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Privatization of public spaces and its impact on the socio-political and spatial landscapes of the Cape Town Central City Improvement District (CCCID)

A dissertation submitted to the Department of Town and Regional Planning in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master of Town and Regional Planning

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Declaration

I declare that this research is my own work and has not been used previously in fulfillment of another degree at the University of KwaZulu-Natal or elsewhere. Use of the work of others has been acknowledged in the text.

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Abstract

Globalization and its antecedent neoliberalism have brought untold competition amongst global cities. As cities strive to bid for the highest order in terms of maintaining and attracting both local and foreign investments as well as tourists, it is imperative to build socially cohesive, environmentally friendly and economically competitive cities as these attributes have become key essential. However, not every city has the financial means to undertake such obligations so they often resort to the formation of public-private partnerships, a phenomenon often termed as Business Improvement Districts, for the attainment of such goals.

More often than not the concept of Business Improvement Districts has been criticized for weakening the publicness of public spaces as they restrict social interaction, constrain individual liberties and exclude undesirable populations through the use of spatially controlled measures such as surveillance policing, law techniques and design measures that 'code' spaces as private. On the contrary, the concept has been commended for regenerating or rejuvenating public spaces, which have mostly fallen victim to crime and grime, hence improving the publicness of contemporary public spaces.

Using a qualitative research methodology, the study empirically sought to identify the factors which contribute to privatization of public spaces. Moreover, the objective of the study was to identify the characteristics of privatized public spaces and their implications on socio-political and spatial landscapes. To accomplish the stated objectives, the study examined 11 public spaces within the City of Cape Town's City Improvement Districts, through observation methods that were guided by Németh's index scoring sheet, and an interview schedule to solicit information. Also, relevant literatures were reviewed on the topic to accomplish the stated objectives. Findings were that the Cape Town City improvement District is a public-private partnership which often employs measures such as laws, rules, surveillance, policing, accessibility, territoriality, design and image to encourage or discourage freedom of usage. Recommendations were presented to urban planners, architects, policy makers, and other stakeholders who are interested in management and provision of public spaces.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Diagrams

List of Maps

List of Plates

List of Graphs

List of Acronyms

BIA	:	Business Improvement Area
BID	:	Business Improvement District
CBD	:	Central Business District
CCCID	:	Cape Town Central City Improvement District
CCID	:	Central City Improvement District
CDIAC	:	California Debt and Investment Advisory Commission
CDS	:	City Development Strategy
CID	:	City Improvement Districts
FAR	:	Floor Area Ratio
FHRCGO	:	Florida House of Representative Committee Governmental Operations
EGS	:	Economic Growth Strategy
FOP	:	Friends of the Parks
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
ID	:	Improvement District
IDP	:	Integrated Development Planning

MFMA	:	Municipal Finance Management Act
MID	:	Municipal Improvement District
MPRA	:	Municipal Property Rate Act
NID	:	Neighbourhood Improvement District
NPC	:	Non-Profit Company
POP	:	Privately Owned Public Spaces
PPP	:	Public-Private Partnerships
PUR	:	Partnerships for Urban Renewal
RDP	:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAACPP	:	South African Association of Consulting Professional Planners
SALGA	:	South African Local Government Association
SAPS	:	South African Police Service
SDF	:	Spatial Development Framework
SDS	:	Social Development Strategy
SPLUMB	:	Spatial Planning and Land Use management Bill
SRA	:	Special Rate Area

CHAPTER ONE :   INTRODUCTION

1.0.   Research Background

The state-centered model of management and provision of public spaces, which is regarded as the conventional practice of providing and managing public spaces depends/relies mostly on public sector institutions, with least support from either the private or the voluntary sector (De Magalhães and Carmona, 2009; De Magalhães, 2010).   However, threats posed by the contemporary demands on public spaces have stimulated other social agents in the private and community/voluntary sectors to assume a larger role in the provision and management of public spaces to meet such demands (ibid).   Hence, the final decision making pertaining to planning no longer resides solely in the bosom of the state, but rather it involves *"…the transfer of some responsibility for, and power over, the visioning of urban futures and the exercise of social action for urban change from public to private-sector actors"* (Shatkin, 2008, p.388).

Huang (2014) posits that the involvement of the private sector in the provision and management of public spaces has given rise to new forms and types of public spaces, often termed as "hybrid" public spaces as they command both the characteristics of public and private space, but with the intended purpose for public use.   Huang argues that these space types vary from the conventional public spaces since they are owned and/or managed by private groups or corporations and not by the public sector.   "Hybrid" public spaces are either created and owned by private organizations or formerly created by the state, but management or ownership being later contracted out to the private sector (ibid).   While this is often considered to be more of a phenomenon in North America, it has gained momentum globally as well (Hoyt, 2003; De Magalhães, 2010).

Provision and management of privately owned public spaces (POP<u>S</u>) are achieved through incentive programmes championed by state authorities to stimulate the private developers to provide and manage public spaces in exchange for floor area ratio (FAR) bonuses (Bressi, 2002). FAR as defined by the South African Association of Consulting Professional Planners (SAACPP) is a numerical factor which is multiplied by the land area of a subject property (usually in square meters) to arrive at the gross floor area that may be erected on a subject property in terms of

land use scheme (SAACPP Website, 2015). Evidently, there were over 503 POPS amounting to 85 acres of land in New York City between 1961 and 2000, due to drafting of the 1961 Zoning Resolution (Németh and Schmidt, 2011).

Apart from POPS, another mechanism employed in the management of publicly owned spaces is known as Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) model from which "Friends of the park" group (FOP) has evolved (Murray, 2010). BIDs as defined by Morçöl and Wolf (2010, p.906) is a public space management that is initiated by property or business owners, legislated by state laws and authorized by local governments to pay additional rates for the purpose of providing additional public services in a designated urban and suburban areas. Hoyt (2003) identifies 21 BIDs in South Africa, 30 in New Zealand, 185 in Australia, 261 in Japan, 38 in the United Kingdom, and 347 in Canada. Also, Ellen et al. (2007) confirm that there were approximately 800 BIDs on the globe with half of them located in the USA as at 1999.

FOP is a group consisting of residents of all ages and backgrounds with a common interest in the stewardship towards a local park. Their activities range from volunteering their time, services and funding to support and enhance their parks (National Recreation and Park Association, 2009). While the financial sources of BIDs are the taxes levied on property owners, FOPs are financed largely by donations and participation in the management of public spaces (Murray, 2010).

1.1. Problem Statement

The right of all people to the city for not only economic activities, but also as a social, cultural, and democratic space is enshrined in the World Charter and elaborated by the global social movement actors at the social forum of the World Urban Forum in October, 2004. The charter stipulates that equitable use of space within cities should be based on the principles of sustainability and social justice (Habitat, U.N., 2005).

However, the developmental goals currently employed by majority of cities, particularly third world cities are focused rather on the concentration of income and power which often contribute to privatization of public spaces, and manifested in social and physical segregation within the urban space meant for all manner of people (Habitat, U.N., 2005). Kohn (2004)

argues that privatization of public spaces supports segregation and creates privileged zones within the city to ensure that "business people" do not come across "street people", "consumers" do not meet "citizens", and "the rich" do not see "the poor". She argues that public spaces that used to serve as a forum where democratic principles of equality were realized are in decline, while privately owned zones of safety and corresponding zones of danger are on the rise. Spatial manifestations of these processes are architecture of fear, fortress-like malls guarded by private security forces as well as proliferation of gated communities in the suburbs and BIDs within the city (Kohn, 2004).

BIDs which are popularly known as City Improvement Districts (CIDs) in the South African context as a private public-private sector-type of privatization have garnered political attention since they have the potential to reinforce spatial inequalities through the creation of distinctive economic districts (Peyroux, 2008, p.156). Crime preventive measures such as the use of control and surveillance in the CIDs that are mostly geared towards profit-driven strategies are seen as discriminatory and exclusionary tools against certain segments of the population, particularly marginalized social groups such as street vendors, sex workers and the homeless who depend on public spaces for their material gains (Gulik, 1998; Eick, 2006 cited in Peyroux, 2007).

BIDs, including the Central City improvement Districts (CCIDs) of Cape Town are perfect examples of a contemporary use of public- private security partnership. Such forms of security partnership combine public by-laws and private security, restrictive tools meant to limit the poor and homeless from utilizing public spaces in their activities (Abrahamsen and Williams, n.d). Zero-tolerance policy measures such as the new form of restrictions endorsed in the CCIDs regard begging and vagrancy and street children as a security threat (ibid).

In a nutshell, it would appear that management and provision of public spaces in South Africa through the BID concept is in contravention to the world charter on the right to the city, as it seeks to perpetuate the legacies of the apartheid regime, socio-political and spatial fragmentations, and has dire consequences on the "publicness" situation in the South African urban spaces.

1.2. The Need for the Study

"The design and regulation of the built environment can either reinforce or challenge existing patterns of inclusion or exclusion" (Kohn, 2004, p.6). The research is justified in the sense that it seeks to identify the characteristics of privatized public spaces and their implications on the socio-political and spatial landscapes of South Africa focusing on the concept of BIDs. The question is whether or not the concept of BIDs as experienced in South Africa is new form of apartheid in disguise.

Moreover, research works on the BIDs concept in South Africa have most often focused on the economic and spatial revitalization aspects with less regard for their impact on the publicness situation as the Németh (2009) study titled "Defining a Public: The Management of Privately Owned Public Space" does on the Manhattan Community District Five, where all the 93 buildings in the Central Midtown are assessed. Also, an evaluative work on the publicness nature of public spaces has not been done on the BIDs model in South Africa, particularly the CCCID.

"…future research on BIDS will need to address three general issues…how to characterize the role of BIDs in urban governance, how to assess their impact on urban areas and how to define the accountability and management challenges they pose.....''(Morçöl and Wolf, 2010, p.911).

Even though literature discussed earlier on suggest that privatization of public spaces affects the publicness situation of a public space, however, there is limited literature that currently supports such a theory in South Africa. Hence, this study seeks to improve on the current and future literature and knowledge on the concept of BIDs as in terms of Németh's index scoring sheet of public spaces as well as the descriptors of the meta-dimensions: ownership, control, civility and configuration of public spaces, and other literatures to assess the impact of BIDs on the "publicness" nature of the CCID of Cape Town.

1.3. Research Hypothesis

Privatization of public spaces reduces the publicness of public spaces and has a negative impact on the socio-cultural landscapes of South Africa.

1.4. Objectives of the Research

The objectives of the research are to:

- Identify the factors which contribute to the privatization of public spaces in Cape Town.
- Identify the characteristics of privatized public spaces, and their implications on the socio-political and spatial landscapes of Cape Town.

1.5. Questions to be answered in the Research

The questions that need to be addressed are:

- What are the characteristics of privatized public spaces, and their implications on the socio-political and spatial landscapes of Cape Town?
- What factors contribute to privatization of public spaces?
- Why do governments privatize public spaces?
- Why do private developers invest in public spaces?

1.6. Organization of the Study

The study is organized into seven chapters as follows:

Chapter one: This chapter touches on the introduction of the study, problem statement and the need for the research. The chapter discusses the research objectives and questions. Additionally, the research hypothesis and organization of the study are discussed under this chapter. Lastly, the chapter explains the scope of the research.

Chapter two: The chapter reviews the variety of literature relevant to the study.

Chapter three: The chapter defines and discusses the conceptual framework that links the practical components of the research.

Chapter four: The chapter discusses the background of the study area.

Chapter five: The chapter covers the research methodologies that were used to accomplish the research objectives and questions.

Chapter six: The chapter covers the data analysis, interpretation and presentation of research findings.

Chapter seven: The chapter discusses the limitations, summary of the research findings, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

1.7. Scope of the Research

The study was limited to the privatization of public spaces through the BIDs model and its impact on the socio-political and spatial landscape of Cape Town. However, the research was restricted to the selected case study area, the Cape Town CCID.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0.   Introduction

The aim of this section is to unearth the views of various authors on the impact of privatization of public spaces. The literature review is structured into four sections. The first section explains the term 'public spaces', using an array of themes such as the definitions, types and role of public spaces. The main theme discussed under the second section is the "publicness" of public space. The section discusses the five meta-dimensions (ownership, control, civility, physical configuration and animation) of "publicness" of a public space. Section three discusses the debates surrounding the publicness of public spaces; whether they are in decline, reviving or growing in social, political and spatial sense with the ideal models such as the Greek agora and contemporary/privatized public spaces assuming the centre stage of the discussion. Moreover, the section discusses the similarities and distinctive features between the apartheid and post-apartheid public spaces in South Africa, as well as the measures taken by the government to rectify the deleterious spatial landforms inflicted on the country during the apartheid era. The final section, which is section four, concludes the chapter.

2.1.   Public Space

2.1.1. The Definitions of Public Space

Kohn (2004) defines public spaces as sites that belong to the state, open to all and sundry, and that encourage social interaction among its users. Also, Huang (2014) defines public space as physically open or accessible to the public, without any form of fee paid to use such place. Huang explains further that public spaces are not sites that exist in abstract form, but rather they exist in physical forms that people can use by entering into them. Additionally, Carr et al. (1992) define public spaces as openly and publicly accessible places that facilitate the activities vital for community development.

Generally, public spaces are described as spaces which are accessible to all and are located within an open or enclosed place. They include: parks and recreational areas, plazas, streets, roads or thoroughfares, and other similar areas of land shown on a general plan or diagram, which are intended for general public use and are owned by or vested in the ownership of a

Municipal Council/public contrary to the private domain of housing and work (Spatial Planning and Land Use management Bill (SPLUMB), 2012; Tonnelat, 2010).

Nonetheless, Tonnelat (2010) argues that the emergence of semi-public spaces managed by private/public or entirely private partnerships subsumes the definitions of public spaces, particularly the definition given by Kohn (2004). At the congress held in Poznań in 2009, the Polish Urban Planners defined public space as *"a special space in common use which is a product of civilization irrespective of the form of ownership, and its public character follows from the way it is used"* (Mierzejewska, 2011, p.41). Mierzejewska (2011) argues that public spaces are not limited to those areas which are captured under the umbrella of the local government in terms of management and control, but they include other areas managed by other entities that enhance the climate, aesthetic and landscape of an area.

In addition, public space from the social perspective refers to a physical place where people from all walks of life meet and interact with one another (Houssay-Holzschuch, etal., 2009). The French sociologist Isaac Joseph emphasizes that in a social sense, accessibility without any form of restrictions is not negotiable in order for a space to qualify as a public space (ibid). A socially, public spaces should accommodate the multiplicity of uses and states. Joseph terms this special quality of social public spaces as "publicness" (supra). In sociological sense, the question of design and application as to what does public space looks like and how it is used is paramount (Neal, 2010).

Politically, public space is understood as an abstract space for public debate and reflects the strength of society's political life (Houssay-Holzschuch, et al., 2009). Again, Houssay-Holzschuch, et al. (2009) suggest that the strength of democracy, particularly through civil society and an inclusionary citizenship are indications of vibrant public spaces. Also, Neal (2010) and Sheller and Urry (2003) concur that public space from the political perspective deals with the role of public space in a democratic dispensation, conceptually as discussion grounds and physically as a site of exclusion or empowerment.

From a judicial point of view, public space is defined as public land (land owned by public authorities) such as streets, squares, parks, and gardens which fall in the domain of government

control (Houssay-Holzschuch, et al., 2009). In view of this, urban planners draw the distinction between private and public land on the basis of its ownership (ibid). Neal (2010) added that from the legal point of view, public space seeks to answer the question of what is a public space and who pays for it?

Public space is a generic term that consists of various types of spaces, both indoors and outdoors such as: libraries, parks, plazas, streets, playgrounds and community centres (Carr et al., 1992; Dines & Cattell, 2006; Keller, 2009 cited in Huang, 2014). Public spaces can be described as open (beaches, parks and other natural spaces, pavements or squares) or closed (libraries, museums or religious, spiritual and heritage sites) depending on their form and usage(Safer Spaces, Website, 2015).Also, other spaces such as transport interchanges, sports grounds and recreational facilities which are either outside or inside buildings but are meant for public use are considered as public spaces (ibid). However, it appears more often than not, public space discussions tend to be centered on those that are outdoors.

Additionally, with the emergence of public-private partnerships (PPP), relatively new public spaces such as malls and sites of culture and entertainment are seen as other kinds of public space (Huang, 2014). Although these spaces fall within the ambit of the private sector, they are considered as public spaces, as they are intended to be accessible and open to the public largely for consumption purposes (ibid).

2.1.2. Types of Public Spaces

To understand the debate surrounding contemporary public spaces, it is imperative to understand the typology of public spaces. According to Carmona et al. (2008), much of the literature on the debate about public spaces is shallow in the sense that it tends to group all public space into one category and fails to acknowledge the sheer diversity of space types present in contemporary cities. Reflecting on the diversity of public spaces, Carmona et al. (2008) classify public spaces making reference to their characteristics, their origin, and what academic conventions influence their existence.

Table 1: A Typology of Public Spaces

SPACE TYPE	DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS	EXAMPLES
'Positive' spaces		
Natural/sem-natural	Natural and semi-natural features	Rivers and natural features
Urban space	within urban areas, typically under state ownership	Seafronts and canals
Civic space	Managed open space, typically green and available and open to all, even if temporarily controlled	Streets, squares and promenades
Public open space	Managed open space, typically green and available and open to all, even if temporarily controlled	Parks, gardens, commons, urban forests and cemeteries
'Negative' Spaces		
Movement space	Space dominated by movement needs, largely for motorized transportation	Main roads, motorways, railways, and underpasses
Service space	Space dominated by modern servicing requirement needs	Car parks, service yards
Left over space	Space left over after development, often designed without function	'SLOAP' (space left over after planning), modernist open space
Undefined space	Undeveloped space, either abandoned or awaiting redevelopment	Redevelopment space, abandoned space and transient space
Ambiguous Spaces		
Interchange space	Transport stops and interchanges, whether internal or external	Metros, bus interchanges, railway stations and bus/tram stops

Public/private space	Seemingly public external space, in fact privately owned and to greater or lesser degrees of control	Privately owned 'civic' space, business parks and church grounds
Conspicuous space	Public spaces designed to make strangers feel conspicuous and, potentially, unwelcome	Cul-de-sacs and dummy gated enclaves
Internalized public space	Formally public and external uses, internalized and mostly privatized	Shopping/leisure malls, introspective and mega-structures
Retail space	Privately owned, but publicly accessible exchange spaces	Shops, covered markets, and petrol stations
Third place space	Semi-public meeting and social places, public and private	Cafés, restaurants, libraries, town halls and religious buildings
Private/public space	Publicly owned, but functionally user determined spaces	Institutional grounds, housing estates and university campuses
Visible private space	Physically private, but visually public space	Front gardens, allotments and gated squares
Interface spaces	Physically demarked but publicly accessible interfaces between public and private space	Street cafés and private pavement space
User selecting spaces	Spaces for selected groups determined (and sometimes controlled) by age or activity	Skate parks, playgrounds, and sports fields/grounds/courses
Private Spaces		
Private open spaces	Physically private open spaces	Urban agricultural remnants and private woodlands
External private space	Physically private spaces, grounds and gardens	Gated streets/enclaves, private gardens, private sports clubs and parking courts

Source: Carmona et al., 2008

2.1.3. The Role of Public Spaces in an Urban Environment

Public spaces render a variety of services which can be classified as physical, ecological, psychological, social, political, economic, symbolic and aesthetic (Ercan, 2007). Also, Woolley et al. (n.d) cited in Carmona et al. (2008) attest to the array of benefits derived from the use or existence of public space, and group them under economic, health, social and environment spheres shown in table 2.

Table 2: Benefits and Role of Public Spaces

BENEFITS	FUNCTIONS
Economically	- Can impact positively t on property prices – studies suggest variously from 5% to 15% or even up to 34% in some circumstances. - Creates enabling environment for business – boosting commercial trade by 40% in some instances. - Can boost investors' confidence. - Enhances regional economic performance.
Human health	- Can encourage exercise with related health benefits – for instance, reducing the risk of heart attack, diabetes, colon cancer and bone. - Can stimulate a longer life. - Provides a space for formal and informal sports and games. - Lessens stress and enhances mental health. - Improves child health – for instance, helping parents manage children with attention deficit disorder.
Socially	- Offers learning benefits to children, creative play, and reduces absenteeism. - Nurtures social and cognitive skills. - Can assist in the reduction of incidents of crime and anti-social behavior. - Encourages neighbourliness and social cohesion. - Provides a venue for social events.

	▪ Reduces child mortality – by avoiding car-dominated environments. ▪ Provides a venue for social interchange and for supporting the social life of communities.
Environmentally	▪ Can promote the use of sustainable modes of transport. ▪ Improves air quality, reduces heat island effects, pollution and water run-off. ▪ Creates space for urban wildlife to flourish.

Source: Carmona et al., 2008 (updated by the author)

2.2. The Meta-Dimensions of the Publicness of Public Spaces

Virahsawmy (2013), defines publicness of a space as an attempt made to ascertain the elements that make one space more appealing than another, and for easy understanding of the publicness nature of spaces, the spaces are subjected to measuring 'units' and sets of core dimensions. Kohn (2004) identifies ownership, accessibility and inter subjectivity as the three core dimensions of public space. Khon (2004) cited in Németh et al. (2011) defines inter subjectivity of a space as the kind of interactions and chances of meetings that a space can facilitate. Also, Madanipour (2003) comes up with access, agency and interest as core dimensions. He refers to access as the right of admission to a place and the activities within it, agency as the focal point of management and decision-making, and interest as the space users who are affected by the actions and inactions of the agency or the public spaces that receive the impact of the pronouncements made by the agency. Further to this Németh and Schmidt (2011) in their attempt to measure the publicness of a space identify ownership, management and use/users as the core dimensions of public space. Lastly, Varna and Tiesdell (2010) describe five meta-dimensions of publicness of a space as: ownership, control, civility, physical configuration and animation.

This study will discuss in detail only the five meta-dimensions of public space proposed by Varna et al. (2010). However, reference will be made to the core dimensions developed by Khon, Madinipour, and Németh and Schmidt where necessary.

2.2.1. Ownership of Public Spaces

According to Varna et al. (2010), ownership of a place relates to the legal status of the place. From the common law perspective, it is clear that ownership is within itself, a bundle of rights to be enjoyed by the owner. There are rights within the right of ownership: the right to use, right to sell, right to encumber, right to exclusive possession, right to enjoy and the right to destroy, hence, ownership could be termed as the most complete or perfect real right with regards to the land or any property (Kaseke, 2014).

The concept of ownership as one of the fundamental features of a space is paramount in the sense that it determines whether a space falls under public or private (Varna et al., 2011). The American sociologist Lyn Lofland (1998) cited in Varna et al. (2011) argues that most spaces are considered to be "more public" by reason of them being owned by a government entity. However, Lyn acknowledges that not all properties owned by a government entity are deemed to be "more public", due to their limited access to the general public. Examples of such places may include the Police and Soldiers' barracks as due to the sensitivity of the area, access to such spaces are restricted though they are publicly owned. More so, there can be a situation where spaces which are owned by a private entity (cafés and malls) can be accessible to the general but are still likely to be less public, as the right of admission may be reserved by the owners of such spaces.

Staeheli and Mitchell (2008) in their discussion about the vital role of ownership in determining the publicness nature of a public space with reference to the relationship between property and power state that property ownership has an influence on the public nature of a space, since it can serve as a tool to regulate the activities within a public space (Varna, 2011). Moreover, Németh and Schmidt (2011) posit that the ownership of a space correlates to how the space is operated. They argue that publicly owned spaces are mostly publicly operated and privately owned spaces are normally privately operated. Hence, Varna (2010) suggests that spaces which are owned and entrusted in the hands of a public entity to operate in the interest of the public and accountable to the public through representatives are more public compared to spaces that are privately owned and used for private business purposes. Kohn (2004) argues that in between a public and private space are spaces that are commonly shared with others,

which are neither public nor private. These are the areas which exist in a greyish color as illustrated in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1: Degree of Publicness according to the Ownership Dimension
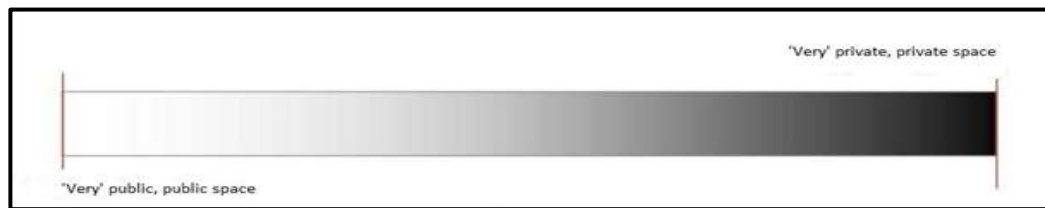
Source: Varna, 2011

Marcuse (2005; p.778) categorizes legal ownership according to their functions and places of use on a scale of six ranging from public to private ownership:

- Public ownership/public function/public use (e.g. street, square)
- Public ownership/public function/administrative use
- Public ownership/public function/private use (e.g. space leased to commercial establishments, café terrace)
- Private ownership/public function/public use (e.g. airports, bus stations)
- Private ownership/private function/public use (e.g. shops, cafés, bars, restaurants)
- Private ownership/private use (e.g. home)

2.2.2. Physical Configuration of Public Spaces

Physical configuration comprises the geographical settings and the design features associated with a particular space (Varna, 2011). More so, physical configuration describes how easy one can reach and enter a public space (Varna, 2010). In essence, Varna (2011) argues that physical configuration refers to the physical attributes of a public place as part of the built environment consisting of dual levels: macro-design (the choice of locality, connectivity, visibility) and micro-design (siting opportunities, walking opportunities, active frontages). Varna (2011) draws a distinction between a macro-design and micro-design of a place, and further argues that the former is the relationship with its geographical region taking into consideration the routes linking to it and its connections with its environs (beyond-the-place), whilst the latter is the

specific design features peculiar to the place itself (within-the-place). Németh and Schmidt (2007, p.288-291) discuss physical configuration of a public space under three paradigms: access and territory; highlighting entrance and accessibility; orientation accessibility (visual permeability); areas of restricted use (conditional use) and constrained hours of use.

In order for a place to be more public, the place must command certain characteristics such as being central and well-connected coupled with its ability to attract people; being visually permeable and connected to the public realm beyond the place itself and without having explicit thresholds, such as gates and fences; support and encourage animation such as people's ability to sit, walk or actively engage with the environment (Varna, 2011). Varna (2013) concurs that a place that is effectively connected to its surrounding urban environment, is well paved, with comfortable and well-positioned benches, as well as incredible design features (statues, fountains and stairs) will be used frequently as compared to a place with bad design. The former is an indication of a more public space, while the later suggests less public. According to Gehl (1996) cited in Kelleci (2012), places with design features which support and encourage the use of the space, mostly passive and active engagement and discovery, and display are said to be "more public", but "less public" when the design elements do not support, or limit/discourage the use of the space. However, Virahsawmy (2013) argues that the location of a place plays the most important role as far as the publicness situation of a space is concerned, since a public space characterised with architectural elements with the aim of establishing a good space might fail to serve its purpose if it is not easily accessible to the public.

2.2.3. Animation of Public Spaces

Animation of a space describes the rate at which the design of a space encourages and meets human needs in public space, and whether the space is sparingly or frequently used by diverse group of people (Varna, 2010). Moreover, Varna (2013) refers to animation of a place as to which diverse groups of people are able to relate to it in terms of their needs, while feeling secured and at liberty to do so.

In order for a space to be considered more public with regards to animation, it must bear the characteristics of a vibrant public life articulated in a variety of activities often preferred by multiple, and variety of users (Varna, 2011), while the less public situation is when there is a limited number of people or sameness in the group of people who participate in a limited range of activities (Gehl, 1996 cited in Varna, 2008). Similarly, Franck and Paxson (1989) cited in Varna, (2011) propose that:

"Public spaces vary in the degree of publicness they possess and exhibit: the greater the diversity of people and activities allowed and manifested in a space, the greater its publicness. Diversity of people includes variation in age, race, ethnicity, gender, and "otherness", that is, other variations in appearance or behaviour.… The concept of publicness is based on the assumption that face-to-face interaction between diverse types of people is valuable, and that many different public spaces should provide for such interaction or, at least, for the presence of such diversity" (Franck and Paxson, 1989; p.131 cited in Varna, 2011, p.66-6).

Varna (2011) acknowledges that although every public space has its own particular characteristics and patterns of use, the overarching view is that a public space characterised by a variety of activities and often patronized by diverse groups of people is often said to be highly public, while a public space which is deserted or sparingly used is less public.

2.2.4. Control of Public Spaces

Control deals with the various approaches employed to curtail certain social groups from freely exercising their will during their presence and use of a public place (Varna, 2011). Varna (2013) also states that control as a core dimension of public space touches on the issue of whether a particular public space assumes its rightful position as a platform which promotes democracy in public life, since public spaces are seen as the manifestation grounds for fundamental rights such as freedom of expression and gathering. Behavioural control in a space often has a direct relationship and consequences on the degree of inclusiveness and social diversity of a space (Sandercok, 1998 cited in Németh and Schmidt, 2011) since it determines who can access and use the space (Khon, 2004 cited in Kelleci, 2012). Franck and Paxson (1998, p.131) cited in

Németh and Schmidt (2011, p.12) argue that *"the greater diversity of people and activities allowed and manifested in a space, the greater its publicness"*.

Spatial management control modes can be categorized into hard (or active) and soft (or passive) control practices (Loukaitou-Sideris and Banarjee, 1998). Hard management control includes the use ofsurveillance cameras, private security guards and legal measures to curtail certain practices such as: soliciting, smoking, loitering or disorderly behaviour (Whyte, 1988 cited in Németh, n.d). On the other hand, soft control focuses on more symbolic techniques including entry restriction during non-business hours, moderate urban design features (spikes on ledges, public benches with multiple arm rests, obscure entrances and ambient power) (ibid).

2.2.5. Civility in Public Spaces

Varna (2011) refers to civility of a space as the general cleanliness and tidiness of a public place. In a broad sense, civility describes the state of a space whether clean and good or dirty and bad, as well as how it is maintained (Varna, 2013). Varna (2011) argues that the presence of public toilets is a prerequisite to attract users in all age categories, particularly the more sensitive ones such as children and the elderly.

Invariably, a public space with elements such as public toilets (especially for old or sick people and children), well-kept greenery and well lit at night will be more inviting, attractive and more public as opposed to a dirty space, with no bins and with broken furniture coupled with a dark and unsafe night-time atmosphere (Varna, 2013). However, public places that employ strict management methods can lead to sterile environments that can deter certain groups of users, who might perceive the place to be too tidy and organized, and this may impact negatively on the publicness situation (Varna, 2011), as Carmona (2010a), cited in Carmona et al. (2008) argues that both an over-managed and under-managed place can render a space less public.

Table 3: The Core Dimensions of Public Space

MORE PUBLIC	META-DIMENSIONS	LESS PUBLIC
Many social groups regard the place as a public space (i.e. more public for more public)	**meaning**	Few social groups regard the place as a public space
Publicly-owned space with public function and public use	**ownership of public spaces**	Privately owned space with private function and private use.
Free use	**control of public spaces**	Overt and oppressive control presence,-human and electronic surveillance, highly visible security presence
Cared-for; well-kept; managed in the public interest; managed balancing needs of different social groups	**civility in public spaces**	Over-or under-managed
Well-connected and located within the movement system (on-the-beaten track); strong visual connection to external public realm beyond space; with implicit entrances and thresholds	**physical configuration of public spaces**	Poorly connected/located within the movement system (off-the-beaten-track); poor visual connection with external public realm; with explicit entrances and thresholds
Wide range of supports for a wide range of potential uses and activities	**animation of public spaces**	Dead public space: narrow range of supports for limited range of potential uses and activities

Source: Varna, 2011

2.3. Debates on the "Publicness" Situation of Public Space

2.3.1. Historical Public Space: Greek Agora

In order to have a clearer appreciation about how public space functioned in the Greek era, it is imperative to understand the Greek 'polis', or 'city-state' (Carmona et al., 2008). ''*Public life was essentially communistic. The polis as a social institution defined the very nature of being human for its citizens"*, whilst the physical form of the polis stressed on public space (LeGates and Stout, 2000 cited in Carmona et al., 2008, p.23).

The earlier Greek cities were developed in an organic fashion with less emphasis on planned public spaces. However, including and making provision for a public space, Greek cities assumed centre stage when they began to be formalized and organized, often around a gridiron

structure (Carmona et al., 2008). The formalized and organized planning system laid emphasis on three-dimensional qualities of the space, culminating with the conscious design of public space based on the idea that aesthetic quality could impact positively on the soul of its users. Therefore, the informal way of planning cities gradually paved way for planned urban form (Goldsteen and Elliott 1994). In this sense, the planning of the Greek cities was formalized and assumed a pattern where the agora was situated at the centre, and enclosed with private houses, later by temples and sanctuaries as well as stoa, or covered walkways and flanked with porticos (Hölscher 2007 cited in Fleisher, n.d). Cloete (2010) asserts that the agora was enclosed on two or three sides and surrounded with arcades, which accommodated shops and public buildings, statues, altars and trees.

The agora had multiple functions, but chiefly amongst these was its use as a marketplace, welcoming all manner of people, and not just "citizens" (Hall 1998, p.39). Other social events, such as viewing of spectacles accorded all city dwellers with the opportunity to access and be present at the agora (Varna, 2011). While the agora served as a place where spectacles were viewed and rituals conducted, it equally served as a place where powers were questioned, and the setting for prosaic daily acts (Fleisher, n.d).

Moreover, the agora played substantial roles in the politics of the polis owing to the fact that many were allowed to use the space freely and as a result they were often described as democratic spaces. In essence, the agora was identified as a place where citizens exercised their democratic rights through voting on issues related to government and justice (Carmona et al., 2008). While many of the earliest cities in the Middle and Far East, reflected on dictatorial forms of government, the Greek cities were fashioned on the tenets of democracy:*"It was the concept of urban citizenship and democratic self-government that was the distinctive contribution of the Greeks to the evolution of urban civilization"* (LeGates and Stout eds., 2003, p. 22 cited in Varna, 2011, p.95).

Additionally, given the multiplicity of function of the agora, it could not be described solely as religious, civic, or political space, as all those activities were accommodated. *"That physical proximity of activities which we would regard as distinct and even disparate both reflected and*

enabled intensive links between politics and religion, public deliberation, and private initiative" (Alcock and Osborne 2007, p.162 cited in Fleisher, n.d, p.3). In essence, the agora *"…was a place in which economic, political and cultural activities were performed alongside each other, acting as an integrative platform for the social life of the city"* (Madanipour, 2003, p.194).

Chakravarty (2008) argues that the traditions of Greek public spaces were perceived to be very accommodating to all; hence a space which frowned at excludability. In support of the diverse functions and use of the agora, Cloete (2010, p.35) asserts that Louis Mumford describes the agora as the "place of speech" where religious, political, judicial and commercial activities were held, and it was mostly located in the centre of the city. Again, Mumford describes the agora as a place where citizens could meet for "daily communications and formal and informal assembly" (Carr et al., 1992, p.52); while Hall (1998, p.38) describes it as "no mere public space, but the living heart of the city". Moreover, Hartley (1992) cited in Dray (2010) describes the agora as a meeting place where doctrines relating to democracy were upheld.

"the place of citizenship, an open space where public affairs and legal dispute were conducted, and it was also a market place, a place of pleasurable jostling, where citizens' bodies, words , actions and produce were all literally on a mutual display, and where judgments, decisions and bargain were made"(Hartley, 1992 cited in Dray, 2010, p.14).

Judging from the comments on the old public spaces, particularly the agoras, in the midst of a decline in the publicness situation of the contemporary public spaces, people have being desiring for the return to the era of the agora (Ivesion, 2007; Mitchell, 1995 cited in Dray 2010). However, Robinson (1993) cited in Dray (2010) asserts that instead of striving for the return to the era of the agora, which represented only the small elitist group, there should be a call for a public space that truly represents a society and which promotes interaction and recognition of all people.

Varna (2011) argues that the agora did not portray a perfect democratic model since women, foreigners and slaves were deprived of their political freedom, suggesting that the agora condoned exclusion of women and minorities. Also, rights in the agora were strictly regulated with only the privileged social group and very limited number of the people regarded as free

citizens, while many others such as women, slaves and the majority of the commoners faced exclusivity (Low and Smith, 2013). As such the public nature of the Greek agora was not immune to social exclusion, but was inundated with social stratifications and inequality (ibid). In addition, Hartley (1992, p. 35) cited in Dray (2010, p.15), argues that the "word 'public' was derived from the Greek word for ''adult male'', suggesting that the agora was not an inclusive place for all, but for "the public".

Hartley (1992) cited in Dray (2010) concurs with Mumford to the exclusive nature of the Greek agora as the definition of citizenship did not include women, slaves or foreigners. In essence, being a citizen, foreigner, woman, or slave did not only determine one's status in society, but also what public space one could access and enjoy (Carmona et al., 2008).

Despite criticism of the agora as being exclusive, Low and Smith (2013), after an in-depth and thorough investigation made into public spaces agree that the Greek agora remains the standard model of public spaces, and is regarded as the source of inspiration to contemporary public spaces. According to Carmona et al. (2008), discussions of the ancient Greek polis identify several vital themes that reverberate in the debates about contemporary public space, which include:

- The perception that public space can serve multiple purposes.
- Public space being democratic space, where citizens can meet and discuss matters relating to the city.
- Public space being used for commercial purposes.
- Public space as an informal assembly place and community space.
- The aesthetic features of public space giving rise to pleasure.
- The impression that access to a public space can be restricted, with some people enjoying greater privileges than others.

Diagram 2: Public Space and Public Life in Athens (in red circle)
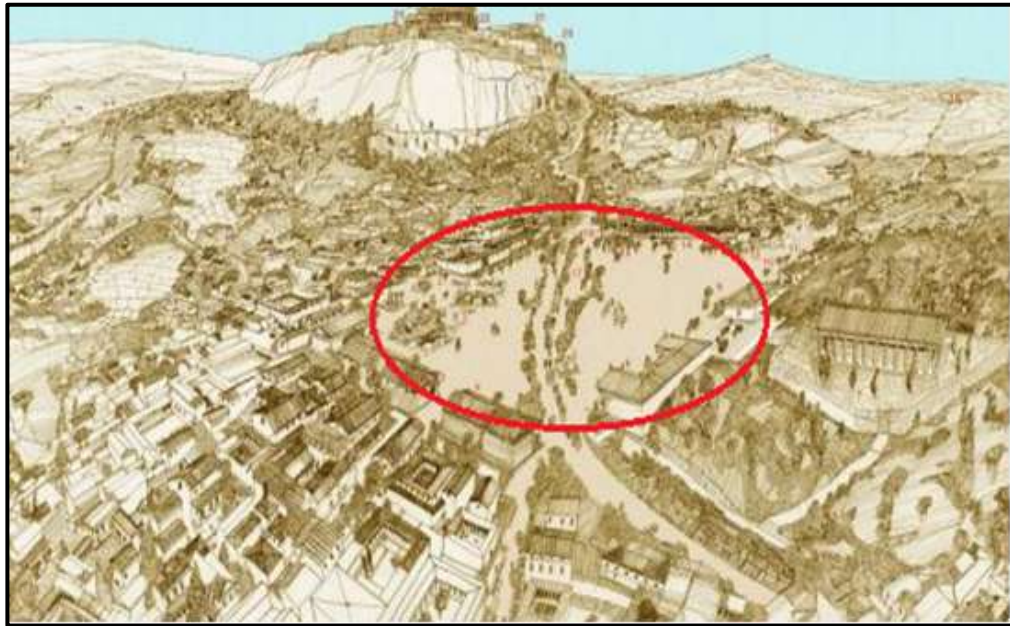
Source: http://www.faculty.umb.edu cited in Kelleci, 2012 (emphasis by the author)

2.3.2. Contemporary Public Spaces

Privatization of public spaces, particularly, through BID<u>s</u> has yielded positive results and they are often credited by the press for the reinvention of city centers, neighbourhoods, and parks (Murray, 2010; Kohn, 2004). Slangen (2005) supports the notion that privatization of public spaces has brought good management and improvements within open public space. Researchers such as Brill (1989), Carr et al. (1992) cited in Varna and Tiesdell (2010) identify a rebirth in public space. Their arguments are based on the belief that the relationship of public space to public life is dynamic and reciprocal, hence the emergence of a new form of public life has led to an evolution of new space types, suggesting that public spaces are not in a perceived decline.

Even though Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) acknowledge that crime as well as decay within cities' public spaces including Cape Town public spaces have prompted excessive use of security measures particularly private security controls, they do not mean that the public space is 'dead', but rather an invention of new socio-spatial forms. Hence, Van Melik et al. (2009)

posits that privatization of public spaces must be embraced and seen as a new form of public space development and management but not as a threat.

Conversely, many researchers including: Michael Sorkin, Mike Davis and Richard Sennett lament on the declining nature of the publicness within public spaces in the contemporary era (cited in Apostol, 2007). They often regard privatization and commodification of public spaces as the prime culprits that serve as a catalyst for new forms of public life often resulting in distortions within the traditional urban public spaces in the contemporary era (Lopes et al, n.d; Kohn 2006). Betancourt (2011) attributes the shrinking nature of public spaces to the recent privatization of urban public spaces. Moreover, Németh (2012) concurs that a public space loses its status as a true public forum, once it is privatized or securitized. In addition, Smith and Low (2006) cited in Stanley (2012, p.1091) stress on the commodification and exclusion of certain classes of people from public spaces and concludes *that "it is impossible to conceive of a public space today outside the social generalization of private space and its full development as a product of modern capitalist society"*

Detractors of privatization of public spaces lament the exclusion of the poor from using public spaces. They argue that public spaces which were traditionally accessible to all and sundry are progressively being taken over by private corporations for monetary gains, and usually serve the interest of the minority to the detriment of the majority (Akkar, 2005). Additionally, Mitchell (2003) shares these sentiments and asserts that public spaces that used to serve as a venue for social mixing in the past have in recent years been increasingly taken over by private or quasi-public landforms making them accessible to a limited segment of the population. Further to this, Graham et al. (1997) and Dray (2010) lament that commodification of public spaces seeks to promote the city to the external consumers and generates profit, but the poor and the community are more often than not marginalized from enjoying the full use of the public spaces.

Moreover, Németh (2012) and Murray (2010) assert that privatization of public spaces threatens civil liberty, lessens diversity and infringes on individual rights such as the right to protest, stay homeless, make decisions and be heard reduces the heterogeneity of public space

from the political point of view. Mitchel (2003) supports this in that in the twentieth century politics has ironically been shifted completely from the public spaces with commercial activities assuming a pivotal place in the public arena. With privatization and commodification of public spaces seen as the main culprits, public life within a public space in the contemporary era has taken a different dimension contrary to the precedential use of public spaces set out in the Greek and Roman eras, where political and social life were at the helm of affairs (Lopes et al., n.d; Kohn, 2004).

Landman (2006) raises the question of whether it is justified for public spaces to be privatized to the detriment of the poor and the community or for the betterment of the rich. Again, the questions which Mitchel (2003) seeks answers to are whether we have arrived at the "the end of public space", and also has privatization often promoted by the capitalist fashioned out a society in which variety of designs subvert the free interaction of strangers and made the ideal of an uninterrupted political public space become a thing of the past.

Contrary to the conventional notion that public spaces are in decline, Rowntree (n.d) argues that public spaces are not. She acknowledges the concerns which have been raised that unmediated public spaces have been largely privatized and subjected to controls and surveillance. However, she argues for the need to reflect on how people use different places and that discussions on the decline of public spaces should not be limited to the traditional outdoor spaces that fall within the ambit of public ownership, but if the discussions are limited to the traditional outdoor public spaces, prospects of mingling and exchange of pleasantries are not as limited as is made to believe. She explains that, for instance, the entrance of a school, shopping malls, cafés and car boot sales are all avenues where people meet and interact. She argues from the stand point of public users that:

"It is not the ownership of places or their appearance that makes them 'public', but their shared use for a diverse range of activities by a range of different people. If considered in this way, almost any place regardless of its ownership or appearance offers potential as public space"(Rowntree, n.d, p.4).

Carmona et al. (2008) argue that the users of public spaces are not a unified group, but instead consist of diverse groups of people with different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds and are further divided in terms of age and gender. Therefore, they suggest that each of the distinctive groups invariably relate to pubic space in their own ways differently from each other. In that sense they argue that the contemporary critiques about the declining nature of public space may be nothing new, since public space has never been homogeneous. In essence, the notion that public spaces are in apparent decline is predicated on false principles, since public space in reality, has never been *"as diverse, dense, classless, or democratic as is now imagined"* (Loukaitou-Sideris and Banarjee, 1998, p.182).

The discussions on the decline in public space are hyped (Brill, 1989; Krieger, 1995; Loukaitou-Sideris, and Banarjee, 1998 cited in Carmona et al., 2008). Jackson and Fyfe (1998) cited in Carmona et al. (2008) argue that some scholars tend to massage the discussion on contemporary public spaces to give an impression that historical public spaces celebrated social and political impartiality. He supports that social groups including the aged and the young, females and people of sexual, racial and tribal minorities also faced exclusion from public places as they were subjected to political and moral censure within the historical public space.

In addition, Hajer and Reijndorp (2001) argue the nature of a place being private rather than public, suburban rather than urban, or civic rather than commercial does not define either its quality as a place, or its prospective role as part of the public realm. They argue that public spaces must not be confined to streets and squares which were the anchored part of the historical cities, but should instead accept the new urban network. In support of this, Brill (1987) cited in Chidister (1989) acknowledges that plazas have become less important and minimally used in the contemporary era, but this does not suggest that the publicness nature of public spaces has declined, rather they have been metamorphosed as far as spatial and non-spatial settings are concerned.

Varna and Tiesdell (2010) acknowledge the difficulty encountered in discussing the subject on the decline or loss of publicness of public spaces, as most academic literature does not define the concept or make provision for prescribed tools for the analysis across multiple dimensions.

Németh and Schmidt's (2007, p.283) have thus argued for a more realistic study approach on the publicness of public space.

In summary, although the researcher partly concurs that the core meta-dimension of public space is one of the means of measuring the publicness situation of a space, however, public the definition of public space from socio-political, judicial and legal angles suggest that public space are not meant to serve one purpose. Moreover, public spaces are not universal as there are different space types characterised by wide range of features including design, location and management techniques to enable them serve their useful purposes. Hence, it appears that publicness situation of a space should be judged according to the individual space type and its intended purposes, and not strictly on the Meta and core dimensions proposed by Varna and Tiesdell, Khon, Madinipour, and Németh and Schmidt, since they failed to address the issue of commercialization, which is paramount in contemporary public space. For instance, the prime aim of the CCID was to curb crime, urban decay and capital flight, and in essence, to woe investors to the CBD of Cape Town in order to promote economic growth. The question one needs to ask is whether that has been achieved through the concept of the BID, but not to chide the BID concept and contemporary public space.

In addition, contemporary public spaces may not serve the same purpose as the historical public spaces since society is dynamic and evolving, hence, the needs of society changes over time. For instance, the dominant use of private security personells in contemporary public space meets the safety needs and demands of modern society due to high rate of crime. Hence, even though the agorae served its intended purpose as public space in the historical era, it cannot be lorded over modern society as an ideal public space since contemporary public spaces are also serving their intended purpose by meeting the demands of modern society.

2.3.3. South African Context: Apartheid and Post-apartheid Public Space

The promise and challenges that characterised the South African public spaces date back in history suggesting that the spatial fragmentation along racial lines in South Africa started during the era of colonialism (Terreblance, 2002). For instance, urban segregation was perpetuated through the use of influx control measures under the Urban Areas Native Pass Act (1909), which

sought to curtail the movement of Africans into towns and determined who was allowed in the urban centres (Apartheid Museum et al., 2008). In 1923, the Native (Urban Areas) Act, which allowed slum clearance and establishment of separate locations for Africans, mostly on the peripheries of the towns was passed under the Smut's government upon the investigations and recommendations made by the Stallard Commission on the presence of Africans in Towns (Apartheid Museum et al., 2008). However, the segregation principles inflicted on the spatial landform of South Africa that yielded to the struggle for control of urban space was integrated into an entrenched law during the apartheid era, between 1948 and 1994 (Landman, 2004), under the Group Areas Act of 1953 (Houssay-Holzschuch et al., 2009). In essence, apartheid provided an ideology of segregation that was legally enforceable (White Paper on Local Government, 1998 cited in Landman, 2006).

Apartheid literally means "apartness", a situation whereby the people of South Africa were reorganized into racial groups (Lemanski, 2004). The basic characteristics of apartheid urban space were racially-based segregation coupled with spatial distancing of blacks from the urban centres contrary to the white folks who were allocated large central areas of land (ibid). The segregation was extended to all levels of space, from public and services to private homes where provision was largely made for separate toilets for servants of colour (Houssay-Holzschuch et al., 2009). *"The resulting 'petty apartheid' came to symbolize the Nationalist project in South Africa: the highly noticeable reservation of swimming pools, buses, park benches, beaches, post office counters and many other facilities were for whites only as signs saying 'whites only/balankes alleen' multiplied' were noticeable in most public spaces"* (Beinart, 2001 cited in Thompson, 2011, p.2121).

Apartheid laws such as the Provincial Notice No. 206 segregated the beaches particularly Durban beaches on racial lines, while the enforcement of the Group Areas Act coupled with forced removals gave blacks less accessibility to use seaside leisure spaces in Cape Town (Thompson, 2011). In essence, seaside leisure spaces in coastal cities were often known to be white cultural spaces (ibid).

The Population Registration Act introduced in the 1950 stipulated that all South Africans be racially grouped into one of three categories: White, Black, or Colored (of mixed decent) (Chokshi et al., n.d). During the apartheid era the equal right of all citizens to access quality public spaces was denied to the majority of South Africans (Houssay-Holzschuch et al., 2009). Spatial segregation enforced discriminatory access to the city centres and certain areas for the majority of citizens (Apartheid Museum et al., 2008). Whites lived in pleasant suburbs while the majority of the population lived in austere townships with few economic opportunities (Uys, 2007; Peyroux, 2007). All blacks were obliged to carry 'pass books' containing fingerprints, photo and personal details before they could access non-black areas (Chokshi et al., n.d). According to Cloete (2010), the discriminatory practices perpetuated in the recent history of South Africa theoretically stigmatize some public spaces.

Diagram 3: The Apartheid Planning
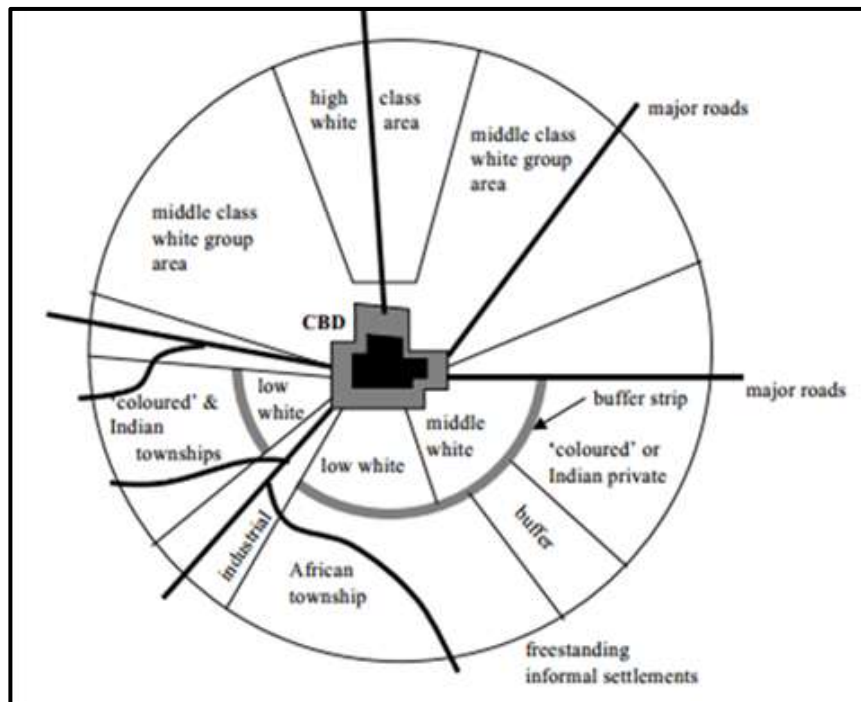
Source: Napier et al., 1999 cited in Landman, 2006

Lemanski (2004) identifies three basic strategies that were used to propagate the tenets of spatial fragmentation, and racial exclusion during the apartheid era, which still have resonance in debates about public space in the post-apartheid era. Firstly, Lemanski argues that apartheid

was instigated by the concept of fear, with the then government relying on *swart gevaar* (black fear) to restrain blacks from the urban landscape. On the contrary, in the post-apartheid era, it is rather the citizens who are relying on fear to validate their socio-spatial exclusion. Landman (2006) concurs that attempts at curbing crime and improving quality of life within the spatial landscape through road closures and access controls are evident within the major cities of South Africa.

Lemanski (2004) argues that the strategy of providing solutions to problems through the removal of the "problem" from view was the reason for the eviction of Africans to the outermost settlements during the apartheid era, a situation which is still iconic in post-apartheid cities in the sense that privately controlled access which is similar to the apartheid's "pass" is in use to deny Africans entry into wealthy areas.

"The inequality is manifested, inter-alia in the urban morphology of the cities and towns of post-apartheid South Africa. The wealthier urban sectors have tended to create residential laagers of opulence, walled off from the surrounding urban landscape, creating private, supposedly safe, residential areas, in which the residents are 'protected' from the unwanted attention of the urban poor and those surviving on the fringes of urban society" (Spocter, 2007, p.154).

Also, the detractors of privatizations of public spaces through the BID model lament that CID and gentrification exercise as in the apartheid era often push the poor to the urban peripheries, propagating the indelible memory of apartheid, which was an enemy to a "compact city" (Business Day 17 September 2003, cited in Miraftab, 2007). Furthermore, Landman and Ntombela (2006) raise concern regarding the implication of the spatial trend in the post-apartheid era on the impact on the poor and their access to urban and the well-developed areas, as the post-apartheid urban landforms continue to assume exclusionary patterns that characterised the apartheid landforms. Lemanski (2004) cited in Landman and Ntombela (2006) underpins that the trend echoes and exacerbates the social divisions that formed an integral inherent part of the apartheid state and also challenges the objectives of privatization.

In summary, the social exclusionist tools adopted by apartheid to ensure minimal racial mixing and distinctive spatial boundaries and identities are still commonly reflected in the current South African cities.

2.3.3.1. Government Policies and Interventions in the Post-apartheid Era

''Every citizen has the right to enter, to remain in and to reside anywhere in, the Republic'' (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, section 21, subsection 3). Urban planning policy in South Africa has shifted from being racially unjust to equitable (Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) White paper, 1994). After the demise of the apartheid regime, city authorities have been confronted with the responsibility of amending the spatially and racially segregated society inherited from the apartheid government (Donaldson, 2001). With the aim of effecting those changes, there has been an introduction of well-meaning policies and legislations pertaining to urban and land development culminating with a shift in policy formulation from a top-down approach to a bottom-up approach (Duminy, 2007). Local government has become an instrument to effect changes, as the 1996 Constitution of South Africa mandates them to strengthen the capacity in areas that for longtime, were not given the needed attention under the apartheid regime(See Section 152 and 153 of the 1996 Constitution cited in The State of Cape Town, 2014).

In order to overcome the unfair spatial policies and characteristics inherited from the apartheid regime through reconstruction, a new and integrated way of planning that is sensitive to the plight of local communities is crucial in ensuring reconstruction (DPLG, 2002). In view of this, South Africa's integrated planning approach was introduced after 1994 as a stage to enable the previously sidelined municipalities to become directly involved in service delivery planning, restructure old and develop new institutions, and to recognize and prioritize strategic development interventions with both short and long term effects. Hence, the integrated planning approach became a new form of regional planning with the aim of achieving a spatial integration (Todes, 2004).

The IDP is a legal document that compiles and dictates all facets of development within local governments (District and Local) in South Africa. Municipalities are mandated to produce 5-

year strategic plans that are evaluated on a yearly basis in consultation with communities and stakeholders. These plans seek to ensure cohesiveness between social, economic and ecological pillars of sustainability, and to uplift the institutional capacity needed in the execution process, and by synchronizing actions across sectors and spheres of government. To a large extent, the intended purpose of the IDP is to assist municipalities to achieve their mandatory developmental goals, and to regulate the activities of any institution or agency operating within the municipal area (Oranje et. al., 2000). In addition to the IDP tool is the Spatial Development Framework (SDF). The SDF translates various facets of a community into a spatial dimension. It is the central point of integration of strategic municipal spatial strategies in the field of economics, physical infrastructural development, environment and society (eThekwini IDP Review, 2009/2010).

Seemingly, the implementation of the constitution, IDP and SDF in recent times, South Africa is now regarded as a racially integrated country. However, the current situation pertaining to Africa as being an inclusive or exclusive has shifted from spatial stratification which dwelled on racial segregation to socio-economic stratification. Even though, the constitution of South Africa stipulates that *''every citizen has the right to enter, to remain in and to reside anywhere in, the Republic''*, one's ability to enjoy such constitutional right mostly depends on affordability, hence, people of equal social and economic standings are drawn together irrespective of their racial background, and in essence, there is the need for socio-economic integration in addition to spatial integration.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has unraveled the understanding of the notion of public space by discussing the definitions, characteristics, and types of public spaces. Also, public spaces viewed from different lenses were discussed. Again, the chapter discussed the core dimensions and debates on the publicness situation of public spaces. To sum up, the discussions made under this chapter are vital in the sense that they provided a general understanding of the research topic, and in addition will serve as the foundation upon which the research questions and objectives can be achieved in a broader sense. The next chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework of the research.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.0.   Introduction

This chapter deals with the conceptual framework of the study. The aim of this chapter is to define and explain the concepts and theories, the driving forces behind the socio-political and spatial characteristics associated with the contemporary public spaces, particularly privatized public spaces. Moreover, the chapter seeks to link the academic literature and the experience of the researcher on privatization of public spaces, particularly the BID concept. Maxwell (2012) cited in Miles and Huberman (1994, p.18) *defines a conceptual framework as a visual or written product, one that "explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied—the key factors, concepts, or variables—and the presumed relationships among them",* The first section introduces the chapter, while the second section defines the concept and theories in relation to the topic. The final section concludes the chapter.

3.1.   Definition of Concepts

3.1.1. Privatization

According to Higgins (2009), the Florida House of Representative Committee Governmental (FHRCGO) Operations defines privatization as the engagement of the private sector in the provision of services or facilities that are mostly considered as public sector's responsibilities. Also, the California Debt and Investment Advisory Commission (CDIAC) (2007) defines privatization as any process whereby government functions and responsibilities are shifted in whole or in part from the state domain to the private domain.

Privatization can be in the form of a divestiture, including but not limited to diversification of state airline, railroads and telephone services, as well as other public facilities such as health, education, housing, and public spaces in the form of shopping malls and pay-for playgrounds (Kressel, 1998 cited in Nasuition and Zahra, 2011; McDonald and Ruiters, 2006). In addition, McDonald and Ruiters, (2006), acknowledge the PPP as another mode of privatization that is usually adopted by most municipalities. They argue that the PPP mode of privatization takes the form of transfer of operational and managerial functions such as personnel management, strategic planning, and maintenance. In addition, CDIAC (2007) defines the PPP type of

privatization as a contractual agreement between the public and private sectors to finance, develop, operate or manage public facilities or services.

Loafland (1998) cited in Peyroux, (2007) concurs that the BID concept is a form of privatization, which transfers publicly owned space into private hands. In essence BIDs fit into the PPP mode of privatization. According to Ramoroko and Tsheola (2014), within the context of privatization of public spaces, including the BID model, government services that are mostly contracted out to the private sector include security, policing, emergency services (fire trucks and ambulances) and a variety of municipal services (waste removal, water and electricity meter reading). They argue that contracting out such services to a private sector allows the private sector to exercise dominion over the spatial jurisdiction, where they make provision for such services as they often employ restrictive and prohibitive measures to limit other public space users from access. Whyte, 1988 cited in Németh, (n.d) agrees that the use of surveillance cameras, private security guards and legal measures are examples of control measures mostly employed by private space managers to restrain activities like soliciting, smoking, loitering or disorderly behaviour within their spatial jurisdiction. Carmona (2014) and Kohn (2004) assert that privatized public spaces have a negative connotation on "political discourse" and promote social seclusion. Kohn (2004) backs up the argument citing the case of an attorney named Stephen Downs, who was arrested at the Crossgate Mall, Guiderland, New York City on 3rd March, 2003 for wearing a T-Shirt with a slogan *"Give Peace A Chance"* purchased at the same mall. The message was considered to be too political for the mall, since it was on the eve of the Iraqi war. Hence, the security guard at the premises gave Downs the option to take off the T-Shirt or vacate the premises, since he argues that the mall was like a "private house", and that he was acting inappropriately. According to Kohn (2004), Downs thought his right to political freedom was guaranteed by the First Amendments to the United States Constitution, and little did he know that he could not exercise such right in a privately owned place where the rights of admission were reserved by the owners.

Gurieve and Megginson (2007) assert that privatization may lay too much emphasis on profit maximization to the detriment of other social objectives, if the societal effects of privatization

are not effectively supervised by the state. In the context of the Gurieve and Megginson (2007) assertion, the social objective of the City of Cape Town, stipulated in the CDS 2040, and approved in October, 2012, which has "opportunity", "inclusiveness" and "resilience" as the core themes may not be met as:

''…..Orthodox urban planning has rarely gone beyond shaping the geographical layout of a city, making zones and deciding the location of major public utilities and transportation corridors. Instead of nourishing the city social capital, urban plans have been driven by numbers, unrelated to the realities of city life, and reflecting particular interest of particular group'' (Ribeiro and Khosla (s.a), cited in Landman and Ntombela, 2006, p.2-3).

According to Murray (2010), scholars in their bid to understand the ubiquity of BID<u>s</u> on the globe, have come out with several explanations to back up their points. Steel and Symes (n.d) cited in Murray (2010) argue that the proliferation of BID<u>s</u> on the globe can be attributed to the dynamics occurring in the social patterns in the latter half of the twentieth century. They cited the decline in urban industry, the expansion of suburbs, culminating with decentralization in government as the forces that pressurized downtown businessmen to resort to self-help. Again, the calls made by certain groups of people to seclude themselves from other groups of people who are seen as threatening are cited as a contributory factor to privatization of public spaces, particularly in the United States of America (Huang, 2014).

Nonetheless, Nasution et al. (2012) cited in Slangen (2005) identify financial constraints as the anchored force behind privatization of public spaces. They argue that due to a decline in the qualities of a public space which is as a result of a reduction in government budget for the maintenance and management of public spaces, the private sector tends to invest in public open spaces. Moreover, Murray (2010) asserts that privatization of public spaces, particularly BID<u>s</u> is on the rise because government budget allocations tend to focus on the provision of services at the state level leaving the traditional municipalities to their fate, so these municipalities in turn resort to BID<u>s</u> for assistance in the provision of such services within public spaces. Likewise, Németh et al. (2011) underpin the fact that municipalities who are fiscally on their knees often see privatization of public spaces as an alternative means to provide urban

open spaces by providing density bonuses and other incentives to the private sector in return for the provision and management of such spaces.

3.1.3. Globalization

Globalization is a powerful force of the contemporary world system, one of the most dominating forces that is steering the future trend of the globe, which has multiple facets- economic, political, security, environmental, health, social, cultural, and others. According to Beerkens (2006, p.13), globalization takes different forms including economic integration; the transfer of policies, knowledge, cultural as well as culture. It is a revolutionary process that seeks to establish a *"global market free from socio-political control"*

The global processes as described above have implications on the public spaces on the planet, thus the process has influenced the developmental policies of the cities in South Africa (Dray, 2010), particularly the BID concept from the western world.   Therefore, it is not surprising that the concept of BID in South Africa, particularly the first BID in Johannesburg was adopted after a study tour made to the United Kingdom and United States of America, and used as an instrument to curb city decay and capital flight (Peyroux, 2007).

Globalization breeds social inequality and social exclusion in the sense that conditions mostly set by the developed world make it extremely difficult for the governments in most developing countries from honouring their social responsibilities to the poor in society, hence most people, who cannot afford it are invariably excluded from certain social activities within the country (Mohr, 2014). According to Nel et al. (2003) cited Dray (2010), urban development policies have affected local citizens in the sense that most cities in their pursuit to attain the status of world class cities and be globally competitive have entered into agreements with private businesses, a trend which dictates to cities to support developmental schemes such as luxury apartments, waterfronts and casinos to the detriment of the local citizens. For instance, Tim Haris, Wesgro Chief Executive Officer argues that the Cape Town Central Business has become a popular tourist destination due to public-private partnership which provides clean and safe environment with the prime aim of boosting tourists and investors' confidence (Brophy, traveller24, 13th July, 2016).

3.1.4. Neo-liberalism

''Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade...'' (Thorsen, 2006 cited in Harvey, 2005, p.2).Neo-liberalism is embedded in the principles of empowering the private sector and promoting free market economy to be the engines of growth, and as a result state economic functions and services fall in the hands of private individuals (Pryke, 1999 cited in Dray, 2010).

Mitchell and Staeheli (2006) cited in Dray (2010) assert that as most cities around the world including Cape Town strive to remain in the league of top cities, the public space has become the melting point where the homeless, the poor, the developers, the tourists and the middle class wrestle for their rights. Amidst the contestations for the public space, the question of *"who has the right to the city?"* is raised by Lefebvre (cited in Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006 updated in Dray, 2006).

Leinter et al. (2007) cited in Kes-Erkul (2014) maintain that neoliberal cities have assumed the character of commercial arena in order to ensure competition with others for investments and economic development through privatization. Therefore, the aesthetic features and/or the forms of urban areas cannot be overlooked as a means of making an appeal to consumers under neo-liberal theory (ibid). It is therefore not surprising that cities in South Africa including Cape Town, adopted the BID mode of public space management to curb its urban decay in order to make it more appealing to tourist and to attract investors.

Peyroux (2007) asserts that BID<u>s</u> are linked with the perpetuation of neo-liberalism and plays a vital role in promoting competition amongst cities, hence manifestation of the concept of neo-liberalism in South Africa cities, particularly Cape Town is the adoption of the BID mode of management to reverse the economic profile from a poor class to a wealthy class within the inner city in order to meet the demands to curb capital flight (Peyroux, 2008). However, the CCID is accused of forcibly removing the homeless from the inner city and dumping them on the outermost part of the city (Dirk, Cape Times, and 20th July, 2016).However, the CCID is accused

of forcibly removing the homeless from the inner city and dumping them on the outermost part of the city (Dirk, Cape Times, 20th July, 2016). The homeless community in the CCID compares violations meted on them to the days of apartheid as their freedom of movement in the city is curtailed, while foreigners/tourists in the city enjoy 'unlimited' freedom of movement (ibid).

Brenner and Theodore (2002) posit that although neoliberalism maintains that free market economy will boost distribution of investments and resources, in practical sense the approach has nonetheless contributed to persistent market failures, social segregation and astronomical growth in skewed developmental trends, as well as coding the marginalized people within urban space as criminals. In essence, *"the neoliberal shifts in government policies tend to subject the majority of the population to the power of market forces whilst preserving social protection for the strong"* (Gill 1995:407 cited in Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p.352).

3.1.5. Modernism

Modernism originated from the thought of "European enlightenment" that can be traced back to the middle of 18th century. It is regarded as a type of society that is notable from a structural-functional point of view, embedded with a capitalist (market) economy, coupled with a complex division of labour, industrialization and urbanization, science and technology, political and ethical individualism, liberal utilitarianism and social contract theory (Hollinger, 1994 cited in Hossain and Karim 2013).

Modernism is described as a departure from tradition and symbolic with all things that disregard the legacies of the past (Heynen, 2000). In a broad sense, the term modernism encapsulates all the work of theoretical proponents who believe "traditional" forms of art architecture, literature, religious faith, social organization and daily life have become obsolete since the inception of the new economic, social, and political conditions of the industrialized world (Kothe, 1979). Amongst the prime proponents of the concept of modernism are Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Marcel Proust, Gertrude Stein and Franz Kafka (Hossain and Karim, 2013; Kothe, 1979). Another very important figure who embraced the values of modernism, and set the tone for the modernist architect in the city was the Swiss architect Le Corbusier which is reflected in some of his quotations:

"I propose one single building for all nations and climates" (Ley 1989, p.47, cited in Natrasony and Alexander, 2005, p.11)… "[T]the city of to-day is a dying thing because it is not geometrical"; we must "replace our haphazard arrangements…by a uniform layout. The result of a true geometrical layout is repetition…standard…uniformity" (Le Corbusier qtd. Moe and Wilkie, 1997, p.43 cited in Natrasony and Alexander, 2005, p.12).

In the context of the statement made by Le Corbusier, Natrasony and Alexander (2005) concede that modernism theories and practices replaced local values with a simple "geometry", divorced from historical or cultural characteristics. Sitte 1889 cited in Carmona et al. (2008) laments that standardization in urban public space designs associated with modernism overlooks at the diverse artistic or cultural identity of man. The imposition of a uniform aesthetic vision produces space that disconnects its users from history and culture, and too often renders urban public spaces functionless, while disrupting social relationships as well causing public space users to feel like 'strangers' within it (Council of Europe, 2012; Senette 1990, cited in Carmona et al., 2008). Le Corbusier agrees by stating that "*in the modern city historical elements such as the "rue corridor" and the square disappear. The city becomes a large open green space in which concrete and glass skyscrapers reflect the sunlight* (Giuseppe Fera cited in Futuropa, 2012, p.7).

Modernist urban public spaces are blamed for perpetuating a homogenization of spatial types which have nothing to do with the social and psychological needs of a progressively diverse city (Carmona et al., 2008). In support of this, Sennete (1990) cited in Carmona et al. (2008) argues that modern society is too obsessed with personal life rather than communal life, and has created a society where the majority of people have no real public role. Many critics such as the influential writer Jane Jacobs chastised modernist urban design for disrupting stable social relationships (Carmona et al., 2008). Moreover, Sharp et al. (2005) argue that traditional monuments are the bedrock on which minority groups assert their story; however, with the evolution of privatization of public spaces, particularly the BID concept, the importance of such items in public space has diminished, since the concept is geared towards profit maximization. For instance, the momentous departure from colonial and apartheid building traditions are

noticeable in most South Africa major cities including Cape Town (Freschi, 2007). Moreover, proliferation of shopping malls on the globe including South Africa as alternatives to traditional street trading emphasizes on privatization over public ownership (Grube-Cavers et al, 2014). It appears the largest cities in South Africa including Cape Town have the highest concentration of shopping malls due to the willingness of local authorities to make land available.

According to Carmona et al. (2008, p.38), modernism perceived the city as a "machine" and portrays all urban public space as the same and overlooked the social and psychological aspects of society with less regard for public space. Development of the city was disoriented from civic and inclined to business objectives which did not prioritize a greater civic goal. Planning departments were mostly manned by individuals accountable to political leaders who in turn danced to the tune of the economic interests propagated by private sector developers were charged with the helms of the city (Moe and Wilkie, 1997 cited in Natrasony and Alexander, 2005).

Moreover, Sharp et al. (2005) argue that traditional monuments are the bedrock on which minority groups assert their story; however, with the evolution of privatization of public spaces, particularly the BID concept, the importance of such items in public space has diminished, since the concept is geared towards profit maximization. For instance, the momentous departure from colonial and apartheid building traditions are noticeable in most South Africa major cities including Cape Town (Frisch, 2007). Moreover, proliferation of shopping malls on the globe including South Africa as alternatives to traditional street trading emphasizes on privatization over public ownership (Grube-Cavers et al, 2014). It appears the largest cities in South Africa including Cape Town have the highest concentration of shopping malls due to the willingness of local authorities to make land available.

3.1.6. Post-modernism

Having been disgruntled with the troubles inflicted by capitalism, industrialization, cultural differentiations, commodification, urbanization and bureaucratization on society, many theorists resorted to new concepts of life in society (Hossain et al., 2013). Hence, "postmodernism is a cultural movement that emphasizes that *there is a better world than the*

modern one" (Lemert, 1997 cited in Hossain, 2013, p.173). Barrett (1997) argues that postmodernism might better be called anti-modernism instead, since it is regarded as a reaction to modernism. Derrida, Lyotard, Jameson are the central figures of postmodernist ideology (Hossain et al., 2013).

The post-modernists treat all space as separate entities, independent and autonomous which must be dealt with on aesthetic grounds and principles with no regard for hard and fast social objectives and beliefs (Harvey, 1990). Post-modernism disregards universally accepted views, whether from the broader solutions embraced by comprehensive planning or whether from aesthetics of uniformity supported by modern architecture or any inclinations towards economic development (Goodchild, 1990). Post-modernism stresses the benefits of diversity, favours the development of localized protest as a way of ensuring democracy and supports planning practices, which are often not taken into consideration owing to much emphasis on formalized planning practices (ibid).

According to Minton (n.d), post-modernism is the time of a knowledge-inclined new economy. Post-modernism is stereotyped in the sense that post-modernist cities are characterised by the growing segregation and inequality between social groups, with rising wealth for the few, in contrast with the many surviving on limited benefits. The use of surveillance which is mostly predominant in BIDs including the CCID (Peyroux, 2010) is arguably the defining characteristics of post-modern cities (Giddens 1990 cited in Cuthbert, 1995), as Muneeb Hendricks, CCID Safety and Security Manager argues that the use of cameras including bodily-worn video cameras are effective means of combating crime globally (Benjamin, Travel24, 17th May, 2013).

3.2. Conclusion

The chapter identified and explained the concepts relevant to the topic. The main debate on public spaces is centered on whether the publicness of public spaces has declined or rejuvenated in socio-political and spatial terms. Detractors of the phenomenon of privatization of public spaces argue that public spaces are in decline, since commercial activities are hyped to the disadvantage of socio-cultural and political needs of society leading to an exclusion of the marginalized groups in public spaces. While other researchers are of the view that public spaces

are evolving in response to the current social life; intermediary concerns are that public space is neither in decline nor growing, since exclusivity and stratifications within the urban fabric have always been common in the past making reference to the Greek agora, the quintessential public space. In summary the chapter discussed the basic concepts that are regarded as the strength of the debate on public spaces to substantiate the political, sociological, spatial and economical happenings within public spaces. The next chapter discusses the case study area of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: CASE STUDY AREA

4.0.   Introduction

In an attempt to establish a deeper understanding of privatization of public spaces and its impact on the socio-political and spatial landscape of South Africa, the Cape Town CCID has been selected as a case study. The chapter is divided into four sections; introduction, contextual analysis which discusses the city of Cape Town in regional and local context. Again, the chapter discusses BID/CID in international and South Africa context, particularly the CCCID. The final section concludes the chapter. The aims of the chapter are to discuss the study area in the context of the Cape Town Metropolitan.

4.1.   Contextual Analysis

4.1.1. Regional Context: City of Cape Town in National and Provincial Context

The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality is amongst the six municipalities in the province of Western Cape (South African Local Government Association (SALGA), 2011; Goldberg, 2009). Cape Town is located in the Southern Peninsula and has a landmass of approximately 2 440 Km ^{2} (Local government hand book, 2015). The City of Cape Town is bounded the West Coast to the north, Cape Winelands to the north-east, Overberg to the south-east, and by the Atlantic Ocean to the South and West (ibid). The city is the legislative capital of South Africa (Statistics South Africa Website, 2015). Although, it is ten years, since Cape Town assumed the status of a municipality, the mother city as it is affectionately called has the oldest municipal structure in South Africa dating back to its first council meeting held on a sailing ship that was anchored in Table Bay on the 8th of April, 1652, making it the oldest city in South Africa (ibid).

Map 1: The City of Cape Town (in red) in a Regional Context

Source: www.capetown.gov.za: 2015 (emphasis by the author)

Cape Town is the economic hub of the Western Cape Province and South Africa's second-richest city in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) and per capita, after the City of Johannesburg. It contributes 10.58% of South Africa's GDP, accounting for 71.10% of the Western Cape economy (City of Cape Town Economic Development Website, 2015). The economic profile of the city of Cape Town is as follows: Finance and business services (36.1%), manufacturing (16.1%), community services (15.6%), trade and hospitality (15.6%), transport, storage and communication (11.2%), agriculture (9.7%), construction (4.1%) (Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality Website, 2015).

In addition, Cape Town city has a population of 3 740 025 which makes it the second most populated province in South Africa. The population group is composed of coloured 42.4%, black African 38.6%, white 15.7%, Indian/Asian 1.4% and other 1.9% (Census, 2011, Statistics South Africa).

The city is endowed with a coastline of about 294 km^2, stretching from Gordon's Bay to Atlantis, including the suburbs of Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain (Local government hand book, 2015). The city of Cape Town is located in the Global Diversity hotspot of the Cape Floristic Region and has one of the only six floral kingdoms in the world and is one of the world's five Mediterranean- climate regions (The Environmental Resource Management Department, City of Cape Town, 2011). The Cape Town floral region is a global biodiversity hot spot because it has 70% of endemic species under serious threat of extinction owing to habitat loss (Myers et al., 2010 cited in The Environmental Resource Management Department, City of Cape Town, 2011).

The city of Cape Town is confronted with some challenges. Principal amongst the major challenges is how to transform the city's growth into a more compact and integrated spatial and social form and handling the legacy of segregated development (The State of Cape Town, 2014). In spatial and socio-economic sense, the city of Cape Town is not different from other South African cities. Physical infrastructure and social amenities in proximity to the city centres and along main transportation corridors are well developed, but inadequately provided for in areas where former black townships are located with less provisions made for economic opportunities (Schensul, 2008; The State of Cape Town, 2014). Moreover, the city of Cape Town has been identified as model forms of apartheid cities, with best access to the city's commercial, leisure and sporting facilities, mostly beaches reserved for the white minority, while the poorly located beaches which remain out of sight from the main beachfront were designated for Indians and Africans (Thompson, 2011).

Hence, Cape Town city is reported as a city which is more inclined to exclusion than inclusion and more polarized currently than in the 1980's (Rostron Bryan, 2001 cited in Lemanski, 2004). Likewise, Turok (2001) underpins that Cape Town is a bluntly polarized city characterised by

comfortable suburbs coupled with flourishing economic centres contrary to congested, penurious dormitory settlements on the fringe. Before and after 1994, the urban gap in Cape Town between rich and poor as well as between white and non-white population groups was very pronounced. However, a major shift occurred in the urban landscape of the City of Cape Town in 2014, and it is now regarded as a culturally diverse and dynamic city (The State of Cape Town, 2014). In an effort to ensure to closure of the gap between "spaces of opportunity" and those marginal spaces where the poor lived, the City of Cape Town local government embarked on a mission to dismantle the apartheid city and its myriad fragmented structures (The State of Cape Town, 2014).   Hence, the city approved the City Development Strategy (CDS) 2040 in October, 2012, which has ''opportunity", "inclusiveness" and "resilience" as the core themes to address the city's challenges (ibid). The CDS does not operate in isolation, rather it is in line with the City's other medium-to-long term strategies, namely the Economic Growth Strategy (EGS), the Social Development Strategy (SDS), the Cape Town SDF and the IDP (supra).

4.2.   Business Improvement District (BIDs)

According to Minton (n.d), the concept of BID involves raising funds in the form of tax from local businesses to assist in the creation of an good-looking consumable setting similar to an enclosed shopping mall, a situation which has coined the phrase *"a mall without walls''* (Minton, n.d), since BIDs emulate the management style, and create an atmosphere similar to that of the sub-urban malls (Kohn, 2004). For instance, BIDs allow disseminated downtown retail shops to come under one management team to emulate and adopt positive features such as maintaining cleanliness and security similar to the mall (Kohn, 2004).

The primary objective of BIDs is to maintain and enrich the social and physical milieu within their area of jurisdiction through provision of services additional to those of the local authority (Houston, 1997 cited in Heimann 2007). The supplementary services provided depend on the needs of the area and the preferences of the property owners and may include safety and security patrol officers, pavement cleaning, litter collection, upkeep of public spaces and removal of unauthorized posters (Dudek, 2012). However, Minton (n.d) argues that in the USA, BIDs are widely seen as a mechanism to promote private sector governance (ibid). Minton (n.d,

p.3) challenges by stating that *"whether or not this is the case or whether they signal the erosion of local government control over public realm remains to be seen"*

According to Mitchell (1999), Hoyt (2003), Houston (1997; 2003) and Pack (1992) cited in Heimann et al. (2008, p.15), the concept has multiple names illustrating the same agenda, including Improvement Districts (IDs), Business Improvement District (BIDs), Neighbourhood Improvements Districts (NIDs), Municipal Improvement Districts (MIDs), Business Improvement Areas (BIAs) and City Improvement Districts (CIDs). However, for the purpose of this study, the researcher will refer to the concept as (BIDs) or (CIDs).

The origin and development of "Improvement Districts" can be traced to Canada to the end of the 1960s before proliferating to the other parts of the world such as the United States of America, Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, South Africa and Germany (Peyroux, 2008). However, the true beginning of the concept of BIDs remains elusive in the sense that Neil McLellan, a jewelry store owner and Chairman of the Bloor-Jane-Runnymede Business Men's Association's Parking Committee, is often credited for conjuring the concept of BIDs in the mid-1960s, with the world's first BID, Bloor West Village, attaining a legal status in 1971 when the City of Toronto enacted By-law No.170-70 (ibid). However, according Steel et al. (2005); Houston (1999) cited in Heimann (2007) in the year 1965, Alex Ling, a Toronto businessman so passionate about the graffiti, litter and vandalism issues within the jurisdiction of his shop that he suggested to local businessmen to come together and provide solutions to those problems, is credited as the father of the concept.

Peyroux (2008) supports that the BID concept came into fruition as the local government tasked to provide services in the Bloor West Village at that time was fiscally constrained and could barely render any assistance. Consequently, the local businessmen decided to offer "self-help" by taxing themselves in accordance with the size of their business. The cash was pooled together and spent in the provision of extra street lighting, smart street furniture and litter collection services in the subsequent years. Since that period the idea of pooling resource together by these businessmen became a routine since it yielded a positive result.

4.2.1. South African Context: Business improvement Districts (BID<u>s</u>)

In the case of South Africa, the concept of BID<u>s</u> started in the mid-1990's (Vaughan et al., 2008), with the first Improvement District taking place in the Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) in 1993 (Fraser, 2003 cited in Heimann, 2007). According to Uys (2007) and Peyroux (2008), the concept was adopted in response to the inner city decay, which had marred most South African cities owing to capital flight from the inner city to the outermost parts of the cities. The decay in the urban centres contributed to a decline in office occupancy rates culminating with a shift in consumers from the wealthy and working classes to poor middle classes dominating the inner city (ibid). The first CID in South Africa encountered some major setbacks such as non-ratified legal terms, operating on a voluntarily basis, and more so property owners at that time had little insight into the concept of CID, making it a hefty task to realize the set goals (Heimann, 2007).

According to Heimann (2007), South Africa was the first country outside North America to enact BID legislation even though the concept was relatively new. The Gauteng Provincial legislature approved the City Improvement District Act, Act 12 in 1997, and became effective in November, 1999 (ibid). Having the Act approved, the city of Johannesburg began to witness an emergence of CID-like organizations such as the Partnership for Urban Renewal (PUR) in 1998, an organization which worked with the property owners in Rosebank, Midrand and Sandton (supra). Again, during the year 2000, CID-like organizations spread to other major cities like Pretoria (Essellen Street), Cape Town and Durban (Steffny, 2014).

4.2.2. Legislative Framework of Public Spaces/Business Improvement Districts in South Africa

Local government has remained the principal provider, manager and regulator of open spaces and public amenities owing to how vital they are (Evans et al., 2012). In the case of South Africa, the 1996 constitution and the Local Government Transition Act 209 of 1993 remain the points of reference as far as the management and provision of public spaces including CID<u>s</u> are concerned (Memeza, 2000). Also, CID<u>s</u> are governed by Section 22 of the Municipal Property Rates Act (MPRA), the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA), the Companies Act (Non Profit Company-NPC), and the Special Rating Area By-law (CCID Website, 2015).

4.2.3. The Cape Town Central City Improvement District (CCCID)

The CCID is a public-private partnership which was established in November 2000 by the local property owners with the vision of combating crime and promoting a safe, clean and caring environment (CCID Annual Report, 2013). The CCID refers to a geographical zone established by the Cape Town City Council in terms of the Municipal Property Rate Act, Section 22 of the Special Rate Area, and the CID byelaws to provide top-up services to the existing services rendered by the Cape Town Municipality and South African Police services (SAPS) (ibid).

The CCID covers the entire area of the traditional Cape Town CBD that was founded in 1652 to serve as a trading port along what later became one of the world's most prominent shipping routes (The State of The Cape Town Central City Report, 2012). It covers a geographical region of $1.6km^2$, and it is bordered to the northeast by the Port of Cape Town and by the suburbs that, along with the CBD, form what is known as the Cape Town City Bowl – all at the foot of Table Mountain, Lion's Head and Devil's Peak (The State of The Cape Town Central City Report, 2014).

The CBD of the Cape Town city is host to about 5286 residents with an estimated residential population growth of 76% between the year 2001 and 2010 owing to the overall improvement of the area enhanced with subsequent residential developments (South African Population Census, 2001 cited in The State of The Cape Town Central City Report, 2012; The Sate of Cape Town Central City Report, 2013). The CBD is home to a very youthful population with 35% of the people below the age 25 years, 58% between the ages of 26 years and 49 years, and 7% above the age of 50 years (The State of Cape Town Central City Report, 2012).

The CBD has the highest concentration of economic activities within the Cape Town Municipality contributing up to 24.5% of business turnovers to the entire Cape Town's economy, and in excess of 30% of the city's employment sector (The state of Cape Town Central City Report, 2012, p.11). As of 2013, the total value of properties situated within the CBD was estimated to be R25 billion. Also, the CCID generated a tax revenue in excess of R216 million per annum from rates (The State of The Cape Town City Central Report, 2013; The State of the Cape Town Central City Report, 2012).

Map 2: The City of Cape Town Central Business District (in red)
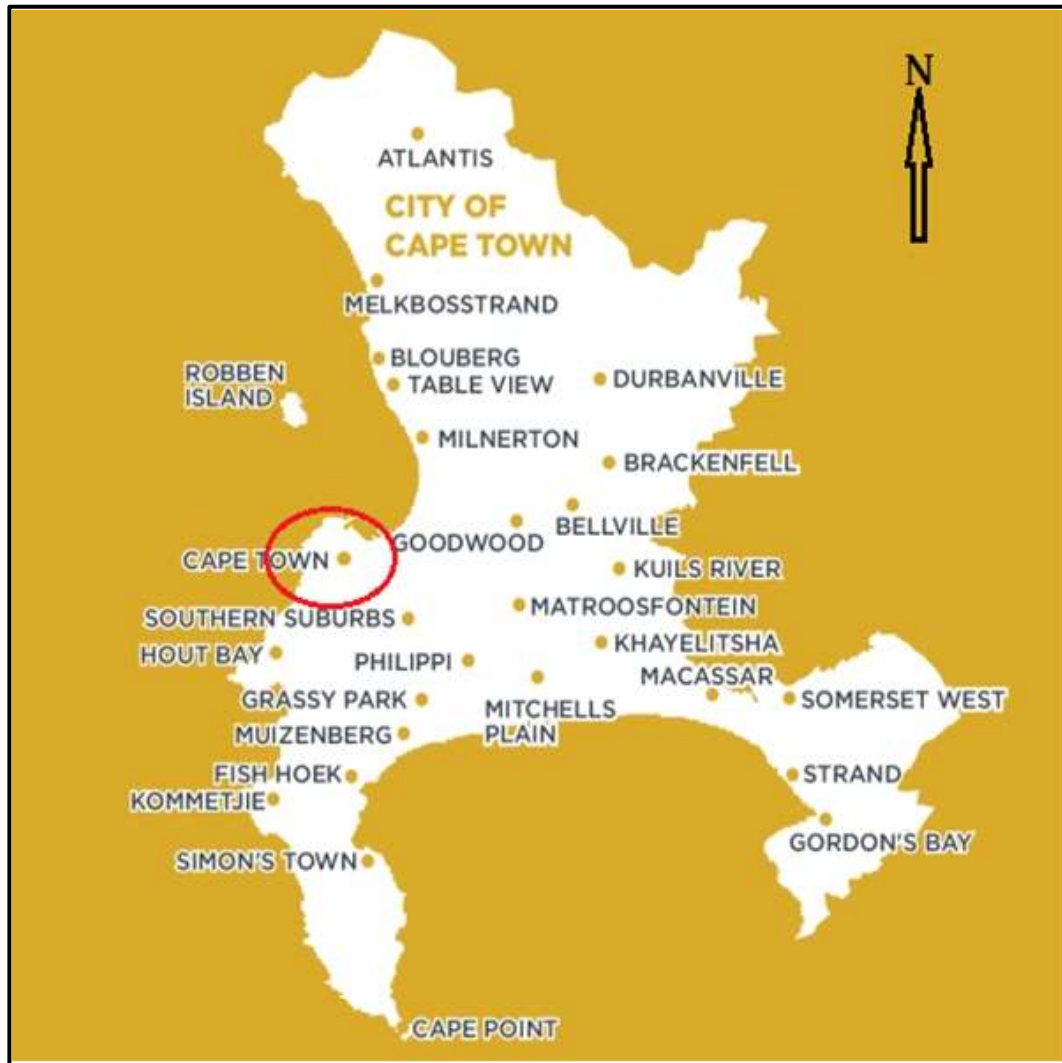
Source: www.capetown.gov.za: 2015 (emphasis by the author)

Map 3: The City of Cape Town Central City Improvement District
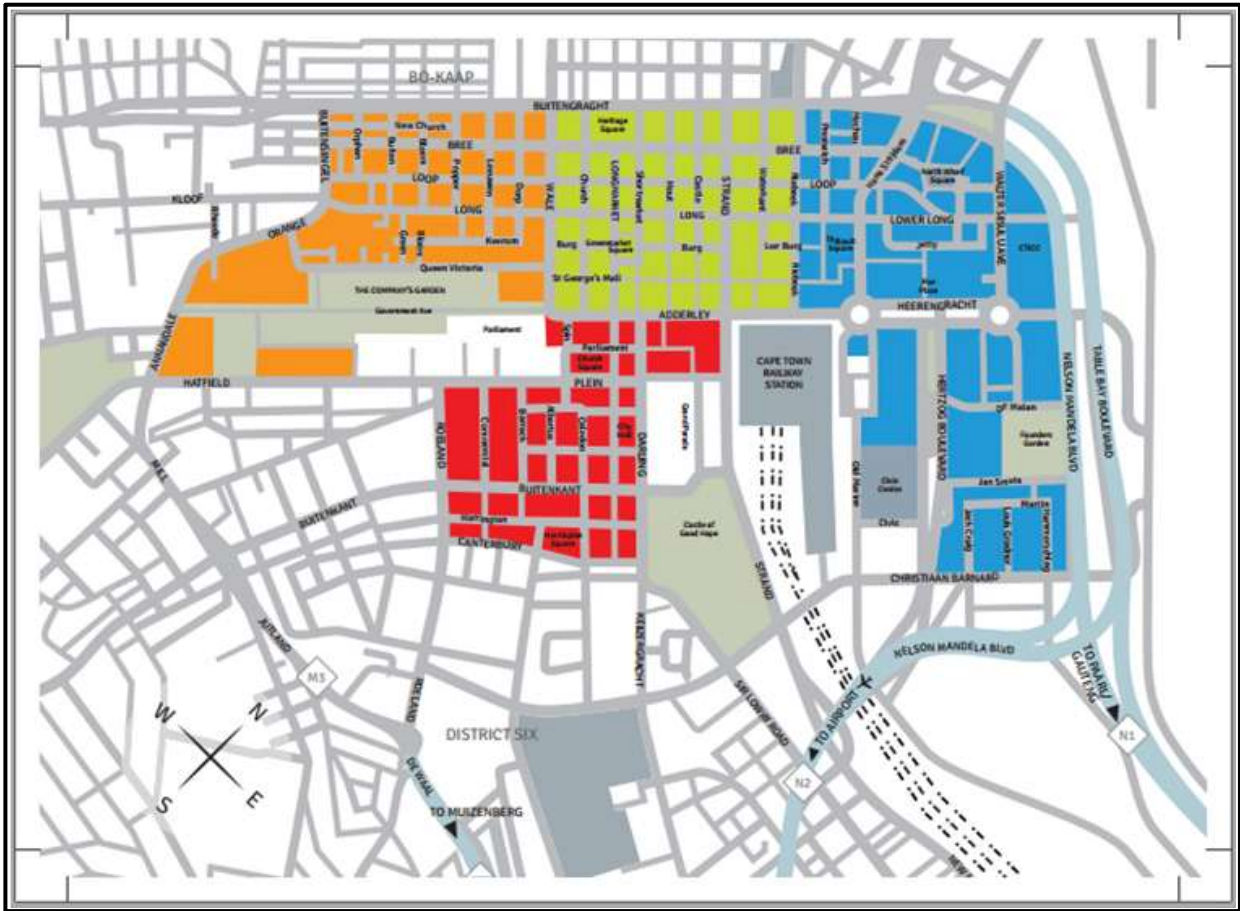
Source: www.ccid.co.za: 2015

4.3. Conclusion

To sum up, the chapter attempted to explain the geographical location and size, as well as the economic and population profile of the study area in both a regional and local context. Moreover, the origin of the BID concept was discussed in both international and local context. Also, the legislative instruments and the objectives of establishing the CCCID were discussed. The next chapter discusses the research methodologies that were employed in the course of the research.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.0.   Introduction

Burns (2000) refers to research as an efficient investigation to provide a solution to a problem. It is a *"careful, diligent and exhaustive investigation of a specific subject matter, that it is aimed at the advancement of mankind's knowledge"* (Manheim, 1977, p.4).The chapter presents the research design process that provided guidance to this study, the methodological framework and the empirical survey conducted to accomplish the research objectives stated in chapter one.

5.1.   Research Approach

A qualitative research approach was adopted in conducting this research work. Qualitative approach to research involves the use of subjective assessment of opinions, behaviour and attitudes. This approach functions on the premise of the researcher's impressions and insights (Tran Thi Ut et. al, 2013). Qualitative research design was adopted as it enabled the researcher to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and delve deeper into the concept of BID. Moreover, it allowed the researcher to secure primary information from a focus group and selected public spaces through interview and observation guided by interview schedule and Németh's Index Scoring Sheet at certain days and time as indicated in table 4.

Table 4: Observation Days and Time

DAYS	DATES	TIME
Monday	7th December, 2015	11am – 5pm
Wednesday	9th December, 2015	11am – 5pm
Friday	11th December, 2015	11am – 7pm
Saturday	12th December, 2015	11am – 7pm
Sunday	13th December, 2015	11am – 7pm

Source: Author, 2015

5.2.   Sources of Data and Research Instruments

A primary source of data is the data collected for the first time by a researcher and usually done by a survey, while the secondary source of data is the data collected and used earlier by somebody or by an agency (Tran Thi Ut et. al, 2013). Interview schedule served as a guide in collecting the primary data since it leads to more responses per the researchers view.

Interview schedule as indicated in annexure 1 was used in conducting the structured interview, while the index scoring sheet developed by Jeremy Németh as indicated in annexure 2 served as an observation schedule for studying and measuring the "publicness situation" of the randomly selected public spaces within the study area. Jeremy Németh's index scoring sheet consists of 20 design and management indicators which assist in measuring the degree of behavioural control in a public space. Each indicator is given a score mark of 0, 1, or 2 with the highest score signifying the characteristics of a more open space as shown in annexure 2. A total score is arrived at by subtracting all the marks obtained under the 'features discouraging freedom of use' from the marks obtained under 'features encouraging freedom of use'. The total scores may range from -20 to 20. A negative score indicates 'less public' of the space while a positive score indicates 'more public' of the space (Németh, 2009 cited in Buchwach, 2012, p.16). Table 5 explains the approaches on the Németh's index scoring sheet. The final data would be represented on a bar graph. Secondary sources of data were journal articles, published works, student theses, textbooks, web sources, organizational and government publications.

Table 5: The Explanations of Approach on the Németh's Index Scoring Sheet

FEATURES ENCOURAGING FREEDOM OFUSE	EXPLANATIONS
Laws and Rules	
Sign announcing public space	Most zoning codes require publically accessible space to exhibit plaques indicating such. Some spaces are clearly marked with signs announcing their public nature (e.g. New York's Sony Plaza), but when a sign or plaque is obscured by trees or shrubs, or has graffiti covering it, its intent becomes nil.
Surveillance and Policing	
Public ownership/ management	Could fall under Laws and Rules, but more likely to impact type/amount of security and electronic surveillance in a space. Management often by conservancy or restoration corporation. Spaces can be publically owned and managed, publically owned and privately managed, or privately owned and managed.
Design and Image	
Restroom available	Clearly some spaces are not large enough to accommodate a public

	restroom. Realizing that free public restrooms often entice homeless persons, managers often remove them altogether, or locate them in onsite cafés or galleries open to paying customers only (or providing keyed access for 'desirable' patrons only).
Diversity of seating types	Amount of seating is often most important elements for motivating public use of space. Users often evaluate entry to space based on amount of existing seating and ability to create varying 'social distances'. Movable chairs allow maximum flexibility and personal control in seating choice.
Various microclimates	Spaces with a variety of microclimate enclaves broaden choice and personal control for users. Potential features might include shielding from wind, overhangs to protect from rain, areas receiving both sun and shade during the day, or trees/shrubs/grass to provide connection with the natural landscape.
Lighting to encourage nighttime use	Studies suggest that the vulnerable populations often avoid public spaces at night if not well lit. Lighting spaces encourages 24 hour use, and has been regarded as a way of making users feel safer/more secure. However, critics argue that night lighting ensures surveillance efforts and implies authoritative control.
Small-scale food consumption	Most support that vendors enhance activity and vitality. This variable only includes small cafés, kiosks, carts or stands selling food, drinks, or simple convenience items. Sit-down restaurants, clothing stores, or other full-scale retail establishments are not described by this variable.
Art/cultural/visual enhancement	Art and aesthetic enhancements can encourage use. Variables can include stationary visual enhancements like statues, fountains, or sculptures, and also rotating art exhibits, public performances, farmers' markets, and street fairs. Interactive features encourage use and personal control by curious patrons (often children).
Access and Territoriality	
Entrance accessibility	If a space has locked doors or gates, requires a key to enter, or has only one constricted entry, it often feels more controlled or private than one with several non-gated entrances. In indoor spaces where users must enter through doors or past checkpoints, symbolic access and freedom of use is diminished.
Orientation accessibility	Spaces must be well-integrated with the pedestrian walkways and the street, as those oriented away from surrounding sidewalk, or located several feet above or below street level make the space less inviting. Well-used spaces are clearly visible from the pedestrian walkways, and users should be able to view surrounding public activity.
FEATURES DISCOURAGING OR	

CONTROLLING USE	
Laws and Rules	
Visible set of rules posted	Official, noticeable signs listing sets of rules (not individual rules) on a permanent plague. Rules should generally be objective and easily enforceable, like prohibition against smoking, sitting on ledges, passing out flyers without authorization, or drinking alcohol.
Subjective judgment/rules posted	Official, visible signs outlining individual rules describing activities that are not allowed after personal evaluations and judgments of desirability by owners, managers, or security guards. Such rules might include: 'no disorderly behavior', 'no disturbing other users', 'no loitering', 'no oversize baggage', or 'appropriate attire required'.
Surveillance and Policing	
In Business Improvement District (BID)	Spaces located in Business Improvement District (BID) are more likely to have electronic surveillance and private security guards, and less likely to include public input into decisions pertaining to park management. BIDs can employ roving guards to patrol especially problematic neighbourhood spaces.
Security cameras	Even though camera must be visible for easy identification, many cameras are secreted from view. Cameras are often installed inside buildings or on surrounding buildings but are oriented toward space. Stationary cameras are more common and often less intimidating than panning/moving cameras.
Security personnel	Scoring depends on time of visit. Publicly funded police, park rangers, and private security guards. For index, score only when security is assigned to space. Since private security guards take instructions only from the property owner, it can be more controlling (and score higher on index) compared to the police who are trained more uniformly.
Secondary security personnel	Scoring dependent on time of visit. Includes maintenance staff, door persons, reception, café or restaurant employees and bathroom attendants. Also, spaces often oriented directly toward windowed reception or information area to ensure constant employee supervision.
Design and Image	
Design to imply appropriate use	Small-scale design to regulate user behaviour or to imply appropriate use. For instance, the use of metal spikes on ledges; walls, barriers, bollards to constrict circulation or to direct pedestrian movement; folded, canted, or overly narrow and inappropriate ledges; or crossbars on benches to deter reclining.
Design to imply appropriate use Presence of sponsor/ advertisement	Signs, symbols, banners, umbrellas, plaques tied to space's infrastructure and not to immediate services provided (e.g. cafés, kiosks). While non-advertised space is vital for seeking diversion from city life, sponsored signs/plaques can motivate sponsors to commit

	resources for maintenance since company name is visible.
Access and Territoriality	
Areas of restricted/ conditional use	Portions of space off-limits during certain times of day, days of week, or portions of year. Can also refer to seating tables only accessible to café patrons, bars accessible only to adults, dog parks, playgrounds, and corporate events accessible to shareholders only, spaces for employees of surrounding buildings only.
Constrained hours of operation	While some spaces are permitted to close certain hours of the day, spaces not open 24 hours inherently restrict usage, and clearly prioritize employee use over use by the general public.

Source: Updated from Németh, 2009 as adopted by Rahi and Hein, 2012

5.3.   Sampling Techniques

5.3.1. Non-probability Sampling Technique

The researcher employed a non-probability sampling technique to select the participants for interview and public spaces for observation studies. Non-probability sampling represents a group of sampling techniques that assist researchers to select from a population that they are interested in studying. A major characteristic of non-probability sampling techniques is that samples are selected based on the subjective judgement of the researcher, drawn from theory and practice (Laerd Dissertation, n.d). In theoretical sense, the researcher employed a non-probability because it suits the qualitative approach adopted in this research. Also, in practical sense, the non-probability sampling technique was used as it is very useful in exploratory research as the aim of this research was to explore the impact of privatization of public spaces on the publicness situation of public space.

Purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling technique was used in the selection of the participants and the public spaces as the objective was to focus on particular group and public spaces that were of interest, which will best assist in accomplishing the research objectives. Again, purposive sampling technique provides room to make theoretical, analytical and/or logical generalization from the sample that is being researched. Hence, expert sampling technique known as purposive sampling was employed in the selection of the participants listed in table 6 since the intention was to obtain information from individuals that have fore knowledge on the concept of privatization of public spaces.

Moreover, a purposive sampling type known as homogeneous sampling was employed in the selection of the public spaces listed in table 7, as the main objective was to select public spaces which share the same or similar characteristics. Even though, the researcher acknowledges that purposive sampling is prone to bias since most of the findings are subjective to the researcher's perspective, the subjective aspect is not a disadvantage to this research work, since conclusions were made based on theoretical framework and professional elicitation.

Table 6: A List of Participants

No.	FIRMS	DESCRIPTION
1	Western Cape Municipality	Town Planner
1	BID	Town Planner
2	Landlords	BID members
7	Residents	Shop owners
3	Private Urban Planning Firm	Town Planners

Source: Author, 2015

Table 7: A List of Selected Public Spaces from the Cape Town Central City Improvement District

No.	LOCATION	No.	LOCATION
1	Hertzog Boulevard	7	Jetty Square
2	Herengracht Boulevard	8	North Wharf Square
3	Civic centre	9	Long Street
4	1 Thibault	10	Lower Long Street
5	Church Square	11	Company's Garden
6	Pier Place		

Source: Author, 2015

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter attempted to explain the research approach that was employed in the study. Moreover, data sources and collection methods, sampling procedures as well as research tools used in the research were discussed. The next chapter discusses the data analysis and interprets the findings of the research.

CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

6.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the data analysis, interpretation and presentation of the findings. The aim of this chapter is to accomplish the research objectives of the study and to answer the research question. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section gives a brief introduction of the chapter, while the second section presents and analyses the data obtained from the sampled participants as provided in Table 5. The Németh's index scoring, which measures the publicness situation of public spaces is applied on the selected public spaces to ascertain the publicness situation. The section aims at establishing the factors that promote privatization of public spaces within the study area; the final section concludes the chapter.

6.1. Presentation and Analysis of Interview

The Cape Town CCID was the first and the oldest of all the city's 32 improvement districts established in the City of Cape Town. It was established in 2000 by the City Council in terms of the Special Rate Area (SRA) By-law, to provide complementary top-up services in addition to those catered for by its primary partners: the City of Cape Town and SAPS in the CBD.

Table 8: A List of City Improvement Districts in the City of Cape Town

No.	Area	No.	Area
1	Airport Industrial City Improvement District	17	Observatory Improvement District
2	Athlone City Improvement District	18	Oranjekloof City Improvement District
3	Blackheath City Improvement District	19	Paarden Eiland City Improvement District
4	Brackenfell Business Improvement District	20	Parow Industrial Improvement District Assembly
5	*Cape Town Central City Improvement District	21	Salt River Business Improvement District
6	Claremont Improvement District Company	22	Sea Point City Improvement District
7	Elsies River City Improvement District	23	Stikland Industrial City Improvement District
8	Epping City Improvement District	24	Strand Business Improvement District
9	Fish Hoek Business Improvement District	25	Somerset West Business Improvement District
10	Glosderry Improvement District	26	Triangle Farm City Improvement District

11	Green Point City Improvement District	27	Voortrekker Road Corridor Improvement District
12	Groote Schuur Community Improvement District	28	Vredekloof Community Improvement District
13	Kalk Bay St James Special Rating Area	29	Woodstock Improvement District
14	Llandudno Special Rating Area	30	Wynberg Improvement District Association Incorporated
15	Maitland City Improvement District	31	ZeekoeVlei Peninsula Special Rating Area
16	Muizenberg Improvement District	32	Zwaanswyk Association of Property Owners

Source: Participant, the City of Cape Town Municipality, 2015

The SRA provides the communities that wish to enjoy municipal services at the highest level with the option of paying for additional services at an affordable and sustainable amount. Amongst the collective benefits that individual property owners within an SRA who pool their resources can enjoy are: a well-managed area, a shared sense of communal pride, safety and social responsibility, and access to joint initiatives such as waste recycling and energy-efficiency programmes, which translate into a tangible boost in property values and capital investments in the end. Typically the top-up services provided are urban management functions which include public safety measures, cleansing services, maintenance of infrastructure, enhancing of the environment, and social services.

With regards to the CCID, these are top-up urban management services to the existing services provided by the City of Cape Town or SAPS and include cleaning and waste removal to ensure the beautification of public spaces; safety and security, that is the provision of public safety officers to complement the City's law enforcement officers as well as SAPS; social development such as providing additional fieldworkers to assist the homeless and destitute of the CBD to access municipal, provincial, state or NGO services, and communications to promote and retain investment within the CBD was according to information gathered from the participants.

All CIDs in Cape Town are initiated by private property owners, and are usually started by the "champions" within a community who see the need to enhance the environment in their area of jurisdiction, not by the city. However, a 51% vote is required by the owners to agree to a top-up charge to be made on their municipal rates. This top-up charge is collected by the city authorities

on behalf of the CID, and it is used by the CID to improve the subject area through the provision of additional services usually provided by the city authority.

Currently, there are 1 400 erven and over 1 000 buildings which are managed by the CCID. As with all CIDs/BIDs across the globe the CIDs in Cape Town including the CCID are not private corporations, but rather they are non-profit public-private partnership organizations. Moreover, all CIDs which have become an internationally recognised way to regenerate an urban area are set up to improve urban areas which have fallen victim to "crime and grime" resulting in urban flight to other suburbs and disinvestment in an area.

6.2. Situational Analysis of the Selected Public Spaces Using the Németh's Index Scoring Sheet

The Németh's scoring sheet as explained in chapter 5 of this study was applied to the selected public open space within the CCID to identify the *status quo* of the characteristics of privatized public spaces, and their implications on the socio-political and spatial landscapes of Cape Town, thus the publicness situation at certain days and time as indicated in table 4.

6.2.1. Hertzog Boulevard

Hertzog Boulevard is situated on the foreshore area of Cape Town. Hertzog Boulevard accommodates the Civic Centre, which is the administrative headquarters of the city of Cape Town, the municipality that is in charge of Cape Town and its suburbs. Additionally, the Civic Centre trunk station of the My Citi bus rapid transit is situated along the Hertzog Boulevard. According to Uys (2007), public space exists due to its uses and activities, and the uses and activities give people a reason to utilize and revisit the place. However, Hertzog Boulevard is more of a place for the transit flow of vehicles and pedestrians due to lack of opportunity for other activities. This has lowered the animation level even though it has a good geographical setting which makes it easily accessible and has properly designed features such as sitting opportunities and walking opportunities.

Plate 1: Pedestrian Friendliness and Micro-climate at Hertzog Boulevard, Cape Town

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.2. Herengracht Boulevard

Herengracht Boulevard is the oldest thoroughfare, which links the Grand Parade to the Company Gardens, and further extends into the current Adderley Street (Cape Town Partnership Website, 2016). The Boulevard's name, Herengracht, which literally means ''Gentlemen's Walk'' was firstly given to the road that is currently called Adderley Street in the 1950's (ibid). However, with the reclamation of the foreshore in 1938, a new boulevard that extended from the end of Adderley Street to the sea was created and renamed Herengracht (supra). Herengracht is noted for its wide lanes lined with palm trees, and water flowing at its centre. The boulevard is climaxed with several installations such as statutes and fountains to engage the public space users. The physical configuration of Herengracht Boulevard in terms of the macro-design which is the choice of locality, connectivity, visibility as well as the micro-design features such as the sitting opportunities, walking friendliness enhance its public situation. Nonetheless, from the researcher's observations made Herengracht Boulevard has the characteristics of transit traffic instead of being an attraction point.

Plate 2: Tree lined at Herengracht Boulevard, Cape Town

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 3: A Statue Installation at Herengracht Boulevard, Cape Town

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.3. The Fore Court of the Civic Centre

This fore court of the Civic Centre is located on the foreshore of the city of Cape Town, with the Civic Centre building serving as a major landmark. The building was completed in 1978 and

consists of a low rise Podium Block that houses the city management, while its 98-metre tall, 26-floor high-rise tower block (Emporis Website, 2016) accommodates the administrative offices of the municipality. The Civic Center building's arch crosses Hertzog Boulevard with a road passage beneath.

At the fore court of the Civic Centre Building is the Civic Centre's Knot of Red Tube Art that provides a focal point, with the inscription on it suggesting that it was commissioned in 1981 by Edoardo Daniele Villa, a notable South African Sculptor of Italian descent. The public space at the fore court is less animated owing to its administrative purposes although it is inviting and encourages free use of the space due to its design/image elements such as diversity of seating, trees and good lighting systems.

Plate 4: The Civic Center Building in Cape Town

Source: http://www.vocfm.co.za/kenfac-residents-march-to-civic-centre/: 2016

Plate 5: The Civic Centre's Knot of Red Tube Art

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.4. 1 Thibault Square

1Thibault square is a European styled square situated between Hans Strijdom Avenue and Riebeeck Street to the East and West and Long and Adderley Streets. The square is host to a 35 story modernist building, originally known as the BP centre, which was acknowledged and recognised as one of the South Africa's iconic buildings in 2008 by the South African institute of Architecture (South African Property News Website, 2016). Additionally, the John Skotness's Mythological Landscape Steel-and-bronze sculpture serves as a focal point of attraction for the space users (ibid).

The square is a popular meeting place for Capetonians and visitors to the city, who flock into its cafés and coffee shops during the day. Again, the square is often used for performances including the city festival that takes place during February (ibid). Nonetheless, at 1Thibault Square, urban design control measures such as benches with multiple arm rests, which limit publicness as shown in plate 8 were visible. Also, hard management control techniques including the use of private security personnel and CCTV cameras (Whyte, 1988; Németh, n.d) are employed; however this was temporary type of control (Altman and Zube, 2012) as the private security personnel were only present at certain hours of the day.

Plate 6: The Thibault Building and Sign Announcing a Public Space, Cape Town

Source: http://www.commercialspace.co.za/property/no-1-thibault-square-offices-to-let-cape-town/: 2016

Plate 7: The Skotness' Mythological Landscape Steel-and-bronze sculpture

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 8: "Sadistic" Public Furniture with multiple arm rest at 1 Thibault Square

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 9: Sadistic Public Furniture type at 1 Thibault Square
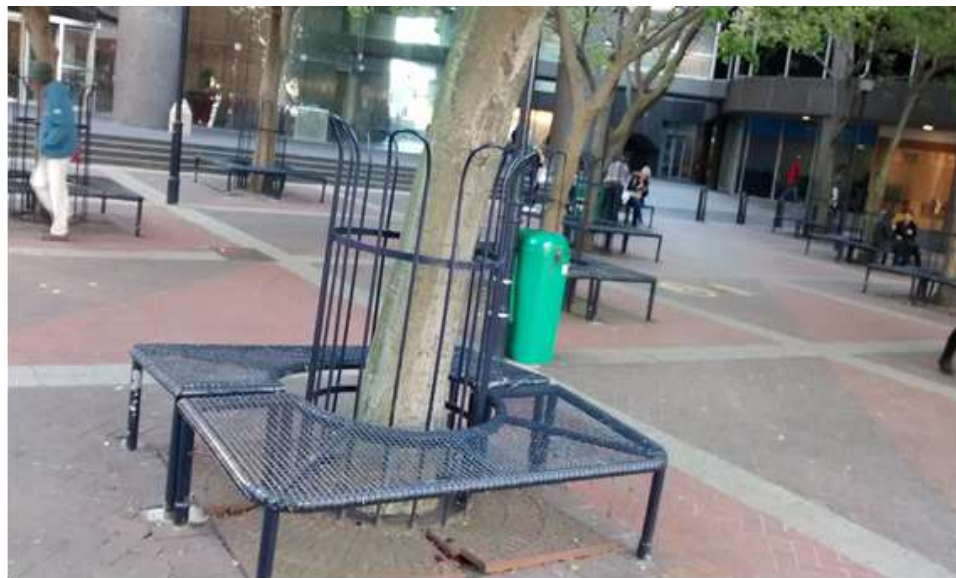
Source: Author, 2015

6.2.5. Church Square

Church Square, which originally served as the site for the slave market owes its existence to its

location in front of the Groote Kerk, the foundations of which were laid by Governor Willem

Adriaan van der Stel in 1700 (South African History Website, 2015). The square was officially named "Kerplijn" on a map until the name was changed to the Church Square in 1979 (Cape Town Partnership website, 2015). In the past slaves used to sit and wait under a "slave tree", while their masters were at church. Even though the original "slave tree" was removed in 1916 a pant has been planted in its original place to commemorate the place. In addition to the site being an open place to serve church, it also served as an assembling area for dogs, such that the services of a dog whisperer was sought to keep the dogs away from the church and the yard. With an outbreak of the small pox epidemic in 1713 and 1755, the land demarcation of the square was reduced to provide space for a larger graveyard. However, that graveyard has ceased to exist, since it has been built over (ibid).

Important landmarks situated on the square are the former Slave Lodge that was built by the early Dutch settlers in 1679 and served as an accommodation for slaves until 1811 (South Africa History Website, 2015). The Lodge later served as state offices including the Cape Supreme Court, the library and post office (Cape Town Partnership Website, 2015). Currently, the building serves as a museum where slave exhibits are displayed, and has reverted to its original name, The Slave Lodge. A statue of a parliamentarian, Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr was erected in 1920 to recognize his effort in promoting the Dutch language to be elevated to equal status as the English language in the 1910 Constitution (ibid).

The City of Cape Town in partnership with the Cape Town CCID, reclaimed the square from serving as a car park, repaved the square, planted trees and introduced a memorial to recognize the square as a slave site were done in 2008 (Cape Town Partnership Website, 2015; Uys, 2007). To climax it, eleven granite blocks were installed at the site giving passers-by an indication of the names of some of the slaves traded on the square in the past (Cape Town Partnership Website, 2015).

The intention of the refurbishment of the square was to promote a range of economic and socio-cultural activities ranging from cafés, specialist market, to concert exhibitions and cultural performance on the square, which would make the Central City safer, inclusive, attractive and exciting (ibid). Hence, the design of the square was mainly influenced by its rich cultural

history, particularly the Slave Lodge and Groote Kerk (supra). Currently the square is widely used by pedestrians (shown in red circle, plate 10), camera crews (shown in green circle, plate 11) and performance groups.

Plate 10: A Statue and 'Slave' Granite Blocks (in blue circle) at Church Square, Cape Town

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 11: A Camera Crew (in green circle) at Church Square, Cape Town

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.6. Pier Place

Pier Place is situated on the foreshore of the City of Cape Town, and it is famous for the life-like statues designed by artist Egon Tania (Cape Town Partnership Website, 2015). The statues portray people conducting normal live activities (talking on a cell phone, reading the newspaper or a child playing in the sand) and climaxed with some uniquely designed furniture to enhance the physical configuration, particularly the micro-design climate as discussed by Varma (2011).

Adjacent to Pier Place is the Herengracht Boulevard, a Cape Town's palm tree lined boulevard with the table mountain in the background to enhance the physical configuration, particularly the macro-design visibility of Pier Place as asserted by Varna (2011). However, at Pier Place, hard management control measures such as the use of private security guards to restrain people from soliciting for help from other public space users as discussed by Sandercok (1998) cited in Németh and Schmidt (2011) was admitted by the security guards on duty at the time of the researcher's visit.

Plate 12: Life-like Statues (in red circle) and Private Security Guard (in blue circle) at Pier Place, Cape Town

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 13: Types of Bin (in red circles) and chairs at Pier Place

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.7. Jetty Square

Jetty Square is an urban square on the foreshore of Cape Town, between the Tulbagh Centre and the Vodacom building, near the corner of Adderley Street and Hans Strijdom (RalphBorland.net, 2016). The square serves as a place of pause and a passage for the movement of people, and it is notable for the ghost shark sculptures designed and installed by artist Ralph Borland using digital technology called physical computing (CCID Website, 2015). Infrared sensors were installed in the noses of the shark skeleton structures which respond to pedestrians passing beneath them and spin in the direction of the movements below (ibid). These sculptures convey the message and reinforce the historical fact that the square was once covered by the sea before it was reclaimed in the 1960's and 1970's (Earthwork Landscape Architects Website, 2016).

A project that aimed at creating environmental awareness to reflect on nature in a grey space area commenced in 1995 and was completed in 2007. Hence, the architectural design of the project was influenced by nature such that the pattern of the pavements was made to assume the characteristics of a water flow pattern, also referring to a receded sea (RalphBorland.net, 2016 and Earthwork Landscape Architects Website, 2016). This was developed from a cobble

pattern of stylized water swirls, designed by Diekie van Nieeuwenhuizen to create a pixilated version of a microscopic pattern (RalphBorland.net, 2016 and Earthwork Landscape Architects Website, 2016)

The existence of the elegant bars and coffee shops around Jetty Square and Pier Place as well as their proximity to the hub of the city's financial, commercial and publishing worlds makes the areas more attractive. However, the square is characterised by two or more security camera surveillance as indicated in green circle in plate 14, and it is mostly policed by private security patrols as shown in plate 16. Hence, from the researcher's observations, Jetty Square could be described as 'panoptic' space, a term coined by Jeremy Bantham, and used by urban observers to qualify an environment saturated with various forms of security controls (Oc and Tiesdell, 2000 cited in Németh, 2009).

Plate 14: Fish Skeleton Structure (in red circle) and overtly use of CCTV (in green circle) at Jetty Square

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 15: Cobble pattern of stylized water swirls, designed by Diekie van Nieeuwenhuizen

Source: RalphBorland.net: Accessed on February, 2016

Plate 16: Private Security Guard (in red circle) at Jetty Square

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 17: Cafés at the Jetty Square

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 18: Presence of small cafés, kiosks, carts or stands selling food, drinks at Jetty Square

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.8. Lower Long Street

Lower Long Street is an extension of Long Street situated in the Cape Town CBD, between the intersection of Riebeek Street and Walter Sisulu Avenue. Lower Long Street accommodates Thibault Square and Jetty Square, and also provides access to North Wharf Square. The Cape Town international Convention Centre is situated at the intersection of Lower long street and Waltersisulu Avenue. Lower Long Street is defined by the presence of financial institutions such as the South African Revenue Service's Building and Ernst and Young. Hence, it was not surprising to see the dominant use of public and private security guards, as well as patrol cars that seemed to be protecting the interest of the powerful, but not the freedom and liberty of the general public at the time of the researcher's visit. Németh and Schmidt 2007, p. 288-291, cited in Varna, 2010 point out that such purpose of control in a public space makes the space less public.

Moreover, notwithstanding the two public squares (Thibault and Jetty Squares) situated on Lower long street, and a green open spaces at the far end of the street, and the proximity to Walter Sisulu Avenue and North Wharf square, using the Németh index scoring sheet to measure the public situation on Lower Long Street, the researcher observed that the area was less inviting as there was not a single piece of public furniture installed in the area. Uys (2007) agrees that comfort and image play a vital role in determining the success of a space, which includes availability of seating. Németh (2009) states that the absence of furniture for seating and less diversity in the microclimate (including sun shade and rain shelter) are factors that contribute to an area having less publicness.

Plate 19: The South African Revenue Service (SARS) Building

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 20: Private Security Post Stationed on Lower Long Street

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 21: Security Guard Personnel Stationed at Lower Long Street
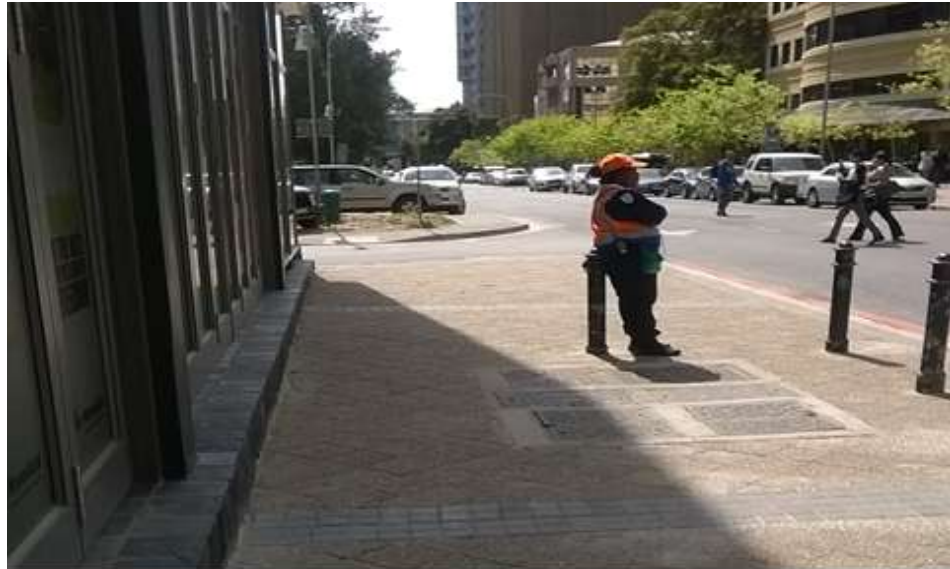
Source: Author, 2015

Plate 22: Presence of Publicly Funded Police at Lower Long Street

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 23: Public funded Security at Lower Long Street

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 24: Secondary Security Personells type (in red circle) providing at Lower Long Street

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.9. Long Street

Long Street is located at the city Bowl section of Cape Town. Long Street is famous for its Victorian buildings with wrought iron balconies. Long is characterised by a chain of restaurants

and bars often invading the pedestrian space. Uys (2007) argues that a street dominated by row of stores is much safer and appealing than a street with blank walls. In this sense, it can be concluded that Long Street is much safer and appealing, as it often serves as a Bohemian hang-out for most Capetonians.

Seating on the pedestrian walkway is mostly reserved for consumers, who patronize the bars and restaurants, a typical of commodification of public spaces in contemporary public spaces. The pedestrians are denied the right to sit if not buying, as they may not use the furniture on the pedestrian walkway, unless buying from the restaurants or bars. Moreover, a private security post is stationed to protect the interest of the customers and bar owners.

Németh (2009) calls the Long Street type of space a Consumption Space. He asserts that the dominating features of such public spaces include restaurants, bars and cafés often encroaching into public spaces, particularly the pedestrian walkways. Again he argues that most of these eating set-ups have a private restroom accessible to customers who patronize goods and services from them only.

Plate 25: A Victorian Architectural Building Style on Long Street

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 26: Invasion of Public Space and Excessive Security Usage (in red circle) on Long Street

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 27: Stationed Private Guard Post at Long Street

Source: Author, 2015

6.2.10. North Wharf Square

North Wharf square is located in the CBD of Cape Town. The dominating land use in proximity to North Wharf is mostly recreational facilities, including the Protea North Wharf Water Front

and the Southern Sun Collinan Hotel confirming the assertion made by Graham et al. (1997) and Dray (2010) that commodification of public spaces aims at promoting cities to external consumers for profiteering purposes, and often disregards the poor and the locals from participating fully in the use of the space.

Most of the public squares in Cape Town selected for case studies particularly, Pier Place and Church Square are conspicuously situated with access off sidewalks, usually fewer than five steps. However, North Wharf Square is not easily noticeable, since it is blocked off from public sidewalks by buildings. Such orientation accessibility attracts a very low mark on the Németh index score sheet (Németh, 2009 cited in Buchwach, 2012). Uys (2007) concurs and defines access and linkage as how easy one can locate and use a public space and that good public space must be easily spotted from far or near.

North Wharf is very tidy with virtually no graffiti and is thus classified under over-managed spaces as described by Carmona et al. (2008). Carmona et al. (2008) states that such management practices give rise to a privatized space, consumption space, invented space or scary space, since it discourages some groups of space users giving rise to a less public situation.

Moreover, observation shows that the physical configuration of North Wharf Square, particularly the micro design element featuring a fountain, pavement and seating arrangements as indicated in Plate 28. However, the area employs hard control measures such as CCTV and private security guards as described by Whyte (1988) cited in Németh (n.d). The use of a stationed BID security post, which Altman and Zube (2012) describe as permanent control, gives absolute control of the space. Such control measures give it higher scores under the features which discourage free use of the space.

Plate 28: Security Post (in red circle) stationed at North Wharf Square

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 29: Overt use of CCTV (in red circle) on Canal Walk at North Wharf Square

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 30: Seating at North Wharf Canal

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 31: The Protea North Wharf Hotel, Cape Town.

Source: http://za.hotels.com/ho239041/protea-hotel-north-wharf-cape-town-south-africa/ : Accessed on February, 2016

Plate 32: The Southern Sun Collinan Hotel, Cape Town

Source: http://cybercapetown.com/CullinanInn/ : Accessed on February, 2016

6.2.11. The Company's Garden

The Company's Garden was earlier established in 1652 by Dutch settlers who sought to build a station at the Cape of Good Hope to render services and re-provision of spice-trading sailing ships on the long sea route to the East (City of Cape Town Municipal Website, 2015). The Garden is located on Queen Victoria Street, at the upper end of Adderley Street, adjacent to the South African Parliament. It is close to several prominent landmarks including: the lodge house for the slaves who built large parts of the historic city, the present day Houses of Parliament, the Iziko South African Museum and Planetarium, St George's Cathedral (which is the seat of the Anglican church in South Africa), the National Library of South Africa, the South African National Gallery, the Great Synagogue and Holocaust Centre as well as Tuynhuys all of which are likely to influence the patronage of the space. The Garden derives its name from the Dutch East India Company, Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), that started the garden with the aim of supplying their ships that plied the spice trade route between Europe and the East Indies via The Cape of Good Hope with fresh farm produce (The Cape Town Municipal Website, 2015).

During the 17th century Cape Town experienced astronomical growth because of the major role it played in the supply of ships engaged in foreign wars. The Garden expanded accordingly, and became famous for its plants, which were increasingly exported (ibid).

According to the Cape Town Municipal Website (2015), the public section of the Garden has been patronized by visitors for the beauty of its flora and the appeal of its historic location and settings, since it was declared for public use in 1848, and amongst the list of sceneries at the Company's Garden include:

- The oldest cultivated pear tree in South Africa, estimated to have been planted in 1652
- A well dating from 1842 with a hand-pump embedded in an oak tree next to it, and connected to the well by an underground pipe. It is a symbol of the importance of water flow from the Table Mountain and the origin of the Garden.
- A memorial slave-bell dating from 1855 which is the old fire-alarm bell from the original town hall in Greenmarket Square.

Evidence of hard management control measures involving the use of surveillance cameras and legal measures to restrict the users of the space from engaging in activities like loitering or disorderly behaviour as shown in plate 33 were easily noticeable at the entrance to the premises. Moreover, the Company's Garden meets the characteristics of a "Fortressed" space described by Németh (2009), since it adopts stringent access controls and exclusionary measures to manage users as shown in plate 33 and 34. 'Fortressed' spaces are often oriented away from public sidewalks, have unnoticeable street level access or fenced with high walls and blank frontages often enclosed in buildings with access only through manned gates, which allows owners and managers of these spaces to restrict not only physical entry, but also visual and aesthetic access (Carr et al., 1992; Davis 1992 and Loukaitou-sideris 1996; cited in Németh, 2000). However, the impact of such control and design measures are not easily felt in the publicness situation of the Garden, as there exist a variety of activities and use of the garden. According to Uys (2007), the use and activities of a space supports the reason for its existence and contributes to the patronage of the space.

Plate 33: Disorderly behavioural control at the entrance of the Company's Garden

Source: Author, 2015

Plate 34: Active control measures at the Company's Garden, Cape Town

Source: http://citysightseeing-blog.co.za/2014/03/14/the-companys-garden-in-cape-town/: 2016

Plate 35: Installations at the Company's Garden, Cape Town

Source: http://www.capetown.travel/blog/entry/company_gardens_flickr_pic_of_the_day: 2016

6.3.   Summary of the Score Sheet

Out of all the 11 public spaces selected in the CCID, the Company's Garden and 1Thibault obtained the highest score, 18 points under the features encouraging freedom of use. Nonetheless, the Company's Garden accumulated the maximum marks of 13 under the feature discouraging freedom of the use of public space due to excessive use of hard and soft control measures such as CCTV surveillance, private security guards, multiple armed rest chairs and fencing. 1Thibault scored 14 points which is the highest mark of all the public spaces selected, while the Company's Garden scored five (5) points, the lowest of the 11 public spaces selected.

Table 9: Points Scored by the Selected Public Spaces in the Cape Town Central City Improvement Districts

No.	Location	Features encouraging public use (+)	Features discouraging public use (-)	Total score
1	Hertzog Boulevard	14	4	10
2	Herengracht Boulevard	16	4	12
3	Civic Centre	15	5	10
4	1Thibault	18	4	14
5	Church Square	13	2	11

6	Pier Place	11	4	7
7	North Wharf Square	14	6	8
8	Long Street	12	6	6
9	Lower Long Street	12	6	6
10	Jetty Square	15	5	10
11	Company's Garden	18	13	5

Source: Author, 2015

Graph 1: Publicness Situation of Some Selected Public Spaces in the Cape Town Central City Improvement Districts
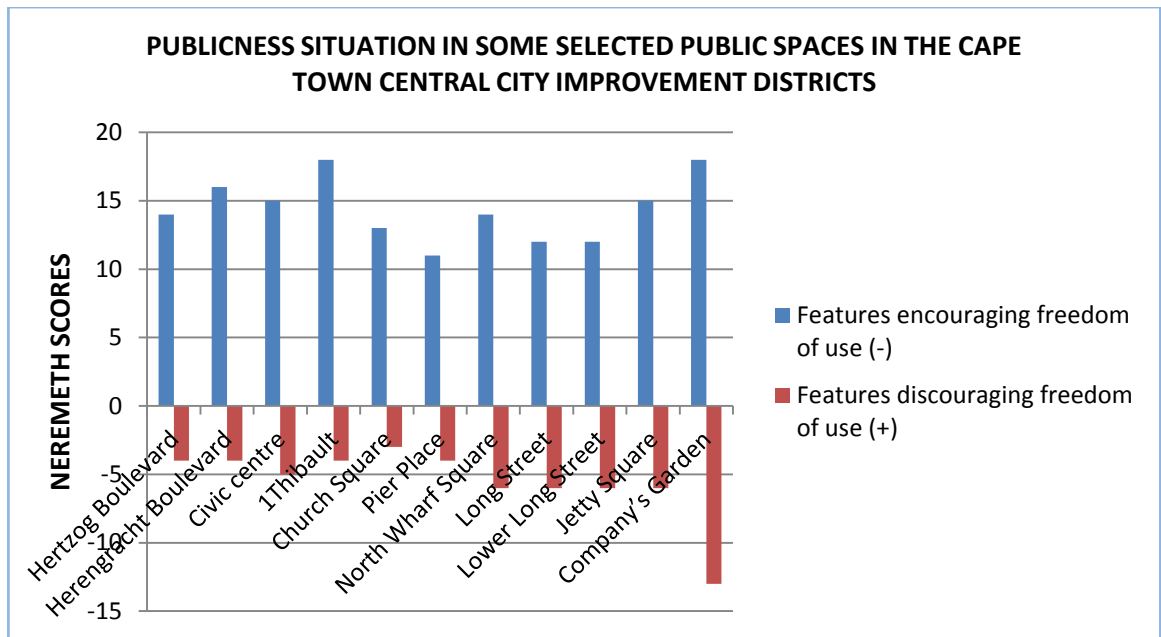
Source: Author, 2015

Graph 2: Total Score of the Publicness Situation of Some Selected Public Spaces in the Cape Town Central City Improvement Districts

Source: Author, 2015

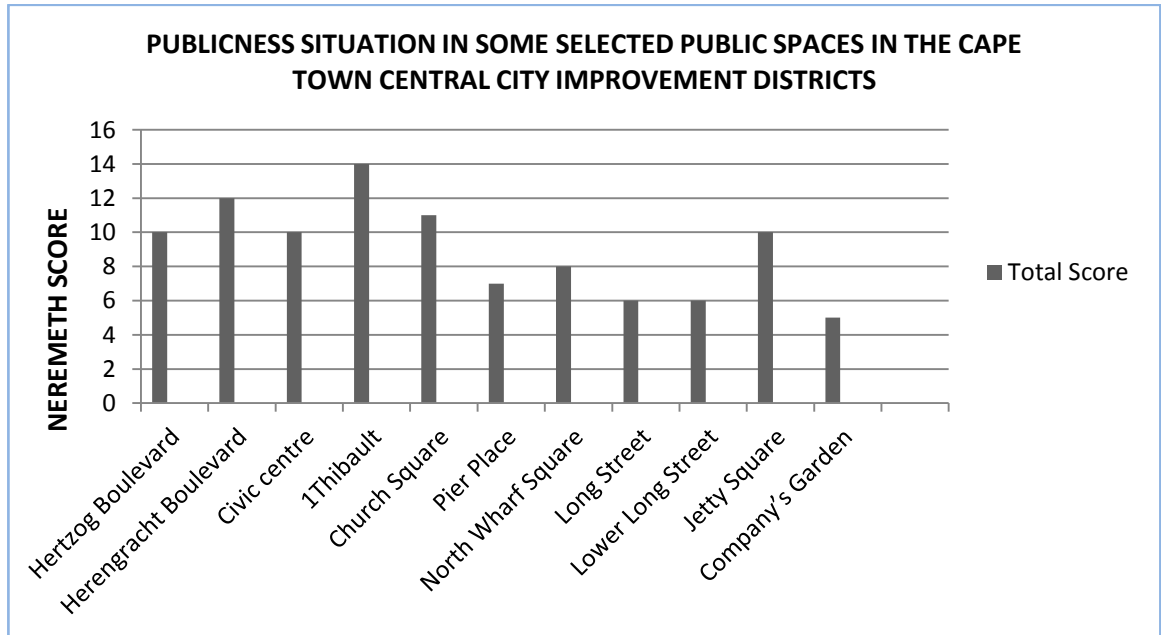## 6.4. Conclusion

The chapter began by analyzing the data secured through the interviews conducted with the selected interviewees to accomplish the first objective of the study, which was proceeded further to discuss briefly the 11 selected public spaces within the CCID, where the Németh index scoring sheet was applied to identify the characteristics, and measure their publicness. The Németh's index scoring sheet itemized and awarded marks for both features which encouraged and discouraged public freedom of the use of the selected public spaces. The next chapter which is chapter seven discusses the limitations, summary of the findings, recommendations and conclusions of the research.

CHAPTER SEVEN: LIMITATIONS, SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the limitations, summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of this study. The objectives of this research were to identify the characteristics of privatized public spaces and their implications on the socio-political and spatial landscapes of South Africa, specifically Cape Town City CBD, and to establish the factors which promote privatization of public spaces. It was hypothesized that privatization of public spaces reduces the "publicness" of public spaces, hence has a negative impact on the socio-cultural landscapes of South Africa. The data gathered were from secondary sources, questionnaire interviews with key informants and personal observation using the Németh's index scoring sheet. Conclusions drawn are based on the research findings.

7.1. Limitations to the Study

Since the researcher relied mostly on information obtained from informants, the limitation was that the information secured was based on what the respondents were willing to make available to the interviewer. Additionally, major limitations such as availability of pertinent information, time and budget constraints as well as the size of the study area dictated the narrow scope of the study. Moreover, most of the literature used was authored by Western authors. This impacted negatively on the research as most of the case studies were not easily related to the local context. For instance, owing to the challenges posed by the apartheid legacy, the CBDs of South Africa are less inhabited compared to other cities around the world which did not face such challenges. Thus, the level of sociability and inclusiveness as perceived in the international context may be different from that of South Africa.

Although the Németh's index scoring sheet served as a guide in scoring the public spaces, the researcher had to apply his discretion in some instances in scoring some of the public spaces selected within the study area, since some of the items on the score sheet were not adequately defined and practically applicable. For instance, 'entrance accessibility' an item on the score sheet is not applicable to boulevard and pedestrian walkways due to the nature of their design. More so, the day and time of collecting the data played an important role as certain days and times of the week might have a more positive or negative impact on the publicness of a space.

The researcher observed that all public spaces surveyed were animated and vibrant during lunch time and sunset compared to the morning hours, the reason being that most office workers were on lunch break and had closed from work at those times. Moreover, the researcher observed that almost all the public spaces selected attracted many users, particularly Long Street from 5: 00 pm on Friday and Saturday. In relative terms, all the public spaces were quieter since most offices do not open on Sundays, with exception of Long Street by virtue of the restaurants and cafés and its location. Also, the Company's Garden was quiet busy on Saturdays and Sundays as they attract greater number of tourist due to its abundant natural beauty, diverse heritage and culture.

7.2. Summary of the Research Objectives and Findings

Using the Németh's index scoring sheet, an interview schedule developed by the researcher, as well as review of relevant literature on the public spaces, the researcher is able to conclude whether the findings answer the four research questions. The findings are presented as follows:

7.2.1. Identified Characteristics of Privatized Public Spaces through BID Concept

A number of characteristics/features associated with privatized public spaces and their impact on the on socio-political and spatial landscapes of Cape Town, particularly the CCID were identified. These were found to include the presence of overt and oppressive controls such as: human and electronic surveillance, easily noticeable security presence, over-managed and minimum support for few people and activities, which are indications of a less publicness situation. However, other elements enhancing publicness of a space including art/ cultural/visual enhancement, diversity of seating types, lighting to encourage nighttime use, good entrance accessibility and various microclimates such trees and overhangs were identified.

In conclusion, the findings obtained through the researcher's observations with the aid of the Németh's index scoring sheet and guided by the core dimensions of public spaces (ownership, physical configuration, animation, control and civility) resonate with the characteristics and their socio-political and spatial implications on privatized public spaces, especially the CCID of Cape Town.

7.2.2. Contributory Factors to Privatization of Public Spaces

An official from the CCCID interviewed acknowledged that the need to regenerate and improve urban areas, which have fallen victim to "crime and grime", which of course lead to urban flight to other suburbs and disinvestment in an area was identified as the major contributory factor to privatization of public spaces. Hence, the BID model is identified as one of the tools that effectively combat urban brightness.

The findings given by the participant from the CCCID accomplish the research objective, since they agree with the assertions made by Uys (2007) and Peyroux (2008) regarding the factors that contribute to privatization of public spaces, particularly BIDs in South Africa.

7.2.3. Reasons Identified as to Why Government Privatize Public Spaces

The researcher found that governments often fall on the assistance of private individuals through the concept BIDs or POPs in the provision and management of public spaces due to fiscal constraints.

The findings given by all the participants accomplish the research objective. Also, the main findings underscore the reasons given by Murray (2010), Németh et al. (2011) and Nasution et al. (2012) cited in Slangen (2005) as to why governments privatize public spaces.

7.2.4. Reasons Identified as to Why Private Developers Invest In Public Spaces

The findings secured from an official from the CCCID suggest that BIDs including the CIDs in Cape Town are not private corporations. BIDs are non-profit public-private partnership organizations established for communities/private landowners who wish to enjoy municipal services of a higher level. On the contrary, Peyroux (2007) states that BIDs are a form of privatization. However, she describes them as "shadow privatization", where the management of publicly owned spaces is transferred into private. Typically, services rendered by BIDs include urban management services such as additional public safety measures, cleaning services, maintenance of infrastructure, upgrading of the environment, and social services as acknowledged by all the participants interviewed. Turan (2015) argues that private developers benefit from providing social services and security and ensuring clean environment in the sense that corporate social responsibilities, safety and clean environment attract new consumers into

their business domain, which enable them to maximize their profit. In the context of the CCID, the increased in the sales of residential properties from R115 million in 2011 to R249m in 2013 serve as evidence (CCCID Annual Report, 2014). Meanwhile POPs which are modes of privatization of public spaces provide and manage urban open spaces in exchange for density bonuses and other incentives.

In conclusion, the findings accomplish the research objectives, since they are in line with the primary objectives of BIDs outlined by Houston (1997) cited in Heimann (2007) and Dudek (2012).

7.3.   Recommendations

Surveillance and security measures such as security cameras, security personnel, as well as cleanliness and maintenance practices should not be seen as infringements on people's rights, since it is about balancing safety and the right to use public spaces. Therefore the use of such control measures and practices in contemporary public spaces should be commended as having a positive effect on the publicness of space. Nonetheless, the researcher acknowledges that extremely or overtly use of security measures and ambient designs, as well as over-maintenance and cleanliness practices could curtail the freedom of public space users, so these must be carefully regulated.

In addition, providers and managers of public space, particularly BIDs must seek to embrace the society including the poor, homeless and the destitute by involving their representatives in decision-making and policy formulation and implementation processes as they also depend on the use of public spaces for their source of livelihood. In essence, decision-making, policy formulation and implementation processes particularly within a SRA should not be the sole prerogative of the Municipal authorities, landlords and BID managers, but other public space users as well to prevent a section or group of people from being marginalized.

7.4.   Further Studies

Since there are various types of public spaces as discussed in chapter one, it is proposed that studies must be conducted into the development of a universal/standard tool or means of assessing the publicness situation pertaining to individual types of public space, as every public

space type has its own dynamics and use to avoid wider disparities with regards to public space assessment. Most of the toolkits including the Németh's index and core dimensions developed by Varna to assess the publicness nature of public spaces tend to dwell on the socio-political and spatial conditions and fail to ascertain the commercial impact on the publicness of public spaces. However according to Hall (1998) cited in Carmona et al.(2008), commerce has been one of the principal functions of public spaces in history and in the contemporary era as well. Therefore, it is recommended that future research must be done to factor commerce into the core dimensions of public space.

7.5. Conclusion

The aim of this research was identified and related to the concept of BID as adopted by the city of Cape Town. The chapter provided a summary of the research questions and findings, and recommendations were made based on the research findings regarding the measurement of the publicness of public spaces. Future research studies are suggested with the aim of improving the research into the concept of public space and governance.

City-governance cannot be undermined in urban form as far as spatial planning practices and decisions are concerned, as it contributes immensely to the development of the economy, environment as well as the health and social well-being of a community. The prime objective of the concept of BID is to provide solutions including maintenance of safety and cleanliness in cities or public spaces that are currently challenged with the issue of crime and urban decay. However, the concept, which is mainly motivated by the private sector tends to satisfy the global economic needs through the provision of tourist destinations, office and residential accommodation for multinational establishments, and more often than not neglects the poor.

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List of Annexures

Annexure 1: Interview Schedule

Introduction: I (Agyemang Fredua) am interested in learning more about your experiences with managing and operating your Improvement District.

Anonymity and confidentiality: All the information provided by you would be kept private and strictly confidential. Your participation in the interview is completely voluntary (you may withdraw participation at any point), and that in the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation, you will not incur any penalty. All the costs pertaining to this research would be incurred by the researcher. You may skip any questions that you prefer not to answer, but I would appreciate your input into your experiences and knowledge of your Improvement District, to the extent that you can respond to the questions.

1. What factors promote privatization of public spaces?

2. How did your Improvement District start up? Was it initiated by the property owners or local government? (Depending on who is being interviewed)

3. How many properties are currently within your Improvement District?(Depending on who is being interviewed)

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4. What factors promote privatization of public spaces?

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5. Why are private corporations, City Improvement District (CID) organizations involved in the public space management?

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6. Are there any conditions (social, economic) an area must meet before considering privatization of that space? **YES/NO**, if YES, provide examples.

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7. Has privatization of space been beneficial? **YES/NO**, If YES, which areas has it been beneficial: Social (crime), economic (sales), Spatial (aesthetics)?

8. What levels of services are expected of the CID organization? (Depending on who is being interviewed)

9. What top services does your CID organization provide? (Depending on who is being interviewed)

10. Are there any challenges from the public as far as privatization and management of public spaces are concerned? **YES/NO**, if YES, please provide examples.

11. How your City Improvement District (CID) organization does interacts with the City or District Management Authority. (Depending on the person being interviewed)?

Thank you very much for your time. I really appreciate all the efforts you have made in bringing this interview to successful end.

Annexure 2: Observation Schedule: Németh's Index Scoring Sheet

FEATURES ENCOURAGING FREEDOM OF USE	SCORE	INDICATORS	APPROACH
Sign announcing "public spaces"	0	None present	Laws and rules
	1	One small sign	
	2	One large sign or two or more	
At a commercial building	0	No office/commercial component	Surveillance and policing
	1	Mixed use-residential/commercial	
	2	Office/commercial component only	
Restroom available	0	None present	Design and image
	1	Available for customers only or difficult to access	
	2	Readily available to all	
Diversity of seating types	0	No seating	Design and image
	1	Only one type of stationary seat or substantial moveable seating	
	2	Two or more types of seating or substantial moveable seating	
Various microclimates	0	No sun or shade or fully exposed to wind	Design and image
	1	Some sun/shade, overhangs/shielding from wind and rain	
	2	Several distinct microclimates, extensive overhangs, trees	
Lighting to encourage night use	0	None present	Design and image
	1	One type or style of lighting	
	2	Several lighting types	
Small scale food consumption	0	None present	Design and image
	1	One basic kiosk or stand	
	2	Two or more kiosks/stands or one large take away- stand	
Art/visual enhancement	0	None present	Design and image
	1	One or two minor installation, statues or fountains	

	2	One major interactive installations; free performances	
Entrance accessibility	0	Gated or key access only and at all times	Access and territoriality
	1	One constricted entry; several entries through doors/gates	
	2	More than one entrance without gates	
Orientation accessibility	0	Not on street level or blocked off from public sidewalk	Access and territoriality
	1	Street-level but oriented away from public walkway	
	2	Visible with access off walkway (fewer than five steps)	
FEATURES DISCOURAGING OR CONTROLLING USE			
Visible sets of rules posted	0	None present	Laws and rules
	-1	One sign or posting	
	-2	Two or more signs	
Subjective rules posted	0	None present	Laws and rules
	-1	One rule visibly posted	
	-2	Two or more rules visibly posted	
In BID	0	Not in a BID	Surveillance and policing
	-1	In a BID with maintenance duties only	
	-2	In a BID with maintenance and security duties	
Security cameras	0	None present	Surveillance and policing
	-1	One stationary camera	
	-2	Two or more stationary cameras or any panning/moving cameras	
Security personnel	0	None present	Surveillance and policing
	-1	One private security guard or up to two public security	

		personnel	
	-2	Two or more private security or more than two public security personnel	
Secondary security personnel	0	None present	Surveillance and policing
	-1	One person or space oriented toward reception	
	-2	Two or more persons or one person with space oriented reception	
Design implying appropriate use	0	None present	Design and image
	-1	One medium sign or several small signs	
	-2	Several examples throughout the space	
Presence of sponsorship	0	None present	Design and image
	-1	One medium sign or several small signs	
	-2	Large sign or two or more signs	
Area of restricted use	0	None present	Access and territoriality
	-1	One small area restricted to certain members of the public	
	-2	Large area for consumers	
Constrained hours of operation	0	Open 24 hours/day, 7 days/week, most days of year	Access and territoriality
	-1	Part of space open past business hours or at weekends	
	-2	Open business hours only; portions permanently closed	

Source: Adopted from Németh, 2009; cited in Buchwach, 2012, p.29-30