



**Coastal Identities: Exploring the Construction of Identities
on the Durban Beachfront.**

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Submitted as the dissertation constituent in fulfilment of the academic requirement for a degree of Master of Development Studies in the School of Development Studies, in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban.

DECLARATION

I, Mathenjwa Mxolisi Nhlakanipho (206506493) declare that;

1. The research reported in this dissertation except where otherwise indicated is my original work.
2. This dissertation is new and it has never been submitted in any other University and it is an original copy of the research conducted by the author mentioned above.
3. This piece of writing does not contain any writing, picture, graphs and information from by other people unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other people.
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 - a) Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced.
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5. This dissertation does not contain any text, graphics or tables copied from the internet.

Mathenjwa Mxolisi Nhlakanipho

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Abstract

This research project is part of a larger coastal governance project, titled Knowledge for Coastal Change, led by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). The main objective of that project is to “develop an innovative and radical model for (scientific) knowledge production at local (or municipal) levels in order to inform evidence-based decision making and management of South Africa’s coastal resources, build competence and contribute to the theoretical debate around the development of a democratic knowledge-society” (CGCG Report, 2013). My research is nested within and contributes to this larger body of work. The Durban coastline is one of the most attractive spaces in the city. Because of its cultural and socio-economic value to the city and province, this area is called the Golden Mile. But there are numerous questions about its governance and the role of identities in its governance: does it accommodate all the relevant users, stakeholders and those who rely on it intensively? The study is based on qualitative research methods and uses concepts such as “spatial fetishism” (Soja 1989), “space and place” (Keith and Pile 1993, Dixon and Durrheim 2004), “ritual of habitation” (Holmes 1999), “identity-construction spaces” (Kaya 2005) and “interactive governance theory” (Kooiman et, al 2008) to interrogate how identity formation informs people’s attachment to the Durban Beachfront (and vice versa)

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CHAPTER ONE- INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This research project is part of the larger coastal governance project conducted by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The main objective of that project is to develop an innovative and radical model for (scientific) knowledge production at local (or municipal) level in order to inform evidence-based decision making and management of South Africa's coastal resources. It also seeks to build competence and contribute to the theoretical debates around the development of a democratic knowledge-society (GCGC Report, 2013). The purpose is to incorporate "negotiated science and knowledge that will shift coastal society from being subject to a knowledge economy to one of a learning economy" (GCGC Report 2013; 8). My research is nested within this larger body of work and complements that study in numerous ways. Primarily, it seeks to examine the interconnectedness between space and identity formation on the Durban Beachfront (also commonly known as the Golden Mile).

1.2 Contextual Background

Speaking in Durban at the Inkosi Albert Luthuli International Convention Centre in October 2014, President Jacob Zuma launched the government's new 'blue economy' strategy aimed at exploiting the country's vast ocean whose economic potential is largely untapped (Carnie, 2014). Indeed, the interest in the ocean economy has spawned numerous national, provincial and municipal strategies aimed at developing the ocean and coastal zones. However, President Zuma's address about our sea being an economic force demonstrates the varying meanings and interpretations of different people on the value of oceans and coastal areas. In various policy pronouncements, left unexamined is the impact of these developments on identities and identity formations. With all the different socially institutionalized identities found at the Golden Mile, it follows that different people use this single space for different reasons. This is underlined by quite a number of incidences in the last few years that have grabbed headlines in the Durban Beachfront.

Most recently, a white real estate agent, Penny Sparrow, caused a national uproar during the 2015-16 holiday season when she referred to black South Africans as 'monkeys'. She claimed that allowing them in is "inviting huge dirt and troubles and discomfort to others." This paper is

in position to inform such uninformed arguments about the importance and the interpretations of different people about their perspectives about the beach. This was supposedly in reference to dirt and litter that she saw at the beach the day following New Year's celebrations. Because many black people from inland are unable to visit the beach during the year, hundreds of thousands flock to the coast during the December and January holidays. Durban being one of the most visited beaches due to its appealing summer weather attracts people from the outskirts of Durban and even other countries. The social media as a battleground broadcasted and ignited a war owing to these provocative posts of blacks referred to as 'monkeys'. To distance itself from her comments, the main opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA) revoked Ms. Sparrow's membership in the party.¹

1.3 Motivation and Rationale

The study is motivated by my interest in exploring the role of identity formation in the governance of coastal spaces. It is important to understand people's identities in this case because the coast is used differently by numerous people. For example, Soja (1989) discusses 'spatial fetishism' which explains the role that a particular space plays in identification with the users and their attachments to their beliefs. Durban's Golden Mile is one of the most attractive spaces in the province if not the entire country. It stretches from the uShaka Marine World in the south, past the Suncoast Casino and the iconic Moses Mabhida stadium, to the Blue Lagoon in the north. The Golden Mile is a magnet for tourists because it offers an uninterrupted 10km stretch of amazing waves and an enviable choice of restaurants, businesses, residential areas, hotels, and various types of entertainment spots. It has a great potential for enhancing the economy of the country if it is well governed and is home to over thirty percent of the country's population. In 2008, then Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism in the foreword of South Africa's National Programme of Action for Protection of the Marine Environment from Land-based Activities (DEAT, 2008: i) highlighted that this space is a national asset that provides support to a wide range of users including fishing, recreational as well as well as agriculture, an exploration of these uses of the coastal space form part of the development of this project.

¹Thulani Gqirana, "DA to suspend Penny Sparrow over racist comments," *Mail and Guardian*, 4 January 2016. Available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2016-01-04-da-to-suspend-sparrow-over-racist-comments>; accessed 18 January 2016.

1.4 Problem Statement

Through this study, I wanted to explore the users' perceptions and relations with the Golden Mile and to understand how people of different backgrounds identify themselves with the coastal area. It is not clear how well the current management of the coast accommodates users from different social backgrounds. The main purpose of this study was to find out from the users and stakeholders if they think their local knowledge and values inform decision-making with regard to the management of the Durban coastline.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The study seeks:

- To determine the extent to which Durban Beachfront users and residents think their values and knowledge are considered by the Beachfront managers.
- To assess the interconnectedness between space and identity formation on the Durban Beachfront.
- To explore variations in affinity to the Durban Beachfront among different users and residents.

1.6 Research Design

My research design adopted a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach involved observing, understanding and questioning the meanings and actions individuals and groups adopt (Creswell, 2007). In this research process, data was collected from participants and then analyzed and interpreted to reach the conclusions discussed in chapter four and the final chapter.

Research methods included observations and face to face interviews. The semi-structured interviews I used allowed the participants to speak for themselves rather than providing them with my own predetermined questions which are possibly not going to cover all the required information (Babbie and Morton, 2004). Users along the Golden Mile gave primary data and that data was analyzed using thematic analysis (Creswell, 1994), which focuses on identifiable themes and patterns found in the data collected. I categorized the collected data into themes such as conversation topics, meanings and feelings of participants on the subject matter.

I used a purposive sampling technique because I deemed appropriate as it allowed the selection of certain participants deliberately to achieve a goal. This technique is defined as “a sampling design that does not follow the theory of probability in the choice of elements from the sampling population” Kumar (1999: 61). Within the study, the interviewed identities included people who use the Golden Mile to derive livelihoods (sand artists, rickshaw pullers, wood/hand work artists, seawater sellers), residents, religious groups (Hindu, Christians, Traditional Healers) and recreational users (surfers, joggers, exercising cyclists). A synonymous set of questions was used for different groups, these groups were appropriate respondents because of their respective knowledge important for the study and their experiences of being close to the sea. These groups have a relationship with the sea and their responses were of great importance in the conduction as well as the success of the study.

This coastal space is of use for different people, and the rationale of the study is nested in the understanding and the utilization of the beach by these existing identities. The beach is a meeting point for all types of cultures found within Durban and surrounding areas. Therefore, it should not only be viewed as a space where events occur but also as an actor that shapes what happens and how it happens impacts on both the users as well as the space itself (Keith and Pile; 1993). Using Kaya’s (2005) “identity-construction spaces” framework (discussed in more detail in the next chapter), this dissertation aims to identify and examine the factors that have the potential to hinder or promote a managerial structure that stimulates the success of the coastal environment. I found Kaya’s framework useful for my research as it pivots around five key components that play a role in understanding affiliation of social group practices; namely, cultural spaces, labour-market spaces, residential spaces, socio-political spaces, and institutional spaces. Space, identity formations, meaning and usage have been common themes in the literature on Durban’s Golden Mile. The Golden Mile provides the city of Durban with a cultural and socio-economic value to the city and province, numerous identities inhabit this space and appears to be of pivotal importance to their well-being. Space, identity formations, meaning and usage have been areas of focus and the following chapter focuses on literature and presents the conceptual framework used for understanding identity formations in Durban’s Golden Mile.

CHAPTER TWO: THINKING ABOUT SPACE AND IDENTITY

As I indicated in the introductory chapter, due to its cultural and socio-economic value to the city and province, part of the Durban coastline is referred to as the Golden Mile. But there are numerous questions about its governance and the role of identities in its governance: does it accommodate all the relevant users, stakeholders and those who rely on it extensively? Thus, the main research question of this project is to interrogate how identity formation informs peoples' attachment to the Durban Beach front (and vice versa). To satisfy the objectives of the study, I have located the research in existing literature that examines the themes of the place-identity nexus, the socialization and space affiliation, and understanding watery and coastal environments. This chapter also outlines the conceptual framework that shaped the structure of this research project. I found Kaya's (2005) "identity-construction spaces" framework useful for my research because it emphasizes five key components that play a role in understanding affiliation of social group practices: cultural spaces, labour-market spaces, residential spaces, socio-political spaces, and institutional spaces. However with Kaya's approach not focusing on values, I therefore marry it with Kooiman et al (2008) 'Interactive Governance Theory' which addresses the need of collecting all the tiny bits of information in governance. I discuss these in detail and how I used them in the study in the concluding section.

2.1 Understanding Place-Identity

It is important to understand factors that push people if you want to understand place-identity relationships. Having observed the variety of identities inhabiting the beach spaces, it was critical to understand the forces behind identities occupying these spaces. To understand activities that take place in spaces one has to understand that you cannot separate the actual space from the inhabitants of space, thus it is impossible to understand space and users independently because these two are inseparable. Dixon and Durrheim (2004) presented useful material about 'space and place'. They argued that place and space as well as meaning and identification are due to the activities and practices that take place in that particular setting. The reorganization of space and place is produced by a host of actions such as segregation as well as desegregation (Dixon and Durrheim, 2004). Space and accompanying actions are influenced by how the space is used and how people relate to it, making it safe to refer place identity as particular elements that contribute to sense of place.

In light of South Africa's history of racial and ethnic segregation, concepts such as segregation and desegregation are useful in attempts to unravel that history. Desegregation is a form of dislocating and reestablishing identity in relation to space, which is a medium of events that occur and also shapes what happens there (Massey, 1993) and defines the importance of understanding each end in relation to the other. It is important to recognize that when segregation occurs it is evaluated by the skeptical minds and is seen as a way of elevating social stability rather than waning it. However, when discussing reestablishment of identity, I do not mean breaking down previously existing identities such as those discussed by Misgun and Oakes (2007) where they learnt that preference of space was based on racial forces but rather favoring the increase of non-racial and desegregatory social cohesion which was non-existent in recent years in this area of focus.

When studying human identity formations as well as social affiliation we need to focus on factors that produce that particular identity. Attempts to positively uplift the nation through careful management and protection of the coastal area requires us to employ a holistic strategy that would dismantle the barriers and segregations discussed by Misgun and Oakes (2007). Therefore, discussing and studying these interactions among social groups can potentially lessen prejudice and form a compulsory prerequisite of a more tolerant society. Ownership of space, on the other hand, may be an enemy of factors which support social cohesion and desegregation because ownership and belonging create the 'us' and 'them' idea which is not compassionate of desegregation (Dixon and Durrheim, 2004). This regular interaction of non-racialism and desegregation of social groups works through and marks the decrease in intergroup anxiety, increasing perceptions of out-groups variability, and building trust and more optimistic and desegregatory emotional responses (Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). Ownership of space results in what Jackson and Reeves (1994) termed 'invisible gated communities' which refers to the action of segregating other social groups in invisible ways. The concept of invisible gated communities denotes simple stereotypes about attitudes towards other social groups such as being selective of who to interact with in terms of identity characteristics which also plays a major role in socio-economic relationships that will be discussed later in the chapter. Segregation does not mean visible spatial boundary as a protection of own territory but it also means being invisible and psychological discrimination.

The existence of desegregation raises concerns about damage and contamination of group distinctiveness, resulting in anxiety, tension and erosion of particular group distinct properties as well as fear of losing self. Brewer (1996) argued that desegregation leads to loss of identity and, echoing this, Dixon and Durrheim (2004) introduced what they termed 'loss of place' which explains the erosion of particular forms of 'being' and 'doing' on the beachfront as well as the desegregation of cultures and traditions. When a certain group or identity has made connection with the physical and sometimes an invisible setting, an automatic construction of identity in relation to that place prevails and that is what is discussed next.

Place identity is constructed by the material environment (Dixon and Durrheim, 2004). It refers to a physical setting or even an invisible one that accommodates individuals to be able to regulate themselves, a place where the achievements of self-coherence, self-worth and self-expression can be pursued. Place identity is inclusive of 'restorative qualities' (Fuhrer, 2001) which refers to the place's capacity to disconnect individuals from stressful and boring routines and to provide a sense of emotional, spiritual, intellectual engagements which will enable individuals to achieve their personal desires, goals as well as other forms of self-expression. Restorative qualities maximize the opportunities for self-regulation and invoke a strong sense of place identity.

Human geographers have long argued that an individual's sense of self grows as a result of interaction and transaction with material environments. For example, Krupat (1983) argued that place identity is not just a setting for serving the interests and activities of people but it actively incorporates as part of self and a true meaning of who an individual is. Therefore, place identity is a combination of emotions, perceptual processes which are formulated and constructed through individuals' interactions with the built and natural environments. Place identity consistently reassures, refreshes and rejuvenates and also possibly de-energizes. Ralph (1976) and Tuan's (1980) holistic phenomenology of 'being in place' is a construction of a sense of self through intentionally attributing to place meanings. This goes a long way towards unifying the significance of 'being in place', the strength of this argument is that looking at some social groups inhabiting the beachfront consist of children who are actively learning the family culture, the tradition and roles. Hence, this is because when grooming children, they are expected to possess properties of the identity appropriate. Proshanky (1978), introduced what he called an 'affective-evaluative component' which refers to our everyday phrases to express our feelings about being in place such

as; feeling at home, or having sense of place. The most obvious illustrations of this are the personalization of space, design and everyday use of residential dwellings. Therefore, without such feelings of being in place and other possible ways of personalization of space, loss of identity ensues.

2.2 Space socialization and affiliation

Having discussed place identity and the strengths it has in shaping identities, I now shift my focus to the space affiliation and the socialization of space. This sub-section focuses on thinking about space in terms of racial factors, socioeconomic factors as well as lifestyles. A loss of identity through desegregation is dislocation of place identity as argued by Dixon and Durrheim (2004). This was especially noticeable since the repeal of segregation in the Durban beachfront in 1989. The racial demography has become mixed and even though there are still racial scars left behind by the apartheid regime, place identity in terms of racialization has been reshaped which is a practical example of dislocation of place identity through desegregation.

Popke and Ballard (2003) discussed the erosion of 'place identity' in the city of Durban's transformation by modified forms of economic and social interaction. Their argument was based on the transformation of spatial arrangements within the city and focused on erosion of 'place identity'. Street traders and spatial change were part of their argument and they discussed these two within a perimeter of three prominent narratives namely; chaos, congestion and pollution. For them; these three prominent narratives are constructed Eurocentric views of the 'good' city's past versus the transformed post-apartheid state of the city as 'bad'. This critique is motivated by the idea that the recent transformation of the city has led to chaos, congestion and pollution while the street traders use spatial availability as an economic drive which perhaps is their only way of meeting their needs and wants. Undoubtedly, the dismantling of apartheid has allowed throngs of local and foreign people to use space for economic activities and these changes have been fueled by the 'de-racialization' of urban space in terms of both residential as well as economic activity which is more informal.

This change, according to Popke and Ballard (2003), modified the racial interactions, negotiation and conflict in terms of the nature and experience of space. It led to questions about historical categories of identity and their current existence as well as the nature of cross-cultural existence

forgetting that space has the ability to generate the economy especially for people living on commercial commodity. The effects of apartheid on spatial segregation were identification in itself because through this form of segregation and racism, people of certain groups identified themselves with what they had access to, creating the ‘us’ and ‘them’ identities. The apartheid city formed visual, explicit, territorial and residential segregation which shaped the nature of identity, making boundaries, contested as they were, that governed one’s identity in terms of how far one went in terms of residence and access.

As the Sparrow incident I quoted in the introductory chapter indicates, current conflict in spatial usage is due to the fact that Durban (like other metropolitan spaces) is no longer used along the lines established under apartheid. This is because colonial and apartheid planners set about controlling the racial and spatial features of the city, passing legislation to control the movement of non-whites and restricting their domicile to separate residential locations. Having said this, identification with space is very important as people relate it with what that particular space has to offer and its relevance to their lifestyles. An example of this argument is that quote of “an ashamed Durbanite” who stated that having been around Durban for years she had watched the city deteriorating and stating that she would not take her worst enemy to the Central Business District because of the filth there. As she put it: “...*our spacious pavements have now been taken over by beggars, vagrants, muggers and hawkers of every possibly commodity, and soon there won’t be anything left to love in this once lovely city of ours...*” This is a quote extracted from Popke and Ballard (2003; 103) to validate claims that current state of the city is ‘bad’ when compared to the past.

2.3 Watery and Coastal Environments

Having discussed the Central Business District usage of space, I now shift my focus back to the sea to discuss the relations of the surfers and other groups such as residents, sand artists, and hawkers, rickshaw pullers with both the land and the sea. Anderson (2013) discussed ‘surfer identity’ under the concept of coastal space. The key relation between surfers and the coastal space is reliant on the water quality and the nature of the waves. The Golden Mile is known for its all year round waves which makes the beaches be an attraction for all watery activities with the Golden Mile referred to as the ‘surfer haven’. According to Anderson (2013), surfers can go as far as changing coastal spaces in search of breaking waves that would accommodate their lifestyles as

well as culture. Groups such as residents along the beach opt for such residents based on certain influences and Dolby (2001) argued that choices of what is done and who people like to interact with is based on “taste” which she referred to as one of the prominent areas people consult with in terms of their preferences. With the study looking at sand artists as potential participants; this will perhaps open up the idea of space as an economic tool rather than within the lines of chaos, congestion and pollution that Popke and Ballard (2003) argued about.

Surfers identify themselves using coastal and watery metaphors. The surfer identity is an assembled collection of ‘surf-shore identity’ (Anderson, 2013) which is composed of watery environments that support their surf zone. This is an evidence of the relations that occur between people and space. It suggests that surfers are as much defined by their relations with water, and fluid spaces as they are by landlocked areas. Anderson (2013) argued that this watery based identity is not static, because it is driven by the desire and unconditional relationship with watery areas to ride waves wherever they may be and with amazing advances in transport and, communication thanks to globalization, surfers increasingly go mobile in search for breaking waves. However, this mobility in search of breaking waves comes with consequences which appear in forms of disembeddedness of people from places (Appandurai and Hannerz, 1996). Furthermore, Maxey (1999) argued that with the surfing identity, there is no full cognizance when it comes to relating to a single space. His arguments describe the identity of surfers as composed of both trans-local and local practices as part of their identity. These identities are constantly produced by mobility across the globe. The main strength of his argument is the idea of the inseparability of space and user in learning and understanding, the significant call for mobility to surf these waves denotes the importance of space in the lives of those that are members of the group.

Through that study it has been understood how people identify themselves with the coastal area. I share Stebbin’s (1997) views that surfing might be a sport but it is more of a lifestyle. Describing lifestyle as a distinctive set of shared patterns of tangible behavior organized in relation with interest and shared social conditions. Surfers have their own shared values, attitudes and strong motivation which become a basis of separate, common social identity for the members of the group.

In addition to watery environments, Hughes's (2006) study on race and water is pertinent in which he argues that spaces and people create one another and that things (in this case water) are not mere objects of discourse. In this line of thinking, it is misguided to try and understand or discuss space and people as if they are distinct because they constantly produce one another. Hughes's (2006) paper discusses the Kariba dam in relation to the whites longing for water, but again it shows the relationship between the valley residents and the dam itself, and therefore examines both white settlers and local inhabitants' perspectives. Hughes's study demonstrates nature's plasticity because of the different ideas and the understanding coming from its existence, this longing for water by whites articulates how people relate to spaces. Their settlement in a landlocked country ignited whites to take initiatives to address the lack of watery surfaces and they modified water resources and thereafter saw the beauty in the lake. According to Hughes, this yearning for water triggered emotional responses where Euro-Africans expressed their desire for the sea and the feeling of satisfaction of listening to the sound of the waves breaking. On the other hand, Hughes (2006) states that the Kariba Dam was believed to be home of the Nyaminyami (river god), the local Tonga people had a relationship with the river god and an understanding of the comparative weather. Hence, this suggests that the space produces understanding on these valley residents as they are able to identify the nature and mood of their god. This knowledge is indigenous and only available to those that have inhabited that space for numerous years, with ideas that if the water appeared blue then Nyaminyami was satisfied in his situation whereas when the clouds in the sky are darker and the river is opaque then by then Nyaminyami would not be happy and would be regretting having agreed to live out of sunlight. This shows that space inhabitants have an understanding of their space and the happenings that occur within inhabited space. The inhabitants believed that there are two Nyaminyamis in the river where one is for the deep water and the other for the shallow water.

There is always something that keeps members of a group loyal and sensitive to their group and this may be tangible or not but there is gain somehow. Fuhrer (2001) described this phenomenon as 'restorative qualities' which for example includes detaching individuals from boring or stressful routines to enable an achievement of either personal desires, goals, and others ways of reaching self-expression. With the case of surfers, the emotional gain or relational sensibilities they feel when in union with their boards and the breaking waves is termed by the surfing community as 'stoke' (Anderson, 2013). Stoke is a feeling of intense relation that is felt by the surfer and this is

when a surfer experiences a feeling of satisfaction, pride and joy, and believe that surfers tingle from head to toe.

Stoke would never be a reality if it was not for the availability of the coast. We cannot study people and space independently because the relationship between people and space becomes 'intrinsically related' (Hiller, 2001). When we study people and space, the 'and' is the tie that bonds together these two entities. Casey (2001) added that if we were to study identification of people, it is imperative that we focus on relations with the space that helps people get to 'know' themselves and termed that as the 'constitutive co-ingredients of people and place'. Casey (2001) argued that there is no self without space and vice versa further arguing that people and space are inseparable and this 'co-ingredient' emphasizes the uncertainty about where the body ends and where the world begins.

The construction of meaning of space and how it relates to certain people keeps being reproduced for 'restorative qualities' purposes (Furher, 2001). Crang and Travlou (2001) agreed that over time practices leave meanings onto places and those meanings are created by memories which mesh with cultural meaning on an individual and societal scale. It is these meanings that lead to identification with space and the attitudes are what this study explores. The human body and the watery world interact together to form the assembled identity of the surfer. Likewise, the study seeks to examine the co-ingredient of those who inhabit the Durban Beachfront and the role that it, in turn, plays in producing their identities.

A two-week observational study conducted by Misgun and Oakes (2007) at the Durban Beachfront focused on people's negotiation of space at the beach, the activities that beachgoers participated in, the groups with whom they engaged and whether they occupied space through socialization of 'taste' (Dolby, 2001) or through racial identification. They discovered that negotiation of space was affected by apartheid legacies. However, they noted the mixture of race groups but that was along the North beaches and those who occupied that space from other non-white racial groups had similar taste to whites. But the Addington and the South beaches were black dominated with no form of racial integration. They concluded that space was negotiated through racial identities; however individuals' taste also had a role to play in the social space or group affiliation in the Durban Beachfront.

2.4 Conceptual Framework: Identity-construction Spaces

Although the literature reviewed above has been useful in the design of this study, the theoretical framework is based on Kaya's (2005) arguments about the 'identity-construction spaces'. His conceptual toolset suggests that spaces emphasize and shape particular identities and discourage others. This explains why certain people choose a coastal area instead of an inland area or vice versa. It is the aim of this study to understand the links between the coast and its inhabitants. For the purposes of this research, space is not only a container in which events occur but it also shapes what happens and how it happens (Keith and Pile, 1993; Massey, 1993; Pile and Thrift, 1995). That is to say, space is an important component in identity construction or analysis because it is both a medium as well as producer of social identification.

Through his paper, Kaya (2005) emphasized identity-construction spaces through five categories as components that play a role in understanding affiliation of social group practices as well as identities of people. These categories are: cultural spaces, labour-market spaces, residential spaces, socio-political spaces, and institutional spaces. I focus on each of these below.

Cultural spaces are an important part of understanding identity. Culture is a learnt behavior and involves sense-making processes (Jackson, 1994). Group identities are rooted in institutions as well as relationships. This explains that sense-making processes produce a collective identity, which will form basis of the nature of behavior for all the members of that particular group. As space also shapes what happens and how it happens, it is useful for this study to view the coast as an actor in the negotiation of activities as well as a supporter of cultural being and activities. Identities are shaped not only by material relationships but also in the way people articulate themselves in relation to others (Rodaway, 1995). People arrive at a conclusion of a specific cultural understanding of who they are through ways in which they are viewed and understood by others and by experiencing the constructions that other people make.

The cultural use of the coast for religious purposes brings about the need for understanding social institutions in this study. Institutions increase intragroup interactions and they expand links among group members through institutional participation. Soja (1989) argued that space can be understood as 'fetishism of space' which basically views space as possessing spirituality and powers in religious terms. Kaya (2005) studied Turkish-Americans along lines of social

institutions and concluded that worship places such as churches, synagogues and mosques served as sacred spaces where meaning, ethics and values of a particular nation or culture are transmitted through religious discourse and interaction. Along such lines of Soja (1989) and Kaya (2005), my research attempted to understand the role that the sea plays in religious importance in relation with social identity.

The labor-market component is another element useful when trying to understand identity. According to Kaya (2005), work is an essential and universal human activity and has an important role in a person's identity. There is a close link between one's social status in a particular society and how that person makes a living. This comes with much importance as the study explores economically driven identities such as sand artists, hawkers, rickshaw pullers as well as people whose residential preference is influenced by work related choices. Furthermore, one's labour activity affects who one socializes with and what activities one participates and has interest in. This addresses and invites the need for understanding of questions of 'why' sand-artists, rickshaw pullers inhabit a coastal area. These arguments are important because individuals are distributed into different classes and categories that the division of labour presents. Hence, group identity is more likely to be the outcome. In that way, group identities offer significant frameworks for the distribution of persons into certain areas and particular workplaces as well. As this study will show, work spaces are not just a place where people work, but places whereby people come together, socialize, share feelings and memories, transmit values and also transform identities (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Chacko, 2003).

The third component of Kaya's framework is the residential aspect of identity-construction spaces. According to Misgun and Oakes (2007) and Vale (1996), there is no absolute freedom of choice as to where to live. With two decades of freedom and democracy in South Africa, this is still the case. Factors such as economic affordability (Kaya, 2005), taste (Dolby, 2001) play a major role in residential decision making, and this was the case in their respective sites. The city of Durban has many residential areas and through the study, factors that lead to people's residential decision making were identified.

The fifth component is the organizational and political space. Kaya (2005) argued that power is an element of intergroup relations. This leads back to spatial ownership (Popke and Ballard, 2003) as well as racial segregation of the coastal space and the Durban Beachfront. Each group strives to

impose change that will be beneficial to its members and influence the decisions and relationships that have significance and positive consequences for their lives (Jackson and Penrose, 1994). Their ability to influence the existing social order is heavily reliant on the resources they bring along. Through this component the study sought to understand the relationship between the power holders/management of the space and those who use the sea. It is a solid framework for understanding the interaction between the two distinct entities as Popke and Ballard (2003) did with their study when studying street traders.

Kaya's (2005) arguments as well as categorization of 'identity-construction spaces' played a major role in conducting the study as it discussed useful material in understanding identities. However, the shortcoming of this framework is that it underplays the role of values in space and social identity formation. This calls for an addition of the interactive governance element (Kooiman et al, 2008) as the sixth component. This approach relishes the need for an integration of every bit of information and shows that all bits of knowledge, experiences and expertise have a role to play in the jigsaw of policy and decision making and formulating a governance structure satisfactory to all relevant stakeholders. This concept helps illuminate the relationship between what is governed and what/who governs. It also shows that this will only be effective if there is a productive relationship between these systems and if the measures employed are ethically sound and socially just. Thus it was important to integrate this framework along with that of Kaya because it welcomed all the tiny pieces and the overlooked knowledge about this space. This chapter has outlined the conceptual backbone of the research study and has also presented material that played a role in shaping and navigating the study. The next chapter presents methodological considerations and the tools I used in the conduct of the research.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter discussed the conceptual framework buttressing this study and this chapter will then present a detailed demonstration of how the study was conducted. After explaining the research design, the next part discusses sampling and data collection. The ultimate section focuses on data analysis. But first, I need to describe the area where the study was conducted.

3.1 What's the Gold in Durban's Golden Mile?

This research study was conducted at the Durban Beachfront which is affectionately known as 'The Golden Mile', with some colloquially referring to it simply as 'The Mile'. The Golden Mile is the famous refurbished stretch of the beachfront in the city of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa which was revamped prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup hosted in South Africa. This run-course stretches from the far end of the South Beaches at the uShaka Marine World, and courses further up north beaches passing along the Suncoast Casino and Entertainment World which then provides a direct route to the magnificent Moses Mabhida Stadium.

The Golden Mile is one of the main tourist attractions in Durban and the surrounding areas. The open sand area physically separated by various piers, provides excellent opportunities for different users such as surfers, spiritual worshippers, hawkers, sand artists, swimmers, joggers, etc. to perform their respective activities while enjoying the breeze and the weather influenced by the Indian Ocean. Most of the Golden Mile's beaches are protected year-round by lifeguards and shark nets catering for swimmers. The Golden Mile is also home to surfers with the South Beach end, in particular, well known as a safe beach for novice surfers with almost all surfers being based at the Addington and uShaka Beaches. The beachfront properties are a mix of residential apartments and tourist hotels accommodating the mixture of races as well as internationals with African immigrants believed to be dominantly residing in the South Beaches based apartments. The mixture of these races may be observable, however the spatial racialization discussed by Misgun and Oakes (2007) is still observed with more whites occupying apartments along the northern beaches.

The city of Durban is ethnically diverse with a cultural richness of mixed beliefs and traditions, with the Zulus forming the largest ethnic group as the Province is known as KwaZulu-Natal. It

has a large number of people of British descent and arguably a city that is home to most Indians of any city outside India. The city of Durban is home to over 3.4 million people comprising of 68 Blacks, 20% Indian, 9% Whites and 3% Coloreds (BRICS5, 2015). The most dominant languages are Zulu, English, Xhosa and Afrikaans in order with Christianity, Hindu and Muslim being the most popular religions around Durban.

According to Thandi (2015), the Durban Metropolitan Area in which The Golden Mile is situated has a great and diversified economy with strong manufacturing, tourism, transportation, finance and government sectors. The large port of Durban gives the city a comparative edge over many other centers in South Africa for export-related industry. Durban's famous subtropical climate, warm marine current and cultural diversity are a strong magnet for tourists. The recent developments such as the inner city revitalization, Durban Point Waterfront project, the Golden Mile, the Moses Mabhida Stadium have contributed to the growth of the city economically. Below is a map showing the Durban Metropolitan Area in which the intersection of the watery space and the land area being the Golden Mile in which this study was conducted.



(Source: <http://cybercapetown.com/Durban/>, accessed 15 December 2016)

Fig-1: A map of the Durban Metropolitan Area

Having described the data collection site of the study, I now want to explain in details the research design, sampling and data collection.

3.2 Research Design

My research design adopts a qualitative approach. This type of research involves observing, understanding and questioning the meanings and actions of individuals and groups. In this research process, data is collected from participants and the researcher then interprets the collected data (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative research produces and provides descriptive information through multiple data sources which I was able to sift through and place into sections and themes that appeared as influences across the data sources. This approach fit the purpose of my study as it allowed me to conduct research and study participants in their natural settings (Creswell 2007). I also tried to make sense of social phenomena through my observation of the activities and practices that took place during the conduct of my research. In this type of investigation, “researchers do not bring individuals into a lab (a contrived situation), nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete” (Creswell 2007: 175). This allows us researchers to not only gather information through research methods such as interviews. Therefore, one of the Hindu participants in this study had to be interviewed in another location because an appointment was set before data collection commenced, and I had to visit him at his home to conduct the interview. But the other participants from the other backgrounds were interviewed right at the beach as planned and following the natural setting rules.

There was also an ethnographic element (limited as it was by time constraints). What ethnographers call observation was useful in this study as it allowed me to experience and get the feeling of that environment/setting and observe the surroundings and relate to what the participants say about the observations. I was able to visit the beach twice; first to conduct interviews and the second time was for observational purposes and to validate the participants’ responses. What is important is to understand that research is flexible and it typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting (LeCompte and Schenul 1999 cited in Creswell 2007: 13).

3.3 Data Collection

The main research tools for this study were semi-structured face-to-face interviews which took place at the Durban Beachfront. A semi-structured interview is an interview which is open for other questions that may arise out of responses given by participants. This type of interview allows for more information to be obtained (Creswell, 2007) because there are always gaps that are left unattended by the questions we ask as researchers because we collect data as empty boxes awaiting to be filled by information from the participants. Those responses may require researchers to further ask participants follow up questions because of the importance of the value of the information given and ask questions that may have not been pre-written in the guide. Semi-structured interviews allow the participants to speak for themselves rather than being provided with a bunch of our own predetermined questions that are possibly not going to cover all the required information (Babbie and Morton, 2004) and would probably miss out on importantly valuable information.

Whilst my question structure was determined before the interviews, they did not undergo the set structure or wording as planned. The open-ended nature of this technique allowed me to gain the answers for the objectives of my study which would not have been covered had I have used structured interviews. The use of open-ended questions gave my participants a platform to explain what they really meant and gave useful personal experiences of the matter under examination. Interviews were conducted and recorded using a voice recorder and I also took notes on paper since there were situations where some information deemed very important and behavior that could not be recorded but could only be seen.

3.4 Sampling

I used a purposive (non-random) sampling technique, which is a sampling technique that adopt selecting participants deliberately to achieve a goal. This technique is defined as a sampling design that follows no theory of probability in the choice of elements from the sampling population (Kumar 1999). With the purposive sampling design I was able to directly pick the respondents of the study on the basis of specific characteristics they possessed and their visible and physical traits which qualified them to be in the study. It allowed me the freedom to choose

whom I thought possessed relevance to my study and it provided additional information through open ended questions which could not have been predicted.

As I wandered along the Durban Beachfront, I thought that everyone using the beach is automatically qualified to be part of the study, thus the choices of who to participate was governed by their accessibility, age, as well as consideration not to interrupt their activities. By accessibility I refer to the feasibility of having their time at that particular moment because they are at the beach for a reason. For example, religious beach users had to be strategically approached because of the fact that you cannot interfere and distract them from their moment of prayer and participation in a sacred activity. All the religious persons that were interviewed at the beach were interviewed after they had finished their prayers except for one who had to be visited at his home. One of the most important factors to consider during data collection was the timing of the interviews. For example, all of the religious groups were interviewed during the early hours of the day when they came for prayers. Similarly, interviewing rickshaw² pullers as well as sand artists was also strategically planned because they were more concerned about their business than my research. Therefore visiting them during early hours and late hours of the day was advantageous to my research because there were less customers during those times.

The participants of this study used different spaces along the Durban Beachfront for their own different reasons. Some used the Blue Lagoon which is far north of the beachfront where the Golden Mile stretches to and that is where the Umgeni River meets up with the sea which Misgun and Oaks (2007) argued the space as more Indian dominant. Religious groups were found along the beach between the Suncoast Beach and the Blue Lagoon beach somewhat along opposite the Moses Mabhida Stadium for their own reason. Participants were all scattered throughout the linear Golden Mile as others possessed mobility ability; those such as mobile street vendors as well as rickshaw pullers. Attached below is a summary table of study participants with a detail table included on appendix-A. The groups are categorized as follows; Livelihoods (Hawkers, Fishermen, Rickshaw Pullers, Sand Artists), Religious groups (Christians, traditional African Religious Practitioners, Hindus), and recreational users (surfers, joggers, cyclists).

² A rickshaw is a colourful two light wheeled passenger vehicle drawn by a man who is usually dressed in colourful traditional Zulu attire.

Users	Quantity Interviewed
Livelihoods	6
Religious Groups	3
Recreational Users	7
Total	16

Fig-2: Summary table of research participants.

3.5 Data Analysis

The collected data was analyzed using a ‘thematic analysis strategy’ which is a systematic method of sifting through data to identify any emerging recurrent patterns. According to Arson (1994), a thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns found in the data collected. It categorized the collected data into themes such as conversation topics, meanings and feelings of participants attached to the subject matter.

Where participants touched on topics that most participants have talked about, I asked them to elaborate on those areas because I wanted to clearly point and figure out the similarities and differences between their responses; with the variety of backgrounds of the participants, it was very important to attentively touch and listen to the similarities and differences on responses on topics responded to by participants. Themes were organized through the responses given by participants and they appeared useful to me because they (themes) enabled me to grasp important and useful information and to obtain an in-depth view of the subject matter. The themes and categories derived from the information obtained from the responses of the interviews were broken down into categories with their meanings being transformed into the language of the concepts. These themes enabled me to better understand the experiences and feelings of the participants.

This chapter has explained how data was collected and analysed. It is important to note that using purposive sampling worked effectively for this study in particular in terms of saving time and being able to selectively choose participants who appeared relevant. The following chapter presents the findings and discussions of the data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

As stated in the previous chapter, to explore the intersections of space and identity formation, I conducted interviews and observations of seventeen research participants on the Durban Beachfront. This chapter draws on these interviews and observations to examine how well they align with the objectives of the research. As I demonstrated in the second chapter, I will interpret my finds through the prism of Kaya's (2005) "identity-construction spaces" framework as well as Kooiman, et al (2008) theory of "interactive governance."

During the interviews participants raised their own identity specific understanding and values with regard to the beach. Therefore, I was able to identify different themes based on the objectives of the study with responses seemingly running along similar routes. The findings disclose the relationship between the beach space as well as those identities purposively sampled in favor of data collection. The major themes are as follows: society-nature relations, labour-market spaces and identity, affinity between users and the beach, and considerations of beach user values and knowledge. The final section necessarily discusses the implications of my findings for the governance of this coastal space.

4.1 Society-Nature Relations: Benefits from the Materiality of Things

There are questions that we always overlook; some are rhetorical and some are not. Certain questions are left unanswered because of the limited knowledge or perhaps nobody has interest to respond to them. This was the case in this study since in general, the word "beach" triggers "fun" to many people. This is not necessarily false but there is more to the beach than simply having fun as the project participants are concerned. Firstly, the understanding that there are different identities using the beach would then prompt questions like; why certain identities come to the beach? Do they not have any other space to use for whatever activities they conduct at the beach? What is it that the beach offers that other places do not?

A range of activities carried out at the beach between social and cultural geography reveal how beach inhabitants and users engage with the experiences of nature as well as their experience with the physical environment. The discourse analysis of such spaces discloses the varying beliefs and understandings that space inhabitants have. The preferences of what we do and where we do it do not just come through overnight, they are mostly an informed or recurrent notion that influences

the adoption of a certain space. In this research project, participants came up with a variety of preferences of the usage of this space. One participant in the study stated that;

“...the reason we come to the beach is that we are interact with ancestors. By the time I embarked on this route it appeared to me that I have to come and pray here at the beach. You know the help that we usually get here ..., it happens that when you had come here; your ways are illuminated” BI-003 (Female traditional African religion practitioner, 56).

This was one of the respondents that come to the beach for cultural reasons. Discussing this phenomenon, Soja (1989) alluded that a space has a sacred aspect to offer to humans. In other words, for her, the understanding of the beach goes beyond a holiday because it is a way of being in contact with the ancestors. Here the participant reveals that this space forms part of her ancestral territory where she feels the connection with the post human aspect of her life. It was a fortunate day and beneficial to the data collection because she stated that she and her congregation come to be beach infrequently only for a ritual and a religious need that pushes them to come to the beach.

“Yes actually it is not often as I say that they (ancestors) came to me in my sleep and they told me that if a child comes to me I need to come here and ezokwethwasa³ (initiate) him/her here. It is not something that is performed anyhow or by anyone. The sea helps me in that if I have brought a child here, it shows what I have done to that child, it brightens up, and also when we have taken this sand and sprinkled it, it also shows that we are protected, these people (ancestors) did come and help us. We also use it for cleansing; we also get assistance through dreams.” BI-003 (Female traditional African religion practitioner, 56)

From what they stated, it is not the entire ritual that is conducted at the beach but the introductory part when an initiate is welcomed by the ancestors. This is part of a process long before graduation to a *sangoma*.⁴ To this respondent, the beach is important because it has that ability to connect one person to his/her ancestors. Identities are in deep relationships with spaces and are embedded in

³ *Ukwethwasa* is an initiation ritual of becoming a Sangoma, it is an emergence as a diviner. It is referred to as a “calling” by the ancestors to be a mediator between human and non-living and a spiritual servant of the people.

⁴ *Isangomas* a traditional healer who utilizes spiritualization, divination, which can be referred to as “psychic healing” to assist people. *Isangoma* executes this through the assistance of “throwing bones” for divination to assist clients.

institutions, this begins by knowing the self, the ability to identify from others as well as having an understanding of what identities want to achieve. The above quote is from someone who practices African traditional religion and is in communication with ancestors. However, I discovered that the spiritual affinity to the beach was a prominent feature among many participants, including Christians as this next quotation from another user testifies:

“No my boy what made me come here is to pray because you see when we extract from the Bible, Jesus used to come here... he was performing activities here and the sea sands and give life to people. So now you see you do not know where the sea is from and where it is going. But it comes to end here. So we come here because we are here to request mercy from God and help us from all the mistakes that we have done. This came onto my mother... my mother has almost twenty years since she died, but we continued doing this.” BI-007 (Christian, 68).

It is clear from these two quotations that these two identities are both spiritually attached to the beach even though they practice their religiosity differently. They both see the beach as a mediator between them and whom they praise and worship. One of the most interesting responses with regard to the beach influence is the availability of the visible physical wave. This was understood as a source of energy. It was not only black African users who connected strongly with the waves and this source of energy. Previous arguments such as that of Lea (2008) and that of Parr (2007) complements that spaces have therapeutic abilities at the same time exposing beneficial body/nature encounters. A Hindu user as well understood the waves and the entire beach as consisting of positive energy and one that is very important for spiritual and psychological therapy. Jackson (1994) referred to culture as being learnt and involves sense making process, in light with Kaya's (2005) arguments; the positive energy that is talked about confirms the socio-cultural relations between space and users as this space serves as sacred where meaning, ethics and values of a particular culture are transmitted through religious discourse and interaction. This proves both Kaya (2005) and Soja (1989) 'fetishism of space' arguments with regards to space as it links up social identity with religious and cultural importance. The Hindu priest was quoted below explaining the importance of this space in line with religion and culture and how it serves the spirituality of the Hindu culture.

“...it is sacred to us, the sea itself the sea water the salt water, salt in its solid form is crystal which is also present in a liquid form as water itself it has purification qualities. So using the sea as a medium of bathing the sacred bath, is considered as purifying the individual and perform certain rituals and prayer there. It is a pure place, we regard it as a sacred place as well and it creates an atmosphere full of positive energy. And sometimes certain rituals we cannot perform at all, we have to perform by near the sea...” BI-011 (Hindu Priest, 48).

The very same space is interpreted differently within the parameters of religion. The Hindu priest quoted above regarded the seawater and the beach as a sacred space because it facilitates religious rituals. On the same therapeutic scope, studying human social geography and the responses of users such as joggers and surfers illustrates how the contrasting social meanings of nature are mobilized and interpreted. As one user put it:

“My relationship with the beach, I would say it helps me think because there is nothing that is worrying me when I am here, if I leave my flat and come here I just... even if there is something that were not well with my soul but I find myself having it is washed out of my system” BI-015 (Resident, 23).

As this participant uncovered her benefits of residing closer to the beach, another beach inhabitant giving an insight from a surfer perspective also related the advantages of inhabiting this space and referred to a ‘surfer’ identity as a lifestyle rather than a sport.

“It is just so natural, it is a lifestyle. It is a healthy lifestyle instead of going to the malls and walk around stressing out here you just come out and you just relax. I know people that come down here and they de-stress at the sea” BI-010 (Surfer Supervisor, 42)

These two arguments demonstrate how differing identities have complex relations with nature and the physical environment which explains and reinforces social nature relations as well as belief differences. Having discussed the therapeutic abilities of the beach space surroundings, I now shift my focus to the saltiness of the seawater.

One of the key findings of the study is the importance of the saltiness of the water and its attached uses. The saltiness of the water itself is an influential factor for the attraction of

identities and not just this Hindu priest and those that connect with ancestors at the beach who also mentioned that they use the seawater for cleansing. The quotes below emphasize the importance of the saltiness of water, I compare the ‘saltiness’ of the seawater to what Holmes (1999; 152) referred to as ‘ritual of habitation’ because the saltiness of the water plays a role on the participants’ respective well-being and it proves important according to human needs and wants, and appears to be an important factor on their lives and a must have. Thus, this leads me to the next interesting feature of the saltiness of the seawater. Another study participant praised the saltiness of the water as an influential factor that defines his attachment to the beach; a sand artist along the Durban beachfront argued that should he move away from the beach, his work would never exist because it requires salty water.

“It [the water] is different in that it has salt. Because of this saltiness it is therefore capable of holding my work appropriately tight so that it does not collapse quickly and easily. When I use pure water, it is easy to dry up and for my work to be easily blown away by the wind. It will even have cracks” BI-004 (Sand Artist, 26).

The saltiness of the water appears important because it holds his sand sculptures together and prevents them from cracking, so that his sculptures survive the rain, wind and other elements. Someone at the beach during my research work had a five-litre container full of water and had sand at the base of the container. She argued that;

“...I do not stay closer to the sea, so every time I come to Durban I make sure that I return home with sea water because we use it for cleansing the yard, performing anima because it purifies and has the ability to chase away bad and negative things away from you...” BI-017 (Visitor, 32).

The saltiness of the seawater appears to be one of the most attractive characteristics, with the above quotes stating its importance with different identities highlighting this feature. The arguments of watery composition of the seawater provides more critical tools for understanding social nature relations because things and places role-play as active agents of identity instead of being pale reflections of pre-existing ideas and uninformed understandings of such things (Tilley 2006). With the real and now learnt effects on persons and social-nature relations, things and places can be regarded as important subjects of identity. This perspective can be merged with the knowledge obtained from the participants in terms of the importance of the salty factor of the seawater. It is

now understood that the saltiness of the seawater serves different identities in different ways. This key finding emphasizes Kaya's (2005) arguments as it stresses the attachment of identities constructed to the social institutions that the identities belong in. Furthermore, it proves Korpela et al's (2001) idea of 'restorative qualities' because the saltiness of the seawater restores and strengthens the attachment between the entities as it keeps them within the space because they (identities) benefit and the space feeds the identities' need and wants.

When the participants talk of "purification" and "therapeutic" abilities of the seawater and the surroundings they are actually explaining the marriage of humans and things such as the saltiness rather than only place and thus emphasize the inseparability of these two entities. Some participants argued that the very same activities carried out at these places are driven by these kind of agents and would not succeed in other similar watery environments like rivers, dams etc. but it is this factor that draws them to the beach:

"What made me come here to the beach is because my work that I am doing is based at the beach, I use the beach as a nature resource which is the beach sand as well as the sea itself. It is the only place that is capable to provide bread for me because if it could happen that my job perhaps is moved to another place; it would be hard because in that place I would have to have everything from the beach because I even need the sea itself so that I could perform my job appropriately." BI-00, (Sand Artist, 24).

Moving away from the somewhat tangible side of the factors that attract people, I now turn focus to the intangible side that some of the participants drew upon. Most respondents mentioned the invisible capacity of the beach to fulfill their (identity related) goals. Work is a universal human activity and is an integral part of any human and plays a crucial role in identity construction (Kaya, 2005).

4.2. Labour-Market Spaces and Identity

In his identity-construction spaces framework, Kaya (2005:431), citing Cornell and Hartmann (1998), argues that "work space is not just a place where people work, it is also where they come together, socialize, interact, share feelings and memories, transmit values, and transform

identities.” In concert with this line of thinking, this section addresses the economic role played by the human-nature relations in identity formation at the Durban Beachfront. As a ‘mediator’, the coastal environment facilitates entrepreneur-customer consultations and relations. Interpersonal socialization is key to one’s ability to socialize with other social statuses in a particular society, thus the economic gain for identities in this setting is based on the interpersonal relations between identities and clients. A rickshaw puller voiced that the sea has the power to attract tourists to the beach and that grants them economic opportunities as there are more customers who wish to experience the rides.

There is a financial factor that arises from the beach. It may not be direct but it plays a major role in the financial support for numerous identities. Because of the nature of my study, most of the participants were blue-collar and informal workers, namely rickshaw pullers, commercial fishermen, sand artists which shows that there is an identity formed from a financial point of view. As I stated in the introductory chapter, there are many formal businesses along the Golden Mile (restaurants, hotels, transport, etc.). But I limited my research on economic issues to the informal sector as the beach offers these identities opportunities that they are denied in the formal economy. The beach space is so important not only to those that have certain commodities but to the tourists as well because they get to experience what they do not get at their respective countries.

“Eeh here at the beach, it is important because tourists from other countries do visit here and they love this space that we inhabit.” BI-008 (Rickshaw Puller, 27).

Focusing on the economic angle of social-nature relations of rickshaw pullers for example, the customers are happy with their presence because it provides another dimension to the purpose of holidaying. By purpose of holiday I am referring to not just swimming and wandering around beautiful holiday spaces such as the UShaka Marine World and Entertainment but also experiencing the artistic and cultural affordances found at the beach.

With the Golden Mile accommodating different identities, it was inevitable to study these identities outside other social forces such as gender, taste, race and gender parameters. In relation to Misgun and Oakes’ (2007) conclusions about the socialization of spaces at the beach, the economic activities were also somewhat influenced by racial backgrounds; this is because most of the fishermen are located far north of the Golden Mile at the Blue Lagoon which are dominated by

Indians (Misgun and Oakes 2007).. These fishermen comprised of both commercial and subsistence fishermen, the reason for inhabiting this space was motivated by the existence of the Umgeni River mouth where fish come to lay eggs and they get a chance to capture the fish.

Race also conditions other economic sectors on the Durban Beach front. The rickshaw pullers were all black Africans and reported that they have formed an association which protects their jobs from intruders who come over to the beach and do the exact activities without paying permits and they target mostly the UShaka Marine World and the South Beach game area. Informal traders were also mostly black Africans with both males and females partaking in the activity. In as much as the segregation occurs, racial markings are not the only important feature since economic opportunities of all these identities are influenced by the influx of customers and attraction of that particular space they inhabit.

The sand artists are black Zulu men and some being Xhosa as well, but overall they are all black Africans. They locate themselves closer to where beach goers spend most of their time, for examples spaces close to piers where people like walking on as they get to walk over the water, they also place themselves closer to restaurants and some are found closer to the UShaka Marine World. Therefore, this proves that basing the segregation on race is inconclusive because these identities place themselves in terms of their personal gains and easy interaction with customers. Identities possess a close relationship with the beach, thus the following section provides a discussion on this relationship.

These findings complement Kaya's (2005) conclusions about identities being constructed and positioned in line with one's labour activity and constantly instruct who one socializes with and what activities one participates and has interest in. This addresses how economic imperatives drive the construction and socio-economic socialization between identities and potential clients. The distribution of these identities along the Golden Mile is in itself a signifying factor of the multiple identities and how a single space can accommodate multiple identities and shape what happens in that space leading to identity construction based on spaces. These findings also prove that work spaces are not just a place where people work, but a meeting point whereby people come together, socialize, share feelings and memories, transmit values and also transform identities (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Chacko, 2003). Having presented the findings on labour and market issues, I now dedicate my focus towards the third theme which is about the affinity between users and the beach.

4.3 Affinity between Users and the Beach

Part of the objectives of the study is to explore variations in affinity to the Durban Beachfront among different users and residents. Before I get deep into the discussion my definition of affinity is in order. Affinity refers to a natural liking for and understanding of something,⁵ it is a feeling of attachment and understanding that draws two or more ends together and in this case the ends being identities and coastal surroundings. The quality and benefits of this attachment strengthen affinity. The Golden Mile consists of societies, identities and other social institutions with each having its own respective interpretation that goes all the way to meaning and importance of these raw materials in order to conceptualize and make use of these for social ends. These social ends include the socialization and education and familiarizing the children about the inherited culture that they have to engulf as well as the formation of basic economic, political and religious groups. I will draw mainly on Kaya's (2005) argument in discussing this section.

With culture being learnt and passed on to the next generation (Jackson, 1994), this signifies the importance of belonging to a certain structure from which one draws ways of living. As I showed in the opening section of this chapter, there is a spiritual attachment to the sea articulated by many cultural groups but noticeably the religious practitioners. The interaction between self and space indicates an interactive relationship, understood by Giddens (1991) to mean that different identity groups understand their own culture through a series of encounters with themselves as well as discovering how others perceive them and their relations with those others. In addition, this attitude explains that identities are in deep relationships with their spaces and are embedded in institutions (Kaya, 2005). This all grows from knowing self and understanding the history of that particular identity culture. As far as some of the respondents are concerned, the sea connects them to their spiritual deities and gives them spiritual healing, spiritual powers in cases of initiation as well as purification. This kinship relation was so strong for some of these respondents that they referred to the beach space as their home:

⁵ Affinity. (n.d.). *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Retrieved January 26, 2016 from Dictionary.com website <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/affinity>

“...it is our space that we love. Ikhaya lethu elikhulu⁶ (our main home). Because if you had not come here to the main home my child, nothing will be a success, none of your things will be successful. It will always push you to come here to the main home. You will have to eventually come to the main home to get luck, because everyone who passes on is here (the sea).” BI-003 (Female, traditional African religion practitioner, 56)

In this case, spaces convert from natural to sacred sites with identities revealing that the beach is their space of connection with their spiritual deities and the post-human dimension of their lives. This stresses the connection and a pivotal need that should one not adhere to the values and laws of belonging, none of his/her needs and desires will be fulfilled, one always has to conform and adhere to all that the culture entails. This supports Krupat’s (1983) argument that place identity is not just a setting for serving the interests and activities of people but it actively incorporates as part of self and a true meaning of who an individual is because this differentiates them from the rest of other identities. Speaking of this, the respondent had brought someone to the beach for spiritual initiation and the importance of taking seawater and sand along with them when they return to their homes.

“The sea helps me in that if I have brought a child here, it shows what I have done to that child, it brightens up, and also when we have taken this sand and sprinkled it, it also shows that we are protected, these people (ancestors) did come and help us. Even if we have cleansed, we also get assisted with dreams” BI-003 (Female, traditional African religion believer, 56).

Identities relate to this space and it is an eye-opening experience to understand the different meanings of the beach from different people using the beach, it allows one to come to terms with what Korpela et, al (2001) referred to as restorative qualities. The beach is in possession of qualities that constantly draw people to come get spiritual stability, healing, satisfaction and also to make a living. Place identity in such cases presents a combination of emotions, perceptual processes which are formulated and constructed through individuals’ interactions with the built and natural environments. A consistent reassurance, refreshment and rejuvenation and also possibly a de-energizing is achieved through such space visitations. The importance of being in this place in

⁶ *Ikhaya lethu elikhulu* refers to a main home, where all members of a family come together and reunite, where the head of a family will always reside.

acquiring healing, self-stability and Ralph (1976) and Tuan's (1980) holistic phenomenology of 'being in place' becomes a construction of a sense of self through intentionally attributing to place meanings, and this has had a role in contributing towards the understanding of the importance of this space.

The appreciation of space is for all users but the meanings are different, with the sand artist believing that his life is based at the beach because should he move to any other place such as inland area for example, it would be the end of him and his eye catching sculptures. Geographically, he originates from an inland rural community and has been practicing sand art for the past twelve years and has made this place a home and one that provides him with bread.

"... my work is based at the beach, I use the beach as a nature resource which is the beach sand as well as the sea itself. It is the only place that is capable to provide bread for me because if it could happen that my job perhaps is moved to another place; it would be hard because in that place I would have to have everything from the beach because I even need the sea itself so that I could perform my job appropriately. BI-004 (Sand Artist, (24)

In as much as the beach offers a physical presence that is supportive of the activities that take place at the beach, it is also as importance as being a work place and an office to some. Some mentioned that they wake up at their respective places and come to work at the beach. This attests to the idea that some make a living from the beach itself; a sand artist located within the beachfront referred to the beach as a 'base of his life'. Hence, this follows after he mentioned that this (beachfront) is his office. In the same breadth, with the kind of work that he is doing, the beach also appears as the place of enjoyment of which he considered as a financial force as far as he is concerned. Most people view the beach as physical space for enjoyment as well as entertainment. Thus he uses the space to add on the entertainment arm of the beach while benefiting financially concurrently.

The relationship with the sea varies from identity to identity but the importance of the beach remains the umbrella reason all these respective identities come to the beach. Their reasons range from subsistence to the enjoyment and entertainment on the other hand. The restorative abilities (Korpela et, al, 2001) provided by the space play an important role in the frequency of visitation or keeping inhabitants. This argument complements Kaya's (2005) argument that there is a range of factors that come to play in the decision of inhabiting a certain space. In residential cases

influences are based on social and economic factors with Misgun and Oakes (2007) identifying racialization as one of the biggest drivers of residential decision making. From my data collection experience, it was a challenge recruiting participants from the northern residential side of the Golden Mile; this is the part of where mostly white residents live. A resident said she uses the sea as a psycho-therapist, that is because she argued that if she comes across challenges or whatever that worries her, she would just leave her flat and come down to the sea for a walk for a 'de-stressing' session which signifies the different beliefs and understandings of the functioning and importance of the beach and its surroundings.

"My relationship with the beach, I would say it helps me think because there is nothing that is worrying me when I am here, if I leave my flat and come here I just (...) even if there is something that were not well with my soul but I find myself having it is washed out of my system." BI-015 (Resident, 23)

Relaxation at the beach appeared common to almost all the identities especially after discussing their primary reasons of coming to the beach. What many people see with surfing, especially along the lines of sports, is not really the case because through what the study has understood in terms of how people identify themselves with the coastal area, it enforces Stebbin's (1997) conclusion that surfing might be understood as a sport but it is more of a lifestyle. Describing lifestyle as a distinctive set of shared patterns of tangible behavior organized in relation with interest and shared social conditions. Surfers have their own shared values, attitudes and strong motivation which become a basis of separate, common social identity for the members of the group. Walking on the beach and surfing the waves as far as the surfers are concerned appeared to be a relaxing activity that is better than going to the shopping malls and walking around whereas people could actually come down to the beach to relax.

This group of beach users refer to their usage of the sea as a lifestyle rather than a hobby and culture as compared to entertainment and religious users respectively because they explain the feeling that Anderson (2013) referred to as 'stoke'. The surfer explained this feeling as 'satisfaction':

“Your satisfaction yes, your happiness... you know it’s the kind of feeling that you get when you ... it is a kind of satisfaction everyone on the water is always hoping for...” BI-010 (Surfer Supervisor, 42)

Before the whole project went underway with the collection of data, the Hindu religious group performing a ritual there and they went on to get into the sea and I spotted them throwing some materials into the sea and I had a chance to ask them about this. Those materials thrown at the sea were fruits and they are left at the sea as an offering and a way of showing gratitude to the Gods. However, he expressed some negativity with regard to the materialistic offering on an environmental point of view;

“Yes we do... we offer yes but see I have a problem with that personally because that is why I prefer to put it in the river, it flows but it does not come out to the shores. But when you put things in the sea, it washes back on the shores, sometimes I would say it is a culture and it is something that we do but sometimes we need to use our common sense, it is going to have an impact on the environment because if you are putting something; like when there is a death in the family, they take the ashes; but the ashes you put on the sea is okay, ash is regarded as purity is it pure,.” BI-01, (Hindu Priest, 48)

Visiting and using the beach for some is based on the religious and cultural inheritance that generations after generations have to adopt and keep alive. Parents groom their children in a specific way in which they would love for their children to live by. It is no different to what was mentioned that in as much as this is important, it was also stressed more by the idea that they wanted to keep the culture alive and continue living the way their late parents were.

“We will never stop this because our parents were believers and we are following the procedure that we were given to by our late parents in a way in which they were believing that there is nothing that will help you out except through praying to God and know all that you have to abide and conform to what God wants you to do and how it happens. Exactly how it was done before, we were all following what we were given to by our parents. We went to church services, we praised, even when we were grown-ups we saw what was helpful that they were doing and we kept following it.” BI-007 (Christian,(68)

The social and cultural values for inhabitants explains and emphasizes the affinity with coastal surroundings, venting the importance of the beliefs that illustrate the motivation per identity inhabiting the Golden Mile with restorative qualities stressing conformity and belonging to this space. To conclude this theme, it shows that the sea comes with an existing relationship with a various set of identities which is interpreted differently by the users and identities at the beach. Below is the final theme which is the considerations of beach user values and knowledge.

4.4 Considerations of Beach User Values and Knowledge

As stated in the first chapter, one of the key objectives of the larger study in which my dissertation is located is to examine the production of knowledge for evidence-based decision making in the management of South Africa's coastal resources. In light of the numerous identities inhabiting the Durban beachfront, it was important to examine how their knowledge regarding the beach is considered by the managers of this coastal area. Because Kaya's 'identity construction spaces' does not interrogate the question of values, in discussing this section I will draw from Kooiman, et al's (2008) theory of Interactive Governance. The Interactive Governance Theory is understood as an approach that relishes the need for an integration of every bit of information and believes that all bits of knowledge, experiences and expertise have a role to play in the jigsaw of policy and decision making and formulating a governance structure satisfactory to all relevant stakeholders. This theory suggests that the relationship between what is governed and what governs will only be effective if there is a productive relationship between these systems and if the measures employed are ethically sound and socially just.

From all the above discussions with regards to the knowledge of this coastal area per identity, it shows that there are many bits of information and discourses that are produced from this one space. In the interest of the space and intergroup relations at the beach, an accommodation of all the restorative qualities that draw and keep inhabitants in one place; there should be a well governing structure that will be beneficial to all the stakeholders involved. The majority of the participants stated that they did not know their roles in the management of the space. However, that originated from individual understanding based on the assumptions that the management of the space is solely due to the government since it is not privately owned. For some of the study participants, the license that they had to pay for economic activities at the beach was understood as their contribution towards the management of the space.

“Well the management of the space is basically governed by the government itself, it is not a privately owned beach. So our contribution is obviously whenever we are fishing, we have to have a license for fishing, whenever we come to the beach we use petrol, we use our whatever we have to buy at stores, that is our contribution and moreover our contribution to keep the beach clean and tidy and respected as others should.” BI-001 (Fisherman, 29)

A similar response came from another participant who thought the management of the sea is the Corporative Governance/municipality’s responsibility and has nothing to do with him:

“I would not say because there is nothing that I donate, it is just coming here, because we come here for free, all that you do is for free, it is all the Corporate Governance responsibility, they are the ones who are responsible for that” BI-007 (Christian, 68).

Participants believed they have a role to play in the management of space and they pointed on taking care of litter as their own contribution to the management of space. She believed this is very important to do since she referred to this space as their “main home”, therefore she is taking good care of her home.

“We also clean, we do pick up what we don’t think has to be there, we pick it up and throw it in the rubbish bins. Because we also do not like to find it dirty” BI-003 (Female, traditional African religion believer, 56)

Permits came up more often when discussing governance. Most participants mentioned that there are permits that they are paying which go to the municipality which they understood to be their contribution towards the management of the space. From the discussions, permits were not the same amount, depending on the activity. As the table below demonstrates, the permits vary from R76 to R900 per annum. There are permits for fishing, street vending, sand artists, as well as surfers. One of the sand artists voiced out their deep desire to collaborate with the municipality and make this sand art a dignified career supported by the municipality rather than being required to pay for permits.

“Our work does not improve to the stage we desire because since the municipality gives us permits to work here, we need a collaboration with the municipality itself but there is

not much supportive relationship because actually we need this job that we are doing perhaps to be paid for at the end of the month because if the season is not favorable we also do not get to be sustained especially because of the weather; we work under different weather conditions. If the weather condition is not well, we also cannot be well... BI-004 (Sand Artist, 26)

Beach User	Permit Fee (SA-Rands)
Fisherman	Handling License R76 (calendar year)
	Bate License R94 (calendar year)
Hawker	R900 per annum
Rickshaw Puller	R900 per annum
Sand Artist	R120 (for 3months)
Religious User	No permits
Jogger	No permits
Surfer/ Lifesaving	Monthly permits (did not want to disclose fee)
Resident	Residents pay their rental fees

Fig. 3: Permits for the beach users in monetary payments

The table above illustrates the monetary payments made by the inhabitants to the managers. Managers may vary from residential landlords to municipal permits. Some other inhabitants mentioned that they do not have any monetary payments. So those inhabitants are those that are not working full time at the beach. The surfers refused to reveal their permits monetary value and they were entitled to withholding that information. From the discussions in terms of governance, the definitions of contribution from the participants' perspective was 'permits'. None mentioned anything about governance meetings that all the users should be/are invited to attend.

Asked about their involvement in governance meetings, participants reported that there are no existing meetings that take place at the beach in which they could participate. There were users who mentioned that there are meetings that do take place but they have never been involved in any. Some explained that they do not even know that there is a Councilor who represents the area in the municipality. Below are some of the quotes about the governance meetings at the beach;

“Aah no I do not have any particular meetings with any of the guys, the only contribution I have is when I buy the permit for the fishing licence and that contributes towards the finance of the country to keep the places up and to have sufficient amount of restrictions and you know law and authorities to keep the beach safe and sound. That is about it, I do not have any other meetings” BI-001 (Fisherman, 29).

“No there are no meetings that take place here at the beach” BI-004 (Sand Artist, 26).

In light of the absence of governance meetings, some participants mentioned that they would love to participate in those meetings if they do exist and they have been invited to do attend. The traditional African religion believer reported that they come to the beach infrequently and they only come if there is an initiation that needs to be conducted, thus they raised that they contribute to coastal governance by making sure that the space they were using is left clean and tidy because it is their home too. In terms of meetings, they appeared to know nothing about governance meetings and they stressed their interest in partaking in those meetings. However, prior to that probing they appeared to have no issues, arguably based on their infrequent visits to the beach. Below are quotes from some of the users that confirmed lack of knowledge and participation in any form of coastal governance meetings.

“We have never heard of such, we would also come because it is a space that we also love. We can come if we hear anything like that. Because we also love this place” BI-003 (Female traditional African religion believer, 56).

“No I haven’t been part of the management of the coast because there are departments that are responsible. But there hasn’t been any invitation even if I would like to be part of those to share my ideas or to be part of the committee. Where there hasn’t been a public invitation, but I do not think it would be possible also unless if you can make it on a form

of website; where you can voice your opinion because if you can have a public invite, there would not be enough rooms to stage such a committee but I think in a form of a website where people can look at and suggest their input in how to maybe help in managing the coast. On a website it would work” BI-011 (Hindu Priest, 48).

“There are probably meetings but I think we are not really invited to them, it is more of council members you know” BI-015 (Resident, 23).

There are meetings that do take place but only for specific groups and the attendees are only the members of that particular group and they are not governance meetings that are expected to be called by the governing body members.

“We usually talk about ... mostly when holidays are approaching, we talk about how we need to look after tourists and more and ways or a great working environment with each other” BI-008 (Rickshaw Puller, 27).

This act shows the non-considerations of stakeholder values in raising their concerns and wishes in terms of coastal governance. From these interviews, it appears that there is not a good relationship between users (or the governed) and coastal management (those who govern). A better relationship would promote an integration of information, knowledge, experiences and expertise in the jigsaw of policy and decision making and formulating a governance structure satisfactory to all relevant stakeholders (Kooiman, et al. 2008).

The data acquired through the study suggests that there have been no meetings where this group of users and residents has taken part. This runs counter to what the interactive governance theory suggests, namely, that there should be a proper interactive relationship between what is governed and what governs because to govern something, calls for an understanding of what is being governed. The interaction that takes place between the users and the managers of this space is only through the permits that are administered to only those who use the beach for economic gain learning from the data. The inhabitants’ knowledge is overlooked and not considered regardless of the vast knowledge that these users possess as far as the study findings are concerned. My findings suggest that many beach users would like to be part of decision-making structures and platforms

and are only waiting for invitations to share their bits of knowledge and add towards the management of the beach space.

Their lack of participation in such meetings results in clashing of use of the beach, because some users have opted to use the beach during the early hours of the morning or during the afternoons in order to avoid disturbances that might occur between group identities, this all sums up to how this space is managed. As I come to the conclusion of this dissertation, the last chapter addresses the significance of the study and provides an overall conclusion of the findings.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS OF FINDINGS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The main objective of the study was to determine the extent to which the Durban Beachfront users and residents think their values and knowledges are considered by managers of the beachfront. In conducting the study, another goal was to assess the interconnectedness between space and identity formation on the Durban Beachfront. Furthermore, having assessed the interconnectedness of space and identity formation, the study also aimed to explore the variations in affinity to the Durban Beachfront among different users and residents.

In the first chapter, I had mentioned the multiplicity of the cultures inhabiting the beachfront popularly referred to as the Golden Mile based on its recent refurbishment and renaming. The variety of cultures inhabiting this space is coupled by numerous usages the beachfront is believed to accommodate. With these different identities inhabiting this space, my interests were motivated by how these identities are formed as well as the governance of these coastal spaces in relation to inhabitants. The first chapter emphasized that people's attachment to space goes beyond physical spaces to being spiritual and sacred. In his analysis of religious attachments to space, Soja (1989) refers to this phenomenon as 'spatial fetishism'. The study was conducted at the Durban Golden Mile using semi-structured interviews with a total of seventeen beach inhabitants. This thesis was guided by Kaya's (2005) theory of "identity-construction spaces". The summary of findings and the significance of the study are discussed in this chapter along with Kaya's (2005) arguments and the "interactive governance theory" by Kooiman, et al. (2008)

5.1 Summary of Findings

Identity construction and the marriage of space and identity at the Golden Mile are driven by a number of factors. These factors include space's ability to provide for inhabitants; culturally, economically, as well as residentially. Each of these factors findings are discussed below and because Kaya's theory does not focus on values, I will then draw my conclusions on that regard based on Kooiman's, et, al (2008) "interactive governance theory".

5.1.1 Culture significance in identity construction

A number of Golden Mile inhabitants expressed the importance of the beach to their cultural well-being. The Golden Mile inhabitants benefit from these spaces in ways that only it (beach space) has the ability to provide for their cultural and religious needs. Participants in my study mentioned energy produced by the waves as therapeutic. These therapeutic abilities expose the benefits of the body/nature encounters, as it is believed to go all the way to spiritual healing if individuals are possessed by evil spirits as declared by the Hindu priest.

The study findings prove Kaya's (2005) arguments about cultural spaces as these findings emphasize that spaces are one of the important factors in construction and understanding an identity. These spaces form part of the well-being of inhabitants as some respondents were quick to refer to the coastal zone as *ikhaya elikhulu* (main home) where their spiritual deities and post-human interactions congeal. One of the unexpected findings was the heightened role of the materiality of the seawater. The saltiness of the seawater is an influential factor in identity construction and plays a major role in their well-being. It feeds almost all identities inhabiting this space because of the varying importance of its saltiness. It is understood as having abilities to cleanse, purify, strengthen sand art, protection against evil spirits and appears to be a "must have" and that is the reason for such activity, or an act for a well-being of individuals. These findings echo Kaya's cultural spaces argument since they stress the attachment of constructed identities to social institutions and forms basis of cultural belonging and well-being. Inhabitants also referred to coastal spaces as their economic drive, and this is discussed below.

5.1.2 Coastal spaces' economic role in identity construction

Study participants described the beaches as their economic drive because it attracts people who eventually become their customers. Most of the respondents were of the idea that the influx of different people, not only foreign but also locals, provides them with an opportunity to engage in informal business. The informality of their businesses is reliant on factors such as the weather, availability of customers as well as their permits for undertaking their businesses.

One of the findings is that the interpersonal socialization is key to the success of their enterprises. It is important to note that these entrepreneur-client consultations are facilitated by coastal environments which plays a 'mediator' role as argued by a rickshaw puller that the sea

has the ability to attract tourists and consequently grant them economic opportunities. The rickshaw puller was referring to the role of space to transform identities; this work highlights Cornell and Hartmann's (1998) that spaces of work are not simple work spaces but also a medium where people come together, socialize, interact and share feelings and get an opportunity to express values and transform identities. The final theme below discusses residential spaces as part of identity construction.

5.1.3 Residential influence on identity construction

Residents from the northern side of the beachfront proved hard to include in the study, whereas it was a complete opposite in comparison with the southern side of the beachfront which appeared as the busiest and with huge crowds. Reasons for occupying flats along the beach was due to easy access to the beach for jogging, the breeze, the horizon, spiritual therapy, and the healing of emotional stress. The choices of residing closer to the beach highlights the social-nature relations where inhabitants benefit from the materiality of spaces. One of the respondents was a tertiary student who alluded that most of the student residences of most of the Durban based tertiary education institutions are based in the southern part of the beachfront. Thus, this translates that residential choices are not entirely out of free will but are influenced by economic affordability as argued by Misgun and Oakes (2007).

5.2 Significance of the study

As discussed in chapter four, my findings have shown the marriage between space and identities. This is an enduring marriage highlighting arguments about the interconnectedness, affinity and benefits from a social-nature relation perspectives. This shows that identities are glued to this space and are here to stay because of the long-term affordances of the beach. Inhabitants have shown their attachment, this suggest that a governance that will take into account the needs and existence of these identities is of high importance to maintain a productive environment supportive to all users. I conclude this chapter by focusing on the significance of this study which discusses the inclusion and consideration of knowledge and values of inhabitants in governance structures and decision making.

5.2.1 Drawing from the *Interactive Governance theory*

From an observational perspective, there are no spaces designated for respective identities and activities. I have drawn this conclusion because swimmers locate themselves closer to shops, restaurants and other amenities and that is supported by the availability of toilets, lifeguards etc. This is where sand artists base themselves, sand artists situate themselves in relation to how busy spaces are, as they are found right in front of shops at the north beach and at the beaches closer to the UShaka Marine World. Furthermore, the fishermen do not inhabit the blue lagoon because they are instructed to but it is mainly due to the existence of the Umgeni River where fish come out to lay eggs. The African tradition religion believer mentioned that they come to the beach during early hours of the day so that they can perform a ritual in harmony with minimal interruptions and they choose any space based on its availability and less destructions. Spaces need to be designated according to how different users benefit from them.

The governance of the coastal space of the Durban Beachfront does not resonate with the principles of interactive governance theory because respondents showed that they know nothing about governance meetings. This proves that their values and knowledge are not considered. A proper governance structure is one that relishes the need for an integration of all available knowledge, information, expertise because all these have a role to play in the game of policy and governance decision-making.

Drawing from the discussions with the participants, these knowledge holders are overlooked and their knowledge is not considered since they are not called for meetings regarding the management of the coast. Arguably, this is improper because numerous people use this space and it is only appropriate to involve them in these management meetings. My findings suggest that there is much to be gained by inviting representatives from all groups such as each religious users, participants in the informal economy, recreational users and other cultural groups to be part and parcel of these deliberations on coastal governance because of the first-hand knowledge they have. This would create a sense of understanding and harmonious interpersonal relationship with not just the users and coastal management but also amongst the numerous users available. Hence, this idea needs to be stretched further beyond mere meetings but should also be intertwined with development as well as practice. Another potential idea is creating a forum that would inform the management of a desired governance structure and so that all users could have a say towards the governance of

the space as suggested by the “interactive governance theory” (Kooiman, et al. 2008). Coastal managers ought to consider inviting leaders of organizations and create a forum where they would assist in managing the coast with their knowledge because the sea has a lot of riches, social support, healing powers to offer. But if any of these is not managed properly, the importance of the sea will not be understood from all available angles.

I conclude by emphasizing that local and surrounding inhabitants and users of the Durban beachfront are blessed to have the coast, managing it is not only about cleaning the coast, that is a normal thing to do. Managing it in terms of the socioeconomic aspects where you need not only the people sitting in the municipality, but people from the outside who are also involved in it as it provides them economic, cultural, spiritual, and recreational sustenance. The man sitting behind a desk in the office only goes there probably for recreational reasons and ends up overlooking the marginalized use of the sea by others due to the ignorance of the beach. Expanded participation of all knowledge holders would enhance the governance of this space. Every bit of knowledge is important and should be considered to better manage this beach space. With reference to the larger project from which this research is nested in, it was noted that one aspect of what municipalities are required to do is the Municipal Coastal Management, which largely pertains issues of Blue Flag certification. There was no direction as to what is done in terms of knowledge holders being part of meetings planned to consider all the knowledge and concerns of all inhabitants. Research participants of this study attested to this when they stated that they have not been invited to any of the meetings and that they were not even sure if there are any meetings taking place. The coastal management plan focuses primarily on water quality, requirements related to the status of the Blue Flag.

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APPENDIX-A

BEACH IDENTITIES

Participants' Demographical Information

PID	Beach Use	Age	Marital Status	Educational Level	Employment Status	Religion	Dependents
BI-001	Fisherman	29	single	Matric	employed	Muslim	2
BI-002	Street Vendor	31	single	High-School	self-Employed	none	4
BI-003	Ancestor Worship	56	married	none	unemployed	Zion	3
BI-004	Sand Artist	26	single	High-School	self-Employed	Christian	0
BI-005	Static Street Vendor	31	married	High-School	self-Employed	Christian	5
BI-006	Fisherman	41	married	Post-matric	employed	Hindu	3
BI-007	Prayer	68	married	High-School	pensioner	Anglican	7
BI-008	Rickshaw Puller	27	single	High-School	self-Employed	none	2
BI-009	Beach Visitor	31	single	Post-matric	employed	Christian	1
BI-010	Surfer	42	married	Post-matric	self-Employed	Christian	0
BI-011	Hindu Prayer	48	married	Matric	self-Employed	Hindu	3
BI-012	Resident	29	single	Post-matric	employed	Christian	0
BI-013	Jogger	33	single	Post-matric	employed	Christian	2
BI-014	Cyclist	21	single	tertiary student	unemployed	Christian	0
BI-015	Resident	23	single	tertiary student	part-time	Christian	1
BI-016	Visitor	27	single	High-School	unemployed	Christian	1

APPENDIX-B- Informed Consent Form



Coastal Identities: Exploring the construction of identities on the Durban Beachfront.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Greetings. My name is Mathenjwa Mxolisi Nhlakanipho, a Masters student (206506493) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies doing research on how the coast constructs identities.

What is the study about?

This research study explores the attitudes, importance and perceptions of the coast. The beach is used by many people which ignites questions about how important and useful the beach is to people who inhabit it.

Who should participate in the study?

Everyone who is a knowledge-holder and is a stakeholder and have information about the beach. Knowledge that this study acquires or seeks is not one dimensional, each and every piece of information that the study participant has is of great value and importance. The study looks to include all people from all races, social backgrounds as well as socio-economic backgrounds. Only individuals older than 18 years of age are permitted to take part in this research project.

Participants who will show interest in the study will have to give consent and agree to be voice recorded. A voice recorder will be used to capture interviews as some of the information might not get captured appropriately. Therefore a voice recorder is of great significance. Should a participant not consent to this, it will therefore mean that participant is ineligible.

All participants will have a separate Participation Identity (PID) Number for confidentiality reasons.

What are the benefits and risks of participating?

There are no benefits that are directly got from participating in this study, however the information that the participants give will be very helpful in compiling a programme that will address how the beach should be maintained in order to create a conducive and socio-cultural friendly environment so that everyone benefits

and no one feels their interests are compromised. There are no perceived risks in participating in this research study.

What is going to be done with the information?

This research study is part of the larger coastal governance project run by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Whose main objective is to develop an innovative and radical model for (scientific) knowledge production at local (or municipal) levels in order to inform evidence-based decision making and management of South Africa's coastal resources, build competence and contribute to the theoretical debate around the development of a democratic knowledge-society

Participation is voluntary and respondents are free to withdraw from the study at any stage for any reason. Participants will remain anonymous and pseudonyms will be used should they wish so. The information will be used for the bigger project run by the Council for Scientific Industrial Research.

How will the study be conducted?

This research will be conducted with the usage of the following research tools: face to face interviews which will be semi-structured, an interview guide that will be made up of questions about the participant's relation to the beach, and the recorder that will be used to record the interview. The research will be based in the Durban Beachfront; however some participant may request to have an interview in a specific place appropriate to them. This will be the researcher's responsibility to make sure it is safe and appropriate for the study.

This research will be conducted with the usage of the following research tools: face to face interviews which will be semi-structured, an interview guide that will be made up of questions about the participant's relation to the beach, and the voice recorder that will be used to record the interview. The research will be based in the Durban Beachfront; however some participant may request to have an interview in a specific place appropriate to them. Should there be cases such as these, the researcher will have to meet the participants at the place convenient for all parties involved. The interview will take 30-45 minutes. Participants will be given signed copies of the Informed Consent Forms to keep.

Data Storage and feedback

The obtained data in the form of recordings, transcriptions and participants' demographics will be kept and will be password encrypted into a folder that is only accessed by the researcher as well as the supervisor. The Informed Consent Forms will be scanned and kept in a password encrypted folder in a personal computer of the researcher; again the researcher and the supervisor will have access to this information. Hard copies of Informed Consent Forms will be kept with strict confidentiality by the researcher. Information obtained will be deleted after two years of study completion

Should participants wish to have feedback about the progress and the findings of the study, they can contact the researcher Mr. MN Mathenjwa on +27604461073 or send an email to mathenjwamxolisi7@gmail.com. Should participants feel their rights have been violated in any way by the researcher, they can contact:

Prem Mohun (Mr)
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Research Office: Ethics

Govan Mbeki Centre
Tel +27312604557
Fax +27312604609
E-mail mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

Do you confirm that you are above 18 years of age? : Yes No

Do you have any questions about the study? : Yes No

Do you allow the usage of the recorder during the study? : Yes No

Declaration by participant

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project as well as the usage of the voice-recorder, and I consent to participating in the research project and every detail has been explained to me. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

.....

.....

APPENDIX-C: Interview Guide



Coastal Identities: Exploring the construction of identities on the Durban Beachfront

Introduction:

As you have agreed to participate in the study after having signed the Informed Consent Form, you are reminded that all the information that you will give us here will be kept strictly confidential. All information that you give will only be seen by study personnels (researcher, supervisor). You are requested to give responses which are entirely true to you. Remember there are no right or wrong answers.

This interview is divided into two parts:

1. Demographic Information
2. An Interview Guide with questions.

PLEASE BE REMINDED THAT THIS INTERVIEW WILL BE RECORDED.

Interview turn on the recorder and begin the interview.

Hello. My name is Mxolisi Mathenjwa, student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal at the Howard College Campus. Today I am conducting an interview with participant (PID)_____ on a study about beach Identities.

Today is the _____ (write date in full), the interview is conducted here _____ (name of place). And our start time is _____.

PART-A: Biographical information

I would to ask you a few simple questions about yourself.

Question	Answers
Age on last birthday	<input type="radio"/> 0-18 years <input type="radio"/> 19-29 years <input type="radio"/> 30-39 years <input type="radio"/> 40 < years
Marital Status	<input type="radio"/> Single <input type="radio"/> Married <input type="radio"/> Divorced <input type="radio"/> Separated <input type="radio"/> Other (specify)_____
Educational Level	<input type="radio"/> Did not go to school <input type="radio"/> Primary School <input type="radio"/> Secondary School incomplete <input type="radio"/> Completed Matric <input type="radio"/> Post-Matric qualification
Employment Status	<input type="radio"/> Unemployed <input type="radio"/> Full-time employed <input type="radio"/> Part-time employed <input type="radio"/> Self employed <input type="radio"/> Other (specify)_____

Religion	<input type="radio"/> Christian <input type="radio"/> Hindu <input type="radio"/> Muslim <input type="radio"/> Ancestral Worship <input type="radio"/> Shembe <input type="radio"/> Other (specify)_____
Number of dependents why is this relevant?	<input type="radio"/> none <input type="radio"/> one <input type="radio"/> two <input type="radio"/> three <input type="radio"/> more than three (specify)_____
What do you use the sea for?	
Participant ID	

PART B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Section-A: Activities

- 2.1 How long have you been using the beach for?
- 2.2 Which beaches do you use?
- 2.3 What made you come here?
- 2.4 Do you live in the local area? (Where and how far?)
- 2.5 How do you use/occupy this space?
- 2.6 Why is the beach an important space for your work?
- 2.7 How often are you at the beach?

Section-B: Identity and Space

- 3.1 What language do you speak at home?
- 3.2 Do you think people like yourself are welcomed here?
- 3.3 How do you define yourself in relation to the beach?
- 3.4 What characteristics of this place are important and have meaning for you and/or members of your group?
- 3.5 To what extent is the beachfront important to you?
- 3.6 How do you feel when you are here?
- 3.7 To what extent is the beach and sea part of your identity?

Section-C: Governance

- 4.1 Do you think the beach is well managed?
- 4.2 How do you contribute towards the management of this space?
- 4.3 What do you know about this space that could help the city manage it better?
- 4.4 What about the way the city runs this space that improves your enjoyment/livelihood?
- 4.5 What about the way the city runs this space that limits your enjoyment of it/livelihood?
- 4.6 How has the refurbishment of the Durban beachfront impacted on you as a beach user?
- 4.7 Do you participate in any activities that deal with the governance of this space? (such as community meetings, etc.) If so, how often?
- 4.8 Can you tell me about the inter-group relations within the parameters of the Durban beachfront?
- 4.9 Is there anything that you would like to tell me about, perhaps something that I did not touch on?

We have reached the end of our interview. Thank you for your time.

Our Finish time_____