

The Environmental Outcomes of Public-private Partnerships (PPP): The Case of the Durban Beachfront

by Jonathan Lemuel Ramayia

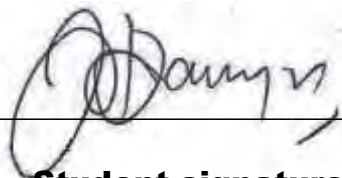
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of Master of Science: Environmental Planning in the School of Architecture, Planning and Housing
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Howard College

DECLARATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science: Environmental Planning, in the Graduate Programme in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science: Environmental Planning in the College of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Danny', is written over a horizontal line.

Student signature

26 January 2012

Date

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

“Ever since the rise of the city, with its division of labour and complex, stratified social and spatial structures, public-private distinction has been a key organizing principle, shaping the physical space of the cities and the social life of their citizens” (Madanipour, 2003: 3).

Public space has always been an important expression of the political and social life of cities. Cities in Europe are known for the prominence of their public landscapes where-in many cities public buildings interface with an adjoining public square or piazza. Public space in urban areas includes parks, streets and natural spaces such as rivers, lakes, lagoons and beaches.

Global economic and social changes in the late 20th century and 21st century have impacted on the way in which public spaces are produced, perceived and interpreted. This has impacted on the management of traditional public spaces and has led to the creation of a „new“ type of public space. This new type of public space is either controlled and/or owned by a private authority, instead of a public authority, determining who has access to these spaces effectively allowing the private developer to control the social dynamics within these public spaces. Due to global economic changes there is a growing realization that cities have become:

“...the nexus of commerce, gateways to the world in one direction and focus of their own hinterland. Tied together in a vast web of communication and transport, cities are concentrations of energy in a global field” (UNCHS, 2001:1)”.

There is increased pressure for cities to compete with one another in a vast web of connectedness. As a result, many cities seeking to ascend to higher levels of global importance and to attract greater investment have sought policy to this end and have fostered an economic landscape where the private sector contributes significantly to the economic and spatial development of urban areas.

In addition to these global economic changes, local conditions such as the fear of crime and the „criminalisation“ of homelessness have also had an effect on the „new“ type of public space that is being created in cities across the world. Private investment in „new“ public space developments supports the local economy and is making public spaces more secure. This is achieved through the implementation of measures including high walls and secure gates that attempt to fortify against the unpredictable and unwanted elements of daily urban living, such

as crime and homeless people. In addition to extreme security measures in protecting private property in the suburbs, the privatisation of public space has become a common feature.

This thesis focuses on the impacts of public-private partnerships on public spaces and uses the Durban Beachfront, where a significant level of privatisation has taken place, as the study area. Two case studies have been chosen, namely the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café. The chapter serves to provide the motivation for choosing the topic in Section 1.2. Section 1.3. states the aim of the dissertation. Section 1.4. lists the main research question as well as the sub-questions that are derived from the main research question. Section 1.5. proposes the hypothesis for this dissertation. Section 1.6. briefly describes the case studies. Finally, Section 1.7. briefly outlines the thesis.

1.2. Motivation

The privatisation of public space, often through the formation of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs), and the creation of new privately-managed public spaces is a process that has occurred frequently in cities of the United Kingdom and North America (Minton, 2006). In South Africa, it is a relatively new phenomenon and has occurred increasingly since the end of apartheid (Dawson, 2006). This process has gained the interest of the researcher as it presents a pertinent and contemporary reality for South African cities especially in the post-apartheid period.

The economic benefits of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) are well known and appeal to city administrators but the broader implications of these partnerships, which include their environmental and social implications, are not well documented. The dynamic nature of the study area, the Durban Beachfront, has always fascinated the researcher who believes that it is the only public place in the city where a pluralistic culture has continually flourished. Furthermore, the Durban Beachfront is the tourist hub of Durban and therefore an extremely important public space from an economic point of view. This public space has therefore been chosen as a case study because of these important reasons.

1.3. Aim of Dissertation

The thesis aims to examine the environmental benefits and costs that PPPs impose on public spaces and the users of these spaces.

The thesis will therefore investigate the social, economic and ecological impacts on public space that are derived through the creation of public spaces by a PPP. Central to this is to

show what benefits may be gained from the implementation of such development by a PPP and to account for the costs of implementing public spaces via this policy tool. The focus of these costs and benefits will be at the level of the public space and these benefits and costs are dealt with on the basis of their social, economic and ecological dimensions.

Therefore, the objectives of this thesis are as follows:

1. To investigate the *social* benefits and costs of developing public space through a PPP
2. To investigate the *economic* benefits and costs of developing public space through a PPP
3. To investigate the *ecological* benefits and costs of developing public space through a PPP

1.4. Research Question

The main research question has been asked to adequately meet the objectives of this dissertation. The main question is:

What are the environmental benefits and costs obtained from the development of public space through a public private partnership?

1.4.1. Sub-questions

- a) What are the economic benefits and costs of developing public space through a PPP?
- b) What are the social benefits and costs of developing public space through a PPP?
- c) What are the ecological benefits and costs of developing public space through a PPP?

1.5. Proposition

Based on visits done prior to undertaking the research it was noted that parts of the city have become privatized to varying degrees. In recent years, Durban's beachfront is one of the public space areas where the private sector has had a greater input into the development decisions of the Municipality. The researcher recognises that the interests of the private sector, i.e. increasing profit margins, do not align entirely with the interests of the Municipality which has social redistributive goals as well as ecological goals.

The researcher acknowledges the importance of the Durban Beachfront as a vital public space area which supports a diverse range of social and income groups. Additionally, it is also acknowledged that the beachfront is the backbone of the local tourism economy and provides an opportunity for economic wealth for the city and its inhabitants. Although, a heavily built up environment mainly on the Marine Parade, the Durban Beachfront does contain a potentially ecologically important area, namely, the length of Snell Parade beach frontage where a dune system exists. The recent development of the Suncoast Casino within Snell Parade may create a trend where the entire Snell Parade area becomes more developed which would impose negative impacts on the beach ecosystem in that location.

The researcher proposes that a well informed decision-making process regarding the privatisation of the beachfront will only be achieved if the impacts of PPPs are understood holistically in terms of their social, economic *and* ecological dimensions.

1.6. Case Study Area

The broader case study area that has been chosen is the central Durban Beachfront found in eThekweni Municipality in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. This thesis adopts a case study approach in order to address the research question. The two case studies that have been chosen are the Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World (the Suncoast Casino) and the Beach Café. The Suncoast Casino is one apex of eThekweni's Golden Triangle which includes the International Convention Centre and uShaka Marine World. The Golden Triangle itself is a part of an inner city renewal strategy which attempts to revitalise the city centre. This renewal strategy aims to market eThekweni as the tourist and events capital of South Africa. The Beach Café is a pilot project of this strategy and marks the first time that the city has leased part of the beach to private developers.

1.7. Thesis Structure

This thesis is composed of separate chapters with each chapter serving different aspects of the objectives.

Chapter One: Introduction

The current chapter, Chapter One, introduces the thesis to the reader and states the aims of the research through the research question and the various sub-questions. Apart from this, it also briefly introduces the study area and the structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews three strands of literature relevant to this thesis. The first deals with the literature on public space in urban areas, second is the literature on neoliberalism and the third concerns the privatisation of public space. The literature review informed the research through the concepts and theories contained here and served as a framework through which the results were analysed or corroborated.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter explains the methods that were employed to obtain data for the writing of this thesis. It also provides reasons for the methods of data collection and sampling that were undertaken. The chapter also explains how the raw data had been analysed in order to address the research questions.

Chapter Four: Context and Case Studies

Chapter Four introduces the broader study area of the Durban Beachfront and provides a brief history of the development of the Durban Beachfront until the current period. The case studies of the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café are then described. The backgrounds of the public-partnerships for both case studies, as well as their spatial locations, are also described.

Chapter Five: The Social, Economic and Ecological Outcomes of PPPs for Public Space

This chapter presents the results obtained from the application of the research methods and serves as the foundation for the discussion that follows in the next chapter. The data, presented in the form of tables and graphs, is described.

Chapter Six: Analysis and Discussion

This chapter analyses and discusses the themes that have emerged from the results of the study. This chapter directly addresses the main research questions and sub-questions that were set out in the first chapter.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The final chapter sums up the study and answers the main research questions. It brings closure to the thesis with concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

Since classical antiquity, in the earliest Greek cities, urban public spaces have occupied central positions in urban areas. In the current period the world's great cities, also contain public spaces that are synonymous with and recognised as intrinsic parts of these cities (Mitchell, 1997; Akkar Ercan, 2007). Some of these well known cities and their public spaces include New York City's Central Park and Times Square; Mexico City's La Plaza de la Constitución; Venice's Piazza San Marco; Rome's Spanish Steps; London's Trafalgar Square; Beijing's Tiananmen Square and; Rio de Janeiro's Copacabana Beach. Public spaces have existed throughout modern history in various forms and are seen by many sociologists and anthropologists as indicators of the social and political climate of the day (Low and Smith, 2006; Hayden, 1995 in Minton, 2006).

Commonly accepted as the earliest public space, the Greek agora or market place was a place where free citizens would come daily to meet, talk, and trade and vote (Mitchell, 1995). Public spaces have always acted as a political and social barometer; for in the agora it was only free *male* citizens who were allowed to meet, thus, reflecting the a social structure that exhibited an exclusion of women and of slaves in the earliest Greek societies (Low and Smith, 2006). Understanding public spaces in this way is useful for the ends of this study as the contemporary public spaces also reflect the contemporary social and political and economic changes in the late 20th and early 21st century city and society, as well as current contextual challenges in public life in South Africa.

There has been an increased privatisation of public space as a result of the hegemonic neoliberal economic regime and social factors such as the fear of crime. Public private partnerships are typical of the new governance processes within this regime. The privatisation of public spaces signals a change in the way in which these spaces are managed. According to authors such as Mitchell (1995) and Minton (2006), the provision of public spaces (by the private sector) has major implications for certain groups in society who are vulnerable to exclusion by the private authorities who manage these spaces. These privately-owned/provided „public“ spaces include shopping malls, public parks and beachfront and waterfront areas. The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant strands of literature both internationally and in South Africa in order to conceptualise the nature of the research problem. This is an important component of this thesis as the insights presented in subsequent

chapters will be shaped by a thorough understanding of the concepts found in the literature. The literature review presented in this chapter explores three related strands of literature.

The first strand is discussed in section 2.2, and presents the literature on neoliberal urban governance. The literature reviewed, contextualises the prevailing economic conditions that have led to the adoption of specific privatisation policies in cities across the world. The neoliberal policy tool, the public private partnership, has led to revitalisation projects in urban areas and these projects have in turn led to the privatisation of public space. This policy tool is briefly discussed in this chapter in section 2.2.4. The second part of this chapter is a review of the debates relating to public space. The concept of public space as well as the various representations and visions of public space that are found in the literature are explained in section 2.3. Finally, the third strand of literature reviewed, is the privatisation of public space. In section 2.4 this process and its causes are discussed and a description of the resulting „new“ public spaces is provided.

2.2. Neoliberal Urban Governance

2.2.1. Introduction

Section 2.2 reviews literature relating to economic processes that have occurred in the global and urban or regional economies in recent decades. Its inclusion in this literature is important as it provides an understanding of how cities“ adoption of neoliberal policies has impacted on public spaces and how these policies have contributed in creating a „new“ type of public space. Section 2.2 consists of two subsections namely; section 2.2.2 which highlights the changing role of city governments as the „entrepreneurial“ city and, section 2.2.3, which briefly describes the characteristics and role of the public private partnership.

2.2.2. The Entrepreneurial City

A major revision of the role of the state in governing urban areas has occurred since the early 1980s and increasingly into the new millennium (Pierre, 1999; Minton, 2006). Pierre (1999) and Nijkamp *et. al.* (2002) note that in cities of Western Europe and the United States, local governments have increasingly invested more energy in forging sustained economic relationships with their respective business communities. Cities of the south have acted similarly as countries such as South Africa encourage their municipalities to establish partnerships with their respective business communities as a way of becoming more developmental.

In South Africa this „encouragement“ or facilitation of the private sector economic activities is listed formally in legislation, Integrated Development Plans (IDP's) as well as various policy frameworks¹. This legislation provides a framework for private sector development and co-operation. Kearns and Paddison (2000) have noted that city governments are no longer able, as they were before, to have full control over the workings of their cities and have attributed this to several momentous shifts in the international political economy. The major shift has been economic globalisation, neoliberalism that has occurred since the 1980. This involves the flexibility of capital investments across international markets, the emergence of international economic sectors, international institutions and in urban developments, and the emergence of global spectacle (Kears and Paddison, 2000 ; Soja, 2000). Neoliberalism is seen as both a source and a manifestation of political-economic power that is felt at all spatial scales including the supranational, national and city level (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002). Brenner and Theodore (2002) note that neoliberal ideology preaches that if markets are competitive, unregulated and free of all forms of state intervention, then these practices are the optimal path to economic development.

As a result of this economic globalisation and the seemingly limitless scope for cities to attract flexible capital investment from both local and domestic markets, there has been a fundamental change in the manner in which cities are governed (Kearns and Paddison, 2000; Peck & Tickell, 2002). This change has resulted in an entrepreneurial driven approach by city authorities in order to compete with other cities also making use of the benefits of economic globalisation such as flexibility of capital. Because of this boosterist approach, there is a sense that the global reach and relevance of cities have surpassed the nation-state, even though the powers of city administrations have decreased (Leitner *et. al.*, ?; Nel and Binns, 2003). International organizations have also recognised the importance of city regions in the global political economy. The United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) in its „State of the World“s Cities“ 2001 report noted that cities are “...the nexus of commerce, gateways to the world in one direction and focus of their own hinterland. Tied together in a vast web of communication and transport, cities are concentrations of energy in a global field” (UNCHS, 2001: 1).

¹ The Republic of South Africa (1998) and (2000) provide for IDPs in each municipality White Paper on Local Government (1998) and Municipal Systems Act (2000) respectively).

In the contemporary economic regime where the welfare state model has been replaced with the economic development model, a decentralisation of power has occurred. Although more power is relinquished to cities, there is also an increasing pressure for cities to market themselves, attract investment and adopt new approaches to governing in order to become or remain economically relevant (Kearns and Paddison, 2000). According to Peck and Tickell (2002), these approaches have been imposed on cities over time by global institutions so the neoliberal approaches and forms of governance have “become a commonsense of the times” (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 381). As a result, one of the changes that have resulted from this neoliberal entrepreneurial ethos adopted by cities, is the manner in which cities relate to one another. Haider (1992) in Kearns and Paddison (2000), terms this relationship „place wars“. Place-making, where cities use their cultural assets to market themselves has contributed to interurban competition and although this has existed throughout the history and development of cities, the new economic regime has seen this level of competition become more intense (Kearns and Paddison, 2000).

Zukin (1995) presents the concept of the symbolic economy where the culture, heritage and flavours endemic to a particular city have been commodified. Elements of these cultures and flavours are „commodified“ by being simplified to its basic (often visual) components and then interpreted by developers as their version of the cultural reality that exists endemically or historically in these cities. These elements are represented spatially and architecturally in the mega-developments for example. A local example of a mega-development that incorporates the idea of the symbolic economy is uShaka Marine World on the Durban beachfront, where Zulu culture and tradition is reflected in the architecture of the various buildings that make up the development. The Suncoast Casino, a case study in this thesis, is also an example of how a city’s heritage is commodified in that it „pays tribute“ to Durban’s art deco architectural heritage in the architectural design of both the casino and the adjacent hotel. Globally, the symbolic economy has resulted in new spatial forms for cities with each city relying on the same development model for new developments e.g. the mixed land-use dockside precincts or waterfront area. Zukin (1995) argues that these developments are the same throughout the world except with the adaptation of these developments to the local city culture or heritage.

Nijkamp *et. al.* (2002) note that because modern cities are functioning economic and administrative entities, they are subject to interurban competition. Furthermore, the public

sector is not the exclusive stakeholder in governing cities. and by entering into a public private sector partnerships, the private sector has come to play an important role in urban „governance“. Healey (1997), has stressed the importance of the shift from „Government“ to „governance“ in cities. Urban „governance“ instead of „Government“ is a participatory approach to planning and proposes that a continuous interaction between government, business and citizens is the hallmark of effective governance.

The shift to a neoliberal economy must also be seen as part of a “dominant ideological rationalisation for contemporary state „reform“ which is known as neoliberal governance (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 380). Harvey (1989) focuses on the effects that neoliberalism has had on city governments which have had to switch from their managerial mode of governance, which dominated the 1960s, to an entrepreneurial one. In providing a link between interurban competition, neoliberalism and entrepreneurialism, Peck and Tickell (2002) conclude that neoliberalism reinforces the interurban competition process towards the entrepreneurial city governance spoken of by Harvey (1989). Peck and Tickell (2002) provide seven points in their argument regarding the implications of the neoliberal regime for the economies of cities.

Firstly, it is claimed by its proponents that one of the canons of neoliberalism is that it calls for a „growth first“ approach to urban development (Peck and Tickell, 2002). In doing so, it rejects the social-welfarist approach and the redistribution and social investment that accompany it because these principles are anticompetitive and antagonistic to the overriding objectives of economic development (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Under neoliberalism these social concerns may only be dealt with after economic growth, the creation of jobs, and investment promised by this regime (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Brenner and Theodore (2002) explain that although investment and resource allocation is promised under the neoliberal logic it has created market failures, new forms of social polarisation and uneven development at all spatial scales. Secondly, the neoliberal regime is premised on the promotion market logics which ensure efficiency and even “fairness”. This urges city administrations to fashion their economic policies on competitive market logic.

Thirdly, Peck and Tickell (2002) note that the dominant international funding agencies and dominant “markets” all adopt neoliberalism by practicing privatisation and deregulation which is also achieved through competitive regime of resource allocation. With competing

markets adopting a neoliberal policy framework, skewed municipal-lending policies, as well as political pressure from higher levels of governments, alternative paths to economic development for the 21st century city is limited (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Peck and Tickell (2002) note that examples of alternative development policies for cities include development policies that place social redistribution, economic rights, ecological integrity or public investment imperatives ahead of absolute economic growth indicators such as GDP that are the measures of success for the neoliberal growth path.

Fourthly, neoliberalism push the outward looking, reflexive, and aggressive economic agenda of the state and an elite group of economic actors as opposed to the inward-looking concerns raised under the Keynesian regime of building social capital and of investment in infrastructure provision (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Instead, cities must actively, and continuously, survey their horizon for investment opportunities, monitor the competition from other urban areas and emulate best practice (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Nel and Binns (2003) similarly note that cities are being challenged to improve their range of strategic socio-economic interventions which they undertake in order to secure investment and encourage growth. Should they fail to do this their cities will be left behind in the increasing struggle of resources, both public and private, that have been made more mobile by neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell, 2002).

Fifthly, although neoliberalism speaks the language of innovation, learning and openness it encourages a very narrow range of urban policy that is based on capital subsidies, place promotion, supply side intervention, inner-city revitalisation as well as local boosterism (Peck and Tickell, 2002). This type of urban policy is once again indicative of the pressure that is placed on cities to keep up or eclipse the success of other cities and has resulted in commodification of culture which has been exploited in the field of property development (Zukin, 1995). Brenner and Theodore (2002) similarly note another contradiction in the neoliberal project in that although it encourages freedom of markets and freedom from state interference, and it is that very state which acts coercively to enforce market rule upon all aspects of social life

Sixthly, the consequences of cities' incompetence or incomppliance are far reaching under the neoliberal regime where cities are punished by malign neglect, exclusion from funding networks and the replacement of local frameworks (Peck and Tickell, 2002). The effects of

this are double fold as national and international government funds are made available only to those cities that appear to have economic potential and good governance capacity (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Under the Keynesian regime, funding would have been directed to those cities that had the greatest social need (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Finally, because cities are the key sites of economic contradiction, government failure and social fall-out, they are at “the frontline of *both* hypertrophied post-welfarist statecraft *and* organised resistance to neoliberalization” (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 395). They add that regressive welfare reforms and labour-market polarisation are leading to the higher rates of poverty in urban areas which places cities at the “bleeding edge of processes of punitive-institution building, social surveillance, and authoritarian governance” (Peck and Tickell, 2002: 395).

2.2.4. Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs)

This section briefly defines the PPP as a neoliberal policy tool. According to Sagalyn (1997), the PPP exists along a continuum of policy-intervention strategies ranging from active development to passive regulation, from a *quid pro quo* to incentive to investment policies. Therefore, a partnership may exist in the sense that the city’s role may be to speed up the planning process or lease publicly owned land to the private developer, as in the case of the Suncoast Casino² and the Beach Café³, which are the case studies examined in this research. In other developments, the city may agree to provide the physical infrastructure, such as developing roads that make the development more accessible to the economic activities and role players that it supports, as in the case of the Riverhorse Valley Development near Inanda, Durban. In the case of Durban, a number of PPPs that involve revitalisation projects, have been formed, including the partnership for the development of the Point, a traditional dockside area where warehousing existed in the early 1900s. These types of declining urban areas are characterised as being derelict and have contributed to urban decay, in many instances because they have attracted „unsavoury“ groups. The partnership to revitalise these areas serves the city’s twin goals of attracting tourism into the city by making the area attractive, and of urban renewal. PPPs are not exclusively geared towards the revitalisation of the city but may also be formed when creating industrial or business complexes in the city as well as in the outsourcing of state responsibilities to private companies to provide public utilities such as water and electricity (Schaeffer and Loveridge, 2002).

2 The partnership involved an allowance of the developer to manage the publicly owned sundeck area

3 The city leased part of the beach sand area to the private developer.

Brenner and Theodore (2002) note that cities have become laboratories for a range of neoliberal policy experiments including *inter alia* place-marketing, tax free zones, urban development corporations and the public private partnership. Harvey (1989) claims that at the very heart of urban entrepreneurialism is the public private partnership (PPP). He further notes that PPPs are entrepreneurial in nature due to the fact that they are “speculative in execution and design and therefore dogged by all the difficulties and dangers which attach to speculative and opposed to rationally planned and coordinated development” (Harvey, 1989:7). Maharaj and Ramballi (1998) observe that PPPs have occurred as a result of city governments trying to undertake local economic development (LED) projects. Developing countries have also adopted this practice and PPPs form an integral part of South African urban economic landscape. For Nijkamp *et.al.* (2002), a PPP indicates that the administrative decision taken on an urban development „master“ plan is not solely made by the public authority, instead it is the result of a series of negotiations between the public and private sectors such that an agreement process is established.

Schaeffer and Loveridge (2002) note that a PPP is a voluntary agreement where all participants expect to be better off than if they were acting alone. They continue by explaining that cooperation allows participants to be better off:

- a) by pooling their resources they obtain efficiencies
- b) by combining complementary strengths, they can increase the scope of their activities
- c) by cooperating to reinforce a specific mission or satisfy value or beliefs (Schaeffer and Loveridge, 2002).

In the post-industrial period, in developed countries, several cities that previously flourished during the height of the industrial revolution have diminished in importance in the new economic regime. These cities include cities of Detroit, Sheffield and Liverpool. These cities still bear testament to their once thriving past, in the form of old docklands and defunct waterfront areas. In response to this and the shift to a neoliberal economy, post-industrial city governments in this context have started to build growth coalitions with private interests in developing parts of the city in a bid to rise higher on the global ladder of cities (Minton, 2006). An example is the city of Liverpool, where the entire inner city of the once powerful

industrial city is being redeveloped by a private developer in partnership with the city and as a result entire streets that were formerly public are now becoming privatised (Minton, 2006).

Section 2.2. has shed light on the dominant economic system that has become established in the contemporary political economy and how this has impacted on the way in which cities are governed. City authorities have had to change their modes of governance in order to remain economically relevant. In doing so they have become more entrepreneurial and there is a growing realisation that the private sector is an important role-player in this new form of governance. As a result, the private sector is included in many city functions and has been responsible for the development of many parts of cities the world over in collaboration with public authorities. This has been achieved through PPPs and as a result the decisions made by the private sector have consequences for many social groups in urban areas. This is particularly true in the private sector's development of public space through PPPs which is discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

2.3. Public Space

2.3.1. Introduction

This section reviews the public space literature that is pertinent to the research and consists of four parts. Section 2.3.1. sets out four groups of definitions through which public space may be understood. Section 2.3.2. reviews literature regarding visions of public life in public spaces. Finally, section 2.3.3. discusses the various groups or stakeholders that have an interest in or are affected by changes in the governance of public space.

2.3.2. Defining Public Space

Public space may be defined from a number of perspectives and this is discussed within this subsection. Due to how variably the term has been interpreted historically, and particularly in the contemporary world (in different locations), providing a single definition of urban public space⁴ will not be sufficient for conceptualising and analysing the research presented in this thesis. Careful consideration has been undertaken to understand the subtle distinctions in the definitions of public space, such that a holistic description of public space is presented (Burgers, 2000).

4 The term „urban public space“ will be used interchangeably with public space

Madanipour (2003: 232) juxtaposes the understanding of public space with private space by noting that public space:

“almost anywhere and at any time, can be described as places outside the boundaries of individual or small group control, mediating between private spaces and used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes”.

This definition relies on a prior understanding of what private space entails, but importantly it also alludes to the fact that rights of access is a definitive marker of what constitutes a public space. To this end, private space has been defined by Low and Smith (2006: 4) as a place which is “demarcated and protected by state-regulated rules of private property use...” whereas “public space, far from free of regulation, is generally conceived as open to greater or lesser public participation”. These definitions rely on legal categorisations but also entail a consideration of the rights of access when classifying a public place (Low and Smith, 2006). Today, public space is viewed mainly against our understanding of what private space is which is usually dictated by the legal conditions in each society (Low and Smith, 2006). Therefore, it should also follow that the meanings attached to public spaces are different in different countries or societies across the globe (Low and Smith, 2006).

Four important groups of definitions of public space have been observed (Spocitor, 2005). These definitions also cover the relevant perspectives necessitated by the review on the privatisation of public space in Section 2.4.

The first group of definitions defines urban public space by virtue of its provision of a physical space where urban citizens are able to apply their similar or dissimilar values and interact with individuals in a diverse setting (Low & Smith, 2006; Akkar Ercan, 2007; Thompson, 2007). In doing so it also provides a platform from which members of the urban populace who congregate in these public spaces are able to learn from one another. It is also a place from where they are able to express their difference *and* their differences of opinion (Mitchell, 1995).

The second definition may be considered to be the converse to the first group of definitions because here public space is seen to be shaped by the social activities performed or enacted in the public realm or in public life, that is, a socially constructed space (Zukin, 1995). The first definition, on the other hand, implies that the provision of this physical space is a material necessity to these social activities being enacted. Although the two definitions are similar,

what may be gathered from both definitions is that public space is only truly called as such if these aforementioned social activities are present.

The third group of definitions relies on the level of accessibility of public spaces to explain what renders their „publicness“. A continuum can therefore be created where public and private space falls on either end of the accessibility scale (Lynch, 1981; Madanipour, 2003). The theme of accessibility is a major concern for authors such as Mitchell (1995) because these public parts of the city represent areas to which the poor attach meaning. Accessibility to public space is also linked with the changes taking place in the post-Fordist city as explored by Davis (1990) and Zukin (1995). Zukin (1995) has compared prisons in the USA (which are privately operated in that country) to current public parks in the same country. She notes that the two share characteristics of increased security and privatisation and are symptoms of a withdrawal of the public sector in difficult financial times (Zukin, 1995). The private sector has come to define the meaning of public space by using “design as an implicit code of inclusion and exclusion” (Zukin, 1995: 25).

Finally, the fourth definition of public space includes definitions where public space has been categorised from various fields of study and backgrounds such as socio-cultural, social, physical, architectural, functional, political, symbolic and legal (Madanipour, 2003). Architecturally and physically, public spaces may serve as important landmarks within an urban area and may also be defined based on their political and symbolic purposes such as Tiananmen Square in Beijing which may be described and defined in political terms. In their legal definition, public spaces may be defined based on their legal ownership, however, these definitions blur because a privately owned area may be used by the public at large. This blurring of definitions forms an integral part of trying to understand and present this research. A shopping mall is a common example of this blurring of legal ownership of public spaces in 21st century cities. The discussion on public space that follows put these notions into perspective by noting the aforementioned groups of definitions and then discussing the way these definitions are interpreted in reality.

2.3.3. Visions of Public Life in Public Space

This subsection discusses the different understandings and notions of public life in public spaces and deals with the socially constructed nature of these spaces. Three interrelated terms must be discussed for a further understanding of what actually constitutes a public space. Firstly, there is the physical dimension (material public place), secondly there is public life,

and thirdly, there is the interaction of these two concepts that results in what is commonly understood to be a public space. The terms public realm⁵ and public sphere are also often used interchangeably with public life (Madanipour, 1996; Staeheli, 1996). Brill (1989) notes that a simple relationship must exist between public life and public environments (public places); and this is that the latter must support the former. Additionally, Waltzer (1986: 470) in Madanipour (1996: 146) finds that the character of the public environment “expresses and also conditions our public life, civic culture [and] everyday discourse”. In conveying an image of what is considered by many to be “lost public life”, Brill (1989) delineates three types of public life, namely, the *citizen of affairs*, the *citizen of commerce and pleasure* and the *familiar citizen*. This list of three types of public life describes some of the social activities that occur in public spaces and is by no means exhaustive.

In the first strand of public life, the *citizen of affairs*, the defining feature is civility which may be explained as the “activity that protects people from one another and yet allows them to enjoy one another’s company and makes it possible for people to act together as citizens in the political and social affairs of the city” (Brill, 1989: 10). Civility allows citizens to interact with each other and collectively act out a public life without the need to disclose the details of their personal lives, yet, still being able to possess the ability to join together for social and political action (Brill, 1989). Our public life here, is driven by our status as „citizens of affairs“ which give us the capacity and the power to join in one accord and act collectively with one voice in public environments such as the public square, the public park or the beach. Similarly, Waltzer (1986) cited in Madanipour (1996: 146) notes that in these public places where public life is performed, we share space “with strangers, people who aren’t our relatives, friends, or work associates. It is space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; space for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter”.

Again, there is a strong emphasis that public spaces are where members of the public come together anonymously in a single physical space all contributing to the same experience or ambiance felt therein. Castells (2002: 399) also notes that public spaces are sites where spontaneous social interaction occurs but he also adds that these places serve as the “...communicative devices of our society...”. Castells (2002) thus attaches much importance

⁵ Staeheli (1996:602) notes that public actions are taken in public spaces and together they constitute the public sphere. The same may be applied to private actions taken in private spaces.

to public space and calls for a deeper inquiry into this communicative aspect vested in public spaces. Madanipour (1996), however, cautions that although within these public spaces interaction between people is not actively discouraged, there is a sense that the type of interaction could be subject to heavy regulation. A popular example of this was the student protest massacre of 1989 in Beijing's Tian'anmen Square where the national authorities opened fire on a group of students who used the public square to stage their dissatisfaction with the state. The Chinese example is in contradiction to Mitchell's (1995) perhaps idealized vision of public space where he speaks of an "unmediated interaction" within these spaces.

The second strand of public life, the *citizen of commerce and pleasure*, relates to the consumption spectacle of commerce and pleasure in public spaces and includes bazaars, souks and open market places (Brill, 1989). There are two versions of this strand of public life which originate from experiences of public life in 19th century Europe. The first is the bright coloured, romanticised, theatre-like version where the hustle and bustle of the busy street, meets with a combination of scenes of spectacle, amusement, eating, drinking, and overall public enjoyment (Brill, 1989). This form of public life is stimulating to the senses which aids and is aided by a constant flow of information between the citizen and the public space. The information is usually conveyed through advertising as well as „sparkling“ visuals that draws in the citizen (similar to ambient power) (Brill, 1989). The former „marketable“ account of public life is often reproduced in the post-modern city but lacks the authenticity and gritty reality that comes with the second darker version (Brill, 1989). The dark version exposes the nearby streets of the poor where women would bargain at the local butcher for scraps of stale meat and “where blood and sewer water crawled from under doors and out of spouts” (Kingsley, 1850 in Brill, 1989).

The final strand of public life defined by Brill (1989), the *familiar citizen*, is outside of family life but uses family life as its model. What he really presents here is the small scale neighbourhood life where people know each other and interact with each other less impersonally than in public spaces where strangers tolerate each other. This strand of public life relies on social organisational principles rather than on principles of economic organisation. In Brill's (1989) view, social organisation and economic organisation are polar opposites, where the latter has replaced the former more rapidly in the second half of the 20th century. These three strands of public life clearly show that urban citizens are at the very

centre of what constitutes a public space based on the social activities that they collectively participate in.

The first shows that public spaces are places where citizens are able to coexist with each other in the same space at the same time. The second form of engagement in public spaces is where citizens interact with the built environment and the social and economic activities that are housed within it. The final form of engagement in public space occurs at a smaller scale, the neighbourhood, and is based on a family unit rather than an economic unit. From these strands of public life, it is clear that public spaces form an intrinsic and symbolic part of the urban experience. Berman (1986) cited in Francis (1989) sees public spaces as an extension of human experience, our culture at large and something that is also manifested as a collection of our private beliefs, all of which find expression in that particular public space.

Although traditionally, i.e. by city administrations, public space has been categorised based on the status of its legal ownership, it is its sociological interpretations that dominate the contemporary literature. According to Harvey (1993) and Hershkovitz (1993) cited in Mitchell (1995), there are two separate visions of public space that follow closely with Lefebvre's distinction between representational space and representations of space. Pertaining to public spaces, *representational space* is described as everyday appropriated, occupied space and as a space-in-use e.g. benches and pavements (Mitchell, 1995). According to this vision of public space it is where the mobilisations of political actors coalesce to take, remake and create a public space where the risks of disorder are not wilfully removed. The second vision; the *representation of space* is the planned, ordered and controlled nature of space as evident in urban plans, transport plans which determine the layout of the city e.g. the location of courthouse plazas, shopping precincts, public parks and monuments. These representations of spaces are determined by plans and as such, provide a structured and risk-free environment created such that its users are made to feel comfortable as a result of the „censorship“ of unsavoury members of urban society.

Understanding this distinction between Mitchell's (1995) two vision of public space is an important precursor to a discussion on the exclusion from public space of the homeless and other such marginalised groups, from planned and ordered spaces. Mitchell (1995) describes how in the city of Berkeley, a group of homeless people had appropriated urban space (which was previously unused) before plans to order that space were carried out. For Mitchell (1995):

115) a place is rendered and maintained as „public“ as a result of the ongoing tension between the two visions of public space which “...has been held, on the one hand by those who seek order and control and, on the other, by those who seek places for oppositional political activity and unmediated interaction”. Here the representational and representative spaces clash.

The People’s Park in the City of Berkeley, although under the ownership of the adjacent University of California (UC), had become a user-controlled environment that provided a “haven for those squeezed out by a fully regulated urban environment” (Mitchell, 1995: 109). From 1969 to 1991 this public space had become an appropriated space that supported homeless people and those on the margins of urban society. The park included a Free Speech stage, grassy assembly area and a free box where the general public could contribute charitable goods. According to Mitchell (1995), the People’s Park was functioning as a true public space because it supported even the most disenfranchised groups in urban society. After 1991, UC had decided to reclaim and order the park according to their vision of public space. Contrary to Mitchell’s (1995) views of the park being a truly democratic space, its redevelopment was commissioned on the grounds that it was not representative of the wider community because it had attracted criminal activity excluding the general public. As a result, volleyball courts, security lights and public baths were installed and the park closed daily at 7pm. Mitchell (1995) argues that the re-imagining and consequent redevelopment of a once democratically functional public space by UC planners, was their rejection of the homeless as a „legitimate“ part of urban society. The example of the People’s Park illustrates the application of both visions of public space; that of *representational space* and *representative space* held by the University of California and the homeless activists respectively.

Mitchell (1995) observes a third important aspect of public space which he derives from his research on the homeless in American urban areas; that of its significance as a *space of representation*. Here, the point is made that public spaces may serve as the physical spaces from which a political movement may arise in a visible way. A consequence of this is that because of the publicness or visibility of these spaces, political movements or protests can become accessible to a larger population. Many groups within this population of people, including the homeless, may not necessarily be able to access other avenues for protest or obtain information from other arenas, particularly in the private sphere, e.g. the internet and

at home. Although perhaps an unconscionable act, Mitchell (1995) notes further that when staking their claims to public spaces, social groups themselves *become* public, which to him is of particular relevance to homeless people. It is *only* in the public spaces that they occupy that they are able to represent themselves „legitimately“ as part of „the public“ which is juxtaposed against their invisibility in most other areas of society.

Madanipour (2003) offers a different perspective from Mitchell's assumption that the homeless desire their visibility, by contrasting the privacy rights afforded to the homeless with the rights to privacy realised by „legitimate“ 21st century people. These rights to privacy are observed in various national legislatures as well as the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights which protects citizens' rights to privacy where it is understood that the home is on the extreme private end of the private-public continuum. Madanipour (2003: 75) asks the rhetorical question:

“If the home is the point of reference through which individuals find a place in the world, how do the homeless navigate the world and what rights of privacy do they enjoy?”

Although Mitchell's (1995) claim that the homeless are content with making themselves visible is subject to debate, he does go on to draw attention to the important role that public space plays to the functioning, promotion and perhaps the enactment of democracy. Thompson (2007: 60) notes, with particular reference to public parks, that public spaces are the places where “democracy is worked out, quite literally, *on the ground* (author's highlights), and therefore, the way such spaces are designed, managed and used demonstrates the realities of political rhetoric”. Kirby (2007) comes from another angle by drawing attention to the sinister (undemocratic) use of the same visibility offered by public space in the public lynching ceremonies that took place in post civil war America as an intentionally visible way of intimidating the black minority.

The implication of this sinister use of public space does not refute the claim that public space provides a platform to assemble and mobilise politically, but it does show that public space has at various times in history been appropriated for undemocratic means and as such it further amplifies the notion that public spaces reflect the political climate of the time. Nevertheless, the study of homeless people by Mitchell (1995) to reveal the democratic nature of public space illustrates how the benefits of democracy inherent in public space are transferred to the homeless as a marginalised group in society.

The democratic nature of public space where the spontaneous actions of all members of the public is accommodated leads to it becoming a natural venue for political activities to take place. Similarly, William Mitchell (1997) notes that what makes a space public, are its considerable allowances for users to assemble and act freely; but he also notes that there must be some level of public control of its use and its transformation over time. Mitchell (1997), however, does not elaborate on what an appropriate intervention or level of control entails. On the other hand Kirby (2008) reminds us that in the current age of sporadic urban terrorism, many large city authorities reserve the right to prohibit any form of political assembly in order to protect the „security“ of the city. This means that true unmediated political assembly in public spaces may be a thing of the past unless our leaders are given ample reason to believe that the threat of terrorism is not real. Nevertheless, Thompson (2007) suggests that the traditional public places need to be rethought in the 21st century to suit what she terms the „salad bowl mix“ which calls for a new type of democracy that, unlike nationalistic notions of democracy, calls for a pluralistic culture where all cultures are represented together but also distinct from one another.

This subsection served to discuss the various meanings attached to public space. It was found in the literature that three main types of public life exist. At its very core public space is seen as being inherently democratic and are sites of political action and protest. However, public life in public places may also be entwined with and shaped according to activities contained within these sites, e.g. commercial activities may influence the type of public space that is created. Public life may also exist at a smaller scale, e.g. the residential neighbourhood where interactions are less impersonal than in larger public areas such as squares and shopping malls.

2.3.4. Public Space Role Players

Public spaces are shaped by and affect a broad array of urban society. This subsection highlights the various public space role players or stakeholders. Francis (1989) distinguishes between five groups of role players who have different interests in public spaces; with public space being where these interests meet. The first group is the *users* who are members of the public who may come to these spaces not only to actively engage, e.g. playing beach volleyball, but also to passively engage, e.g. sunbathing. Their involvement with the public space is limited to their use thereof and their opinion on the design or management of the beach promenade, park or plaza is rarely requested.

The second group, the *nonusers*, is an important but often neglected public space stakeholder. The people in this group pass by parks, beaches and plazas on foot, in cars or bicycles without ever making use of them. This „non use“ may be attributed to the way in which these spaces are presented physically. The perception of, and appearance of public spaces and their accessibility are clearly important. These non users may perceive that they are excluded from using these spaces depending on how these spaces appear from their vantage point. „New“ public spaces are characterized by lockable parks, boulevards and amphitheatres which tend to reinforce the position of this particular group of nonusers (Zukin, 1995). These „new“ public spaces may be termed public because officially they are open to the public thereby rendering it public but they are controlled or owned by a private developer, thereby subjecting users to typical private property rights of admission.

The third group of people with an interest in public space as defined by Francis (1989) are the *space managers and owners*. This group represents the most powerful and influential of any of the groups and may be from either the public sector (e.g. a city development agency) or in the „new“ types of public spaces from the private sector (e.g. the owner or administrator of that particular property). Zukin (1995) states that those groups who are in possession of the most amount of political and economic power are those who are in a favourable position to shape public culture by physically building these spaces out of brick and stone, and managing them thereafter. The space managers and owners are tasked with hiring professionals, e.g. landscape architects, and are essentially responsible for the construction and daily functioning of public spaces. Examples have shown how owners of shops adjacent to or in close proximity to public spaces have encouraged non-use. Areas such as plazas or shopping streets intentionally leave out the provision of comfortable seating from their design and this discourages use of these spaces if the user has no intention of shopping. Madanipour (2003: 112) raises the important issue of the incongruity of the management of public space between the public and private agencies noting that the public agency “...has a completely different mode of operation and aims than a private one”. The operating mode of a private agency in the case of public space is to maximize profits whereas a public agency seeks to act as a custodian of public space for the citizens of that respective government.

The fourth group, the *public officials*, are given the responsibility of ensuring the overall quality of the public landscape in their respective urban areas. Apart from developing and maintaining these areas they are also required to review proposals for future privately

developed „public spaces“. It is possible that in many cities there might be more than one agency responsible for these public spaces such as planning, beaches department, development authorities and parks and recreation departments, which together increase the risk of duplication of activities such as maintenance and restoration of the public space environment. As a result, cities like New York and San Francisco have in the past established a cross-department called the Open Space Task Force, to overcome this inherent flaw in the establishment and management of these public spaces. The last group, the *designers*, includes landscape architects, architects and urban designers. These professionals play an important role in designing public spaces. The design choices contribute to the enforcement of rules of behaviour as they are conveyed to the users via features such as fences, gates, edges and surfaces. Rules can also be conveyed via the deliberate lack of amenities, for example the absence of seating as mentioned above. Unlike these design features which suggest an absence of hospitality, a comfortable park bench and shaded trees on a summer day would certainly seek to convey the opposite message (Francis, 1989).

This subsection has listed and discussed the public space stakeholders. Five public space stakeholders were identified. These include the *users*, the *non users*, *space managers and owners*, *public officials* and *designers*. Examples of each stakeholder were provided and their respective interests and roles in public space were accounted for.

2.4. Privatisation of Public Space and the ‘New’ Public Spaces

2.4.1. Introduction

„New“ public spaces refer to areas in cities that serve public functions but are usually privately owned and/or privately controlled, e.g. shopping malls. They are characterized as being highly ordered and controlled environments with a high level of security. The increased level of control characteristic of the „new“ public spaces (and of old public spaces) has been seen by many politicians, city planners, the middle class and businesses alike as essential in view of the perceived levels of crime, homelessness, informality and the growing threat of urban terrorism in cities (Francis, 1989; Mitchell, 1995; Zukin, 1995; Brown, 2006; Dawson, 2006; Smith and Low, 2006). This has resulted in a loss of the old, less mediated public spaces and in the creation of a new type of commodified public space that is increasingly managed and in many instances owned by private authorities who seek to order these spaces according to their vision of public space (Dawson, 2006; Minton, 2006).

Kirby (2007) believes that the social benefits of private spaces accessible to the public (termed public-private places or pseudo-public places) are overlooked, whereas the social benefits of traditionally imagined public space are generally inflated. Likewise Brill (1989), questions the mourning over the loss of public life in the literature which aims to invoke nostalgic notions of a public life, that he believes never really existed. In spite of these conflicting suppositions, what does remain significant in the literature is the concern that more places that have always been regarded as being public spaces in cities of the 21st century, are actually privately owned or controlled. This trend is becoming the rule rather than the exception. The purpose of this section of the literature review is to describe the „new“ public spaces. This section will also synthesise the views contained in the literature regarding these „new“ public spaces and their effects on urban areas and their citizens. Attention will also be drawn to a number of international examples of private-public spaces.

Section 2.4. commences with a discussion of crime, paranoia and fear, in subsection 2.4.1., which has brought about a demand for these „new“ public spaces. This is followed by subsection 2.4.2., which discusses the various forms that the „new“ public spaces take on as well as their implications for urban society. Finally section 2.4.3. discusses how public space is envisioned for the 21st century.

2.4.2. Crime, Paranoia and Fear – Demand for a New Type of Public Space

A principal reason for the contemporary process of the privatisation of public space is the „ecology of fear that has been cultivated amongst the rich and middle class citizens in many cities in North America but also in South American cities as well as in the post-apartheid South African city (Davis, 1990; Zukin, 1995; Dawson, 2006; Lemanski, 2006). Fyfe (1995) has shown that as a result of this fear of crime, cities have become the sites of increasingly sophisticated and complex forms of social control where shopping malls and other public spaces are equipped with state of the art video-surveillance systems and are designed reminiscent of Jeremy Bentham’s *Panopticon*⁶.

Much of the literature dealing with the nature of „new“ public spaces simultaneously explores urban social relations such as the fear of crime and hostility and suspicion of the „other“ as

⁶ Panopticon means „all observing“ and is the name given to the prisons designed by Bentham in 18th century England. It allowed the observer to observe prisoners without the prisoners knowing. This is comparable to many of the „new“ public spaces (Zukin, 1995).

well as the marginalisation of the poor by the middle and upper classes. In combination, these social relations contribute to the development of these spaces which in turn appear to reinforce these relations. One author, Davis (1990), was one of the first to explore in detail the effects of fortified public spaces in Los Angeles in his seminal text, *City of Quartz*. Davis (1990) explores Los Angeles as a sprawling, highly segregated and fortified metropolis, and like Mitchell (1995) he too, places much emphasis on the poor and subjugated in the post-modern city. Within this fortified metropolis he focuses not only on public spaces in the traditional sense, i.e. parks, squares and streets but also on vast areas of residential public space. These are known as gated-communities, or gated-neighbourhoods, consisting of roads that by virtue of being sealed off to the public have become privatised.

This corresponds with Mitchell's (1995) application of the concept of representational of space, i.e. to an ordered environment with a strict code of conduct for both the users and the nonusers of public space. This code of conduct is applied to all groups of users through the ubiquity of surveillance cameras and private security as forms of social control. In the view of many authors (Zukin, 1995; Minton, 2006), these characteristics are creating a new form of sterile and restrictive public environment in cities and according to Mitchell (1995: 125) "is squeezing out other ways of imagining public spaces".

One such mechanism through which this „squeezing out“ is achieved is through private policing. The 20th and 21st centuries have seen an increase in the importance of private policing to the extent that in the post-World War II period, countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States are faced with a situation where private security policing personnel have outnumbered public policing personnel (Fyfe, 1995; Dawson, 2006). Additionally, Zukin (1995) records that in the United States during the period 1970 to 1992, employment in the private security industry tripled. Results also show that detective and protective work was the 20th fastest growing employment sector in the United States and it is predicted that by the 21st century, 73% of the United States' protective employees will be from the private sector (Zukin, 1995).

This means that as more and more parts of the city are relinquished to private developments, such as shopping centres; residential estates; recreational areas; offices; industrial complexes and; university campuses, the number of private security personnel has also increased (Fyfe, 1995). Zukin (1995) also notes that the broader political shift to privatisation has also

contributed to the success of the private security industry. Fiscal restraint has also limited the extent to which government is able to spend on public policing (Zukin, 1995). But why have developers and urban citizens resorted to such extreme and very visible measures of security in public places and how then has this affected the nature of public spaces?

Davis (1990) notes that the market provision of „security“ raises its own paranoid demand and the „consumption“ of security has little to do with personal security but serves more as a means of insulating people, whether at work or home or in consumption and travel environments from unsavoury groups, individuals, and even from crowds. Similarly Zukin (1995), who writes primarily about public and city culture, holds the view that as a way of dealing with material inequalities of urban life, a process of aestheticisation of fear has occurred. She concedes that the fear of crime in urban areas is based on the sporadic occurrences of “physical assaults, random violence [and] hate crimes that target specific groups...” (Zukin, 1995:38).

Writing specifically about the post-apartheid city, but drawing strong comparisons with American cities, Dawson (2006) tells of the increasing isolation, suspicion and hostility along what was once racial lines but is now along class lines in South African urban society. Streets and public places in inner city Johannesburg which were once the preserve of the ruling white elite have been abandoned and are now the domain of an increasingly multinational African population. For Dawson (2006: 132)

“South African society is saturated not simply with violence, but with the pervasive fear of violence... discourses of crime and society have become the primary conceptual frame through which the economically hegemonic white minority represents national culture... White South Africa... is just as gripped by a bunker mentality today as it was during the worst days of apartheid”.

Whilst the anonymity provided by public spaces contribute to its allure, some members of the public view this negatively to the extent that they associate this anonymity with rising levels of crime (Madanipour, 1996). Urban dwellers are beset with this crippling fear of being in certain public spaces at certain times. For Zukin (1995) this destroys the principle of open access and more ominously reveals that these violent conditions in cities make it unsafe for people to participate in what she calls a public culture. According to Miethe (1995) cited in Madanipour (1996), urbanites alter their behaviour in reacting to perceived levels of crime by distrusting others, avoiding certain spaces, taking protective action, changing their daily activities and participating in collective action.

The fear of the old public spaces and derision by the middle classes for those (considered „others“) who appropriate these spaces, destroys public culture altogether, e.g. the multi-nationally inhabited Johannesburg CBD. The poor and the homeless who are invariably categorised as „other“, along with immigrants, Latinos and Blacks, drug users and street gangs have become, according to Mitchell (1995: 118), „indicator species“ to mainstream society, “diagnostic of the presumed ill-health of public space, and of the need to gain control, to privatize, and to rationalize public spaces in urban places”. As a result, places that were once abandoned by the middle class and then reoccupied by the lower echelons of society have become places for contestation. There, the combined powers of the state and businesses are exercised usually to the detriment of the homeless and the marginalised (Zukin, 1995). The characteristics of public spaces as well as other less „ruthless“ public spaces, marginalise women in some Arab cities because they do not feel safe enough to use these spaces at any time of the day (Kirby, 2008).

This sub-section has shed light on the process of crime, fear and paranoia that has led to the creation of a „new“ type of public space. Urban citizens associate certain characteristics in public areas, such as anonymity, with crime and violence and due to their paranoia and fear have ensured that they do not frequent or come into contact with these areas. As a result new public areas that are exclusive and highly secure have been created. These areas attract a specific group of people, the middle class, because they eliminate the crime and violence of traditional public areas. In doing so, these insulated public spaces have destroyed public life but has also made parts of the city accessible to those who have otherwise felt marginalised e.g. women in Arab cities.

2.4.3. Public- private Spaces and Private-public Spaces

This section discusses the characteristics of „public private spaces“ and „private-public spaces“ and the manner in which these public spaces are controlled and organised. A discussion of an example of a private-public space, the business improvement district (BID), is particularly relevant to the research as the public beach area around the Suncoast Casino has experienced the same form of improvement by a private developer. The terms „public private spaces“ and „private-public space“, may be used interchangeably with the terms „pseudo-public space“ and „pseudo-private space“ respectively. Mitchell and Staeheli (2006:144) note that in the new era of city place-making, public spaces have become important battlegrounds “over the homeless and the poor and over the rights of developers,

corporations, and those who seek to make over the city in an image attractive to tourists, middle- and upper-class residents and suburbanites”.

Darrell Crilley (1993) cited in Mitchell and Staeheli (2006), describes a „pseudo-public space“ or a public-private space as a functionally public space that is under private control and ownership with fully fitted, sophisticated security measures, e.g. shopping malls, sports stadiums and theme parks. Crilley (1993) cited in Mitchell and Staeheli (2006) sees this as a culmination of the need to eradicate crime from the city, the needs of business and, the unwavering vision to order public space such that it is made comfortable for the middle class.

Given this removal of „criminal“ elements, Erkip (2003) provides a valid point that in Turkish cities it is only in these new „public-private spaces“ that women are more comfortable in moving around than in public streets. In this sense, public-private places have proven to be inclusive of previously marginalised groups, namely women. Nevertheless, Mitchell and Staeheli (2006) raise the important issue that these are places that are made possible by private property ownership. In private space, private developers are at liberty to enforce exclusions in publicly accessible places, which for them has created a brand new kind of property relation that may be described as a paradox. These distinctions are listed in Table 2.1.

	Type of 'new' public space	Other name	Description
1	Public-private space	Pseudo-public space	Privately owned and controlled space that functions as a public space
2	Private-public space	Pseudo-private space	Publicly owned space that is controlled by private authority.

Table 2.1: Distinction in the 'new' public space

„Pseudo-public spaces“, according to Mitchell and Staeheli (2006), are created by the privatisation of public space because they are controlled and owned by private entities but they are still spaces that are used by the public. In contrast a „private-public space“ or a „pseudo-private space“ is a space that is owned by a public authority but is utilised and controlled by a private authority“ e.g. the Suncoast Casino beach area. In the literature, „pseudo-private places“ and „pseudo-public places“ are understood and analysed similarly given that both these types of spaces are privately controlled (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006).

Zukin (1995) describes some of these „pseudo-private places“, an example of which are the Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in the United States, which is recognised as one of the first projects to privatise public space.

The BID, which has its origins in the tumultuous economic downturn of the 1970's, was first known as the special assessment district and was established due to fiscal crisis of 1975, which left government with little money to spend on things such as street cleaning and waste collection in commercial streets. A BID can be adopted in any commercial area and more recently, in public areas and “allows business and property owners in commercial districts to tax themselves voluntarily for maintenance and improvement of public areas and take these areas under their control” (Zukin, 1995:33). In the American BID model, if the majority of property owners in a given district agree to establish a BID, all the property owners are forced to contribute to an annual tax. This is then used to create an environment which Minton (2006) notes, is the calculated creation of a consumer environment resembling that of a shopping mall on the street. In this instance, a public area has become private by virtue of it being commercialised and commodified, therefore, privatised. It has become a privately controlled public space, a „private-public space“ or „pseudo-private space“.

The BID establishes itself as a non-profit generating entity with the approval of the city council with tax revenue ranging from \$10 000 to \$15 million per annum (Minton, 2006). Dependent on the amount of money that is received, the respective districts are transformed into a consumerist vision of public space. This action ensures that those factors that contributed to the flight of capital and consumers away from the city and into the suburbs are now eliminated from these areas. The all-pervading eye of private policing employed within the BID maintains social order in these spaces eliminating factors that are viewed as being undesirable (Zukin, 1995). These factors that are not tolerated include the homeless, drug use, skateboarding and other forms of anti-social behaviour (Minton, 2006).

The range of tax received by BIDs is of particular concern to Zukin (1995), who draws a comparison between the lower tax earning BIDs in Manhattan and those of the outer boroughs of New York noting that the concept of BID's nurture a visible social stratification. BIDs in areas such as Queens could never compete with the money received from other BIDs, such as the Grand Central Partnership in Manhattan, which therefore results in a situation where different parts of the city develop unevenly. Minton (2006) also notes that

criminal elements and anti-social behaviour migrate to other parts of the city upon the creation of a BID, which has the effect of further restructuring the social stratification of another area of the city.

The BID is just one such example of the „new“ type of public space and is a prototype of the „pseudo-private spaces“ because it was one of the first government-sanctioned „privatisation of public space“ initiatives in the United States. It is comparable with „pseudo-public“ and „pseudo-private spaces“ as all three share similar characteristics including a high level of security, the commodification of public space as well as the right to exclude certain users for „bad behaviour“ (Minton, 2006). Unlike BIDs (whose reason for existence is due to lack of government funds for urban renewal) „pseudo-public spaces“ are seen to have come about due to the demands of a certain segment of the population“ e.g. service sector employees, tourists and conventioners, who desire urban public spaces that are safe and separate from „undesirables“ (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993 in Akkar Ercan, 2007:119-120).

Akkar Ercan (2007) has noted that in the post-industrial city, `public spaces are valued in terms of their economic, symbolic and aesthetic use rather than on the social and political roles that public space has traditionally been known for. She identifies three phenomena that have shaped the nature of new public spaces; privatisation, commodification and commercialisation. Punter (1990) describes privatization of public space as the relinquishment of the design, management and control of public spaces away from the public sector to the private sector. The commodification of public space points to the acceptance that the public realm may also be treated as a commodity that may be bought and sold just like all other goods (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Madanipour in Akkar Ercan, 2007). According to Tibbalds (1992) cited in Akkar Ercan (2007), the commercialisation of public space means that instead of using the public realm for the purpose of improving the quality of urban life for all citizens, it is used as a means of making a profit.

In the post-industrial city, the shopping mall has replaced the shopping district of the inner city (Punter, 1990; Minton, 2006; Akkar Ercan, 2007). Developments such as shopping malls and mega developments, e.g. theme parks, share similar characteristics that include a well-designed, exclusive and affluent landscape which result in extraordinary and eminent public places (Punter, 1990; Akkar Ercan, 2007). More often than not, these public places are based on fantasy-themed design and are self-contained, self-sufficient, inward-looking and self-

referential developments (Akkar Ercan, 2007). These public spaces may combine any one of retail, offices, hotels and entertainment functions (Akkar Ercan, 2007). Similarly, Zukin (1995: 67) tells of the „Disneyitis“ that has plagued American cities where “the [fantastic Disney World] values of cleanliness, security, and visual coherence” have been adopted in the BIDs of many cities.

The principle of „capture“ is often employed to describe the „new“ public spaces as they are characterized by high-enclosing walls, blank facades distancing from the street, a de-emphasis of street level accesses, and major entrances through parking structures all of which reveal no idea of what may be expected on the inside. (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1993 cited in Akkar Ercan, 2007). These developments facilitate „capture“ whereby the inward-oriented nature of these spaces and the limited accessibility by modes of transport other than by car, discourage customers/users from leaving thereby keeping them inside and encouraging them to increase their consumption (Punter, 1990). Related to this consumerist culture is an immediate assumption of guilt experienced by those users not engaged in decisive consumer behaviour (Thompson, 2007). Within these themed developments there exists:

“the feeling of fakeness and unreality [which] is also boosted by the multiplicity of electronic images in contemporary public places, most often the „infotainment“ of rolling „news“, from disasters to the latest celebrity union, alongside streaming advertising”. (Minton, 2006: 27).

A contradiction exists because these captured spaces are created for an audience who long for a genuinely atmospheric and vibrant urban public space but the reality is that these public spaces come across as inauthentic and fake (Minton, 2006). Christopherson (1994: 409) in Allen (2006:444) notes

“that beneath the surface, the signal qualities are not playfulness but control, not spontaneity but manipulation, not interaction but separation...the soft images of spontaneity are used to disguise the hard reality of administered space”.

Thus, the „new“ public spaces not only coerce their users to consume but also coerce their users to collectively perform as actors in an orchestrated theatrical play which is „inauthentic“ due to the fact that it is directed by the developers of that space.

The „seductive logic“ of new public space is another concept for understanding how these spaces „capture“ consumers (Allen, 2006). Allen (2006) uses the example of the Sony Centre on *Potsdamer Platz* in the city of Berlin to illustrate this concept. Allen (2006) challenges the notion that exclusion, inclusion and power works and is enforced only through strict measures such as policing and high walls. Instead, he argues ambient power is a quality

present in commercialised public places that encourages and inhibits how people move around, use and act within these spaces (Allen, 2006). As opposed to Minton (2006) who notes that „new“ public spaces are characterized by tricking and deceiving consumers , Allen (2006) notes that the quality elicited within these public spaces brings forth what he calls an „affective response“. This response can evoke a feeling of openness and inclusiveness (Allen, 2006). The affective responses work through enticing and encouraging consumers as well as by directing their sensibilities along certain lines and not others (Allen, 2006). The direction is not done so in an overtly commercialised manner but instead provides glimpses of what more may be experienced within the centre thereby „seducing“ the consumer (Allen, 2006). These brief visual glimpses entice the users of these spaces such that they have a desire to explore further within the Sony complex.

In disagreement with Minton“s views on the inauthentic nature of „new“ public spaces, Allen (2006) notes that the different forms of entertainment available in the Sony Centre are presented simply for what they are, i.e. different kinds of pleasure, recreation and indulgence. Seduction as a mode of power therefore works through inclusion and proximity because users find themselves participating in certain types of pleasures that they may not have participated in had they not been there. Power is not only exercised in public spaces through raw techniques such as surveillance and high walls but it may also be “exercised through a seductive spatial arrangement, where the experience of being in the space is itself the expression of power” (Allen, 2006: 454). The importance of this new type of power, according to Allen (2006), signals that privately-owned public space need not be controlled by such harsh policing actions as described above.

This subsection has reviewed the „new“ type of public space and the manner in which these spaces are controlled. Within this „new“ type of public space two main types of public space were noted, that of „private-public space“ and „public-private space“. The „new“ public space is a culmination of economic interests and perceptions of crime and is therefore characterised by the creation of a distinct type of public space which employs various methods of overt and „seductive logic“ and social control.

2.4.4. Towards a Definition of 21st Century Public Space

A discussion of private-public spaces in the post-industrial age also entails an understanding of the public space that exists through the internet and other forms of telecommunications as these have important implications. Some authors, e.g. (Mitchell, 1997; Thompson, 2007;

Kirby, 2008) believe that these new technologies have a vital role to play in ensuring the efficient functioning of new public spaces as well as traditional public spaces. According to Mitchell (1995) many analysts have expressed concern that the nature of space has been changed due to new developments in communications technology. Others have gone as far as to claim that these new developments have created a new type of public space where the radio, television and the internet have overshadowed material public spaces (Mitchell, 1995; Thompson, 2007).

Kirby (2008) notes that telecommunications have provided alternatives for, but also enhance the effectiveness of, traditional public space assembly protests where protest ideas can move quickly across the internet ensuring that they are well publicized. However, Hillis (1994) in Mitchell (1995) notes that if this is the primary means through which political activism is initiated, it further marginalizes the poor and those who are unable to access these amenities. Mitchell (1995:123) states that

“movements must, and do, occupy and reconfigure material public spaces in the city. Indeed these movements are premised on the notion that democratic (and certainly revolutionary) politics are impossible without the simultaneous creation and control of material space”.

There is a sense then that material public spaces are irreplaceable in terms of their roles in political activism but it is also well noted that the communications technology has effected to aid this process and not replace it. For Kirby (2008) though, the advantage offered by „virtual space“ is the relative safety but also the freedom from control⁷. Thompson (2007) also views information technology in a positive light and envisages the 21st century public space as one that is augmented by virtual space as it fulfils certain interpretations of public space, particularly its ability to provide anonymity as well as interaction if the virtual space user chooses to. She also sees the practical use of information technology as beneficial to ordinary citizens and imagines that their desires and visions for future urban public spaces may be assimilated into a database linked to three-dimensional, GIS-based visualizations. She too notes that although at present this may exclude certain groups of society this is set to change with time.

7 A level of control does exist in traditional public spaces even though the right to freely assemble is understood. Apart from the power (or control) vested in the state to restrict certain assembly actions other political actors in opposition also pose a threat to the assembly of that particular cause and to the actors within that assembly. Therefore the virtual world protects protestors from oppositional threats and keeps them „anonymous“ (Kirby, 2008).

“If modelling systems can allow people to record their own important memories and desires and to engage with the emotional and social experience, and not simply the visual implications, of landscape options, then there is a real chance of developing the vision of participatory planning that Geddes promoted nearly a century ago” (page 61)

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has served to highlight the various understandings of urban public space and the global economic changes that have led to a new type public space that is privatised, but publicly accessible, albeit to a select group of urban society. It has presented the conceptual framework for investigating the research problem and has thus equipped this study for a meaningful assessment of the privatisation taking place on Durban’s beachfront.

Currently, the neoliberal doctrine has become the most important influence of economic development and although the heartland of this regime is found in the north, the influence of neoliberalism has reached all parts of the globe. Cities are the centres of this economic system and as a result have steadily become more entrepreneurial as the 20th century has come to an end. This trend has not slowed down into the new millennium where cities compete against one another and seek to create a name for them on the global economic landscape.

The shift to a neoliberal economic system has resulted in the new form of city governance which is entrepreneurial, and alternate paths to development seem unfeasible when compared with this economic framework. As a result the state is not the only role player in the economic development of the city and the private sector has become influential in the landscape of urban areas. PPPs have thus become a policy tool whereby the city and the private sector collaborate on development in the city. Public-private developments are the outcomes of these partnerships and serve to revitalize the city and present it in a more attractive light such that the promise of investment and foreign currency through tourism are fulfilled. These developments along with BIDs and public private spaces, such as casinos and shopping malls are the result of factors other than the global economic forces.

The ecology of fear and suspicion of the „other“, has resulted in the demand for a new type of public space which has been supplied in the form of public space developments characterised by increased security. This serves to flush out unpredictable elements of daily urban living such as homeless people. This in turn has reinforced the position of the marginalised and has contributed to a divided city both spatially and socially.

Public private spaces have had benefits particularly for those who are unable to experience and engage in public life in other parts of the city for example, women of Middle Eastern societies. The future of public space in the 21st century, however, seems to be one where the level of security and orchestration of activity contained within is the dominant characteristic of public space. Finally, this chapter ended by noting that there exists hope that through communications technology a more participatory process is envisaged where members of the public are able to contribute to this process by sharing their ideal version of a public space.

CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the two case studies. Each of the case studies, the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café, will be described physically and background information regarding the development process will be provided. The nature of the public-private partnership for each case study will also be discussed. These case studies are also put into context by describing the importance of the Durban Beachfront in the city's plans to increase investor confidence into the area in a bid to remove elements of urban blight by forging partnerships with private developers. The chapter is an important preamble to the results chapter which discusses the findings of the research conducted on the two case studies. The information presented in much of this chapter has been obtained from interviews with city officials as well as from representatives of both PPP developments.

3.2. Brief History of the Durban Beachfront

The study area in which the case studies are found is located in the central Durban area, along the Durban Beachfront which stretches north from the harbour mouth and south from the Umgeni River mouth. The city of Durban is one of the most visited cities domestically due to its ideal subtropical location, warm weather and most importantly its generous beaches (Maharaj *et. al*, 2006). The beachfront's development has undergone a number of phases throughout its history which can be traced back to the early 1900s when in 1914 the Beach and Entertainment Committee was established (Maharaj *et. al*, 2006).

During this time the city was marketed as one of southern Africa's finest resorts cities due to the appeal of its beaches. It is since the early 1900s that the city of Durban has always been known as a premier beach holiday destination in South Africa. A brochure dating from around 1922 (cited in Maharaj *et. al*, 2006) was issued by the city authorities and described Durban in the following way:

As a pleasure, health and holiday resort Durban stands pre-eminent in the Union of South Africa. It is a national playground for old and young. During the fashionable winter season (May-September), when climate conditions are ideal, visitors flock hither from all quarters of South and East Africa and Rhodesia to

enjoy the delights and diversions of the Ocean Beach, where the sunshine, for which South Africa is famed, is tempered by cooling breezes from the sea.

A magnificent sweep of ocean frontage of over three miles, to which extensions both northward and southward are now in progress, distinguishes Durban as a seaside resort. One compares it not unworthily with popular European resorts, yet sees in it some indescribable quality peculiar to the town.

Over the next few decades leading up to the late 1980s, Durban's beaches continued to flourish and provide economic and recreational benefits, albeit mainly to those of the ruling white elite (Maharaj *et. al*, 2006). The economic benefits generated were as a result of significant public and private investment, especially after the Separate Amenities Act (1953), during the 1950s to the 1970s. Thus the establishment of PPP developments on the beachfront is not a new trend. This is because the 1970s private hoteliers were granted long-term property rights very close to the actual beachfront. The „Golden Mile“ was firmly established by early 1980s and during this period the City Council invested heavily in the beachfront area. By the early 1990s a new era began for South African cities with the banning of apartheid legislation (Maharaj *et. al*, 2006) (See Plate 3.1.).



Plate 3.1: Showing the Durban Beachfront

Coinciding with this time in the early 1990s, the beachfront fell into decline as did tourism. White South Africans from the inland areas, particularly the Witwatersrand, perceived the beachfront to be dirty, ridden with crime and full of Indians and blacks (Maharaj, *et. al*, 2006). As a result, restaurants and businesses moved away from the central Durban beachfront and into previous „white“ suburbs such as the Berea, Umhlanga and La Lucia contributing to a further decline of the beachfront (Preston-Whyte, 1999; Michel & Scott, 2005).

3.3. Policy Context

Over the past 15 years a physical renewal of the beachfront has been an objective of the eThekweni Municipality realising the potential of the city of Durban to compete as a world-class beach tourism city. This realisation has also coincided with processes of globalisation and the adoption of neo-liberal economic growth policies by the national government, i.e. the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy which has stimulated local economic development in the city.

As part of the beachfront's renewal the city identified four key nodes of development on the beach (eThekweni website, 2009). They are (from north to south):

- a) Blue Lagoon
- b) The Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World
- c) The old site on which Seaworld previously existed (end of West Street) and;
- d) uShaka Island and Marine World including the Point Area.

The four nodes [refer to Plate 3.2.] are located along the city's entire beach frontage⁸ and serve as key tourist stopover points along a single route. The renewal forms part of the city's i-TRUMP⁹ area based management (ABM) initiative which seeks to make the inner city more attractive for business and for tourism (eThekweni Website, 2009). As identified by the development strategy for the ABM, the city has engaged with private developers in order to renew interest in the city's beaches as well as for the city as a whole. The development of the

8 The inner city beach frontage is where the northern limit is Umgeni River and the southern limit the harbour mouth.

9 Inner City eThekweni Regeneration and Urban Management Programme.

Luthuli International Convention Centre and uShaka Island and Marine World, forms a central part of this renewal strategy (Maharaj *et. al*, 2009).

Plans were then drawn up by the city government to upgrade the beachfront in anticipation for the 2010 World Cup which took place in July 2010. A major part of this plan includes a substantial upgrade of the existing promenade as well as extending it south to meet uShaka and north to Country Club Beach (eThekweni website, 2009). Furthermore, a link was created from the Country Club Beach to the newly built World Cup stadium. This provides a direct link to the beachfront for football fans after the matches are over and during the half-time break. Apart from the promenade upgrade a number of new beach facilities were upgraded or new facilities provided at various beaches. There include new beach cafés, ablution facilities, swimming pool and small restaurants. This construction has been completed after the demolition of old, symbolic buildings to make way for new upmarket sites. This was met with opposition from businesses owners and the public alike who lamented the loss of areas such as the Snake Park and the Ocean Sports Centre (The Daily News, 23 December, 2008; 02 February, 2009).

This thesis recognises the significant changes that have occurred on Durban's Beachfront in the post-apartheid era. The current municipality, like their predecessor of the 1920s, is seeking to develop the Durban Beachfront as an important node with great economic potential. Through their policy frameworks and regeneration driven developments, the city has sought to „take back“ the beachfront from social ills such as vagrancy and crime. Collaboration with the private sector has ensured that interest in the beachfront is rekindled and has resulted in attractive developments such as the two case studies. This is implied in the city's IDP 8-Point Plan, under Local Economic Development (LED), which states that the Municipality seeks to provide secondary support to business enterprises and to promote create economic opportunities for arts, culture and heritage (IDP 2008-2009 Review).

3.4. The Case Studies

3.4.1. Introduction

This section introduces the two case studies, the Beach Café (section 3.4.2.) and the Suncoast Casino (Section 3.4.3.). Both case studies are described and discussed in terms of their location in public space and the nature of the public-private partnership in each case between the city and the private developers.

3.4.2. The Beach Café

Contextualising the Public Space Location

The Beach Café was a small scale development located on Bay of Plenty to the north of the beachfront's North Beach area. The development is unique in that it is the only public beach in South Africa where the dining area is located on beach sand (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Accordingly, the development's key marketing strategy hails it as the only „feet-in-the-sand“ café in Durban. Of significance is the fact that the development became the first in the city where a private developer had obtained the right to occupy and control a section of the beach sand, i.e. public space, when it was opened in September 2005 (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

Prior to the development of the Beach Café, the Bay of Plenty Beach was a continuous, open beach and completely unobstructed apart from the life guard viewpoints and the beach volleyball nets. The Beach Café is situated on the border of where the promenade meets the sand and is opposite other recreational facilities including the skateboard park. It is adjacent to the beach volley ball area. The City Manager of eThekweni has described the development as “one of the nodes of excellence” and as a part of the broader beachfront regeneration (Daily News, 26 September, 2005).

The physical development of the café may be divided into two components. The first is a semi-permanent deck structure which is superimposed over a five square metre beach sand area and straddles the wall separating the beach and the promenade. This covered structure contains the drinks storage and distribution area (bar area), the kitchen as well as seating for about ten people. The second component is located on the adjacent sand and is an unstructured seating and lounging area on the sand where tables and chairs, umbrellas and couches are located. At the end of each day these are stacked up and stored in the lockable deck area and are therefore dismantled. This is accordance with the city's disapproval of a brick and mortar type development on the beachfront (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Furthermore, there are no ablution facilities on the premises.

The Beach Café has a range of cocktails and drinks to choose from but one may also order breakfast and light meals such as burgers and gourmet sandwiches. The Beach Café is open from sunrise to sunset but business times are also dependent on the weather. The



Plate 3.2: The extent of the Golden Mile, Durban, 2011

development also plays host to festivals and promotions and invites dance DJs to play most especially during the summer and winter holidays.

Nature of the Partnership

The development was initiated by a private developer who had the idea of having a feet-in-the-sand cafe on Durban's Beachfront akin to those found in the south of France and other Mediterranean beaches (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The city agreed to allow part of the beach to be used for this development and the development was undertaken as a pilot project for eThekweni's i-TRUMP division. Part of the agreement was a stringent list of rules that the developer must abide by. The developer is held to these conditions by signing a thirty year lease agreement at the outset of the project (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

Built into that lease agreement is a clause that states if any of the rules are broken the city reserves the right to terminate the lease agreement and evict the developer within 90 days (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The general rules that are applicable to the development are also those that are applicable to beach users across the Municipality, for example, no starting of fires and no cordoning off areas and erecting marquees without consent from the city (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009).

The partnership was entered into by both parties because both the city and the private developer expected mutual benefits. The city entered into the partnership largely as a learning experience seemingly in preparation for the major beach upgrade that would take place during the course of the next few years (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Other benefits relate to the role played by this development in the revitalisation of the beachfront and kick-starting the investment opportunities to be achieved from the Golden Mile and the beachfront in general. The Beach Café entered into the partnership as any private company would in order to maximise its profit.

3.4.3. The Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World

Background to Development

The Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World (the Suncoast Casino) is a substantial development on the northern half of Durban's Beachfront. The development measures (27 hectares) and cost R1.4 billion (eThekweni Website, 2009). The development of the Suncoast Casino was informed by the findings of the Wiehahn Commission, which reported on gambling in the Republic (eThekweni Website, 2009). Gambling was illegal within the

administrative borders of the country in the apartheid era but several casinos operated in former Homeland states such as the Wild Coast Sun in Transkei, and Sun City in Bophuthatswana (eThekwini Website, 2009). The purpose of the Commission was to investigate alternatives for controlled gambling and gaming.

The Commission began in the late 1990s and decided that gambling would be best dealt with if the industry was regulated (eThekwini Website, 2009). The Commission also limited the number of casinos operating within the country to 40, with each province responsible for granting gambling licenses in their respective areas of jurisdiction (eThekwini Website, 2009). An important outcome of the Wiehahn Commission was a recommendation that establishments of new casinos are to be accompanied by investment in urban infrastructure, in particular, tourism related infrastructure (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). With this in mind, the city began the process of locating the most appropriate sites in the city for casinos. The area now occupied by the Suncoast Casino, had been zoned for residential land use as the city envisaged an accommodation-type development similar to that of the high-rise hotels on the Golden Mile (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Another major casino development within the eThekwini Municipality is the Sibaya Casino and Entertainment Kingdom located north of Durban in Umdloti.

Initially, the city was reluctant to approve the development of a casino at the proposed scale given that casinos are “generally very inward looking developments which tend to suck up public money” (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). After deliberating on the matter, the main draw card for this development was the private investment in urban infrastructure that would be gained from such an initiative once the company was awarded the casino license from the KwaZulu-Natal government (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Tsogo Sun, the parent company of the Suncoast Casino, as well as other casino developments in the country, such as Monte Casino and Wild Coast, was awarded the license.

Defining the Public Space Location

The development consists of four separate components: the hotel (the Suncoast Towers); the main building; the promenade and amphitheatre area; and the grassed SUNdeck¹⁰ area (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). (Plate 3.3.). This thesis concerns the last two components which

10 This is the given name of the grassed area adjacent to the beach and plays on the word „sun“

are outdoors but because of the link between the main building and the outdoors areas analysis of both will also be made.

The main building of the Suncoast Casino is a colourful, unmistakable landmark on the Durban Beachfront (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). It is adjoined to the parking lot that has a larger ground area than the building itself (see Plate 3.2. below). Making reference to the city's rich art deco heritage, the building also serves to invoke a Miami-style ambience in a sub-tropical setting (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). Housed within the building is a designated area where all the casino activities take place as well as a number of restaurants and „take-aways“ restaurants, a cinema complex, a discotheque and conference facilities (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). The building has direct access to the promenade and amphitheatre area and patrons walk in and out of these areas (Observation 1, 25/07/2008).

The amphitheatre area (sitting area) leads out onto the promenade or walkway which links the beachfront development to the north and south, with a public recreation area and the Suncoast Casino Pirates Lifesaving Club respectively (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). At either end, the promenade is manned 24 hours a day by a security guard which marks the boundaries of the Suncoast Casino's agreed jurisdiction (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). Apart from being a place where patrons can sit on the benches provided, the purpose of the promenade is to provide a pathway for walkers, runners and a cyclists who cycle along the greater beach area (Observation 1, 25/07/2008).

The final component of the Suncoast Casino is the grassed SUNdeck area which forms part of the public beach (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). This was seen to be one of the big draw cards of the development at the early phase of the project where the developer wanted direct access to the beach. The SUNdeck area is nestled in a vegetated dune system and provides an area where sun worshippers can make use of the loungers provided for by the casino, provided that they pay a R5 fee (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). The SUNdeck area itself has direct access to the public beach which is now known as the Suncoast Beach. Here, lifeguards watch those who swim in the sea (Observation 1, 25/07/2008).

The Nature of the Partnership

From the city's point of view the development is premised on the condition that the private developer must provide urban infrastructure not just within the development but also in the surrounding areas of influence (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The land was purchased

freehold from the municipality for an amount of R100 million (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). This freehold purchase entitles the developer all rights of admission to the casino as well as to alter the development subject to general town planning regulations.



Plate 3.3: The Suncoast Casino & Entertainment World, 2011.

The line that separates public and private property runs midway along the promenade where the land east of the dividing line belongs to the Municipality and the land west belongs to the casino (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). Therefore, legally, the entire sundeck area (which lies east of the cadastral boundary) is owned by the Municipality and is public space. An arrangement has been made whereby the developer is allowed to use and manage and control that area. If the Municipality is unhappy with the way in which it is managed they reserve the right to evict the developer (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

The direct access from the casino and the promenade to the sundeck and onto the beach was facilitated by the removal of dune vegetation which initially blocked the direct access. The

Municipality agreed for the removal of the vegetation provided that the developer rehabilitates the dune such that there was a net gain in dune vegetation (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). This has since been achieved and the dune is continuously managed in collaboration with the city. Also, the promenade is planted with indigenous vegetation and is secured with security guards.

3.5. Conclusion

After contextualising the changes that have occurred on the Durban Beachfront throughout its history, this chapter has introduced the two case studies. It has shown that the beachfront has always been marketed as the city's biggest attraction and in the post-apartheid era this strategy has increased. The two case studies are examples of how the city has tried to revitalise the beachfront but also represent examples where the city has collaborated with the private sector in order to see this revitalisation to fruition. In both the case studies, portions of the beaches which are public property are controlled and/or occupied by private developers.

The Beach Café, which occurs on one of the busiest beaches in the Durban Beachfront, is the first development to occur on the beach sand. The development was seen as a pilot project of the Municipality before the major upgrade of the beachfront which took place ahead of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. On this public beach space, the interest of the public and the private sector converge to produce a particular beach environment. The chapter then outlined the second example of privatisation of public space on the Durban Beachfront, the Suncoast Casino, a large scale casino developed after a lengthy process which discussed the future of gambling in South Africa. The development saw the largest single investment on Durban Beachfront and a partnership was forged between the Municipality and Tsogo Sun. The partnership resulted in the Municipality allowing the Suncoast Casino to use and control a part of beach public space (the promenade and the sundeck area). The following chapters are put into context by the information provided in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

In order to understand and present the effects of the privatisation of public space through the process of public-private partnerships on Durban's Beachfront, a number of research tasks have been undertaken. The methodological approach is qualitative and includes the use of instruments such as questionnaires, interviews, observations and site visits. This chapter serves to explain in greater detail the steps that were carried out in order to obtain data relating to the key objectives stated in Chapter 1. The data produced in this thesis relies on both primary as well as secondary sources of data. All sources of data are qualitative therefore a qualitative approach to data analysis has been adopted. The thesis adopts a case study approach to producing qualitative data. A particular pair of individual case studies of public-private partnerships have been chosen, namely the Beach Café and the Suncoast Casino on the Durban Beachfront. A thematic analysis of the data resulted in the emergence of pertinent issues related to the privatisation of public space.

Chapter 4 begins by briefly examining each case study in section 4.2 as the study areas. In Section 4.3. the sources of data adopted for this thesis are described. Section 4.4. sheds light on the sampling technique that was adopted for the research. Section 4.5. describes how the raw data was analysed and section 4.6. lists the constraints of the research before the chapter is concluded in Section 4.7.

4.2. The Case Studies

This section briefly introduces the two case studies that have been selected for this research as the study sites. Three different examples of privatisation currently occur on Durban Beachfront. Along with the Beach Café and the Suncoast Casino, the third example is uShaka Marine World. However, due to the thesis being a course work Masters, it was not feasible to include this as a third case study. The Beach Café and the Suncoast Casino were chosen because they represent markedly different examples of the privatisation of public beachfront space in terms of scale and function.

4.2.1. The Suncoast Casino

The Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World is one of two large scale developments along Durban's Beachfront along with uShaka Marine World. It is the single largest investment

along the Golden Mile and consists of a prominent indoor and outdoor entertainment area. The development is typical of the „new“ public spaces discussed in the literature as it exhibits a high level of security and stringent rules and regulations that users must adhere to (refer to literature discussion on the „New“ Public Spaces, Minton, 2006). The beach, promenade and grassed area which comprise the Suncoast Casino’s outdoor area remains the property of the city but is controlled by and leased to the Suncoast Casino. The research classifies the entire complex as a public space but the main focus is on the beach area (outdoors) as this is a publicly owned, yet privately managed space.

4.2.2. The Beach Café

The Beach Café is a small scale development located in the central beach area of the Durban Beachfront and is unique in that it is the only known case of a private development on Durban beach sand. It was chosen as a case study because it represents privatisation of public space on the Durban Beachfront where a private development has replaced public activity on the sand. This type of development is typical of the seductive logic employed by „new“ public spaces, spoken of by Allen (2006). The café is presented subtly to beach goers with the image of sun, surf, sand, beach furniture, cocktails and beautiful bodies thereby enticing them to partake in these activities.

4.3. Data Sources

Both primary and secondary sources of data were used for this thesis. The following section divides and explains these two sources, noting the techniques employed under each data type, i.e. primary and secondary. In Section 4.3.1. all the primary data sources are listed and explained. Similarly, section 4.3.2. lists and explains the secondary data sources that were used.

4.3.1. Primary Data

Primary data refers to all the original or „raw“ data collected by the researcher of this thesis. These include data obtained by the researcher from interviews, observation studies and photographs as well as primary documentary material. Other sources of primary data include newspaper articles, city documents, and GIS data. Each primary data collection technique is described in more detail in the next section.

4.3.2. Secondary Data

Secondary data refers to all published material where primary data has been analysed. A number of secondary sources were used for this thesis including books and journals.

4.4. Data Collection

4.4.1. Key Stakeholder Interviews

Key stakeholders were interviewed via a semi-structured, open ended interview schedule. According to Kitchin and Tate (2000) open-ended interviews usually follow highly structured interviews where the interviewer has considerable control over the order of the conversation. In these types of interviews, the questions are open-ended and elicit a variety of responses where the interviewee is free to answer as he or she pleases. By using this type of interview, the researcher hoped to encourage free thinking and open conversation and thus produce a more reflective data set. Four interviews using this data collection instrument were carried out with each interview lasting no longer than 45 minutes. Although the interviews are categorised as semi-structured, open ended interviews, a few questions contained within these interviews set out to elicit a very specific response. Two of the four interviews were recorded using a dictaphone (eThekweni representatives) whilst the Managing Director of the Suncoast Casino declined the request to have his interview recorded. A dictaphone was unavailable for use during the interview with the Beach Café representative. Table 4.1. presents the interviews that were undertaken using this instrument.

PPP Development Representative Interview

The same instrument was used to interview the representative of each PPP development: Mike Dowsley and Jacques Roux (see Appendix 1). The purpose of the interview was to obtain information regarding: the monetary benefits and costs of the development; economic impacts on the city; employment impacts of the development. The interview consisted of three sections and is outlined below:

a) Section A: Monetary benefits/cost of the development

This section consisted of six questions and sought to establish the level of success each development had achieved. The section also included questions regarding the monetary costs of the development and the main profit areas.

b) Section B: Employment impacts of the development

Section B consisted of four questions which sought to obtain information relating to employment such as the number of jobs and the type of jobs that were generated as a result of the development.

c) Section C: General Impacts

This section consisted of fifteen questions. The questions were broad ranging and related to the clientele of the development as well as other general questions such as the type of property rights that the developments enjoy. Other questions include the rights of access on to these particular developments.

eThekwini Municipality Representative Interview

This interview was conducted with Mike Andrews of the Strategic Projects Unit of eThekwini Municipality (See Appendix 2). The purpose of the interview was to obtain the Municipality's view on the monetary benefits and costs of both developments; the economic impacts on the city and the employment impacts of the development. A total of twenty one questions were included in the interview. The questions ranged from obtaining information regarding the development arrangements between the Municipality and each PPP developer to other general questions regarding the Municipality's view on public space, particularly the Durban Beachfront.

Environmental Representative Interview

This interview was conducted with Penny Croucamp of the eThekwini Municipality Environmental Management branch (See Appendix 3). The interview consisted of fifteen questions and its purpose was to obtain information regarding: the environmental assets and services of the beaches in question; the change in the quality of the natural environment on the beaches as a result of the PPP developments and; the beach ecosystem management efforts by the PPP developers. The interview consisted of fifteen questions was divided into three sections listed as follows:

Section A: Environmental Assets and Services of the Beaches

Section B: Change in quality of beach environment since the PPPs

Section C: Beach ecosystem management efforts of the PPP developer.

4.4.2. Beach User Survey

A beach survey was conducted with beach users, who were interviewed at both sites of beach privatisation. The interview type was the structured open-ended interview which gave twenty beach users in total the opportunity to express their views on many issues regarding the beachfront and the specific case studies. See Appendix 4.

	Name	Designation	Date of Interview
1	Mr. Mike Andrews	Strategic Projects Office, eThekweni	16/07/2008
2	Mr. Mike Dowsley	Managing Director of the Suncoast Casino	25/07/2008
3	Mr. Jacques Roux	Day Time Manager of the Beach Café	06/02/2009
4	Ms. Penny Croucamp	Environmental Management Branch, eThekweni	30/01/2009

Table 4.1: Interview Schedule of the Key Stakeholders Interviews

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000) the structure open-ended interview ensures that the conversation is controlled by the interviewer and contains questions that are highly structured and standardised. The interview is highly structured and standardised because each respondent is asked the same set of questions and these questions follow a particular sequence (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). The questions contained in the Beach User Survey are open-ended because the responses provided by the interviewees are not limited to pre-determined categories, as a result, respondents are free to give whatever answer they want (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

The purpose of these interviews was to understand how the beach spaces are being used; to ascertain who the groups are that use these spaces and finally how these spaces contribute to the social well-being of its users.

The questionnaire was divided into four sections. These sections are listed and explained below.

a) Section A: Beach Activities and Usage

Section A comprised nine questions and was used to establish the range of activities that occur on the beach by the beach users who were interviewed. In addition, the frequency in which the beach users made use of the beach was also of concern to establish how often these newly created beach environments were being utilised. The questions contained in this section also sought to establish what particular characteristics peculiar to these beach environments motivated the respondents to use these beaches through questions such as “What three things do you like about this beach?” It draws out the strengths of these particular locations from the experience of the beach user. Other questions within Section A

focused on which other beaches along the Durban Beachfront beach users utilised and required the beach user to account for the allure of these beaches. This serves as a basis for comparison between the public beaches and the cases in question.

b) Section B: Effects of PPPs development of public space on Beach Users

Section B comprised of sixteen questions that examined physical barriers and security measures that have been put in place in order to highlight the effects that these new developments have had on the ability of beach users to make use of these spaces. Beach users are also asked their views regarding current development trends on Durban's beachfront, with specific reference to the existence of private enterprise on the beachfront and the privatisation of beaches. Most of the questions contained in this section were open ended encouraging respondents to express themselves freely.

c) Section C: Social/Aesthetic Value Attached to Beaches

Section C contained ten questions interrogating the social and aesthetic value that the beach users attach to the beaches. This section sought to determine to what extent the beach users place part of their identity in these developments. The questions here are also largely open ended such as "Please share any memorable or interesting experiences you have had at this beach".

d) Section D: General Demographics

The final section of the questionnaire dealt with the respondent's personal details such as age, gender, household income bracket, level of education and race and home language. The collection of this demographic data enabled the researcher to establish the profile of people who make use of these new spaces on the beachfront.

4.4.3. Observations

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000) observation rests on the ability of the researcher (observer) to interpret the events as they unfold and the reasons why they unfold. Observation entails an understanding of people's behaviour and the meanings behind and attached to their specific actions. Both forms of observation listed by Kitchin and Tate (2000) were employed for this thesis. The first observation is termed „straight observation“ and the second is „participant observation“.

„Straight observation“ means that the researcher is visible yet detached from the setting in which they are observing. This type of observation undertaken is less structured and checklists are not employed. „Participant observation“ means that the researcher actively participates in the activities themselves.

Observations were made sporadically throughout the course of the research duration. The types of observations made for the Suncoast Casino were both „participant“ and „straight observation“. The data obtained was related to the type of people using these spaces as well as the activities that were taking place. In the case of the Beach Café, „straight observation“ was made instead of „participant observation“, due to financial constraints of patronising the café. Table 4.2 lists the observations that were conducted as well as the date and place of each observation. The researcher did not employ the use of defined checklists in the observation studies in order to record the general character of the public space locations. However, close attention was paid to the physical characteristics and ambience of the public space location as well as the demography of the beach users who used these spaces.

Observation	Date	Place
Observation 1	25/07/2007	The Suncoast Casino
Observation 2	13/12/2008	The Beach Café, Bay of Plenty
Observation 3	17/01/2009	The Suncoast Casino
Observation 4	18/01/2009	The Suncoast Casino
Observation 5	11/02/2009	The Suncoast Casino
Observation 6	06/02/2009	The Beach Café, Bay of Plenty
Observation 7	07/02/2009	The Beach Café, Bay of Plenty

Table 4.2: Observation table showing observations conducted with date and place

4.4.4. Photographic Data

A number of photographs were taken over the course of this project. These photographs serve as visual evidence for the issues being researched in this thesis and although many of these photographs are not included in the thesis they served as an important method of recording information, such as the particular characteristics of the spaces in each case study.

Photographs are also important for showing in particular the characteristics of the vegetated dune system on the Suncoast Casino Beach.

4.4.5. Books and Academic Journals

Books were obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal Main Library as well as the Architecture Library. Academic journal articles relating to the research were searched for through the University's range of electronic journals. Together these constituted the sources for the majority of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The main topics of interest were public space, the privatisation of public space and neoliberal urban governance.

The literature review served as a preamble to the formulation of the various interviews. The theoretical concepts in the literature were applied to analyse the data obtained. Understanding the literature helped to contextualise the process of privatisation of public space as well as the new public spaces that are being created on Durban's Beachfront.

4.4.6. Newspapers

A complete Daily News web search was undertaken for articles relating to each of the case studies as well as to the Durban Beachfront itself. The articles that appear on the Daily News website are the same as those that appear in the physical paper format. Newspapers form an important source of data as they report on events when and as they happen. Therefore they serve as a chronological data set that is readily available. The search was conducted for the period 2000-2009.

4.4.7. Municipal Records

For this thesis the municipal documents accessed relate to those plans that the city has already undertaken, currently undertaking or yet to undertake. They form an important part of the data collected for this thesis as they serve as a reference for the municipality's objectives for the Durban Beachfront and also reveal how the case studies fit into these plans. These documents were obtained through the city's website.

4.4.8. Aerial Photos/Maps

Maps were obtained from GIS maps which gives an overall picture of the geographical context of the various developments on the „golden mile“. These aerial photos are particularly important because they show geographical features such as dunes and sandy beaches. They also reveal the extent to which an area is developed or undeveloped.

4.5. Sampling

4.5.1. Case Studies

The two case studies were selected because they represent two of three developments which have involved the privatisation of portions of the Durban Beachfront. Initially the uShaka development was included as one of the case studies but concerns were raised as its inclusion making the scope of the project being too great. The selected case studies are very different from one another, the main difference being the scale of both projects. This also reveals that privatisation may take various forms along the beachfront.

4.5.2. Beach User Survey

Respondents were selected using a purposive sampling method. Purpose sampling is defined as the use of a subset of the population to represent the whole population (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Beach users were purposively selected by the researcher in order to reflect the general beach users present on research day. For the Suncoast Casino Beach, those beach users who were on the beach or on the Suncoast Casino lawn area qualified to be included in the sample. These beach users were approached while they lay on their sun chairs or on the beach in front of the Suncoast Casino. In the case of the Beach Café, patrons were approached and some interviewed whilst they dined and others opted for an interview after they had dined at the café. Due to the time frame and scope of this thesis, it was decided with the supervisor that twenty was the optimal number of beach user respondents for a coursework Masters thesis. In total, twenty „beach user survey“ interviews were conducted; ten the Suncoast Casino beach users and ten users of the Beach Café. The respondents were interviewed during the period of December 2008-January 2009.

4.5.3. Key Stakeholder Interviews

The key stakeholders were chosen based on the information necessary for the research. Due to the fact that the project dealt with public-private partnerships it was essential that the relevant stakeholders from the private developers were taken into account as well as those from the Municipality. It was necessary to interview a representative from the Suncoast Casino and from the Beach Café. The representative selected from eThekweni Municipality was Mike Andrews from the Strategic Projects Unit who was selected because he was instrumental in acting on behalf of the Municipality during the implementation phase of both projects. Penny Croucamp, also from the Municipality, was selected for her expertise in the field of environmental management and was a source of opinion for the impact that PPPs development of public space has on the natural environment, particularly the beachfront.

4.6. Interpretation of Data

The data was interpreted, classified into themes and discussed according to the objectives of the thesis. The data obtained from the various studies and interviews were interpreted according to the approach reviewed by Dey (1993) in Kitchin and Tate (2000). Using this approach the qualitative analysis consists of a description of the data, the classification of the data and then examining how concepts interconnect. The data is analysed by trying to observe relationships and interconnections between the data which also helps to conceptualise each constituent bit of data (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000) description of data involves portraying data such that it may be easily interpreted. Describing the data involved a thorough and comprehensive description of the subject matter which “includes information concerning the situational context, the intentions and meanings associated with an act, and the process in which the situation is embedded” (Kitchin and Tate, 2000: 233). Accordingly, data regarding the situational context was recorded for each interview and it was noted when and where it was undertaken.

The process of classification of data involves interpreting the data by undertaking an interpretive analysis. In doing so the data is presented in a manner that is accessible to the reader. In order to do this the data was broken up into constituent parts and then placed into similar categories or classes before drawing out the salient factors, commonalities and divergences (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). As an example of classification, the age and economic standing of beach users were grouped in specific categories and then interpreted accordingly. Kitchin and Tate (2000: 235) note that by classifying the data the researcher is able to “make more effective comparisons between cases”.

Two types of classifications have been identified by Kitchin and Tate (2000), implicit classification and systematic classification. Implicit classifications aids in making sense of the world but systematic classifications aids the researcher in understanding the thoughts and actions of a number of people. These classifications are imposed upon by the researcher and are only implicit in the interviewees’ words and actions (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Essentially classification will result in the breaking up of data from their original format and collecting similar data and grouping these together – finding patterns (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). This is an important step towards finding connections between the data.

According to Kitchin and Tate (2000: 235) connection “is concerned with the identification and understanding of the relationships and associations between different classes”. This refers to an understanding of the manner in which the different classes of data interact or are associated with one another. Once these links and associations were established, the researcher was able to draw conclusions relating to the research question as well as the other sub-questions.

4.7. Constraints of Research

Generally, the research process was convenient as the study area is very accessible. However, a few problems were encountered. Due to the recreational and relaxed nature of the case studies the research efforts proved difficult and at times fruitless. In a relaxed setting beach users are not keen to be interviewed while they sun bathe on the lawn or dine at the cafe. The choice of interviews as a technique, as opposed to questionnaires, proved vital to the success of this research because questionnaires are formal and laborious and unlikely to provide much data (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

Another constraint of the research involved its weather dependent nature. Days and periods that were set aside for interviews on the beach had to be postponed several times particularly throughout the November-January period of 2008 when Durban’s weather was characterised by overcast conditions. During these periods of „bad“ weather, the beaches are scarcely visited and the choice of possible respondents is limited.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has briefly introduced the case studies in section 4.2. Section 4.3. listed the various sources of data collection, namely, the secondary and primary data. Section 4.4. discussed the types of data collection that were employed for the thesis. Two important interview types were conducted. The first was the structured open ended interview which is titled the „Beach User Survey“. The interview has been outlined in this chapter and the reasons for choosing this type of interview has also been provided. The second category of interview that was conducted was the „Key Stakeholder Interviews“ which was a semi-structured interview type. Other forms of data collection were conducted via observations (straight observations); the collection of documentary evidence, i.e. the Municipal records; aerial photos/maps; photographs and books and journals and newspaper articles. The sampling methods for the beach user survey, the selection of the case studies and the key stakeholder interviewees were also discussed in section 4.5. The constraints of these methods

have also been discussed. The major constraints were the weather dependent nature of the research where there were fewer people to choose from on cloudy days as well as the reluctance of beach users to be interviewed when they were relaxing on the beach. The chapter also briefly described how the data will be analysed in order to answer the research questions embodied in the objectives.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFITS AND COSTS OF PPPs FOR PUBLIC SPACE

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results obtained from the fieldwork conducted for the thesis. It serves as a direct precursor to Chapter 6 which aims to thematically analyse and discuss the results presented in this chapter. As explained in Chapter 3, the main research tools employed for this study are the questionnaire and interview schedule. Data was also collected via observations studies that were conducted intermittently throughout the course of the research.

The chapter is structured in accordance with the objectives listed in Chapter 1 and is then presented by case study. Section 5.2. presents the results relating to the *social* benefits and costs of Public Private Partnerships (PPPs use of public space). The results within each section are divided into results obtained for the Suncoast Casino beach users and, secondly for the Beach Café beach users. This is also applicable to subsequent sections in the chapter.

Section 5.3. presents the results relating mainly to *economic* benefits and costs of PPPs development of public space. Much of the data for this section was obtained from the interviews conducted with two key stakeholders from each PPP as well as with a representative from eThekweni's Strategic Projects Unit. The third section of this chapter, section 5.4., presents the information relating to the *ecological* benefits and costs of PPPs' development of public space, data which was obtained mainly through the interview conducted with the Penny Croucamp of the Environmental Management branch of eThekweni Municipality. Tables and graphs are used to present the results.

5.2. The Social Benefits and Costs of PPPs for Public Space

The information obtained in this section is largely from the Beach Users Survey that was conducted for twenty beach users of the Suncoast Casino as well as the Beach Café. The objectives of these questionnaires were: to understand how the public spaces in question were being utilised, to ascertain who the groups are that use these spaces and, to reveal how these spaces contribute to the social well-being of its users. In meeting the aforementioned objectives, the social benefits and costs of these two Public Private Partnerships (PPPs)

development of public space are described and analysed based on the evidence obtained from the experiences of the beach users and their interaction with these spaces.

5.2.1. Socio-economic Characteristics of Beach Users

The Suncoast Casino

Based on the findings, it may be deduced that most of the Suncoast Casino beach area clientele is situated in the middle to upper income range. Out of ten people interviewed it was established that five respondents' monthly household income was above R20 000. Furthermore, only two respondents earned less than R5 000 per month. (Table 5.1.).

The Beach Café

Most of the Beach Café's clientele is situated in the middle to upper income range. Out of ten people interviewed it was established that four respondents earned above R20 000 per month. However, four respondents earned less than or equal to R3000 per month. (Table 5.1).

The evidence thus shows that people visiting both the Suncoast Casino Beach and the Beach Café are middle to upper income.

Household Income Bracket (R Monthly)	The Suncoast Casino		The Beach Café	
	Number of Respondents	(%)	Number of Respondents	(%)
< 1500	0	0	2	20
1501 – 3000	0	0	2	20
3001 – 5000	2	20	1	10
5001 – 10 000	1	10	1	10
10 001 – 20 000	2	20	0	0
20 001 – 40 000	4	40	3	30
> 40 000	1	10	1	10
Total	10	100	10	100

Table 5.1: Economic Profile of Beach users

5.2.3. Race and Age Grouping of Beach Users

The Suncoast Casino

The highest proportion of respondents for the Suncoast Casino in terms of race was whites and Indians with each race group constituting four out of the ten respondents interviewed. One black and one coloured respondent made up the remainder of the sample size.

It was observed that Indians are the most populous group of people who frequent the Suncoast Casino (Observation 3, 17/01/2009). This is especially true on weekends. It was also observed that in the SUNdeck¹¹ area, the Indian and white race group constituted the dominant group of the beach users (Observation 4, 18/01/2009). It was found that during the week it was mainly whites who frequented the SUNdeck area and they were an older age group, possibly retired (Observation 5, 11/02/2009). During the weekend a number of families were observed to constitute a large part of the beach user populace (Observation 4, 18/01/2009). Another group that was well represented on the beach was the younger beach users between the ages of 18-25 (Observation 4, 18/01/2009). (Table 5.2.; Plate 5.1.).



Plate 5.1: Showing the Suncoast Casino SUNdeck Area

The Beach Café

The highest proportion of respondents for the Beach Café was the white race group with six out of the ten respondents falling into this category. The next highest was Indian with two

¹¹ The SUNdeck is the grassed pay-area connecting the boulevard and the beach area on the sea facing side of the Suncoast Casino.

respondents represented out of the ten. Black and coloured people made up the remaining two respondents with one in each group.

The Beach Café, though not as busy as the Suncoast Casino, supported a regular clientele both on weekends and on weekdays (Observation 2, 13/12/2008; Observation 6, 06/02/2009). The majority of the patrons of the Beach Café on both weekends and on weekdays were members of the white race group (Observation 2, 13/12/2008; Observation 6, 06/02/2009). During the week it was observed that several business people and international tourists frequented the Beach Café (Observation 6, 06/02/2009). On weekends, the clientele was younger with a combination of Indian people who were the second largest group of people represented here (Observation 2, 13/02/2008).

In total, of the respondents, 50% of the respondents were white, 30% Indian, 10% were black and 10% were coloured. (Table 5.2.).

5.2.4. Other Popular Beaches on Durban Beachfront

The beach users of the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café were asked to list other beaches along Durban’s Beachfront that they used most often. The results show that North Beach and uShaka were most popular with seven and six responses respectively for the Suncoast Casino and four responses each from the Beach Café users. Although five other beaches were mentioned, Bay of Plenty; Battery Beach; Jetski Beach; and Vetch’s Beach, the number of responses for these were few. (Figure 5.1.).

Race of Respondent	The Suncoast Casino		The Beach Café		Total	
	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondents	%
White	4	40	6	60	10	50
Black	1	10	1	10	2	10
Indian	4	40	2	20	6	30
Coloured	1	10	1	10	2	10
Total	10	100	10	100	20	100

Table 1.2: Race Percentage of Beach Users

The beach users were also asked to give reasons for visiting other beaches. The results showed that the dominant reason that emerged for visiting other beaches was due to their

vibrant nature. This was true for both the Suncoast Casino (7) and the Beach Café (4) beach users. By contrast, the next most popular response was beaches that were „quieter and peaceful“ and the response was the same for both the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café users with each having three counts. Other popular responses include: beaches with a more diverse „mix of people“ (3); and „caters to own personal taste“ (3). Other responses include „more organic and unrestricted“ beaches (1) and beaches with „better waves“ (1).

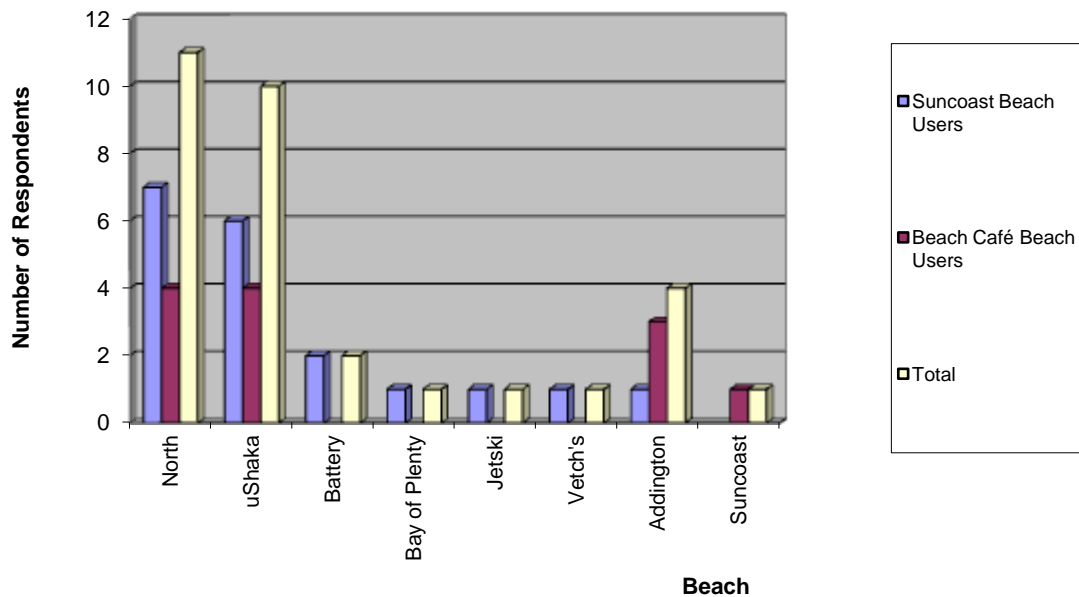


Figure 5.1: The popularity of other beaches along Durban's Beachfront with beach users using public spaces developed by PPPs

5.2.5. Use of Space by Beach Users

The Suncoast Casino

The Suncoast Casino beach users were asked to identify three things that they found favourable about that particular beach area. In total this amounted to thirty responses (three from each beach user). The results show that all ten respondents listed „safety“ or security as one of the characteristics they enjoy about the Suncoast Casino Beach. Seven respondents appreciated the cleanliness factor and this was the second most common characteristic appearing as one of their responses. „Shelter“ and „amenities“ followed, with six and four respondents respectively. This was followed by „peaceful“, „friendly“ and „spacious“ with one response each. (Figure 5.2.).

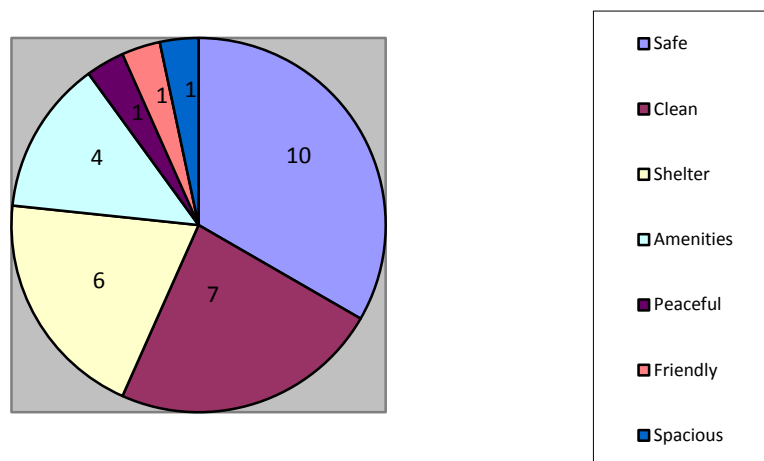


Figure 5.2: Qualities most enjoyed by the Suncoast Casino Beach Users

The Beach Café

Similarly, the Beach Café users were asked to identify three things that they found favourable about the Beach Café and the surrounding beach space on which it is located. In total, the results amounted to twenty seven responses. The results show that the most common response was the fact that the beach was „clean“ (6), followed by „aesthetics“, „safety“ and „amenities and parking accessibility“. Other notable responses include the beach’s „vibrant“ nature as well as the „quiet and peaceful“ characteristic that is experienced there. (Figure 5.3.).

The results for obtained from both the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café respondents show that in both groups the majority of beach users appreciated the cleanliness and safety of these beaches.

The Suncoast Casino

The users of the Suncoast Casino Beach were also asked to list the activities in which they engaged in when they visited the Suncoast Casino Beach. In total this amounted to twenty five responses where most users listed more than two activities. The results show that „swimming“ (8), „sunbathing“ (5) and „relaxing on SUNdeck“ (5) were the most popular responses. The other notable activities include „reading“, „walking/jogging“, „religious“ and „socialising“. It may be said that most of these activities are typical of beach activities. (Figure 5.4.).

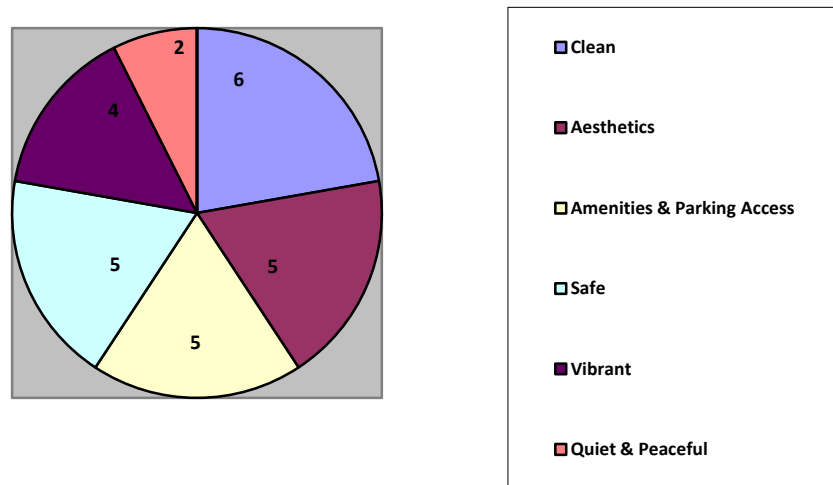


Figure 5.3: Qualities most enjoyed by the Beach Café Beach Users

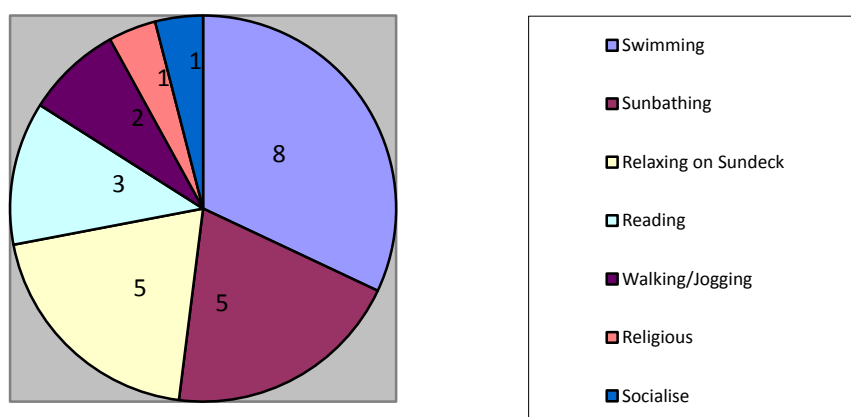


Figure 5.3: The Dominant Activities of the Suncoast Casino Beach Users

The Beach Café

The users of the Beach Café were also asked to list the activities in which they engaged in when they visited that particular beach. In total this amounted to twenty four responses where all users listed no less than two activities each. As the activity of dining at the Beach Café was an obvious activity the respondents were discouraged from listing that as an activity. The results show that the most popular activities were „swimming/surfing“ (5) and „people

watching“ (5). This was followed by „soaking up the beach vibe“ (3). Other notable activities include „beach sports“, „jogging/walking“, „sunbathing“ and „relaxing“. (Figure 5.5.).

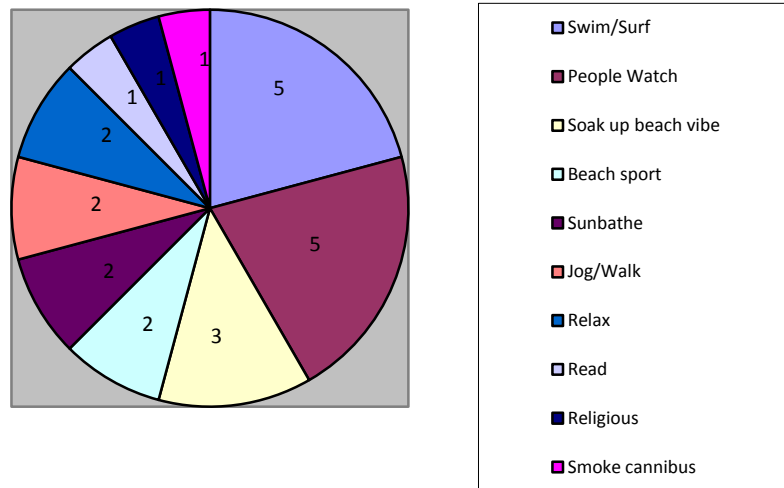


Figure 5.4: The dominant Activities of the Beach Café Beach Users

The results show that both developments supported the „conventional“ beach practices with swimming/surfing accounting for a large majority of the responses. Other responses in that may be described as conventional beach practices included walking/jogging, sunbathing, beach sport and people watching. The next most popular overall response after „swimming/surfing“ was „relaxing“.

5.2.6. Frequency of Beach Use

Beach users were asked to list how frequently they utilised the beach on which they were interviewed. Most of the respondents visited the beach once or twice each month with the Suncoast Casino (7) and the Beach Café (5). None of the beach users visited the beach less than four times a year with the least frequent user listing their frequency as once every four months or once every quarter. (Table 5.3)

Beach users were also asked how their level of activities on each of these beaches had changed since the facilities had been established. Eight out of ten respondents on the Suncoast Casino Beach indicated that since the Suncoast Casino had been established their activities at that beach had increased. One respondent indicated their activity had remained the same and another felt their activity had decreased.

For the Beach Café users and four respondents indicated that their activities had decreased, three had said their activities had increased and three noted their activities has remained the same.

Frequency	The Suncoast Casino		The Beach Café	
	Number of Respondents	%	Number of Respondents	%
Almost everyday	1	10	1	10
Every week	0	0	4	40
Once or twice a month	7	70	5	50
Every other month	1	10	0	0
Once every quarter	1	10	0	0
Total	10	100	10	100

Table 5.3: Frequency of beach use for users of the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café

5.2.7. Average Money Spent at Beach

Beach users were asked how much money they each spent on average when they visited the beach. Each of the beach users at the Suncoast Casino spent at least R5 when visiting the beach - the entrance fee that is charged for entering the lawn area is R5. Two respondents spent between R10 - R20, two spent R21 - R30, another two spent R31 - R50 and three respondents spent R51 - R100. The most common response when asked what the money was spent on (apart from the entrance fee) is „refreshments“ (7); „food and drinks“ (3) and ice-cream (3).

For the users of the beach on which the Beach Café is situated, three respondents spent between R10-R30 and two respondents spent between R50-R100. „Nothing“, „less than R10“, R30-R50, R401-R500 and „more than R500“ each received one response. This means that 40% of the respondents spent more than or equal to R50 when they visited that particular beach. It is interesting to note that two respondents indicated they spent more than R400 when coming to the beach. This indicates the middle to upper income status of the respondents.

5.2.8. Exclusion from Beach Spaces

This section presents the evidence related to the exclusion of beach users from public spaces. On the Suncoast Casino Beach there were only two cases of feelings or acts of exclusion, whereas four Beach Café users indicated that they had been excluded or felt excluded. Table 5.4. summarises the results of those who were excluded and includes the reasons for this occurring. One Suncoast Casino beach user was excluded when they attempted to bring food onto the pay-area that was not bought within the the Suncoast Casino complex (Respondent A, 20/12/2008). Another was chased away due to the fact that he was viewed as being suspicious to the security guards (Respondent F, 10/01/2009).

The instances of exclusion from the Beach Café and the surrounding beach include one instance where a respondent felt excluded from the beach due to her economic status which was that of a lower income earner (Respondent M, 21/12/2009). Another beach user was excluded due to a shortage of space on the beach during peak season (Respondent L, 21/12/2009). One respondent noted that she felt excluded because she was questioned by locals on that beach about her nationality (Respondent K, 21/12/2008). An interesting case of perceived exclusion came from a marijuana smoker who felt the geographical range of his beach use was narrowed down as a result of the development (Respondent P, 07/02/2009). None of these exclusions apart from the first case of economic exclusion were directly because of the Beach Café, but nevertheless have indirect impacts on the ability of these beach users to carry out their „normal“ and desired beach activities. (Table 5.4).

Location	Responses
The Suncoast Casino	I was excluded once, when I tried to bring food onto the lawn area. According to the rules you are not allowed to bring any food onto the SUNdeck but if it is bought from one of the outlets inside the casino then its fine. I think that is a bit unfair (Respondent A, 20/12/2008).
	Earlier on when the casino first opened I was chased away because they did not understand what activity I was doing on the beach. They did not know I was praying and they were suspicious of me. In time this has stopped and they now know that I do not mean any harm but I stay away from the area because some of the clients look at me a bit strangely (Respondent F, 10/01/2008).
The Beach Café	Many times people ask me if I was a South African, they said I was a “kwere-kwere” so I did not like coming here even though I was a South African because I was afraid (Respondent K, 21/12/2008).
	Space was once an issue here. I came on Christmas and New Years Day but I was turned away due to the number of people who were here, but I haven’t ever been forcefully removed for any reason (Respondent L, 21/12/2008).
	I can’t afford to eat at the Beach Café therefore I can’t enjoy that part of the

	beach because only people who buy from there are allowed to sit there (Respondent C, 21/12/2008).
	I am a marijuana smoker and so obviously it feels like my activities are under more scrutiny at a place full of people like the area that is near the Beach Café. It's a lot more difficult for me to do this these days. It's not as if my activities are harmful to beach users, whether it is harmful to me is an unrelated issue to the general safety of the beach (Respondent F, 31/01/2009).

Table 5.4: Exclusion of Beach Users for both the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café

5.2.9. Opinions of Beach Users on PPPs development of public space

Beach users were asked for their opinions on the fact that the city had allowed private developers to control parts of the public beach and what they thought might be the consequences of this. There were mixed responses to this question with some completely disagreeing with this process and others welcoming it due to a number of reasons. (Table 5.5.) presents some of the responses for the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café.

The majority of the Suncoast Casino Beach users, (6 out of ten), viewed that the PPPs' development of public space was positive for the beachfront. Many who viewed this positively did so because they believed that the beach had become much safer due to the efforts of the Suncoast Casino. Some also mentioned that the beach is much cleaner due to the developer's management of public space and that they were happy to pay for the service of a clean and safe beach.

However, three out of ten respondents had mixed feelings towards the presence of PPP developments of public space on the beachfront, with all noting that they felt that the beach belonged to the public so they should not have to pay for entering any part of it. However, all respondents welcomed the safety brought to that particular part of the beachfront by the management of the public space by the Suncoast Casino.

One respondent had negative feelings towards PPP developments of public space on the beachfront (Respondent D, 10/01/2009). She felt that it brought about a level of disparity to the beachfront where certain parts of the beachfront become the preserve of the rich and affluent and other parts remain occupied by the poor. The respondent drew on a growing trend that has been occurring on the Durban Beachfront where the beaches towards the south have attracted vagrancy and homelessness and these are starkly juxtaposed with the more affluent northern beaches which are secure (Respondent D, 10/01/2009).

Half of the Beach Café beach users stated that PPP development of public space increase the tourism value of the Durban Beachfront (5 out of 10). Other respondents noted it was positive because it reduced the presence of crime and street children on that part of the beachfront.

Some of the respondents pointed out the economic benefits from tourism but were also concerned about the beach becoming too „privatised“ (3 out of 10).

A minority response was that these types of developments of public space created pockets of exclusive spaces and were inappropriate for the goal of integration (2 out of 10). (Table 5.5.).

Location	Responses
The Suncoast Casino	It's ok. I suppose one as large as this [the Suncoast Casino] means that the developer has quite a big say in what goes on here, which is a problem since this beach is supposed to be owned by the public. But on the plus side I think that the Suncoast Casino has ensured that this place has lots of big events and activity happening all the time which I think is good for the beachfront (Respondent A, 20/12/2008).
	The beaches are safer since the Suncoast Casino has been here. I feel much safer on this beach than any other beach along the beachfront. The other beaches are in a bad condition. I won't go there in a hurry. I don't go to those (the Suncoast Casino Respondent B, 20/12/2008).
	I don't agree with the privatisation of public space. It results in the exclusion of the other which then leads to increasing disparity amongst the city's population. Crime thus increases in other areas. I think that it is classist segregation and lots of capitalist accumulation. In other words the rich just get richer and spoilt whilst the poor remain poor (Respondent D, 10/01/2009).
	It's fine. I think that R5 is not that much to spend so it's affordable for anyone, but it still annoys me that we have got to that stage now were we have to pay to enter certain parts of the beach. I think that if this happens all across our beachfront then this is not good for our city and the beach (Respondent E, 10/01/2009).
	It would be nice if the private developers take care of the place adjacent to the Suncoast Casino. I think it would be a good thing for the beachfront if private developers take over given the fact that they would be able to afford to take care of the place which is otherwise left in a bad state with dumping and littering. Tourists will come into the city more and therefore the job opportunities will increase and the city's economy will grow. I see animals being slaughtered here on the beach and I think that's inappropriate. A private developer wouldn't allow that but the city does (Respondent F, 10/01/2009).
	The beaches should be free for everyone who wants to use it; though I must admit that I do love coming to a beach where I can have peace of mind. The fact is that the beach is a place where one should relax. Relaxing and beaches most certainly go hand in hand. I think perhaps one of the negative effects is that it might become or has already become a bit exclusive. But it does offer something different from all the other beaches on the Durban Beachfront

	(Respondent I, 07/02/2009).
The Beach Café	It has increased my interest in wanting to come to the beachfront. I think over the years the beachfront has gotten a little boring but now you see this small little vibrant development and immediately you want to go inside. I'm sure that this is the case with not just me but also those who don't live in Durban and come here on holiday. If Durban wants to be a tourist city I think they need more cafés and developments like this one (Respondent L, 21/12/2008).
	Developments like these are for the rich and not for the poor. I don't agree with it happening especially not on the beachfront which is one of the few places you don't have to pay to go to because it is public (Respondent M, 21/12/2008).
	I think private presence is good for the beachfront because obviously the private company would want a safe place so they would hire security and that makes the surrounding areas much safer. It reduces crime and street kids (Respondent N, 03/01/2009).
	It is good for our city because this is the kind of thing that the tourists from overseas are attracted to. It adds value to the area but I think it is too exclusive and pricey. If you look at the menu you would know what I mean (Respondent S, 08/02/2009).
	I think that the beach should never ever be privatised completely but with this development I think it fits very well into the surrounding areas. It's like having a picnic on the beach. That also takes up space doesn't it? (Respondent T, 08/02/2009).

Table 5.5: Beach User Responses to PPP developments and privatisation of beachfront

5.2.10. The Identity of Beach Spaces

Respondents were also asked to note whether the development had affected their experience of the beach in any way positively or negatively. Their responses gave an indication of the identity they attach to the PPP beaches in question.

The Suncoast Casino

At the Suncoast Casino beach, seven out of ten respondents felt that the development had affected them positively, whilst one noted it affected him negatively and two revealed it affected them both positively and negatively. Table 5.6. presents their responses to this question as well as their comments to their responses of „positively“, „negatively“ or „positively & negatively“.

The Beach Café

At the Beach Café, four out of ten respondents felt that the development had affected the users positively, whilst three noted it affected them negatively and two revealed it affected them both positively and negatively. One respondent took a neutral position. Table 5.9 shows

their responses to this question as well as their comments to their responses of „positive“, „negative“, „positive & negative“ or „neutral“.

Location	Response	Comments
The Suncoast Casino	Positive	If one looks at the entertainment factor, the Suncoast Casino makes the experience of the beach much more pleasurable (Respondent A, 20/12/2009)
	Positive	Simply because I have peace of mind (Respondent B, 20/12/2009).
	Positive	I can come to a beach that is safe and clean. There are reports in the media of other beaches being contaminated which I find very off-putting (Respondent C, 20/12/2009).
	Negative	The development has decreased my desire to want to go to that beach. It has lost its desolate feel (Respondent D, 10/01/2009).
	Positive & Negative	It's nice that it's a clean, safe beach but it's not so nice that I have to pay to enter. I suppose the fee is not too expensive (Respondent E, 10/01/2009).
	Positive & Negative	It's peaceful here which is good for my religious activities. In the beginning they would chase me away. I don't know how it will be if there are more developments like this and I wonder if they would do the same. It would be a shame if I am not allowed to pray here (Respondent F, 10/01/2009).
	Positive	Now there is a safe beach in Durban that I can go to (Respondent G, 31/01/2009).
	Positive	The safety aspect cannot be overstated. I also like the fact that you can go inside the casino and freshen up (Respondent H, 31/01/2009).
	Positive	I can finally feel relaxed at the beach without having to worry about my belongings or being attacked for that matter (Respondent I, 07/02/2009).
	Positive	I have a place to chill in peace. This beach gives me peace of mind (Respondent J, 07/02/2009).
The Beach Café	Negative	I don't feel included in this development so I would say it doesn't affect me positively (Respondent K, 21/12/2008).
	Positive	It's great. I love being in this space. Except when you come here and there's no place (to sit) of course (Respondent L, 21/12/2008).
	Negative	It's not for me; it's for those who can afford. I can only make use of this place very rarely. It won't become a regular fixture for me at the beach (Respondent M, 21/12/2008).

	Positive	I come here after I jog. It's the most appropriate reward for me I think (Respondent N, 03/01/2009) .
	Neutral	It doesn't add anything to my experience of the beach and it doesn't take anything away (Respondent O, 03/01/2009).
	Negative	It's not fun at this beach anymore; it also seems to be a particular race and class here (Respondent P, 31/01/2009).
	Positive & Negative	It's a nice place but I think it's a bit exclusive. Too expensive as well (Respondent Q, 07/02/2009).
	Positive	It's just a convenient stop of point for me on the beachfront. It adds a lot more to my experience (Respondent R, 07/02/2009).
	Positive	I love the vibe on offer here. It's the perfect mix of elements. Sun, sea, good drinks and food (Respondent S, 08/02/2009).
	Positive & Negative	It's very upmarket and it's nice having it here but I prefer an open beach without obstructions (Respondent T, 08/02/2009).

Table 5.6: Identity of Beach Spaces

5.2.11. Memorable Experiences on the Beach

Beach users for both the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café were asked to share memorable experiences of the beach. Most noted that the moments that they remembered most fondly were those involving their friends and family. Other respondents recalled more unpleasant memories of being robbed at the beach.

The Suncoast Casino

At the Suncoast Casino, the respondents recalled a variety of thoughts related to their memories of the beach. People using the beach remembered moments when they saw a school of dolphins from the beach and lawn area (2 out of 10 respondents). Others related their experience of special moments spent at Suncoast Beach with members of their families (2 out of 10). Some of the respondents enjoyed the „buzz“ of activity during the holiday season (2 out of 10). One respondent mentioned a music video that she was a part of which used the Suncoast Casino as its location. The other responses included participating in yoga and a local walkathon that is held near the beach. (Table 5.7).

The Beach Café

Two respondents shared less cheerful experiences as they recalled being robbed at that particular beach. Another enjoyed the vantage point of the beach and the view of the ships coming into the harbour and another enjoyed witnessing a traditional African ritual in the early hours of the morning. One respondent could not pinpoint a particular moment but felt

that the Beach Café was a perfect combination of African weather and European dining. A respondent expressed strongly his enjoyment of the outdoors and the atmosphere on the beach in particular when it is “busy and chaotic”. (Table 5.7).

Location	Comments
The Suncoast Casino	I did yoga here a few times. That’s always special – doing it so close to the ocean. It’s quite an experience with the ocean breeze and the smell of the sea (Respondent B, 20/12/2009).
	Yes. I had my family here over from Ireland and they couldn’t get over it. (Laughs). They almost melted in the heat luckily there was shade here. Then we went inside and had a good old supper. That was special (Respondent C, 20/12/2008).
	I enjoy running on the beach. The ECR walkathon is also fun (Respondent E, 10/01/2009).
	I saw dolphins here coming from the south. Always wish to see them again. It was a very special moment. I enjoy the sunrise in the morning. Once I saw both the sun and the moon and a rainbow. I think that is particularly rare (Respondent F, 10/01/2009).
	Just being here with the friends and family during the summer months is so nice. Catching some waves and just relaxing knowing that you are on holiday. I enjoy that feeling especially when you can do it without having to be on your guard all the time (Respondent G, 10/01/2009).
	Although it gets busy, December is quite special. There are so many people it’s almost unbelievable. There are lots of tourists and families during this time. It’s interesting just to watch all this activity unfold before your eyes. The Suncoast Casino can get packed during the festive season. It’s almost as bad as the July festival on North Beach (Respondent J, 07/02/2009).
The Beach Café	Brought my daughter and her family here. We took photos. It was so awesome. The kids went surfing. Its so nice here and controlled. It’s even sun controlled. Every time is an interesting and memorable moment but that was special because there was so much happiness and laughter. I can’t forget that (Respondent L, 21/12/2008).
	Yes. Once I saw this amazing ritual being performed in the ocean. It took me aback though, but I enjoyed witnessing something so different. It was early in the morning and a group of traditional African people slaughtered a bird. It must have been a chicken. It did freak me out a bit but I thought our city has so much more to it that we don’t even know about. Also every time I’m on the top of the wave the view of the ocean and the city in front of me... ah! That just gives me goose bumps (Respondent O, 03/01/2009).

	I love it when it's busy and chaotic. It shows that there are places where fun can be had in the outdoors. Durbanites are becoming too obsessed and conditioned by the indoors, we are supposed to be a sea city! That's why the Vaalies ¹² come here, to get away from all of that!!! (Respondent P, 31/01/2009).
	Seeing the ships come into the bay every time I'm here is always special. They seem so close from this beach. One day I think I counted 20 ships. It's always so interesting that sometimes there's so much cargo on each ship and to track the ships progress is a very relaxing exercise [laughs] (Respondent R, 07/02/2009).
	It's great here so whenever I come here it's a memorable experience. I can't think of anything in particular but I remember the first time I came here I thought to myself "it's the best of both worlds. You've got the African sun and Indian Ocean and then you've got European dining right next to it!" (Respondent T, 08/02/2009).

Table 5.7: Memorable experiences of the beach

5.2.12. The Social Character of the Public Space

This section describes the public space areas of the respective PPP developments of public space. In doing so it provided a narrative of the social character of the public spaces as observed by the researcher.

The Suncoast Casino

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Suncoast Casino consists of three distinct beach areas. The first public space area is the boulevard on the eastern boundary of the development (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). The boulevard, if classified according to a legal definition, may be defined as being a semi-private/semi-public piece of land (Madanipour, 2003). This is because a cadastral boundary runs from north to south along the centre of the boulevard (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). This cadastral boundary separates publicly-owned land and privately-owned land. There are two entrances to the boulevard, the northern and the southern entrance (Observation 1, 25/07/2008, Plate 5.1.).

On weekends, during the day, the boulevard is brimming with activity with people seated in the amphitheatre and those walking through the boulevard (Observation 3, 17/01/2009; Observation 4, 18/02/2009). The amphitheatre serves as a waiting area for people who seek fresh air from the air-conditioned complex inside (Observation 3, 17/01/2009). Employees

12 „Vaalie“ is a derogatory slang term used by people from coastal areas in South Africa to refer to people from the former South African province of Transvaal. The term is still commonly used today and usually refers to those people living in inland parts of South Africa.

from the various restaurants within the complex were observed taking their smoke breaks in this area (Observation 3, 17/01/2009). Families were also well represented here with parents moving their infants along the boulevard in their prams (Observation 4, 18/01/2009).

The casino also provides benches which are placed along the length of the boulevard (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). There are a total of five benches, which attract young couples but it was also observed that there were several elderly people here (Observation 3, 17/01/2009). The boulevard may be described as inward-looking which is pronounced by the fact that it is surrounded by the casino complex on one side and tall landscaped vegetation on the other which obscures the view of the ocean and the dune system on the Suncoast Casino Beach (Observation 4, 18/01/2009). During the end of the year holiday a „foofie slide“ was installed which ran across the length of the boulevard and provided entertainment for the young crowd as their parents or family watched them from the ground below (Observation 3, 17/01/2009).

On Sunday mornings, it was observed that many cyclists and runners pass through the casino (Observation 4, 18/01/2009). This is also true for weekday evenings (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). The management of the Suncoast Casino welcome cyclists and runners through the boulevard and this is indicated on the signposts at both the entrances (Observation 1, 25/07/2008).

The second public space area is the SUNdeck area. This area may be described as a relaxed environment and this is especially true for weekdays during which time a number of people passively engage with their surrounding environment by sunbathing or reading (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). On weekends the environment is more vibrant as families and children make up the majority of the populace (Observation 3, 18/01/2009).

The third public space area of the Suncoast Casino is the Suncoast Casino Beach. It was observed that the beach was utilised by paying customers of the SUNdeck but not exclusively (Observation 3, 17/01/2009; Observation 4, 18/01/2009). From informal conversations with people located on the beach it was established that some beach users had accessed the beach without going through the Suncoast Casino property (Observation 3, 17/01/2009; Observation 4, 18/01/2009). The regular social activities at the beach, such as sunbathing, swimming, jogging and walking dogs were observed (Observation 3, 17/01/2009; Observation 4, 18/01/2009). All these activities were undertaken under the gaze of security

guards, and the lifeguards, who were perched high above on a lifeguard station (Observation 3, 17/01/2009).

The Beach Café

On weekends the restaurant is filled to capacity and reaches its peak after midday. (Observation 2, 13/12/2008; Observation 7, 07/02/2009). There is a soft interface between the restaurant and the rest of the beach due to the agreement between the city and the developer that no cordoning off of the restaurant is allowed (Observation 2, 13/12/2008). There therefore exists no boundary between the restaurant and the beach, which, allowing for greater linkages between the Beach Café and the surrounding areas, such as the adjacent skate park and the ocean (Observation 2, 13/12/2008). Beach Café supports a vibrant, family-oriented environment that draws strongly on the surrounding public area in creating this environment. A combination of a busy and relaxed environment is created by the recreational activities of the beach, such as swimming; surfing; and beach sport and the beach dining offered by the Beach Café. (Plate 5.2.)



Plate 5.2: Showing the Beach Café (east facing view)

5.3. Economic Benefits/Costs of PPPs for Public Spaces

5.3.1. Introduction

Interviews were held with the private sector representatives of the two case studies. In the case of the Suncoast Casino the Managing Director, Mr Mike Dowsley, was interviewed and for the Beach Café, Mr Jacques Roux, the day manager, was interviewed. The purpose of this section is to present information based on the economic benefits and costs of the development, the impacts on the city and on employment.

Additionally, an interview was conducted with Mr Mike Andrews, representative of the Strategic Projects Unit, eThekweni Municipality.

5.3.2. Total Cost of Development

The Suncoast Casino

The total cost of the project was R1.4 billion which remains to date the largest single investment on Durban's beachfront (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The development is owned by a host of shareholders and is part of the Tsogo Sun group which is itself a part of the Southern Sun group (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

The Beach Café

The total investment cost of the development is unknown. When compared to the Suncoast Casino the project is of a small scale and the investment would be considerably less than that of the Suncoast Casino (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The structure on which the Beach Café is placed is made of low cost materials (timber, not brick and mortar) therefore the costs of construction were fairly low (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Apart from erecting the structure, other costs have been for the décor within the café and for furniture such as the chairs, tables and the loungers (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The construction of the development was also not very labour intensive (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009).

5.3.3. Financial Success of Development

This section presents the results for the success of the respective PPPs. This is based on the opinions of the private sector representatives as well as the Municipality representative.

The Suncoast Casino

The financial success of the Suncoast Casino as a beachfront destination is inclusive of the beach area but also the complex as a whole (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). In this

sense its financial success cannot be compared by rand profit to the Beach Café which is classified as a small scale beach development. When asked to what extent the development was a financial success, Mr Dowsley declined to give exact figures but maintained that the Suncoast Casino had established an economic node which did not exist before (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). The development was described as a “massive economic improvement in the area” (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). Furthermore, the Suncoast Casino is the largest casino complex in the country (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

Mr Andrews of eThekweni confirmed that the Suncoast Casino was one of the largest casinos in the country. It was also noted “that they [the Suncoast Casino] are looking to invest further within the precinct [and this] is testament to the financial success of the development” (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The number of people who visit the casino and the lawn area on a daily and weekly basis also shows that the entire development has been a resounding success (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

The areas of revenue for the Suncoast Casino are mainly the gambling income and the rent received from the tenants within the complex as well as the revenue received from the in-house cinema complex (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). There are 1250 slot machines and 50 gaming tables within the complex as well as 20 retailers and 18 restaurants and fast foods chains (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). Additionally there is a cinema complex which is run by the Suncoast Casino and houses eight cinemas (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). The developers have sought to create a safe, convenient experience on Durban’s Golden Mile which incorporates a large number of activities catering to all tastes and suitable for all members of the family (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). In doing so the casino attracts about 750 000 visitors per month (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

The Beach Café

The representative of the Beach Café, Mr Jacques Roux was also not able to reveal the exact profit margin that had been achieved by the development. The development has been running for three years since 2005 and has been growing with each year (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The Beach Café was a pilot project for the Municipality and due to the level of financial success, there has been many more proposals based on the Beach Café model that have been put forward to the city council (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The Beach Café is part of a successful group of restaurants in the country owned by Cencirc which is also the owner of popular restaurants Piatto, Circus Circus and Centre Court (Roux, pers.

comm., 06/02/2009). A Piatto is located across the road about 20 metres from where the Beach Café is located so a business opportunity was literally “right on the door step” of a sister company (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The day Manager of the Beach Café, Mr Jacques Roux (pers. comm., 06/02/2009) explained:

“The Piatto in the Southern Sun hotel is across the road [Marine Parade] from where we are therefore it made perfect sense for the Beach Café to be located on this particular location. We always knew that we wanted the Beach Café to be here on this specific part of the beachfront”.

The Beach Café’s main profit area is alcoholic drinks but the café also has a selection of light meals that its patrons are able to choose from (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The Beach Café’s success has been attributed to its unique combination of sand, sea and cocktails which is unique in Durban and South Africa (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The developer concedes that the menu is more expensive than the other restaurants and cafés on the beachfront (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). As an example of this is that a toasted chicken and mayonnaise sandwich costs approximately R40 at the Beach Café. A beach user may pay less than R20 for the same at the franchise restaurant Wimpy, located across the boulevard from the Beach Café (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009).

The Beach Café has been “fantastically supported by the citizens of Durban and there is no doubt that it has been a profitable venture” (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Due to this success it has also provided the impetus for other entrepreneurs to submit proposals to the city similar to the Beach Café model (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

5.3.4. Cost for entering the Beach and Services provided on the Beach

The Suncoast Casino

The grassed lawn area or the SUNdeck which lies in the centre of the dune cordon is a pay-area, except for hotel guests and Tsogo Sun loyalty members (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2009). A fee of R5 per person is charged to enter the SUNdeck which includes shelter in the form of large umbrellas and access to a grassed area and deck chairs owned by the Suncoast Casino (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2009). The actual sand area or beach area may be accessed by anyone who wishes to do so but they must circumnavigate the casino property in order to make use of the beach (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/ 2008; Observation 1, 25/07/2008).

In order to enter the gated premises by „normal“ motor vehicle, the visitor to the complex must pay R5 per car regardless of the number of people inside the vehicle. However, one may enter the premises on foot which does not require a fee to be paid (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). A minibus taxi entering the premises must pay a fee of R80 per vehicle and a bus must pay R360 (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). Motorbikes are treated as motor vehicles and bicycles are treated as pedestrians (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). This implies that if a family of four wishes to spend the day at the SUNdeck and park on the premises, they would expect to pay a total of R25 for the day. If the family does not wish to pay for parking, then a free, public beach parking area is available close to the pay-beach to the north (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). One hundred percent of the respondents in the survey noted that they parked within the complex due to perceived levels of crime in public parking areas.

The Beach Café

The beach on which the Beach Café is located is the Bay of Plenty (Observation 2, 13/12/2008). The Bay of Plenty is a free beach which means it is accessible to any member of the public (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008; Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). According to Mr Roux, the rights of admission to the Beach Café is for anyone who is able and willing to pay for drinks and meals (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). This also permits the patron access to chairs and loungers provided by the Beach Café located on the sand in front of the Café (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). In addition to this, there is also a play area for children of the Beach Café patrons. The day Manager for the Beach Café Mr Jacques Roux (pers. comm., 06/02/2009) explained:

“The beach is public. We have to follow several rules such as no cordoning off areas; it must remain physically open; no marquees; no fires; no urination; and other laws that are applicable to other beaches in the area”.

According to Mr Andrews (15/07/2008) there have been proposals to increase the size of the deck area. However, the Municipality views this as problematic “because it [will comprise on] the public’s availability of the beach”.

5.3.5. Maintenance Costs

The Suncoast Casino

According to Mike Dowsley, the SUNdeck is not one of the casino’s profit areas because the costs of maintenance which includes managing the growth of the grass in inhospitable beach conditions as well as the costs for monthly landscaping of the dune system exceeds the revenue generated from the entrance fee (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). Also included

in the cost is the money spent on the security that is stationed throughout the day on the beach within the SUNdeck (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2009). Mr. Dowsley declined to reveal the amount spent on the monthly running costs of the development.

The Beach Café

Mr Roux was also unable to give information on the maintenance costs of The Beach Café.

5.3.6. Economic Benefits received from the use of the Beach

This section presents the results on the use of the beach for economic benefits by the respective PPP developments.

The Suncoast Casino

Apart from the money earned from the entrance fee, the SUNdeck supports a plethora of activity and festivals (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). These range from once-off concerts to weekend-long beauty pageants and charitable drives (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2009). The activities that take place on the SUNdeck turn the area into an important and profitable portion of real estate on the Suncoast Casino's property. The adjacent amphitheatre and the boardwalk also plays host to events such as Boktown¹³, The Whisky Expo and cultural events such as East Meets West (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). According to Mr Dowsley the range of activities taking place here is testament to the success of the lawn area, the amphitheatre and the boardwalk (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008; Plate 5.3). The developer maintains that the „pay-beach“ area is not run to make a profit from the entrance fees obtained (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

Managing Director of The Suncoast Casino Mr Mike Dowsley (pers. comm., 25/07/2008):

“Due to its close location to the sea and the beach it has enabled The Suncoast Casino to play host to water and sand events as well as festivals such as the wine week. I think festivals such as the wine week, as well as doing activities such as yoga on the beach, are compatible with the beach. Here at the Suncoast Casino we ensure that we have activities that complement this beautiful location. I mean isn't it a perfect match to have wine on the beach? I think it's fantastic”!

13 Special screening of South African rugby matches which takes place on the boardwalk under a marquee. Housed inside the marquee is a large bar area as well as accommodation for over one hundred people.



Plate 5.3: Showing the Suncoast Casino Complex and Boulevard

The Beach Café

The location of the Beach Café also has an important role in contributing to the success of the development as it is located near the Skate Park, hotels, the beach volleyball nets and the lifeguard towers (Observation 2, 13/12/2008; Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The location of these nearby amenities enables parents to keep a watchful eye on their children as they dine at the Beach Café (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The day Manager of the Beach Café, Mr Jacques Roux (pers. comm., 06/02/2009) stated that:

“The main selling point is that we offer them [the clients] a place to enjoy a cocktail or a meal on the sand which is not offered anywhere else. It contributes to the beach experience by adding to the surf and fun in the sun with chic dining in the sand”.

5.3.7. Economic Impacts on the City

The following section presents the results of the economic impacts that the PPP developments have had on eThekweni Municipality and is obtained mainly from the interview conducted with Mr Mike Andrews.

The Suncoast Casino

The city began the process of locating an appropriate site for a casino following the recommendations from the Wiehahn Commission which investigated the future of gambling for South Africa after 1994 (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Previously, in the apartheid era, gambling was an illegal activity and was limited to the TBVC¹⁴ states where casinos were housed in complexes like Sun City in Bophutatswana and The Wild Coast Sun in the Transkei (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The conditions stipulated in the Wiehahn Commission required that any casino built would have to invest in tourism-related infrastructure (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). This investment would essentially become private investment in public infrastructure (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

The city saw an opportunity for investment in tourism related products in the city and more specifically the beachfront area (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). As a result the current site on which the Suncoast Casino is located was chosen as the most suitable site given its close proximity to the main beachfront (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Consequently, the city negotiated a purchase price of R100 million with Tsogo Sun a purchase price for the 26 hectare site (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The promenade and lawn area was a free investment and did not cost the city or the tax payer anything (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). This area does not belong to the private developer but is owned by the eThekweni Municipality. An agreement was made between the private developer and the city ensured that the promenade and lawn area had to be maintained by the Suncoast Casino and that the promenade should be freely accessible to the general public (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The grassed lawn area, on the other hand, is only accessible to members of the public who are willing to pay for the service maintained and funded by the Suncoast Casino (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

According to Mr Andrews, an additional R95 million for investment in the surrounding precinct was agreed due to „stricter negotiations“ between the eThekweni Municipality and the private developer (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). To date, the first of these payments has already been received. Tsogo Sun has also pledged to contribute over R70

14 Former self-governing „Bantu“ homelands in the apartheid era as part of the homeland policy. TBVC is an acronym for the four self governing states within the apartheid-era Republic of South Africa namely: Transkei; Boputhatswana; Venda and; Ciskei. These states were incorporated into the Republic in 1994.

million towards the „people mover“ for the city which link the Suncoast Casino with the inner city and other important tourist sites along the beachfront including uShaka Marine World (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The buses are the first of its kind in the city and are available every hour from a bus stop just outside the south promenade entrance (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

Mr Andrews conceded that some of the indirect ways in which the Suncoast Casino has benefited the city economically were difficult to measure (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). This includes a measure of the increased number of tourists both locally and abroad who may come into the city more often due to the Suncoast Casino“s presence on the beachfront (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Another indirect way in which the Suncoast Casino has benefited the city, and more specifically the beachfront, is the rising property prices in the vicinity of the area (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

It has also enriched the beachfront“s architectural landscape by standing out as a unique landmark on the Golden Mile due to its art-deco inspired and Miami-style facades (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). At present, the vast majority of the buildings along the beachfront are of the same late modernist style of architecture which is a legacy of the building boom that characterised the 1970s period of apartheid architecture (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). More recently these late modernist buildings have been decorated in African style as well as with hints of art-deco in a bid to revive these buildings (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). Strategic Projects Office, Mr Mike Andrews (pers. comm., 15/07/2008) commented that:

“If the city was to develop everything we would probably end up with the same development all over the beachfront so it would probably be a very boring and monotonous beachfront...It would be a thoroughly boring city if the city architects designed every single building”.

The Beach Café

As mentioned previously, Mr Andrews noted that the city has received many requests from private developers to release parts of the beachfront for developments that are similar to the Beach Café (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Due to this demand, and because of the success of the Beach Café, there will be a few more cafés along the beachfront which will be implemented as part of the city“s new beachfront plan (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The new beachfront plan was implemented ahead of the 2010 FIFA World Cup which created and established nodes in order to address the weak linkages that existed along the promenade (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

The new beachfront plans has extended the Central Beachfront promenade from uShaka Beach in the south to Country Club Beach in the north (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Before this, the linkages in the central portion of the beachfront were strong but weaker at both ends of the beachfront (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Included in this beachfront upgrade was the redevelopment of facilities at Addington Beach, New Beach, Dairy Beach and the area around the existing XL restaurant (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). These facilities provide space for cafes and restaurants as well as other tourism related infrastructure, such as new toilets and showers (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

According to Mr Andrews the success and experience gained from the pilot project development of the Beach Café the city had equipped the city with the necessary skills to implement similar restaurant developments at various points along the new beachfront plan (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). In this sense the Municipality was speculative when approving the development rights of the Beach Café not knowing whether or not it would prove to be a success. Furthermore, if there were negative impacts resulting from the Beach Café, the Municipality would be able to address these with the appropriate action (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

More directly, the city receives other economic benefits from the monthly rental that the developer had agreed on which Mr Andrews was not at liberty to reveal this amount. He concedes that the exact monetary benefit from the development is difficult to measure other than through the rental that is received each month (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The tourism benefits are one of the indirect benefits from the development due to the fact that the café contributes to the assets on the beachfront thereby making it more attractive (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

Andrews (pers. comm., 15/07/2008) further argued that some of the costs that have been incurred by the city were the costs of the Municipality officials who were employed in the planning and negotiating phase of the project (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Apart from these costs there are ongoing costs that are imposed on the city due to the pressure that the Beach Café places on public utilities (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). These include increased ablution facilities and the need to install services for waste removal from the café (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

5.3.8. Employment Creation

This section presents the results relating to the employment impacts of the PPP developments.

The Suncoast Casino

According to Mr Dowsley, during the construction phases of the project a total number of between 3000-4000 workers were employed (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2009). There were three phases of construction and these are listed as follows:

Phase 1: The casino, retail and related infrastructure, the Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World were completed by 27 November 2002

Phase 2: The SUNdeck, cinemas, Food Court, restaurants, Function & conference Rooms, amphitheatre and boardwalk with foot access to the beach were installed by 25 June 2003

Phase 3: The Suncoast Casino Hotel and Towers were completed by December 2006.

At the time of the study, the Suncoast Casino employed 1 300 people on a permanent basis (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). The range of jobs is broad, from the professional to the less skilled positions, such as cashiers, chippers, slot attendants, card dealers, promoters and hosts (the Suncoast Casino Website, 2009). Many of the jobs require tertiary education and professional jobs are available in the field of human resources, marketing, information technology and finance (the Suncoast Casino Website, 2009). The number of jobs is also increasing from year to year and according to Mr Dowsley there was a double digit increase in 2008 (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

Many services required within the casinos are sub-contracted including the cleaning service and some of the security services (Observation 2, 13/12/2008). The Suncoast Casino has also allowed a car wash company to operate within its parking lot where a number of their employees offer the clients of the Suncoast Casino a car wash whilst they are inside the casino (Observation 2, 13/12/2008).

The Beach Café

Mr Jacques Roux did not know the number of people who were employed during the construction phase of the project. Given the minimal structure that comprises the Beach Café the number of people who were employed during the construction phase of the project would not have been significant. The number of people at the time of the study employed in the

Beach Café is equal to 31 permanent staff members (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2008). This figure includes the different shifts of kitchen staff and waiters who are employed at different times of the day (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The number of jobs has increased every year since the Beach Café opened in 2005. 2008 has been the development's year of largest economic output as well as the largest number of people employed (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009).

5.3.9. Informal Activity

This section presents the impact that the PPP developments have had on informal trading on the beachfront. It also gives an indication of the private sector ethos with regard to informal trading within the respective developments in general.

The Suncoast Casino

The Suncoast Casino does not allow hawkers and traders on any part of their premises (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). The private policing of this area ensures that this activity does not take place (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). The Suncoast Casino does support the informal trade but believes that proper infrastructure such as storage and ablution facilities and administrative structures must be put into place in order for this type of activity to be successful (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). The Suncoast Casino would not be able to support informal activity because of the lack of space and the incompatibility of cycling, running and rollerblading on the boulevard with informal activity (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

The Beach Café

The locality of the Beach Café brings it into contact with informal activity (Observation 2, 12/13/2008). Some of the sandcastle builders¹⁵ who are found on several parts of the Durban Beachfront are located nearby the Beach Café and according to Mr Roux their services are often used in conjunction with promotions run by the Beach Café (Observation 2, 12/13/2008; Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The castle builders assist the Beach Café with advertising by building the logo of the product that the Beach Café is advertising, for example, the Savannah Promotion that was held in 2008 (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009).

¹⁵ The sand castle builders are informal, poor artists who build objects out of the beach sand. This is done to receive donations from onlooking beach users who appreciate their „art“. The sand castle builders use this informal activity as their only source of income. A sand sculpture may take up to a day to create and may be close to a metre high and several metres wide.

The sunglasses traders who walk throughout the promenade are allowed to make their way onto the Beach Café dining area and the customers often purchase their products (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). Similarly, if the Beach Café does not sell the ice cream available from the informal beachfront ice cream vendors then the management of the Beach Café do not preclude their seated customers from purchasing from the vendors and eating it on the Beach Café premises (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009).

This section has reviewed the economic benefits and costs of PPPs development of public space for both the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café. The Suncoast Casino has invested heavily in public tourism related infrastructure and has proven to be an economically successful development. The Beach Café, has also been a successful development but on a smaller level when compared to the Suncoast Casino PPP.

5.4. Ecological Benefits and Costs of PPPs for Public Spaces

5.4.1. Introduction

This section presents the results relating to the ecological assets and services of the beaches on which the PPP developments are located i.e. the Suncoast Casino Beach (the Suncoast Casino) and the Bay of Plenty (the Beach Café), as well as the change in the quality of natural environment on the beaches since PPPs were established. The section also assesses the efforts to manage the beach ecosystem that have been established as a result of the public-private partnerships that have been formed. The section also provides evidence regarding the protection of the ecological integrity of Durban's beaches and how best this practice may be achieved in light of the contribution of the private sector.

5.4.2. Ecological Services and Assets of the Beaches

This section describes the ecological services and assets of the two PPP beaches. Its purpose is to show whether or not these developments are located on areas of ecological value or on sensitive ecosystems.

The Suncoast Casino

According to Penny Croucamp, the Suncoast Casino Beach is more natural in both its appearance and its ecological value than the beaches south of this area (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The presence of dunes along Durban's beachfront is generally only found on the Snell Parade part of the beachfront as opposed to the Marine Parade, which contains little or no vegetated dunes (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). However,

although the dune system does exist along Snell Parade it is sparsely vegetated and has been in a state of decline and erosion for decades (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The Suncoast Casino Beach has one of the healthiest dune areas along the beachfront which is as a result of the conditions that were imposed on the developer upon the approval of the development (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). These conditions held that Tsogo Sun would have to re-vegetate the dune system by a factor of 10 i.e. ten times than the amount that it had removed. This rehabilitation would be a continuous process.

The Beach Café

The beach on which The Beach Café is located is found on the Marine Parade side of the beachfront. The area is a built up environment with little environmental assets on the beach (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). There exists a hard interface with the land and a high public use asset (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Apart from the beach itself, the sand and the sea, and the marine life contained within the adjacent ocean there are few environmental assets here (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Unlike the Suncoast Casino Beach and the beaches north of the Suncoast Casino, there is no dune system present here (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The beach is almost completely devoid of any form of greenery with the exception of a few palm trees which were planted by the Beach Café (Roux, 06/02/2009).

5.4.3. Changes in the Quality of the Beach Ecosystem

This section presents the data related to the changes in quality of the respective beach ecosystems on which the PPPs are located as a result of these developments.

The Suncoast Casino

Before the construction of the development had commenced and during the conception of the development, a problem arose where the dune system obstructed the direct access from the complex to the beach (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The direct access to the beach was initially envisioned by the developer and was an important „selling point“ of the development (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Therefore, in order to create this access, a portion of the vegetated dune had to be removed. The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) made recommendations that the developer rehabilitate a greater portion of the dune than was destroyed (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The exact specification of rehabilitation agreed upon was a 1:10 net gain of dune vegetation (Croucamp, pers. comm.,

30/01/2009). As a result the dunes have been re-vegetated and are managed on a monthly basis (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

The Beach Café

There have been no major changes to the beach ecosystem (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). A concern raised by Ms Croucamp is the litter that may be left after the restaurant is closed for business everyday (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The minimal structure of the development has caused little impact on the beach ecosystem (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). A question has also been raised over the removal of waste water generated by the Beach Café's kitchen given the close proximity to the beach (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Apart from this there is no biodiversity threat imposed as a result of the Beach Café (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

5.4.4. The Management of the Beach Ecosystem by the Private Developer

This section presents the results relating to the management of the beaches by the private developers of the respective PPPs.

The Suncoast Casino

With regards to the beach area, it was observed that the beach area adjacent to the casino was clean with little or no litter on the sand (Observation 3, 17/01/2009). This is due to the combined management efforts of both the city and the Suncoast Casino management. Initially, the damage caused to the dune system due to the removal of the dune vegetation was substantial (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). However, once this was rehabilitated the management of dunes is not high maintenance due to the initial "fixing of the problem" (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). There is ongoing maintenance that occurs at the Suncoast Casino in partnership with the city (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). The users of the Suncoast Casino are not permitted to walk across the dunes and there is substantial signage and information relating to the dune rehabilitation program and the importance of dunes (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The partnership with the city ensures that this management is practised consistently, and the partnership may be cancelled if the Suncoast Casino does not continue to manage the area (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008).

Observations show that a large section of the grassed area was being rehabilitated (Observation 3, 17/01/2008). The rehabilitation involved an area being cordoned off to prevent the beach users from walking over this space. There were water sprinklers watering the grass that was being rehabilitated (Observation 3, 17/01/2008). The reason for the grass

rehabilitation is most likely due to the damage that is caused from the staging of concerts and other events that take place regularly on this area. Another reason could be the difficulty of growing grass on inhospitable sandy areas.

The dune is well vegetated but because of the direct access that was created from the SUNdeck to the beach, the dune system is divided in half (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). To the north and south of the dune the vegetation becomes sparser (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). It was observed that there are sprinklers installed throughout the dunes to ensure that they are watered regularly (Observation 1, 25/07/2008).

The dunes also have „no entry“ signs that are displayed to ensure that beach users do not enter the area of the dune without a supervised tour although it is unknown if these tours do take place (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). There is also a signboard with information regarding the importance of coastal dunes and the rehabilitation process and that has been undertaken and which continues to be undertaken (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). Within the dunes itself it was observed that there was litter such as cans and other materials present but that this was not a significant amount (Observation 3, 17/01/2009).

The Beach Café

The beach management requirements for the Beach Café are limited to ensuring that the area is kept clean at all times and that waste is appropriately removed (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). The surrounding beach on which the Beach Café is located was clean and generally free of litter (Observation 7, 07/02/2009). The dining area on the sand was also well maintained. It was observed that pigeons which generally feed around the beachfront boulevard area migrate towards the beach in search of food that may have fallen to the ground from the café (Observation 7, 07/02/2009).

5.4.5. The Creation of Private Beaches

This section focuses on the creation of private beaches on Durban Beachfront that have occurred as a result of the PPP developments. It presents the opinion of the environmental stakeholder regarding the general privatisation of public beaches in the Municipality and along the KwaZulu-Natal coastline.

The Suncoast Casino

The Suncoast Casino is typical of the new casino and large property developments that are being developed or have been developed along the KwaZulu-Natal coast in recent years

(Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). These developments are located close to the coast for example, the residential golf estates of Zimbiti and Zimbali in the north of eThekweni (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Because of these developments, the public has almost no access to the beach. According to the law, these beaches are not private or exclusive, but they tend to function as exclusive spaces because they have a degree of physical inaccessibility (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Ms Croucamp notes that Municipality must cater for a variety of different people in the population by facilitating and approving developments like the Suncoast Casino. However, it would become a serious problem for Durban if this type of development were to occur along the entire beachfront (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). She concedes, however, that in the case of the Suncoast Casino, the beach itself is freely accessible to anyone who wishes to use it and it is only the SUNdeck that is not freely accessible to the general public (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

The Suncoast Casino beach has become attractive to people because of the high level of security that is present on the beach which is not present on the main central beaches (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). It therefore appeals to parents particularly those with young children (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Due to the fact that it is a pay beach, only a select few have access to it, whereas the public beaches attract the masses (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). At those beaches it is difficult to relax peacefully and there is a need for a beach like the Suncoast Casino which offers peace and quiet (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The Suncoast Casino constitutes a small section of the beachfront. The beach on which Suncoast is located was not a bathing beach before the development had taken place, and now it is. Therefore using up that bit of coast has added value to the beachfront by increasing the number of bathing beaches along the beachfront (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

The Beach Café

The long term sustainability of developments such as the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café is dependent on the manner in which these developments are managed (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). In her view, the Beach Café is a particularly politically driven development as it was completed hurriedly before the impacts were properly assessed (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Ms Croucamp is of the opinion that the process of privatising the beaches is not desirable but if that process is to take place then it should be

managed properly and the correct places and nodes should be identified for a business or development like the Beach Café (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

The more that public space is becoming private or semi- private, the less opportunity there is for citizens to engage in public environments within the beachfront and the city at large (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). In the case of the Beach Café the area of development is not very large and beach users are still able to get around the area without having a large portion of the beach blocked off (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). If the development was physically larger than what the Beach Café is now it would be highly problematic because it would exclude people from using this space (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

5.4.6. Guardians of the Beaches

This section focuses on understanding who was best equipped to ensure the ecological integrity of the natural beach environment namely the private sector or the state. Neither of these entities in their sole capacity is able to do so efficiently because both are riddled with problems. In the case of the state the problem that exists is primarily the changing hands of power and the power struggles that are inherent in the functioning of the state (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Another reason is the limited financial capacity of the state to maintain natural areas in good condition, or if required, to restore their ecological integrity (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). It is, however, the ultimate responsibility of the state to ensure that the public good is protected (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

If the public good were privatised completely then the interests of the private developer or institution would not be in the interest of the general public but rather as with every private developer it would be to ensure that a profit is made (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Because of the private sector's flexible budget and the limited budget of the state, a level of participation by the private sector in increasing the value of the public good or natural areas is desirable (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). A collaborative effort is required primarily because the state is under capacitated financially (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). If the state is to act completely autonomously then they may miss an opportunity to receive benefits from the private sector for the betterment of the public good (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Although PPPs may be beneficial to the environment from a financial view point, it the state is ultimately the trustee of the environment and must appropriately evaluate opportunities before entering into these partnerships. Appropriate interventions will

only serve to strengthen the goals of ensuring that the environment and the public good are protected (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

In the case of the Suncoast Casino the partnership that was formed was beneficial to the environment because of the dune rehabilitation that has taken place (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The public good was also strengthened by the development of the promenade area and this is because the right controls and procedures are in place (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The Beach Café has created little ecological benefit but it may be argued that the public now has an area on the beachfront where they are able to relax on the sand, which is something that they have never had before (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

In Durban, historically and even in the contemporary period, the beaches have always been protected because of Durban's tourism goals instead of because of their ecological value (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). This means that the beaches are protected because if they are not protected, the tourism asset of the beachfront would diminish. The beaches are being maintained for human use and they are not protected because of the ecological value (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The beaches on the periphery of the city are greener because these beaches are not high public use beaches and their management is not high on the agenda for the Municipality (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

5.4.7. Accessibility to PPPs

This section examines if all Durban's citizens have equal opportunity in accessing the Suncoast Casino beach and Beach Café. The entrance fee of R5 is a relatively low fee to pay and the Suncoast Casino does not turn people away except those who are infringing on their rules, i.e., those who are potentially going to cause problems for their patrons (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

The Beach Café has been developed to resemble the café lifestyle along the French Riviera, and it only appeals to a small group (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Ms Croucamp notes that it was probably not meant to appeal to the masses (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Even though it does take away a portion of the beach it remains open to anyone who can use it (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). Ms Croucamp of the Environmental Management Branch, eThekweni Municipality, summed up the relatively low impact of the Beach Cafe:

They [The Beach Café] obviously aren't catering for anyone under the sun because you have to pay and they might have a fancy menu that's maybe more expensive than McDonald's. But it's not precluding you from using that space.

5.7. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to present the results of the research. In Section 5.2., the social benefits and costs of PPPs' development of public space were presented. The reasons for beach users using these particular spaces were due to the cleanliness of the beach and the convenience offered at these particular locations. One of the major issues raised through the evidence is the level of safety that these developments ensured on the beachfront.

Section 5.3. presented the economic benefits and costs of PPPs' development of public space. The results obtained revealed the economic success of these developments from both the point of view of the city and the private developer. The interviews with the representatives of the developments determined the manner in which the respective public areas had been managed and how these environments had improved the economic potential of Durban as a seaside destination. Both the PPP developments have grown economically with each year of being in business. They have resulted in improving the city's tourism potential which is beneficial to the local economy. It was found that both developments had been very successful and had brought about an economic revitalisation of the Durban Beachfront.

Section 5.4. presented the information regarding the ecological benefits/costs of PPPs for public space. It was revealed that the PPP had resulted in a set of conditions for the beach ecosystems on which the PPPs are located. In particular, the Suncoast Casino development had resulted in a net gain for the beach ecosystem with the ongoing rehabilitation of the dune cordon.

Chapter 5 has served as a direct precursor to Chapter 6 by presenting the results obtained from the research process undertaken for this thesis. From the evidence presented in this chapter a number of themes have developed. These themes have been shaped in accordance with the goals and objectives listed in Chapter 1. Therefore, Chapter 6, which follows, thematically analyses the results presented in this chapter before concluding the thesis.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the themes that have emerged from the previous chapter and to analyse each theme by applying the theoretical framework presented in chapter two. This thesis adopts a thematic analysis approach to interpreting the data and serves to answer the main research question namely, what are the social, economic and ecological costs and benefits for public space as a result of the implementation of a PPP.

The analysis that follows is informed by the data obtained from the various interviews, questionnaires and observation studies in Chapter 5 as well as the literature review in Chapter 2. Each theme discusses the main findings of the research from both case studies.

Each of the themes is grouped together according to the sub-questions listed in Chapter 1 namely, the social, economic and ecological benefits and costs of PPPs on Durban's beachfront. Section 6.2. discusses the themes relating to the social benefits and costs of PPPs' development of public space for Durban Beachfront. Section 6.3. discusses the themes relating to the economic benefits and costs of PPPs for Durban Beachfront and section 6.4. discusses the themes relating to the ecological benefits and costs of PPPs for Durban Beachfront. The chapter is concluded in section 6.5.

6.2. The Social Benefits/Costs of PPPs for Durban Beachfront

This section discusses the themes that are evident in the data relating to the social benefits and costs of the development of public space by PPPs for Durban Beachfront. These social issues are discussed from the point of view of the beach user but also from the view of the broader Durban society at large. Three themes have emerged that capture the social benefits that public spaces developed by PPPs provide. Section 6.2.1. discusses the safe, „secure environment“ that the PPPs have provided for Durban Beach users. Section 6.2.2. discusses the „exclusivity“ of these developments where it was found that only a small representation of the Durban population make use of these spaces and finally, Section 6.2.3. discusses the „variety“ that these developments have brought to the beach users“ experience of the Durban Beachfront.

6.2.1. Fostering a Safe, Secure Environment for Beach Users

The responses from the beach survey showed that one of the biggest draw cards of the PPP developments is the safety and security that they have brought to the respective beaches. Private developers such as the Suncoast Casino, and to a lesser extent the Beach Café, have had to ensure that the area of the beach in which they manage, occupy and control is maintained at a safe and secure level in order for the beach users to continue to frequent them. Alternatively, and speaking in economic terms, this may be interpreted as the developer ensuring that the consumer (the beach user) has enough reason to continue to consume. The application of this high level of security in public spaces relates to Dawson's (2006) notion on the ecology of fear amongst South African urban citizens who are crippled with fear of being in public spaces. The ecology of fear is overcome as a result of a safe public space „product“ that has been provided by the Suncoast Casino, and to a lesser extent the Beach Café. It is because of the ecology of fear that users of the PPP developments feel unsafe to visit beaches that do not have this high level of security.

These public spaces are created as a combination of private developers' preferred vision of public space mentioned in the literature by Mitchell (1995), Dawson (2006) and Minton (2006) but also from a desire to capitalise on the ecology of fear. The preferred vision of public space employed by the PPP developers is one that is sanitised of the daily unwanted elements of urban society and is created in response to perceptions of crime. Mitchell's (1995) concept of the representation of public space is useful in understanding the Durban Beachfront PPP developments, as their public space precincts are ordered by a strict code of conduct for both the users and nonusers of these public spaces. This concept of privatised public space is useful to understand the production of public space within these developments, particularly in Suncoast, where rules are enforced through the ubiquity of surveillance cameras and private security which act as a form of social control.

Both developers have acknowledged that being located on the beachfront forms a fundamental part of the success of their developments; hence, they have ensured that there is ample security on the beach. This is particularly true for the Suncoast Casino and although the Managing Director has noted that the beach area is not run to make a profit, it is clear that the developer acknowledges that the financial success of the development as a whole depends largely on the company's ability to provide a secure beach environment.

Conversely, it is also true that these developments have capitalised on a specific market of beach user that already exists, namely middle class residents. The type of beach user that falls into this market category is, attracted to the beachfront but at the same time, has a fear of the perceived levels of crime along the beachfront. This is corroborated by the fact that 75% of all beach users list safety as one of the main reasons they enjoy making use of the PPP developments of public space. These findings have important implications in view of the notion explored by Davis (1990), that the market provision of security raises its own paranoid demand. The upmarket nature of both developments is evident confirming that a process of aestheticisation of fear has occurred leading to the creation of highly secure public environments (Zukin, 1995). Developments such as the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café has created paranoia regarding the safety of the greater beachfront amongst the Durban beach-going populace who have now become entrained into this particular market for secure privatised spaces.

The concept of anonymity in public spaces has particular implications for the PPPs developments and is useful in understanding the PPP public spaces. Madanipour's (1996) notion of the fear of crime experienced by public space users is caused by the anonymity offered by traditional public spaces. With regards to the PPPs, this type of anonymity is eliminated because the market has created a public space environment where all PPP users are ordered by the various forms of social control employed at these sites. Therefore, within the PPP developments anonymity of public space is lost because individuals, i.e. those who seek the same type of controlled public space, recreate in the same public space environment with those individuals of the same class. The various forms of security offered by the Suncoast Casino in particular, which includes constant security guards, the presence of guard dogs, fencing, and cameras and a beach patrol, has ensured that beach users feel safe and relaxed at all times. These forms of social control are typical of today's cities as noted by Fyfe (1995) who confirms that cities and their public spaces are increasingly becoming the sites of sophisticated and complex forms of social control.

The security measures provided by the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café ensure that the „unsavoury“ elements of the Durban Beachfront such as homelessness, soliciting and various forms of crime and anti-social behaviour are not experienced within the area of their respective jurisdictions. As a result, marginalised social groups, such as the homeless, are excluded from utilising the beach area because, firstly, they are unable to afford the products

and services housed within the developments, and secondly, because they contribute to the ecology of fear. The case studies also present examples of inclusion where marginalised groups, such as women, are able to bring their children to the beach without having to feel worried about being harassed. This inclusion is the opposite to that described by Erkip (2003) of women in Middle Eastern cities who are marginalised in certain parts of the city because of their gender. This is due to the security measures in place in the PPP developments that have allowed women, who previously felt vulnerable to crime and other anti-social behaviour, therefore excluded, to make use of the PPPs and the beaches on which they are located.

The success of a large private company like the Suncoast Casino ensures that it is able to afford security equipment and as the development expands and profitability increases, so too does the potential (and the likelihood) to install increased amounts of security. Therefore, the ability of a private developer to afford to make the beach area safer also depends on the profitability of their venture.

Apart from the reason of a safe and controlled environment, families are attracted to these developments because they offer a „one-stop“ entertainment experience. This is due in large part to the safety that these developments offer but also because of the amenities contained within or adjacent to the area in question. As an example, an elderly patron of the Beach Café noted that she and her daughter regularly bring her grandson and granddaughter to the Bay of Plenty so that the children can swim and surf whilst they sip cocktails on the beach (Respondent L, 21/12/2008). What makes this more appealing to beach users is that the activities of the children may be monitored or supervised by the parent or guardian who is also engaged in a beach activity that is attractive to them.

Other activities and amenities that are located within the sphere of the Beach Café include the public beach volleyball courts which are located adjacent to the café and the public skate park which is located across the boulevard (Observation 2, 13/12/2008). Security measures are not as obtrusive as they are at the Suncoast Casino and this is perhaps due to the fact that a satellite police station is located less than a minute’s walking distance from the Beach Café (Observation 2, 13/12/2008). The lack of visible security measures and the interconnections between the Beach Café and the surrounding public environment is a large part of what makes the Beach Café different from Suncoast as a public space environment. At the Beach

Café, the exclusiveness of public space is not complete. Although there are security measures in place, the Beach Café clientele is still left „open“ to possible interaction with the general public space users of the beachfront and the surrounding boulevard (because of the children of the patrons who utilise the skatepark whilst parents are at the Beach Café).

6.2.2. Fostering Pockets of Exclusive Beachfront Developments

The results have shown that for both developments combined, the majority of its users are white (50%) and Indian (30%). In total this amounts to 80% of all beach users interviewed. The Suncoast Casino, in particular, has always been a very popular meeting place for Indians on weekends and the sample population has shown that Indians together with whites constitute the highest proportion of any race interviewed with 40% Indian and 40% white. Blacks and coloureds together constituted only 20% of the sample size of ten respondents for the Suncoast Casino development. This demographic is similar with the Beach Café where together whites (60%) and Indians (20%) accounted for 80% of the sample interviewed. The observations studies had also corroborated these results where it was observed that the majority of the users of these spaces were Indian and white.

From these results it has become apparent that both these developments attract particular racial and income groups. There is not enough evidence to suggest that the developers explicitly seek to attract these groups of people. Both PPP representatives interviewed conceded that their developments have created an economic barrier to entry thereby facilitating a form of economic exclusion (Dowsley, pers. comm, 25/07/2008; Roux, pers. comm, 06/02/2009). It was noted that the price of the items on the Beach Café menu was not affordable by all members of the population and that the restaurant was likely to be the most expensive on the beachfront (Roux, pers. comm, 06/02/2009).

If a beach user wishes to enjoy a cocktail on the beach sand then they must be able to pay for this, if they cannot afford to do so they are denied from experiencing this privilege. The Suncoast Casino has directly imposed a barrier to entry to part of the beach by charging R5 for entry. It has been argued that in the case of the Suncoast Casino, R5 per person is not a very high price to charge beach users; however, a family of four would have to pay R20 and would not be permitted to bring their own food to the SUNdeck. Instead, they would have to make use of the various food outlets available within the casino for which they will have to spend a further sum of money.

Therefore it can be interpreted from the evidence that the SUNdeck is exclusive because only a few beach goers are able to afford to enjoy the type of „day-at-the-beach“ that includes the use of Suncoast Casino services and facilities. In spite of this, the actual beach on which the Suncoast Casino patrols and ensures security is freely accessible to all members of the public and here the restriction of not allowing homemade food is not an issue. On this beach, the public has gained from the security present at the sundeck without having to pay for it.

The above conditions, that of exclusive access to parts of the beach, have been created by the respective PPP developments and has resulted in a situation where these portions of the beachfront attracts only certain sections of society. This has been facilitated by a direct control of these areas by the private sector which manages every aspect of these public space environments, determining the rights of access and the social dynamics of these public spaces. The PPP public spaces on Durban’s beachfront are privatised and therefore controlled. For this reason they do not fit into the definition of a true public space. Madanipour (2003: 232) states that, public spaces are “...places outside the boundary of individual or small group control, mediating between private spaces...”. The idea of a continuum where public space falls on either end of the accessibility scale is also useful for understanding the PPP developments as being not purely „public“, as noted by the barriers to entry listed above (Lynch, 1981 in Madanipour (2003).

Furthermore, in terms of its physical character, the Suncoast Casino follows the typical self-contained, inward-looking and self-referential model that is characteristic of the post-industrial public space development as noted by Akkar Ercan (2007). The Suncoast Casino offers a wide range of activities within its premises that encourage the user to stay within the boundaries of the development. The concept of „capture“ is an important way of understanding the Suncoast Casino. The evidence has shown that the inward-oriented nature of the Suncoast Casino and the limited accessibility by modes of transport other than by car discourage customers/users from leaving, thereby keeping them inside and encouraging them to increase their consumption. Whereas the Suncoast Casino may be classified as an inward-looking development, which relies only on the Indian Ocean and the beach to create the „the Suncoast Casino experience“, the Beach Café has created many links with the surrounding public amenities. One such example is the skate-park which is situated across the boulevard from the café. The skate-park and the adjacent volley ball court make the development more attractive to its patrons who make use of these facilities before or after they visit the Beach

Café (Roux, pers. comm, 06/02/2009). The fact that the Beach Café is not cordoned off means that it possesses a soft edge and is both functionally and physically connected to the surrounding environments.

When compared to the Suncoast Casino Beach, beaches to the south possess a greater diversity of people (Observation 1, 25/07/2008). This is probably to do with the surf and wave conditions on these beaches. As mentioned by one of the respondents, North Beach, has some of the best waves in Durban (Respondent O, 01/03/2009). It may be argued that this feature brings people together and people are able to momentarily put aside their differences and recreate on this beach in order to receive similar benefits. According to Mitchell (1995) this is what makes a public space function as a truly democratic space, where diverse users anonymously and collectively recreate and engage in a public space in order to receive similar benefits.

In the case of the Suncoast Casino, the beach users feel more relaxed knowing that they are in a beach environment where people have chosen to come to because of a shared fear of crime. In this sense only a particular group of people are attracted to these beaches. As one of the Suncoast Casino beach users pointed out “It [the security at Sun Coast] keeps out the riffraff’s and we as beach users are protected at all times” (Respondent H, 31/01/2009). The threats and unpredictable realities of other beaches are eliminated and controlled for the enjoyment of this specific group of people.

It has been noted that the Beach Café is connected to the surrounding public space environment and in this way has influenced the character of the beachfront as a functioning public space. In other words, the Beach Café, its patrons and its activities have become a part of the public space experience of the beachfront. Zukin’s (1995) definition of public space is useful in understanding this characteristic of the Beach Café, where she notes that public space is seen to be shaped by the social activities performed or enacted in the public realm or in public life, that is, a socially constructed space. The Beach Café has contributed to the functioning of this space and has provided a space through which its patrons perform or enact their social activities in a public space.

6.2.3. Adding Variety to the Beach Users Experience of the Beach

The third theme to emerge from the evidence is the added variety offered by PPP public spaces. The new developments have brought a more relaxed atmosphere to both the Marine

Parade and the Snell Parade areas and beach users now have an added reason to come to the beach other than for swimming, surfing or sunbathing. These PPP developments provided the beach with a greater range of experiences particularly for those people who do not necessarily possess the skills or the desire to swim or surf. It was noted that the central beachfront environment can be an intimidating environment for those who do not swim or are not brave enough to reveal their bodies when they want to sunbathe (Respondent L, 21/12/2008).

The social value of the „private“ portion of the beachfront is evident. As observed, the Suncoast Casino is also popular with elderly people who may feel excluded and perhaps bewildered in the busy beach environment of the Durban Beachfront. They are now able to enjoy the beach from a distance at either the Beach Café or the SUNdeck area in the Suncoast Casino without having to worry about endangering their physical well-being. This is also true for sickly or disabled people.

The inclusion of these sometimes marginalised public space user groups is an important outcome of these developments as public spaces should accommodate all types of users not just those who are physically fit. The idea of a „salad bowl“ mix of public space users mentioned by Thompson (2007) is relevant with regards to providing for different groups of users to be represented at different times in one public area. However, in a fragmented society as South Africa, this notion may further entrench spatial divisions as different groups do not share the same space at the same time limiting the possibilities for interactions between groups.

Apart from the broad inclusion that is offered by the developments their „relaxed“ atmosphere is an asset in itself for regular beach users who seek to enjoy the beach passively rather than through the active participation. Accordingly, many beach users noted that they enjoyed the relaxed beach atmosphere that was on offer in these developments. The variety that has been brought to the beachfront by the PPP developments has ensured that more user groups are able to participate in this important public space location entrenching the „democratic“ definitions of public space.

This section has reviewed the three themes that have emerged from the evidence related to the social benefits and costs of the development of the Durban beachfront by PPPs. The main themes discussed were, the creation of a safe, secure environment for beach users; the creation of pockets of exclusive pockets of development on the beachfront and finally; the

contribution the PPP developments have made towards adding variety to the Durban beachfront by creating a more relaxed beach environment in their areas of influence.

6.3. The Economic Benefits/Costs of PPPs for Durban Beachfront

This section discusses the themes relating to the economic benefits and costs of the development of public spaces by PPP for the Durban Beachfront. Three themes had emerged from the results. The first theme, discussed in Section 6.3.1., relates to the private investment in public infrastructure as a result of the PPP being formed. Section 6.3.2. discusses the tourism impacts as a result of these beachfront developments. Finally, Section 6.3.3. discusses the interest that has been regenerated on Durban Beachfront as a result of the PPP developments.

6.3.1. Boosting Public Infrastructure

Both developments have led to an improvement in the infrastructural value of the beachfront. Due to the fact that the Beach Café is a small development, this improvement is not as great as the improvements made by the Suncoast Casino. A number of factors had strengthened the bargaining position of the eThekweni Municipality regarding investments that the Suncoast Casino has had to make in public infrastructure.

The Wiehahn Commission recommended that any casino development must also invest in tourism related infrastructure. The Suncoast Casino was thus obliged to create a development that would contribute to the tourism infrastructure on the Durban Beachfront. Because the developer had been granted rights to use part of the beachfront, it had to compensate by investing in the public space infrastructure it had privatised, i.e. the creation of a secure and well managed boulevard and beach area.

Historically, casino developments have proven very profitable, and therefore the developer was in a financial position to fulfil a number of obligations required by the Municipality in order to secure the rights to development. The role of eThekweni Municipality, with regards to the partnership with the Suncoast Casino, may be described as entrepreneurial. The city sought to gain the maximum benefit to its stock of tourism capital by ensuring that the private developer agrees to a list of conditions. This is typical of the attributes of the entrepreneurial city spoken of by Harvey (1989), where the city seeks to find ways (such as increasing their tourism potential) to boost their local economies. In reviewing the „entrepreneurial city“ literature as described by Harvey (1989) the researcher found it possible to contextualise the

development process in the case studies. The city acted with economic foresight and sought to receive as much economic benefit from both developments particularly the Suncoast Casino.

As a result, apart from the R100 million that was received from the free-hold sale of the site, the city had also received money that was invested into public infrastructure such as extending the boulevard beyond the cadastral boundaries of the development (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). In addition to this, the Suncoast Casino has also contributed a large sum of money towards the people mover buses which makes an hourly stop at the Suncoast Casino amongst other important destinations along the beachfront (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). It is noted that the area of the Suncoast Casino's influence extends beyond its cadastral boundary and this is due to the investment that was made by the private developer into the public areas such as the boulevard and the beach area. The Suncoast Casino is obliged to provide security, the dune rehabilitation programme and life guard services on the beach. These characteristics suggest that the area under the Suncoast Casino's influence functions as a BID where a private institution takes on the role of the state by maintaining state functions such as security, cleanliness and order (Zukin, 1995).

The city has thus gained in terms of infrastructure over and beyond the premises of the casino. A negative impact relating to infrastructure as a result of a mega development like the Suncoast Casino is the need for copious amounts of parking space. Plate 3.2. (page 45) shows that the size of the parking lot is almost equal to the size of the rest of the complex. Given its location, this amount of parking space occupies valuable real estate of the area given its close proximity to the CBD, the harbour and the beachfront.

However, it has been observed that the Suncoast Casino parking lot has added value and is utilised by rugby spectators as it is located within walking distance from the rugby stadium as well as the site of the new soccer stadium. Given the city's development plans to create a world class sporting precinct, the parking lot at the Suncoast Casino will prove to become an infrastructural asset to the city.

6.3.2. Economic Impacts - Tourism

Section 5.3 showed that the exact economic impacts of both these developments were difficult to ascertain. The results showed that the Suncoast Casino has become one of the most profitable casinos in the country. The Beach Café has also been well supported by the

local population as well as by tourists from abroad and nationally. The Suncoast Casino employs 1300 people on a permanent basis and the company has experienced double digit growth in the most recent year (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). The development has also contributed to the successful hosting of international events like the A1 Grand Prix from 2005-2008 which took place on the streets surrounding the casino.

The casino complex has added one more tourist destination on the Golden Mile and has strengthened the tourism repertoire of the city. However, the casino, although unique among casinos in that it has created a prominent link with the ocean, has little else to offer in the way of highlighting the culture of the city. In its appearance it has drawn on the city's architectural heritage by adopting an art deco style of building design but in terms of its function it contains the same mix of restaurants, gambling and cinemas found in casino complexes throughout the country. This type of development which draws on the cultural history of a city has been described in the literature as the symbolic economy and has helped to contextualise the development of the Suncoast Casino, particularly its architectural design (Zukin, 1995).

The Beach Café merges more readily into the Durban „beachfront vibe“ and offers the only place in the country where one can place their feet in the sand whilst sipping a cocktail (Roux, pers. comm., 06/02/2009). It is comparable to Allen's (2006) „seductive logic“ of the Berlin's Sony Centre which entices the user to engage with it. It is also located in the heart of one of the busiest beach areas in the country and presents the tourist with the opportunity to observe a range of activities that takes place along the Durban beachfront. It is because of this unique access to the mix of people, sand, surf and sunshine that the Beach Café has increased the tourism value of Durban beachfront. One respondent noted that she always gave good feedback about the Beach Café whenever she went back home to Pretoria. As a result her friends always visit this destination whenever they are in Durban (Respondent L, 21/12/2008).

6.3.3. Reviving Interest in the Central Beachfront

Apart from the economic gains made through tourism, the Beach Café and the Suncoast Casino have both revived the interest of local beach users to make use of the Golden Mile. Many respondents in the survey indicated that they visited these developments as often as once or twice a month. Some respondents indicated that they would not have visited the

Durban Beachfront were it not for the presence of these developments. This revived interest in the beachfront has positive effects from both a social and an economic point of view.

Since the majority of the customers and beach users of the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café are of a higher socio-economic class and that the beachfront is open to all members of the public then the presence of these PPP developments have important implications for integration. This is particularly true for the Beach Café which is located on one of the busiest and most diversely populated beaches in Durban. It presents an opportunity for interaction where the city's wealthy population comes into contact with the city's poor. The Suncoast Casino has also created a great diversity of activities within their beach area which also has the ability to bring different types of people onto the beachfront. This promotes one of the salient features of public spaces which is to allow all citizens to „rub shoulders“ (Brill, 1989; Madanipour, 1996)

This revitalised interest has raised the profile of the Durban Beachfront. The variety of events and festivals that the Suncoast Casino plays host to enhances Durban's reputation and puts it in a position to compete with other coastal cities around the world. The Suncoast Casino, specialises in beach sport tournaments hosting events such as the World Kiteboarding Tournament as well as Roxy Wahine Cup¹⁶, Venus Queen of Surf, KZN Jet Ski Championship.

This section has reviewed the economic benefits and costs of the development of the Durban beachfront by PPPs. The main economic benefits received are the gain in tourism infrastructure for the beachfront; the positive impact these developments have had on tourism into the city and finally; the increased local interest that has been revived in the beachfront by the Durban populace.

6.4. The Ecological Benefits and Costs of PPPs for Durban Beachfront

This section discusses the themes that relate to the ecological benefits and costs of the PPPs development of public space. Only two themes were identified as being of relevance to this study. Section 6.4.1. discusses the general gains to the beach ecosystem as a result of the PPP developments while Section 6.4.2. discusses the level of cleanliness of the beaches as an ecological benefit

16 Women's national Surfing Competition

6.4.1. Gains to the Beach Ecosystem

The results show that the ecological outcomes for the two PPP developments have been very different. The Bay of Plenty, on which the Beach Café is located, has few environmental assets and may be described as a high user interface environment (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The findings of the research showed that there had been little ecological gain on this beach. In contrast, the beach environment found within the Suncoast Casino's influence has experienced a large improvement in the state of the dune cordon.

The results show that the city allowed the developers of the Suncoast Casino to create the access from the SUNdeck to the beach via a passage through the dune system. In order to do this a large section of dune vegetation had to be removed. In doing so the developer negotiated with the Municipality to re-vegetate the dune vegetation to the extent of ten times than the amount that was removed. As a result there has been a 1:10 net gain of dune vegetation in this area (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The developer also pledged to continue to manage the dunes. The Suncoast Casino dune system is among the healthiest along the beaches found between the harbour and the Mgeni River mouths (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

The developer also engaged in an environmental education exercise by displaying signage and notices regarding the rehabilitation program that has taken place (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). In particular, beach users are, through the display of „no-entry“ signs, deterred from walking over dunes. This is also monitored by the security personnel who ensure that this does not occur. These measures undertaken by the private developer have ensured that the dunes are protected and has successfully created a beach environment that is unique along the city's long coastline.

The stringent negotiations with the city and the conditions that emerged from the EIA have ensured that the private developer actively participated in restoring ecological integrity that had been lacking on Durban's beachfront (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The potential to create an integrated dune cordon along the Snell Parade, which remains more natural than that of the Marine Parade, is further strengthened because of the efforts of the private developer (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). The city has plans in place to rehabilitate the dune directly north of the Suncoast Casino towards Blue Lagoon (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009). This would intensify the contrast between the Snell Parade and

Marine Parade beaches and would offer a new, more natural experience along part of the Durban beachfront (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

The Suncoast Casino may be criticized for two impacts on the beach ecosystem, namely, the creation of the lawn area as well as the creation of direct beach access. The break that has been created in the dune system divides it into two halves. Between these two halves lies the grassed lawn area. From an ecological point of view this is a negative impact because the break in dune vegetation hampers the ability of birds, plants species and insects to migrate efficiently across the dune system. This break in the dune has therefore affected the biodiversity within the given area (Croucamp, pers. comm., 30/01/2009).

Another issue relates to the need for copious amounts of water used to water the grass on the SUNdeck in order for it to flourish in a hostile beach environment. The staging of concerts on this area has also posed a further negative environmental impact because the grass has to constantly be rehabilitated.

This section has discussed the positive and negative outcomes of the PPPs development of the beachfront. It was noted that the beachfront area on which the Beach Café is located has few or no ecological assets therefore this particular development had no ecological impact. The Suncoast Casino, however, had significant impact on the beach ecosystem. The developers rehabilitated a damaged dune ecosystem resulting in a net gain to the dune cordon vegetation.

6.4.2. Beach Litter

Both developments have ensured that the cleanliness of the beach is maintained and this has contributed to the quality of the beach experience for Durbanites. In recent years, the Durban beachfront has gained a reputation for the large amounts of litter that is strewn across many parts of the beachfront over the weekends and during the holidays (Andrews, pers. comm., 15/07/2008). Apart from the unsightly nature of litter, such as plastic and glass bottles as well as cans, litter has several negative ecological impacts. These impacts are particularly problematic for marine birds who mistake plastic bottles for food.

Similar to the rationale to maintain security on the beaches, the maintenance of a clean beach is also due to the fact that the private developers wish to maintain their client base. A clean beach to the beach users was found to be the second most popular response when beach users were asked to list three things they appreciated about the beaches. The private developers of

public space on the beach have therefore contributed to creating a cleaner beachfront which is a positive contribution to the problem from the issue of litter throughout the central beaches. This desire to „sanitise“ the beachfront, and the resulting provision of sanitised public spaces by private developers has been document in chapter 2 of this thesis and has become a key feature of the private provision of public space (Minton, 2006).

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the environmental benefits and costs of PPPs for the Durban Beachfront. The social benefits and costs of PPP development of public space discussed in Section 6.2. has revealed that the social benefits and costs can be viewed in the three themes of, fostering a safe and secure environment for beach users where beach users feel safe to utilise the PPP beaches; fostering pockets of exclusive beachfront developments where the PPP developments were found to support only particular groups of the population and; adding variety to the beach users experience of the beach where the PPP developments brought a relaxed atmosphere to an otherwise chaotic beachfront. The economic benefits and costs of PPP development of public space, discussed in Section 6.3.has revealed that the economic benefits and costs can be viewed in the three themes of, boosting public infrastructure where the PPP developments have contributed significantly to the surrounding tourism infrastructure ; increasing tourism by providing additional tourist attractions to the Durban beachfront and; reviving local interest in the central beachfront by providing additional reasons for Durbanites to visit the beach. The ecological benefits and costs of PPP development of public space, discussed in Section 6.4., has revealed that the ecological benefits and costs can be viewed in the two themes of, gains to the beach ecosystem particularly in the case of the Suncoast Casino where the developer has substantially rehabilitated the dune cordon and; beach litter where the research shows that the PPP beaches were clean. Together this constituted the environmental benefits and costs of PPPs. The analysis in Chapter 6 provides the platform from which to conclude the thesis in the chapter that follows.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to determine the outcomes that the development of public space by PPPs have for public spaces in terms of their social, economic and environmental dimensions. The objectives of the research are as follows: firstly, to determine social benefits and costs of PPPs for public space; secondly, to determine the economic benefits and costs of PPPs for public space and; thirdly, to determine the ecological benefits and costs of PPPs for public space. In this final chapter of the thesis the environmental benefits and costs of PPPs are holistically discussed in section 7.2. This discussion is based on the themes that were discussed in chapter 5 and 6 and serves as a way of providing closure to the research question. Finally, the thesis is concluded in Section 7.3. with a final comment about the research.

7.2. The Environmental Benefits and Costs of PPPs on Durban Beachfront

At the heart of the research question is the interest in understanding what effect, positive or negative, private development (through a PPP) has had on Durban's Beachfront and the beach going population of the Municipality. The outcomes, however, are much deeper and far reaching than just the impact on the Durban Beachfront and those who visit it. This is because the economic impacts of these developments are felt by those who are not necessarily classified as Durban beach users and because of broader impacts on the social fabric and ecological integrity of the city.

The social outcomes have consequences for society at large and within the city of Durban. The results have shown that both the Beach Café and the Suncoast Casino have attracted a narrow range of the Durban populace. The private sector has provided a place on Durban Beachfront in the privatised public spaces where the upper income and affluent people feel safe to visit. However, this trend has the potential to increase the level of paranoia of these people when frequenting other „purely“ public spaces along the beachfront. This assumption is well grounded as it was found that many respondents felt unsafe to visit other beaches/developments along the Durban Beachfront other than the Beach Café and the Suncoast Casino.

Private entities such as the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café recognise that safety and security is an important input towards their goal of profit accumulation. Particularly, the Suncoast Casino has sufficient capital to invest in security measures to ensure that the strip of beachfront on which it is located is safe and free from crime. This has brought about a level of safety to this area of the beachfront but ultimately it has not eradicated the problem. Therefore, a deduction that PPPs have been beneficial in terms of decreasing the instances of crime on Durban Beachfront can be questioned. The PPPs have merely ensured that crime is kept away from the areas of their interest which may result in crime becoming concentrated on other areas of the beachfront particularly towards the southern end of Marine Parade where the level of security is not as high. This migration of these unwanted elements of crime to other parts of the city has been noted in the literature by Minton (2006). In this way, these privatised public spaces have created „exclusive spaces“ reducing the opportunities for integration and reducing the democratic quality of our public spaces (Mitchell, 1995; Zukin, 1995; Castells, 2002)

A further negative outcome of allowing private development to take place along the beachfront is the potentially incongruous manner in which the beachfront may develop. This is applicable mainly to the Suncoast Casino which is an insulated island of upmarket development in the otherwise public space of the beachfront. The gradual decline of services and the quality of the beach environment as one moves south from the Suncoast Casino is already conspicuous (Observation 2, 13/12/2008; Observation 6, 06/02/2009). The enhancement of the northern end of the beachfront exacerbates this trend and prevents investment being attracted to the less developed southern parts of the beachfront. The development of other PPPs, namely, uShaka and the Point Development towards the southern end of the Golden Mile, have done little to uplift the area in the vicinity of Addington Beach (Andrews, pers. comm., 25/07/2008).

The Beach Café, may be applauded for connecting with the surrounding beach public environment and the public facilities nearby. Although the boulevard at the Suncoast Casino supports an avenue through which integration with the central beachfront may be achieved, the line between what is private and what is public is made very clear at both boulevard entrances. The rights of admission to this development is reserved by the private developer. This is achieved through the presence of security personnel at both entrances and through the communication of rules posted on signboards. Therefore, the Suncoast Casino can be

classified as a mediated, ordered public space environment, as noted by Mitchell (1995), because of the stringent rules imposed upon its users. Mitchell (1995) notes that the provision of these public spaces ensures that there is a structured and risk-free environment by the elimination of the unsavoury elements of urban society within these contrived public spaces.

The research shows that economically, both developments have been successful and have contributed significantly to the tourist attractions that are on offer at Durban Beachfront, albeit at different scales. This has served to boost the city's economy and to bring in direct revenue through the expenditure by tourists on tourism related products such as accommodation and catering (Andrews, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). Both developments are unique in that they have created direct links with the sea. Having this direct access with the beach is unique for a mega-development entertainment complex, like the Suncoast Casino, to be situated in one of South Africa's major beach cities. This unique characteristic further strengthens the economic potential of these developments.

With the knowledge that eThekweni Municipality would be relinquishing control of part of the public's beach space, and as a result of the post-apartheid Wiehahn Commission on the future of gambling in South Africa, the city acquired a strong bargaining power at the outset of the project. Using this power, the city saw an opportunity to offset the loss of a public asset, and had therefore used this to negotiate for the various public, and tourism related infrastructure benefits that were funded by the private developer. The beach area of the Suncoast Casino's influence has since become one of the most popular public space environments along the Golden Mile with a wide range of the „legitimate“ parts of society being represented here.

The premise for the development of the Beach Café is slightly different. The city entered the partnership in a less powerful bargaining position than with the Suncoast Casino, although, the city was still the dominant partner by virtue of being the custodian of the beach as a public space. The public benefits that were negotiated for this development over and beyond the provision of a restaurant on the beach for public use were not as pronounced as they were for the Suncoast Casino. Instead, the city negotiated for a monthly lease price for the site and used the Beach Café as a pilot study for future cafés like this along the Durban Beachfront. This café was therefore a learning process that the city administration would benefit from (Andrews, pers. comm., 25/07/2008). It may be argued that although not quantifiable in

money terms the experience gained regarding the sustainability of such a venture is invaluable. The lessons learnt from the Beach Café are important for such future developments on Durban Beachfront. Since the empirical phase of the research in 2008 and 2009 a promenade was built the entire length of the beachfront as part of the refurbishment of the beachfront for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This led to the demolition of the Beach Café and the other old café along the beachfront and the development of new restaurant infrastructure which will be leased to investors. Whether the Municipality used its experience gained from the Beach Café venture is not known.

Although the financial figures were not available for this thesis, it was found that the economic success of both PPPs cannot be disputed (Andrews, pers. comm., 16/07/2008; Dowsley, pers.comm., 25/07/2008) . The Suncoast Casino has attained a level of economic success such that it has become an important player in tourism and sports events in Durban and sponsors or hosts a number of international and national events. The Beach Café also became one of the beachfront's most visited destinations and added to the city's tourism trademark of a relaxed beach culture during its existence.

This thesis has also shown that to a limited extent, the ecosystem may benefit from intervention by the private sector. This is partly because ensuring a healthy beach ecosystem is beneficial to the interest of the private sector. An aesthetically pleasing beach is often also equated with an ecologically healthy beach environment and this has potential to attract more consumers thus satisfying the private developer's goal of profit accumulation (Dowsley, pers. comm., 25/07/2010; Roux, pers.comm., 06/02/2009). The outcome of the dune restoration along the front of the Suncoast Casino can therefore be aligned as a secondary goal to the goals of both economic and ecological sustainability.

The Suncoast Casino's reinstatement of dune vegetation was implemented to compensate for the developer's destruction of dune vegetation. This destruction of dune vegetation, which should not have been allowed, was overlooked as the private developer requested to create a direct link from the Casino to the beach in order for the development to be more economically viable. The optimal ecological result here would have allowed for a process whereby the dunes were completely reinstated without removing any part of the dune. However, this outcome may have not been achievable within the city's budget. Therefore, the private developer was allowed to destroy the dune in front of the casino, because it was

agreed that the developer would reinstate a greater ratio of vegetation than that which was removed. It does, however, raise an important question regarding the commitment of eThekweni Municipality with regards to the sustainability of the natural environment. It is obvious that the Municipality's commitment to the natural ecosystem was of secondary importance to its economic goals and evidence of the „pro-growth“ policy of the Municipality (Nel and Binns, 2003).

It can be concluded that the potential economic returns generated from the development was the motivation for the ecological returns from the restoration. Regardless of the justification for the ecological restoration, it was a direct result of the formation of the PPP development of public space and because of this the dune system at the Suncoast Casino has helped to improve the ecological integrity of the beach. The Suncoast Casino/Municipality partnership went beyond the Municipality merely granting the private developer the right to develop a piece of land; instead it represents a situation where the Municipality negotiated for the ecological benefit as part of the public good.

There are also negative social outcomes culminating from the PPPs, and specific to this thesis, is that of allowing a private entity to provide for or control public spaces. This outcome can be attributed to the differing interpretations and visions of public space adopted by a private authority and those adopted by a public authority. The use of public space as a commodity means that the private developer is primarily concerned with simulating a public environment that will increase the profitability of their ventures. As a result, new public spaces such as the Suncoast Casino and the Beach Café contain only the „legitimate“ and sellable characteristics of traditional public spaces whilst controlling or eliminating those characteristics that would be „bad for business“ such as informal trading, soliciting, homelessness and crime (Brill, 1989; Mitchell, 1995).

The findings of this thesis support the notion that although development of public spaces by PPPs have resulted in economic success and a strong platform from which city authorities can bargain for public benefits, they do preclude certain user groups from using these privatised spaces. The creation of public spaces as exclusive spaces has significant consequences for a country like South Africa which is striving for social integration and the dismantling of a divided past. Public spaces have the potential to be the places where interaction between economic classes and rich cultural traditions of South African society take place to create a

truly functional and democratic space that is free for all to utilise (Brill, 1989; Mitchell, 1995; Zukin, 1995). With the further privatisation of public spaces, there is a danger of creating exclusive spaces thereby preventing the integration of different classes and cultures in SA and the nurturing of reconciliation and tolerance in South Africa.

Ultimately, highly ordered and secure „pseudo-public spaces“ (Darrell Crilley, 1993 in Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006) that are common in our cities render a false representation of the problematic urban society in which we as South Africans live. PPP developments and the privatised public spaces they create suit those who do not want to be confronted with the poverty, homelessness and crime that afflict our cities and our nation at large. It is not possible to achieve integration when our cities are becoming more fortified and exclusive. It is regrettable that with the lucrative benefits public-private developments provides, it seems likely that many public spaces will become almost exclusively provided and controlled by the private sector in the future. To relinquish more control to private developers would be to destroy the potential for the interaction of social groups who may never ordinarily come into contact with each other. This thesis has shown that there are economic and ecological benefits that may be obtained from allowing a private developer to control and use parts of the beach, however, these have particular social consequences as discussed above.

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Croucamp, P. eThekweni Municipality Environmental Planning and Climate Protection Department. 30 January, 2009.

Dowsley, M. Managing Director of The Suncoast Casino & Entertainment World.

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview with Private Developer

Questionnaire No:

Name of Person Interviewed:

Date of Interview:

Place of Interview:

Introduction

Hi, my name is Jonathan Ramayia. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal currently doing my Masters Degree in Urban and Environmental Planning. As part of the requirements of this degree I am expected to write a Thesis on a topic of my choosing. My topic is on the environmental outcomes of Public-private Partnerships on Durban's Beachfront. The interview with you is an important way of obtaining information regarding the following:

- Monetary benefits/costs of development
- Economic impacts on the city
- Employment impacts of the development

Your anonymity and confidentiality will be protected at all times. Apart from some basic demographic details no personal information is required for this research. You participate completely voluntarily and therefore have the option of withdrawing your permission to participate at any stage without any negative consequences. I am happy to make a copy of the report available to you should you request it.

Section A: Monetary benefits/costs of development

1. To what extent has this development been a financial success?
2. How do you think the partnership with the city has contributed to this success?
3. What are the approximate monthly running costs of this development and what are these costs for?

4. Please give me an indication of the way in which much of money is made by this development? What are your main profit areas?
5. To what do you attribute the success of your development?
6. What business principles does your development subscribe to?

Section B: Employment impacts of the developments

7. How many „once-off“ jobs did the development provide at the construction phases of the development?
8. What is the total number of people directly employed in the development on a monthly basis? (This number does not include sub-contracted employees).
9. Do you know of any informal jobs that operate in or around your development boundaries? What is the policy with regards to hawkers and crafts traders?
10. Is the number of jobs created or housed within your development increasing from year to year?

Section C: General Impacts

11. With regards to property rights what are the arrangements with the municipality over the beach? Are there any plans to alter these property rights? What are they?
12. What do you think this development has contributed towards the users“ experience of the beachfront?
13. What type of clients are mainly attracted to your development?
14. How do feel your development impacts socially on beach users?
15. What type of client does your development aim to attract? Which type of client does your development NOT want to attract?
16. What are the ecological impacts caused by your development on the beach and what measures are used to mitigate this? How much is spent?
17. What methods of waste removal are in place?
18. What is the „Durban Beach Experience“
19. What role do you think your development plays within the setting of the Durban Beachfront? How does it fit into the area and in Durban as a whole?
20. What do you think is the main difference between this beach and all the other beaches found along the Durban Beachfront?

21. In what ways do you think your development has contributed to Durban's drive to become an international tourist destination? Is there a certain sense of responsibility that you feel towards improving the standing of Durban internationally as well as domestically?
22. What do you think the consequences would be for your development if more developments based on your development's model are to be found situated on the beachfront.
23. Finally, how will your development remain a key development on the Beachfront? What type of plans will ensure that it is able to retain its position as one of the beachfront's most popular assets?

Thank you,
Jonathan Ramayia

Appendix 2: Interview with City Representative (Special Projects Unit)

Introduction

Hi, my name is Jonathan Ramayia. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal currently doing my Masters Degree in Urban and Environmental Planning. As part of the requirements of this degree I am expected to write a Thesis on a topic of my choosing. My topic is on the outcomes of Public-private Partnerships on Durban's Beachfront. The interview with you is an important way of obtaining information regarding the following:

- Monetary benefits/costs of development
- Economic impacts on the city
- Employment impacts of the development

You participate completely voluntarily and therefore have the option of withdrawing your permission to participate at any stages without any negative consequences. I am happy to make a copy of the report available to you should you request.

Name of Interviewee:

Position and Institution:

Place of Interview:

Date and time:

1. Why go into partnership over a piece of land that is considered a public good?
2. How did these partnerships come about and who initiated it and why?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
3. Before the partnership was finalized between the city and the private developer was there a set framework for negotiation – were there any conditions or aspects that the city was unwilling to relent on? What were these conditions?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café

4. What are the negative/positive economic effects of each of these developments?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
5. Please comment on the level of economic return received by each development? How successful have these ventures been from an economic point of view?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
6. Please give an estimate of the revenue that is directly received from these developments by the city on a monthly or yearly basis?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
7. Does the city incur any monthly monetary costs as a result of these developments? If so, what are these costs?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
8. What is the total revenue for the Durban Beachfront of the most current year?
9. Has there been a marked increase in revenue from the beachfront in real terms i.e. before these developments existed?
10. Estimate what percentage these developments have contributed to the beachfront's total revenue for the most current year.
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
11. Have the PPPs boosted investment interest in the beachfront? Give me examples of this as well as an indication of value of these investments?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
12. Please explain how the PPPs have contributed to a renewed investment interest in the beachfront in terms of both investors as well as from the general public.
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
13. Have any of the PPPs developments resulted in any negative consequences for the beachfront's investment potential? If so, how has it impacted negatively and in what way has this been manifested?

- a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
14. Assess the employment impacts that the PPPs have had on the beachfront?
- a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
15. Has the city as a whole experienced economic multiplier effects from the developments if so what are they?
- a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
16. If the city had gone forward as the sole developer in each of these developments would there have been major differences in profit, management etc. What do you think the effects of this might have been?
- a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
17. In terms of property rights exactly what deeds do the developers own? What type of property rights do they have as far as things such as rights of admission?
- a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
18. Under what circumstances can the city veto certain things that they feel have been transgressed?
- a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
19. With regards to Beach Café how does the city ensure that their allowed physical boundary is not overstepped?
20. What business lessons has the city learnt from the way in which these developments were initiated, negotiated and currently operate under. Has the city's business ethos changed as a result of the experiences learnt here?
- a) Suncoast
 - b) Beach Café
21. Given the success of these developments and the allure of the revenue received should we expect to see more developments such as these where sections of the beach are let out to private developers? What is the overall framework under which the city will proceed with these developments for the future?

Appendix 3: Interview with City (Environment Planning and Climate Protection Department)

Questionnaire No:

Name of Person Interviewed:

Date of Interview:

Place of Interview:

Introduction

Hi, my name is Jonathan Ramayia. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal currently doing my Masters Degree in Urban and Environmental Planning. As part of the requirements of this degree I am expected to write a Thesis on a topic of my choosing. My topic is on the outcomes of Public-private Partnerships on Durban's Beachfront. The interview with you is an important way of obtaining information regarding the following:

- Environmental assets and services of the beaches
- Change in quality of natural environment on the beaches since PPPs
- Beach ecosystem management efforts

Your anonymity and confidentiality will be protected at all times should you request. You participate completely voluntarily and therefore have the option of withdrawing your permission to participate at any stage without any negative consequences. I am happy to make a copy of the report available to you should you request.

Environmental assets and services of the beaches

1. What is the role of your institution with regards to Durban's environment/beachfront?
2. On each of the two beaches what are the environmental assets and their associated environmental functions/services?
 - a) Suncoast Beach
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)

Change in quality of beach environment on the beaches since the PPPs

3. In what way has there been a change in the quality of the natural environment since the developments have taken place?
 - a) Suncoast Beach
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)
4. What activities that take place on the beaches have a negative impact on the natural ecosystem in which it is found and how severe are these impacts?
 - a) Suncoast Beach
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)
5. What population threshold is acceptable on these beaches in order for the ecosystem to be sustainable?
 - a) Suncoast Beach
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)
6. Do you think the current population capacity is acceptable in each of the case studies?
 - a) Suncoast Beach
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)
7. What do you think of the long term sustainability of developments such as Suncoast and Beach Café which are built on public space?

Beach ecosystem management efforts

8. What is your comment on the way each of these beaches are managed from an ecological point of view?
 - a) Suncoast Beach
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)
9. What more can be done?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)
10. What policies and by-laws are in place to protect the beaches?
11. In what ways are policies being implemented appropriately and are these laws being adhered to in the case of these developments?
 - a) Suncoast
 - b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)
12. Do all members of the public have equal opportunities in accessing the benefits of the beach? Please explain with reference to the case studies.

- a) Suncoast
- b) Bay of Plenty (Beach Café)

13. In your opinion are the users of these beaches environmentally aware or ignorant?
14. Who do you think is responsible for educating beach users about beach ecosystems?
15. Finally, with reference to the PPPs do you think that pro-growth strategies such as PPPs have a positive role to play in the sustainability of the beachfront. Please elaborate.

Thank you,
Jonathan Ramayia

Appendix 4: Beach Users Survey

Questionnaire No:

Name of Person Interviewed:

Date of Interview:

Place of Interview:

Introduction

Hi, my name is Jonathan Ramayia. I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal currently doing my Masters Degree in Urban and Environmental Planning. As part of the requirements of this degree I am expected to write a Thesis on a topic of my choosing. My topic is on the environmental outcomes of Public-private Partnerships on Durban's Beachfront. The interview with you is an important way of obtaining information regarding the following:

- To understand how the spaces in question are being used
- To ascertain who the groups are that use these spaces
- How these spaces contribute to the social well-being of it's users

Your anonymity and confidentiality will be protected at all times. Apart from some basic demographic details no personal information is required for this research. You participate completely voluntarily and therefore have the option of withdrawing your permission to participate at any stage without any negative consequences. I am happy to make a copy of the report available to you should you request it.

Section A: Beach activities and usage

1. Apart from this beach which other beaches do you usually use along the Durban Beachfront and
 - a) What 3 things do you like about this beach?
 - b) What 3 things do you like about the OTHER beaches
2. For how long have you been using this particular beach?
3. How often do you make use of this beach per month/year?

4. What time of day do you make use of this beach most often?
5. What activities do you engage in when you visit the beach?
6. How much money do you spend when you come to the beach on average?
7. What do you spend it on?
8. How far from the Durban Beachfront do you live?
9. How do you get here?

Section B: Effects of PPPs on Beach Users

10. Have you in any way been excluded from using this beach or parts of it? If so why and how?
11. Who do you think are those members of society that are excluded from these beaches? Do you think their exclusion is justified?
12. Would you still utilize this space if there was no controlled access to it?
13. Do you feel comfortable and well secured when using this beach? Is it safe?
14. Please compare the safety of the beach before and after the development existed?
15. Can you describe the visible measures that are in place that make you feel safe and the measures that are lacking that you feel make you feel unsafe.
16. Before these developments existed were you a regular user of the beach on which they are located?
 - a) Suncoast Beach
 - b) Beach Cafe
17. Does the development affect you in any way positively or negatively?
18. In what ways have beach usage and activities changed since the development was established?
19. Do you think this type of development has positive effects for the city of Durban as a whole? What are they?
20. Do you think this type of development has negative effects for the city of Durban as a whole? What are they?
21. How do you think YOU will be or have been on the receiving end of any of these positive or negative effects for the city?
22. Who do you think will not benefit from these developments and why?
23. How has the development led to the improvement/deterioration of the management of the beach?

24. Apart from the beach, do you engage in any activities found within any of the development? What are they and how often?
25. What is the “authentic” Durban beach experience? Do you feel that this development has made a contribution to this “authentic” beach experience/does it add value to the beachfront experience?

Section C: Social/Aesthetic value attached to beaches

26. Have you always lived in a beach city? If so, how often did you use the beaches in your previous city?
27. If you have moved to Durban, how much of an influence has the beach had on your decision to move here?
28. Do you go on holiday outside of Durban? If so, does the presence of a beach influence your choice of city/town?
29. Do you come to the beach alone or with others?
30. Can you share any memorable or interesting experiences you have had at this beach?
31. Are there any traditions that you are apart of on this beach? Please state them.
32. Does the quality of the natural environment in which this beach is found influence your decision to use this beach?
33. Do you think the development has had a positive or negative on the natural environment? Please explain.
34. Apart from the beach are there any other characteristics of the natural environment that you appreciate on this beach? For example the sunset etc.
35. Would you say that this beach forms an integral part of your lifestyle?

Section D: General Demographics

36. Age:

18 – 27	28 – 37	38 - 47	48 – 57	58 – 67	> 67
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37. Gender:

Male	Female
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38. Home Language:

English	Afrikaans	Zulu	Other
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39. Household Income Bracket:

< 1500	
1501 - 3000	
3001 – 5000	
5001 – 10 000	
10 001 – 20 000	
20 001 – 30 000	
30 001 – 40 000	
> 40 000	

40. State or describe your occupation.

41. Are you the sole income provider in your household? If not who else supports your family?

42. Highest level of education completed:

No schooling	
Primary	
Secondary	
Tertiary Diploma	
Tertiary Degree	

43. How long have you lived in Durban? Where have you lived before?

Thank you,
Jonathan Ramayia