business parks and other developments (Chandhok, 1988).

Privatisation instructs the corporate management of public spaces. The development of housing and basic infrastructure has been replaced by the development of service driven infrastructure such as firms, entertainment centres, casinos, hotels and apartments which promote a globalised culture of capitalism and global international trends as opposed to building an infrastructure that meets the direct needs of lack of housing and an infrastructure for the homeless or the population in need of facilities in the city centre.

The urban form, which is public, is now owned by the private sector for the development of public space. The city is now dominated by the construction of private office parks, business and commercial centres and recreational facilities which are designed for the capital accumulation of private sector invasion of space sold to them, which ought to be for public use (Chandhok, 1988).

Economic development is instructed through the actions of by governments leasing out property to private owners who reconstruct the design and function of spaces and their infrastructure in the inner-city (Chandhok, 1988). This results in spatial transformation for capital interests rather than the functionality of the city for its citizens. The archetypical third world city thus becomes fragmented and land use spaces become disconnected. Private developers that privatize spaces transform the city into segregated islands of affluence thus limiting rights of people and the public to using the space. Thus the capitalist-driven postmodern city has excluded people from public spaces that should be enabled for their access and investment by the private sector has enabled development that has minimized the use of public space and is thus exclusionary (Harvey, 2006).

Regarding the city, Harvey investigates the connection between urbanization and capitalism. He suggests Haussmann's reshaping of Paris and today's explosive growth of cities be viewed as responses to systemic crises of accumulation and motivates the need to democratize the power to shape the urban experience. Capitalism and accumulation is the driving force behind postmodern planning in cities. Harvey thus explores how the postmodern trend towards capitalism has reinforced spatial fragmentation, segregation and exclusion in cities.

The political economy of public space is expressed by Harvey as the failure of contemporary or postmodern urban planning to promote the integration of classes as privatization of public space reinforces segregation and exclusion. He claims that it is apparent that the privatisation of public space in cities may cause social exclusion through disneyfication. Buildings must have an intrinsic or aesthetic function and value in the environment in which they are constructed. They should not simply be a rigid or tangible structure but ought to be functional and adapted for providing services within their environment. Private property ought not to be a commoditised spectacle but it has a social and civic responsibility to citizens in inner-city development (Harvey, 2006).

Postmodern Urbanism is carefully associated with individuality and heterogeneity, but theorists nevertheless state that that it aims to embody the idea of otherness through infrastructural and architectural design of the city. Buildings and the design of space provoke otherness as people associated a specific design or construction for a particular use or class. Otherness is a particularly difficult notion to grasp as it is the psychological impact of the design of space in cities. People associate places with identity and the construction and management of spaces perhaps don't relate to or connect with them, and these public spaces in the city become fragmented or exclusionary through their own preferences or choice not to be there. In Young's book, *Politics of Difference*, urban public space is placed within a context that openness in space through postmodern urbanism interpretation can be experienced as ―unassimilated otherness".

In response to Young's approach, the researcher infers that she idealizes public space, insofar as any actual physical environment always carries social features that attract or repel certain individuals and groups (Elliot, 2010). Thus this makes the city fragmented. Furthermore Davis (2006: 227) says that public space in a city such as Los Angeles is becoming more ―desolate and dangerous" as areas become more insular and separate from each other. Davis terms this process as the ―South Africani(s)ation" of spatial relations in Los Angeles, referring to the segregation of South Africa city space by law during the Apartheid regime (Davis, 2006: 227). With the inequalities between the rich and poor and poverty so high in the city Soja (2001) explains that citizens begin live in fear and therefore choose to separate or isolate themselves, thereby creating segregated communities. Privatisation of public space is a result

of panopticon and increased security which forms into microcosms of fragmented postmodern public spaces.

Carceral cities means that the postmodern city is intensified with control through surveillance and territorial control. Aside from controls over physical and tangible space a postmodern city has various different kinds of sadistic street environments and a panopticon of shopping malls and even natural public spaces such as parks and beaches. The city is an enclave, deemed as fortified islands of separation and segregation. Developments are in isolation, separated and disconnected through land use allocation making the urban landscape an extremely fragmented one (Foucault in Soja, 2001).

2.5.4 Marketing and Privatisation of Public Spaces in Inner-city Areas
In terms of neoliberal ideologies and the governance of inner-city areas, postmodern urbanism accounts for the minimising role of state or government control on development. It accounts for the decentralised role of government in development and planning in cities. This entails that civil society and the private sector play a more vital role in the revitalisation, development or city governance (Minton, 2006).

 Inner city area development also derives financial support from the private sector. This is referred to as the ‗marketization‗ of the public sector. Development and urban renewal is imperative for the sustainability of the inner city. Therefore government that is confronted with growing financial pressure from a number of different sectors deems it necessary to privatize public spaces. The private sector would play this role in ensuring that development is implemented, as finances will be provided for these projects (Minton, 2006).

In many global and world cities that have transformed from an American trend, municipal policy has taken over from the middle class demand for socio-spatial insulation and design. There has been a disinvestment from preserving traditional open public spaces for interaction and the mobility of citizens to spaces becoming redeveloped for private and corporate redevelopment priorities (Davis, 1990). In a postmodern city context it is imperative to highlight that, sector control over space has manipulated the function of the city away from the needs of the citizens. It is thus important to remain conscious of how easily appeals to the singularity of place can play into the hands of municipal government and corporate business eager to promote an attractive image of a city without genuine concern for social justice and equality (Elliot, 2010).

2.6 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter, the characteristics of Postmodern Urbanism have been covered. The theories exposed in this chapter is closely linked to the literature exposed in the next chapter. The post modern city is abundant in public spaces which are being privatized due to the marketisation and commodification of public space in inner-city areas. Public spaces are being transformed by the capitalist interests and private development. This post modern theory that accounts for the privatisation of public spaces which has been discussed in this chapter would need to be proven in real world context. The researcher will attempt to uncover the relevance of this theoretical framework in the data aspect of this research.

CHAPTER 3: LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRECEDENTS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the contesting definitions of public space and the processes which have led to its privatisation. The argument presented here is that due to a neoliberal trend of commodification and privatisation of space, citizens have perhaps lost their rights to the use of and access of public space. Public space, in a contemporary context has evolved into an economic commodity and from this perspective can be referred to as such since in cities, public space is bought and sold by private companies, corporate organisations and the state. Public space thus is becoming more exclusive in the city through the process of commodification. The public realm is undergoing a tremendous tangible loss as public space now privatised, limits citizens democratic access to it

Banerjee (2001) states that as a result of the privatization of public space, there is a ―narrative of loss‖ as spaces are no longer open and public. On the other hand, Crawford (1995) states that public space ceased to exist in the first place for the term ‗public‗ in regards to space has only been derived since facets of the city were owned through neoliberal transactions between agents. This means that previously whether a city space was public or private it had been undefined. It is only become a most recent phenomenon that space is recognised most importantly as being public or private. Several writers on public space such as (Jackson, 1996; Mitchell, 2003; Kohn, 2004 ; Low and Smith, 2006) have argued that the friction between public and private rights to public space is as a result of privatization of public space.

Presently, people are denied the democratic right to access due to private ownership and security. The discussion leads to the rights to public space as spaces in cities are public and citizens should be able to use them freely. There has been a transfer of public space into private ownership, which has led to blurring of the lines between public and private, therefore it is imperative firstly, to lay a foundation and get a clear understanding of public space and its privatisation (Harvey, 2006).

3.2. Contesting Definitions of Public space

Public space is not a clearly defined definition. Mitchell (1995: 121) states that the meaning of urban public space is ―… not universal and enduring; they are produced through constant struggle in the past and in the present‖. It is not a one-dimensional definition and may be

defined differently in different contexts. According to Zhelnina, (2010:5) research conducted by the Centre for German and European studies states that ―the empirical case studies of public spaces from different urban and national contexts show that the models of public space are very different in different societies".

According to Kayden, (2000:20) this definition is the definition which is most accurate and relevant to this study: ―

> Instead public space means a physical place located on private property to which the owner has granted legally binding rights of access and use to members of the public, most often in return for something of value from the city to the owner since the ownership resides, public space may be thought of as an easement held by the public on the owners property, whose extent is defined by the city's zoning resolution and by implementing legal actions (Kayden, 2000:21).

The traditional purpose of public space in a city indicates that historically, urban public spaces in Europe and North America were open and democratic for interaction and expression by users of space. According to Tonnelat, (2010:1) the sociology of public space states that in ―urban planning, public space has historically been described as ‗open space' meaning the streets, parks and recreation areas, plazas and other publicly owned and managed outdoor spaces, as opposed to the private domain of housing and work".

In addition, according to Hoffman, (2013:2) ―traditionally public spaces also provide for participatory processes such as free speech, assembly, protest or political action, and equally important spontaneous encounters". This means that the traditional definition states that public space was open for diverse citizen activity and freedom of speech and action, which is argued, is not witnessed or happening, in public space presently.

Ruppert (2006) says that social and political theory refers to two types of public space which are referred to as abstract and metaphorical spaces. These are spaces that are subjected to a lot of change and which are dependent on the people who use and occupy them. Examples of these public spaces are streets, sidewalks, parks and squares, as well as constructed, commercial spaces such as cafés and bars. These are spaces that construct and allow for public life (Ruppert, 2006).

The Law Commission of Canada (2003) states that public spaces are politicised spaces. Public space is directly related to governance and people's occupancy of space. According to the commission, people, as citizens of a democratic state, have a right to occupy and use public space. Government always has to manage and entertain claims of unfairness and entitlement to public space and people's rights to occupy it. To be in the public domain means that people have asserted their rights to power and making choices within public spaces where they are able to freely interact (Law Commission of Canada, 2003).

Public spaces are of service to social interaction as they allow citizens to meet freely and interact with each other (Miller, 2007). These attributes of public space aid in the promotion of democracy and civic virtue (Benhabib, 1996; Habermas, 1984). Urban public spaces, according to Goheen, (2003:1) are places ―where diverse interests seek to demonstrate their values and legitimate their roles in society. It is produced, transformed and re-arranged by purposeful groups through their continuous engagement and use of it". He is also of the perception that public space has a dynamic nature and its legitimate roles for usage are defined by those with political power.

According to Mitchell, (1995) public space is perceived as representational space. It is a representation of life and therefore it is for citizens to live in. This space in the city is defined as ‗public' as it is open for anybody's use and interaction. Harvey (1993) and Hershkovitz (1993) cited in Mitchell,(1995) argue that there are dual versions of public space which link with Lefebvre's distinction of representational space. Regarding public spaces, representational space is described as everyday appropriated spaces; spaces which are occupied and spaces which are-in-use, such as parks and beaches (Mitchell, 1995).These are the places where ordinary people choose to go every day for daily activities such as socialising, interacting or even exercising outside of their homes. They are supposed to be open and free for social movements, and activity and interaction are permitted in these places to any member of the public (Mitchell, 1995).

Nemeth (2011) states that public spaces have now become constructed social spaces as a result of privatisation. Through the privatisation of public space, these social rights for people's access are limited. This means that if the freedom of people to use public space is restricted, their social and political rights to use of the city are restricted too, especially the poor, who are repelled by structures of exclusion and constructed space. The Commission

(2005) states that the poor are often excluded from participation and integration with the wealthy, and thus this divide automatically excludes them from public space which the wealthy occupy, due to obvious class separation in the present society. The Commission outlines that there ―several contradictory social forces confront each other in the public, politicised place. Some ―others" are excluded, like the marginalised poor whose participation is unwanted and therefore removed from public viewing" (Law Commission of Canada, 2003).

Attention has been given to a city's potential to reinvest in public spaces. ―This transformation in public space has led to changes in the design, maintenance, security, and governance of public spaces across the country. These physical and administrative changes in public space largely reflect the competing ideas about what constitutes public space and who constitutes public space" (Mitchell,1995:115). The control of public space has implications for the democratic rights of use of and access to citizens of the city (Ploeg, 2006).

The basic law governing the design and operation of privately owned public space in New York City, as well as the law enforcing public space compliance with applicable standards, is codified in the city's 1961 Zoning Resolution (Kayden, 2000). The rationale is that public space is density ameliorating, in that it more than counteracts whatever negative impacts such as greater street and sidewalk congestion and loss of air and light, may be associated with larger buildings.

For the developer, the rationale is still simpler; the value of the incentive equals or exceeds the cost of providing the public space, making the transaction a financially desirable one. Incentive zoning has enjoyed use, not only in New York City, but in Hartford, San Francisco and Seattle, among other cities, in pursuit of privately owned public space (Kayden, 2000:22).

In contemporary society, public space has been entirely transformed by the economic link to its definition. Post-1960s and after the era of enlightenment, public space lost its socio-political value, or rather its openness for democratic expression, as it became an economic asset or property for private investors in the inner-city. Habermas (1984) discovered that, since the 20th century, the blurring of the boundaries between society and the state, referred to as the liberal public sphere, began occurring.

During intense urbanisation in the 19th century, citizenry and the public sphere became excluded from the competition and agendas between the private sector and government. The public were excluded from decision-making with the private sector. This resulted in the social structuring of economies in cities in Europe, America and Asia which brought about the capitalisation of social life, where capital investment in land, property and public space for economic development exceeded the importance of people's entitlement to public space (Habermas, 1984).

In terms of economic ownership, according to Nemeth, (2011:11) ―a component of publicness involves whether a space is owned by a government body (public) or a private individual or corporation (private)". Ownership is associated with the operation of public space: ―publicly owned spaces are usually publicly operated; privately owned spaces are normally privately operated" (Nemeth, 2011:11). In fact, cities have changed into facets of "private space" which are controlled by the city policies and governance. These are public spaces that are owned, not by the community, but by companies and organisations and are therefore operated for their own private use. ―For example, places where we stay most, such as our homes, shopping malls, schools, office towers, are all private spaces, where entry of certain people can theoretically be restricted by their owners" (Hong Kong Institute of Public Space: 1).

According to Tonnelat, (2010:1) ―Public space is close to the older concept of the "commons", although we have to recognize that today, at least in the western world, every bit of land is now regulated by the laws of property". Land on which property is located in the city, which had been once owned by the city, is a ―commons" which is also referred to as public space. This then states that presently, in a capitalist-driven, socially structured world, everything is owned, whether this is tangible or intangible space in the city, and therefore it has to be mentioned in terms of ownership of property, as even public open space is owned (Blackmar, 2006).

Luk, (2009: 698) cited in a study conducted by Kayden (2000) on privately owned public space in New York and Hong Kong, states that:

> Public Space means a physical place located on private property to which the owner has granted legally binding rights of access and use to members of the public. Ownership continues to reside with the private owner, public space may be thought of

as an easement held by the public on the owner's property. (Kayden, 2000, in Luk, 2009: 698)

Public space is described in terms of ownership, as everything is commercialised and every space in the city is under ownership, as well as public space, which may be owned and controlled privately for public use.

Now the management of public space has become a legal issue, due to the fact that private companies purchase public space. They restrict its use to selected people, while still referring to it as public space, which is contradictory. Presently, in a neoliberal global economic system, they are endangered by the encroachment of private ownership and interests. According to Smith and Low, (2006) neo-liberalism has transformed the concept of public space because everything in the city can be purchased as a commodity. Private property rights and entitlement to ownership of spaces in the cities has caused public spaces to be privatised.

3.3 What is Public Space?

Public space is a definite material space on the ground, and its concreteness is important as it provides a space where alternative social movements can arise and contest issues, and definitions, of citizenship and democracy (Mitchell, 1995). Public space ―constitutes an actual site, a place, a ground within and from which political activity flows" (Mitchell, 1995: 117). Kayden (2000) states that ―Public Space" means a physical place located on private property to which the owner has granted legally binding rights of access and use to members of the public. Ownership continues to reside with the private owner and public space may be thought of as an easement held by the public on the owner's property" (Kayden, 2000).

The balance between the public and private spaces has shifted over time. Privatisation of public spaces occurred on the basis of social rules rather than class or economic divisions as in the present postmodern society. The emphasis on public space in cities peaked in the 18th century with the evolution of the *bourgeoisie* in London and Paris. Such places were places of social interaction, free mobility and access, free of fear, crime and surveillance. People were able to culturally and socially interact, integrate and express themselves freely in such environments. The practices to be executed in public life were believed to be vital for individual development (Minton, 2006).

The term "Privately Owned Public Space" was first invented in the 1960s in New York City. ―Privately Owned" refers to the legal status of the land and/or building on or in which the public space is located. Owners would continue to control overall access and use of their private property, and the public, as a whole, could not secure rights of access and use without the owner's express permission. Thus, it is a ―Public Space" rather than a public property in this case, since it is not owned by the city (Kayden, 2000).

So far this discussion has highlighted how public space has changed in a neoliberal economy and how it is now seen as something that corporate powers can buy. In a neoliberal economy public space is owned by purchasers. The next section discusses how public space has lost its social and political value as it is now a commodity. Privatisation occurs as a result of the commodification of public space. This is a common practice and occurs through various processes which will be revealed.

3.4 The Privatisation of Public Space

The privatisation of public spaces signals a change in the way in which these spaces are managed. According to authors such as Mitchell (1995) and Minton, (2006) the provision of public spaces (by the private sector) has major implications for certain groups in society who are vulnerable to exclusion by the private authorities who manage these spaces. These privately owned public spaces include shopping centres, public waterfront beaches and parks.

Boyer, (1996) from European and American city studies shed some light on her understanding of the contemporary understanding of the privatisation of public space in the city. ―She suggests that the _public' has become a _negative concept', in contrast to the _private' which has been refurbished with an exalted image" (1996: 9). She proposes, in reference to public space, that it no longer exists as an articulate force in the city, as those places and assets of the city that have been used and accessed by the public, have currently been appropriated by private welfares that have encroached upon public space, which has reduced the amount of public activities being witnessed in the city (Davis, 1990; Zukin, 1991; Boyer, 1993).

According to Hoffman, (2013:4) ―The key motive behind the formation for privatised public spaces is economic". She states that, (2013:4) ―First, relative to other costly needs, the expense of maintaining public spaces is just too great for public authorities. Second, private sector actors see this as an opportunity to influence how urban space is allocated and used".

According to Mandanipour, (2013) a public space is an accessible place. He states that if a member is not able to freely access a space, then it is not, by characteristic, a public space. In turn, limiting that access to public space would be deemed as privatising a public space, as, according to the author, allowing only a certain or selected population to enter a public space, makes it exclusive to only a specific population and thus it becomes private, through restricted accessibility.

Public space may be privatised thus restricting access for two different reasons: private sector management and design management. Firstly, the private sector purchases a piece of public space (that was accessible to all) and, as a result of the private sector's ownership over that public space, that public space becomes privatised. Secondly, due to design and building, public space is accessed by permitted users only. Discussed below are the two types of privatisation.

In regard to private developers and public space, public space has become defined with the change in emergent local and national politics of the 21st century. Within the last 30-40 years ―public" space has become a product of public-private partnerships and private development. Public space has also become facet of Business Improvements Districts (BIDs) and parks that are administered and financed by private organisations as pressures of urban redevelopment rise (Minton, 2006)

In terms of ownership, a privately owned public space ―is open to the public, but owned by a private entity, typically a commercial property developer. Conversion of publicly owned public spaces to privately owned public spaces is referred to as the privatisation of public space, and is a common result of urban redevelopment" (Kayden, 2000).

Public spaces are privatised by the government, who sell property and space to private companies so that they can be maintained. This phenomenon of privatisation that had occurred is due to the fact that governments lack the finance to maintain property, land, buildings and public space in the city. Governments have decided to privatise space so that private companies would be responsible to maintain upkeep and order surveillance on public space (Minton, 2006). Public spaces are privatised as government has minimal funds to ensure that all spaces are taken care of and under control, so they sell or lease buildings,

property and open space around buildings to private corporations that have the resources to manage spaces in the city.

In terms of the privatisation of public space, private companies that purchase city space and property are responsible for making a significant financial contribution to the redevelopment of inner city areas in contrast to the popular belief of the public sector, who often are informed that this is a function of the local government. The private sector make a significant financial input to the redevelopment of inner city areas and believe that a city thrives more through economic investment than social concerns of access to key focal development points in the city. Priority is not focused on the social implications that the purchase of public space has on its use and access to by citizens, rather that the economic perspective of redevelopment and investment receives priority for the long-term economic instead of the social sustainability of the city (Turan, 2012).

The private sector, who own inner-city property and renewal, have a huge investment in public space. They are primarily concerned with the evaluation and price of property for investment, than the social value of public space for people's use. The social value of urban public space has been devalued within the economic perspective that urban public space needs to thrive hence the value of the tangible asset and its price would escalate. ―The general idea is that space of good quality constitutes a positive externality and thereby increases the value of the surrounding property" (Punter, 1990, in Van Meliek, 2009: 207).

The private sector privatises public space. Redevelopment within public space is also vital as they claim that the good value of buildings located within and around public space increases the value of public space itself, which relates back to the postmodern concept of the commodification of public space.

According to Van Melik, (2009: 207) ―Buildings of good quality increase the value of public space. In other words, the private sector perceives its investment in buildings as a positive externality for the adjacent public space". For example, private sector participation in the planning and financing of inner-city redevelopments has not been common in the Netherlands. The public sector has traditionally played a central role in spatial planning and development since the 1980s, but local powers have been sharing the responsibility for urban

development with the private sector. This has impacted on the use of public space and its access in the city centre (Van Melik, 2007).

A noticeable role for the private sector in urban development dominates countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom where corporate; businesses and civic corporations, purchase urban public spaces for commercial and business enhancement wards or inner-city development (Symes and Steel, 2003). Currently, the Dutch context of urban development contrasts with that of the United States. In the Netherlands, the concept of urban public space which is that it is _used by and accessible to all' is still predominant in urban spatial policy (Van Melik, 2009). This would account for the fact that severe limitations on access to public space are not tolerated. Nevertheless, the effect of the private sector is rather limited, both in terms of an increase in budget and as a decrease in public access.

The private sector and business play a greater role in society. Regarding the case of public spaces there is always a need for capital to be used for the upgrading of public spaces. The private sector can ultimately provide that capital and resources to preserve public spaces, which the government is financially incapable of. The private sector see this as an opportunity to generate income through privatisation and property ownership; in such instances, income is derived from leasing/renting or use of privatised public buildings/space by purchasers/clients. In some cases, private companies act as landlords or body corps of buildings and spaces (Minton, 2006).

Privatisation of public spaces by private sectors offers many benefits. Firstly, it contributes to the preservation of public space which is good for the social and political status of the private sector. Business thrives and the multiplier effect is expanded for the micro-economy. Also, private sectors are able to regulate land use in the inner city which permits business redevelopment or expansion. Public space is upgraded and communities benefit from financial resources, as the private sector conserves public spaces, since they are then able to set aside land or build an area as a public space. In terms of the privatisation of public space, the private companies that purchase city space and property believe that they are committed to and are responsible for making a significant financial contribution he private sectors privatise and thereby preserve public space (Minton, 2006).

Another type of privatisation of public space is through design and management of locational space in the city. This means that the space is still public, meaning that it is owned by the municipality, but that there are mechanisms by which the space is under surveillance and is controlled. This creates the atmosphere of exclusion and limited access. Gates, entrances and private parking to public spaces exclude some citizens from using that space and therefore it thus becomes a privatisation of public space not as a result of renewal, but of control over space and place through mechanisms imposed by design.

Like Beursplein, the shopping centre Arena in Rotterdam, for example, is ambiguous as a result of its design. Its appearance confuses people as to whether this public space is public or not. According to Melik:

> It too looks like a public space, due its close connection to Loeffplein and its outdoor character (it is gated but not covered). Drievriendenhof and Klanderij have a more private appearance because they are indoors. Yet the squares on which these shopping venues are located are publicly owned. Therefore, they are not subject to a more severe organisation of surveillance and control, even though the private sector was involved in their redevelopment (2009: 209).

This concludes that it is not merely the privatisation of space, as in the role of the private sector making public space inaccessible, it is the postmodern trend of the design and management of the city space that makes it disconnected and exclusionary to access.

3.5 The Commodification of Public Space

This section discusses the processes that lead to the privatisation of public space. Privatisation of space occurs as a result of two processes: The economic privatisation of space when space is commoditised and space in cities which is privatised for safety and security.

This section explores the privatisation of public space and explains the commodification processes which have led to its privatisation. Less attention has been given to the fact that the commodification of space has caused its fast-paced privatisation. In addition, neoliberal norms that have led to the redevelopment of the city have ensured that contemporary public space is privatised at a rapid rate.

In order to understand the commodification of public space, we should define commodification. Commodification refers to the procedure by which ‒social relations are transformed into an exchange relation" (Goldman et al., 2003). This means that commodification of any object or thing is possible if it can be bought and sold. The essential transformation is the change of the nature of an object or thing from being viewed as being of a particular use, to being for exchange and therefore subject to ownership and use in the accumulation of profit. For the purpose of the literature, what we are concerned about is the transformation of social value to its economic value of public space through processes of commodification of space.

According to Marx, (1978) (embodied in his labour theory of value)the commodification of labour occurred when people had been allocated an economic or monetary value based on their labour capabilities. People always had a social value, but since their labour could be exchanged for money, people have developed an exchange value and are thus a commodity.‒Other aspects of social life can be considered ‗commodified' when their ‗use value' is disjointed from their ‗exchange value" (Marx, 1978: 320). In this case, public space which has had a social value for citizens, becomes an economic asset to purchase, and thus we can say, according to Marxist theory, that public space has an exchange value which makes it a commodity.

The process of commodification results in the privatisation of public space. This statement is valid, as any tangible asset or property of a city must be a commodity if it can be purchased. Only economic goods can be exchanged through monetary or financial transactions. In other words, only through privatisation can one attach a monetary value to public space. A prerequisite then for privatising space is exclusion, as a public space that falls under ownership has restrictive use decided upon by its owner. The owner of the commodity may dictate how it may be used and by whom it may be accessed, just as in the case of any other commodity, the owner decides what s/he wants to do or decides on the use of the commodity which she/he has purchased. Therefore, the commodification of public space has transformed space from a facet of the city was once free for all, to an economic product/resource which would allow the owner to decide its function or purpose (Chakravarty, 2008).

This process of commodification of public space that has led to agencies privatising it has also resulted in the loss of publicness to public space. This refers to the fact that the

characteristic of city space that is public, meaning freely accessed by the public, is lost or diminished. To properly comprehend what is lost when public space, as a commodity, is privatised, we can use this process of its commodification to assess how it applies to city space (Chakravarty, 2008).

The transformation of public space from a free space to an economic product/resource means that it develops an economic value that is more important than its social or political value. Its economic value means that it can be bought and sold and therefore has an exchange value that is attracted to its economic value. This collective exchange and monetary value that public space as a commodity has, in a neoliberal city context, thus diminishes the social and political value of space. In a consumer society where public space is purchased and sold, its social and political value becomes less important, as its social and political functions are not as useful as its economic value and functions (Chakravarty, 2008).

3.5.1 Commodification Processes
The commodification process of public space which leads to privatisation occurs by two means. This is as a result firstly, of the structural processes that control public space, and secondly, the control by agents in the inner-city that have restricted or transformed the use of public space through privatisation. To understand the two processes of commodification which are the _structure-side' and _agency-side' dynamics for the privatisation of public space it has to be established that public space is an economic asset/resource (Chakravarty, 2008).

The _structural' explanation is when public space is marketed. It refers to the privatization of space where the public realm is strictly privately-owned space and therefore space is reconstructed by the rules and regulations by which owners create. Owners govern the marketing of commodities, so owners would govern the use of public space (Chakravarty, 2008).

Cities are presently products of a neoliberal world economy. This has transformed cities into engines of growth, and cooperate entities that control city spaces are engaged in capitalist accumulation. The productive forces in the neoliberal city are commercial and corporate organisations that are interested in locating and establishing businesses and corporations in prime inner city areas, so that they may be strategic locations within trade networks for capitalist accumulation. These large corporate organisations are involved in manufacturing,

urban renewal, housing, construction, business, commercial and financial services and production (Chakravarty, 2008).

The neoliberal principles allow companies to develop partnerships, invest and network with other companies so that they may develop microcosms of the city and enhance the multiplier effect and the wealth of the economy. These co-operations or corporate entities which locate prime public space see it, not as a socio-political asset to the state or citizens, but an opportunity to lure investment from global networks. This phenomenon of economic neo-liberalism is a structural element that has transformed the criteria for which space in cities is needed, especially in global cities where economic competition and openness is common (Turan, 2012).

Public space has, therefore, been commoditised in the context of a neoliberal city economy. The structural change in the way public space has been transformed is because it has become a product of a capitalist market system (Field, 1992). The private sector, being the agents in structural economy change, has become the owner of public space. The other values of public space again lose their significance as economically, private power over city space has converted public space into private good for their own use (Chakravarty, 2008).

In agreement with the above assertion, Peterson (2006:1) states that, ―Privatized public space reflects a current moment in the ongoing negotiation of the relationship between the state and the market that is a central concern of liberalism". The author argues that a neoliberal principle of governance has changed citizens‘ access to public space. Privatisation has also restricted citizens‘ access and has become a norm or neoliberal governance. In Peterson‘s article, California Plaza was researched to show how privatised public space helps establish modern citizenship. According to Peterson, (2006:1) ―institutional and legal frameworks serve as a foundation for the relative public-ness of the corporate plaza". The neoliberal privatisation of public space has caused control over spaces implemented by design features and security measures created by the private sector. This is because, once again, public space is seen as a commodity purchased or sold by the government into private hands.

On the other hand, the agent-side explanation describes the process by which the ―public" shapes space in ways such that publicness is lost. This is not to suggest that the phenomenon is carried out by groups within the public with this intent in mind. The loss occurs at a scale

that is invisible to the agents acting in space. The actions are spatial, but the loss is social (Chakravarty, 2008).

Commodification of public space gives a new perspective on public space. Public space becomes a tangible asset, as purchase and sale processes have caused public spaces in cities to be mobilised into and out of the hands of buyers and sellers. Commodification has also resulted in public space being an intangible asset, as it has extended to the human experience beyond what is visible in the public space itself (Zukin, 2009). Space has been transformed into an economic asset so it can be a platform to develop spheres such as culture, education, healthcare and social development.

The commodification of that public space has led to its privatisation. There has been an increased privatisation of public space as a result of the hegemonic neoliberal economic regime, but privatisation also occurs as a result of social factors such as the fear of crime. The next section discusses privatisation as a means other than for economic development. Public spaces are also privatised for security

3.6 Privatisation of Public Space for Safety and Security

To clearly define public space and the privatisation of public space, Michell's (1995) notion, which is in agreement with that of Rahi (2012) states that public space is not only privatised ―just in terms of legal ownership, but also along a spectrum of accessibility and openness" (Rahi, 2012: 25).   In the context of a contemporary society, urban public space is under threat, which is as a result, not only of the accelerated privatisation and commodification of the space, but also as a result of the growing fear of others (Mitchell, 1995; Aurigi and Graham, 1997; Allen, 2006).

Openness is the free use of public space unchanged by development and control. In contemporary society, it is difficult to comprehend the important purpose of public space as people grapple with understanding the value of openness and the ability of openness to promote diversity and integration for all its possible users. The need to preserve public spaces and keep them public has become increasingly devalued (Franzen, 2011).

Public spaces today are commanded by organised interests of the municipality and private developers to achieve a specific objective of what they want to do with it. This causes implications for ‗openness‗ as environments in the city are more and more controlled than

before. It is often seen as necessary, that this control over openness is implemented as development has to be controlled. The problem, however, lies in the fact that openness in regard to that development should not be minimised. It should encourage diversity and its activation should not isolate diversity. The municipality doesn't even offer a defence of the value of public space which is a cause of concern (Franzen, 2011).

In the city there is a deliberate intensification of spatial and social control due to a psychological fear of crime and intrusion into space or property. Davis (1998) states that, in a postmodern city, there is a spread of an urban ecology of fear and there is an obsession about safety and security.

Security is one of the main reasons why public space is privatised. There is constantly the prevalent fear of crime among citizens, therefore security in public spaces results in drastically limiting the access and use of available public space to marginalised groups. Privatisation is usually attained as a result of the transferral of the maintenance, security or management rights of a public space to a private individual like a business association or development corporations (Ploeg, 2006).

The consequence of reducing openness in terms of public space is that public space itself has been reduced, which has resulted in this reduction of openness. Urban redevelopment or renewal has reduced openness as pedestrian streets have been redeveloped into traffic sewers. Open areas outside restaurants or shopping centres have become surveillance parking lots; even public parks have become secured and enclosed. These valorised spaces of public arenas have become enclaves by infrastructure and mega structures of redevelopment. Street frontages are reduced, public activity is monitored, and corridors and entrances are secured by police and other forms of monitoring systems (Davis, 1990).

Public space managing is often based on creating safer places. Hyper-securitisation or militarisation of the inner-city acts as a filter to citizens, as it limits access to those desired or allowed (Mitchell, 2003; Németh, 2010). Private owners instil a sense of security through restricting access. Security measures such as cameras, guards, tollgates can be found at nearly every public space in the city, from public parks and beaches to restaurants and coffee shops. The privatisation of space for security reasons develops an urban climate of exclusion and separation. Security makes urban public space systematic and organised. Large parcels of

space are demarcated off with cones, metal barriers or planter boxes. These new security zones in the city restrict social and democratic interaction for citizens (Nemeth, 2010).

Public space was reduced to open spaces in which crime could be at its maximum in the city. Increased openness in public space created intensification in the increased possibility of crime and thus surveillance and security in the city became a cause of concern. In 1990, Davis stated in his book *City of Quartz:* "Welcome to post-liberal Los Angeles". He continued:

> Where the defence of luxury lifestyles is translated into a proliferation of new repressions in space and movement, undergirded by the ubiquitous 'armed response'. This obsession with physical security systems, and, collaterally, with the architectural policing of social boundaries, has become a zeitgeist of urban restructuring, a master narrative in the emerging built environment of the 1990's (Davis, 1990: 223).

According to Gendrot, (2006:1) micro-security control systems are used to control public space. Gendrot (2006:1) states that ―guards make sure that smooth processes, organising movements, will be respected. They act invisibly; they interpret situations, they make sense of them, and they suggest alternatives to CCTVs and other high-tech surveillance methods". She also argues that perhaps, in Johannesburg, public space is "allocated to density and diversity, unlike Rio (Copacabana) or São Paulo"(2006:1).

Securitisation in this section has been used as an excuse for total privatisation of open public spaces by the private sector that has developed public spaces for the sake of security and yet restricted people's access to them, as a result of its control. This has meant then that the need for security and surveillance within public spaces has accelerated the rate of privatisation of space by the private sector, for that sector's own use (Mitchell, 1995). These places "provide safe, secure environments where people can interact" (Mitchell, 1995: 119). It is evident that ―public life, but in fact really isn't, because the environments are owned and controlled and heavily regulated by, generally, very large global corporations" (Dewey, 1994; quoted in Graham, 1995).

This above argument means then that privatisation of space cannot be attributed solely to the capitalist needs of corporations to accumulate wealth, it suggests that privatisation of space genuinely occurs so that people can increase their safety and security. Privatisation of space occurs so that people may protect themselves against crime.

3.7 Pseudo Public Spaces:

The term "semi-public space" or "pseudo-public space" refers to places that seem to be public spaces but lack the essence of open, free and accessible public spaces. Typical examples are shopping malls, stadiums and theme parks which are for the public, but are privatised spaces. The public access these spaces for the capitalist profit of the owners of such spaces and the spaces are intended to generate an income for private investment in many instances. Political demonstrations, for example, can't be performed in these open spaces, as these activities are not for commercial reasons or consumption which promotes the economic benefits of the space's use since stadiums, like theme parks, require people to access the space on condition that they pay for the right to do so. Although any member of the public is allowed to access the space through specific conditions, it is not truly public, as it is not accessible to everyone (Hong Kong Initiative of Planning, 2001).

A pseudo-public space is apparently a fake public space. It is a public space that appears to be public and democratic, but is actually a private space, privatised and controlled by specific rules and regulations. These public spaces are private, but are designed in such a way that people perceive them to be public. This indicates that pseudo public spaces create illusions and perceptions that blur the fine line between public and private spaces (Hong Kong Initiative of Planning, 2001).

Public space may still be publicly owned. This often means it is regulated by municipalities or the state. The literature on the privatisation of the public sphere does not discuss properly the processes that transform public space that remains publicly owned. Mitchell and Staeheli (2006) refer to these spaces as pseudo spaces. These spaces comprise public spaces that have transitioned from being completely private or public to some amount of use.

Public spaces that are pseudo spaces are parks, streets, pavements and shopping malls that are regulated by the government, and are often controlled, managed and surveilled. These pseudo public spaces which exist in the city are often inclusive and are also for citizen use, however these spaces exist in isolation and are not continuous. They are spatially segregated by other spaces that are purchased in the city and are intended for other uses or even personalised and exclusive. Exclusive spaces cut off pseudo public space continuity as a result of privatisation.

Cities such as New York and London have an abundance of these types of spaces. As a result of unpaid endeavours to revitalise inner city spaces, the cities have increasingly made clear or known which users they imagine will use future public spaces ―that look public but in fact are under control; either from private security guards (i.e. waterfronts, commercial malls), or from publicly hired security employees (semi-public parks), or by regular police officers" (Gendrot, 2006:1). The problem of pseudo spaces in the city does not arise from the negative or poor legislature on public space, but rather, the concept of public space has transformed according to the identity of people. The poor are considered undesirable categories of citizens and have been excluded them from the spatial use of public spaces (Gendrot, 2006).

Inner city trends have developed in order to privatise public space as a ―means of creating order, control, predictability, comfort, sameness, and security in public spaces in order to promote recreational, entertainment, and shopping opportunities" (Davis, 1992; Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006; Ploeg, 2006).

Kirby (2007) believes that the social welfares of pseudo spaces accessible to the public are overlooked, whereas the social benefits of traditionally imagined public space are generally inflated. In addition, Brill (1989) highlights the loss of public life which pseudo spaces create, which aims to invoke nostalgic notions of a public life that he believes never really existed in the first place. In spite of these conflicting views, what does remain constant in the literature is the common concern that more places that have always been viewed as public spaces in contemporary cities are really privately owned and controlled.

Privatisation of public spaces now means that these are accessible only to certain people or may be restricted to specific members only. This type of exclusion has created the concept of pseudo-public spaces. Pseudo-private spaces are another form of exclusive space, where a space is still public, but seems to be private and to which access is thereby restricted (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006). Gated communities, streets that are patrolled by private companies or the erection of boom-gates to restrict access are examples of pseudo public spaces. This type of privatisation of public space is especially common in South Africa (Landman, 2004)

The problem arises as the entities in control of these spaces desire to enforce their own methods of development and design through economic spheres and security, and thus commodification of space and privatisation for security result in the public life of people

being controlled in public space and pseudo spaces. Also, collectively, through manipulation of these spaces by private hands, whether space is privatised through commodification or for security, a defined consequence ensues with regard to public space, because it raises the question of ―to whom does the city belong?" (Sassen,1998; Zukin, 2000).

3.8 International and local precedent studies

This section of the chapter examines three interventions using precedent studies to place in context public space within city centres. This precedent study will discuss and illustrate modern and contemporary examples to explain how public spaces are used and viewed in different case study contexts. Also, international case study examples will be used to reveal alternative methodologies and differences in the nature of public space, both from both social and spatial perspectives.

This section explains further the different uses and contexts of public space by discussing how different public spaces in different cities are used, controlled, regulated and privatised for diverse reasons and purposes. The review of different case studies of public spaces reinforces the substantial evidence that public space is not defined by one universal term. It is appropriately defined by entities that have created public spaces in cities and use it for their different purposes.

Public space, although being used for different reasons, either maintained by public or private entities, could, in all cases, be privatised providing the common denominator in all case studies. Privatisation occurs through the enforcement of law or security, or zoning by the government, or private development which has a direct impact on people‗s access to and use of it. Both international and national case studies have been revealed below. The context of public space has been discovered in different city contexts such as New York, London, Cape Town and Johannesburg.

3.8.1 The Privatisation of Public Space in New York City, USA
New York City is a prime inner city area where public space is being privatised rapidly for development. It has often been an example for major cities in the US and around the world, and has, therefore, been highlighted as a contemporary example of a city with great amounts of privatisation of public space. In New York, with a population exceeding 20 million people, the metropolitan area exhibited a great demand to be regularised by urban policies.

Privatised public space policy was initiated in the United States of America and this policy, called BIDs, has proven to be extremely contentious. Supporters of the policy state that privatisation of space has led to significant improvements in maintenance and use and add that there has been rapid improvement in the public realm which has been enabled due to the policy.

Whyte (1988) states that, since the 1980s, approximately 1.1 million square feet of new public open space was created in New York City. New York has more public space than any other city in the United States. Kayden (2000) states that New York City has over the past two decades had about 503 public spaces privatised under the influence of the 1961 Incentive Inner City Zoning policy. This is an accumulation of over 82 acres of public space coming under private ownership in the city, with 10% of public space being privately owned in Central Park alone. However, in New York, the impacts of the privatisation of public space are more severe, as there are differences between BIDs and new developments in the UK and the US.

The privatisation of public space is a clear concept, as we understand that space is popularly being privately owned and managed, the implications of BIDs and the organisation's affiliation to local government, particularly, bears examination. In the US, BIDs reflects the rise of private sector governance, but in the UK, where the policy is not as influential, the question is whether policy will provide benefits for local government, or whether it signals the erosion of local authority which means democratic control of the public realm.

On the one hand, it is because of a shortage of available funds from government that every new public space in the city now requires finance in order for it to be maintained and thus spaces are required, by law, to be privatised. On the other hand:

> contemporary regulations create an incentive for business to step into this breach. For instance, in 1961, Minton (2006) states that New York City instituted a zoning resolution that granted developers contributing to creation and/or maintenance of public space a bonus floor area ratio of up to 20 percent of the total floor area of their building. The bigger the contribution to public space for development, the bigger the bonus. This means that a covered pedestrian space with significant social amenities provides up to 12:1 FAR bonus to the developer, whereas a sidewalk widening renders

a mere 3:1 bonus (Minton, 2006). The upshot is that, for every square foot of indoor public space built, a developer is allowed to construct an additional 12 sqft of residential or commercial space on top of the allowed zoning code

According to Carr, (1992) owners and managers of privatised public spaces incorporate public welfare, visual enhancement, environmental conservation and economic sustainability of space and will prevent dilapidation and decay. Therefore, zoning of public space has become popular to offer facets of public space to different entities who wanted to purchase it. The zoning permits private developers to construct structures that exceed standard floor-area-ratios and height restrictions if they are able to create public space within their private developments.

Privatisation of public space has been formalised under incentive zoning policies, which government finds effective in the regulation of space in the United States. The demands to regulate the private provision of public space have heightened and society's increasing needs for better access and use of public spaces has encouraged planning legislatures and authorities to adopt higher design standards and maintenance.

 Nevertheless, critics have argued that privatising or control over space is undemocratic and has created controlled, exclusionary enclaves and segregation in the urban environment. The class segregation has also been intensified as public space has separated classes into districts, such as the elite from the ghettos, which has caused social problems in neighbourhood districts. Critics find the process contradictory, as the same process has led to citizens' lack of access to and exclusion from public spaces. They believe that public spaces have lost their nature of openness, especially in New York City.

In addition, public space developments are known for their private security presence and the banning of specific behaviours such as begging or rollerblading or cycling. According to Minton, (2006:4) ―They also share a vision of public space as a consumer product, sold through the branding and marketing of the area as a ‗location destination‘, offering a particular ‗experience' (Minton, 2006). Supporters of this approach see this as a strength, differentiating one location from another, while critics state that this has resulted in homogenous spaces, where disneyification and globalisation has blended public spaces which now all have the same neutral appeal and look.

3.8.2 The Privatisation of Public Space in Broad Gate Estate and Canary Wharf, London

Broad Gate, is a development that is approximately 30 acres in size. It was purchased by British land companies and is managed by Broad Gate Estates. This company mostly deals with the management and privatisation of public estates. They ensure inner-city renewal and maintain city estates so as to allow for financial resources to be consistent for renewal and to avoid estate decay (Minton, 2006).

The Broad Gate Centre and Canary Wharf are among the initial developments and are a prime example of the privatisation of public space which was developed in the 1990s. Booms in the economy in the 1990s resulted in urban development for the purposes of economic development. Broad Gate and Canary Wharf were at the time the first key developments to redirect the needs of the new economy, as office space was also required to support the booms in the service sector and business (Minton, 2006).

In terms of the privatisation of public space for security; private security companies ensure surveillance by patrolling the estate, 24 hours a day (Minton, 2006). According to access rights, private security officers are not allowed to exclude citizens from using the public space although, as private property, they are permitted to use request removals of users of the space. The public space has been designed to enhance the impacts of security; an inward-looking design permits it to be an enclave of public space which would only attract wealthy employees. The high-class techno buildings will appear attractive to the upper class business elite.

3.9 Privatisation of Public Space within a South African Context

Public space, which is deemed as exclusionary, is made clear by Knox and Pinch's (2006) definition of public spaces. They define public space again as ―space that is owned by the state or local government and theoretically which is accessible to citizens but which in reality may be policed or controlled to exclude sections of society" (Knox and Pinch, 2006:5).

In the context of South African Public Space, public spaces are pseudo spaces. Mitchell & Staeheli (2006) reaffirm that such space is seen as public, however it is privately owned through policy and restrictions to access. This demonstrates the obsession for private parties, by mandate of the state, to control public spaces, thus excluding the poor and other general members of the public from accessing areas which are supposed to allow their access.

Discussed below are case study examples of public space contestations in South Africa. Different precedent studies have been selected to illustrate the complexities faced within Public Spaces, due to external forces manipulating spaces through privatisation.

3.9.1 V and A Waterfront, Cape Town
The V&A Waterfront in Cape Town is one of South Africa's leading tourist destinations. It is claimed to be a public open space for people to visit and engage in entertainment and interaction with others, yet it is privately owned and, while access seems to be unrestricted and not controlled, this not the case. Public space is not accessible to all different types of people.

There are examples of cases of people being excluded from occupying public space in the city, and people feel that this is a matter of law as it is a violation of citizens' rights and their right to use the public space. An example of a local court case, in which exclusion of access to public spaces occurred and which has been referred to as a denial of rights of access or marginalisation and which was successfully challenged, is that of the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront v The Police Commissioner, Western Cape (Coggin, 2012).

Poor people who beg for money were frequently found to be occupying the public space. Begging was, therefore, banned and this was seen as a violation of the right to access based on these people's socio-economic status. An interdict by the public was submitted to the Cape Town court against the Waterfront Company stating that they were in violations of people's rights. People of any status should be able to occupy public space at the Waterfront. And people should be able to occupy public space as they wish in such places, as public spaces are public for anyone in the city to visit (Coggin, 2012).

Citizen's rights encompass being able to visit any area of the city without being excluded or not permitted to visit a specific area. Globally, marginalisation in the inner-city results from the privatisation of public space, where spaces which are known to be public, are effectively under private control. Conditions or prices are attached to accessing such spaces and this ought not to be the case (Coggin, 2012).

According to the case:

> The owners argued that the Waterfront is, in-fact, private property, even though the public were allowed to make use of it; this is in accordance with the contested

definitions of Public Space, is therefore a pseudo space, as the Waterfront company claimed that, through ownership, they accordingly had the right to exclude people from their property who they did not wish to have there.

The Court, however, pointed out that this argument was true only on paper. In reality, the Waterfront is an intensely public space. It contains, among others, a post office, a police charge office, public roads (Coggin, 2012). The court thereafter ruled that, in fact, the Waterfront was indeed a public space, and that, therefore, to limit people from accessing it would not only be in conflict with the constitutional rights of freedom of use and dignity which people are entitled to, but prohibiting access shows a blatant disregard for people and the poor ought not to be treated according to their status or race for that matter. The court stated that begging was vital to the livelihood of the two citizens in this case. The court further found that private property rights had to give way to their rights to life and dignity (Coggin, 2012).

In this case, the verdict ruled that the owners of public space cannot decide who accesses or uses the space which is open to the public. The discrimination of people on the basis of class, especially, is unacceptable. Even if the property belongs to private individuals, it has a public character, and it is thus incorrect for the owners to select who they allow to invade the public space. The court stated that this also applies to and has vital penalties concerning other _privately owned' properties that have purchased public space, which comprise developments with a new urbanism design and other gated suburbs, as well as any other municipality or private entity who intends to gentrify urban areas (Coggin, 2012).

3.9.2 Melrose Arch, Johannesburg
Melrose Arch is another example of a public space in South Africa which is privatised. According to Murray:

> It offers an appealing alternative to the sequestered _fortress city' approach that defines mega-project building schemes in the greater Johannesburg metropolitan region, Melrose Arch has done little to curb the deleterious effects spatial fragmentation and socio-cultural segregation of the urban landscape (2012:4).

It is a mixed use development on a commercial land use scheme which is driven for capital investment. It evokes marginalisation, as the space has been taken over to develop private-

capital interests over public use. Murray states that ―Melrose Arch is infused with ambivalence, paradox and contradiction‖, (Murray, 2013:3) as it is for the access of high-class citizens and as a public space, its architecture and target market is a pull factor for the wealthy where the poor or the ―other‖ are not allowed.

Melrose Arch‗s design seems to promote socio-cultural diversity for an inclusive contemporary urban life, but, in privatising this public space, it nurtures a narrowness and exclusivity inevitably reinforcing the existing spatial inequalities. Allen (2006) therefore states that these post-public places are ―accessible yet closed, inclusive yet controlled‖ (Allen 2006, 442). ―The registers of power that operate at Melrose Arch are more subtle, but no less insidious, than the hard-edged policing and management of fortified enclaves‖ (Allen 2006, 454).

In a case study on the privatisation of public space in South Africa, on the city of Johannesburg, citizens believe that their contact and interactions with people in a public space are vital for the inner city experience and livelihood (Murray, 2004). Citizenship is felt strongly through a person‗s physical presence in public spaces in the city (Landman, 2006). People have a right to move about as they please, and thus the privatisation of these spaces causes marginalisation and denial of the rights to access and use the city by restricting people‗s rights to occupy places in which they can discover people of diversity and interact or socialise outside of their homes (Coggin, 2012).

In conclusion of the precedent studies section, these diverse examples, whether on a macro scale such as New York City, or a microcosm of water-front development such as the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town, display how public spaces within the built environment are controlled and privatised through different policies, mechanisms of development or private companies. There is a very fine line between public and private space if the public is excluded from the space. People or citizens should not have to lose their rights of access within a public space, although private companies develop urban renewal projects to revive or maintain public space.

It is also evident through South African precedent studies that, because there is a blurry line between public and private spaces, water-front projects are accused of being pseudo public spaces. These different examples from different world spaces offered an opportunity to

examine how mechanisms privatise public space and the challenges arising from the privatisation of space.

3.10 Who has rights to Public Space?

This section suggests that the privatisation of public space restricts people's rights to access. Public space is seen as a place for interaction where citizens are able to be social; citizens are also allowed to practise active political lives for debate, change and action. Privatisation of spaces regulates practices of public life and imposes restrictions on the activities and behaviour of people (Zukin, 1991). Public space has become a battleground. People are denied, "the widespread enjoyment and use of public space as it is a place where private interests increasingly successfully compete against the public interest" (Goheen, 1998: 481). For example, public beaches in Durban and in many other places globally are being developed into waterfront properties by private developers although people/the public would prefer to use the beach in its original form. There is a weakness exposed by the fragmented landscape of public space in the contemporary city (Davis, 1990).

Public space is not accessible to all different types of people. Citizen's rights are limited. They are not able to visit any area of the city without being excluded or not permitted to visit a specific area (Boyer, 1993). People believe that their most enriching experiences in the city centre are experienced when they access public spaces where they are able to freely interact, be mobile and exist freely among other people (Coggin, 2012). This then results in restriction of rights to public space (Ruppert, 2006). People's rights to public space are limited by three processes, namely spatial segregation by security, class segregation through private ownership of public space and laws of property.

This privatisation through security is consistent through design. Defensive design, rather than promoting or enhancing safety, can actually work in reverse. When some citizens are denied entry to specific areas and various groups cannot interact in public space, the morphologies of fear enhance the need for defensive architecture, while urbanism may heighten conflict rather than prevent it, thus strengthening social inequalities and the segregation of groups (Rabinovitch, 1992).

Davis describes secure parking areas a ―twenty-four hour, state-of-the-art security‖ for private companies. Clearly, this kind exclusion and segregation through security is bad for the

functioning of public space. The main point is that democratic public spaces are eliminated when municipalities and businesses assert security of the city (Graham, 1995).

When private interests provide security or make rules for a public space, they can directly or indirectly exclude certain groups or types of people. There are public spaces that seem to be accessible to all, but are privately owned and controlled through security and surveillance. Middle/upper classes see order, comfort, and security as imperative to a properly functioning public space, and seek to exclude those groups who do not fit their descriptions of order, comfort and security (Ploeg, 2006).

 Davis examines the privatisation of public space as one that is used for the deliberate segregation of classes in the Los Angeles city. Los Angeles is, according to many authors, a paradigmatic example of a large, contemporary postmodern metropolis (Soja, 1989). This city has become, according to Davis, the epitome of the fragmented, stereotyped city, being riddled with crime and thus promoting fear, in which "most of the bungalows in the inner ring now tend to resemble cages in a zoo. The working class families must now lock themselves in every night from the zombified city outside" (Davis, 1992: 7).

Davis makes several points that state that the privatisation of space in the city is for the main purpose of creating elitist enclaves and armouring the city against the poorer people. The redeveloped areas ought not to be entertaining vagrants and vagabonds or the homeless, as this projects negative connotations concerning development for the city. Also, the middle and upper class should desire to occupy the inner-city and therefore the poor ought not to prevail in areas of intended investment in the city. ―This armouring is done so that the middle and upper classes will not be deterred from living within the city" (Davis, 1992: 160-161). ―In areas where middle and lower classes may potentially cross paths, precautions are taken to ensure their separation" (Davis, 1992:163).

Through privatisation, the use value of space is being undermined and space is thus becoming less and less public, causing particular groups of people to be excluded. ―In an era of the minimalist state, the economy and the private sector has transformed the role of the state in protection of public space in the inner city" (Davis, 1990; Ellin, 1996; Zukin, 1991). From this perspective, much of civic life now occurs in privately owned spaces such as shopping malls and entertainment malls that are not accessible to all people (Davis, 1990). Also in

insecure cities, both the private companies and government are colonising public space and ensuring policing of space for their own use of that space (Mitchell, 1995).

Public space also has to keep up with the image of being a positive and prosperous space where progress is witnessed for people's viewing. Therefore, the poor accessing public spaces brings with it a negative connation of poverty and a lack of development in the city. Davis states that securities of public spaces are there to prevent the rich interacting with the poor. Davis asserts that the modern obsession with security ruins any chance for urban reform and social integration, since it has become a form of social warfare that "supports the interests of the middle class against the welfare of the urban poor" (Davis, 1992: 155).

In the inner-city area especially, private ownership through acquisition does not always suggest that the space may be wholly reserved for private use. Even private properties by law need to reserve specific areas for public space, through title deeds and leases. Examples are Times Square, pedestrian passages (such as the walkway in Central Plaza in Hong Kong). Although these are under their private ownership, they are supposed to be accessible open spaces (Hong Kong Institute of Planning, 2001).

Non-paying public space is under state ownership, but private ownership has become popular in inner-city areas for investment and fast-paced development. This indicates that government has developed a new role in terms of public space. It is no longer the owner in terms of just leasing out public space, rather, it has become a mechanism for the regulation of public space which has become the greatest commodity in the inner-city area (Landman, 2004).

Nevertheless, the law of private property in cities is concerned, not with the democratic interests of the public, but has rather prioritised the consumption and capital interests of minority groups. Laws governing public spaces in cities have therefore become biased in the sense that they assert special rights to purchasers over those of users of spaces (Minton, 2006).

The privileged capitalist, consumer class of corporate individuals thereby colonise, in a sense, space in the city. Yet the irony is that only national and local governments contain the power and authority to renegotiate legislation. Nevertheless, due to neoliberal trends and capitalist global pressure, governments have a weaker hold on rights and are unable to "secure rights to

public space through democratic processes and institutions". The state is, initially, the owner of public space as the government is a servant to public and civil interests (Mitchell, 1995).

Private property laws give disproportionate powers to purchasers; there are several examples of state-owned public spaces that are also becoming more exclusive and less public, due to the influence of corporate and private market individuals and consumer citizenship. Moreover, many public spaces that were once spaces of leisure and social gathering are being sold off to the private sector to minimise the financial costs of maintaining the space and development of public spaces that is financially unviable for local government's capacity (Landman, 2004).

3.11 Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that public space in the city is controlled by regulatory regimes, for while it is through the practices of agents that public space is brought into being, or that public space is taken and made, these practices are constituted, shaped, guided, constrained and configured by regulatory regimes. In contradistinction to social and political theories of the public sphere then, regulatory practices of capitalism and neo-liberalism have restricted freedom and liberty in public space. This suggests that the obsession with the control of public space has to be minimised. The requirement is to move away from resources, spaces and goods as constituting public space regulatory towards regulatory regimes. Ruppert suggests that ―systems of laws, regulations, designs, surveillance and security" should shape the possibilities of who and what constitutes the public, so that public spaces are protected and so that the social and political role these provide for citizens may be protected as well (Ruppert, 2006).

In addition, Harvey (2006) states in the *Politics of Public Space* that, in the contemporary city, ―no amount of new urbanism understood as urban design can promote a greater sense of civic responsibility and participation if the intensity of private property arrangements and the organisation of commodity as spectacle (of which Disneyfication is a prime example) remains untouched" (Harvey, 2006). This implies that the privatisation of space ought to have a civic purpose for the citizens of the city; space is not a tangible asset or a commodity of spectacle in the city.

Finally, in this chapter, the processes of the privatisation of public spaces are described and discussed. The processes influencing the decrease in open public spaces comprise the

commodification and the ‚securitisation' of space, where there has been a drive to secure the city through increased walls, gates and surveillance (Davis, 1992; 2006). Cities are a collection of microcosms of the postmodern trend where theme parks and consumer centres are the main development priorities, so that cities may attract investment through consumer expenditure within development. This has rapidly increased the privatisation of public spaces with private developers constructing postmodern themed spaces. The intensification of privatisation of space as a result of commodification and security has resulted in a further exclusion of citizens from public space. Therefore, in postmodern cities where privatisation of space has become a norm, citizens need to fight for their ‚rights to the city'.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the types of methods that was used to conduct the research, while also specifying the techniques that have been used to gather the data. The methodological approach adopts a qualitative study. This study includes the use of instruments such as questionnaires, interviews, observations and site visits. This chapter aims to unfold in greater detail the steps that were carried out in order to obtain data relating to the key objectives stated for this study.

The data that was collected and analysed depends on both primary as well as secondary sources of data. This thesis adopted a case study approach to producing qualitative data. Two individual case studies of private ownership over public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area are chosen, namely the controversy regarding the potential privatisation of Vetch's Beach on the Durban Beachfront in the Durban inner-city coastal area and secondly, the privatisation of public space which was researched extensively within the Point Development precinct in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The data was be analysed using thematic analysis in order to identify and co-ordinate patterns of relevant qualitative data. A thematic analysis of the data caused the emergence of coherent patterns and themes which could be organised into several categories related to the privatisation of public space.

This chapter begins by briefly examining each case study of the study areas. In this section, the sources of data adopted for this research dissertation are described. This chapter, in addition, describes the sampling technique that was adopted for the research and also reveals the questionnaire and interview process for collection of the data. Lastly, the methods which were adopted for data analysis will be discussed.

4.2 Case Study Methodology

Researchers have made wide use of this qualitative research method to examine contemporary real-life situations and provide the basis for the application of ideas and the extension of methods. Case study investigation helps us to understand multi-faceted grounds of research that can explain people's experiences or contribute to an understanding or penetrate to a greater depth than what has previously been discovered in preceding research. Case studies, in

fact, highlight an in-depth contextual analysis of a study. They may be used to explain events or conditions and their relationships.

Yin (1984) defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. This section introduces the case studies that had been selected for this research as the study sites. These case studies were chosen as they distinctly represent different examples of the privatisation of public beachfront space in terms of scale and function (Yin, 1984). A case study methodology, which was adopted in this research, allows for an in-depth contextual understanding of complex issues concerned with the study. It has been chosen so that privatised public spaces along the coast of Durban can be compared. Vetch's beach is a prime public space involved in an attempted privatisation by the Point Development Company for over a decade. Privatisation in this inner city area has been and still is objected by Save Vetch's association. Vetch's beach has been a well-located public space in the inner-city that people were able to access and use for a long time. This beach has been under threat of being privatised by private companies for years.

The two case studies were chosen because they represent two of three developments that involved the privatisation of public space in the Durban beachfront area. Initially, the military base was included as one of the case studies, but difficulties arose with its inclusion as it dwelled more on land affairs and privatisation in the Durban Inner-city coastal area than the privatisation of public space, thus making the scope of the project too broad. The military base thus became irrelevant as a case study for this research, and had to be excluded. The two case studies selected are Vetch's Beach and the Point Development which are very different from one another. The Point Development in which uShaka Marine World exists is a commercial public space and Vetch's Beach is an open Public Space. The expansion of the Point Development onto Vetch's beach makes it a sensitive case study area as the disputes to protect Vetch's Beach from privatisation are very controversial.

The Point Development Precinct was privatised and enables access to specific users only. An in-depth analysis of the case study allowed the researcher to discover the impact of privatisation on public spaces. The researcher needed to discover how and why space is commoditised in the city. The second case study, which is the Point Waterfront Development

site is owned by the Point Development Company and that privatisation has impacted on citizens' access to and use of space and beachfront property. In addition, the researcher aimed to discover how the privatisation of that pubic space enabled development and benefits to citizens in the context of a postmodern society.

4.3. Qualitative Data Methods

A qualitative data method was utilised for this research, since the aim of the qualitative method is to derive the opinions of experts or participants to allow deductions to be reached concerning the research objectives. The research method for the study was involved in collecting qualitative data from conversations and interviews with users of public space and private developers and stakeholders, also by means of data collected from meetings with authorities and developers from private companies who have purchased public space.

 There are numerous perspectives that all people have regarding public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal. This qualitative research allowed for the research participation of different people so as to discover exactly how they value public space in the city, as well as how people are looking to use and represent public space through their diverse worldviews (Smith, 2001).

Qualitative research aims to derive several understandings and dimensions of discovery rather than to find a dominant interpretation of the world which explains society and space (Winchester, 2005). It is not analytical and factual, based on the hard existence of scientific proof like quantitative data (Longwe, 2010). Qualitative data is accused of being too subjective or biased and unable to be duplicated (Dwyer & Limb, 2001). Qualitative research has, despite this opinion, gained respectability over the years, as a result of its ―interpretive turn" Therefore, qualitative researchers have constantly been able to protect their methodologies and this has resulted in valuable sources of research (Mottier, 2005:1).

4.3.1 Data Sources:
The research was conducted using a combination of primary and secondary data sources. The following section explains these two sources in detail, noting the techniques employed under each data type, i.e. primary and secondary. This section also lists and explains the secondary data sources that was used.

4.3.2 Collection of Data:

For this study, the empirical analysis depends on various types of data collection. This includes interviews with users of public space, observation and visual analysis and interviews with vital professionals and officials who could contribute information regarding the status of public space in the region. Primary data refers to the collection of all the original or raw data collected by the researcher. Secondary Data which was used for the study is a written constitution and documents obtained from the municipality.

4.3.3 Primary Data Collection

Primary data is specifically important and is reliable for the study, since the researcher was able to derive first-hand information based on people's experiences within the relevant case studies. These include data obtained by the researcher from interviews with key respondents, observation studies and photographs, as well as primary documentary material. Other primary materials that had been sources of data include newspaper articles and documents. Each primary data collection method will be explained in more detail in the following section.

a) Observation and Visual Analysis

Kitchin and Tate (2000) state that observation is dependent on the capabilities or potential of the observer to interpret live, visual events and occurrences as they unfold in a place in time. Observation by research allowed the researcher to watch people and their behaviours with regard to their environment and their surroundings. Observing people gave the observer an opportunity to understand why people behave the way they do. In specific reference to this study, observation had allowed the researcher to watch people's behaviour in public spaces to deduce how people use and value such spaces. It was also be necessary to understand how mechanisms of security in public spaces act as ways of privatising and excluding these.

According to Kitchin and Tate, (2000) there are two means of observation, namely Straight Observation and Participant Observation. Straight Observation is when the researcher is detached from the situation that s/he is observing. In other words, Participant Observation is where the observer is within the environment or situation s/he is observing. It was important to use both types for this study as this allowed the researcher to recognise how people use public space so that its intangible value to the public could be discerned. Design and structures also affects people's use of public space, it could exclude them, restrict their access or not.....

b) Photography

Photographs are actual proof of what exists in reality. Cameras are able to capture images of tangible buildings and structures, actions of people and the activities they perform. This means of collection of data was imperative for the study to use as it allows the researcher to capture how public space was being used and how people thrived within it. It allowed the researcher to perhaps discover the importance and significance of public spaces through people's interactions with the spaces. Photographs were also able to capture intangible moments and people's experiences within public spaces.

In this study, the researcher would be able, through photography, to scale the extent of the public space and discover and document the development of public spaces, or what creates public spaces to see the impact development has on public space. Also, by taking photographs of the case-study area, mechanisms that control, design and regulate public space was recorded and documented.

4.3.4 Secondary Data Collection

Secondary data refers to all published material that has already been analysed. A number of secondary sources that were used for this thesis, include books and journals. The Spatial Economic Development Framework had, in addition, provided insight to how the Durban Inner-city coastal area is being developed. It was thus necessary to derive the relevant information for the study area from the latest 2015 version of the Economic Impact assessment done for the Point Development Area. This type of data enabled the researcher to gain information from existing literature that may add value and truth through research for the study. The information that was gathered for this research comprises of government documents, books explaining the dynamics of public and private spaces, and other case studies which would be analysed under the precedent studies section of this dissertation (Longwe, 2010).

a) Newspaper Articles

Several newspaper articles were researched for the purpose of this study. Newspaper articles form an imperative body of knowledge as they provide up to the minute, timeless information regarding controversies that may happen within the case studies. Relevant to this study, numerous newspaper articles, specifically from *The Mercury* and *The Daily News* were

selected. Journalists such as Mr. Tony Carnie, have written articles regarding the privatisation of public space within the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area.

The Save Vetch's Association and the public had attempted to prevent the expansion of the Point Development Project onto Vetch's Beach and this had aroused a lot of controversy, especially in the media. Many articles had been accessible regarding the privatisation of public space within the relevant case studies and provide proof of debate, attention and controversy.

Newspapers were an especially valuable source of data as articles are written by journalists reporting on events which are relevant and current. Newspapers are chronological data sources which are very informative. Newspaper articles from *The Mercury* and *The Daily News* will be reviewed from 2005 up until late 2014. Important interviews and information were taken from newspaper articles to provide relevant insight for this research.

b) Aerial Photography and Spatial Development Frameworks

Aerial Photographs provided useful data as they show the entire region and where public space is located within the Durban Inner-city coastal Area. Maps were viewed from SDF's maps which pinpoint the geographical location of public spaces and the developments within and around them.

4.4 Sampling Technique:
The research had chosen to adopt the purposive sampling technique that allows for a selection of specified individuals who the researcher believes will offer accurate relevance, depth and contribution of data to the study (Robinson, 1998). Participants were chosen according to the principles of purposive sampling, a form of non-probability sampling based upon a variety of measures which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and willingness to participate in the research (Oliver 2006).

A purposive sampling technique is a non-probability method which enables the researcher to identify important people or experts in the field, specifically for the research, instead of selecting a random sample of the population (Sheskin, 1985). A purposive sampling method was therefore chosen for this study to identify the officials and representatives from the Save Vetch's Association, the Point Development Company, eThekwini Municipality and the Public works department.

The stakeholders were identified through meetings with owners or representatives of the Point Development companies that regulate public space at Vetch's Beach and a representative of Save Vetch's Association was also nominated.

4.4.1 Target Group
Key informants are:

i)   The Chief Project Manager, Mr Nelson Nair, from the Department of Public Works.

ii)   Respondent 1, Land Use Management Planner from eThekwini municipality.

iii)   Respondent 2, Representative from the Save Vetch's Association.

iv)   Users of public space (citizens).

v)   Musa Mbhele, the Deputy City Manager for Economic Development and Planning.

vi)   Soban Beverah, the Project Director of the Point Development Precinct.

4.4.2 The Interview Process
The researcher chose to use a semi-structured interview process.

Questions were selected prior to the interviews, but these interviews were not be restricted to these questions. Since qualitative interviews seek to understand selected people ―on their own terms and how they make meaning of their own lives, experiences, and cognitive processes", (Brenner 2006: 357) Semi-structured interviews were conducted.

4.4.3 Why is there a need for interviews?
A conversation between the interviewer and respondent allowed the interviewee to explain his/her knowledge, insight and experiences in his/her own words. The specified target group for these interviews are users of public space. Therefore the information derived from the users of public space added more depth and meaning to the research (Valentine, 2005).

The aim of the interview process was for the researcher to retrieve information from the users of public space. The interview method that was selected in the research process aids the researcher to retrieve citizens' experiences on the ground, and the meanings that they attach to their experiences in public spaces (Cloke et al., 2004).

Interviews were also conversational by nature and each interviewee would have an individual experience to discuss a variety of ways in which people perceive public spaces. This also

allowed the researcher to understand an individual's view and discover his/her knowledge and opinions in a way which would not affect the credibility of the respondent (Cloke et al., 2004; Valentine, 2005).

4.4.4. Key Stakeholder Interviews
Information, initially was collected from a newspaper interview with Mr Neels Brink, the project director of the Point Development Company and it was also important to obtain an interview with Respondent 1, a representative member of the Save Vetch's Association. It was necessary, in addition, to interview, also a representative from the Land Use Management Department from eThekwini Municipality who had claimed to have some insight in terms of public space within the region. The respondent 2 that was interviewed was from eThekwini Municipality, Respondent 2 is a LUMS manager at the Town Planning Department. Musa Mbhele, the Deputy City Manager for Economic Development and Planning, and Soban Beverah, the Project Developer of the Point Development Precinct were also interviewed.

4.4.5 Random Sampling
A simple random sampling technique was adopted by the researcher. A simple random sample is a sample in which every member of the population has an equal chance of being chosen. People were selected within the case study areas. Thirty people were selected randomly as a sample size, as representatives of general members of the public. These people were also users of public space.

A public space users' survey was designed to allow the researcher to ask the users general research-related questions. The survey was used to discover people's perceptions and preferences regarding public space. The survey randomly selected thirty candidates to discover what the people identified as public spaces, and to learn the importance and preferences in terms of public spaces of those citizens who had been using them. People from within both case study areas within the Durban Inner-city coastal area were asked questions about their perceptions of public space. People were asked questions about why they used public space or whether they liked uShaka Marine World's public spaces or the public space at Vetch's Beach. The researcher also wanted to understand from the public how they felt within public spaces. The researcher used this random sample, the public space users' survey to understand whether or not people were controlled, excluded from or had restricted access due to privatisation.

4.5 Data Analysis

Primary data that was collected from the above mentioned sources in this chapter had been analysed. Qualitative data obtained from interview process was be recorded and transcribed. The information gathered from conversations was typed and described in a thematic format. Opinions, facts and knowledge from experiences were thereafter derived from the key respondents to discover the impact of privatising public space.

For other primary data analysis, the research through purposive sampling conducted interviews with representatives from private companies that had purchased large facets of public space. This enabled the researcher to discover what those companies intended to do with the public space. This allowed the researcher to discover how the privatisation impacted upon the public space. Interviews with people using the public space aided the researcher to deduce the experiences people had within that space and allowed for the discovery of the importance of that public space to citizens.

Data was analysed from questionnaire surveys and were represented within graphs, such as pie charts, to compare people's opinions gathered by means of the survey. Other data interpretations and information gathered from interviews and questionnaires directed towards employees of the municipality and public works was presented in a thematic format to discover the role of governance in privatising public spaces.

For secondary data analysis, information was synthesised and presented thematically from newspaper articles, maps and documents and put into context within this research presentation (Brenner, 2006). Thematic analysis of data allowed the data to be presented in a logical sequence and to expose implicit and explicit ideas within the data. In addition, thematic data analysis was used to identify and group relevant themes and ideas to allow for a systematic and coherent presentation of analysis.

4.6 Limitations

a) The study area did not incorporate the entire Point Development Precinct. People within the two public spaces referred to previously were selected.

b) The study faced many time and financial constraints. Time management was necessary, especially in the collection of data as the process was time-consuming.

c) As a result of the controversial nature of this research topic, many people refrained from being active participants in the research process. Many people were not willing to answer questions by means of interviews or surveys.

d) In future, the controversial nature of this topic within the case study may diminish and thus any future study might gain access to information that the researcher had been refused. Some information was not disclosed by the municipality and other key stakeholders.

e) The interview process had been bias by the respondents' answering of questions or in their unwillingness or lack of knowledge to answer specific questions. Nevertheless, the sampling technique provided equivalent information for the purposes of the study based on people's experiences and knowledge within the case studies.

f) Critics of the case study method believed that the study of a small number of cases can offer no grounds for establishing reliability or generalisation of findings. Others felt that the intense exposure to a study of the case biases the findings. Some dismissed case study research as useful only as an exploratory tool

4.7 The Research Breakdown Model

The actual research process will follow Yin's ‗five phases' model, which can be summarised as:

Step one - Compiling Data: the qualitative data for this study was collected from field-notes, interviews, observation, archives and interpreted using the method of thematic interpretation. A set of thematic categories was developed from the literature, the objectives, and the primary data (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Each interview conducted was recorded and transcribed by the researcher, after which common themes were identified from the transcribed interviews. Dey's approach to interpreting qualitative data had been applied (cited in Kitchin & Tate, 2000). This involved a description of the data, classification of the data and connecting concepts across categories. This method was useful as it helped to describe and, in turn, interpret, understand and tease out relationships found in the data collected (cited in Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

Step Two - Disassembling: breaking down the compiled data into smaller fragments meant that the information had to be sorted into several themes which have a logical flow from one

idea to another. This also entailed the data being sub-categorised and thematically divided into separate headings within the same chapter.

The 3rd step of the model is Reassembling ―using substantive themes (or even codes or clusters of codes) to reorganise the disassembled fragments or pieces into different groupings and sequences than might have been in the original notes" (Yin, 2011:177). This step of the data analysis means that, after deconstructing the information into separate headings for a logical format, to reassemble means writing in a way that will link up all the ideas to one another. This means that resembling will have a developed coherency in the information that was presented so that the argument makes logical sense in its presentation and structure.

The next step is interpreting: analysis of data: The analysis of the data ensures that all the data was properly investigated in the context of the research. Proper interpretation of the data means that all the research questions could be answered.

5. Conclusion, which is the final step, is the summary of the research findings (Yin, 2011: 177-179). The findings was derived from comparing the theory and concepts of the literature and conceptual framework with the fieldwork data obtained in the research findings. The conclusion is the final say on the discoveries in the research and provides a clear indication of the discoveries of the research project.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the methodology of the research was discussed. In the next chapter, the two case studies used in this case study methodology will be investigated.

CHAPTER 5: CONTEXT AND THE CASE STUDIES

5.1 Introduction

This study investigates the privatisation of public space within the Durban Inner-city coastal area, therefore it is necessary to introduce and discuss the Point Development and Vetch's Beach, which are the two selected case studies in the context of the Durban Inner-city coastal area. Firstly, the Durban Inner-city coastal area will be introduced and, thereafter, the two selected case studies will be revealed in detail. This chapter is important because it gives an insight to the background of the public spaces within the case study areas.

Public spaces such as the ones that exist within the Durban Inner-city coastal area have, perhaps also been privatised. Public spaces such as the one that exists within the uShaka Marine World of the Point Development, which is a commercial public space, will be discussed, as the researcher aims to discover how this public space is undergoing privatisation. Also, the next case study area, Vetch's Beach has been recognised as a historical public space above the high-water mark of the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The intended privatisation of this public space by private development companies such as the Point Development Company has made it specifically important to investigate with regard to the privatisation of public space within the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

5.2 The Durban Inner-city Coastal Area:

Durban is the second largest industrial city and the second most important population centre in South Africa (Freund & Padayachee, 2002). Its population of over three million representative of all the racial groups in South Africa.
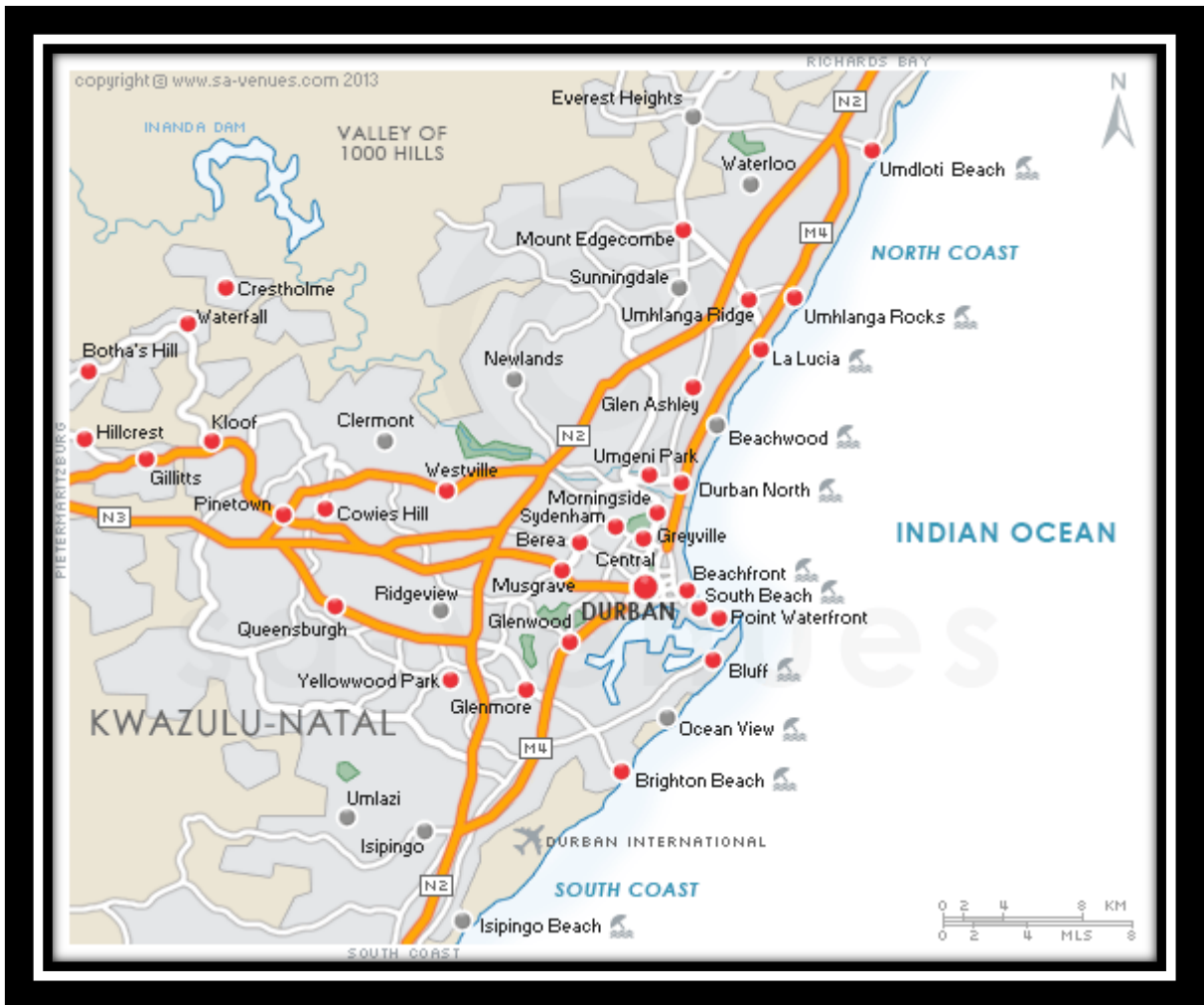
Figure 1: Map of Durban: Source: The Integrated Development Plan for eThekwini Municipality 2015-2016

The vision that was formed states the following:

> By 2020 the eThekwini Municipality will enjoy the reputation of being Africa's most caring and liveable city, where all citizens live in harmony. This Vision will be achieved by growing its economy and meeting people's needs so that all citizens enjoy a high quality of life with equal opportunities, in a city that they are truly proud of (eThekwini Municipality, 2014: 7).
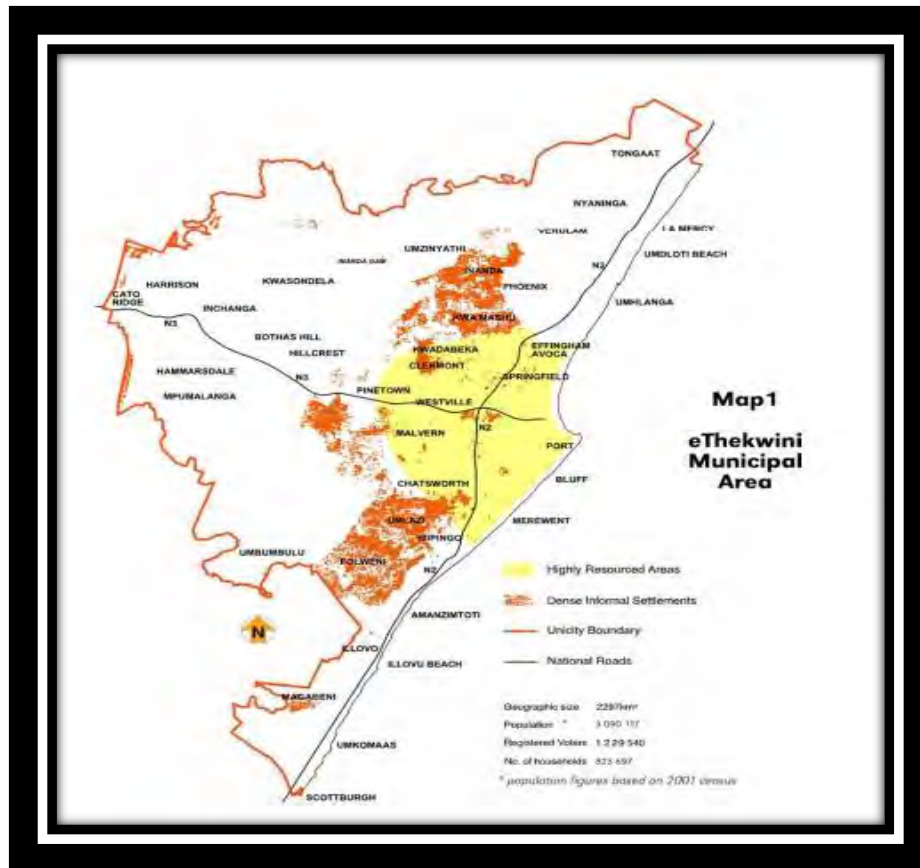
Figure 2: The Spatial Development Framework for eThekwini Municipality 2015-2016

Durban is a city attempting to fit within a global world context. In a neoliberal global world context, cities are competing on an international stage to attract investment, tourism and development. However, in terms of urban renewal and urban development, Durban, as a city, falls short and is unable to compete with the financial resources and investment of other cities with major infrastructural development plans. Durban is not acclaimed for inner-city urban regeneration projects that are impressive and which rake in a substantial amount of financial capital and foreign capital. The city of Durban also lacks the potential to develop the inner-city into one of world class standard, as the city lacks the financial resources to engage in rapid redevelopment projects in the inner city. For example, the inner-city precinct has not been upgraded and urban renewal projects are not successful in upgrading buildings, roads and infrastructure to accommodate the influx of people into the city centre. Areas within the city, such as Grey Street, Smith Street and especially buildings within the location of Victoria Embankment have not been renewed in years. Many buildings surrounding the Point Development precinct, along Mahatma Ghandi Drive remain dilapidated and degraded. Due

to a political rift concerning who owns property and land in the area, many buildings have not been upgraded. Due to the polarisation of development and investment which sees funding being pumped only into certain projects in the Durban Inner-city area, Durban cannot compete on a macro-scale. Its infrastructural and urban renewal projects are still impeded by political rifts or slow processes of upgrading through either public/private investment projects in the city. According to the global hierarchy, impeded development and a lack of structural and financial resources has prevented Durban from reaching its desired status. Durban has also not adapted its policies and infrastructural developments to help it gain the status of a major socio-economic hub. Durban does not fall into the category of a great global city and it falls short of being a significant city. According to this hierarchy, Robinson (2008) states that Durban is an ordinary city (Amin & Graham, 1997) where the city is valued for its climate, rather than for its example of urban planning and development.

Case study 2: Vetch's Beach (Public Space)

Case Study 1: The Point Development Precinct and uShaka Marine World

The Durban Inner-city coastal area
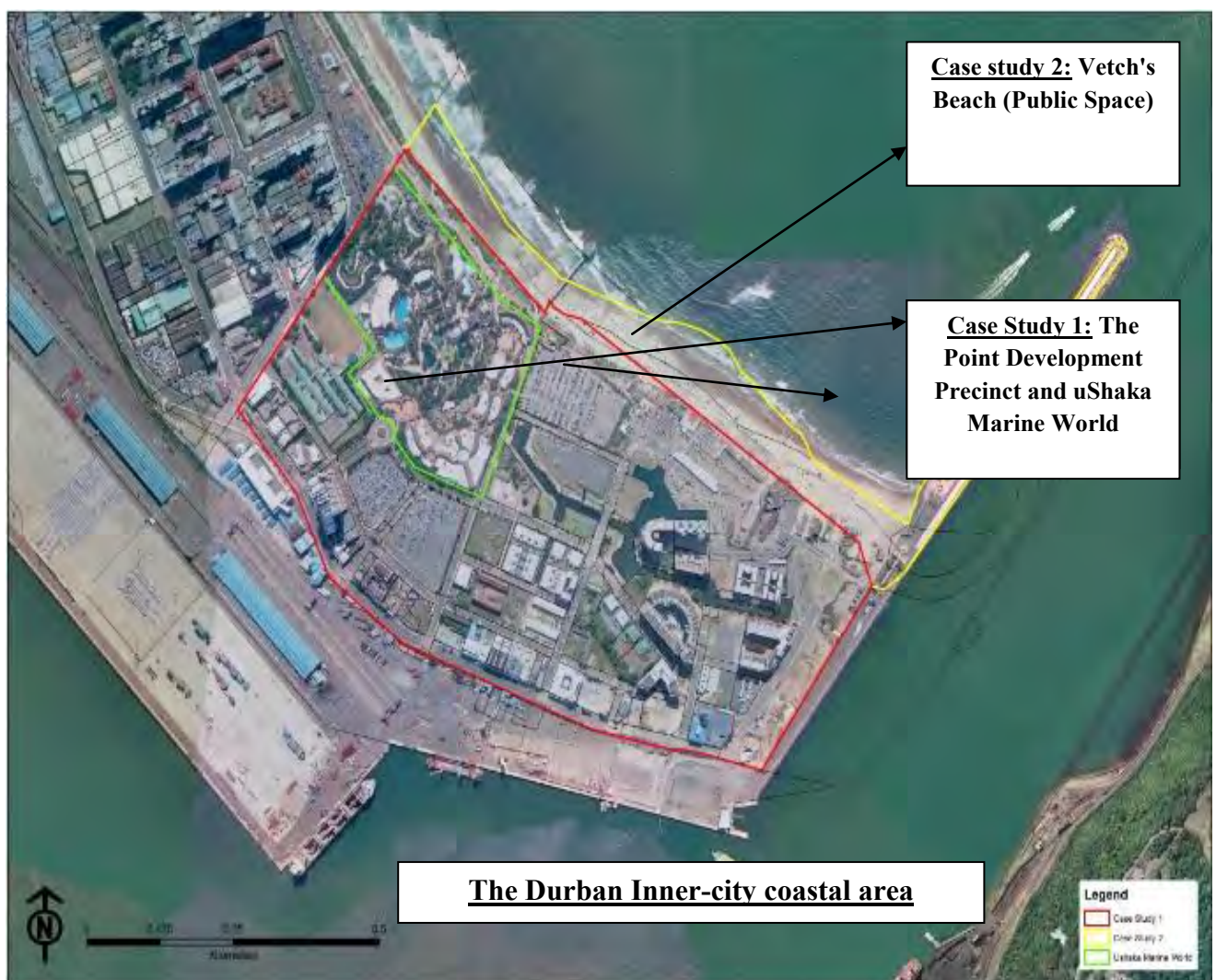
Figure 3: Aerial Map showing the Case study area's

5.3 Case Study one: The Point Development Precinct in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area

―In Durban, specifically the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area - Two huge projects, on opposite sides of Durban‘s Golden Mile beachfront, reflect the optimism there is for development in the city in 2013”; ―Next year is a year (2013) of promise for eThekwini” said then council speaker of Durban, Logie Naidoo (eThekwini Website, 2014). The two projects referred to are the upgrading or extension of the Sun-coast Entertainment World Precinct and the Point Development and uShaka Marine World Precinct.

Figure 4: Aerial Photograph of the Point Development Project and Vetch's Beach. Source: The Point Development Website: Accessed 10/04/2015

The Point Development Project and uShaka Marine world are recognised as postmodern urban renewal projects that are also disneyfied world class projects, similar to those of places such as international theme park destinations like Disney World. The Point Development

Project is stated to be a project used to implement urban renewal in the inner-city coastal area in order to curb urban decay and poor urban development projects which the inner-city was previously subject to.

Public spaces are privatised and controlled rapidly through urban renewal and development. Private developers who are able to fund the development of such projects ensure its rapid expansion. Private development compensates for the funds and financial income that the municipality cannot provide to fund urban renewal. The Point Development Company, in partnership with the eThekwini Municipality, is responsible for the development of urban renewal initiatives in that area of the inner-city.

Privatisation of open public space along the coastal area (Golden mile) is intended to occur rapidly as these urban renewal projects require land to expand. An open public space such as Vetch's Beach is under threat of becoming extinct. Public spaces such as Vetch's Beach have to be reduced for development. In this example, the Point Development Project, if extended in development, can only be extended in the direction of Vetch's Beach. Thus this means that the public space at Vetch's beach has to be reduced to accommodate the extension of the Point Development. Nevertheless, open public space is valued in this city, as much as commercial public space like those public spaces where people shop within the uShaka Marine World Precinct. These two case studies for this study, namely the Point Development Project and uShaka Marine World, the commercial public space and Vetch's Beach which is open public space are discussed below.

The large development which has caused the privatisation of public space and people's access to public space in Durban is the Durban Point Development Precinct. EThekwini Municipality, in cooperation with private companies such as the Point Development Company and Iyer Design Studios, has teamed up to develop the Point Development Precinct. The Point project, in addition, is also a huge component of the ‒Golden Triangle" initiative with the Sun Coast Casino and the Golden Mile hotel zone along the beachfront (Nel et al., 2003). The development of the Point Precinct is part of the city's broader ‗pro-growth' economic development programme (Nel et al., 2003) and is a private-public partnership maintenance project.

This development is the largest pro-growth initiative in the inner city and has a reputation as one of South Africa's most significant and exciting coastal property development and investment urban projects (Durban Point Waterfront Website, 2007). The major Point Development Project was initiated in 2003, supposedly, according to the Point Development Company, on ―one of Durban's most derelict and barren yet prime real estate sites" (Point Development Website, 2014). It is arguably one of the country's' most sought after property addresses and the land was sorted out by developers as a multiple land use development zone. The intention has been to develop the land since 2003. Since its establishment, projects such as commercial property, hotels and real estate are to be found on the site. Around R1.8 billion has been directed towards investments in the development of infrastructure and building projects. This financial capital even excluded the R750 million investments to construct uShaka Marine World, which opened in May 2004 (Point Development Website, 2014). All the land in phase one of the Point Development Project, which extends approximately 185 000sqm of bulk space was sold to private development interests to ensure the construction of mixed use developments, specifically residential, offices, hotels and retail shops. Since the initiation of the Point Development urban planning initiatives and construction, the residential development constituent to this urban planning project can be sold for more than R15 000 per a square metre (Point Development Website, 2014).

The Point Development is intended to be a project that attracts a lot of economic investment to the region. It is also an Urban Renewal Project that is aimed at reviving the Durban coastal zone. This area was previously stigmatised as an area of urban decay. The development and gentrification was required for the rejuvenation of the Durban Inner-city that had ―previously [been] run down" into a ―multi billion rand property showcase" (Durban Point Waterfront Website, 2014). The development in the Durban Inner-city area has been described as ―a sought after place to live, work and play". It has the reputation of being a development that is critical for the economic development and growth of the Durban Inner-city zone. It is supported as one of the urban renewal projects that would ensure investment and boom tourism expenditure through commercial development in the city. The Point Development was the urban renewal project that would elevate Durban to world class city standard (Durban Point Waterfront Website, 2014).

According to the above interview conducted by Arthi Sanpath with Mr Logie Naidoo in 2012:
―Also major projects are the back-of-port logistics hub, the development at the Point Waterfront, which includes a new cruise terminal and the Vetch's Beach area, as well as finalising plans for the Natal Command site". Court action has stymied development at the old Natal Command site and the Point Waterfront for years, and has only recently been resolved. Logie Naidoo stated that, ―Now that we've broken the deadlock on the Point Waterfront, we look forward to development in this area" (Durban.gov.za: eThekwini Website).
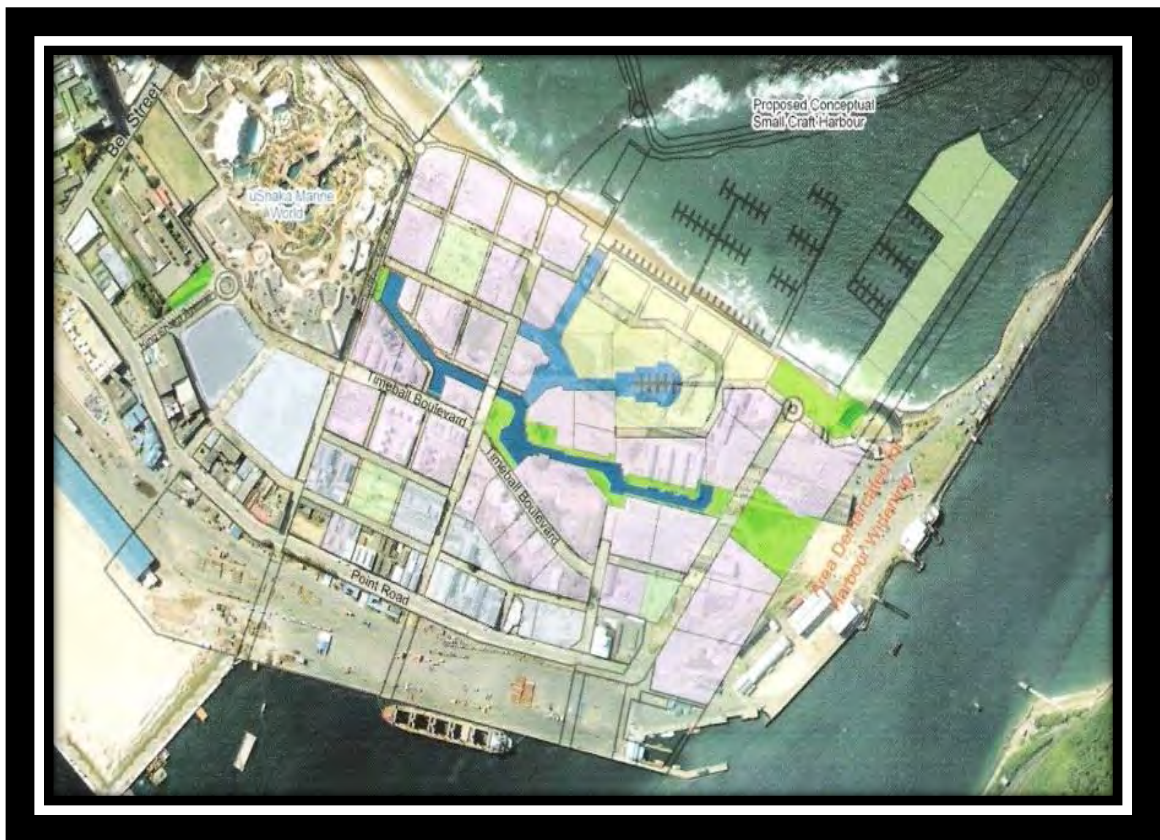
Figure 5: Precinct Plan of The Point Development in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. Source: The Point Development Website. Accessed 31/10/2015

The Point Development Precinct was said by planners and developers to bear great potential as it is located in an area which is nearest to the port of Durban. Its proximity to the Inner-city and the port of Durban makes it a very exclusive piece of land. According to the Point Development website, prior to the Point Company developing the area, it had been a vacant plot of land that had no utility use value. The region had great potential and is ideally located

and has become a very valuable piece of land for waterfront development, compared to previously when the land was regarded as abandoned land and a vacant part of the city. It was viewed as ―one of the most under-utilised assets within the Durban inner-city‖ (Durban Point Waterfront Website, 2007). Therefore, development in the area has revived the coastal area so that business may thrive and the public is able to access a world-class shopping and recreational district at the beach. The ‗phase one‗ of the Urban Renewal project which opened in 2003 at the Point Development Project was the uShaka Marine World theme park.

Prior to the development of the Point, uShaka Marine World, originally The South African Association for Marine Biological Research (SAAMBR) was established in 1951 in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. In 1959, the Durban Centenary Aquarium, research laboratories and a library was officially established, followed by the Dolphinarium complex that was built in 1976. In 2004, SAAMBR relocated to the newly developed uShaka Marine World and continues to serve the people of KwaZulu-Natal, while playing an important role in marine scientific research in South Africa and other areas of the Western Indian Ocean.

Presently uShaka Marine World within the Point precinct is advertised as a world-class theme park destination. According to the Durban Metro Website, ―uShaka Marine World has developed out of a vision to create a world-class entertainment and tourism destination for Durban and all of South Africa‖. uShaka Marine World incorporates fresh and sea water, natural materials, the recreation of a wreck of a 1940 cargo ship, with the fifth largest aquarium in the world by volume of water, coupled with indigenous African imagery, lush vegetation and maritime images of the Port of Durban, plus a water slides amusement park, uShaka is a complete 'Theme park‖ (http://www.zulu.org.za/).

uShaka Marine World is a very popular place for consumer activity. On a Saturday afternoon, an average of between eighty- one hundred and twenty people attend the venue every hour. If an event is hosted there, it attracts around five hundred people more than any other entertainment venue in Durban on average. On a regular weekend, people attend uShaka marine world for a variety of reasons. Firstly, because uShaka Marine World is a popular destination for shopping and, as a result, the venue attracts thousands of consumers each year. There are numerous stores where people come to purchase clothes and swimming gear. Also, uShaka Marine world is popular for the many restaurants it has. Many people, especially families, treat it as a convenient and safe public space to take their families for lunch or

supper at one of many of the restaurants. It is also is home to a whole diving community. Scuba divers are frequent visitors and users of the uShaka Marine World precinct. The dive shop has a frequent number of students who learn how to become divers or dive masters. uShaka Marine World, in addition to being a theme park, has an aquarium and dolphin show arena where, on average, more than 200 people/tourists, mainly international tourists, come to see the sea-life and the sea creatures that inhabit the Durban coastline. This facet of the project attracts a lot of economic revenue to the city, especially because international and other domestic tourists frequently visit and are willing to pay large amounts of money for such entertainment or the recreational services that uShaka Marine World provides. The sums of money paid are small for international tourists due to the favourable exchange rate thus it can be said that high rates can be levied to control access since the prime targets are easily able to afford these. This determines even further the type of visitor such public spaces are aimed at

uShaka Marine world as a public space is valued just as a popular shopping centre is valued. People see it as a safe place to engage in recreational and consumer activities. It is a public open space within the precinct which is visited by lots of people, especially tourists, and, like those other waterfront developments such as the V&A waterfront, it is located appropriately to attract people who want to spend their money on consumer activities along the coast.

According to Scott, (2006) the uShaka Marine World project has failed in its intention to attract users and tourists. As a recreational, commercial public space it does not produce the financial revenue that it intended to generate, annually. This has been a huge factor that has resulted in the Save Vetch's Association attempting to preserve Vetch's Pier and the beach as a public space in its natural form. The public has a historical relationship with the area and they engage in many public activities such as water sports, picnics, fishing and diving on and from the beach.

The large development in the Durban Inner-city area affecting public space and people's access to public space is the Durban Point Development Precinct. The development is described as ―a sought after place to live, work and play‖ within the context of Durban's reputational characteristic as South Africa's playground. The EThekwini Municipality and private companies such as the Point Development Company have created a partnership to enhance the reality of grand urban renewal projects flourishing in the city. It has been created

as a futuristic development with the potential to compete with other world-class theme park urban renewal projects. It was intended to create an image and international impression that Durban could compete with foreign countries in developing a grand ocean-side theme park destination (Durban Point Waterfront Website, 2007).

In the context of South African urban renewal projects, it is a development that has been designed with effort so that Durban could also have a waterfront that could be compared to and would compete with the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town (Grant & Scott, 1996). The city was enthusiastic in promoting and ensuring the success of the project as it offered the promise of large capital investment and would enhance the multiplier effect for Durban.

However, the developers had not foreseen an impediment to the development of the Point Precinct. The proposal of the small craft harbour was a prime aspect of the waterfront development as its aim was to create an ―internationally competitive marina facility" that could also compete on the world stage and attract investment to the city (Scott, 2006: i). However, there has been serious objection to the proposal of a small craft harbour at Vetch's Beach, the beach located below the Point Development. Vetch's Beach is a very important public space that is protected by the public and the expansion of the project would reduce the valuable public space that may be accessed by the public. This extension of development would encroach upon Vetch's Beach and the beach as a public space, and a treasured public asset, would cease to exist.

5.4 Case Study Two: Vetch's Beach along the Durban Inner-city coastal area

Vetch's Beach is one of the core focuses, as a case study, in the privatisation of public space that the researcher chose. It was originally a small facet of the study but has become the greater facet of this research because it is so controversial in terms of the public desperately wanting to preserve this public space for such a long time. Historically, it was an open public space that was accessible to the public for recreational purposes. Over the last decade, the controversy has been due to the pressures and demands of the Point Development Company to expand its development, which places Vetch's Pier as a natural, inherited public space available to the public, at risk of becoming extinct.

Figure 6: Taken by researcher: Photograph of Vetch's Beach taken on the 20/11/2014

In August 2009, after a six year battle, the Department of Environmental Affairs gave authorisation to the Durban Point Development Company to construct a small craft harbour at Vetch's Beach. The public were in dispute over the project, as they believed that rate-payers' money was going to be used to fund the development. It is the province's most intensively-used and safest government-appointed launch site, and is the home of many water sports clubs since its establishment in the mid-1950s. These clubs were formed by the public and are being run by club members without receiving funding or financial assistance from the city or the government. The Vetch's Beach launch site has provided recreational facilities for the public. The recreational activity at the beach is said to provide over R500 million annually to the GDP of Durban.

Vetch's Beach has been in existence since the mid-19th century and is one of the largest sub-tidal mussel beds on the entire KZN Coastline, hosting an estimated 85 tons of mussels. It is also the home of millions of other marine creatures which help sustain the food-chain on our beachfront. This has made Vetch's Pier a very popular snorkelling hot-spot for all divers in

the city. It is also used by recreational and subsistence fishermen. They use the public space on a daily basis to catch fish, and there is no other place in the city where the fisherman can go and expect to catch the same specimens. The beach also provides perfect conditions for windsurfers, paddlers, learner surfers and many other water sport activities. These activities would not be permitted if Vetch's Beach was privatised and developed into a small craft harbour.

Vetch's Beach was originally a project proposed by Captain James Vetch that failed at a cost of more than 165 000 (Bender, 1988). It was built in order to help solve the problem of the shifting sandbar at the entrance of the port of Natal, but that project failed. It failed because the sandbar was been minimised to allow for the widening of the port until recently. A curved rocky pier exists which currently draws a plethora of marine life and is a popular spot for diving as well as fishing (Scott, 2006). It is a protected area, yet fishers still use the site.

Vetch's Beach is the area where, historically, seine netters used to launch their boats as the waters were calm and safe due to the shelter that Vetch's Pier provides. The seine netters were the first to settle and occupy the area of Vetch's from the early 1800s (Scott, 2006) and it is still used today by the seine netters, as well as other fishers who fish from the shore. Sports clubs such as the Durban Paddle Ski club and the Durban Underwater Club were established in the 1950s. Vetch's became a protected launch-site as many public users used the beach for recreational purposes. For the community and clubs that have occupied and use Vetch's beach, it has huge historical value (Scott, 2006).

 Development has wanted to expand from uShaka Marine World northwards onto Vetch's Beach, above the shoreline, before the high-water mark. As mentioned in the previous section, a small craft harbour was proposed to extend from uShaka Marine world, onto Vetch's Beach. This project was initiated by the Point Development Company in co-operation with the eThekwini Municipality. The small craft harbour was proposed in 2008 to occupy the public space at Vetch's Beach although Vetch's Pier and Beach along the Golden Mile has been a historical public space that has been treasured and preserved by the public for decades. The ―Save Vetch's Association" is a non-profit group that has been trying to preserve Vetch's Beach as a public space, which they have desired to be accessible to the many people who have used and still use it as a recreational, sports facility and boating and fishing hotspot for decades. However the planning proposal of a small craft harbour at Vetch's Beach is a crucial

part of the development within the Point Town planning project. This development, however, was objected to since it has to expand from the Point Precinct onto Vetch's Beach. This would then result in the reduction of the public space that the beach provides and it has caused a serious concern since 2005.

Vetch's Beach would cease to exist as a public space and the public would not be able to access it for the purposes for which they currently use it, such as water sports, recreation, relaxation and fishing. The Point Development was criticised by the public and the Save Vetch's Association and its action was recognized as having a severe impact on the environmental sustainability of the area. Development on the beach would result in the loss of access to the public space of Vetch's Beach and Vetch's Pier (Scott, 2006) but also in the biophysical and environmental destruction of a natural public space. Thus this proposal was not accepted by the public and it remains to be seen what the outcome is for the future of the development when the plans are finalised through negotiations between the public and the developers.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, it was learned that the Point Development Precinct is an area that is intended to be developed through urban renewal projects. In charge of these urban renewal projects are private development companies such as the Point Development Company. The research aims to discover the impact that these private development companies have on Public Space at the Point Development and Vetch's Beach. By understanding these two case studies we may be able to discover, for purposes of the research, how public space is impacted upon as a result of privatisation within the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

CHAPTER 6: DURBAN INNER-CITY COASTAL AREA - A POST MODERN CITY

6.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the data collection and analysis. Data collected for the study will be discussed and synthesised. The data exposed in this chapter may support or contradict the concepts that has been processed for this study. The data collection was effected by various different methods, however the analysis of data will be presented thematically, to engage the reader with the depth, importance, use and in the context of which public space is referred to in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. In the theoretical framework the characteristics of postmodern urbanism was revealed. As discussed in the theoretical framework, the characteristics of Postmodern Urbanism are neo-liberalism; commodification of public space; the fragmentation of public space and the privatisation of public space. The Durban Inner-city coastal area will be discussed in the context of these four characteristics of Post-modern Urbanism.

6.2 Neo-liberalism and Public Space in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area

Firstly in the context of this research, neo-liberalism is an approach to economic and social studies in which control of economic factors is shifted from the public sector to the private sector. According to the neoliberal principle, in relation to the context of this project, neo-liberalism can be defined as the role of government and the state to defend individual freedoms and liberty, especially commercial liberty, where there is a strong need and protection of private property rights (Harvey, 2006). This definition supports the belief that the economic and administrative power of the state ought to be reduced in strength and size, and that any contravention by the state past its sole legitimate purpose is deemed as un-necessary or unacceptable. These statements or explanations of neo-liberalism apply to the international level as well, where a system of free markets and free trade is implemented and the only need for regulating international trade is to protect commercial liberty and property rights, which should be recognised and implemented on a national level (Norberg, 2001; Friedman, 2006).

In this case study, the land and property that surrounds the port of Durban is owned by Transnet. Transnet is a large multinational state-owned development company that has a private-public partnership with the municipality. This is evidence that the public space that is

surrounded by the control of Transnet is a microcosm of the neo-liberal concept that is explained above, whereby the state reduces its role over urban space and allows for private ownership over these spaces. Under Section 138 of the Draft Port Rules (Transnet National Ports Authority, 2007b: 44) it states that ―no person may enter a port or a port facility within a port without a valid access permit issued by the Authority", thus restricting access to a chosen group of people with permits, which the port reserves the right to issue to allow access to the area. This has resulted in an increase in the fencing off of spaces, prohibitive signage, police presence and the exclusion of Durban's citizens from using the harbour. The land that surrounds the harbour is owned by the Transnet Port Authority and the recent legislation gives the company rights, by law, to restrict access to the area around the Durban Harbour.

The Transnet Port Authority has converted the public space around the Durban Harbour into a global economic space under the neo-liberal global system of cities (Robinson, 2008). The citizens and users of public space at Vetch's Beach have been fighting a legal dispute since 2002, attempting to gain their rights to the beach and prevent it from being taken over by private developers. These developers, such as the Point Development Company and the eThekwini Municipality, have attempted to convert the beach to an extension of the Point Development project as an alternative to leaving Vetch's Beach in its original state.

The Point Development project is an embodiment of neo-liberalism as it is an urban renewal project that aimed at attracting local and foreign investment. Local and foreign investment attracted through an elite and modern urban renewal project would ensure that capital would flow in to enhance the multiplier effect in the GDP of the Durban Inner-city coastal area. This capital investment through private development was ensured through the purchase and rental of housing/property in the Point Development Precinct. Large amounts of capital were to be absorbed through the high rate of tourism expenditure that would be collected through the various theme park activities/consumer activities at uShaka Marine World.

6.3 The Commodification of Public Space in the Durban Inner-city

Neo-liberalism is also a process whereby urban public space is seen as something that can be purchased similar to the commodification of public space discussed in the conceptual framework of this project. Well, public space in the Durban Inner-city has become a commodity and has also become something that is recognised as an asset, rather than a social space in the city. For example, the Point Development Company, as well as the eThekwini

Municipality, have accurately located a land parcel adjacent to the harbour to construct a world-class, neo-liberal urban renewal project such as uShaka Marine World and the housing development at the Point Precinct.

As mentioned in the literature, commodification is a process by which any goods or services may be marketed and sold for a profit. This means that, in the context of the study, public space is marketed and sold for a monetary value in the city. Commodification of public space in the city has been a result of neo-liberalism because, when markets are free and foreign investment is encouraged, public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area has been seen as something that private companies, such as the Point Development Company can purchase and develop. Private companies and developers do this so that they may generate an income from the use of public space or the development itself. So from an urban planning analysis, what do the urban planners/ developers intend to do with the public spaces at the Point Development Precinct?

Figure 7: Point Development Precinct: Source: http://www.kzntopbusiness.co.za/site/top-business-sector/Durban-PointDevelopment-Company/page/225 Accessed 31/10/2015

The above figure shows that the Point Development Company, which is a private company wants to extend the Point Development Project into a public space, namely Vetch's Beach. The floor plan above is an intended project for the 55 ha Durban Point construction site. This development is intended for the development of a ―unique water-front city within a city in which a system of canals forms the central spine of urban redevelopment and where the economic benefits of water frontage extend throughout the area" (Durban Point Development Company Website, 2014:1). Upon completion, it is projected that the investment at the Durban Point Waterfront will attract into the region about R6 billion. The development has mixed-use zoning and the ground floor will be designed for retailing, entertainment and restaurants that extend outwards onto sidewalks and various canals.

According to the Point Development Company, within the development plan that has not been released, lies a further106 000m² space of mixed-use bulk, as a single ―Superblock" that will consist of a 42 000m² shopping centre and 46 000m² of hotels. The majority of the development would be zoned as residential and office space. A further 18 prime mixed-use sites are also intended to be developed within the plan, selling at between R1 650 to R5 500 per bulk/m². In an interview with Mr Neels Brink, the Project Director of the Point Development Company, he said:

> The remodelled development will feature a canal lock linking canals with the Indian Ocean. The basin will be fringed with mixed-use developments, from retail and office to hotel and residential. Restaurants at the water's edge should create a vibrant atmosphere and add to the work, live and play vision. Construction time frames will be released when the planning processes have been finalised.

According to the Point Development Company, a lock system would be created to connect the current canal to the sea. As a result of this development, the water-sport clubs such as the Durban Paddle Ski Club would be evicted temporarily, but later on, they would be included within the area located adjacent to the new North Pier which would be constructed by the National Ports Authority as a facet of the R3 billion harbour widening and expansion project.

This is a clear indication that the Point Development Company is in the process of commodifying the public space at Vetch's Beach. They want to expand a development which entails that the public space be redesigned as a commercial development, that is mixed-use,

comprising commercial and residential facets, to be marketed and sold to investors. The Point Development Company has said that the clubs at Vetch's Beach would temporarily be evicted, but would be included in the design. This means that the public space would be commoditised for development and would no longer exist as an open public space. The clubs that resided on the public space would be incorporated into a new-commercial waterfront development; however the development would completely transform that public space into an extension of an urban renewal project. The above information is proof that the public space at Vetch's is in the process of being commoditised by private development interests, however the public have tried for a long time to protect the public space from being commoditised and replaced by a development proposal plan.

Another example of the commodification of public space in the Point Development Precinct is uShaka Marine World. uShaka Marine World, as a public space, is open and accessible to the general public /citizens just as a shopping centre is. Shopping centres are epochs of recreational activities and consumerism. uShaka Marine World, in particular, is a beachside public arena where people engage in water sport recreational activities, therefore the centre provides opportunities and sells products that are of use and may be required by beach-goers. The Point Development Company claims partnership-ownership over the uShaka Marine World precinct. This means that uShaka Marine World is a private-public project in the city. Therefore, uShaka Marine World, although accessible to the public, for the reasons listed below in this chapter, is a pseudo public space, since it is municipally maintained and recognised, yet its development is privatised through part ownership by the Point Development Company.

uShaka Marine World is a big public space which people access and walk down the passages within the development. They are able to access the various stores and shops, restaurants and the aquarium at uShaka Marine World. Besides being a pseudo public space, we can say that the uShaka Marine World is a public space which is commoditised, because, according to David Harvey, a public space is commoditised when it becomes a spectacle for use of consumers through disneyfication and globalisation in a postmodern context. The uShaka Marine World is example of a public space created through disneyfication–its design modelling a huge King Shaka kraal and the shipwreck on the precinct giving it a ‖Pirates of the Caribbean appeal "which, through observation is commodification through design.

Further evidence of the commodification of the public space comes from the need for consumers to pay to access the public space. The prime example is that public parking within the precinct has to be paid for. Generating a financial profit from providing a service on public space grounds is evidence of the commodification of that public space.

It has been shown that the intended extension of the Point Development Precinct onto Vetch's Beach is a prime example of the commodification of public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The new development plans and the proposal of a small craft harbour at Vetch's Beach shows that the Point Development Company wants to take over, the land at Vetch's Beach and convert the public space there into a project intended to attract income and investment. This is a process of commodification of public space.

Secondly, the private-public partnership between the Point Development Company and the eThekwini Municipality has attempted to create a commodity of all the public spaces within the Durban Inner-city area. They have attempted to use urban renewal projects such as uShaka Marine World, to create a pseudo public space which people have to pay to access. Thus, this process of generating money from a public space, is an indirect commodification of it. uShaka Marine World is marketed and sold to the public so that they pay to come and use its public space. Therefore, the public space exists within the process of commodification, because financial profit is generated consistently for the private company every time the public pays money to use the public space. This profit generated through the public's use of the public space constituting commodification of public space.

6.4 Fragmentation of Public Space in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area

This next part of the study provides proof of capitalism and the commodification and economic privatisation of public space: The future development project at the Point Precinct is intended to take over and encroach upon public space in the Durban Inner-city Area. It shows the impact of private developers such as the Point Development Company's on public space. The developers of the Point Development Company have been fighting a lengthy court case against the Save Vetch's Association, in an attempt to gain legal permission and part ownership over the land/public space within the Point Precinct. This also includes facets of land that is recognised as public space within Vetch's Beach. Also, according to a Public Works Representative, Mr Nelson Nair, the Point project is built on municipal land, registered under RSA (which is referred to land or property that belongs to the state of South Africa)

and, in a nutshell, the municipality has taken ratepayers' money to acquire 50 percent ownership in the Durban Point Development Company (DPDC).

The researcher attempted to contact the developers to ascertain their side in the battle over land in the Durban Inner-city area. Instead, information regarding the development of the Point Development Precinct had to be extracted from newspaper articles, as the researcher was unable to have questions answered directly by the source or developer. The developers from the Point Development Company have been interviewed on numerous occasions and therefore the researcher chose to refer to interviews conducted by journalists to extract the information needed. This information obtained from interviews illustrates that, within this research context, public space is commoditised and privatised. Public space is recognised by developers merely as land that they can use to extend their development.

The Point Development Company has, for about a decade, been trying to gain approval for their spatial development plans to create a small craft harbour that would diminish the facets of public space at Vetch's Beach, however the public has refused to hand over the land/public space to the developers. They want the public space to remain at its original, intrinsic value, as opposed to the developers who see the public space as prime, well-located land in the city which they can develop and enhance urban renewal projects for economic investment and profit. This is proof of the commodification of public space in the Durban Inner-city area as private developers, such as the Point Development Company, in cooperation with the eThekwini municipality want to take over public space that is important to the public and convert it into a development, against the public's wishes.

This process of development by private companies that is invading the public space at Vetch's Beach is proof that the economic value of land and property is more important than the value of a place as a public space. Therefore, the researcher can establish that public space is being commoditised for urban renewal projects, since the public has to fight battles to preserve public space in its original form.

The researcher experienced numerous limitations to the study. Because interviews on this subject matter had been conducted by the press, corporate leaders or representatives did not want to discuss the subject matter. The researcher was asked to refer back to articles that were published years ago on this controversy, regarding the reasons for the development at the

Point Development Precinct. In a *Business Day* newspaper article titled ―The Point is Durban‗s huge confidence booster‖ by Edward West, dated 7 February, 2013 released at 07:49, an interview was conducted with the Project Director of the Point Development Company. The interview with the Project Director of the Point Development Company provided the following information regarding several key points

West (2013) :

1. ―The Point Development Company is jointly owned by the Malaysian-controlled RocPoint and eThekwini municipality‗s Durban Infrastructural Development Trust. Laurusco has a management contract with the Point Development Company. The Point development has been slow off the starting-blocks as it was launched about the same time as Cape Town‗s Victoria & Albert Waterfront in the early 1990s.‖

2. ―After an out-of-court settlement with beachfront Water sport clubs in December, 2012, after four years of wrangling in court, the Point Development can again focus on new investments. Mr Brink says the court action by the Save Vetch‗s Association may have slowed things down by a year since investors do not usually fund developments that are facing legal disputes.‖

3. ―This project will not only have a catalytic effect on the economy of the city, but that of the province and beyond… it is a huge confidence booster', Economic Development and Tourism MEC, Mike Mabuyakhulu says.‖

4. ―Neels Brink says that, ‗Other areas of Durban where there is A-grade office space — in the Kings Park precinct and Westville are already largely fully developed. There is no comparable site, considering, for instance, that the 50,000m² earmarked for shopping centre development borders the uShaka Marine World, the beach on the other end and a canal on another side.‖

5. The December 2012 agreement between the Durban Point Development Company, the Save Vetch's Association and the Durban Paddle Ski Club has resultantly allowed for a new ―iconic" hotel and waterfront development at the mouth of Durban harbour. It prevents any development on Vetch's Pier reef and preserves much of the sandy beachfront.

6. The Point comprises 575,000m² of mixed-use bulk property, with about 200,000m² of it sold and substantially developed. More than R1bn has been invested in the project by the private sector on buildings and other assets. The agreement means that the Point's original plans have been altered in several ways: to extend the beach by 150m to cater for three water-sport clubs to operate directly off the beach; to construct a 150m waterfront development and basin; and to relocate a canal with locks. Mr Brink says that current activity includes the buying and selling of apartments. These are offering value at R12,000-R13,000 per square metre compared with R17,000-R18,000 per square metre from 2004-2007. About 500 apartments have been built in the Point. Also expected is the start of the construction of a hotel and a mixed-use property development in the Point, adjacent to the widened harbour mouth entrance to Durban harbour.

7. Mr Brink says that, if the property market was the same as during the heydays of 2003 to 2007, the Point precinct could be developed in five years. But that level of activity was unlikely to occur again soon, and he expects the Point to be fully developed in 10 years.

Does the capitalist development at Vetch's Beach mean that there is going to be privatisation of that public space? Going back to the definition of privatisation of public space, the main point of the literature, according to Banerjee, (2001) states that the term ―privatised-public spaces" is commonly used to describe places such as: corporate plazas, open spaces, shopping malls and other settings that are increasingly destined for the public. Furthermore, Minton (2006) argued that access is a key component of public spaces, as is who controls these,

which, in turn, determines who is allowed to use them. Banerjee (2001) also argues that the owner has all the legal prerogatives to exclude someone from the space circumscribed by sometimes and often invisible property boundaries", therefore the attempted establishment of this project, that is intended for the Point's project extension onto Vetch's Beach suggests that public space is privatised.

Figure 8: Source: *Business Day* newspaper article titled ―The Point is Durban's huge confidence booster" by Edward West, dated 7 February, 2013: Proposed spatial development plan for the Point Development Precinct.

The public space was intended to be privatised at Vetch's Beach because of various reasons that are present and similar to those points covered in the literature. These are that the above development would give legal rights to access at Vetch's Beach to property owners, in this case, ―The Point Development Company". As a result of the Point development, limited access would be granted to the existing users of the public space. The development would reduce the amount, size and area of public space that would be accessible to the public. And, most importantly, public space would be privatised as a result of commodification, because the private developers would, in future, due to property rights within the development, be able

to legally exclude people from using a designated public space. This would also result in the private developers only allowing a selected group of people to access that public space in future, because it would reside within the boundaries of that now private development. Therefore, Vetch's Beach would no longer exist as an accessible public space, but would rather be seen as a facet of public space, now reduced to fit within the boundaries of an urban renewal project. The data collected thus shows that commodification is a direct impact of private companies' hold on public space, which is shown in the theoretical framework.

6.5 Spatial Segregation in the Public Space

This part of the data reveals that there is spatial segregation and fragmentation in public space which is typical of a postmodern city. Elements of design and security enforce this characteristic of Postmodern Urbanism which is discussed below. Photographic data, shown below, is used to illustrate the fragmentation of public space within the Durban Inner-city coastal area.
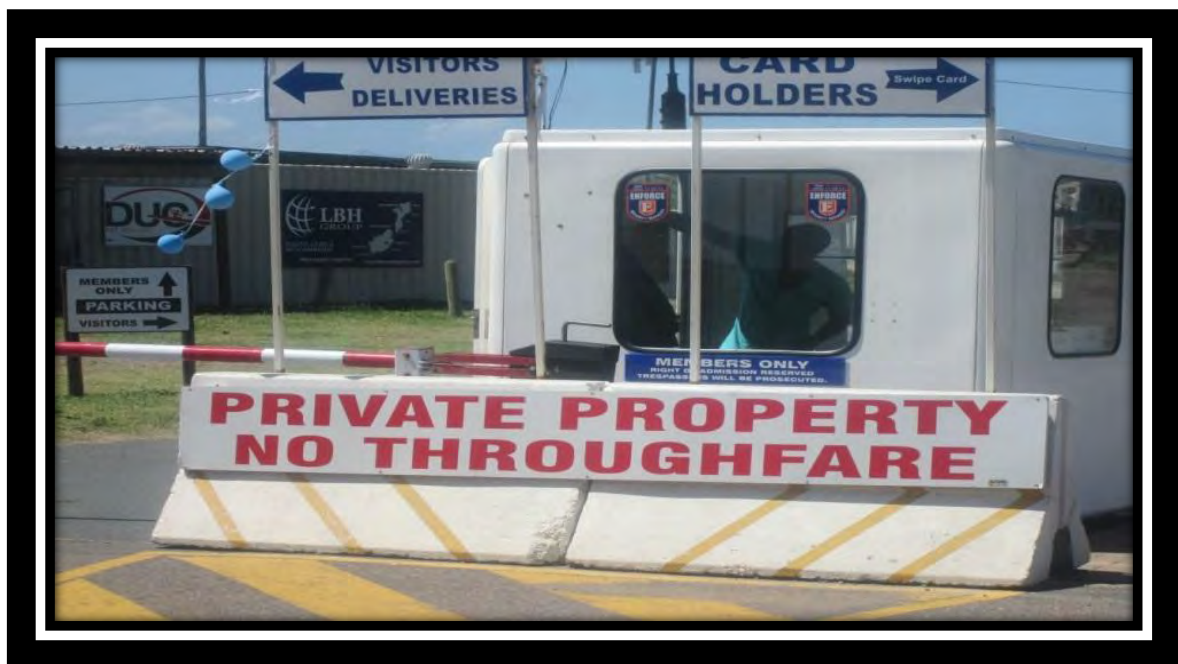

Figure 9: Photographic data: Photo taken by researcher: Entrance to Vetch's Beach (taken on 30/11/2014)

Photographs have been taken to show how the entrance to Vetch's Beach has been restricted. The general public is not allowed to access the public space and, although it is public, this photo shows that at the entrance, the public space is referred to as a private space. According

to the chairperson of the Save Vetch's Association, there has always been a conflict of interest regarding the public space in the area. The Save Vetch's Association has restricted the access of the public to this public space by referring to it as ―private property for members only".

The Save Vetch's association feels that they have to restrict access to club members, as the public space has to be protected by the clubs in the area from the rest of the development at the Point. The public space is intended for the original use by the clubs and not for what the Point Development Company intends to do with it. The researcher feels that referring to the ‗public space as private property' by the club members occurs as a defence mechanism. The public space at Vetch's Beach is so important to the club members, and they so desperately want to protect it, that they have used this method of privatisation to actually save Vetch's Beach from becoming developed or becoming an extension of the development of the Point.

In addition, because the Point Developers and the community at Vetch's Beach don't get along due to the conflict of interest over the public space in the area, privatising Vetch's Beach is an attempt by the Save Vetch's Association and the club members to protect the public space. And, by this strategy, they keep the Point Developers out and away from taking over the public space at Vetch's Beach.

The public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area was divided by the separate entities so as to protect their interests and ensure the use of that public space according to the utility value they intended it for. uShaka Marine World was intended as a commercial public space for the public to use and pay for parking, and Vetch's Beach was cordoned off so that it could be recognised as a separate public space, this being an open public space which club members and beach users were to use, for what they intended to preserve it for.

There is clear evidence of spatial segregation and fragmentation of public space in this Point Development Precinct of the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The uShaka Marine World development and the housing development at the Point are separated by fences and barbed wire from Vetch's Beach. Vetch's Beach also has a separate entrance from uShaka Marine World and the two public space areas are defined and clearly segregated by a parking area which is located in between the two public areas.

6.6 Public users' survey

In this survey, the public were asked the following question: Which Public Space do you come to use? Thirty people were randomly selected to discover people experience fragmentation or exclusion within public space.
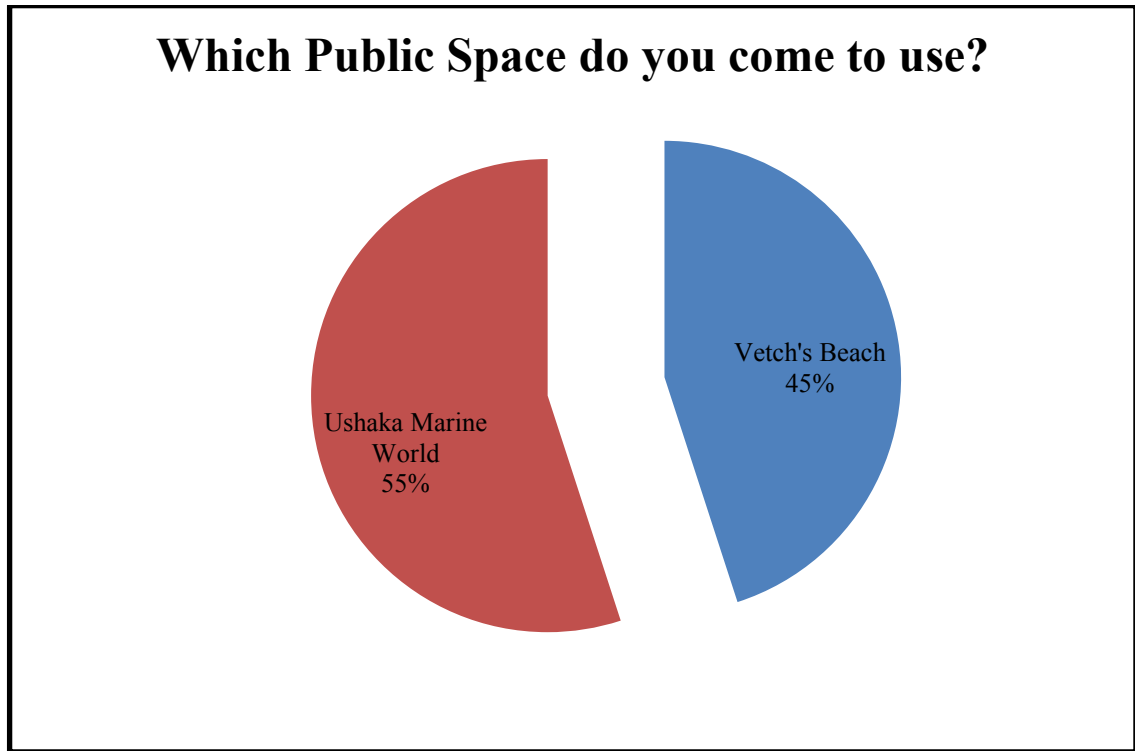
Figure 10: Graph showing user perceptions of public space

For this public space user survey, the researcher wanted to randomly ask people spotted in the car park, whether they go to uShaka Marine World or whether they use Vetch's Beach. The researcher discovered that, because the majority of people parked in a separate parking lot if they were going to uShaka, rather than the parking lot that people used to access the beach, there would be bias. In this random survey, the researcher questioned 30 people from the main entrance parking as to where they were going. The majority of the survey respondents indicated that they were going to the public space within the theme park at uShaka Marine World which is because there was a totally different parking bay allocated to people who wanted to access Vetch's Beach.

This survey highlighted, most significantly, the fragmentation and segregation within the public space in the area. Separate parking lots were located apart and far away from each

other, by which to access the two public spaces uShaka, namely Vetch's Beach and uShaka Marine World. The area seemed rather like a collection of two different types of public spaces where people entered from separate entrances, and this also indicates the postmodern fragmentation of public spaces in urban areas. They were islands, separated from each other because of the different uses that they had for the public. uShaka Marine World is also used by the public but is a private-public development as compared to Vetch's Beach which is fenced, cordoned off and almost separated from the rest of the Point Precinct, since it is protected by the club members and beach users in the area, especially because the beach-users do not want it to be connected with the rest of the Urban Renewal Project. The distinct separate access points and parking lots for these public spaces highlighted that these public spaces were disconnected and separate from each other, perhaps more evidently because Vetch's Beach was protected by the public and wanted to be recognised as independent from the rest of the Point Development Project.

In concluding this section, we have seen that there is clear evidence of spatial segregation in public spaces due to mechanisms of security and the way people perceive the space to be through the public user's survey.

6.7 The Privatisation of Public Space in the Point Development Area

The researcher used a method of observation to determine how security could result in the privatisation of public space in the case study areas. This data was obtained through photography. The researcher went on site to uShaka Marine World and Vetch's Beach and captured photos to show the severity of security, which illustrate how public space is privatised through mechanisms of surveillance and security. The privatisation of public space through security restricts people's or the public's access. Secondly, the researcher adopted a survey technique where members of the public were randomly selected and asked if they believed the public space to be accessible. The outcomes of this data collection determined whether public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area had been privatised through security.

6.7.1 Observation 1: Obsession concerning Surveillance and Security
Security gates with a security guard limiting access to a public space are definitely evidence of privatisation of that public space through security. Perhaps, in order to keep the area a safe and crime-free zone, a security guard could play a suitable role in surveillance of that public

space, but from my observation, I discovered that the role of that security was also to enforce control and to ensure that our access would be restricted. The question which occurred to me was how I could become a member if I happened to go there without prior consultation with club members? As an enthusiastic member of the public, the researcher was excluded at the entrance, prior to accessing the uShaka Marine World Precinct from within that public space. Psychologically, it didn't feel public to the researcher, it felt private or like a pseudo space…

6.7.2 Observation 2: Restricted Accessibility

Through observation the researcher encountered signage which stated: ―Users only – uShaka entrance- that way‖ which implied restricted accessibility to Vetch's Beach. From my observation I gathered that members of the public as well as motorists were subject to restricted access to Vetch's Beach. From an interview with the Chairperson of the Save Vetch's Association, it was deemed necessary for them to restrict access to the beach as a means to protect it, and to enable the beach members to protect it through the utility value it serves to the clubs. Also, public parking facilities had not been provided for the clubs, so the club members were required to secure the area as they needed to ensure security and also protect their interests. I discovered that there were great spatial segregations within the public space through security, due to conflicts of interest and disputes between the Point Development Company and the Save Vetch's Association and all the clubs.

6.7.3 Accessibility?

In this survey the researcher attempted to discover whether the public space had been privatised and whether people thought of it to as accessible or not. In this survey, thirty people were randomly selected in a sampling technique to discover how accessible they believed the public spaces to be:

Is Vetches Beach accessible?

Sometimes 30%
Yes 40%
No 30%
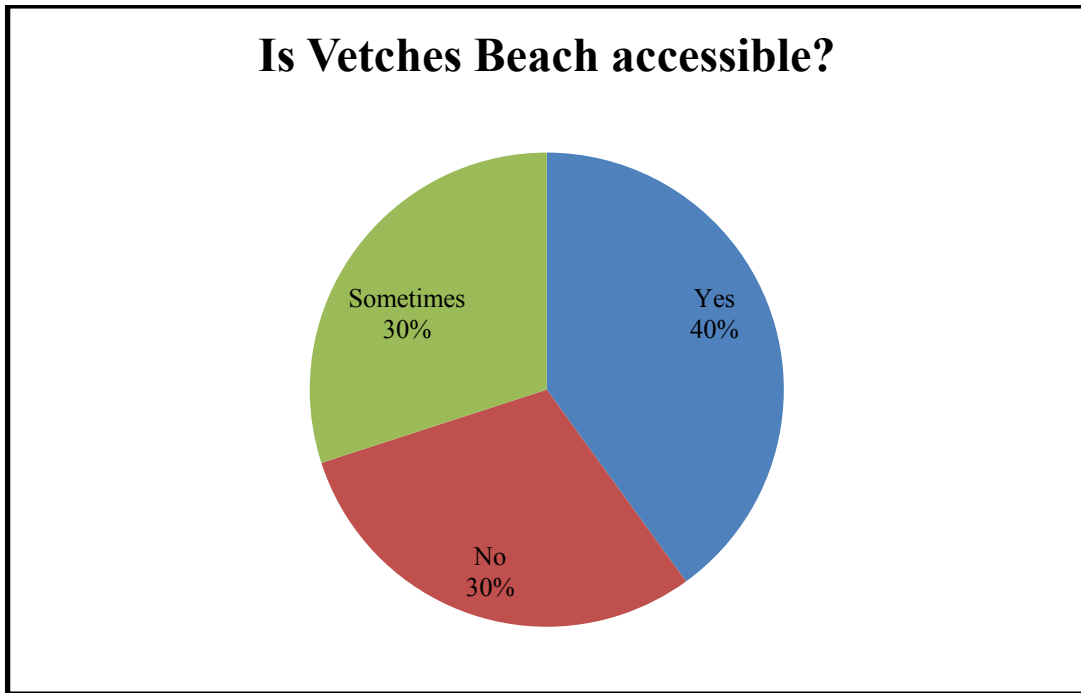
Figure 11: Graph showing perceptions of public space

From the results of the survey conducted, thirty percent of the respondents said that Vetch's Beach was not accessible. A further forty percent said that it was accessible and the remaining thirty percent said that sometimes they could access it easily, while at other times security guards refused to let them in.

This shows that the majority, sixty percent of the respondents, felt that Vetch's Beach, although a public space, was not easily accessible due to the high security that surrounded the entrance to the beach. Therefore, it can be stated that, although Vetch's Beach is recognised as a public space, it is not easily accessible to the public because of the security that surrounds the area which restricts members of the public from accessing it and this shows that, although the Save Vetch's Association is a public organisation that represents the public's attempt and protest again the privatisation of Vetch's Beach, their need to protect it has made it inaccessible to the general public. Multiple security guards and boom-gates repel people from accessing the public space, so we can conclude that the public space, although recognised as a public space, is privatised by the clubs at Vetch's Beach through security and surveillance. So by observational analysis and photography, we can see that Vetch's Beach is inaccessible, due to elements of design and security mechanisms. The fence and barred wire, as seen in the

photo below, exclude the public from access to and use of the public space and make it inaccessible.

Figure 12: Photograph showing security within public space at Vetch's Beach, Photo taken by Kimesha Subramoney: Vetch's Beach. Taken on 2/12/2014

This observation and the experience itself was exclusionary. The place which ought to be a public beach, a public space excluded members of the public allowing only club members. This led me to realise that insane and obsessive control over this space had converted it into a private space, as only members of clubs or selected members of the public were granted access to the area of Vetch's Beach.

6.7.4 Public space and accessibility in the Durban Inner-city coastal area
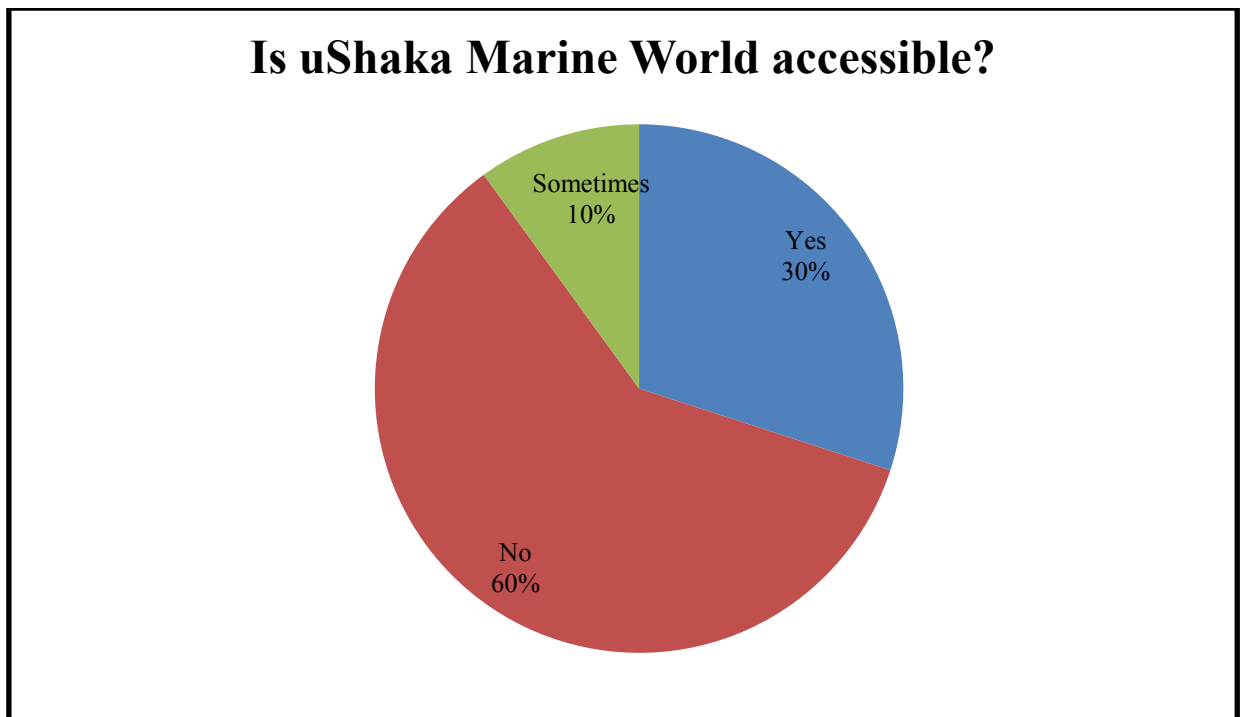
Figure 13: Graph showing people's perceptions of public space

In this survey, thirty people were randomly selected to discover whether public space was accessible in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The results show that people found the public space to be inaccessible due to the fact that they were made to pay for parking. When asked in an interview whether uShaka Marine World was accessible to the public, ten percent of the survey respondents said sometimes, whereas sixty percent said no and thirty percent of the survey respondents said yes. The majority of beach users believed that the public space was inaccessible because they had to pay for parking, and because access into uShaka Marine World was difficult due to the way it had been designed. They found it difficult to park, because of the way the parking areas were allocated and designed.

Why is the public space inaccessible?

- All 40%
- Security 30%
- Design 10%
- Parking Payment 20%
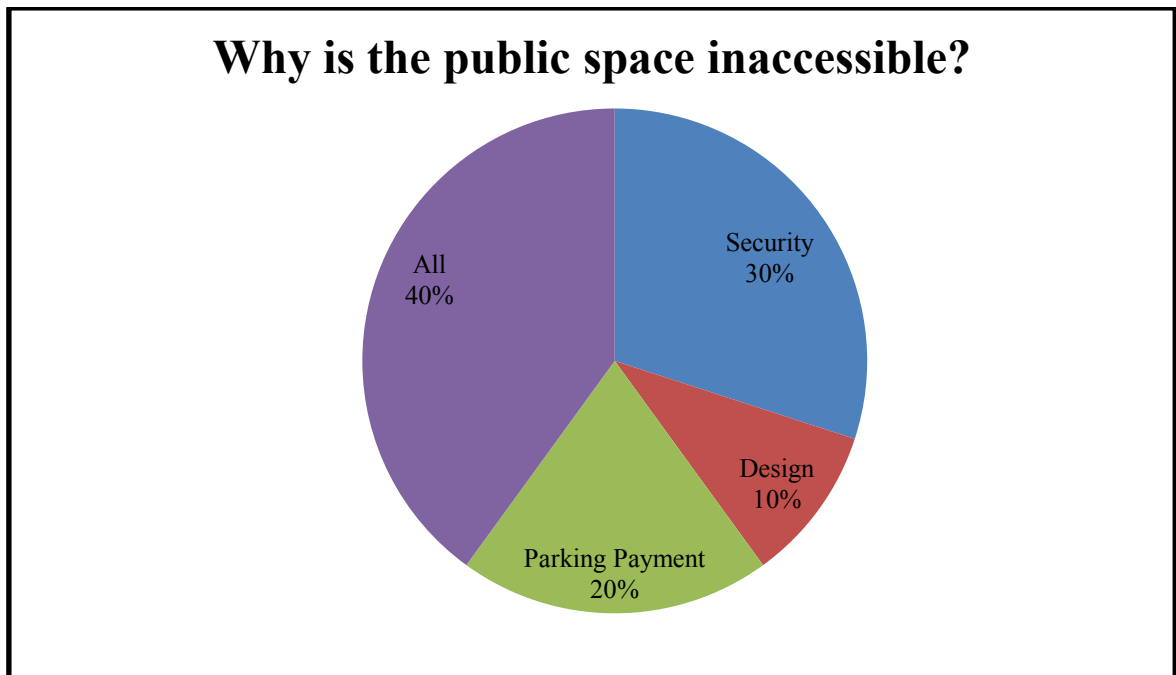
Figure 14: Graph showing people's perception of public space

In this survey, the beach users thought that the public space was inaccessible; forty percent of those surveyed said that factors such as security, design, and payment for parking are factors which have their own role in making the public space inaccessible to the public. According to the survey, thirty percent of the sample said that it was mostly the security that made them feel excluded from these public spaces. This survey overall concluded that, although both Vetch's Beach and uShaka Marine World are public spaces, the majority of the public themselves felt that the public spaces were inaccessible or believed that these could be more accessible to them by ensuring easier entry into the area and a different method of security and surveillance.

We have discovered that security has led to the limited access of people into public spaces within the Durban-Inner-city coastal area. This privatisation by security has an impact on how people use public space because they are unable to enter the public spaces due to restrictions and designs of security, which is similar to what was revealed in the literature review of this research study.

6.8 Conclusion

Not only have we discovered that public space has been commoditised and thus controlled by private companies as a result of commodification, it is also evident that public space is privatised through security by club members of the Point Water-sport Clubs, who are represented by the Save Vetch's Association. This restricts the access of people to the public space at Vetch's Beach by the club members at Vetch's Beach themselves. Security and surveillance are observed to be one of the main reasons why public space is privatised in the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

People feel excluded and repelled by these mechanisms to keep the general public out of public spaces. Huge gates, fences and barriers present within the Point Development Precinct not only divide the public space into fragments, but also segregates people from converging on public space. It is also evident that the poor design to access the Point Development makes people feel restricted and gives them uneasy accessibility to the Point Development Precinct. The security, which privatises public space as a mechanism, separates Vetch's Beach from the rest of the Point Precinct, so people at uShaka Marine World within the Point Precinct are also divided from the people using the public space at Vetch's Beach. Not only does this mean that security restricts access, but it privatises public space. This is caused by enclosing one public space like uShaka Marine World from another public space such as Vetch's Beach. This separation between the public spaces heightens fragmentation and thus excludes people from accessing uShaka the public space. This restricted usage or access to public space can also be viewed as the privatisation of public space through security and surveillance.

CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS AND DATA INTERPRETATION

7.1 Introduction

This section discusses and analyses the mechanisms of control that privatise public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. In the literature, privatisation of public space is due to factors such as security, design and management, and public space is also privatised by private developers. In this chapter we will attempt to discover, in the context of the case-study area, how public spaces are really privatised. In the Durban Inner-city coastal area it was discovered that public space is privatised through many different mechanisms. The first section shows that public space is controlled through mechanisms of security and surveillance. Thereafter, the role of the impact of private developers on public space will be covered. In an interview with the Point developers and the Project Director of Public Works, the reasons for and the impact of the privatisation of public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area will be revealed. Lastly it is investigated and discovered whether citizens have rights to access public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

7.2 Privatisation through Security and Surveillance

Figure 15: Photo showing entrance to Vetch's Beach: Photo taken by researcher: Entrance to Vetch's Beach (30/11/2014)

Observational analysis and photography was used here to show the different ways that public space has been controlled in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. In the photograph above, we see the entrance to Vetch's Beach, a key public space for this study. Through analysis of the data collected we will attempt to understand how public space has been privatised in the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

Through observation, the researcher, discovered that the public space is controlled by parking for the public that has only been designated within the uShaka parking area. Control of access has been enforced by large boom-gates. This restricts access to the public within the beach area of Vetch's. Large boards instruct that parking for uShaka Marine World is on another side and even upon arrival, the security guard insisted that we could not enter the area as we were not club members and I would need approval from people within the Durban Paddle Ski Club or the Durban Underwater Club.

A security guard also informed me that the Point Development Company had not designated parking bays for the users of Vetch's Beach, upon request. It has thus been compulsory for the club members to cordon off a part of the beach so as to gain access and allow cars parking space within the public space. This showed that the clubs had privatised the public space at Vetch's Beach through security and methods of surveillance. There is a huge spatial segregation due to the fight for public space between the Save Vetch's Association and the clubs vs the Point Development Company and the municipality.

More profoundly, the researcher discovered that the dispute over the public space, even in the public's attempt to conserve Vetch's Beach as a natural public space, has caused them to refer to it as private (refer back to figure above). This therefore illustrates that, because of the contestation and division or fragmentation of public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area, the public or clubs of the Save Vetch's Association attempt to claim the space and the demand to conserve the beach itself has resulted in the public space being privatised through security. It is privatised by the need for the Save Vetch's Association and the clubs at Vetch's Beach to keep it in its natural state and, in order for them to try to conserve Vetch's Beach,

they have restricted access to the beach to certain members of the public. It is evident within this case study that the clubs at Vetch's Beach are using security to exclude people.

From observation, the researcher gathered that, in the struggle to protect the public space at Vetch's Beach for the public, the clubs have thus privatised it, by barricading it with security gates, referring to it as _private property', thus excluding the rest of the public from using this area. In the public and the residents' attempts to barricade the section of Vetch's Beach off from the rest of the Point Development, they have converted the entrance to a public space, into a private space which excludes the general public.

As a result, although Vetch's Beach is referred to as a public space, it can be referred to as having been privatised as a result of mechanisms of security. Vetch's Beach is, indirectly, a privatised public space due to the exclusion it causes to the general public as a result of the strict security. The researcher can thus say that Vetch's Beach has, due to the controversy and the need for the clubs to keep it away from access by developers, become private through security and surveillance.

7.3 Privatisation of public space by private developers

The researcher endeavoured to gain some perception of the controversy surrounding Vetch's Beach from the chairperson of the Save Vetch's Association. The researcher contacted Respondent 1, a representative of this association which was established to protect Vetch's Beach from being encroached upon or taken over by private development interests within the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The argument presented to me by Respondent 1 revolves around the lack of acknowledgement by the municipality of the importance of the beach to the public. If it exists in its natural form, its value as a public space is not misused or depreciated. He stated that everything on the beach does not have to be a commercial and tangible development for it to be valuable.

In an email interview with Respondent 1, he further stated that:

> " Vetch's Beach and reef has been close to my heart as when I was a little boy. I learned to snorkel, spearfish, scuba dive, etc. from this beach. This is the only sheltered dive spot on the entire Natal coastline, where a child or a novice can learn to do these things and see so much marine life in knee-deep water, literally five metres

from the shore. This is the spot where most novices are introduced to the ocean and, for many people, it is the only reason why we bother to live in this city. "

Respondent 1 feels that he has a right to insist on keeping Vetch's Beach in its original form, because to him, and he speaks on behalf of the majority of the public users that wish to save the beach, the beach is a treasured asset. They have awarded an intrinsic value to this public space. To them, the space is not only is of immense social importance, it is a place where even from childhood, people gathered to engage in activities.

Respondent 1 in his description and passionate pleas to save the beach, seemingly treasures this public space on a personal level as he has an accumulation of fond memories. It's an association with a public space that transcends social value. The public space has been a massive part of shaping livelihoods for beach users. This representative of the Save Vetch's Association states that Durban is a coastal area and the reasons why Durban is so appreciated by the public are mainly because of the beach and the utility value that it has to the community which has been using it for decades.

The main point that the researcher wants to reflect back on again is that the development and expansion of the Point Precinct is a capital, commercial venture. It is a development intended for economic growth and investment. It is intended for investment that would attract revenue and the land value of the public space would increase due to its commodification. According to the Save Vetch's Association representative, Respondent 1, states that the public space is seen as a historical asset to the public. They value it for this quality of life and for its intrinsic and original purposes. The Durban Paddle Ski Club and the Durban Underwater Club want to preserve the beach because of the relationship that they have with the beach, and he is clear that they will continue to refuse to surrender it to the hands of private developers who are in cooperation with the municipality.

7.4 Reasons for the privatisation of public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

In an in-depth interview, the researcher questioned the Chief Project Manager of Public Works. Mr Nair has experience and knowledge of land affairs and the privatisation of space in Durban and was the perfect person to interview. He clearly revealed that the problem is that there is no distinction between what constitutes land for development and what public space

is. The researcher identified, in this interview, that the Public Works Department is responsible for regulating land in the city. The Public Works Department often sells ‗land' to private developers. From the Public Works Project Manager's perspective, land may be sold to developers to enhance development, but it becomes problematic in the case of the Point Development Precinct, because the land needed for development is in use by the public as a public space. It has been a problem for the Point Development Company and the eThekwini Municipality to extend the development further, because the public view the state land as an important public space.

According to the Project Manager at Public Works, the public space at Vetch's Beach is registered to the state. It is, according to the Public Works Department, known as registered land under The republic of South Africa (RSA). It was made clear by Mr Nelson Nair, that state-owned land or property that is registered under RSA and this means that this land is regulated and developed by the municipality. He said that it is state-owned land just as all government buildings in the Durban Inner-city coastal area are registered under RSA. Also, according to Mr Nelson Nair, the public space known as Vetch's Beach is within the Admiralty Reserve of the Durban Coastline. He states that the land or public space located between the high-watermark and the dunes at the beach is the Admiralty Reserve. It is also registered under RSA, which means that the public space at Vetch's Beach is state-owned.

He was then asked whether state-owned public space or land implies that the public or private companies have a greater right over these public spaces and how this affects its status in the Durban Inner-city coastal area? He said that it is the responsibility of state representatives to work within the interests of the public and that it would be the municipality's responsibility to work in the best interests of the public, so usually, the municipality would develop RSA registered land which is left vacant or unoccupied.

7.4.1 How is public space in the Durban Inner-city area privatised?
Mr Nair stated that state-owned land can be referred to as a public space, such as parks, beaches and gardens, because public space exists upon land. Land is a commodity in the city, he agreed because it can be bought and sold by public or private entities. He said that the state usually advertises the plots that are unoccupied or are identified as useful to whoever wants to use them. He added that the purpose of privatising space in the city is to ensure that the plots are not left vacant or underdeveloped. If the state doesn't find a need to develop land, then he

states that the state advertises this through a public forum and, usually, if people within other government departments don' t find it useful, or do not have a need to develop it, then it leaves the public domain.

The Project Manager at Public Works says that in such cases the land leaves the public domain because none of the other government departments can develop it, or afford to finance development on it. Thereafter, the state finds it necessary to advertise and sell the property, land or public space to private developers. Private developers have the finance and the capital to develop vacant plots of land. The municipality then enters a partnership with the private developers because state taxes as well as finance from private capital is able to fund large urban renewal projects on what was once merely underdeveloped, vacant RSA registered land (i.e. state owned land).

According to Mr Nelson Nair, there is a five-step process adopted by the Public Works Department to privatise public space. The five points will be discussed below:

1. Firstly, a government department must have a need for the property or land. If there's no need for the land, the government takes steps to sell it to developers who need the land, and who would be able to develop it. This usually has to be in best interests of the state.

2. He says that, if nobody within the government department needs the land, then they put it out to public tender. A tender means that it can be leased to whoever from the public sector wants to lease it.

3. The open tender is promoted, usually through advertising, and should be in the best interests of the state. The municipality should expect no returns from putting the land on open tender or if it goes out on a public tender.

4. If it is not needed or claimed for any particular use, a public-private partnership is created between the municipality and the private developers. Private Public partnerships become a catalyst for development.

5. Finally, the municipality can put a public property up for sale, and then, if the private developers buy the property, it is referred to as a private lease.

Private developers see the land as something they can develop and create investments in through projects that they implement. Their aim is to generate income for the city through projects. He says that they view the prime location in the inner-city as land which is a completely different perception to the view of the public. To the public, it is public space. To the municipality and the Point Development Company, it is land. He says that it is land which they need to develop to boost income for the economy through investment.

An important remark that Mr Nelson Nair made was that the municipality needs money to finance the maintenance and running of Urban Renewal Projects such as uShaka Marine World to avoid bail-outs. He informed me that uShaka Marine World is completely financed by the eThekwini Municipality and, because uShaka Marine World does not generate enough revenue from its use, the development is actually running at a deficit to the municipality. The municipality has to finance the maintenance of the public space within the development, as actually, insufficient people visit and use the facilities at uShaka Marine World to generate the amount of income required to make a profit. Therefore, he believes that development within the Inner-city has to be privatised, as the municipality requires the assistance of private companies to fund development. This funding would allow for the upkeep of existing developments within the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

7.5 Interview with the Developers of the Point Development Precinct.

For this interview, the researcher attended a public meeting that was held at the Durban Botanical Gardens Community Hall on the 31 of July 2015. The Point Development was not often discussed outside of public meetings as it had been opposed by members of the public for a long time. People had, for almost a decade, objected to the proposed development of the Point urban renewal project. As a result of the controversy, the developers only agreed to address the dynamics of The Point Development Project in a controlled setting.

On the 31st of July 2015 at 6:30p.m. the researcher attended the public meeting hosted by the Developers of the Point Urban Renewal Project, where the researcher discussed the implementation of a future proposed urban renewal project within the Point Development Precinct. Musa Mbhele, the Deputy City Manager for Economic Development and Planning and Soban Beverah, Project Manager of the Point Development Project were interviewed.

7.5.1 Why is public space privatised in the Durban Inner-city coastal area?

Mr Musa Mbhele said that, in order for Durban to achieve its vision to create urban renewal projects that are accessible, useable and in line with a strategy for Durban to be a liveable city, public spaces such as Vetch's Beach have to be redeveloped. It is prime land in the city, and if the municipality does not seize the opportunity to develop the land, another private sector entity will. The land upon which Vetch's Beach, as a public space, exists, has massive potential to be built up to attract investment in the city of Durban. This revenue is needed for the maintenance of the various projects that are run and maintained by the eThekwini municipality. Mr Musa Mbhele said that there is a need to create these urban renewal projects for economic development in the Durban Inner-city coastal area.

Currently, the Point Development Precinct does not generate enough revenue for the city, and the new proposed plan would bring in a lot of capital and foreign investment. They need to create opportunities whereby the multiplier effect in the city in heightened through projects that enhance local and tourist consumer spending. The development would also create job opportunities for the city. Approximately 11 000 jobs per annum would be created. The proposed development would increase surrounding property values and this would result in fresh investment capital for the city. The economic benefits for the city are needed more through this development. The economic growth that could result due to the redevelopment of the Durban Inner-city coastal area is more important for the city than the need for people to protect the beach for social reasons.

7.5.2 How will the people who enjoy public spaces at Vetch's Beach be accommodated?

Soban Beverah, the developer at the Point Development Precinct stated that there has been an agreement between the users of the public spaces and the clubs of Vetch's Beach to go ahead with the development. The clubs that are using Vetch's Beach will be accommodated in the new redevelopment plans, upon the new proposed promenade. They have reached an agreement and the public has endorsed the new plans.

7.5.3 Is public space being privatised in the Durban Inner-city coastal area?

According to Soban Beverah, the proposed redevelopment of the Point Development precinct aims to create another suburb. The new proposed plan is a mixed-use development and creates a commercial centre, incorporates taxi routes and comprises hotels and retail centres that are needed by the community of people living in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. Public spaces are created within the development. The new proposed plan creates a recreational public, open

space which serves the same purpose as the public space at Vetch's Beach. Public spaces will be created and will be used to integrate and converge the different phases of the proposed plan.

In accordance with the Economic Impact Assessment of the eThekwini municipality which says that ―a raised Promenade is introduced near to the beaches so as to reduce dune areas impacts, enhance beach access, and continue the success/extent of the upgraded beach promenades northwards of the Point upwards towards the Moses Mabhida stadium" (EIAP, 2015:36). Mr Soban Beverah said that the first stage of the development implements the creation of a public promenade/family beach. This would be a public open space that would exist upon Vetch's Beach which people will be able to access as public spaces within the development. It is called the harbour-side promenade. He also said that the small craft harbour that is proposed for development on Vetch's Beach is above the high-watermark and that the promenade will be located at the set-back line of the beach. The beach will still be a ‗beach-zone' which is an open zone regarded as a public space. People will not be restricted and their access into all parts of the development, which includes all public spaces, will be obtainable through the parking that will be created for users. In addition, he stated that an easy access transport node created within the proposed plans would allow people to use the public spaces.

7.6 The Benefits of the Privatisation of Public Space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area:

As stated in the Economic Impact Assessment of the Point Development Precinct, the privatisation of public space to accommodate the expanding project will have these benefits: It will:

> Generate a GDP that is worth 3.4 billion on a daily basis. Capital formation will be 5.9 Billion on per annum. R881 million will be contributed to the national and provincial fiscus (EIAP, 2015:37). In total, international visitors are expected to contribute up to R12 billion in direct expenditure (EIAP, 2015:38).

This shows that economic investment and the generation of capital for the Durban Inner-city coastal area is a priority. It also shows that Neo-liberal and capitalist principles of the Postmodern Urbanism theory have a great influence and is rife within the Durban Inner-city

coastal area. Public spaces are privatised within a Postmodern urbanism context to ensure that economic development and capital investment is promoted in the city, irrespective of the social benefits that public spaces historically and currently provide.

7.7 People's Perceptions and who has rights to Public Space in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area?

This section shows the data that were collected and analysed to indicate what the public's perceptions of public spaces were. People's perceptions were needed to show how people use value and occupy public spaces. This too was discussed in the literature. Through public perceptions the researcher able to discover how people view public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area and the researcher could understand more about impact that private development has on public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. It was thus discovered whether the rights of people in regards to public space would be impacted upon within the case-study areas.

7.7.1 Public Space Users' Survey

In the first survey, people were asked about their perceptions of public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The researcher wanted to discover what people recognised as a public space. In other words, the researcher wanted to discover which area, whether Vetch's Beach or uShaka Marine World the public identified as being more accessible to people in general. The public space users' survey was conducted, as mentioned in the methodology, by a random sampling technique. It was important to see how people identified with and used public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The survey was intended to discern how people perceived public space through their perceptions rather than simply assuming whether or not people value public spaces, this needed to be investigated.

Forty people were randomly selected from the Durban Inner-city coastal area, and were asked to respond to a closed-ended survey. The first question was which place, from either of the two case studies they identified as a public space. This is detailed in the first graph below which shows the results of the random sample conducted as recorded by the researcher. Which was recognised as a public space by the public? Within the inner-city coastal area, is it Vetch's Beach or uShaka Marine World?

a) Which spaces are recognised as a public space by the public?

Which is regcognised by people as being a public space?

- Both 10%
- uShaka Marine World 30%
- Vetch's Beach 60%
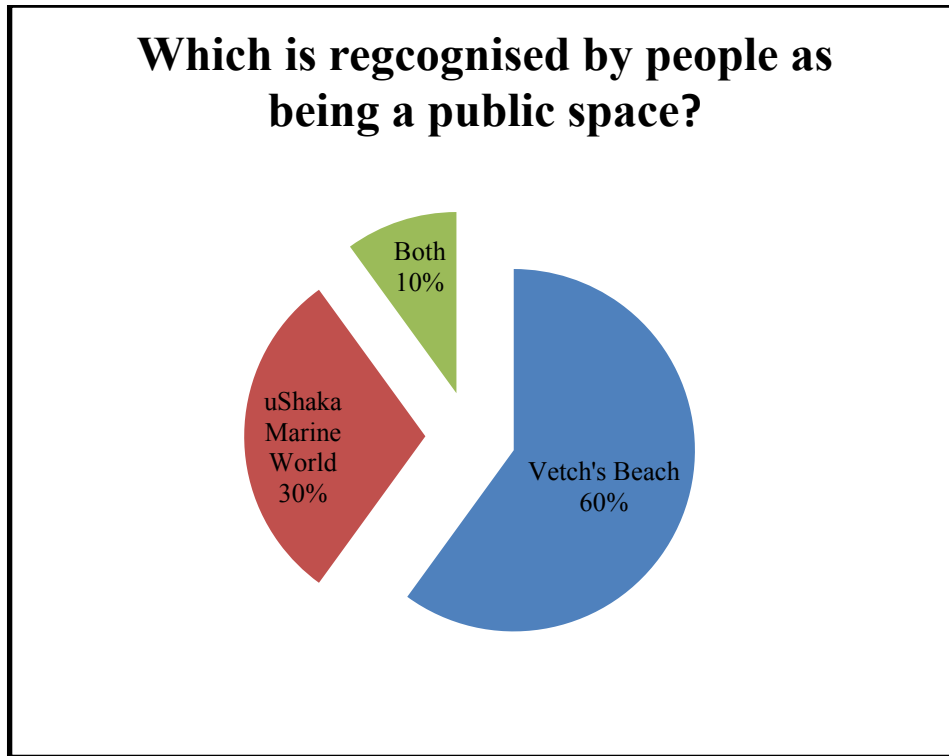
Figure 16: Graph showing people's perceptions of public space

The interview process recorded that sixty percent of people identified Vetch's Beach as being the public space, rather than uShaka Marine World. It was also discovered that thirty percent of the people were of the perception that Vetch's Beach was a beach and uShaka Marine world was actually the public space where people interacted in the Durban Inner-city Coastal area, whereas ten percent of public space users identified both as being public spaces.

This survey shows clearly that, in general, people perceive Vetch's Beach or a beach to be a public space. They have recognised the beach to a larger extent as a public space rather than a theme park development such as uShaka Marine World. People do recognise that Vetch's Beach is a public space; we can say then that people have an understanding of Vetch's Beach as being important to the public for different reasons.

b) The Importance of Public Space to the Public Users.

This next survey was the result of people who had been randomly selected from sightings on Vetch's Beach and the parking area, parallel to the beach. In this survey also, thirty people within a period of three and-a-half hours on a Sunday morning had been selected randomly by the researcher and asked why they attend or use the beach. People between the ages of twelve and sixty-five were questioned, irrespective of race or class. To the reseracher, they all seemed to be enjoyingor were involved in some activity at the beach. It was a warm, sunny day and many people entered and exited the public space. The majority were people from the clubs on Vetch's Beach who had private access through the boom-gates. Some were just members of the public who had wandered onto Vetch's Beach, walked there to relax or engage themselves in some activity. From the survey below, although conducted on a single day, it can be seen that members of the public intended to come to the beach for a specific purpose, or to intentionally engage themselves in a certain activiity.

Importance of Public Space to Users
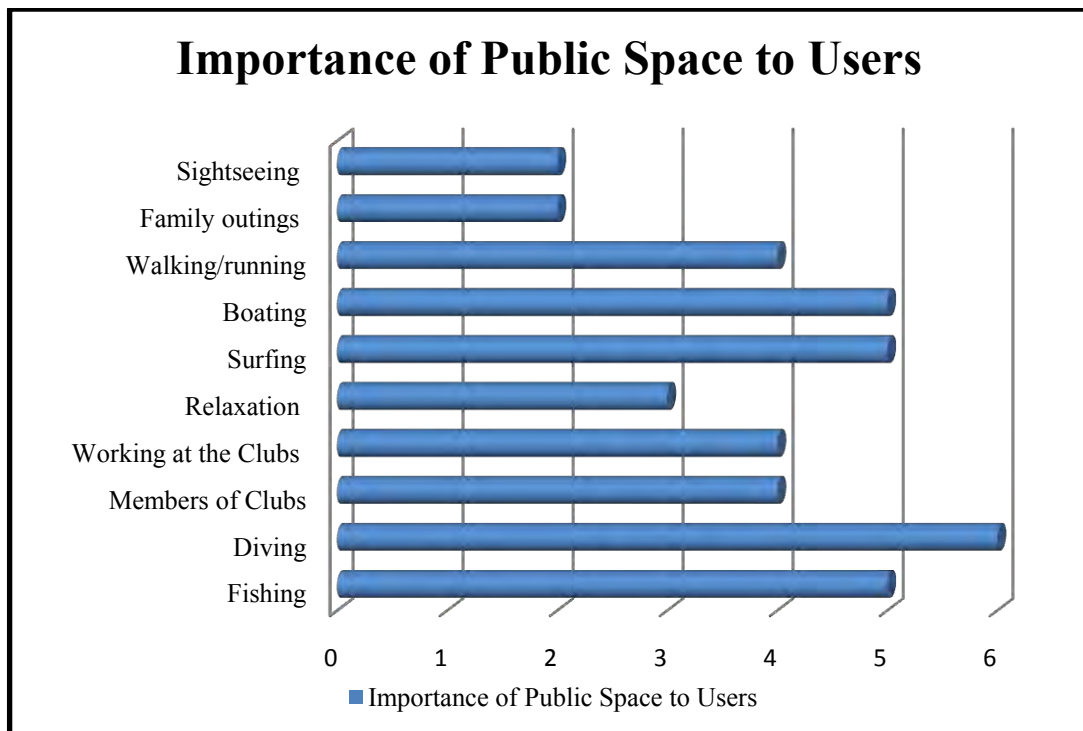
Figure 17: Graph showing frequency: People's perceptions of public space

From some conversations with the users of the public space, the researcher established whether they were regular or frequent visitors, or whether some were permantly involved in some of the clubs there, such as the Durban Underwater Club, The Yacht Club, etc. The

response that was received indicated that about seventy-five percent of the public space users were there for three to four days in a week. Some of them worked at the clubs for between six to seven days a week. This meant that these public space users were merely users or occupants of the public space. They recognised themselves more as a community, who spend the majority of their time engaged in activities at the beach, or work in the clubs or were part of a long-term fishing community that had been established at Vetch's Beach for decade

c) How frequently is public space used by the public?
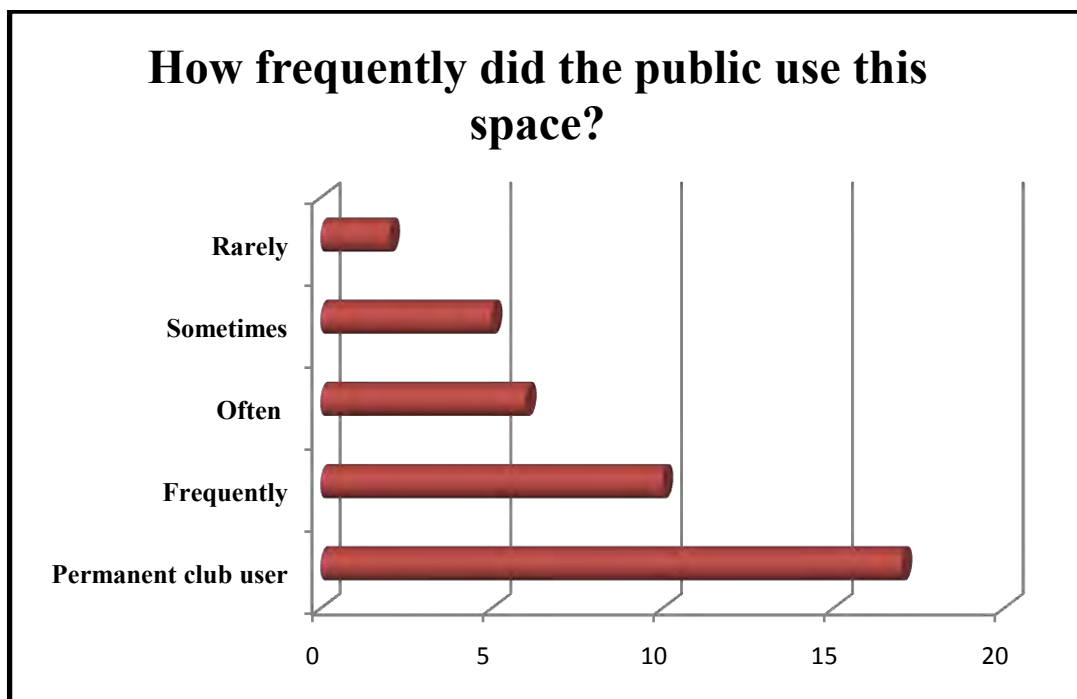
Figure 18: Graph showing people's perceptions of public space

The above graph clearly indicates that people don't use the public space at Vetch's Beach as a coincidence. They go there for well-defined reasons and purposes, and it also shows that the public space is always used or occupied. This shows the need for and significance of public space to the public. They value it for social/recreational purposes. The fact that people work here emphasises that it the public space is also responsible for people's livelihoods, while some people depend on the public space as they seek employment from the clubs located there. Many users are resident club users, forty-five percent of the survey respondents, who use the beach, and recognise themselves as part of a club community. It is almost like a

permanent community that would not exist if the beach was transformed into a small craft harbour or another urban renewal project.

d) How favourable is the development of Vetch's Beach?
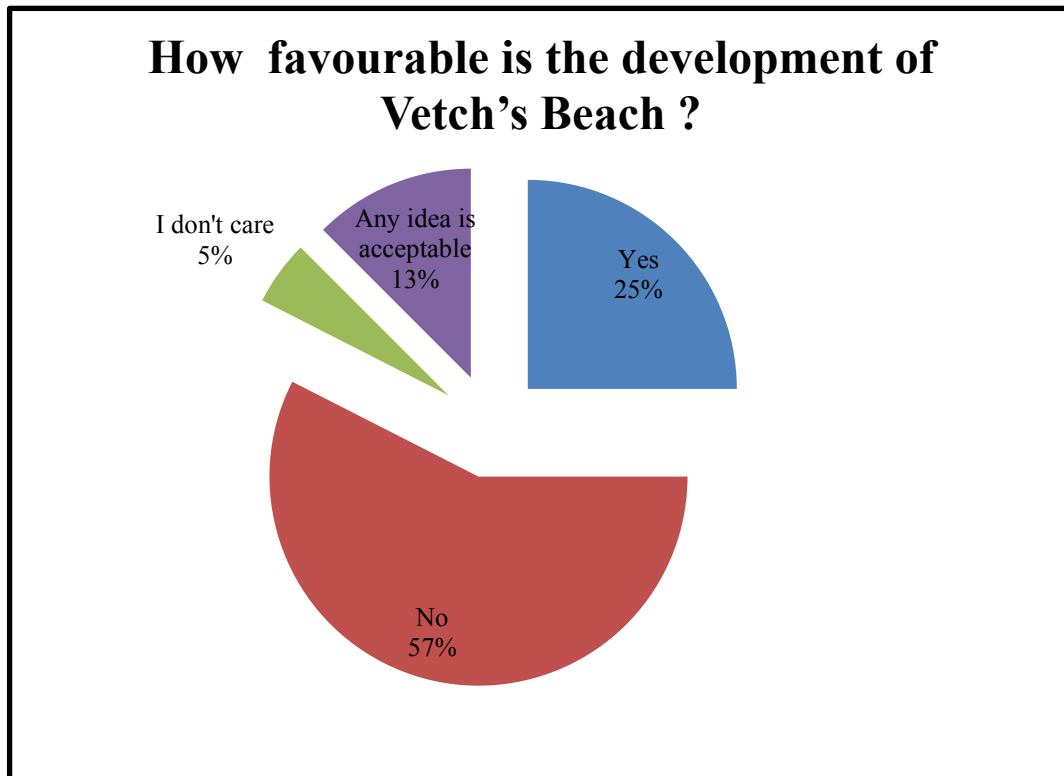
Figure 19: Graph showing people's perceptions of public space

The above random sample survey was conducted to engage the public approval of Vetch's Beach being converted into an Urban Renewal project. The researcher wanted to know from forty people who were randomly selected whether they wanted the beach to be converted into a small craft harbour/or any development. For this survey, people were selected from the uShaka Marine World car park, so as to avoid bias. This population selected was either visiting the clubs or enjoying the uShaka Marine World theme park. It is also relevant to mention that the majority of people, about seventy percent of the survey respondents were aware of the controversy surrounding this area. People had read about it in the newspapers and two people were club members at Vetch's Beach, so they said that they were directly involved in the controversy.

7.7.2 Public Open Space vs Commercial Public Space? Which is more important to the Public?

From an environmental perspective, Vetch's Beach is noted as a green, natural open space, since it is a beach where users engage in diving, swimming and fishing, but from a town-planning perspective, it is a public space which was once accessible to the public, just as public squares in New York are accessible to the public, as a _public open space' and just as the V&A waterfront is accessible as ought to be the case for a public space. A constructed public space or a public space which exists within a development, like a commercial public space such as uShaka Marine World is no more important as a public space then Vetch's Beach. According to the public, public spaces do not have to be constructed within a building or development, surveilled and controlled, or to be commercial for them to be vital public spaces or to be enjoyed by the public. They like the beach as it is and they value it as a public space that they can go to and enjoy.

Urban Renewal Projects that are developed through planning practise are advertised as trophies of Sustainable Development. It is evident that, economically, Urban Renewal Projects such as the Point Development Project and the development of the Point Project would bring in a significant amount of investment and foreign capital that may increase the effects of the multiplier on the micro-economy. But does the destruction of social livelihoods for citizens, through the destruction of public space against their wishes, promote or adhere to a sustainable development paradigm?

The social livelihoods of the public have to be incorporated within Urban Renewal Projects to make these projects socially sustainable. Evidently, through information gathered by newspaper articles published in *The Mercury* and *The Daily News*, the controversy about the objection to the Small Craft Harbour has been captured by the media, and has made the public aware and involved on a city, or even national level. This means that the public space at Vetch's Beach is contested by people and by private developers wanting to extend development.

A great majority of Durbanites have, over the last decade, objected against and desired to protect the abolishment of the natural beach as a public space, such as Vetch's Beach, through the expansion of the Point Development Project. They demand access to and rights against exclusion of the public to the beach. Would it be accepted by all people and, if not, would it

then be a viable project if economically the extended development attracts capital and investment, but at the expense of social disapproval, and rejection of Durbanites, who are the public space users within the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area? Economic development that compromises the social livelihoods of citizens by minimising their rights to access public space would perhaps be deemed unacceptable. Our only statutory definition is contained in NEMA which states that: ―Sustainable development means the integration of social, economic and environmental factors into planning, implementation and decision-making so as to ensure that development serves present and future generations".

From an environmental perspective, the EIA that reviewed the potential development and expansion of the Point Development on the coastal shoreline on several occasions has rejected the applications. Over the past decade it was not environmentally viable to build upon the public space/beach at Vetch's, thus destroying the reefs, sand dunes and sea life that inhabits the coastal zone. Despite the details of an Environmental Impact Assessment, the entire disfiguration and change of an open ‗green public space', recognised for its natural assets would be destroyed, despite the public being so insistent that the public space be preserved, not only for its original value as a public space, but for its added importance as a natural ecosystem.

Expansion of the Point Development Project onto Vetch's Beach would ensure the economic potential to generate income through postmodern urban renewal projects, but it would mean that the environmental conservation of that same area, which is a treasured natural public space, would cease to exist. Perhaps it could be replaced with an Urban Renewal Project that is proposed, a constructed public space like uShaka Marine World, but, according to the public, uShaka Marine World is valued very differently as a public space to Vetch's Beach. Developing a mall or fancy postmodern structure to provide public space seems unable to replace a public space that offers a public utility and environmental value in its natural form.

Public space in the city provides for its users a desired and accessible place where people are able to socialise, interact and go about desired activities that they want to participate in that place. People or users of public space appreciate and acknowledge the Point Precinct as a public space where they are able to indulge in recreational activities such as shopping, eating, walking, etc. but many people also acknowledge Vetch's beach as a public space and the public, as well as the Save Vetch's Association want it to exist in its natural form as a beach,

because, just as uShaka Marine World is appreciated by the public for being freely accessible for recreational purposes, so is Vetch's Beach.

Therefore one can state in conclusion that Vetch's Beach is recognised as a valuable public space and, to a large extent, the public want it to remain as it is. They oppose the privatisation of the public space at Vetch's Beach because they want it to remain as a beach that they have used for decades. The clubs at Vetch's Beach value the public space within the Durban Inner-city coastal area and do not want for it to be converted into a fancy waterfront development that conforms to standards of urban renewal projects in first world countries.

7.8 Private Planning and Development of Public Space or Public Preservation of Public Space?

The Point Development Company intends to expand development onto Vetch's Beach. Whether this is in accordance with the initial development that was proposed or the latest amended version, it is evident that Vetch's Beach, as a public space, is on the brink of being privatised by the Point Development Company, despite the efforts of the public and the Save Vetch's Association. The public have continuously attempted to preserve Vetch's Beach in its original state and in accordance with its existing utility value. Within the context of a postmodern city, development planning within the case study analysis takes priority over the conservation of public space. The extension of development to meet globalised trends of development and urban renewal appears to dominate the need to conserve public spaces in their original state. Planning in the inner city has to ensure that development maximises capital investment, which is in accordance with the postmodern urbanisms' characteristic of neo-liberal economic liberalisation of cities.

Planning is also decentralised from a local government level to that of private development practises. The municipality supports the Point Development Company's expansion of the development. Instead of the eThekwini Municipality developing the Point Development Project that wishes to expand over municipal land, the planning projects and development plans are outsourced to Iyer Design Studios, which is a typical private planning and development practice. This emphasises the postmodern norm of decentralisation of local government in regulating planning. Planning practice is enforced and regulated by private planning and private development companies such as the Point Development Company and UEM sunrise, discovered within this case study.

7.9 The Battle for Public space: Public Space vs Development

The Point Development continues to enforce plans regardless of the Save Vetch's Association, so that they will be able to at least go ahead with whatever development is possible. Despite the fact that the battle over public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area has been going on for about a decade, both parties refuse to back down and even this year, new plans have been released by the Point Development Company for review by the Save Vetch's Association. The Save Vetch's Association, in cooperation with the public, are persistent in trying to save Vetch's Beach in its natural and intrinsic state, however since planning and development is a norm which dominates conservation of public spaces in global cities, the planning and development leg of this battle will continue until the Point Development Precinct has extended into an extravagant urban renewal project towards the harbour in terms of development. The History of the Battle for public space through newspaper article documentary is revealed below:

Information retrieved from Tony Carnie's *Mercury* article states that:

> Initially in 2003, an 18-storey hotel had been proposed to have been constructed on the uppermost part of Vetch's Pier, proposed thereafter, in a new spatial development plan, a 20-storey ‒six-star iconic hotel" which was intended to be constructed upon the new north pier. In addition, other new features such as a 33-storey tower block at the bottom end of the north pier, consisting of offices, shops and flats was proposed. The new development was taller than the original one proposed, as the settlement agreement stated that the developers would not decrease the initial ‒bulk" in development (Carnie, 2013). Nevertheless, this dispute had to be settled out of court and the Point Development Company had to negotiate with the Save Vetch's Association to develop a plan that would salvage most of the natural facets of the beach (Carnie, 2013).

However ‒According to a 50-page motivation plan prepared by the Iyer Design Studio in 2012, some of the main features of the proposed development extending from the point precinct onto Vetch's beach include a small ‒waterfront basin" instead of the original yacht and small craft harbour. Still the beach and public space was not accommodated and despite the amendments to the original plan, the Save Vetch's Association did not allow the development to go ahead. Therefore the development regarding the Point Development

expansion was put on hold until a new amended plan in favour of conserving the public space at Vetch's Beach emerged.

7.10 Amended Plans for the Point Development Project: Extending over Vetch's Beach.

In a document to the Durban Point Development Company (DPDC) dated October 21,2014 the eThekwini Municipality's economic development and tourism department said that certain sections of the initial plan had been amended after objections to the construction of the harbour when it was proposed in 2007 (*The Daily News*, 2014).

A lengthy battle has been fought by the Save Vetch's Association and Durban Paddle Ski Club since 2003 against the original plan to develop the Point outwards, as the development threatened to destroy Vetch's Reef and the beach, a valuable open public space. In a negotiated settlement out of court in 2012, a new spatial plan was approved; nevertheless the Save Vetch's Association still had doubts about dropping the battle, as the new plan still posed a threat of extinction to Vetch's Beach (*The Daily News*, 2014).

The amendments showed the replacement of Vetch's breakwater by a new groyne - a structure built from the shore that interrupts water flow and limits the movement of sediment. The new plan rearranges the canals and the lock to extend out of the base of the North Pier. According to the amended plans, perhaps half of the existing Vetch's Beach will remain in its current form and the other half will form part of the waterfront basin. EThekwini Municipality confirmed that a "super basement" would no longer be constructed. Also hard and soft launches within the small-craft harbour which would diminish the beach will no longer be constructed; instead, following a negotiated design, a 15m wide slipway was intended to be constructed in August. Mr Johnny Vassilaros said the association would support a development that was consistent with the terms of the agreement signed in 2012 (*The Daily News,* 2014).

The agreement was uShaka achieved by the Point Development Company scrapping plans for a small craft harbour, but it still allows for four construction sites to be developed landwards of the erosion line. DPDC Project Director, Neels Brink, confirmed that the amendments were approved in the second week of October (*The Daily News*, 2014).

7.11 The public's need to preserve Public Space

Respondent 1, the representative of the Save Vetch's Association and the main representative of the public in this area stated that:

> Our municipality has an obligation to provide recreational facilities for its citizens, such as parks and gardens, football, rugby and cricket fields, athletics tracks and for other sporting codes, but in the case of boating, not only has it failed dismally, but is now attempting to destroy what the public have created themselves. (Interview with Respondent 1).

He informed the researcher that the clubs have been created, funded and managed by the public without ever getting any financial assistance from the Government or the municipality.

In a press-release document entitled ―The Durban Paddle Ski Club's view of the Point Small Craft Harbour" in February 2008, the Chairperson stated that ―Vetch's Beach is a public beach that is accessible and affordable to the public." Furthermore, 80 percent of the beach survey respondents were non-club members. He stated, in representation of the public, ―We believe that the beach and the seabed do not belong to the municipality or Transnet or any private company or individual, but to the citizens of this country". He added, ―We believe that this piece of paradise is worth fighting for, and we shall do everything within our power and our legal rights to protect it and preserve it, not only for our members and the general public, but for future generations".

7.12 eThekwini s Standpoint: Interview with the LUMS employee of eThekwini Municipality

Respondent 2, a Land Use Management System employee of council stated that, first of all, the privatisation of public space issues in the Point Development Precinct and Vetch's Beach are very controversial. There has been a dispute over the land affairs of that region for about a decade.

 According to her, the municipality has not released a new precinct plan or spatial development for the Point Development Area as yet, as the plan of action for development in that area is still restricted. She also stated that development is on hold until the pending dispute is resolved. She added that despite conflicts with the public to protect the space, this

development is a priority for eThekwini Municipality as land for development within the inner city is scarce, thus, in the near future, the municipality does intend to expand the Point Development in co-operation with the Point Development Company. Their intention is to use the municipal space allocated to them to construct a small craft harbour. These plans have been on hold since last year. She did not want to give the researcher any further information, as she stated that the nature of the research was too controversial. She believed the researcher to be investigating something that would cast a negative light on the intensions of the municipality, considering that the privatisation of public space had been opposed for almost a decade.

Retrieved from an online document press release on the 28 of October 2014 via *IOLS*, City manager, S'bu Sithole, said the amendments to the development were based on the 2012 agreement between the affected parties: He said, "We said, ＿Let's revise the master plan' to ensure it keeps everyone concerned, happy. The amendments are such that they minimise any objections and we wanted to ensure that the existence of the small-craft harbour will not compromise the existence of other establishments on the beachfront".

7.13 A Constitution to save Public Space at Vetch's Beach

From the Save Vetch's Association Website, accessed on the 31st of October 2014, a written constitution of the Save Vetch's Association has been retrieved. The association has decided to protect the public space by rights of a constitution, as it would be legally binding and the municipality or private development companies could not wipe out a public space. The constitution was drawn up as to prevent development on the beach, and so far it has been vital in protecting Vetch's Beach, as a violation of this constitution will imply legal penalties for developers. According to the Constitution of Vetch's Beach (Source: http://savevetchs.co.za/images/svaconstitution.pdf):

> "The object of the ASSOCIATION is to:
>
> *3.1 Save Vetch's in its current and original state for the people of South Africa;*
> *3.2 Oppose the establishment of the Small Craft Harbour Development;*
> *3.3 Ensure that the public have complete and free access to Vetch's;*
> *3.4 Collectively negotiate with the authorities concerned to resolve the*
> *issues of the retention of the amenities of Vetch's;*

3.5 Negotiate with the authorities concerned to resolve issues of security of
tenure for the sporting bodies including recreational and subsistence
fishermen who / which currently have access to Vetch's;
Facilitate the regeneration of the natural environment of Vetch's; "
3.7 Retain a safe environment which is accessible and affordable for water
sport participants and the public alike to Vetch's. "

7.14 Conclusion

In conclusion to this section, it has been discovered that, within the context of the case studies in the Durban Inner-city coastal area, public spaces are being privatised. Due to mechanisms of security, the public have restricted access and are being repelled from using public space freely within the Point Development Precinct. It has also been revealed that proposed future development plans to re-develop the Point Development Precinct will have great consequences for the public space at Vetch's Beach. The beach will be redeveloped according to the developers into a mixed use urban renewal project. A new urban renewal project is also intended to take over Vetch's Beach. This enhancement of urban renewal projects is for purposes of investment and revenue. Therefore we can say that economic development and private sector redevelopment of the city takes priority over the need for the city to preserve public spaces such as Vetch's Beach.

This chapter also revealed the people's perceptions of public space, showing us how they value it. Also discussed was the history of the battle between the Point Development Company trying to implement and develop a new spatial development plan through a private planning and development project vs the public who object to the privatisation of that public space. In this chapter, the history of the battle for the public space showed that it had been a long battle between the public and the developers for the public space at Vetch's Beach, but what does this mean? Does the public have a right to public space?

With the evidence of a constitution required to protect this public space, the debate is that if a public organisation such as Vetch's Association has to create a constitution to save the beach, this shows the seriousness of the battle to avoid its privatisation. This is also proof that development in the inner-city has to be opposed through such strict legal measures. This thus concludes that even the public have little or few rights to oppose the privatisation of public

space unless they have a constitution, representative of their requests to preserve a public space. If something is public, should the public not have the ultimate right to decide what the public wishes to do with it? The fact that the Save Vetch's Association, as a microcosm society, has to develop a constitution to save a beach, indicates that municipalities often privatise spaces along the coast without the public's needs being taken into consideration, and even if there is an objection, planning and development very likely proceeds. The constitution emphasises that the public has to affirm legal powers over something which is public. This seems likely to be defined as a less public space if the public, by rights, have no grounds to object to development without creating a constitution on a micro-level.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter all the main objectives will be discussed. The privatisation of public space is occurring rapidly within the Durban Inner-city Coastal area, just as it is occurring in many other postmodern cities around the world. This research has attempted to discover the context of privatisation of public spaces within the inner city. The data has revealed that this matter is indeed relevant and that public spaces are privatised at a rapid rate. Other objectives of this research, such as who has rights to public space in the city, will be discussed. Another aspect of the research concerning how public spaces are privatised will be discussed. The main debates will be concluded in the following chapter at it is revealed that public space is a controversial issue in the city, especially when urban renewal projects take priority in the city

This concluding chapter also aims to put the privatisation of public space within the Durban Inner city Coastal area, into the context of an Urban Planning Perspective. It was established from the data that the Point Development has offered the public commercial public space at uShaka Marine World, but at the same time, Vetch's Beach, which is a public open space is under threat of eradication to allow for the development of a small craft harbour parallel to the mouth of the harbour which threatens the extinction of public spaces such as Vetch's Beach.

In the concluding chapter all the objectives will be discussed further:

1. To discover the meaning of public space in the context of a postmodern era

2. To investigate local government and private development impacts on public space

3. To investigate how security mechanisms result in the privatisation of public space

4. To determine how the privatisation of public space through security causes exclusion, behavioural control and limited accessibility

5. To investigate people's perceptions of public space and whether citizens and the public have rights to public space

8.2 The Durban Inner-city Coastal Area as a Postmodern City

The theoretical underpinning of Postmodern Urbanism has been identified within the Durban Inner-city coastal area. Durban has been discovered to be the epitome of a postmodern city as the city participates avidly in characteristics which are postmodern according to Hirt (2012:70). Post modernism in cities, means that there is a reduction in public funds for the city's improvement, rather, the private sector is the catalyst for development. The public sector begins to play a secondary role. There is also spatial and social polarisation due to privatisation and enclosures.

In the Durban Inner-city coastal area, spatial and social polarisation of public space is the norm. Due to planning practices and the need to privatise space for development, there is hyper-differentiation within public spaces in the city. Public spaces are segregated and disconnected or separated, especially in the Point Development Precinct, which is the prime example. Vetch's Beach, as a public space, has been completely delinked or separated from the rest of the coastal region as it is not connected to the Point Development Precinct. The privatisation of urban public space within the Point Development Precinct and the demand to privatise Vetch's beach has caused spatial segregation through the popular postmodern trend of privatisation of public uses in the inner-city.

With regard to the public playing a secondary role, it has been proven that Durban has the postmodern trait of decentralisation of planning and the retreat of the state from controlling development and urban renewal. It was discovered in this research that private planning practice instructs urban renewal and development in the Durban inner-city coastal area. Private developers such as the Point Development Company and UEM Sunrise, which is Malaysia's largest property developer, have enforced independent development plans and directives for the Durban Inner-city Coastal area, which is independent from any municipal planning. EThekwini Municipality, it has been discovered that they have played a minimal role in developing spatial and master plans for the Durban Inner-city as majority of the spatial plans which involve the privatization of Vetch's beach had been done by the private sector and private planning practice. Public spaces such as Vetch's beach are privatised and intended to be redeveloped into fancy, global urban renewal projects designed by private planning practices. Public spaces are privatised for the reproduction of mass global culture and the homogenisation of themed development is displayed through the construction of urban

renewal projects such as uShaka Marine World, which is at the heart of the Point Development Precinct.

Public space that is ordered and controlled is exclusive space, designed for _the public' (Staeheli & Thompson, 1997). The low income and marginalised citizens can't adopt the role of the _user' that is imagined to be occupying the public spaces of the Point Development Precinct. The images of these spaces that are being designed are commoditised spectacles, where consumption is invigorated under the global ideology of capitalism (Mitchell, 1995). Therefore profits are the ultimate aim of these developments in public spaces to be planned and built up. This is where consumers will be engaged in a vast consumer culture within constructed spaces where it is practical and safe to purchase commodities and services (Mitchell, 1995).

The postmodern trend of globalised themed development can be identified in the extravagant, disneyfied spectacle of uShaka Marine World. It is indeed evident that public space has been privatised for the spectacle of fancy projects that will be used to enhance the neo-liberal credibility of the city. Neo-liberal economic development is enhanced by the ability of these projects to encourage foreign development, investment, spending and to attract tourist expenditure. This is a typical trait of a postmodern city. In addition, development and urban renewal projects have threatened to remove valuable public space such as Vetch's, in their expansion which proves that Durban is a postmodern city, as privatisation of public space is occurring rapidly for such globalised development. It has also been discovered that municipalities were given more power and have created partnerships with private companies such as the Point Development Company that have resulted in a decrease in accessibility to and the availability of public space to the public.

Public spaces in the Durban Inner-city coastal area are being rapidly transformed into _pseudo-public' spaces or _pseudo-private' spaces. These are the public spaces within the car-park and uShaka Marine World which are controlled and monitored by private companies and which exclude and isolate the public, as many public space users found these to be inaccessible. The eThekwini Municipality, in partnerships with private companies, such as the Point Development Company, aims to promote urban renewal projects and implement development that would encourage an influx of tourists and wealthy citizens. This is a strategic partnership of private and public to enhance the neo-liberal-capitalist agenda of the

postmodern city. Public space has no value, compared to the promise of economic growth, income generation and investment that comes with intensifying urban renewal development. Projects such as the development of the proposed small craft harbour and the mixed-use development initiative at the Point Development Area would allow for pro-growth at the expense of public space and citizens' rights being limited. The privatisation of public space is deemed acceptable to the municipality if it allows for these urban renewal projects to be extended by private companies for the investment and enhancement of neo-liberal economic growth. The privatisation of public space through the development of the Point Development Area has shown that the eThekwini Municipality has focused on pro-growth initiatives as an alternative to preserving public space for citizens (Robinson, 2008). The Municipality has encouraged the use of neo-liberal policies in order to keep up with other postmodern cities around the world.

8.3 The Privatisation of Public Space by Security

Due to obsession over space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area, privatisation is occurring rapidly as the only legal or contractual way to convert an intangible asset into a physical or tangible form of property. In the Durban Inner-city coastal area, it was discovered that security is used as a territorial designation of public space or land, rather than a means to reduce crime in the region. Boom-gates and security are used mainly to direct the users of public spaces into specific areas of use and recreation, than to control the amount of crime that may occur. Security is used to enforce control over public space in the inner city coastal area. The security at Vetch's Beach was used to avoid the public intruding on a membership-governed area which is protected by the Point Clubs for themselves. If a public group such as the Point Clubs limit access to the general public through security, this means that Vetch's Beach has been privatised by the clubs. This shows that Vetch's Beach, despite the private developers aiming to seize the land for development, has already been privatised by the public entities that are currently using it. As a card-holders sign at the entrance of Vetch's Beach shows, the beach is only for those members and not for the public in general. Therefore this entails the privatisation of public space by the public themselves.

8.4 Exclusion and limited Accessibility though Privatisation

The Durban Inner-city coastal area has become a ―carceral‖ city (Soja, 2001: 44) as the public spaces of the city are no longer viewed as places of social interaction, but as places of fear and

danger. In the Durban Inner-city Coastal area at the Point development there is also an intensification of security so that the parties in conflict may avoid the invasion of their public space by the opposite party. The Point Development Company has used security to cordon off their part of the beach, likewise the clubs, as well as the Save Vetch's Association have used security and surveillance to restrict people from accessing their side of the beach, which they want to protect. What they don't realise is that this is characteristic of a postmodern carceral city, where the parties are obsessed with controlling the public spaces through security. This thereby protects public space for their use and interests alone.

This fear of losing public space has caused it to become exclusionary space to the general public. The conflict within the public space between the two interested and affected parties has caused them, unintentionally, to inflict caution, fear and exclusion to any outsider attempting to come into the public space. Even the researcher, as a user, felt excluded from using the public space at the entrance, as the manner of security enforced to control the spaces in the area, intimidates citizens attempting to use the space. This creates a psychological impression of entering into a private space, rather than a space which ought to public and guarantees easy access to it from the outside.

Finally, in this aspect of the research, it was discovered within the case study, that people's access to both Vetch's Beach and uShaka Marine World within the Point Development was restricted and controlled through mechanisms of surveillance and security. This means that public space within the Durban Inner-city coastal area has become privatised through security as discussed in the literature.

8.5 Commodification and the Impact of Private Development on Public Space

Public space is thus privatised through private ownership, or because private companies such as the Point Development maintain the spaces. Public space then becomes inaccessible to the public and thus becomes pseudo or private space in the city. Vetch's beach would not remain a public space if the Point Development Project expands over the beach. It would become a commoditised or commercialised urban development. Public spaces such as Vetch's Beach will be privatised by urban renewal initiatives and private developers. Public space at Vetch's will be converted into a development within a scheme. It would lose its social, natural and intrinsic value as a public space.

The Point Development Company, in cooperation with the eThekwini municipality, as a public-private partnership would privatise the beaches and piers. The space would be controlled, designed for consumer spending, where profits can be accumulated and investors are enthusiastic to invest more because of capital gain though consumer activity . The public space could be on the brink of extinction at Vetch's Beach. Through the proposal of the new extension of the development, the public space would be converted into a commoditised public space, where people's wealth and potential to spend would define it, rather than it is defined now, as an open public space. Vetch's Beach is presently, a valued historical asset to the public, treasured for the services it offers as a beach. The beach does not require citizens to be of a certain income bracket to enjoy its amenities, compared to the new project proposal intended to privatise the public space. It would be of use and benefit to private companies and the municipality by generating investment through consumer spending, if developed. For example, Vetch's Beach or the public space within uShaka Marine world is seen by private investors, or, for example, the Point Development Company as prime property in a well-located area in the CBD, where urban renewal projects would thrive because they would attract large investments.

The Point Development Precinct is seen as the epitome of the waterfront development that can reach its maximum investment capabilities through urban renewal development, housing development and the development of a harbour. Companies such as the Point Development Company can see its investment capabilities and, in that regard, they want to develop on Vetch's Beach and turn the beach into a first-class urban renewal project. In this regard, therefore, the development of a small craft harbour would make the project relevant to serve a coastal function, for ship operation near the port, and thus these private developers need to seize the land/property which is viewed by the community and public as public space.

8.6 People's Perceptions of Public Space in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area

The people perceptions reveal that the perception of public space is similar to the general contesting definitions of public space that have been exposed in the literature review. Public space is such a broad term that is used and applied differently in different contexts. In some cases, public space is defined by people as land, particularly by developers, who view space as a piece of property that can be developed, purchased and sold. Public space, to developers,

is a tangible asset, rather than an intangible open space that people occupy for social or recreational activity. For example, people view public space as something that they can walk upon, that is land or property that has a specific measurable area, or distance. For example, the beach is seen as land upon which an urban renewal project can be extended, as opposed to the community views of that public space as a valued area. The community have a great sense of place in that public space, to which they take their friends and family to spend time. It is a public space and they have attached themselves to the place as a result of experiences that they have shared with other members of the community in that space. The public, the private companies/developers view public space in different ways. Public space is a space of unmediated political interaction, where 'multiple publics' coexist (Fraser, 1990).

Public spaces are everyday, lived in, representational spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). Through this view, the citizens are legitimate representative users of the public (Mitchell, 1995). As Watson (2006) states, public spaces are spaces of 'enchantment' where unique dynamics are found due to the distinctive nature of interactions in a specific place. These public spaces have moulded the lives and identities of the people using them (Freeman, 2008). As a result of these interactions, the beach users do not wish to leave the public spaces they use. They refuse to go somewhere else even if there are alternative public spaces in the city to go to, because they have developed a sense of attachment or even a historical relationship with the public space at the beach. Therefore the public's conceptualisation of public space is in conflict with that of the municipality and developers' view of public space. As a result of these different views of public space, that of the space as an exclusive economic space is held in higher regard by the most powerful of the stakeholders, due to the power and influence that they have. Because of power and discourse, it is thus unlikely that the peoples' views and needs to conserve and their claims to protect the public space will be taken into account.

There has been so much controversy and debate over the public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area, but the public value space has an intrinsic value. The people associate the public space with a certain utility value. It has a social value, in which a society of beach users has used it and, as a result of the community's attachment and long term relationship with the beach, they have refused to give it up in its original state. They want it to remain as it is for the communities use, as opposed to allowing it to be converted into another urban renewal project which private developers have tried to do over the last decade

8.7 The Privatisation of Public Space in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area

Privatisation of public space in the case study has been proven in this research. Privatisation of public space is evident by virtue of the fact that the public have, as a result, been victimised and denied the right to access a public space which is being transformed into ‗pseudo-public' and ‗pseudo-private' spaces. Public spaces in the Durban Inner-city coastal area that are controlled by Transnet, such as the North Pier on Vetch's Beach, are also denying the public's access to them. This is proof of a removal of citizens' rights to a public space, causing them to be displaced as social outcasts. The public, as well as the clubs that inhabit the beach area, have been requested to move out on several occasions to allow for the expanding development of the Point. This has caused the displacement of citizens, even as a community, from the public spaces that they have historically appropriated.

Referring to an example of the redevelopment of projects in San Diego, Mitchell & Staeheli (2006) have argued that even the homeless and informal traders have been chased away from the areas that they have appropriated to make way for development. Likewise in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area, the poor are being excluded, as not many are allowed free and comfortable access to proposed developments such as 5/6 star luxury hotels and urban renewal developments of spectacle. The club members are being excluded from using the beach which they have a historical relationship with, and the general public stand to lose a beach that they had once been able to access freely and enjoy.

Public space that has been privatised was municipal public space. This consists of facets of land parcels within a scheme that is maintained by the municipality, which inherently makes it public space that should be maintained by the municipality for the public's use and access. However, due to the fact that the private sector and private development companies such as the Point Development Company, have enormous financial capital to finance urban renewal projects such as those occurring in the inner city, the municipality has handed over the entire development authority to private planning practices and private developers. Thus municipal land is either purchased by private development companies such as the Point Development Company or maintained by them. This means that public space on the land and around the property is no longer the responsibility of the municipality. Therefore, through design, maintenance and security, the public spaces are redesigned, commoditised and transformed by private developers for their own use.

8.8 Who has rights to Public Space in the Durban Inner-city Coastal Area?

Due to the power that private companies have over the public, as financial capital and investment is more important than the public desire to have a public space for their personal use, people's rights to public space becomes limited. It is not because people are unable to have rights to public space, it's because of the power and discourse that companies have, since they can provide financial capital to the municipality for development. Large corporations' needs are met, as they are able to purchase the property or land with the municipality's approval. Their rights take priority over the people's rights, as economic ownership over the land trumps people's rights of access to public space. Also, as a result of property rights, private companies such as the Point Development Company, have purchasing rights over ‗land' for development, but this land has a non-physical property value, as a public space or place for people/users and the public, that they have treasured over decades.

These public users don't value the beach or waterfront location as an economic piece of appropriately located land for development, like the private companies. People want a sense of entitlement to use public spaces freely and openly, without threat of them being converted into another development or another waterfront property. They value the space as, when it is ‗open', they may use it in its original state as a beach or place that they can visit and be a community within, engaging in the same activities that they have used the space for since the beginning of its establishment as a public space. In this case, Vetch's Beach has been used by a public user's community since the 1950s, which is a period of over 65 years.

In a democracy, the municipality is supposed to be the representative of the public and public interests. Their responsibilities however, are also to ensure the renewal and upkeep of the city to attract investment for economic development. However the line between social responsibility and economic development for the municipality has become blurred, as economic development seemingly has to prosper, at the expense of meeting the needs and demands of the public. From the data that has been analysed in this thesis, the public has little right to public space. From what has been discovered, Vetch's Beach is on the brink of extinction, as, once the plans for development are approved, it will cease to exist in its form, and will thus no longer be a social and natural asset. The public don't see the beach as a mere property that has an economic value, they see Vetch's Beach as a social asset. It is a beach which they have had a personal relationship with since the 1950s. This thus implies that

Vetch's each is a treasured, recreational asset to the public which they refuse to give up. Apparently to the public and citizens, it is the only launch site that can serve as a fishing and diving public space, like no other in the city.

Vetch's Beach would be commoditised just as many other public spaces in the Durban Inner-city coastal area. The commodification of public space by the private sector will not only limit the public's preservation of it in its natural form, it will also reduce the overall public space which is accessible to the public in the city as a whole. Vetch's Beach will eventually become an extension of the Point Development Project, an extension of commercial, global and built-up urban development spaces.

Despite the Save Vetch's Association perpetuating a battle to save Vetch's Beach from becoming converted into a small craft harbour, it is evident that the organisation, as well as the public, will still have to compromise on some sort of development. This indicates that they, although having a constitution to save Vetch's Beach, will not be able to retain the beach as it is in its existing form. This means that the public space will be reduced and the people's rights to it, as it is, eliminated. The commodification of public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area has resulted in is public spaces being privatised. Public space is not formally privatised in the inner-city, as planning and development regulation is stipulated by legal legislation such as the Planning and Development Act of 2008. The PDA provides a framework of measures by which development may be regulated and implemented. It states criteria regarding how planning and development should be allowed even in the inner-city area. For as long as development is maintained within a scheme, it may be rapid. Either the municipality or the private sector purchase land or property or through a formal process, instruct development over the plots that they own.

8.9 Recommendation:

In reference to the Durban Inner-city coastal area, this is an argument that the public space is privatised to be developed according to neo-liberal economic development principles. This is to create urban renewal projects that may enhance the domestic and international spending of consumers so that the domestic economy may thrive and grow. Urban renewal projects may ensure fast-paced development and construction by the financial support of private companies such as the Point Development Company, so that the municipality has added finance and support to complete these projects.

This kind of partnership between private developers and the municipality, to ensure the widespread implementation of urban renewal projects such as the one intended to be created at the Point Development Precinct, is deemed imperative in a postmodern city context to attract investment and ensure the economic sustainability of development. However, economic development is at the expense of the public losing a treasured public asset such as the Public Space at Vetch's Beach. Shouldn't the public have rights to their city and not have to be excluded from these public spaces that they value most? How does the municipality not act in a biased manner and ensure economic development without compromising the social needs and livelihoods of the people?

From the literature reviewed, Minton (2006) states that the law of private property in cities is concerned, not with the democratic interests of the public, but has rather prioritised the consumption and capital interests of minority groups. Laws governing public spaces in cities should not therefore be biased in the sense that they assert special rights to purchasers over those of users of public spaces. Minton (2006) asserts that laws need to be established as to preserve public spaces. Law can and should be used to protect public spaces against its encroachment by capital projects. This would ensure that public spaces are accessed and won't be at risk of diminishing in cities.

The researcher recommends therefore that the local government, through planning and development, develop better land use regulations, or better policies, to ensure that both economic and social sustainability is incorporated in inner city development. For example, South African legislation such as the PDA, should reflect on rules for the privatisation of public space in inner-city areas. The PDA provides a legislative framework:

> *To provide for the adoption, replacement and amendment of schemes; to provide for consent in terms of schemes; to provide for the subdivision and consolidation of land; to provide for the development of land outside schemes; to provide for the phasing or cancellation of approved layout plans for the subdivision or development of land; to provide for the alteration, suspension and deletion of restrictions relating to land; to provide for the permanent closure of municipal roads or public places; to provide for enforcement measures; to provide for compensation in respect of matters regulated by the Act; to establish the KwaZulu-Natal Planning and Development Appeal Tribunal; to provide for provincial planning and development norms and standards; and to*

provide for matters connected therewith (The Planning and Development Act, No 6 of 2008:1).

In addition, the researcher recommends that legislation such as the PDA allow for the protection and preservation of public space. Public space management and public open space preservation should be accounted for in legislation such as the PDA, so that they are not at risk of being completely taken over, redesigned or redeveloped into another urban renewal project. The privatisation of public space should be regarded as a serious issue, and planning legislation needs amending to that public spaces may be recognised within town planning schemes and cannot merely be diminished, depleted or encroached upon by urban planning and renewal projects.

Finally, it has been discovered through this research that public space is not recognised as a tangible and intangible asset within a development scheme. Public spaces are recreated within urban renewal projects, but natural public spaces such as the beach would cease to exist. The socio-political value or community value of natural public spaces such as Vetch's Beach is not recognised. Instead, public spaces are just seen as an economic asset consisting of a parcel of land in the city. Public spaces are commoditised or privatised and are not protected like green spaces are protected in the city through Durban Metropolitan Open Space Systems (DMoss). Green spaces are protected to preserve biodiversity. In the same way, public spaces need to have an elevated status in the city, and need to be protected for their social value or for the livelihoods of people, otherwise public spaces may just as well be viewed as mere land or property in the city, and may thus not be preserved for their social or use value. This would mean that all land would be intended for development, and that all public spaces could be privatised and not accessed by the public in their original form. Public spaces should be formally protected through stricter legislation for the majority of citizens who wish to use and access them in their intrinsic value.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SHEETS

This interview consists of a list of open ended questions:

NAME

OCCUPATION

DATE

1. Why do you come to this area at Vetch's Beach? What activities do you do?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

2. Why do you value the public space at Vetch's Beach

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

3. How do you feel about the privatization of public space in at Vetch's Beach?

………………………………………………………………………………………….

4. Is this public space controlled? Do you enter through a gate? Do you think that the security around the area is exclusionary?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

5. What types of people do you think come here? What do they use it for? Why?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

6. How do you feel using the space? Safe and secure? Restricted? Explain briefly.

……………………………………………………………………………………………

INTERVIEW SHEETS

This interview consists of a list of open ended questions:

NAME

OCCUPATION

DATE

1. How would you define privatization of public space?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

2. What process is there for a company to purchase space in the city? Who are the land
    owners?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………...

3. What are the criteria for an individual or company to purchase space in the city? How is
    Public space commoditized?

    ………………………………………………………………………………………….

4. What are the prerequisites' for public space to be privatized in the city?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

5. What are the benefits of privatizing public spaces?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

INTERVIEW SHEETS

This interview consists of a list of open ended questions:

NAME

OCCUPATION

DATE

1. What is the role and function of your company in this part of the city?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

2. What was the reason for developing over public space in the Durban Inner-city coastal area?

…………………………………………………………………………………………….
.

3. Do you think Public Space is important?

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

4. What is the reason for privatizing this public space and what are benefits?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Who is permitted to access this public space/ property?………………………………………………………………………………………
……….

PUBLIC SPACE USERS SURVEY

Target group: The public space users

1. Which public space do you come to use? uShaka Marine World or Vetch's Beach? Why?

....
.

2. Is Vetches Beach accessible? Yes or No

Yes	No

3. Is uShaka Marine World accessible? Yes or No

Yes	No

4. Why is public space inaccessible?

Parking	Design	Security	All

5. Which is recognised by people as being a public space?

UShaka	Vetch's Beach	Both

6. What do people use public space at Vetch's for? Why is it important to the public?

....
.

7. How frequently does the public use this space

Sometimes	often	frequently	permanently

8. How favourable is the Development of Vetch's Beach?

yes	no	Anything is favoured	I don't care