THE ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS OF THE PROPOSED SMALL CRAFT HARBOUR, DURBAN: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH

KIRSTEN SCOTT

2006

Submitted in fulfillment of the academic requirements for
the degree of Masters of Science in
the School of Environmental Sciences,
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

ABSTRACT

Waterfront development has become a global phenomenon, identified by cities as an opportunity for urban renewal through the creation of a revitalised land-water interface and its associated economic benefits for the city at large. The Durban Point Development Company (DPDC), a Public-Private Partnership, recognised the potential for renewal of the Point Precinct in Durban and initiated the Point Development Framework Plan to implement regeneration of this inner city area. The Small Craft Harbour (SCH) is one of the components of the project. It aims to stimulate further financial investment in the city through the generation of an internationally competitive marina facility.

As a national legal requirement, the SCH development is required to undergo a Scoping exercise which is the initial phase of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process. During this phase the decision-making team is required to identify potentially detrimental environmental effects, capture public comment and explore a number of viable options. It is therefore a crucial phase during which the issues and concerns are deliberated and the outcomes are used to generate a set of potential options for the site. However, the initial Scoping exercise was deemed inadequate in terms of meeting the broader objectives of the Point Development and as a result, was extended. This Extended Scoping Phase aimed to generate more suitable options and included an increased network of specialists.

The research focuses on the environmental politics of this particular phase of decision-making for the proposed SCH. A number of unique factors have contributed to an exceptionally conflictual and challenging decision-making process. Unlike other waterfront developments, Durban's SCH will be located adjacent to a prime piece of beach on Durban's 'Golden Mile'. This introduces the complexities associated with the current user groups, namely a watersports fraternity as well as the general public. It is the unique location and the sheltered nature of the site which makes these activities possible. The proposals have thus been met with considerable resistance from these user groups whose current activities are threatened. For these reasons, the social and ecological aspects of the project have been brought into stark focus and have been met with much resistance from the developers who have their own economic and financial imperatives.

In the aim of applying discourse analysis as a framework to examine the environmental politics of the SCH decision-making process, the key actors, their respective discourses and the way in

which they interacted was identified as well as the underlying power relations governing these (inter)actions. To provide the foundations for these objectives, international theories relating to social order, governance, power and discourse were employed and their applicability to the South African development context was also discussed. Castells' (2000) networking logic, Allen's (2003) conceptualisations of power and Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) deliberative policy analysis formed the three core bodies of theory. The fourth was discourse analysis which functioned as a theory and as a methodology. Hajer's (1995, 2003) approach to discourse analysis was employed to interpret the interactions between the different actors in the process, using key concepts such as 'discourse coalitions' and 'story-lines'. Hajer's (1995, 2003) 'argumentative approach' is also relevant as it allows for an evaluation of the continual repositioning of various individuals around certain issues, through discourse.

The key findings of the discourse analysis revealed that the decision-making around the SCH proposal was prone to the changing rules of the network and the subsequent shifting of the positions of the actors represented by the altered configuration of discourse coalitions. This reflects the fluid nature of a network and the volatility of the power relations within. In response to this uncertainty, the actors adopted more deliberative modes of engagement, in line with Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) deliberative policy analysis, and this facilitated collaboration amongst the team, rather than resistance. Deliberation which is attuned to the continuous give and take in networks has thus proved successful in facilitating decision-making between conflicting interest groups. In South Africa where the overarching policy objective is democratic transformation, the merits of deliberation become starkly apparent. Locally, by incorporating deliberative modes of operation into the policies and practice of the eThekwini Municipality, Durban would benefit from the same levels of good governance practiced by some international policy communities.

A discourse analysis of the Scoping Process of the proposed SCH has provided insight into the power relations and decision-making practices of the eThekwini Municipality as a whole, serving to highlight the environmental politics which so often surrounds high-profile urban developments. International theories relating to effective governance have proved applicable to the South African developmental context and may serve to guide local and national decision-making processes.

PREFACE

The research described in this dissertation was carried out in the School of Environmental Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, from July 2004 to January 2006 under the supervision of Mrs. Cathy Oelofse.

These studies represent original work by the author and have not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any tertiary institution. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

KScott

K. SCOTT

13 APRIL 2006

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION   1

2. GOVERNANCE, POWER AND DISCOURSES IN THE NETWORK
SOCIETY   10

3. WATERFRONTS AS A NEW FORM OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT   51

6. AN EXPLORATION OF THE DOMINANT DISCOURSES 141

7. THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF THE PROCESS — 202

8. CONCLUSION — 232

REFERENCES — 242

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PLATES

LIST OF APPENDICES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

DAEA	Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs (KwaZulu-Natal)
DPDC	Durban Point Development Company
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
LTDF	Long Term Development Framework
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPA	National Ports Authority
PDFP	Point Development Framework Plan
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
SCH	Small Craft Harbour
ToR	Terms of Reference

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

As development trends in South Africa reflect, waterfront development is not a new phenomenon. These redevelopment projects were initiated in North American port cities in the 1970s and 1980s to curb urban decay which was a result of global advances in maritime technology and the associated migration of port activities elsewhere (Jones, 1998; Hoyle, 2002). This heralded the rise in a new trend in urban development across the globe as many other port cities in Europe, Australia and Africa adopted their blueprint for waterfront development (Jones, 1998). The study of the phenomenon of waterfront development is therefore entrenched in global and local bodies of urban literature. The volumes of case studies concur that these processes are challenged by a multiplicity of agendas and thus it is the task of such decision-making processes to disentangle these complicated sets of relations. Although each project is context specific, a common thread emerging from the theory is the significance of the political process and the bearing it has on the outcome. Participatory and thus democratic processes are favoured and moreover, their benefits have been proven in terms of facilitating streamlined and effective development processes (Bassett *et al.* 2002). How these waterfront processes are managed is a key reflection of the modes of governance in operation and the underlying political arrangements in a city.

The proposed Small Craft Harbour (SCH) has been chosen as the case study through which these contemporary modes of governance can be explored. The SCH is the third component of a major flagship development within the eThekwini Municipality, the Point Development, and is thus proposed to play a key role in the regeneration of the broader Point area as well as the CBD of Durban. The development process is framed by elements of local government developmental agendas, private investment goals, as well as the current environmental and planning regulatory regime within South Africa. In terms of the policies and practices of local government, the eThekwini Municipality is mandated to employ a proactive stance towards development, which is often only made possible through the forging of Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) (Nel *et al.* 2003; Moodley, 2004). The eThekwini Municipality has therefore identified the Point as a strategic node or flagship project which will play an important role in facilitating urban renewal and stimulating economic growth, with positive consequences for fulfilling other City

objectives. As a result, the City has entered into partnership with a private company, Rocpoint, to facilitate the development of this flagship project. Furthermore, Moreland Developments has been contracted as the developing agent, introducing another set of interests into the development process and contributing to a complicated set of arrangements underpinning the decision-making forum.

In terms of the environmental regulatory regime framing the development, national legislation has defined the boundaries of this specific case study. Because it is the environmental politics in the City which is under investigation, a specific phase within the process has been chosen as a snapshot to represent this. The Scoping Phase, which precedes the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of any development identified to have potential impacts on the environment, has been extended in the case of the SCH as a result of its initial failure to address the issue of potential alternatives for the development. This specific Extended Scoping Phase has thus been explored in an attempt to uncover the underlying politics and power struggles which frame the way in which decisions are made in the city.

To explore why the SCH development was characterised by such a complex and politically charged development process, some of the unique conditions need to be detailed. There are several factors which are responsible for this, the first being related to institutional arrangements. In terms of waterfront development projects in South Africa, decision-making currently falls within the realms of national planning and environmental legal procedures and furthermore waterfront developments are likely to be under the jurisdiction of the National Ports Authority (NPA). The proposed site for development is not part of the inner port but is located adjacent to a beach and flanked by the northern harbour entrance breakwater. As such, it is not owned by the NPA, but largely belongs to a private landowner Rocpoint Development Company. In addition, the local government, the eThekwini Municipality or previously Durban City Council had identified the value of the site during the 1980s in terms of its ability to serve as a project which would satisfy broader city imperatives. It was only in the 1990s that Rocpoint and the eThekwini Municipality collaborated to form the Durban Point Development Company (DPDC) which is the primary stakeholder of the broader Point Development (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004). The DPDC appointed Moreland Developments as the Developing Agent to draft a development plan and implement it. As such the Point Development Framework Plan (PDFP) was therefore established as the masterplan for the area (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004). The SCH has been identified as the third component of this initiative to revitalise the Point. Inherent tensions therefore stem from the

dual role of the Municipality, as a stakeholder (as the developer) and as a regulator (as the local authority), as well as their previous relations with Moreland, which both had potential to influence the process.

The second distinct condition pertaining to the proposed SCH is the location of the site. The site is comprised of a beach and therefore not characteristic of a conventional waterfront development within a derelict port zone. Despite the Point Precinct previously having ties with the harbour and therefore also suffering from creeping decay in the wake of port migrations, the beach and sea interface has remained a vibrant urban space. In terms of the environmental decision-making process, this has resulted in immense opposition to the project, relating to the threat of relocation and loss of public access and amenity. Careful management of such a political process is thus underscored by the emerging trends in international waterfront development literature which identify governance as a critical component thereof.

The third factor which has set the SCH process apart is the evolution of the environmental decision-making process. As part of national environmental legislation, the Environmental Conservation Act (Act No. 73 of 1989) stipulates that the development is required to undergo a detailed Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) to determine the potential impacts of the development as well as to capture the concerns of the public (South Africa, 1989). The Scoping Phase was to precede the EIA and is required to address the issue of alternatives for the site. The representatives of the eThekwini Municipality believed this phase had failed with regard to the latter because the options did not satisfy the broader imperatives of the City and thus they requested that the Scoping Phase be extended with the addition of a team of specialist consultants (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a). The action of extending the Scoping Phase is unusual in EIA practice and as such presents a decision-making environment outside mainline procedure (Scott and Oelofse, 2005).

It is this environmental politics of the Extended Scoping Phase which provides the basis for the study and which reflects the interplay between the Municipality, Moreland as the Developing Agent, and the stakeholders as the three primary agents debating the proposal.

In the aim of introducing the study, this chapter comprises three sections. The first section provides an outline of the rationale and thus the motivation for undertaking this particular line of research. The second section outlines the specific aim of the study and lists the objectives

designed to achieve this. Lastly, the structure of the thesis is outlined, detailing the content of the subsequent chapters.

1.2 Rationale

Since qualitative research is quintessentially based on the art of interpretation, it should be the aim of any such study to seek innovative and progressive means of interpreting a contemporary problem. It is intended that this project satisfies both criteria through using discourse analysis as the means of interpretation and applying this to the environmental politics of the decision-making process of the proposed SCH in Durban, as the case study.

To motivate for the choice of case study – Durban's proposed SCH - Bassett *et al*'s (2002:1758) view on waterfront development sheds some light on the value of such projects:

> "...large-scale [waterfront] regeneration projects are not only intrinsically interesting, but the conflicts that surround them also serve to illuminate many aspects of local systems of governance, such as local power structures, political agendas and forms of decision-making".

It is the intention that the proposed SCH which is imbedded in local policy and practice but unique in the configuration of elements such as its institutional arrangements, location, associated stakeholder groups and procedure (extension of the Scoping Phase), provides a lens to the broader political context of the eThekwini Municipality. The SCH, as part of one of the major developments in Durban at present, has been identified by the Municipality, which has some of the most progressive local policies in the country, in terms of its ability to fuel economic growth in the CBD with a range of positive socio-economic outcomes for the broader municipality (Moodley, 2004). In addition, it signifies the nexus between the City objectives and the Developer's imperatives which are played out in an environmental decision-making arena. The proposed SCH process, set against a backdrop of contrasting agendas and inherent tensions is therefore a highly politicised and contentious development. It is therefore anticipated that a study of the environmental politics will serve to depict the way in which these groups interact, thus illuminating the way in which power is exercised in the city. Not only has the SCH been chosen as its ability to act as a lens to the politics within the city, but its unique beachfront location and associated recreational user groups makes it the only development of its kind in South Africa and probably the world.

Secondly, to justify the application of discourse analysis as a tool used in qualitative inquiry, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of its merits. Discourse analysis has been described by Maarten Hajer (2003:103), a Dutch political scientist, as a conceptual tool which can be used to "disentangle policy conflicts". He has employed an ensemble of concepts relating to the different layers of meaning underpinning the arguments used by actors in policy arenas, to uncover their often conflicting understandings of reality. Hajer (1995) has largely applied this specific approach to discourse analysis to the field of environmental politics and this lends relevance to the case study of the proposed SCH, which is hinged on the outcome of an environmental decision-making process. Of particular significance to this study, is Hajer's (1995; 2003) 'argumentative approach', which provides the framework through which the deliberative nature of exchanges between actors can be examined. This is an emerging field of study, since the flexible and relational nature of such decision-making arenas is a new trend and is a response to recent social restructuring and associated modes of governance (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis as a tool of deliberative policy analysis which is applied to environmental conflicts in contemporary societies, is therefore an appropriate methodology which can be applied to understand the decision-making process of the SCH.

It is the intention that discourse analysis as a language based approach to qualitative inquiry, will serve as an effective tool by providing a comprehensive, and hopefully stimulating, interpretation of the decision-making process of the proposed SCH development. In addition, this study endeavors to provide an overview of the current environment and development practices in operation in the eThekwini Municipality at present and how these are affected by the political milieu.

1.3 Aims and objectives

The aim of this research is to apply discourse analysis as a framework through which the environmental politics of the Small Craft Harbour decision-making process, Durban, can be examined.

To achieve this aim, several objectives have been designed to guide the research process. The objectives represent key aspects of the research and are specifically fashioned to align with the methodology, as well as the specific theoretical framework which has been applied. They are as follows:

1. To describe the environmental decision-making process of the Scoping Phase of the Small Craft Harbour.

2. To identify key actors / agents involved in the decision-making process.

3. To identify the dominant discourses which the various actors / agents adopt and exercise.

4. To determine how these discourses engage with one another and how this shapes the resultant outcome of the Scoping process

5. To examine what gives certain discourses, and hence certain actors, more power than others.

6. To apply global theories of environmental discourse and power to a decision-making process within the South African environment and development context.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the research, outlining the rationale which has motivated for the study, the specific aims and objectives of the research and an outline of the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 provide the theoretical framework for the study. Chapter 2 provides theory relating to governance and political processes and is threefold. Firstly, the context is set through an examination of global social order in terms of Castells (2000) theories on the 'network society'. This applies a networking logic to the functioning of society, illustrating the operation of actors and institutions through a fluid web of interconnections. As a product of this system which is in flux and thus entrenched in uncertainty, more flexible mechanisms of governance based on a less rigid approach to decision-making have emerged (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). With no pre-given rules to guide practices, actors have commonly had to adapt to this ad hoc environment which often leads to unexpected outcomes. 'Deliberative governance' is one of these emerging modes of governance and involves a more collaborative and democratic means of decision-making (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a).

The second body of theory in Chapter 2 relates to the operation of power in such policy arenas. Power is particularly relevant to political decision-making processes as the outcomes of negotiations often rely on the power relations between actors. Since language both expresses and constitutes power, it is important to illustrate how it can be drawn on by actors in different ways to further their own interests. Since power is a medium which underpins all relations, the networking logic illustrates the state of flux of power and provides an understanding of how power operates in and through the actors (Allen, 2003).

The final section of Chapter 2 provides the theoretical basis from which to examine the role of discourse in shaping the interactions of actors in a decision-making process. Hajer's (1995; 2003) 'argumentative approach' is particularly relevant as it examines the role of interpretation in the establishment of identities and thus depicts how actors position themselves around specific policy problems. It reveals how arguments are played out on the basis of these conflicting frames of reference. Hajer's (1995; 2003) discourse analysis which is based on concepts such as 'story-lines' and 'discourse coalitions', aims to examine these interactions between actors and thus acts as a tool for deliberative policy analysis. It provides both a core element of the theoretical framework as well as the methodology (as discussed in Chapter 5) in order to facilitate an understanding of the interactions within and the outcomes of such processes. Together, these three interrelated sections of theory provide the contemporary political context of the research and specifically aim to depict how discourse underpins the actions that govern such political processes.

Chapter 3 specifically situates the case study of Durban's proposed SCH within the broader body of literature pertaining to waterfront development. The literature highlights some of the global trends that have emerged in relation to the different facets of such developments. As such, the chapter is structured to map the emergence of this new phenomenon which is predominantly motivated by urban renewal, followed by an outline of the economic, social, ecological and political trends in waterfront development by way of case studies. The relevance of this theory lies in the way it illustrates the trends in terms of challenges and benefits of such developments despite the diverse array of international contexts. The case studies thus provide useful lessons for such developments particularly in terms of governance, as well as reassuring that the conflict experienced in Durban's SCH decision-making process is not out of line with global experience.

Chapter 4 outlines the context of the research in terms of local government policy as well as the national environmental legislation which both frame the development. The evolution of the economy of Durban to its current state, as well as the mapping of socio-economic disparities resulting from the apartheid regime, both provide some background to the city. The current developmental climate of the eThekwini Municipality is rooted in the current city strategy which has adopted an integrated approach to development and this is outlined in some detail. The SCH is also reviewed in terms of the national environmental legislation which is guiding the development process. An EIA study which is to be preceded by a Scoping Phase as the particular statutory requirement is the specific process under examination and the extension thereof is the focus of this research. This chapter therefore culminates with a detailed description of this Extended Scoping Phase.

Chapter 5 provides an outline of the methodological approach used to achieve the desired aims and objectives of the research. Discourse analysis was deemed most relevant as it adopts a language based approach to qualitative inquiry which is central to an examination of the decision-making process. In addition, Hajer's (1995; 2003) 'argumentative approach' was particularly applicable to an analysis of the process as it provided a framework through which the active positioning and repositioning of the actors around issues could be examined. This approach was made possible by the active attendance of the researcher in most of the meetings which provided the first set of primary data, the second set being a host of interviews with key roleplayers. Two key documents, a local government policy and a development plan for the Point Precinct provided additional primary data which were also used in the discourse analysis. Key theories and concepts developed in Chapters 2 and 3 were applied to the results in the analysis to provide the foundations upon which the arguments were based. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the possible limitations of the study.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 provide a discussion of the results of the discourse analysis. Chapter 6 is structured according to the different key concepts used in Hajer's (1995; 2003) approach to discourse analysis which include epistemic notions, story-lines, policy vocabularies and discourse coalitions. The main body of the analysis was structured by the discourse coalitions which were identified and served as subsections under which the story-lines and policy vocabularies were interpreted. This format was used to discuss the key issues and arguments which emerged during the process and provided a synopsis of the configuration of the actors into these various coalitions and how they shifted throughout the process. The language used reflected the way in which various problems were interpreted and thus how the actors positioned

themselves in response to other arguments, and in addition depicting how they used power to further their own interests. Both the waterfront literature and the theory relating to political processes and power were critically applied to interpretations of reality which underpinned the dialogues which were exchanged as well as the views which were portrayed during the interviews, and thus provided the foundation for discourse analysis.

Chapter 7 applies theory relating to contemporary governance and associated political processes to the case study of the SCH. The chapter commences with an examination of the political conditions which underpinned the debates. These largely relate to the different agendas involved and thus discourse theory is applied. Secondly, the dynamics of the process is outlined and Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) theories relating to flexible governance as well as the role of power as a medium in shaping these interactions provide the foundations of the argument. Lastly, deliberation as an emerging feature of contemporary governance provides the theoretical basis for a particular turning point in the process where the actors sought to collaborate rather than commence with their struggle for discursive hegemony. Deliberative policy analysis is thus critically applied to the SCH case study and reflects the search for a positive-sum scenario. This chapter therefore focuses on an interpretation of the process using theories relating to contemporary social structures and associated practices of governance.

The thesis is concluded in Chapter 8. A summary of the key findings and discourse analysis, as the method used to achieve these, are presented with reference to the implications they hold for the practices of the eThekwini Municipality.

CHAPTER 2:

GOVERNANCE, POWER AND DISCOURSES IN THE NETWORK SOCIETY

2.1 Introduction

Waterfront developments as key flagship projects in cities are usually highly contentious and politicised, characterising power struggles between different parties to secure their own respective interests. The primary focus of this chapter is therefore to examine how power is exercised in deliberative decision-making processes and how this subsequently shapes how decisions are made. To provide the social context within which this power is seen to be operating, associated bodies of theory relating to contemporary environmental politics and society will be explored. Due to the host of competing interests and interpretations of environmental problems, discourse analysis functions as a key body of theory and as a methodological tool in understanding the (inter)actions of the various parties and seeks to explain how and why such processes evolve as they do.

The theory is threefold and is structured as follows: the first two bodies of theory comprise the conceptual framework within which the case study is contextualised, whilst the last body of theory provides the theoretical and methodological approach adopted. The first conceptual body of theory involves a synopsis of global social order in terms of Castells' (2000) theories on the network society. His theory is founded on the basis that all actors, institutions and government bodies operate and exchange resources or information through a web of connections. As a response to this fluid network of connections and in light of the uncertainty pertaining to this society, more flexible modes of governance have emerged. These new practices occur in what Hajer (2004) refers to as an environment of 'institutional ambiguity', a space where decisions are to be made with no pre-given rules to guide the course of action, giving rise to an ad hoc process with an unpredictable outcome. More specifically 'deliberative governance' has emerged, which focuses on a more inclusive, democratic, collaborative way of negotiating policy problems (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a).

Since all social interactions are underpinned by power, it is the key medium which shapes how decisions are made within an environmental policy arena. This second body of theory relating to power is central to an analysis of a decision-making process and therefore it has been afforded a strong focus within the theoretical framework. The core of this body of theory is based on the work by Allen (2003) and aims to show how power underpins all social interactions and is

therefore a key force shaping the decisions made within an environmental policy arena. This sheds light on why and how the actors engage as they do. Language is explored as both a means to express and constitute power and as a result, is a key element relating to the exercise of power in policy arenas. This reinforces the application of discourse analysis for this study.

Lastly, it is necessary to look at the theory relating to the notion of 'discourse' in more detail and to employ Hajer's (1995; 2003) 'argumentative approach', which uses interpretation as the basis upon which identities are established, illustrating how actors position themselves around specific policy problems and how they negotiate or dominate outcomes. This approach demonstrates how the various discourses struggle to dominate policy arenas and how such conflicts are played out. Hajer (1995; 2003) uses concepts such as 'story-lines' and 'discourse coalitions', as a means to analyse the interactions between actors. Discourse analysis is therefore a tool for deliberative policy analysis which motivates for its use as the theory as well as the methodology applied to this particular environmental decision-making process. As a theory, it facilitates an understanding of why actors adopt different or similar positions and how this shapes their interactions, whilst as the methodological approach, it provides the framework for analysis in this research.

These three core bodies of literature attempt to provide the theoretical foundations for a discourse analysis of the South African case study of Durban's proposed Small Craft Harbour (SCH). Although the theories are rooted in a broad range of disciplines, and are primarily founded upon an international perspective, they propose to apply current global trends to the South African environment and development context.

2.2 Social order and governance

2.2.1 The network society

To fully appreciate the environmental and political context of the case study, it is essential to examine the way in which global societies are currently ordered. Towards the end of the twentieth century, global economies have experienced a major upheaval, commonly referred to as the 'technological revolution' (Castells, 2000). Technological and economic changes have transformed the world into a very different and complex place whereby all the interactions and exchanges can be seen as interrelated. The 'information technology paradigm' has been characterised by the spread of technological innovation and the associated restructuring of

economic systems as well as historical and social transformation. As a result, a new way of "producing, communication, managing and living" has emerged (Castells, 2000:5).

Castells (2000:77) refers to this new economy as "informational, global and networked". 'Informational' because knowledge-based information is the fundamental unit of productivity and generates competition between economic agents (Castells, 2000). 'Global' because organisation of these activities of production, consumption and circulation (as well as their components such as capital, labour, raw materials, management, information, technology and markets) occurs at the global level (Castells, 2000). And lastly, society is 'networked' because these interactions between agents occur in a global network where direct linkages are not essential and communications may occur through a succession of intermediaries (Castells, 2000). In other words, this network of nodes scattered across the globe, be they organisations, businesses, markets, state departments or individuals are linked through systems of communication, information or transportation technologies which present channels and opportunities for relations (Castells, 2000).

The network is conceptually composed of a 'web of multiple networks' which are specifically organised around various cultural and institutional contexts. Agents or organisations may participate in a variety of networks, depending on their associated 'products, processes and countries' (Castells, 2000). 'The network' is therefore the unit of economic organisation comprising the linkages between the various agents and is continuously shifting as "networks adapt to supportive environments and market structures" (Castells, 2000:214). This 'networking logic' indicates a strong ability to adapt to the increasing complexity of interaction and to the ensuing unpredictable patterns of development (Castells, 2000). This logic is necessary to "structure the unstructured whilst preserving flexibility, since the unstructured is the driving force in human agency" (Castells, 2000:70). This flexibility allows processes to be reversed as well as institutions or organisations to be reconfigured. However, although organisational fluidity may be favourable, this notion of flexibility has received criticism as it may be a repressive force "if the writers of the rules are not the powers that be" and this warns that networks may be sites of exclusion where powers operate (Castells, 2000:71). The implications of power operating in a network will be discussed in Section 2.3 below.

These 'non-linear' interactions between agents within the network have also been related to 'chaos theory', which focuses on the notion of 'complexity' (Castells, 2000). This theory is based on "the emergence of self-organising structures that create complexity out of simplicity

and superior order out of chaos, through several orders of interactivity between the basic elements at the origin of the process" (Castells, 2000:74). Thus this theory seeks to enhance our understanding of diversity whilst accepting the thinking that nature and society are inherently self-organising. Castells (2000:74) acknowledges that despite this characteristic, there are rules nevertheless, and these "rules are created, and changed, in a relentless process of deliberate actions and unique interactions". In the case of the eThekwini Municipality, it is these 'rules of the game', the actors that enforce them, and the power which underpins them, that this study of the SCH intends to highlight.

Of particular relevance in this network of flows is the way in which these interactions reflect how society has been restructured. Castells (2000) refers to this new era in which wealth, power and images flow across the globe, as a troubled and confused time for societies. Many of the trends associated with this new social order are particularly apparent in high-profile development projects where decision-making structures have become exposed to new challenges. Not only have local political structures been undermined by uncertainty in terms of legitimacy and leadership but they are dependant on media opinion and have become increasingly distanciated from the public (Castells, 2000). Similarly organisations have been restructured and institutions delegitimised. Whilst on the ground level, major social organisations are disappearing and those that remain are disjointed, locally based or only responsive to single issues or topical media symbols (Castells, 2000). People seeking security and collective mobilisation therefore tend to align themselves to a primary identity such as a religious, ethnic, territorial or national group, and thus "the search for identity, collective or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning" (Castells, 2000:3). Municipalities in South Africa, and particularly the eThekwini Municipality, where transformation and development is occurring at an alarming rate, social and physical restructuring has often brought into question the identity of its residents.

Meaning becomes ordered around "what people are, or believe they are" whether it be ascribed, entrenched in history or geography, or newly devised in their search for spirituality (Castells, 2000:22). Therefore Castells affirms that identity is the 'organising principle' within such societies, and identity embodies the process by which "a social actor recognises itself and constructs meaning primarily on the basis of a given cultural attribute or set of attributes, to the exclusion of a broader reference to other social structures" (Castells, 2000:22). He clarifies this assertion by noting that by assuming an identity, an individual still has the capacity to relate to other identities whilst not necessarily having to assign the whole society to one identity, instead

social relationships are defined in relation to one other on the basis of those cultural attributes that signify identity (Castells, 2000). Therefore since the network signifies a new social order, grounded in a complex web of interrelationships, it provides the site as well as the impetus for a re-organisation of meaning and identity for individuals. In waterfront developments specifically, literature has indicated that the interplay of different actors each representing their own specific identity and ascribing different meaning to the locale, facilitates the creation of new interpretations, and thus shapes the process itself.

The flexible nature of networks to adapt to the changing configurations of actors can be demonstrated when individuals actively enroll themselves in a specific network in response to a problem or issue which directly effects them. Hajer (2003) asserts that actors live within their own individual networks that span 'territorially defined boundaries', failing to seek representation in the sphere of formal politics in the location where they reside. It is only upon the proclamation of a policy intervention that this 'apparent political indifference' is changed overnight (Hajer, 2003). It can therefore be asserted that "[i]n a network society it is policy-making that creates a sense of community and triggers meaningful political participation" (Hajer, 2003:89). But apart from the ability of actors to consciously select the degree of their involvement, it is the networks themselves that "selectively switch on and off individuals, groups, regions, and even countries, according to their relevance in fulfilling the goals and processes in the networks, in a relentless flow of strategic decisions" (Castells, 2000:3). In terms of a policy process and employing the example of the development of a flagship project with its cross-cutting arrangement of actor involvement, these networks can therefore be seen to provide the social relations and rules, which either facilitate or limit change, by allowing certain actors, and certain ideas, into the process while excluding others (Bulkeley, 2000). In a society which hosts a complex set of interrelationships between actors and in an age of uncertainty where meaning and identity structure society, traditional linear structures are no longer appropriate modes of decision-making and new arenas to accommodate this conceptually networked society will facilitate interaction and interpretation, providing more viable grounds for problem solving.

2.2.2 Governance

In response to the complexities of the network society in which traditional government is required to operate today, new flexible structures and processes have emerged which are able to deal with the wider range of actors and organisations and accommodate the intricate web of interactions that occur in the process of policy-making. These new ad hoc political systems can

be seen as a reaction to an 'implementation deficit', whereby standard state structures are no longer capable of delivering change in line with global processes (Jordan, 1999 and Knill and Lenshaw, 2000, cited in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). The growing dissatisfaction with this conventional system of hierarchical decision-making institutions called for a democratisation of practice whereby the process required opening up to the intervention of a host of other agents linked in terms of the network society. These include agents such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), private businesses, voluntary organisations, as well as individuals. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) affirm that governments see the relationship between interaction, co-operation and outcomes and therefore governance has become the concept representing the interplay between this complexity of new actors within the existing framework of conventional government structures. Goodwin (1999) highlights two key questions which aid interpretation of any particular mechanism of governance. These are the purpose of the new mechanisms - how and why the particular agencies were brought together and what their interests and rationales are, as well as the effectiveness of the various agencies involved at working together – how does each blend its particular discourses and capabilities with others. Therefore in the decision-making process of any large scale development it is crucial to observe the interactions between key agencies to seek clarity on the outcome that was negotiated.

Since these alternative modes of governance seemingly have no predetermined rules, it is difficult to outline on what grounds they were founded, similarly how they will or should develop. Hajer (2004:3) defines 'institutional ambiguity' as "a situation where there is no 'constitution' that predetermines where and how a legitimate decision is to be taken". 'Institutional ambiguity' is therefore related to the fact that these forms of governance have no pre-established arena or rules which structure or guide the decision-making process, therefore requiring the process itself to recognise and lay down these rules (Hajer, 2004).

However, these processes of decision-making do not exist in a social vacuum. As already mentioned, these flexible forms of collaboration occur at the margins of existing institutional practices and the state remains a key actor within decision-making processes. This is an important point to heed when considering how discourses emerge; these institutional arrangements are fundamental preconditions of discourse-formation (Hajer, 1995). And as Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) believe, it is between the institutional layers of the state as well as between state institutions and societal organisations that these new political practices are being implemented. Thus the move away from formal political institutions towards the edges of organisational activity, negotiations between authorities and inter-organisational networks blurs

the boundary between the public and private (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). It is the diverse group of actors that operate within these networks that find "nascent points of solidarity in the joint realisation that they need one another to craft effective political agreements" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a:3). Using the case study as an example, by extending the scoping phase of development, actors were required to add value to the process within the existing legal requirements. The negotiations between the key interest groups were based on an acknowledgement of the legal guidelines, however, their course of action and terms of reference was a product of their own engagement and not predetermined by any institution.

In response to the nature of the relationship between actors within these new spaces for constructive engagement and particularly in response to environmental conflicts, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) have turned to an approach they refer to as deliberative policy analysis.

2.2.3 Deliberative policy analysis

Deliberative policy analysis is a field of study based on the inadequacies of formal linear modes of decision-making and focuses on the emerging arena accommodating open and inclusive policy negotiations. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003b:xiv) sketch the basic outline of deliberative policy analysis as a:

> "...policy analysis that is interpretive, pragmatic and deliberative is both practically and philosophically attuned to the continuous give and take in networks of actors that, as a result of the changing political topography, have sprung up around concrete social and political issues".

Innes and Booher (2003) expand on this point by recognising that actors must both compete *and* co-operate to produce sustainable results from the negotiation. In other words, political decision-making processes rely on the premise that the involved participants realise that they are required to collaborate and jointly seek solutions or a way forward. On behalf of the actors, this will to co-operate stems from the acknowledgment that they are interdependent on the basis that they either share the same physical space or are confronted with the same social or environmental problems (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). Historically, stakeholders have engaged in a very different manner, they have been:

> "...accustomed to concealing their interests and engaging in positional bargaining rather than a discursive inquiry and speculative discussion or interest-based bargaining, [t]hey tune out those with whom they assume they disagree rather than explore for common ground" (Innes and Booher, 2003:37).

Innes and Booher (2003) have termed this new form of mutual exchange as 'authentic dialogue'. Collaboration therefore requires the actors to recognise the fine balance required between co-operating to find an agreed solution and arguing for their own particular interests in the context of their own specific frame or discourse. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:23) have captured the essence of contemporary policy making:

> "Such deliberation, as will now be obvious, should not be confused with the kind of systematic, principled reasoning of traditional moral philosophy. Rather, deliberative judgment emerges through collective, interactive discourse. As we saw above, telling stories and reacting to each other's stories in situations of collective action does a lot of the work of practical judgment (Forester, 1999 and Wagenaar, 1997). As a result, practical judgment is not a one-shot affair, but on the contrary evolves slowly, often tentatively and haltingly, through mutual inquiry and mutual discourse with others".

In addition to deliberation and discourse, Hajer (2004) has proposed a more complex dimension of policy analysis which employs performance as a means to capture meaning over and above traditional means of analysis, namely dramaturgy. This dimension "considers politics as 'performance', as a sequence of staged events in which actors interactively decide on how to move on" and thus substantiates the way policy processes has often been referred to as an interactive 'game' (Hajer, 2004:7). The policy process is referred to as a 'staged', 'mutual creation', a performance during which actors co-negotiate the rules of the process, how reality is defined, what temporal-spatial frame is suitable and what constitutes legitimate intervention (Hajer, 2004). Of particular relevance is how performance can be said to "produce social realities like understandings of the problems at hand, knowledge and new power relations" (Hajer, 2004:11). Performance is particularly prevalent in shaping a process when the setting is characteristic of institutional ambiguity. In these situations actors attempt to convey meaning through active story-telling; 'stories of experience', 'stories of expertise' and 'stories of governance' (Hajer, 2004). Often the different underlying beliefs and a lack of mutual trust between parties complicate these interactions. The actors are required to define how they are going to resolve the conflict in a way that generates trust in both themselves and the process (Hajer, 2004). These challenges are particularly evident in major strategic developments where the developer's interests are pitted against that of the public authority, this often equates to significant distrust which in turn is detrimental to an effective process.

Dryzek (1997), Fischer (2003) and Yanow (2003) affirm that the root of effective political decision-making lies in democracy. It has been acknowledged that the fundamental aim of

democratic participation is to contest the validity of opposing arguments with a view to arriving at a shared understanding (Habermas, 1987, cited in Jacobs, 1999). Fischer (2003) states that citizens can be empowered within these new spaces for decision-making because they facilitate participation and active engagement of citizens through 'mutual exploration'. When a consensus emerges, Fischer (2003) believes it is on the basis of the practical judgment of the community of researchers in contrast to the data itself and this calls for an examination of the different interpretations of reality underpinning the decision. Discourse analysis is thus the obvious method which can be employed to unpack the different layers of meaning and interpretations of the actors engaging in a policy process.

To elaborate on this issue of democracy, Yanow (2003) highlights the central role of local knowledge and reveals how this 'knowledge-based frame' empowers citizens by crossing cultural divides and promoting democracy. Similarly, Gottweis (2003:246) likens this space for deliberation to "new institutional platforms for the public negotiation of policy problems", through which all stakeholders and citizens are afforded the opportunity to participate, and hence are empowered. This new deliberative space within institutions provides the sites for disputes between these "different cognitive worlds" (Gottweis, 2003:264). Previously scientific or technical knowledge has been used to advance the political process to a stage where an informed decision will draw a conclusion. In contrast, deliberative processes facilitate negotiation between the opposing fields of social science and technical expertise, allowing the public to examine their own interests through meaningful interactions. To employ a simple example, evidence from the narrow disciplines of engineering, economic forecasting or marine biology may validate a decision to go ahead with a particular project or policy decision. Being public problems, social issues such as exclusion, displacement or job creation may come into question and the only way in which democratic and balanced decisions can be made is if these diverse groups interact and communicate their particular concerns and interpretations of both the problems and the solutions. Dryzek (1982, cited in Fischer 2003:225) relates these interactions to a conversation in which the horizons of both citizens and social scientists are extended through mutual dialogue. In light of this, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:16) have identified deliberation as one of the three pillars of modern democracy and therefore a critical mode of governance.

A desirable policy process will therefore seek to incorporate the views of the various interests by facilitating an inclusive process of democratic deliberation and mutual learning. By providing this space for interaction and interpretation, practical deliberation focuses on the

competing understandings of a particular problem and brings the context of each of the actors under examination (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a).

However, as will be detailed in Section 2.4.2, Hajer (1995) uses concepts such as discourse coalitions and story-lines to illustrate how verbal strategies are employed to co-opt other actors into supporting a specific discourse. Furthermore, terms such as 'discourse structuration' and 'discourse institutionalisation' serve to reflect the way in which these discourses may become entrenched. The degree to which this becomes entrenched is dependent on the capacity of the actors to exercise power. This has negative implications for decision-making processes as this fixing of positions may limit the extent of the deliberation, thus undermining the open and flexible nature of the interactions.

It is perhaps relevant to return to the broader framework underpinning social interactions, the entity that binds and reproduces the actions of the various agents within the network; power. Power is a medium produced in and through social action and is key in understanding how outcomes in policy arenas are achieved. Through an analysis of power, the network of interactions embodying the decision-making process of the SCH can be examined.

2.3 Power

Since power is the relational effect of social interaction (Allen, 2003), it is valuable to examine how power relations underpin the exchanges between actors in a flexible network society and more specifically in an environmental policy arena. The relationship between power and the agents who exchange it is probably best described by Foucault (1980:98):

> "Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appointed as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation".

The case of Durban's proposed SCH has hinged on the interplay of the two dominant key agents as well as other groups or individuals, whose interactions have been imbued with relations of power and hence served to shape the outcome. It is therefore necessary to examine the many

different, often contradictory ways in which power has historically been conceptualised, in order to identify the ways in which power can be assumed to have been exercised in the case study.

2.3.1 Conceptualising power

Building on the theories of Foucault, Allen (2003) grapples with the way in which power is conceptualised by comparing the previous understanding that power is 'instrumental', i.e. one has power over others, to that of power perceived as 'associational', i.e. the power to act. He affirms that power can be seen as the latent capacity of an actor or agent to influence the actions of others whereby it can be held without being exercised. Similarly Allen (2003) corrects the misconception that power has a specific location. Drawing on the theories of Castells (1996, cited in Allen, 2003), Allen (2003:11) asserts that the fluid-like quality of power enables it to flow through a network and therefore its presence, if it has one at all, is rather reflected through the "interplay of forces established in place". Power can therefore be seen to exercise actors in the way it either empowers or disempowers them as a result of their place in the network. In the case of the SCH, it is intended that an examination of the positioning of the actors within the specific decision-making network will facilitate an understanding of the broader power relations in the City.

Another limitation in terms of how power is conceptualised, has been the quantifiable capacity which it has been afforded. The power of different parties is always measured as 'more' or 'less', similarly, the capabilities which individuals possess to influence an outcome is also a quantifiable characteristic (Giddens, 1977; 1984, Mann, 1986; 1993 and Hindess, 1996, cited in Allen, 2003). This directly relates to the deterministic nature of power whereby assumptions can be drawn about who 'wins' and who 'loses' (Hindess, 1996, cited in Allen, 2003). However, it is the view of Arendt (1958; 1970, cited in Allen, 2003) and Parsons (1963, cited in Allen, 2003) that power should be viewed as a collective notion, bestowed only by the consent of others and therefore not deterministic in nature.

Isaac (1997, cited in Allen, 2003:23) views power as a 'generalised capacity', a uniform substance which lies beneath the surface of the everyday life of agents, suggesting that it is the "social conditions of existence" which affords agents the power that they possess. In other words, it is the "enduring structure of relations which distribute capacities to some agencies and not others, [a]s the nature of the make-up of groups and organisations change, as the power of institutions waxes and wanes, the task of analysis is to trace their altered social conditions of

existence and to identify the new elements which constitute them" (Allen, 2003:23). It is therefore this network of social relations which constitutes power and therefore binds and reproduces the actions of various agents (Allen, 2003). It is intended that through an examination of the effects of introducing new consultants and hence altering the configuration of the SCH decision-making team, any potential shifts in power will be revealed.

Previously power has been seen to radiate from a centre, and act as a means to govern from a distance. This has often been referred to as 'reach' whereby governments have "command over space" (Allen, 2003:34). However, in light of recent global restructuring, and the increased number of interests involved, there are "multiple sites of authority" which occupy the landscape and thus, power cannot be exercised in such a straight forward manner (Allen, 2003:35). This is particularly evident in the SCH flagship project where decision-making is underpinned by a Public-Private Partnership (PPP) and is therefore not unilateral. The upshot of this is that this new spatial complexity has called for 'multi-level governance' whereby a multiplicity of spatial scales each emulating the previous 'territorial state' all continue to operate through a series of linear relationships (Allen, 2003).

In terms of these multiple linear relationships, and to return to the misconception that power is perceived as instrumental and held 'over' others, it is a common assumption that power relationships are characteristically asymmetrical. A 'domination – subordination' association between actors is therefore presumed, which Isaac (1987, cited in Allen, 2003) refers to as a 'zero-sum game'. This rests on the assumptions that the system is a closed one, with the interests of the two parties being mutually exclusive (Allen, 2003). It is perhaps difficult to assume otherwise in the instance of an environmentally or socially sensitive development, such as the SCH in Durban, which directly trades the economic objectives off against the others.

2.3.2 Power, social action and public space

This asymmetrical approach to power has been challenged by those theorists who perceive power as a more enabling force and rather a positive-sum game (Arendt, 1961; 1970, Parsons, 1963 and Giddens, 1979, cited in Allen, 2003). Power is therefore thought to be something that can be mobilised through the collective action of a group of individuals (Allen, 2003). Furthermore, it can be represented as something that is generated at certain sites within the networks and exchanged without difficulty between such nodes (Mann, 1986 and Castells, 1996, cited in Allen, 2003). Thus, power can be produced 'in and through' social action and is

therefore a medium. The generation of such power is most commonly activated by a "concern with the quality of 'public space' and in particular the moral, ethical and political concerns which raise rather than diminish the civic community" (Allen, 2003:54). These locations can then be viewed as 'sites of power' and 'common action' through which the group becomes empowered to influence the future of the public space (Allen, 2003:54). Since the site for the proposed SCH development is located on a popular beach, it is to be expected that the current users groups will seek to influence the future of the space, and hence the beach as a public space has the capacity to become a 'site of power'. On a broader scale, in response to global environmental issues, 'distanciated networks' form which forge connections between distant locations, and thus represent a form of empowerment through 'social solidarity' (Allen, 2003). The way in which these issues are communicated across these networks is crucial to the operation of power, as articulated by Benhabib (1993:105, cited in Allen, 2003:56): "[o]nly power is generated by public discourse and is sustained by it".

Similarly, power is a symbolic medium whereby its value is attributed to its "institutionalisation as a social symbol" and in which people attach trust to its value (Parsons, 1963, cited in Allen, 2003:41). Its capacity to influence the outcome of a situation is therefore believed to rest heavily on others "recognising and legitimising its form" (Allen, 2003:41). To link this to Hajer's (1995) theories of discourse which are detailed in Section 2.4, the power of discourse coalitions lie too in their capacity to align the thinking of other actors in the process with their own, hence influencing their words and actions. In summation, this argument has two assertions. Firstly, the variable constituency and fluid nature of power is recognised whereby it has the ability to accumulate in response to collective goals or similarly evaporate when groups disband. Secondly, it allows individuals to intervene in a series of events to influence their own outcome and is therefore a medium used to the advantage of those involved, to pursue common goals i.e. it is "an element of action" (Giddens, 1977:348, cited in Allen, 2003:42). Power therefore facilitates transformation in that it affords the ability to change the course of events.

2.3.3 Power, resources and networks

As power is believed to act as an entity which controls events and actions, it is a common misinterpretation that it rests upon the possession of a resource. Rather, power is "generated or actualised through the control and reproduction of different kinds of resources" (Allen, 2003:44). As Allen (2003) highlights, in its simplest term, "power is a means to achieve outcomes" and therefore resources can then be defined as "the media through which power is

exercised" (Giddens, 1979:91, cited in Allen, 2003:45). Resources therefore provide a form of leverage which allow agents to exercise power, resulting in the compliance of other parties. It is therefore how these resources are used that determines if and how power is exercised. Resources can be divided into two categories or 'sets of capabilities'; material or authoritative (Giddens, 1984, cited in Allen, 2003). Material or allocative resources being either "property, land, goods, technology, access to finance and the like", whilst authoritative resources relate to "the authority or control over the ways in which social life is organised and distributed over space" (Allen, 2003:45). In the case study of the SCH, it can therefore be expected that Moreland as a property developer will have access to finance as well as having the ability to generate significant income for the City and will thus have the ability to exercise power based on these material or allocative resources. Whilst the City as the guardian of public land has control over the management and regeneration of such spaces under its jurisdiction and hence may exercise power based on its authoritative resources. On global terms, the relevance of this to the network society in which we live, is that the exchange of resources through space is most likely in the control of those 'disembedded institutions' which have the ability to link local practices with global social relations, i.e. where local concentrations of resources generate sufficient power to influence those at a distance (Allen, 2003).

To expand on the relationship between power, resources and networks, Mann (1993, cited in Allen, 2003) identifies four types of resources around which such networks stabilise; economic, ideological, political and military. The first three of these are most commonly evident in decision-making processes surrounding development projects. Power therefore emanates from different sites within this overlapping and entwined configuration of networks. As Allen (2003:60) outlines:

> "Different kinds of networks are seen to involve different resources and each network is said to construct its own geography of control, with specific sites on the network producing, switching, directing and co-ordinating resources".

These resources may be "capital, information, technology, people, images, sounds and symbols" (Allen, 2003:60). As these resources are all constitutive of power, they reflect the flow of power through the network which is then also subject to "redirection and resistance" (Allen, 2003:61). An example of this may be the way in which the production and direction of certain information or knowledge (as the resource) in the system redirects power, allowing a different agent to exercise it, to influence the actions of others. This conception of power, although having its

limitations in terms of how networks of power and resources are actually held together, is useful in providing some sort of scalar perception of power.

2.3.4 A 'topological' conception of power

Perhaps the topological perception of power is more appropriate in explaining how power can be conceptualised (Allen, 2003). Because power is inseparable from its effects, it can be viewed as immanent. The techniques of power which may be spatial, organisational, classificatory, representational, ethical or otherwise are therefore relevant as they depict how power functions as a 'normalising force' (Allen, 2003). This argument is based on the theories of Foucault who maintains that power works through indirect techniques of self-regulation which make it difficult for individuals to 'constitute' themselves in any other way (Foucault, 1982; 1984; 1888a; 1988b; 1988c, cited in Allen, 2003). As a result, the metaphor of a 'molecular soup', illustrates how various unexpected elements interact with one another to produce an unanticipated outcome (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988, cited in Allen, 2003:66). This directly relates to the new mechanisms of governance whereby contemporary policy arenas facilitate a more flexible and ad hoc process, opening up the process to the fate of these relations of power. The interplay of the actors in the SCH decision-making process and the resultant outcome provides evidence of this uncertainty.

On a similar note, when a detailed topology of power relations is required, it is the discursive and spatial messages which remain constant whilst the setting itself is in flux (Allen, 2003). This diagrammatic representation of power is outlined by Allen (2003:73):

> "...it is the *interplay* of forces within a particular setting which makes it possible to extrapolate diagrams from the power relations inscribed within particular institutional spaces: subjects are progressively constituted, symbolically and practically through specific points of purchase; mobilised and positioned through particular embedded practices; and channeled and directed by a series of grid-like expectations about how, when and where to conduct themselves and others. In simple terms, different kinds of diagram make different kinds of government and control possible, even though things rarely turn out quite as planned".

This topological representation of power facilitates a deeper understanding of how relations of power may operate within deliberative modes of governance and illustrates how such processes are open to flexible and unpredictable outcomes. Within these arenas, power operates through a number of different modalities.

2.3.5 Modes of power

Before an analysis of the exercise of power is undertaken, it is necessary to outline the modalities of power. Some of the terms such as' domination' and 'authority' have been incorrectly perceived as synonymous with power and therefore require a definition. To quote Weber (1987:94, cited in Allen, 2003:27) dominance is "the will of one party influencing that of the other even against the others reluctance". Dominance will be explored in Section 2.3.6 in more detail in terms of Foucault's theories of self-governance whereby individuals consciously pursue an asymmetrical power relationship.

Whilst authority is 'claimed', relying on the recognition of other parties to comply, and often referred to as 'unquestioning recognition', domination is legitimised (Allen, 2003). Authority can be perceived as instrumental whereby it "is exercised over others in bureaucratic structures through the asymmetrical relationships inscribed in a vertical chain of command" (Allen, 2003:118). However, Arendt asserts that authority is more than just the bending of wills and rather is an accepted 'wisdom' (Arendt, 1958, cited in Allen, 2003). People who exercise authority are thought to be 'guardians of knowledge' giving advice, however in an age of skepticism, these experts opinions are weighed up rather than accepted (Allen, 2003). With particular reference to this research, the contestation of the different forms of knowledge reflects the different discourses which the groups and individuals ascribe to and therefore also serves to constitute the power relations amongst these groups.

Negotiation is another modality of power, however, less commonly referred to as such. It is believed that through negotiation, parties interact to "fix a collective orientation" and it is therefore more of an associational form of power (Allen, 2003:124). This can be linked to Hajer's (1995) story-lines which are employed during deliberations as verbal strategies to co-opt others into a specific discourse coalition, and in so doing, entrench the coalition. Habermas (1989, cited in Allen, 2003) states that negotiations are usually directed at reaching agreement over common ends, rather than one group's views over another and co-operation may be maintained for as long as this 'negotiated momentum' is sustained (Allen, 2003). There is thus no obligation to comply, rather the expectation of mutual benefits which forms the basis for this type of power relation. As Hajer's (1995) discourse coalitions are continually negotiated, they may represent this mode of power, however, interactions are not always for the 'collective good' and thus discourse coalition formation may also represent other modes of power.

Persuasion, however, is thought to work though a process of argumentation between equals, whereby all parties are prepared to listen and communicate (Arendt, 1961, cited in Allen, 2003). By using the example of the Monsanto and biotechnology, Allen (2003) has showed how, authority, negotiation and persuasion are able to work across one another in the formation of coalitions which form around the realisation of collective aims, despite their differing personal backgrounds.

Seduction works on curiosity, and 'encourages desire', allowing the party in question to have a degree of free will and coercion is "the ability to conduct through the threat of negative sanctions" whilst manipulation relies on hiding of the intent (Allen, 2003:30). Domination, authority, coercion, manipulation and seduction all operate at different levels, embodying different social relations through one strategy or another. However, it is domination and authority that have been central to many theorists' accounts of power and when referring to decision-making processes, they are probably the two modes of power which are most obviously exercised amongst parties. It is the aim of this study to identify which modes of power have dictated the outcomes of the decision-making process of the SCH. To examine the interactions characteristic of a power play which so often characterises such processes, an exploration of Foucault's 'governance of the self' is necessary.

2.3.6 Foucault's 'governance of the self'

Foucault, the most prominent power theorist, failed to distinguish between the different ways in which power could be exercised although his theories were loosely tied with the notion of domination (Foucault, 1982; 1984, cited in Allen, 2003). Foucault's theories are based on the indirect nature of power whereby through a process of normalisation, power alters the actions of others in a subconscious manner (Allen, 2003). A closing down or limiting of opportunities indicates a degree of 'inducement' which shapes the actions of people by an acceptance of how to act (Allen, 2003). There is thus "...a degree of willingness to submit to the guidance or injunctions of others and a belief, held by those invoking the norm, in its beneficial outcome – that it is all to the common good" (Allen, 2003:76). Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis infers that dominance of a particular discourse is facilitated through the creation of story-lines and discourse coalitions, which serve to stabilise and fix the discourse. Therefore in any power relationship there exists a dominant figure, of which both sides are aware and thus they enter

into the relationship of their own free will with the expectation of pursuing this accepted norm. This element of domination is evident in such relationships, as Allen (2003:78) describes:

> "In agnostic relationships there is a certain kind of vying for position, a circling of one another as action follows reaction in an effort to influence the outcome of the process – not so much a scripted power play, then, as open-ended games of power within which the element of constraint has been whittled down to a minimum".

Despite these loose ties with dominance, these open-ended games of power rely primarily on the acceptance that the actors are free agents and as reinforced by Weber they are following their own self-interest (Weber, 1987, cited in Allen, 2003). This notion of freedom of self, when applied at a government level, provides governments with the ability to regulate the actions of citizens from a distance (Allen, 2003). This willing subordination permeates society and provides individuals with "a stable presence of ideals, expectations, received 'truths', standards and frameworks" which will guide the way in which they act, effectively "bringing themselves into order" (Allen, 2003:82). Both the role of and the shift in these "stable presence of ideals" which preside in the City of Durban will be explored through the decision-making process of the SCH. Similarly, in terms of global organisations, this reach is also maintained as individuals willingly choose to 'fall in line' with their interests, through the restriction of other, usually economic opportunities (Weber, 1978, cited in Allen, 2003). However as power is the relational effect of social interaction and power relations are characterised by an unpredictable outcome, so are government structures open to unexpected consequences. Allen (2003:84) affirms that:

> "... as somewhat precarious combinations of social activity, the basic institutions of government are themselves said to be caught up in the intense flow of social interaction, open to mutation in quite unexpected ways, yet constantly striving to hold things down, to regularize zones of activity".

The South African environmental legislative arena often permits this degree of uncertainty and flexibility which at the same time is held in check by certain parties who endeavor to operate by standard procedures most proximate to the norm (Scott and Oelofse, 2005). So whilst power may induce specific behaviour in individuals operating within a policy arena, the outcome will nevertheless be the result of an 'open-ended' game. This has implications for decision-making frameworks whereby there should be an acceptance of this element of flexibility and a move away from assumedly stable, rigid processes.

2.3.7 Lefebvre's theories of power and space

The notion of domination also plays a role in Lefebvre's (1991) account of power and social space. His focus lies primarily in the relationship between power and space, indicating how everyday spaces are 'imbued' with power (Lefebvre, 1991). More specifically, the emphasis is on "the interplay of forces that lie behind the comings and goings of those who are said to dominate space and those who come to see themselves as part of someone else's space" (Allen, 2003:160). This depicts a contradiction between the representations of space i.e. a 'dominant space' such as a planned urban location, and 'representational space', i.e. a 'lived space' which is shaped by the users who attach their own symbolic meaning (Allen, 2003). These two should be seen as relative to one another, in the sense that a physical space may comprise a range of 'social spaces' which different users inhabit, providing the potential for conflict between the dominant interest and these others (Lefebvre, 1991). In the context of a brownfields site which is proposed for development, such as the SCH, the different actors in the process will possess very different abstract interpretations of the physical space. For example the current users of the space will afford a high symbolic or lived value to the area whereas the developers will regard it in terms of the economic and financial opportunities it may bear. This frequently creates grounds for conflict where a struggle for dominance over the physical space will ensue, each group trying to exercise their own mode of power to secure their respective interest and shape what happens to the space in the future.

The dominant space is then thought to represent space in a particular way, 'smothering' difference and operating through a series of 'spatial codes' (Lefebvre, 1991). Through a number of actions such as gestures, rituals or mannerisms, the dominant interest constructs the space to resemble its own representation. It is believed to be a case of domination because it involves the "closing down of opportunities", whereby the other parties can inhabit the space at their free will but the 'objective circumstances' require that they submit to the dominant codes (Allen, 2003:166). This is particularly evident in both gated communities and where privatisation of public space occurs, and it is this issue that is contested in the proposals for the SCH. Users of the area close off opportunities and restrict access to those who do not conform to the spatial codes which they have constructed for themselves. Often it is these codes themselves and not physical barriers which serve to keep others in or out.

The notion of 'closed spaces' brings the expression of power back to that of domination. In terms of the entangled nature of people's everyday lives, enclosed spaces are usually associated

with a fixed boundary, usually a physical barrier, seeking to restrict the movement of others (Allen, 2003). Lefebvre (1991) assigns this to a sense of membership whereby those in the group assemble themselves around a particular cultural affiliation. Similarly, Caldeira (1996, cited in Allen, 2003) believes that a sense of belonging is established by conforming to the particular rules of conduct which are founded on the concept of 'like-mindedness'. These rules therefore reflect the operation of domination, whereby the choices of both those inside the group or community and those outside are limited. The most common example of spatial enclosure is that of gated communities in which the rich separate themselves physically, seeking the uniformity and security which such establishments provide (Allen, 2003). On the other hand, poor or ethnic groups also create physical barriers in order to protect their identities or their resources. Such groups "take their cue from the 'power to' protect themselves, not some desire to exercise 'power over' others" and instead of formal rules of conduct, their enclosure arises from "informal and negotiated practices" (Allen, 2003:173).

Another more virtual example becomes evident in the way which planners generate land use maps for areas such as those facing proposed urban renewal. The future of this physical space becomes spatially constructed and transformed to represent the interests of the 'author'. Lefebvre's (1991) theories therefore highlight the interplay between space and power illustrating how the social circumstances within which we operate are inherently instilled with power, and how these are spatially represented.

2.3.8 Social space and other modes of power

One of the shortcomings of Lefebvre's (1991) account of power is the failure to recognise the other forms of power which shape social spaces. The exercise of authority is one of the other modalities of power which gives form to such spaces. By using the example of London's financial quarter, it can be depicted how a widespread recognition of economic expertise and subsequent compliance by members of society establishes the space as an authoritative one (Allen, 2003). Manipulation which has been defined as a 'concealment of intent', operates in a way that it misguides people into believing that they are all part of one cultural space (Allen, 2003). The implications of this are that people are unable to resist or challenge this mode of power as they are oblivious of its presence. The capacity that seduction holds to shape social and physical spaces lies primarily in the way it takes advantage of present attitudes, with an element of 'suggestiveness' allowing the individual to freely choose whether to comply or not (Allen, 2003). This can also be demonstrated using London's financial sectors whereby "the

speed and magnitude of monetary flows is exciting and attractive" giving rise to images of "mobility, risk and individual freedom" (Allen, 2003:170).

The operation of these "diverse modal expressions of power" within such social and physical spaces shows how certain groups within the particular institution are able to establish their 'presence' in different ways and as such imbue these spaces with their power (Allen, 2003:172).

2.3.9 Alternative spaces

Lefebvre uses the concept of 'counter-space' to illustrate how power is challenged within a particular space (Lefebvre, 1991). People form alliances to contest the way in which 'power' is being exercised within a variety of contexts; "anti-road campaigns, anti-housing development protests, or the demand for spaces which provide an alternative to the prevailing single-minded form" (such as the authority afforded to London's financial space) (Allen, 2003:185). The interest groups which have challenged the development proposal of the SCH can therefore be explored using this conceptualisation of power. Allen (2003:186) conceptualises this alternative space as a 'lived space' which is afforded its value and "takes its shape from the routine of its users and their symbolic attachments". For these reasons "places are... more than a series of venues for protest and opposition; they are an active part of what it means to put people in place" (Allen, 2003:186). In terms of spaces as the basis for 'associational power' i.e. collective mobilisation of those people aiming to counter the dominant presence, power can be seen in a positive light (Allen, 2003:187):

> "The negotiations among those actively seeking to create an alternative set of spaces, to use them in ways that are less confrontational and more adaptive, may serve to dilute homogenous spaces, but the intent may be to carve out a positive-sum scenario where a more beneficial use of space for all is envisaged".

It is perhaps relevant to apply the example of environmental organisations which aim to use environmental best practice as a 'lived practice' and something which, through protest or group action, will be recognised by society and hopefully become part of routine practice (Allen, 2003). The associational nature of environmental organisations as well as other public groups which have come together to challenge power, represents a 'collaborative force' which empowers those which are involved. Considering these alternative or 'counter-spaces' as outlined by Lefebvre (1991) provides useful insight into how interest groups collaborate to challenge power within different social spaces, and how collaboration should be seen as a

positive, empowering tool. This is a relevant response to the resistance shown to the decision-making process of the SCH.

2.3.10 Power and its implications for decision-making

By focusing primarily on the work of Allen (2003) in the pursuit of a conceptualisation of power, the work of many prominent theorists has been considered, all of which have afforded a degree of insight applicable to the power relations represented in the decision-making process of the SCH. What is clear from this analysis is that the presence of power is made evident through the interplay of actors and the social relations which connect them. The concept of a network reflects the 'flow' of power in between these actors and is thus an appropriate means to represent the spatial operation of power. Power is understood to be exercised through different modes which are dependant on the specific relational ties between actors and it has been perceived as something which can either reflect a positive or negative interaction. Interactions between actors can be considered to reflect an open-ended process whereby the exchange can produce an unexpected outcome. It is also crucial to regard the strong ties between power and space, showing how spaces become imbued with power by the actors operating within them.

However, to expand on the way in which actors exercise power specifically within decision-making systems, it is necessary to examine the particular way in which they engage. It is broadly accepted that language is used to exercise power; "[p]ower structures discourse, and discourse supports the power it has created" (Mey, 1993:209, cited in Mininni, 2001:113). This relationship is made explicit by Foucault (1980:93):

> "…in a society such as ours, but basically in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power which cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association".

The critical role of discourse in both reflecting and constituting relations of power therefore becomes apparent. This study will therefore employ discourse both as a theory and a methodology for explaining how power is exercised in the decision-making process of the SCH as well as in the eThekwini Municipality more broadly. Hajer's (1995; 2003) approach to discourse analysis as the chosen methodology is detailed below in Section 2.4.

2.3.11 Modes of interaction and the associated types of power

More generally, there are a number of different concepts which are often used to loosely depict the means of exchange between actors within policy arenas; mediation, negotiation, communication and interaction.

> "[M]ediation refers to the practice by which people settle their conflicts, negotiation relates to the practice whereby people reconcile their interests, communication is the practice used by people to jointly build a shared universe of reference, and interaction is the practice involving people to mutually legitimise themselves as producers of relevant perspectives about their world and to coordinate them" (Mininni, 2001:108).

In policy arenas, and specifically environmental sectors, mediation is probably less common and exchanges are more likely to be controlled through a process of facilitation. However, the similarity between mediation and facilitation lies in the fact that a neutral third party is present to assist the other two or more parties in finding an agreed way forward. The trained mediator or facilitator will control the agenda and will lay down the rules of conduct during interactions (Fraser, 2001). Where they differ is in that a facilitator will involve both parties in negotiation whilst a mediator will do this in addition to privately engaging with both parties and transferring information between the two. For this reason, not much emphasis will be afforded to either the role of facilitator or mediator however; the power of this party to control the process cannot be underestimated, as they may have the power to decide when the meeting is over, whether the parties have been successful or not, decide what matters should be discussed and who should talk (Fraser, 2001).

Negotiation is an "activity of social decision-making" which is present in both formal and informal sectors and can be defined as "a communicative attempt to accommodate potential or real differences in interests in order to make mutually acceptable decisions on substantive matters" (Firth, 1995:6-7, cited in Dannerer, 2001:92). Negotiation predominantly operates as a process of conflict resolution and these conflicts arise due to differences in either 'interests' or 'values'. A conflict of interests is believed to be a dispute about resources, power and status whilst a conflict of values is a difference in priorities in ideologies and associated value systems (Balla, 1989, cited in Wodak and Weiss, 2001). Negotiations are thus the setting for these contestations and power struggles. According to Fraser (2001:26) there are three types of power which can be exercised during negotiations. 'Personal power' may be afforded by the age of an individual, a higher social status, expertise in relevant areas, and financial resources (Fraser,

2001). Furthermore, additional power comes from a skill in language use such as listening skills and articulateness, proficiency in logical analysis, control of emotions, creativity in problem-solving, knowledge of the opponent's biases, values, habits and hopes, as well as a good rapport founded on trust (Fraser, 2001). 'Positional power' is another source of power which is afforded on the basis of the "institutional or peer-determined authority invested in one party but not the other", from adopting the moral position or being in support of the law, practice or tradition (Fraser, 2001:26). This form of power may also come from the responsibility to obtain results, therefore the ability to draw on resources and power stemming from the indifference of the outcome and thus the control over the other party which has concern about the results (Fraser, 2001). Lastly, 'potential power' is the power to inflict injury or damage the other party, through the knowledge of potentially damaging information which is threatened to be made public, or if one party has connections outside the arena which can be drawn on, or if one party prefers a reasonable position and will not shift or conversely if one party is willing to take risks at the disapproval of the other party (Fraser, 2001). Therefore the power that any one party holds within a negotiation depends largely on who they are and what resources they possess. Fraser's (2001) classification of power may therefore prove relevant in exploring the power that different individuals are capable of exercising in the case of the SCH decision-making process.

Weigand (2001) provides insight into the way in which a negotiation should ideally commence and be played out. In doing so, he uses the concept of the 'positive' use of power whereby a win-win outcome is preferred. Both parties should recognise from the outset that they are reliant on one another to achieve success and must therefore be prepared to negotiate a compromise from the start, thus it is the conditions that are negotiated and not the starting positions (Weigand, 2001). This can be directly related to the presentation of alternatives as development options, whereby conflict ensues if the fundamental concept is not agreed on from the outset. If the parties possess no will to shift, negotiation will become difficult and if the starting point is to be argued, the process of negotiation is destined to fail (Weigand, 2001). This examination of the dynamics of negotiation makes apparent the fact that negotiation is an open-ended process which "cannot be dealt with as a rule-governed verbal pattern of moves but represents an action game based on human interests and conditions of behaviour" (Weigand, 2001:75). However, as Gottweis (2003:254) has stated:

> "Power is not only articulated in interactions between actors in institutional biases or ideologies. In addition, discourses, representations, scientific statements, or 'public philosophies' are critical articulations of power which construct subjectivity and position individual or institutional actors in the socio-political field and this deserves a prominent place in policy analysis".

2.3.12 The operation of power in contemporary decision-making processes

To ground this theory relating to power with its clear links to discourse, and to translate it into a tangible form, it is necessary to practically apply it to contemporary decision-making processes providing examples of how power may operate within policy arenas.

In terms of the way in which policy actors exercise power and subsequently adopt positions, it is crucial to examine how power is mediated and constituted by discourse. Tait and Campbell (2000) have identified two ways in which language may be seen to mediate power in the planning environment. Firstly, language reveals power structures and relations within society, more specifically within the context of local and national planning. Secondly, language operates as a means of exercising power, this is evident in the way that 'meaning', 'information' and 'knowledge' is communicated through language which may serve to 'protect' or 'spread' the power of the individual which is using it (Tait and Campbell, 2000). It became evident that in Tait and Campbell's (2000) particular study on the south coast of England, various planners and members used language to maintain their position within the planning system whilst at the same time accounting their use of language to their specific "class, economic status or personal characteristics" (Tait and Campbell, 2000:505). In their efforts to examine the relationship between language and power relations between planners and politicians whilst illustrating how this influences the outcome of the decision-making process, Tait and Campbell (2000) recognise that language is not merely a means of conveying messages, but is also the way in which individuals 'construct meaning' in the world (Tait and Campbell, 2000). Language is therefore directly related to what we perceive as knowledge because it creates 'truth' and based on Foucauldian concepts of power and knowledge, Tait and Campbell (2000) assert that it is this knowledge which structures power whilst the language itself is used to express this power. Tait and Campbell (2001:490) affirm that "[t]he way in which competing forms of rationality are expressed may be seen as the means by which certain situations become problematic and uncertain" which is particularly relevant in the field of planning where interests and views of the many stakeholders need to be accounted for by planners and politicians. Therefore language is a means of defining these relationships and can be used to reveal "the different roles and perceptions of the world which these groups of individuals possess" as well reflecting the way in which they exercise power (Tait and Campbell, 2000:490).

Hastings (1999a) adopted a similar approach in seeking to explain how language and power are inter-linked, using the example of an urban renewal public-private partnership. In such relationships, the aim is to bring about transformation through the collaboration between the two sectors, however, change will ultimately involve 'transformative pressures' from one or both partners (Hastings, 1999a). Here power relations play a vital role in the outcome of the process and instead of one sector exercising power over the other, it is hoped that a process of 'mutual transformation' whereby both partners recognise the need to change themselves, at the same time aspiring to change the others can occur (Hastings, 1999a). Therefore, through their interactions, the "attitudes, values and assumptions (hearts and minds)" of the partners become open to challenge and possibly change as a result of the power exercised by either partner through discourse, in the aim to bring about transformation of culture and practices (Hastings, 1999a:94). Their results revealed that one of the partners did indeed experience a transformation as the result of the power exercised upon them, showing how "rhetoric therefore (re)produces asymmetrical power relations" (Ng and Bradac, 1993, cited in Dannerer, 2001:114). Discourse analysis has effectively served as a lens to examine how such power may operate within these partnerships (Hastings, 1999a).

2.3.13 The implications of power in planning

The outcome of urban development processes, which in the South African context are often defined by environmental regulations, are shaped by the power relations of the actors in the particular network. In a development such as Durban's SCH, it is critical to examine these relations with specific reference to planning, and how they govern the outcome of the process.

McGuirk (2000:652) examines how shifts in the "modes and instruments of urban regulation" have resulted in "multi-scaled and cross-sectoral networks of interaction" which has marginalised local planning authorities. She uses a Lautorian conception of power to show how this new style of governance has displaced the planning authorities from these 'powered-up' networks (McGuirk, 2000). In line with Allen's (2003) conception of power, McGuirk (2000:653) affirms that "[n]etworked interaction is not something that takes place within a power structure, but instead is the process through which the power structure is created, reproduced and ultimately changed". If this notion of a network is applied, it becomes evident that the process through which power is produced is unstable and flexible. However, as actors engage in these networks, their behaviour becomes seemingly stable as they are "enrolled to operate within specific frameworks of assumptions, constraints on decision-making, sets of

rules, range of ideas and access to resources, all of which govern their action" (Healey, 1990, cited in McGuirk, 2000:653). Therefore these actors seem to be fixed and stabilise the network and if transformation or redefinition of the network were to occur, this would rely on the interactions of these actors. Hajer's (1995) discourse analysis reinforces the critical role of discourse in enrolling individuals into coalitions as an attempt to fix their positions and hence stabilise the overall configuration of actors. As McGuirk (2000:654) reinforces, "[t]he practice of power and its outcomes are shaped by the actors enrolled in exercising power through these networks" (McGuirk, 2000:654).

In Dublin, local planning authorities had been disempowered by a number of factors relating to the institutional structures and processes. The system was highly centralised as there was 'budgetary reliance' on central government in conjunction with the limited understanding of the role of planning which was thought to be primarily 'development regulation', led to the perception that planners adopted a bureaucratic mode rather that an entrepreneurial one (McGuirk, 2000). As a result, it was believed that planners lacked the capacity to manage the "land-use implications of dereliction and developer disinterests" (McGuirk, 2000:655). A number of central government interventions were initiated by the Urban Renewal Act and the Finance Act of 1986 to stimulate the broad regeneration of the inner city (McGuirk, 2000). This changed the context of local government in Dublin, engaging development interests and central government instrumentalities more directly in urban policy generation as well as entrenching the perceptions of planners as incapable and serving to marginalise them even further from these networks (McGuirk, 2000). Although the built environment was physically enhanced, the failure to link such initiatives to broader strategic urban planning led to a number of negative impacts for the area, namely in terms of "community viability, social polarisation and environmental quality" and thus typified unsustainable social and economic revitalisation (McGuirk, 2000:657).

In terms of the networks of power operating in Dublin, the dominant discourses and rules of conduct were constitutive of and served to sustain the institutional practices and structures and flows of power (McGuirk, 2000). However, the role of planners and their codes of conduct and rules of interaction were largely bureaucratic, as was their accepted norm, but were outside the network of government interactions which produced the power itself (McGuirk, 2000). This was because these norms prevented them from acting in an entrepreneurial manner and thus were in conflict with the contemporary forms of governance operating in Dublin (McGuirk, 2000). As a

result, planners isolated themselves from the networks of broader policy communities and in doing so became disempowered.

McGuirk (2000) contrasts the Planning Department to the example of Dublin Corporation's Development Department which became an active part of the policy network through the adoption of a more networked style of operation. The Inner City Development Team was a subgroup of this Department and aimed to "encourage and facilitate development proposals" on Corporation owned land (McGuirk, 2000:663). By exploiting the flexible arrangements of governance and allowing for "communication, facilitation and negotiation" with potential investors, the department inserted itself into "powerful interagency networks" where "its resources could be strategically employed and its position strengthened" facilitating its involvement in policy decisions (McGuirk, 2000:663). This initiative indicates that not all local government departments were in the same way excluded from the policy networks and by adopting different discourses, largely an entrepreneurial approach, they can empower themselves to be active participants in policy negotiations (McGuirk, 2000). The lessons gained from McGuirk's (2000:666) comparison between both types of local government departments is that "the new niches and relationships created by changes in governance" should be identified and exploited, this will prevent marginalisation from policy communities and serve to empower an agent. The 'disempowering discourses' that so many local government bodies adopt in reaction to a perception that power is "institutional, centred, structurally defined and self-producing, with deterministic, predictable and always-intended outcomes" only serve to exclude them from policy networks of power (McGuirk, 2000:667). By exploiting instability in networks and seeking a niche, local government will attain the 'power to' achieve outcomes as a result of interactions with other actors within the network (McGuirk, 2000).

In light of the exchanges which occur between actors within policy arenas, power has been explored to depict how these interactions are played out. Of particular relevance, has been the use of discourse, the medium through which power is exercised and also entrenched. It is therefore critical to examine what discourse is and how the views of the involved parties underpin the way in which the process evolves.

2.4 Approaches to discourses and discourse analysis

2.4.1 Discourses, multi-signification, value pluralism

There is a host of key terms which have been used to outline the different positioning of the actors both broadly within society and more specifically within a political process. The term 'discourse' is used by society at large, to portray a means of communication, whether it be through dialogue or written texts. Hajer (1995) has considered discourse more specifically in the context of environmental politics as a means to understand the context or worldview which underpins the language and actions of the different authors, taking into account the institutional framework within which they are operating. Hajer (1995:60) defines discourse as:

> "Discourse is here defined as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that is produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities".

Therefore the discourses individuals and groups identify with positions them around certain issues and shapes both their thoughts and actions. How they communicate with other members of society is underpinned by their assumed discourse, because what they embrace as their particular world view or how they see the world will directly represent what emerges as they engage and interact with other agents. The geographers, Barnes and Duncan (1992) assert that "[t]o speak, write or read, one must do so within the conceptual framework of specific discourses". Therefore discourse is particularly relevant in terms of any political process, whereby dialogues and policy discussions between key roleplayers as well as policy documents produced as a result of the process, will ultimately be shaped by the various discourses involved in the interactions.

Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) use the term 'value pluralism' to extend this discussion and to elaborate on the different positions of these actors. As all individuals live within the conceptual boundaries of their own personal worlds, aspiring to their personal ideals and views, so these different attitudes towards certain situations are reflected in the way they interact. In terms of the plans or actions of the government or other actors within the policy process, they will either view them as a threat or an ally which will either serve to sustain or weaken their collective identity (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). Therefore every single subject or action occurring within their world will be afforded a certain 'value position' (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). And

because every individual's world is made up of a host of different positions which are organised in very different ways, it is expected that their interactions are inherently bound by conflict.

Similarly, it can be said that, these "[v]arious groups of people conceive of the world in different terms" and therefore "do not necessarily share the same language", (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a:11). They have their own "institutional expectations and routines" which effectively represent their own specific discourses and this often relates to a clash of 'logic of appropriateness' (March and Olsen, 1995 cited in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a:9). Hajer (2004) has referred to this concept as 'multi-signification', based on the assumption that participants in the process will undoubtedly experience 'conflicts of meaning' as a result of their personal backgrounds and experiences (Hajer, 2004).

With all these competing discourses founded on contrasting worldviews, each struggling for their values to achieve recognition within the political arena, it can only be expected that conflict and disputes will occur. Hajer (1995:59) turns to an approach aptly termed the 'argumentative approach' which considers politics as a "struggle for discursive hegemony" whereby actors "try to secure support for their definition of reality".

2.4.2 Hajer's 'argumentative approach'

Hajer (1995) and Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) refer to this struggle between actors to gain acceptance of their own identity as 'argumentative discourse'. To be able to understand the roots in which this approach is founded, it is necessary to take a step back and expand on the notion of interpretation. Interpretation, along with practice and deliberation comprise the three pillars of modern democracy. Interpretation refers to the relationship between words and objects which has already been touched on in terms of discourse but refreshed below.

Both citizens and policy actors interpret social reality in a manner which is guided by the social rules that constitute social practices (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a; Hajer, 2004). These rules have been well established and entrenched in society over time and practiced in our everyday experiences. However, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) note that the precise semantic meaning of what actors argue is not discernible for all through a common medium, such as the words and phrases that make up a dialogue or a text. The meaning is rather "composed of the total of the underlying narratives and behavioural dispositions that make up that particular individual's life

world" and thus "meaning and context are only loosely coupled" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a:17).

In other words, a complexity of argumentative interactions between actors is the fact that actors afford different meaning to certain issues and problems depending on their own context. Therefore how the argument is presented will depend on the underpinning beliefs of the actor or discourse and similarly, how it is interpreted will depend on the context of the audience. The success of any actor in presenting their own view of a problem, is to do so in a way which acknowledges the discourse or context from which other actors are positioned, "relying on what they have in common" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a:18). For a successful and constructive dialogue between actors, they need to communicate within this common ground in order to jointly explore a way forward. In the words of Hajer (1995:53), "environmental politics becomes an argumentative struggle in which actors not only try to make others see the problems according to their views but also seek to position other actors is a specific way". The approach therefore reflects how these competing discourses grapple to win the support of other actors through altering their identity or encouraging a repositioning.

As already stated, the 'argumentative approach' sees politics as a struggle for 'discursive hegemony' which can be assumed when a particular discourse gains credibility in a certain policy domain and begins "to dominate the conceptualization of problems, solutions, and the social strategies through which regulatory achievements are to be made" (Hajer, 1995:30). Since this struggle reflects an attempt to secure support for a certain definition of reality, discourse is central to political change (Hajer, 1995). In light of this "it becomes imperative to examine the specific idea of reality or of the status quo as something that is upheld by key actors through discourse" (Hajer, 1995:55).

Having explored the difference between discourses and why they exist, and the ensuing struggle for dominance between discourses, it is necessary to turn to an examination of the dynamics of such interactions, employing the various key concepts of the 'argumentative approach'. Hajer (1995) uses the notion of 'story-lines' to explain how arguments and ideas are structured, determining how actors align themselves to other members of the debate, forming 'discourse coalitions'.

Hajer (1995:62) therefore provides the following definition for these story-lines: "[s]tory-lines are narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are

combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding". Story-lines are an appropriate 'political device' used during conflict for the following reasons. Firstly they simplify the problem by reducing 'discursive complexity', thereby enhancing the possibility for an agreed outcome, secondly, they are recurring in nature, representing a common theme and give a certain 'permanence' to the debate and lastly story-lines allow the contrasting discourses to align their own practice to the others, developing greater appreciation of and amongst the different discourses (Hajer, 1995). They are devices through which actors are positioned and through which specific ideas of "blame, responsibility, urgency and responsible behaviour" can be attributed, therefore allowing actors to be positioned as "victims, problem-solvers, perpetrators, top scientists or scaremongers" or the like (Hajer, 1995:65). Story-lines function in a way that their power resides in whether they 'sound correct' or not. This is based on the plausibility of the argument, the trust that the audience holds for the author and the practice in which it is produced and the acceptability of the story-line for their own discursive identity (Hajer, 1995:63).

Actors will therefore position themselves around these story-lines, to form discourse coalitions. Discourse coalitions are therefore **not** necessarily founded on shared worldviews, but rather draw actors together in relation to a shared acceptance or articulation of a specific issue or problem (Hajer, 1995). As a result of the arguments and ideas expressed in these story-lines forming the basis of these alliances, personal or close contact is therefore not a prerequisite for discourse coalition formation (Bulkeley, 2000). A 'discourse coalition', is therefore defined in terms of these story-lines as:

> "the ensemble of (1) a set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based, [s]tory-lines are seen as the discursive cement that keeps a discourse coalition together" (Hajer, 1995:65).

In line with this concept of discourse coalitions, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) have noted that pluralists accept that in a particular situation of conflict there always exists the possibility that one particular value or combination thereof may be more significant. As discourse coalitions form in response to the pursuit of a common understanding, or in the attempt to advance opposition to the dominant coalition, their dynamic nature allows them to forge alliances between previously conflicting discourses thereby allowing for an altered configuration (Bulkeley, 2000:745). As discourse coalitions are flexible by their very nature, a discourse analysis will therefore serve to explore the dynamics of a network, or in this case, the dynamics within the SCH decision-making team.

It is through these coalitions that a particular way of talking and thinking about environmental politics is developed and sustained. Discourse coalitions are unconventional because, as already mentioned, the actors have not necessarily met, nor follow a carefully drafted and agreed upon strategy (Hajer 1995). Even if the actors share a specific set of story-lines, they do not necessarily interpret the meaning of these story-lines in the same way and may have differing interests (Hajer, 1995).

The political arena can therefore be conceived of as an argumentative game. Actors consciously perform using discursive strategies, being "active, selecting and adapting thoughts, mutating and creating them, in the continued struggle for the argumentative victory against rival thinkers" (Billig, 1989, cited in Hajer, 1995), hence relying on these 'skills of argumentation' to achieve their preferred course of action. Hajer (1995) believes that there are structured ways of arguing a case depending on the political field within which the problem lies. By presenting an argument in a particular way, the actor would be afforded a "certain respectability or credibility", and therefore to ignore these preferred 'formats', the argument would be jeopardised (Hajer, 1995:273). It is therefore intended that a discourse analysis of the SCH process should reveal the specific 'format' of argumentation which has been adopted by the actors to gain recognition amongst one another.

How successfully an argument achieves recognition, is only legitimised on certain grounds. Engbersen's (1991, cited in Hajer 1995:54) theory can be used and is based on Aristotle's definitions of *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*: "[l]*ogos* refers to how to argue a persuasive case, *ethos* refers to the reputation of the speaker, and *pathos* is a rhetorical strategy that aims to play on the emotion of the listeners".

Three other factors upon which this 'argumentative game' is determined are "credibility, acceptability and trust" (Hajer, 1995:59). Credibility is achieved through the acceptance of a positioning around an issue or problem which the discourse implies, whilst acceptability depends on whether the position appears to be favourable or necessary, and trust refers to the degree of confidence achieved in relation to the given definition of reality which the author (either an institute or person) or the practice (through evidence of previous achievements) manages to obtain (Hajer, 1995).

The criteria above will therefore determine the power of the story-line, as these are the key structuring elements of the argument, and in turn will directly effect how the actors position themselves around it and how the various coalitions emerge. As Hajer (1995:63) states, the story-lines are the "discursive cement that creates communicative networks among actors with different or at best overlapping perceptions and understandings" and therefore are also the "prime vehicles of change". In order to facilitate change in a preferred direction, or as Hajer (1995:61) terms to become "hegemonic in a given domain", a discourse must adhere to two other conditions; 'discourse structuration' and 'discourse institutionalisation'. However, the extent to which both 'discourse structuration' and 'discourse institutionalisation' is achieved through a particular process must be taken into account as it will have negative implications for creating the deliberative and open process which Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) aspire to.

Discourse structuration takes place "if the credibility of actors in a given domain requires them to draw on the ideas, concepts and categories of a given discourse" and Hajer (1995:60) uses the example of an actor's credibility relying on employing the terms of "ecological modernisation in the domain of environmental politics". Bulkeley (2000:735) asserts that the dominance of one discourse over others is achieved through this process of discourse structuration, "whereby the storylines and agents of a discourse coalition achieve coherence and credibility".

Discourse institutionalisation on the other hand is more rigidly inscribed, whereby a certain discourse "is translated into institutional arrangements" i.e. "into more enduring policy practices" (Hajer, 1995:6; 2003:108). Hajer (1995:61) uses the same example, whereby discourse institutionalisation would occur if "the theoretical concepts of ecological modernization are translated into concrete policies... and institutional arrangements". Bulkeley (2000:735) describes discourse institutionalisation in terms of discourse coalitions whereby "the concepts articulated by a discourse coalition come to be acted on within the policy process and replace previous understandings of the issue". She uses the example of the Australian climate change policy arena to explain how discourse institutionalisation may be achieved "by drawing on resources such as knowledge (for example further evidence for climate change), legitimacy (such as public support for action), power (for instance, the association of influential actors), and demonstration of material benefits" (Bulkeley, 2000:735).

Hajer's (1995) 'argumentative discourse analysis' is therefore a valuable approach which can be used to describe the way in which actors communicate and negotiate policy and policy problems. It provides another dimension to policy analysis, as it captures the dynamics of a

process, and is therefore an appropriate method which can facilitate an enhanced understanding of decision-making processes such as that of the SCH.

2.4.3 Discourse analysis as a tool of deliberative policy analysis

Discourse analysis serves to "to illuminate the social and cognitive basis of the way in which problems are constructed", in other words, it is the method which can be applied to political decision-making systems as a means to examine the policy problem in light of the discourse through which each actor conceptualises the problem (Hajer, 1995:15). Since policy problems are deliberative, discourse analysis allows the negotiations between these individuals to be studied in light of their respective positionings around the problem. More specifically, discourse analysis will attempt to determine why and how specific "vocabulary or rhetorical strategies" are employed, how these are interpreted by other actors and what is achieved through them (Hastings, 1999b:9). Therefore not only in the context of the case study, but in the broader arenas of environmental politics it is the intention that discourse analysis will act as a lens through which environmental decision-making processes can be analysed.

Hajer's framework for discourse analysis will be employed "to show how language shapes reality" (Hajer, 2003:103). Hajer (2003) identifies three different elements pertaining to discourse analysis:

1. The study of the terms of discourse analysis, i.e. the (new) vocabularies, story-lines and generative metaphors, the implicated division of labour and the various 'positionings' for the actors and stakeholders involved.
2. The formation of particular discourse coalitions around these story-lines.
3. The analysis of the particular institutional practices in which discourses are produced.

To use the 'terms' of discourse analysis as a staring point it is necessary to consider the appropriate definition. Terms are "institutionalised structures of meaning that channel political thought and action in certain directions" (Connelly, 1983 cited in Hajer, 2003:104). Hajer has sub-divided these 'textural utterances' into three 'layers' which will be described in detail below.

Story-lines, metaphors and myths comprise the first layer and they serve to sustain the "societal support for particular policy programmes" (Hajer, 2003:104). Story-lines are "narratives on

social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding" thereby facilitating the positioning of actors resulting in discourse coalition formation (Hajer, 1995:62). Metaphors assist in reducing the complexity of the problem through providing an area of common ground, whilst myths serve to explain why things cohere (Hajer, 1995; 2003).

The second layer of the terms of policy discourse analysis focuses on 'policy vocabularies' which refer to "the sets of concepts structuring a particular policy, consciously developed by policy makers" (Hajer, 2003:105). Various terms and concepts, which may be rooted in various disciplines, will assist in structuring a particular policy document, determining whether policy actions are legitimate or not (Hajer, 2003).

The third layer consists of 'epistemic notions' which embody the broader theories which determine thought and action. Epistemic notions are to some degree founded in Foucault's (1970, cited in Hajer 2003:106) philosophies, whereby they refer to "a regularity in the thinking of a particular period, structuring the understanding of reality without actors necessarily being aware of it". They therefore embody a set of subconscious rules which govern the thoughts and actions of the actors.

Since the terms of discourse analysis have been outlined, the second element of policy discourse analysis can be returned to, namely the formation of particular discourse coalitions around story-lines. Discourse coalitions have already been described in detail above and to avoid repetition, just a brief review is necessary. Discourse coalitions are defined in terms of story-lines whereby actors will position themselves in relation to a specific interpretation of a story-line, uniting them into coalitions, whilst entrenching the story-lines themselves (Hajer, 1995). Therefore discourse analysis serves to highlight these discourse coalitions which have developed in response to a specific problem and its associated story-lines.

Lastly, the third element of discourse analysis involves the examination of the particular institutional practices in which discourses are produced. Hajer (1995) highlights the importance of the settings in which discourse gets produced in addition to the rules and structures reflected in language. By using the example of 'nature development' policies in the Netherlands, Hajer (2003) shows how by favouring a top-down approach and ignoring the realities of a network society, i.e. the lack of rules and higher level policies, conflict was only experienced at the implementation phase during which the national policy required local implementation (Hajer,

2003). It was here that conflict arose as a result of the exclusion of communities from the decision-making processes: they were suddenly confronted with policy decisions which challenged their assumed 'nature conservation' discourse. Thus the conventional top-down setting in which the policy decision was made directly affected the emergence of discourses as well as providing the stage upon which these discourses interacted.

Upon detailing Hajer's (2003) threefold approach to discourse analysis as a methodology, it is necessary to recognise that this approach serves as both a theoretical basis and a methodology for the case study. Therefore a more practical application to environmental policy will be returned to in Chapter 5, where the use of discourse analysis as a research methodology will be explained.

2.4.4 Discourse analysis as a lens for environmental decision-making

Since the Earth's politics can be analysed through "discourse, institutions, policies, political philosophies and case studies" it is the aim of this section to demonstrate how discourse analysis functions as this lens to decision-making (Dryzek, 1997:8). A heightened environmental consciousness has led to a reform of political structures which have been required to address the interests of wide groups of stakeholders each with their respective objectives. Planners, politicians, economists, scientists and many other disciplines engage to formulate effective decisions. Planning in particular plays a critical role in shaping the outcomes of decision-making processes for developments such as the SCH. A practical application of discourse analysis to urban developmental processes which fall within the realm of environmental decision-making is therefore the focus of this section. Discourse analysis will serve as a means of examining the interplay of powers and the exchanges between actors in such arenas.

The 'new environmental conflict' of the 1970s brought about a fundamental shift in the way that the environment and nature were perceived (Hajer, 1995). As a result environmental issues were put at the forefront of global policy agendas and in the 1980s, the concept of 'sustainable development' which called for an integrated approach to environmental management, became the first global discourse coalition in environmental politics and has itself become institutionalised (Hajer, 1995). It is believed that the political attraction of the environment is that "it constitutes a universal reference for reconstructing a sense of community, solidarity and a common interest in a socially fragile and fragmenting world..." whilst celebrating diversity at the same time (Brand, 1999:644). As a result of contemporary social order, the environment has

come to embody a dichotomy of spatial logics, both Castells' (2000) 'virtual space' of electronic flows as well as the 'real spaces' in which people live out their daily lives (Brand, 1999). Therefore, the environment acts as the stage upon which both real and symbolic conflicts between diverse groups and cultures are played out. From an institutional perspective, environmental politics also comprises a host of overlapping disciplines representing various discourses and professions. Urban politics is the grounds for many forms of contestation around issues of place and at this local level, the interplay of the various discourses are more tangible. Issues of 'environment and development' have come to the forefront of urban policy agendas, and have therefore received a great deal of political attention.

Brand (1999:636) asserts that "urban environmentalism... seeks to make nature transparent and visible, in an exorcising response to the fears of not only ecological destruction but an unstable social order". In response to the increasing awareness of the degree of uncertainty or risk and the consequential survival paradigm, planning as a discipline has acquired renewed importance whilst the role of planners has shifted towards "damage limitation – an arena in which the fears, more than the hopes, of society are played out" (Brand, 1999:638). In addition, the new modes of governance characteristic of the network society have changed the role of planners from organisers of the spatial environment to a response to "a confusion of contradictory expert knowledge, conflicting interest groups and a plethora of lifestyle evaluations" and hence "planning is compelled to adopt the role of conflict mediation" (Brand, 1999:640).

One implication of adopting a pluralist stance to planning is its failure to recognise that not every involved interest group may have the capacity, whether that be the knowledge or the resources, required to facilitate their involvement and validate their arguments within a decision-making process (MacLaren and McGuirk, 2003). As a result, the outcome of many urban development processes depend largely on the economic power and organisational skills of such groups and participation may in fact depict a 'political power game' on the part of planners who have the ability to direct the course of action through manipulation of group demands (Arnstein, 1969, cited in MacLaren and McGuirk, 2003). Planning as a discipline is therefore inherently political and can never be neutral. It may be seen to be 'facilitating capitalism' through the creation of a landscape which "reduces locational contradictions, enhances economic efficiency and social compliance" (MacLaren and McGuirk, 2003:80). Furthermore, planning has also received criticism on the grounds that it may displace problems, causing them to resurface later on in another form or location (MacLaren and McGuirk, 2003:80). This has implications for environmental decision-making in that decisions need to be made more

strategically on a broader scale to insure their durability. Furthermore, urban developments are often required to adhere to local, provincial and national legislation, such as in South Africa, and therefore often local environments are jeopardised in order to fulfill more regional objectives. The role of planning is therefore fraught with inherent contradictions and their focus lies in conflict resolution.

By enforcing 'stewardship' as one of the principles of 'sustainable development', Brand (1999) believes that the environment provided planners with the opportunity to strengthen their moral standing whilst modernising their social agenda at the same time. The key role for planners is therefore to legitimise planning as a profession which protects the wellbeing of the public through effective management of the environment (Brand, 1999). Planning like other disciplines embodies its own form of expert knowledge and because policy dialogue and documentation is often heavily reliant on technical and procedural knowledge, the expert role of the planner is reinforced (Tait and Campbell, 2000).

This leads to an integral component of the new environmental consciousness, which is the reliance on scientific and technical knowledge, where environmental modeling and forecasts often form the basis of many policy decisions. Consequently, experts who have the ability to generate information demand the trust of both politicians and the general public. Government is therefore inherently linked to knowledge because the legitimacy of policy making is dependant on the validity of the scientific arguments upon which decisions are made (Gottweis, 2003). Hence, "power becomes intertwined with knowledge" which has already been discussed in Section 2.3 on power above, where it was shown how knowledge, as a resource may have afforded a certain agent the capacity to influence the actions of others (Gottweis, 2003:256, cited in Allen, 2003). However, Gottweis (2003:256) notes that "[a]t the same time, knowledge is always underdetermined – i.e. that, faced with choices, policymakers tend to adopt interpretations, theories, lines of research or arguments that enable them to monopolise areas of problem definition, dismiss interpretations of competition or answer to the social demands of a particular class, the state, political party, or a church". In addition, it is evident that other discourses "create their own truth" whereby their certain argument will function as a specific "rhetorical, legitimising and synthesizing" device allowing realities to be identified (Jacobs, 1999:204). The crux of this argument is that scientific representation is also open to interpretation and in the context of environmental policy arenas, this calls for an appreciation of other forms of knowledge. Ultimately it should be recognised that science should not be seen as a 'metanarrative' used to resolve policy arguments (Gottweis, 2003).

Similarly, economic arguments have dominated the other side of environmental debate, especially in the arena of urban development. Government bodies, institutions, businesses and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) all have their respective agendas and attitudes towards development and negotiate this in a typical cost-benefit approach, applying expert scientific knowledge referred to above to calculate the projected losses against the value of a given development. Increased property values, rates of revenue and expenditure are all calculated and may be significantly overestimated (Church, 1988; Edwards, 1988; McCarthy, 2003). This faith in numbers with seemingly favourable economic benefits often legitimises policy decisions, whilst the intrinsic value of the environment as well as the social objectives, which are difficult to prove or quantify, are neglected.

Environmental decision-making processes therefore bring together actors from different cultures, institutions and professions each speaking their own language and representing their own forms of knowledge. Since the previous bias towards a natural science representation of environmental reality has waned and a more theoretical approach has revealed that environmental policy problems are often a reflection of the underlying realities of society, the contestation of environmental problems becomes largely an issue of interpretation (Hajer, 1995; Jacobs, 1999). As Hajer (1995:15) affirms:

> "Environmental politics is only partially a matter of whether or not to act, it has increasingly become a conflict of interpretation in which a complex set of actors can be seen to participate in a debate in which the terms of environmental discourse are set. The method used is discourse analysis, which is employed to illuminate the social and cognitive basis of the way in which problems are constructed".

'Social constructivism' forms the basis of Hajer's argument and demonstrates how "the developments in environmental politics depend critically on the social construction of environmental problems" (Hajer, 1995:264). Furthermore, Hajer has illustrated how "social constructivism and discourse analysis add essential insights to our understanding of contemporary environmental politics" (Hajer, 1995:263). Through extending the meaning of discourse to surpass a purely language based concept, it has been shown how specific interpretations can be structured or embedded in society whilst structuring society at the same time. It is on these grounds that discourse analysis has been used as both the theoretical basis as well as the methodological approach for examining a particular environmental decision-making process, aiming to serve as a lens to environmental politics.

2.5 Conclusion

Upon situating the case study of Durban's SCH within the broader bodies of international theory relating to social structure, governance, power and discourse, the decision-making process can be analysed and interpreted. This interpretation in turn leads to a reconceptualisation of the theory, which upon application to the case study which is situated in a developing country with its own transformative context, may reflect its own unique set of deliberative processes.

Through exploring the notion of a network society and how governance has emerged in response to this new cross-sectoral and multi-scale mode of operation, it is evident that in order to function within such contemporary structures and practices, a deliberative and interactive mode of relations are required. Effective policy-making has shifted from traditional top-down approaches and end-of-pipe decisions, towards a more flexible, collaborative and democratic style of decision-making. Since power is the relational effect of social interaction and the motivating force behind the actions of individuals, it has been applied to the network society and the interactions which are occurring within it. This gives insight into how the actors relate to one another, why they act in such a manner and ultimately how their relative power affects the outcome of decisions. The clear link between power and language calls for an examination of the different discourses which operate within a process and how they differ in their interpretations of reality. This allows for clarification of why actors adopt the positions that they do and whether or not they are able to shift in response to interactions with other actors. Discourse analysis is recognised as the appropriate instrument for examining the environmental politics of the case study as it functions as a lens to understanding the dynamics and power relations between the competing actors and agendas.

The bodies of theory outlined here, both traditional and contemporary give insight into the South African environment and development arena within which the case study is occurring and thus form the basis of the discourse analysis which is to follow.

CHAPTER 3:

WATERFRONTS AS A NEW FORM OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

It is necessary to situate the case study of the proposed Small Craft Harbour (SCH) of Durban's Point Precinct, within the larger body of theory associated with the global phenomenon of urban waterfront development. International trends reveal that since the 1980s, port cities have predominantly undergone a process of renewal and redevelopment, which has been reflected in urban development literature. According to Marshall, "waterfront development has generated its own discipline" (Marshall, 2001a:5). This chapter therefore seeks to contextualise the research in light of this new found discipline, through outlining the history of waterfront redevelopments and subsequently establishing the motivations which are driving developments such as Durban's SCH.

Through an extensive critique of selected waterfront case studies, dominant principles, concepts and characteristics relating to the economic, social and environmental elements of these developments will be explored. These may either relate to the final product or emerge as part of the process shaping development planning itself. It is also necessary to view these principles as lessons which can be applied to Durban's proposed development.

3.2 The history of waterfront developments

Port cities originated as critical nodes within the global networks of trade and transport. As a result, waterfront areas and associated maritime activities were central to the industrial development of these cities. However, over the years, significant economic transformation and advances in technology prevailed across the globe and consequently reformed the operations and structures of port areas. Hoyle (2002) affirms that this transformation first became evident in the 1950s, but it was only later during the 1960s that waterfront decline and the necessity for revitalisation became widely acknowledged. North America and Europe pioneered waterfront redevelopment during the 1970s and 1980s, after which other continents followed suite (Jones, 1998; Hoyle, 2002). North American waterfront developments became replicated across the globe and have been notoriously referred to as an 'export model' and often criticised for creating homogeneity amongst port cities (Jones, 1998).

Kilian and Dodson (1996) apply an economic model to demonstrate the evolution of port development. They state that waterfront revitalisation is a product of capitalist economic restructuring and employ theories of flexible accumulation to demonstrate the three phases of retreat, redundancy and revitalisation (Kilian and Dodson, 1995; 1996). Global competition and deindustrialisation, accompanied by changes in maritime technology highlighted the inadequacies of port infrastructures, which spatially constrained the advancing port functions. This resulted in maritime activities relocating to other areas within the port, as well as the weakening or breaking of strong functional ties between ports and cities (Hoyle, 1988, cited in Kilian and Dodson, 1995). Large tracts of land within the port area became vacant and due to the diversion of capital investment elsewhere within the port, redundancy and dereliction was prevalent. These underdeveloped sites, which define the boundary between the city and the water, become a target for reinvestment of capital, by public and private sectors alike. This will be referred to in the Economic Section below.

Waterfront developments are actively pursued as a panacea for economic growth and as a result, are usually incorporated into local regeneration agendas. Power relations between the public and private sectors as well as the regulatory framework within which they interplay, ultimately define the process of development. This brings the issue of urban governance to the fore. In the words of Bruttomesso (2001:47), "[t]he outstanding features of the waterfront redevelopment process suggest that this type of area is of great 'strategic' importance for the destiny of the city: a testing ground for verifying policies".

How and why development is initiated, negotiated and ultimately played out, reflects the particular context of the city itself and so the waterfront becomes a symbol of the prevailing economic, social and ecological conditions. Examples across the globe are testament to this complexity, through both the successes and failures of the processes and products which ultimately emerge. However, it is also recognised that there are a number of common themes which are recurrent within the emerging critiques of waterfront redevelopment.

Although capital accumulation usually dominates the rationale behind waterfront schemes, it is accompanied by an array of other contextual motivations. The political climate, property cycles and general public perceptions usually contribute to shaping the outcomes of such schemes. Using the example of US port cities in the 1970s, other more specific factors included "changing demography, availability of cheap residential property, growing heritage awareness,

growing quality of life awareness, the desire to live closer to work and the growing importance of urban tourism" (Tunbridge, 1988, cited in Jones, 1998:434).

Marshall (2001a:5) believes the functions of waterfronts are threefold. "Waterfronts became associated with ways to recreate the image of a city, to recapture economic investment and to attract people back to deserted downtowns" (Marshall, 2001a:5). As the case studies reflect, waterfronts have become an iconic feature of many port cities and are closely linked to global tourism networks. Waterfronts are traditionally zoned as a configuration of mixed land uses, allowing for a diversity of activities and interactions. They typify a place where citizens actively engage, live, work and play, and therefore supercede their primary function as a tourist attraction and vehicle for economic growth. Waterfronts have therefore become an interface where the local and global interact, "a site where the global is localised and the local is globalised" (Kilian and Dodson, 1996:38).

To gain insight into the evolution of a waterfront redevelopment scheme, it is essential to acknowledge that they are characteristically multi-faceted. The different elements therefore require separate examination, taking into consideration that they are components of an overarching framework which is shaped by situational complexities.

3.3 Waterfront critique

In an effort to seek clarity concerning the interactions between fundamental elements throughout the process of waterfront redevelopments, a variety of case studies from across the globe were sourced. Not only do these accentuate the complex nature of such schemes, but they assist in drawing out the recurring themes and implications. The framework for analysis has been fragmented into economic, social and ecological factors over which the theory of urban governance presides. All four elements are therefore individually explored in light of these case studies.

3.3.1 Economic

In an inherently global system of capitalism, it is only to be expected that economic incentives have underpinned all of the case studies which were examined. In terms of any development, the project must be economically sustainable in order to be a success and ensure returns well into the future.

Through examining the historical motives behind waterfront revitalisation, it becomes clear that it was perceived by governments as a remedial task to curb urban decay in derelict port zones. It was therefore initially a public motivated policy targeting port zones as inner city areas in most need of urban renewal and 'ripe' for development. As touched on above, Kilian and Dodson (1995; 1996) have used the example of the Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Waterfront in Cape Town to clearly demonstrate how broader political and economic changes across the world and also within the country led to the spatial restructuring of Table Bay from a primitive port to a world renowned tourist complex. It was the Cape Town City Council (CCC) that recognised the development potential of the underutilised port and in order to stem further decline and redundancies, put pressure on the Minister of Transport Affairs to propose a way forward. This led to the assemblage of the Burggraaf Commission, which produced the Burggraaf Report as a framework for redevelopment. This report was used in conjunction with a privatisation policy of the South African Transport Services (SATS), to establish "a number of private, wholly owned subsidiary companies" (Kilian and Dodson, 1995:19). One of the companies was the Victoria and Alfred (Pty) Ltd, which commenced the regeneration process and managed to achieve a development which generated revenue from previously unprofitable state land. This is a standard example of how public sector initiatives and initial investment paved the way for further private sector involvement. These public-private partnerships are a common trend which have emerged as a combined effort of both sectors to overcome the risk of such high-profile developments (Millspaugh, 2001). This will be expanded on in Section 3.3.4 which deals with the political process.

Due to the historical industrial function of any port, waterfronts are characteristically located adjacent to the Central Business District (CBD). As a result of this strategic location, these zones have been identified for their capacity to regenerate inner city areas. Consequently, waterfront schemes have been assigned the role of flagship projects, in city or regional regenerative agendas. In terms of the waterfront location itself, the innate aesthetic appeal of water in close proximity to the urban core, provides a competitive advantage for such schemes, which translates into economic benefits for the public and private sectors. These relationships will be expanded on in Section 3.3.3 later on in the chapter, which deals with the natural environment. On a broader scale, the waterfront itself, which may comprise a marina, small craft harbour, or a revitalised interface between the water and the land, offers some form of competitive advantage to its port city. In a world dominated by competition for capital, cities are seeking out development opportunities as well as initiating developments with the intentions to

avoid a potential 'missed development opportunity'. This argument was central to the rationale behind Durban's proposed development. Agencies have therefore targeted the more lucrative international and national tourist sectors, which maximise profit through keeping up with these general development pressures. However, the dependence on a foreign market and its associated risks has implications relating to economic sustainability. This reveals another critical question pertaining to both the economic and social dimensions of waterfront development... who is the development for? This generates debates which are associated with symbolic arguments around exclusivity and access. These issues are detailed in Section 3.3.2 which focuses on these social dimensions.

In a different context, the objectives of the public and private sector should be evaluated in terms of their economic dynamics. Whilst the government objectives relate to both social and economic dimensions, the private investors are solely in pursuit of capital accumulation. It is therefore necessary to examine the involvement of different sectors in light of their motivations.

The financial outlay from the public sector has often been referred to as 'priming the pump' (Church, 1988; Tweedale, 1988; Kilian and Dodson, 1996). This strategy has been adopted by most levels of government, which have sought to initiate development in redundant dockland areas. Church (1988:199) acknowledges that "the internationally prescribed model for waterfront redevelopments used in Australia, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and other European countries, is for public sector money to be used as a stimulus for private sector investment". Because of the negative associations and stigma attached to derelict port zones, private capitalists are usually reluctant to invest. The public sector is therefore required to outlay a significant amount of capital to improve infrastructure and transform the general public opinion, before any private investment will yield profits. One example in particular, is that of Swansea where the council's "long term financial commitment to renewal initiatives" was the fundamental reason behind the economic success of the project (Edwards, 1988:132). As a result of the port's increasing popularity amongst developers, a 550 berth marina was constructed and according to Edwards (1988:132), it has subsequently become the "focal point for the entire redevelopment". This can only be attributed to the public sector achieving a favourable climate in which the private sector could confidently invest.

However, "it is now quite likely that the initiative for a revitalisation project will come from a developer rather than a local authority" (Pinder *et al*, 1988:255). This dominance of private initiative is reflected by Hong Kong's waterfront developments, and coupled with extreme

investor confidence. Bristow (1988) attributes the unique development dynamics to the following factors; prevailing free-market conditions; land shortage, population growth, and related high demand; and limited government intervention supporting a demand-led planning system. Private sector driven, large scale and rapid displacement occurs in the CBD and especially the waterfront (due to reclamation opportunities) as a result of the replacement of obsolescent uses by those more economically efficient (Bristow, 1988). The huge success achieved by private property developers is due to a combination of two crucial elements, lack of formal statutory planning methods and significant investor confidence. To quote Bristow (1988:181):

> "Perhaps this is the lesson that we all might learn from Hong Kong when considering waterfront redevelopments as a process. It is not so much the problems of the detail that matter, as the ambience of the whole. The lesson is that success breeds success: investment flows where benefit can be demonstrated and where capital has the confidence and the means".

As classified by Law (1988:148) developments are either market-or socially led, or most commonly, a combination of the two. It is therefore highly likely that competition and trade-offs occur between the poles as the process evolves. Tunbridge (1988:80) has highlighted that "[c]onflict potential also exists between socially and commercially motivated concepts of the optimum re-use of waterfront space, since 'the essential interest of the developer is to capture the complete value of the amenity'" (Petrillo, 1987:201, cited in Tunbridge, 1988:80). As a result, waterfronts have often provided the grounds for complex political interactions which have shaped the dynamics of the decision-making process, as well as the outcome of the development itself, this will be discussed further on in the chapter, in the section dealing with the political process (Section 3.3.4).

Before considering the trade offs between the costs and benefits and the issue of to whom they are accruing, it is necessary to briefly outline the various dimensions of the economic sector. McCarthy and Fynn's (2000) analysis of 'The Likely Developmental Consequences of a Point Marine Park and Waterworld' is specifically relevant to this study and clearly highlights these dimensions. McCarthy and Fynn (2000:4) stipulate that from the City Council's perspective, the Point Development falls more into the category of "expenditures designed to yield economic returns" rather than social returns. The five indicators of efficiency of public capital expenditure are as follows: short term economic growth impacts (such as construction related employment and associated multiplier effect); long term economic growth impacts (the new permanent jobs, profits and rates and taxes and their associated multiplier effects); displacement effects (where

profits and jobs arise out of the internal displacement of other current profits and jobs); leverage effects (the stimulation of ancillary capital expenditure projects by other entities such as the private sector) and externality effects (positive externalities, unpriced benefits, or negative externalities, uncompensated costs, are experienced in the areas external to the project and have been referred to as a 'spillover effect') (McCarthy and Fynn, 2000:5).

In summary, these benefits have been identified by McCarthy and Fynn (2000) as direct and indirect construction jobs; increased rates of revenue for the development area, as well as the adjacent area; potential increase in the city's tourism market share (with relation to employment) and on site permanent jobs. These fall into four main categories which can be classified as consumer spend, property values, consequent rates of revenue and job creation. For the purposes of this study, it is not the aim to quantitatively assess these economic impacts highlighted by McCarthy and Fynn (2000) but rather to indicate what type of benefits can be expected and how they possibly trade-off against other social or environmental impacts. The international theory portrays some situations which reflect the dynamics and interactions between the economic sector and its speculated benefits, and the other sectors. It is, however, important to note that every waterfront development process should be viewed within its relevant context.

The Valletta Waterfront Project is an example which reveals how these commercial agendas have the ability to override social priorities. McCarthy (2003) has evaluated both the positive and negative impacts of the Proposed Cruise Terminal and associated waterfront development. McCarthy (2003:343) has identified the positive impacts of the development as the generation of revenue primarily through visitor numbers and associated spending power, as well as from year-round activities. The cruise terminal improves the attractiveness of the city and extends an image of modernity, leisure and luxury, which promotes the city to investors, developers and visitors (Figueira de Sousa, 2001, cited in McCarthy, 2003:343), 'Planning gain' or community benefits may offset some of the environmental and social effects of the development. There are, however, a number of associated implications which may negatively impact the development. The low user fees which have arisen from inter-port competition, reveals that the economic benefits of these cruise terminals is often over-estimated (McCarthy 2003). In addition to this, many land-based services are contracted by the cruise companies and income generated on the ships is accrued by the ship owners (Figueira de Sousa, 2001, cited in McCarthy, 2003:344), decreasing potential expenditure in the terminal. Bianchini (1993, cited in McCarthy, 2003:344) warns that consumption-orientated strategies for economic regeneration are vulnerable to

external factors, such as visitor numbers, which questions the long term sustainability of the development. In terms of the historic fabric, infrastructure and the environment, the increased numbers of visitors as well as the seasonality of the industry will have other implications such as congestion, impact on heritage and ecological impacts (pollution and habitat loss) (McCarthy, 2003). This erodes the value of the waterfront, potentially undermining the long term economic sustainability of the development. The broad lesson from Valletta is that waterfront development may have many implications with respect to perceived economic benefits as well as long term sustainability.

The London Docklands present another example of the shortfalls of speculating economic benefits. Church (1988) provides a detailed analysis of the performance of the London Docklands Development Company (LDDC) with respect to economic change. Many of the changes occurring within the docklands area were facilitated by global restructuring of financial services as well as the restructuring of local businesses, and therefore cannot be solely attributed to the LDDC nor viewed in isolation from the socio-economic or political conditions at the time (Church, 1988). Private investment and land management figures reveal that the LDDC succeeded in achieving its targets in this regard, and gained momentum, evident by the increase in large scale development proposals (Church, 1988). This economic growth is supported by the statistics relating to new businesses and jobs, however, on closer examination Church (1988) affirms that nearly two thirds of the new jobs created were merely relocations into the area and due to job losses from relocations of previous businesses out of the area, the net amount of jobs created was minimal. An examination of the labour market suggests high levels of unemployment amongst adjacent communities, with roughly three quarters of the residents employed outside the area (Church, 1988). This level of unemployment is exacerbated by the low standard of education within the communities. Therefore, it is apparent that although commercial targets were reached, the general economic changes expected to uplift the community were not achieved. This warns against over-estimating the regenerative economic benefits, which are often not very clear cut, whilst emphasising the role that the socio-economic conditions play in development.

When considering the example of Swansea's waterfront redevelopment, some of these economic dimensions were enforced. The redevelopment of the Swansea Maritime Zone has experienced positive economic impacts, derived in the forms summarised by McCarthy and Fynn (2000) above. Edwards (1988) attributes the economic benefits primarily to direct and indirect employment, as well as the expenditure related to the marina. However, upon a closer

examination of the economic dynamics that the waterfront redevelopment has created, Edwards (1988:143) notes that success has only been achieved in the form of "physical improvement and general urban development", resulting in a higher quality environment than what previously existed. However, a more detailed economic analysis has revealed that the previous forms of employment have either vanished or been relocated, negatively effecting the livelihood of this sector of residents, whilst the jobs which have replaced them are not suited to the level of skill possessed by these residents (Edwards, 1988). In addition to this, the positive economic impact created by the marina and associated activities has been compromised by the specific nature of the industry and related products, which require importing into the area, causing economic 'leakage' effects. This was accompanied by limited benefits for the community, whereby the only "tangible benefits for the local authority accrue at least partly in the form of higher rental income" (Edwards, 1988:141). All these factors contribute to a reduced net economic benefit than was originally perceived, which is also implicated by the costs which were imposed on society and the environment. Edwards (1988:142) identified these as "traffic congestion.., late-night noise from leisure-related activities; and rising property prices and their attendant social implications". Through this broader analysis of the perceived costs and benefits of a development, Edwards (1988:142) poses a pertinent question, "...[h]ow much of the city's heavy investment in infrastructure can be recouped in straightforward economic terms, and how much must be assigned to less quantifiable – yet still vital - gains such as environmental upgrading and port-city re-integration?". This highlights the dominance of quantitative and more specifically speculated economic analysis of waterfront developments. Clark (1988:229) asserts that "this testing may become a political mechanism for the assertion of particular (conveniently measurable) criteria or goals" and is therefore a tool used by developers to justify their plans. This calls for a more qualitative evaluation of waterfront processes.

Clark (1988:226) examines these rival grounds for the assessment of waterfront revitalisation:

> "'Success' is claimed in terms of concrete achievements: the amount of land reclaimed and put to profitable use, the rise in land values, the creation of new jobs and business opportunities, the attraction of new types of residents and customers, and the construction of new houses, flats and leisure facilities".

Although in economic and urban development terms, these are all favourable outcomes of a development, they often over-shadow other objectives of redevelopment and make for an incomplete assessment.

In the race for capital accumulation, waterfront schemes have become a popular route to success. However, the economic dimensions reflecting 'success', are often contested and provide grounds for a biased assessment. To assume a more holistic and objective perspective, one needs to examine the other dimensions of waterfront development; social and ecological.

3.3.2 Social

Over and above the economic factors driving waterfront development, it is important to consider the vision that shapes waterfronts and their symbolic role as gateway to a port city as well as the social implications which manifest themselves throughout the development process. In particular, the most pertinent social issue which emerged, was that of justification of the allocation of benefits. Public benefits, more specifically the provision or enhancement of public spaces, facilities and services, was often a contested issue, which is in close connection with the underlying political dynamics of the scheme. Marshall (2001a:4) has succeeded in grasping the essence of such a development, and portrays a more holistic perspective, stating that it "is not just for profit, or personal aggrandizement, but for the benefit of humanity and the planet as well". It is therefore necessary to examine the social dimensions of a waterfront development, with reference to these benefits as well as the other themes which emerged and are discussed below.

a) Public benefits: IDP / welfare objectives

The vision of any city is to integrate economic development with social welfare, as outlined in the economic sustainability section above. Therefore most developments which involve the public sector strive to both improve the standard of living of citizens and satisfy the broader objectives of strengthening the city's economic base, linking private with public benefits. Patterns of mixed land use facilitate this objective, through the promise of either affordable housing or improved public facilities. As common in North America or the United Kingdom, "[s]uch objectives then become a bribe to the local community in return for exclusive rights to the site, rather than a prime objective" (Clark, 1988:228). However, in the South African socio-economic environment, urban developments are expected to conform to the public agenda, through meeting IDP objectives. This balancing of public and private interests is often conflictual and links to the issue of governance, once again addressing the question of who benefits from waterfront development?

Gordon's (1997) paper relating to the political environments of New York, London, Boston and Toronto's waterfront developments, evaluates the allocation of benefits with respect to affordable housing, public access and jobs. Within all four schemes, affordable housing, succumbed to the market pressures which pushed towards more lucrative higher-income housing, as a niche market. They were also identified as having a lower demand on the social service system. It also became apparent that housing soon gave way to more critical political objectives as the implementation phase commenced: in Toronto, open space was prioritised; in New York, budget relief; and in London job training took preference (Gordon, 1997). It is therefore often difficult to assess the outcome of the development in terms of welfare priorities, because it is inextricably linked to the political dynamics of the process.

In the case of Dundee's City Quay Proposal, McCarthy (1998) believes that a combination of factors have led to a lack of regenerative benefits and hence a 'missed opportunity' for planned development. These factors include market forces (over-estimated demand for, and competition between new facilities), design flaws with regard to the integration with and orientation to the city, and the provision of upmarket housing. The latter was the result of an attempt by the City Council to ensure coherence of the scheme. This legal requirement stipulates that housing should be provided early on in the scheme, however, upmarket housing which was implemented during the first stage of development was inadequate. This combination of factors, underpinned by poor planning, has led to the City Quay Proposal failing to maximise both economic and social benefits expected of most regeneration schemes.

An example which highlights the trade offs between the economic and the environmental and social aims, is the case of Valletta. The Valletta Cruise Terminal Brief proposes to exploit growing international demand for cruise tourism, through the regeneration of the old terminal as the first phase of a mixed land use development scheme. McCarthy (2003) questions the founding principles of the scheme with regard to the trade-off between economic and environmental aims. His concerns center on development planning weaknesses which fail to maximise the broader regeneration outcomes of such a development. These include the domination of tourist-based activities, location of access roads, proximity to lower income communities and insufficient community benefits (such as access). McCarthy (2003) therefore claims that the Project is questionable in terms of long term sustainability as vital criteria have not been adequately met.

Despite international acclaim, the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town has failed to maximise social objectives in terms of the provision of public benefit. Because processes of capital accumulation tend to target the upper income bracket and their residential requirements, affordable housing was never made a priority of the scheme. As a result "...the V&A Company have lost the opportunity to include a broader spectrum of the housing market within the development, something that would have done much to enhance their acceptability and relevance in the 'new South Africa'" (Kilian and Dodson, 1996:38). This relates to the underlying politics whereby the process experienced "a shift in the balance of power between public authorities and private investors, with social objectives giving way to commercial interest and market forces" (Shurmer-Smith, 1990, cited in Kilian and Dodson, 1996:38).

As highlighted by these cities, social objectives are generally accepted as an important component of development proposals, which can be prone to a loss of momentum at the implementation stage. This problem cannot be addressed in isolation from the political dynamics of the decision-making process, warning that this problem should be treated as a symptom of the underlying complexities of governance.

b) Public access and exclusivity

One of the most contested issues facing waterfront redevelopment, which relates to the social obligations of a waterfront development, is the concept of public access. Symbolic arguments relating to access and exclusivity have often taken centre stage within the decision-making process. Repeatedly, it has been reported that if public access is not adopted as a founding principle of such a scheme, negative consequences such as public opposition, delays or even termination of development may prevail (Gordon, 1997; Basset et al, 2002; Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004).

Gordon (1997) outlined the different approaches adopted by development agencies with regard to public access for New York, Toronto, London and Boston. New York had success in this respect and their urban design guidelines and public spaces were well acclaimed. This can be attributed to the fact that the agency (Battery Park City Authority) reserved the entire water's edge for public access and phased these spaces ahead of development. Toronto's Harbourfront Corporation originally promoted their waterfront site as a waterfront park and this public programming was popular among citizens. However, financial self-sufficiency was required later on in the process and this resulted in the pursuit of private development. Because the

citizen's had already accepted the site as a municipal asset, the Corporation received great opposition. These symbolic arguments based on public space and access, revealed that the public held high regard for this asset. Other factors contributed to the opposition, which led to the dismantling of the agency and loss of funding, resulting in an uncertain future for the scheme. London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) prioritised historic preservation ahead of public space and this has led to domination of the water's edge by historic warehouses instead of a public walkway (Gordon, 1997). This links to the issue of exclusivity which was exacerbated by private developments with high security. Similarly Gordon (1997) claims that Boston's Redevelopment Agency (BRA) assigned private development to the waterfront edge which was subsequently intercepted by the state government legislation which led to re-planning of the site. In light of these four pioneer waterfront projects, Gordon (1997) concluded that the symbolic content of the physical development must be managed to highlight the public benefits such as access and public parks, and to promote these benefits to the wider community.

The example of Copenhagen's waterfront reinforces the importance of public access in relation to exclusivity (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004). Public attention focused on a prime piece of waterfront land (known as the Kalvebod Brygge) which was sold to a development corporation at below market value and later bought by a Swedish Company (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004). There was significant public outcry in response to the construction of tall buildings on this site based on the argument that the buildings blocked the waterfront off from the rest of the city. In addition, the waterfront was separated from the surrounding working-class communities as it did not provide relevant housing within the developments. This issue of exclusivity was identified by Desfor and Jorgensen (2004) as a potential future conflict. In response to the public outcry, which threatened to 'destabilise urban politics', a Vision Group was set up as a flexible mechanism to regulate future development (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004).

Hoyle (2002) in his paper outlining the development of Zanzibar's Stone Town, considers the successes of other waterfront redevelopments in developing countries. These countries include Havana (Cuba), Santo (Brazil), Bombay (India), Dalian (China) and Singapore. He maintains that one of the key attributes is "the maintenance or provision of public access to the water's edge" (Hoyle, 2002:142). It is probably wise to take cognisance of the fact that, because this conclusion is based on theory relating to developing countries, these lessons are perhaps more applicable.

In close relation to the criticisms based on inadequate provision of affordable housing, the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town has also been judged for its exclusive elements. Kilian and Dodson (1996) assert that in an attempt to aspire to the concept of 'dockland living', the large-scale residential complexes outside the original development core are icons of exclusivity. Kilian and Dodson (1996:38) have labeled the development as "an affluent and exclusive island in a sea of urban decline and poverty". This represents a perceived failure to meet social objectives, through the promotion of exclusivity. Clark (1988:222) highlights the juxtaposition between schemes and inner-city deprivation stating that "[s]uch extremes may be unacceptable, particularly where waterside renewal harms the interests and opportunities of established residents while providing subsidy for the extravagant lifestyle of an elite". An additional source of exclusivity can be attributed to the postmodern underpinnings of the waterfront, which embodies notions of consumption and profit-making, also believed to promote exclusivity (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). In order to remedy these public sentiments, the V&A Waterfront Company have adopted a number of strategies, such as historical information boards and educational trips for underprivileged children, in the pursuit of a more inclusive waterfront environment.

Hilling (1988:36) situates the problem of exclusivity amongst the broader failings of development schemes:

> "All too frequently, recent redevelopment has created sharply defined socio-economic disparities in communities which were previously marked by a considerable degree of functional unity. As was indicated... the principal viewpoint adopted... is that the debate on waterfront revitalisation and social justice – if it is to be properly informed – requires a thorough appreciation of the rise and fall of maritime quarters as economic and social entities. To ignore the long term dynamism, and focus simply on the uninhabited redundant space of docklands, is to ignore most of the social problems generated by port evolution".

c) Social and cultural diversity, local distinctiveness and unique sense of place

Marshall (2001a:4) believes that "the waterfront is an expression of what we are as a culture". It is therefore essential that the waterfront development reflects the unique culture and society of the city with which it engages. Many waterfronts are mere recreations of the universal model, adopted to mirror the successful strategies of past schemes. However, theory has proved that this can be a downfall of redevelopments and can be addressed through the encouragement and promotion of a unique ambience. This contributes to recreating the image of the city, providing

citizens with the opportunity to establish a unique identity. This may embody either an emblematic or symbolic physical feature or an overall design approach.

One very distinct waterfront has gained international status for the entire city through the establishment of an emblematic feature. Bilbao, through a number of regeneration projects, was transformed from a city plagued by industrial decay and economic decline, into an internationally recognised cultural hub (Marshall, 2001b). Bilbao's waterfront site provided the location for the key project, the Guggenhein Museum. Marshall (2001b:62) asserts that "[t]his building has been hailed as a masterpiece of contemporary architecture, and indeed the project has come to represent the renaissance of the entire city". Parallel to the establishment of this landmark and the generation of a cultural identity for the city, educational, economic, infrastructural and environmental services were developed to further enhance the city's external image (Marshall, 2001b).

In a broader sense, the adoption of contemporary architecture has also proved successful in creating a unique waterfront ambience for Rotterdam. The modern and almost radical styles which were adopted on the waterfront were uncharacteristic of traditional replications of dockland architecture. The philosophy behind this approach to redevelopment was to symbolise the city's image as a 'forward-looking phoenix' (Pinder and Rosing, 1988). Rotterdam's waterfront clearly illustrates the central role that a waterfront assumes in establishing an identity or representing a philosophy of a city, highlighting the fact that this function must be appreciated over and above the regenerative and economic opportunities.

The revitalisation of Zanzibar's Stone Town conversely places the emphasis of urban design on the conservation of heritage. Cultural heritage is often one of the principal design elements of waterfronts, affording meaning to the history of a waterfront and its city, and economising on these culture resources as assets. In Zanzibar, the rich legacy of diverse cultural influence, the interaction between Arab, British, German, Indian, Portuguese, Shirazi and Swahili cultures, has been reflected in the built environment (Hoyle, 2002). Being an island, and therefore inextricably linked to the sea, the waterfront has historically represented the interface between the array of cultures. It is this ensemble of cultures, reflected in the urban fabric, which provides the scope for cultural tourism, offering a very distinct tourist experience (Hoyle, 2002). Unfortunately, developing countries which are usually associated with their own unique heritage, often fail to recognise the competitive advantage offered by the historical urban fabric and coupled with a lack of capacity to develop these resources, the built environment often

gives way to other socio-economic demands (Hoyle, 2002). Zanzibar, however, has successfully capitalised on the historical identity and local distinctiveness of the Stone Town and the waterfront, succumbing to the global tourism market.

As already referred to for its failure to meet social objectives, the V&A Waterfront has also been criticised for its lack of local identity. As illustrated by Kilian and Dodson (1996), the focus of the paper was on the post-modern waterfront. Entrenched in this theory of post-modernism is the emulation of the stereotypical waterfront package. This has been reflected in the V&A Waterfront, whereby "planners set about duplicating internationally tried and tested strategies of postmodern waterfront planning" (Kilian and Dodson, 1996:34). This has resulted in generating criticisms which focus on the over-simplification of past cultural landscapes signifying a lack of unique identity. Nevertheless, the V&A Waterfront has retained its status within the South African tourist market, as the top ranking tourist destination.

The Cottonera Project in Malta has received similar criticisms. McCarthy (2004) employs a holistic approach to waterfront redevelopment through the application of sustainability principles, which aims to guide his analysis of the project. 'Distinctiveness' features as one of the seven principles. He enforced the idea that a degree of homogeneity persists amongst such developments and this creates inherent contradictions. This is based on the fact that tourists are attracted to a place such as Malta, to experience its unique heritage, whilst "in the case of the Cottonera Project there would seem to be a risk of loss of identity arising from the insertion of tourism-related uses, particularly the new marina" (McCarthy, 2004:58). The major issue with the marina stemmed from the visual impact that the large yachts and ships impose, which is in conflict with the nature of the built environment. These contradictions are common within many waterfront developments and have highlighted the challenge that redevelopment agencies face when endeavouring to establish a specific sense of place for the waterfront and an image for the city.

In an effort to seek clarity on the social dimension of waterfront developments, both the symbolic and tangible elements have been evaluated. However, this is not a complete social assessment of waterfront development, as many other elements are inextricably linked to the economic, political and ecological spheres and have therefore been discussed elsewhere in this chapter. It is also fundamental that the social aspects above are viewed in relation to their underlying socio-economic and political conditions.

3.3.3 Ecological / natural environment

It is widely acknowledged that waterfronts are generally developed in recognition of the significant value of the land-water interface. However, the majority of developments aim to enhance this asset through remediation of previously contaminated or dilapidated industrial zones. The context of this research is therefore fundamentally different in this regard, as the environment in question is currently a natural ecosystem in need of protection. The applicability of this theory, although indirect, points towards one of the primary principles behind waterfront developments, namely the value of the natural environment.

When holistically evaluating the potential of a development, it is currently acceptable to apply principles of sustainability. 'Sustainable development' has become a catchphrase widely accepted by all sectors especially in terms of its ability to justify development. It is therefore imperative that the notion is effectively put into practice in this context. McCarthy (2004) applies these principles of sustainability to evaluate Malta's Cottonera Project and this highlighted some of the key problems. One of the principles directly relating to the environment in Malta included key aspects such as resource efficiency, pollution reduction and biotic support. One of the downfalls of the Cottonera Project was the failure to address these principles on the ground level. There were high levels of congestion due to the absence of public transport (and related pollution), a lack of open space in the area and associated tree planting and landscaping was not prioritised (McCarthy, 2004). A broader look at the project revealed that failure to accommodate 'stewardship and resilience' amongst the principles also affected the environment. In practice, this was reflected by the adoption of a large-scale hotel development, where a smaller-scale high-quality tourist and guest house accommodation would have supported a more long term vision (McCarthy, 2004). The Local Plan, however, indicates this preference stating that these smaller accommodations are "of a nature and character which represents the area's social and physical capacity to accommodate the development together with its environmental resources and its socio-cultural fabric" (Maltese Planning Authority, 2002:76, cited in McCarthy, 2004:56). The natural environment is after all, the physical framework upon which developmental concepts become reality and should therefore be central to any evaluation.

In economic or developmental terms, the presence of water has provided a competitive advantage for real estate. The low priority and 'hands-off attitude' described by Hayuth (1988) which has previously been afforded to waterfront and port zones, has been replaced by a

growing awareness of the environmental value (and associated economic value) of such sites. The waterfront therefore embodies a particular niche market and has evolved to symbolise a higher quality of life and upmarket living. Parallel to this appreciation of waterfront environments, another trend in public attitude captured by Riley and Shurmer-Smith (1988:40) has been:

> "...the channeling of leisure time into marine activities and the emergence of considerable social cachet attaching to maritime living...[creating the]...demand for marinas in port areas".

Once again the V&A Waterfront is a prime example of the increased demand for waterfront property, and as already mentioned, prescribes to the concept of 'dockland living' (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). Wood and Handley (1999) have used the regional model of The Mersey Basin Regeneration Project to research the public perceptions of water, and how this translates to economic benefits. The Campaign was established as a remedial initiative to combat the effluent which had accumulated within the Basin as a result of heavy industrial and urban activities and has since resulted in the generation of a number of viable waterfronts, as elements of urban renewal projects. Extensive surveys allowed Wood and Handley (1999) to attribute the inflated property values of waterside properties to the contribution that improved water quality made in enhancing the overall environment. However, Wood and Handley (1999:576) also stress that water quality is only one component within the "development mix (alongside *inter alia*, location, market conditions, developer attitudes to risk)". Although contextually different, this paper has been reviewed because it offers insight into the perceived value of water and its role as an integral component of waterfront developments. Wood and Handley's (1999:576) concluding comment was as follows:

> "The key message...is the centrality of good water quality as a public good, that is an environmental asset which must be nurtured to contribute to both economic health, as part of an improved regional image, and for its own sake".

These views are supported by Bruttomesso (2001) who also maintains that a development is economically and environmentally hindered if the water quality is not of a specific standard. He expands on this point through assessing the different types of uses:

> "[h]igh water quality...means the development of multiple uses, even though these are linked to more leisure time than production; but the residential function, or the real estate activity in the wider sense, would be highly advantaged, as clean water can be seen as a sort of extension of the open area and usable by residents or visitors to the waterfront" (Bruttomesso, 2001:46).

This highlights another facet of environmental quality, open space. The critical role of open space within a waterfront development has been largely acknowledged in practice and in theory. This is closely linked to the issue of public access, because, through creating open public spaces and encouraging public activity within these spaces, the value of these zones is enhanced (Bruttomesso, 2001). This applies to 'green' open areas such as public parks, as well as general networks of public space, which connect public spaces, such as promenades along waterfront edges, wharves and viewpoints. This issue of urban design contributes to the aesthetics of the waterfront environment and balances the dichotomy of the natural and built environments. The social implications of public access have already been discussed in Section 3.3.2 above. It is therefore obvious that by incorporating open space into a waterfront development, both the ecological and social viability is enhanced.

Some waterfronts which have implemented 'open space' as a central principle include Zanzibar's Stone Town (Hoyle, 2002), Cape Town's V&A Waterfront (Kilian and Dodson, 1996), Malta's Cottonera Project (McCarthy, 2004), New York's Battery Park City, Toronto's Harbourfront Site (Gordon, 1997), Shanghai (Marshall, 2001b), Vancouver (Marshall, 2001c), Bilbao (Vegara, 2001) and Genoa (Marshall, 2001d). Those which have failed to address this fundamental concept of waterfront redevelopment, and have received criticism in relation to this, are Valletta's proposed Cruise Terminal (McCarthy, 1998), London's Docklands and Boston's Charlestown Navy Site (Gordon, 1997).

On a broader scale, planning and environmental legislation has been formulated in an effort to promote a global sustainable development agenda, signifying an era of heightened environmental consciousness. These government policies provide an overarching framework within which any development can be assessed, and aim to evaluate proposals in terms of ecological, social and economic costs and benefits. In terms of waterfront developments, the value which developers attribute to the environment often reflects the particular enviro-political conditions presiding at that time.

Although current policy embodies the notion that the environment is a valuable infinite resource, development priorities always seem to manifest themselves as the dominant policy initiatives, captured by Clark (1988:227):

> "Changed attitudes towards nature have not found their obvious potential in the greater use of informal public open space or temporary parkland as an

intermediate state between dereliction and active reoccupation, though some progress has been made (Peters, 1979). Ecology has temporary status as a convenient low-cost land use which avoids many of the problems of human habitation. However the idea of creating permanent wilderness remains revolutionary: all must be swept away eventually, or tamed, as part of the restoration of land values (Nicholson, 1978)".

The physical environment symbolises the stage upon which water meets land, local meets global and public meets private. The nature of these relationships can be enhanced if the natural environment is afforded the value and status that it is due. It is the role of agencies to prioritise this resource, managing and protecting the very component that provides the waterfront with an advantage like none other.

3.3.4 Governance and the political process

The essence of waterfront development is captured by Bruttomesso (2001:42) who accurately describes the waterfront as "a paradigm of urban complexity". Developers and planners are often fraught with the difficulty of integrating the different dimensions outlined above, as well as assimilating the conflicting interests. Over and above these difficulties, they are subject to the intricacies of their particular context and although agencies "normally look to the experience of other places when addressing the problems and policy dilemmas associated with their own waterfronts", there is no standard model (Hoyle, 2002:155). It is therefore also unwise to apply a generic framework of analysis when examining waterfront developments and the specific socio-economic, ecological and political conditions of each example should always be taken into account.

a) Public–Private Partnerships

One common element of waterfront development is the relationship between the public and the private sectors. This may assume a variety of different forms, depending on the local context, the specific objectives of both sectors and the balance of power between the two. Previously, these relationships have been viewed as an obstacle which has had implications for the planning and development process. Bailey (2004) explains the dichotomy of the two sectors stating that:

> "The biggest issues faced...are ones that relate to interaction between the public and private sectors.....without involving the private sector it is difficult to attract investment. At the same time, private developers cannot act on their own because local governments control utilities, education, social services and police and fire protection among other vital services".

However, more recently, these relationships which are commonly termed Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) have come to the forefront of urban development and have received recognition as a 'tool' rather than an obstacle. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2005) clarifies their role:

> "Public-Private Partnerships are one of the most attractive tools being used to address the urban environmental crisis. Their use is based on the recognition that both the public and the private sectors can benefit by pooling their resources to improve the delivery of basic services to all citizens... by combining the social responsibility, environmental awareness and public accountability of the public sector, with the finance, technology, managerial efficiency and entrepreneurial spirit of the private sector".

Although viewed as a constructive relationship, it has been acknowledged that there are various challenges facing this partnership, namely the balancing of their respective objectives. As referred to in the sections above, each development project involves a unique arrangement of economic, social and environmental concerns, which need to be collectively addressed through the decision-making process. In theory, PPPs aim to deal with these issues, however at the implementation level, the difficulties become apparent. From the perspective of the public sector, their primary concern is to provide basic services for citizens without compromising the investment opportunities of the private sector. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2005) highlights the difficulties that the public sector experiences, having to assume this new role of "enabler and regulator" as an alternative to its previous role of "provider and manager of basic services". The challenge faced by private investors is possibly more complex, and requires a detailed risk analysis, which will determine whether profitable returns are expected and ultimately whether the project is worth investing in (UNDP, 2005).

The United Nations Development Programme has also identified a number of gaps in capacity between both sectors which has negative impacts on the process. Both an extended negotiation phase and higher transaction costs decrease the chances of large scale investment for smaller projects. These gaps are as follows (UNDP, 2005):

- "the reciprocal mistrust and lack of understanding of each other's interests and needs across the public and private sectors;
- the absence of locally available information on, and experience with, arranging sustainable partnerships; and
- the underlying legal, political, and institutional obstacles to forming effective public-private relationships"

When examining the nature of Public-Private Partnerships in the context of the urban waterfront, these challenges become quite apparent.

The V&A Waterfront reflects a local example of waterfront redevelopment, which embodies an effective and sustainable relationship between the private and public sectors. As previously described, it was the Cape Town City Council (CCC) which recognised the development potential of the underutilised port and initiated the development process. Their primary objectives were to stimulate the economy whilst gaining profits from the underdeveloped land, through the adoption of leisure-based consumption as a means to attract capital. The assemblage of the Burggraaf Commission resulted in the production of the Burggraaf Report as a framework for redevelopment (Kilian and Dodson, 1995). This Report was used in conjunction with a privatisation policy of the South African Transport Services (SATS), to establish "a number of private, wholly owned subsidiary companies" (Kilian and Dodson, 1995:19). The V&A Waterfront Company (Pty) Ltd, was the primary agency in the redevelopment process. Their board of directors was led by a former town planner for the CCC, and represented a spectrum of public interests, thereby supporting a comprehensive development strategy (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). The development framework which was jointly generated by the CCC formed part of a 'package of plans'. Kilian and Dodson (1996:33) attribute this model to the Planned Urban Development approach employed in the United States, which "provided a systematic approach by which to undertake flexible and incremental (and thus postmodern) planning". Thus, not only did the V&A Waterfront Company follow postmodern planning processes established abroad, but they managed to forge a successful alliance between the public and the private sectors. However, as detailed in Section 3.3.2, which focused on the social challenges of waterfront development, criticisms concerning the emphasis on the upper end of the residential market have been interpreted as a lack of foresight as well as the inability to exercise power on the part of the public sector (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). Shurmer-Smith and Burtenshaw (1990, cited in Kilian and Dodson, 1996) have warned against this "shift in the balance of power between public authorities and private investors, with social objectives giving way to commercial interests and market forces".

Andrew Jones in his article documenting 'Issues in waterfront regeneration: more sobering thoughts – a UK perspective' has identified "...problems of 'political dogma' with an over-emphasis on private sector-led initiatives" as one of the emerging concerns (Jones, 1998:439). There is a multitude of examples which substantiate these observations, a selection of which have already been discussed in Section 3.3.2 above. Malta's Cottonera Project, analysed by

McCarthy (2004) in terms of its adherence to sustainability principles, revealed that the planning system itself was inherently flawed. The reality of the highly centralised outdated planning system was in clear contrast to the sustainability objectives sought by the government (McCarthy, 2004). In addition, the relationship between both sectors was not favourable in terms of the regenerative objectives aspired to by the public sector; the Maltese government propositioned the lease of the Project site to the highest bidder, a private consortium. The government had thus surrendered the fate of the project to an economic agenda, which became apparent when the public benefits were evaluated in light of McCarthy's principles of sustainability. In retrospect, McCarthy (2004) proposes that a regenerative agency may have acted as a vehicle to counteract social costs arising from a private sector dominated development.

Gordon's (1997) paper, which focused on the political environments of New York, London, Boston and Toronto's waterfront developments, revealed how the balance of interests between the public and private sectors evolved throughout the process. Gordon maintains that "the agencies tended to ignore or give lip service to community concerns initially, concentrating on the big issues in the politics of economic development" (Gordon, 1997:78). Public sector priorities, in particular affordable housing, (but also public access and jobs) either gave way to market forces or were replaced by more critical political objectives (Gordon, 1997). A similar outcome was observed in the decision-making process of Dundee's City Quay Proposal whereby affordable housing stipulated in the planning phase was later replaced by upmarket housing as the implementation phase commenced (McCarthy, 1998).

The encroachment of economic influence throughout the decision-making process warns that the political dynamics of the process should be effectively managed to secure the objectives of both major stakeholders. To do so, is to overcome the major challenge facing waterfront developments across the globe today. This is to create an overarching alliance, a Public-Private Partnership, which essentially co-operatively governs all other facets of the political process.

b) Participation in decision-making

Besides the role of government bodies and private investors, and their dynamic relationship which evolves throughout the process of decision-making, the success or failure of waterfront development has often hinged on another key actor, the public. More specifically, the foresight of the development agency to adopt public participation as a fundamental principle of the

political process is a crucial factor. Millspaugh (2001) believes that to achieve sustained community consensus, it is imperative that the citizens are made to feel as if they 'own' the project from the outset. As the theory suggests, engagement between the various stakeholders and the development agencies builds rapport, thereby promoting transparency and trust. Not only does the incorporation of public views into the process frame the development in a democratic light, but it often acts a 'damage control' mechanism, whereby future public opposition and implications are avoided. Public participation is therefore central to the integrity of the process and a political tool used to avoid conflict.

The planning process of Bristol's Canons Marsh Site has clearly reflected a pattern of public exclusion and associated opposition. Bassett *et al* (2002) demonstrate how three cycles of planning occurred as a result of the developer's (Crest's) failure to involve the public from the outset. After the initial proposal, the public reacted to the size and location of the project, which would block sight lines of the cathedral across the harbour. The various stakeholders (residents, councillors, local enmity groups, local architects and cathedral authorities) took action in the form of written objectives to the Planning Committee which resulted in the withdrawal of the scheme for further review (Bassett *et al*, 2002). The second phase of planning aimed to address the points of concern, through attempting to engage with various interested parties. At the same time the Civic Society formed an umbrella group and employed leaflets and a website as means to gain support. Upon presentation of the second plan to the public, the opponents remained dissatisfied with the alterations. This was complicated by the submission of an alternative plan by a Bristol architect. This led to what Bassett *et al* (2002) termed the 'battle of the plans', whereby both plans highlighted one another's downfalls. In an attempt to win public support, Crest organised a one-day public presentation of their ideas, which Bassett *et al* (2002:1766) believe was probably "a case of too little, too late". By the following year, the Planning Committee considered Crest's proposal and a public meeting with local councillors and various interested parties from both sides was held. The outcome was that the planning application was turned down; however, Crest was allowed a third attempt due to a variety of reasons (such as potential delays and loss of investor confidence) (Bassett *et al*, 2002). In an attempt to address the failures of the first and second cycles, the developers recognised that public participation was fundamental to the success of the third cycle. This was demonstrated by their involvement with a specialist consultancy, the Opinion Leader Research (OLR). OLR implemented an elaborate model for public consultation which is described by Bassett *et al* (2002:1771) as follows. A steering group was set up to include councillors, landowners, council officers and key interest groups and a masterplanner was elected and a series of public workshops was held

to draw out the key criteria. The masterplanner then produced the first draft which aimed to address these key criteria. This draft was the focus of the second consultative stage, which involved two parallel series of workshops and was positively received by the public and other relevant organisations. Bassett *et al* (2002) maintained that this consultative process succeeded in overcoming much opposition which arose in response to the previous plans and by the time the planning application was considered by the Planning Committee, it had unanimous support. The example of Canon Marsh exemplifies the critical role that public participation plays within the planning process, not only as a remedial tool, but as a process which should be adopted at the outset, to support a democratic and open decision-making process. Without public consultation, the decision-making process is inherently flawed, often leading to a build up of opposition, delays and potential failure of a scheme.

As already explored in the other sections, McCarthy (2004) applies sustainability principles to guide the success of waterfront redevelopment in his analysis of the Cottonera Project in Malta. 'Self-sufficiency' is another one of the seven principles, of which participation is a key element. In the case of the Cottonera Project, McCarthy (2004) maintains that this directly relates to one of the key concerns of the government in terms of the viability of the development proposal. This initial proposal was put forward by the development consortium which had been elected by the government as a tenant of the waterfront site. McCarthy (2004:52) states that "there had been inadequate consultation on the issue, at that stage, details of the scheme had not been given to the local council or the general public". This contributed to further resistance from both the local community and the local council. The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), as the formal legislative procedure required to precede development, through involving local communities, managed to address some of the concerns, reducing opposition aimed at the project as a whole. The specific lesson from McCarthy's paper is that through bypassing local people, resistance to the process will surface, ultimately translating to "large and wide-ranging potential impacts" (McCarthy, 2004:60).

Jacobs (2004) analyses the policy-making process within the Chatham Maritime Project. Because the project was development-led, marketing the development was directed at the commercial sector. The notion of partnership with the community was therefore not applicable and was manifested in the clear lack of community involvement. Jacobs (2004:825) maintains that "the absence of participation is so apparent that SEEDA (the development agency) has felt compelled to accentuate the community benefits that will accrue in order to offset any criticism that might be voiced at a later stage". This reveals that although the developers have managed to

evade public participation, they are fully aware of its significance and have anticipated that its omission within the process will have future implications.

Desfor and Jorgensen's (2004) paper on Copenhagen's waterfront explained how a Vision Group was set up as a flexible mechanism to regulate future development and to bring unity in the 'waterfront vision'. This was in response to the development of a prime piece of waterfront land (Kalvebod Brygge), whose tall buildings created public outcry and thus the potential to destabilise urban politics. Desfor and Jorgensen (2004) identify an area of concern surrounding the democratic practices of this Vision Group. Because the Group has accelerated the process of project approval, there is no longer sufficient time for meaningful public participation. It is expected that resistance toward development will mount, taking the form of protests and ultimately impeding the establishment of a 'waterfront vision' which was the primary focus of the Group. Although this is merely a forecast, it still highlights the significance of public involvement and its potential consequences for development schemes, supporting the arguments from the other examples above.

As was the message from Gordon's (1997:78) paper which reflected on the politics of waterfront development in New York, London, Boston and Toronto: "waterfront agencies should not underestimate the power of residents to change the development plans in the middle of implementation". This was evident in New York, where two major parks had to be redesigned, in Boston an aquarium project was delayed and then cancelled and in Toronto, plans changed to accommodate residents' requests for parks and various fragments of land were reallocated. Further action from the Toronto waterfront residents in the form of campaigns eventually led to this agency being dismantled. These world-renowned examples of waterfront development reflect what Gordon (1997) terms as 'blocking coalitions' underscoring the danger of poor community relations.

From the evaluation of relationships between the major stakeholders, the public and private sector, as well as the influence of the citizens which operate on the ground level, it is apparent that there is a diversity of opinions, some often polarised. This complexity is heightened by the fact that the distinction between the public and private sectors is often blurred and in addition, the public commonly embodies a spectrum of views. It is therefore predisposed that this vast continuum of interests provides scope for conflict.

c) Conflicts and power

The overlapping spheres of the economic, social and ecological environment provide the interface for a range of actors. These actors represent the multiplicity of interests and may incorporate the different levels of government, the investors, the development agency, communities (and community groups) as well as individuals. The theory suggests that in every waterfront development project, there exists the potential for conflict of interests. And since the interactions between these actors shape the evolution of the project, they ultimately map the destiny of the development. Careful political management of the process is necessary to balance the interests and mediate a course which optimises benefits in terms of the economic, social *and* ecological environment.

Bassett *et al's* (2002) analysis of the failures of Bristol's planning process suggests a complexity of interrelated factors: design weaknesses, tensions between planning and development priorities, weaknesses in political leadership, weaknesses in business leadership, the strength of opposition groups, discourses and counter-discourses (mobilised by both sides), the role of the media and inter-party conflict and the 'politicisation' of development issues. Bassett *et al* (2002:1770) notes that often:

> "...whilst debates swirled around issues of densities, mixture of use, sustainability, access and sense of place, these debates were often so many different coded versions of an underlying debate which counterposed property-led, or money-led, development against an only partially articulated vision of 'people-led' development".

These deeper undercurrents of conflict manifest themselves in different types of context specific debate which has emerged as a characteristic of many waterfront developments. In the case of Bristol's waterfront development, the process exposed the underlying competing agendas giving insight into the broader political conditions.

Perhaps, in the search for democracy, a simplistic approach may be to effectively balance the costs and the benefits of the development, thus exploring the options for a compromise. Clark (1988:229) sums up what he perceives is required of a political process.

> "It may be more sensible to achieve agreement of a qualitative nature. For instance, it may be argued that good schemes and plans are just and socially acceptable in their allocation of costs and benefits, respectful in the interests and aspirations of the people they affect, and not arbitrary to certain groups.

> While such criteria are so vague and self-evidently virtuous as to appear uncontentious, much disagreement in planning is associated with charges of injustice, and with failure to agree on 'legitimate' interests or priorities".

He elaborates further by suggesting that 'multi-objective planning' has experienced less success over recent years as a result of the overwhelming power of market forces. This is evident where a certain set of prioritised objectives (such as the economic incentives) are directly in contrast to another set of objectives, deeming overall success highly challenging. To paraphrase Clark (1988:230): "[a]n effective planning system must be able to cope with these contradictions – and the hazard that success, in terms of any particular set of objectives, is likely to bring penalties elsewhere".

An additional implication is introduced with the notion of 'success' and as previously discussed, the term is fraught with bias. This introduces difficulties in terms of evaluation and makes a cost-benefit analysis open to scrutiny. In addition, this has negative consequences for certain parties. Pinder *et al* (1988:257) raise the question:

> "[d]oes the fact that revitalisation acts to improve dereliction – and is therefore seen by the public and the political and business communities to be environmentally beneficial – weaken the power of groups which question the nature of 'improvement' or its socio-economic consequences?"

Often those groups which query the success of developments are in opposition to the economic agendas and already in a less powerful position to question the broader viability of the project. This predestined position of inferiority and vulnerability is usually related to the lack of access to and knowledge of quantitative economic speculations. The debates revolving around the social and ecological dimensions or 'benefits' of the project are difficult to define in quantitative terms and therefore provide futile grounds for any cost-benefit argument. These inherent hierarchies of power may result in the reduced capacity of various groups to justify their specific rationale, further exacerbating power disparities.

In addition to the power struggles revolving around the primary debate of economic versus welfare objectives, further complexity is introduced through the divisions of bureaucracy. The various levels of government are equipped with differing measures of power relating to their jurisdictional status and their respective agendas and this indicates the potential for conflict. Keeping in mind the fact that government hierarchies are particularly context specific, Tunbridge (1988) has employed Canada and the United States to highlight the nature of some of these intra-government tensions. The three main levels of government in North America and

Canada experience jurisdictional contradictions with respect to ownership and control of the port facilities, port land use, and urban land use, which in simple terms means that "in effect no level of government can unilaterally direct urban affairs" (Tunbridge, 1988:77). In addition to these 'latent tensions', Tunbridge (1988) notes that waterfront development is further complicated by definitional problems relating to ports. Besides these issues relating to jurisdictions, Tunbridge (1988:78) maintains that "all three levels in both countries have longer-established areas of responsibility which intersect, but do not comprehend, the package of issues comprised in waterfront revitalisation, so that tracing the patterns of government is a labyrinth exercise". This is evident from the overlapping spheres of land use which fall under the governance of more than one department. The examples of waterfront revitalisation in Canada and the United States therefore highlight the necessity for willful co-operation within and between jurisdictions, in the challenge to reduce the already vast potential for conflict on the waterfront.

In an attempt to grapple with the complexity of the political processes occurring in waterfront developments it became clear that the dynamics of such schemes serve to illuminate the underlying forces which play out within the urban environment. These conflicting views and competing interests interact on a number of different levels, some more apparent than others and represent power struggles between discourses.

3.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to provide insight into the global phenomenon of waterfront development in the view to contextualise the proposed SCH on Durban's Point Precinct. Through the extensive analysis of the different dimensions; social, economic, ecological and political, it is apparent that a spectrum of inter-related issues are dealt with at a variety of spatial scales by a number of associated actors. As suggested by Hoyle (2002:155), "[t]he evolution of a waterfront is influenced by the development of conflicts, the emergence of co-operative attitudes, dependence upon local initiatives and global trends, and by the developing patterns of tourist behaviour". All these factors interplay to create a unique built environment at the water's edge.

The emerging issues which are characteristic of the practices and processes occurring within waterfront decision-making, provide guidance for future developers, keeping in mind the necessity for context specific development solutions. Bassett *et al* (2002:1758) concurs that:

"[f]or all these reasons such large-scale regeneration projects are not only intrinsically interesting, but the conflicts that surround them also serve to illuminate many aspects of local systems of governance, such as local power structures, political agendas and forms of decision-making".

This renders the proposed SCH development process a suitable lens through which the local governance mechanisms in the eThekwini Municipality can be examined. Furthermore, an analysis of the process will reflect the dynamics of local networks, as well as the flux of power amongst the various actors which constitute them. Since the theory has highlighted the contentious nature of waterfront development processes, deliberation as a contemporary mechanism of local governance can be examined in light of its potential to facilitate effective decision-making processes. In addition, a discourse analysis of the decision-making forums will reflect the extent to which deliberation has occurred, revealing how the evolution of the process yielded the outcomes which were achieved.

CHAPTER 4:

THE CONTEXT OF THE PROPOSED SMALL CRAFT HARBOUR

4.1 Introduction

In order to contextualise the case study of the Small Craft Harbour (SCH), it is critical to examine both the socio-economic and political evolution of the port city of Durban as well as the environmental regulatory framework which guides the decision-making process of developments within. The "remarkably powerful and effective economic tradition" of Durban as well as the effective current city strategy has positioned the eThekwini Municipality at the forefront of progressive policy and practice (Freund. 2002:28; Nel *et al*, 2003). Durban, as South Africa's second largest city, plays an important role in the country's economy and according to statistics, it generates almost 9% of the national GDP and supports 10% of South Africa's industry, accounting for 14% of household income and 11% of employment (Pillay, 2000, EDD, 2001 and Morris *et al*, 2002, cited in Nel *et al*, 2003). A gross geographical product of R25 529 pa suggests that the 3 million plus residents of the Municipality have considerably higher earnings than the national average of R17 765 (Moodley, 2004). This relatively favourable socio-economic standing of the Municipality has been shaped by the city strategy which was devised to address the historical social and economic disparities by "invest(ing) in democracy with real and meaningful development" (Moodley, 2004:1). In the words of the current City Manager:

> "Our programme is about ensuring that all people living in the city own the whole of the city and that we redress the wrongs of the past through providing basic services. Our city strategy is focused on building a more productive city which is well-governed, inclusive and sustainable" (Sutcliffe, cited in Moodley, 2004).

The proposed SCH as a component of the Point Development, a major flagship project in the city of Durban, is rooted in this broader city strategy and is the outcome of a developmentally orientated regime. The development is one of a number of nodes which have been identified by the Municipality in terms of their potential to address inner city decline and to stimulate urban renewal. It is the intention that flagship projects such as the Point Development will not only address the decay of inner city areas, but will increase the Municipality's economic base, facilitating service provision in other areas. In addition to being directed by the objectives of the Municipality, the SCH decision-making process has been shaped by national environmental policies. In terms of the current environmental regulatory context, the SCH has been identified

as having potential impacts on the environment, and has thus had to undergo an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). As a precursor, a Scoping Report was required to identify potential impacts, capture public comment and provide alternatives (Scott and Oelofse, 2005). Upon failing to provide adequate alternatives, an Extended Scoping Phase was requested by the eThekwini Municipality as a regulator. It is this phase of decision–making which has been the focus of the analysis. The structure of this chapter is thus divided into two broad sections, the first focusing on Durban and the eThekwini Municipality more broadly, whilst the second outlines the progression of the Scoping Process as a requirement of environmental legislation.

The first section describes the historical development of Durban as a port city since its discovery in the fifteenth century. The role of the port in the development of the city is a major factor which has shaped the economy, as well as the emerging growth coalition which resulted in a development regime founded on Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs). The political context of Durban as a post-apartheid city is examined in terms of the considerable socio-economic disparities which the current local government has had to address. One of the physical results of this tradition of post-apartheid transition has been the restructuring of the city, with negative impacts on the Central Business District (CBD) in particular, as a result of 'white flight' and decentralisation. This has resulted in the shift of economic activity to the periphery and subsequent inner city decline. In addition to these issues, it is a current legal requirement of local government to act in a "more developmental way" (eThekwini Municipality, 2001:5). This is the basis for the current city strategy which adopts a more integrated and balanced approach to development: to meet basic needs, strengthen the economy and build skills and technology. As outlined in the city's current Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which was formulated to operationalise the City's long term vision, a number of key flagship projects have been identified which will facilitate urban renewal in the inner city, having positive impacts on the overall economic status of the city. The Point Development was identified as one of these strategic nodes which aimed to address the economic goals of the city.

The second section examines the case study of the SCH more specifically. It is necessary to view the SCH as the final major component of the Point Development, taking into account the broader vision of this development. In terms of the proposed site, it is crucial to examine why the development is contentious and thus a detailed description of the physical attributes of the site is provided. In addition, the current users of the site as key stakeholders in the process are considered. The planning and environmental context provides the regulatory framework for the project. In terms of the environmental regulatory context, the specific Extended Scoping Phase,

as part of the EIA process, is the specific decision-making process which has been chosen for investigation. This process is thus outlined in detail, providing the methodology formulated by the team, the chronology of the meetings and workshops, the involved parties, the various options generated, as well as the final outcome.

As it is the aim of this chapter to provide a background to the research, the current city strategy formulated by the local government to elevate the socio-economic status of the city provides the rationale behind the Point Development, as well as the SCH as an entity thereof. In addition, a detailed description of the SCH Extended Scoping Phase gives more specific insight into how the process evolved as well as revealing some of the issues pertaining to the development. It is intended that this will situate the arguments and debates which signify the environmental politics of the project.

4.2 The socio-economic and political context

The SCH as a component of the Point Development is one of the most significant developments currently underway in Durban. It is the product of a partnership between the eThekwini Municipality and a prominent private company. Much of the rationale behind the project is rooted in local government policy, coupled with the economic imperatives of the private sector. It is therefore necessary to examine the current economic climate of Durban as a Unicity and outline some of the factors which have shaped it into its current form.

4.2.1 The birth of Durban

The Portuguese first discovered the Port of Natal in 1948 on their journey to the East, and were thereafter succeeded by a host of Dutch and British trading vessels (Gadsden, 1974). During the 16th and 17th centuries, trading vessels continued to visit the Bay, but due to the shifting sand bar at the entrance, the bay became notorious for its shipwrecks (Morrison, 1987). It was only in 1721 that any formal type of settlement was established in the form of a temporary fortified Dutch Trading Station on the Point, which was only made permanent in 1824, a century later when there was renewed interest in the bay (Rambhoros, 2004). During these years, Port Natal was visited by "waifs and strays of shipwrecked mariners, or by casual hunters and possible traders, in search of the ivory, of which there was abundance" (Russell, 1971:4). The renewed interest however, was an indirect result of the English overthrow in the Cape. This led to an exploration of a possible trade route along the East Coast of Africa in 1823 by James Saunders

King and Lieutenant Francis Farewell, R.N on the *Salisbury* (Gadsden, 1974). Lieutenant Farewell entered into an exchange with Shaka, the king of the Zulus, trading brass, copper and beads for the tract of land stretching 25 miles along the coast and 100 miles inland (Russell, 1971). Port Natal hence became the possession of Britain. In 1835, the settlement was officially named D'Urban and the township was officially laid out (Kearney, 1995). The 1840s heralded a wave of new immigrants as part of a scheme initiated by Joseph Byrne and other entrepreneurs (Gadsden, 1974). The sandbar, however, continued to cause misfortune and difficulties for British vessels and it was common to embark via row boats on to the beach at the Point:

> "the maidens accepted their fate and allowed two stalwart black men to carry them to land, sedan chair fashion... such was the classical mode in which the majority of emmigrants landed in Natal, as the Romans did in Britain, for no jetty was built for years.... in the case of distinguished personages, the difficulty was bridged over by the intervention of a row-boat and a stout plank" (Russell, 1971:87).

The Point therefore owes its historical significance as the original 'gateway' to Natal. The sand bar was a hindrance to the settlers and their associated trade and thus engineering efforts to make the harbour more accessible commenced in 1851 with John Milne's plan (Morrison, 1987). A succession of breakwater and tidal scouring initiatives, and later dredging schemes, succeeded Milne's plan. It was only in 1904 that the works which facilitated safe passage into the port were completed (Morrison, 1987). Port developments, such as the construction of Maydon Wharf which provided a location for the first industrial processes in Durban, increased at an alarming rate to accommodate the increased traffic and cargo (Holford and Kanorowich, 1986). Durban's early economy was thus primarily based on the port and associated activities.

4.2.2 A booming port town

The strategic location of Durban on the Indian Ocean Rim with its links to the interior, as well as the abundance of natural resources led to the emergence of a booming port town. During the nineteenth century the town was dominated by these commercial and transport activities, however this in turn spawned a range of manufacturing activities which emerged in the early twentieth century (Freund, 2002). These industries were geared towards import substitution and thus the metals, textiles, rubber, plastics, fertilizer, paint, automotive, food, paper and pulp industries were established (Valodia, 1999, cited in Nel *et al*, 2003). The mid-nineteenth century was characterised by an influx of indentured Indian labour which would satisfy labour requirements. Being a colonial town, Durban was characterised by the "municipal discourse and

regulatory structure typical of British cities" (Freund, 2002:14). With the encroachment of Indians into white residential areas, the Durban City Council (representative of the white ruling class) initiated, developed and promulgated a series of segregation laws such as the Pegging Act (1943), the Indian Land Tenure and Representation Act (1946) and the Group Areas Act (1950) (Maharaj, 2002). As a result, this racial residential planning led to a total socio-spatial restructuring by the 1970s with long term socio-economic ramifications (Maharaj, 2002).

Cheap water and a good supply of electricity, over and above the active role of the City in buying, selling and leasing cheap flat land, encouraged industrial development (Freund, 2002). In response to the early need for industrial land adjacent to the harbour, the Southern Industrial Basin was developed in the 1920s which continued into the 1970s with the completion of the Prospecton Industrial Estate (Scott, 2003). During the 1960s, transport links with the interior facilitated growth in a tourism industry based on the warm climate and the attractive beaches. The City recognised the importance of this industry and took an active role in maintaining the aesthetics and safety of the beachfront area (Freund, 2002). However, in the late 1970s the changing taste of the middle class led to a stagnation of this industry. In addition to the Southern Industrial Basin to the south, further land shortages led to the 'suburbanisation of industry' into satellite nodes on the western outskirts such as Pinetown and New Germany (Morris *et al*, 2002). These industrial sites were also located in close proximity to the planned townships for Indians and Africans which were to provide labour. This resulted in a 'T pattern' which radiated out from the port (Day, 1993, cited in Morris *et al*, 2002). The port continued to act as an industrial hub, and as international trade grew and maritime technology advanced so it became increasingly congested and infrastructural changes became necessary. With the advent of containerisation in the mid 1970s, the modification of infrastructure to accommodate container stacking and handling facilities was necessary and this served to position Durban as the primary container terminal in the country (Jones, 2002).

4.2.3 The foundations for economic growth

The City authorities in Durban had been actively involved in the local economy prior to the formulation of post-apartheid economic policies in the 1990s and had already set the foundations for PPPs. The first of a series of formal initiatives was heralded by the Tongaat-Hulett Planning Forum in 1989. This was a major planning exercise which considered the future of Durban and its spatial configuration, and in doing so aimed to address economic disparities (Freund, 2002; Nel *et al*, 2003). Tongaat-Hulett, a corporation which possesses extensive areas

of land in KwaZulu-Natal and are primarily involved in economic activities related to sugar cane farming and property development became one of the dominant private companies to be involved in partnerships with the City Council. By 1995, Moreland as the Tongaat-Hulett estate division was the "largest developer of real estate in KwaZulu-Natal" (Freund, 2002:26).

In the early 1990s, the City initiated a 'growth coalition' known as Operation Jumpstart which was established to enhance the economy by both spreading the benefits of growth as well as addressing the long term needs of the city (Nel *et al*, 2003). The intention was to shift the focus toward coalition building by identifying major projects, streamlining development and promoting job creation and infrastructural development (Nel *et al*, 2003). Despite criticisms such as the bias towards local business interests and the limited success of Operation Jumpstart, it laid the foundation for future partnerships between the private and public sector in the years to come (Nel *et al*, 2003).

In terms of the economic policies and practice in the city, Operation Jumpstart also gave rise to the Project Steering Committee which was mandated to co-ordinate economic planning in Durban, which was then succeeded by the establishment of an Urban Strategy Department which aimed to assist with the formulation of new policy and practice for the city (Nel *et al*, 2003).

Following democratisation in 1994 and the elections in 1996, a new era of institutional restructuring was characterised by the increasing pressures of globalisation (Freund, 2002). The tourist industry was plunged into further decline as the local market experienced socio-economic changes and became exposed to more "competitively priced international travel" (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004:16). However, partnerships continued to play a major role in local economic development in Durban and therefore the 'growth coalition' gained momentum.

In 1996 the Green Paper on Economic Development became the prominent economic policy guiding development in Durban with a focus on the importance of being globally competitive to attract investment, create jobs and address historical disparities (Nel *et al*, 2003). The establishment of an Economic Development Department in 1997 signified a new phase for the city as it was tasked to both enhance economic growth as well as facilitate poverty relief (Nel *et al*, 2003). As the Economic Development Department (1998, cited in Nel *et al*, 2003:232) outlined, the three priorities of the Municipality were:

1. "Getting the basics right – establishing the preconditions for investment, namely a safe, well serviced, high quality environment with world class infrastructure.
2. Developing a globally competitive city – through attracting investment, tourism and information supply. Related to this is the development of attractive investment areas through CBD regeneration, beachfront management, and promotion of the key South Durban Industrial Basin
3. Black economic empowerment – through procurement and SMME support, including support for the Thekwini Business Centre, urban agriculture, community development and indigenous crafts".

This integrated vision of addressing both economic development and poverty relief reflected the tensions between the 'pro-market' and 'pro-poor' objectives. For example, Net *et al* (2003) suggest that in reality, the pro-market projects or 'mega-projects' are the focus of economic development initiatives. Despite a low level of investor confidence resulting in the City's failure to initialise projects such as the Point Waterfront and the La Mercy Airport, the International Conference Centre Durban (ICC) (which was a public sector initiative) and the Hilton Hotel were both opened in 1997 in the CBD, whilst development to the north of the City such as Umhlanga Ridge (which was private sector investment) both reflected the significant positive impacts these nodes had on adjacent areas (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004).

To return to the sectors dominating Durban's economy, it appeared that in the late 1990s new transport linkages rather than industrial land became the focus of Durban's economy (Freund, 2002). The King Shaka International Airport at La Mercy was identified as a possible development opportunity whilst Durban's port required further modernisation. The port also received attention in terms of its linkages with the CBD and the beachfront and the interface it provided between the commercial and tourist activities (Freund, 2002). The manufacturing sector, whilst increasing their national share of employment annually, began to decline as modernisation led to job losses (Freund, 2002). As such, these 'growth industries' (namely chemicals, paper, auto components and metal products), have become increasingly less important in terms of their potential to achieve the objectives of the growth coalition (Freund, 2002).

4.2.4 A new local government

In 2000, the national demarcation process signified the merger of a number of Metro substructures into single Metro Councils. The boundaries of the Durban City Council were extended to form the eThekwini Municipality. The eThekwini Municipality comprises Durban and its surrounding districts (See Figure 4.1). It stretches from the Umkomaas region in the

south to beyond Tongaat in the north and inland up to Cato Ridge. Despite covering only 1.4% of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal's area, it houses more than a third of the population and 60% of its economic activity (eThekwini Municipality, 2004).
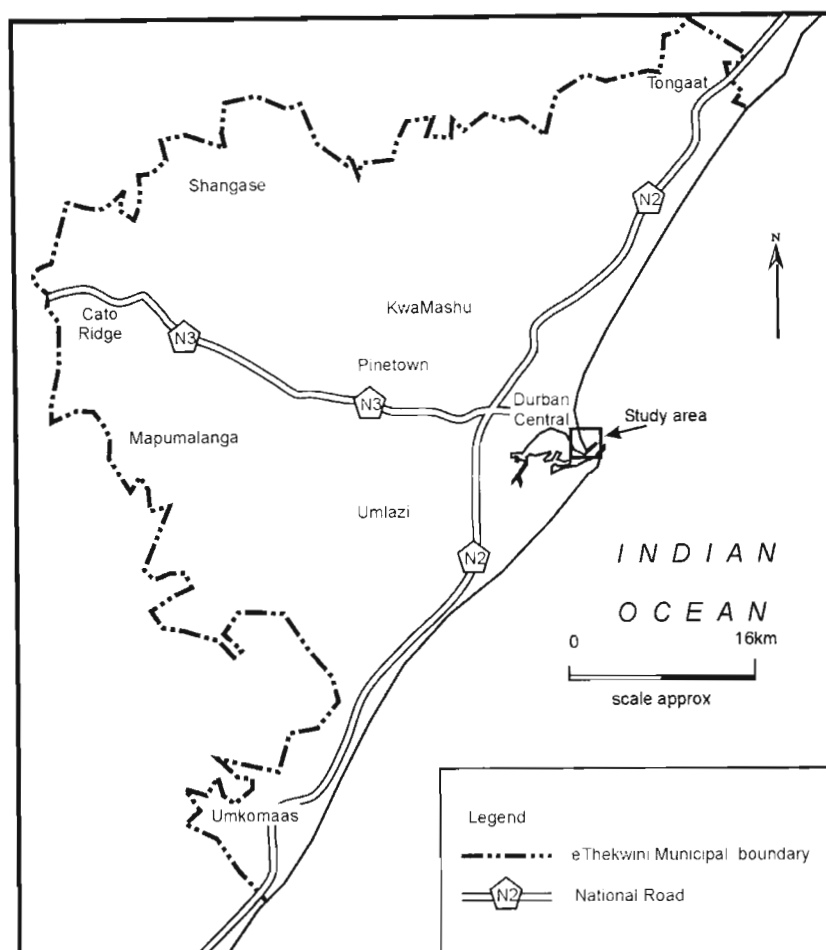
Figure 4.1: The eThekwini Municipality (adapted from Moodley, 2004:1)

Upon the formation of this new Unicity, not only did the new Council have to address the inefficiencies of the previous apartheid local government in terms of provision of basic services, but it emerged from a regime where previous structures had been unequipped to meet economic challenges arising from recent exposure to global economic forces (Hall and Robbins, 2002). The eThekwini Municipality commissioned the Monitor Group to identify the key challenges facing this new municipal area and to devise an approach which would address these issues and guide and enhance current planning practices (Monitor Group, 2000). The challenges facing the City were identified as prosperity (per capita income), growth, sustainable jobs, skills (education), distribution (household income), empowerment and service delivery (Monitor Group, 2000). The results of the Report yielded a three prong approach to facilitate development

in the City: economic development; quality of life; and people development, and these formed the basis for the vision of the city. This report was to lay the foundations for the development of a long term strategy for the City and this is outlined below.

On a national scale, new legislation positioned economic development as the overarching goal of local authorities. At the same time, as the results of the Monitor Report suggest, the City has had to adopt a more integrated approach to development which focuses on improving the overall quality of life for the citizens. Nel *et al* (2003) believe that the emerging growth coalition in Durban may be the best possible option for economic development in the context of globalisation, as it offers an expansion of the economy based on the city's location and infrastructure (both of which were identified by the Monitor Groups as strengths of the city) (Monitor Group, 2000). However, the degree to which this actually satisfies their mandate to relieve poverty, coupled by the risk that growth coalitions may only serve to strengthen the private sector, are possible shortfalls (Freund, 2002).

In terms of the city's current economies, the strong sectors are manufacturing, commerce (with tourism as the largest sub-sector), transport, community and social services, and increasingly finance (Padayachee, 2002). The port remains the hub of economic activity but has, however, had to make crucial infrastructural changes to accommodate global shipping requirements. It is still the busiest port in Africa with approximately 5000 ships visiting the port each year (Tourism KZN, 2005a). It also claims to be a leading port in the southern hemisphere, based on its size and diversity of facilities and traffic base, as well as the multitude of industries associated with the traffic base (Jones, 2002). The city still acts as a 'feeder hub' for cargo intended for East London and Mozambique ports which cannot facilitate the deep sea container ships, as well as proving an entry point for cargo traveling to landlocked African countries such as Zimbabwe and Malawi (Jones, 2002). Other port related industries which relate to manufacturing currently include chemical, textile, clothing, automotive assembly and component, food and beverage, printing and stationery, metal and engineering and the paper and pulp industries (Morris *et al*, 2002). In particular, the chemical and automotive industries have become key sources of industrial growth in the city (Padayachee, 2002). Manufacturing is still the principal industry in Durban, currently contributing approximately 30% of Durban's GDP (Morris *et al*, 2002, cited in Nel *et al*, 2003). In terms of the financial sector, Padayachee (2002) asserts that despite adding significant value to the economy, the sector is both capital and technology intensive, supporting a low level of skilled employment. Furthermore, the term 'branch economy' has been applied to portray the nature of most companies which have their

headquarters elsewhere, namely Johannesburg, signifying a focus on national rather than provincial development interest (Padayachee, 2002).

In terms of the tourist industry, Durban's market share has reflected a decline over the past two decades from over 34% to below 26% in terms of national tourism arrivals (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004:16). However, the new City Strategy outline below aims to address this stagnation through considerable public and private investment into infrastructure and facilities, to maximise on the city's natural assets and location. Both historically and currently, Durban has been promoted as "Africa's ultimate coastal playground in the sun" (Tourism KZN, 2005b). The city's sub-tropical climate with favourable year-round weather and warm ocean current has resulted in a focus on beach and sea activities. It is strategically located as a gateway for tourists wishing to travel to other attractions in the province such as Zululand, the Drakensberg, the Midlands, the North Coast or the Battlefields. This is supported by statistics provided by Tourism KwaZulu-Natal which indicate that during the last quarter of 2004 (October to November) 89% of the foreign 'air departure' market visited Metro Durban with 71% visiting the province primarily for a holiday with 39% of land departure foreign tourists visiting for these same purposes (Tourism KZN, 2005c). Of the core activities which both markets participated in, 69% of air and 63% of land departure tourists went to the beach which included activities such as surfing, sunbathing and swimming (Tourism KZN, 2005c). In addition to the beach accounting for a large portion of the tourist market, the ICC has afforded the city the status of the 'conference capital' of South Africa and it has also been ranked as one of the top business tourism cities in the world (Derwent, 2002, cited in Nel *et al*, 2003).

In terms of the physical urban fabric, there are significant changes underway as post-apartheid transformation continues to restructure the city. Decentralisation is not unique to the South African context, it has been occurring at a global level and has resulted in widespread economic and physical restructuring of cities (SACN, 2005). The rapid rate of city growth which has exceeded economic growth has led to an 'urbanisation of poverty' which is related to the lack of services in some areas, creating problems relating to exclusion as well as social tensions (SACN, 2005). It is the challenge of local governments throughout the world to address these challenges and the trend has been to collaborate with the private sector to jointly approach this task (SACN, 2005).

At a local level, apartheid has created an additional set of racial tensions by exacerbating the socio-economic disparities within South African cities. These racial divides resulted in

economic development and standards of living becoming spatially fragmented and thus transformation within South African cities has been disjointed leading to political and social instability (SACN, 2005). Local authorities such as the eThekwini Municipality thus currently face the challenge of initiating and managing development of these neglected areas as part of an integrated 'City Development Strategy' (SACN, 2005). Often the focus of city strategies is to address the negative impact of decentralisation effecting city centres in particular.

> "Decline in urban centres is typically manifested in economic terms through a reduction in both public and private investment, as well as in the diversity and value of business activity (particularly retail and commercial). Industrial regression, deterioration in the quality of open space and poor urban management are also features of the decline of urban centres" (SACN, 2005:15).

As the economic hub of a city, urban centres play an important role in local development. They have "strong image roles" and are "an important source of revenue for local government" (SACN, 2005:15). Furthermore they play a regional role in terms of economic growth. A web of inter-related factors resulting from the decentralisation of the CBD, such as reduced property values, poor maintenance of the built environment, informal sector activities, overcrowding and degradation of low income housing, weak by-law enforcement, urban lawlessness and heightened crime have led to a degraded city centre which is often targeted for regeneration (SACN, 2005). Strategies identified to target this decline are complicated by factors unique to South Africa such as "the history of racial exclusion which operated in many urban centres and pressures to meet the economic demands of the residents of 'privatopias'" (SACN, 2005:15).

Durban, like other South African cities, has experienced physical restructuring and the eThekwini Municipality has had to address these urban changes and associated decline. Decentralisation is still occurring in the City and is evident in that new peripheral sites are continually being sought for economic activity (See Figure 4.2). Apart from industrial nodes in the south and west, the north has more recently been identified for such purposes. The King Shaka International Airport at La Mercy has subsequently been approved and will form part of the Dube Trade Port Private Ltd, a new industrial zone. Residential zones have also shifted to the north, fuelled by the commercial activities of Moreland, which "is beginning to decentre Durban to an unprecedented extent" (Freund and Padayachee, 2002:168). Financial core activities still remain in the CBD alongside the commercial activities of a population of working/lower middle class, whilst the peripheries have become increasingly accommodated by 'people of colour' (Freund, 2002; Freund and Padayachee, 2002). Commercial previously

'white' businesses located in the CBD have reallocated to the outskirts and are accommodated in large shopping complexes such as the Pavilion and Gateway Shopping Complexes. The CBD is also home to a significant informal economy which trades in products such as fresh produce, prepared foods, traditional medicine products, meat, alcohol, second-hand clothing, household goods, arts and crafts, newspapers and magazines, and flowers with services such as minibus-taxi transport, hair salons, shoe repairs, traditional healing, telephone kiosks, prostitution, car/taxi mechanics, and rickshaw transport which jointly total a monthly earning of R3.8 million (Nesvåg, 2002). This sector was identified during the 1980s as a "source of economic growth and legitimate activity" and an informal economic policy has since been adopted by the eThekwini Municipality, which is the only one of its kind in the country (Freund, 2002:24; Dobson, cited in Corrigal, 2005).

Figure 4.2: Durban and surrounding districts (adapted from Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004:Appendix 3)

The current development plans of the eThekwini Municipality have aimed to manage transformation in the city in a strategic manner which best allows for all the objectives of the Municipality to be addressed. The impetus behind the SCH, as an element of the Point Development, is rooted in the policy and practice of the eThekwini Municipality and this city strategy requires closer examination.

4.2.5 Current city strategy

The eThekwini Municipality's strategic plan in the form of the Long Term Development Framework (LTDF) is inscribed in the City's vision which is as follows (See Figure 4.3):

> "By 2020 the eThekwini Municipality will enjoy the reputation of being Africa's most caring and liveable city, where all citizens live in harmony. This vision will be achieved by growing its economy and meeting people's needs so that all citizens enjoy a high quality of life with equal opportunities, in a city that they are truly proud of" (as agreed at the Alpine Heath Workshop 13-15 May 2001).
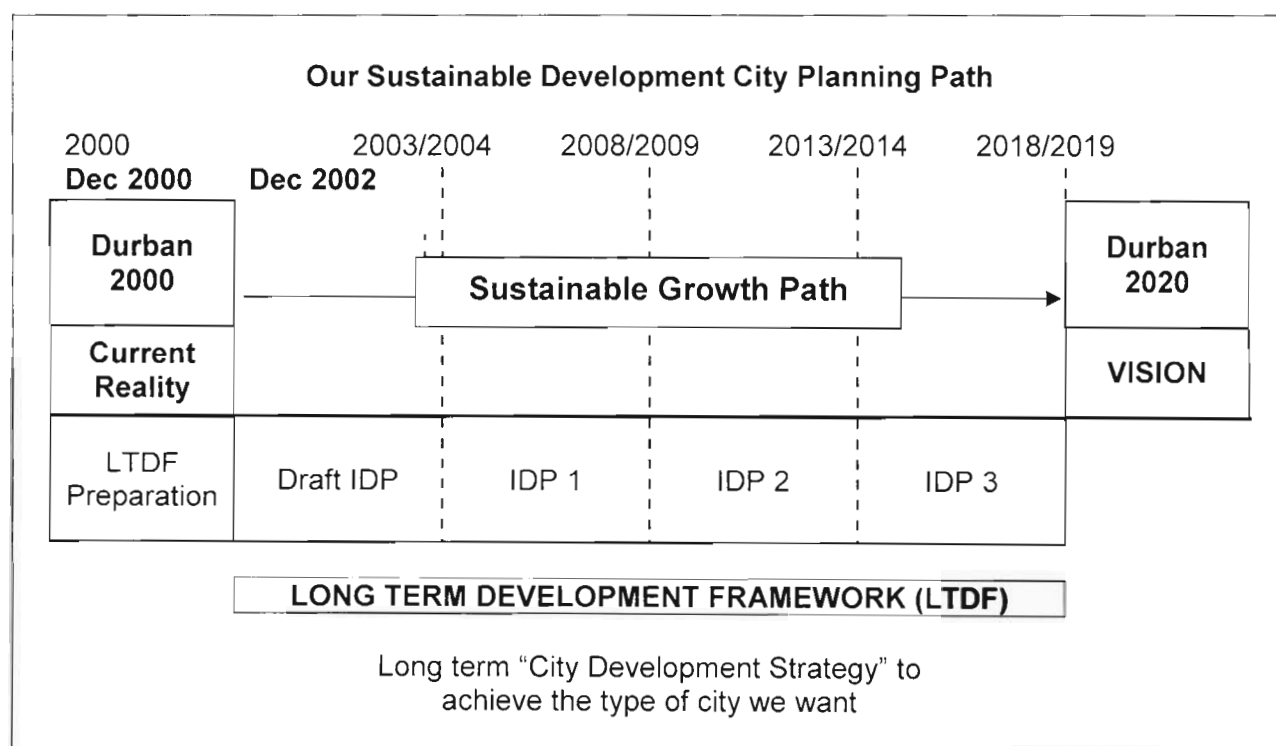
Figure 4.3: The eThekwini Municipality's Long Term Development Framework (adapted from Moodley, 2004:19)

Following the results of the Monitor Report, the LTDF was taken on by the Municipality in 2001 to ensure that sustainability principles guided the future development of the Municipality whilst addressing the key challenges facing the city. A threefold approach was adopted to achieve this vision: meeting basic needs; strengthening the economy; and building skills and technology (eThekwini Municipality, 2004) (See Figure 4.4) This twenty year strategic plan was 'operationalised' by a five year Integrated Development Plan (IDP) which is a requirement of national legislation and was revised and finalised by June 2003 (Moodley, 2004). The main task of the IDP was to address the city challenges on a more local level by addressing the needs of communities whilst reaching development targets and hence guiding the City's budget (Moodley, 2004). It is a "key transformative tool to ensure a more integrated, holistic and participative approach to city governance" (Moodley, 2004:29).

Figure 4.4: The three legs of the eThekwini Municipality's Long Term Development Framework (adapted from eThekwini Municipality, 2001:8)

The operation of the Municipality and thus the implementation of the strategy has been guided by national legislation in the form of the Municipal Acts. The Municipal Structures Act (South Africa, 1998a) aims to ensure effective municipal operations through the consolidation of local government, the Municipal Systems Act (South Africa, 2000a) requires municipalities to adopt a 'private sector model' for 'integrated, strategic city management' as well as an 'outcomes-based approach', whilst the Municipal Finance Management Act (South Africa, 2003) aims to implement a "financially viable, effective and efficient administration" (Moodley, 2004:38). This new Performance Management System aims to measure whether the Municipality is

actively taking steps to achieving its 'organisational goal' by examining both the financial inputs and outputs, as well as the outcomes in terms of citizens' quality of life (Moodley, 2004).

To deliver the city strategy of the eThekwini Municipality, an Eight Point Plan of Action was devised and focused on the implementation of key projects. The first point which is 'economic development and job creation' has a number of elements, namely 'regenerating and growing businesses' (See Table 4.1 below). In the aim of attracting investment and regenerating local economies, private sector partnerships have remained a core approach and these have been emulated in the pro-market projects, or mega-projects that the City has embarked upon (eThekwini Municipality, 2004, cited in Nel *et al*, 2003). Current projects include the Point Development, the ICC expansion and the La Mercy Airport which have been identified as economic flagship projects which aim to execute the City's Eight Point Plan of Action.

Table 4.1: The eThekwini Municipality's Eight Point Plan (adapted from Moodley, 2004:53-66)

Point	Description	Actions
One	Economic development and job creation	- Regenerating and growing business - Regenerating the South Durban Basin - Continuing investment promotion for Durban - Developing local, innovative IT solutions - ICT sector and the establishment of Smart Xchange
Two	Fully serviced, well-maintained, quality living environments	Provision of free basic services - water - affordable energy - new procurement policies
Three	A safe and secure environment	
Four	Healthy and well developed citizens	- Promoting voluntarism in our fight against AIDS - Working with traditional healers
Five	Enhancing our cultural diversity	
Six	Sustaining natural and built environment	- Sustainable strategies in action: managing landfill conservancies - Harnessing methane gas
Seven	Democratising local government	- Engaging our communities - Communications - Regional centres - Call centres
Eight	Financially viable and sustainable local government	- A financially clean bill of health - A debt-free budget - Maintaining revenue - Creating greater rates' awareness - Cutting costs

In addition to these key flagship projects which fall under the Economic, Planning and Environment Plan as part of the City's budget, the Municipality has identified a number of areas which will receive capital injection to stimulate regeneration (eThekwini Municipality, 2004). Regeneration of urban areas is a key objective of local government as it facilitates achieving the city's economic imperatives. The South African Cities Network provides the rationale for urban renewal:

> "Internationally, the renewal of urban centres typically forms part of a broader strategy to promote city economic development. The implicit policy assumption underpinning these projects is that the decline of urban centres is linked to market failure due to the collapse of private sector confidence. Based upon this understanding, the dominant objective of the renewal of urban centres is to restore the confidence of the private sector, to create a sustainable property market and to restructure and diversify the local economy... In the South African context...policy is however being developed from below, as local governments have a strong interest in reversing the decline of urban centres in order to promote local economic growth, protect their asset base and support their own fiscal objectives" (SACN, 2005:4).

In light of this, the IDP stipulates that significant capital should be allocated to regeneration in the city and has prioritised a number of projects. The primary focus is the City's Area Based Management (ABM) projects which focus on managing specific areas through delivering key services and include Cato Manor, South Industrial Basin, Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK), Rural and the CBD (iTrump). iTrump (Inner Thekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme) which is a task team created by the city to implement regeneration in the CBD, are actively involved in these major 'pro-market' projects as well as serving to implement innovations 'on the ground' to upgrade public spaces and provide services for the informal sector (Moodley, 2004). Other regeneration projects include rural roads, the Umhlanga Node Joint Venture, Town Centre Renewal, Tourism Nodes / Corridors, Township Commercial Centres, Local Economic Development and Markets (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:59).

Specific to the CBD, the Municipality employs an Inner City Framework Plan which aims to revitalise the inner city through a number of key 'landmark developments'. The term 'Golden Triangle' was used to represent the central city area within which "mutually reinforcing conferencing, entertainment, tourism and hospitality facilities" would become a 'world-class tourism district' strengthening Durban's inner city economic base (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:11). The Point Precinct, being the southern most edge of Durban's 'Golden Mile' was identified as one of these critical nodes and named the 'southern bookend' or point of the triangle, with the Village Green as the 'northern bookend' and the

International Convention Centre (ICC) representing the western node (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003). In light of the LTDF, the IDP and this particular spatial framework, the Point was identified as a strategic location for inner city renewal and classed as a flagship project.

It is therefore evident that the authorities have identified and implemented a number of initiatives in response to the inner city decline which is currently facing the city of Durban. These plans and projects have focused on urban renewal and regeneration of the CBD and adjacent areas in an effort to improve the physical urban fabric of the city and associated quality of life, as well as to increase the eThekwini Municipality's economic base.

4.3 The case study of the Small Craft Harbour

The broader city strategy which is framed by the LTDF thus provides the backdrop for the proposed SCH which is as an element of one of the key flagship projects in the City.

4.3.1 The Point Development

Since the 1990s there have been a succession of plans and proposals to develop the Point but progress was slow. In 1996, the Renong Group, a Malaysian based constriction company signed a land deal with Transnet to develop the Point Waterfront (Jones, 1996). However, the Malaysian financial crisis impeded these plans, rendering the company unable to finance a project of this size. In 1999 Renong then formed a partnership with Vulindlela Investments, a company wholly owned by black South Africans (Canning, 1999). As a result of the long delays in initiating the Point Development, and wishing to take advantage of the strategic location of the Point in satisfying the City's economic development goals, the eThekwini Municipality entered into a joint venture with Rocpoint in 2000, forming the Durban Point Development Company (DPDC) (Yoganathan, 2000). The DPDC subsequently appointed Moreland Developments in 2000 as the Developing Agent who would be required to draft a development plan and implement it. In 2001, the Iyer Rothaug Project Team worked in collaboration with Moreland to complete this Point Development Framework Plan (PDFP) which was later revised in 2003 (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004). The Plan is aligned with the broader City Strategy and is a culmination of the succession of previous plans since the 1980s which aimed to address urban blight in the area. It is also important to note that the notion of a SCH or

marina as a component of the Point Development is not a recent concept and has featured in previous city-wide plans such as those proposed in 1985 (Holford and Kanorowich, 1986).

The Point Development aims to facilitate "the regeneration and urban renewal of the Durban CBD through deliberate, strategic and managed intervention at the Point on a scale that is able to achieve this" (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004:10). To achieve this vision, the Plan adopted a number of urban design and spatial principles and approaches (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003). It was comprised of a number of layers of urban design frameworks as follows; activity structure and land use framework, movement and circulation framework, urban form framework, public space framework, marine and canal framework and the service and infrastructure framework, all of which were consistent with the overall design philosophy and vision (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003). Most pertinent of these is the marine and canal framework which is directly related to the proposal of a SCH.

In order to achieve these objectives and transform the Point Precinct into a 'world-class facility', three integrated components were identified. The first was the uShaka Marine World as the anchor which commenced in May 2003 and was completed in September 2004, the second was an inland canal system with associated development, which commenced in 2000 and is currently still in progress, and the third was a proposed small craft harbour which would link the theme park via the canals to the sea. This is in line with the Marine and Canal Framework which is primarily based on "creating an enhanced waterfront environment" through these connections (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:72). Approaches and principles adopted include phased development, maintenance of water quality, safe access to the sea and variety of water-based experiences (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003). Apart from the canal proposals which are currently in progress, it was recognised that with the proposed harbour widening and the protection offered by Vetch's, there was a unique opportunity to establish a SCH facility (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003). The framework therefore supports possible boat launching and club facilities as entities of the harbour. It was acknowledged that a SCH or marina would be part of a separate EIA process.

4.3.2 The proposed site

The proposed site for the SCH consists of a sheltered bay and a strip of land and beach extending from the base of Vetch's pier in the north, to the proposed new northern harbour breakwater in the south (See Figure 4.5). As the SCH will involve the construction of new piers and breakwaters to accommodate sailing craft and boats, considerable land reclamation will be involved. This has resulted in the boundary for the EIA extending into the sea and has implications in terms of land ownership below the high water mark. The beach and the protected waters are valuable both in social and ecological terms and have a history which contributed to the creation of this unique environment.
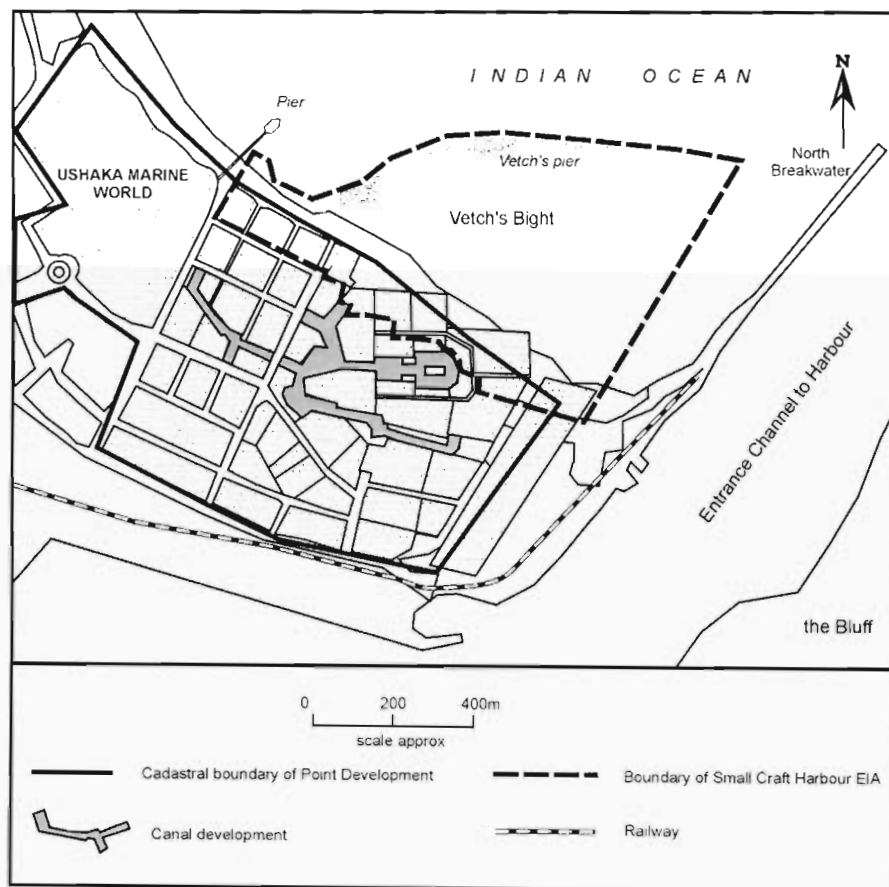
Figure 4.5: The site of the proposed SCH (adapted from Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004:Appendix 5)

In 1861 Captain Vetch's breakwater plan failed and the remnants of the wooden boulder pier have remained in tact in this location, serving as an artificial reef ever since (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004) (See Plate 4.1). The man-made reef which is 490m long and

ranges in width between 30 and 70m, it is relatively flat near the shore, and curves outwards in a south-easterly direction, to become a more complex arrangement with various recesses and rocky protrusions (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004). This arc-shaped reef was named Vetch's Pier and lies in close proximity to a natural reef known as Limestone Reef. This reef lies in a north-westerly direction and is approximately 350m long, it is 70m at its widest point and is a maximum of 2m in depth (ORI, 2004). The protected waters to the south of Vetch's Pier form a sandy basin with a maximum depth of 5m, known as Vetch's Bight, while the stretch of beach between the base of Vetch's and the northern harbour breakwater is known as Vetch's Beach (ORI, 2004).

Plate 4.1: The Point area with Vetch's pier visible

As a consequence of the protection offered by Vetch's Pier, the area between the shore and the pier is effectively sheltered from wave action and swells, resulting in a unique area of calm water. Ecologically, this unique environment hosts an abundance of marine life, as documented by ORI. The predominant 'reef-associated invertebrate fauna' are brown mussels and red bait which in themselves provide protection and food for a diversity of other vertebrate and invertebrate species (ORI, 2004). The mussel beds are largely unexploited and host the largest

mussels in KwaZulu-Natal, they may also provide valuable seed-beds to rejuvenate other exploited areas along the coast (ORI, 2004). Sea cucumbers, sea urchins, corals, sponges, rock lobsters and octopus are other 'reef -associated invertebrate fauna' identified in the area. In terms of the vertebrates, 'reef-associated vertebrate fauna' included a total of 85 species, whilst the 'sand-associated vertebrates' included 134 species (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004). According to the study, the area also functions as a valuable nursery area for some species. In light of the above findings, the Vetch's Reef and the Limestone Reef offer a unique environment upon which a variety of vertebrate and non-vertebrate aquatic biota depend.

This unique protected location rendered the area suitable for a wide variety of sea related activities namely watersports. As early as the 1800s subsistence fisherman, known as the Indian Seine Netters, were the first group to use Vetch's (See Plate 4.2). By the 1940s the group had expanded to over thirty boats which were operated by three different companies (Point Watersports, 2004). Also in the 1940s, the first crocker-ski led the way for a number of anglers who launched off Vetch's and by 1945 the first crocker-ski with offboard motor signified the first ski-boat in South Africa (Point Watersports, 2004). Eventually the large number of boats operating in the area began to impact on the fish populations and numbers began to decline, attracting fewer boats. In 1947 the port authorities drew up a lease for the Durban Ski-Boat Club which was established at Vetch's to reduce congestion within the harbour (Point Watersports, 2004). In 1969, the NSRI required a site on the beach and hence another lease was signed. By 1971 the increasing numbers of paddle-skis launching off Vetch's necessitated a clubhouse and consequently the Durban Paddle-Ski Club was formed, which is the only club of its type in the world (Point Watersports, 2004). The following year both the Durban Underwater and Inflatable Boat Club were established and because small yachts were prohibited from using the harbour mouth to reach the Point Yacht Club at Victoria Embankment, a second site at Vetch's was established (Point Watersports, 2004). In addition to the five official watersports clubs currently operating at Vetch's, there are other representatives of the general public, including learner surfing clinics. Over the years, the beach area has developed into a vibrant locus of watersports activity and recreation (See Plate 4.3).

Plate 4.2: The remaining seine fishing boat amongst the ski boat trailers
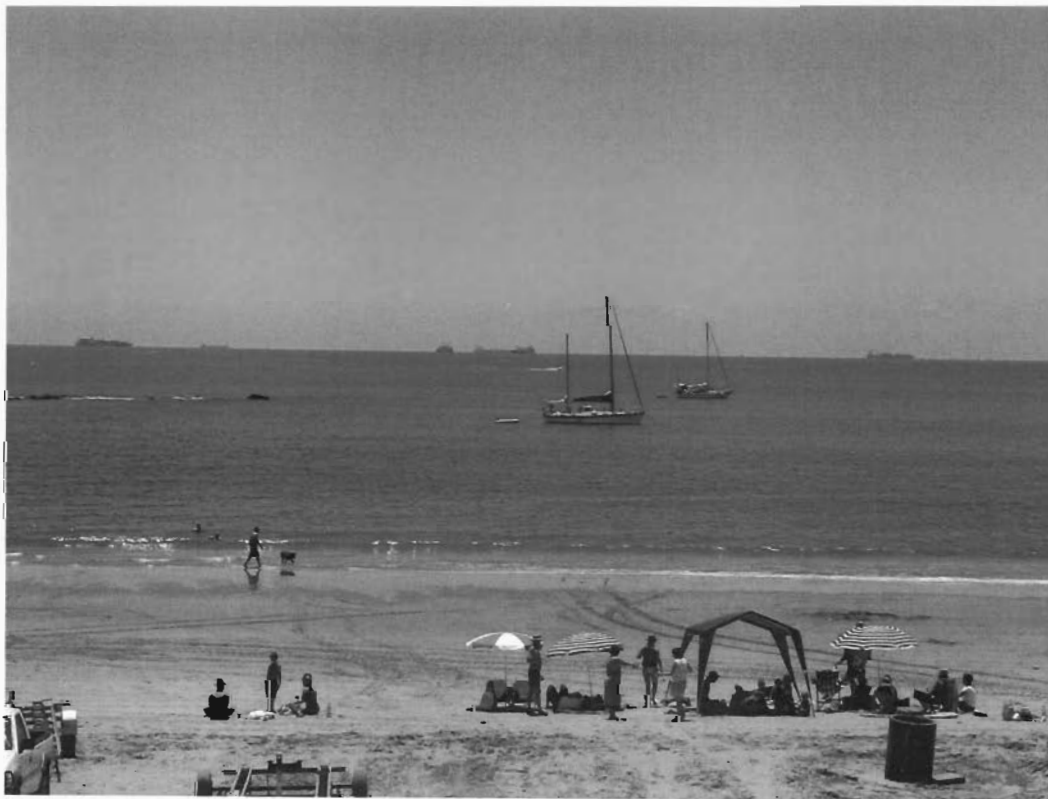
Plate 4.3: Activities on the beach and in the sea

In response to the threat of development proposals which has recently become consolidated in the form of the PDFP, the five watersports clubs (The Boardsailing Club of Durban, the Durban Paddle-Ski Club, the Durban Ski-Boat Club, the Durban Underwater Club, and Point Yacht Club) have amalgamated to form one body: Point Watersports (Point Watersports, 2004). In order to secure the current functions and uses of the area in the future, the members of this body have united with a common vision, as they have articulated in their brochure (Point Watersports, 2004):

> "The primary initial interest of the committee is to secure the organisations' future in the Point Redevelopment and to carry this through to a physical manifestation of the amalgamated body that will provide for the social and recreational needs of watersport enthusiasts".

The association has justified the importance of accommodating their activities within future developments by highlighting the positive impact that a watersports facility will have for Durban as a whole. They suggest that a watersports theme will provide an iconic feature for the Point Development and enhance the City's reputation as a sporting hub.

However, the clubs currently form a barrier between the rest of the Point area and the beach, with fencing, barbed wire, guarded booms and signboards keeping non-members out (See Plate 4.5). As a result the public cannot gain direct access from the Point and can only access the beach via Addington Beach to the north. In addition, Vetch's Beach and the adjacent clubhouses are currently in poor condition. The beach is strewn with rubble, pipelines (for sand pumping) and litter, whilst some of the buildings have not been adequately maintained (See Plate 4.6). The positioning of the clubs and the limited access to parking has resulted in the predominantly 'private' use of this space for decades. It is because of these subtle codes that a perception of exclusivity has been constructed. However, despite the domination of the beach by club members, the aesthetic appeal of the area with views of Durban's 'golden mile', the Bluff and the Indian Ocean, has resulted in the wide use of this beach by the public (See Plate 4.7).

Plate 4.5: Security measures employed by the watersports clubs

Plate 4.6: Bags of litter and vehicle tracks detract from the aesthetic appeal of Vetch's Beach

Plate 4.7: Views of Durban from Vetch's Beach

4.3.3 The regulatory context

a) Planning

In terms of planning, the Durban Point Waterfront Framework Plan as the long term masterplan of the Point area, was approved by the Council and the Provincial Authorities in 1997 (Sutcliffe, 2004.). The same year, Rocpoint lodged a rezoning application for the Point area to facilitate future development in accordance with the Plan (Sutcliffe, 2004). In 1998, a Special Zone was adopted by the Council to allow Rocpoint to package and launch development initiatives within the Point area and accordingly a regulatory framework was required (Sutcliffe, 2004). The Special Zone area was divided into six precincts, the SCH comprising part of Precinct 5.

As development commenced with the uShaka Marine World, Moreland Developments identified a weakness with the package of plans process as stipulated in the Special Zone regulations. This was namely the relationship of proposed development with adjacent land and interfaces therewith which would result in having to second guess how the surrounding land would or could be developed. In order to improve the management of the Point, Moreland submitted an application on behalf of the Point Development Company in January 2003 which was later approved.

In terms of the SCH, the zoning specified in the Plan supports it in principle, however, a Scheme extension application would be required to include the SCH area within the Durban Town Planning Scheme and Special Zone 91 (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004).

b) Environmental

In addition to the planning context, environmental legislation has framed the decision-making process of the SCH. As a national policy, the White Paper on Sustainable Coastal Development requires co-ordination between the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) as the lead agent, provincial departments and units as well as local departments to ensure a coastal development adheres to the policy principles (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004; South Africa, 2000b). In addition, coastal developments are also required to be aligned with the following national environmental legislation (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004):

- The Constitution, Act 108 (South Africa, 1996) – with specific reference to the rights of citizens in terms of their environment (Section 24)

- The Seashore Act, Act 21 (South Africa, 1935) - with reference to the rights of the public in terms of access to the sea (the water and the bed of the sea below the low water mark).

- The Environmental Conservation Act (ECA), Act No. 73 (South Africa, 1989) which ensures that activities are not to the detriment of the environment (Section 21, 22 and 26) as well as EIA Regulations 1182 and 1184.

- The National Environmental Management Act (NEMA), Act 107 (South Africa, 1998b) – with emphasis on the broader principles and procedures guiding developments. (South Africa, 1998b)

Of particular relevance to the process under study is the ECA (South Africa, 1989). In line with the ECA, the proposed development of a SCH is required to undertake an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) in accordance with Sections 21, 22 and 26 and its respective Regulations (Regulations 1182 – 1184 of 1997) (South Africa, 1989). The DPDC appointed Pravin Amar Development Planners as the Independent Assessor to carry out the Environmental Scoping Study which was to identify the potential environmental impacts (biophysical and social) of the proposed SCH (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004). The process commenced in October 2003 with the application for authorisation in terms of Section 22 of the ECA (South Africa, 1989) which was submitted to the delegating authority for KwaZulu-Natal, DAEA. In January 2003, an amended Plan of Study was resubmitted with the suggested changes and accepted on 29 January 2003 (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004).

In line with Section 6 of Regulation 1183 of the ECA, the Scoping Phase, as the first phase of assessment, was required to produce a report which was to provide (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2004:12):

(a) "a brief description of the project
(b) a brief description of how the environment may be effected
(c) a description of environmental issues identified
(d) a description of all alternatives identified and;
(e) an appendix containing a description of the public participation process followed, including a list of Interested and Affected Parties (I&APs) and their comments".

The Draft Scoping Report was thus compiled by Pravin Amar Development Planners as the EIA consultant, with input from the relevant Professional Team of specialists and I&APs. As part of the process, a set of seven options were identified as alternatives for the development and were described in the report (See Appendix 1; Round One). The report is summarised as follows:

> "The Draft Scoping Report identified seven different options, of which only five involved the development of a Small Craft Harbour. These options were developed by the initial team of consultants and were based on the key concepts contained in the Framework Plan. Only four of these alternatives supported the notion of a Small Craft Harbour on the Point Precinct. These four options were conceptually similar, with their major variation being the position of the Northern breakwater. The major debates therefore revolved around maximising economic benefits vs minimising ecological impacts. Hence, the position of the breakwater was the fundamental defining factor" (Oelofse *et al*, 2005).

The Report was submitted for review by the public and authorities on 21 May 2004, with the deadline for review scheduled on 30 June 2004. A public meeting was thus scheduled for 17 June 2004 to discuss all issues and concerns raised from the Draft Scoping Report.

However, the City considered the proposed set of options presented in the Draft Scoping Report inadequate, as the alternatives did not meet the broader goals of the City. This reflected the growing tension between the goals of the public and private sectors. As a result, on 19 July 2004 the City placed a request to investigate further alternatives and on 5 August 2004 it was motivated that the Scoping Phase would be extended and would include an additional team of independent specialists (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005b). This Professional Team included two financial/economic consultants and one social consultant and their involvement signified an expansion of the previous network of actors. These specialists would work with the existing team to devise a new set of more adequate alternatives, opening up the process to more deliberation and negotiations. Their involvement corresponded with the duration of the Extended Scoping Phase which ran from July 2004 until April 2005. This process is outlined as follows.

4.3.4 The Extended Scoping Phase

In association with the relevant members of the eThekwini Municipality, the Developers (DPDC), the Developing Agent (Moreland) and their respective consultants, the Professional Team embarked upon a process to investigate new alternatives. As the phase was an extension

of the Scoping Phase, Pravin Amar Development Planners as the EIA consultant facilitated the series of meetings and workshops. See Appendix 2 for a summarised chronology.

1st Professional Team Workshop – 23 August 2004

The first workshop consisted of City Officials, the original consultants, the three new consultants (the Professional Team), a Moreland Planner and the EIA consultant. The aim was to brief the consultants about the project and to define their role within the process. They were required to review the Draft Scoping Report for comment at the following workshop. In addition, the team members set out to identify key issues; the terms of reference (ToR) for the alternatives study, the principles to be followed for the alternatives study; the purpose and objectives of the study; the parameters and limitations to the study; and the methodology for the study (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005b). By having the opportunity to refine their own terms of reference, the team members had the ability to set their own 'rules' and define the process in terms of their own experience and understanding. An international comparative literature review was also to be undertaken.

2nd Professional Team Workshop – 14 September 2004

This workshop consisted of City Officials, Moreland representatives, the extended consultant team, and the EIA consultant. The team provided feedback on the options presented in the Draft Scoping Report as well as on the comparative literature review and there was discussion around these two topics. A number of key issues arising from the latter were classified as social issues, economic viability and technical issues. The group formulated an approach for the review, thereby outlining their own 'rules' to guide the process and this is outlined as follows (Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 14/09/04:13):

1. "Identify the alternatives/options and group them
2. Establish the viability of each alternative/option by examining supporting data and overall objectives
3. Shortlist alternatives/options
4. Assess the viability of alternatives in relation to:
   - meeting overall objectives
   - limitations and assumptions of the proposed alternative/option
5. Establish the criteria for which each option is to be assessed".

The team then devised a number of innovative options or components thereof in a brainstorming session (See Appendix 3). As a result of the deliberation around these ideas, 11 options were

formulated (See Appendix 1; Round Two). It is important to note that the Developer's preferred option from the original Scoping Exercise; Option 5 the Integrated Option (Appendix 1; Round One) was carried through to this Second Round and was renamed Option 2 (Appendix 1; Round Two). The 11 options were clustered into the following groups or themes (Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 14/09/04:13):

1. "Recreational theme park/entertainment development proposals
2. Eco-cultural/heritage development proposals
3. Recreational/tourist retail development proposals
4. Watersports and recreational development proposals
5. Water development proposals".

Moreland's urban design consultant was appointed to present these conceptually for the following meeting. It was agreed that the way forward would entail an interrogation of these new options using a ranking process. Each team member was required to rank the options, with respect to the objectives of the Developer, the Municipality and the public, to determine their viability. A 'notional' ranking was assigned to filter the options, which allowed for a scientific assessment (Oelofse *et al*, 2005). Once the individuals had independently assessed the options, the results were consolidated into a single matrix table by one of the economic/financial consultants from the Professional Team. In this way, the views of each of the team members would be 'scientifically' taken into consideration and would inform the outcome. These results were later taken forward to a meeting with the City Manager on 15 November 2004.

3rd Professional Team Workshop – 11 October 2004

Following from the previous meeting, the City Officials, Moreland representatives, the consultant team and the EIA consultant met to review the 11 options which were presented as concept diagrams. The team members discussed various components of the diagrams and questioned certain aspects such as the effect on the beach, access, parking, and the boat clubs. The three members of the Professional Team each presented their own respective case study reviews which assisted in contextualising a waterfront development project such as the SCH. A draft framework for decision-making was then proposed and the following issues were recorded as key elements for the design process which would guide further alternatives and define the process (Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 11/10/04:5):

- "The need to align the development to International Best Practice;
- To ensure that the information dissemination was packaged in a readable and understandable format;
- To establish an open process;
- To establish a principle that more beach should be created;
- To promote the continuation of the space for young swimmers and for snorkeling;
- To build on the local distinctiveness of the space; and
- To recognise the status of the beach as a key environmental asset".

In addition, following the discussions around the options and the various issues, a set of principles to guide the development was drafted (See Appendix 4). There was significant deliberation around these principles as they were required to satisfy a broad spectrum of objectives. Furthermore, the team jointly compiled a set of criteria against which the alternate options were to be evaluated and assessed (Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 11/10/04:8):

- "Social
- Ecological
- Biophysical
- Financial
- Economic
- Technical (legal and process, infrastructure, management)
- Planning and Urban Design
- City-wide Imperatives
- The Developer's Mandate".

It was agreed that the public should be informed of the process to date including a presentation of the options so far as well as a summary of the literature review. This public workshop was held on 27 November 2004.

4th Professional Team Workshop – 15 November 2004

The consultants met with the City Officials and the facilitator to jointly assess the 11 options with particular reference to the matrix evaluation. The team jointly grouped the options in relation to the principles and the matrix criteria (such as IDP objectives, financial viability, and social access). Table 4.2 provides a summary of these 11 options and provides a brief analysis in terms of the various components which would deem them suitable or not.

Table 4.2: Summary of the evaluation of the 11 options (adapted from Consultant 1, Email, 09/02/05)

Option	Description	Analysis
Option 1	Original Proposal – Vetch's Pier.	Vetch's Pier destroyed, no safe bathing beach - not acceptable.
Option 2	Integrated Option.	Vetch's Pier retained but no safe bathing beach - not acceptable.
Option 3A	Reconfigured Small Craft Harbour / Waterfront.	Vetch's Pier and significant safe bathing retained – acceptable but not financially viable as only 17 421 m² of development to carry capital cost of SCH of about R173 million (as calculated in viability analysis circulated 24/11/04).
Option 3b	Reconfigured Small Craft Harbour / Waterfront	Vetch's Pier and significant safe bathing retained –acceptable but insufficient development for financial viability, "but adaptation possible" – refer conclusions of 9th November.
Option 4	Recreational Theme Park / Entertainment	Vetch's retained but no safe bathing – not acceptable, not financially viable because most space on reclaimed land of very limited commercial value.
Option 5	Eco-Cultural / Heritage Proposal	Vetch's Pier and significant safe bathing retained - acceptable but not financially viable because of limited development and limited commercial value of most of that development.
Option 6	Recreational / Tourist Retail	Vetch's Pier retained and significant safe bathing - acceptable. Little development with many of the proposed uses e.g. maritime museum, flea market having limited commercial value – hence not financially viable.
Option 7	Watersports and Recreational Development	Vetch's Pier retained but no safe bathing beach – not acceptable. Limited or no commercial value uses proposed for much of the development – not financially viable.
Option 8a	Water Development – Private	Vetch's Pier retained, no safe bathing beach, limited public access - not acceptable. Sufficient development to ensure financial viability.
Option 8b	Water Development – Public	Vetch's Pier retained, safe bathing beach lost and very limited safe bathing beach proposed between Vetch's Pier and UShaka Pier - not acceptable. Financial viability questionable because of high proportion of non-commercial uses.
Option 9	Conventional – No Small Craft Harbour	Vetch's Pier and safe bathing retained but Point Precinct now primarily a beachfront and not waterfront development – economic viability questionable. Whilst no small craft harbour costs, planning of Point and sale of land for development premised on expectations of a waterfront. Impacts negatively on financial viability of Point Precinct.

Four groups or 'clusters' emerged which were based on the key concept of each option. The team then devised a way to classify them which was in terms of the level of bulk (property development) that they achieved. The clusters are depicted in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Categorised cluster options (adapted from Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a:24)

Cluster	Options
Mega Bulk	8a; 8b
Medium Bulk	2a; 2b (Club's proposal); 4; 7
Soft and Medium Bulk	3b (components of 5; 6) – Consultants Option
Soft Bulk	3a (components of 5; 6)

Both the City Officials and the consultants agreed that because 3b was the most balanced option, it was their preferred option. However, because the financial viability was under question, it was decided that it would be reconsidered (Oelofse *et al*, 2005). Option 3b was thus adapted into two different variations; 3b(i) and 3b(ii) (See Appendix 1; Round Three). It was agreed upon by most of the team that the benefit of these two options were that they retained Vetch's pier and the associated safe bathing beach and were deemed to be viable. Option 3b(i) offered more bulk and was thus 'more' financially viable as it offered a higher income from sales within the existing cadastral 'landside' boundary when compared with Option 3b(ii) (Oelofse *et al*, 2005). In addition, Option 3b(i) required less reclamation in the sea. Option 3b(ii) had reduced bulk and thus the development land was shifted back (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a). As 3b(i) and 3b(ii) were viable options, they were amongst the remaining 4 options after the 11 options had been shortlisted. These four options are described in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Short-listed options (adapted from Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a:24-25)

Option	Description	Rationale
Option 1	3b(i) - including components of 5 and 6	Financially viable (greater bulk) & retains beach
Option 2	3b(ii) - including components of 5 and 6	Financially viable (lesser bulk) & retains beach
Option 3	2 (Integrated Option)	Original preferred option
Option 4*	8a and 8b	Optimal property development (maximum bulk)

* Option 4 was discarded at a later stage and thus does not appear amongst the options for Round Three in Appendix 1.

The consultants agreed on Option 3b(i) with components of 5 and 6 (i.e. to include the concepts framing the eco-cultural and recreation options) as their preferred option on the basis that it best satisfied both the financial viability criteria as well as the objectives of the City.

These options were later presented to the City Manager and the DPDC and it was agreed that they would be spatially represented at the public meeting scheduled on 27 November 2004 (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005b). (See Appendix 1; Round Three).

Public Consultative Workshop- 27 November 2004

The purpose of this workshop was to "present and discuss the alternatives being investigated; provide an opportunity for I&APs to seek clarity on the alternatives; and to facilitate comment from I&APs with regard to the study and the proposed alternatives" (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005b:2). The public meeting therefore extended the network at this stage in the process by gaining further input via the views of the public. In addition, the literature review as conducted by the Professional Team was presented for the following purposes (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a:25):

- "To provide an overview of the development of waterfronts and marinas around the world
- To learn from other global experiences
- To assess the economic, social, environmental and governance implications of waterfront developments
- To develop the best possible set of alternatives for Durban which is theoretically well informed".

Consultant's Meeting – 12 December 2004

Some of the consultants arranged a meeting amongst themselves in the search for a way forward and to break the 'deadlock' between the Developer's preferred option (Option 2 from Round Two and Three) and the Consultant's preferred option (Option 3b(ii) from Round Three) that had emerged (See Appendix 1). The process was held independently of the Council and the DPDC as it was intended to be a "technical brainstorming and working session" to move the process forward (Oelofse *et al*, 2005:31). This highlights the degree of flexibility that the actors in this network were allowed, as they independently took initiative to find a solution. Emerging ideas around the four options and public input from the workshop formed the conceptual basis

used to develop a new option (Oelofse *et al*, 2005). This new Phased Option was based on an incremental approach to development and consisted of three phases (See Appendix 1; Final Option). Stage 1 entailed the development of a small craft waterfront, Stage 2a consisted of the expansion of this waterfront including the construction of a new groyne to protect the area as well as a new lock and launch facility, and finally Stage 2b was based on constructing another submerged groyne further north which would create a new protected beach (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a). One of the consultants who was responsible for this option detailed the approach that was adopted (Oelofse *et al*, 2005):

> "The approach, as a reminder, is based on of facilitating an incremental development process which does not foreclose future options by pinning the project on a single solution premised on reaching a compromise of either a reduced waterfront or reduced beach. Rather the approach seeks to enhance the opportunity of both an improved beach and a viable waterfront through enabling an incremental approach much like the rest of the development within the precinct, in particular the incremental growth of the canals".

The Phased Option was given merit for its ability to deliver an equal beach and waterfront experience, and it was argued that it achieves the premise of 3b(ii), whilst "it adds a whole lot more" (Oelofse *et al*, 2005:31). It was also acknowledged that the ecological and technical impacts relating to sand movement still require investigation, whilst, the well-renowned coastal engineer from Cape Town who was involved in the project confirmed that the option was technically feasible. It was believed that "this option provides an opportunity to create something new that adds value to the waterfront development that goes beyond just the SCH and its associated property development" (Oelofse *et al*, 2005:31). This option was therefore the result of collaboration amongst a sub-group of the team who met specifically to find a solution which would benefit all parties.

Consultant's Meeting with City Officials – 24 January 2005

This meeting which was held between the City Officials and the Professional Team to discuss the shortlist of alternatives so far and to confirm which option the City chose as their preferred option and why. The Phased Option was discredited as a preferred option because it had been generated without the City's involvement and had not been through the same collective process of evaluation as the other principles (Oelofse *et al*, 2005). However, it was generated using the outcomes of the deliberation which incorporated all the issues and concerns which the team had jointly negotiated. The consultants highlighted the fact that the Phased Option was an attempt to compromise and add value and thus it was agreed that it should be considered as one of the final

options. Option 3b(ii) which supported the City's objectives as well as being proved to be financially viable was thus chosen as the preferred option of the City Officials and the Professional Team.

Consultant's Meeting – 27 January 2005

This meeting was the final official meeting held amongst the Professional Team. The aim was to discuss what would be documented in a specialist report with reference to the principles, process and options for the SCH as the outcome of the work they as consultants had produced (See Oelofse *et al*, 2005). The four alternatives (as in Table 4.4 above) that had been shortlisted as well as the Phased Option were discussed.

After deliberation around the options, Option 1 (3b(i)) was discarded in favour of Option 2 (3b(ii)) which was the City's preferred option and had the lesser bulk of the two. Option 4 was perceived to have fatal flaws in that it did not accommodate the public or maximise the natural assets of the site, namely the retention of the beach (Oelofse *et al*, 2005). As a result, Option 2 (3b(ii); as the City's preferred option), Option 3 (Integrated Option), Option 5 (Phased Option) and a No Go Option were the four possible options that the City identified as potential alternatives for a proposed SCH. (Oelofse *et al*, 2005:34) (See Table 4.5).

Table 4.5: The City's recommended options for the Addendum to the Scoping Report (Oelofse *et al*, 2005:34)

Option	Description	Rationale
Option 2	3b(ii) - including components of 5 and 6	Financially viable (lesser bulk) & retains beach
Option 3	2 (Integrated Option)	Original preferred option
Option 5	N/A - Phased Option	Attempt to compromise
Option 6	N/A – No Go Option	Protection of beach and ecology, as well as no development costs

Consultant's Meeting with Watersports Representatives - 11 February 2005

This informal meeting was held between one of the City's consultants, one of the Moreland's consultants and three representatives from the watersports clubs and was not part of the official process. Although the official representatives of the Watersports Association had been negotiating with the DPDC as the developer, outside the official public process, the consultants

deemed it necessary to have a direct dialogue with these members. Once again, this reflects the flexibility of the consultants to engage on other levels independent of the rest of the team but in the best interests of all concerned. The aim was to discuss any issues and concerns that they had in terms of the options and to stipulate their requirements in terms of facilities. The Moreland consultant was to pass on these concerns at the following meeting that day between DPDC and the City. They listed their requirements as follows (Authors Notes, 11/02/05:4):

- "Safe/sheltered launching and marine life necessary for boat clubs to function.
- Launching area must accommodate all boats coming in at the same time (also taking the weather into consideration)
- Launching and bathing must not be in conflict.
- Launching area and clubs should be next to each other".

Meeting with DPDC Representatives and City Officials - 11 February 2005

These two groups held a meeting in an attempt to gain consensus among the role players on the alternatives generated thus far and the shortlisting thereof (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005b). The coastal engineer from Cape Town was present to confirm the technical feasibility of the proposed Phased Option and it was his status that afforded him the power to singly verify it. In addition, the principles and criterion that had been identified by the team were reviewed. The team finalised the set of guiding principles as well as the concept plan for the Phased Option (See Appendix 4 for the Guiding Principles and Appendix 1: Final Option for the Phased Option).

2nd Public Consultative Workshop – 2 April 2005

Prior to the meeting, an update of the SCH process was distributed as a leaflet to I&APs (See Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005c). It was the intention of the workshop to present the outcomes of the Extended Scoping Phase to the public. The meeting commenced with an outline of the process thus far, followed by an account of the alternatives study, then a representative of the City and Moreland jointly presented the set of guiding principles and the development concept and lastly I&AP input was captured (Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 02/04/05). The public were informed that they had 14 days in which to provide further comment. Once again, this public meeting was an opportunity to broaden the network by capturing this additional comment and incorporating it into the proceedings.

Addendum to the Scoping Report

The Addendum to the Draft Scoping Report thus provided a summary of the methodology and the outcomes of the alternatives study conducted during the Extended Scoping Phase. It provided a detailed description of the deliberative process which the extended team had participated in. It was concluded that the concerns were largely consistent with those documented in the Draft Scoping Report, however, additional concerns which arose are as follows (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a:115):

- "The extension of the earlier EIA boundary (to accommodate submerged groyne further north).
- The viability of the project from more than merely a financial point of view, but including an economic sustainability analysis.
- The need for the project in the first place and its ability to raise the take up of the 200-300 moorings proposed.
- The proposed "controlled access" versus the right of public access.
- The proposed location, size and number of facilities allocated to existing users and uses within the preferred option, e.g. ski-boat launch, soft launch and club facilities for existing clubs, as well as practicalities of getting boats out of the SCH.
- The provision of space and facilities for particularly the yachting / sailing fraternity.
- The adequacy of support infrastructure and facilities to certain components of the Developer's preferred option e.g. vehicular / boat trailer parking and boat maintenance facilities.
- The dual role of the Council as the regulator and an investor entails sometimes delays in input and difficulty in securing a coherent City perspective".

Furthermore, these additional concerns included (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a:116):

- "Public access
- Privatisation of public space
- Displacement of existing clubs
- Development below the High Water Mark
- Other outstanding statutory issues for example town planning".

In addition to capturing the comments and concerns of the public, the Addendum also provided the various options arising from the different stages, including the Developer's Preferred Option (the Phased Option). It was recommended that in addition to this option, Option 2 (Integrated Option), Option 3b(i) and Option 3b(ii) should also be considered for further investigation in the EIA phase (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005a). The Addendum was submitted to

DAEA, as the delegating authority, in conjunction with the Draft Scoping Report and conditions were proposed by way of a record of decision. This signified the closure of the Scoping Phase and the end of the involvement of the extended consultant team.

The proposed SCH is a component of one of the major projects currently in progress in Durban. The location of the proposed site and the unique protection afforded to it by Vetch's pier has facilitated the growth of an active watersports fraternity who are currently the primary users of the site. In addition, the environment is protected by a host of regulatory legislation and the proposed development is thus required to undertake an EIA. The Scoping Phase, which was to precede the EIA did not adequately address its objectives of generating alternatives and thus the Extended Scoping Phase, marked by the introduction of an additional team of professional consultants, was initiated by the City to interrogate further options for the site. This process dealt with the varieties of issues surrounding the potential development of the SCH and the outcome was ultimately based on the interactions and deliberations between the team of decision-makers.

4.4 Conclusion

The proposed SCH as an element of a key flagship project in the eThekwini Municipality is thus part of a local intervention which seeks to satisfy the City's long term developmental vision by harnessing the economic potential of the site. It is thus part of a transformation policy which has been formulated by a proactive local government to address historical disparities as well as to facilitate economic growth. However, the proposed SCH was required to undergo an EIA in terms of national environmental legislation. The City as a regulator believed that the requirements of the Scoping Report, as part of the environmental legislation, were not adequately met in terms of the issue of alternatives. As a result, the Scoping Phase was extended to interrogate the alternatives more thoroughly and three additional consultants were commissioned to assist the existing decision-making team in this regard. An extensive process of deliberations aimed to address the major issues, namely potential loss of public access and amenity, through the generation of new options. The options were assessed in accordance with a scientific method of evaluation and were shortlisted. In addition, a new Phased Option was formulated by some of the consultants and this aimed to achieve a compromise between socially and economically driven objectives. This was published as the Developer's preferred option in the Addendum to the Scoping Report, which signified the culmination of the process. It is this Extended Scoping Phase upon which the analysis for this research is based.

CHAPTER 5:
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The aim of the research is to apply environmental discourse analysis as a framework through which the environmental politics of the decision-making process of the Small Craft Harbour (SCH), Durban can be examined. As an analytical tool, discourse analysis offers a language based approach to research and is therefore essentially a qualitative means of inquiry. It is proposed that discourse analysis falls into the approach whereby knowledge is socially constructed. In terms of the SCH process, discourse analysis is a means of interpreting the political process, uncovering the multiplicity of discourses at play and the definitions of reality which underpin them. It therefore allows for an examination of the interactions of the actors, revealing how their exchanges shape the outcome, taking into account the shifting context and power relations at the same time. The theory of discourse and its implications for politics involves a host of key concepts which not only provide the basis of the methodology, but serve to frame the study as well.

Since the aim of the research was to document and interpret an environmental decision-making process, data was sourced primarily from observing the actors within a forum as they interacted and argued in support of their specific positions. The researcher's attendance throughout the series of meetings and workshops was made possible through one of the specialist consultants who requested permission from the team. Presence throughout the decision-making process, which involved the deliberation of the proposals, facilitated a first hand documentation of the issues which were debated. Direct involvement in the process was therefore the most valuable source of information, as it provided fundamental insight into the how the discourses operated alongside one another, reflecting the evolution of the process. Action research was undertaken as a result of the participation in the form of a literature review for the development. This served to enhance the understanding of such processes and may have contributed to shaping the process itself. In addition to the primary data collected from bearing witness to the debates in depth, interviews were conducted to explore the positions adopted by the key participants. Other primary data included correspondence such as emails, minutes and letters which served to reinforce the findings supplied by the other data. In addition, key policy documents, namely the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and the Point Development Framework Plan (PDFP) were

used as primary data, whilst the Draft Scoping Report and the Addendum to the Scoping Report for the SCH also provided valuable background information. In terms of the secondary data, the theoretical framework comprised two diverse but overlapping sets of concepts. The first related to the theory of social order, governance, power and discourse, whilst the second involved the bodies of international literature relating to waterfront developments, which also formed the basis of the literature review for the team.

Hajer's (1995; 2003) approach to discourse analysis formed the foundation of the methodology. Key concepts such as story-lines, epistemic notions, policy vocabularies and discourse coalitions were used to interpret the data. Furthermore, Hajer's (1995) 'argumentative approach' facilitated an evaluation of the process in terms of the actions and interactions as well as the positioning and re-positioning of the actors in the process. This approach was possible due to first hand observation of the exchanges which occurred. Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) approach was used as a broader overarching method of analysis as it provided a generic and formulaic means of analysing data. The process itself was therefore a loose combination of the two adapted to suit the nature of the data and the experience of the researcher.

Discourse analysis, as a unique means of language based inquiry used to interpret the environmental politics of this decision-making process, has been fundamental in shaping the structure of the project and therefore ultimately both the type of data collected as well as the process of analysis undertaken.

5.2 Data sources

5.2.1 Primary data

The focus of the primary data was on the competing discourses within the process and therefore aimed to capture the nature of the interactions and the language which was employed as a tool within these power struggles. Through an interpretation of these dialogues, it was intended that the contrasting understandings of the world which frame the actions of the various participants would be revealed. There were two core sources of primary data; direct involvement and interviews.

a) Direct involvement in the process

In order to collect accurate data concerning any process, it is ideal to be immersed in the process as an observer, to be able to generate a first hand understanding of what is unfolding. As Doreen Massey asserts; "by doing one's thinking and one's science in the field itself, it is possible to capture the complexity and the ongoing movement of the world one is studying" (Massey, 2003:75). The value of observing the exchanges within a group is given by Cook and Crang (1995:56, cited in Robinson, 1998:418) who note that groups have the potential to illustrate "the intersubjective dynamics of thought, speech and understanding". Fortunately, in the case of the Extended Scoping Phase of the SCH, this was made possible, as permitted by the team members, as well as the Independent Assessor as the facilitator. As a result, the process was witnessed by the researcher through the attendance of the series of meetings and workshops with the decision-making team as an observer, as well through attendance at the open public meetings.

Chronology of the process

The particular purposes of each of the meetings and workshops held during the Extended Scoping Phase of the SCH, as well as the list of participants is detailed in Chapter 4 (The context of the proposed SCH), as well as the Chronology produced by the facilitator (See Appendix 2 for an adaptation of the Chronology). The commencement of this phase of decision-making coincided with the involvement of the consultants in July 2004. However, for other reasons, the first meeting held on 19 July 2004, was not attended by the researcher. This meeting was merely an introductory meeting for the consultants to review the Draft Scoping Report with the options it presented, and to provide feedback at the next scheduled meeting. Therefore, the second meeting was the First Professional Team Workshop (23 August 2004) and signified the start of the data collection. This was followed by data collection at the Second Professional Team Workshop (14 September 2004), the Third Professional Team Workshop (11 October 2004), the Fourth Professional Team Workshop (15 November 2004) and the first Public Consultative Workshop (27 November 2004). However, the 'consultant team' meeting held on 12 December 2004 was not inclusive and as such, some team members did not attend. As a result, there was no data gathered from this meeting. The next meeting which was attended comprised the consultant team and the City Officials (24 January 2005), followed by an internal meeting held by the consultant team (27 January 2005). An informal meeting between two consultants and three watersports club representatives was also attended on 11 February 2005.

The aim was to capture issues which would be taken forward by one of the consultants to the meeting between the DPDC and City Officials on 11 February 2005. However, the latter meeting was not attended by the City's consultants, nor the researcher and therefore no data was collected. The second Public Consultative Workshop (2 April 2005) signified the final opportunity for data collection as the process was drawing to a close. These meetings, with their own specific purpose as well as playing host to a variety of different actors formed the basis of the primary data.

Data Collection

The first source of data was therefore obtained during these meetings and workshops. The researchers own notes were recorded by hand during the meetings and comprised the primary texts. Audio-taping of the meetings was permitted and these were used in support of the notes. This was supplemented by the official minutes which were recorded and distributed by the Independent Assessor as the facilitator. These texts were later used in the discourse analysis (See Table 5.1 for the details of the actors who provided the primary data in the form of the comments captured during these meetings)

Action research

As a result of the direct involvement in the process, there was a mutual exchange between the researcher and the process, this is best articulated by Massey (2003:86):

> "If you take a position that the world out there, or more specifically your object of study, can speak back, that it too is an active agent in this process of research, then what is at issue is a real *two-way* engagement. Many imaginations of the field have pictured it as static, as synchronic. A revision of that imaginary would make the field itself dynamic; and it would make field*work* into a relation between two active agents. It would recognize it as a two-way *encounter*".

In this particular study, it is appropriate to refer to the research process as part of a 'two-way encounter' as described by Massey (2003). There are two factors which support this claim, the first is that the researcher was present during the interactions and may therefore have had some influence on the process. The second is that as a product of the scoping phase, a public workshop was scheduled for which the researcher was required to collect and summarise key issues arising from a number of case studies. This literature review, which was to inform the decision-making process, generated a certain amount of debate and may have shaped the

interactions occurring amongst team members. This was evident by the various responses received from some participants who objected to the 'biased' nature of the findings, and were consequently encouraged to contribute their own findings. The literature review was subsequently presented at the public workshop and generated various responses from the public as well.

Table 5.1: Sources of primary data

ACTORS' DETAILS			
Respondent	**Position / Field**	**Organisation**	**Interview Date**
City Official 1	Environmental Management Branch	eThekwini Municipality	10 May 2005
City Official 2	iTrump - Inner City Regeneration and Planning		13 May 2005
City Official 3	Architecture and Urban Design		20 May 2005
City Official 4	Development Planning and Management Unit		10 June 2005
City Manager	Municipal Manager		14 June 2005
Developing Agent 1	Town Planner (and EIA co-ordinator)	Moreland Developments	17 May 2005
Developing Agent 2	Development Director of Resorts (SCH Project Director)		17 June 2005
Consultant 1	Financial/Economic Consultant	External Consultants	29 April 2005
Consultant 2	Socio-Economic Consultant		16 May 2005
Consultant 3	Town Planning Consultant		24 June 2005
Consultant 4 *	Financial/Economic Consultant		NA
Consultant 5 *	Social Consultant		NA
Independent Assessor	EIA Consultant	Pravin Amar Development Planners	9 June 2005

* Consultant 4 and Consultant 5 were not interviewed. They provided primary data in the form of their comments and concerns voiced at the meetings or workshops. All the other actors were interview respondents who also provided data during the meetings.

In addition, the review was published in the form of the Consultants Report which was a specialist report within the Addendum to the Scoping Report (see Oelofse *et al*, 2005). So whilst the researcher was drawing from the process, so the process was being shaped accordingly. As Thrift (2003:108) has described:

> "... fieldwork knowledge was co-produced from a process of interaction in which both the fieldworker and the informant participated, a process of interaction which might well change both participants' thinking".

The exchanges which concerned the literature review suggest that the researcher's involvement may have altered the thinking of some of the team members, and hence transformed the course of decision-making. Although the literature review will be detailed below as a source of secondary data, it was in itself an element of action research. Kitchin and Tate (2000:225) define action research as, being "formulated upon the basis of trying to *change* a social system at the same time trying to generate knowledge about it". However, because "particular action is sought... remaining objective within action research remains difficult" (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:225). This is a challenge common to qualitative analysis and will be detailed below as a possible limitation of the research.

Similarly, the involvement in the process may be defined as 'participant observation' which Robinson (1998:422) describes as the; "looking, listening, experiencing and recording an observer's observations of daily life". Although this method has its roots in a more anthropocentric approach, it nevertheless lends relevance to this particular project. Gans (1982, cited in Robinson, 1998:422) has identified three forms of 'participant observation'; total (the observer's role is concealed), researcher-participant (the researcher is both inside and outside the group) and total researcher (participation is limited). The research undertaken for this project can be classified as that of 'researcher-participant' because although there is close involvement in the project, the position as 'critical commentator' who is able to distinguish underlying patterns and processes within daily life has still been maintained.

So the role of the researcher was not a one-sided relationship with 'the field', but rather involved a dynamic two-way interaction, where 'the field' informed the researcher and the researcher informed 'the field'.

b) Interviews

Interviews with key participants in the Extended Scoping Phase comprised the second key source of primary data. As with the data collected directly from the involvement in the process, the techniques employed aimed to determine the research objectives. These were mainly to identify discourses which reflect the conflicting opinions of the different individuals and groups as well to determine any perceived relations of power that exist between the various actors and the discourses they ascribe to.

Selecting a sample

Team members were selected as potential interview candidates on basis of their individual role within the process as well their respective discipline. The aim was to provide a representative sample of the overall composition of the team which was comprised of City Officials, Developing Agents, consultants and the Independent Assessor. Ten respondents were chosen, of which nine were interviewed, due to practical considerations. In addition, the two heads of the respective dominant organisations; the City and Moreland (as the Developing Agent) were also chosen to provide information from a higher level taking into account that they had a lower level of direct participation and engagement. The interviews thus provided a representative of those actors who engaged in the deliberative process and included all the key rolepayers (See Table 5.1 which provides the details of the interviewees as part of the primary data collected).

Arranging the interviews

Fortunately owing to the direct involvement of the researcher in the process, the candidates knew the researcher well and most of them were also familiar with the motives for the research. Most of them were contacted telephonically, whilst some were unavailable and thus an email was sent requesting an interview. The motives for the research were outlined and an estimated length of time for the meeting was given. For all of the candidates, it was deemed most appropriate to arrange the meetings at their work place.

Structure of the interviews

Based on the nature of the study and ability of the interviewer, the interviews adopted a semi-structured, open-ended style to allow the various opinions or attitudes to be effectively captured.

This style encouraged a degree of flexibility, without limiting the interviewee's responses, as well as aiming to supply some form of direction and structure which guided the interviewer and ensured that all issues were covered (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). A core framework of questions was used for the nine interview candidates (See Appendix 5 for an outline of the interview questions). This was adapted by supplementing the interview guideline with additional questions relating to leadership, for the interviews with both the respective heads of the City and Moreland. The questions aimed to probe various issues concerning the other actors, their views, their interactions as well as the process in general. In addition, Robinson (1998) states that when adopting an informal approach, one of the requirements is that the questions should be worded in a way that would represent the same meanings for all respondents, and thus this was taken into consideration when constructing the interviews. The questions were grouped and ordered to maintain a train of thought. Robinson (1998:415) enforces the importance of the order of the questions, stating that the order should ensure that "vital views and information are not withheld". However, with some respondents, the order of the questions was altered during the interview to provide a more streamlined discussion and in other situations some questions were omitted to avoid repetition. 'Directive questioning' which may prompt agreement were also avoided, similarly, the researcher's opinions were purposefully omitted (Robinson, 1998).

In addition, information which was not directly related to the research provided useful contextual data which was used in other areas of the project. The interviews were constructed in such a way that the questions were consistent for different individuals (except for the additional interview questions aimed at the two actors in leadership positions) allowing for collective analysis of the data.

The interview process

Upon meeting with the respondent, pleasantries were exchanged and an introduction was provided. Robinson (1998:415) suggests that this introduction should "include a clear explanation of what the interview will entail and its purpose, and reference to ethical considerations (e.g. non-disclosure of an individual's name or personal information) and to any procedural matters relating to the interview (e.g. use of note-taking, use of a tape-recording or a translator)". In this case, it was made clear that the researcher would be respectful of the information given as it is a sensitive project and permission was requested to audio-record the interview. Robinson (1998:416) notes that using audio recording as a method of data capture "can ensure that subtle nuances of the interview are not lost", however; it may limit the

expression of the candidates' true feelings. Fortunately all the candidates consented to recording and a number felt more comfortable to offer certain information 'off the record'. The recorded interviews were transcribed thereafter and provided the core of the data. In addition, notes were taken which summarised the key points. The recordings formed the texts which were used in the discourse analysis as they provided evidence of the operation of discourses through the language of the participants.

c) Correspondence

The third set of primary data was sourced from correspondence, namely emails. These emails served to reinforce the views of some of the actors through their exchanges. This data only formed a minor contribution to the primary data texts.

d) Documentary data

Finally, additional data was sourced from a number of documents. There were two key policy documents and these were the IDP and the PDFP. The IDP is the five year strategic plan of the Municipality and outlines the broader principles framing the development, whilst the PDFP was the specific plan for the Point Precinct and thus directly relates to the type of development which would be supported. These policy documents were the basis for one of the elements of the discourse analysis; the policy vocabularies, and served to frame many of the outcomes. The other source of documentary data was in the form of the Draft Scoping Report and the Addendum to the Scoping Report for the SCH. These two publications, which include specialist studies, provided crucial background information relating to the site, the history of the process and the options which were presented. Although they served to contextualise the research, they were not used directly in the analysis.

5.2.2 Secondary data

The secondary data comprised three bodies of literature; the first relating to environmental politics and the ensuing power struggles as a product of contemporary social order, and the second pertaining to waterfront developments. The texts which formed the secondary data were largely in the form of international and local journal articles, as well as several books, all of which were source manually from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Library, obtained via interlibrary loan, or acquired from associated academics. The third body of literature was

more context specific and included background information on Durban, with particular reference to the current goals of the eThekwini Municipality.

a) Social order, governance, power and discourse

The first body of theory related to the environmental politics of decision-making processes. This was subdivided into three major sources of literature, the first being related to social order and governance. Castells' (2000) theories on the network society were used to frame the SCH in terms of current global social order and Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) outline the consequential implications that this has for governance. Secondly, power is a key force operating throughout society and within these networks, as detailed by Allen (2003), and its consequences for such decision-making processes is explored. Lastly, the exchanges between actors in the process can be explained using the theory of discourse which examines the views and positions of different individuals and Hajer's (1995; 2003) discourse analysis is therefore of particular relevance as a theory as well as an analytical tool which is outlined below.

b) Waterfront theory

As outlined above, the decision-making team was instructed to undertake a literature review which highlighted international trends in waterfront development. It was agreed that the researcher would assist with the sourcing of the relevant case study material as well as the compilation of the data. The analysis of a wide range of examples highlighted a number of key issues which were common across the globe and this was used to guide the development of Durban's proposed SCH development. Rather than a direct application of the theory, the key lessons which emerged were used to draft a set of guiding principles for the development. In this way, the literature review can be classified as an element of action research as defined by Kitchin and Tate (2000:225) above, which served to 'shape society', in this case, the evolution of the SCH process. The core body of this literature review was then adapted to form the second theory chapter of the thesis (Chapter 3) and serves to contextualise the SCH as part of the global phenomenon of waterfront developments, as well as highlighting key considerations.

c) Background literature

Relevant literature which provided an overview of the context within which the project was occurring, was sourced. This included background information relating to Vetch's Bight and the

adjacent land uses, Durban and the eThekwini Municipality. Particular emphasis was placed on the evolution of the socio-economic status of the city, culminating in a review of the developmentally orientated strategies practiced at present. The urban renewal initiatives undertaken by the City are of significance to the project and therefore also documented.

5.3 Analysis

The challenge of analysis, which is usually the most testing phase of any research project, has been captured by Crang (2003:127):

> "How are we to turn this mass of material into some cogent, hopefully illuminating, maybe even impressive, 'findings'? And, of course, we realize the one thing they are not is findings – findings, like questions, require work. It is better to think that through analysis we make interpretations, not find answers".

Thus the results or 'findings' are largely dependant on how the researcher interprets the sets of primary and secondary data which were specifically collected in the aim of achieving the objectives of the project. As such, "the value placed on the evidence comes from the interpretation, and is not inherent in the data" (Crang, 2003:142). The subjectivity of the researcher is thus called into question, as it is their specific interpretation, or how they articulate the 'findings' as they see them. This is one of the constraints of discourse, as Massey (2003:77) outlines:

> "… we cannot connect with a world of experience outside language… our task as researchers is to produce the new through the process of inventive rearticulation of language. Here is a strong challenge: 'the field' is not out there waiting to be discovered; rather, it is already linguistically constructed and the researcher's aim must be imaginatively to reformulate this construction in such a way that new avenues can be opened up, new ideas and practices can flow".

This is a key consideration of the research since the chosen analytical technique is discourse analysis. This cautions that not only are the discourses under study 'someone else's' interpretations of the world, but the research itself will call for an interpretation of these multiple interpretations, relying heavily on the articulations of the researcher to 'imaginatively reformulate these constructions', as Massey (2003) describes it.

A further consideration of relying on interpretation as the key element of analysis has been described by Michel de Certeau (1986, cited in Crang, 2003:138) as a 'doubled narrative':

"...as Benjamin (1979) would have it, our way of finding information is perhaps as important as what is found. In other words, the events and elements of our analysis are framed by the structure, and made into interpretable instances in the light of the process, of research itself".

Once again this is particularly pertinent to this specific study because discourse analysis, as the chosen methodology, has both shaped how the data has been interpreted, as well as serving as an element of the theoretical framework. Qualitative research is thus a complicated affair; not only does the "the story of our research frame(s) the evidence we use" (de Certeau, 1986, cited in Crang, 2003:138) but the very nature of the data calls for an ongoing and inductive process. Hajer's (1995; 2003) discourse analysis as the framework is supplemented by Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) prescriptive approach, both of which are outlined below and followed by a detailed description of the process of analysis. As Crang (2003:141) notes, "our interpretation is always shifting, contestable and more or less provisional so that the decision when it stops is more one of pragmatics than completeness". The process outlined attempts to reflect this irregular, often tentative process up until the 'pragmatics' demanded closure.

5.3.1 Analytical framework

As it has been clearly outlined, qualitative data analysis faces many challenges, particularly the choice of analysis, as there is no standard approach. However, Kitchin and Tate (2000) assert that 'formal guidelines' can be used to ensure that analysis is both thorough and rigorous. Taking into account the level of experience of the researcher, it was deemed appropriate that elements from this more structured approach were adopted. Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) hands on 'description, classification and interconnect' approach was chosen as the detailed framework for data analysis whilst Hajer's (1995; 2003) discourse analysis provided the broader framework based on a core set of concepts, which lends relevance to the theoretical framework behind the research.

Kitchin and Tate (2000) have summarised the three steps to Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) approach and emphasise the iterative and overlapping nature of these steps. Firstly the data requires 'description' which is the foundation for analysis and allows for the data to be presented in a form which is easy to interpret. It is this process of description which takes into account the context of the interviewee, however, depending on the interview candidate, a degree of interpretation may be required. Secondly, 'classification' is one step further in the process of analysis whereby 'interpretive analysis' is undertaken. This involves the fragmentation of data

into various constituents, which are then grouped along similar themes or categories. Kitchin and Tate (2000) affirm that this allows us to determine which factors are more prominent, allowing both the similarities as well as the differences to be revealed. This process of classification permits the drawing of comparisons between the various texts. Kitchin and Tate (2000) describe 'systematic classifications' as classifications required for research which assists the researcher to understand the views and actions of other people. This type of classification is imposed by the researcher and the subjective nature of these judgements can be a limitation of qualitative data analysis. Dey (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) suggests that once the data has been categorised into different sections of data, it should be refined further by 'splitting', i.e. to divide existing data into relevant sub-categories. By doing so where possible, data can be grouped into conceptual themes which is also 'analytically useful', in other words they are relevant to the research aims. 'Splicing' is the next step which "concerns the interweaving of related categories" (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:246). It provides an informal means of linking data and through integration brings in less significant or smaller categories of data. Lastly connection is the third step and is done through linking and associating different classes of data or themes. To follow the process of connection and before the results are written up, Kitchin and Tate (2000) suggest that the results are corroborated. This step involves the validation of the results through a process of cross-checking and entails the search for other possible conclusions as well as checking the quality of the data and comparing it to other similar studies. Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) approach was thus used to organise the data into themes, which were subsequently identified as discourse coalitions.

The second analytical framework used in this study was formulated by Hajer whose approach to discourse examines "how language shapes reality" (Hajer, 2003:103). As has been discussed in Chapter 2, there are three elements of discourse analysis: the terms (in the form of three different layers of meaning; story-lines, metaphors and myths, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions), the formation of discourse coalitions around these story-lines and lastly the analysis of the particular institutional practices in which discourses are produced (Hajer, 2003) (See Table 5.2). This approach to discourse analysis also considers processes of discourse structuration (whereby credibility is afforded through the emulation of a specific discourse) and discourse institutionalisation (whereby a discourse becomes translated into institutional arrangements) (Hajer, 1995). Most pertinent to this research are the story-lines, epistemic notions, policy vocabularies and discourse coalitions. Epistemic notions, as the third layer of meaning, represent a broader theory or set of subconscious rules which governs the thoughts and actions of the actors, and is often not a conscious classification. The story-lines underscore

the dominant themes around which actors position themselves and have been defined by Hajer as; "narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding" (Hajer 1995:62). As a result, 'discourse coalitions' emerge as actors are drawn together around the various story-lines. These key concepts form the foundation of 'argumentative discourse analysis' whereby positioning around story-lines and discourse coalition formation are central to the dynamics of the process. In the aim of getting other actors to see the problem from their perspective, actors consciously strategise and formulate discursive arguments to achieve their preferred course of action and the process can be conceived of as an argumentative struggle (Hajer, 1995). As the researcher was exposed to this additional dimension of the process through first hand experience of the interactions and positioning of actors, Hajer's (1995) 'argumentative discourse analysis' was made possible.

Table 5.2: Three layers in policy discourse with examples from the SCH process (adapted from Hajer, 2003:104)

Layers	Examples from the SCH process
1. Analysis of *story-lines, myths and metaphors*: (crisp) generative statements that bring together previously unrelated elements of reality and thus facilitate coalition formation	• 'the vision must be global' • 'it's in the best interests of the city as a whole' • 'save the beach' • 'lessons from international best practice'
2. Analysis of *policy vocabularies*: sets of concepts structuring a particular policy, consciously developed by policymakers	• 'flagship project' • 'the Point as an icon' • 'democracy, transparency and equity in decision-making'
3. Analysis of *epistemic figures*: certain rules of formation that underpin theories/policies but that are 'not formulated in their own right'	• 'sustainability' • 'urban renewal' • 'profit driven development'

Active attendance of these meetings and workshops allowed for accurate and first hand collection of data as well as direct experience of the interactions providing for an enhanced understanding of the negotiations. This in itself allows for the application of Hajer's (1995) 'argumentative approach' which is detailed below.

In combination, these two processes aim to make sense of the primary and secondary data sources using a specific approach which is best suited to the nature of the data. They align with Crang's (2003:143) broad vision of how analysis should be carried out. He states that:

> "The process of analysis I have tried to stress is thus an active and material one, one that involves making connections – and divisions – and where material is combined, recombined, decontextualised and recontextualised".

Once this material has gone through these primary stages of analysis, it is the task of the researcher to advance the interpretation through substantiating the information with the work of others. The theoretical framework which can be applied is described by Crang (2003:141):

> "...how we bring in previous stories through citations, leaning on the work of someone else's... but ...none of them necessarily proves anything more than any other. Instead we might see these stories alongside each, rather than with some relationship of verticality, or, after de Certeau, see them not as accumulating layers but as an accumulation of fragments or ruins from previous work – in other words, a piling of incomplete parts – and it is the incompleteness that induces motion to the texts, as we strive to think about what might add completeness".

So it is the insertion of the theories of others that invokes further interpretation, in the aim of 'completing' the analysis.

5.3.2 The process of analysis

Analysis is not a straightforward process, and these complexities have already been outlined, however, it must be noted that to reduce confusion, the process of analysis has been divided into sections which are classified below. The iterative nature of the process of analysis requires a degree of 'moving' between sections at different stages in the process. This has been documented as clearly as possible using a linear format as outlined below.

a) Grouping the interview data

The first phase of data analysis was undertaken by using elements from both Hajer's (1995; 2003) and Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) approaches. The starting point was the set of transcriptions from the eleven interviews. It was assumed that the interviews would provide more direct guidelines which would aid with the identification of the different layers of meaning at a later stage, which the other data would serve to substantiate. The fact that the data

is captured on tape renders Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000:245) first step of description as unnecessary. This is because the process of transcription will provide this 'description' of the material by facilitating its presentation in a form which is easy to interpret. Moving onto the second step; classification, certain categories were then identified. This process of categorisation was done manually by searching through the hard copies of the texts (interviews only) and colour coding sections of data according to the emerging themes. As the process progressed, so more themes were identified and thus a second round of coding was necessary to identify the latter themes amongst the earlier texts. In total, there were twenty-three themes, however, in line with Kitchin and Tate's (2000) emphasis on the iterative nature of the process, these were later adapted (through splitting or splicing) during the write-up itself. These themes were then electronically grouped using the 'cut and paste' function of Microsoft Word on the computer and a single document was produced. As Kitchin and Tate (2000) stipulate, the next step required 'splitting and splicing' these themes. A number of themes were split into subgroups to aid analysis. In terms of splicing as well connecting the data as two separate steps in the process, this was done during the actual write-up where the links and associations appeared relevant.

b) The first phase of the write-up

Once the segments of data from the interviews had been allocated to one of the twenty-three themes and compiled as one Word document, seven broader overarching themes were identified. At this stage of the process, these seven broader themes were identified as discourses which were namely Globalisation, IDP, Economic Growth, Social, Environmental, Procedural and Political. Each one of the twenty-three themes originally classified using Dey's (1993, cited in Kitchin and Tate, 2000) approach, were then allocated to one of these seven discourses. This resulted in the links between many of the original themes becoming evident and as such some of the original themes were 'spliced'. These connections between discourses revealed the way in which the discourses themselves overlapped as well as serving to show how some actors represented more than one discourse. Each discourse was then written up into a coherent body, linking the various themes in an appropriate order. The data from the meetings and the workshops, as well as the correspondence was also iteratively woven in amongst the interview material during this process. This can also be identified as a means of validating the interview data and thus 'corroborating' the results.

c) The first phase of reflection

Upon a reflection of these results, various story-lines began to emerge under each discourse. The discourses were subsequently divided up into the sets of story-lines which themselves comprised the discourse. The story-lines thus became the sub-sections of the discourses. At this stage it was also realised that the seven broad categories were not merely discourses but actually discourse coalitions. It was noted that the discourse coalitions were overlapping, with the same actors uttering story-lines from different coalitions.

d) Introducing the secondary data

By entering this phase of data analysis, another level of interpretation was introduced. The secondary data, which consisted of the body of theory pertaining to social order, governance, power and discourse (from Chapter 2), as well as the waterfront literature (from Chapter 3), was woven into the text in two stages. The waterfront literature was added first while the other theory was added afterwards. It was inserted where relevant to maintain a line of argument and to support the primary data; "as simple building block(s), as foundations from which to argue" (Crang, 2003:141). The literature allows for the interpretation of the findings which generates meaning and understanding in the research.

e) The second phase of reflection

Another defining moment occurred when it was realised that the Political Discourse Coalition was not a discourse coalition and rather an entirely different section in itself. This was on the basis that the politics of the project reflected much of the dynamics of the process. This had become particularly clear when the theory had been applied, and it became obvious that the Political Discourse Coalition was founded primarily on theories of governance and deliberative policy analysis in particular. For these reasons it was removed from this primary body of results and became the basis for the second chapter of analysis. As a result, the seven discourse coalitions had been reduced to six (as outlined in Chapter 6).

f) Epistemic notions and policy vocabularies

Epistemic notions, as the overarching subconscious theories governing the discourses of the actors, comprise the third layer of meaning in Hajer's (1995; 2003) discourse analysis. At this

point in the process of analysis these epistemic notions began to slowly emerge. These were identified as sustainability, urban renewal and profit driven development. They were documented using both primary and secondary data as a section of the analysis which preceded the section of discourse coalitions, and therefore were not interwoven directly into the primary body of the results. However, it was decided that because there were only two key policy documents, the policy vocabularies, as the second layer of meaning in Hajer's (1995; 2003) discourse analysis, were to be inserted in amongst the story-lines, underneath the appropriate discourse coalition which they served to entrench. The two policy documents, the IDP and the PDFP were scrutinised in terms of their possible associations with the language used by the actors. Several sections, paragraphs and phrases were very familiar and it became apparent that they were the source of many claims and statements made by team members.

5.4 Limitations

The limitations of this research are largely a function of the qualitative nature of the study. Discourse analysis, as a language based means of inquiry relies heavily on the interpretations of the researcher. As described by Eyles (1988, cited in Robinson, 1998:409), "qualitative techniques are essentially descriptions of people's representations and constructions of what is occurring in their world". However, as Massey (2003) has outlined, it is not the aim of the researcher to repeat previous linguistic constructions of the world, rather to exploit the opportunity for new avenues of exploration. This is perhaps viewed by some as part and parcel of the value of qualitative research, rather than a limitation. Nevertheless, the implications brought about from the discrepancies of language and how it is interpreted will be discussed, as well as other possible limitations.

5.4.1 In search of objectivity

The specific way in which the researcher may have influenced the research process is twofold. Firstly, during the collection of primary data (both through the direct involvement and the interviews) discrepancies may be introduced in the way questions are phrased, or what text is deemed relevant and therefore transcribed or omitted. Secondly, this is applicable to the analysis, whereby it is the task of the researcher to choose which approach to employ and consequently it is at their discretion to identify which data is important and therefore necessary to extract. In terms of classification, it is the task of the researcher to identify the different themes and this too is done by 'subjective judgement' (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). This is also the

case when identifying the different discourses, story-lines, epistemic notions and discourse coalitions, as outlined by Hajer (1995; 2003). Since analysis hinges on interpretation, each researcher will uniquely interpret the findings in a way they deem most suitable. However, subjectivity is more than often not a conscious choice, the specific background and opinions of the researcher are usually imposed on most aspects of the research process. To keep any potential bias to a minimum, certain steps can be taken. For example, it has already been noted that when constructing questions for interviews, 'directive questioning' which may prompt a certain answer should be avoided (Robinson, 1998).

5.4.2 The implications of action research

Not only may the presence of the researcher affect the process, but action research, as a key component of the study, required a high level of participation in the project. As such, the researcher more than likely contributed to the way in which the process evolved, which would in turn shape the outcome of this particular study. Furthermore, the involvement of the researcher and her connection to the additional social consultant (as her supervisor) would position her as an insider during interviews and may have influenced the interviewee's responses. Although the level of engagement may be considered marginal, whether or not it affected the interactions between participants in any significant way, and ultimately whether it affected the quality of data generated, is unquantifiable and therefore a limitation of qualitative analysis.

5.4.3 The ethical considerations

One area of concern related to the use of discourse analysis as a qualitative technique involves the ethical obligations of the researcher. Since the approach relies heavily on the use of the language which reflects conflicts of interest amongst high-profile professionals, certain identities should be protected to avoid any possible detriment to their respective reputations. Kitchin and Tate (2000:36) emphasise the importance of protecting an individual's "privacy, confidentiality and anonymity". As a result, direct reference to particular individuals as well as the exact dialogue exchanged may not always be possible to disclose. The implications of this are that sections of the primary data which may have been useful in illuminating some of the conflicts of the project may have been sensitive and thus omitted for ethical reasons. In addition, information which is given 'off the record' should be treated with the utmost discretion. In this

case, the results of the project have been limited by the ethical considerations and as a consequence, the picture is incomplete.

5.4.4 The process as a snapshot

One of the limitations of the research relates to the context of the project. This is the risk that the research may only present a partial picture. In the case of the SCH process, the particular phase of the process chosen for investigation was the Extended Phase of the Scoping exercise, and is therefore only a representative snapshot of the broader decision-making process. Since involvement in the project was restricted to one specific phase, there is the risk that the researcher's knowledge of the project processes and politics prior to this was limited. As a result, any information given about the preceding phases in the process can only be used to contextualise the project (in Chapter 4, Background). Similarly, because the interactions during this phase occurred at one level, there also exists the risk that issues have been debated and decisions have been made at higher levels as well as outside the Scoping process itself. In addition, due to the politically sensitive nature of the project, it is likely that some knowledge of the development was withheld from the researcher. It is therefore acknowledged that the facts gathered do not represent a complete set of information pertaining to the Extended Scoping Phase, rather a simplified version of the actual environmental politics, or an outsider's first hand insight of the decision-making process.

5.5 Conclusion

Discourse analysis, chosen as the methodology for the research on the merits of its ability to facilitate the interpretation of an environmental process, proved successful in achieving the aims of the research. As the approach is based on the interpretation of discourses as well as the constructions of reality which underpin them, the methodology rendered itself invaluable in examining the interactions of the actors and how they shaped the process. Primary data was sourced through the direct involvement of the researcher in the process: 'Participant observation' generated a deeper understanding of the dynamics between the actors. Furthermore, valuable information was collected through a series of interviews with key participants. Correspondence and documentary data served to reinforce the findings from these two sources and some documents provided crucial background information. The secondary data was twofold, the first body of theory related to society and environmental politics, with reference to power. The second body of literature was sourced for a literature review required to

inform the process directly and was therefore an element of action research. This had implications for the involvement of the researcher as it may have shaped the outcome of the process and thus directly altered the data collected. Both bodies of literature formed the theoretical framework which provided the foundations for the arguments, serving to frame the data in a way which would address the research aims. Although there were some limitations to the research, the subjective nature of qualitative inquiry as well as the nature of the specific project made these implications inevitable but not necessarily detrimental to the outcomes. Characteristic of qualitative research, the process of analysis was ongoing and iterative, new ideas and lines of inquiry emerged or were discarded continuously thus calling for a revision of the research direction. As the basis of this 'interpretive journey', discourse analysis proved successful in yielding valuable 'findings' which addressed the research aim and objectives.

CHAPTER 6:

AN EXPLORATION OF THE DOMINANT DISCOURSES

6.1 Introduction

The Small Craft Harbour (SCH) decision-making process has been based on a series of negotiations and deliberations between a set of actors and therefore the outcome has ultimately been shaped by the words and actions of these parties. Discourse analysis which examines the way in which "language shapes reality" is therefore the appropriate means to explore these verbal exchanges as well as the different interpretations of reality which have underpinned them (Hajer, 2003:103). The deliberative nature of contemporary policy processes has facilitated an interactive and incremental approach to problem-solving. As an element of this 'argumentative approach', power has also played a key role in positioning these actors around particular issues and thus its capacity to influence the outcome has been demonstrated (Allen, 2003; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). The primary objective of this analysis has therefore been to uncover the various elements of Hajer's (2003) discourse analysis which include the identification of the discourses in operation, with particular reference to the epistemic notions, story-lines, policy vocabularies and discourse coalitions which played into the process. Furthermore, this discourse analysis will reveal the way in which the actors use such rhetorical devices to exercise power in the aim of furthering their own interests. This chapter is divided into two sections and aims to provide the analytical framework of the SCH process whilst the following chapter focuses on a more comprehensive analysis of the process using deliberative policy analysis as outlined by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a).

Epistemic notions are the broader framing concepts of an actor's thoughts and actions and are rooted in the context of the particular political process. These are discussed in the first section of this chapter. They have been associated with Foucauldian philosophy as they relate an individual's thoughts to the particular era within they are operating. Hajer (2003) therefore asserts that epistemic notions sub-consciously structure the way an actor interprets reality thus influencing the way they position themselves around an issue. The epistemic notions which underpinned the thoughts and actions of the actors in the SCH process will therefore be uncovered in light of the broader context of the development.

The second section is sub-divided into the various discourse coalitions and their associated set of story-lines. Story-lines have been defined as "narratives on social reality through which

elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding" (Hajer, 1995:62). They are thus used by actors as political devices to reduce discursive complexity and to give permanence to a debate. The story-lines serve to position actors and their practices in relation to those of others and are therefore the central elements which bind a discourse coalition together. Hajer (1995:65) defines discourse coalitions as a set of story-lines that become dominant or entrenched by the actors who utter them and the practices in which this discursive activity is based. The story-lines which were uttered by actors in the SCH process will be explored in light of the discourse coalitions to which they were aligned and which they served to entrench. Furthermore, the policy vocabularies, as the "set of concepts which structure a particular policy, consciously developed by policy makers" will be identified (Hajer, 2003:105). These policy vocabularies are adopted by actors from the various discourse coalitions to reinforce their arguments and will thus be examined with reference to the particular coalition which they serve to maintain.

6.2 Epistemic notions

Epistemic notions are the broader framing concepts which shape the way in which actors define reality (Hajer, 2003). As Hajer (2003) notes, actors do not necessarily draw on them deliberately and they are mostly the dominant theories pertaining to the particular period which regularise the thinking of the actors. Foucauldian concepts have been used by Hajer (2001) to liken an epistemic notion to a 'positive unconscious' of knowledge which refers to the rules of formation which underpin theories but which are "not formulated in their own right" (Foucault, 1970:xi, cited in Hajer, 2001:8). There were three epistemic notions which appeared to be governing the thinking of the actors in the process, namely 'sustainability', 'urban renewal' and 'profit driven development'.

6.2.1 Sustainability

In line with the rise in environmental consciousness and the global awareness of the limits to economic growth, the national government of South Africa has adopted sustainable development as an overarching political strategy to guide the way that the country is developed and managed. Being holistic in nature, sustainable development has penetrated all policy arenas and has become entrenched in the operation of the different levels of government (Oelofse et al, 2006).

In the case of the environmental decision-making process of the SCH, all actors on the team are in one way or another accountable to the same legal context which is associated with their respective disciplines and the discourse of sustainability has therefore become inscribed in their day to day practice. As a result, despite their often conflicting fields of expertise, they all subconsciously emulated the concept of sustainability at some point in the process. It is evident that 'sustainability' became an epistemic notion as it was not formulated by the team members but served to shape their actions as well as their interpretation of reality. The fact that it crossed sectoral divides is further proof of this.

In identifying the priority of the project, the City Manager's response was rooted in the principles of sustainable development, which refers to balance:

> "For me it's trying to get that balance. One of the things is we are not going to put economic issues, if we can help it, at the expense of environmental and at the expense of the social, so for *us* its prioritising within each one of those and finding a solution that really is addressing all three, because they are contending issues, they *can* be contending issues" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

His interpretations were very clearly framed by this notion of balance and he reiterated this frequently: "...whenever I look at these things I try and look at them in terms of those three key dynamics because, and what for me are the key social dimensions, key environmental and key economic dimensions" (City Manager, 14/06/05). So it appears that because of his role as City Manager, he was consciously referring to sustainability as the broader framework for development. This was also evident in the response of one City Official when discussing the regenerative benefits in an economic context and was quick to acknowledge the integral role of the concept of sustainability: "...and look, I'm saying there's always a consciousness of sustainable development... I understand all of those kinds of dynamics" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

During the series of meetings and workshops, there was constant reference to sustainability in terms of the various options put forward. Interestingly it was used in different contexts: financial sustainability, ecological sustainability and social sustainability. For example one consultant noted that in terms of the "long term sustainability issues, recreating nature is more expensive than maintaining an unnatural piece of nature" (Consultant 5, 15/11/04). Another consultant who was responsible for presenting the options noted that the development "...must be ecologically sustainable" (Consultant 3, 02/04/05).

These different contexts were also reflected in the summary of agreements which listed principles of the development. The first was "[s]ocial, economic, and environmental sustainability in terms of access and use must be considered judiciously" whilst the second was "[f]inancial viability within the context of social, economic and environmental sustainability must be considered" (Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 11/10/04). It is interesting that they have aligned the social and the financial aspects of the project against the three 'pillars' of sustainability.

On the other hand, other actors which spanned the different sectors portrayed notions of sustainability less consciously. One actor made reference to the social justice principles of sustainability as follows; "[k]ey stakeholders obviously involve the various users of the beach, current users and future users of the area..." (City Official 3, 20/05/05). Similarly, one of the Developer's consultants asserted:

> "I'm not working for Moreland, I'm working for the broader public good, you know, I'm working for a future generation that I don't even know of and that's the thing about urban design, it's a multi-client, its not one client, the guy that pays you, because that's not what's important, that's the patron that helps you do what you do, what we love to do, which is about making better places for everybody..." (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

Sustainability was therefore a very dominant concept which formed an overarching framework for the other development issues. It was most strongly and consciously illustrated by the City Officials due to their role as regulators, but also subconsciously depicted by other actors from different sectors. The frequent use of the term 'sustainable' was supported by the concepts of balance and intergenerational equity. Sustainability, as a way of thinking from this particular period, is a powerful epistemic notion regulating the actor's thoughts and actions.

6.2.2 Urban renewal

Progression, which drives society at large, is a goal of contemporary government institutions. Particularly in the local context, authorities are responsible for maintaining and improving the urban fabric with its associated physical, economic and social spin-offs. In this way, 'urban renewal' emerged as the second epistemic notion which influenced the way in which the host of actors conceptualised development.

The strength of 'urban renewal' as an epistemic notion lies in the holistic manner in which it supports progression in terms of the Point Precinct directly as well as the wider Municipality. It became evident that all members of the team referred to the development in terms of the way it would facilitate 'urban renewal' with associated benefits for the wider population of Durban over and above the physical improvement of the area.

In light of this it must be noted that the SCH development proposal specifically focused on increased land values, increased rates of revenue and providing a facility which would attract high income spend in the area. Therefore the degree to which it would actually enhance the regenerative benefits of the existing development (uShaka Marine World and the canals and associated development) was unquantifiable. Despite this disparity between the benefits of the entire development versus the specific benefits of the SCH, it was the dominant perception that 'urban renewal' or 'regeneration' was the primary factor driving the development and therefore the rationale behind the SCH as the third component of the large development. This became evident in the answers to the first interview question which was "[w]hat is the goal or purpose of the SCH development?" For example a City Official gave the following answer: "[i]n theory it is supposed to be upgrading the Point area, supporting the Point area and having economic and development spin-offs back to the CBD" (City Official 1, 10/05/05). Similarly, another actor described it as follows: "…it started out to my mind being a fairly simple goal, which was to enhance the quality of the Point area in the first instance and Durban metropolitan area in the second instance (Consultant 2, 16/05/05). However, there were also those team members who highlighted the fact that the SCH was only one element of the development. It became a common line that the SCH 'completed' the Point Development and added value to it. The value of the overall development was perceived by a Developer as follows:

> "Really the whole thing was to obviously rejuvenate, regenerate, the piece of land which had incredible value in a strategic location but nothing could happen, nothing had been done to it for however number of years. So to get that, fulfill that potential, to unlock that potential, then that would obviously have knock-on effects for the City centre to get people to re-invest in the City centre, get land values up and all that's happened to create a major new tourist destination for Durban" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05).

However, there were a few individuals who did specifically mention the broader socio-economic benefits of urban renewal and how it would facilitate the city's capacity for progression.

"Well you see, in my mind, the argument wasn't about spend, the argument was about rates, we had to present a view of the Point and we had to present a view of the City which was basically the case, I mean, for me the evidence was that you increase your base of rateable income of properties in the City, you increase your employment and relatively very high levels of spend.... the important thing is for jobs and more revenue so they can spend that revenue on poor people, so that was my thinking" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

So it was widely recognised that the Point was firstly in a strategic location and secondly in physical decay, and out of this arose the impetus to regenerate the entire area. The benefits of this would increase the City's economic base, allowing them to address social issues elsewhere within the Municipality. More specifically the SCH added value to this Point Development, increasing the rate base as well as the property prices in the area. Because urban renewal was viewed as a positive practice in terms of both the City and the Developer's objectives, as well in terms of the socio-economic and physical change it would signify, it was used by nearly every member of the team crossing disciplinary boundaries and became the primary rationale behind the project, thus regularising the manner in which the actors understood the development.

6.2.3 Profit driven development

The third and perhaps the least dominant epistemic notion was that of 'profit driven development'. In an age of capitalism the notion of 'profits' as the rationale behind any practice is widely entrenched and often goes without saying. Almost all members of the team subconsciously or consciously made reference to the fact that the project must be financially viable, attract investment and must generate profits for the Developers otherwise their involvement is unjustified. In light of this, it was obvious that the Developers were the predominant representatives of this epistemic notion. Whilst the other actors acknowledged it was a 'profit driven development', they did not necessarily support its implications for the outcome.

The financial benefits for the City and the Developers were outlined in the response of a City Official when asked "[w]hat is the goal or purpose of the SCH development?" He stated the following:

"From the Developer's point of view it is to increase the value of the properties adjacent to the SCH so that profit could be maximised, from the City's point of view, to provide additional opportunities for the City to attract new investment and to enhance its investment in the Point development as a whole" (City Official 3, 20/05/05).

In terms of the involvement of the Developers, (DPDC), one of the Developing Agents (representing Moreland) stressed that 'profits' were their primary objective "...but again you've got to understand that it's private land and the landholders, landowners obviously have profit requirements otherwise they wouldn't have bought the land in the first place" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). This was the view of a City Official who believed it may have been used as a line to substantiate the need for the SCH: "DPDC and the developers have been pushing for the fact that we need this otherwise the investment that we have in the Point is going to run away because it shows lack of security and everything else" (City Official 1, 10/05/05). There was also a clear sense of urgency in terms of vulnerability of the market, as the City Manager clearly noted:

> "...the property developers broadly... articulate in a very real sense, the fragility of the market, and an understanding that you have to be very careful that whatever happens there you don't suddenly turn off investment completely because investment is something that's incredibly mobile and so you've got to deal with those investors in a way that is sensitive to that thing" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

This was acknowledged by both sides of the team (City and Developers) as a potential negative impact for Durban and the Point Precinct if the SCH did not go ahead. However, this narrow focus on profits was perceived as a cause of conflict which developed during the process. As the City Manager noted, the views of the actors were disparate:

> "I think they have been a little bit fragmented, I think that at times there has been too much positioning and not enough people trying to rise above the immediacy of profits or the immediacy of being a user or the immediacy of having a narrow environmental group" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

Likewise another City Official stated that there were tensions as a result of this being a 'profit driven development':

> "... specifically the returns from the development, there is a short term profit which is the objective of the Developers, although they claimed that wasn't their objective, and it pitted against a long term requirement for sustainability for the City... those two things certainly led to conflict" (City Official 3, 20/05/05).

However, despite these tensions, it was also recognised by the team that the City's primary financial concern was to secure investor confidence in the Point area which would serve to

boost Durban's economic standing. Thus, they had to facilitate the perception that the Point would be a profitable location to invest. This was articulated by an Official:

> "I think if you also look at it in terms of *our* city, we have a some really good real estate areas but we also need to find some more discerning areas, that makes more of a cosmopolitan investment-type city as much as, I think there's pros and cons about, should you be gearing a city to be looking at the super rich, there's a whole question to that but I think the city must also be able to cater for that as well. It's a question of how it does it and at what cost, I think that becomes more of the issue" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

So 'profit driven development' became an epistemic notion because of its 'formative' power. In other words, team members from opposing discourse coalitions coalesced around the necessity and the urgency of securing investor confidence, which facilitated profits for both private investors and the Developer as well as unlocking the economic potential of the Point which would serve the Municipality's objectives as well. Despite tensions which arose, the critical role of profit was a 'positive unconscious' which guided the thinking of the various actors in terms of their interpretations of the development (Foucault, 1970:xi, cited in Hajer, 2001:8).

6.3 Discourse coalitions, story-lines and policy vocabularies

This section involves an identification of the various sets of story-lines which emerged throughout the process and serves to align them with the related policy vocabularies which together comprise and entrench the six discourse coalitions, namely, Globalisation, IDP, Economic Growth, Social, Environmental and Procedural. As previously defined, story-lines are "generative statements that bring together previously unrelated elements of reality and thus facilitate coalition formation" (Hajer, 1995:62). In the case of the discourse coalitions listed here, the story-lines facilitated "a process of mutual positioning" and functioned as "expressions of power" during the debates (Hajer, 2001:10). The policy vocabularies which have been identified are the "set of concepts which structure a particular policy, consciously developed by policy makers" (Hajer, 2003:105). In terms of the policy documents guiding the SCH proposal, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and the Point Development Framework Plan (PDFP) were the two overarching plans. "The 2004/2005 IDP review is a development road map for eThekwini Municipality" whilst the latter guides the development of the Point Precinct more specifically (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:Preface). It should be noted that the Point Development as a flagship project in the City was mandated to align with IDP objectives and in most cases the PDFP reinforces the related key areas of the Plan. Although the diversity of

policy vocabularies was not notable, their frequency suggests that they had become entrenched in the arguments, legitimising certain discourse coalitions. Each discourse coalition is thus discussed below, along with its associated story-lines and policy vocabularies.

6.3.1 Globalisation Discourse Coalition

Waterfronts are part of a wider network of development trends. Since the 1970s, waterfront developments have become a common means to address port dereliction and redundancy with the dual role of emulating the postmodern waterfront as a tourist attraction. Port cities are gaining international status as they provide facilities for the boating fraternity as well as recreating their own image. In addition, the way in which contemporary society is structured is deeply entrenched in the notion of global networks of exchanges. Undercurrents of this Globalisation Discourse Coalition were manifested throughout the SCH Scoping Phase and were represented primarily by three associated story-lines.

a) The vision must be global

On a broader scale, Castells (2000:77) has referred to current social structures as "informational, global and networked". This network society is characterised by the exchange of various commodities (such as information, capital and technology) at a global level which is transmitted from node to node through systems of communication, information or transport technologies (Castells, 2000). The mobility of people and capital across the globe has facilitated this wave of international waterfront developments and it is therefore underpinned by the new social structure outlined by Castells (2000). The waterfront provides the stage upon which various networks intertwine as well as initiating a re-organisation of meaning for individuals. As Kilian and Dodson (1996:38) express, the waterfront has become synonymous with global associations as it is "a site where the global is localised and the local is globalised".

The Developer and their consultants were strongly aligned with this theme of globalisation because of its clear associated economic benefits. The City Officials and their respective consultants were divided in their views because although seeking to regionally, nationally and internationally improve Durban's economic standing, a development of international standards would have implications for the residents of the City. So for some, the aspiration of Durban to become part of this worldwide network or circuit of marinas or small harbours catering for the boating fraternity was one of the broader motivating factors for the proposal. International

examples indicate the success of many cities in penetrating this local market, Zanzibar's Stone Town is an example from a developing country (Hoyle, 2002).

The IDP policy document clearly stresses that one of the imperatives of the City is to become "globally competitive" and this phrase is repeated throughout the document (eThekwini Municipality, 2004). In terms of facilitating sustainable development practices, there is also an imperative to "provide quality environments to attract tourists to our City" (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:12). This was reinforced by the PDFP which outlined the objectives of the City in terms of their obligation to provide "world class leisure and entertainment opportunities" which would "ensure that the City was globally competitive" (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:9). In terms of the team, there was frequent reference by those in favour of a Small Craft Harbour, particularly the Developers and their consultants, to this "world class facility" with its connection to a "global second homes fraternity" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05). Not only would Durban gain recognition on a global scale, but it provides a competitive advantage in terms of other national destinations. International tourists and especially those associated with yachting activities are at the higher end of the income bracket and would bring with them high levels of expenditure and associated economic benefits for the area. As such, one of the members of the team of Developing Agents in his address at the second public meeting stated that his hopes were that "it will become the gateway to Durban" (Developing Agent 2, 02/04/05). Failing to maximise on this opportunity would mean that the capital would be invested elsewhere and thus the associated economic spin-offs would be a lost opportunity. As one of the Developer's consultants stated, "there would be no point in diverting traffic which would otherwise go elsewhere" (Consultant 2, 27/11/04).

As was identified by Marshall (2001:5), one of the functions of a waterfront is to "recreate the image of a city". In terms of the policy vocabularies, both the IDP and the PDFP used the concept of a 'vision' for the City and the Point respectively, and it was intended that the SCH as a component of the Point Development would contribute to these ideals. It was a common perception that Durban was losing tourists to other cities and regions which was a concern and it was hoped that the SCH would "put Durban back on the map" and "add to the product of Durban as a whole" (City Official 2, 02/04/05). It was stressed during the meetings that "Durban's attractions are stale" (Developing Agent 2, 14/09/04) and "... that's the problem with Durban it hasn't got icons that attract people to it" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05). The policy vocabulary employed in the PDFP made reference to this concept of icon, identifying the "[t]he potential of the Point as becoming a Durban Icon" (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug

Project Team, 2003:9). So it was intended that not only would the SCH provide a new attraction, but it would also provide a facility which was lacking. For example various individuals repeatedly commented about the need for a waterfront which was something which "we certainly *have not got*" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05) and the SCH would "create a major new tourist destination for Durban, a new sort of must-see facility that Durban didn't really have..." (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). This argument reiterates the policy vocabularies employed in the IDP. In terms of the Municipality's imperative for 'economic development and job creation', the tourism sector has been identified as one of the key strategic programmes through which the City has committed itself to "[p]rovide must see attractions through flagship projects" (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:24). Furthermore the PDFP classifies the uShaka Marine World (as the first initiative of the Point Development) as a "must-see-must-do" attraction, reinforcing the vocabulary used in the IDP.

b) Cape Town is a role model

To motivate for their argument which was based on the need for a waterfront, the same individuals also used the example of the Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Waterfront in Cape Town which is internationally renowned as a tourist destination and has effectively boosted the number of foreign visitors to the city as well as to the country. Currently, Cape Town's V&A Waterfront is South Africa's primary tourist attraction "with an annual 'footfall' of 21 000 000" surpassing that of Kruger Park (McCarthy and Fynn, 2000). So it is not surprising that there was a general desire to take Cape Town's lead, as one consultant stated, the SCH would "create a new harbour, which is for the global yachting fraternity ... like we've got in Cape Town... and that would complement the revitalisation of the point by bringing in a new international tourist" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05). Cape Town, an international tourist destination, was thus used as the model which Durban should aspire to, even the City Manager in one of the meetings promoted the fact that "lessons should be learnt from Cape Town" (City Manager, 15/11/04). This links directly to one of the story-lines relating to the Procedural Discourse Coalition, and relates to the importance of science, especially technical knowledge in affirming the various options. The coastal engineer who was indirectly part of the process and had been responsible for successfully designing Cape Town's waterfront was afforded a high status within the decision-making process, this was evident in the way his name was constantly referred to and his technical opinion was used to validate some of the more economically biased options.

As expected, there was tremendous conflict between actors on this issue of seeking international status because of its leaning towards economic imperatives and this was challenged by several City officials, consultants and members of the public. The reasons for their views will be discussed below under some of the broader objectives which the SCH also sought to address. An example of this tension is evident in the perception of one actor who stated that "the Council in a way signaled they didn't want to be part of the Cape Town perspective of tourism, they wanted to keep Durban people happy, the Durban residents" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05), once again using Cape Town as a symbol of globalisation. These claims are supported by the waterfront literature which suggests that each waterfront development should be unique, and hence Durban should build from its own local identity when designing a SCH. During the public meetings, the concerns of the public and the stakeholders demonstrated the recurring tension by querying the need for a waterfront of international standards. Various individuals commented on the issue of choosing a "safe and mediocre development versus an excellent, elite base", stating that "this is a unique opportunity to create a Small Craft Harbour, a token presence doesn't make sense" (Member of Public 1, 27/11/04). As such the international argument brought in issues of scale, as well as broader social issues related to the current and future users of the site. There are particularly strong themes associated with this in the various sections below.

c) A real waterfront experience

A story-line used by members of the Globalisation Discourse Coalition which was one of the recurring themes was the importance of a boating presence for Durban, with particular relevance to tourism and leisure. The escalation of waterfront developments on a global scale is linked in part to the growing importance of urban tourism (Tunbridge, 1988, cited in Jones, 1998). Tourism is one of the most tangible representations of the network society as it reflects how wealth, power and images flow across the globe, whilst cities provide the sites for these overlapping networks (Castells, 2000).

The PDFP presents a policy vocabulary which is supportive of this story-line, stating that the canals and marina as elements of a water based system "contribute to the development of a vibrant waterfront city and maritime quality" with a range of non-physical benefits such as "extending the culture of boating and broadening access to a wider city constituency" (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:73). In addition, the development vision stipulates that "[t]he Point will create a unique waterfront experience"

(Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:25). So the SCH would signify this waterfront which would create a facility that Durban seemingly does not have, as well as having symbolic significance for Durban as a coastal, port city with an emphasis on watersports and related activities. As one actor noted, the SCH "creates really a true proper waterfront for Durban, Durban doesn't really have that" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). Demand for waterfront areas is booming because of the certain status afforded to maritime living as well as an increased channeling of leisure time into marine activities (Riley and Shurmer-Smith, 1988). This status is the result of the association with "an image of modernity, leisure and luxury" (Figueira de Sousa, 2001, cited in McCarthy, 2003:343). One of the emerging arguments was therefore the way in which a SCH would provide a "real waterfront experience" and was thought of as a product which Durban could market (Consultant 3, 24/06/05). As this consultant elaborated:

> "there's nothing to give you a real boating experience... so the SCH in many ways is about completing the waterfront with real boats in there, exhibition boats, larger vessels...what do we have in Durban? We are a coastal city, we are a port city and the majority of our experience of boating is so limited" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

The City Officials were also adamant that a boating presence was key to the success of the overall development and an attraction in itself, as one of them stated "there has to be the boating activity, it adds vibrancy and character... (it) makes the place international and we are keen to keep it there" (City Official 2, 16/05/05). The fact that the words such as 'experience' and 'presence' and 'attraction' were used indicate that the area is seeking to provide a product which will target outsiders and provide what Kilian and Dodson (1996) refer to as a 'spectacle-isation of place' whereby the space becomes a commodity for tourist consumption. One of the eleven options conceptualised by the team of consultants during the second round was a 'Watersports and Recreational Development' with areas allocated to fishing, boat storage and parking, and hard and soft launching facilities (See Appendix 1; Round Two). Other concepts included attractions such as a diving academy, maritime museum and snorkel lagoon which all link to the watersports and coastal theme. It must also be noted here that there are linkages between this story-line and that of the discourse coalition relating to the social objectives of the development, namely the amenity value of the area for existing user groups. By supporting a 'Watersports Option', it would align with international tourism and leisure trends as well as enforcing the social imperatives of the development by possibly enhancing the facilities of those groups who currently utilise the space.

The Globalisation Discourse Coalition was therefore largely comprised of the Developers and some consultants who had an economic, property or planning background. The SCH was believed to be something which would give Durban international and national recognition and would bring with it the associated benefits of a development catering for the higher income bracket, and not so much the locals. Using the V&A Waterfront as a model, it would be both an icon and a facility which the city is currently lacking. The coalition presented a broader overarching motivation for the SCH which was rooted in global tourism and leisure trends.

6.3.2 IDP Discourse Coalition

In line with the eThekwini Municipality's Long Term Development Framework (LTDF), the current IDP sets out to ensure that "municipal planning (is) developmentally-orientated to achieve the new objectives of local government" (Moodley, 2004:19). 'Economic development and job creation' is one of the components of the Eight Point Plan of Action to deliver the City's strategy (See Table 4.1). The Point Development has been identified as one of the key projects to actualise this and the proposed SCH as an element thereof is thus mandated to satisfy IDP objectives (Moodley, 2004).

a) It is in the best interests of the city as a whole

One of the predominant story-lines used by the IDP Discourse Coalition was rooted in the potential benefits that the SCH should have for the broader population of the eThekwini Municipality. This story-line focused on the social responsibility of the project and therefore aligns with the social policy objectives of the IDP. As Brand (1999) asserts, planning in general should protect the wellbeing of the public through effective environmental management. One consultant summed up the way in which the IDP as a policy should address the social imperatives of Durban:

> "...the City's interested and everyone is, you know there's 3.1 million people,
> most of them are *poor* and they've all got to be taken into account in the best
> way and those policies and so on presumably are determined by the City, and
> that's really what it's all about" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

This reiterates the role of the IDP document which acknowledges "the need to accelerate service delivery and development for the benefit for all" (eThekwini Municipality, 2004: Foreword).

It was to be expected that City Officials were the primary authors of this story-line which was based on the more strategic demands of the development including the needs of the residents of Durban. The City Manager when addressing the public at one of the meetings outlined the objectives of the SCH, one of which was "social regeneration" for a development that was aspiring to be "truly eThekwini, truly Durban and truly South African" (City Manager, 27.11.04). This encapsulates the broader way in which this particular development would satisfy national, provincial and local development objectives. The concept of striving for a 'common good' as instituted in the Municipality's policies was used by the City Officials here in an attempt to achieve 'discourse structuration' (Hajer, 1995). Bulkeley (2000:60) states that actors aim to gain credibility for their respective discourse coalitions by drawing on the "ideas, concepts and categories of a given discourse". In this case a 'pro-poor' or 'welfare' imperative is a strong discourse emanating from City Officials as it is part of the policies of current government institutions, and has been used here to strengthen the integrity of this particular discourse coalition.

In line with 'Foucault's governance of the self', it may seem that the City Manager as a dominant figure is exercising power indirectly through invoking a norm by referring to this common good (Foucault, 1982; 1984, cited in Allen, 2003). The team members therefore consciously enter into this power relationship of their own free will, in the pursuit of this norm. On a broader scale, such power relations are evident in society as the pursuit of the common good provides individuals with a "stable presence of ideals, expectations, received 'truths', standards and frameworks" which will facilitate this 'governance of the self' (Allen, 2003:82).

To return to the IDP as the broader framework, this story-line is supported by one of the principles which guided the decision-making process of the SCH. This principle was "[t]o maximise socially responsible development for all the citizens of Durban" (See Appendix 4). This framework links directly to one of the common views which is "the City as protector of the public good" and was stressed repeatedly by all involved parties (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). This was based on the recognition by all that the City "needs to ensure that's what's ultimately developed is in the best interests of the City as a whole" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). Such a holistic view on waterfront development in particular, has also been illustrated by Marshall (2001:4) who noted that "it is not just for profit, or personal aggrandizement, but for the benefit of humanity and the planet as well". In terms of the power relations that underpin these attitudes, it is best to apply a modal representation of power, namely authority. In a more idealistic conceptualisation of power, Arendt (1958, cited in Allen,

2003) has described authority as an accepted wisdom while the agents of authority are given status as 'guardians of knowledge'. In the case of the SCH, this is evident in the way that team members, including the Developing Agents as an opposing force, afforded the Officials their power by offering this 'unquestioning recognition' in terms of knowing what is best for Durban (Allen, 2003).

But once again there was tension in terms of including the wider public views within the public process because some of the parties, particularly the pro-development side, contested the fact that they should not have to be accountable for the opinions of those citizens who would not be directly affected by the harbour. On the other hand, there was also a criticism regarding the fact that this broader public had not been adequately represented and therefore all the socially orientated comments were based on vested interests. As the City Manager commented, "the problem is that its been too *narrow* a set of interests, its always difficult to get a broader set of interests, if I looked at who's participated there, its *not* representative of the City as a whole" (City Manager, 14/06/05). This role of the City as regulator is in sharp conflict with their role as a stakeholder and this was one of the key political challenges which the project has faced. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 which outlines the political conditions of the project.

b) The IDP and financial objectives are mutually exclusive

To return more specifically to the way in which the IDP was referred to as a broader guiding framework for the development, it was apparent that it was used by various team members to symbolise the broader social objectives of the project. When the decision-making team assembled to draft a set of guiding principles, one of the principles was clearly committed to the IDP and stated that the proposed development should "be consistent with the strategic objectives of the eThekwini Municipality as reflected in the IDP as well as the Point Development Framework Plan without any contradictions between them both" (See Appendix 4).

During a meeting which involved only the consultants, there was discussion about the type of land use, cost of the development and the balance thereof. It was noted that if the development was purely residential (i.e. maximising the Developer's economic benefits), then IDP objectives would not be satisfied and the City would not be required to give financial inputs, whilst if the land use was mixed (accommodating more facilities for the general public and thus reducing the

Developer's economic benefit), it would satisfy the IDP objectives as well and the City would therefore be required to contribute to some degree. This was substantiated by the statement that "water born area has a high value, and because there is a cost associated with promoting the IDP, the city must fund part of the development" (Consultant 4, 11/10/04). In waterfront developments, Clark (1988) notes that patterns of mixed land use are often not a primary objective, rather a 'bribe' to communities for rights to the site. In the case of the SCH, it may seem that by supporting a mixed land use pattern, the Developer's would be able to get some financial contribution from the City and therefore in a way they would also be using it as a trade-off.

This perception that the IDP was in direct conflict with the financial imperatives was therefore revealed in the form of the desired dominant land use for the project and it was assumed that a positive-sum scenario which addressed both poles was not possible. The consultants constructed a diagram to represent this spectrum and it was agreed that both sides would have to compromise to a degree and thus a middle ground was sought (See Figure 6.1).

| Pure residential
No IDP
City does not contribute | ⟵⟶ | Mixed
IDP
The City contributes? |
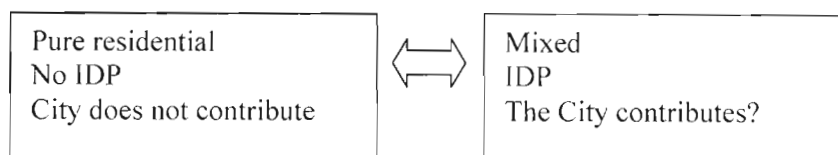
Figure 6.1: Spectrum of land use, IDP objectives and City's contribution to SCH (Author's Notes, 11/10/04)

Discussion then turned more directly to the trade off between 'financial viability' and the IDP imperatives. The clusters that the consultants created also represented a spectrum from high bulk (maximum financial viability) to low bulk (in line with IDP but lower financial benefits). Because the two were at opposite ends of the spectrum, it is clear that the objectives of the IDP were in clear tension with the Developer's imperatives, namely financial benefit. This is a familiar scenario for waterfront development projects as the case of Valletta Waterfront Project suggests. McCarthy (2003) warns that commercial agendas often override social objectives as projects commence and thus the balance thereof is a fine line which should be carefully monitored. This was also affirmed by Clark (1988:230) who noted that there is "the hazard that success, in terms of any particular set of objectives, is likely to bring penalties elsewhere", especially where a certain set of prioritised objectives are directly in contrast with another set of

objectives, deeming it difficult to achieve overall success. This satisfies the assumptions of Isaac's (1987, cited in Allen, 2003) conceptualisation of power which relies on the fact that the interests of the two factions are mutually exclusive, thereby facilitating a zero-sum game. This instrumental conception of power will result in one party holding power over another and thus having more sway on the final outcome.

c) Sustainability principles should frame the development

Although sustainability was one of the broader epistemic notions subconsciously shaping the practices of the actors from various disciplines, it was also deliberately used as a story-line which actors used as a political device. The concept of sustainability was used by actors in order to achieve 'discourse structuration' (Hajer, 1995). Just as Bulkeley (2000:60) suggests that an actor in the field of environmental politics gains credibility through the use of the terms of 'ecological modernisation', so do the actors in the SCH process gain credibility for their respective discourse coalitions by drawing on the "ideas, concepts and categories of a given discourse" such as sustainability.

This story-line was used by various actors from the different discourse coalitions. This actor was particularly passionate about the role that the SCH would play for Durban: "this is about making decisions for our future generations, it is not for Moreland or the City or for us, it is not about recognition..." (Consultant 3, 27/01/05). By using the phrase 'future generations' this actor is using the terms of sustainability and thus seeking to gain dominance for his respective discourse coalition. Since South African legislation is conceptually rooted in sustainability, the IDP emulates these principles in all facets of the framework. This policy vocabulary is best captured in the statement "... the essence of the City's Strategy is about ensuring that all our actions (both as a Municipality and as a City) contribute to sustainable development" (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:8) and consequently the document was infused with the terms 'sustainable', 'sustainable development' and 'sustainability'. In terms of the SCH, these concepts were reiterated by the City Manager who stated that "the Point development as a whole was a regeneration project, within that, there were obviously trying to get the balance between the social issues, ecological, environmental issues and economic issues and ... to get that kind of mix" (City Manager, 14/06/05). In addition, the significance of sustainability is reflected by the way it features at the top of the list of the set of guiding principles which reads "[s]ustainability (ecological, social, economic and governance) is the overall guiding framework" (See Appendix 4). Sustainability principles have also provided the basis for

McCarthy's (2004) analysis of the Cottonera Project in Malta. In light of these principles, various shortcomings and tensions within the development were brought to light and they can therefore serve to guide such developments.

However, the IDP may not be the sole source of the emulation of sustainability as a principle because it is also entrenched in national environmental legislation. The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) as the broader legal process within which the Scoping Phase is occurring is also primarily grounded in these principles of sustainability. The EIA process with emphasis on the technical procedures guiding the decision-making process will be discussed below as a story-line articulated by members of the Procedural Discourse Coalition.

The IDP Discourse Coalition was therefore predominantly supported by the City Officials and some of their consultants because it is a statutory plan which they are required to work within. As City Officials, they are required to represent the vision for Durban as a city and thus it is their role to implement development in such a way. They have employed the three story-lines outlined above to position other team members in a specific way and to generate a common understanding, both of which will facilitate their ability to entrench the IDP objectives.

6.3.3 Economic Growth Discourse Coalition

Since waterfront developments are often perceived as a panacea for economic growth, these developments are predominantly rationalised by the economic argument. As such, the major incentives of the SCH are economically based but divided into two types of investors and therefore two beneficiaries. As already referred to, the City is a stakeholder in the SCH project with the broader agenda of improving the City's economic base through regeneration of the Point area. Their rationale is the basis of the first economic story-line and is supported by the IDP document. In response to City challenges, the 'three-legged pot' analogy has been used which identifies the need to 'strengthen the economy' along with 'meeting basic needs' and 'developing people skills and technology' as the core components of achieving the City's long term vision (eThekwini Municipality, 2004) (See Figure 4.4). However, the second story-line is supported largely by the Developers whose primary aim is to attract private investment and secure maximum short term profit.

a) Urban renewal is the primary objective of the development

Urban renewal is not only an epistemic notion pertaining to the particular context of the process, but it has also been used consciously by several actors in order to position others in favour of the development and to create coherence during debates. Because of the associated positive impacts of urban renewal, largely those associated with economic regeneration, it was the most dominant story-line used by the Economic Growth Discourse Coalition. It is underpinned by the broad City agenda which places emphasis on 'sustainable economic growth and job creation' as one of the goals of the Eight Point Plan of Action to address City challenges (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:18). The IDP states that "[t]he economic strategy for the City focuses on creating the conditions in which businesses can thrive and the majority of people can access economic opportunity" and the tourism sector has been identified as a key strategic focus area (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:18). More directly, it is an imperative of the City "to sustain the natural and built environment" which the IDP as the policy document outlines "the revitalisation of core economic areas... as an important component of the SDF (Spatial Development Framework)" (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:43). Such regeneration can therefore be seen to operate on two levels. Firstly, the broader, more strategic incentives of the city to promote development on a municipal level and secondly, the more direct benefits of curbing urban decay and stimulating the economy in the Point Precinct.

In terms of the broader objectives of the Point Development, it had been identified as a key flagship project for the City and was strategically important in boosting the economy of the Municipality. As outlined by McCarthy and Fynn (2000), there are two types of public expenditures, one aimed at yielding 'social returns' such as services and the other aimed at yielding 'economic returns' which are namely rates of revenue. The Point development was predominantly the latter and was pioneered by the Municipality who aimed to capture private sector investment for the area. In economic terms, the SCH as one component was largely an added attraction which would boost property prices and rates, simply compounding the economic spin-offs from the other two components. One consultant summed up the benefits that the City would accrue from investing in such a development:

> "[s]o... two big things, the one is increase in investment and the other is spend, tourism spend and construction spend, both of which generate jobs and generate the capacity of the Council to do more good works (basically one thinks that the Council pays the rates for rich people, or for certain people, but not this Council) the important thing is for jobs and more revenue so they can spend that revenue on poor people, so that was my thinking" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

This is supported by the PDFP texts, one of which states that:

> "[t]he Point Precinct has been identified and supported by the Municipality as (a) catalytic project to establish the 'southern bookend' of this 'golden triangle', to rejuvenate and diversify the city's tourism products and to serve as a generator of further confidence in the investment within the beachfront as well as the Inner City and Metropolitan Region" (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:11).

So urban renewal was used as a story-line to broadly represent the stimulation of the local economy. This is supported by the public address given by the City Manager at the first of two workshops. He listed the objectives of the SCH development, the first of which was "economic regeneration" which he stressed was "the first objective as an authority" (City Manager, 27/11/04). By putting this upfront he acknowledged that the broader responsibility of the City to address this economic goal was the primary reason for the project.

One of the common phrases which supported this story-line and was used by team members supporting the different positions was 'flagship project' which came to symbolise this broader strategic economic role of the development. This is an example of how the actors serving to entrench this story-line and gain credibility, have drawn on the "ideas concepts and categories of a given discourse" to achieve 'discourse structuration' (Hajer, 1995:60). In addition, the term flagship project is part of the policy vocabulary which appears in the IDP document and is classified as a subcategory of the Economic, Planning and Environment Plan to which Municipality has allocated resources (eThekwini Municipality, 2004). This was reiterated in the PDFP which also made frequent reference to the Point Development as a flagship development (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003). In terms of these policies which have guided the development, one of the City Officials stated the following:

> "Well, the larger policy would be in a sense to get flagship development going so that's like at a corporate level, there was the Point area, the ICC and now the ICC extension, the River Horse Valley... being some of the flagship areas, where you needed some more direct city involvement to start saying 'Durban goes onto the map as some of the big things at least at a national level', here are some of the big things that are happening'" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

These broader strategic imperatives of the development were therefore framing the way in which the development should take place and which were being overlooked by those stakeholders with their own vested interests. As the City Manager identified, "you can see it in the arguments that have been put forward, *largely* very narrow and people *not* able to kind of

think the bigger vision, they focus very much on operational rather than bigger strategic considerations" (City Manager, 14/06/05). The term 'strategic' is another broader example of the use of a policy vocabulary which is entrenched in the IDP document. It has also been used in many different contexts such as 'strategic management', 'strategic direction', 'strategic programmes', 'strategic framework' but signifies a chosen plan of action to further the economic standing of the Municipality (eThekwini Municipality, 2004).

The Point Development aimed to address the urban blight which was directly affecting the Point Precinct, as discussed by a City Official:

> "As well as from a regeneration perspective, to some extent the Point couldn't carry on going the route it was, do you know what I mean, it was just simply…sold or rather bought out for rent, constant turnover from nightclubs to some warehousing back to nightclubs so it was consistently going in that way" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

In addition, there was frequent use of the term 'ripple effect' which signified the broader impact that the regeneration of the Point would have on the rest of Durban, especially the CBD.

Similarly, the Cape Town City Council reflects a local example of how the public sector took action to stem port redundancy (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). The spiral of decline which characterises previous port zones is a risky area for investment and the public sector is required to provide a favourable investment climate to attract the private sector. The term 'priming the pump' refers to the way that public sectors pave for the way for further capital investment (Hoyle *et al*, 1988; Kilian and Dodson, 1996). In the case of the Point Development, uShaka Marine World and associated infrastructure as the first component of the development was intended to act as an anchor to attract the private sector to develop property in the adjacent areas.

However, there were individuals who challenged the positioning of this story-line which members of the Economic Growth Discourse Coalition sought to achieve. One of the consultants noted the fact that 'urban renewal' had been commonly used as justification for the project and was critical of this:

> "I think as an assumption, and that is one of the key issues that the City has raised, there is an *assumption* a marketing jingle that this is a key project for urban renewal. Nobody can prove it, the City has said this in the beginning, it cannot be proven…" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

In another instance the same consultant sought a definition for urban renewal and queried the purpose of urban renewal in terms of future users of the area. "That's one of the big debates, I think, about urban renewal, urban renewal for who?" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05). He was linking the benefits of regeneration to a more generic social concern surrounding exclusivity and privatisation and this is detailed below as a story-line used by the Social Discourse Coalition. The risk of this is not unique to Durban's SCH, the development of Swansea's Maritime Zone also received criticism on the grounds that the only success had been in terms of physical improvements to the urban fabric with economic leakages and employment rates being miscalculated (Edwards, 1988). Furthermore, Clark (1988) reiterated the dangers of economic speculation and over-estimating the financial benefit, indicating that qualitative assessments are more effective.

Other individuals who assumed conflicting positions around the urban renewal story-line experienced doubt on the basis that the development as a whole is already a flagship project which is facilitating urban renewal in the area. On these grounds they believed the SCH was not necessary since it only increased property prices and rates to a degree which was not substantiated by the costs (social and ecological). This is the view of one official:

> "With development, you can make X million or you can make X+10 million and do you really need the +10 million at the cost it has forever for society, [i]n my opinion you don't as long as you are feasible and as long as you are breaking even and making a profit that's fine, you don't need to get a massive profit that you can go and retire on, to the detriment of the residents of Durban" (City Official 1, 10/05/05).

In light of this argument, there were clear tensions between individuals within the City, some of them supporting the broader economic objectives which the SCH was to address, with others supporting a more social or ecological agenda. This positioning was probably a product of both personal views as well as the respective departments which these Officials represented. In addition there was the tension between the two functions of the City as both a developer and regulator and this was demonstrated during the meetings when the representation of certain departments at the meetings moved the balance from the one function to the other. As the Independent Assessor noted:

> "I think this is the key thing for *me*, in the beginning, the City played the role of the regulator and when those regulatory departments were there, there was quite a lot of interaction, by *many* representatives of the departments, so from a headcount you had quite a lot of them. Towards the end, at the beginning of this year, the City almost assumed the role of developer, it was a different, it wasn't

a regulator, it was their development wing, represented by iTrump and iTrump is really your pro-development, they are not regulators, they are pro-developers, it shifted where iTrump took the leading role, and some of the regulatory concerns, either at the scoping phase, it may come up again at the assessment phase, took a back seat and we can even go so far as to say some of them were compromised" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

The dynamic nature of the configuration of discourse coalitions facilitates the formation of alliances between previously conflicting discourses (Bulkeley, 2000). In light of the above scenario, the shift towards a more pro-development role highlights the flexibility of these coalitions and reveals a change in the overall configuration of positions in the team.

In light of the dual role of the City, it was a question of where the balance lay and whether one of the two roles had been jeopardised. As is aptly articulated by one of the City Officials:

"…did the City do enough, did the City have the right issues at hand, was the City clouded because it is an investor, was the City clouded because it is a big investor driving the project, I think those issues will prevail. On the other side of the coin I think the issues will also prevail from the Developer's side that the City doesn't know how to ride the wave of investor confidence in development and make things happen, the City doesn't know how to play, it wants to be an engaging City in terms of development but it needs to play hard and make things happen" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

Allen (2003) asserts that whilst government structures usually strive to regularise zones of activity and fix order, as entities of social activity they are also ultimately open to unexpected mutations. In line with Castells' (2000) theories relating to the network society, such institutions are mere nodes in the networks of power and are subject to change in rules through a consistent process of planned actions and exchanges. It is therefore not unexpected for the City to evolve throughout the process, switching the balance of its function in such a way.

The challenges arising as a result of the City's dual role of "enabler and regulator" rather than "provider and manager of basic services" as it engages in a partnership with the private sector is a common consequence of Public-Private Partnerships and not unique to Durban's Point Development (UNDP, 2005). So defining the City's objectives in economic terms was not a straight forward matter. Some of these inherent contradictions will be discussed more broadly as an aspect of the Politics of the process which is outlined in Chapter 7 which explores this dual role of the City as well as the way in which personal views may have affected the process.

b) Maximising the value of the site

The short term financial benefits of the SCH which has also been subconsciously presented by the actors as the Profit Driven Development epistemic notion, was the second story-line used by the Economic Growth Discourse Coalition. The actors employing this story-line were largely representatives of the DPDC as the landowner and therefore stakeholder, as well as their Developing Agent, Moreland which would both benefit primarily from the increase of property values and sales. A SCH would greatly increase these property values over and above those which would be generated at a base case scenario where the project did not go ahead, and was therefore critical from their perspective. As was stipulated by Petrillo (1987:201, cited in Tunbridge, 1988:80), "the essential interest of the developer is to capture the complete value of the amenity". Along these lines, the City Manager acknowledged that "…the SCH is obviously something that brings economic value into that project and brings a particular financial value into the project because clearly having a SCH obviously adds value to the property values which people can realise within the Point Development itself, so the specific aim there was obviously one more from the economic side of that equation" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

Similarly one Developer stated that the moorings themselves were of little value but that they would "add value to the residential creating a new market" and thus "this opportunity should be exploited" (Developing Agent 2, 14/09/04). In addition, property had already been sold on the basis that a SCH would go ahead. As already outlined above, the objectives of the SCH have also been to attract private sector investment into the Precinct through providing a favourable investment climate and confidence in the area (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). As the example of Hong Kong's Waterfront signifies, "success breeds success and investment flows where benefit can be demonstrated and where capital has the confidence and the means" (Pinder *et al*, 1988:181). So when the Scoping Phase was extended and the need for any form of SCH at the point was questioned, there were intense debates surrounding the risk of not developing a SCH and the effect it would have on investor confidence in the Point area. Those originally in opposition to a SCH believed that the Developers were using 'investor confidence' as a line to motivate for the harbour. As articulated by one of the Officials, "DPDC and the Developers have been pushing for the fact that we need this otherwise the investment that we have in the Point is going to run away because it shows lack of security and everything else" (City Official 1, 10/05/05). The Developers and their consultants attributed this response to a lack of understanding of the financial risks faced by developers. As the one consultant stated:

"I think the thing is with all these developments, there is an imperative on the side of the Developers, to try to secure investor confidence, in the context of a highly competitive environment for investment in terms of property development. And I think people who are not close to that business don't understand just how important it is to retain the confidence of the investor community in the context of any options available for this sort of development, first of all for the country, and I think that's obviously the main competition going on, you know, why invest there was opposed to any number of other developments, and then secondly internationally. So there's that sort of pressure on the Developers, to maintain that investor confidence and to keep the eye of South African and international investors on their ball" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

This was reiterated by one of the members of the Developing Agent who believed that the entire success of the development hinged upon the SCH.

"I would say if you don't have a SCH then the whole project would fail dismally, its at a very vulnerable stage, its got a hundred, a billion rand of construction going on the assumption that the SCH will happen, there's another four billion to five billion to come, which will not materialise if the SCH doesn't happen, and then the one million that's there will be wasted, will just become wasteland, that's my prediction" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

This imperative to maintain investor confidence was an objective of both the City and the Developer and is rooted in the policy vocabulary of the IDP. This is evident in the various measures identified to achieve 'sustainable economic growth and job creation'. One of the initiatives is to create "[a]n environment of security", whilst it has also been stipulated that the "[c]reation of a conducive investment environment" is necessary to meet some of the economic outcomes (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:23). This was reinforced by the literature, as Clark (1988) notes, development priorities always seem to manifest themselves as the dominant policy initiatives.

It was characteristic of both the Developers as well as those consultants who were specialised along financial or economic lines to use facts and figures to substantiate their comments and concerns, as is evident from the above quote. This can be viewed as an attempt made by these individuals to achieve 'discourse institutionalisation' (Hajer, 1995). Bulkeley (2000) states that resources such as knowledge and the association of material benefits can be used to replace previous understandings of the issue thereby concretising the discourse into "more enduring policy practices" (Hajer, 2003:108). However, this has implications in terms of engaging in an effective argument. Briefly, it is stipulated by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) that for a constructive dialogue between discourses, both must seek to communicate on common ground.

These challenges will be explored in more detail as an element of the Politics of the process as outlined in Chapter 7. During the second public meeting one of the Developers addressed the public stating the need for the project and his speech was infused with facts, figures and dates. Figures depicting the amount of institutional funding, amount of private sector investment, costs of construction of the various phases, cost of construction of various infrastructures such as piers and vocabulary such as 'risk', 'secure', 'strategy', 'leverage', 'target', 'escalation' and 'viable' all contributed to a very biased view of the need for the project and may have inundated the audience with too much information (Developing Agent 2, 02/04/05). It was not surprising that at that same meeting there was an outcry by a member of one of the interest groups who recognised this bias and responded with the following exclamation: "[y]ou guys are developers and it's all about money!" (Member of Watersports Club 4, 02/04/05). This draws attention to the fact that there were also conflicting positions adopted by actors outside the internal team meetings.

However, the above shows evidence of a strong argument which the Developers presented in favour of securing this investment, which successfully achieved recognition within the group. This success is probably best explained by Engbersen's (1991, cited in Hajer, 1995) theory which states that "*logos* refers to how to argue a persuasive case, *ethos* refers to the reputation of the speaker, and *pathos* is a rhetorical strategy that aims to play on the emotion of the listeners". It is perhaps relevant to mention here that Moreland as a Developing Agent has a favourable reputation within KwaZulu-Natal as they are responsible for accomplishing many high-profile developments. As a result, other members would afford them a degree of confidence in relation to the 'given definition of reality' which their practice has maintained, in this case, through evidence of previous achievements (Hajer, 1995). This would contribute to the power of the discourse coalition with which they were aligned and increase the chances of achieving their objectives.

As with many developments in South Africa, the EIA process is often assumed as a 'rubber-stamping process' and hence developments are often presumed to be 'fait accompli'. Private developers claimed they had bought property at the Point on the basis of having a SCH but failed to read the small print in the marketing office which had stated it was 'subject to EIA'. As one of the members of the Development Agent said:

> "I actually believed it was fait accompli, the Council did agree to it many years ago and it was a public document that went out and it was a launch and everything else and it was supposed to be a mitigating EIA, in other words the

concept is approved, now what we are doing is making sure we don't do stupid environmental blunders, it's a different thing, its questioning the fundamental principle of what you are doing or not. So yes, I believe it was approved personally I agree, if I was on the other side of the fence I would have said the same thing, its fait accompli" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

'Fait accompli' became one of the common phrases used by several members of the team but predominantly those originally in opposition to any form of SCH and then as the process progressed, those in opposition to the large scale SCH (with associated maximum benefit for the Developers) (See Option 8a, 'Waterfront Development – Private', Appendix 1; Round Two). There were originally two groups who were in conflict as was explained by one of the Developers. "I think the original debate was the whole concept of the SCH on that site, that was probably the starting point, and I think through the additional consultants, we've moved beyond that now to what is the size, locality and nature of the SCH" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). Tension therefore arose because these two groups had entered the process at different starting points, and it took some time before all sides were finally on the same ground. It was those in opposition to the harbour that changed their position and were possibly persuaded by the Developers that it was for the benefit of both groups (the Developer and the City) in terms of the broader economic goals which would be secured by this private investment. In light of this presumed 'fait accompli' by some members of the team, negotiations commenced from uncertain grounds. Weigand (2001) places value on a 'positive' use of power where a win-win situation should be sought by both parties. This is only possible if both parties are prepared to negotiate from the start and it should be the conditions which are negotiated and not the starting positions (Weigand, 2001). This was perhaps a shortcoming of the process which hindered negotiations by creating delays as well as facilitating a conflictual environment.

From here, arguments turned toward scale. It was stressed that for the purposes of 'economies of scale', a minimum number of berths should be supported. During the meetings within the team and with the broader public, the argument of '200 berths' was repeated time and time again to justify the viability of a larger harbour in terms of infrastructural costs. Once again entrenching the story-line which was based on 'maximising the value of the site'. These parties have attempted to 'create their own truth' in support of their discourse in an attempt to generate power, a theory which is based on the inherent links between knowledge, truth and power (Gottweis, 2003). The figure which they used, is the minimum size used in British standards and small on international terms but was nevertheless contested by those in favour of a smaller harbour. These counter-arguments were based on the fact that it was just a boating presence which was required to create the ambience of the harbour and not the berths themselves. As one

consultant noted during a meeting, "50 or 300 boats doesn't affect the perceptive appeal" (Consultant 4, 14/09/04). Similarly one of the team members queried this statement on the same grounds: "...when you are talking about urban renewal, how does a smaller SCH differ from when you are going to have 200 berths, think about it?" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05). He was illustrating how the number of berths was irrelevant to the success of the harbour in terms of the broader economic goals, and thus a line used by actors of the Economic Growth Discourse Coalition to increase the potential short term profits of the harbour.

Other evidence of the bias on the part of the Developers towards the economic dimensions of the project was the spatial representation of their original preferred option, the 'Integrated Option' from Round One but which also carried through to Round Two as Option 2 (See Appendix 1; Round Two). This option involved the construction of the maximum number of moorings as well as maximum bulk on the breakwaters and on the shore. This included a proposal for four hotel sites on what is currently beach and soon became a symbolic argument. To resist reducing the short term economic benefits of the SCH, the Developers also resisted change to this option and were not very co-operative when it came to discussions concerning cross-subsidisation or compromise. As was stated by a City Official: "Moreland has their one preferred option which they will fight for" (Consultant 2, 13/05/05). This was particularly evident during the early stages of the discussions and caused much conflict, as the same City Official noted: "the initial part of the scoping phase was difficult because the Developers were defending their position, their preferred option, against all the other options, there were difficult tensions" (Consultant 2, 13/05/05). One of the consultants enforced this in an interview "...some of the fellows never changed their tune as you know, no names mentioned but certain things were said and rigidly they sort of stuck through the whole process and they were not going to waver one bit" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). It is safe to infer that the defense of a certain position in the form of this particular option was grounded in the direct economic benefit which would be accrued by these agents. However as the process commenced there was a level of compromise by both the Developers with their economic objectives and the City with their broader economic, social and ecological interests. The notion of 'compromise' became one of the key story-lines which emerged in relation to the dynamics of the politics of the project as explored in Chapter 7.

The Economic Growth Discourse Coalition was widely represented and was fairly dominant throughout the discussions. It comprised both the Developers with their short term economic incentives as well as the City Officials who bore responsibility for the more strategic economic

development of the City, the need to cover the costs of the project, and more directly for the regeneration of the Point area itself. However, because the City was divided and had other responsibilities and objectives, it was the general perception that the Developers were the principal actors who seemed to embody this coalition completely as the economic incentives were their primary objective.

6.3.4 Social Discourse Coalition

The City's responsibility as regulator has meant that the Officials have had to address the social objectives of the project. Since the area upon which the SCH has been proposed consists of a strip of land accommodated by boat clubs with no residential land use type, the social concerns were largely related to the displacement of these clubs, their members and activities, as well as members of the general public who use the beach both currently and potentially in the future. There were a number of different arguments which revolved around the potential loss of public amenity and access, as well as the potential privatisation and exclusivity of this space in the future. The City and the Point Watersports Association were the two broad groups who were motivating for maximum retention of the beach and its associated amenity value. The latter were very active during the public meetings, whilst the broader public was not strongly represented. During the internal meetings it was the duty of the City and the consultants to represent the interests of both of these social user groups.

a) Public access is a non-negotiable

The PDFP as a guiding document specifies that "[t]he Point will be renowned for the value placed on the public environment... [t]he public realm will represent a fundamental building block... [d]evelopment will emphasise the role of the Point as a place for people" (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:24). However, there were a variety of concerns which the public expressed based on the potential loss of access and exclusivity. To interrogate these concerns, links can be made with the story-lines used by the Globalisation Discourse Coalition which were based on the expectations of this project to be a 'world class marina'. Various questions arose around exclusivity, access, affordability and security. As one of the City Officials stated:

> "If it is only for the benefit of a few then we are not prepared to support it. We have had some tough debates, around issues like whether this is going to be an elite playground. We need to find a balance, there is that tension between the

public and the people with the means to create more privatised spaces. This development has huge potential to become another gated community, this is not the way that we view the point. It is a very fine line and we need to be careful. Higher security and a higher quality public space may lead to exclusion. It is a careful line... there is a distinction between criminals and the lower income members of the public" (City Official, 13/05/05).

It was acknowledged that there was a risk of exclusion and that it was the City's job to ensure that this did not happen. Claims around possible threats of exclusion were linked to a common element of elitist residential developments. This was the risk of indirect or unplanned exclusion of the general public. Despite the fact that individuals may be afforded open access to a space, if 'dominant spatial codes' prevail, they will choose not to submit to these codes and hence be deterred (Lefebvre, 1991). The limitation of opportunities for individuals often leads to the unintentional privatisation of public space. This was highlighted as one of the challenges by the City Manager:

"...it has the effect of privatising public spaces, so the space might remain public but you don't go down wearing no shoes and scruffy clothes, it's a smart looking marina" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

In relation to the site, the City Manager stipulated in his public address that one of the objectives of the development was that "people must use it" (City Manager, 27/11/04). This was also reflected in two of the principles which were drafted by the team (See Appendix 4). One of the principles was "[t]o ensure public access to key resources of the area" and the second was "[t]o focus on the creation of space for public engagement with respect to variety and choices that will lead to more than passive interaction by the public" thereby acknowledging the fact that this development aimed to provide facilities and access for everybody and not only the elite. Bruttomesso (2001) outlines the importance of public access and associated public areas such as promenades, wharves and viewpoints, which are allocated specifically for public activity, as they enhance the value of these areas improving the social viability of a project. This was acknowledged by the team, who prioritised the central role of public access. As one City Official stated: "[p]ublic access and amenity, both are non-negotiable and critical, [t]he public should be able to engage and integrate and be involved, the space must not be for residents only" (Consultant 2, 13/05/05). Despite the acclaim which the V&A Waterfront in Cape Town has achieved, it has also received criticism with regard to the residential developments, which were quoted as an "exclusive island in a sea of urban decline" (Kilian and Dodson, 1996:38). Similarly Copenhagen's waterfront development failed to maximise access and actually enhanced exclusivity (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004). These threats to the general public and

those directly affected are often emulated in the formation of opposition groups, as was the case with Copenhagen. Furthermore, delays and termination of developments may also occur if these key issues are ignored.

This threat was realised and one of the Developers stated that "[t]he key issues, which have always been the issues of public access, and the public's right to use an existing public amenity which is the beach...certainly the biggest issue has been public access to the area, public access and use of the beach, access to the waterfront" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). This is reiterated by Hoyle (2002) who identified direct access to the water's edge as a key attribute of waterfront developments. New York's Battery Park City Authority realised the importance of public access and reserved the entire land-water interface for access, whilst the Boston's Redevelopment Agency failed in this regard and had to undergo re-planning of the site (Gordon, 1997).

In terms of Durban's SCH, one perceived shortfall of the public process was that there was not sufficient representation by the broader public and so it was the City which had to make demands on their behalf. In terms of the 'quantity' of public comment, the Independent Assessor expected more involvement. As he noted:

> "...because it is such a pro-development application where it is always tilted in favour of the Developer, I had to make *sure* that the public gets more involved, and we tried everything, you know we tried everything. So I can't understand, maybe it's the adage that in public participation you can't reach everybody. I think people don't understand the implications of something unless it comes very close" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

b) The clubs must be accommodated

Secondly, there was mounting opposition in the form of the amalgamated Point Watersports Association and the general public who challenged the social responsibility of the City to address the needs of the existing users. The Association is therefore an organisation which emerged in response to a single local issue and would be identified by Castells (2000) as a product of the new social structure. The new order has questioned the identity of citizens and, as is often the case, they unite in the search of security and collective mobilisation, aligning themselves with a primary identity, in this case, their associations with watersports. Castells (2000:3) describes this mobilisation as the "fundamental source of social meaning" and by amalgamating they are effectively ascribing meaning to their particular locale as well as

enrolling themselves in a particular network. The perceived threat to their daily lives changed previous 'political indifference' and this new sense of community encouraged more valuable participation (Hajer, 2003). This has implications in terms of the power of such groups. Allen (2003) believes that power can be held without being exercised, as was the case with these clubs who had always had this latent capacity. In addition, drawing on the work of Arendt (1958; 1970, cited in Allen, 2003) and Parsons (1963, cited in Allen, 2003), power has also been conceptualised as a collective force or 'positive-sum game'. As a result power is mobilised when individuals come together, often in response to concerns surrounding the quality of public space (Allen, 2003). In these circumstances, power operates as 'an element of action' which often achieves desired policy outcomes (Allen 2003).

The primary reason for the public outcry was the threat to the physical environment. Vetch's beach is unique and it provides a safe environment for all these sports, it is both sheltered and has the added ecological value of the 'reef'. This will be explored in light of the Environmental Discourse Coalition which is reviewed below. In other words, the development threatens to displace the existing users and since there are few areas along the coast which can facilitate the different activities, it was a major concern. As one of the Developers asserted:

> "... there are limited opportunities along the whole coast to do that and so you know, to not take advantage of that, to basically foreclose on that option would be short-sighted" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05).

In terms of the key issues arising throughout the decision-making process, both the members of the boating fraternity as well as many team members identified the threat of displacement and the loss of current facilities as one of the major challenges facing the project. One of the comments at a public meeting was that "[i]f you can't accommodate them (the clubs) then this thing is a failure" (Member of Public 2, 27/11/04). One City Official summed up it up as follows:

> "The key issue has largely been the loss of the facility that is there at the moment, the displacement of the clubs that are there currently, the loss of the facilities, i.e. the safe beach with the snorkeling, the diving, the yachting, launching, you know, the facilities are very broad, which, currently the public can have access to whether you are or aren't a member of the club, to a level at least" (City Official 1, 10/05/05).

These concerns were recognised by all team members as vital to the project and this was clearly echoed in the principles, appearing as follows: "[t]he value of Vetch's Beach and surroundings

as a unique beach (safe swimming, snorkeling, learner surfing adjacent to Vetch's and launching) must be maintained" and secondly, the SCH must "[a]ddress the need to provide for existing functions and uses" (See Appendix 4). The watersports clubs had been practicing their sports on Vetch's for decades, each sport with its own clubhouse and facilities such as parking and boat storage as well as having access to the ideal conditions which Vetch's offered. One of the City Officials recounted the positioning of these groups in concern with the threat of displacement:

> "The Clubs have been very negative, they believe that the 'City has sold them out'. They don't understand the position that the City is in. We have a facilitatory role. We want to provide for and facilitate the Clubs but in turn they must come to the party. They are not budging. They must understand that the status quo is not going to remain. They have been antagonistic. Some want the status quo to remain but they are not representative of the broader public" (City Official 2, 13/05/05).

The perception of one of the members of the Developing Agent was similar:

> "Well I think the only key stakeholders that came out were the vociferous interest groups on the clubs which is also very splintered into five or six different factions from ski-boaters to sailors to surfboarders to windsurfers to ski-boat paddlers, you know they all have a vested interest on the use of the beach, but not so much interested in whether the SCH happens or not its about their own protectionist interest, so they were the most vociferous as far as I'm concerned. And distorted views completely, and still are" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

The team was therefore predominantly positioned around the issue of these clubs, on one side there was the perception that the club members had very narrow views and irrational expectations for the future use of the area. They were also believed to be *the* dominant group by some and the primary opposition to the development. This was also the trend in a large portion of the international case studies. Public opposition which mounted in response to the threat of exclusivity was a common obstacle for developing agents. Copenhagen was one example which probably had the most extreme response, a Vision Group was set up which bent and stretched established planning practices and acted as a flexible mechanism to counter possible destabilisation of urban politics (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004). Interestingly there was a counter-argument used to justify the loss of these facilities as well as to defend the threat of exclusivity as has been detailed. This argument was based on the fact that these clubs have had 'exclusive access' to this beach for many years, whilst the broader public has been kept out. As one individual noted, there have been various measures used to enforce this seemingly private use of

the beach, these include "having barbed wire fences, trespassers boards, all the rest of it, club members only" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05). As the same individual explained:

> "...it's exclusively used by those clubs, you actually can't get access to those clubs unless you walk along the beach from Addington Beach and has been used as a private beach for about forty years now. If you ever tried to go there you would get blocked so I don't place any value on it except for those few interest groups that have been using it for a long time and that's where the problem starts, they have been using it as an exclusive beach for a long time, and its fantastic, you must go in that clubhouse and sit in the club and just look out, its fantastic, if I had a club like that it would be great, so I understand where the emotions come from" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

Similarly another individual had strong opinions regarding this issue of historical access:

> "I have a problem with people talking about restricted public access there because in my view the area is always had restricted public access, it's been held by a privileged few to enjoy what is a pastime. Here is an opportunity to re-develop an area in the City and its kind of held hostage against this privilege that people want to continue to almost concretise.... So I think it's been quite an interesting sort of guise to entrench what has been a privilege, an extended picnic for a few..." (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

So one of the phrases which emerged to support this counter-argument to the clubs can be captured as 'an extended picnic for a few'. However, on the other hand there were those individuals who supported the concerns of the club members, as one actor said, "I think the displacement of a number of people for a development for a couple of people is a problem" (City Official 1, 10/05/05). This was based on the fact the boating fraternity is extensive and if the project becomes privatised, only a few elite will have access. When given the opportunity to engage in relation to this issue there was public comment that defended this point, "...it has a range of users...anybody can use that beach" and "I don't believe it is an exclusive beach considering what it has been used for in the past" (Member of Public 3, 27/11/04). Similarly individuals representing this group strongly defended these interests, in a smaller meeting with representatives of some of the boat clubs, one club member noted that "[a]s other sport clubs in Durban, we have the right to practice our sport" (Member of Watersports Club 2, 11/02/05).

Another counter-argument or position adopted in response to potential displacement was captured in this response from one individual when probed about the key issues:

> "Loss of access, relocation of the boating activities and this is the irony, you know... the whole intention of a SCH is in fact about giving them better

facilities, you know, that is the *irony*, there will be better launching facilities instead of launching off the beach, *safer* launching activities, there will be all sorts of back-up, the thing is we saw them as key tenants... I thought the people that would be the most excited about it would be the boating fraternity who would be now able to bring their boats there, they can showcase them" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

This was an attempt to rationalise the fact that these five clubs would be displaced and would be required to share facilities as well as a clubhouse with one another. They would also lose the natural assets of the sheltered beach which they were dependant upon for their sport. Various options depict the way in which the boat clubs would be provided for, the most prominent one being Option 7 'Watersports and Recreational Development' (See Appendix 1; Round Two) which focussed on providing for the boat clubs and associated activities and at the same time using it as a theme which would attract tourists (as promoted by the Globalisation Discourse Coalition). Most of the other options also addressed the necessity for 'soft launching' and 'hard launching'. However, during the public meetings when the club members were afforded the opportunity to address the team, there were many concerns raised regarding the detail of the design. During the first public meeting (27/11/04) there were questions pertaining to the exact number of berths, the angle of the new North Pier, the costs of maintenance whilst the second meeting (02/04/05) also related to logistical questions about boat storage, launching, size of the groyne and the harbour wall. The response by a City Official was that "[t]he drawings are conceptual" and "[t]he details will come out of the EIA process" (City Official 02/04/05).

In terms of accommodating the boat clubs, the level of detail of the proposed options was often a topic of discussion. Queries frequently related to the technical side of the various land use plans. The fact that the plans were only conceptual was commonly used as a line to counter these queries but it was also emphasised by the team in their own internal meetings that "[t]he ultimate form will develop further down the line" and "[t]he City Council will have to be extremely diligent with this detail" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). This was also substantiated by one of the members of the Developing Agents "...to accommodate the existing functions has always been a principle of ours and also public access and use of the area has always been a principle... it's really how that's rolled out in the detail that has been the issue" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). One of the other themes which emerged and which reflects this emphasis on concepts and principles rather than detail, as well as recognising that it will be the final detail that determines the technicalities of the project, was captured in the phrase 'the devil is in the detail'. One of the City Officials remarked that "[o]ften the 'devil is in the detail', for example the size of the promenade, the principles should be the foundations for the detailed design, they

cannot be lost" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). One of the lessons which Pinder *et al* (1988:18) drew from Hong Kong's waterfront development is that "[i]t is not so much the problems of the detail that matter, as the ambience of the whole". Although presented in a more financial context, it signifies a process of development which is conceptually successful. In terms of the boating fraternity in Durban, the disjuncture between the detail and the concepts framing the different options was never publicly resolved and this was probably cause for some of the frustration at the public meetings. This theme links to the 'faith in science' story-line which was adopted by team members who believed that as long as the models were proved to be technically feasible then they would be sound and could be approved. This will be explored below as a story-line used in the Procedural Discourse Coalition.

Another line of argument related to the accommodation of the boat clubs was the possession of local knowledge. This surfaced very strongly in the public meetings where there were clear accusations aimed at the team in terms of lack of this local knowledge. This was an attempt of the watersports fraternity to exercise power because according to Tait and Campbell (2000), knowledge creates truth and therefore structures power, whilst language is used to express this power. The concerns were evident in a number of comments, one of the members noted that "[i]f you don't consult yachtsmen, then you'll end up with a white elephant" (Member of Watersports Club 1, 27/11/04). Other questions directed to the team were "[w]as there anyone appointed as part of the Professional Team with yachting experience?" (Member of Public 4, 27/11/04) and "[h]ave any of the planners launched a boat before?" (Member of Public 5, 27/11/04). Some of the boat club members also used examples of regattas or heavy weather and sea conditions to prove how the proposed harbour would fail to satisfy the clubs in terms of boat numbers and launching logistics. This strengthened their claims that the clubs were inadequately provided for. They were claiming to possess a form of knowledge which the team members were thought to lack and deemed the expert knowledge informing the process inadequate. Gottweis (2003) and Yanow (2003) both highlight the value of local knowledge in promoting a democratic process. By adopting a 'knowledge based frame', Yanow (2003) describes how cultural divides collapse and citizens become empowered. The team was aware of the implications of excluding local knowledge from the process, as one consultant noted, "[w]hat was frustrating was that every time we went to a meeting and we'd be told by Moreland for example, 'yes, the water clubs had been consulted, they were buying in and so on' and then well into the public process you've got the same people saying 'well, what are these bunch of fools, these consultants sitting around, they know nothing about yachting' and so on" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). However, as the Independent Assessor noted, this expert local knowledge was

essential in advising the team, as he said: "I think the value of the public participation is that it actually informs the assessors, who sometimes *are* professionals but we don't understand local knowledge, or indigenous knowledge, you know, it's actually invaluable" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05). This was probably something that could have been acknowledged and addressed earlier on in the process to prevent these accusations surfacing later on.

c) The soul of the Point must not be lost

As a story-line adopted by the Social Discourse Coalition, the unique sense of place of the area was emphasised. The importance of local character was entrenched in the list of principles, one of which stated that "[a] 'sense of place' must be maintained and there must be an enhancement of local distinctiveness" (See Appendix 4). Since waterfront development originated in North America, it is a common characteristic of waterfronts to imitate this 'export model' and so many have become homogenised (Jones, 1998). There was a fear mainly on the part of the City Officials and a few consultants that the unique local character would be lost once the area had been developed, and it would become a 'sterile and elitist environment' (City Official 2, 13/05/05) . One consultant in particular identified these issues early on in the process and these were recorded in the minutes as follows:

- "The history and diversity of the Point area should be elaborated as this diversity creates a uniqueness of recreational and cultural space.
- The cultural value needs to be integrated.
- The value of the square – people need to be brought into the space. The residential component may create a monoculture and intimidate people into entering the space.
- There is a need to capitalise on and promote the differences that exist in the area" (Consultant 5, cited in Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 14/09/04).

As was identified early on in the process, the Point has a historical value in terms of past and current users which should be maintained. As one of the consultants highlighted:

"…the area has a range of especially Durban based stakeholders, who see it in a particular way and won't like it, you remember you've got the fisherman, the people that are already there, in the form of the existing boat owner, the more rubber-duck type operators, and the paddlers and so-on, the people who see it as a piece of remote beach on which to run. And they have a kind of a historical and highly localised sense of the place" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

Another City Official re-iterated this point by declaring that it is "a cultural historical socio-economic issue that I think the City needs to engage with, you can't just take people that have been involved… its part of a cultural, its part of an economy of Durban, you can't just take it and replace it…" (City Official 4, 10/06/05). Thereby recognising the significance of the boating community and their associated linkages within the broader area.

Also in terms of other waterfront developments, with links once again to the story-lines used by the Globalisation Discourse Coalition, there is the threat that the unique culture of the area will be lost. As Kilian and Dodson (1996) have expressed, the V&A Waterfront is a local example of how the emulation of the stereo-typical waterfront has led to an over-simplification of past cultural landscapes. Failure to maximise on the historical identity of the area is a common characteristic of waterfront developments in developing countries. Zanzibar's Stone Town is a rare example of how cultural capital can be successfully harnessed in such countries (Hoyle, 2002). In the case of the SCH, the actors were well aware of the potential loss of value associated with a homogenised waterfront, "[p]eople are looking for a new experience, not the same thing, Durban has character and diversity, we mustn't transplant the blueprints otherwise we won't be able to celebrate the local context" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). Other individuals also made reference to the possible effects of gentrification in that it "…takes away the soul and gets rid of the poor and all the rest" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

Often this risk of homogenisation presents an inherent contradiction pertaining to waterfront developments because tourists are ultimately seeking a different experience but subsequently find themselves visiting a universal waterfront model (McCarthy, 2004). These concerns link directly to the policy vocabulary of the IDP which stipulates that "embracing our cultural diversity" in terms of "culture, sport and recreation" is one of the desired outcomes as stipulated in the Municipality's Eight Point Plan of Action (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:18). In addition, the PDFP with its focus on urban design has placed huge emphasis on maintaining a 'vision' for the Point which celebrates local culture, and represents "an urbanism which is quintessentially South African" (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:20). In terms of the team, emphasis was placed on the 'uniqueness' of the area to motivate for the relevance of maintaining a sense of place. This will be explored in more detail below in terms of the Environmental Discourse Coalition. However, in this context it was summed up by the City Manager when asked what value he placed on the beach:

"Huge, I think it's a very important part of both our history and I think secondly in terms of our coastline, in South Africa as a whole I can't think of any other

urban beach that can offer so much to people of the City, so certainly it's quite
a unique spot" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

This emphasis on the 'beach' and particularly the term 'safe beach' encapsulated the social
amenity and user value and is directly linked to one of the story-lines used by the Environmental
Discourse Coalition below. This is because in developing a harbour it would be this particular
beach and its current functions which would be compromised and therefore the users, both the
general public as well as the boating clubs as more direct stakeholders, would suffer. The beach
in itself was recognised as an asset by all, on one hand it was developable land and could
potentially accommodate a SCH thus increasing economic benefits, at the same time providing a
competitive advantage for the harbour, whilst on the other hand, its sheltered setting holds
enormous social and ecological value amongst its current and future users. The term 'beach'
was used to symbolise the social and ecological value placed on the area and it is also important
to note that when finding a balance between the economic, social and environmental discourses,
it was the beach that was the entity that was traded-off to strike a balance.

The Social Discourse Coalition was particularly dominant and the social issues which emerged
were prevalent during all the meetings and workshops, especially the public meetings when the
team interfaced with the public and the watersports club members. In terms of the team, it was
predominantly the City Officials (as regulators) and some of their consultants which contested
the social costs of the project therefore representing the stakeholders. In the public meetings, it
was the club members and the general public who defended these vested interests and who were
strongly positioned against the other conflicting coalitions, such as the Economic Growth
Discourse Coalition. Incorporating the needs of these groups therefore became one of the
greatest challenges facing the decision-making team.

6.3.5 Environmental Discourse Coalition

When considering the SCH process, it is important to bear in mind that the Scoping Process,
being a precursor to the EIA was itself a procedure required as part of national environmental
legislation. However, despite the legal emphasis of the process, the environment was highly
under represented throughout the debates and the social and economic issues dominated. It is
perhaps necessary to take a step back and unravel what the term environment actually
represents. On broader terms, the environment does represent the economic, social and
ecological dimensions of the space, and these undercurrents of sustainability were referred to at
various stages within the process. However, in terms of EIAs in South Africa, the focus has

often been predominantly on the ecological elements. For this reason it was interesting to note that in the internal meetings amongst the team, there was very little reference given to the environment (in terms of this ecological dimension) and it was not one of the primary arguments. This was also detected by the Independent Assessor who stated that "...at this point I haven't seen *nobody* raise the ecological concerns, maybe they're waiting for the environmental specialist reports" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

Lefebvre (1991) refers to the environment as a physical space which comprises a range of social spaces. It is therefore afforded a particular symbolic value by the different groups whose lives cut across it and it is thus the site for many conflicts. As Hajer (1995) notes, environmental politics has increasingly become a conflict of interpretation. So in the case of the locale of the proposed SCH, the physical environment may not have been the primary issue, but provides the stage upon which different interpretations and different values have come into play. In particular, the 'beach' became a symbol for the ecological and social services it provides for the users and thus became entrenched as two different story-lines used by those positioned in favour of, or in opposition to, saving the beach and ultimately the natural environment.

a) Save the beach

eThekwini Municipality's IDP specifically indicates the importance of sustainable development practice in that it aims to "protect our threatened ecological spaces and attempts to balance social, economic and environmental needs of the City to ensure that all development occurs within the carrying capacity of the natural environment" (eThekwini Municipality, 2003:12). In light of the SCH development, the beach and adjacent sea were the primary ecological assets which were under threat. One of the City Consultants provided their specific motivations for wanting to save them:

> "The paragraph in the scoping report that described the location for the harbour is the same motivation for no development to occur there, i.e. it is the only sheltered beach, it has no waves, it is flat...it is irreplaceable, people learn to swim and dive, snorkel and yacht there. All the learners learn at Vetch's, it is a 'special place', it is the only place in KwaZulu-Natal. The loss of that is major especially if it is replaced by something with no proven benefit to Durban" (City Official 1, 10/05/05).

Another consultant with a social background represented very strong views about the beach in terms of its value and at the public meetings made claims such as "...it is a particular and unique piece of beach" associated with "family life and children" and "a whole range of

activities" (Consultant 5, 27/11/04). As the argument of the beach became entrenched and as opposing parties presented their own views, some individuals actually shifted their positions around the issue of the beach. One of the consultants who originally stated that "…we've got 90km of beach, what was so special about this particular part of the beach?" later noted that "the more one went into it and more one listened to the opposing views, I think especially in this instance of (Consultant 5), I think I came to realise it was important, it wasn't going to go away and from my point of view, it was worth retaining" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). However, there also remained those individuals who believed there was no other option and their positions remained fixed.

The boat club representatives raised the ecological value of the beach and the sea. Their concerns were largely associated with the marine biodiversity which was key to their recreation. As one of them noted "the environmental side is vital" and "if there are no fish there is no point in us staying, the Paddle Ski Club needs fish" and in terms of one of the other clubs (the Underwater Club) it was stressed that "it is the only reef in Natal where you can safely learn to dive" (Member of Watersports Club 3, 11/02/05). These stakeholders were highly dependant on the environment for their amenity. In light of Lefebvre's (1991) theories on power and space, the beach which was a physical space became imbued with power as it represented a 'lived space' for these users. The symbolic value afforded to this area by the everyday users was high and it was dominated by these groups through the operation of a number of 'spatial codes', largely the patterns of activity which the clubs performed. So the amalgamation of the clubs was an exercise of power and the beach became a 'counter-space' which was challenged by clubs seeking an alternative to the potential domination of economic interest upon the site (Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore the beach became a space of protest and served to propose a positive-sum scenario for the site. In addition, the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) also entrenched the notion of the beach as a 'counter-space' by challenging power and the dominant force, hence empowering themselves.

In terms of the options generated by the team during the second phase, Options 3a and 3b were supported largely by the City Officials, their consultants and a representative of the boating fraternity. This option represented a 'Reconfigured Small Craft Waterfront' which had two levels of bulk and aimed to reduce the number of berths, as well as bulk to retain as much beach as possible (See Appendix 1: Round Two). Option 5, the 'Eco-cultural / Heritage Option' paid lip service directly to the ecological objectives of the project but was in fact ruled out of the next round on the basis that it was not economically viable.

There were a number of counter-arguments which were used to oppose the story-line 'save the beach'. One particular line was used to contest the environmental argument that Vetch's provided a unique habitat for the marine life and thus was central to the biodiversity of the area. This was the fact that Vetch's Pier itself was an artificial structure, the remnants of a failed breakwater scheme, and there was frequent reference to the fact that if another breakwater was recreated it may also become a thriving habitat such as Vetch's. This was substantiated by one consultant who stated the following:

> "So the value of Vetch's is the ability to do something different with that, it's the opportunity, you can replace it if you can move it to another space and make it bigger and better because it was *made* hey, it wasn't natural, it was made" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

The City Manager also refers to the arguments of the environmental groups:

> "...it's always intriguing that in some senses the snorkeling area, now the Vetch's pier is itself an artificial creation, but it has become a major sort of rallying point for the environmentalists, in every second environmental arguments about what impact does it have on the wave patterns and currents and so on" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

These counter-positions concerning the 'natural integrity' of Vetch's as a structure, are in line with the story-line below which focuses on the economic potential of the site, rather than the social or ecological value.

b) The value of the beach is purely economic

Due to the growing awareness of the environmental value of waterfront sites, such developments are becoming increasingly popular (Hayuth, 1988). However, as Wood and Handley (1999) have demonstrated, it is how this value translates to economic value which is of priority to developers. In line with Lefebvre's (1991) theories of power and space, the value afforded to the 'lived space' of the beach as outlined in the above story-line was in direct conflict with the development value of the physical space which was also one of the 'social spaces' in operation. This was the basis of the second environmental story-line which was largely iterated by the Developers and some of their consultants, but also recognised by members of the City. There were clear contradictions in the way the environment was being valued and thus conflicting positions which had been adopted. In response to the issue of trying

to save the beach, one of the members of the public responded by stating "we are not replacing the beach with a nuclear dumpsite, we are creating an international attraction" (Member of Public 6, 27/11/04). His comment drew attention to the fact that there was a perception that the beach (and hence the environment) was of lesser value than the development, therefore indirectly challenging the term 'save'.

In terms of the team, it can be assumed that team members probably perceived the ecological impacts as something which could be addressed in the more scientific specialist studies further down the line. In the public meetings, however, there was a core of environmental lobby groups such as Sea World, WESSA, EcoPeace and KZNWL which raised various technical concerns about the harbour and how it would effect the wave action, sand movement and biodiversity. However, their comments in the meetings were often dismissed on the grounds that this was only a conceptual plan. As outlined in the PDFP, the site had been identified as a "unique opportunity to establish a residential marina environment" (Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team, 2003:73). Similarly, one particular response from one of the members of the Developing Agent was that because of the "[t]he unique characteristics of the site, it is the only place along the coast where it is viable and that's why it is proposed in this manner" (Developing Agent 1, 27/11/04). It is interesting to note that the same individual stated at a later stage that "...beach is beach, (laugh) we've got plenty of beach, in terms of passive use of the beach, lying on the beach, so I don't believe that's an issue at all, its really just creating that sheltered environment really, that can be recreated, so Vetch's itself is not a unique thing" (Developing Agent 1, 27/11/04). Similarly, the other Developer stressed in a meeting that "[t]here is five kilometres of beach in Durban" (Developing Agent 2, 15/11/04). This shows that the Developers did not associate any value to the beach other than the economic or development potential it offered. Along similar lines, the City Manager referred to the value by noting that it would give the SCH a competitive advantage:

> "...there are very few SCHs in the world that have actually a beach, and we are saying that's an asset that is very difficult to understand because they usually look at property in terms of land use development, and in terms of land use, they very rarely look at the positive externalities of land associated with that land use, and particularly beach because a beach is a free asset usually whereas what we are saying is that it is a wonderfully important asset which could really enhance that, where in the world would you have a magnificent beach, snorkeling area, and SCH, all in incredibly close proximity, I can't think of one place in the world to be honest, in that way" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

So, the way in which Vetch's was described as 'unique' became a common argument used by both the environmental lobby groups as well as the Developers but in different ways. McCarthy (2004) has noted that in terms of tourist attractions, it is so often the uniqueness of the local environment which is the attraction itself and ironically, developers often overlook this and waterfronts become prone to homogenisation. This was the case for some individuals in the SCH process. This attitude was reflected by one team member who stated that "[t]he beach is a sacrifice that needs to be made if Durban wants a waterfront" (Developing Agent 1, 15/11/04). The threat of this prevalence of development imperatives over the intrinsic value of nature was articulated by Nicholson (1978, cited in Clark, 1988:227), "the idea of creating permanent wilderness remains revolutionary: all must be swept away, or tamed, as part of the restoration of land values".

In terms of the different options generated, this story-line is supported by arguments based on 'economy of scale' as well as the desire for a 'world class product' and thus pointed towards a large scale harbour. Option 2, the 'Integrated Option' was favoured by the Developers during the second phase of options and represented a full, large scale harbour with maximum bulk, including four hotel sites on the beach. McCarthy (2004) interestingly argued that large hotels as proposed in Malta's Cottonera Project were in conflict with 'stewardship and resilience' as sustainability principles. Of principle concern to the SCH team was the way in which Option 2 failed to recognise any value of the area other than the economic value and was therefore undermining the sustainability of the area. This option which starkly reflected the imperatives of the Developer depicted a lack of acknowledgement of ecological value. As a land use map this option is also representative of the dominant 'spatial codes' which the Developers afford to the site reflecting what power relations will ensue if it goes ahead (Lefebvre, 1991).

Option 2 clearly reflected a position which was in tension with the ecologically sensitive options supporting the 'save the beach' story-line. When neither groups were prepared to give in, a subset of consultants came up with a new 'Compromise Option' or 'Phased Option' which aimed to add value to the previous options by addressing the economic, social and ecological objectives. It linked back to both the artificial nature of Vetch's as well as the potential loss of beach and was based on the fact that the beach could be treated as an entity which could easily be replaced. In a 'man over environment' / 'utilitarian' / 'god-like' type approach the option was coined which would replace Vetch's further north, thereby recreating the public amenity (safe conditions) as well as the ecological habitat Vetch's had previously provided (See Appendix 1; Final Option). One consultant commented on the approach of another, stating that "(Consultant

4) said 'what the whole things is about is this damn beach'... people are losing some beach and we must make some beach for them and so, it was identified as one of the key things right up front" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). As is described in Chapter 7 which focuses on the politics of the process, this option was ironically originally rejected by the Developer, because of the perception of who had created it, and then accepted as their new preferred option. The opportunity to replace Vetch's undermines the very integrity of the intrinsic value of the site.

Although the environment in terms of marine ecosystems was not a key focus of the debates, there were strong arguments around the natural environment and the beach. The Environmental Discourse Coalition coalesced around the value of the beach, however, there were conflicting positions about the specific kind of value, i.e. intrinsic versus economic, and these are reflected by the two story-lines used above.

6.3.6 Procedural Discourse Coalition

Decision-making processes which occur at the margins of existing institutional practices are the sites of overlap between networks (Hajer, 2003). The actors which engage within the process are therefore effectively engaging in these networks and are "required to operate within specific frameworks of assumptions, constraints on decision-making, sets of rules, range of ideas and access to resources, all of which govern their action" (Healey, 1990, cited in McGuirk, 2000:653). The way in which these actors engage is underpinned by power relations, as long as they utilise various discourses and operate within certain rules of conduct, they will remain part of the network and as such remain empowered participants within the process (McGuirk, 2000). In the SCH, this was evident in the way that actors were required to operate within the environmental regulatory framework in order to remain empowered. In addition, there were the more symbolic ideals pertaining to a true process which was loosely coupled with the legal process. This Procedural Discourse Coalition is therefore founded upon four story-lines which serve to entrench the way in which the SCH process is defined. They relate to both the context of the development as well as the ideals of some members of the team which were reflected by positions they adopted.

a) The law underpins the process

The frequent reference made to the legislation and the plans as well as to technical procedure revealed a commitment to the broader legal framework. This was evident in the list of stipulated

Development Principles which was distributed to the public as a leaflet to provide an update for the second public meeting. It was "[t]o ensure that the development is sound from a legal perspective" (Pravin Amar Development Planners, 2005c:1). There was also repeated mention of the name of the process ('EIA' or 'Scoping') and thus individuals were frequently reminded of the context within which they were operating.

The most prominent actor supporting this discourse coalition was the Independent Assessor whose job it was to facilitate the Scoping Phase of the development and to ensure that the guidelines and procedures outlined are adhered to. This was clearly stated in one of the public meetings when the individual emphasised his role, "...my obligation as an independent consultant is compliance to legal requirements" and he proceeded to present the legal requirements of the EIA in terms of the mandatory legislation as well as describing the purpose of the Scoping Phase (Independent Assessor, 27/11/04). During the presentation of options, he also announced: "I don't want to be biased, you can ask the questions" (Independent Assessor, 27/11/04). There was strong evidence to suggest that this actor was stressing two things: the legal requirement for which he was responsible, and secondly his independence as an actor within the process.

There were other occasions where the law was referred to. When challenged by the public around the concern that the SCH was a fait accompli, the independent assessor retorted that "[i]t questions the EIA process, the law and my integrity" once again showing his commitment to the legal framework (Independent Assessor, 27/11/04). In the second public meeting there was further indication of this positioning which was revealed when he defined his role: "my job is to capture the issues, I am not involved in the creation of information" (Independent Assessor, 02/04/05). In terms of the power relations within the process, the Independent Assessor as a facilitator of the process had the capacity to exercise power throughout the process. Fraser (2001) notes that such intermediaries have the power to decide when the meeting is over, whether the parties have been successful or not, what matters should be discussed and who can talk. In addition, as a representative of the law, the mediator has an established 'positional power' as classified by Fraser (2001). This is afforded as a result of an "institutional or peer-dominated authority" resulting from his moral position (Fraser, 2001). Furthermore, Bulkeley (2000) notes that this 'legitimacy' can be drawn on as a resource which assists in the process of 'discourse institutionalisation'. This would be evident in the way that other actors placed emphasis on the law to replace previous understandings of some of the issues surrounding the SCH.

The frequent reference made to the law during the public meetings was necessary as it aimed to reduce confusion because the role of independent assessor is not often clear. As was recognised by the consultant in response to questions regarding the overall process:

> "I think it was challenging, I always say as an EIA consultant, my job is not to be popular, I think its also challenging because other people don't understand your role, certainly I think the Developer does not understand your role, I think because they pay you they think that you actually have to motivate for the project, so that creates quite a lot of tension. I think the public, because of all their rights, they believe that all the time you've got to listen to them and if you don't listen to them you're actually not doing your job, like I say, so you get it from all sides and I think it's a good indication, in an EIA process, if everybody dislikes me then I know I've actually done a good job" (Independent Assessor, 27/11/04).

Some team members expressed concern about the integrity of the process with regard to the lack of independence of the consultants in general to their respective employer, either the City or DPDC. In terms of the position as assessor, one of the City Officials queried whether there was a way of getting around this, "...should it be the City's responsibility to do the EIA, but they cannot afford it, or does the Developer pay the City to pay a consultant, then there might still be bias... I don't know?" (City Official, 2, 13/05/05). Another consultant referred to the dependence of consultants on their employers and how this can influence the process:

> "...so this independence of the consultants, to a *large* extent, there is no doubt about it, on both sides, consultants are being... ya, they're being... to some extent squeezed, you know, that's it. You know, it might not be said, it might not be that, but if you want the job, then you are going to go up against us, now why should we employ you. So the independence of the consultants is certainly under threat" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

Other consultants also aligned themselves with this Procedural Discourse Coalition in terms of the legal requirements of the process. For example a City Official reminded the team in one of the internal meetings "that national legislation had to be adhered to" (City Official 2, 15/11/05). There was also criticism regarding the level of government controlling the EIA process:

> "I am a firm believer that you've got to work *within* the constitutional constraints and within national legislation, in the end you've got to say that land use planning is a local matter... but at the moment its sort of, unfortunately a provincial matter that these EIA processes go through to, so I certainly believe it should be a local matter" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

In hindsight, other actors also provided criticism of the EIA process, whether it be EIA practice in general or the Scoping Phase of this particular development. As already identified as a position upheld by members of the Social Discourse Coalition, public participation (which is one of the primary objectives of the scoping phase) was thought to be insufficient. One of the City Officials asserted the following:

> "I think public participation should go beyond statutory requirement. As an example, people who are using the area that haven't come through the boating clubs and fisherman, just general public, even though it was out to the general public, sometimes you need to facilitate some of your stakeholder involvement... And maybe that's how our development processes and public participation actually only goes through the directly involved, and the indirectly involved, in future they would have like to have had a role but either don't know *how* to get involved or there is nothing to facilitate their involvement, or they are just too busy to get involved. I think then you lose out on a very potential richness about what public participation, what *real* public participation can bring to developments of this nature" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

This can be viewed in light of the 'implementation deficit' as outlined by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) whereby standard political structures are no longer adequately serving the new social order and flexible mechanisms which signify a 'democratisation of practice' are more suitable.

There was also concern that an EIA only addresses those issues raised by the public and therefore if they are not raised, they do not get addressed. It was suggested that "...we need to *plan* for that, we need to have that as part of your team, we need to think about that in a more structured upfront manner" (City Official 4, 10/06/05). Whilst other reactions revolved specifically around the Developer's attitude towards an extended Scoping Phase and its implications for them:

> "I believe the whole EIA process has been hijacked by vested interest groups, not only this one but all processes and its used as a tool to block development as opposed to facilitating development which was certainly what it was intended to do initially. It has become a green lobby vehicle and it's not good as far as I'm concerned for constructive engagement and solution finding. This whole process has been on and its blocking developments of significance scale for long, long periods of time and costing an awful lot of money. And that was never meant to be the intention of the legislation and the scoping process is supposed to facilitate development and help solution and problem finding... So it's not working" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

The same individual also suggested that the boating community as the key stakeholders were an obstruction to the process, because "...if you can't accommodate them then they fight, and use

the system which is this EIA process, use the system to create problems" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

It is not uncommon for waterfront developments to incur major delays and costly alterations of plans as a result of these 'blocking coalitions' (Gordon, 1997). Gordon (1997) notes that the power of the public must not be underestimated, as was evident in the waterfront developments of New York, Boston and Toronto which all provide examples of how these coalitions challenge the development process. Bristol's Canon Marsh Site is another warning to developers, as the process clearly depicts how public opposition mounted in response to an exclusionary process, resulting in three cycles of planning and thus costly delays (Bassett *et al*, 2002). It is suggested that gaining public support upfront is not only a legal requirement, but a political tool which will stem conflict later on in the process.

Also in terms of the process, there were many facts which indicated that quite a few team members, largely City Officials and consultants, had concerns surrounding their involvement in the process, in terms of being included. One actor stated that "…it is difficult because we are involved and then we are not" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). They admitted that their knowledge of the process as a whole was not comprehensive, as another City Official noted, "I don't even know about all of it because I'm pretty sure there have been other meetings that have happened outside of the public forum and outside of the meetings with the City" and reiterated a similar account "…its also quite difficult to get access to all of the information, I mean, I'm part of the City team, at some level I am totally excluded from what goes on, you know, I don't even know about it until its happened, then you kind of get fed back" (City Official 1, 10/05/05).

Also in terms of the negotiations with the boat clubs, there was very little involvement and most team members felt uninformed. One City Official stated that "…there have been other meetings with the Developers and the clubs, outside the Scoping procedure and this is a problem because they have been given expectations and we are not aware of this" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). In light of Castells' (2000) cross-cutting networks of associations, the risk of exclusion of certain actors was identified by Bulkeley (2000) as a challenge. It is recognised that these networks serve to selectively restrict or facilitate access for various actors and their respective ideas and this can be a problem if "the writers of the rules are not the powers that be" (Castells, 2000). In the case of the SCH, it was the Developers choosing to engage with the clubs outside the formal process and the City at some levels, which served to include or exclude their own Officials from various meetings. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) assert that flexible decision-making structures

are occurring between the layers of the state and between state organisations and societal organisations and the public-private boundaries are becoming blurred. In light of this, perhaps the flexible decision-making process adopted in the case of the SCH should be viewed as an attempt to facilitate best practice instead of being viewed as tangential to the legal framework.

However, there was a general feeling of 'closed doors' and exclusion from all levels of decision-making which most felt was an unnecessary hindrance to the overall process. This was also linked to the fact that City Officials were involved in numerous projects within Durban and were not dedicated entirely to the SCH development, and there was the risk that "you lose momentum and continuity and don't have the time to follow it up" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). Both the level and degree of involvement were therefore a criticism of the process, resulting from both the broader City structuring as well as the way this particular project was run.

From the perspective of the public, their only real concerns with the process have been explored in part. These were the perceived lack of local knowledge and issues of representation. In terms of the latter, it surfaced as considerable confusion and frustration on the part of the club members during the public meetings. It resulted from the fact that their representatives who had been negotiating with the Developers had failed to feed the information back to them, and in addition, there were also those who did not agree with the outcome of these meetings. This was outlined by one of the team members "...as you saw at the last meeting, some of the guys were standing up and saying they weren't represented, I have had a phone call from some of the guys saying 'we didn't know about this option' and all the rest of it...so they're not as unified as they claim to be" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05). The fact that these meetings had been taking place only with the representatives and outside the process was also perceived as a fault of the process. A City Official stated that:

> "I think they have been having a variety of meetings with a variety of people, part of and not part of the EIA. So the Developers and I think even the Municipal Manager has been meeting with them on the side to try and resolve the issues outside of the EIA process and I think that might be where some of the uncertainties are coming about" (City Official 1, 10/05/05).

Despite these implications and issues surrounding the environmental legislation framing the developments in South Africa, planning in general is also known to have adopted the role of conflict mediation. The discipline has had to address the conflicting interest groups, the tensions between expert knowledge as well as the different worldviews of various parties (Brand, 1999). In addition, an urban designer involved in the process stated that "...urban design... is a multi-

client, its not one client" suggesting that the interests of the people of Durban had to also be considered. However, one criticism of planning has been the way in which it relocates problems from one area to another and the implications for this link to the potential shortcomings of the EIA process (Tait and Campbell, 2000). This is the way that developments should be strategically assessed at a broader scale. One of the consultants believed that solutions should be sought 'outside of the Point Precinct'.

> "And the other dilemma too, is that originally when we were looking at this thing, if you recollect the original EIA process, it had a little red line, drawn and it went from basically from the edge of uShaka, going southwards to North pier and that was the EIA area, in which we were supposed to focus our attention, to generate alternatives there, and if you actually look what's happened...the solution has actually come by going outside of that and saying, 'hang on, you can't confine yourself to this area that's been delineated on a plan, its simply not logical, you know, we are dealing with the Point Precinct, the Point Precinct extends to Bell Street, so this solution should at least extend to Bell Street'"
> (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

So the overall gist of this story-line can be demonstrated in the way that certain individuals throughout the process attempted to fix behaviour and regularise the process using legitimacy to gain credibility. However, in light of Allen's (2003) account of power and social structure which infers that it is normal for individuals to submit to a given order, the effects of the network society outlined by Castells (2000), which facilitates a flexible, ad hoc decision-making, is often overlooked. Standard procedure can be followed and is always aspired to but individuals need to acknowledge that the outcomes are seldom predictable.

b) The ideal is a true process

With regard to the broader South African legislation, such as the Constitution (South Africa, 1996), there was also a strong emphasis on 'the process'. There was an aspiration for this to be an "open process" (Consultant 4, 11/10/04) which adopted a "positive, constructive and transparent approach" (Independent Assessor, 11/10/04). This was entrenched by the literature review which used the failures and successes of international case studies as a guide for the SCH. There was also a recognition among most team members that in terms of the process, they could "...learn from other international and national case studies" as well as acknowledging "[t]he need to be consistent with national and international best practice" as represented in two of their guiding principles (See Appendix 4). This was also one of the topics under discussion at one of the earlier workshops, as was reiterated by one of the consultants who listed "the need to align the development to International Best Practice" as one of the 'criteria against which the

alternate options must be evaluated/assessed' (Consultant 4, 11/10/04). One of the most prominent lessons that emerged was the importance of public involvement, which supported an open decision-making process, generating trust. This was evident in the international cases such as Bristol's Canon Marsh (Basset *et al*, 2002), Malta's Cottonera Project (McCarthy, 2004), Chatham Maritime Project (Jacobs, 2004), Copenhagen's Waterfront Development (Desfor and Jorgensen, 2004) and the four projects outlined by Gordon (1997) which all took cognisance of the need for a democratic and inclusive planning process. More broadly, Clark (1988:229) argues that "good schemes and plans are just and socially acceptable in their allocation of costs and benefits, respectful in the interests and aspirations of the people they affect, and not arbitrary to certain groups".

This recurring theme of 'the process' became a story-line used primarily by those actors supporting public participation and especially the social agenda. At the beginning of the first public meeting, the City Manager set the scene by stating that "the process is more important than the product" (City Manager, 27/11/04). The One consultant who was responsible for compiling the literature review was in strong support of 'the process' and in hindsight was described as being:

> "'wed to the process', she wanted it to be 'open and transparent', she was not
> interested on the end product…it dawned on me that she wanted the process to
> be pure and the result was not really what it was about… as someone on the
> other side, she allowed the process to remain honest" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

During the first public meeting, a group of subsistence fisherman arrived and publicly announced that they had not been included in the process. The spokesman stated that "we are the poor… we are a key stakeholder and have not been involved in discussions… this is supposed to be a democratic country" (Member of Public 7, 27/11/04). They were ultimately accusing the Developers of failing to implement the process in an inclusive and transparent manner. According to MacLaren and McGuirk (2003), this highlights one of the dangers of planning which is the failure to recognise that every interest group may not have the capacity (either knowledge or resources) to facilitate their own involvement or validate their arguments. This also links back to some of the concerns of the consultants who believed that there was not adequate involvement of the general public. The policy vocabulary in support of this story-line featured as a strong undercurrent within the IDP as a document. The document is heavily strewn with the terms: 'democracy', 'transparency', 'equity' and 'empowerment' and there is a major emphasis placed on the "involvement of citizens in decision-making" (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:12). So despite the story-line of 'a true process' being inscribed in the legislation guiding

development in the Municipality, it was referred to as more of a symbolic story-line which signified an ideal, calling into question the morality of the actors rather than the statutory requirements.

c) Lessons from international best practice

The rationale behind the literature review can be summed up by Gordon (1997:62):

> "...the public agencies which implement waterfront redevelopment were (previously) not working from a strong previously theoretical base for their tasks. They were largely 'making it up as they went along'..." (Gordon, 1997:62).

This cautions towards overlooking international theory as a key influential step within any development process. As one of the consultants explained to the public at the second meeting "the literature review played into the process of decision-making, it helped to shape the kind of decisions made" (Consultant 5, 02/04/05). In this way, the literature review can be classified as action research which is defined by Kitchin & Tate (2000:225) as being "formulated upon the basis of trying to *change* a social system at the same time trying to generate knowledge about it". However, in terms of this Review, although it provided a sound theoretical basis upon which the decision-making process could be taken forward, it was met with much opposition from other team members. This reflected the way in which actors defended their own discourse or discipline, and what role and value they believed a literature review would represent as a step in the process. During one of the internal workshops this was emphasised by a consultant, who "cautioned against narrowing views according to the options and referred to the voluminous case studies that reflected upon the need to get the process and the politics right to avert problems" (Consultant 5, Minutes, 11/10/04). This was reiterated in a series of email correspondence between those who were critical of the review and those who were responsible for it. In an email to the team, one of the Developing Agents stated that "these case studies appear to be showing only one side of the picture – are there other cases that can be cited in terms of their success for cities, regions etcetera, or cases that have worked without the issues noted in (Consultant 5)'s review?" (Developing Agent 1, Email, 03/11/05). The response was as follows:

> "...I am really concerned with the way in which the literature review we have been working on is being considered. You seem to view this as a very negative process whereas we see this as a positive process about learning from other case studies. These are not negative reviews but rather point out the challenges facing large waterfront

developments around the world. I have not used these to present a particular view but rather as a means of learning from the academic research published in the field so that we can have the best waterfront possible" (Consultant 5, Email, 03/11/05).

The same Developing Agent replied to this email detailing his concern:

"New developments/projects are conceptualised and based upon a range of issues and criterion – social issues is but one of these and is dependant, to a large degree, on the context within which the development/project is taking place. The other important factors that need to be considered at least equally include environmental, financial, economic and planning. You quite naturally have assessed cases from the social perspective – what is needed are cases that consider and which have successfully/unsuccessfully dealt with other issues – which the other professionals need to look at... It would not be appropriate for a case study analysis to be presented on a single factor" (Developing Agent 1, Email, 03/11/05).

The consultant responded as follows:

"...I agree that the papers I present are mostly to do with process and social issues but these seem more and more to be the critical issues in the success of a project (as the case studies show). Politics can derail any well intentioned project. I agree that economic and environmental issues are also key – these are often reflected in the responses made by stakeholders (through the social issues)..." (Consultant 5, Email, 04/11/05).

The more scientific or technically orientated actors challenged the value of social science as a discipline and how it claimed to provide a more holistic means of evaluating projects. This attitude has direct links with the following story-line.

d) Faith in science

The 'faith in science' story-line is based on the role that technical knowledge played in shaping the outcome of the process. This is the final story-line used by members of the Procedural Discourse Coalition and is based on the role that scientific and technical information played in validating various arguments. This is most simply portrayed in one of the principles which is "[to] ensure that the technical (and engineering) design is viable and sustainable" (See Appendix 4). Also, during one of the meetings the 'criteria against which the alternate options must be evaluated/assessed' included the following: "technical (legal and process, infrastructure, management)" and "planning and urban design" and when the decision-making framework was drafted at the same meeting, this stipulated that the alternatives should be assessed in terms of "economic, technical, environmental and social" criteria (in that order)

(Minutes, 11/10/04). Gottweis (2003) asserts that scientific and technical knowledge has been used in the past to advance a political process to a stage where an informed decision can be made, as was the function of the matrix which was used to filter out the unfeasible options. The matrix as a process of knowledge generation was described by the Independent Assessor as an "objective scientific process" which was "structured, rational and objective" (Independent Assessor, 27/11/04). These terms are all used directly by the Procedural Discourse Coalition as they are rooted in a structured approach to decision-making.

In terms of the financial modeling which is a prerequisite of developments, there is a particular 'faith in numbers' as well. Clark (1988) cautioned that this quantitative form of justification was a political mechanism which only addressed specific goals (usually economic) and particularly those which can be measured and therefore these biased criteria often make success difficult to evaluate.

The technical and especially the engineering discipline emerged as a field which was held in high regard, rightly so because without it, the construction of the SCH would not be possible. However, the way in which various options, concepts or statements were validated by this technical knowledge reflects an exercise of power. In line with Giddens' (1979, cited in Allen, 2003) analysis of power, information or knowledge as possessed by scientists was used as a resource to exercise power in the aim of achieving a desired outcome. More abstract Foucauldian notions of power substantiate this by making the link between knowledge, truth and power (Tait and Campbell, 2000). So through a process of knowledge generation, the government becomes entrenched in the process because the legitimacy of policy making is dependant on the scientific arguments which underpin decisions (Gottweis, 2003). In the case of the SCH, it can be seen as an attempt by these scientists to gain power by having their knowledge accepted as truth (predominantly by the City Officials as representatives of government) which aims to influence the outcome in their favour.

When the Phased Option was presented as the preferred option at the second public meeting, there were many queries about the details (as the recurrent phrase 'the devil is in the detail' exemplifies) and one of the replies by the team was that "this option is conceptual, the technical experts have said it shouldn't be problematic, the details will come out of the EIA process" (City Official 2, 02/04/05). During the same meeting, this City Official restated this point in response to public comment, "...this *is* an option, the technical guys have said it is possible to create all these elements" (City Official 2, 02/04/05). So the options were validated upon the

basis of the scientific or technical knowledge which the specialists were said to possess and this was used to refute any queries from the opposition. There were also a number of terms which referred to the scientific or technical dimensions and these were frequently mentioned with regard to the options: 'test', 'model', 'specialist studies', 'specialist reports', 'experts' and so forth. As one of the City Officials noted:

> "The next phase which is the EIA phase is very important because they will do all the modeling and technical studies. This will give some type of long term view with regards to the sand movement, wave action, etcetera. We will have to take a step back, if the technical issues fail in the studies then we will have to say no" (City Official 2, 13/05/05).

Another term which was frequently referred to and has already been touched on was the name of the coastal engineer who was well renowned for successfully constructing Cape Town's V&A Waterfront. His expertise was held in high regard and hence his name became a common phrase as various team members quoted it throughout the process. This was particularly evident just before the Phased Option was taken on as the preferred option, when he was brought to Durban for a meeting with representatives from the City and the Developers. Although not a member of the consultant team, this engineer was a very powerful entity within the process. According to Fraser (2001) his power can be classified as 'positional power' whereby it was the "institutional or peer-determined authority" invested in him which allowed his deductions to shape the process. In addition, another factor which may have facilitated his exercise of power and control has been the fact that he was not directly involved in the process and thus not effected by the outcome, in contrast to the other parties who were effected (Fraser, 2001).

So the 'faith in science' story-line was used to entrench the Procedural Discourse Coalition with its emphasis on the role of specialists and their expertise as part of the EIA process. It was recognised that technical information could either verify or refute the various concepts and options and it was afforded status amongst most of the team members. It should be noted, that to facilitate a democratic process, it is vital for the scientific knowledge to be negotiated against the other forms of knowledge, broadening the horizons of all sectors (Gottweis, 2003). The 'faith in science' story-line was used by particular actors as an attempt to achieve 'discourse institutionalisation' (Hajer, 1995). Bulkeley (2000) asserts that resources such as knowledge and power (the association of powerful actors) are both used to attempt to translate the discourse into a 'more enduring policy practice'.

The essence of the four story-lines used by the Procedural Discourse Coalition was a broad argument based on the integrity of the process. The first two story-lines were related to firstly, the statutory compliance, and secondly, the ethical obligation of the actors in the process. The story-line relating to the literature review signifies an attempt to align the project with international best practice and this received resistance from actors who positioned themselves against it because of its assumed social bias. Scientific and technical knowledge was also used as a story-line which actually swung the process at the end of the day and was a common line used throughout the process to validate various concepts and options. This coalition illustrated endurance as the process progressed and the authors comprised individuals from both the City, the Developers, both sets of consultants and specifically the Independent Assessor.

6.4 Conclusion

The SCH decision-making process, as a political arena in which the relevance as well as the nature of the potential development was hotly debated, was characterised by a series of interactions amongst a host of diverse actors. As Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) assert, language not only depicts but also construes the issues at hand. For this reason, Hajer's (2003) discourse analysis is employed as an effective tool to examine the way in which the rhetorical exchanges between these actors has shaped the process itself. Furthermore, the analysis reveals a deeper layer of meaning which links these verbal patterns to the actors' underlying interpretations of reality. These conflicts of meaning become palpable as actors adopt contrasting positions around particular issues. Hajer (2003) has distinguished between the different levels of terms used by the actors in defense of their beliefs: epistemic notions, story-lines and policy vocabularies.

On a broad level, the discourse analysis revealed three overarching epistemic notions, 'sustainability', 'urban renewal' and 'profit driven development', which were predominantly subconscious formative influences on the words and actions of the actors. They were used by a set of actors which crossed sectoral divides and were shaping concepts characteristic of the particular period within which the process was occurring.

Story-lines were the most pertinent rhetorical devices employed by the actors to seek an approval of their relative definitions of reality. They are defined as "crisp, generative statements that bring together previously unrelated elements of reality" and thus facilitate the formation of discourse coalitions (Hajer, 2003:104). These discourse coalitions and the sets of story-lines

which bind them were the basis for the second part of the analysis. In addition, various policy vocabularies were also employed by actors to support their positions.

The analysis identified six different coalitions, namely, Globalisation, IDP, Economic Growth, Social, Environmental and Procedural. Each with a related set of story-lines which constituted them and with associated policy vocabularies drawn on to reinforce the meaning they conveyed. The SCH decision-making forum demonstrated the flexible nature of coalitions whereby some of the coalitions overlapped and some of the members shifted between coalitions as their positions changed. For example, the most apparent example of overlap was between the members of the Economic Growth Discourse Coalition who were also strongly aligned with the Globalisation Discourse Coalition. The overlap was due to the fact that an international tourist attraction would translate to greater economic benefits, hence the two coalitions were linked. Similarly, some of the actors belonging to the IDP Discourse Coalition were also authors of the story-lines used by members of the Social Discourse Coalition. This is because the Social story-lines relating to 'public access' and 'the clubs' is underpinned by the IDP principles which must seek what is best for the residents of Durban. Actors supporting the Environmental Discourse Coalition as evident by their story-line 'save the beach', also belonged to the Social Discourse Coalition as the condition of the natural environment related directly to the user value stressed by members of the Social Coalition. Whereas the Procedural Discourse Coalition was supported by a range of actors who were also members of various other Coalitions. For example, the 'faith in science' story-line was uttered by members of the Economic Growth Coalition whilst the 'lessons from international best practice' story-line was supported by actors with a more social agenda. So whilst the boundaries between coalitions are blurred, they starkly reflect six different ways in which the actors perceived reality and understood the development. In terms of the shifting of actors, the consultants in particular, who often were not rigidly subscribed to one of the two dominant organisations, were most likely to reflect a change in position. For example, one economic consultant contracted to the Developer adopted a position in support of one of the Environmental story-lines after becoming aware of the value of the beach as a natural asset. Similarly, one particular actor (City Official 2) shifted more strongly from an author of the Social story-lines to that of the Economic 'urban renewal' story-line. This also reflected the shifting of the City's position in general. The overlaps and shifting of the configurations of the decision-making team reveals a situation that is in flux. Of particular importance is the way that the notion of a network can be used to reflect the power operating within the team.

The SCH decision-making process as the site of contact between different communities of meaning or networks was largely unstable and represents the flux of power in and amongst the actors and coalitions. The iterative nature of the process was a result of the way rules were constantly made and changed as actors learnt from the process, and this in itself caused a shifting of positions. As these individuals realigned themselves more strongly with one coalition rather than another, so did the coalitions strengthen or weaken to depict a change in the power relations between both coalitions and actors. From the outset, the team was divided into the City Officials with their set of consultants versus Moreland with their own set of consultants. Both groups were extremely powerful and used various resources throughout the process to exercise power, for example, the City used its authority as a resource whilst Moreland used expert knowledge, capital and other tactics to position the opponent in a specific way. Similarly, the leaders of both groups possessed 'positional power' which they used to their advantage (Fraser, 2001). As the process commenced, various individuals from both major groups used common story-lines which reconfigured the team into six overlapping coalitions. City members predominantly comprised the IDP and Social Coalitions, whilst Moreland were predominantly the Globalisation and Economic Growth Coalitions. Each coalition founded on a specific set of story-lines struggled to gain power to have their definitions of reality understood. The consultants were particularly mobile in and amongst coalitions and at one stage, when they organised a meeting without the City Officials or members of Moreland, they seemed to jointly align with the Procedural Discourse Coalition due to concerns relating to the lack of deliberation and co-operation between the two sides. This was one particular example of how their alliance here produced a powerful voice which managed to be accepted and understood by the other actors. Another way in which power served to enable a group was the watersports clubs which had amalgamated to contest the threat to their rights. They were powerful enough to be heard and it was the consultants in particular who supported their understanding of the problems at hand. The outcome of the process, namely the new options which were generated, provides tangible proof that depicts an attempt to accommodate the watersports clubs. The final stages of the decision-making process reflect that Moreland managed to exercise power by using Cape Town's coastal engineer to validate their new preferred option. It is still questionable who exercised the most power at the end of the process, but by analysing the options which went forward, it may seem that although a 'compromise' was achieved, it seemed that the City had to compromise more than Moreland had, and perhaps were overpowered by the economic forces driving society today.

Hajer's (2003) discourse analysis has provided the lens through which these interactions can be examined and has revealed, through the language of the actors, the underlying realities which have framed their interpretations of the issues. The dynamic arrangement of the team as well as the other external actors (the clubs and the general public) which became immersed in the process as a result if their contact with team members, allows for the application of Castells' (2000) networking logic to depict this flux of power amongst these 'cross-cutting networks of associations' within the process. In this way, the SCH process provides evidence that the network which signifies a new social order provides the site as well as the impetus for a re-organisation of meaning and identity for individuals.

CHAPTER 7:
THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF THE PROCESS

7.1 Introduction

The extended Scoping Phase of the SCH, occurring outside mainstream environmental practice and with a host of actors representing the overlapping networks of communities, can be likened to the new political spaces for decision-making outlined by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a). These spaces which have been facilitated by the new social order can best be examined using Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) deliberative policy analysis. This approach can be defined as "a policy analysis that is interpretive, pragmatic, and deliberative is both practically and philosophically attuned to the continuous give and take in networks of actors that, as a result of the changing political topography, have sprung up around concrete social and political issues" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003b:xiv). This approach provides the framework for analysis of the political dynamics of the SCH process and thus the focus of this chapter.

This chapter is structured in a way which will firstly provide the context of the development as a starting point and then proceed to map the evolution of the process. The first section examines the political context and thus sets the scene for the process. The specific organisational arrangements and nature of the project brings three issues to light which played a role in shaping the process. In addition, Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) notion of 'value pluralism' and Hajer's (2004) concept of 'multi-signification' can be used to depict how and why the actors adopted the positions that they did.

Secondly, the analogy of a game is used to examine the dynamics of the process. This highlighted the flexible and unpredictable nature of the decision-making process which has been likened to a performance whereby the actors act and react to one another's arguments in an open-ended struggle for dominance. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:14) assert that actors tell stories and formulate arguments "to get a handle on this world of complexity and uncertainty" however, these stories and arguments are 'provisional' and only last until the conditions change or they are replaced by a stronger argument. This 'argumentative approach' depicts the way in which the individuals actively attempted to gain credibility for their own arguments, seeking to position their team members accordingly. The role of power is central to these relationships and its implications have been highlighted.

The third section focuses on the critical role of deliberation in fashioning effective political agreements. The SCH process reflected how mounting resistance was replaced by a new deliberative approach which reflected a change in the actor's attitudes and a realisation of their interdependence. This collaboration in the pursuit of joint benefits served to break a deadlock between the conflicting positions and added value to the process. As Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:23) have illustrated, "deliberative judgment emerges through collective, interactive discourse" and this section examines these interactions in light of their consequences for the final outcome of the project.

The SCH process can therefore be examined in light of the backdrop of contemporary social structures and associated practices of governance. Of particular relevance is Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) deliberative policy analysis which guides towards a more flexible co-operative space for decision-making which is underpinned by the way in which the particular policy problem is interpreted. In the words of one of the actors, "[t]he politics of the process are central" (Consultant 5, 27/01/05).

7.2 It was always destined to be controversial

As international theory suggests, waterfront developments are prone to political challenges and associated conflict. With particular relevance to waterfront developments, Bruttomesso (1988:42) has described such spaces as "a paradigm of urban complexity", indicating that the SCH was most probably destined to be contentious from the outset. The case study of Durban's SCH is no different and had a particular political context which facilitated an antagonistic problem-solving environment.

7.2.1 The relationship between the City and Moreland

The first tension which underpinned the dynamics of the project was the fact that the applicant, the DPDC, was a joint venture between the City and Rocpoint, and they had employed Moreland to manage the development process on their behalf. The City and Moreland, however, have historically had a conflictual relationship which resulted in both sides failing to enter the process on neutral grounds. As aptly stated by a City Official, "I think it started off from a very conflictual, mistrusting basis" (City Official 4, 10/06/05). Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:12) believe this is common challenge of policy processes on the grounds that actors are required to

cross institutional boundaries and therefore "trust cannot be assumed". Similarly Hajer (2004) notes that it should become an objective for all parties to generate trust in one another as well as in the process itself. Another consultant believed that without the history of their relationship the project may have evolved differently:

> "...it doesn't help that Moreland, in terms of other developments elsewhere in the City have always managed to achieve a lot, somehow don't seem to enjoy the same kind of... they don't seem to have a good relationship with the City, there's a lot of baggage, its not as clear cut, when we started the Point on first principles, on me meeting you for the first time kind of, it may have had a very different process, that's important to understand... so I'm not sure if we were staring afresh today is the same sort of situation would exist, given the whole life-history..." (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

One of the related issues which was raised by a number of the team members was the way in which the two sets of consultants had been briefed, which was assumed to have entrenched this perception of animosity. They were therefore thought to have entered the process in a subjective manner. As one of the consultants explained:

> "...some of the baggage and history has briefed people so people didn't approach the process with an open mindedness which I would have liked. To be frank, I think (the City's consultants) were probably briefed by the people who were quite suspicious of things and so on..." (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

Linked to this is also the question of independence as has already been explored in Chapter 6 and particularly the way in which the consultants were thought to have allegiance to one of the two dominant groups. The term 'towing the line' was used often to show how the respective consultants were aligned with the views of their party, as was one explanation:

> "So the perception is that, those consultants are working for the City and they are going to tow the City line. Maybe not intentionally, but that's what it is, and the other thing too, I suppose its got to be said in defense of some of those consultants... if you had a particular view, I mean and you knew there were ten consultants out there, you wouldn't go and pick one you knew had a directly opposing view, you would actually seek out the one who's sort of in *line* with your way of thinking, you know this kind of guy from previous work, he's in line" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

There was a definite recognition of the poles which both sets of consultants seemed to be operating from and thus a clear distinction between the two. As Clark (1988) has warned, overall success of projects is highly challenging when the prioritised set of objectives are in direct contrast with another set of objectives. These poles were evident in comments such as

"well, they're *your* consultants, we'll get *our* consultants who'll say different" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05) as well as continual reference to "them and us" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05) illustrates this division. This perceived spilt only functioned to entrench the antagonistic attitudes between groups and as a result both sides reacted with mounting resistance. Similarly, at a leadership level, the two head figures representing Moreland and the City were perceived to reflect these opposing positions by both possessing conflicting ideals for the project. As one of the consultants explained:

> "...because he (the City Manager) *too* is... ya, he's got *his* own ideas and he wants to run it *his* way and old (Developing Agent 2) has got *his* ideas and he wants to run it *his* way and ya, and its not a healthy situation..." (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

There were also a host of phrases and words used in the interviews, such as 'distrust' (which was used by many individuals), 'anxiety' (Consultant 2, 16/05/05) 'air of tension', 'underlying suspicion' (Consultant 3, 24/06/05), 'frustration' (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05) 'divided', 'infighting' (City Official 2, 13/05/05) and 'loggerheads' (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). All of these present a generally accepted view that there were tensions within the team and it was divided into two principal groups. In particular, the "reciprocal mistrust and lack of understanding of each other's interests and needs across the public and private sectors" is a not unique to the SCH process as it is a common challenge of Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) as stipulated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2005). However, despite the problems therewith, most policies encourage partnerships and the IDP illustrates a strong emphasis on the key role of partnerships in terms of assisting the Municipality with service delivery (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:16).

Even during the process itself, there was the concern, particularly on the part of the consultants, who attempted to define and address the conflict. The public-private partnership was discussed and as one consultant recognised "...there is an antagonistic relationship between both sides, both sides are trying to control the process" (Consultant 5, 27/01/05). Another consultant sought a definition of the problem, "...a technical solution is being sought for a political problem" and "there is a problem within these institutional arrangements" (Consultant 6, 27/01/05). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2005) also highlights the fact that PPPs are often undermined by "the underlying legal, political, and institutional obstacles". The conflict was also perceived by some as a product of the regulatory framework, which defines the different roles of the applicant and the regulator, and also aligns with the Procedural Discourse above. It was described by a consultant who stated that:

"The trouble with EIA processes is that they are almost structured to generate adversity because they always propose something, we react to a proposal, now, and then the fight began, negotiation and compromise and so on" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

So there was a common view amongst team members that the two groups had oppositional starting positions which were strongly defended throughout and as a result became entrenched as negotiations commenced. It can therefore be deduced that these two bodies, Moreland and the City were the two dominant groups in the process and had entered into a power struggle, both attempting to transform the outcomes to reflect their own interests. This can also be substantiated by the repeated mention of their respective power, as one actor noted, with "...two powerful forces meeting there...maybe it was destined to be pretty turbulent" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). The same consultant also stated that "...what you find is the City is very powerful...and Moreland is no small player *either*" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). Another consultant referred to the City and Moreland (as well as the boat clubs) as "power blocks" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05), whilst a City Official drew attention to the fact that "[t]here are very powerful people on the Point who have influence at a high level, one has to play the game to a certain extent, it won't go down well if we don't want the SCH, it will be dismissed as being antagonistic" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). So these two powerful factions started off on quite divided grounds which only served to exacerbate any potential conflict which would have arisen later on.

In terms of Giddens' (1979, cited in Allen, 2003) classification of resources, both groups had different types of resources and therefore different capacities to exercise power. The City as a local authority possessed 'authoritative resources' which relate to the spatial control of social organisation, whilst Moreland as representative of the Developer, held 'material or allocative resources' which embody either 'property, land, goods, technology or access to finance'. The City has its power as a planner of the urban fabric, whilst Moreland had access to the property and land (via DPDC) and access to capital in terms of securing investors and thus both factions used their respective resources to exercise power over one another. In addition, various team members employed other resources such as knowledge, to exercise power as "a means to achieve outcomes" as the process progressed (Giddens, 1979:91, cited in Allen, 2003:45).

In addition, the modalities of power can be used to distinguish the way in which the two primary groups operated. The City as the local authority was clearly aligned with the authoritative mode of power. The Officials were seen to exercise power in an instrumental

manner through relying on the recognition of other parties to comply (Allen, 2003). Arendt (1958, cited in Allen, 2003) identifies these agents as 'guardians of knowledge' who possess an accepted wisdom. On the other hand, Moreland has been recognised for their influential capacity and can be assumed to exercise power in the form of dominance. Dominance can be defined as "the will of one party influencing that of the other even against the others reluctance" (Weber, 1987:94, cited in Allen, 2003:27).

7.2.2 The dual role of the City

Apart from this relationship between the two primary groups within the team, there was another factor which contributed to the political tension and complexity of the project. This was the fact that the City was responsible for the dual function as both developer (as a stakeholder) and regulator (as an authority).

The restructuring of institutions is a product of the network society which has undermined political structures and brought about a new area of uncertainty (Castells, 2000). The transformation of the role of local authorities is just one example of how such structures have introduced clear tensions. The SCH process had to deal with a clear set of conflicts between the economic imperatives of the City and the social responsibility of the City. Bristol's Canon Marsh Site underscores the dangers of this dual role which councils are required to adopt. This was apparent in the way the Bristol City Council had to separate out its developing and planning functions which led to confusion, suspicion by members and the public around these conflicting roles, as well as the overlap of public and private land interests (Bassett *et al*, 2002). This political tension was one of a number of factors which led to a delayed planning process with the dismissal of a number of plans. In terms of the SCH, there was strong reference made by the team for the need to create a balance between these two functions, as one official stated, "I think the City played more than just a regulatory role, it wanted to understand the development potential and not just have the one supersede the other, it was trying to create a balance between regulatory and development" (City Official, 10/06/05). As quoted above by members of the Economic Growth Discourse Coalition, there was a perception that the City had shifted from the role of regulator, to that of developer as the process evolved. The involvement of the consultants was also a product of this dichotomy and an attempt to counter any unintentional bias toward any one of the two roles. As an Official explained:

> "It was also giving us the City, from a regulatory perspective, some form of confidence that we are not just dealing with people that have a regulatory hat

on, as we normally do and are we missing the bigger picture because we are trying to just regulate and not facilitate, and I think these people (the consultants) brought the right balance to the party *without* necessarily being paid through the development agent which is Moreland" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

Also as a product of institutional organisation, the individuals representing the different departments would obviously support their particular discipline, and as such, the City never presented a truly unified voice. This was the perception of one member of the team of Developing Agents:

"I think as I said earlier, the biggest problem from my perspective has been the number of individual views within the City, the varying views and the lack of consistency on the one hand and the lack of a common vision or idea. The City has never had a single common view of what it would like to see" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05).

A common failing of some government departments is their inability to immerse themselves in policy networks and as a result they become disempowered (McGuirk, 2000). This was evident in Dublin where the planning department operated in isolation to the broader policy networks by adopting obsolete discourses and operating within a different set of rules. In terms of the relevance to the SCH process, McGuirk (2000) suggests that new mechanisms of governance facilitate new niches and relationships which departments should take advantage of. It appears that the different departments were all operating in disparate frameworks of practice and failing to take advantage of the relationships which presented themselves.

There was also a criticism that City Officials were acting on behalf of their personal views and not on behalf of the regulator and developer responsibility of the City. As one consultant stated:

"I don't think its fair to use your position to further personal goals...(to use) the opportunity of being part of an internal mechanism that structured the way we thought about those different options, to voice that kind of view personal view, whereas those personal views should have been brought up in the public meeting" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

One of the Developers presented a similar view, he asserted:

"...that's the problem that you might find with individuals in the City ...because I think they do sometimes not have the City's interest at heart, it is their personal issues that come forward...No one can expect a person to do your utmost to do what he believes is a lie, in the interest of the company or the

group or the project, if he personally doesn't agree with it, then that's a recipe for disaster" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

So there were inherent contradictions in the way that the City operated and managed this dual role. The term 'dual role' was adopted as a common line by various parties to stress the political context of the project and to provide an explanation for some of the conflict which arose between the different discourses.

It is also useful to note that in addition to the conflicts within the City (as both stakeholder and regulator) as well as the different departmental divisions, the outcome of the environmental regulatory process was also effectively shaped by another level of government. The provincial delegating authority, the Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs (DAEA), would also play a critical role in determining the future of the site. Tunbridge (1988:77) associates this distribution of power as a challenge to urban governance because it means that no one level can "unilaterally direct urban affairs". Furthermore, Allen (2003) notes that these 'multiple sites of authority' have implications for power relations, in that it cannot be exercised in a direct manner. The nodes which occur at a variety of spatial scales are required to exercise power through a series linear relationships, complicating the flows of power.

7.2.3 The nature of the development

The third political factor which may have contributed to the mounting frustration between the Developers and the City (on behalf of the stakeholders) was the nature of the project itself. Because the development is proposed on a brownfields site, with a range of stakeholders, the social issues have been fairly dominant and have played a major role in shaping the process and the options that have been chosen. Although Moreland is one of the leading property developers in the province, their previous developments have characteristically involved greenfields sites. As a result, they are not fully accustomed to the social challenges of a proposal such as the SCH. This can be summed up by the phrase "the sugar cane doesn't talk back", which was used by a consultant to explain the approach to development which Moreland usually enjoys (Consultant 2, 16/05/05). The quote below provides more detail:

"...the other Moreland developments have been much less complicated than this one, why, because they have often been greenfields by nature, where really, you know, sugar cane doesn't talk back, but um, you know whenever you get involved in a brownfields development and it is a brownfields development, they are more complicated and they are slower. And then in addition to which, you are impinging on territory which is... politically sensitive and so you have

people like ORI and others, and the environmental section of the council. And of course the paddlers, the boat owners, those are then playing roles which are quite important by comparison to other developments" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

7.2.4 A multiplicity of views

The contradictions introduced by the unique political context of the SCH development only serve to exacerbate the challenge of managing the diversity of views involved in the process. The views of these actors are articulated through both their language and actions and are underpinned by their personal backgrounds, experience, values and institutional frameworks. It is therefore to be expected that in any political process, especially one involving the environment, that there will be polarised and overlapping discourses as well as discourse coalitions which form around entrenched story-lines (Hajer, 1995). As such, the SCH as a new deliberative space for decision-making provides the site for conflict between these 'different cognitive worlds' (Gottweis, 2003). The unique configuration of actors ascribing to and entrenching particular discourses, and the argumentative struggle that ensues will ultimately shape the outcome of the decision-making process. In light of the flexible decision-making structures as the sites for negotiation and in terms of the way that power flows through this network of actors, it has best been described by Deleuze and Guattari (1988, cited in Allen, 2003), as a 'molecular soup'. He asserted that when an unknown mix of elements come into play with one another, unforeseen outcomes are to be expected. In terms of mechanisms of governance, Goodwin's (1999) interpretation gives direction to an analysis of the SCH process. Firstly, how and why were the agencies brought together and what were there rationales and secondly, how effectively did they interact and how did they blend their capabilities.

Quite simply, one actor raises the issue of views, "[w]ell I mean, everybody has looked at the area from the point of view of their interests, you know, and they do have interests" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05). So it was realised that the challenge of the decision-making process was to bring all these individual views together and to come up with an option which best suits all. Clark (1988) uses the term 'multi-objective' planning to describe the greatest challenge of waterfront development processes which is to address the various objectives of the actors. In terms of the role of the team, there was difficulty, especially initially, when trying to achieve some sort of consensus. As one of the Developers noted:

"...there was more of a frustration, certainly from my perspective where you are tying to deal with 10-15 different views... and I think possibly the

consultants also trying to juggle all these different individual views together" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05).

In terms of the team which was put together, there was a range of expertise from a number of different fields, to ensure that every aspect of the project was covered. Each member's views were therefore also ultimately founded upon their individual profession. One consultant acknowledged this difference as positive because it allowed for a holistic representation. He stated the following:

> "I suppose the premise that we were working from, I mean clearly (Consultant 5) worked from an environmental, kind of social basis, (Consultant 1) would have worked from his framework would have been economic feasibility, so I think there were different positions which are not conflictual and probably good" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

However, it is a universal problem recognised in political fields that different disciplines yield different discourse and as a result, they have their own interpretation of a problem. This was the concern of one of the actors who observed the way in which the social actors reacted towards the economic arguments:

> "I think that they have been interested, but as soon as you have a socialist perspective and let me say a particular socialist perspective, so the people that have a socialist perspective which begins with the assumption that private investment for the rich is contrary to the needs of the poor, then you don't really have a common language, for people who think in either way" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

'Common language' was used here as a term to describe conflicts between various and especially polar interests which takes cognisance of the background of the actors. As Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:11) note, these people interpret the world in different ways, and therefore "do not necessarily share the same language". Such conflicts of meaning have been the basis for the concept of 'multi-signification' which has been employed by Hajer (2004) to illustrate this diversity of views. In addition, an effective argument often relies on the success of the author in drawing on what both parties have in common, i.e. by adopting a common language (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a).

In the case of the SCH, it was also interesting to note that some actors were very forthcoming with their own views despite their perceived 'allegiance' to the organisation they were acting on behalf of. This links back to the issue about independence and the associated argument that

consultants were at risk of 'towing a line'. One consultant reiterated this issue of independence in light of remaining true to one's own personal views and possibly coming forward with them:

> "So there is that sort of feeling out there that if you're dealing with these big and powerful bodies, to a large extent there is a tremendous amount of pressure on the consultants, to conform and I've certainly seen that where fellows would say 'jeese, what do *you* think?' you know, then they are saying to the client, instead of coming out and saying 'look, this is what *I* think, this is *my* view', I mean after *all*, I spent five years at university and ten years, I've got fifteen years experience, this is my *view*, so what do *you* think', you know. Trying to get the idea of what the client thinks so that you make sure, at the end of the day, the client is happy and it's a very different line to sometimes walk, you know" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

However, it is not only the backgrounds of the actors and the organisations which they either belong to or are employed by, but their values as well which came into play during the process. The same individual made reference to these opposing sets of values:

> "...to identify the reasons for the conflict was a little difficult, initially and until one realised that there were different values and quite substantially different values that were here, and quite substantially development paradigms if I can use such a grand term but I think it is that" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) have used the concept of 'value pluralism' to refer to these different values. As they assert, each individual within a political process lives within the conceptual boundaries of their own personal worlds, aspiring to their personal ideals and values. These values ultimately establish the position that an actor will take in response to a particular issue. The actor will subsequently perceive the other actors in the process as either an opponent or an ally depending on their respective position towards the issue, and their potential to either weaken or sustain the collective value of the group (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). In response, actors actively ensue in an argumentative struggle and seek to position one another in a specific way to achieve 'discursive hegemony' (Hajer, 1995). This 'argumentative approach' to discourse will be explored below.

In the SCH process, one major factor which may have contributed to entrenching these two dominant 'development paradigms' as the consultant named them, is the fact that when the two teams came together with their respective consultants, they had two different briefs. This issue of briefing has already been highlighted but it is important to explore this in light of the different views in the process. One consultant believed a joint briefing would have quietened

some of the difference and would have set a precedent for working together as a team. In his words:

> "...there should have been *another joint briefing* as to what it all was about but as it was, was easy to, you know this now 'you are now the team', but of course you are coming from different, we've all got different ideas as to where we are coming from" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

Similarly another consultant identified this as a fatal flaw of the process:

> "But that was one of the problems with this Kirsten, you only had a piece of the puzzle, I never knew what (the City Manager) or whoever were briefing (the City's consultants) was about, neither did (the City's Consultants) know what *our* initial briefing was about developing options and so on. Neither did they really know who we were as people" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

Over and above an individual's discipline and set of values, is their personality. As the consultant above made reference to, each actor was also a person. The combination of individual personalities within a process may have a huge bearing on the outcome and there is some evidence of this in the SCH process. Of particular relevance is the way in which one consultant effectively articulated her respective values and ideals for the area. Her character, as well her manner of engaging brought some social issues to view, which other dominant discourses may have otherwise taken precedence over. It also helped to shift the views of others and contributed to reaching a compromise later on, as will be described below. One consultant pointed out the fact that "...if anybody else had tried, no one would have listened, they would have remained focused on the figures" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05). On another level, it is also critical to note that relations between these actors also have a major impact on the outcome of the process as well. In the words of one actor, "[i]ndividual relationships play a big role" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05). These claims are supported by Fraser's (2001) classification of power. In the case of the consultant referred to above, she obviously possessed 'personal power' which can often arise from attributes other than age, status and profession. In her case, perhaps 'skills in language' (articulateness), 'values, 'good rapport' and 'trust' may have been some of the possible characteristics which empowered her, allowing her views to be heard (Fraser, 2001). By using Hajer's (1995) classification of power, credibility, acceptability and trust are the three factors which determine the effectiveness of an argument within negotiations. It was most likely that this consultant achieved all three.

However, there is valid criticism in terms of individuals punting too strongly for their particular interest. This was characterised by a common reference to 'narrow views' which has already been explored above as a possible failing of the public participation process, that the broader public was not concerned and therefore gave minimal input. As was the opinion of one of the City Officials:

> "I think that at times there has been too much positioning and not enough people trying to rise above the immediacy of profits or the immediacy of being a user or the immediacy of having a narrow environmental group and I think that's been the challenge for me... I can't single out any *one* of some of those stakeholders that has been able to rise above their own narrow interest and I think that's been the difficulty" (City Official 4, 10/06/05).

This is linked to a common characteristic of development projects, people only become responsive when an issue 'close to home' arises and are driven to act upon the threat to their vested interests. As the Independent Assessor noted, "I think people don't understand the implications of something unless it comes very close" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05). This was the case with the boat clubs which amalgamated to form an association which was thought to unite the various watersports factions and challenge the development with a more powerful voice. As illustrated in the discussion relating to the Social Discourse Coalition, the watersports clubs empowered themselves through this social action and here power is best conceptualised as an enabling force (Arendt, 1961; 1970, cited in Allen, 2003). One of the Developers used the term 'protectionist interest' to describe the way in which these club members presented their views, "...it wasn't about protecting the beach, it was protecting their own interest and user rights, which was really the key issues... that was at the bottom of most of the issues, which is normal for human nature I guess" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

Returning to the power of these groups, Pinder *et al* (1988) believe that because interest groups are usually in opposition to economic agendas, they are already in a less powerful position. These groups tend to question the nature of the improvement to the physical environment and contest the socio-economic impacts, hence entrenching the power disparities and further incapacitating these groups. However, some public interest groups who unite in response to the threat of development can be very powerful and have implications for the process. One example of the waxing and waning of such power has been in Bristol. When a plan for Bristol's Canon Marsh Site was eventually accepted after a number of failures, one of the reasons for the success was that the strong public opposition which had played a major role in the contestation of the

plans had become divided, and had therefore become a less powerful voice in the process (Bassett *et al*, 2002).

Another factor to consider in terms of individual views as part of a broader group interest is the issue of representation of the clubs which has also been outlined above. This came to a head during the second public meeting when there were outcries of confusion from some of the watersport fraternity. In response to these exclamations, one of the Developers replied by stating that "[y]ou are talking as individuals, we need to deal with your club representatives, get your clubs together" (Developing Agent 2, 02/04/05). In reference to this incident, one of the actors commented as follows:

> "Clubs elect chairmen and elect representatives to go on these committees and everyone has got their own interest and it doesn't mean to say that everyone's interest is being truly represented… but how can a developer talk to thousands of people, you know, he can't, he's got to say 'well, you elect the representatives'… what you really need is that process to involve a general club meeting, *all* the water people are there and these things are thrashed out. You know, maybe they say its impractical but in the *long* run, it would be a *short* run, it would be a shorter way to it and clearly that is still a major problem, that still part of the yachting fraternity don't believe what's being put on the table, is a solution at all, and that's going to be a dilemma" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

Related to this issue of representation is the way in which some individuals voice their opinions more strongly and this is taken as the view for the broader group which they may be officially or unofficially representing. One actor believed that it was an issue of how you "…balance the strong individuals, who tend to say a lot and have a lot to say, try and find a balance, not everyone has the ability to speak up on behalf of themselves and their interests" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05).

So as illustrated, a development process involves a host of different views which adopt positions around the issues which emerge. Bassett *et al* (2002) maintains that the arguments revolving around specific issues such as 'mixture of land use' and so forth, were actually "so many different coded versions of an underlying debate which counterposed property-led, or money-led, development against an only partially articulated vision of 'people-led' development" (Bassett *et al*, 2002:1770). This was most likely the case in the SCH process because it was the conflict between the economic and the social agenda which underpinned all the arguments around detail.

The team was overtly aware of this spectrum of views which came into play during the SCH process and wanted to acknowledge their role in the process. During the first public meeting one consultant stated that there are "conflicting discourses and people with different agendas... we are very aware of all of you in helping to shape this process" (Consultant 5, 27/11/04). So it was the interplay of these views, some more dominant than others, which shaped the decision-making process.

7.3 The process as a performance

Politics has been compared to a game whereby the process is thought to be a "sequence of stages events in which actors effectively decide how to move on" (Hajer, 2004:7). This 'staged, mutual creation' or 'performance' allows actors to negotiate their own rules and define reality, whilst creating knowledge and new power relations (Hajer, 2004). They systematically convey meaning through telling stories about 'experience', 'expertise' or 'governance' (Hajer, 2004). In terms of the interactions and dynamics throughout the SCH process, Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) 'argumentative approach' best depicts the way in which actors vied for 'discursive hegemony'. Since the actors are using words to gain support for their definition of reality, interpretation is a key element of the approach and is shaped largely by the context of the actor. Actors are seeking to make the opposition see the problems according to their own view as well as seeking to position the others in a specific way (Hajer, 1995). This section exemplifies the argumentative struggle between actors who are actively seeking to empower themselves and hence shape the outcome in favour of their preferred direction.

7.3.1 It's how you play the game

In terms of policy vocabularies the IDP conveys the way in which the Municipality strongly supports a flexible approach to decision-making processes "...the reviewed IDP has been deliberately strategic, rather than comprehensive in nature, [i]t provides the framework and direction to solutions, rather than prescribing rigid blueprints for action" (eThekwini Municipality, 2004:57). This postmodern planning approach was also adopted by the Cape Town City Council which undertook flexible and incremental planning, based on the Urban Development model from the United States (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). The section 'it's how you play the game' construes the deliberative nature of the SCH process. This is because it was acknowledged that the outcome is never fixed and that through negotiation or interaction, it may evolve to support either party. In particular, power relations often serve to influence the

outcome, as actors use it to their advantage. Some examples of this reference to a game was made by a City Official who stated that "one has to play the game to a certain extent" (City Official 2, 13/05/05) as well as a consultant who commented "...we get a lot of pressure for us to change our rule of the game" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05). Allen (2003) asserts that in such volatile relationships, power is operating in the form of dominance because both sides try to constrain the actions of the other. He refers to the process as an 'open-ended game of power' rather than a 'scripted power play', where through a series of actions and reactions, actors attempt to gain their preferred outcome. An analysis of the dynamics of negotiation substantiates the flexibility of processes, as Weigand (2001:75) notes, "negotiation cannot be dealt with as a rule-governed verbal pattern of moves but represents an action game based on human interests and conditions of behaviour". More broadly in terms of the City being more proactive and using the SCH as an example, a City Official recognised the potential accusation that "the City doesn't know how to play, it wants to be an engaging City in terms of development but it needs to play hard and make things it happen" (City Official 4, 10/06/05). And lastly, in terms of the Developers and the City as actors, there was also a common mention to their role as players, dominant players in particular, in the words of the City Manager, "the two biggest players in that equation" (City Manager, 14/06/05).

This theme is supported by the frequent reference made to potential winners and losers. In terms of the boat clubs, one of the members of the Developing Agent referred to this zero-sum analogy twice by stating firstly that "no one wants to lose" and later "someone's got to lose" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05). A City Official with reference to the Phased Option also used the same term and asked "at whose cost will the development work out, the phasing, will the people that are current users, will they have to lose first then have to wait for the City to get its resources?" (City Official 4, 10/06/05). There was a clear conviction that the outcome of the process would not be able to benefit all groups and as this particular individual believed:

> "So, ya, it's a very tricky, complicated development and I don't think any stakeholders are ever going to be happy, it's going to be a case of who swings the loudest and who gets what they want. I don't think you are going to find a win-win on this particular proposal" (City Official 1, 10/05/05).

In terms of the power relations within the process, the team members have adopted a deterministic conception of power. This was illustrated by Hindess (1996, cited in Allen, 2003) and relies on the assumptions that one party will win, whilst the other loses. This notion is also supported by Isaac (1987, cited in Allen, 2003) who reiterated the fact that power relationships are asymmetrical and characteristically represent a 'domination-subordination' association.

The notion of the game was sustained here with frequent reference to balance which was illustrated through a number of metaphors used to indicate a pre-disposition towards one of the two groups, both a pendulum indicating the two polar extremes, and a dice were mentioned. In some cases the Developer perceived there to be some sort of institutional bias in terms of these processes, the one member made a statement about the EIA practice in general:

> "I have done a hell of a lot of these EIAs for development purposes and I think the dice is loaded against the developer in the process, everybody can shout and scream and the developer has got to record it and what comes out is not necessarily a balanced view its an environmental *green* view in many instances and it doesn't take realities of the economic situation at all. And mostly the people that *support* a development proposal don't go to these meetings, it's only those that are opposing that. So you *always* get a negative view" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

Similarly, but on the other side of the coin, some believed that the nature of the development was to the advantage of the Developer. This is characteristic of planning more broadly as a process because it is never neutral and characteristically 'facilitates capitalism' (MacLaren and McGuirk, 2003). In this particular context there was also a perceived bias as one consultant explained, "…because it is such a pro-development application where it is always tilted in favour of the developer" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

As international theories suggest, development is more than likely dominated by an economic agenda. McCarthy (2004) believes that domination of the private sector in Malta's Cottonera Project was one of the critical flaws of the development. New York, London, Boston and Toronto's waterfront projects are prime examples of how the balance swung from public sector objectives which gave way to market forces or political objectives (Gordon, 1997). Similarly, Cape Town's V&A Waterfront shows that this trend is also local, illustrating the way in which power can shift from the public to the private sector as a project evolves (Kilian and Dodson, 1996). In addition, Pinder *et al* (1988) have identified developers rather than local authorities as the initiators of waterfront projects, as is the case in Hong Kong. This was reiterated by Jones (1998) in a review of waterfront developments in the UK, who identified "an over-emphasis on private sector-led initiatives" as one of the emerging concerns pertaining to such developments. The dominance of the economic imperative is therefore a common trend and it is quite likely that Durban may follow suite.

In keeping with this metaphor of balance and in terms of fulfilling objectives, one consultant inferred that the City was demanding too much in terms of public access:

> "I think no one at that stage was saying that this was a precinct just for those rich people who are there, that there would be public access, but I think that the sort of fear was that the Council was swinging the pendulum was swinging too far, that in other words, too much public access, too much public *space*, you know, open space, all those things would mean that ya, that would be great for the public, but from a development perspective, you know, where would they recoup the money" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

So it is clear here that there is a dominant perception that interactions throughout the process are being played out as a game whereby each member of the team is consciously acting in a way to secure their own preferred outcome. Furthermore, other actors are referred to as the opposition and it is clear that most team members acknowledge that the final outcome will produce both winners and losers. The notion of balance is strongly tied to the ability of each party to exercise power and the following subsection describes how this was attempted.

7.3.2 Political tactics

In line with this 'game' analogy, both the Developer and the City referred to the way each other 'played the game'. This was in reference to the political devices which were employed to actively re-position the other actors. One of the initial major issues was the perception that the SCH was a 'fait accompli', as outlined in the previous chapter. One of the members of the Developing Agent blamed the City for going back on their approval of the SCH in terms of the concept itself. In the words of one actor:

> "That was the plan that was approved and we were tasked to implement the plan and then four years later that same City Council comes and says we don't think the SCH should be in there' and the we questioned them 'but how can you say that now' and they said 'no because we have to do an EIA' and we say 'but you approved this as the City Council five years ago so you can't turn around now'. Not saying we don't do an EIA but saying you as the City, you have compromised yourself five years ago and now suddenly you are try and play clean" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05).

On the other hand, a number of team members had also observed various tactics which the Developer had supposedly used to influence the process in their favour. One was the way in which they sustained a particular issue through their line of argument:

"... there was a definite attempt to confuse the issues by part time participation
by different actors from the Developer's side so that they could re-open issues
which had previously been agreed and I believe that was a deliberate strategy to
try to make sure that one side of the argument prevailed over another" (City
Official 3, 20/05/05).

In addition, one City Official identified the strategy used by the Developer during both the
internal meetings and those with the consultants as a "divide and rule tactic... they
compartmentalise people and then deal with them individually" (City Official 2, 13/05/05).
Another method was classified as an intent "to dominate the discussions and with a very strong
intent to divert discussion away from the main points" (City Official 3, 20/05/05). Also in terms
of public opinion, certain actors believed that "there had been an attempt to override it, to find
ways around it and to in fact ignore it rather than take it on board and make changes necessary"
(City Official 3, 20/05/05).

A more subtle reference to individuals approaches to the process was identified by one actor as
"...just a lack of understanding...failure of people's part and maybe choosing not to see certain
things, helps to put it in a particular perspective" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05). This links back to
interpretation as a key element of policy processes and depicts how certain actors will
subconsciously perceive a problem differently to one another and thus present arguments based
on their different context (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). However, it was clear that other team
members had sought to position themselves around certain issues in order to secure their
respective definitions of reality and some had gone so far as to employ deliberate strategies or
tactics to gain advantage and to further their own respective interests.

7.4 A new approach to decision-making

As is characteristic of policy making arenas, actors attempt to secure support for their particular
definitions of reality and as was the case of the SCH, this was evident in the way the mounting
resistance between parties had become entrenched. However, these tactics which deliberately
sought to transform the positions of the opponent only served to polarise the groups and hinder
any potential to seek mutual solutions. Fortunately the team members realised they were
mutually dependant and acknowledged that a new approach was necessary to break this
deadlock and therefore agreed to actively search for a solution which would benefit both sides.
This point in the process signified the exploration of a potential compromise. The team
members became receptive to negotiation and thus deliberation became the basis of their
interactions. Underpinned by the immediacy of the potential failing of the entire process, the

team endeavored to accommodate one another's objectives, thereby adopting a new approach which was in line with contemporary policy making practices.

7.4.1 A power struggle

The struggle for dominance over one another served to polarise the City and the Developer even further as their resistance mounted. This was most concisely recounted by one individual who stated that "[p]eople are taking fixed positions and they don't want to move" (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05). On the one hand there was the risk that the City would be dominated by the Developers, as one City Official elaborated, "[i]t is up to debate whether the City has capitulated to Moreland or if we are engaging proactively" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). Another official believed that the City had managed to resist the Developers, he stated that "towards the end, it was the kind of understanding that the City wasn't going to back off and we weren't going to be ridden over either" (City Official 3, 20/05/05). Mey (1993:209, cited in Mininni, 2001:113) states that "power structures discourse, and discourse supports the power it has created". This was evident in the continuous struggle between the two forces to gain dominance which was a display of their power relations and reflected in the way they argued their positions. Instead of placing such 'transformative pressures' through the exercise of power over one another, Hastings (1999a) stipulates that 'mutual transformation' should be aspired to.

In the case of the SCH, the Independent Assessor described the situation as follows:

> "...you have one group which is eThekwini Municipality which said 'no, they want certain things' and because they were strong enough, or are considered to be strong, I think that actually added value to the process" (Independent Assessor, 09/06/05).

On the other hand, there was also recognition of the power of the Developer. One actor encapsulated this view as follows: "[d]evelopers think they can do what they like" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). In terms of the potential outcome which was favoured by the Developer, their resistance was particularly evident. As one Official asserted:

> "Moreland has their one preferred option which they will fight for...they will defend it to the end and will only make some compromises" (City Official 2, 13/05/05).

In terms of the cost of the SCH, one City Official stated that "...the SCH must be of no cost to the City, we must not be manipulated to anything other than that... we cannot be 'forced and

dictated to by Developers' because ultimately the return is going to them" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). One of the consultants identified the circumstances as follows:

> "...you have one of the major developers in the country sitting in Durban and you continue at loggerheads with Council officials, I mean over everything, its simply not a healthy situation and really one should be saying 'gee, this is something great, we can encourage it, yes we can work with you, yes you realise we are the overall planning authority and you've got to work and you can't dictate to us because after all we are the planners" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

With regard to public views and public expectations, there was a risk that the project would be perceived as "a walk over by big business" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05). As the subsistence fisherman spokesperson exclaimed at the first public meeting, "local interests must be considered above that of big business, such as Moreland" (Member of Public 8, 27/11/04). So with this ensuing power struggle, from the City's side to secure public interest and on the Developer's side, to insure maximum economic returns by creating an international attraction, a stalemate had been reached. As Clark (1988) warns, overall success is difficult to achieve in 'multi-objective planning' especially where both sets of objectives are in direct conflict. In the case of the SCH, this tension between the two bodies was clearly depicted in the respective options which they had chosen to support as their preferences for the development. The Developer's favoured Option 2 (almost exactly the same as their original preferred 'Integrated Option' from Round One), whilst the City and their consultants favoured Option 3bii (See Appendix 1; Round Three). This clearly points to the imperatives of the two groups, the former being large scale (maximum bulk and berth) whilst the latter being small scale (reduced bulk and berth with retention of part of the beach). It was realised that neither group would shift and a deadlock had thus been reached. Bristol's Canon Marsh Site experienced a similar situation described as a 'battle of the plans' (Bassett *et al*, 2002). Failure to accommodate public opinion in Bristol led to the dismissal of a number of plans which included the proposal of an alternative plan by an architect outside the Planning Committee. It was a fundamentally new approach which was adopted during the third cycle of planning which finally secured public support and consensus for the site (Bassett *et al*, 2002). The example of Bristol shows how resistance to plans can accumulate if the political process is managed poorly and highlights the value of an incremental approach in line with Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) deliberative policy analysis. In the case of the SCH, it was recognised that some form of modification was required to facilitate a way forward.

7.4.2 A compromise

As a result of this stalemate, it became evident that a way forward could not be achieved without some form of co-operation by the Developers and the City, ultimately calling for a compromise. At that point, a few consultants from both sides were particularly concerned with the situation and during a meeting amongst themselves noted that "...one has to have the political will to make it work" (Consultant 5, 27/01/05). In order for actors to craft effective political agreements, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:3) note that the actors only acquire these "nascent point of solidarity" when they realise they are required to work together. This turning point occurred during the SCH process when all team members became concerned with the potential outcome. It was acknowledged that if both their preferred options went into the report and this was sent to the delegating authority (DAEA), there was the risk that the option chosen would be only be to the advantage of one party. This was accurately accounted by one of the actors:

> "...it was an initiative by the team to not reconcile but to find a solution that took us further rather than backwards, because Province settling on the very first option that the Developer came up with, which *I* came up with and I no longer support that kind of flawed option and the City's position of half beach and half this, that's not going to get us anywhere. So for us that was a horrible prospect, even worse still that there would have been the complete breakdown between the City and Moreland, the City and Developer" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) note that when actors share the same physical space or are confronted with the same social or environmental problems, they acknowledge their interdependence. This is reiterated by Innes and Booher (2003) who note that actors are required to both compete *and* co-operate. So there was this general realisation from most of the team that there had to be a change, a change in both their own attitudes as well as a tangible solution in terms of the options that would be chosen to go forward. So there was this point where the approach took a turn towards solution finding rather than this struggle for dominance and resistance to the other groups.

One of the consultants explains this transformation:

> "I think everyone has... realised and moved in this process, I can recall the different consultants from the Council side shifted their points of view, we shifted our points of views, everyone did, I can't think of anyone who didn't really. I think they all began to understand each other, what they were about,

what they were up to, what was possible, you know, it didn't have to be either or, and that you could include things, there are some things which you can't change and that's why I go back to values, if you do you get very very different outcomes you know" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

Similarly, at one of the internal meetings, it was noted by one of the consultants that "the process has evolved and has been a learning curve for everyone involved, most people have progressed along with the process" (Consultant 5, 27/01/05). From the side of the City and the Developer, it was believed that there was a definite change in the overall views of the actors. This was articulated by one of the individuals:

> "I think that the Developer's have been forced to shift their views and to realise they have to work towards a compromise, whereas initially they thought that wasn't necessary. The City as well has, I think, has modified its views without losing the intent, to the extent that it has considered options which would allow for some areas of what is currently public beach to have restricted access and certain sectors in the City have moved towards that view" (City Official 3, 20/05/05).

To elaborate on the latter, this was noted by one of the consultants in a meeting with a few of the club representatives. He stated that "DPDC or Moreland have changed their attitude, they have turned around and want to co-operate" (Consultant 1, 11/02/05). However, in terms of the third major interest group in the broader process, the boat clubs, it was believed that their interests would never be accommodated fully because of the nature of the development, since what they ideally wanted was for the status quo to remain. To return to the analogy of a zero-sum situation, perhaps it was a situation of "someone's got to lose", especially since the major asset being traded off was the beach (Developing Agent 2, 17/06/05). One Official believes that "...those people who are feeling as if they have been displaced, haven't changed their views at all" (City Official 1, 10/05/05). This may be due to the fact that this group had the greatest to lose, which was the beach as an asset which they used daily and was therefore also part of their identity. The situation was as follows:

> "Out of those three power blocks, probably the two most important ones in terms of technical and financial and getting something built, were coming together, the third, the social one unfortunately was starting to fragment, the people... So bearing that in mind, find a solution to accommodate the boating people, to make them understand that they are very much a part of this, they are the main actors here, we want them, to buy into that vision" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

The challenge was to create an option which best addressed the different needs possible which required all parties to be more flexible. As was noted above, it was a subgroup of consultants who ultimately made the first step towards a compromise by searching for a way forward in terms of this new Phased Option. During a meeting, one of the consultants described this new option as follows: "[t]he Phased Option evolved from the progression of (Consultant 1) and (Consultant 3) trying to make a win-win situation, it was an attempt to compromise and incorporate elements from everybody's perspective" (Consultant 5, 24/01/05). One of the consultants responsible for the option described the reaction to the option:

> "It was just before Christmas I worked almost through the night to come up with this option of this incremental thing which was something that came out of the workshop that we all had. I was quite excited I thought here's a breakthrough. I gave this to (Developing Agent 1) a couple of days later... and it was only until this year before the meetings did they realise hang on, this *does* make a little bit of sense, you know... and when he did eventually agree he submitted it to (City Official 2) I think and the City and (City Official 2) said 'no no, this comes from Moreland and sorry park it there' and so even on that side they didn't understand that we as consultants had come up with it" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

So the irony was that this option which was generated by these consultants was initially resisted by the Developers. Subsequently the option was taken on by the Developers as their preferred option once a meeting was held with a leading coastal engineer from Cape Town who validated its technical feasibility (as one of the story-lines used by the Procedural Discourse Coalition in Chapter 6 signifies). This Phased Option comprised two phases: a full scale harbour, which had originally been the intentions of the Developer, and a recreated artificial underwater groyne further north, similar to Vetch's, to replace the safe waters which would host activities that the new harbour would compromise (See Appendix 1; Final Option). So it based on the key premise that Vetch's could be recreated, as this consultant explained:

> "I was just fortunate at that stage that one could actually get hold of the marine engineer... and that's what I did, I just phoned him up and said 'look here' and he said 'the beach is not all that relevant' and I said 'well, the beach *is* that relevant and I'll tell you now we're not going ahead if you think you can eliminate the beach so something has to be done.' I said 'can't we do something, can't we replace Vetch's or something' and much to my amazement he said 'Ya, we can replace an underwater groyne, not replace Vetch's but merely duplicate it so that the existing Vetch's stays but that the safe bathing beach, the protected beach, the snorkeling beach and also the launching of the catamarans and all those things can be done ...so now we can increase the *size* of the SCH, you know, from what it was, and we can definitely have a lot more beach" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

In terms of the City's reaction to this new proposal, it was certainly a potential way forward and was supported by some members but not all. As is outlined below:

> "So it was a process which happened to break a log-jam, but I'm not certain, I don't think it's an inclusive process in terms of other opinions and interests from the City's side and I'm not certain that the buy-in across the board for that compromise has been obtained within the City" (City Official 3, 20/05/05).

However, in terms of the entire process of option generation, beginning with the group discussions concerning various concepts followed by a scientific matrix which narrowed these down to a few, the process that coined the new Phased Option was not consistent. Firstly it was not inclusive, only a few consultants were responsible for it and secondly, it was not put through the same filters as the other options. However, it was a concept drawn from all the other ideas, options and issues that had been raised throughout the deliberation that took place. The Phased Option was therefore a product of the deliberative process which was actualised through the expertise of two of the consultants who managed to pull all of these key concepts together. Despite this fact, there was opposition to the Phased Option as one of the City Officials stated, "the Phased Option hasn't been through the same process as the other options" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). So the compromise option was inadequately evaluated and thus discredited by some.

The term 'compromise' was used by all members of the team. It came to symbolise the point in the process at which the stalemate was breached and when there was a joint recognition that attitudes had to change to move forward. Although the compromise option itself was not the preferred option for all, it was more importantly the will of the different parties to collaborate which was a key turning point in the process.

7.4.3 Deliberation

So in hindsight, the actors believed that they had all reached the stage where they had acknowledged that a level of co-operation was necessary to find a way forward. Instead of strongly defending their positions, they sought to engage more effectively and to work together. Through a mutual recognition of the high stakes for all, their interdependence became apparent and thus it was crucial to collaborate. As the team articulated to the public at the first meeting, "we need to give and take, we must meet the needs of all the different users" and must "engage to get the best input" (Consultant 5, 27/11/04). So there was a general will to work together which was illustrated by the way that the team members became open to engage more sincerely

in terms of communication, both talking and listening. From the point of view of one consultant, this point in the process was a 'defining moment' as he describes:

> "...well from *my* perspective, let's start listening to what's being said, you know, instead of just voicing opinions lets listen to what people are saying. This is probably another defining moment too" (Consultant 1, 29/04/05).

By effectively engaging with one another, the actors were aligned with Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) deliberative policy analysis. This is often referred to as 'mutual inquiry' and 'mutual discourse' (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a), 'authentic dialogue' (Innes and Booher, 2003), 'mutual exploration' (Fischer, 2003) and 'mutual dialogue' (Dryzek, 1982, cited in Fischer, 2003). It is also significant to note that 'negotiation' as a mode of power is the interaction of parties in the aim of fixing a 'collective orientation' and thus deliberation facilitates an associational form of power in itself (Allen, 2003). Habermas (1989, cited in Allen, 2003) notes that in order for a negotiated momentum to be maintained, there has to be an expectation of mutual benefits on both sides, as was the case with the SCH.

So this stage of the process was characterised by a coherence of the actors who moved from a position of resistance to a will to collaborate. It was believed that by actively engaging, through both talking and listening, they could find the best way forward. As one actor observed:

> "I think it was a very positive process, it was a very tiring process for me, when you really think about where people came from, the kind of difference, to see how people can actually come together. I don't know why, I don't know how, maybe people start talking more or listening more" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

Another important aspect of collaboration was the generation of trust. As so many individuals had indicated, the process was initiated from a basis of distrust and suspicion amongst the different factions. When this deadlock was reached, the will to co-operate generated more trust in terms of the intentions of all parties. As Hajer (2004) has articulated, the lack of trust between actors in policy situations complicates negotiations, and forces actors to define how they are going to resolve conflict in a way which generates trust in both one another and the process.

As was the view of this consultant, "we started to see that 'yes, we can work together' and the discussions became a little bit more frank I think toward the end, people started to trust each other a little more" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05). The same actor reinforces this aspect of collaboration and stated that "I think the sort of conditions for success is to get proper buy-in and the willingness to work together, the key main actors, the Developer, the City and the

community... that just requires more talking, more honesty and to leave all the other agendas at home" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

So it was an interactive process which was enhanced by the involvement of certain individuals which contributed in their own way to help find this compromise to move the process forward. One of the consultants found satisfaction in the way the team with their differing views came together:

> "The *more* exciting part for me was to get a very diverse range of people together, thinking about these things, over such a long space of time. So the design process is actually a *long* design process, that has been made a whole lot better just because people like (City Official 2) sat down with (Developing Agent 2) one day and agreed on something and that generated this kind of thing, (Consultant 5) generated this idea or (Consultant 1) did this, you know" (Consultant 3, 24/06/05).

In terms of deliberation as a mechanism of contemporary governance, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a:23) have asserted that "practical judgment is not a one-shot affair but on the contrary evolves slowly, often tentatively and haltingly, through mutual inquiry and mutual discourse with others". In the case of the SCH, one consultant explained that each meeting and each interaction brought the team closer to a solution. The process was therefore iterative and was continually modified and built on, as this consultant describes:

> "Well I think it was a process of continual negotiation, revision of plans, adaptations, testing, quite a complicated process really, workshopping" (Consultant 2, 16/05/05).

So deliberation added value to the process, as well as to the product which was a new Phased Option and which seemed to address the needs of all parties more effectively. However, in terms of the shortfalls of deliberation, there was a view that although there was allowance for engagement throughout the process, especially during the generation of a compromise, the involvement was not consistent and there was no active engagement with the broader public. This has already been critiqued above but is reinforced here in terms of the Phased Option which was the compromise option itself.

> "It was thought of as a fait accompli... the idea got back through via osmosis not via a team meeting... we were involved, then not involved. It wasn't assessed properly because there was no real debate, there were a few emails but you cannot engage via emails. The issue is that we were supposed to process what was decided at that meeting, then go forward" (City Official 2, 13/05/05).

And also in terms of the meeting during which the renowned coastal engineer from Cape Town validated the Phased option. Only representatives from the City's and Developer's team attended and the consultants were excluded. They were supposed to reconvene to evaluate the option but this never transpired. This was described by the official who was involved:

> "I have been happy to engage, to put the hard stuff on the table and present the non-negotiables, the consultants were brought in but weren't allowed a chance to re-engage. We only had that meeting on the basis that it would feed back into the larger team for another round of re-negotiation" (City Official 2, 13/05/05).

In addition to the team implications regarding the compromise option, there was another perceived flaw in the process, the lack of engagement and effective communication with the boat clubs and other members of the public. There was a perceived 'lip-service' to the clubs, as has been outlined, issues with representation clearly illustrated that not all their opinions had been taken into account and not all members were in agreement. As a result, some actors believed that there had not been adequate engagement with the public:

> "Ya, it's vital and it was underdone although I think the environmental consultants went through the motions and held the meetings and made sure all the *required* processes were undertaken, I don't think there was a commitment from the development side to ensure that people were properly informed, they were listened to, that their concerns were properly addressed" (City Official 3, 20/05/05).

The importance of engaging with the public was recognised by the Developer's representatives as well. As this individual acknowledged, "…it's really about how you interact and how you engage the public that's a critical point and I don't think we've done that very successfully at all" (Developing Agent 1, 17/05/05). Suggestions for the correct way in which these interactions should have been managed has been suggested by a City Official who believed that "instead we should have been trying to build a relationship and people should feel that they can have their say and be heard" (City Official 2, 13/05/05). As Fischer (2003) and Yanow (2003) have outlined, democracy is central to effective decision-making with the aim of arriving at a shared understanding (Habermas, 1987, cited in Jacobs, 1999). In addition, deliberation which involves the active engagement and participation of citizens, serves to empower them (Fischer, 2003).

So in terms of deliberation, the process as a whole may be perceived to be flawed in that there was not sufficient communication with some groups (namely the boat clubs, the broader public and the subsistence fisherman) as well as a lack of continuity and disruption of involvement of

various individuals. However, the value of deliberation was apparent during the final stages of the process during which the Phased Option evolved. This was the 'defining moment' when the attitudes and views of the individuals themselves changed and there was a mutual will to collaborate and work together to find an agreed way forward (Scott and Oelofse, 2005). This effectively breached the deadlock between the two dominant parties and sought to add value to the existing options on the table.

7.5 Conclusion

By applying current international bodies of theory relating to governance and discourse, it can be shown how the proposed SCH, Durban shows evidence of contemporary environmental practice. Flexible, ad hoc decision-making processes are dominating policy arenas and providing the grounds for deliberation and collaboration amongst key actors. In this context, the proposed SCH reflects why and how such practices may emerge and what implications this had for the outcome of the process.

A number of unique factors contributed to creating a very conflictual environment in which decision-making occurred. Firstly, the historical animosity between the City and the Developing Agent resulted in polar positions being adopted on this basis and there was a failure to enter the process on neutral grounds. Secondly, the dual role of the City meant that City officials were divided in their positions and considerable shifting occurred during the process. Thirdly, the nature of the development was atypical for the Developing Agent, whereby they were unaccustomed to dealing with the challenges of public opposition characteristic of a brownfields site such as the Point. Lastly, there was the challenge of accommodating the myriad of different views which represented contesting definitions of reality and as international literature suggests, is a common characteristic of waterfront developments. Discourse analysis applied in Chapter 6 has revealed the way in which these actors grouped themselves into discourse coalitions on the basis of shared understandings.

The actors participated in a process of performance which was overtly associated with the concept of a game. This construed the way arguments were generated and maintained through a series of actions and reactions. Both consciously and subconsciously actors employed political devices such as story-lines (as documented in Chapter 6) as well as strategies to attempt to position their opponents in a particular way and to gain support for their own definitions of reality. As the power struggle ensued, their positions became entrenched and resistance reached

its peak. A deadlock was effectively reached and it became apparent that the failure to resolve the conflict would yield negative consequences for all parties. Hence, the actors jointly entered a process of solution finding and active deliberation to seek a way forward.

Deliberative policy analysis was applied to the SCH process in light of its relevance to contemporary policy processes (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). This approach is founded upon the value of constructive dialogue between parties who actively seek to solve a mutual problem. It highlights how debate facilitates learning in and amongst the multiple actors with their respective interpretations of reality and through this process, consensus can be achieved. As the case of the SCH illustrated, deliberation assisted in breaching a stalemate and assisted in achieving a potential compromise between parties. Had the actors appreciated that they were operating in a new political space arising from current social restructuring, the value of deliberation might have been realised earlier on in the process, and such antagonism may have been avoided.

The evolution of the SCH process brings issues of governance into stark focus. Whilst early on in the process, the actors had subscribed to more "codified and well-established patterns of behaviour" which had clearly "failed to deliver", the new challenges arising in contemporary societies, such as those pertaining to the case study, rather require a more fitting approach with an increased capacity to solve problems (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a:3). Deliberation as one of these new mechanisms therefore succeeded in moving the process forward where traditional decision-making procedures had failed. Hajer's (2003) discourse analysis (as employed in Chapter 6) has therefore served to reveal the various ways in which the actors understood reality and thus interacted, whilst Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003a) deliberative policy analysis has served to apply current political practices to those adopted by the SCH team members. The SCH process therefore provides valuable insight into the environmental decision-making processes of such high-profile and contentious developments and identifies possible inadequacies of these local processes.

CHAPTER 8:

CONCLUSION

This research has focused on the environmental politics of the Scoping Phase for a proposed Small Craft Harbour (SCH) in the eThekwini Municipality. A discourse analysis of the process has provided insight into the power relations and decision-making practices of the city as a whole, in particular the environmental politics relating to Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs). Although this case study required a high level of detail to provide the grounds for a comprehensive analysis, clear conclusions could be drawn from the findings. The key findings which emerged are twofold and interconnected, and broadly relate to the environmental politics within the eThekwini Municipality, as reflected by the politics pertaining to this particular decision-making process. The first is underpinned by the concept of a network society and the implications of power therein, whilst the second rests more specifically on deliberation as an emerging mode of governance.

Governing the negotiations, and therefore the outcome of the SCH decision-making process, were the underlying relations of power. Castells' (2000) networking logic best accounts for the fluid and unpredictable operation of power and as such it is necessary to briefly revisit the notion of the network society and its implications for political processes. In simple terms, Castells (2000) employs the concept of a network to describe the complex set of interconnections between entities, be they organisations, government departments or individuals. This system of linkages constituting the network is conceptually composed of a 'web of multiple networks' which are specifically organised around various cultural and institutional contexts and are in continual flux as the agents adapt to the ever evolving global and local economies (Castells, 2000). Actors both consciously choose to engage or disengage themselves from a network, whilst the network itself is also selective of the agents which constitute it in terms of their ability to fulfill its goals and processes (Castells, 2000). In addition, Castells (2000) has demonstrated how these networks provide the sites as well as the impetus for a re-organisation of meaning and identity for individuals because as they search for meaning in an age of uncertainty, they subconsciously align themselves with certain positions.

If Castells' (2000) theories on the network society are used as the foundation for interrelations of power, the relevance to political processes such as that of the proposed SCH gains clarity. Power which is often misconceptualised as something which can be held by a specific agent and

thus perceived as located in a specific node in the network should rather be seen to flow through a network and therefore its presence, if it has one at all, is rather reflected through the "interplay of forces established in place" (Allen, 2003:11). Supportive of this line of thinking is the view that power is a generic medium, a uniform substance which lies beneath the surface of everyday practices, suggesting that it is the 'social conditions of existence' which afford agents the power that they possess (Isaac, 1997, cited in Allen, 2003). The capacity to exercise power is therefore dependant on the specific configuration of a network and the resultant social relations which are set in place.

So, what relevance does this conceptualisation of power as a fluid-like medium operating in the new society hold for political processes, such as that of the proposed SCH? Firstly, a decision-making process can be likened to a sub-network of the broader global network, wherein the actors are enrolled in terms of their ability to facilitate the achievement of that specific network's objectives. This is framed by the particular institutional context, and as was the case of the SCH process, actors were 'chosen' to participate with reference to their environmental, development, planning or other expertise which would contribute to the achievement of the desired outcomes of the Scoping Phase i.e. a range of suitable alternatives. Furthermore, other agents proactively immerse themselves in a network if it directly relates to or challenges their specific cultural or social identity. This was demonstrated in the SCH process whereby the watersports clubs and members of the general public actively engaged with other 'formal' members of the decision-making team where possible. These social rules which govern the configuration of actors in a network are reinforced by Bulkeley (2000) who believes that these rules will either facilitate or limit change, by allowing certain actors, and certain ideas, into the process while excluding others. As Castells (2000) stresses, networks are in flux, and this too was evident in the SCH process. Throughout the series of meetings and workshops, the configuration of actors changed and as the process evolved, so did the capacities of various actors to exercise a power shift. Not only did the specific configuration of actors determine where the power lay, but it also influenced the modes of power in operation as well as the resources drawn on to mobilise this power. The City Officials predominantly relied on their positions as regulators, or 'guardians of knowledge' to exercise their authority, whilst the representatives of the Developing Agent employed dominance as a means to yield power (Allen, 2003). Furthermore, the representatives of Moreland drew on 'material or allocative resources' (such as property or access to finance) to capacitate themselves and influence the process (Giddens, 1984, cited in Allen, 2003). The power they created can be classified as 'positional' as it drew on the status of Moreland as successful property developers as well as the status of

the coastal engineer whose reputation they used to validate their preferred option (Fraser, 2001). Towards the end of the process, both sides resorted to negotiation as a mode of power as they jointly sought an agreement which would mutually benefit both parties. How this negotiation translates to deliberation and thus reflects contemporary political practice forms the basis of the second key finding and will be discussed in more detail below. Finally, the watersports clubs mobilised power and hence enabled themselves through collective action in response to the threat of loss of their public space (Arendt, 1961; 1970, cited in Allen, 2003).

This power which lies latent in the network was thus mobilised in different ways and was enabled and controlled by the 'interplay of forces' in operation (Allen, 2003). Subtle changes in the configuration of both agents and power reflect the flux of the network which too resulted in rules being created and consequently changed. The way in which the Phased Option was generated by a smaller sub-group of the team, signifying a change in the set-up of the network, was accepted as a feasible option despite failing to follow the original evaluation procedure of the eleven options, reflects this change in the rules. So set against this backdrop of an unstable set of social relations and hence unstable power relations, it becomes apparent that no particular party held the 'ultimate' power. At stages in the process, certain agents may have had a greater capacity to exercise power than the others but since the network, the rules and power is not fixed, at any time, the decision-making process is always prone to an unanticipated turn. Stepping back to view the entire Scoping Process, this instability becomes starkly apparent by the way in which the Extended Scoping Phase, with an enlarged network of actors, led the process in an unexpected direction with a totally new set of rules. The concept of a network, as an unstable framework for the operation and mobility of power thus proved a fitting theory to view the dynamic and complex arrangement of actors and their interactions throughout the SCH decision-making process. On a broader scale, networks may also serve to frame other international waterfront developments which are generally characterised by complex sets of interrelationships with both local and global connections. Furthermore, the notion of a network which is representative of a shifting web of uncertainty has considerable implications for decision-making processes in modern society. More specifically, when applied to the broader political practices of the eThekwini Municipality, contemporary modes of governance are required to facilitate these new decision-making arenas and deliberation in particular has emerged as a suitable response.

In short, deliberation was the second key area which lends relevance to the environmental and political practices in the City. Deliberation as a mode of governance which is 'interpretive,

pragmatic and deliberative' is based on the collaboration of actors in a policy-making environment and surfaced as a means to address the unpredictable and unstable decision-making environment which a networked social order presents (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). There were two types of deliberation evident during the SCH process. The first was a response to the failure of the Draft Scoping Report, whereby the actors participated in an ongoing process of collective and interactive discourse. Through this process of negotiations, the actors devised a set of options and based on their ideas and concerns which shaped the arguments and debates, as well as the specific process of evaluation which they collectively formulated, various options were shortlisted. Each actor thus provided their own interpretations of the issues through actively engaging in this tentative and unpredictable process of deliberation. The value of discourse analysis, in particular Hajer's (1995) 'argumentative approach', as the methodology, becomes apparent here and is emphasised below. The Extended Scoping Phase therefore succeeded where the initial Scoping Phase had failed, it provided the forum for a more democratic process of deliberation and added value to the initial set of options. However, there was further evidence of deliberation which occurred at another level and which transpired towards the end of the Extended Scoping Phase.

Up until this point, the primary focus of this mutual dialogue had been based on 'winning' a power struggle, each actor striving to have each their own narrow objectives addressed over and above the broader objectives of the project. In addition, the power continually waxing and waning at different nodes in the network, or through various individuals in the process, presented a challenge to those responsible for making decisions as nobody held the ultimate power and the process remained inconclusive. It was a will to engage in an 'authentic dialogue' which formed the foundations for a search for common ground and heralded a turning point in the process (Innes and Booher, 2003). The struggle between the City and Moreland, as the two principal actors in the network, to capacitate themselves through the mobilisation of power dwindled as they recognised that they were interdependent and consequently realised the value in collaboration. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003a) believe that this resolve to co-operate stems from the acknowledgment that they are mutually dependent on the basis that they either share the same physical space or are confronted with the same social or environmental problems (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a). In this case, the City and Moreland knew that the Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs (DAEA), as the delegating authority, would decide on the full scope of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process and thus both parties risked the chance that it may not be the option they supported. In addition, if agreement was not achieved, negative public perceptions would be created, compromising the projected investment

potential. So in light of the threats which this stalemate signified, some actors collaborated to present a new option which attempted to address the social and the economic objectives of the proposed SCH. Despite original suspicion of the Phased Option, it was finally accepted as a compromise option and became the Developer's preferred option. The Phased Option thus provided further evidence of deliberation during the process.

So the value of deliberation lies in its democratic qualities which support an inclusive, interactive process rather than a traditional top-down decision-making hierarchy. Waterfront developments which have become a modern global phenomena and are characteristically contentious and politically sensitive, should thus aspire to more deliberative practices which are attuned to the give and take in networks as well as serving to facilitate decision-making between a broad range of interests. On another level, the eThekwini Municipality would serve to benefit from adopting deliberation as a conscious mode of operation. The extent to which deliberation as a new mode of governance was practiced in the SCH process was twofold and is seen to embody both the entire Extended Scoping Phase as well as the breaching of a deadlock between the two primary agents. Although power relations between these two agents compromised a way forward, another level of collaboration facilitated this desired outcome. In hindsight, deliberation was the dominant mode of operation and did serve to add value to the overall process, however, its true value was hindered by the power relations between the City and Moreland which created a lot of resistance. The implications this has for the eThekwini Municipality are rooted in the institutional arrangements and relationships which the City has with other dominant players such as Moreland. Effective process management is critical in ensuring that the power relations are kept in balance whilst the value of mutual co-operation and authentic dialogue should provide overarching guiding principles to decision-making processes.

After reviewing the key findings, it is essential to step back and evaluate the level at which discourse analysis, as the chosen methodology, effectively achieved the aims and objectives of the study. The strength of Hajer's (1995; 2003) approach to discourse analysis lies in its ability to uncover the underlying understandings of reality which language and dialogue portray. To reiterate, discourse has been defined by Hajer (1995:60) as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that is produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities". Analysis therefore lies largely in the ability to interpret the words and actions of various agents and classify them accordingly. Hajer (2003) uses a specific set of concepts which provide for such an analysis, the key two being story-lines and discourse coalitions which provided the

framework for examining how the discourses in the SCH process aligned with one another. The discourse coalitions which were identified and which reflect the different ways in which the actors perceived reality and understood the development were: Globalisation, IDP, Economic Growth, Social, Environmental and Procedural. Each had its own associated set of story-lines which were used as rhetorical devices to combine elements from different domains to provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding, and thus binding the actors into coalitions (Hajer, 1995). It also became apparent that there was a level of overlap between some of the coalitions and members were seen to employ story-lines from different coalitions at different stages in the process therefore shifting their positions. Although the six coalitions represent clear positioning, the boundaries between them were blurred and the exact configuration was unstable. The other levels of meaning, epistemic notions and policy vocabularies, served to substantiate the conclusions drawn from the examination of the story-lines and discourse coalitions. Story-lines and discourse coalitions serve to sustain the theories relating to Castells (2000) networking logic, as well as the conceptualisation of power within society as reviewed by Allen (2003). Story-lines are used as political devices to overcome conflicts of interest and to capacitate actors, making their arguments more powerful, whilst at the same time forming coalitions based upon their positioning. As the analysis revealed, the discourse coalitions also represent a configuration of actors which is in continual flux, as actors employ different story-lines at different stages of the process and thus move between coalitions. The notion of a network therefore serves as fitting framework through which these movements can be conceptualised and furthermore, power, or pursuit thereof, can be seen as the driving force underlying these movements.

In terms of Hajer's (1995) 'argumentative approach' which was used to analyse the dynamics of the process, it is necessary to bring one factor to light which was critical in producing results of a higher quality. This was the direct involvement in the decision-making process which made it possible to critically assess the findings on another level. This additional dimension afforded insight into the actual interactions which represent deliberation, as well as facilitating an enhanced understanding of the underlying power relations. The significance of this 'argumentative approach' is that it allows for an analysis of these dynamics by uncovering the way in which actors continually position and re-position themselves in response to the arguments of other actors. Verbal strategies are employed by actors to try to make others see the problems according to their views but also to position other actors is a specific way (Hajer, 1995). This positioning of other actors aims to align them to a certain coalition, rendering it more powerful and hence more likely influence the outcome of the process. The 'argumentative

approach' therefore lends itself to the notion of a struggle for 'discursive hegemony' whereby a particular discourse strives to dominate the way in which reality is conceptualised (Hajer, 1995).

To reflect on the relevance of this approach, it is necessary to return to the theory of networks and power. Networks, as unstable and shifting configurations of actors are a suitable concept in which deliberative policy analysis can be grounded. Deliberations which are often compared to an open-ended and tentative game reflect this state of flux and uncertainty pertaining to political processes. Furthermore, power as a medium can be framed by this networking logic, as it appears and disappears from the different nodes, or in this case, individuals, and is seen to flow through the network. Language reflects these power relations and furthermore, serves to constitute power through the strategic use thereof. As such, Hajer's (1995; 2003) discourse analysis which recognises the shifting and unpredictable nature of such processes, is the most fitting approach for a study founded upon these inter-related theories. Discourse analysis therefore serves as a means of uncovering the environmental politics which underpins the decision-making process of the proposed SCH by unpacking the different layers of meaning and interpretations of the actors.

So what relevance does this discourse analysis of the SCH environmental decision-making process reveal about the practices of the eThekwini Municipality? Firstly, it should be taken into consideration that the particular process, the Scoping Phase, was governed by national environmental legislation, however, the 'extension' of this Phase is not a conventional procedure and occurred outside mainstream practice (Scott and Oelofse, 2005). In addition, EIA practice in South Africa is often implicated by time and budgetary constraints as well as the independence of consultants. For these reasons, participation is usually kept to the minimum legal requirements and deliberation is rare. Whether this is a characteristic of a developing world institutional context, or whether it is an international problem is not readily apparent. Although the EIA process of the SCH had limited meaningful input from the public, it differed from the norm in terms of its thorough and comprehensive internal decision-making process which involved intensive interaction between the consultants and key decision-makers. It also reflected unusual practice in that it involved the extension of the Scoping Phase, consequently leaving the team without preset rules to guide the process and without a prescribed terms of reference. As a result, it was the actors themselves that created the rules and consequently changed them as the configurations and power in the network fluxed. In addition, it is likely that the initial Scoping Phase which failed to deliver was not a deliberative process and had limited opportunity for meaningful dialogue. Deliberation can thus be assumed to be a response to these

two factors; the failure of the initial process as well as the lack of preset rules in an 'uncharted' Extended Scoping Phase. Consequently, deliberation was born out of necessity, rather than being consciously stipulated by the policy or practice of the eThekwini Municipality.

This leads into how these key findings can be applied to the policy or practice in the eThekwini Municipality and what future research directions may facilitate this. Firstly, it must be noted that local governments in South Africa are in a state of transformation facilitated to a large degree by the decentralisation of power from central to local governments (Parnell and Poyser, 2002). As a result, the eThekwini Municipality is in a more influential position to control development within its boundaries and should be considered as one of the key institutions operating in the region, forming a major node around which many other overlapping networks cluster. It therefore has a multiplicity of connections with other nodes, be they other government departments, organisations or individuals. It is perhaps also necessary to mention here this phase of transformation of local government has also heralded a rise in PPPs and private sectors have thus also taken a lead in development and become more influential as a result. The eThekwini Municipality is therefore a key player amongst all these cross-cutting arrangements of power, its policy and practices have extensive reach and influence, and as a consequence, it shapes the way in which power is distributed around these networks. It is therefore crucial that the eThekwini Municipality operates in a way which accommodates the shifting arrangements within networks, to facilitate the achievement of its objectives through more suitable modes of governance. Cloete (2002:289) conceptualises 'good local governance' as "a sustainable achievement of the developmental policy initiatives of a participatory democratic government". It is therefore obvious that deliberative policy interactions would both attune to the volatility of a networked society as well as assist in setting the foundations for 'good local governance'.

The study revealed the importance of a deliberative decision-making arena which succeeded in concluding a process where traditional, more prescriptive practices had failed. Furthermore, several of the waterfront development case studies reflected how a failure to incorporate deliberative measures held negative consequences for these developments. The most pertinent of these was Bristol's Canon Marsh site which showed how a new democratic approach, based on participation, co-operation and collaboration, achieved a favourable outcome where the previous process had failed (Bassett *et al.* 2002). There are a number of measures which can be taken to facilitate the adoption of deliberation as a key approach used in local decision-making forums.

These measures primarily relate to the active creation of spaces for deliberation, both internally and at the interface with the private sector. Over and above integrating this approach into the policy and processes of the eThekwini Municipality and presuming that the leaders and staff of the eThekwini Municipality are trained to facilitate deliberative forums and hold the capacity to make these changes, there are other areas which can be addressed. Power relations pertaining to PPPs often compromise a decision-making process through cultivating a skewed outcome. As Freund (2002:35) has noted, "PPPs can become a mask, if the state is weak, for simply subsidising the initiatives of powerful private interests". As a result, it is at the interface between private and public sectors that deliberation can be introduced to cultivate a more democratic decision-making environment, which ensures that the interests of both parties are equitably addressed. Furthermore, if private businesses experience the benefit of these collaborative and co-operative modes of engagement, they too can integrate it into their own regime.

Another interface between local government and private companies is the employment of independent consultants to provide specialist skills which a municipality may not possess. Municipalities should stipulate in the consultants' terms of reference that a deliberative approach should be adopted. If it is successfully implemented and proven to deliver results, this too may become accepted as a procedure employed by these companies. As such, deliberative methods may eventually permeate private sector operations.

However, deliberation should also be considered at another level of decision-making, the current environmental regulatory framework. As the example of the SCH reflected, extending the Scoping Phase came as a surprise to the Developing Agent. They were suddenly required to operate outside mainstream practice using a more deliberative approach and as a result were particularly resistant to the process (Scott and Oelofse, 2005). The value added through this Extended Scoping Phase suggests that flexible and collaborative processes are favourable. Therefore stakeholders in major development projects should acknowledge that effective EIA practice is not necessarily a stable, scientific process or end-of-pipe decision but rather a flexible, deliberative process. The focus of environmental decision-making processes should therefore not be the end product, but considerable emphasis should also be placed on the process itself. Once again, this is also applicable to waterfront developments at large, which the theory supports through emphasising the importance of good governance. Both environmental decision-making processes as well as international waterfront developments with a host of agendas therefore require careful political management. Incorporating a deliberative approach

into environmental policies and practice would therefore call for a national undertaking, a venture which would cover a broader network and thus may be more difficult to entrench.

Future research directions therefore lie in seeking a way to incorporate more deliberative and interactive modes of operation in both the municipal and the national environmental context. Despite the changes in the development regime since the new municipalities have administered local governance, current practices have become entrenched and this may require the application of a new body of theory which Laws and Rein (2003) refer to as 'reframing of practice' for both levels of decision-making. The case study of the SCH illustrates the way in which open and democratic processes are being played out in a developing world context. It is encouraging to witness how decision-makers adopt new innovative ways of managing such processes in response to today's complex and unstable social order, comprised of dynamic and unpredictable networks of relations. In particular, the desired approach should facilitate an understanding of these "real-world, conflict-ridden" communities, with the intention of democratically addressing the multiplicity of interests (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003a:21). This study has attempted to explore environmental decision-making in Durban, South Africa, through the lens of discourse analysis, thereby providing insight into the processes and power relations that shape them.

REFERENCES:

Allen, J. 2003. *Lost Geographies of Power*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Bailey, S. 2004. Factors in Successful Waterfront Redevelopment, University of Miami, http://umsis.miami.edu/~sbailey3/511outline.doc, Accessed on 6 December 2004.

Barnes, T. J. and Duncan, J. S. 1992. *Writing Worlds; Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, Routledge, London.

Bassett, K., Griffiths, R. and Smith, I. 2002. Testing governance: partnerships, planning and conflict in waterfront regeneration, *Urban Studies*, 39(10), 1757-1775.

Brand, P. 1999. The environment and postmodern spatial consciousness: a sociology of urban environmental agendas, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 42(5), 631-648.

Bristow, R. 1988. Market forces ascendant: the dynamics of change on the Hong Kong waterfront, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 167-182.

Bruttomesso, R. 2001. Complexity on the urban waterfront, in Marshall, R. (ed), *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*, Spon Press, London and New York, 39-49.

Bulkeley, H. 2000. Discourse coalitions and the Australian climate change policy network, *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 18(6), 727-748.

Canning, D. 1999. Durban to get R100m marine park, *The Mercury*, 11 November 1999.

Castells, M. 2000. *The Rise of the Network Society, Volume I, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, 2nd Edition, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Church, A. 1988. Demand-led planning, the inner-city crisis and the labour market: London Docklands evaluated, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 199-221.

Clark, M. 1988. The need for a more critical approach to dockland renewal, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 222-231.

Cloete, F. 2002. Capacity building for sustainable local governance in South Africa, in Parnell, S., Pieterse, E., Swilling, M. and Wooldridge, D. (eds), *Democratising Local Government: the South African Experiment*, University of Cape Town Press, 276-289.

Corrigal, M. S. 2005. Trump card for Durban's regeneration, *Sunday Independent*, 10 April 2005.

Crang, M. 2003. Telling materials, in Pryke, M, Rose, G and Whatmore, S. (eds), *Using Social Theory; Thinking Through Research*, Sage Publications, London, 127-144.

Dannerer, M. 2001. Negotiation in business meetings, in Weigand, E. and Dascal, M. (eds), *Negotiation and Power in Dialogic Interaction*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 91-106.

Desfor, G. and Jorgensen, J. 2004. Flexible urban governance; the case study of Copenhagen's recent waterfront development, *European Planning Studies*, 12(4), 479-496.

Dryzek, J. 1997. *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*, Oxford University Press, London.

Edwards, J. A. 1988. Public policy, physical restructuring and economic change: the Swansea experience, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 129-145.

eThekwini Municipality. 2001. *Long Term Development Framework*, eThekwini Municipality, Durban.

eThekwini Municipality. 2004. *Integrated Development Plan 2004/2005*, eThekwini Municipality, Durban.

Fischer, F. 2003. Beyond empiricism: policy analysis as deliberative, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, 209-227.

Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (trans. C. Gordon), Harvester, Brighton.

Fraser, B. 2001. The mediator as power broker, in Weigand, E. and Dascal, M. (eds), *Negotiation and Power in Dialogic Interaction*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 19-37.

Freund, B. 2002. City hall and the direction of development: the changing role of the local state as a factor in economic planning and development in Durban, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds), *(D)urban Vortex; South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. 11-41.

Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds). 2002. Part three: society and governance, *(D)urban Vortex; South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 167-170.

Gadsden, R. 1974. Under Sail To Natal, *Lantern; Journal of Knowledge and Culture*, XXIII(3), 4-9.

Goodwin, M. 1999. Citizenship and governance, in Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (eds), *Introducing Human Geographies*, Arnold, London, 189-198.

Gordon, D. L. A. 1997. Managing the changing political environment in urban waterfront redevelopment, *Urban Studies*, 34(1), 61-83.

245

Gottweis, H. 2003. Theoretical strategies of poststructuralist policy analysis: towards an analytics of government, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, 247-265.

Hajer, M. A. 1995. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hajer, M. A. 2001. A frame in the fields: policymaking and the reinvention of politics, (draft chapter) later published in Hajer, M. A and Wagenaar, H. (eds), 2003, *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, 88-110.

Hajer, M. A. 2003. A frame in the fields: policymaking and the reinvention of politics, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, 88-110.

Hajer, M. A. 2004. Three Dimensions of Deliberative Policy Analysis; Analysing Governance Networks in Rebuilding Ground Zero, Paper presented at the 2004 Convention of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2004, http://home.medewerker.uva.nl/m.a.hajer/bestanden/HAJER%20APSA%202004%20def.pdf, Accessed on 5 May 2005.

Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. 2003a. Introduction, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1-30.

Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. 2003b. Preface, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, xiii-xv.

Hall, P. and Robbins, G. 2002. Economic development for a new era: an examination of the adoption of explicit economic development strategies by Durban local government since 1994, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds), *(D)urban Vortex; South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 43-64.

Hastings, A. 1999a. Analysing power relations in partnerships: Is there a role for discourse analysis, *Urban Studies*, 36(1), 91-106.

Hastings, A. 1999b. Discourse and urban change: introduction to the special issue, *Urban Studies*, 36(1), 7-12.

Hayuth, Y. 1988. Changes on the waterfront: a model-based approach, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 52-64.

Hilling, D. 1988. Socio-economic change in the maritime quarter: the demise of sailortown, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 20-37.

Holford, W. and Kanorowich, R. 1986. *Durban 1985: A Plan For Central Durban in its Regional Setting*, City Engineer's, Durban.

Hoyle, B. 2002. Urban waterfront revitalization in developing countries: The Example of Zanzibar's Stone Town, *The Geographic Journal*, 168(2), 141-162.

Innes, J. E. and Booher, D. E. 2003. Collaborative policymaking: governance through dialogue, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, 33-59.

Jones, A. 1998. Issues in waterfront regeneration: more sobering thoughts – a UK perspective, *Planning Practice and Research*, 13(4), 433-442.

Jacobs, K. 1999. Key themes and future prospects: conclusion to the special issue, *Urban Studies*, 36(1), 203-213.

Jacobs, K. 2004. Waterfront redevelopment: a critical discourse analysis of the policy-making process within the Chatham Maritime Project, *Urban Studies*, 41(4), 817-832.

Jones, S. 1996. Transnet gets waterfront project going, *Business Report*, 18 June 1996.

Jones, T. 2002. The port of Durban: lynchpin of the local economy?, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds), *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. 69-106.

Kearney, B. 1995. A Preliminary Historical Outline of the Point, Unpublished Paper, Architecture Library, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Kilian, D. and Dodson, B. 1995. The capital see-saw: understanding the rationale for the Victoria and Alfred redevelopment, *The South African Geographic Journal*, 77(1), 12-20.

Kilian, D. and Dodson, B. 1996. Forging a postmodern waterfront: urban form and spectacle at the Victoria and Alfred docklands, *The South African Geographic Journal*, 78(1), 29-40.

Kitchin, R. and Tate, N. J. 2000. *Conducting Research into Human Geography: Theory, Methodology and Practice*, Prentice Hall, Harlow.

Law, C. M. 1988. Urban revitalisation, public policy and the redevelopment of redundant port zones: lessons from Baltimore and Manchester, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 146-166.

Laws, D. and Rein, M. 2003. Reframing practice, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society*, Cambridge University Press, London, 172-206.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *Production in Space* (trans. D. Nicholson-Smith), Blackwell, Oxford.

MacLaren, A. and McGuirk, P. 2003. Planning the city, in *Making Space: Property Development and Urban Planning*, MacLaren, A. (ed), Arnold, London, 63-94.

Maharaj, B. 2002. Segregation, desegregation and de-racialisation: racial politics and the city of Durban, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds), *(D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 171-193.

Marshall, R. 2001a. Contemporary urban space-making at the water's edge, in Marshall, R. (ed), *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*, Spon Press, London and New York, 3-14.

Marshall, R. 2001b. Remaking the image of the city: Bilbao and Shanghai, in Marshall, R. (ed), *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*, Spon Press, London and New York, 53-73.

Marshall, R. 2001c. Connection to the waterfront: Vancouver and Sydney, in Marshall, R. (ed), *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*, Spon Press, London and New York, 17-38.

Marshall, R. 2001d. Modern ports and historic cities: Genoa and Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, in Marshall, R. (ed), *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*, Spon Press, London and New York, 97-116.

Massey, D. 2003. Imagining the field, in Pryke, M, Rose, G and Whatmore, S. (eds), *Using Social Theory; Thinking Through Research*, Sage Publications, London, 71-88.

McCarthy, J. 1998. Waterfront regeneration: recent practice in Dundee, *European Planning Studies*, 6(6), 731-736.

McCarthy, J. 2003. The cruise industry and port city regeneration: the case of Valletta, *European Planning Studies*, 11(3), 341-350.

McCarthy, J. 2004. Tourism-related waterfront development in historic cities: Malta's Cottonera Project, *International Planning Studies*, 9(1), 43-64.

McCarthy, J. J. and Fynn, M. 2000. The Likely Developmental Consequences of a Point Marine Park and Waterworld, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

McGuirk, P. M. 2000. Power and policy networks in urban governance: local government and property-led regeneration in Dublin, *Urban Studies*, 37(4), 51-672.

Millspaugh, M. L. 2001. Waterfronts as catalysts for city renewal, in Marshall, R. (ed), *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*, Spon Press, London and New York, 74-85.

Mininni, G. 2001. Interlocutionary scenarios as negotiation of diatextual power, in Weigand, E. and Dascal, M. (eds), *Negotiation and Power in Dialogic Interaction*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 107-122.

Monitor Group. 2000. *Durban at the Crossroads: The Monitor Report*, prepared for Durban Unicity, Durban.

Moodley, S. 2004. *Making city strategy come alive; experiences from eThekwini Municipality*, prepared for eThekwini Municipality, Durban.

Moreland Developments and Iyer Rothaug Project Team. 2003. *Point Development Framework Plan*, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Morris, M., Barnes, J. and Dunne, N. 2002. From import substituting industrialisation to globalised international competitiveness: industrial restructuring in a South African City, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds), *(D)urban Vortex; South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 107-133.

Morrison, I. 1987. *Durban: A Pictoral History*, Struik Publishers, Cape Town.

Nel, E., Hill, T. and Maharaj, B. 2003. Durban's pursuit of economic development in the post-apartheid era, *Urban Forum*, 14(2), 223-243.

Nesvåg, S. I. 2002. The development of mass street trading in Durban: the case of *muthi* trading, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds), *(D)urban Vortex; South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 283-298.

Oelofse, C., Iyer, N., Davies, K., Viruly, F., Rustomjee, C., McCarthy, J., Weerts, K. and Scott, K. 2005. The development of alternatives for the Small Craft Harbour, Point Precinct, Appendix 5, in Pravin Amar Development Planners, *Addendum to the Environmental Scoping Report for the Point Small Craft Harbour*, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Oelofse, C., Scott, D., Oelofse, G. and Houghton, J. 2006. Shifts within ecological modernization in South Africa: deliberation, innovation and institutional opportunities, *Local Environment*, 11(1), 61-78.

ORI. 2004. Ecological Description of the Marine and Coastal Environment in the Proximity of Limestone Reef and Vetch's Pier, Durban, Oceanographic Research Institute, Appendix 9, in Pravin Amar Development Planners, *The Draft Environmental Scoping Report for the Point Small Craft Harbour*, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Padayachee, V. 2002. Financing Durban's development: 1970-99, in Freund, B. and Padayachee, V. (eds), *(D)urban Vortex; South African City in Transition*, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 135-166.

Parnell, S. and Poyser, M. 2002. The value of indicators as a tool for local government, in *Democratising Local Government: the South African Experiment*, Parnell, S., Pieterse, E., Swilling, M. and Wooldridge, D. (eds), University of Cape Town Press, 251-261.

Pinder, D. A., Hoyle, B. S. and Husain, M. S. 1988. Retreat, redundancy and revitalisation: forces, trends and a research agenda, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 247-260.

Pinder, D. A. and Rosing, K. E. 1988. Public policy and planning of the Rotterdam waterfront: a tale of two cities, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 114-128.

Point Watersports. 2004. Point Watersports Brochure; January 2002, Appendix 12, in Pravin Amar Development Planners, *The Draft Environmental Scoping Report for the Point Small Craft Harbour*, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Pravin Amar Development Planners. 2004. *The Draft Environmental Scoping Report for the Point Small Craft Harbour*, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Pravin Amar Development Planners. 2005a. *Addendum to the Environmental Scoping Report for the Point Small Craft Harbour*, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Pravin Amar Development Planners. 2005b. Small Craft Harbour Chronology of Events; January 2004 – April 2005, as part of the Environmental Scoping Process for the Point Small Craft Harbour, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Pravin Amar Development Planners. 2005c. Small Craft Harbour Update March 2005, as part of the Environmental Scoping Process for the Point Small Craft Harbour, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Rambhoros, M. 2004. Index, Unpublished B. Architecture Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Riley, R. and Shurmer-Smith, L. 1988. Global imperatives, local forces and waterfront redevelopment, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 38-51.

Robinson, G. M. 1998. *Methods and Techniques in Human Geography*, John Wiley and Sons, Chichester.

Russell, G. 1971. *The History of Old Durban*, T.W. Griggs & Co, Durban.

SACN. 2005. People and Places: An Overview of Urban Renewal, South African Cities Network, http://www.sacities.net/2004/UrbanRenewalPart1.pdf, Accessed on 18 November 2005.

Scott, D. 2003. 'Creative Destruction': Early modernist planning in the South Durban Basin, South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(1), 233-257.

Scott, K. and Oelofse, C. 2005. *The environmental politics of the scoping phase of the development of a Small Craft Harbour, Point Waterfront, Durban*, Proceedings of the

International Association for Impact Assessment Conference, South African Affiliate, ThabaNchu, 28-31 August 2005, 470-485.

South Africa. 1935. *Seashore Act*, Act 21 of 1935, Government Printer, Pretoria.

South Africa. 1989. *Environmental Conservation Act*, Act No. 73 of 1989, Government Printer, Pretoria.

South Africa. 1996. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, Act No. 108 of 1996, Government Printer, Pretoria.

South Africa. 1998a. *Local Government: Municipal Structures Act*, Act No. 117 of 1998, Government Printer, Pretoria.

South Africa. 1998b. *National Environmental Management Act*, Act No. 107 of 1998, Government Printer, Pretoria.

South Africa. 2000a. *Local Government: Municipal Systems Act*, Act No. 32 of 2000, Government Printer, Pretoria.

South Africa. 2000b. *White Paper for Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa*. Government Printer, Pretoria.

South Africa. 2003. *Municipal Finance Management Act*, Act No. 56 of 2003, Government Printer, Pretoria.

Sutcliffe, M. 2004. Report to sustainable development and city enterprises committee, Annexure C, in Town Planning Input with Special Zone 91 Document, Appendix 8, in Pravin Amar Development Planners, *The Draft Environmental Scoping Report for the Point Small Craft Harbour*, prepared for Durban Point Development Company, Durban.

Tait, M. and Campbell, H. 2000. The politics of communication between planning officers and politicians: the exercise of power through discourse, *Environment and Planning A*, 32, 489-506.

Thrift, N. 2003. Practising ethics, in Pryke, M, Rose, G and Whatmore, S. (eds), *Using Social Theory; Thinking Through Research*, Sage Publications, London, 105-120.

Tourism KZN. 2005a. Durban harbour: core features, Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, , Accessed on 18 October 2005.

Tourism KZN. 2005b. Detailed overview of Durban: Mega-City Mega-Buzz!, Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, http://durban.kzn.org.za/durban/about/129.xml, Accessed on 18 October 2005.

Tourism KZN, 2005c. The nature and extent of KwaZulu-Natal's foreign tourism market: October to December 2004, Tourism KwaZulu-Natal Occasional Paper No. 33, 2005, Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, http://www.kzn.org.za/invest/foreignmarket2004d.doc, Accessed on 18 October 2005.

Tunbridge, J. 1988. Policy convergence on the waterfront? A comparative assessment of North American revitalisation strategies, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 67-91.

Tweedale, I. 1988. Waterfront redevelopment, economic restructuring and social impact, in Hoyle, B. S., Pinder, D. A. and Husain, M. S. (eds), *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*, Belhaven Press, London, 185-198.

UNDP. 2005. Public-Private Partnerships for the Urban Environment, United Nations Development Programme, http://pppue.undp.org/index.cfm?module=ActiveWeb&page=WebPage&s=what, Accessed on 25 February 2005.

Vegara, A. 2001. New Millenium Bilbao, in Marshall, R. (ed), *Waterfronts in Post-industrial Cities*, Spon Press, London and New York, 86-94.

Weigand, E. 2001. Games of power, in *Negotiation and Power in Dialogic Interaction,* Weigand, E. and Dascal, M. (eds), John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 63-76.

Wodak, R. W. and Weiss, G. 2001. "We are different than the Americans and the Japanese!": A critical discourse analysis of decision-making in European Union Meetings about employment policies, in *Negotiation and Power in Dialogic Interaction,* Weigand, E. and Dascal, M. (eds), John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 39-62.

Wood, R. and Handley, J. 1999. Urban waterfront regeneration in the Mersey Basin, North West England, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management,* 42(4), 565-580.

Yanow, D. 2003. Accessing local knowledge, in Hajer, M. A. and Wagenaar, H. (eds), *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society,* Cambridge University Press, London, 228-246.

Yoganathan, V. 2000. Giant step for Durban waterfront, *The Mercury,* 31 May 2000.

AUTHOR'S NOTES:

Author's Notes, 3rd Professional Team Workshop, 11/10/04.
Author's Notes, Consultant's Meeting with Watersports Representatives, 11/02/05.

EMAILS:

Consultant 1, Email, Re: Point Durban: SCH Options: Financial Viability, 09/02/05.
Consultant 5, Email, Re: Literature review, 03/11/05.
Consultant 5, Email, Re: Literature review, 04/11/05.
Developing Agent 1, Email, Re: Literature review, 03/11/05.

MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC:

Member of Public 1, 27/11/04

Member of Public 2, 27/11/04

Member of Public 3, 27/11/04

Member of Public 4, 27/11/04

Member of Public 5, 27/11/04

Member of Public 6, 27/11/04

Member of Public 7, 27/11/04

Member of Public 8, 27/11/04

MEMBERS OF THE WATERSPORTS CLUBS:

Member of Watersports Club 1, 27/11/04

Member of Watersports Club 2, 11/02/05

Member of Watersports Club 3, 11/02/05

Member of Watersports Club 4, 02/04/05

MINUTES:

Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes of the SCH EIA Review Draft Scoping Report, Workshop 2, 14/09/04.

Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, Minutes of the SCH EIA Review Draft Scoping Report, Workshop 3, 11/10/04.

Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes of the SCH Public Workshop, 02/04/05.

APPENDIX 1

Diagrams of Small Craft Harbour Options:

- Round 1
- Round 2
- Round 3
- Final Option

ROUND ONE (21.05.2004)
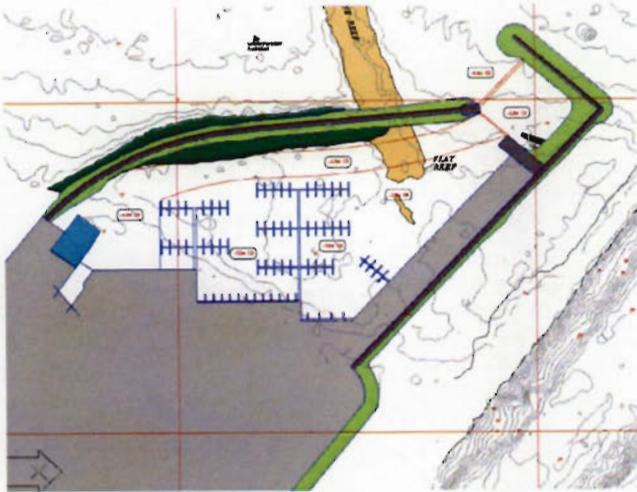
OPTION 1: Development on Vetches
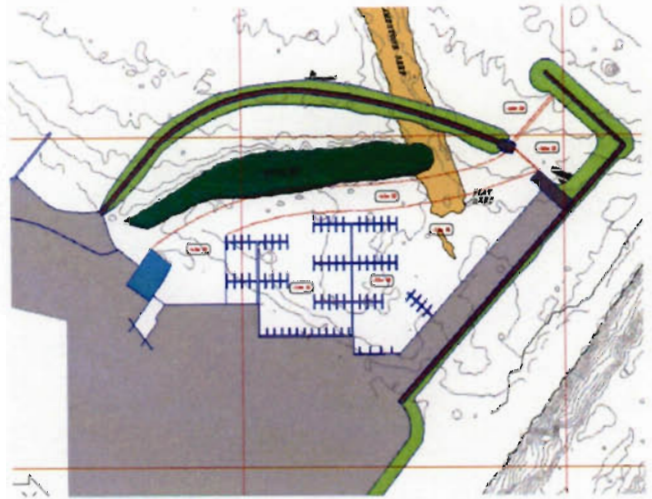
OPTION 2: North of Vetches
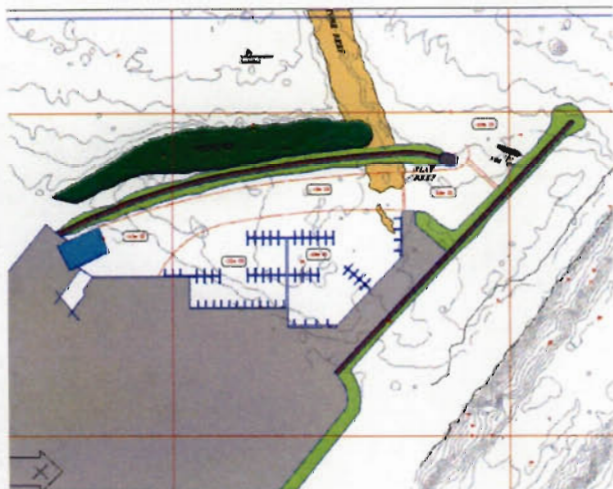
OPTION 3: South of Vetches
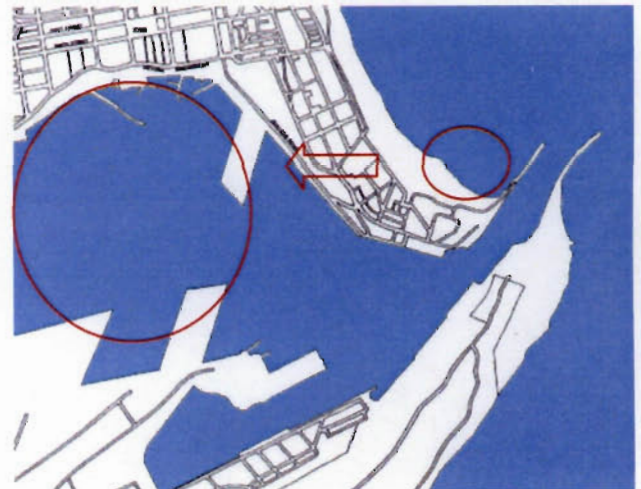
OPTION 4: Within the Port
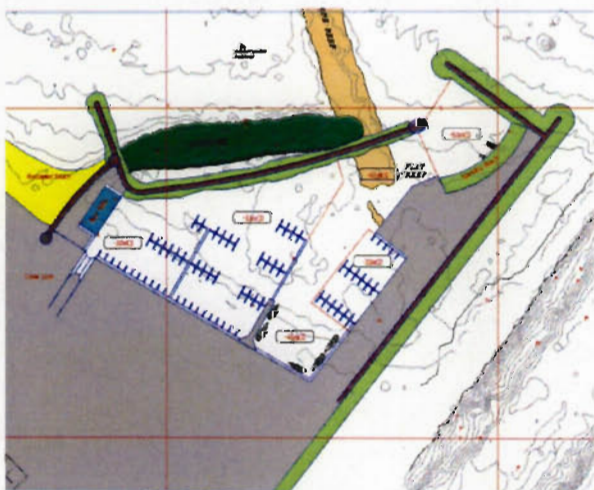
OPTION 5: Integrated / 'Preferred' Option

OPTION 6: No Go Option

ROUND TWO (27.09.2004)
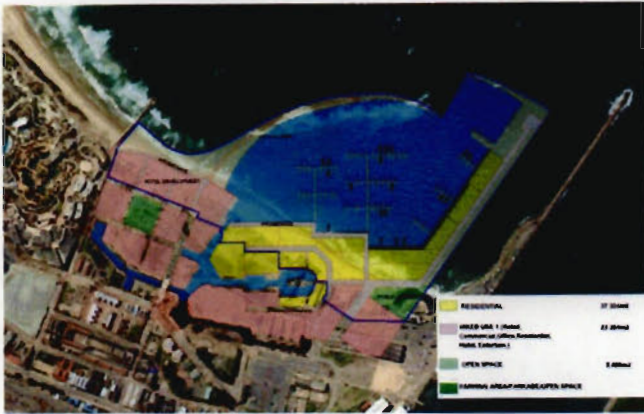
OPTION 1:

Original Proposal - Vetch's Pier
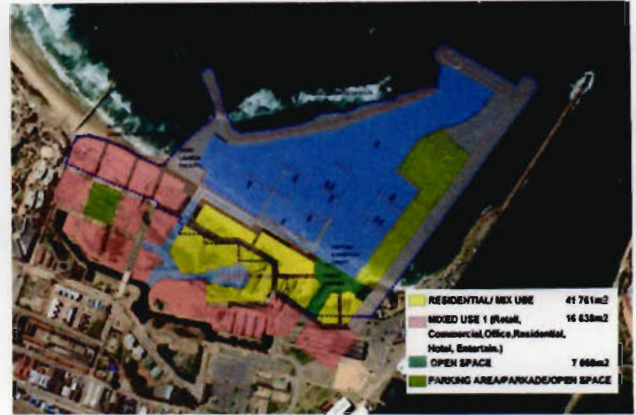
OPTION 2:

Integrated Option

OPTION 3A:

Reconfigured Small Craft Waterfront

OPTION 3B:

Reconfigured Small Craft Waterfront

OPTION 4:

Recreational Theme Park / Entertainment

OPTION 5:

Eco-Cultural / Heritage Proposal
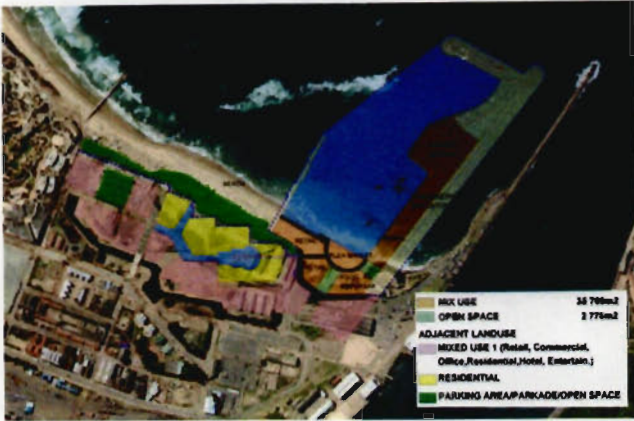
OPTION 6:

Recreational / Tourist Retail
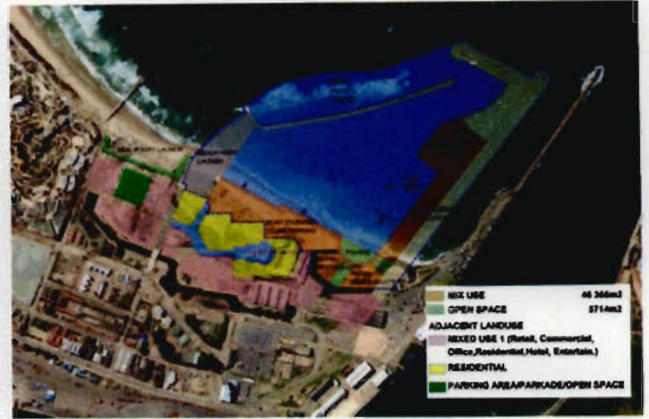
OPTION 7:

Watersports and Recreational Development

OPTION 8 A:

Water Development - Private
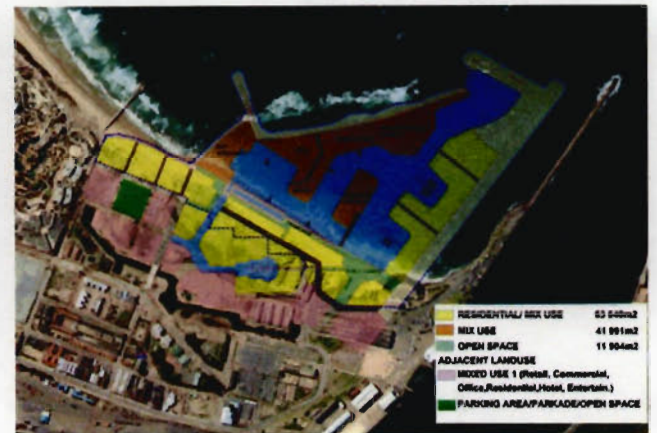
OPTION 8 B:

Water Development - Public
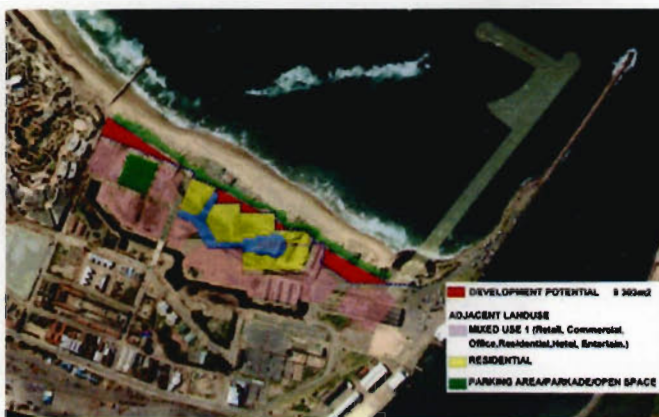
OPTION 9:

Conventional – No SCH

ROUND THREE (27.11.2004)

OPTION 3B(i):

Original 3B from Round Two with greater
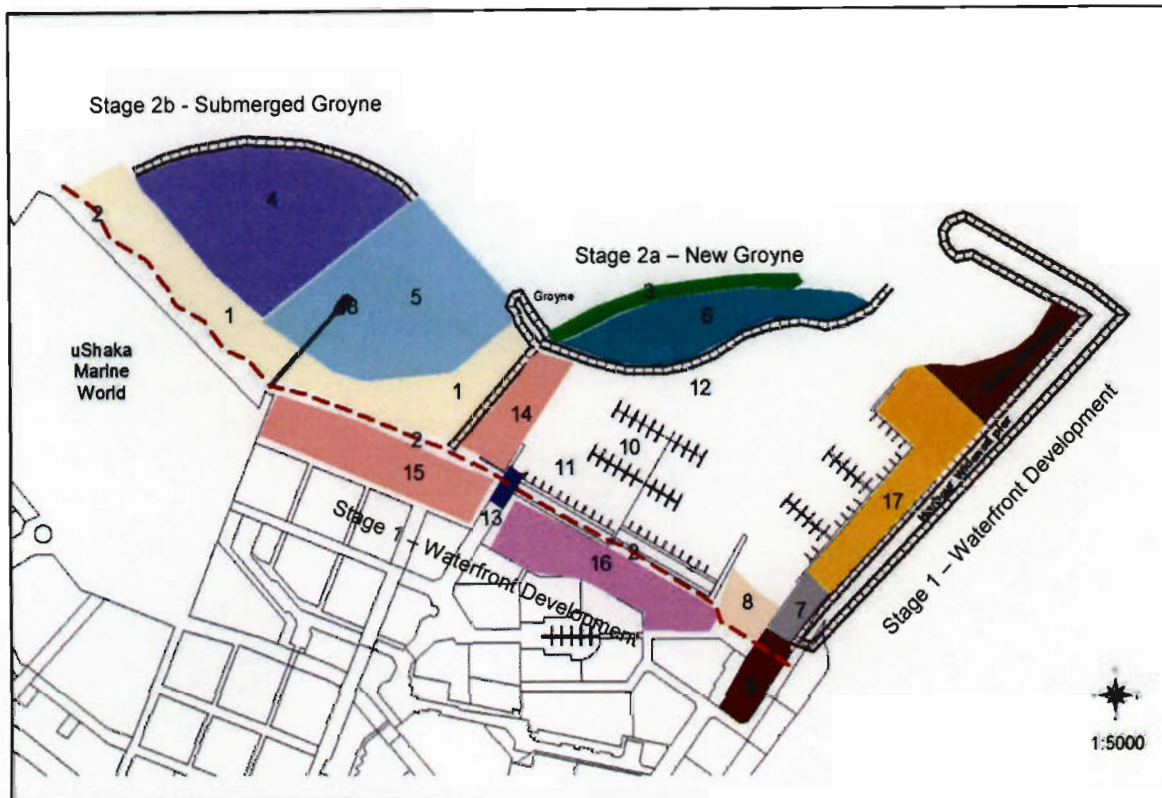bulk (increased development land along the
beach)
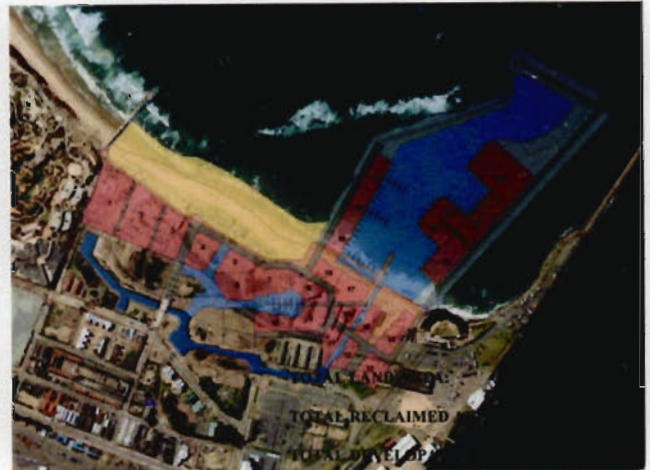
OPTION 3B(ii):

Original 3B from Round Two with
reduced bulk (the development land
shifted back)

OPTION 2:

Integrated Option from Round One and Two

FINAL OPTION (02.04.2005)

PHASED OPTION (Developer's Preferred Option)

1	Public Beach	10	Moorings
2	Public access	11	Special Boats – public display
3	Vetch's protected	12	Safe refuge for boats
4	Sheltered swimming	13	Lock to canal
5	Safe/Learner surfing	14	Commercial launch and Hotel
6	Snorkelling	15	Hotels
7	Ski Boat Launch	16	Mixed Use
8	Soft Launch	17	Residential
9	Club Facilities	18	Intake pier to remain as is

Phasing:

Stage 1 – Small craft waterfront developed

Stage 2a – Small craft waterfront expansion, new groyne and new lock (13) and launch (14)

Stage 2b – New groyne and new protected beach (4)

APPENDIX 2

SCH CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS
(adapted from Pravin Amar Development Planners, March 2005)

DATE	ACTIVITY	OUTCOMES	DATA SOURCE
Jan 04	**Scoping Phase Commenced**	The Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs for Kwa-Zulu Natal (DAEA) accepted the Plan of Study for the proposed development, and the Scoping Phase commenced.	x
21 May 04	**Draft Scoping Report**	The Draft Scoping Report was submitted for review by the public and authorities. The deadline for the review report was *30 June 2004*.	x
17 June 04	**Public Meeting**	The public meeting was held to discuss all issues and concerns raised from the Draft Scoping Report.	x
19 July 04	**Request from City – Investigation of Alternatives**	A request was placed by the City to do further investigations into the alternatives for the proposed development. On *5 August 2004* it was agreed that additional specialists would be appointed to investigate alternatives, and undertaken as part of the EIA process.	x
23 Aug 04	**1st Professional Team Workshop**	The workshop involved the expanded consulting team (referred to as the professional team) and set out to explore the following: • Identification of key issues • ToR for the alternatives study • The principles to be followed for the alternatives study • The purpose and objectives of the study • Parameters and limitations to the study • Methodology and approach for the study	✓
14 Sept 04	**2nd Professional Team Workshop**	Arising from the first workshop, a review of existing documents, relevant information and an international comparative review was undertaken. The second workshop of the professional team addressed the following: • Key issues identified from the literature review (social issues/economic viability/technical issues)	✓

		• A proposed approach of the review
		• A brainstorm of a range of alternatives, resulting in 11 options
		• The clustering of alternatives into groups being:
		   - recreational theme park/entertainment development proposals
		   - eco-cultural/heritage development proposals
		   - recreational/tourist retail development proposals
		   - watersport and recreational development proposals
		   - water development proposals	

11 Oct 04	3rd Professional Team Workshop	• The alternatives were interrogated and a set of principles and a matrix framework to assist in the evaluation of the alternatives was formulated as was a set of criteria against which the alternative options had to be evaluated and assessed. • A draft decision making framework was proposed and additional issues tabled as key elements of the process. **It was recommended that a public meeting should be conducted to involve the public in reviewing the process thus far, and the proposed 11 alternatives. This was held on the 27 November 2004.**	✓
15 Nov 04	4th Professional Team Workshop	• The significant outcome of this workshop was the categorisation of options in terms of: mega bulk; medium bulk; soft and medium bulk; and soft bulk. | Cluster	Options
---	---
Mega Bulk	8a; 8b
Medium Bulk	2a; 2b (Club's proposal); 4; 7
Soft and Medium Bulk	3b (components of 5; 6) – Consultants Option
Soft Bulk	3a (components of 5; 6)	 • **The 4 bulks identified were thereafter presented to the City Manager and DPDC representatives. The outcome of this meeting was as follows:** - the economic sustainability and financial viability study of the "bulks" will be	✓

		interrogated further - the focus would be on a reconfigured option of the existing 3b to take into account the return on investment as well as the beach - the risks and constraints of each option would be established - the "bulks" will be illustrated in the form of diagrams to be presented at a public consultative workshop		
27 Nov 04	**Public Consultative Workshop**	The purpose of the consultative workshop was to: • To present and discuss the alternatives being investigated • Provide an opportunity for I&APs to seek clarity on the alternatives • To facilitate comment from I&APs with regard to the study and proposed alternatives	✓	
12 Dec 04	**Meeting amongst professional team**	Following from the consultative workshop the comments raised by the I&APs and authorities were discussed among the professional team. The outcome of the deliberations was the Phased Option which attempted to incorporate the issues and concerns captured to date.	x	
24 Jan 05	**Meeting between Professional Team and City Officials**	The team presented the City with the options chosen as a result of the assessment and incorporating the options developed following the consultative workshop. • The City Officials supported Option 3b(ii) (originally 3b with elements of 5 and 6). They stated that the principles behind this option were in agreement with the City's objectives, as well as being financially viable from a developer's perspective. • The consultants clarified the process that has resulted in the development of the fifth option and the City Officials then agreed that this option should be considered.	✓	
27 Jan 05	**Professional Team Meeting**	The team of consultants produced a final report consolidating the alternatives that had been assessed and the outcomes thereof (See Oelofse *et al*, 2005).	✓	
11 Feb 05	**Informal Meeting between Consultants and Watersports Representatives**	Two of the consultants felt it necessary to meet informally with representatives of the boat clubs to confirm their requirements and document their concerns which would then be carried forward by one of the consultants to the following meeting between DPDC Representatives and City Officials. Their requirements were as follows: • Safe/sheltered launching and marine life necessary for boat clubs to function.	✓	

		- Launching area must accommodate all boats coming in at the same time (also taking the weather into consideration) - Launching and bathing must not be in conflict. - Launching area and clubs should be next to each other.	
11 Feb 05	**Meeting between DPDC Representatives and City Officials**	This meeting was convened in an attempt to gain consensus among the role players on the alternatives generated thus far and the shortlisting thereof. The objectives generated at the earlier public meeting were highlighted, being: - Protected swimming - Extensive beach launch - Snorkeling - Protection of the mussel beds DPDC submitted a "small craft harbour functions" plan based on the Phased Option which aimed at incorporating the key functions proposed for the area and incorporating this into a conceptual plan. - The intention of the conceptual plan was not to "dwell on the specific detail of what line is where etc. it is the concept that is important and the principles that are being achieved together with the functions being retained and enhanced".	X
2 April 05	**2nd Public Consultative Workshop**	The short-listed alternatives and the "functions plan" (Phased Option) will be discussed further.	✓

APPENDIX 3

ORIGINAL CONCEPTS PROPOSED BY THE TEAM AT THE 2ND PROFESSIONAL TEAM WORKSHOP - 14 SEPTEMBER 2004
(Pravin Amar Development Planners, Minutes, 14/09/04)

- The option 5 as is proposed in the draft scoping report;
- The option 5 which may be refined in terms of size and scale;
- A large scale theme park that focuses on fantasy and children as the target group. This could also include possible development into the sea;
- A small scale theme park which will include the proposed small craft harbour;
- A large scale asset for public use;
- An artefact feature which encompasses local history;
- An observation tower and submarine;
- An icon or feature of importance at the entrance of the harbour;
- A "redline" walking trail that would allow for interpretative walks;
- A centre that focuses on scientific research and information technology;
- A "nature space" were the eco-reserve could be linked to shipwrecks (eco-heritage reserve);
- The idea of a beach eco-backpacking facility and/or accommodation;
- A large flea market that focuses on the concept of retail;
- The idea of enhancing public space by improving the existing Vetches area;
- The idea of open moorings, not linked to residential title;
- The idea of conventional residential space;
- The idea of conventional retail space;
- Using the space for clusters of services and retail facilities;
- Using the space for appropriate light industry such as a boat cluster (boat building, repairs and maintenance);
- The idea of upgrading the existing water user facilities and improving management;
- An international food emporium;
- Using the space for public administration offices and/or facilities;
- Establishing a maritime museum;
- Using the space as a recreational and learning centre such as a watersport academy;
- Establishing a space that envisages aquaculture;
- The idea of a "Palm Island" development which may be private, public or a combination of both;
- The idea of beach expansion;

- The alternative of selling the space to the NPA which they could use for port related activities;
- The idea of total infill of the area

APPENDIX 4

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

(Oelofse *et al*, 2005:3)

1. Sustainability (ecological, social, economic and governance) is the overall guiding framework.
2. To learn from other international and national case studies.
3. To be consistent with the strategic objectives of the eThekwini Municipality as reflected in the IDP as well as the Point Development Framework Plan, without any contradictions between them both.
4. To ensure public access to key resources of the area.
5. To focus on the creation of space for public engagement with respect to variety and choices that will lead to more than passive interaction by the public.
6. To minimise the ecological impacts of the development.
7. To ensure that there is no nett loss of biodiversity.
8. Financial viability within the context of social, economic and environmental sustainability.
9. The need to maximise off-site economic opportunities such as, but not limited to, the increasing of property values without creating negative externalities.
10. The development process should aim for consensus building rather than conflict and polarisation.
11. To maximise socially responsible development for all the citizens of Durban.
12. A 'sense of place' must be maintained and there must be an enhancement of local distinctiveness.
13. The value of Vetch's Beach as a unique beach (safe swimming and launching) must be maintained.
14. The retention of Vetch's Pier and the provision of a safe bathing beach.
15. To encourage the development of an emblematic feature which reflects the identity of the waterfront.
16. Balance and compatibility in the mixing of uses must be actively sought.
17. Address the need to provide for existing functions and uses.
18. To promote cultural and other heritage resources.

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Introduction

My research focuses on the political process of the scoping phase of the SCH, in particular the workshops and meetings which occurred since the extended consulting team began work on the revised scoping report project in July 2004. I am interested in the different views of the various actors and how their views shaped the negotiations around the generation of new alternatives.

Since I am using discourse analysis as my methodology, I request your permission to tape the interview. I will not directly refer to your name in my research, so you will remain anonymous.

A: Project Related Questions

1. What is the goal or purpose of the SCH development?

2. What plan or policy has guided this development?

3. Who have been the key people and groups involved in the scoping process?

4. What are the key issues that have arisen in the debates around the creation of the development proposal?

5. Which people / groups have dominated the discussions, if any?

6. What dominant views have been proposed by these people / groups?

7. Which issues do *you* rank as priority / vital to the success of the development?

8. Which other people / groups support your prioritization of XYZ as the key issues?

9. What arguments have you presented in support of XYZ as the key issues?

10. How have the other actors responded to your argument?

11. How would you describe the way in which these discussions have taken place?

12. Which have been the specific / key areas of conflict in the debates?

13. How do you feel about public participation in the scoping phase of this project?

14. Has your views / ideas / concepts changed or evolved during this scoping process? If so, how?

15. Have other people / groups have shifted their views in the process? Who has / hasn't? Explain.

16. What process led to the development of the final proposal which was presented in the public meeting on 2nd April 2005?

17. What are your feelings about the whole scoping process?

18. Given the importance of this key project to urban renewal in the city, who do you think should hold the most power to influence the decision?

Aditional questions only addressed to the respective heads of eThekwini Municipality and Moreland Developments:

19. Has your; leadership role within Moreland / position of City Manager influenced the way you have thought about the SCH?

20. Do you think that a common perception amongst some of the key roleplayers, that the SCH development is a fait accompli due to the political context, is justified?

B: General Background Questions

1. What is your field of expertise?

2. What are your roles and responsibilities?

3. Which department or consultancy do you represent?

4. In this project who would you report to?

5. How long have you been doing this type of work?

6. What is your training relevant to this project?

7 What has been your specific role in the scoping phase?

8. How do you feel about your involvement in the project?

9. Do you yourself utilise the Vetch's beach or Point Precinct? If so, how?

10. What value do you place on Vetch's beach?