

The Safer [D]urban Core:

An exploration of urban safety and the use of situational crime prevention in the inner-city of Durban, South Africa

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Environment

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Abstract

This thesis explores the notions of safety and the usage of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design methods for creating safer spaces within cities. The project examines the inner city of Durban specifically, grappling with the issues of *crime and grime* and the *perceptions of the city* as a space of vulnerability.

The project examines the historical and current context of Durban with regards to perceptions held about the inner city. The Project then delves into the links between *crime* and *the city* and examines the extremities of crime within South Africa and Durban. It then turns to a study of crime and place theories which attempt to explain the connections between the offender, the targets and the location in which crimes take place. Particular attention is paid to possible implications for urban form. The thesis also investigates various ways in which Durban's landowners, developers and residents have attempted to create islands of safety throughout the city, after which international and local examples of urban crime prevention are discussed.

From these theories and case studies, a few principles are highlighted as guidelines for producing safer spaces. An exploration of design strategies follows. The city is analysed according to a set of *elements of the city* or a *layering of the city* on the scale of the Central Business District. This is then taken into a proposal for development.

A precinct scale analysis investigates the finer details of Pickering precinct, an area notorious for criminal activity. Such detailed explorations of the built fabric are not possible at the scale of the city, but have an impact on smaller urban acupuncture proposals on a street segment scale.

A number of routes that run through the precinct are then explored in terms of potential adjustments to the built fabric, in order to support pedestrian activity and safety along the routes.

This project illustrates an alternative approach to creating safe spaces within the urban environment of Durban. Through providing a safe urban core, the city can allow for positive interactions to take place within common spaces and hence fulfil the role that cities have to play in fostering growth in society.

The Safer [D]urban Core

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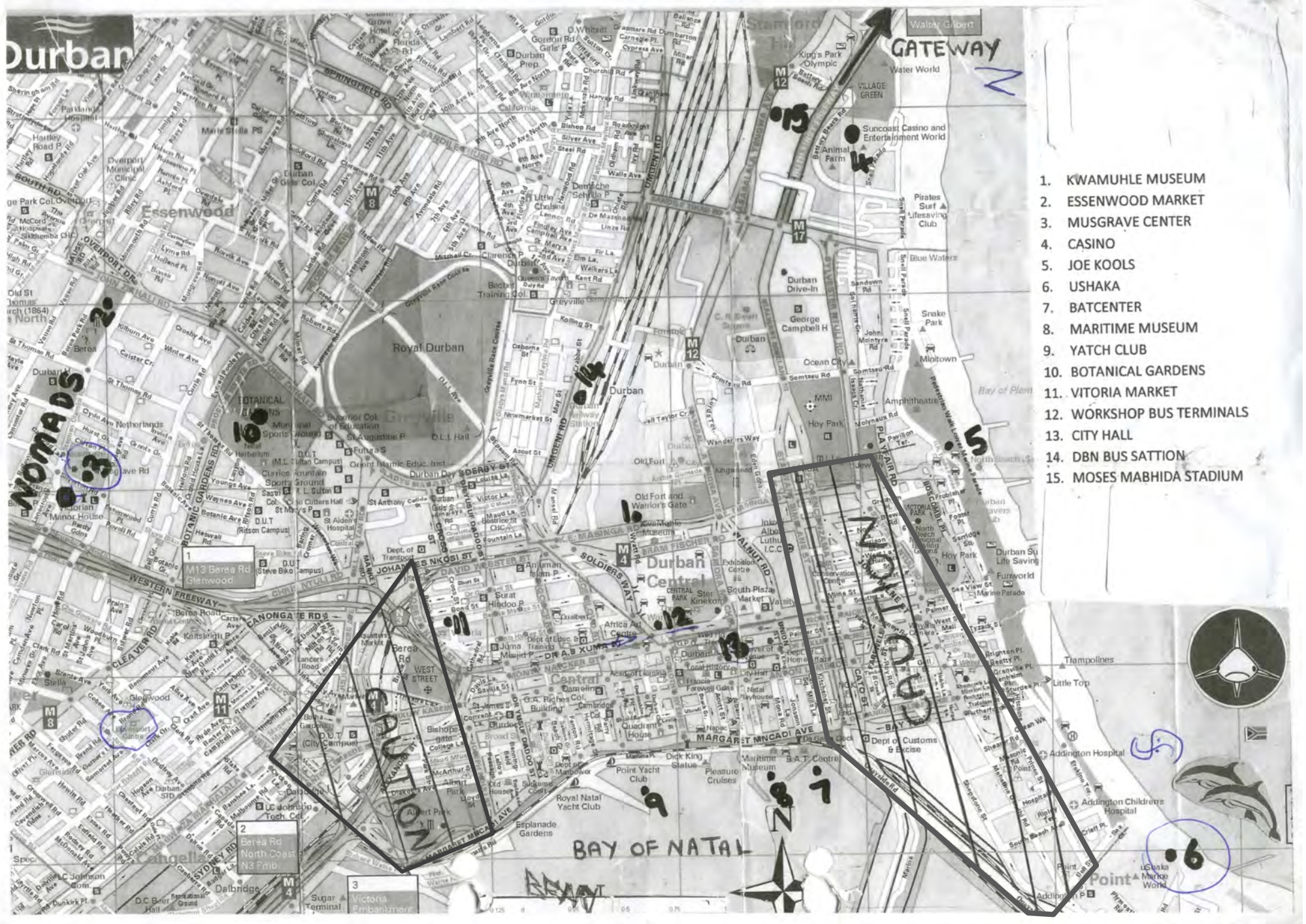
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2. ESSENWOOD MARKET
3. MUSGRAVE CENTER
4. CASINO
5. JOE KOOLS
6. USHAKA
7. BATCENTER
8. MARITIME MUSEUM
9. YATCH CLUB
10. BOTANICAL GARDENS
11. VITORIA MARKET
12. WORKSHOP BUS TERMINALS
13. CITY HALL
14. DBN BUS SATTION
15. MOSES MABHIDA STADIUM

Fig. 1.1: CAUTION Map provided on arrival at a backpackers on the urban fringe of Durban. (Note the arrow to Gateway, Umhlanga north of the city.) (Nomad Backpackers, 2014)

Introduction:

Nature of the Project

Durban has seen large transformations in the past two decades and has developed into a multi-cultural melting-pot for people from all cultures, religions, races and backgrounds. Housing Africa's busiest port, Durban is South Africa's second largest city in terms of population and the country's third largest economic powerhouse, after Johannesburg and Cape Town. Durban's inner city is a vibrant space that represents the diverse nature of the city's economy and inhabitants.

Durban's inner city has however seen some darker issue rise; the city centre has in many ways shown signs of decay and dereliction that mirror the problems faced in Johannesburg and other declining and "decentring" cities around the world. The early nighties saw the rise of *crime and grime* in the inner city. This was exacerbated by the flight of many businesses from the formerly white affluent area. Despite some attempts by local government to upgrade the city, this trend has continued to a large extent. Crime is an issue at the forefront of people's perceptions of the inner city.

The perceptions of "crime and grime" has had an extensive influence on the development of South African cities and has in many ways resulted in the dynamics of urban decay in Durban's inner city, and the production of "edge cities" away from the fear inciting urban core. Many wealthier citizens

and businesses have migrated to the North of the city in search of "safer" and more controlled environments. Cheap available land, the relocation of the airport towards the North and accessibility of new developments by car have all exacerbated this migration.

The city centre has however assumed a different role supporting vast numbers of commuters who use the city on daily. The inner city also represents the opportunity for increased tolerance, transformation, and development of an inclusive public realm that provides a common place of belonging. The inner city has seen some signs of a new appetite for development and regeneration, but these processes are largely inhibited by the fears of crime in many parts of the central business district.

This project is greatly influenced by the fears expressed by many of Durban's residents whilst visiting the city. A map on the adjacent page provided by a tourist backpackers (location at number **3** on **Fig 1.1**), on the fringes of the city, is a clear illustration of the fears that many feel towards the CBD. The map was receive as part of the general information provided to all guests of the backpackers; it demarcates areas of the city as 'no-go' areas with large blocks reading "caution" that cover all but the civic core of the inner city. This map provided a clear basis for discussions that led to the development of the topic of this thesis.

Bearing in mind these notions of fear and vulnerability, this thesis attempts to shed some light on the perceptions that have developed around the inner city. This thesis will examine the history of Durban in terms of the development of *fears of crime* and '*otherness*' and the ideas of *chaos* and

control that permeate the discourse of development from a pre-apartheid to post-apartheid era.

The thesis will then consider the link between crime and the city as well as the link between crime and the places in which it takes place, whilst drawing on literature from various schools of thought regarding the nature of crime.

Precedent studies will also be considered to inform a set of urban design principle for safer urban spaces. These will then form the basis for a design process through which the urban core will be analysed and suggestions for implementation will be made.

This thesis will provide a course grained framework at the scale of the CBD as well as a more detailed set of design ideas for implementation at a precinct scale. The precinct, chosen as a site for testing these principles, lies behind the beachfront and borders on the harbour . It also borders on safer parts of the CBD and areas of the inner city already earmarked for regeneration. This part of the city is considered one of the least safe with gang and drug related issues and a generally high crime rate, despite, or perhaps because of, its central location.

This project serves as an attempt to examine and developed new ways of regeneration that deal with the realities of crime in inner cities and could lead to a reduction in fear and hence and better quality of life for the city's visitors and residents alike.

Methodology & structure of document

The objective of this project is to gain a better understanding of issues of safety in South Africa's urban centres and to explore and develop ideas for the creation of safer cities through the use of urban design principles and situational crime prevention methods. The process of exploration is not linear, however the document is structured systematically according to sections which deal with the various aspects of the project from understanding the context to theories of crime and place and then to various scales of analyses and proposals.

The nature of the problem has been defined in this section. The project then turns towards the context

of Durban specifically, in order to understand the dynamics that influenced the morphology and status quo of the city. The project then takes a more general look at crime statistics and theories of crime and place to provide insight into the link between cities, criminal activity and place. From these theories, principles can be developed that should underpin the creation of safer urban spaces. These principles are then used as a basis for design ideas and are tested in terms of their relevance to the context of Durban's inner city.

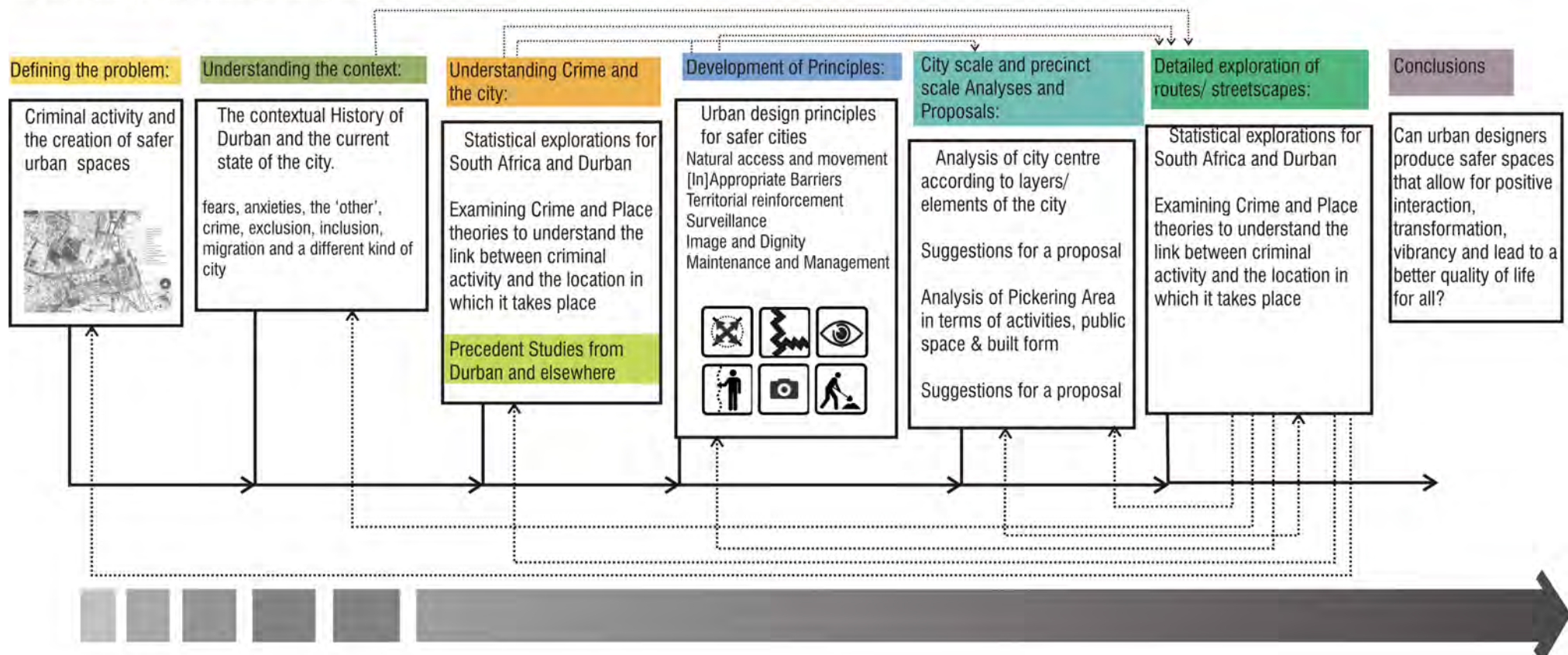
Precedent studies have also been investigated in terms of ways in which Durban's residents and place-makers have attempted to create spaces of safety in and around the city. International and local

precedent studies have also been examined in terms of the methods of crime prevention employed. These too have informed the urban design principles.

The last few sections deal with the implementation of these principles. The analysis and design processes are documented in Sections 6 to 8. These processes took place in conjunction with one another working through the scales from the city wide analysis to the more detailed exploration of streetscapes and suggestions for small adjustment within the urban fabric.

The following graphic provides a visual representation of the process of engagement with the topic:

Fig. 1.2: Methodology and structure of document:



Methods of research:

During the course of this project research was done through a desktop study of resources. Other methods of gathering information included site visits, a photographic survey of areas of Durban and on-foot observational studies. Base material for analysis was obtained through the online GIS systems of the eThekweni Municipality and GIS data of the University of Kwazulu-Natal, as well as from topographical maps, aerial photographs and Google Earth imaging.

Visits to Durban also informed the topic chosen and allowed for an exploration of the city, many informal discussions with people regarding the state of the city and for observational studies of the city to be done. The personal experience of the spaces within the city is an important factor in this project¹.

A map is included showing routes taken during the two week period of my latest visit to Durban. These routes were travelled in various modes of transport including busses, informal taxis, private taxis, private cars, cycling, skateboarding and walking.



Fig. 1.3: Perceptual Fear Mapping (Author, 2014)

Limits:

The issues faced in South Africa as well as the notions of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design are vast and complex topics that cannot be holistically tackled by a single project in a relatively short period of time. Time and capacity constraints have also limited the amount of time spent in Durban itself to do on-site research and did not allow for processes such as interviews with residents or workshops to take place.

This project should thus be seen as an investigation into creating or adapting cities to provide safer urban spaces. This project will not attempt to redesign the entire city, but rather to understand the city as a whole and, test situational crime prevention ideas through the design process and suggest ways to intervene which illustrate an approach to creating a safer city.

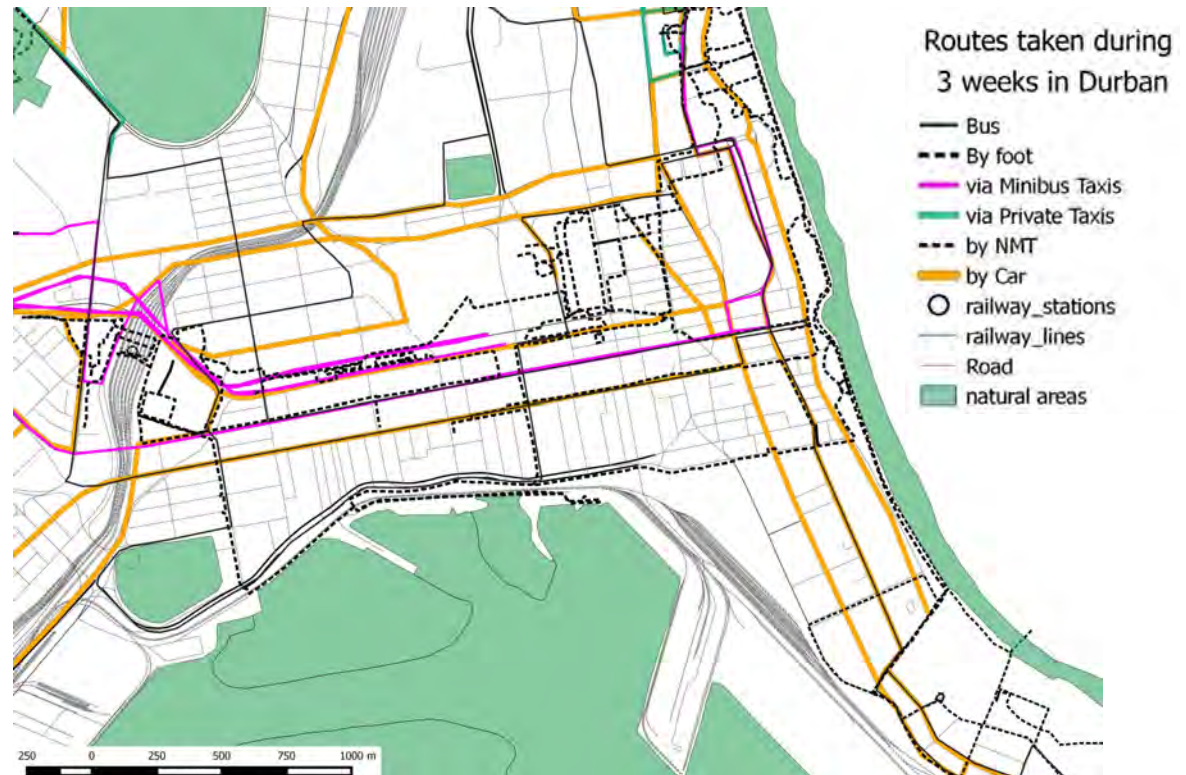


Fig. 1.4. Routes taken During the last site visit to Durban (Author, 2014)

1. Due the relevance of fears and perception for this project, a subjective map of "perceptual fear" is included. The graphic use of darker and lighter hatching is also used throughout the document as an indication of fear and danger.

Role of the Urban Designer within a South African Context:

In the recent history we have seen many changes taking place within South African cities, as well as cities around the globe. These changes often include the shift from industrialised cities to post-industrial cities that support the growth of service based economies. It is as these shifts occur that changes in the urban fabric need to take place to support the new roles that cities are expected to play within our changing societies. Madanipour (2006:176-177) offers an insightful take on the role of the urban designer in a modern society that has changing economic and social structures:

In its broadest sense, urban design contributes to the task of adjusting the city to this structural change, by creating a new spatial organization and projecting a new image that befits a new society. In this sense, it is one of the tools that are developed to facilitate the change by shaping the urban fabric in new ways. [...] As urban development is a central part of the process of urban change, we may start to see the potentially strategic place that urban design occupies in shaping the city of the future.

In many ways South Africa offers a very unique case of these social and economic shifts. The post-apartheid era has seen many changes in planning and how we wish for our cities to run. Alongside the

opening of South African cities to all its citizens, large social and economic changes have taken shape in many of our urban spaces to accommodate the influx of people as well as the changes in the economy.

The shift from industrial towards a more service based economy has taken place in South Africa's urban centres, although not to the same extent as in many of the global north countries. Durban, due to its location and port close to Johannesburg, has remained the home of many logistics companies and currently houses Africa's busiest port. In terms of the city centre, many changes have taken place that will be discussed within the thesis. I am of the opinion that it is during these times of transition and much needed adjustment that urban design has a large role to play.

Urban designers are often called upon at the later stages of projects to ensure the beautification and marketability of a scheme (Madanipour, 2006) and spatial quality is often not seen as of equal importance (Dewar and Louw, 2012) to the functioning of space and other economic and operational factors. Within the built environment fields, it is thus important to build an interdisciplinary culture.

Design cannot take place in isolation, thus it should be part of the skill set of the urban designer to take into consideration the contributions of many different professionals within the developmental process. Urban designers need to thus locate themselves between many other professionals within the built environment.

In order to assist in the translation of project from paper to reality, an understanding of the dynamic processes that create cities is needed. This requires an awareness of social, economic, natural, political and physical factors and incentives that guide and influence the course of a city's development in order to be able to influence the form of the city.

It is within the three-dimensional spaces of cities where the everyday lives of people play out, that urban designers can contribute most. This is where the 'visioning' of a city can take place and where urban designers may be able to suggest and illustrate alternative courses of development that would not seem possible when seen from a single disciplinary approach without understanding a city as a whole, rather than for its parts.

Furthermore, it is only in three-dimensional space that dignified spaces can be created that allow for interactions to take place. Through thoughtful engagement with the physical nature of spaces in cities, urban design can make an attempt at influencing how people use cities. Urban designers, as well as planners, should thus also aim to take a holistic approach that takes into account the social, economic and environmental factors of an area across different scales.

Having said this, each city, along with its corresponding unique plethora of issues, will require a unique approach. Built environment professionals should not attempt to get rid of the disorder of cities, in order to produce great plans, but should rather work with the energy and disorder that is inherent in the processes of adaption within a city

(Hamdi, 2008). Perhaps flexibility and dynamism in practice, as well as within theory, is required to be able to grapple with the complex, kinetic and often insurgent nature of cities today. Within these spaces, the understanding of how externalities as well as plans can shape cities, is vital to being able to inspire change. Without the economic and social buy-in of the users as well as some larger stakeholders, a space cannot be successful or even functional, no matter the qualities of the space created.

Complimentary to the disorder of adaption and progress, is the order of place that can be provided by the urban designer (Hamdi, 2008). Thus socially responsible urban design can, rather than promoting segregation through designing only exclusive enclaves and gated communities, create social spaces that can enhance nodes of social interaction (Madanipour, 2006). Thus it is the responsibility of the urban designer to facilitate these interactions in spaces that are inclusive, safe and positive environments in which urban identities are shaped.

Urban design should attempt to go beyond the aesthetic pleasures and view the city from a more contextualised approach. As public spaces are visible parts of the city, they serve to mirror an identity of a city and can become the focal point of interactions, thus articulating these spaces as common ground that makes “connections between what appear to be no more than unrelated fragments” (Madanipour, 2006:186); this becomes particularly relevant in the South African context.

It is thus the role of the urban designer to not only create quality urban spaces, but to assist in adjusting cities to suit the needs of their users. This should be done through an understanding of the systems of the city in time and the social, environmental and economic factors at play, as well as through the thoughtful mediation and engagement of the various forces that shape cities.

Design Approach:

The design approach taken in this project is in many ways a combined approach: It acknowledges that within the context of Durban large catalytic projects have made large contributions to the urban realm, but that a minimalist approach of smaller urban acupuncture projects is necessary to suggest ways of intervening in the existing urban fabric. An enabling framework for urban acupuncture can suggest small shifts that will together be able to significantly alter perceptions of the city. This has, to a large extent, started to occur naturally and organically within the city, but can be supported by inspiring a more conscious cohesion between these interventions.

It is argued that many of these interventions would not have been possible without the catalytic change in mind-set caused by the upgrade of the promenade, which significantly changed people's perceptions of safety and desirability of the beachfront on the edge of the city.

Thus the design approach recognises that there is room for larger scale projects of a bolder nature whereby, through large infrastructural investment, the imagining of the city can be altered drastically.

This project will thus explore different scales of intervention. It will first briefly consider the city centre as a whole and suggest a network of interventions across the inner city that together can transform the city image from a vibrant yet degenerating city to a safe city, whilst maintaining and enhancing the character and vibrancy that Durban is known for.

The project will then focus more heavily on smaller precinct scale situational crime prevention interventions. It will explore the notions of a safe city at precinct level and will consider ways in which already developed urban environment can be altered to become safer spaces through many small scale interventions in the vicinity of problematic street segments.

The process of designing is not linear in nature, but rather an iterative process through which principles and ideas are tested and re-evaluated. Decisions are made taking into account the constraints and informants whilst being cognisant that many changes in design as well as informants will take place as the process unfolds.

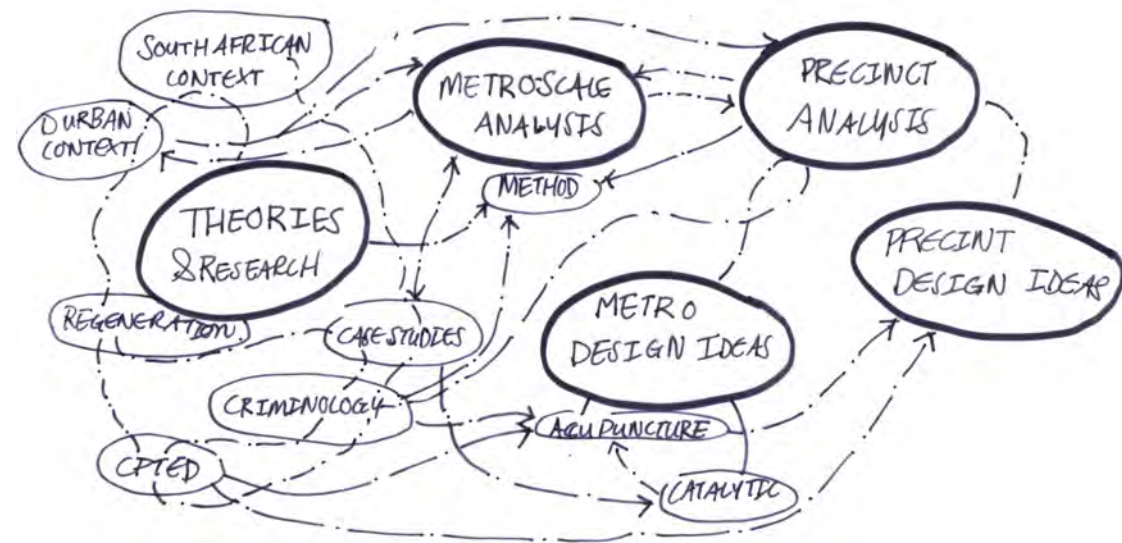


Fig. 1.5. Research analysis and design processes (Author, 2014)

Understanding the Context

A Contextual History of Durban

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OTHERNESS AND ALTERITY
DIFFERENCE
SEGREGATION
UTOPIAN IMAGE OF ORDER
ECONOMIC INCLUSION AND
SOCIAL EXCLUSION
MODERNISM
ORDER AND CHAOS
CIVILISATION AND CONTROL
ISLANDS OF ORDER
FEAR
FRAGMENTATION
FLIGHT AND DECENTRING
OF THE CITY
DERACIALISATION
MIGRATION
VULNERABILITY
INTEGRATION
CULTURAL COMPLEXITY
XENOPHOBIA
VIBRANCY
DECAY

KEYWORDS 



Fig. 2.1: The City Hall



Fig. 2.2: The Old Durban Railway Station Building and the Workshop



Fig. 2.3: The Old Durban Railway Station Building



Fig. 2.4: The Victoria Embankment (n.d.)



Fig. 2.5: The Beachfront

A Contextual History

Introduction:

Durban's history is intrinsically linked to its multi-ethnic origins and laden with tensions between order and disorder, fear and comfort, and the identity of the self in contrast to the "other". This section will provide a contextual history of Durban and will first consider Durban as a city that went through many transitions since it was first established. It will then turn to ways in which Durban has adapted more recently. From the historical port-city to the fragmented apartheid city and now the more integrated African city, Durban has morphed through the years to take on the various roles that society has bestowed on it.

Durban's Genesis:

Before delving into the notions of safety within the inner city, it is imperative to understand the urban development of Durban and its history of economic inclusion and spatial exclusion of people within the boundaries of the city. Much of the dialogue concerning the notions of crime and grime, and safety, are intrinsically linked to the notions of fear and "otherness". Thus a brief history of the dynamics of this trading port would help to create a more holistic understanding of the development of these fears through the years.

Durban's genesis lies in the existence of trade routes. The first settlers arrived in 1823, led by Leitenant Francis Farewell and James King. The following year, the settlers were met by King Shaka and his royal Zulu court and granted 6500km² for the establishment of the town. However, the next few decades were characterised by battles between the British settlers, Zulus and Dutch settlers (SAHistory, 2014).

The gridiron plan of the town was laid out in 1835 leaving spaces open for the central civic complex to house the market, town hall and court (Kantorowich, *et. al.*, 1968). The 1850's saw the establishment of many institutional facilities such as a post office, a few churches, a college, a police force and Durban's first Town Council which still form the central civic core of the city today (SAHistory, 2014). Durban's modern day city centre, was then proclaimed a borough and everything beyond it was considered out of

jurisdictional sight of the council, with sites over the ridge of Durban as well as the Point, later becoming haven's for outlaws, multi-ethnic settlement and anyone who wished to evade taxes (Kearney, 2013).

After the first imports of sugar cane cultivars in 1848, the sugar industry started growing immensely, along with the need for labourers, mainly from Indian origin, to support the industry¹. As the need for economic development and labour grew, so did the



Fig. 2.6: Map of Durban 1823

1. In 1859, the Natal Parliament passed the Coolie Law No 14, which allowed for traders to bring Indian labourers to South Africa on five year contracts (SAHistory, 2014). After fulfillment of the first indenture, Indians were given the options of signing another five year contract which would make them eligible for citizenship, they could after another five years be granted free passage back to India or they would be entitled to a gift of Crown land and full citizenship (SAHistory, 2014). This provision was withdrawn in 1890 as settlers wished to discourage Indian settlement in the colony.

2. The 1921 Durban Land Alienation Act, the 1943 Pegging Act and the 1946 Ghetto Act serve as evidence that the segregation trends were already evident in the years leading up to apartheid; Apartheid would further continue and rigidly entrench the bureaucratic systems of segregation.

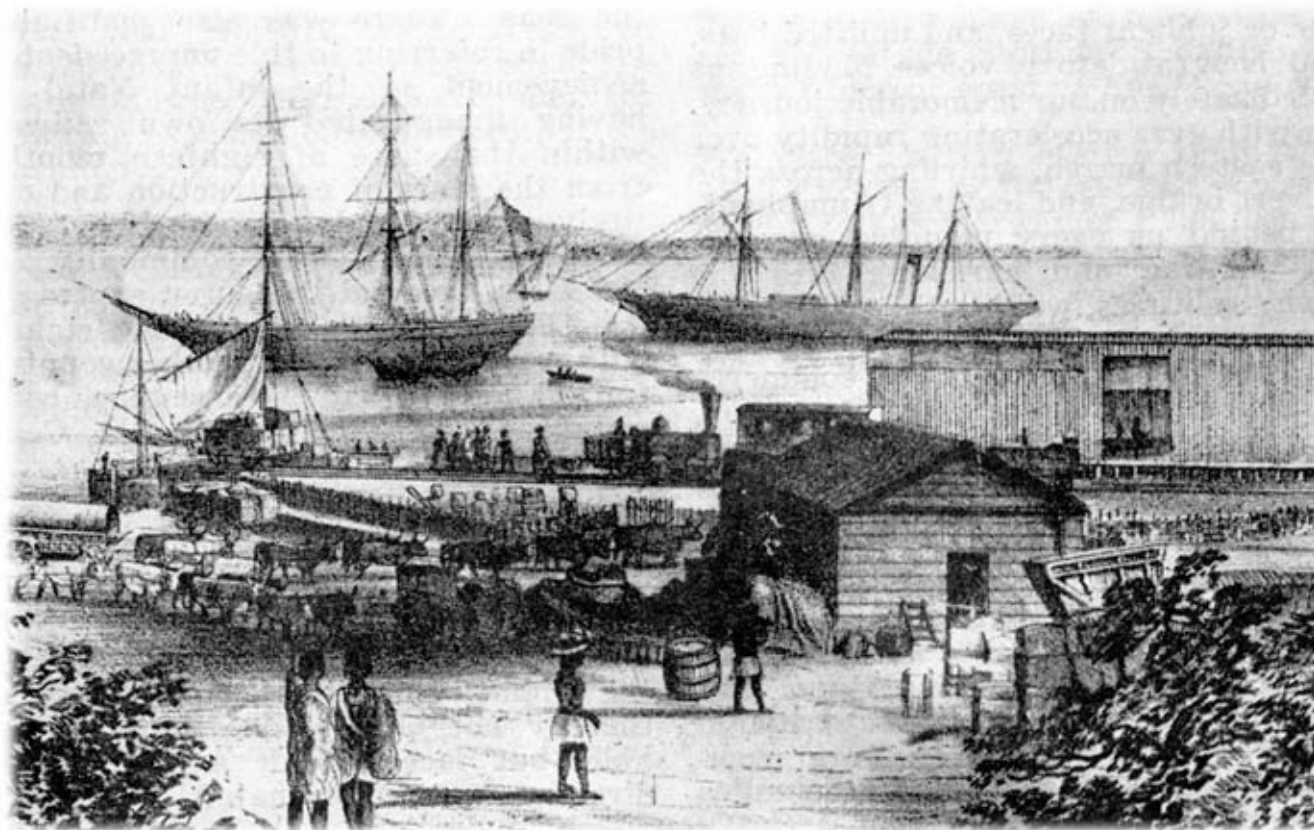
Indian population of Durban, leading to resentment by settlers who later saw them not only as a labour source but now also as a threat to their own trade (Maylam, 1995). Durban's Town Council then began to show the first signs of an attitude towards segregation (Kearney, 2013)², with the Licencing Act of 1897, to prevent competitive trading.

Further anxiety was growing in the town as the Point, beyond the boundaries of the borough, became a refuge for Indians released from contract, along with Chinese, Malay, St Helenese and other African immigrants, (Kearney, 2013). This area became known as Bamboo Square and became a multi-cultural area (Kearney, 2013). The land here belonged to the War Department in London and lay behind a dune out of sight of the town's people. This space today once again forms an enclave, but this time separated from the multi-ethnic melting pot of Durban's city centre to provide a sense of safety.

In the 1870s the Point was however a place of concern for the town's folk as the "unwholesome and dangerous nature of [squatter] dwellings, [were] a present nuisance and likely source of fire and epidemic disease" (Ellis Inspector of Nuisances, 1876 in Kearney, 2013) and with the arrival of the Bubonic plague in 1902, black urban presence became associated with "squalor, disease and crime" (Swanson, 1983:16 in Maylam, 1995:24).

Other than the sanitation syndrome and a resentment of competitive trade, there were other incentives for segregation, such as maintaining property values and the perception of safety and control (Maylam, 1995), breeding further fear and exclusion. In the following few decades anxieties for separation grew; the apartheid system tried to implement two usually irreconcilable approaches to trade in the city: ensuring an influx of cheap labour whilst ensuring that those providing the labour remain unseen within the boundaries of the city.

Fig. 2.7: The Point Station after 1860



2. The 1921 Durban Land Alienation Act, the 1943 Pegging Act and the 1946 Ghetto Act serve as evidence that the segregation trends were already evident in the years leading up to apartheid; Apartheid would further continue and rigidly entrench the bureaucratic systems of segregation.

Modernism , Apartheid spaces, order and otherness:

It is known that the apartheid system's implementation had many implications for the structure of our cities, producing distorted physical patterns of settlement along racial lines (Turok, 2001). *Apartheid* denoted a state of being apart which was founded on the basis of separate development. Fragments of the city were demarcated into small racially divided municipalities designed to represent the notion of separate development and reinforce it on the ground. Many of these ideas coincidentally dovetailed with modernist notions such as separation of function and were implemented using modernist planning as vehicle for separation.

Modernism was born out of a post-war era characterised by a sense of necessity for major interventionist activity (Mabin, 2000). Urban Planning, due to its scope and scale seemed the perfect vehicle for intervention. Modernist planning was greeted with great enthusiasm and promised to create order within a world which was in desperate need of it (Mabin, 2000). It was believed to be "the *uncontrolled and disorderly* development of the Machine Age which has led to the *chaos in our cities*" (Sert, 1944:246 in Mabin, 2000:556) and this could only be resolved through a complete overhaul whereby the city and the surrounding countryside would be restructured more systematically (Mumford, 1944, in Mabin 2000:556). Industries would be separated from residential areas, which would be separate from businesses.

The automobile would transform the way in which we use cities. Many of the ideas of structuring and limiting the chaos of a city would ultimately translate into more controlling urban environments for people, especially once these ideas took shape outside of the western world.

Much of modernism was founded on the notions of a more humanitarian and socialist society where these tools could be used to construct a more equal society (Mabin, 2000); this was not the case in South Africa.

Authoritarian tendencies in *some* modernist approaches to city form have resonated most clearly in divided and segregated societies... Such patrician attitudes are sometimes considered characteristic of many planners in the whole modern period, whatever their differences on matters such as urban form.

(Mabin, 2000: 558)

With the fragmented landscape outside of the inner-city, the inner city, with its traditional grid, is still today one of the most integrated spaces in terms of functions and public spaces that the region has to offer (although some modernist surgery was performed to insert a highway system through the heart of Warwick Junction).

Fig. 2.8: Informal trade around the City Hall



Together the concepts of modernity and apartheid came to represent a different form of civilisation and control in South Africa. Modernism, as is mentioned above was primarily concerned with creating *order* out of *chaos* and eliminating any *spatial ambivalence* through imposing order though design (Bauman, 1991:6 in Popke and Ballard, 2003:101). Bauman presents an interesting take on modernism with significant inferences for South African application: the concept of *order* together with the problem of *chaos* became an obsession that could be translated into action and design, whereby design could create man-made "*islands of order*" (*ibid*).

This becomes particularly relevant in our historic contexts where these islands of order are seen as the antithesis of the vast rural *uncivilised 'outsiders'* and the *chaos* of Africa (Popke & Ballard, 2003: 101).



Fig. 2.9: Holford and Kantorowich's Visionary Plan for Durban 1985- With freeways and a Modernist city centre where the old train station used to be. (Holford & Kantorowich, 1968: 115)

[South Africa's apartheid policies] stand as particularly salient example of modernist planning principles, expressing a vigilant concern with order and control... through the application of practices and procedures designed to produce control.

(Popke & Ballard, 2003:101)

Thus the apartheid conception of space was very much linked to modernist urban imaginaries that sought to portray a “*utopian image of order, control and ontological security in the face of difference*” (*ibid*). It is clear that order and aspirations towards ‘civilisation’ to some extent still permeates the dialogue around the *crime and grime* of the city today.

This obsession with order and structure also meant that the approach to cities was mainly quantitative and not concerned with the quality of the environments (Dewar, 2000), leading to little pride in some areas and undignified spaces (with the exception of some parts of the inner city), which in turn led to relatively unsafe environments.

Suburbanisation and sprawl also took place; this ensured that cars became the dominant form of transport and that poorer people needed to commute vast and expensive distances. The city centre, with its stations, busses and informal taxis, is thus still the most central location for many commuters. This form of development also ensured increased control with single entrances to areas which would be blocked off if need be (Dewar, 2000), thus artificially keeping any potential problems of crime controlled and outside the city-centre.

In terms of the psyche, explicit territorial delineation worked to create spatially determinate identities for different groups of people that “[drew] ever tighter the

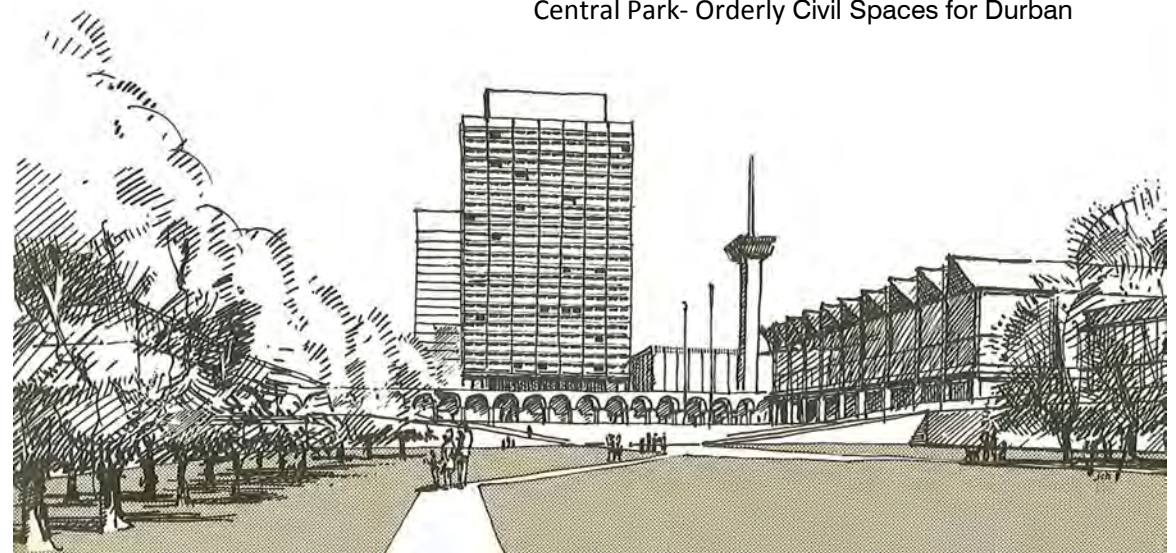
boundaries separating self from other” (Popke and Ballard, 2003: 99). This is important when considering the vast array of issues linked to *identity* and *fears* that still subliminally restrict movements through the city and can be seen as underlying issues explaining the flight from the city.

In the case of Durban many of the outlying *black* areas were, however separated, still geographically close to the city centre and the city centre, although mainly *white*, was perhaps more connected (in distance and transport connections) to its townships than Johannesburg and Cape Town. This has an impact on the ease of regaining access and right to the city and has also resulted in the city centre being Durban’s most important transport hub with a high ambient population during the day.

By the 1970s segregation in Durban was “near perfect” (Schensul, 2008: 290), with almost no *non-white* residents within the urban core of Durban. It must however be noted that some areas such as Warwick Junction never separated entirely despite the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Grest, 2002).

Furthermore economic sanctions of the 1980s would ensure an artificial growth in the manufacturing industry as South Africa needed to manufacture products within its borders (Padayachee, 2010); thus the 1980s saw the rise in potential employment, drawing even more people into the cities. The system started showing major cracks by the 1980s with the rise of civil society and the end of the pass laws in 1986 when the city was opened to all people (Schensul, 2008).

Fig. 2.10: Holford and Kantorowich’s Envisioned Central Park- Orderly Civil Spaces for Durban



Central Park looking west

Fig. 2.11: Adaption of Holford and Kantorowich’s envisioned Central Park- with Durban’s real inhabitants

Fig. 2.12: Recent Morphology of Durban

1941

Durban with an urban core and predominantly rural outlying areas.



1982

Durban with an unexpended urban core and suburbs stretching into hinterland.



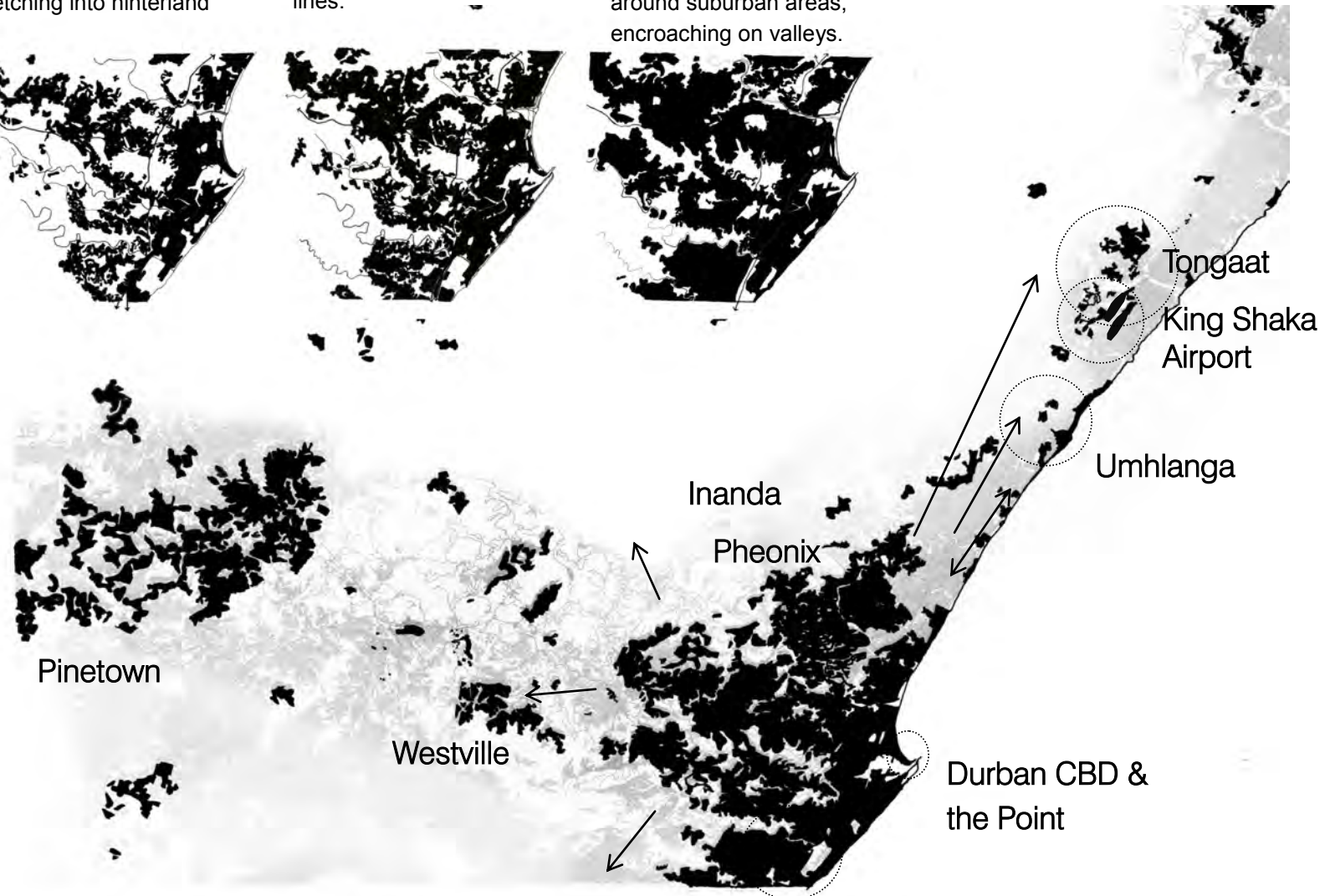
1992

Further development of land, mainly along contour lines.



2000

Further development and filling in of suburban fabric around suburban areas, encroaching on valleys.



2006– 2014

Development of the city northwards, Umhlanga and Gateway make way for new urban developments to move from the decaying inner city towards the North. The decommissioning of the Durban international Airport and the opening of a new airport north of the city, beyond Gateway, increases the appeal of businesses to locate in Northern Areas.

Adaptions of a more inclusive city

It is argued that the changes that took place in and around our cities after apartheid were “layered”: Rather than a dramatic shift, many of the developments that followed are affected, but not exclusively so, by the previous era, and these changes lead on from one another (Freund, 2010:5). The following section briefly considers some of the significant changes that have had an impact on the functioning of the inner city or on the perceptions people have of the inner city.

From the late 1980s onward there was an influx of people of previously excluded groups entering the city in order to find better economic opportunities and claim the right to the city that had been kept from them for so long. The inner city slowly became the focus area of integration with more socially and geographically mobile non-white people moving towards the centre.

One of the most noticeable responses to the opening of the city was the feeling of a greatly “increased vulnerability of middle class neighbourhoods, as well as public transport and city centres, to crime” (Freund, 2010: 5). This had a large effect on the dynamics development and migration of people after 1994.

“High levels of crime genuinely rule out or greatly limit many potential aspects of social and economic development that assume a more open city. There is no question that crime threatens some ways of life in particular.” (Freund, 2010: 5)

This has resulted in significant changes in urban development patterns and has contributed to *white flight* and the *decentring* of the CBD. In many ways the process of rapid urbanisation and

deracialisation specifically in the CBD eradicated and dislocated the “divisions by which identity and alterity were historically managed in South Africa” (Popke and Ballar, 2003; 99), opening the floor to negotiations and alterations of these formerly prescribed ideas of identity(Thronton, 1996: 144 in Popke and Ballard, 2003:100). The post- apartheid city becomes a space for the production of a new identity and urban imaginaries; unfortunately there have been dual developments in the sentiments felt towards the city. Although many associate the city with a new image of South Africa, impressions and sentiments felt towards the inner city in the past two decades have been largely associated with fears.



Fig. 2.13: Informality inside Berea Station

Movements into and out of the city:

The end of Apartheid opened up South African cities for all people to live in, however in Durban this process started in the early 1980s with many non-white people moving into Warwick Triangle and so some parts of Grey Street and Albert Park, one of the planned residential parts of the city. The demand for housing grew and the CBD offered an affordable price range for non-white professionals to rent where they would be able to live in close proximity to work. There has been a “kind of spillover effect [of Indian and black populations] in neighbourhoods previously closed to them” (Freund, 2010: 9). Since the opening of the city, there has been an apparent decline in the income brackets of people living in the inner city (Erwin, 2010), as the city started attracting more working class people who wished to be close to their sources of employment.

The city centre provided many vacant flats from before 1986 and onwards. Even before 1986, many landlords in areas such as Albert Park, the main residential area of the Central Business District (CBD), would allow ‘disqualified’ tenants to lease apartments, fronted by a *white* person to ensure no legal hindrances (Erwin, 2010). Later these areas would provide homes and opportunities to many young professionals that they would not be able to find in the outlying areas. Thus these areas catered to the new market demands and effectively provided a form of gap housing.



Above: Fig. 2.14: Music performance on Pixley Kaseme Street after the temporary widening of the pedestrian walkways

Below: Fig. 2.15: Derelict Building along the Esplanade- It was never restored after a fire broke out some years ago

Decline of industry:

Prior to the 1990s, South African industrial cities such as Durban enjoyed a relatively closed market situation whereby most products were manufactured within South Africa, almost artificially creating employment opportunities and a thriving industry for its urban centres.

“Its position in the 1990s as South Africa opens to the global economy is far less secure: labour-intensive industries such as clothing have contracted substantially, while more capital intensive industries have shed jobs through restructuring and repositioning.”

(Todes, 2000:618)

This has arguably led to some job loss and unemployment, one of the largest predictors of crime rates. This has also led to many people wishing to move closer to the CBD to be closer to employment and opportunities for entrepreneurship with a larger concentration of potential clients at nodes of activity.

Decentring of the city:

One of the most noticeable trends affecting the city during the 1990s, and continuing today, is the migration Northward of many larger businesses and more affluent residents (Todes, 2000; Robinson, 2008; Robinson, 2010; Freund 2010; Michel & Scott, 2005, and Erwin, 2010). This has raised concern regarding the economic position and direction of the central business district.

Perceptions of “crime and grime”, of growing disorder, in part underpin a process of decentralisation from the Central Business District[.]

(Todes, 2000: 623)

The rise in illegal [and legal] street trading along with drug trafficking, gang violence and ill-maintained buildings has in many ways caused the decline of many areas within the city centre (Todes, 2000). Many more affluent businesses and clients generally find the ‘sensory environment’ of the CBD difficult due to noise, litter and derelict buildings (van Eerden, 2013); the presence of negative site features such as these have a high correlation with people’s *perceptions of vulnerability* and crime (Braga & Clarke, 2014, Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995). Thus those who find the CBD uncomfortable, have largely fled to more sanitised new urban nodes created north of the city to cater for these needs. Due to the flight of many affluent clients from the CBD, many businesses have chosen to locate closer to their desired client base (van Eerden, 2013; Todes, 2000).

[S]ome of this movement [from the decentring CBD] has been occurring for a much longer time and resembles patterns internationally.

(Todes, 2000: 623)

During the 1970s some decentring took place as shopping centres and business parks rose in popularity and decentralisation took place internationally. In Durban, this bout of decentralisation mainly took the form of small businesses moving to areas surrounding the CBD,

such as Berea and areas connected to large new shopping centres (Todes, 2000).

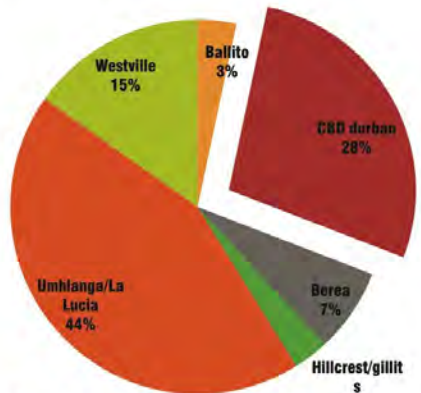
The decentring of the city in the 1990s took a different form: large corporate head offices started to move out of the CBD to suburban locations such as Umhlanga Gateway, far away from informal townships and potential ‘crime and grime’. These developments have further been encouraged by the move of the Durban International Airport from the south of Durban to beyond the northern outskirts of Umhlanga which was opened in 2010 (and now called King Shaka International); this provides even less incentive for businesses to locate anywhere but in the north. Furthermore the development of golf-estates, shopping centres and more office parks have intensified the decentring further.

Umhlanga and surrounds is often referred to as an “edge city” (Michel & Scott, 2005; Todes, 2000 & 2014; Freund, 2010) similar to those in America and has largely been driven by the actions of Tongaat-Hullet, a large private landowner and sugar cane



Fig. 2.16: A Bed and Breakfast “African Dreamz” in Umhlanga Ridge with all the essential safety features

Offices space in Durban Surrounds



Percentage of A-Grade Office Space located in each area (SAPOA, July 2013)

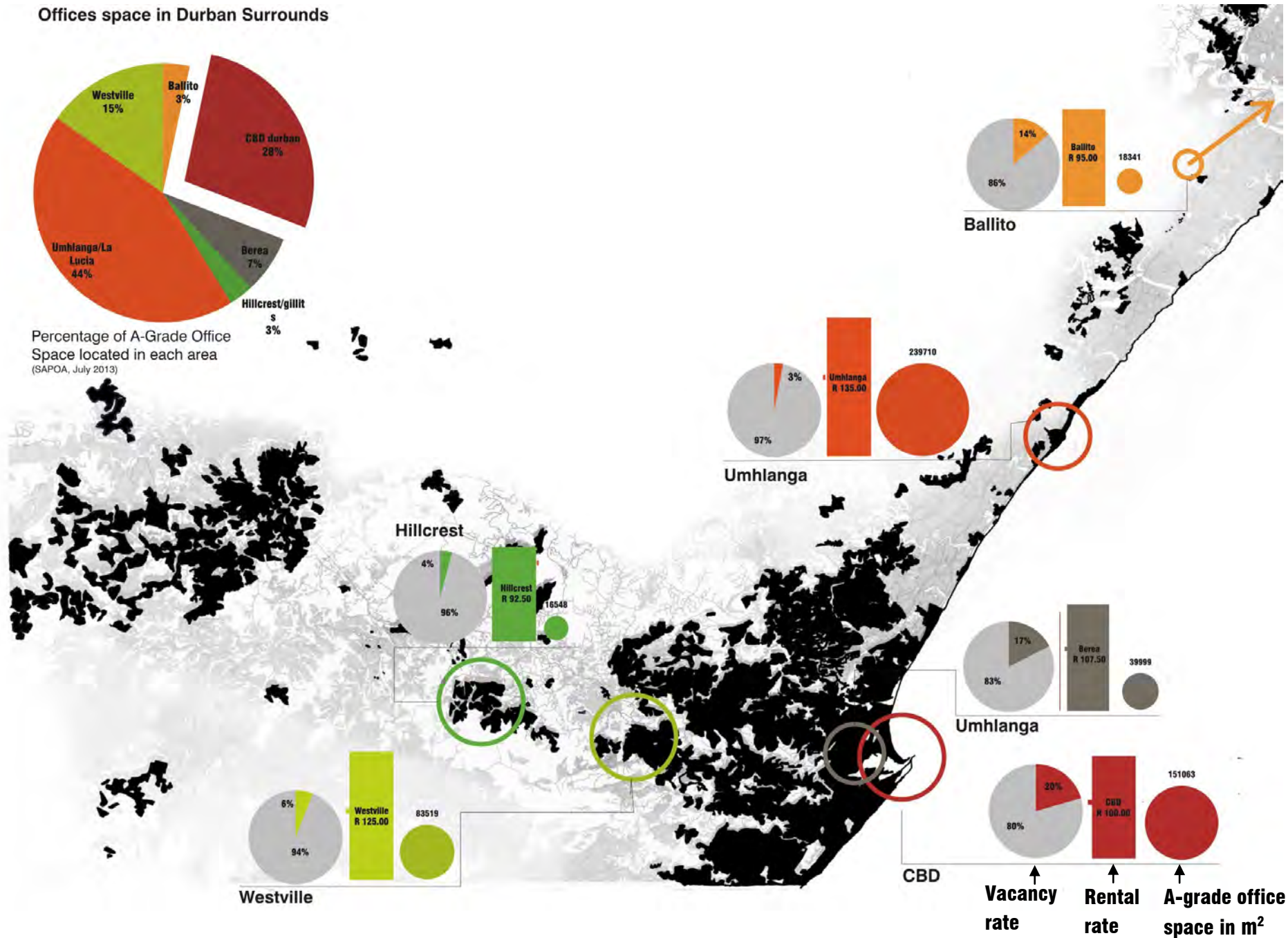


Fig. 2.18: Office Vacancy rates, prices and rentable area in various centres around Durban (Source: Author from SAPOA Statistics, July 2013)

company. The development of their land has been led by demand for such developments surrounding Durban and also by the tendency to develop greenfield sites in order to develop in the most lucrative way possible (Freund, 2010).

“It has been facilitated by past residential growth in the area, an underused highway, lower land costs [and] perceptions of the CBD decline and insecurity[.]”

(Todes, 2000)

The graphics alongside illustrate various areas in the region of Durban and their relative positions in the office rental market. The Central Business district has the second largest amount of rentable A-grade office space, but by far the highest vacancy rate (20.5%), with relatively low rental rates (R100.00/m²) in comparison to the rest of the region. The areas further away from the city centre tend to have lower vacancy rates, with the enclave or edge city of Umhlanga boasting a mere 3% vacancy rate and average rental rates of R135.00/m². It must be noted that these areas thrive in South Africa due to their comfortable nature and the inclusion of “all the essential safety features” (Todes, 2000).

This trend of decentring of the inner city has however not taken place to the same extent as in Johannesburg, where most large businesses have moved to Sandton Business Park; Durban has generally and historically been much more CBD focussed (Todes, 2000).

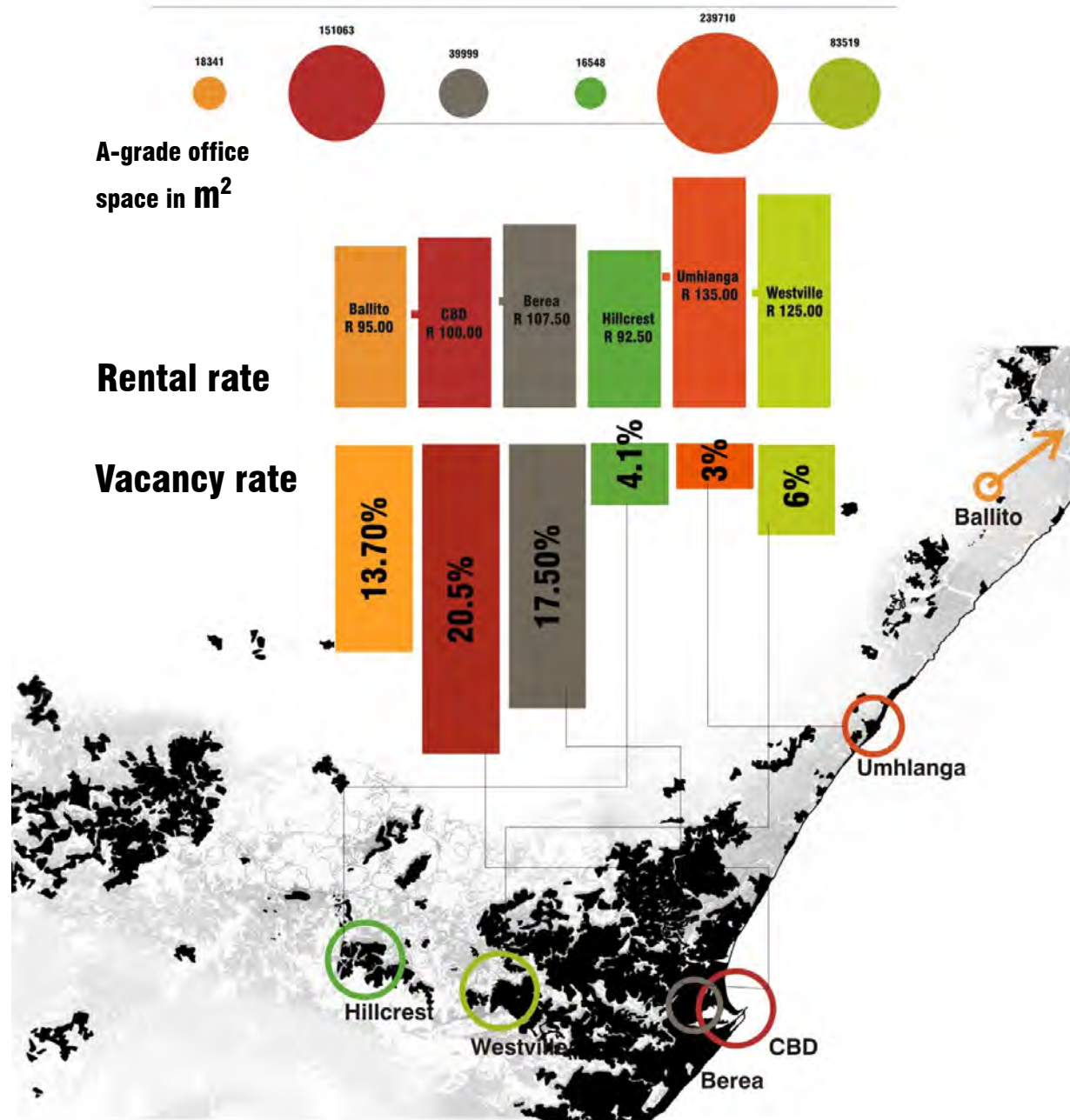


Fig. 2.19: Comparing Office Vacancy rates, prices and rentable area in various centres around Durban (Source: Author from SAPOA Statistics, July 2013)

A different type of CBD:

In many respects the CBD has changed drastically to a small-business hub instead of a domicile for large corporations. Larger companies left spaces in the city which were quickly filled by many smaller entrepreneurial businesses (Erwin, 2010). Despite the large shift of businesses, many large commercial branches as well as the magisterial court and logistics companies linked to the port, have remained in the city centre (Freund, 2010). Many large retailers have also remained and are flourishing in the inner city (Erwin, 2010). City government departments still occupy the city, along with law firms and hotels.

“The CBD has reoriented to the large Black consumer market, dependent on public transport, for whom it remains the most central location – despite distances to residential areas. It is an exceptionally vibrant market, despite images of decline and degeneration. (Todes, 2000: 623)

There has been the noticeable flight of upwardly mobile groups of all races fleeing the inner city. However, there is still a large variety within the city centre of people from many socio-economic groups. (Erwin, 2010)

For example, although many buildings on the Esplanade are in a dilapidated state, other buildings still maintain relatively high property values and the area is generally considered a good place to live. Also noteworthy, is the tendency for estate agents to view the Esplanade as separate from the CBD, which is considered a less desirable location. (Erwin, 2010)

The city centre is also still home to many students who enjoy the convenience and public transport to universities and although not necessarily earning, cannot be likened to urban poor who are not gaining skills (Erwin, 2010).

Growth [and anxieties] of the informal sector:

After the deracialisation of the inner city, the informal economy boomed (Todes, 2000; Popke and Ballard, 2003). The city has become a functional stronghold for many smaller formal and informal businesses that have flocked into the inner city to take



Fig. 2.20: Warwick Junction Berea Street Pinafore Market

advantage of the large numbers of diverse passing feet in the inner city. These new additions to urban life have entirely transformed the nature and experience of the city as new opportunities and conflicts emerge (Popke and Ballard, 2003).

“Cities are now home to a multiracial population and have been transformed by new forms of economic and social interactions. For some, these changes have become a significant source of fear and anxiety... [S]treet traders have come to embody a wide range of more deeply seated cultural anxieties, which have been brought to the fore in the context of South Africa’s transition.”

(Popke and Ballard, 2003: 99)

Popke and Ballard argue that the city has in many ways become an arena in which transformations take place and historical notions of identity and



Fig. 2.21: Chickens at the Early Morning Market

citizenship are now challenged. The previous regime ensured as little as possible engagement of different races within public spaces. The public arena was a sort of panoptic space of control; this has in many ways been inverted with Durban’s public spaces being the height of cross-cultural engagement and vibrancy with street vendors at the centre of activity.

No longer restricted to specific types of trade, traders now also sell almost every imaginable item, from curios and vegetables to cosmetics, clothes, music and meats. One of the most noticeable changes is the prevalence of trade around the city hall and business districts, formerly seen as the high of control and institutional civilisation (Popke and Ballard, 2003).

In many ways the municipality’s reaction to the influx of informal trade was to support and facilitate this growth mainly through the provision of



Fig. 2.21: Fresh Produce at the Early Morning Market

infrastructure, but also through an inclusionary process of planning (Todes, 2010; Dobson and Skinner, 2009; Skinner, 2008). With an estimated 26 000 traders in the inner city in 2003 (Popke and Ballard, 2003), the city would not be able to ignore the vast number of livelihoods that the informal sector supports. Although this shift has occurred primarily as a political and economic move by the city, it is clear these decision have had a dramatic outcome for the spaces experienced in the inner city. Informality is now seen as a viable alternative way of procuring an economic foothold and livelihood in the city (Dobson and Skinner, 2009). This was essentially an empowering undertaking, that created a sense of citizenship for traders, but there has also been some underlying attempts at control in order to manage the image and marketability of the city (Todes, 2000).

Durban’s more affluent population has not been this accepting with many associating the image of trading areas with a high prevalence of crime and grime (Popke and Ballard, 2003), and street vendors have in many ways become signifiers of the *chaos* within the media (Popke and Ballard, 2003). Areas with high ambient populations of consumers do often provide easy pickings for pick-pockets and robberies, but correlation does not imply causation. On the contrary, it should be noted that traders often act to provide constant surveillance, voice their own concerns for safety (Dobson & Skinner, 2009), and have elaborate organised social networks of surveillance of each other’s territories and hence aid in the creation of safer spaces.



Fig. 2.23: The Beachfront During December Holidays (Source: <http://whathappeninginsouthafrica.blogspot.com/2013/12/kwa-zulu-natal-durban-beachfront-1930.html>, 2014)

Fig. 2.24: The Beachfront During December Holidays in the 1970s (Source: <http://whathappeninginsouthafrica.blogspot.com/2013/12/kwa-zulu-natal-durban-beachfront-1930.html>, 2014)

Fig. 2.25: The Beachfront Skate park (Source: Author, 2014)



The integration and upgrade of Durban's golden mile:

The beachfront, which in many ways serves as Durban's symbolic heart, has seen many changes. During Apartheid this area was off limits to non-white residents of Durban, but after the city opened, the beaches became active areas of intermingling of races and classes. Although the area has always been heavily policed (Freund, 2010), the perceptions of the beachfront have changed over the years from a place of affluence to a place of criminal activity, and after recent upgrading, to a safe, integrated and well-functioning public space. This upgrade will be discussed later as a successful attempt at creating secure public space, which in South African urban contexts is "difficult to assure" (Freund, 2010: 6).

Fig. 2.28: The Promenade during winter (Source: Author, 2014)



Decline of tourism and the rise of large "global city", tourist and business projects:

The Tourism industry seemed to take a turn for the worse in the 90s; international tourists would bypass Durban whilst local tourists tended to seek safer experiences in more varied locations (Todes, 2000). Thus this era saw a lot of investment in tourist friendly developments such as the international Convention Centre (South Africa's first international convention centre) opened in 1997 and uShaka Marine World which opened in 2004. The notion of the 'globally competitive' city implies 'outstanding service provision' for a modern business sector as well as a clean urban environment with a strong emphasis on opening the city to the world as a business and tourist destination (Grest, 2002). These have been attempts at increasing Durban's tourist image.

Fig. 2.26-27: UShaka Marine World and the Point as leisure enclaves (Source: <http://www.internetaccommodation.co.za>, 2014)



“Other” Foreign nationals and fears:

Rather than homogenising and sanitising Durban as another global city in the image of other connected cities, as is often the case (Madanipour, 2006; Robinson, 2006 & 2008), globalisation and the connections between Durban and other countries has in fact added to its complex and unique identity (Bass, 2006).

Durban can be considered a ‘global’ city of a very different kind; it creates global networks of necessity and economic transactions on many levels, through a diverse agglomeration of general economic activities to create a vibrant city.

Cities such as Durban often draw large groups of immigrants, as well as a diverse range of local citizens of many cultures, rituals and socio-economic backgrounds (Ballard, 2012; Bass, 2006; Bridge and Watson, 2000). These migrations can be seen as a side effect of being a well-connected city and creates a continuously evolving social and cultural complexity that is exceptionally visible within the urban centre.

Central Durban is often the “first port of call for many foreign nationals” (Erwin, 2010:8). Access is key; the ease of transportation leads people to the city centre where they are greeted with access to commercial activity and employment opportunities, as well as housing opportunities, however dire the conditions may be.

Another unfortunate development has been the growth of fears and discrimination against foreign nationals. Within the CBD, in areas such as Albert Park and Addington, the high numbers of foreign

nationals, and the unfortunate reputations associated with them, have led to vigilantism and “xenophobic policing of who is allowed to live in the area” (Erwin, 2010: 8). Crime, cleanliness and urban decay have all been linked in discriminatory discourse that relies heavily on the ideas of “*exclusion* and *otherness*” (Erwin, 2010:8), and fear.



Fig. 2.29: Inhabitants of Albert Park area gather at the park to hear Durban Mayor, James Nxumalo, speak after attacks against homeless in February 2014 (Source: <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-02-13-durbans-homeless-face-of-harassment>, 2014)

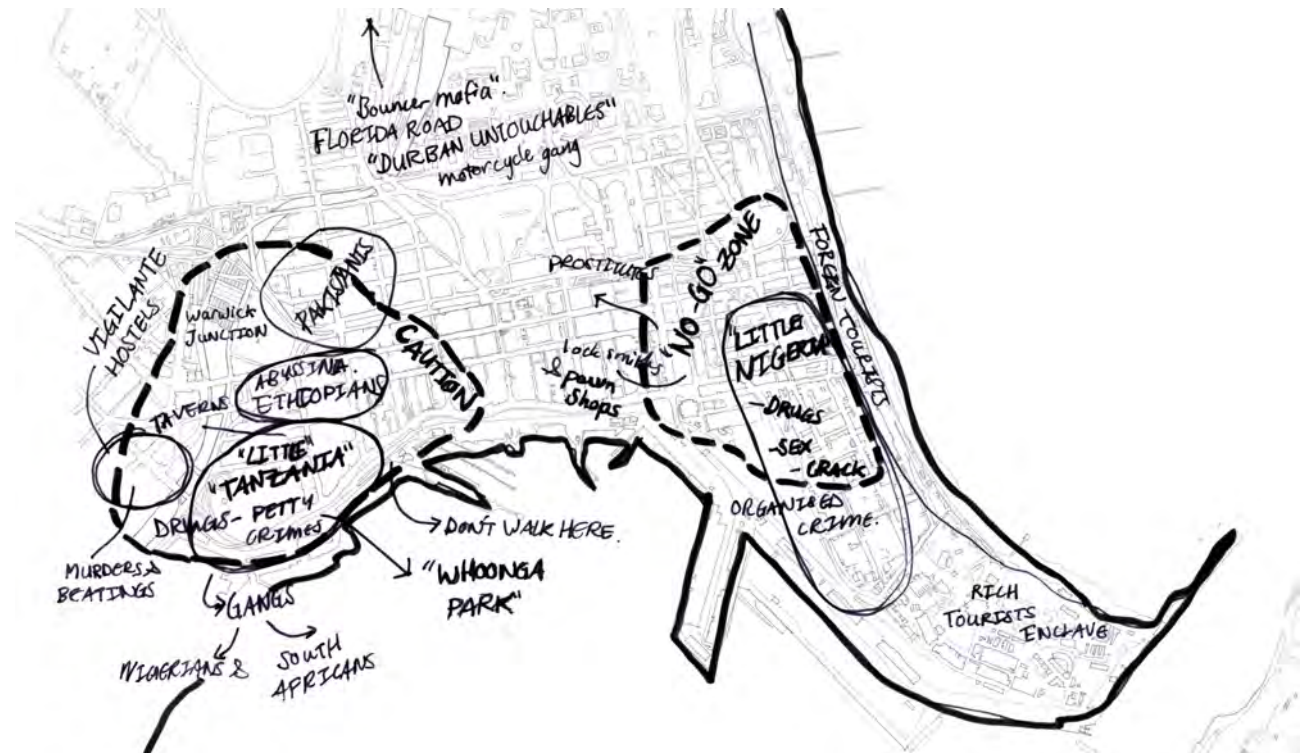


Fig. 2.28: **The Xenophobe's Map of Durban**- based on anecdotal explanations and Erwin, 2010. (Source: Author, 2014)



Bad building syndrome:

Due to the increased demand for lower cost housing in the CBD many landlords have seen and taken the opportunity for some capitalist gains. Urban decay is an issue that has been highlighted regularly since the nineties. "The city centre is framed as constantly fighting against a tide of building decay, business flight, general squalor, crime and grime" (Erwin 2010:9). Building decay or *Bad Building syndrome* has played a role in the degeneration of the city centre and part of the dialogue on crime in the CBD.

There were some factors that contributed to the decay of some of residential buildings in Addington and the Point, Grey street area and Albert Park in particular. Most of these seem to be founded in *financial incentives and gains* (Erwin, 2010), rather than flight from the city, racial tension or intents of dominance and slum-lordship.

Firstly, many areas saw established long term tenants displaced to make room for student's whose rentals would be paid upfront by the universities (Erwin, 2010). Secondly, many agents and landlords saw a new gap in the market to sell to new 'black buyers'; agents and landlords often intentionally neglected to inform the new buyers of rates and levies, and new buyers then found themselves in financial situations where they could not afford to pay for these additional costs and consequently found additional tenants to supplement their rentals. As demand for accommodation increased so did rentals, along with the lack of supervision regarding the number of tenants and sub-lettees in a unit. This resulted in over-crowding and squalor, and placed



Fig. 2.29: Dwelling places below Albert Park's Flyovers, an area known for Whoonga usage (Source: <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-02-13-durbans-homeless-face-of-harassment>, 2014)

Fig. 2.30: Homeless attacks linked to Whoonga (Source: <http://www.mahala.co.za/reality/whoonga-attack/>, Chapman, 10 May2014)

stress on the already ill-maintained infrastructure. This led to some basements being flooded with sewerage (Erwin, 2010), and other buildings where unpaid levies were not maintained and started to deteriorate slowly over time. Many original owners also sold their properties in response to the decay of other buildings in these areas, often selling part of a sectional title building to new investors who then acted as absentee-landlords, remaining anonymous and gaining from the rentals of their flats, but refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the buildings or pay levies. In many such cases rate paying tenants had their services cut due to the non-payment of absentee-landlords whilst middlemen were used to extract rentals.

With little legal protection of tenants and other sectional title owners, many paying owners and tenants abandoned ship. This indicates “that urban decay is an issue of irresponsible ownership rather than an issue created by tenants” (Erwin, 2010: 10). More recently buildings have been adapted through the use of cardboard and asbestos dividers into small, often unserviced, units that cater for the niche market of desperate entrepreneurs and illegal immigrants who have little legal foothold or agency. In 2011, an estimated 12 000 people were living in such buildings, with some of the buildings housing up to 350 cubicles or units which are rented to families and individuals (Savides & Harper, 24 July 2011).

There are a few potential positive factors that can be seen between all the rhetoric of decay and crime. Firstly, there is a high demand for small

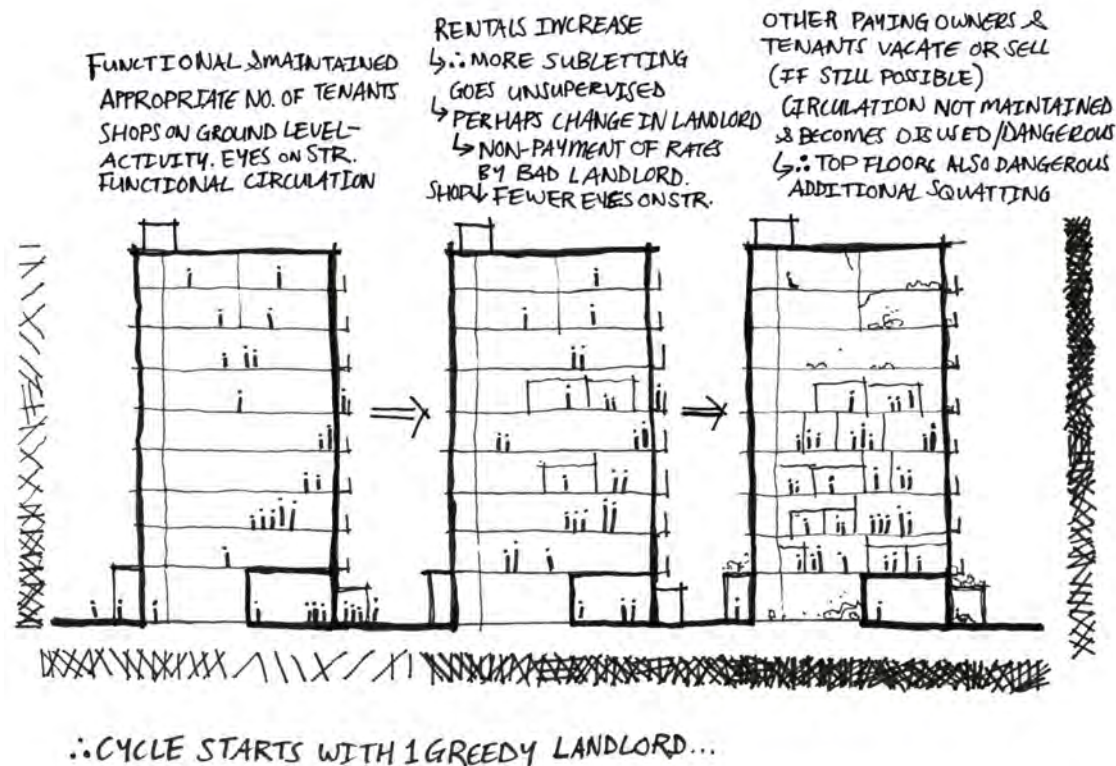


Fig. 2.33: **The development of ‘bad’ buildings-** based on Erwin, 2010. (Source: Author, 2014)

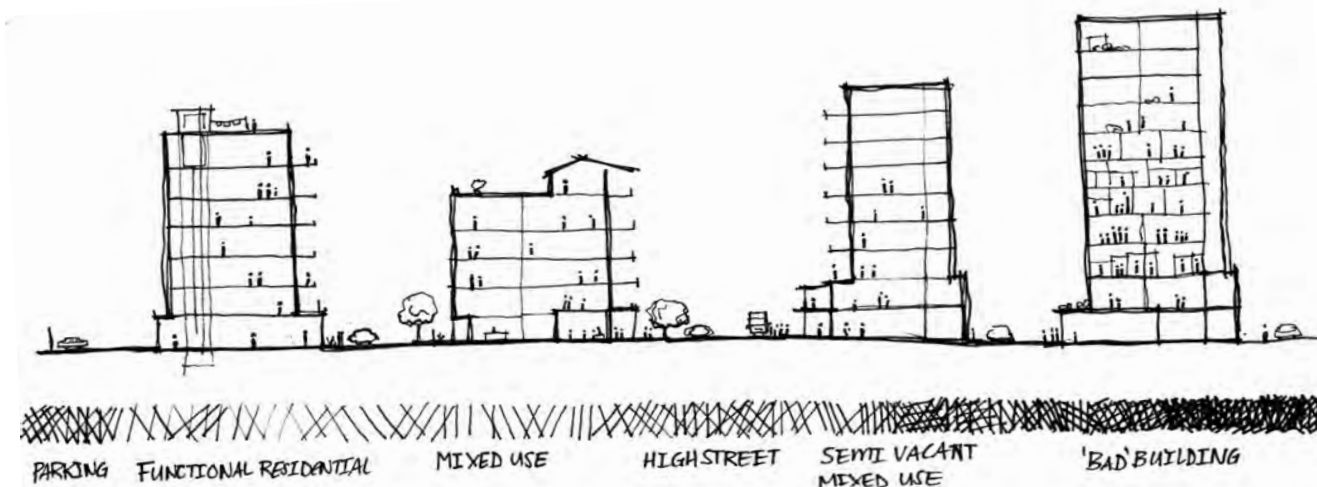


Fig. 2.34: **Better and Worse Buildings** (Source: Author, 2014)

affordable rental units. People are willing to live at high densities to enjoy the opportunities the city can afford them. This means a large potential residential population (as opposed to ambient), which could result in better surveillance and ownership of an area if allowed for through design and management.

Secondly, the adaption of buildings is taking place informally, suggesting that there is a demand for the adaption of more buildings to include mixed use residential accommodation. These adaptations that are already taking place in Durban are similar to, but more informal in nature, than the *open buildings* or *adaptable buildings* suggested as renewal and housing projects (Osman, 2006). The old ABSA building on Pixley Kaseme Street is an example where adaption has also taken place formally, with retail (Mr Price Clothing store) on pavement level and converted offices serving as residential units above (Erwin, 2010).

Furthermore, the inner-city already sees the movements of a large ambient population of commuters that can become targets to crime. Through the inclusion of resident provisions the residential population can increase. In well-connected and integrated street segments, surveillance and ownership, can significantly reduce crime risk and result in a safer, as well as more vibrant, environment (Nubani, 2006).



Fig. 2.35: The run down Abyssinian lodge at the top of Pixley Kaseme Street (Source: Author,2014)

Conclusions:

Considering the city's role within South Africa as a condensed area of interaction and transformation, cities themselves become "the most intense zones of the contestation of new forms and practices of citizenship" (Grest, 2002: 39). The discourse of order and civilisation discussed previously goes a long way in understanding the tendencies of flight from the city and the wish to build a more sanitised urban core north of the city.

Although much of the rhetoric of the segregation might not seem directly applicable to the notions of a safe city, I would argue that the sentiments of segregation and order is integrally connected to the fears and anxieties surrounding many people's perceptions of the inner city. Furthermore, The city has changed drastically from its pre 1994 state towards a more inclusive city; however, as with many transitions, this has led to some uncertainty and anxieties and has also allowed for the chaos of the city to become a visible part of the everyday. Perceptions of safety are often at the core of these anxieties and these fears are experienced to some extent by many Durban residents. It is also clear that the crime statistics for the CBD indicate that these fears are perhaps well substantiated by actual events, rather than mere ill-conceived perceptions.

Creating a safer city for all would not only help the residents who are residing in the area, but could also lead to business re-investment and an increase in revenue for the municipality as well as retailers in the CBD. In short, crime prevention in the city centre would essentially benefit everyone.

Furthermore, the perceptions of the city can be altered over time to ensure that the city can function well as a space of integration and start to create a common ground for society that promotes tolerance and integration. Urban design is after all "rooted in the utopian and reformist traditions of the past two centuries" (Madanipour, 2006:186); and in South Africa, the city centres are the shared places in which these transitions can start to take place.

In the past two decades there has been a considerable focus on the outlying areas of cities where service provision and basic needs have yet to be met (Freund, 2010 and 2006). Without denying the vital importance of service provision and consideration of the less fortunately located, cities need to maintain strong cores, especially in our context of fragmented sprawl. True tolerance and integration cannot come from the outskirts of fragmented neighbourhoods where interactions between different classes are infrequent and unlikely; it will need to start at the heart of cities.

Durban has in many respects come an extremely long way in creating a more inclusive and tolerant city (Dobson and Skinner, 2009; Robbins, 2005; Freund, 2010; Todes, 2000). The city centre remains vibrant and bustling and a central location for a large consumer market, despite the image of decay and crime. However recent developments such as the promenade indicate that there can be more confidence in the city to provide both integrated and safer environments for everyone, whilst supporting a variety of socio-economic groups and providing spaces for positive interactions.



Fig. 2.36: Newly Painted murals at Warwick Junction (Source: Author ,2014)

Crime and the city: Part 1

A discussion of crime trends
in South Africa and Durban

SECTION 3

SECTION 1

SECTION 2

SECTION 4

SECTION 5

SECTION 6

SECTION 7

SECTION 8

SECTION 9

SAFE HAVENS

VICTIMISATION

CRIMINALISATION OF
NORMAL BEHAVIOUR

FEAR

NIGHT

SHOPLIFTING AND
OPPORTUNISTIC CRIME

DRUG RELATED CRIME

WHOONGA

KEYWORDS 

Crime and the city

Introduction:

Historically cities were created as *safe havens*. Cities were made to protect those within their walls or jurisdiction and areas outside of the city were considered areas of disorder, chaos and danger (Norquist, 1998). The reasons for people flocking to cities included taking advantage of the trade, exchanges and the protection that cities offered. Since the industrial revolution, cities have more frequently become associated with disease, overcrowding, chaos and crime; the country side has often been seen as the antithesis of the city, providing a safe refuge from the ills that cities have brought upon society.

From Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre city to Ebenezer Howard's Garden city, many in the past century have tried to envision a future of a safer and healthier nature that escapes these ills to rekindle a link with nature and escape the city to find peacefulness, self-sufficiency and safety. Suburbs have become the safe havens of choice for many middle class residents. With an ever-rising car ownership rate many have opted for a less chaotic life on the outskirts of the city.

Without delving deeply into this particular part of history, it is clear that cities are no longer considered the safe havens that they once were. Durban's city centre, once a sanctuary from the unregulated hinterland, no longer fulfils this role. This following chapter will investigate the links

between crime and the city. It will analyse Durban's crime statistics in relation to these concepts and in relation to the perceptions held of crime in South Africa in general.

Crime in post-apartheid South Africa:

Crime is seen as one of the largest social challenges faced in post-apartheid South Africa and has been discussed by many in the past two decades (Kruger & Landman, 2008; Samara, 2003; Louw, 1997; Schonteich & Landman, 2001 to mention a few). "Crime is indeed a matter that is on the minds of most South Africans" (Kruger & Landman, 2008).

Furthermore, studies have shown particularly high levels of *fear* of victimisation amongst all South Africans, both victims and non-victims of crime (Shaw and Louw, 1998). In 2007, more than 40% of South Africans knew someone who had been a victim of crime in the 6 months prior the survey being conducted, indicating the high levels of personal contact with victims of crime and explaining the high levels of fear (Kruger & Landman, 2008). Although crime rates have not increased, the fear of crime has grown significantly between 1998 and 2003 (Kruger & Landman, 2008). Furthermore, police studies indicate that many crimes go unreported and that real crime prevalence should range between 60% and 70% higher than the statistical reported crime rates of the South African Police (Schonteich & Louw, 2001).

Reasons for South Africa's high crime rate:

There have been some attempts at explaining the reasons behind South Africa's exceedingly high crime rates, although most of these have been vague and inconclusive and have been criticised for oversimplifying the situation.

Amongst these explanations is that South Africa has faced a period of transition and that many countries, undergoing similar transitions from autocratic rule, have also shown high crime rates and instability (Kruger & Landman, 2008). Whilst social and institutional restructuring take place, new opportunities for crime surface and are taken advantage of (Schonteich & Louw, 2001).

The historical context of South Africa and the criminalisation of normal behaviour is also seen as a factor contributing to the disdain of the law and the prevalence of criminal behaviour. During apartheid, many activities that would be considered normal in a free society were grounds for arrest and violence on behalf of the authorities. Thus actions of violence were often regarded by their perpetrators as legitimate forms of defence against political opponents and oppressors (Schonteich & Louw, 2001). This is particularly relevant during the 1980s when passive resistance had not brought about change and more violent forms of resistance became the norm and a "state of emergency" was declared by the apartheid government.

The 1990s also marked the start of a transition period and saw the break-down of many anti-crime groups within townships and a rise in uncertainty. Political instability and violence was also recorded within the general crime statistic between 1990 and 1993 thus crime rates show significant increases during this time.

Crime tends to increase during periods of political transition coupled with instability and violence. During periods of instability, routine policing activities are diverted towards controlling violence, and crime consequently increases.
(Schonteich & Louw, 2001: 2)

There was an expectation that crime rates would decrease after the advent of democracy in 1994. This was however not the case as crime rates continued to rise in the face of uncertainty. Crime continued to increase until the early 2000s (Schonteich & Louw, 2001), after which the situation stabilised somewhat and saw a turn for

the better (Crime Stats SA, 2014).

Thus it can be argued that a “culture of violence”(Schonteich & Louw, 2001:) has developed due to our unique history of violence as a form of political expression of the dissatisfaction of so many under the previous regime.

The constant violent disruptions in the lives of so many South Africans has in many ways lead to a normalisation of crime as a societal reality. Furthermore, disruption and the dispersal of family members often led to weakened family structures and a decline in ethical or moral references.

Moreover, while the liberation movements' strategy of ungovernability was theoretically directed against the apartheid state, it had other destructive effects. In the process of destabilising black local government, leading violent campaigns against black policemen, and urging a people's war which involved the youth in particular, massive violence was unleashed in black communities which bred a culture of violent lawlessness and a distrust of authority.

Since 1994, little has been done to reverse these tendencies and to draw young South Africans in particular back into a society governed by the rule of law.
(Schonteich & Louw, 2001:)

Furthermore, the high levels of inequality within the country are also seen as a contributing factor. South Africa has had the highest gini-coefficients (a measurement of income or wealth disparity) in the world in 2009 at 63.1(Worldbank, 2014) and in 2011 at 67.8 (UNICEF, 2011). Although there are severe limitations to the use of the gini-coefficients as a measurement of the well-being of a country¹, the fact that South Africa is positioned as having such a large disparity is often seen as the root of many social problems. Such problems are not directly within the immediate influence of the urban designer, but should be noted as part of the context.

Linked to these issues is the vast disparity in service and infrastructural provision (Kruger & Landman, 2008). As discussed in the previous chapters, the country has made a concerted effort to improve service provision to outlying areas. Discontent is often seen as a large contributing



Fig. 3.1: Durban Labour riots during the 1970s (Source: <http://cornel84.wordpress.com/2014/02/26/patriotic-history-trauma-and-memory-work-in-post-apartheid-south-african/>)

1. A gini-coefficient measures the difference in income disparity only within the country without necessarily taking into account the countries overall status. Thus a country can be exceptionally rich or poor with vast inequity and still maintain a low gini-coefficient.

factor to people turning to crime as a way out of a desperate situation; crimes in particular are more prevalent in poorer areas with people having more physical exposure and a lack of protection that people in suburbia can afford.

Furthermore, due to the car-oriented development of the country, pedestrian routes are largely uncatered for with a lack of adequate lighting and surveillance, leading to victimisation and unsafe walking environments in outlying townships as well as within cities. Recently, with the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South African cities have however made concerted attempts at providing safe walkable routes like the Durban Promenade, throughout cities, but have neglected parts of the city not linked to sporting facilities.

Urbanisation, overcrowding and dire situations in urban areas are also seen as a motivator for crime. This sentiment is not a new one; many industrialising cities of the 1800s felt similar effects due to overcrowding and poor living conditions and

cities became known as morally destructive.

A high unemployment rate of 25,5% of the total labour force for South Africa and 30,2% for Durban, is a large contributing factor to high crime rates (Statistics SA, 2014). This combined with a large youth population and a large youth unemployment rate (39% in Durban) also means that youths, who are the most likely perpetrators of crime, have a higher chance of engaging in criminal activities (Schonteich & Louw, 2001).

The rise of organised crime within cities is can also be seem as a major proponent of serious crimes (Schonteich & Louw, 2001). Car-jackings and murders are often linked to larger crime-syndicates, which in the wake of other structures, provides a source of protection and income for those who chose to become part of it. Due to the collaborations allowed in cities, syndicates mostly occur in cities and townships. Durban's CBD has its own share of gangs and drug trafficking groups mainly based around South Beach and Albert Park.

Although the Criminal Justice System cannot be seen as a major influence on crime prevalence, the management thereof can have implications on the effectiveness of crime prevention. This effects the tendency of people to report crimes, their faith in the judicial system, some deterrence of potential offenders and the confidence in the authorities to be able to protect its constituencies against victimisation. (Schonteich & Louw, 2001)

“The general feeling in the country is that the situation is worsening” (Kruger & Landman, 2008: 75). In fact, much of the rhetoric surrounding the state of crime has been about its ever worsening situation and has in many ways indicated a despondency and helplessness to instil change. Although these perceptions are rife within South African society, they simply are not reflected in the slowly but steadily declining statistics. The next section will delve into the statistics in order to gain more insight into crime trends in South Africa and Durban CBD specifically.



Fig. 3.2: Durban protest against criminal activity and drugs in the Point (Source: <http://journalizmiziko.dut.ac.za/picture-of-the-week-2/point-peaceful-march-to-fight-against-illegal-stuff/>)

Crime statistics in South Africa:

The crime and decay of cities was a general trend across the world in the 1970s. A rise in the level of crime in South Africa along with the first migration of businesses out of the city, took place in the 1970 and in the 1980s (Schonteich & Louw, 2001).

Although reasons for these global trends seem vague, there is a relatively clear correlation between economic trends (which are often global) and the rise and fall of crime rates (Mocan & Bali, 2005; 2010).

South Africa has had a “historically high homicide rate” (UNOCD, 2013: 13), but has recently along with many parts of the world, seen a significant decrease in homicide. The international homicide rate per 100 000 population (UNODC, 2014), can be seen as a general indicator of this, however flawed and skewed the measurement might be. (The legal definition of “Homicide” might differ from country to country. Many country’s rates will be influenced by political and military factors, along with frequency of reporting homicides; this might have a large influence on the rate of homicides per capita.) The international homicide rate does however serve as an indication of South Africa’s extreme position. Whilst the world average for 2013 is at 6.9 murders per 100 000 people, South Africa’s corresponding rate is at 31.8 (CrimeStats SA, 2014).

The international homicide rate has decreased from 7.6 in 2004 to 6.9 in 2013 (Crime Stats SA, 2014). This trend is mirrored in South Africa with the rate decreasing from 64.9 in 1995 (UNODC, 2013) to 48.5 in 2000, 39.5 in 2004 and 31.0 in 2012

(UNOCD Data, 2014). This is a decrease of almost 50% within the past two decades, possibly indicating a very slow stabilising condition.

South African cities have faced a lot of media coverage and general hysteria regarding crime (Samara, 2003). In order to understand this trend it is important to come to grips with the reality that cities face in South Africa; the perceptions of crime are fuelled by real events reflected in the statistics, but often skewed by media and perceptions of chaos.

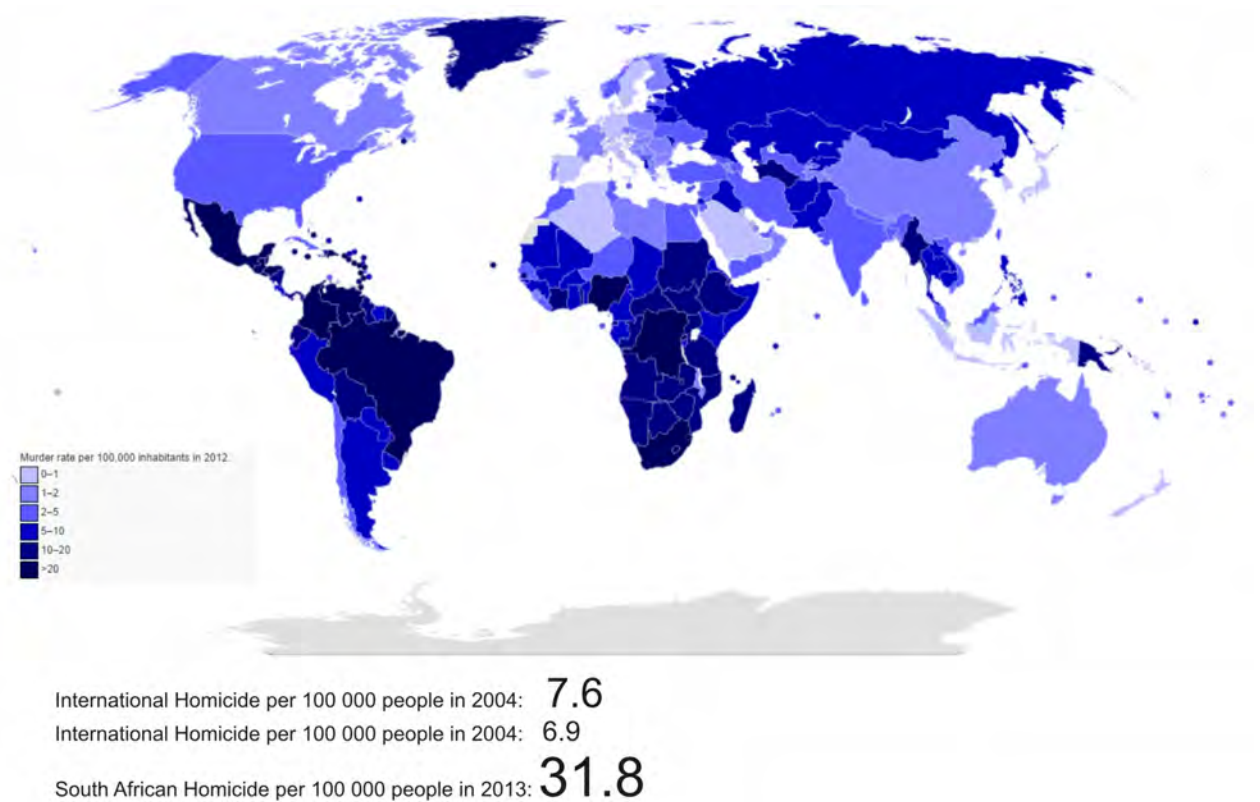


Fig. 3.3: International Homicide rates (Source: www.crimestatssa.co.za,2014)

Looking at South Africa's most dangerous precincts sheds light on this. After Mitchells Plain which ranks that most dangerous in the country, Cape Town's CBD, Johannesburg's CBD and Durban's CBD occupy the next few places on the list in terms of the total number of crimes committed per precinct (Crimestatssa, 2014).

Although this disregards the nature of the crimes, it does explain to a certain degree the fears associated with city centres. Perceptions regarding safety within cities differ from the data. Of the three CBDs, Cape Town has the largest number of total reported crimes (18 379), followed by Durban (16 460) and Johannesburg (14 397) (Crime Stats SA, 2014).

The frequency of people reporting crimes as well as the types of crimes committed might play a

significant role in the statistic, but it is interesting to note that the cities reverse order in terms of perceptions of danger of each of the CBDs. An online survey was completed that suggested that Cape Town is considered the safest city, followed by Durban and then Johannesburg (Numbeo, 2014).

Schonteich and Louw (2001), argue the cities have the highest number of violent crimes with Johannesburg having the highest rates of violence and serious crimes, followed by Pretoria, Durban and then Cape Town. This indicates that perceptions and fears are more linked to the severity of crimes taking place than only to the frequency of crimes in general.

In a particularly emotive passage, Hentschel (2012: 342) describes the state of perceptions regarding

the inner city of Durban and the fear of victimisation:

The fear of becoming a victim of violent crime is strongest at night. When darkness falls over the city the middle classes try to get out of the downtown core. Whoever is left in the inner city must either be courageous, careless, clueless or indeed criminal.

Further anecdotal insight can be gained from a quote that reads "people [in Durban] don't stop at red lights after seven in the evening for fear of being hi-jacked" (Coovadia, 2009:49 in Hentschel, 2012:342). Perceptions of crime are thus also linked to time of day, explaining the absence of people on the streets of the inner city at night.

Perceptions of walking safety in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (from online questionnaire, Numbeo, 2014)

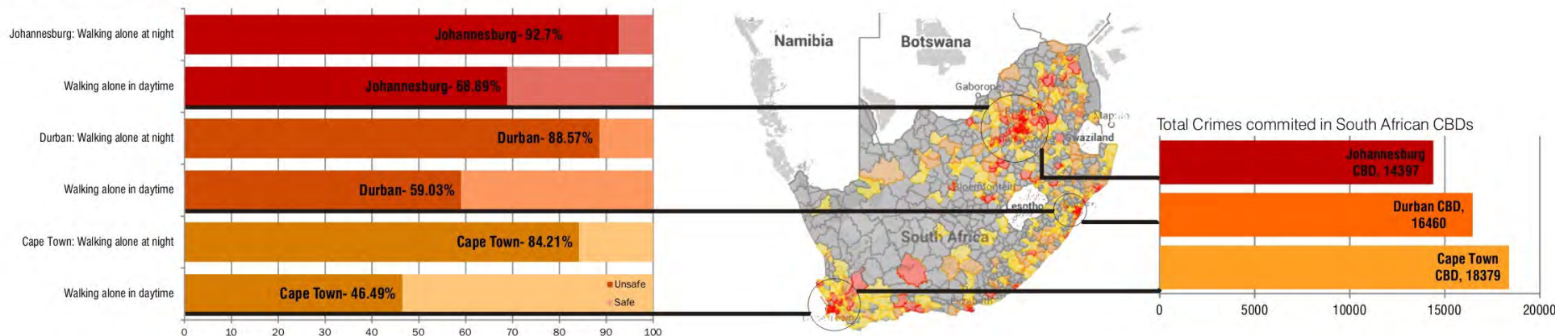


Fig. 3.4: Perceived safety of walking in at day and night in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban alongside reported crime rates (Source: Author, from data from www.crimestatssa.co.za,2014; Map from www.crimestatssa.co.za, 2014)

2. The survey asked for perceptions of safety walking during the daytime and during the night. It must be noted that the selection of people who took the survey might not be representative of overall perceptions, as these surveys were completed by people who had access to internet and the sample size was relatively small (with 36 contributors for Durban, 91 for Johannesburg and 57 for Cape Town). Nevertheless, this does indicate to some degree the perceptions regarding these three cities.

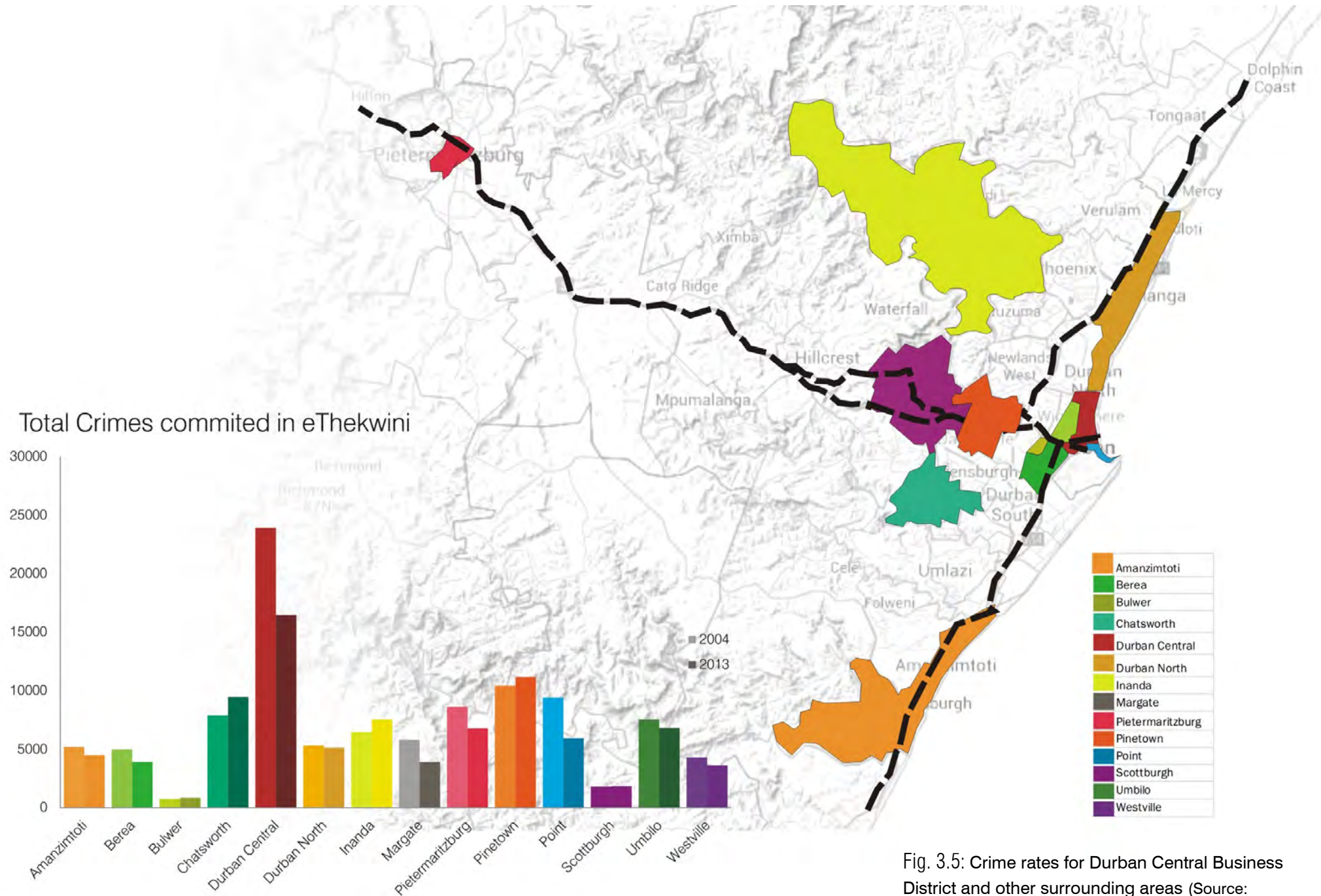


Fig. 3.5: Crime rates for Durban Central Business District and other surrounding areas (Source: Author, from data from www.crimestatssa.co.za, 2014)

In a study of small business owners outside of the CBD of Durban (van Eerden, 2013), it was discovered that a large number of businesses had a particularly negative view of the safety in their city. Johannesburg is considered the least safe, but 54% of businesses outside Durban's CBD felt the city was unsafe for business. This, in combination with 60% of eThekweni businesses' having a "highly negative perception of the sensory environment" (van Eerden, 2013: 144), explains the tendency of businesses to relocate to safer and more sanitised environments in enclaves on the outskirts of Durban.

Crime trends in the context of Durban, South Africa:

The areas surrounding Durban have particularly high crime rates with the township of Inanda having the second highest murder rate in the country, second only to Nyanga in Cape Town. Thus it seems apt to compare the crime rates of the surrounding areas of eThekweni to the crime rates of Durban CBD.

Most areas had significantly lower crime rates than the CBD. There are many people who pass through the CBD due to its importance as a transport hub. This makes the chances of crime taking place higher by virtue of the sheer number of people who come into contact with one another. The high

density and movement of people through the city is also however what makes the city safer through increased surveillance whilst creating economic opportunity for so many.

Furthermore, the type of crimes committed must be considered to understand the particular issues of this area. The total number of crimes committed does not take into account the severity or nature of the offence. Perhaps it might be more indicative of *violence* to look at the specific crimes prevalent in the different cities. Whilst Cape Town has the highest rate of *theft out of vehicles* of all precincts in South Africa, Johannesburg is the most likely place to be a victim of *robbery* and muggings. Durban however, has the country's highest rate for *sexual related crimes* and *shoplifting* and alarmingly high rates of *drug related crime*.

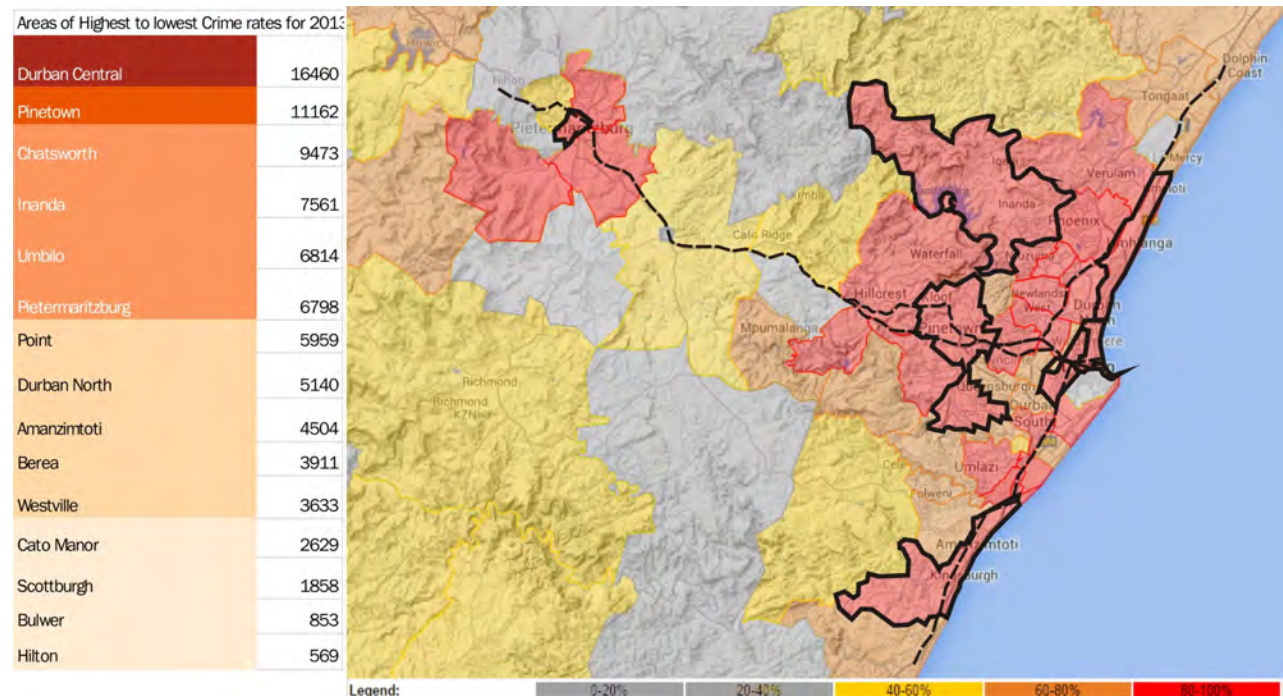


Fig. 3.6: Ranked crime rates for Durban Central Business District and other surrounding areas (Source: Author, from data from www.crimestatssa.co.za, 2014)

Trends in crimes

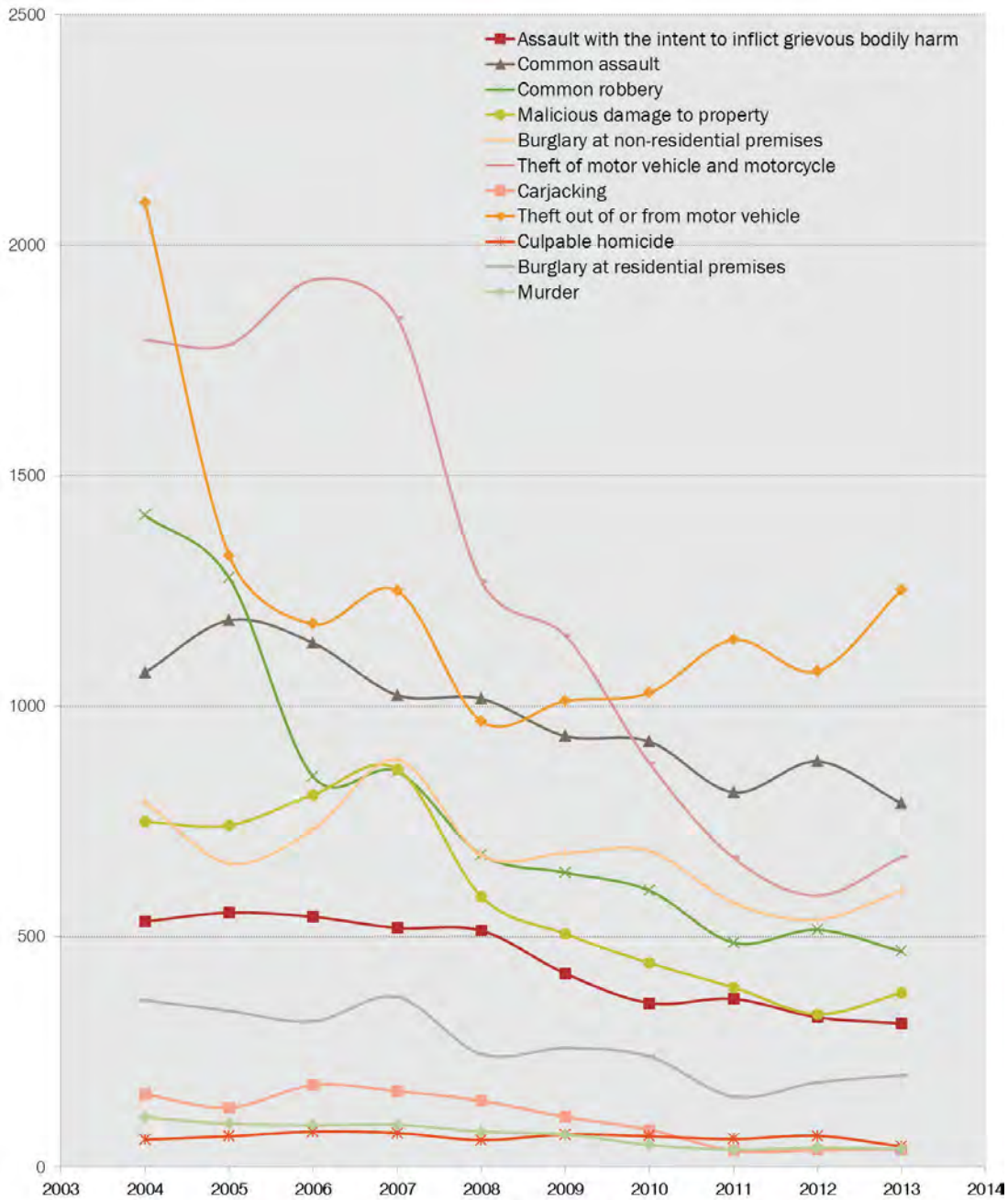


Fig. 3.7: Frequency trends for various crimes in Durban Central Business District (Source: Author, from data from www.crimestatssa.co.za, 2014)

Crimes that are not declining

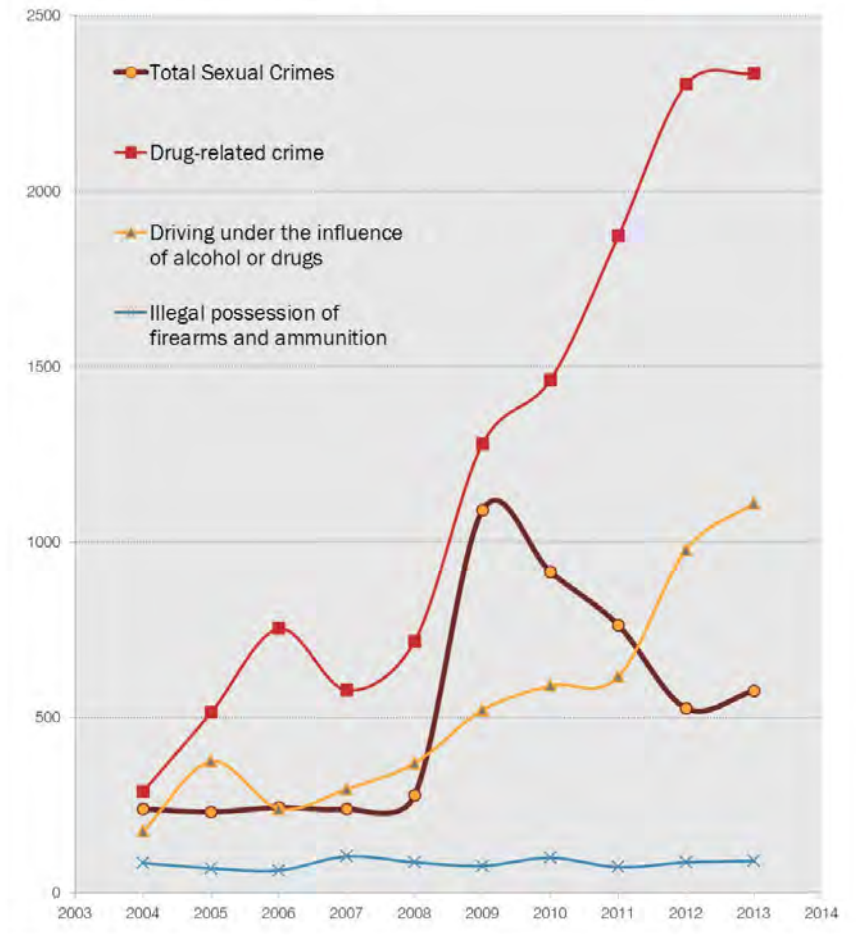


Fig. 3.8: Frequency trends for various crimes not showing a decline in Durban Central Business District (Source: Author, from data from www.crimestatssa.co.za, 2014)

Durban stands out in the regard that the crimes more prevalent in the city can be seen as related to drug use and opportunism as well as domestic crimes. A graph of the frequency of various crimes in the city indicates the prevalence and trend of some of the more frequent crimes. In general, the frequency of most of these crimes has declined in the past few years. Crimes such as common assault, robbery, theft out of vehicles, theft of a vehicle itself and burglary have all decreased in the recent years. (Crime Stats SA, 2014)

A few categories of crimes have seen significantly deviant trends (Crime Stats SA, 2014). Illegal possession of firearms has fluctuated without a clear pattern, possibly indicating external factors

such as increases and decreases in the supply of firearms and changes in policing. Sexual crimes and drug related crimes can be seen as linked specifically to Durban's very recent connection with drugs. A drug called *Whoonga* has, since 2010, reached new heights in Durban's CBD and outlying townships. The drug allegedly consists of various ingredients such as crystal-meth, heroin and HIV anti-retroviral, although samples have shown no traces of HIV ARVs. The drug is seen as particularly physically and mentally destructive and has caused severe social issues and the recent rise of vigilantism against drug users and homeless in and around the CBD in May and June 2014 (news articles by Mngoma, 20 May 2014; Attwood, 25 May

2014; Berea Mail, 10 June 2014; and Chapman, 10 June 2014).

In terms of prevalence of crimes in Durban, *theft not mentioned elsewhere* and *drug related crimes* appear at the top of the list followed shortly by *shoplifting* and *theft out of vehicles* (Crime Stats SA, 2014). Durban also has the highest rate of drunken driving in the country. Most of this points towards a high rate of opportunistic crime, high levels of desperation, possibly combined with high rates of substance abuse. Durban has many clusters of taverns in areas known for criminal activity and drug trafficking.

Durban Central Crimes committed in 2013

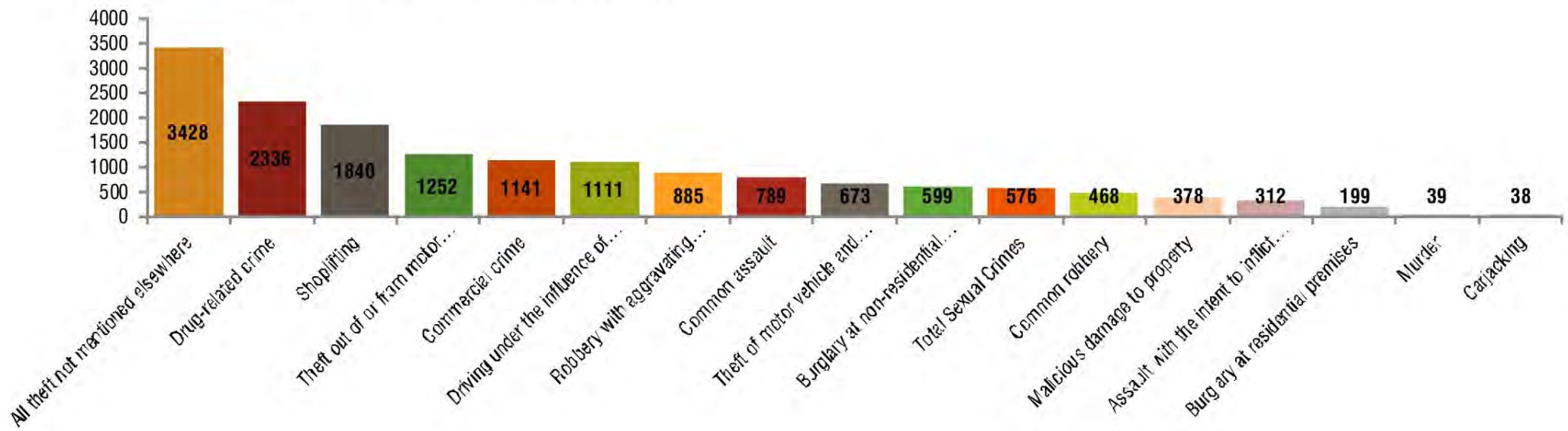


Fig. 3.9: Rankings of frequency of crimes committed in Durban Central Business District from most prevalent to least (Source: Author, from data from www.crimestatssa.co.za,2014)

Durban CBD

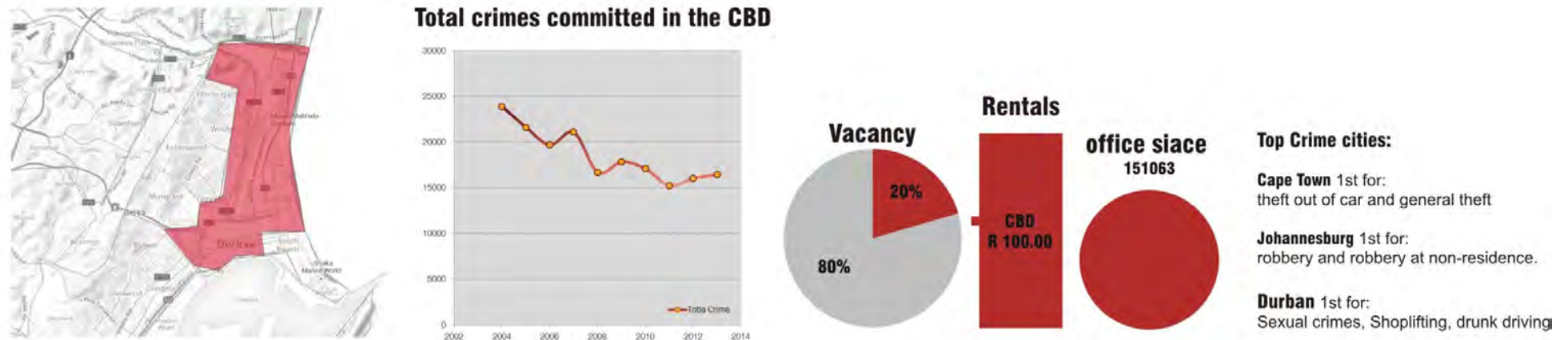


Fig. 3.10: Status quo of Durban Central Business District- High, but declining crime rates, high vacancy rates, low rental values and an abundance of declining office space (Source: Author, from data from www.crimestatssa.co.za, 2014 & SAPOA, July 2014)

It is in the realm of opportunistic crime that urban design principles have the potential to create safer spaces. In creating spaces that give the impression of being well-maintained and under surveillance, significant improvements in opportunistic crime rates become a possibility. There have been several cases studied, including New York and Curitiba, where the lack of tolerance for smaller transgressions and the maintenance of public space has resulted in significantly lower crime rates and safer spaces.

Furthermore, it is through changing peoples' perceptions of the city as a place of potential and

safety, that businesses can flourish to an even greater extent and the city can lure more investment. Over long periods of time this additional interest in the area can create more opportunities. After all, crime and unemployment rates are shown to have a strong correlation (Mocan, 2005). Thus, although the short term goal is for situational crime prevention through urban upgrading, the long term solution would entail a change in perceptions, drawing more investment, enabling economic growth and hence a rise in employment opportunities and inclusivity. Urban design is just one of the tools that can aid in this process.

Crime and the city: Part 2

Crime and place Theories

SECTION 1

SECTION 2

SECTION 3

SECTION 4

SECTION 5

SECTION 6

SECTION 7

SECTION 8

SECTION 9

CRIME AND PLACE

CRIME DISPLACEMENT

HARDWARE RATIONALE

RATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

RATIONAL

SOCIAL SURVEILLANCE

RATIONALE

ROUTINE ACTION THEORY

CRIME PATTERN THEORY

CRIME GENERATORS

CRIME ATTRACTORS

OFFENDER MOBILITY

FACILITIES

PHYSICAL DISORDER

BROKEN WINDOW THEORY

DEFENSIBLE SPACE

BUILDING TYPOLOGIES

TERRITORIALITY

OPEN AND CLOSED SPACE

MIXED USE

CONNECTIVITY

INTEGRATION

SPACE SYNTAX

PERMEABILITY

GATED COMMUNITIES

KEYWORDS 

Crime and Place Theories:

Introduction:

The urban settings that create *crime* and *fear* are human constructions, the by-product of the environments we build to support the requirements of everyday life... The ways in which we assemble these large building blocks of routine activity into urban backcloth can have an enormous impact on our fear levels and quantities, types and timing of the crimes we suffer.

(Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995: 1)

Cities create great spaces of collision and target density that enable trade and positive interaction as well as crime. Crime is as variable across cities as social contexts and characteristics of places. The characteristics of place, social systems and crime are invariably linked and can vary across very small geographical areas such as street blocks (Groff, et al., 2012).

In studies by Eck and Weisburd (1995), the notions of “crime places” and the features of crime hot spots is discussed. This links in with opportunity theories of crime which explains why patterns of criminal activity are generally concentrated around specific places (Braga & Clarke, 2014). Although there might be limits to the efficacy of environmental crime prevention methods, the reduction of opportunities for crime is as relevant in Durban as in any other city; the most prevalent crimes are opportunistic petty crimes such as theft

and shoplifting and more serious crimes can be curbed if there are fewer locations that facilitate them.

The myth of crime displacement:

One of the largest concerns expressed regarding the prevention of crime in specific locations is that it will simply move to a different location. The implementation of crime prevention has often been hindered by the notion of crime displacement (Eck, 1995). These fears usually do not materialise. Displacement of crime is often so dispersed that it becomes inconsequential or is entirely absent.

The volume of crime is dependent as much on the numbers of suitable targets and capable guardians as of likely offenders. Thus, if targets decline and guardianship increases, reductions in crime would be expected to follow without any threat of displacement.

(Clarke and Weisburd, 1994: 167 in Eck, 2014: 20)

Crime displacement can be described as having a half-life; if a node in the city that provides easy targets is upgraded, a small percentage of the crime of that node’s crime might be displaced to a similar node of targets, (perhaps from the upgraded station to an adjacent bus rank). However, if both are upgraded, and there are fewer suitable environments with enough targets, displacement becomes diffused or might not take place at all.

In fact, studies suggest that, in some cases, the opposite may be true (Eck, 1995); crime prevention in specific locations often has a more far reaching

effect beyond the boundaries of the site. This can be seen as the dispersal of benefits of crime prevention.

Looking at various theories of crime allows for a better understanding the dynamics of crime within a city. The following section will thus consider the theories and links between crime and the environment in which it takes place.

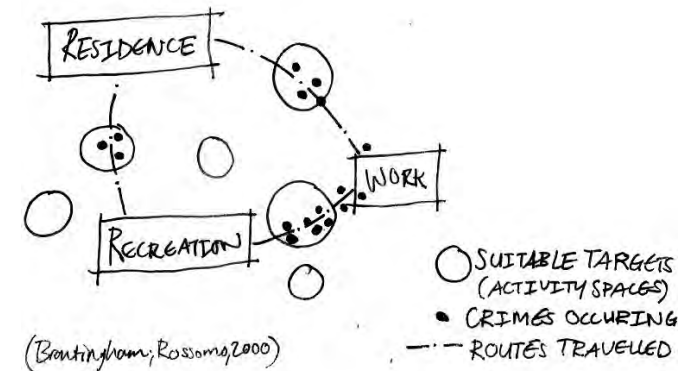


Fig. 4.1: Crime takes place on routes of offenders
(Source: Author, 2014, ideas from Brantingham & Brantingham, 2000)

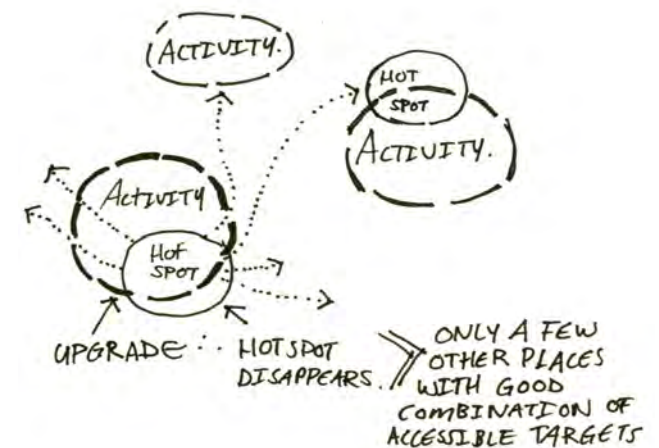


Fig. 4.2 Crime Displacement or Diffusion
(Source: Author, 2014)

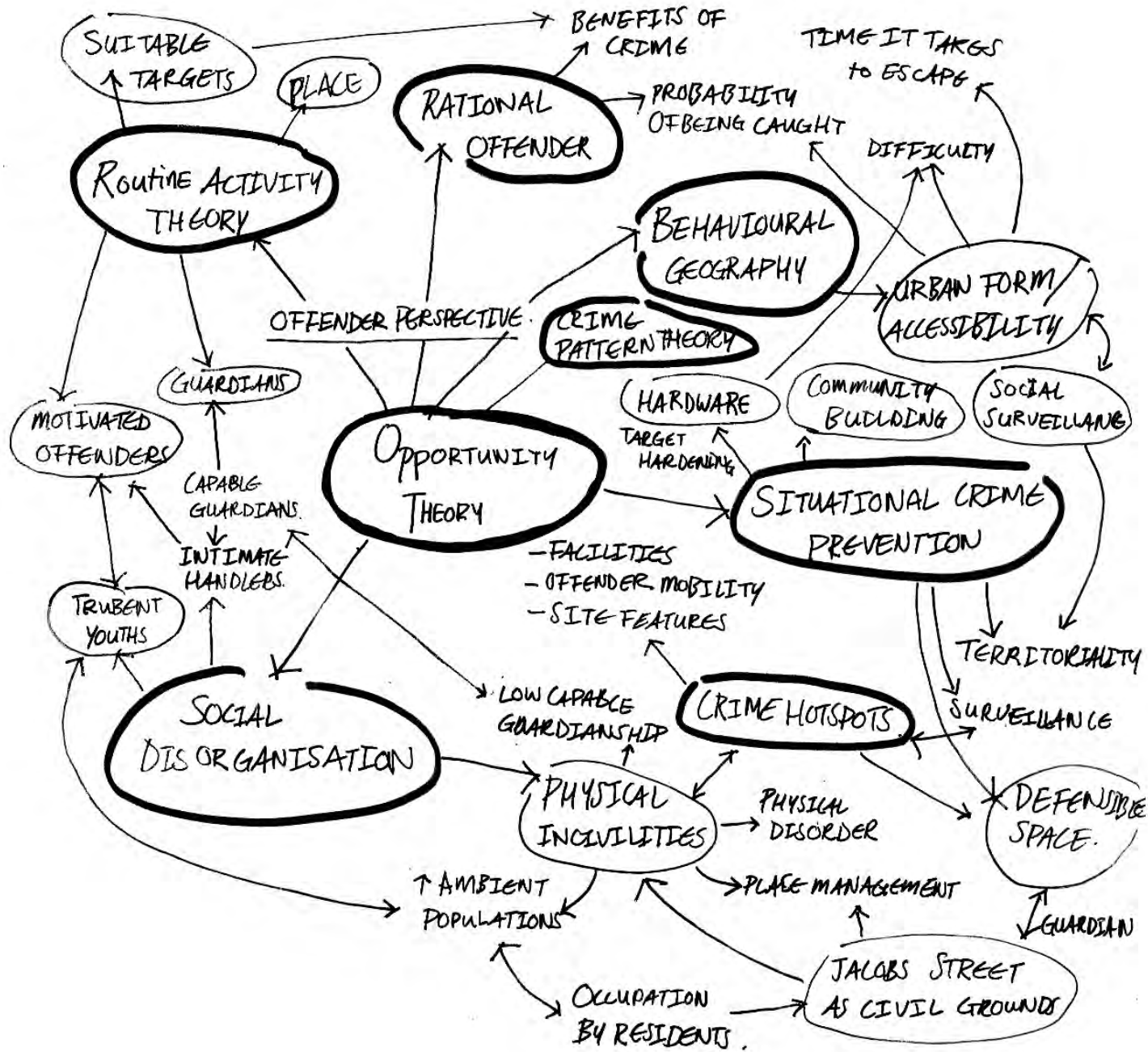


Fig. 4.3: Conceptual Mind Map of crime and place theories (Source: Author, 2014)

The theories of Crime and Place:

Crime has often been associated with socio-demographic features such as poverty, race, income, level of education and youth concentration, but there have been some theoretical developments that have investigated the topic from a more spatial perspective (Nubani & Wineman, 2006).

Out-designing crime:

Within the discourse of crime and design or **Situational Crime Prevention** there are three perspectives: the Hardware Rationale, The Community Building Rationale and the Social Surveillance rationale.

The Hardware Rationale tends to focus on *target hardening* (Nubani & Wineman, 2006). The idea is that the more difficult you make it to commit a crime, the less likely an offender is to offend. This rationale is often linked to Rational Offender Theory (discussed below) which suggests that if risks are high and returns are low, crime is less likely to take place. Cornish and Clarke's (2003) Twenty-Five Methods of crime prevention, play heavily on this.

The Community Building Rationale focuses on *physical site features* that, when carefully considered and maintained can reduce crime. These are features such as lighting, public to private thresholds, the number of units per entrance to a building and symbolic barriers. (This

also links with the more positive side of Rational Offender Theory in a more passive manner.)

The Social Surveillance Rationale assumes that one can, through design, enable better awareness, *passive surveillance* and control of an area by the resident through built form and the layouts of neighbourhoods. This idea has roots in the ideas of Jane Jacobs (1961) that cities are primarily policed by their citizens as well as the theories of Defensible space by Oscar Newman (1972) which will be discussed further on (Nubani & Wineman, 2006).

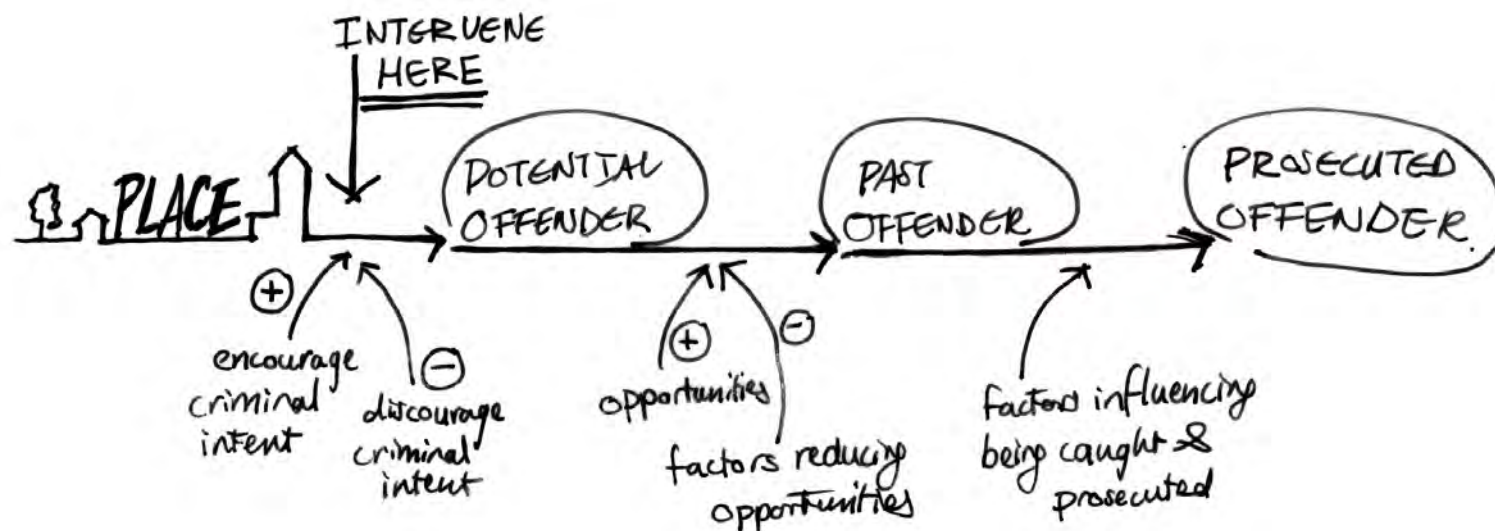


Fig. 4.4: The role of 'place' in crime prevention and risk return analysis of offenders (Source: Author, 2014)

Offender perspective: Crime opportunity theories

Crime opportunity theories focus on the idea that crime is created through the presence of a combination of factors that make crime more or less attractive to criminals. (This generally includes routine activity theory, crime pattern theory, and rational choice theory.)

Routine activity theory focuses on the social aspects of crime outside of the individual. It is based on the idea that crime is created by the social dynamics between motivated offenders, suitable targets and capable guardians of the space. Urban design cannot necessarily intervene in these social dynamics directly, but can perhaps enable guardians by allowing for passive surveillance and ownership. (Braga & Clarke, 2009; Nubani, 2006)

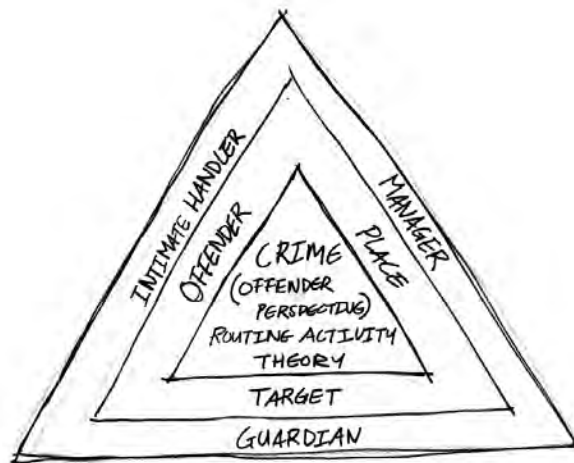


Fig. 4.5: The role of 'place' in crime prevention and risk return analysis of offenders (Source: Author, 2014, reproduced from NSW, 2011)

Crime Pattern Theory (also **Behavioural Geography Theory**) allows us to understand the city as a series of spaces that either disproportionately attract crime or hinder its occurrence. Crime takes place in spaces with suitable targets that are on the regular routes of potential offenders (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995; Nubani, 2006). In *Criminality of Place* (1995), Brantingham & Brantingham explain the city as a series of *crime generators* or facilitators and *crime attractors*. "Crimes are created by the interaction of potential offenders with potential targets in settings that make doing crime easy, safe and profitable" (1995: 1).

Crime generators include places such as street markets, high streets and shopping malls (Braga & Clarke, 2014). These spaces allow for high target densities and opportunities for crime. Although these spaces are often perceived as safe pedestrian spaces, they have high crime rates. These spaces have more *people of every kind*. In

Durban, street trade and busy public spaces that would not be perceived as dangerous are viewed as such due to the high levels of real crime that does take place there as well as the messy sensory environment.

Crime attractors include places such as shebeens, places of prostitution and places with high levels of drug availability. Thus areas around Albert Park and the Point can be considered crime attractors. These spaces would attract more *people with criminal intent* (Braga & Clarke, 2014).

Furthermore, *crime enabler* hotspots occur when there is a change in control or surveillance of an area. These can be created when changes take place that make crimes easier to commit. For example, parents might become more absent in an area due to a change in work patterns, leaving children unattended; dereliction might take place over time; hedges might grow to prevent clear visibility.

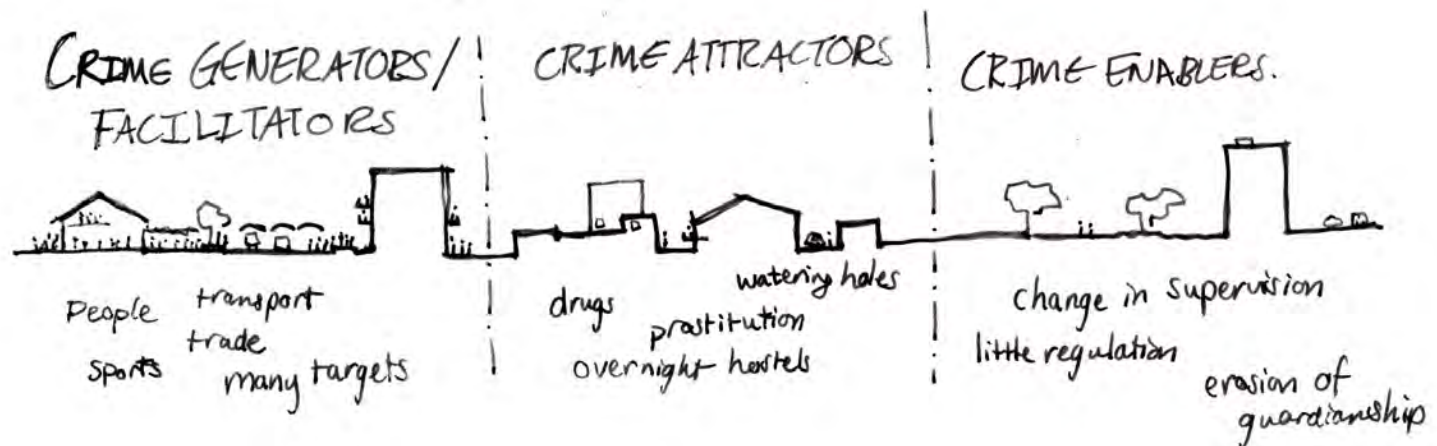


Fig. 4.6: Crime Generators, Crime attractors and Crime Enablers (Source: Author, 2014, ideas from Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995)

Other parts of crime pattern theory include the urban form. Streets permeability (or ways in and out), types of streets and the link from highways are considered indicators of highly rational places to conduct criminal activity (Braga & Clarke, 2014). Here, the presence of bus stops (or taxi stops in South Africa) and escape or arterial routes are seen as good predictors. Thus the accessibility which is desired to make a city vibrant and bring business opportunities, also leads to criminal accessibility, explaining the tendency of South Africans to create gated communities and enclaves at the expense of the other benefits of permeability.

Another theory is the **rational offender/choice perspective**. This ties in with the above; criminals work in terms of risk and return. Thus the probability of being able to escape or go unnoticed plays a large part in choices.

This ties in with the notion of Criminal opportunities (or **opportunity theory**), which explains crime places through *offender mobility*, and physical and social characteristics referred to as *site features* and *facilities*.

Offender mobility relates to access and correlates highways and public transport with increased crime as they allow for an increase of choice for everyone including criminals.

Facilities in the area have a great role to play in crime prevention. “Risky facilities” (Braga & Clarke, 2014) include vacant parking lots, taverns, fast food places, poorly managed blocks of flats and vacant parks, working in a similar way to crime attractors. Other facilities that might hinder the occurrence of crime might include churches and institutional facilities that increase surveillance in the area.

Site features refers to characteristic that make places more or less attractive for criminals. This may include lack of management, the presence of valuable items, lack of guardians or crime controllers, signs of decay and other factors that “indicate acceptable risks and gains” (Braga & Clarke, 2014).

Site features can be seen as one of the indicators linked to the theory of **Social Disorganisation**. This term was first used by criminologists studying

juvenile delinquency in urban areas in 1942 (Shaw & McKay, 1942) to describe “the other side of the tracks”, and has not gained much clarity since (Braga & Clarke 2014). The theory is based on the idea that low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility are indicators of social disorganisation and lead to a declining social structure that leads to delinquency (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Factors such as racial heterogeneity and mixed land use have however proven to have no effect on crime rates (Braga & Clarke, 2014). Social disorganisation is generally seen as the prevalence of two factors: *motivated offenders* or juveniles and *physical incivilities* or disorder (Braga & Clarke, 2014).

“Physical disorder” is seen as one of the features most indicative of social disorganisation leading to crime (Braga & Clarke, 2014). *Physical incivilities* are usually determined by low levels of place management from authorities, a lack of capable

HOT SPOT TYPE	Crimes	Targets	Rate of crimes per target
Crime Generator	High	High	Low
Crime Attractor	High	Low	High
Crime Enabler	Low to High	Low	High
Neutral Space	Low	High or Low	Low

Fig. 4.7: Crime Hotspots (Source: Author, Adapted information from Brantingham & Brantingham, 1995 in Centre for Problem Oriented Policing, 2014)

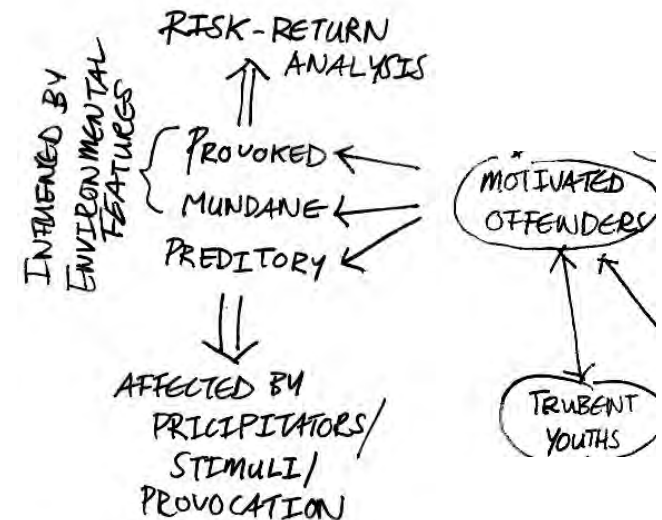


Fig. 4.8: Offenders (Source: Author, 2014); ideas from Centre for Problem Oriented Policing, 2014)

guardianship and a large ambient or transient population (as opposed to resident population that has a vested interest in the place). This leads to places showing signs of decay or negative site features. Urban activist, Jane Jacobs is often seen as connected to theories of the street, public order and incivility and describes the street as one of the most important visual scene that can express civility and informal social control (Jacobs, 1961).

Factors indicating civil disorder are often connected to **Broken Window Theory** (Wilson and Kelling, 1982), whereby physical indication of a lack of care and ownership suggest that offences will go unnoticed. The notion of broken window theory suggests that small indications of vandalism can increase anti-social behaviour and lead to larger crimes. Thus controlling vandalism and monitoring the physical incivilities of an environment can prevent more destructive crimes from taking place.

This was taken up in 1985 as an institutional goal of



Fig. 4.10: New York Subway line circa 1970s-80s (Source:www.brooklynexposed.com, 2013)

the New York City Transit Authority under the leadership of David Gunn who suggested an intensive campaign against vandalism and graffiti on subways. Later, Bratton, the head of New York Transit Police at the time, suggested a “zero tolerance” policy towards fare-dodging. If small offences such as vandalism and fare-dodging were curtailed, the likelihood of larger crimes taking place on the metro system was less plausible. There are however many theories of how New York managed to curb their crime rate. Broken Window theory has largely been seen as theoretically unsound due to false causality, even though a correlation does exist (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Rather, these are indicators of social disorder or cohesion that influence crime rates. In Durban, many areas such as Albert Park and South Beach show clear signs of “broken windows”, but the superficial covering up of vandalism will not necessarily lead to any reduction in crime.

Physical incivility in the sense of vandalism is linked more to *fear* and *perceptions of lawlessness* and crime than anything else. This is definitely the case with Durban, with many finding the sensory environment of the CBD unpleasant (van Eerden, 2013). “Vandalism, litter and graffiti are known to make people feel uneasy, to raise the fears of crime in an area, but do not often constitute the territorial markers of actual crime hot spots... the public view of ‘crime’ often turns out to be tied to the presence of noise traffic, beggars, alcoholics and contact between groups of ‘different’ people as much as to criminal code events” (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1995: 2). Thus the actual effects of additional street lighting or a lack of vandalism will not necessarily affect any change in the crime rate,

but can change perceptions significantly. These have been seen as “cosmetic fallacies” (Hentschel, 2012: 348), that deny the need for societal reconstruction. However, in the realm of the urban designer, social reconstruction is not a direct option, and one can hope that through adjustments of the built environment, these perceptions can be changed and people can take pride in the city and ownership of it.

A further theory of **collective efficacy** suggests that communities of strong social cohesion where individuals feel *responsible* for intervention on behalf of the greater good, have lower crime rates. This is applicable in neighbourhoods. In all areas of the city crime rates are linked to informal social control, and guardianship, and effective management of spaces. Thus it is seen as a possible form of crime prevention to strengthen community organisations. Here, the notion of **Business Improvement Districts (BIDs)**, which are usually public-private partnerships, arises as an alternative to social networks of guardianship in residential areas (Braga & Clarke, 2014). These have proven to be relatively successful in curbing crime in small particular areas, and have been used specifically in Cape Town by the Cape Town Partnership.

The above theories are concerned with the incentives of offenders to commit crimes. Other theories have also developed over the years to explain the dispersal of crime across cities, such as Defensible Space theories and Space Syntax Limited’s work which considers the role of connectivity of streets in creating opportunities for crime.

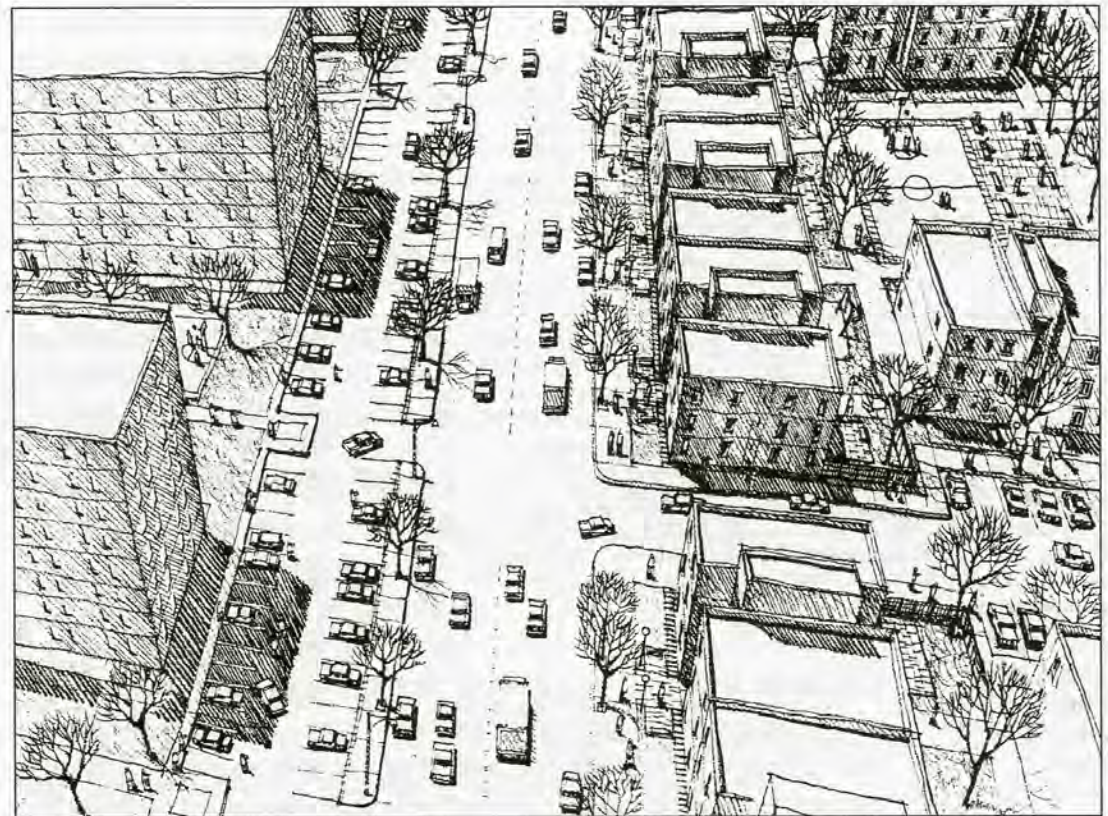
Defensible Space and Crime:

Defensible space theory follows the same logic as the social surveillance rationale discussed previously. Defensible space was first coined by Oscar Newman in 1972. The core idea of defensible space is to structure the urban environment to allow for people to *control and supervise* the areas surrounding their homes. “Defensible Space relies on self-help rather than government intervention” (Newman, 1996: 9). Newman called for the restructuring of environments to allow for more appropriate public to private gradients, natural surveillance and less anonymous public space in which crime could take place. Instead, through design, residents would be encouraged to adopt an attitude of *territoriality* and *ownership* towards spaces. This would thus effectively increase the capable guardianship (mentioned as a key component in routine action theory).

It is perhaps useful to take a closer look at the discussion on defensible space provided by Newman (1996). In the wake of the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe, a notorious highrise social housing project in St Louis, USA, Newman began working on the notions of Defensible Space. The large modernist social housing project, demolished in 1972, had been described as a haven for criminals, whilst the social housing neighbourhood of row-houses across the road, Carr Village, had similar demographics, but continued over the years as a well-functioning community, lacking the social ills that Pruitt-Igoe seemed to condemn its inhabitants to.

This led to a study of **housing typologies** and their ‘defensibility’. The typologies of *highrises*, *walkups* and *single-family homes* (including *detached*, *semi-detached* and *row houses*), formed the basis of his studies. This illustrated how different typologies create or inhibit territoriality and control over the surrounding spaces. Here the single-family homes seem to allow for better defence of private and semi-private spaces. It is however important to note that these factors have been applied to social housing neighbourhoods and that other typologies (ie. higher densities with mixed use on street level) might be more appropriate in urban centres.

Fig. 4.11: Newman’s Drawing of high-rise and walk-ups built at same density (Source: Newman, 1996: 21)



Typology	Highrise	Walkup	Single-Family Home		
			Row house	Semi-detached	Detached
How Defensible is your space? (Territoriality)					
Indoor public space	A lot: no ownership	A Bit: some ownership of semi-public space	No public indoor space: full ownership of indoor spaces	No public indoor space: full ownership of indoor spaces	No public indoor space: full ownership of indoor spaces
Indoor private space	Only interior of apartment	Only interior of apartment private. Some semi-private circulation spaces			
Outdoor public space	A lot: no ownership	A Bit: some ownership of semi-public space	Mostly private outdoor space: almost full ownership of outdoor spaces	Mostly private outdoor space: almost full ownership of outdoor spaces	No public outdoor space: full ownership of outdoor spaces
Outdoor private space	No private outdoor space	No private outdoor space			
Families per entrances	Many: no ownership	A few: some ownership	Private: full ownership	Private: full ownership	Private: full ownership
Territoriality over street	Relatively Detached from street	Street within sphere of influence	Street within sphere of influence	Street within sphere of influence	Street often not under surveillance
Density (or safety in numbers)	High Density (up to 195 families per block)	High to Medium (20-40 du/acre or 50-100 du/h)	Medium (18-38 du/acre or 44-93 du/h)	Medium to Low density (12-16 du/acre or 30-40 du/h)	Low density (1-10 du/acre or 2-24 du/h)

The tables alongside draw on Newman's analysis of these typologies and rates the typologies in terms of the *territoriality* attributes of their features.

Newman's study (1996: 23-27) of the significance of social and physical factors of social housing neighbourhoods specifically on the crime rate produced the following results: The social variables of most importance were the percentage of the population receiving welfare, the percentage of single-parent families and disposable income per capita. Physical factors included (in order of significance) the building height, number of units per entrance, the total number of units in a project and number of other social housing projects in the area.

Fig. 4.12: Typologies and territoriality (Source: Author, adapted from Newman, 1996: 13-20)

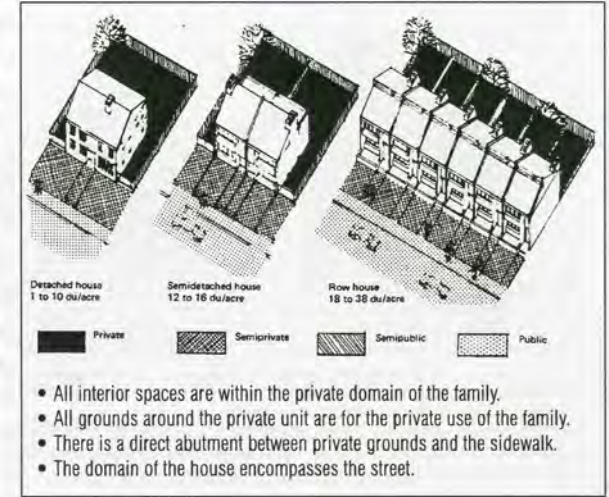
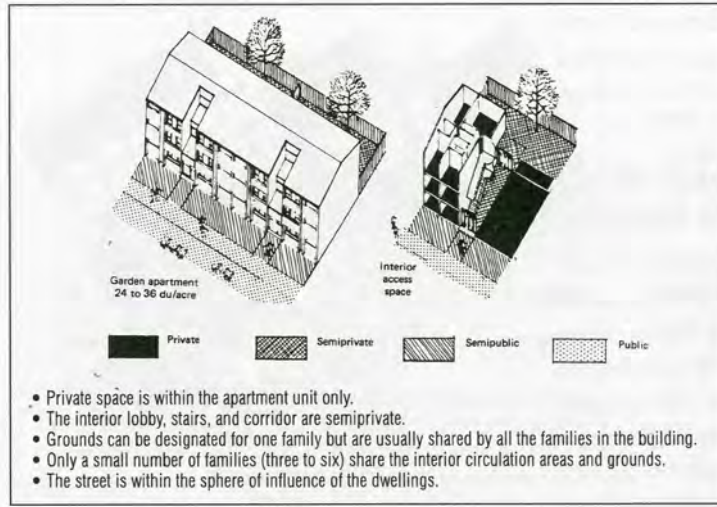
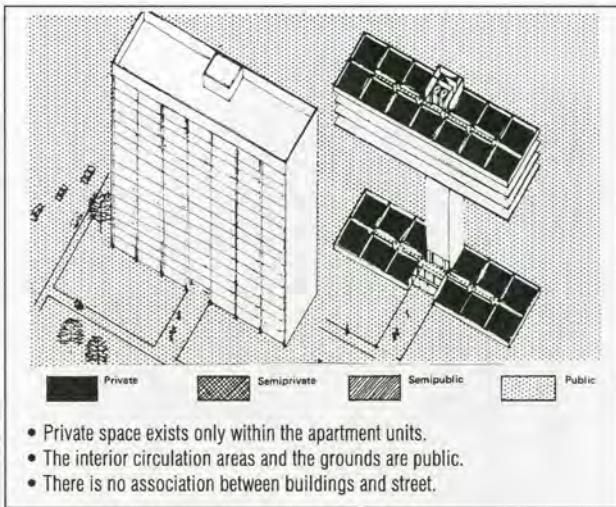


Fig. 4.13- 4.15: High-rises, Walkup buildings and Single family houses and there territoriality (Newman, 1996: 15-17)

Typology	Highrise	Walkup	Single-Family Home		
			Row house	Semi-detached	Detached
How defensible is your space? (Territoriality)					
Indoor public space		• •	• • •	• • •	• • •
Indoor private space	• • •	• • •			
Outdoor public space		• •	• • •	• • •	• • •
Outdoor private space					
Entrances per family		• •	• • •	• • •	• • •
Territoriality over street	•	• • •	• • •	• •	•
Density (or safety in numbers)	•	• • •	• •	• •	

Fig. 4.12: Typologies and territoriality (Source: Author, adapted from Newman, 1996: 13-20)

Through a regression analysis, it was found that receiving welfare was the most important factor, followed shortly by two physical factors: the building height and the number of units or families using a single entrance.

These have implications of surveillance and territoriality. Building height reduces the resident's connection to the road (surveillance) and increases the number of apartments. Thus an individual will feel less responsible towards a space as the responsibility is effectively divided between all those surrounding the space. The number of units per entrance works in a similar way; people feel less ownership of the entrance and lose the ability to distinguish between who belongs there and who is an intruder when so many have access to a building. More residents per entrance also make it more difficult to agree upon a code of conduct with a space, once again reducing the individual's ability to control the environment. (Newman, 1996: 23-27)

These studies were done on social housing schemes, but in modern affluent high-rises with effective body-corporates, people can be employed to man the public circulation spaces and thus take ownership of it.

These ideas of Defensible Space led to the development of ideas surrounding Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). CPTED is defined as "the use of the built environment in reducing fear of crime and incidence of crime and improving the quality of life" (Crowe, 2000 in Nubani & Wineman, 2006: 416).

Through a combination of the theories discussed in

More recent studies have shown some interesting elaborations and contractions of Defensible Space studies that suggest that these issues are more complex in nature. Defensible Space studies were done for lower-income groups in residential areas with a slight prejudice against flats (Hillier and Shabbaz, 2008), whilst other studies were done in large less economically destitute urban areas with some idealism. Other studies such as Budd's study of typologies (1999) along with other more recent empirical studies, suggested that, once socio-economic factors were accounted for, "flats were

the safest dwelling type, followed by terraced houses, semi-detached houses and finally detached houses, though the more often quoted raw data said the inverse" (Hillier and Shabbaz, 2008: 4).

Hillier and Shabbaz discuss the variables of typologies that, in their studies on London, had noticeable implications for crime. In their study only two variables had an effect on crime: the socio economic class of the inhabitants and the number of sides of a building exposed the public, with flats being the safest.

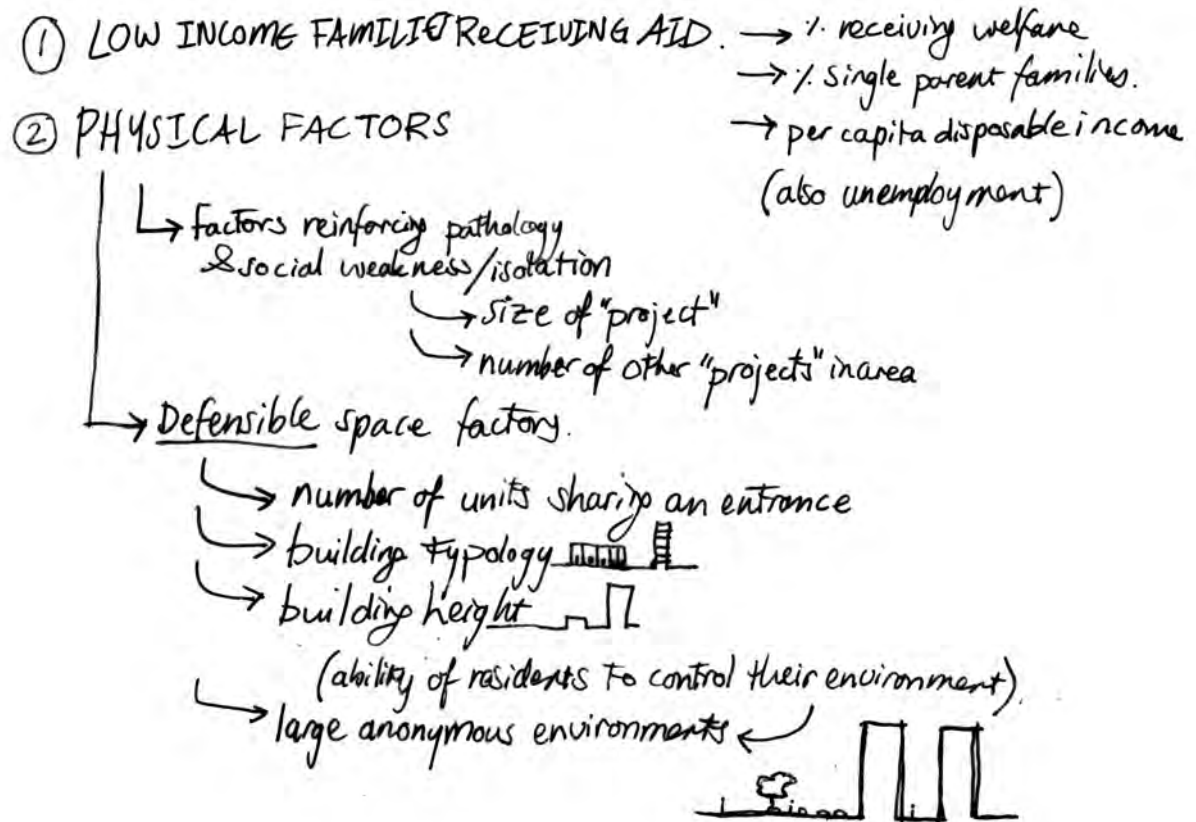


Fig. 4.16: Factors influencing criminal activity (Sources: Author, illustration of ideas from Newman, 1996)

In terms of density, it was found that the density on the ground level was most important, as it resulted in more eyes on the street. (It must be noted however that these areas of London probably do not have flats where multiple families stay in one informally subdivided apartment to make ends meet. Higher densities are a positive factor on the street, when administered appropriately above ground.)

The above table explains the differing views of various groups of theories. In many ways the differences can be largely attributed to the places in which studies took place as well as an oversimplification of complex incentives and disincentives for crime.

Hillier and Shabbaz's study of crime data of London (2008), grapples with some of the questions raised by this table. Both the open and closed views explained in the above tables have some incorrect and more correct statements. The applicableness of these statements also heavily depends of the areas.

	SafeScape ("Open" Solutions)	Defensible Space ("Closed" Solutions)
Public vs. Private	Maximise commons to promote interaction and sense of community	Maximise private areas to create defensible space; create a sense of community through smaller developments with fewer strangers.
Uses	Mix uses to provide activity and increase eyes on street	Mixed use reduces residential control and therefore increases crime
Streets and footpaths	Encourage walking and cycling, increase surveillance through a grid street pattern	Limit access and escape opportunities to provide more privacy and increase residential control
Alleys	Face building towards alleys to provide eyes on the alley	Limit access and escape opportunities to provide more privacy and increase residential control
Autos	Build homes close to the street , forcing parking to be on the street or in rear courtyards	Autos are safest in garages or visible in front of the house; rear courtyards facilitate burglary
Density	High density to promote activity , sustain public transit, and reduce sprawl.	Density creates vulnerability when it increases common areas or unsafe parking

Fig. 4.17: 'Safe' space & Defensible space (Source: Table replicated from Town & O'Toole 2005, in Hillier & Shabbaz, 2008: 3)

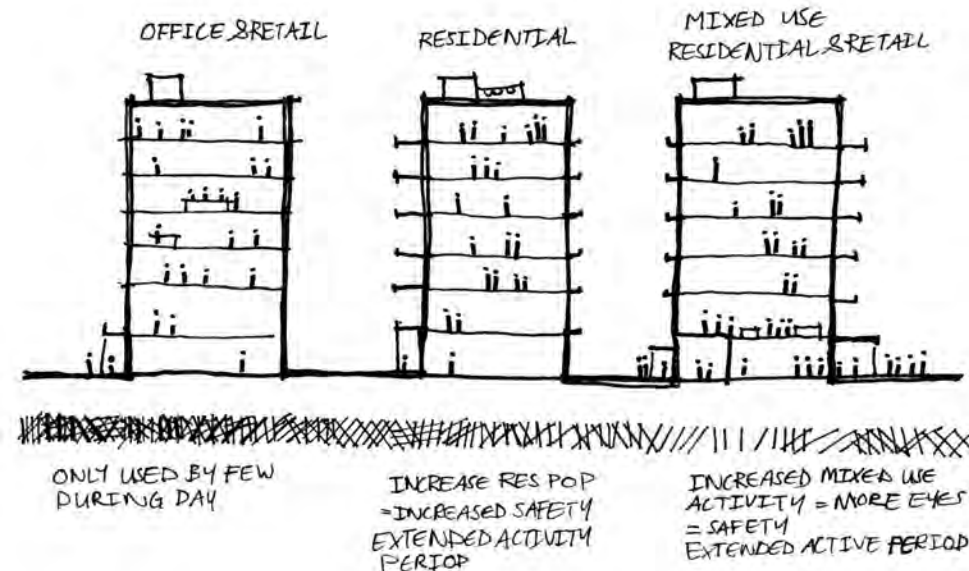


Fig. 4.18: Effect of land-use on surveillance & crime (Source: Author, ideas from Hillier & Shabbaz, 2008: 3)

The movements of people within a city will also cause different crime hotspots to be activate at different times of the day. Crime generally takes place in streets surrounding a high-street, where criminals can prey off the activity whilst remaining hidden. During night, crime away from these streets towards the now less active high streets where some targets can still be found. (Hillier & Shabbaz, 2008)

Patterns of different types of crime within areas is also interesting. Whilst pick pocketing takes place in active spaces (crime generators), robbery usually takes place in well connected areas with fewer people but still enough targets and burglary patterns are more diffused across cities due to the target not being a person in a public space. (Hillier & Shabbaz, 2008)

Specific attention has been paid to the concept of connectivity and permeability in terms of their effects on crime. Many studies have been done regarding this issue, thus the next section will consider this factors particular links to crime.

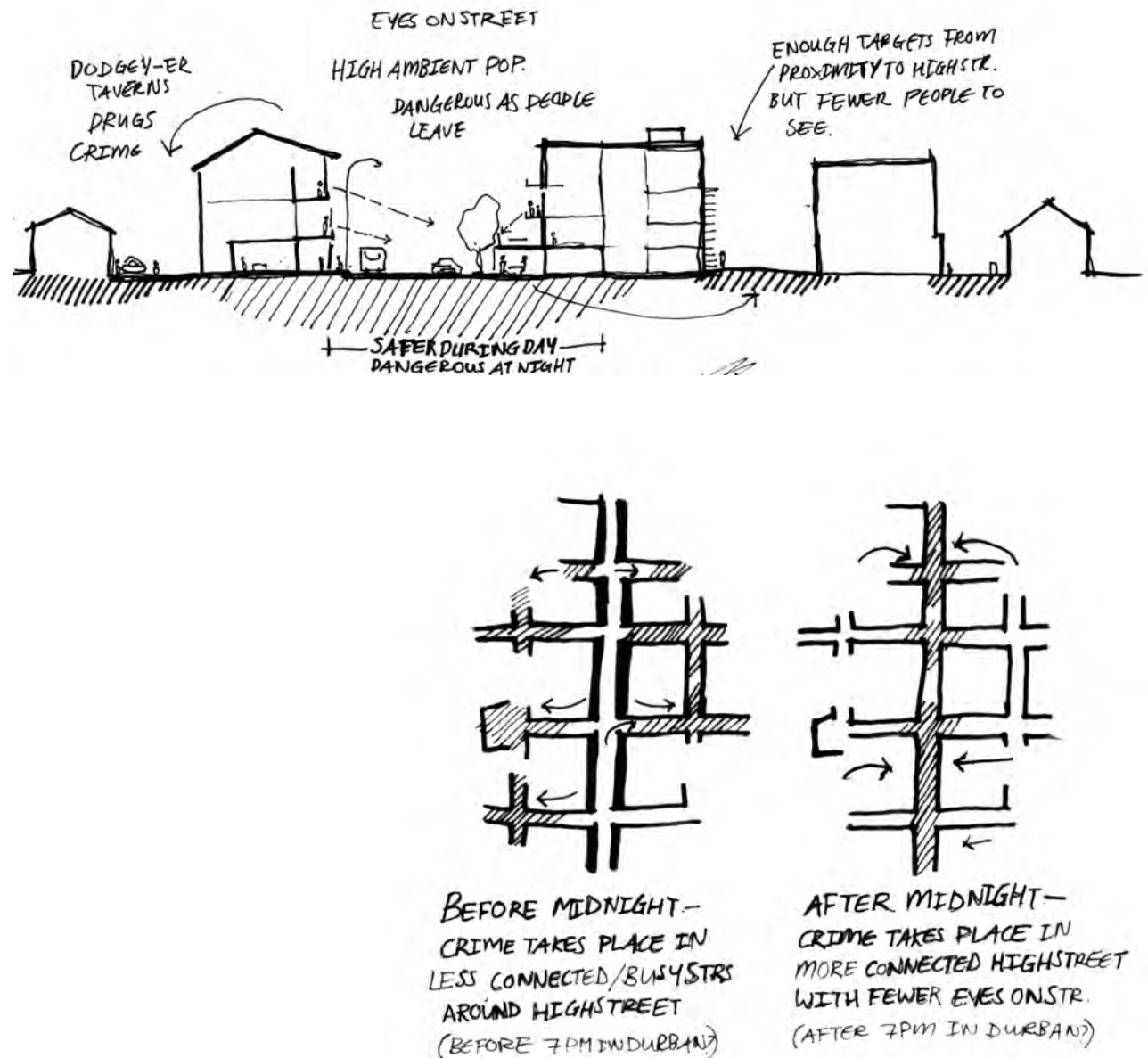


Fig. 4.19-4.20: Crime during different times of the day (Source: Author, ideas from Hillier & Shabbaz, 2008)

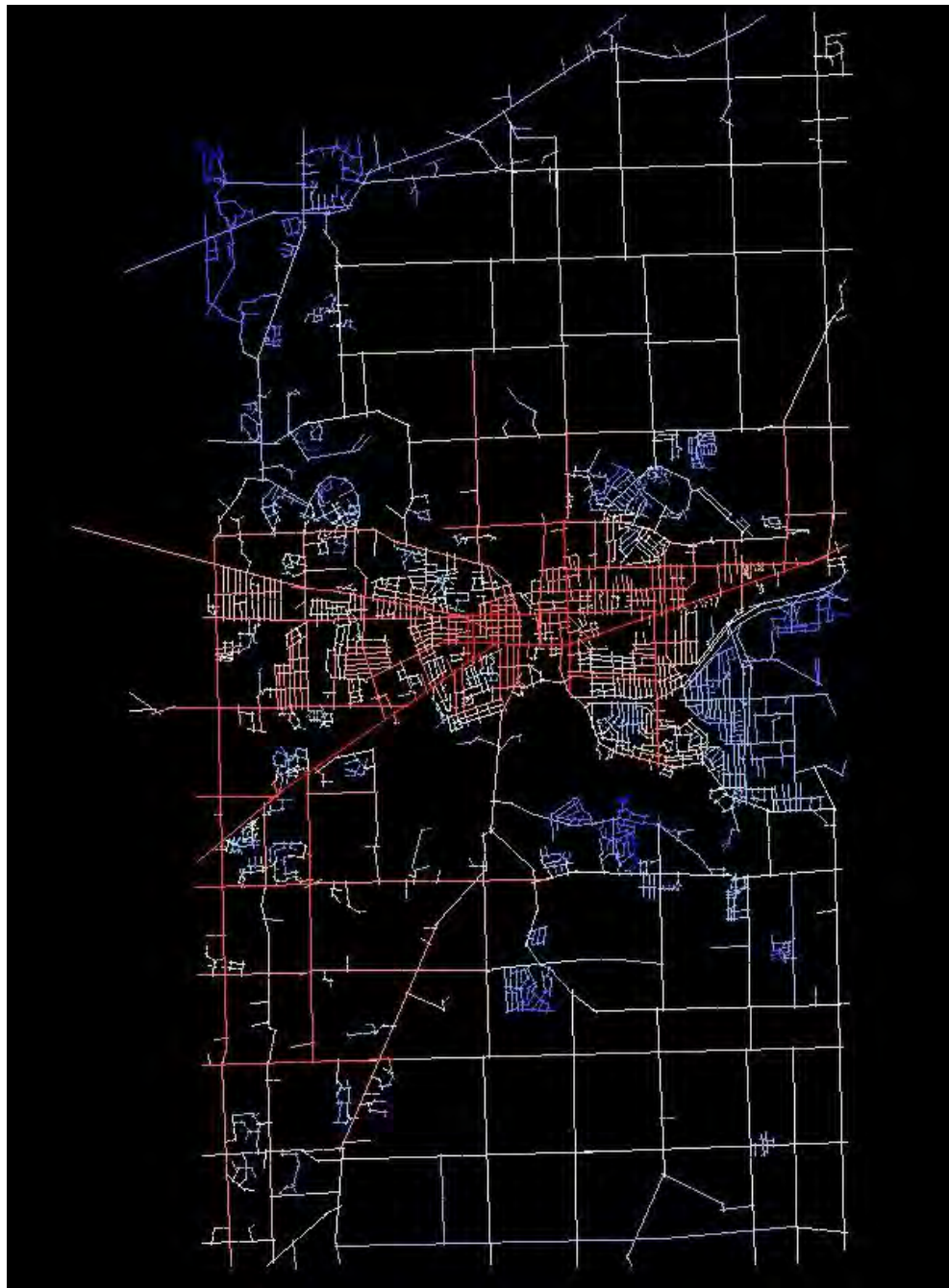


Fig. 4.21: Space Syntax Axial Map of Ypsilanti, Detroit (Source: Nubani and Wineman, 2006)

Connectivity, Space Syntax and Crime:

The notion of connectivity and its effect on crime and vibrancy has been a heated topic of discussion and has been investigated by Space Syntax Limited at the University College of London (Hillier & Shabaz, 2009, Nubani & Wineman, 2009 and many others). Many of the issues discussed are of great concern to urban design and raise questions regarding through-movement, gated developments, permeability, cul-de-sacs and the role of connectivity.

Two Space Syntax measures are the connectivity and integration of neighbourhoods and street segments. A street segment is defined as a straight stretch of road of road with a visual connection from one end to another. Connectivity calculates the number of intersecting streets with that segment whilst integration calculates the ease of getting from all other streets in the spatial system to that street segment.

In terms of connectivity and access, some literature (Shu and Huang, 2003) suggests that the more locally and globally integrated (using the above definition) a neighbourhood is as a whole, the safer it will be. These studies were done in Northern Taiwan. This seems to have a greater effect on low-income communities, suggesting that the benefits of social integration possibly outweigh or counter the high crime rates of low-income communities. Other studies, conducted in Austin, Texas, suggests that the more connected and integrated a neighbourhood, the lower the crime rate (Shu, Huang, Jones and Fanek, 1997). These studies mentioned above, along with studies by Hillier and

Shu (2000) however, looked at the *mean connectivity* of the neighbourhood, not the single street segment. Furthermore, studies suggest that connectivity only helps because of the increase of people on the street, through increased surveillance, and the correlation will only be true for areas that have a walking culture (Nubani & Wineman, 2006).

When considering connectivity of a single street segment, the opposite comes to light; the more connected a street segment, the higher the crime rate (Nubani & Winemani, 2006). “Neighbourhood permeability is ... one of the community level design features most reliably linked to crime rates, and the connections operate consistently in the same direction across studies: more permeability, more crime” (Taylor, 2002: 419 in Armitage, 2010).

High crime rates in these permeable and connected streets are however curbed more significantly by the introduction of *eyes on the street* (measured by youth concentration and the presence of land owners), than their less connected counterparts. *Territoriality* (a key attribute of Defensible Space), along with capable guardianship, is thus vitally important in well-connected areas. These factors have less effect in poorly connected areas.

Hillier and Shabbaz’s study of London streets (2008) also have inferences for the effect of permeability. Here, local movement was seen as positive whilst larger through-movement was seen as negative. More integrated street segments were found to be safer than other areas when they have high numbers of dwellings and shops and less safe than other streets when they have fewer dwellings.

Thus, in terms of the effect of mixed use on a street segment, mixed use has the tendency to make well connected streets safer and has a similar moderating effect to more owners and people in an area. Furthermore, it is considered most important to design for eyes on the street in more permeable areas. Areas should be “permeable enough to allow movement in all directions but no more. The over-provision of poorly used permeability is a crime hazard” (Hillier & Shabbaz, 2008: 26).



Fig. 4.22: Map of recorded crimes in Ypsilanti, Michigan (Source: Nubani and Wineman, 2006)

This suggests that in a highly permeable environment such as Durban, enabling surveillance and ownership becomes very important in mitigating the effects of increased access. Furthermore, when considering South Beach, an area notorious for crime, there are many small streets and alleyways that break from the regular grid of Durban. These streets are disjointed leading to an illegibility and have more intersections leading to vulnerability for those passing through the area. Thus whilst the area is extremely permeable, many streets are badly connected to the rest of the grid; there can be good and bad permeability. Permeability needs to be connected to surveillance and ownership on the street corner in order to be beneficial.

Other aspects of urban form have been connected to crime rates, such as the cul-du-sac.

A review of relevant research suggests that the cul-de-sac layout is favoured by the majority of criminological literature. However, urban designers highlight the negative features of this low permeability layout (including the increase in travel distances and therefore reliance upon the motor vehicle).

(Armitage, 2010)



Fig. 4.25: Road lengths in the precinct study area of South Beach, with many small road connecting to major roads and providing opportunities for crime just out of sight, but connected to larger routes. (Source: Author, data from NGI, 2006)

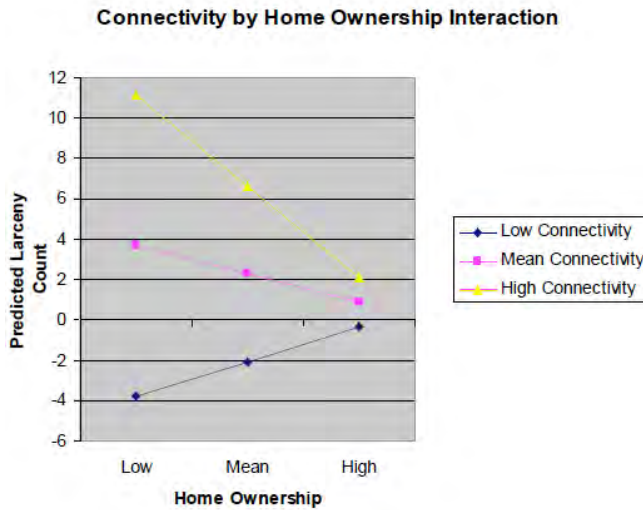


Fig. 4.23: Plots of effects of connectivity and integration by home ownership on larcenies (Source: Nubani and Wineman, 2006)



Fig. 4.24: In the well-connected regular grid of Durban, the length of roads can indicated the connectivity and hierarchy of the road. (Source: Author, data from NGI, 2006)

Hillier and Shabaz (2009), using Space Syntax methods have claimed however that the cul-de-sacs is the unsafest urban street form as leaky cul-du-sacs lead to crime and do not allow for surveillance from people on the street as it discourages pedestrian movement.

The road intersection is also a point of interest. In a study of crime locations in Ypsilanti Michigan in America, which falls within the Detroit region (Nubani & Wineman, 2006), it is clear that crimes take place at the most accessible points of neighbourhoods, where roads intersect. Crimes appear to usually take place around the street corners. In Durban, this also happens to be where most taverns and bars are located, still gaining from the activity of the street, but just out of sight from those on the main axes.

The following table provides a brief summary (from Armitage, 2010) of studies done around urban form and street layouts. I have included some possible reasons mentioned for these findings.

this section, one starts to understand the myriad of factors that influence the prevalence of crime. It is however also important to note that most of these theories have been developed in the global North and that they cannot necessarily be directly applied to the extreme case of South Africa without careful consideration and the knowledge that the context is relatively unique. It is clear that different areas of different cities will be affected more by some variable than by others. It is thus necessary to consider each city as a unique and interdependent network of areas.

Studies reveal that:	Literature/ Study reference:	Possible reasons given
Being located on a development with high levels of permeability/connectivity/through-movement increases the risk of crime	Bevis and Nutter (1977) Rubenstein et al (1980) Taylor and Gottfredson (1987) Van der Voordt and Van Wegen (1990) White (1990) Poyner and Webb (1991) Beavon et al (1994) Mirlees-Black et al (1998) Rengert and Hakim (1998) Hakim et al (2001) Taylor (2002) Nubani and Wineman (2005) Yang (2006) Armitage (2006)	More people, more targets, more access, more escape routes, more opportunities for crime. But can be curbed by surveillance and ownership
Being located on a travel path increases the risk of crime	Letkemann (1973) Brantingham and Brantingham (1984) Feeney (1986) Gabor et al (1987) Poyner and Webb (1991) Wiles and Costello (2000) Rengert and Wasilchick (2000)	Crime happens along routine paths of offenders. Routine action and Crime pattern theory
Being located on a cul-de-sac , or a development with low connectivity, reduces the risk of crime	Bevis and Nutter (1977) Johnson and Bowers (2010)	No people, no access, no easy targets, no crime
Being located on a leaky cul-de-sac increases the risk of crime	Hillier (2004) Armitage (2006)	Increased opportunities for escape, less risk for offenders.
Closing off streets reduces crime	Matthews (1992) Atlas and LeBlanc (1994) Newman (1995,1996) Lasley (1998) Zavoski et al (1999) Eck (2002)	Fewer opportunities for escape and through-movement, fewer people, fewer targets, fewer crime incidents
Being located on a development with high levels of permeability/connectivity/through-movement reduces the risk of crime	Hillier and Shu (1998) Shu (2000) Hillier (2004) Hillier and Sahbaz (2009)	Only applies to walkable cities with walking culture and many people on the street Permeability encourages pedestrian movement and eyes on the street, more risk for offenders

Fig. 4.26: Table of Literature regarding the effect of permeability on crime (Table redrawn from Armitage, 2010) (reasons, author, adapted from various sources)

Obstacles to Crime Prevention through Environmental Design methods in South Africa:

There are many factors that make passive methods of crime prevention less effective within the relatively unique South African context. The role of the urban designer is thus limited in terms of capacity to intervene. Kruger and Landman (2008) explain the particular challenges faced by South Africa that might limit the effects of creating better built environments as a method of situational crime prevention. These include the following:

- The crime situation in South Africa is exceptional and measures to limit crime might be swamped by factors [...], such as inequality, moral decay of communities and high unemployment.
- High levels of particularly violent crime and willingness to resort to violence suggest limits to the effectiveness of environmental crime reduction methods.
- Economic disparities create complexity. Poorer and more affluent communities' needs need to be addressed.
- The fragmented urban form enforces inequality and ensures high levels of victimisation in poorer areas.
- Effective and functional management of a city is paramount to the implementation of crime prevention endeavours. Corruption, inefficiency, lack of skills and capacity, lack of

trust in officials and lack of funding are all considered large institutional challenges.

- The willingness to intervene in dangerous situations is also a large challenge for those implementing any form of violence prevention. (Kruger & Landman, 2008: 79-80)

To add to the list of peculiar South African tendencies, many passive crime prevention ideas cannot be applied to many areas where people have chosen to secure their own land through target hardening, with a myriad of barriers, paid security guards, cameras, and other obstacles of hostility. These do not create pleasant and safe environments for all, but provide personal security for those inside the great walls. No landowner would choose to be the easiest target on the street. Thus this also has a ripple effect with the security industry enjoying an incredibly lucrative position within the consumer market of South Africa.

Furthermore it is argued that crime is often considered the norm in South Africa and in Durban: "High crime rates are accepted here [in Durban] as a given that cannot be overcome- just like the weather: crime can only be kept out of certain situations" (Hentschel, 2012: 347). The normalisation of crime in South Africa has led to a fragmented landscape of enclaves, such as the Point Development and outlying developments around Umhlanga Gateway, that protect themselves and do not attempt to intervene in crime as a collective problem.

Responses to Crime in SA:

South Africans' responses to crime depend largely on the income of the group and the capacity of the group to implement measures to change their situation.

In poorer communities, the rise of *vigilantism* often takes precedent over other more passive forms of crime prevention (Kruger & Landman, 2008; Berea Mail, 2014). This has been the case with many vigilante mobs taking to the streets around Albert Park.

Communities are encouraged to become involved in *Neighbourhood Watch Groups* and Community Policing Forums (Kruger & Landman, 2008). These groups are however only as effective as the scope of their resources and security employed by business in the CBD of Durban often do not attempt to prevent crime anywhere but on their own designated plots of land (Hentschel, 2012).

Affluent communities often install a range of barriers and surveillance equipment such as electric fences, alarm systems, automatic gates, private armed response services, private guards, cameras and more walls and fences.

This is especially noticeable in gated communities, which has become a dominant feature of South Africa's landscapes. These often come in the form of closed communities, which have retrospectively

been fenced or guarded from entering potential offenders. Security estate on the other hand are private developments which are developed as an enclave physically separated from other communities by controlled access points and walls, almost mimicking apartheid structures where single entry points made it easy to block off entire community's access routes during times of political turbulence. This contributes to the heated debate on exclusionary gated communities and ideals of integration. (Kruger & Landman, 1998; Schonteich & Landman, 2002; Kitchin, 2002)

Despite the growth in popularity of such establishments, it is unclear whether gating communities has any effect on the reduction of crime, or whether it only effects the perceptions of safety of those who can pay to reduce their fears. South Africa is not alone in this phenomenon; countless other countries have seen the mushrooming of such developments in the global north and south. Comparisons have often been drawn between South Africa and Brazil in this regard where a rise in fears since the 1980s has led to partisan target hardening. International studies however indicate little or only temporary reductions in crime, but has found to enforce long terms spatial fragmentation in most cases. (Kruger & Landman, 1998; Schonteich & Landman, 2002; Kitchin, 2002)

In the case of Durban this has led to many edge city developments towards the north of the city, which have in turn caused disinvestment in the inner city and exacerbated the perceptions of urban decay. In

doing so it has dictated the spatial patterns of growth (Kitchin, 2002).

Fear, balance and the way forward:

In many ways this section raises more questions than it attempts to clarify. One of these is the question of the extent to which we are willing to compromise the vibrancy and freedom of our environments in the name of safety and target hardening. The fact that people have more control over private and semi-private spaces should not alone dictate urban form. Furthermore, if streets and buildings were all to be closed in the name of safety, vibrant inner cities would cease to function. Much of South Africa's built form is already dictated by our *culture of fear*, perpetuated by the media and the *fear of otherness*. Perhaps a more balanced and well considered option can be developed to combat crime as well as our fears more subtly than with barbed wire and blank walls.

This leads us to the next section which investigates recent developments in Durban specifically; many of these have dealt with safety as a key issue and some suggest alternatives or adjustments to the fragmented landscapes of fear evident in many of our cities.

Precedent studies
A Discussion of Durban Developments
& Precedents Studies from Elsewhere

SECTION 4

SECTION 1

SECTION 2

SECTION 3

SECTION 5

SECTION 6

SECTION 7

SECTION 8

SECTION 9

'OUTCHARMING' CRIME
INCLUSIVITY

BETTER BUILDINGS

SUGGESTIVE CONTROL

'AFFECTIVENESS' OF SPACE

CHARM

ARTICULATING CLASS

PLACES OF COMSUMPTION

ENCLAVES OF SAFETY

'LOVE-MARKING'

ENTICING TOURISTS

'DIFFERENCE' FROM THE CITY

POTENTIAL

GENTIRIFICATION

REGENERATION

COOL, VIBRANT AND
BEAUTIFUL

LANDSCAPE OF SAFETY

TROPICAL, FUN AND RELAXED

ZERO TOLERANCE

SAFE, CLEAN AND CARING

URBAN RESISTANCE AND
REVITILASATION

STRATEGIC DIGINFIED PUBLIC
SPACE

CREATIVE COMMUNITY

SAFE NODES

QUALITY OF LIFE

KEYWORDS 

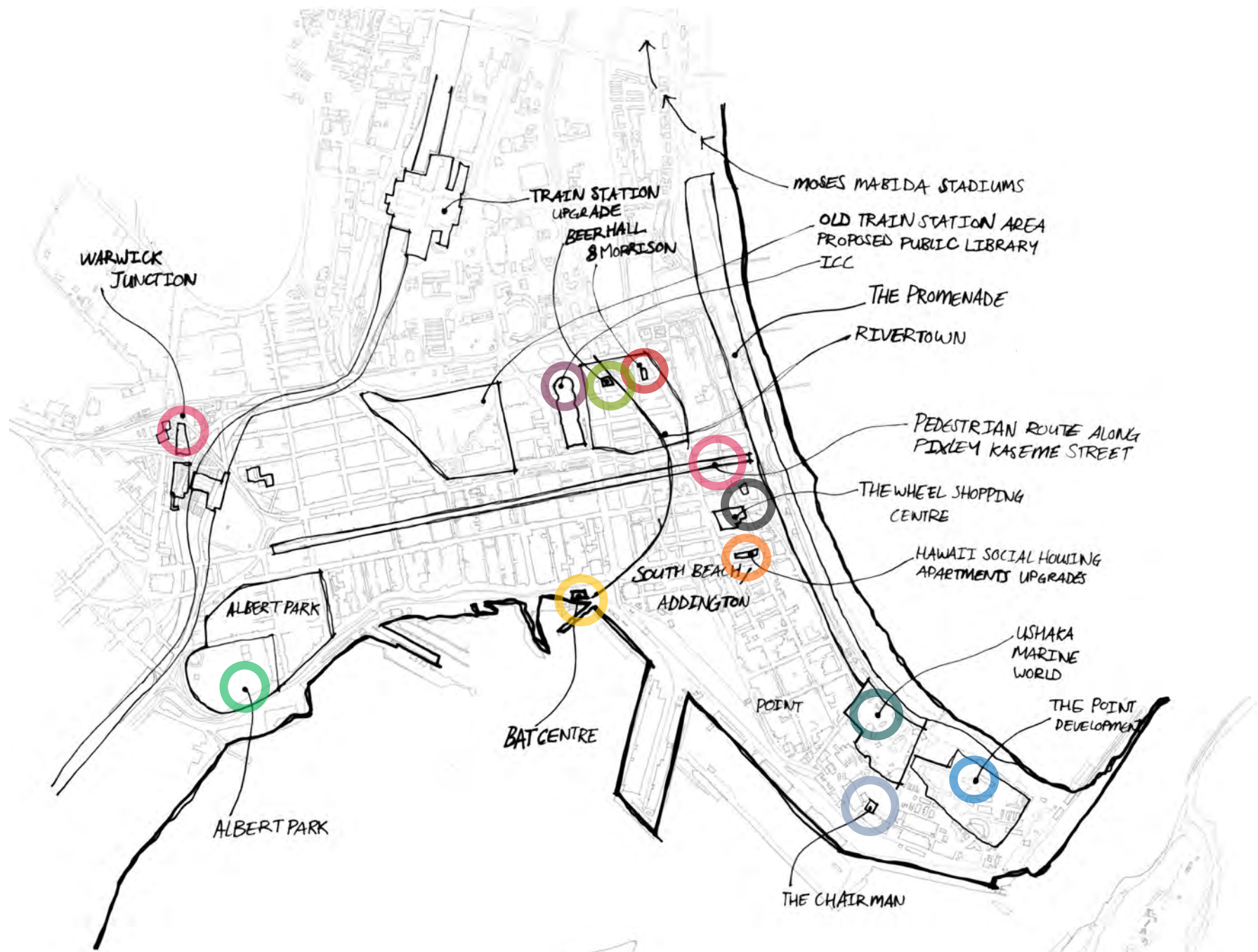
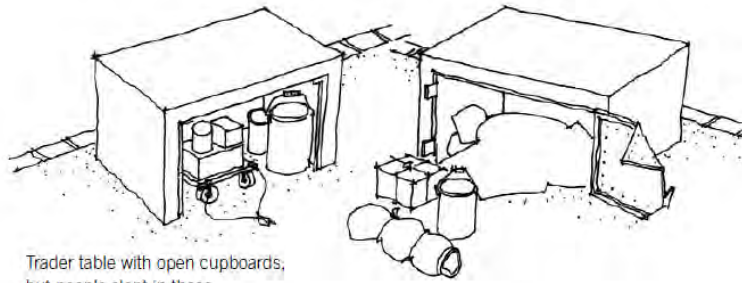


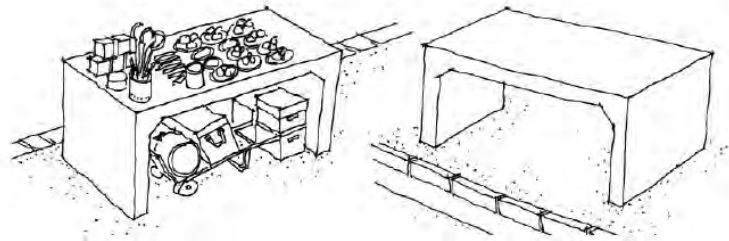
Fig. 4.27 Map of recent Developments in Durban

Fig. 4.28: Warwick Junction design by trial and error

(Source: Dobson & Skinner, 2009)



Trader table with open cupboards,
but people slept in these



Trader table with no enclosed space
underneath, the final solution

Street trader table design by trial and error

Fig. 4.29-31: Warwick Junction Before and After images

(Source: Dobson & Skinner, 2009)



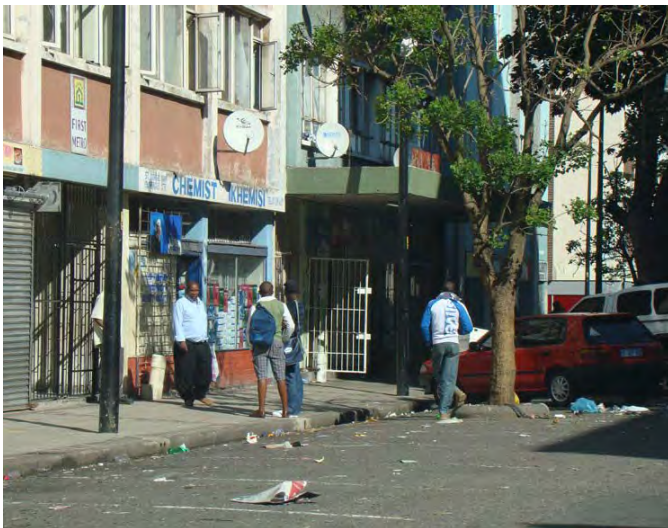
[D]urban developments: Developments in space and perceptions of urban Durban:

This section draws on various cases of urban developments that have attempted to change either the spaces of the city or the perception of various spaces in the city. It draws on previous endeavours of the municipality to create safer spaces as well as cases discussed in *Outcharming crime in (D)urban space* (Hentschel, 2012) and other recent efforts of gentrification and urban renewal that have taken place in and around the city in formal and informal ways by various stakeholders.

Going back to the initial ideas of inclusivity and liveability of the city, it is interesting to consider the *Inner-Thekwini Renewal and Urban Management Plan*

Fig. 4.32: Albert Park Area

(Source: Erwin, 2010)



(iTrump) project briefly. This has been one of the key projects of inner-city upgrading undertaken in Durban in order to change perceptions of the inner city as an *inclusive* space. This project was linked to the provision of infrastructure for informal traders through the Warwick Junction urban renewal project and the inclusion of traders within the planning process, as discussed previously. This project attempted to create a *new African identity* for the city through the incorporation of African iconography (mainly through mosaics), into the visual experience of the city. (Bass, 2012)

The Warwick Junction upgrades also included the formation of some safety networks as well as storage facilities for traders, many of whom voiced concerns of their goods being stolen and the fears of their customers and referred to safety as a key issue. In 1996, 50 Murders were reported in

Fig. 4.33: Hawaii East apartments renovated for

social housing (Source: Google street view, Oct 2010)



Warwick Junction whilst only 1 was reported for 1997. Crime prevention was a key in informing many design decisions. These included *easing congestion*, eliminating *single entrance and exit "canyons"* with alternative routes, surveillance and visually permeable barriers, and *reducing concealed spaces* through lighting and foldaway tables. Furthermore, a community policing group, *Traders Against Crime* was established with traders being trained to make citizens arrests and understand other legal procedures. (Dobson & Skinner, 2009)

In response to the apparent decay of the inner city, iTrump seems to recently have shifted some of its attention away from supporting informal trade and African urban imaging to initiatives such as the *Better Buildings Project* which started in 2002 (Erwin, 2010; eThekwini, 2011) and has received some [limited] media attention, with more recent raids of

Fig. 4.35: Raiding of apartments in a "bad

building" (Source: Sunday Tribune, 24 July 2011:11)



“bad” buildings in 2011. The Better Buildings project manager was quoted in the Sunday Tribune (24 July 2011:11): “We [the municipality] do this so the criminals don’t get the upper hand on us. We show that we are in control”.

Although the bad building strategy is intended to focus on the upgrading of these buildings as a more holistic process, the practical implication so far have manifested mainly in raids that affect the tenants, rather than the absentee-landlords. Some headway has been made however in Albert where occupied buildings were acquired in 2000 and renovated over time by First Metro Housing into less derelict social housing units with tenant committees. (fmhc, n.d.)

Another initiative concerning this form of decay in Durban saw the *Urban Development Zone* (UDZ) offering tax breaks to owners who renovate their derelict properties. This has allegedly resulted in some owners allowing their buildings to reach dereliction in order to benefit from these incentives by speeding up the processes of decay. (Erwin, 2010)

On the more subtle front, Hentschel’s article on Durban is particularly interesting as she discusses “practices that seek to activate soft regulatory power manifest in charm offensives”(2010:339) and in doing so, gives insightful explanations of many of the more subtle situational crime prevention methods currently used in Durban’s inner city. Many of the cases discussed are examples of surface treatments similar to the mosaics of iTrump, and also create spaces of different safe imagery in the city.

As has been discussed previously, Durban’s history is laden with restrictive and exclusionary management techniques that were most prevalent leading up to, and during, the apartheid regime. Notions of disorder and *chaos, fears of alterity, and formality as a sign of civility* were part of the rhetoric of the city’s identity. Urban imagining of the modernist era is also linked to order and control, and was fortified in South Africa by a rigid system of segregation which aimed to prevent civil disorder and social intermingling.

These blunt methods of control no longer define the accepted form of urban management in the inner city of Durban (with the exception of a few cases of raids, vigilantism and homeless street “clean-ups”). More subtle ways of suggestive control have appeared through well-shaped spaces that “*make people adopt good manners*” (Hentschel, 2012: 339). Here she explains the *affectiveness* of spaces to affect the way in which people conduct themselves socially and in this way space can affect emotions in the city. (For example, the tendency to be silent in a library and loud in a stadium can be explained through various environmental and social cues that will *attract people* who wish to be there and *affect how they behave*.) Good spatial cues thus produce the reverse of broken window theory.

With regard to safety, guardians of spaces “try to make their places charm those visitors and citizens they find attractive, and ignore or brush off those they are not interested in. Crime, so goes the rationale, can be ‘charmed out’ ” (Hentschel, 2012:340). In the wake of the “war on crime” (Samara, 2003), guardians have invented



Fig. 4.36: Inside the Engagasini (Source: <http://www.egagasini.co.za>, 2014)



Fig. 4.37-38: Inside the new Chairman jazz club (Source: <http://skattiewhatareyouwearing.blogspot.com/2013/08/and-then-we-found-chairman-best-bar-evr.html>), 2014



more subtle ways of articulating class divisions and disinviting people who are not welcome in their places of consumption.

Hentschel discusses a bar in Durban called *Egagasini* on what used to be known as Point Road in the middle of notorious South Beach. The owner of the bar explains that his goal was to be expensive as this would attract the right group of people and repel those who could not afford the prices of his alcohol and would not 'fit in'. He also plays jazz music, which draws a certain type of sophisticated urbanite and adds to the ambiance and suggests rules of conduct to potential customers. Furthermore colours such as red, yellow and orange were picked as the owner believes that there is a strong connection between these colours and warmer more positive behaviour.

These exact methods were implemented (or perhaps imitated) with great precision, with the opening of *The Chairman* in the past year (end 2013), which caters for a class of highly skilled and

affluent professionals and is run by an architect and decorated with the finest of designer chairs and flamboyant designer paraphernalia in a mixture of urban chic iconography, with a textured touch of authentic grime. The Chairman is located further down the old Point Road, creating enclave of safety within the derelict urban fabric. The new jazz bar is the talk of the town and has gathered a large group of new patrons with an appetite for elitism. The bar does not advertise, nor does it have signage; hidden behind the grungy looking walls lie a place of intrigue, sensuality and elite consumption advertised purely by word of mouth.

This type of branding or place-making assumes that people make choices of where to go and not to go in a city, based largely on emotions of comfort, intimacy, desire or fear. The idea of the 'Lovemark' is an interesting one: in branding it suggests that products and places can be seductive and evoke emotions of familiarity, love or desire. Other parts of the city are also showing signs of love-marking. Neighbourhood markets and gourmet coffee joints

suggest the same type of emotions; these are common to urban gentrification projects and "*I love my city*", "*I love my hood*" or "***I heart Market***" projects that have cropped up all over South Africa, Durban and the world.

This can be seen as a recent change in rationalities. In many ways the transition from industrial society to a more service society has held to an appetite for consumption (Hentschel, 2012; Madanipour, 2006). People now demand higher quality spaces and places of consumption (Madanipour, 2006); Durban's society has only recently changed from one of producers, to consumers (Hentschel, 2012). This type of society's spaces are organised around *seductive consumption* and not *semi-panoptic control*.

After the 2010 FIFA world cup, cities seem to have gained momentum in terms of inner city renewal projects and the promenade. This is a welcome shift, after a decade of relatively tentative intervention in inner cities. Durban too has its own



Fig. 4.39: The exterior of the Chairman jazz club
(Source: Author, 2014)



Fig. 4.40: The "I Heart Market" on a Saturday Morning
(Source: iheartmarket.blogspot.com, 2014)



Fig. 4.41: The Point Development enclave
(Source: www.patontaylor.co.za, 2014)

renewal projects. Durban went through a phase of large scale property developments discussed briefly in the previous chapters.

The Durban International Convention Centre (ICC) was created after the advent of democracy, in 1997, as a way of displaying Durban to an international audience. *UShaka Marine World* was created in 2004 to entice tourists. These both create enclaves of safety with a touch of exclusivity.

The development of the *Point*, with investments by Tsogo-sun and a large amount of municipal funding, was another project that aimed to put Durban on the global tourist, business and leisure map (Todes, 2000; Robinson, 2008). It aimed to create a 'world-class precinct' (Hentschel, 2012). In an interview with the Point Security Manager (2008 in Hentschel, 2012:345), he states "[tourists] automatically feel at ease, at home, because of the cleanliness, which is the first appearance, and second, everywhere you

go, there is security". The crucial idea was to make people feel the "difference" from the rest of the chaotic city. Furthermore the area could be considered "beautiful" in direct comparison with its decaying surroundings (Hentschel, 2012).

Hentschel argues that these bubbles of difference are based largely on the assumption of Durbanites that "life in the city is dangerous, and that nobody can save the entire city" (Hentschel, 2012: 345) and she further argues that in this view "the city is dangerous and a lost cause, and one can only be safe temporarily and spatially limited to bubbles... a safe space, according to this rationale, is a place distinct from the city".

I would argue that this perception has shifted ever so slightly in the past few years due to developments such as the *Promenade* and developments in other South African cities, such as Maboneng creative precinct in Johannesburg. It is

slowly becoming apparent that cities can be seen for their *opportunities*, not only the anxieties they incite.

Instead of the very distinct enclaves of the previous decade (uShaka Marine World, the Durban ICC and the Point Development), the city now seems more interested in the development of the inner city as a place to be.

The promenade is one of Durban's largest success stories. The upgrade of the promenade was linked to the 2010 FIFA World cup and served as a pedestrian walkway along Durban's golden mile from the city to the newly constructed *Moses Mabida Stadium*. The project received much criticism before implementation, but has been hailed as a great success. Before the implementation, this area was considered entirely unsafe; members of the public have spoken with nostalgia of the *safer* days of



Fig. 4.42-44: The Promenade (Source: www.roomsforafrica.com, 2014; <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=760720&page=22>, 2010; www.food24.com, 2014)

Durban's Beachfront and CBD (Hentschel, 2012; Ballard, 2011) and the general impression of the beach was one of a place where "now people get killed"(Interview, Beach Security Manager, 2007 in Hentschel, 2012:349).

This upgrade created a long, safe and tourist friendly promenade which was soon used not only by holiday makers, but also by Durbanites who come from other parts of the city to experience the safe and sunny beachfront that Durban has to offer. Cycling, skateboarding and other recreational activities also take place along this strip now. It is not that Durban's beachfront has not always attracted many people, however, this has vastly changed the perception of particularly South Beach as a public place. The area is now seem as a well-managed and pleasant space for all people to

spend time and is still vibrant and perceived as safe until late evening. This space has in many ways become Durban's 24-hour public park.

Extending the beachfront's pedestrian and cycling routes towards the north is seen as the next step of implementation (Breetzke, 2011). The promenade also stops at uShaka Marine World, as hotel owners have had alternative plans for the rest of the beachfront and the creation of a marina linked to the Point Development. This has yet to materialised and should be renegotiated. Since the opening of the promenade, its success has proven that this space would not be derelict or draw criminal activity; thus an extension of the promenade would no longer be hindered by these fears and new opportunities arise for activities along and around the Point.

It is arguably the development of the promenade which lead to a vast change in perceptions of the beach front and consequently of the potential of the CBD right behind it. Without the development of the promenade, it is unlikely that gentrification efforts in



Fig. 4.45-46: Interior, Exterior and festive activities at the new "8Morrison" exhibition hall and bar (Author, 2014; <http://www.mahala.co.za/art/durbanism>, 2014; and Author, 2014)

the CBD would have been developed as mainstream options with such public and municipal enthusiasm.

The latest projects have been linked to the *International Architecture Union Conference (UIA)* which took place in August 2014. The “spatial legacy projects” included some urban greening or pocket parks, and the temporary widening of *Pixley Kaseme Street’s pedestrian sidewalks*. Another project is the *Rivertown precinct* which is located in the ‘motocity’



Fig. 4.47: Murals in the vicinity of “8Morrison” and the Beer Hall (<http://www.mahala.co.za/art/durbanism>, 2014)

light industrial areas east of the convention centre. The area is currently home to light industry, logistics companies and car related enterprises. Buildings are mainly low-rise warehouses with almost no residential provisions. In this area, gentrification cannot displace anyone (other than some light industry) and cannot be seen as having many negative effects on the city’s profile. Property, a property development group responsible for Johannesburg’s Maboneng renewal project, has been called upon by the municipality to initiate urban regeneration in the area and turn it into a *creative business hub* for Durban. (Property, 2014; UIA, 2014)

At this stage, the Rivertown precinct houses a renovated historical *Beer Hall* of some symbolic significance, and shed at *8 Morrison Street* (UIA,

2014) with exhibition and market space that opens for special events and on Sunday mornings when affluent Durbanites have a lack of alternative places to be seen. Although much of the developments are, perhaps unintentionally, aimed at the middle and upper class youth, future plans for the area include more apartment blocks with the goal of having a large mixed-income apartment as their architectural pilot project, suggesting that some ideas of *integration* might be aspired to. In fact, much of this project has to do with the city’s aspirations to be considered *cool, vibrant and beautiful*. With the global resurgence of city life as *desirable*, the project will aim to create space for these emergent markets in South Africa. This indicates a slight shift from a few years ago, when such projects seemed to suggest that exclusivity and bubbles of difference were the way to create spaces of safety within a city. The project does aim



Fig. 4.48: The opening up of a portion of the canal in front of the renovated Beer Hall in Rivertown (Source: Author, 2014)

to provide apartments from approximately R350 000 (Daly, 3 July 2014), and would allow for higher densities and a more mixed [albeit middle] income group. Other suggestions have included the upgrading of derelict art-deco apartment blocks (Daly, 3 July 2014).

Gentrification can be seen as a result of the free market and the desires of groups to create a *landscape of safety* areas within the larger city. The notion that the city can be made more liveable though many such regeneration projects has been

questioned. Whether these “charm bubbles” are positive or negative constructs is an interesting debate, which I will not delve into.

It is interesting to note that such projects based on creative businesses, have taken place before in Durban; the *Bat Centre* on the Harbour’s edge, still exists as a creative centre, and was extremely popular in the early years of democracy. Since then, management has changed, along with the mixed demographics. The erecting of barriers and control points along all international ports’ edges (Gehr, 2001) meant that the place with it’s



Fig. 4.52-53: Plans and trial implementation for the widening of pedestrian routes along Dr Pixley Kaseme St (Source, http://www.uia2014durban.org/legacy/durban_special_legacy_projects.htm, 2014; and photograph by Author, 2014)



Fig. 4.49: The Bat Centre Arts precinct and shared workspace (Source: Author, 2014)



Fig. 4.50– 51: Colourful People Mover Stops (Source: Author, 2014 and <http://www.skyscrapercity.com>, 2010)



connection to the port, lost a bit of its charm. (These spaces can be seen as cyclical.)

Transport has also seen some upgrading in order to make the city more safe and tourist friendly. The *People Mover* is another development that is founded upon the ideas of safety and comfort. This is Durban's version of an inner city Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) system. Other informal taxi routes and bus services provide similar services, but do not have the added *luxury and safety* provided by these formally monitored, air-conditioned and comfortable buses. The busses are also branded to fit with the ideas of a *tropical, fun, trendy, laid-back, green and clean city*. (Hentschel, 2012)

Many of the development in Durban's urban core over the past two decades suggest that there have been many different attempts at urban regeneration; most of these respond to the perceptions and fears of the city in some way and have attempted either to make these spaces bubbles of safety or, more recently to integrate projects in the city, and create a network of safe spaces in the city.

What has changed in the past few years?

- The following serves as a summation of the developments that have taken place regarding perceptions of the inner city over the past two decades: The deracialisation of Durban's inner city has led to the development of a large informal market throughout much of the CBD, which is now seen as a positive aspect of Durban's identity.
- Many signs of decay have been visible within the city.
- Many businesses have moved north in search of cleaner and safer spaces from which to conduct business, leading to increased vacancies, low property values and low rates income for the municipality.
- Notions of the globally connected city have pushed development projects that attempt to make Durban more 'global' and tourist friendly.
- Durban's growing service and knowledge sector (of young professionals) is a sign of economic structural change as cities change from being producers of the secondary economy (industrial sector) to consumers who work within the tertiary

economy.

- These consumers have an appetite for well-shaped urban spaces.
- Cities all over the world have become popular sites of collective identity and have received media attention. This has "rubbed-off" on Durban and a new notion of a city as a space of uninhibited potential has been created.
- Developments in other cities have suggested that regeneration is possible in a South African context and have diminished fears of the city somewhat.
- The promenade and other developments have proven that the city is capable of providing safe and well integrated spaces

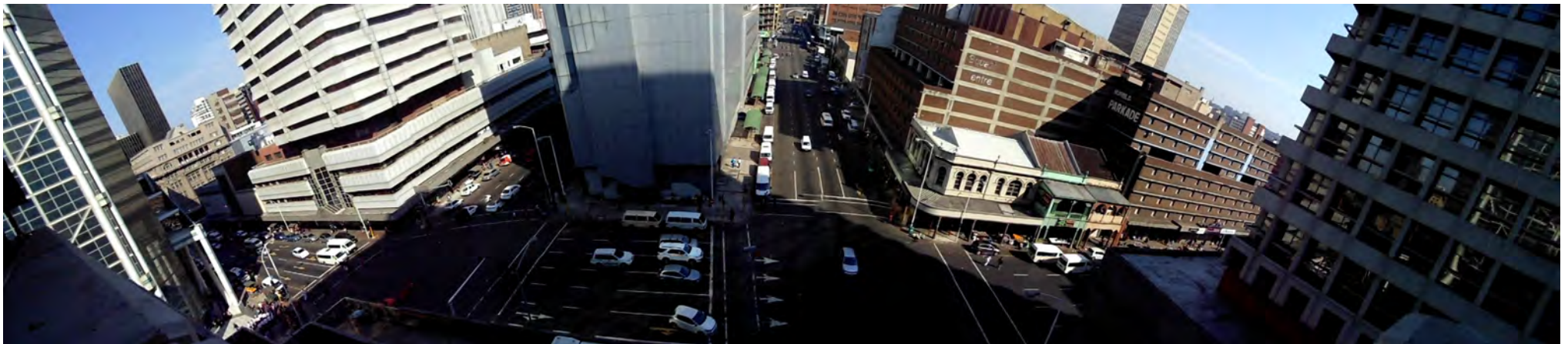


Fig. 4.54: View from above Dr Pixley Kaseme St toward Warwick Junction (Source: Author, 2014)

Case studies from elsewhere:

This section briefly considers some relevant case studies from elsewhere. These are all linked to either regeneration efforts or safety in some way and have been picked due to the insights that they can offer in terms of creating a safer urban core in Durban. The developments in other cities have taken place in many different forms from changes in policing, to large scale frameworks for regeneration and small urban acupuncture projects that transform unsafe public spaces into safe nodes.

Policing changes:

New York Policing:

New York has seen drastic declines in crime since the 1970s. This has been attributed to many factors, from policing to zero-tolerance for vandalism and strategic upgrading projects.

The 1970s saw New York in a state of [relative] urban decay. The transport system and its interchanges were seen as crime hot spots. As was explained previously, various authority figures became avid followers of Broken Window Theory and proceeded to clamp down on vandalism and fare-dodging. Most efforts were directed towards the metro system; trains with graffiti were cleaned overnight and people were arrested for minor offences. With highly policed access routes, many other crimes gradually became less frequent or possibly more difficult to commit. This, together with many other factors, is said to have caused a significant decrease in crime.



Fig. 4.55– 56: New York Rail and subway systems in the 1970s was considered dangerous and gang ridden (Source: www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28638691, 2014; and http://www.vanityfair.com/culture/features/2009/06/seventies-nyc-slideshow200906_slideshow_item7_8, 2009)

Cape Town CCID:

Cape Town also presents us with a case where a safety was dealt with through visible policing. Cape Town's city centre has arguably suffered less from the perception of decay in recent year that Johannesburg and Durban. There are some developments which are interesting to consider.

The Cape Town Partnership and the Central City improvement District has been visibly active in the city centre . The latter of these public-private partnerships has mainly been involved in the maintenance and cleaning of streets and public spaces, as well as organising other renewal initiatives, but one of their most visible strategies has been 'safety'. The seventy CCID security guards are visible on almost every street corner. The CCID claim to have reduced crime by 90% since 2000 (CCID, 2014); whether this is due to the CCID or even true at all is difficult to ascertain, but they have contributed significantly to the perception of safety. CCID kiosks act in a similar way to satellite police stations, and have been placed on highly active or crime prone corners that were previously known for robberies. The CCID has also received criticism that they display anti-poor sentiments by issuing warnings, to 'potential' offenders. Exclusionary tendencies, and acting in the interest of businesses who fund such improvement districts has been one of the main critiques of such improvement district groups worldwide. Another criticism is that they cause crime displacement, which, as discussed before, is usually insignificant.



Fig. 4.57-58: CCID aim to provide a safe clean and caring city; they have however also been criticised for being exclusionary Source: <http://timnainsouthafrica.wordpress.com/>, 2011 ; and <http://xcollektiv.wordpress.com/tickers/>, n.d.)

Public Spaces:

Times Square New York:

New York has also seen the upgrading of many public spaces. The reconstruction of Times Square is one of these examples. The once glamorous square at the centre of the theatre district began to degenerate as the square and 42nd Street became known for its sex shops and alcoholics. It was also considered a “threat to public safety- but today is nearly crime free” (Stren, 2009). This symbol of urban decline was, through a large renewal project, political will and intense capital investment, transformed into a symbol of urban resistance and revitalisation. This was done through the arguing for historic preservation and the importance of the arts within New York (Reichl, 1999).

This area was known for its chaos, traffic congestion and unwelcoming pedestrian environment; the phrase “Hellish nightmare” (Stern, 2009). The Square was transformed into a pedestrian oriented and robust public space which functions as a cultural heart of the area. It is now lined with tall buildings and hosts every imaginable public event with many people pausing to rest in a space from which they can survey the business of the city.

The project is not without criticism. Reichl (1999) explains that this urban renewal project displaced smaller scale poorer businesses and people to make way for capital gains. He also highlights that the formerly culturally diverse entertainment district has become an example of the cultural politics of

urban renewal. It is also said that the “extravagant plans retarded development” (Stren, 2009). Tax incentives and tax breaks have also been seen as contributing majorly to the more privately led reinvestment in the area. According to Stern (2009), most of the development was due to natural market forces spurred on by the drop in crime.

The Drop in crime was attributed as much to the physical changes on the site as to the new policing, spearheaded by Mayronne (Head of the Midtown South police precinct). His extensive use of statistics and arrests for minor crimes caused fewer crimes to be committed. Reinvestment followed as a result. (Stern, 2009)



Fig. 4.59: New York's Times Square during the 1970s

(Source: <http://gothamist.com/2013/03/27/>, 2013)



Fig. 4.60: Before and After photographs of Times Square upgrade and pedestrianisation.

(Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nycstreets/9135789555/>, 2013)

Las Condes Plaza in Santiago, Chile:

This case study serves as an example of the role of dignified public space in creating safe spaces of access. Las Condes Plaza, part of a public transport interchange was highly accessible, but without capable guardianship, was considered a place of crime and dereliction. It forms part of the busiest bus station in Santiago. Since the 1980s the area had become more desolate as shops from its commercial galleries started migrating to safer shopping malls close by. With a few easy targets still passing through the dark underpasses of the area on the way to the bus station, the area became a crime hotspot.

The city initiated a strategic renewal project for the area which involved collaboration between many government and private groups such as the Ministry of transportation and the Metro. The park next to the underpass was resurfaced as a hard surface, more lighting installed, barriers were replaced with glass to allow for visual permeability and the underpass was redesigned to allow for more natural light. The new plaza was opened in 2008. Perhaps the largest success of this project is that it lured activity back into a very well connected node, resulting in more passive surveillance. (PPS & UN-Habitat, 2012: 18)



Fig. 4.61: Las Condes Plaza, Santiago, Chile.

(Source: <http://www.pan.as.oramio.com/photo/30212052>, 2009)

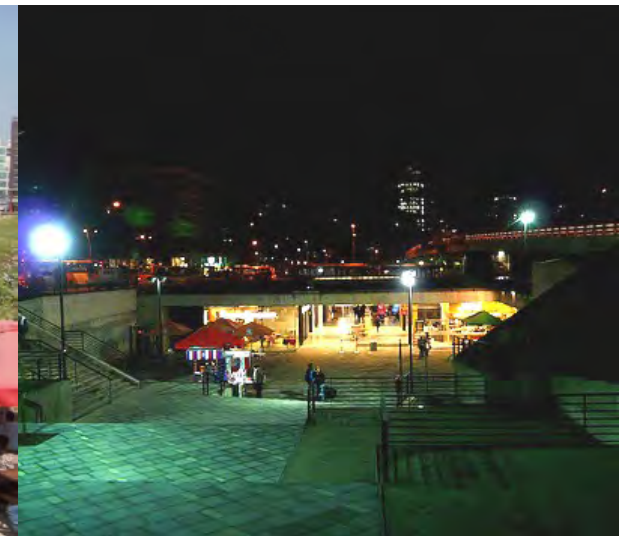


Fig. 4.62: Las Ramblas, Barcelona, Spain.

(Source: www.conocerbarcelona.com, n.d.)



City regeneration Projects

The Barcelona Model:

The transformation of Barcelona over a period of two decades from an industrial city in the 1970s to the metropolis of today has been seen as a huge success (Calavita and Ferrer, 2004). This has in many ways fostered a more economically prosperous and competitive city. After the fall of Franco in 1975 and leading up to the 1992 Olympics, Barcelona's city council prioritised public parks, plazas, schools and the renewal of roads. The city bought up many pieces of land after the fall of Franco, taking advantage of the instability and low property values, looking at strategic and catalytic ways of developing in the "cheapest and fastest" ways, which the most effect (Calavita and Ferrer, 2004: 48). The plan was highly strategic in nature (Marshall, 2000) and is often referred to as the "Barcelona Model" and similar methods have been used by many other municipalities. The process was largely led by economists and planners and supported by the large design culture that saw each space as an opportunity for high quality design.

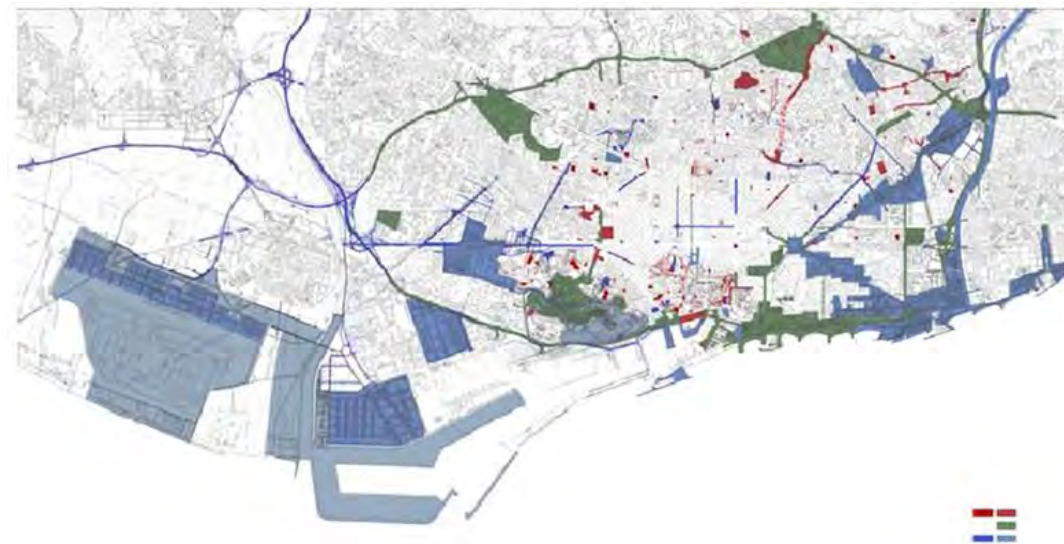
The Olympic projects leading to 1972 were used to secure funding for design-led projects that would change the image of Barcelona (Marshall, 2000). These can be seen as the catalytic projects that paved the path towards urban renewal in the 1980s. The Olympic Village was located on a series of brownfield sites along this previously derelict coastline, linking to the ocean. The Olympic

projects included the creation of 6 man-made beaches (at Barceloneta) on what used to be the industrial post and coast of Barcelona. One of the most prominent projects linked to the Barcelona Model was the creation of long diagonal pedestrian boulevards as corridors of commercial and cultural activities juxtaposed over the rigid city grid. The Las Ramblas is an example of one of these.

The plan for Barcelona is seen as a series of different scale projects which work together: metropolitan scale infrastructural projects, then large scale seafront and sporting projects and then smaller squares, streets and parks that create

quality public places throughout the city.

Durban has seen smaller but similar projects to those in the early years of the Barcelona plan, the port was widened as an infrastructural project, the Moses Mabida Stadium was built, linking to the ocean via the newly upgraded promenade. The International Convention Centre, uShaka Marine World and the Point Development all had similar aspirations to those that informed the Barcelona developments. Durban can surely learn from the last set of developments: the investment in social facilities and public spaces.



Three periods of urban renewal

- 1980-1986. Small scale. Squares, streets & parks
- 1986-1992. Bigger scale. Sea front, residential and sport areas.
- 1992-2006. Metropolitan scale. Infrastructure & strategic areas.

Fig. 4.63: Phasing of various scaled projects in Barcelona. (Source: Acebillo, 2006: 55.)

Johannesburg Safety and Bad buildings strategy:

Johannesburg provides us with an arguably more extreme example of South African urban decay, bad buildings and fears. There are a few developments in Johannesburg which are of interest to this project. One of these includes their approach to “bad buildings” and regeneration.

Johannesburg municipality has identified perception of crime as the main factor in investment decision-making. Joburg Safety Strategy, The Inner City Regeneration Task Force, the Bad Buildings Strategy and the Better Buildings Strategy all aim to bring about regeneration through reducing crime (City of Johannesburg, 2007). By 2007 more than 200 buildings had been identified as degraded and 15 “bad” buildings had been demolished (City of Johannesburg, 2007). Buildings where the rates owed to the municipality exceed a certain amount are sold or given for free to new developers who sign a five year agreement for “good quality development and management” and are further required to submit rehabilitation plans. Incentives and financial support is given for refurbishments (Barradas, 2006). The strategy includes distinctions between types and levels of ‘badness’; some owners can be collaborated with to encourage better management, whilst others need to be refurbished by new owners or demolished entirely.



Fig. 4.64: Ponte City in Hillbrow, built in 1975 to a height of 173m with 54 storeys, has become symbolic of urban decay. (Source: <http://imagevat.com/>, 2012)

Fig. 4.65: The hi-jacked Vinuchi building in Johannesburg. (Source: <https://hearonearth.wordpress.com>, 2013)

Fig. 4.66: A once sought after view of Johannesburg from the Ponte Towers. (Source: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2013/07/24/the-high-life-in-hillbrow>, 2013)





Fig. 4.67-70: Newly developed Maboneng Precinct, providing café culture, neighbourhood markets and “lovemark” branding tactics.

(Source: <http://morethanfood.co.za/eating-joburg-part-2-maboneng/>, 2014; <https://blog.virgin-atlantic.com>, 2013; www.globalpost.com, 2014; and www.sapropertynews.com, 2013)

Fig. 4.71: Newton Junction Precinct redevelopment, Johannesburg. (Source: <http://www.joburg.org.za>, 2014)

Specific Precinct scale regeneration Projects:

Maboneng, Johannesburg:

Another significant development in Johannesburg that has demonstrated the potential of regeneration (and gentrification) is the Maboneng Precinct. This development is the brainchild of Durban born businessman Johnathan Lieberman, the CEO of Propertuity, a property development group specialising in urban regeneration districts. Subsequent to its success in Johannesburg, Propertuity has also been involved in the Rivertown in Durban project mentioned above, thus it is appropriate to consider their Maboneng Precinct.

The argument pushed by this group is that “urban regeneration of former industrial areas is now a worldwide trend, often starting with the participation of creative communities and private property developers in formerly degenerated areas” (Propertuity, 2013). The project was started in 2007 when Johannesburg was at the height of its decay. The project boasts a growth in value of 15% per annum. Propertuity mentions that Urban

Development Zone (UDZ) tax breaks have also helped to make this project feasible.

The project also developed many ‘supporting’ facilities, making the area much more attractive to residents (such as the Museum of African Design, offices and retail spaces, as well as a future hotel). A more mixed use environment has attracted high-income groups. Furthermore, the Precinct is in the process of creating its own City Improvement District (CID) which will contribute “supplementary services in order to maintain cleanliness and safety”.

It is interesting to note that the smaller residential units saw the most growth in value per square meter. Whilst Maboneng’s small properties sell for 12000/m² (or R995 000 for a 82m² apartment), the South African average for small apartments (80-140m²) is R701 100 in June 2013. Whilst properties in Durban North Beach on the edge of the city centre are generally sold for prices above this average, the going rate for similarly sized apartments on the Esplanade, between Albert Park and Addington is roughly R250 000 (Property SA, 2014).

Other regeneration projects in Johannesburg include Newton Junction Precinct with its converted industrial-chic potato sheds which became offices, gyms, retail spaces and four levels of basement parking. Sitmela Square is another such mixed-use development.



Khayelitha Urban Upgrade Programme, Cape Town:

This project serves as an example where there was an explicit goal of crime prevention along with improvement of quality of life for residents. Located in Harare, Khayelitsha, one of Cape Town's notorious townships, the project aimed to provide social infrastructure to the area. The project focused on the creation of Safe Node Areas along pedestrian routes. The project entailed data collection from household surveys and many other public participation methods which helped to identify the needs of the community and specific crime hot spots or problem areas, as well as to establish a bond between residents and those responsible for implementing the project.

'[Interventions included] the creation of well-lit spaces alongside the main pedestrian routes. At the intersections of these routes, we provided 'Active Boxes' [also referred to as Light Boxes] small three-storey buildings which contain at a minimum a meeting room or public facility for the neighbourhood, a caretaker's flat and a room for facility guardians".

(Interview with Erasmus, in OECD, n.d.)

The project also includes the creation of a Harare Square with shops, a youth hall, a public library, live-work units and other facilities. The Light Boxes serve as visible landmarks along all pedestrian routes, providing surveillance. In addition, the area also gained new sporting and recreational facilities. Crime is still relatively prevalent in the area, and the reduction in crime rates related to the project is difficult to measure. The largest success can be seen as the provision of quality facilities and the potential

increases in quality of life attached to the increased perception of safety.

This case, although in a very different context, provides more conceptual insight into possible methods of situational crime prevention methods. Firstly, it must be noted that public participation is key (although not possible in this student project). Secondly, the provision of safe pedestrian routes with safe nodes or "active boxes" along the way provides a simple almost a-contextual conceptual basis that can be applied to urban contexts elsewhere. Furthermore, many of their principles will be discussed in the next section.



Fig. 4.72-73: Sports fields at "safe node" provide facilities and improve quality of life, Harare, Khayelitsha. (Source: <http://p09.opennetworks.co.za/impumeleloDev>, n.d.; and <http://cstsouthafrica.wordpress.com/diary>, n.d.)



Fig. 4.74: Urban Design Plan for safe Areas.
 (Source: <http://www.vpuu.org.za> , n.d.)

Fig. 4.75-76: Mapping of criminal activity (red) and potential sites for intervention (green).
 (Source: <http://www.vpuu.org.za>)



Conclusion:

These case studies, all different in nature, provide insight into methods used to create safe urban spaces in context outside of Durban. Although the context of these projects different considerably from that of Durban, these projects have provided insight and ideas for how to think about and suggest strategies for urban contexts to create safer cities.

This section has provided examples of place management and projects in Durban that attempt to increase the perception of safety after which it turned to projects elsewhere that have had a perceived impact on the safety in various cities. The next section will move on from implemented case studies and suggest general principles that can be extracted from crime and place theories and case studies to inform a framework of principles for the urban context of Durban.

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SECTION 5

Principles

Urban Design principles for Safer spaces

SECTION 6

SECTION 7

SECTION 8

SECTION 9

NATURAL & DEFINED
ACCESS & MOVEMENT

[IN]APPROPRIATE
BARRIERS

NATURAL
SURVEILLANCE

TERRITORIAL
REINFORCEMENT

IMAGE & DIGNITY

MAINTENANCE &
MANAGEMENT

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

KEYWORDS 

Principles for safer urban spaces:

This section will attempt to set up a set of principles and guidelines for designing safe urban spaces. These should provide a more systematic basis from which to test design and understand the use of certain interventions and the theories that they relate to.



Natural & Defined Movement:

This relates to the hierarchy of movement routes and the issues relating to connectivity mentioned previously. Movement routes should be defined clearly and visibility should be heightened along them. Pedestrian movement should be prioritised. Active pedestrian routes need to be clearly legible in their design as well as being well-maintained and active spaces that increase the benefits of more eyes on the street rather than creating a route for targeting. Car movement also needs to be clearly defined, but this movement relates to safety through the public transport that makes use of them. Public transport routes need to have increased security and surveillance.



Natural & Defined Access:

Clearly defined access encourages access and usage of spaces within the public realm and inhibit the usage of more private spaces that are outside of the visible range of the public eye. This ties in with the above principle as it suggests that features of access should direct people to defined movement routes. Less public spaces such as the narrow alleyways should be defined as more private and the territory of the buildings adjacent to it, rather than easy shortcuts or hidden spaces.



[In]Appropriate Barriers:

All physical barriers should be appropriate, allowing for visual accessibility. The edges of public spaces should be lined with buildings that provide enclosure and surveillance for and define the spaces between them. Other edges that might be appropriate include facilities bordering neighbourhoods. Other barriers such as train lines and large roads are sometimes operationally necessary, but hard to maintain as safe spaces. Maintenance becomes very important for these and active nodes can be introduced along such barriers where appropriate.



Natural Surveillance:

This is one of the most important factors contributing to the design of spaces and buildings. Eyes on the street are exceptionally important for highly connected streets and active spaces. Site features should maximise the possibility of a person to see as much of his/her surroundings as possible. This creates an unacceptable risk-return factor for potential offenders. This includes the appropriate placement and design of entrances, doors, lighting, barriers, landscaping features, parking and public facilities.



Territorial Reinforcement:

This relates to the perceived ownership of spaces and thus the control that resident/users/owners feel they have over a space. This is one of the main concerns raised in *Defensible Space* (1972). Through properly defining areas this

aspect can be enhanced. Defensible Space calls for better transitions between public and private spaces. Increased surveillance of public space provides a sense of territoriality, but still allows for these spaces to be used by all. Semi-public spaces are important as transitions between the public and entirely private areas such as the interiors of apartments. Territoriality can be increased through the perceived maintenance and regular activities.



Image and Dignity:

South Africa generally suffers from a lack of dignified spaces, especially within areas that are perceived as dangerous. Increased care and maintenance of an area can help to foster a feeling of dignity and pride in an area, leading to better ownership. Well designed and maintained public spaces generally have good "image", such as the promenade.



Maintenance & Management:

Maintenance can be seen as a characteristic of spaces that have a sense of ownership and territoriality, but rather than only built into the design, it requires constant attention. This also relates to how the areas are used by its users. Lack of maintenance and ownership is clear in littering and vandalism currently prevalent in the CBD; perhaps better management of a space could suggest more pride and ownership of the space. This is also linked to broken window theory.

PRINCIPLES

AND SITE FEATURES

Natural & Defined Access



Natural & Defined Movement



[In]Appropriate Barriers



Natural Surveillance



Territorial Reinforcement



Image and Dignity



Maintenance & Management



		Natural & Defined Access	Natural & Defined Movement	[In]Appropriate Barriers	Natural Surveillance	Territorial Reinforcement	Image and Dignity	Maintenance & Management
Active nodes	Commercial activity							
	Active street facades							
Districts	District integration & connectivity							
	Street segment Integration							
Landmarks	Facilities							
	Other visible landmarks							
Edges	Blockages in urban fabric							
	Fences and walls							
	Blank facades							
Movement routes/ Paths	Pedestrian							
	Automobile							
Site Features	Open Public Space and Vacant land							
	Entrance placements							
	Window Placements							
	Landscaping							
	Lighting							
	Parking							
	Signage							
	Walkways							
Management	Business associations							
	Community residents							
	Security systems Patrolling groups							
	Cleaning & street Maintenance							

The tabulated matrix alongside suggests where these principles can influence various site features and aspects of a city. As legibility is inherently linked to one's feeling of orientation or vulnerability within a space, some of these features will be ordered according to an adapted version of Lynch's 5 elements (*Districts, Paths, Nodes, Edges* and *Landmarks*) in *Image of the City* (1960), along with other more specific *site features* and *management issues*. These include public open space, lighting, placement of entrances and windows, parking, lighting, walkways, signage and landscaping in terms of site features, and include business associations, residents, security groups and maintenance in terms of management issues.

These aspects or elements of the city are adapted and used as a basis for analysis with the next section with will map the elements of the city taking into account the principles as well as the theories of crime and place.



Fig. 5.2: Kevin Lynch's 5 Elements in *Image of the City*
 (Source: <http://www.pinterest.com>. 2014)

Fig. 5.1: Matrix of areas of intervention of various principles/ Where can these principles have an effect?
 (Source: Author. 2014)

The Use of Public Participation (as a principle for creating good processes):

It must be mentioned that public participation and the gathering of data are usually two of the most important parts of many crime prevention through environmental design projects. Thus it would seem neglectful leave these factors unmentioned. It would be exceptionally neglectful to attempt a CPTED intervention without gaining information from users about crime in the area. There are many benefits for all involved through the process, despite the usually lengthy procedures that come with it. Users gain access to institutions and gain knowledge on the resources available to them, whilst being able to voice their concerns. Institutions generally gain much more accurate data and an accurate idea of perceptions of criminal activity linked to various spaces in their area. Workshops conducted in South Africa tend to produce 5 times as many “crime hotspot” identifications from residents than identified before the interaction by law enforcement (Lieberman & Landman, 2005). Such processes whereby residents map and identify areas of danger and crimes committed tend to highlight common elements within a neighbourhood. These processes can also highlight possible alternative to fortification and target hardening currently used as a default method of protection and can potentially lead to more faith in authorities. The following table shows the benefits for various parties.

Unfortunately, limitations of this student project, of time and capacity, dictated that such structured interactions, interviews or workshops with residents of the precinct was not a possibility.

CPTED PROCESS STAKEHOLDERS AND BENEFITS	Municipality	Local Law Enforcement	Community Residents
Roles	“Producers” and “Regulators”	“Regulators”	“Users”
Benefits of CPTED public participation processes	<p>Improving the perception of crime, safety and liveability of the area and public open space. This leads to more use of public space</p> <p>More revenue from safer and busier business districts. Increase in occupancy leads to more rate payers</p> <p>Increased use of public space and recreation facilities by residents and visitors</p> <p>Gain knowledge of actual experienced crime hotspots in order to plan more responsively.</p> <p>Institutional integration and collaboration with Law Enforcement.</p>	<p>Opportunities to develop crime prevention strategies and partnerships with residents and relationships between Law Enforcement and the residents.</p> <p>More thorough Identification of crime hotspots and identification of potential problems prior to them becoming serious.</p> <p>Viewing safety as a common responsibility of everyone involved.</p> <p>Gain knowledge of actual experienced crime and fears experienced by residents in order to be more responsive.</p> <p>Realising that residents have an intimate knowledge of crime and fears of certain space in the area that can lead to a more accurate understanding.</p>	<p>Improved sense of security and quality of life through reduced fear of crime</p> <p>More social cohesion through Increased interaction of residents with their neighbours.</p> <p>New understanding of how safer spaces can be created and problem-solving skills Heightened knowledge and connections with city government agencies and other resource</p> <p>Reducing antagonistic feelings and lack of confidence towards the police and governing bodies through collaboration.</p> <p>Willingness to participate in reducing crime and seeing it as a civic duty to report crime.</p> <p>Less reliance purely on physical barriers or target-hardening.</p>

Fig. 5.3: Table of benefits/necessity of public participation

(Source: Author, 2014; information from articles by Krehnke, 2009 and Landman & Lieberman, 2005)

Conclusion:

These principles form guidelines for safety, but can also be seen as general parts of sensible and responsible design. Various combinations of these principles are generally referred to by many CPTED practitioners and groups interested in situational crime prevention (Krehnke, 2009; CoCT, 2014; CPTED& CSIR, n.d. ; CPTED Security, 2005; Zahm, 2007). It is important to understand that these principles should be implemented holistically, together with more general principles for good spaces such as legibility, variety, appropriate permeability and choice in order to create spaces which are vibrant, legible and safe and thus result in more liveable environments for all.

City Scale
Analysis & Proposal
for Durban's inner city

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SECTION 9

- DISTRICTS
- NODES
- CRIME FACILITATORS
- CRIME ATTRACTORS
- SURVEILLANCE
- TERRITORIALITY
- MAINTENANCE
- PEDESTRIAN ACTIVITY
- ACTIVE EDGES AND SPACES
- PATHS LIINKAGES
- MOVEMENT
- PUBLIC OPEN SPACE SYSTEM
- JUNGLE-PORT CITY
- TREELINBES
- BARRIERS
- FACILITIES AND INSTITUTIONS
- LANDMARKS
- FEARS
- CRIME AND PERCEPTIONS

KEYWORDS 

6.1 Analysis of the Durban's Inner city

This section will examine the CBD of Durban in terms of various *layers* of the city. These should form the basis for understanding the activities and movements within the city.

In terms of the structure of these layers of analysis, Lynch's 5 elements from the *Image of the City* (1960) are used as a basis to describe various areas of possible intervention. Legibility is integrally linked to a person's experience within a space and can greatly influence the vulnerability felt by a person whilst engaging with the city. Districts, nodes, paths, edges and landmarks are used as the main framework for examining the city. These have been developed or adapted into a series of 9 maps that take into account issues discussed in the previous chapters. These are shown in the adjacent graphic.

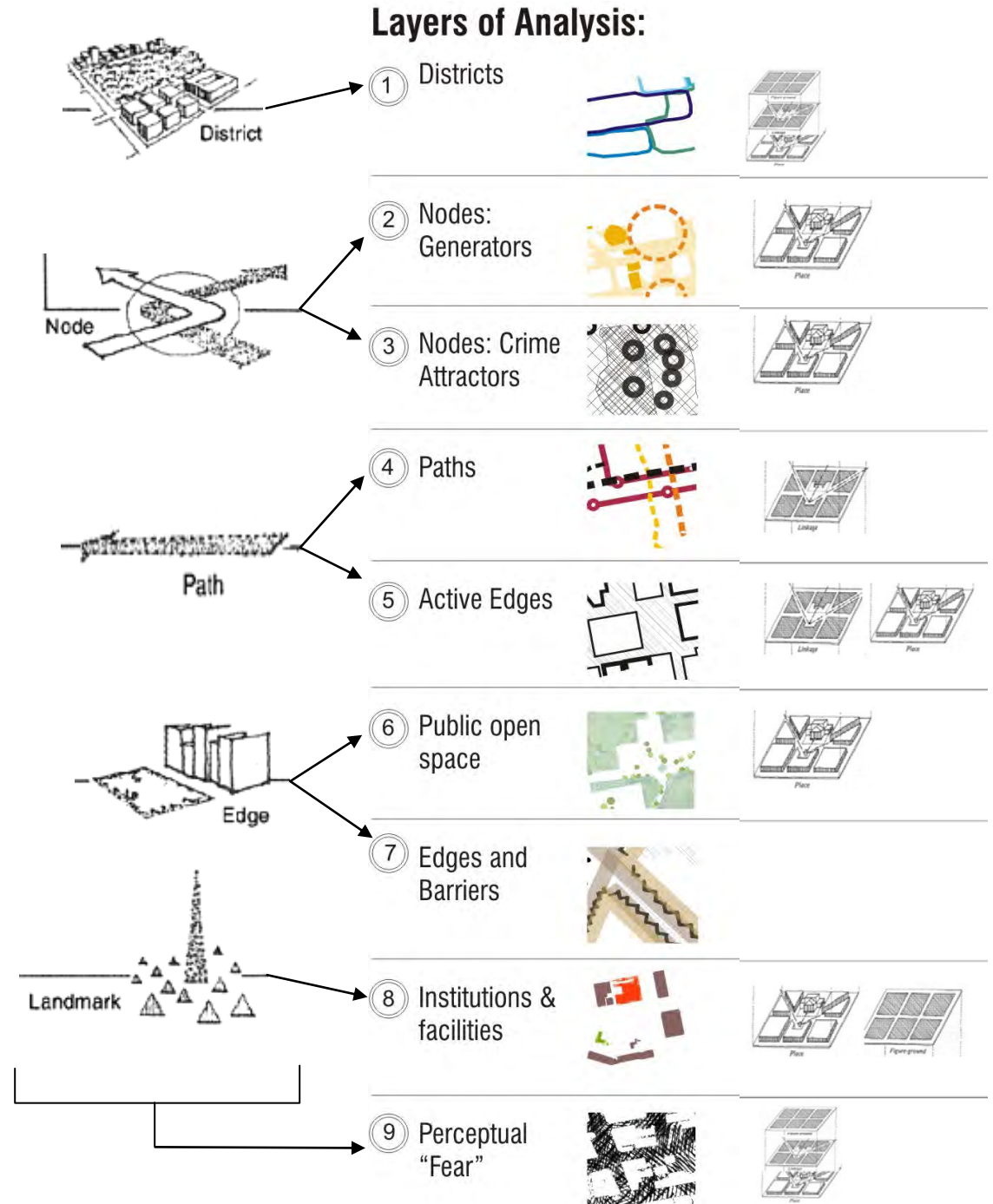


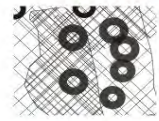








Fig. 6.1: Layers of Analysis

Layers of Analysis:

Measured Factors:

Significance:

<p>① Districts</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Character of areas • Nature of built fabric and grain • Discussion of role of areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Character areas" • The grid along with other lynchian factors determine the legibility and character of the area
<p>② Nodes: Generators</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crime generators/ facilitators • Areas of high ambient populations • Areas that are active enough to support informal trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminology of place theories • Crime happens where targets and offenders meet and have the environment conducive to crime.
<p>③ Nodes: Crime Attractors</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crime "Active Attractors" • Areas known as "hotspots" • Facilities that traditionally attract higher rates of offenders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Criminology of Place theories • Crime attractors such as taverns and drug strips attract more offenders.
<p>④ Paths</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary movement routes • Secondary movement routes • Other important links • important pedestrian routes • Upgradable routes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility routes allow for opportunities for both vibrancy and crime and should receive attention in terms of crime prevention principles
<p>⑤ Active Edges</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active routes • Active edges (surveillance) • Active spaces (high ambient population and targets) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activity routes Allow for the intense interaction between targets, guardians and offenders. These should receive attention in terms of ownership, surveillance, etc.
<p>⑥ Public open space</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dignified public space • Surveillance of Public space • Usage of Public space • Tree-lines creating legibility • Upgradable public spaces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • open public space needs to be well designed, well maintained and display civility and ownership for them to not become "crime enablers"
<p>⑦ Edges and Barriers</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriate edges • Operational edges • Upgradable edges • Removable Edges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inappropriate edge conditions create spaces with as Albert Park that become space of criminal activity through a lack of surveillance and ownership.
<p>⑧ Institutions & facilities</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilities • eg.: educational, transport, religious, hospitals, clinics, police stations, fire stations and other significant facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Facilities" can be considered mediating or exacerbating features. Institutional facilities can increase the perception of surveillance and ownership.
<p>⑨ Perceptual "Fear"</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • subjective mapping of "fear" and vulnerability associated with various spaces in the city. (ie. How scared would I be to enter a street segment alone?) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental design can ensure the perception of safety. In many cases the perception of fear will diminish much more than the actual crime rate, but this still results in a better quality of life.

Each of these layers allows for the analysis of an aspect of the life of Durban's inner city. The table alongside explains the use and significance of each of the layers and their measured features. Each layer is analysed according to criteria shown in the *Measured Factors* column. The significance of these factors are then explained in terms of their links to crime and place theories. This analysis will then inform various adjustments or interventions within these layers that could help to either alter perception of danger in the city, or create spaces that enhance positive behaviour and perhaps create a safer environment.

Fig. 6.2: Layers of Analysis and their measured features and relevance for CPTED

6.1.1. Districts or Character Areas

The City centre can be seen as an agglomeration of different character areas. These have been mapped alongside. These areas each have relatively distinct built fabrics and activities that take place within them.

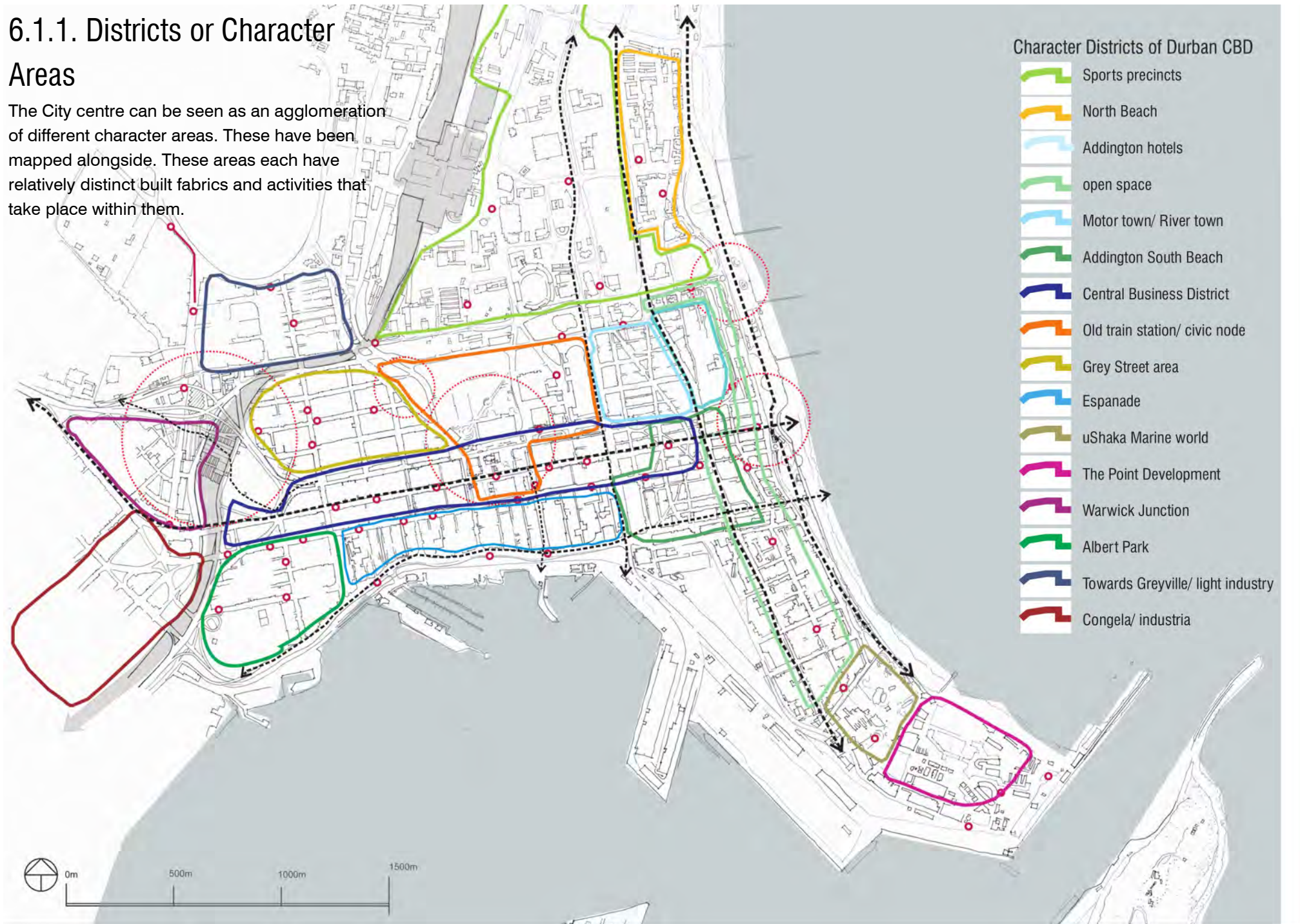


Fig. 6.3: Districts or Character Areas

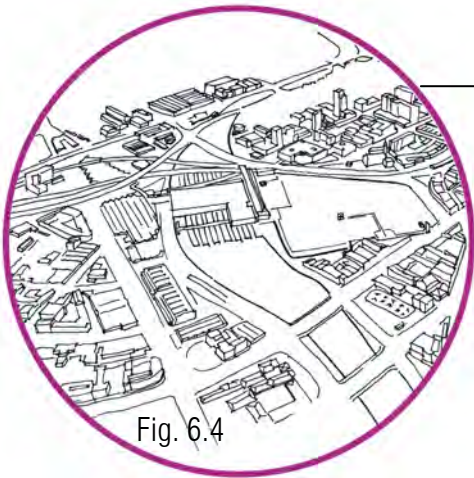


Fig. 6.4

Warwick Junction is the major transport interchange area of the city and lies between and below the flyovers of the N3 that connect Durban to Johannesburg. Berea station along with 9 informal markets, is located here and ensures access to the city. The area is vibrant with over 400 000 people passing through the interchange on a daily basis.

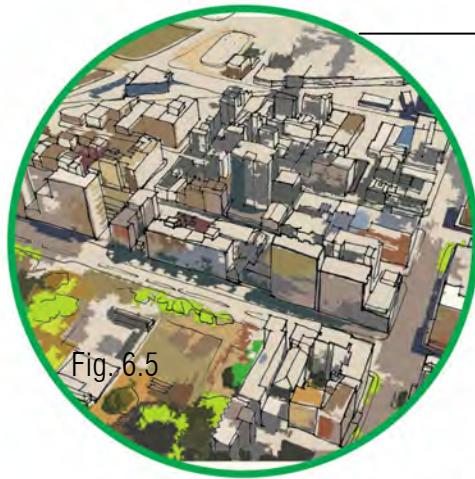


Fig. 6.5

Albert Park is one of the residential areas of the CBD. It houses medium and high density apartment blocks with relatively affordable rentals. The area has in recent years become known for gangs, drugs, taverns and violence and is also associated with foreign nationals. The area, once known as a relatively affluent domicile, is linked to the harbour and south Beach via Margaret Mncadi Street and the Victoria Embankment which forms a recreational pedestrian walkway around the water's edge, but is currently underutilised.

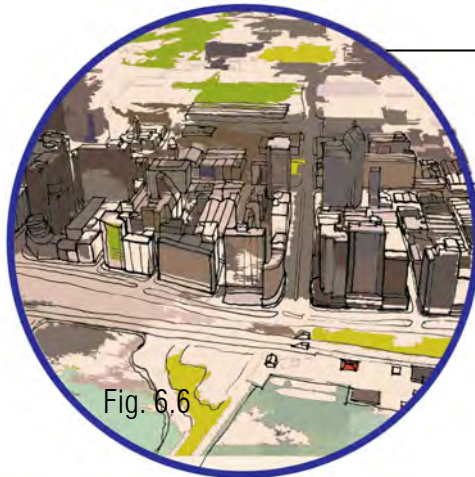


Fig. 6.6

The Esplanade or Victoria Embankment houses a mixture of more upmarket apartments with some derelict buildings dispersed between them. The apartments along this strip boast fantastic views of the ocean, the harbour and the linear park from its tall buildings, but no longer attracts as many affluent residents and property values are relatively low in comparison to other sea-facing properties. Its large city blocks are divided with smaller pedestrian lanes that allow for movement and views from the inner city towards the bay.

The old railway area is characterised by quality public spaces with vibrancy and an abundance of informal trade on the south side, and open space on the north side where the railway once was. This area has the potential to be transformed to en part of the civic heart of the city rather than lost vacant space. Many plans have been developed for this area. The latest is the plan for a large new public library. On the east side of this area lies newer civic facilities such as the International Convention Centre and Exhibition spaces that, in their scale, manage to sever the areas east of it from the pedestrian friendly realm of the rest of the city.



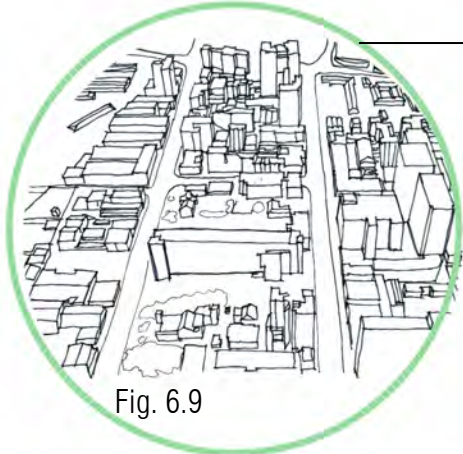
Fig. 6.7

The Central Business area is characterised by tall buildings and large, busy quality public spaces with busy streets connecting parts of the city. The area is home to most of the large businesses remaining in the CBD and has also become home to many smaller businesses along with some informal trading.



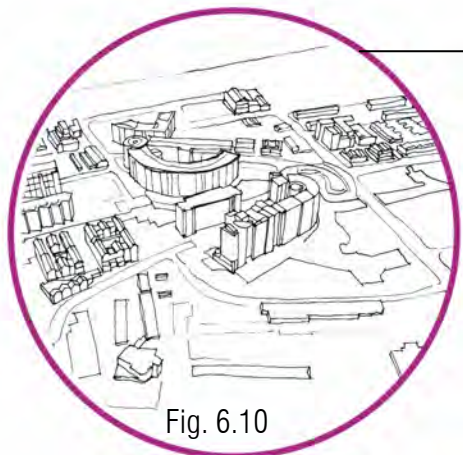
A sports precinct forms the edge of the inner city. This area is a low-lying area prone to flooding and thus the sports fields act as natural drainage and also form an appropriate or natural edge to the inner city.

Fig. 6.8



South Beach or Addington creates a wall of tall buildings along the beachfront. It is similar to North Beach in the sense that they both have large residential apartment blocks and hotels to look onto the beachfront. The area links the city to the point via Gillespie Street and Mahatma Gandhi Road running from North to south, parallel to the beachfront.

Fig. 6.9



The Point Development forms an enclave at the entrance to Durban's port. The area was developed to be safe and distinct from the city, and is accessible via a new road running through Rivertown and Pickering areas. The area has relatively tall buildings, with an abundance of lost space and parking lots, and some man made canals for recreation and beautification.

Fig. 6.10

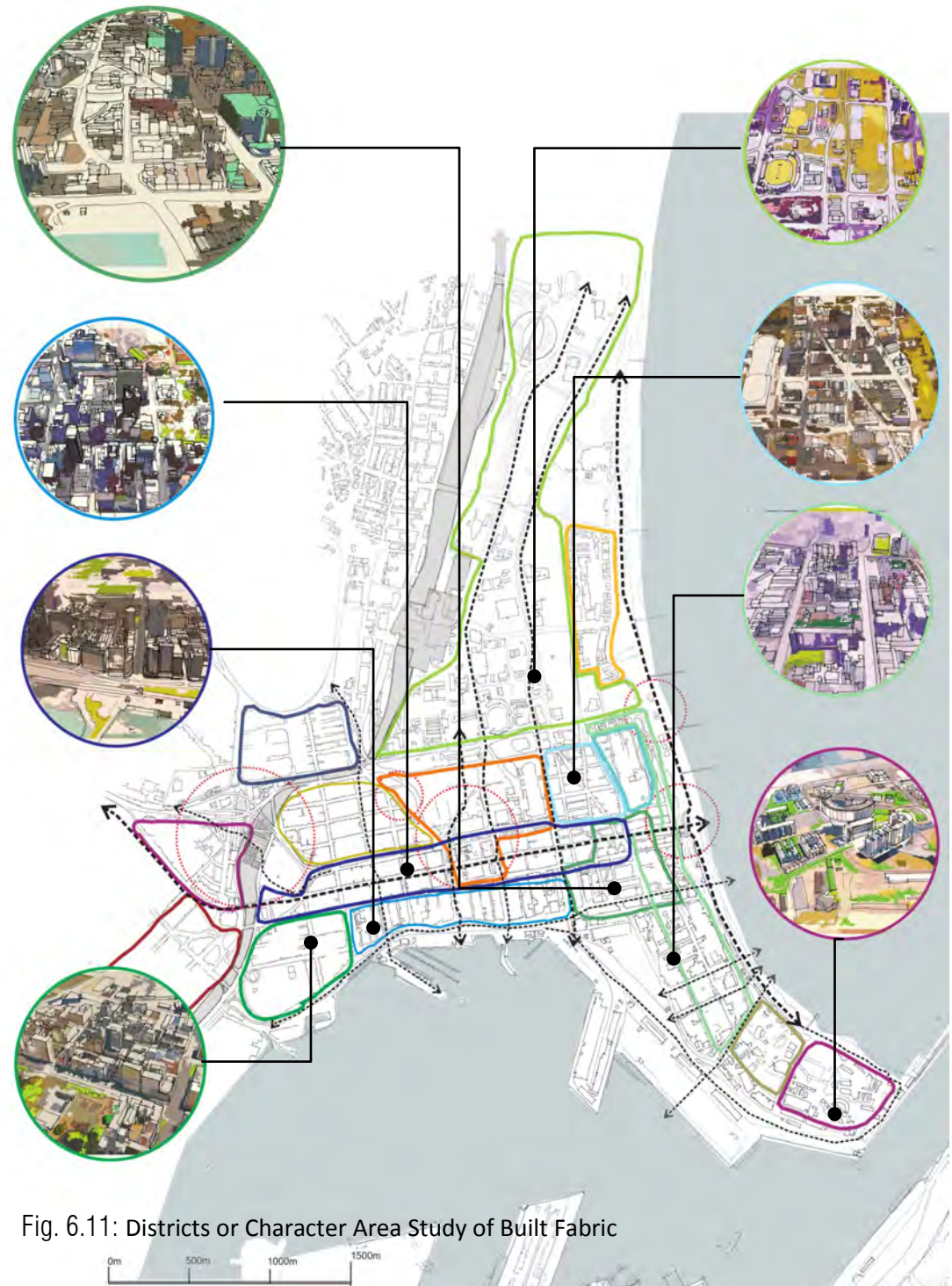


Fig. 6.11: Districts or Character Area Study of Built Fabric



Fig. 6.12

Motor Town or Rivertown lies between the ICC and the beachfront. Like Pickering area, it houses low density industrial warehousing, but has not become known as a crime haven. It also has very little residential accommodation. This area has thus been earmarked for potential development and regeneration by the city and property development agency, Propertuity. The area is located close to the beach and gentrification would not cause displacement as there are few people living in the area. This is also where an enclosed water canal starts. This canal serves as a drain from the low-lying wetlands and sports field to the north of the CBD and flow out towards the harbour forming an curving servitude that is juxtaposed against the regular city grid. This canal also flows through Pickering/ Addington area and then towards the Bat Centre and Harbour.

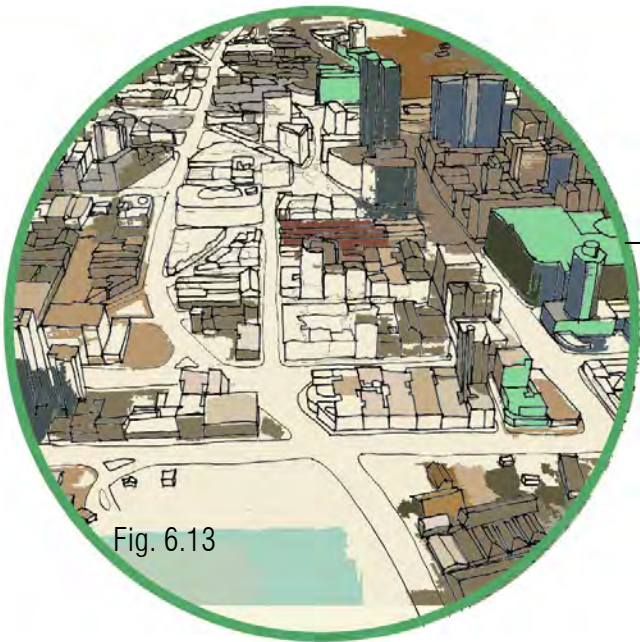


Fig. 6.13

Addington or Pickering area is seen as one of the least safe areas of the city. Here is where the city grid changes and is interrupted by many smaller incongruous roads that slice the area into smaller block than the rest of the city. The area has recently undergone some structural change with the Construction of a road straight through it to ensure smoother access to the Point development. Unlike much of the rest of Durban's inner city and water's edge, this area has retained its semi-industrial uses towards the port with a less dense and less developed urban fabric than the rest of the city. It maintains a reputation of crime, drugs and gang related activity.

Nodes:

6.1.2. Crime facilitators

Durban has a few main areas with *high ambient populations*. The 3 main areas include Warwick Junction, the civic node of the inner city and the beach front. All three these areas have *informal traders* due to the crowds that pass through the areas. However, the same activity that allows informal trade to flourish, makes for easy targets and criminal activity. Thus it is particularly important to ensure that these areas remain safe for the many people who pass through them through the use of principles mentioned such as *surveillance*, *territoriality* and *maintenance*.

The three nodes are very different in nature. Whilst **Warwick Junction** is a transport and trade interchange, the **City Hall area** is the institutional and civic heart of the city, and **the Promenade** provides a vibrant leisure and recreational strip for the city.

Other smaller nodes of activity, such as weekend market spaces, the Bat Centre and other shopping areas, are also shown. Most of these attract people only during certain hours of the day or during events.



Fig. 6.14: Nodes: Interaction Facilitators

6.1.3. Crime Attractors

Drawing on ideas discussed in the previous sections, this layer of analysis maps 'risky facilities' within the city that traditionally attract higher numbers of offenders than other facilities. Although comprehensive data regarding the precise location of taverns, bars, brothels and night shelters was not available, the dispersal of taverns and night shelter that were mapped suggest a clear pattern.

Known taverns and bars were mapped where visible from Google Street View. Known "problematic" and "tolerable" night shelters were mapped according to an iTrump Inner City housing Map (iTrump, 2000). The exact location of other risky facilities such as brothels could not be established, but general areas of crime, prostitution and drug trafficking could be mapped according to anecdotal information and articles (Erwin, 2010).

Most of the crime attractors and risky facilities are located in clusters in Albert Park and Pickering, with some more formal drinking establishments on more accessible routes. Many taverns are located just off the corner of major roads where they are accessible, but out of sight from passing traffic.



Fig. 6.15: Crime Attractors

6.1.4. Paths

The hierarchy of movement routes is evident within the grid of the city. Most of the larger primary and secondary routes run from west, where the freeways from Johannesburg and Cape Town meet the inner city, to the beachfront on the western side. One of the most well used pedestrian and public transport routes is Dr Pixley Kaseme Street (formerly West Street, before renaming). This primary route is a six-lane one-way street from the M3 towards the City Hall and then Promenade. Monty Naiker and Dr AB Xuma roads form large more car oriented routes. Anton Lembebe Street lies parallel to these on the Harbour side of Pixley Kaseme, and is only marginally less busy and serves as a taxi route out of the inner city, running in the opposite direction to Dr Pixley Kaseme Street.

Smaller connecting routes cutting across from north to south. Of these Mahatma Gandhi Road is

primary route, running parallel to the promenade. This road, formerly known as Point Road, is well-known for drug trafficking and prostitution. Gillespie Street lies parallel to it, one block closer to the beachfront with the People Mover Bus running along it.

Minibus taxi's are generally abundant within the CBD and use most primary and secondary routes. The People Mover Bus (Durban's version of a BRT system for the inner city) has 3 routes, one along the beachfront, one down Dr Pixley Kaseme Street and then up Anton Lembebe and another circulating around the city centre.

The areas close to Warwick Junction are very well used by commuting pedestrians whilst the promenade is used recreationally. The Rivertown Canal is also indicated in blue due to its potential as a pedestrian route.

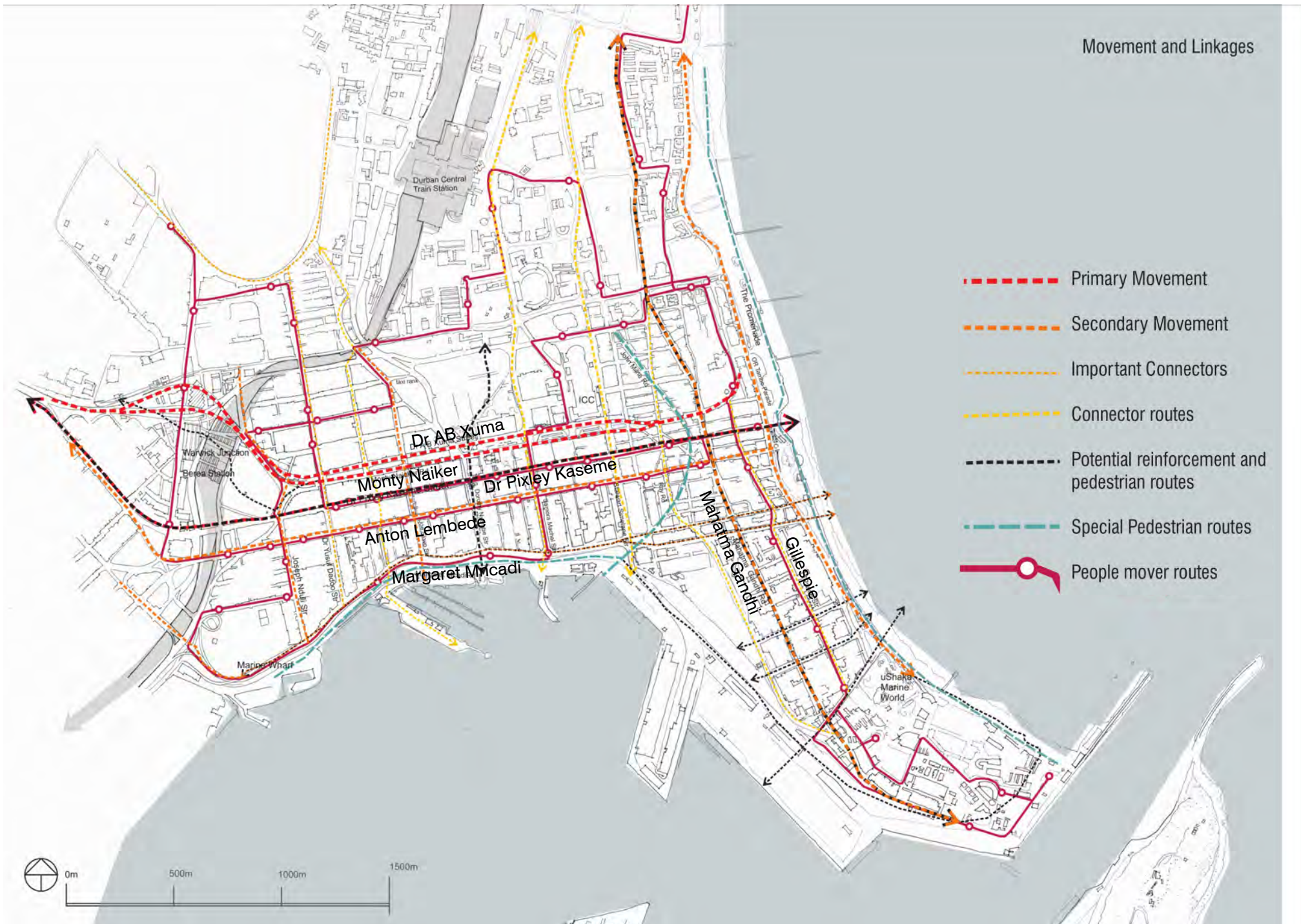


Fig. 6.16: Paths: Movement and Linkages

6.1.5. Active Edges and spaces

Most of the inner city activity is located around the central axes running from west to east. The areas between Warwick Junction and the City Hall have more active street edges than areas such as South Beach, Pickering and Rivertown which are further away from the public transport interchanges and public institutions. Active spaces make for easy targets, but heighten surveillance. These areas are safer than the rest of the city during the day, but may become more dangerous during the night. The promenade, with relatively little trading activity, still attracts masses of people due to the attraction of the beach and remains active until late. This is only part of the city is still considered vibrant, safe and active during the evening.

Edge conditions:

6.1.6. Public Open Spaces

There are a few distinct clusters and types of public open spaces. The adjacent table attempts to rate various spaces in terms of their performance as public spaces. It considers *dignity*, *surveillance* and *usage* by the public as three indicators of the effectiveness of a public open space.

The City Hall areas provide quality civic public spaces, but the old railway area just north of it become a vast exposed area of lost space. The Promenade functions as Durban's linear park where people of all backgrounds gather to enjoy the city.

The Victoria Embankment another linear park running along the harbour's edge, is underutilised, but has the potential to become a well-used high quality public space. Albert Park at the end of the Victoria Embankment is now a disused park and has gained a reputation for drug use, homeless people and crime. A satellite police station has been located here.

Other public spaces occur surrounding Warwick Junction and are bustling areas of informal trade. Durban Also has a few disconnected clusters of traffic islands which, although providing greenery within the city, have much more potential to be decent pedestrian spaces than they currently are.

	Public Open Space	Dignity	Surveillance	Public usage	Rating	Upgradable
1	City Hall Alexander square	• •	• •	• •	6	
2	Post Office Market Space	• •	• •	• •	6	
3	Workshop Market space	• •	• •	• •	6	
4	Behind the Workshop	• •	• •	• •	6	
5	Space left over after station removal		•	•	2	○
6	Front of ICC and taxi rank on Dr A B Xuma	• •	• •	•	5	
7	Walkway between workshop and ICC	•		•	2	○
8	Traffic islands and left over road reserve			•	1	○
9	Memorial MOTH Garden	• •		•	3	
10	The Victoria Embankment	•	•	•	3	○
11	Space around the Cathedral and Maddressa Arcade "souk"	• •	• •	• •	6	
12	West Street Cemetery		•		1	○
13	Warwick Junction		• •	• •	4	○
14	Albert Park				0	○
15	Left over traffic Islands				0	○
16	Botanic Gardens	• •	• •	•	5	
17	Sports fields	• •	•	•	4	
18	Weekend market space and parking lot		•	•	2	○
19	Church grounds	• •		•	3	○
20	The Promenade	• •	• •	• •	6	
21	Space in front of ICC	• •	•	•	4	
22	uShaka Marine World	• •	• •	•	5	
23	The Point Development	• •	•		3	
24	Rickshaw storage, bowling greens, sports and vacant space			•	1	○
25	Left over traffic islands				0	○

Fig. 6.18: Matrix rating public opens spaces



Fig. 6.19: Public Open Space System

Furthermore, Durban is known as the “Jungle-Port City”, and with its tropical climate, it is easy to ensure that green systems permeate the city with landscaping and treelines. This can, and has been used as a major advantage to create a city image as well as a pleasant environment for the pedestrian to regain a connection with nature.

Areas with very little public space include Pickering and South Beach as well as some areas of the CBD between Warwick Junction and the City Hall, where links between the areas can be created along streetscape to visually connect areas that do have quality open spaces.

6.1.7. Barriers

The city centre is surrounded by edges that demarcate the natural end of the city centre. Many of these edges create very distinct barriers to an area, whilst others more subtly suggest an end to the dense urban fabric. These edges are described as *appropriate, functionally necessary, upgradable* and potentially *removable*.

The sport fields and wetlands on the north suggest a clear, but not unpleasant edge to the city’s activities. The flyovers closer to Albert park and Warwick Junction present less pleasant barriers. The train line, running from the South into the city, can be seen as a functionally necessary barrier.

The large car imports and export area next to South Beach also forms a barrier between the city and the Point and could potentially be optimised or reconsidered to present less of a large barrier.

The beachfront and harbour can also be seen as edges, and are positive assets. The beachfront has been upgraded with has improved the edge condition of the city and greatly increased usage of the area, whilst the Victoria Embankment, with its railway, fences and lack of pedestrian access to the harbour, has received little such attention and can be seen as an upgradable barrier.

Barriers & Edges of the CBD

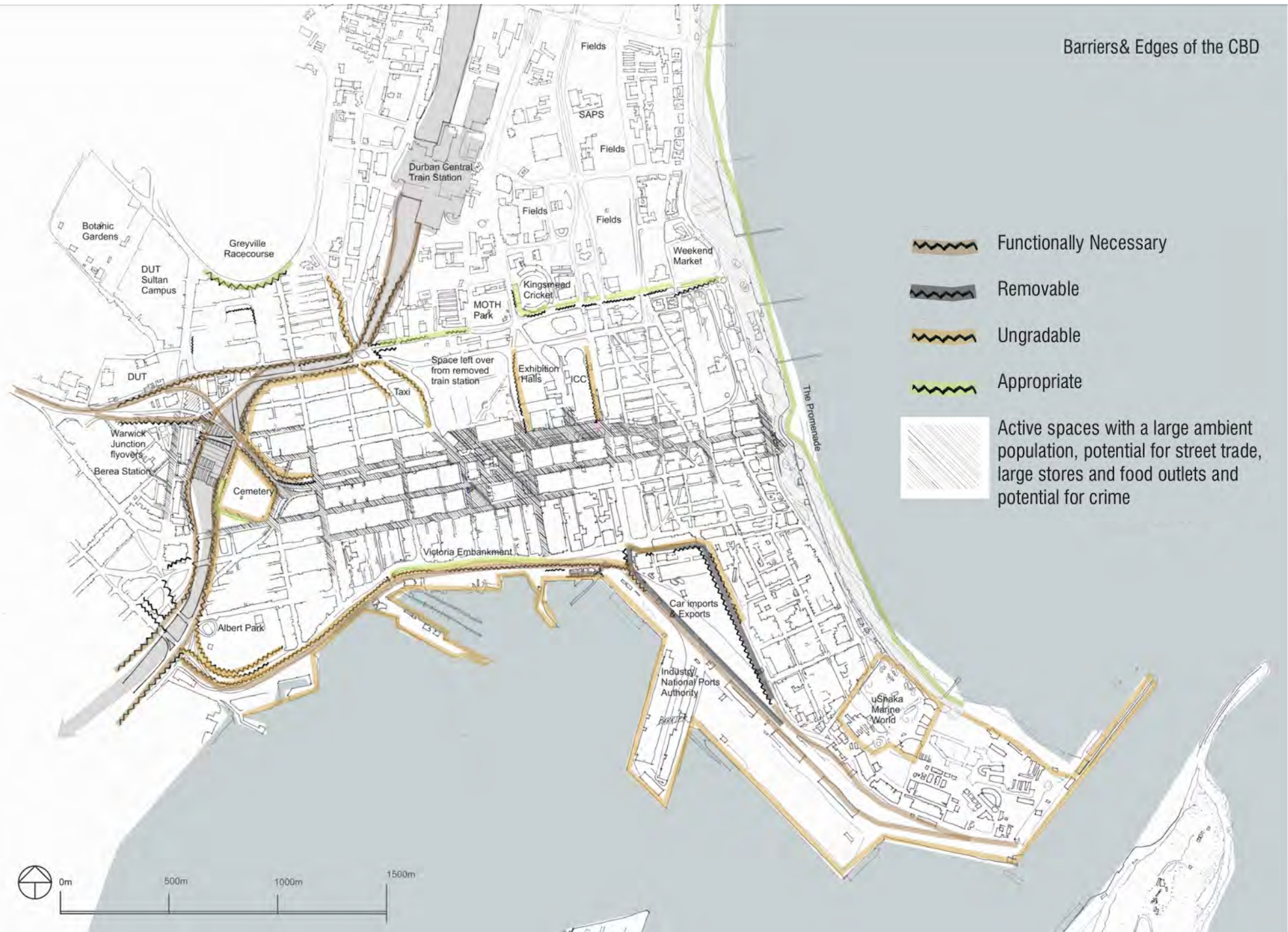


Fig. 6.20: Edges and Barriers

6.1.8. Landmarks and Facilities

Facilities can be seen as landmarks within the urban fabric and have a positive effect on crime reduction as it increases territoriality or ownership in the area and can also provide activity and surveillance in an area. Other than this, facilities also provide support for communities directly through the functions they house.

This map indicates the clustering of facilities. The civic core of the city is home to a large cluster of facilities. Rivertown and Pickering due to their semi-industrial nature and low-rise warehousing, have very few public facilities or institutions.

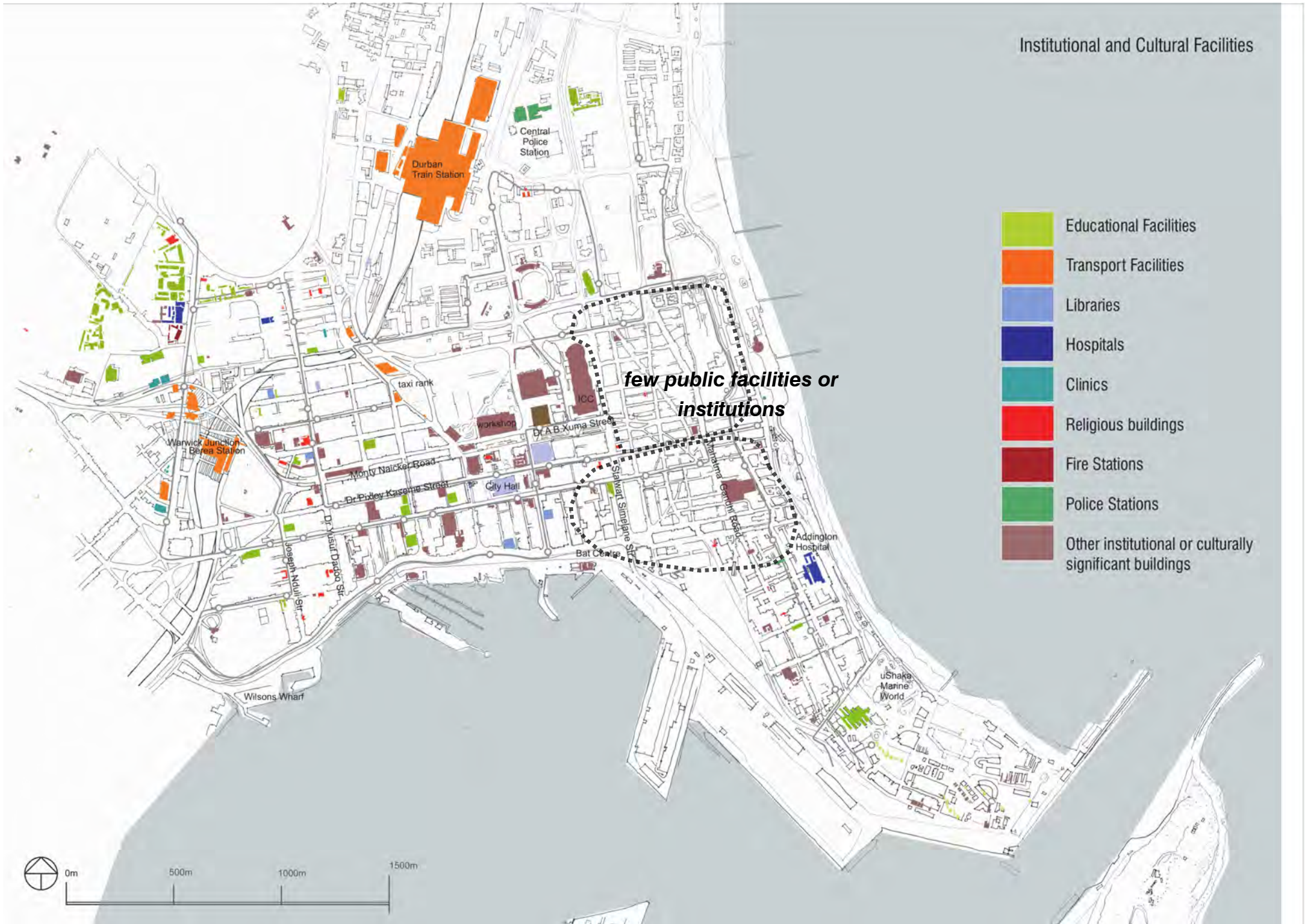


Fig. 6.21: Institutional, Historic and Cultural Facilities

6.1.9. Perceptual fear:

This “perceptual fear” map attempts to convey the fears of crime attached to various areas of the city. The map was created through an intuitive process, drawing on observations whilst walking through the area, rather than empirical data. *Perceptions of danger and safety* are not necessarily quantifiable, are highly subjective and are based on personal former experiences. Thus this map serves as a personal account of fear, observations and [some negative] interactions with people, whilst walking through Durban CBD.

Perhaps it is useful, whilst delving into the notion of experiences and fear, to recall some of the more impressionable experiences whilst walking through the city. Whilst walking from Warwick Junction to the Embankment and via Pickering to the Beachfront, I was stopped several times by various

people in cars who all suggested I leave the area as soon as possible, along with my four male accomplices. On another occasion racial slurs and verbal assaults were heard close to a cluster of taverns in Albert Park area. Other casual conversations with various Durban residents also indicated a general fear of these areas leading to heightened fears of various areas of the city.

The darker areas of the map (indicating a higher level of fear) are also areas known for crime and have higher concentrations of taverns or have many smaller disjointed roads. The darker spaces also coincide with a map that was provided by a backpackers in Musgrave area, just west of the CBD. This map is photocopied and handed to all guests to warn them of potentially unsafe areas.

Conclusions of the analysis:

It is clear from the analysis of these layers that the various areas of the city are significantly different in their character, built form and activities that take place in each area, as well as in the perceptions of safety felt towards each area within the inner city.

There are two areas that are particularly notorious namely Albert Park and Pickering or Addington. Other busier parts of the city generally appear to be safer and more comfortable for pedestrians, but also require attention in terms of safety and guardianship. As there are larger volumes of people in busier areas, it is important to ensure that these areas are maintained as safe pedestrian spaces within the city.

The next section will delve into proposals for development within these various layers of the city. These suggest developments in the city that would not only help regeneration and business reinvestment within the city, but will also suggest ways in which the perceptions of danger in the city can be altered to create a more positive image for various areas.



Fig. 6.22.2: ‘CAUTION’ Map given on arrival in Durban

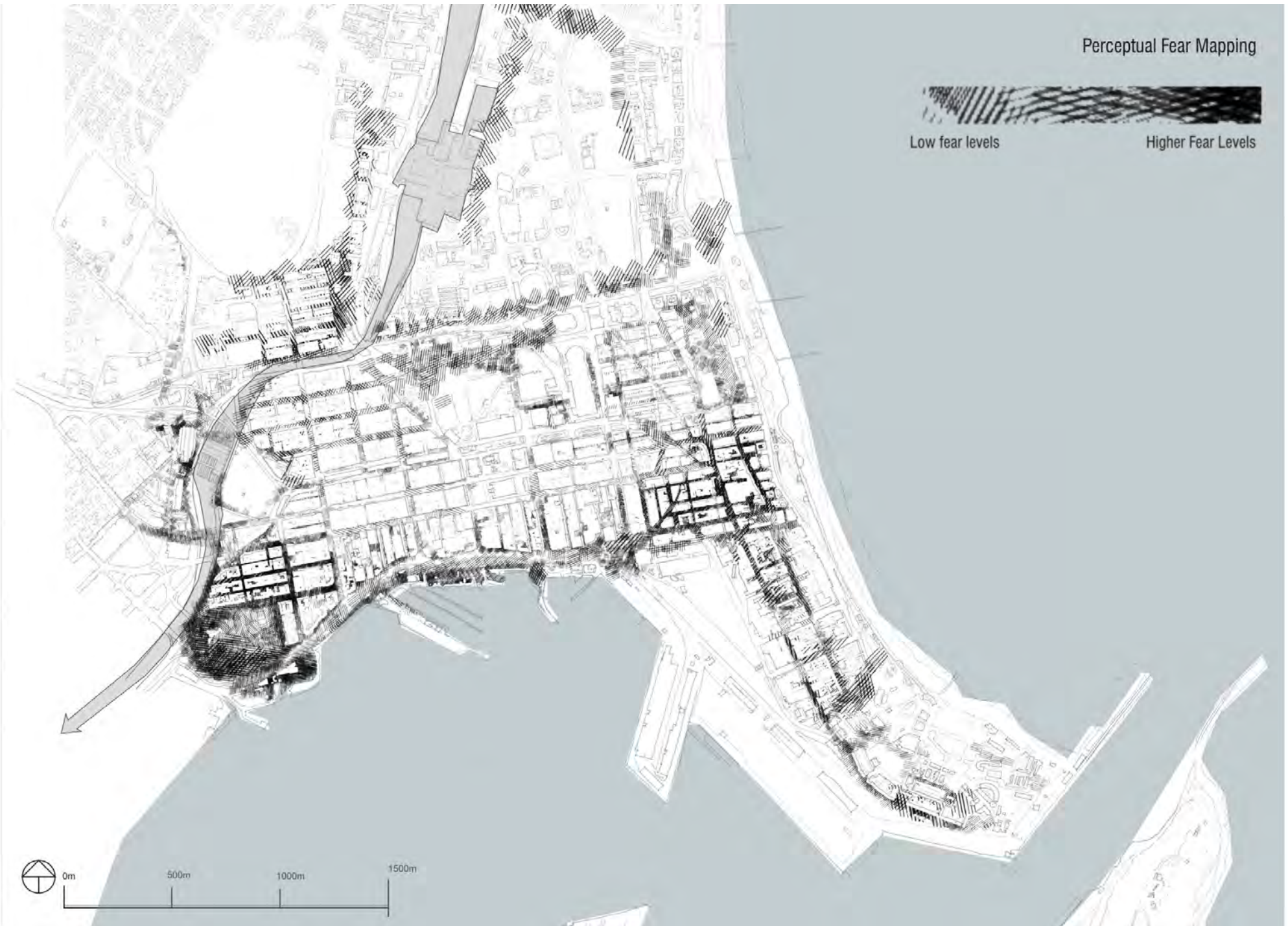


Fig. 6.22: Perceptual Fear Map

Layers of Analysis:

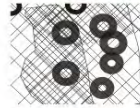
Districts



Nodes:
Generators



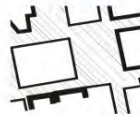
Nodes: Crime
Attractors



Paths



Active Edges



Public open
space



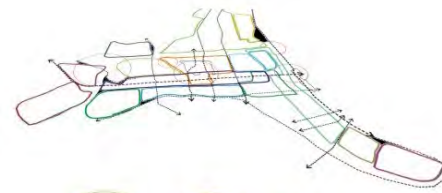
Edges and
Barriers



Institutions &
facilities



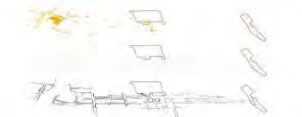
Perceptual
"Fear"



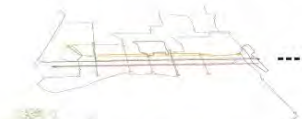
Districts
Character Areas



Nodes
Major nodes of activity
Crime Attractors
Crime Facilitators



Activity
Informal Trade
Active Spaces
Active edges



Paths
Movement Routes



Public space
Treelines and Clusters
Public Open Space System



Edges &
Barriers



Landmarks
& Institutions



Streets Layout



Activity Generators



Safe Facilities



Movement Hierarchy



Public open space
& Tree-lines



POS system



Edges and new linkages



New facilities



Composite Framework



Phasing



Fig. 6.23: Layers of Analysis Leading into the Proposal

6.2. Proposals for intervention

Based on the analysis of Durban's inner city, this section will consider options for intervention. The adjacent diagram illustrates the development from the layers of the analysis into ideas and proposals.

Districts are considered a given and the unique characteristics of the various areas should be celebrated, rather than disguised or homogenised.

In terms of areas of activity, it is assumed from the analysis that areas of activity create the perception of safety, at least in terms of safety in numbers. Thus the least active areas of the city feel least safe. 'Risky facilities' gather in these accessible, but off route areas.

The paths of the city also give an indication of routes to prioritise in terms of interventions to maximise the effect of an upgrading project and suggests important linkages for pedestrians throughout the city.

The open public space system is considered in terms of connections between green areas within the city that can be strengthened. Some low quality public spaces can also be upgraded or reconsidered.

In terms of barriers, the analysis of edge condition leads to proposals of new linkages crossing some barriers as well as the removal of some large obstacles within the urban fabric.

Furthermore possible placement of new facilities is included as an intervention within the layer of landmarks and institution.

These elements are then assembled into a framework for intervention within the city that can be implemented over a period of a decade or two.

6.2.1. Activity Generators/ Nodes

Despite areas with high ambient populations usually having high crime rates, busier areas generally feel safer and can have much lower crime rates per capita than other areas of the city if administered correctly. The areas that are least safe in the city are highly accessible, but just out of sight of crowds. These areas are also underdeveloped in terms of activities and facilities. Thus creating institution nodes or generating activity within these areas, might help to alleviate the fears associated with them whilst increasing surveillance and institutional ownership of the area, and hence creating a less desirable risk return analysis for any potential offender. Areas marked as having the potential to become nodes of activity include the old Railway area, Pickering and Rivertown.

The old railway area has vast amounts of lost space that result in an unpleasant exposed environment for the pedestrian. This area has been earmarked for a large public library complex. It is suggested that this complex considers a variety of land-uses. Perhaps collaboration is possible between universities, the city and other private institution, to ensure that the area becomes a vibrant space with activity throughout all hours of the day. It is important to also include residential components within the area as it activates spaces throughout the day and generally has a moderating effect on crime due to the presence of people (or *guardians*) who feel a sense of ownership towards a space. Commercial activity is also vital to draw a mixture of people into the complex and ensure safety in numbers. This activity can also serve the taxi rank on the west of site as well as the new residents.

A new 'creative industry' node in the area of Rivertown has been proposed by Propertuity. This area does have the potential for such a proposal to flourish. With fewer residents in the area, gentrification and activity will rather than displacing activity, densify and activate the area. This creates a safe node between the ICC and the beachfront. The area already houses a Beer Hall and up-market Neighbourhood Market drawing interest in the city centre. The hope is that this development initiative will illustrate the potential for further investment within the inner city. This area is also connected to Pickering area via an enclosed canal with suggest latent potential for a connection between the areas.

Pickering is another area where a node of activity is suggested. In this case, it is not due to obvious latent opportunities, but rather due to the need for positive activity and facilities at the heart of a crime ridden area. Although the area currently seems like the least pleasant option for development, it is also the most important in terms of combating criminal activity. Regeneration of this area would lead to less crime at the nexus of the hotspot, and hence less crime within the city as a whole. Crime attractors would, in a sense, be displaced by facilities that enhance the area and create activity and surveillance.



Fig. 6.24: Nodes: Interaction facilitators and places for intervention

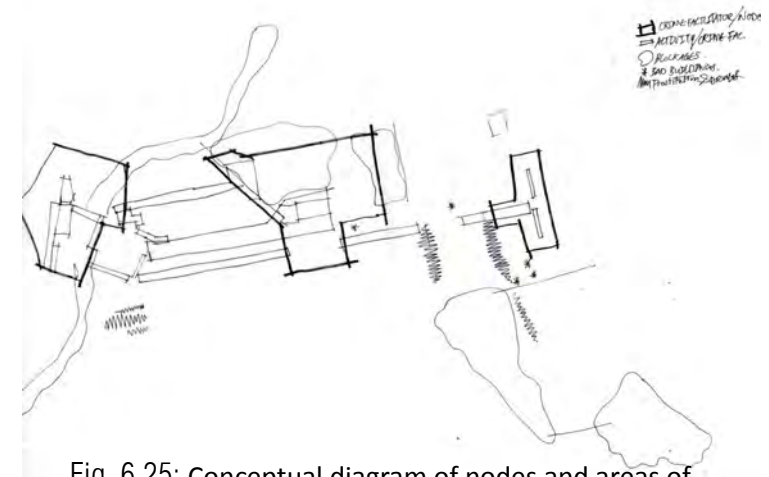


Fig. 6.25: Conceptual diagram of nodes and areas of crime outside them

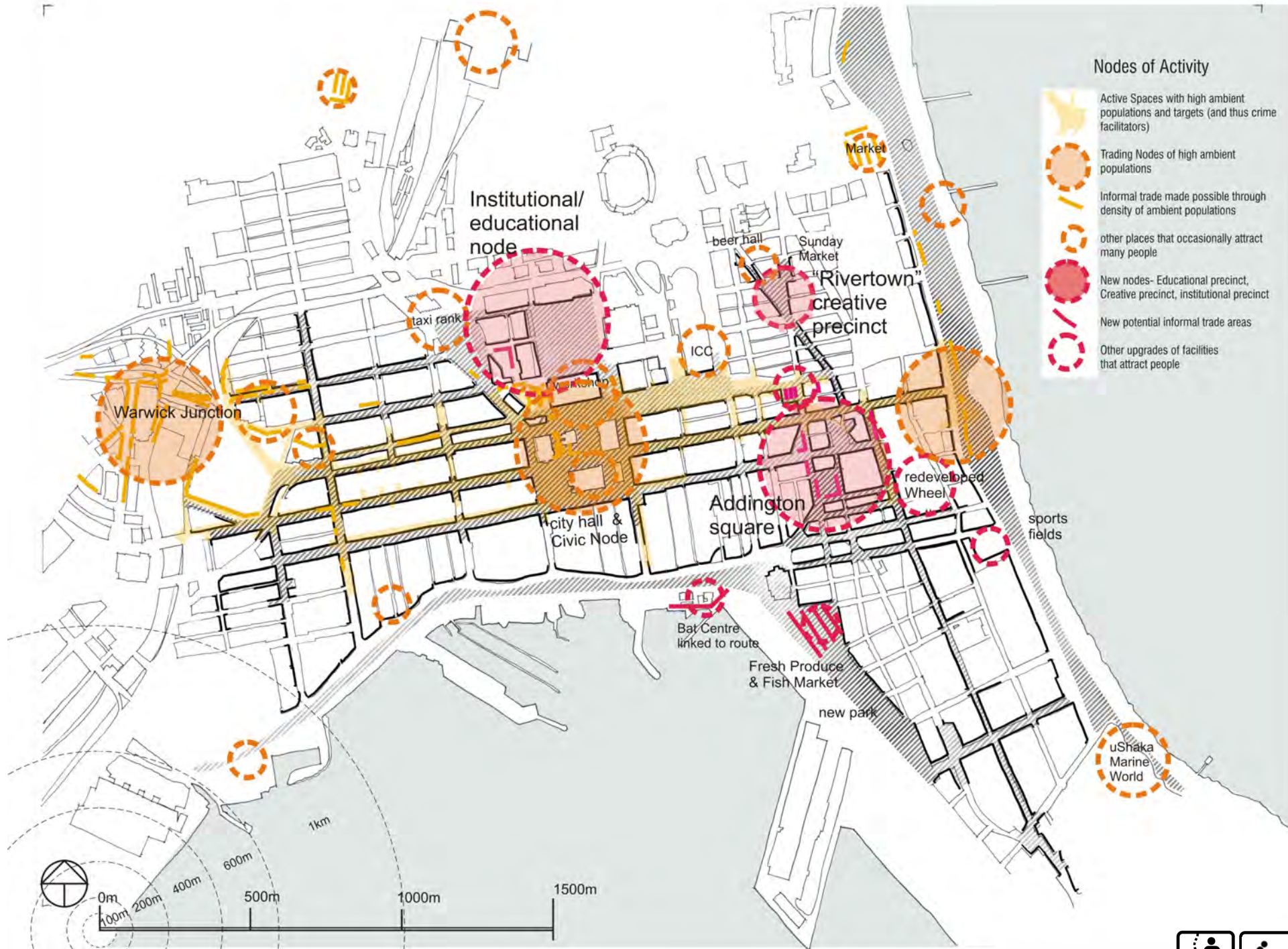


Fig. 6.26: Nodes of Activity- Proposal



6.2.2. Safe Facilities

This layer of intervention draws on the notions of 'Safe Boxes' discussed as part of the precedent studies, as well as initiatives for more security guards in other cities (CCID in Cape Town).

These methods, suggested in the precedent studies, might not be directly applicable or considered appropriate for the inner city of Durban, but the notion of strategic placement of safe facilities is useful. This layer of intervention suggests alternative options for the structuring of such safety networks and security facilities throughout the city.

Temporary structures for security guards, such as the CCID guards, are often erected or located in visible areas and act as a sign of security activity in an area. However, considering the unique situation of Durban's CBD, perhaps it is possible to suggest alternative arrangements. A satellite police station has been placed in Albert Park due to the extremity of the problems in this area (however, whether this has had any positive effects for the area is questionable). Durban's CBD does have a number of semi-derelict residential buildings that could potentially benefit from additional security, whilst increasing the ownership of the semi-public and semi-private spaces of the building. A safety facility can thus be located on ground level within or attached to a particular building. In many cases, building become derelict due to mismanagement or absentee-landlords. Within the process of *restoration, sale or maintenance* of such buildings, a negotiation can take place for the inclusion of a security facility for the street. This can be inside or linked to the building. Other non-derelict buildings

might also be able to benefit from such arrangements. Such a system would need further exploration in terms of feasibility and would require collaboration and negotiations with landowners, caretakers, police, public-private partnerships and businesses in order to function. This is however outside of the scope of this project.

Safety facilities such as security stations, and satellite police stations can be introduced along important route creating a network of safe pedestrian paths through the city. In the adjacent map these have been suggested at Alobert Park, Pickering area, around public spaces and along Dr Pixley Kaseme and Anton Lembede Streets, connecting areas via safe routes. It should be noted that other institutional facilities can also act as "safe facilities", but these will be discussed later in this section.

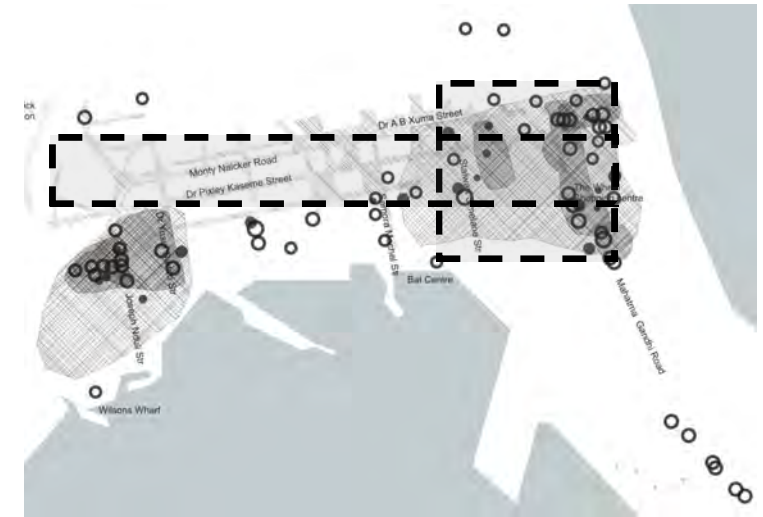


Fig. 6.27: Crime attractors or 'Risky Facilities' and places of intervention

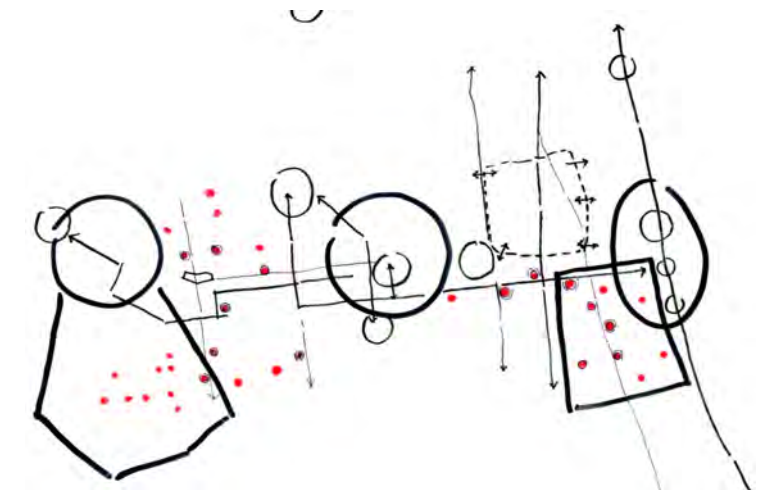
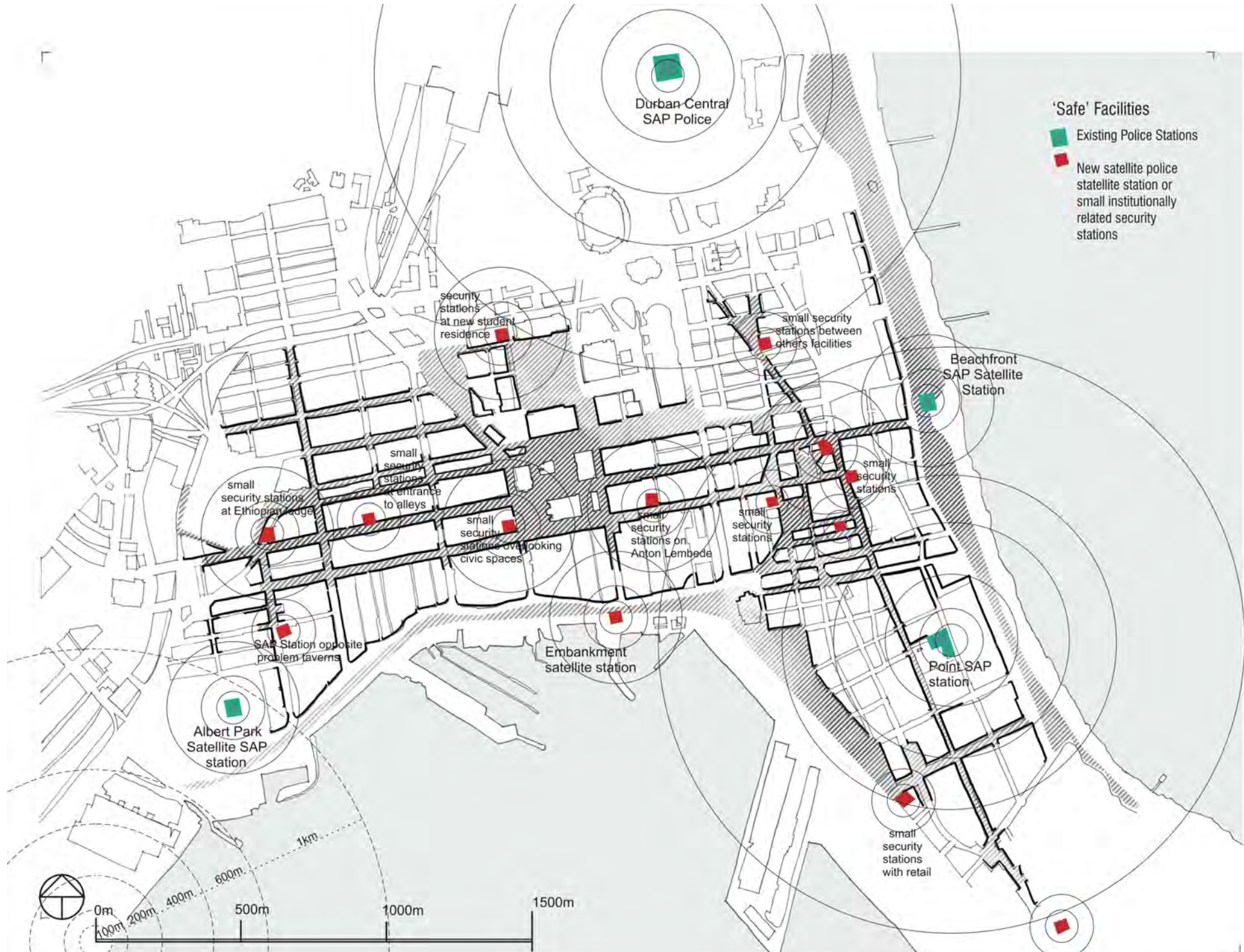


Fig. 6.28: Conceptual diagram for intervention along routes and at nodes



'Safe' Facilities

- Existing Police Stations
- New satellite police station or small institutionally related security stations

Fig. 6.29: Safe Facilities- Proposal

6.2.3. Movement Hierarchy

The hierarchy of movement within the city indicates routes of strategic intervention in terms of safety facilities as well as general upgrading and the introduction of features such as tree-lines that create more comfortable human streetscapes and indicate care. In terms of movement routes Dr Pixiel Kaseme Street and Mahatma Gandhi Road should be prioritised. In terms of pedestrian activity and secondary movement, the Esplanade or Margaret Mncadi Avenue can be prioritised as part of the Victoria Embankment linear park. The route along the enclosed canal on John Milne Road and later along Gilligan Street should be developed into a special pedestrian route that together with the beachfront and harbour can serve as an additional pedestrian route in the city.

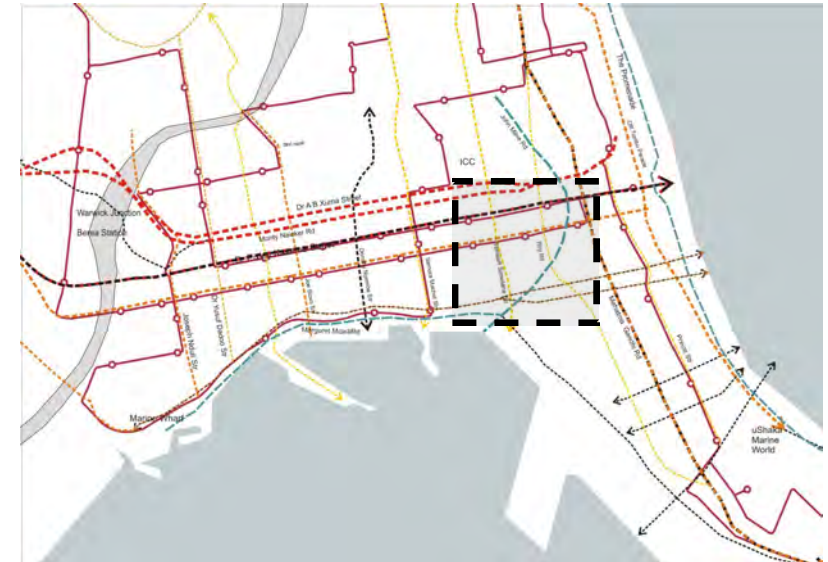


Fig. 6.30: Movement analysis

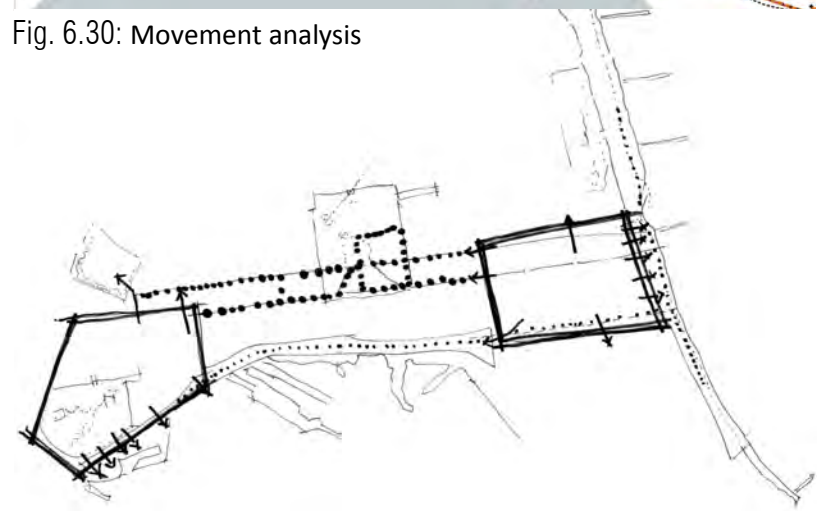


Fig. 6.31: Conceptual diagram for increasing pedestrian walkability, increasing links to recreational spaces and the ocean and removing the “CAUTION” signs from areas in Durban



Fig. 6.32: Hierarchy of movement/ Prioritisation of routes- Proposal

6.2.4. Public open space and treelines

Additional Public spaces can be added in Pickering area. Due to the general lack any public space in the area this will have to be done through the demolition of a strategic city block that currently houses low-rise industrial warehousing.

Furthermore, Public spaces around the old train station area need to be framed by facilities, with active facades and compulsory colonnades or shading on the edges, to create quality civic spaces. Other public spaces that need attention include the clusters of traffic islands that prioritise access for cars in all directions at all times. These should be reconsidered.

The public spaces within the CBD can also be linked visually with structural treelines that create visual legibility along primary routes throughout the city. Some structural treelines have been planted, for example along Samora Machel Street to create a visual axis as the road slopes towards the harbour from the heart of the city. Treelines and planting are also suggested along Dr Pixley Kaseme Street and Mahatma Gandhi Road, as well as along other smaller routes.



Fig. 6.33: Current [lack of] Public Open Spaces



Fig. 6.34: Public Open Space and connecting treelines- Proposal



Public open space System

The adjacent map illustrates the potential for increased connections between the green spaces of the city and suggest that the character of the “Jungle-Port City” can be used as an assets to create more pleasant spaces, relieve any potential heat island effect of the city and create shaded green streetscapes. This creates less harsh spaces throughout the city which enable people to act positively within this diverse environment.



Fig. 6.35: Current [lack of] connections between Public open spaces



Fig. 6.36: Connecting Green Networks- Proposal



6.2.5. Edges and New linkages

New linkages are suggested along the Victoria Embankment. This edge currently poses as a barrier to the city, but has the potential to be an asset and to exploit its connection with the harbour. The railway line needs safer and more frequent crossings than its current garbage ridden and derelict subways. The railway also need to be crossed at the Bat Centre to allow for pedestrian access to this facility and to create a link between the port and the canal discussed previously. Furthermore the removal or optimisation of port activities should be considered for the regeneration of the CBD. Although lucrative, the port activities on this stretch of the port inhibit the regeneration or development of this part of the city. Assuming that these activities are too lucrative to remove, entirely, the use of the port can be optimised through the construction of vertical storage space (such as the car storage facilities built here in 2006). It might also be possible to relocate some of these activities of other areas which have opened up, such as the old airport site which is to be converted into extended harbour space just south of the city.

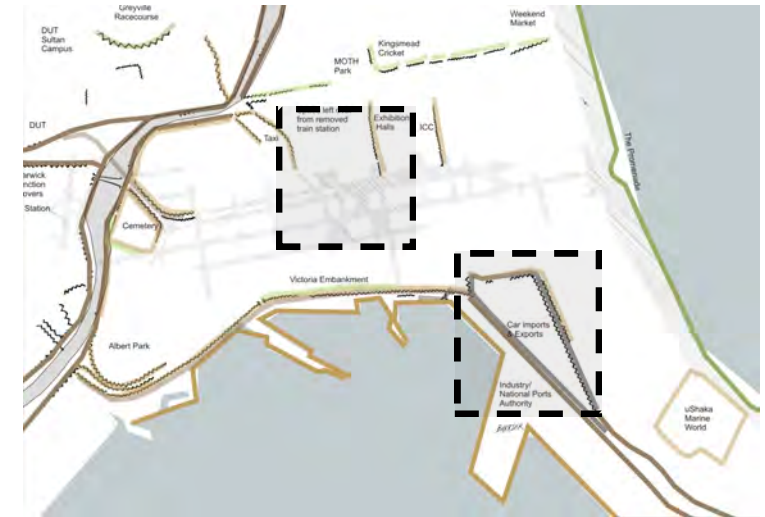


Fig. 6.37: Edges and Barriers Analysis

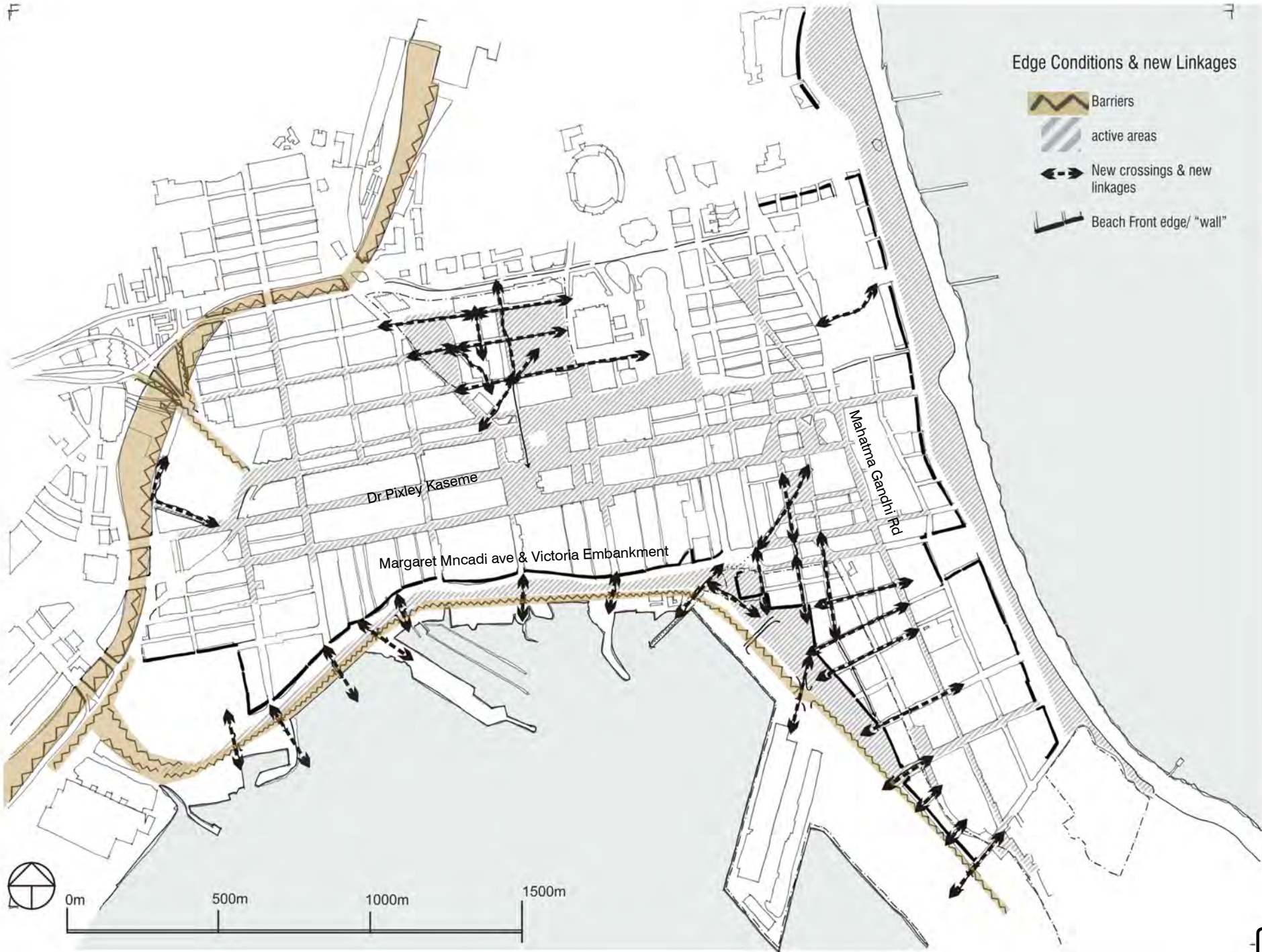


Fig. 6.38: Edges and New Linkages- Proposal



6.2.6. New Facilities

Due to the lack of facilities in various areas of the city, new institutional facilities are suggested at the 3 new nodes discussed above. Whilst the old railway area can house formal public and institutional facilities along with a library as part of the city's civic node, Rivertown has the potential to become the creative hub of the city. Other facilities such as additional market space to link with the Bat Centre, can be developed if land is to be freed for development along the port. Pickering area, linking with Rivertown can become a smaller educational and business hub that could provide rentable space for colleges, along with office and residential spaces. This precinct will be discussed in terms of functions and facilities in further detail within the next section.



Fig. 6.39: [Lack of] Institutional Facilities in areas

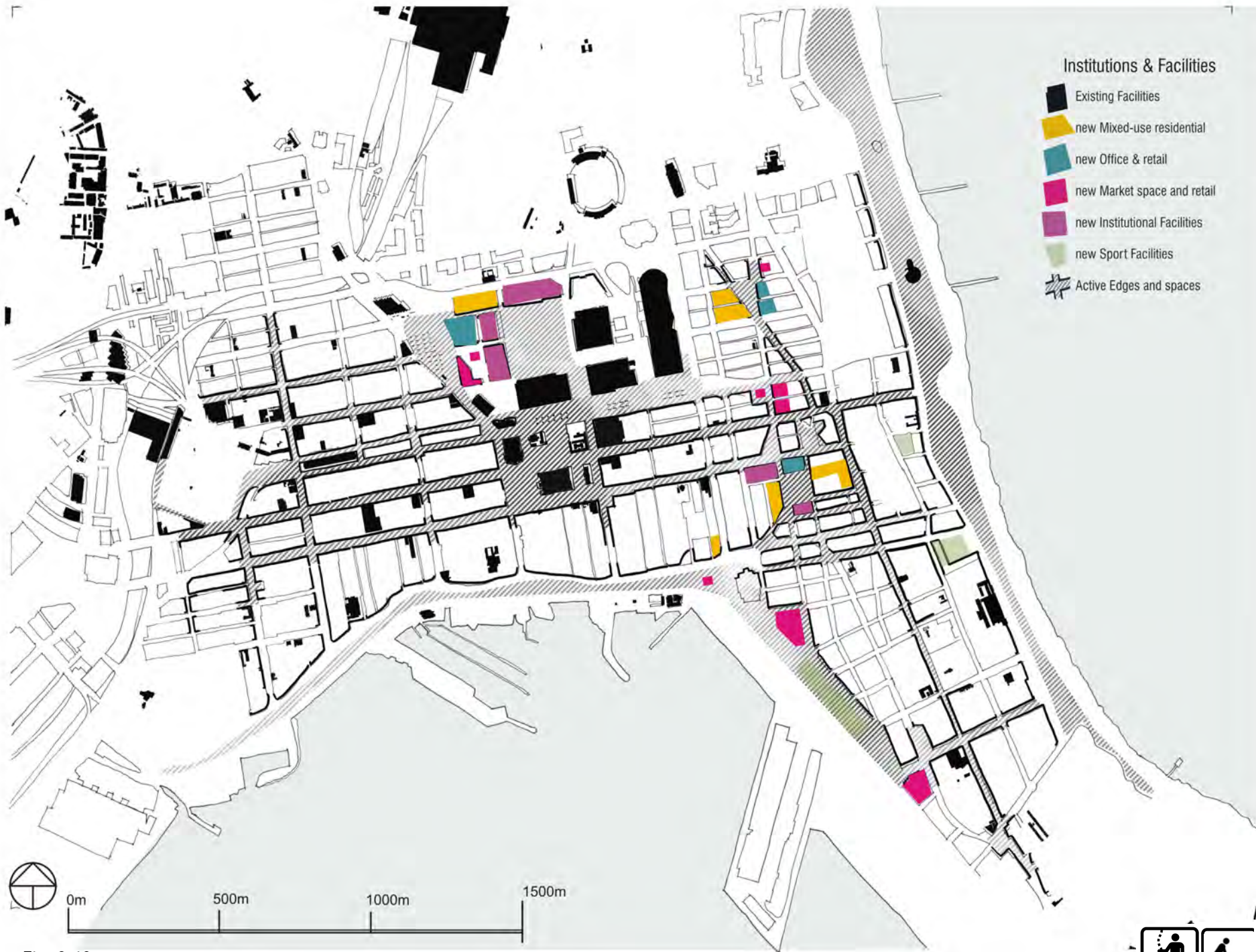


Fig. 6.40: Institutions and Facilities- Proposal



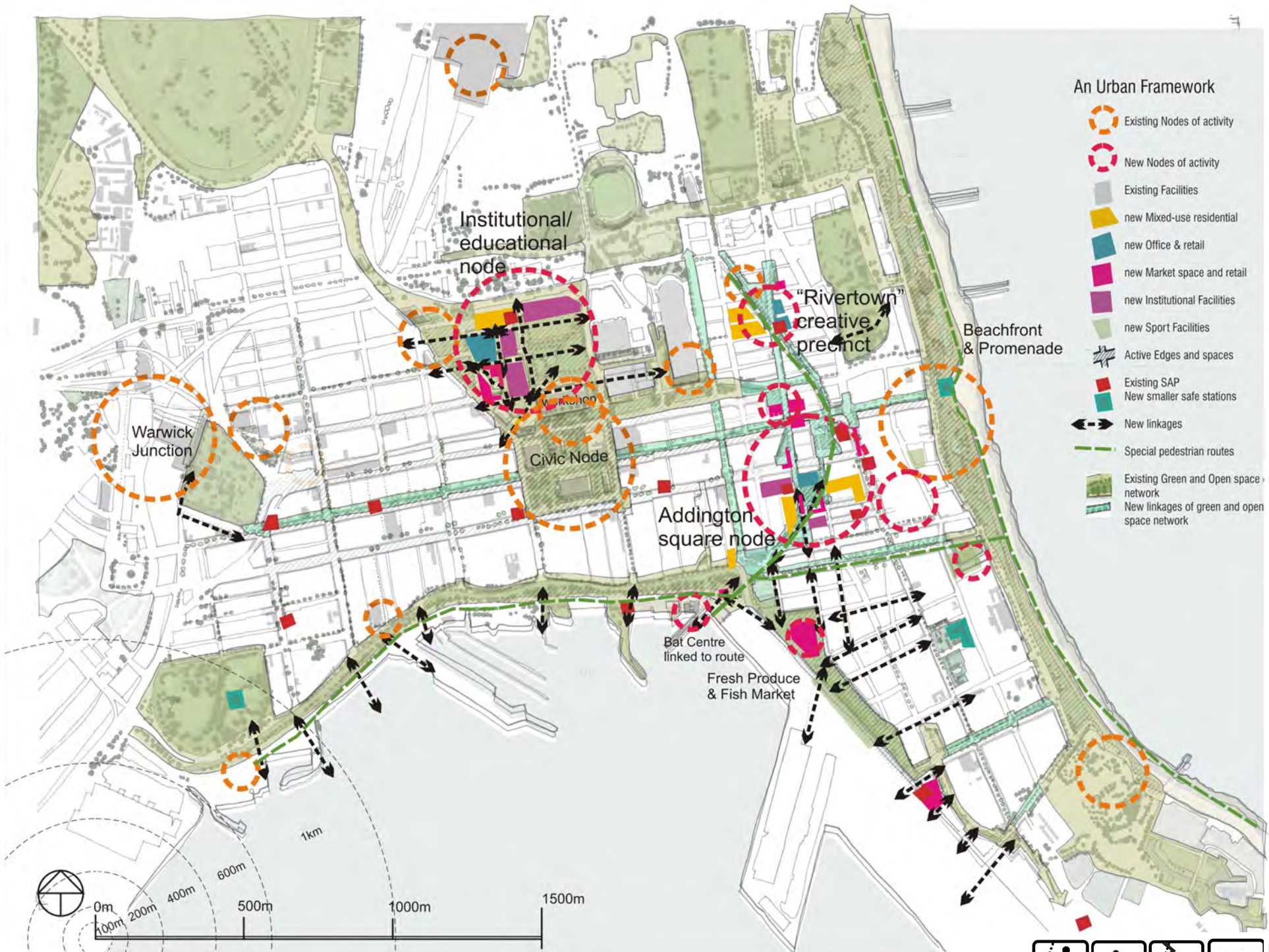


Fig. 6.42: Composite urban Framework



6.3. Phasing and Implementation:

At this scale, it is important to consider the phasing of projects relative to each other. Many of the projects suggested will inform, influence or support the interventions that follow. This is clear even within the existing projects and those that are currently planned by the municipality.

Phase 1 (Past 20 Years): The existing (Indicated as Phase 1) shows the development of the Point, uShaka Marine World, Warwick Junction, the Promenade and the construction / extension of Shepstone Road through the built fabric of Motortown area.

Phase 2 (Next 5 Years): With the development of the promenade, and the other facilities mentioned above, the potential for other developments appear. The future Rivertown development (shown as Phase 2b), spearheaded mainly by the private sector, but supported by the public sector, is an example of such a development. The development of the old railway area has also been suggested many times over the years since the demolition of the station. The most recent suggestion is for a new public library (Phase 2c). This has the potential develop into an extension of the civic core of the CBD to create an institutional and educational hub. It is suggested that student accommodation and retail at ground level be incorporated in order to ensure high levels of activity in the area. The partial pedestrianisation of Pixley Kaseme (Phase 2a) is also planned and should have a positive effect on the regeneration of all the districts along the CBD.

Phase 3 (Next 10-20 Years): The development of Pickering or South Beach Area is the area of exploration in the next section. This phase (Phase

3a-c) is to a large extent reliant on other developments such as the Promenade and Rivertown and also depends heavily on the continued success of the civic core of the city. This phase will be discussed in the next sections.

Phase 4 (Next 5-20 Years): With the development of phase 3 it is possible for the Victoria Embankment (Phase 4 in this case) to be linked to the beachfront and to thus function as part of a recreational and pedestrian oriented network (Phase 4b). The Victoria Embankment should at some stage in the near future see an upgrade (Phase 4a) which would support the developments in South Beach and would increase the likelihood and feasibility of redevelopment of the large tracts of land next to the T-Jetty (Phase 5). The renewal of the Victoria Embankment could also have appositive effect on Albert Park (Phase 4c). If usage of this park, by sports teams and recreation seekers were to increase, and the park were to become a positive asset once again, this might also have a positive effect on the residential area of Albert Park.

Phase 5 (Next 10-30 Years): The unlocking of land next to the T-Jetty can only be made possible through the upgrading of the Embankment and South Beach. It will only be possible If regeneration takes place to the extent that the potential for leasing the land and allowing for redevelopment seems more lucrative than its use as a logistics area. This would allow for a relatively large scale development as well as reinstating Durban's connection with the ocean on the harbour's side.

The development of these projects will require the involvement of various **public and private stakeholders**. These include the eThekwin

Municipality and City Architects, the provincial government (for funding), development agencies and private landowners and in some cases the communities residing in those areas.

It is suggested that for more complex phases such as phase 3, a **specialised task team** be employed by municipal government to focus on developments in the area over a number of years. The municipality has had much practice with this through their iTrump initiatives. Such a development would include intense negotiations with many landowners and residents of various buildings, as well as collaboration with law enforcement and potentially with private or neighbourhood security groups. Each of the **smaller acupunctural projects** (discussed in the next few sections) will present unique challenges for implementation and will need to be considered on a project by project basis.

It is important to note that these projects are retrospectively inserted into an already existing urban fabric and thus this suggested framework needs to be more flexible and perhaps less structured and 'utopian' than a greenfield project where more variables can be controlled. Instead of attempting to structure the area and providing hierarchical nodes, these projects serve as a network of interconnected upgrading projects (similar to those discussed in the case study of the Barcelona Model), that will enhance the city through investment and place-making and initiate a change in use and perceptions of the inner city.

The next section will focus on Pickering area and will rely more heavily on the use of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design and the principles laid out in Section 5.

Phasing

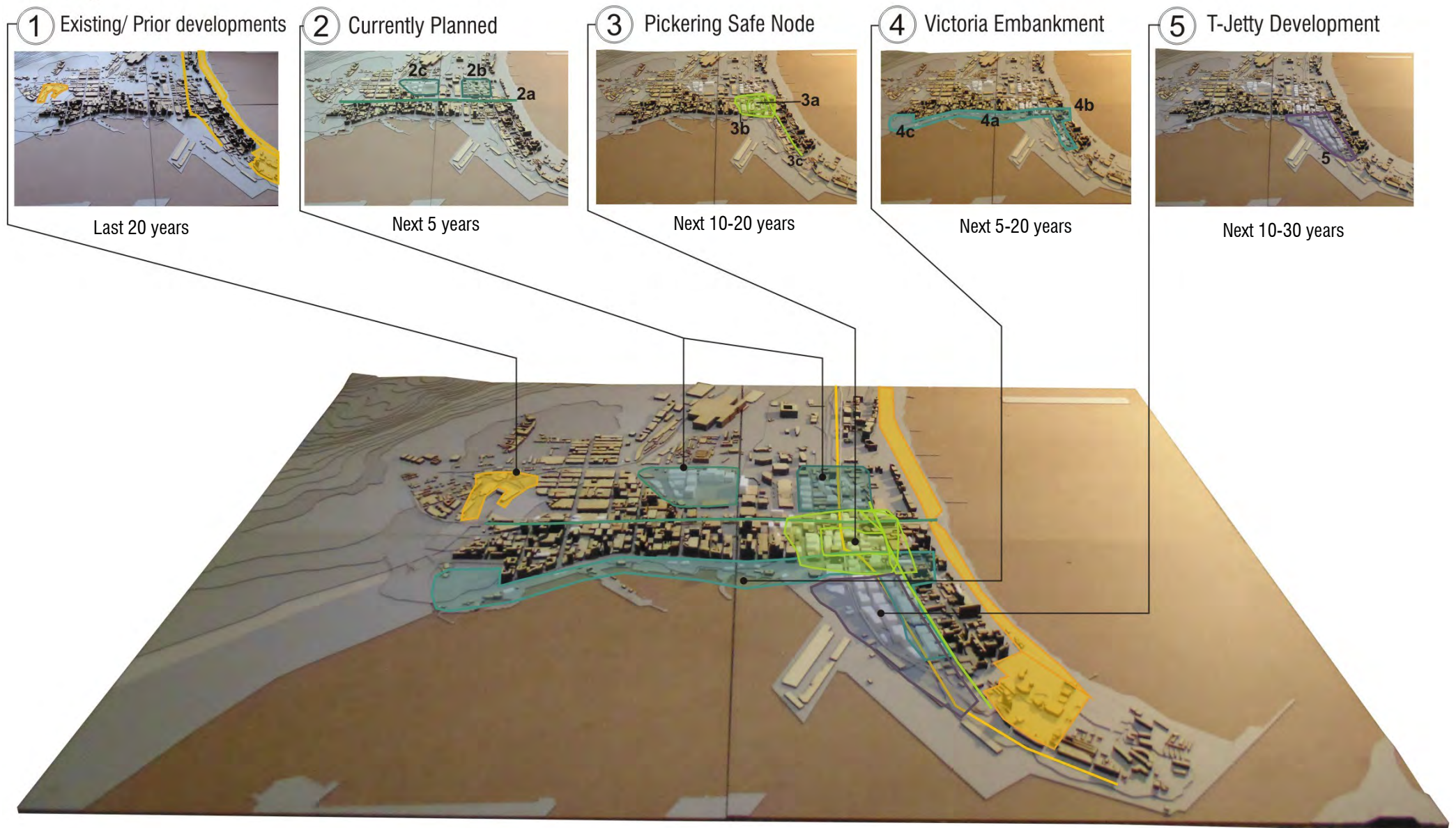


Fig. 6.43: Phasing & Implementation

Analysis & Proposal for Pickering Area

Precinct Scale

SECTION 7

SECTION 1

SECTION 2

SECTION 3

SECTION 4

SECTION 5

SECTION 6

SECTION 8

SECTION 9

- TRADE AND ACTIVITY
- TAVERNS
- CRIME ATTRACTORS
- LAND-USE
- OWNERSHIP
- ACTIVE EDGES AND SPACES
- PUBLIC SPACES VACANT LOTS AND FANCES
- EDGES BLACK WALLS
- PATHS MOVEMENT
- [LACK OF] PUBLIC OPEN SPACE
- [LACK OF] FACILITIES AND INSTITUTIONS
- LOW-RISE WAREHOUSING
- DEMOLITION
- REDEVELOPMENT
- NODE OF ACTIVITY
- MAZEPPA SQUARE
- OPTIMISED LAND USE
- ROUTES OF THE AREA

KEYWORDS 

Layers of Analysis:

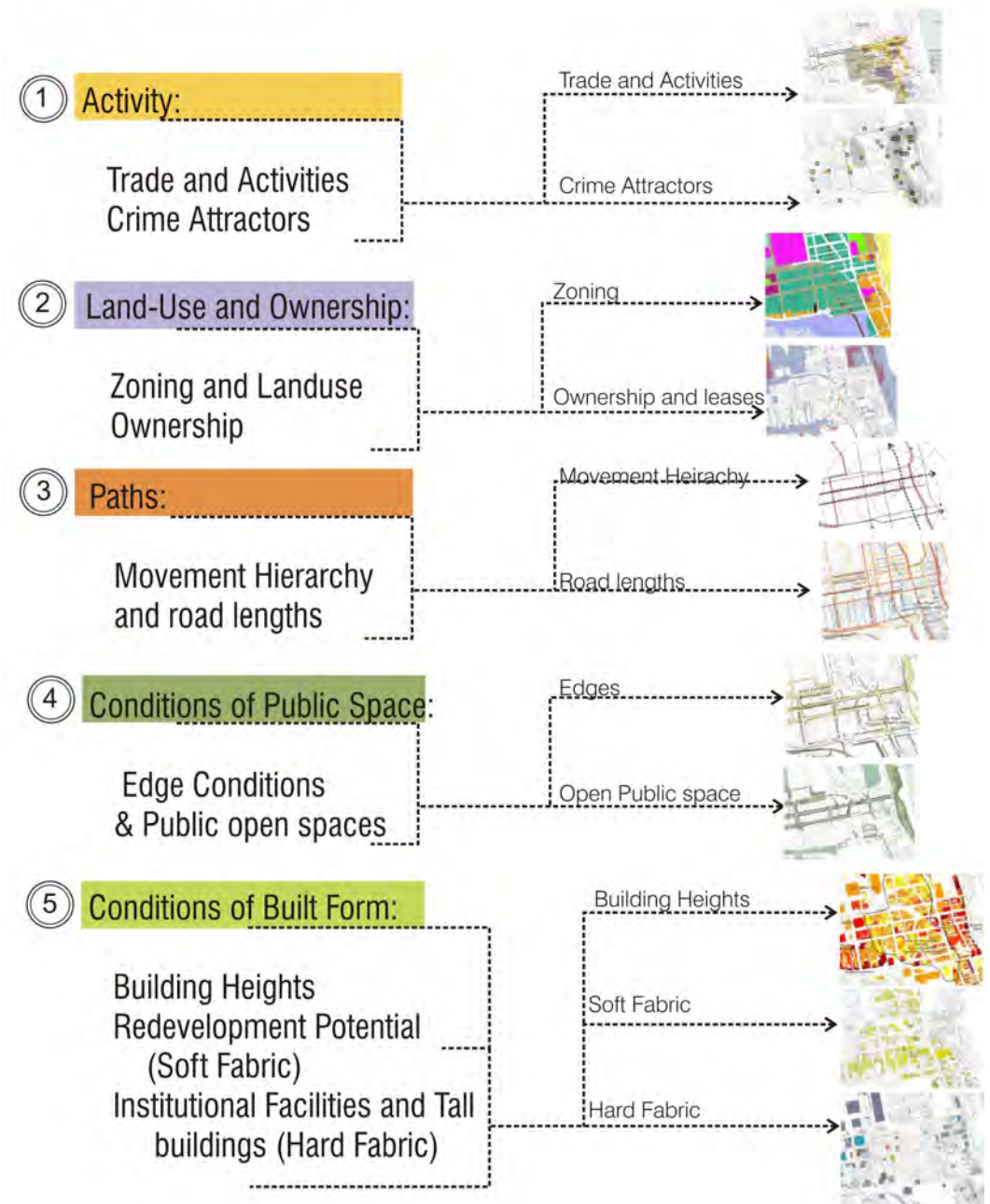


Fig. 7.1: Layers of analysis at Precinct Scale

Precinct Scale- Analysis

7.1. Introduction to the site

The previous section provides a context for the precinct scale study of Pickering area. The area chosen is notorious for its drug trafficking and crime. Other than its reputation for criminal activity and dereliction, the area also suffers from other more spatial issues:

- Lack of quality open public space
- Poor quality public space along streets
- Lack of public, institutional and educational facilities
- Lack of connection with the ocean despite proximity to it.

Pickering area does however have supplementary potential that make is a better site for intervention than other dangerous areas of the city. Firstly, it is relatively centrally located. Whilst Albert Park is located in the ‘back corner’ of the city, Pickering is located between the beachfront, Rivertown and the Central Business hub and ‘civic heart’ of the city.

Two blocks away and parallel to Durban’s Golden Mile, streets such as Mahatma Gandhi Road become dreaded areas associated with fears. The beachfront of South Beach area too was once such a dangerous zone; perhaps it is possible to gain from the energy created by the beach front activity to lure people and investment a little deeper into the city centre.

Furthermore, the Victoria Embankment on the harbour side of the area also presents a large area of potential in the near future. The Plan for Rivertown regeneration suggests that such investment is already taking place, but in an adjacent, less notorious area. Surrounded, by positive developments, and in a well-connected

location, the area of Pickering presents opportunities to develop at the nexus of one of Durban’s most feared areas.

The analysis presented in this section is once again compiled in layers. These are structured slightly differently to the previous section, due to the change in scale.

The analysis focuses on the *activities* within the area (rather than nodes), considers *land use, paths* and the condition of *public spaces*, and lastly examines the status quo of the *built fabric* in terms of the potential for redevelopment.

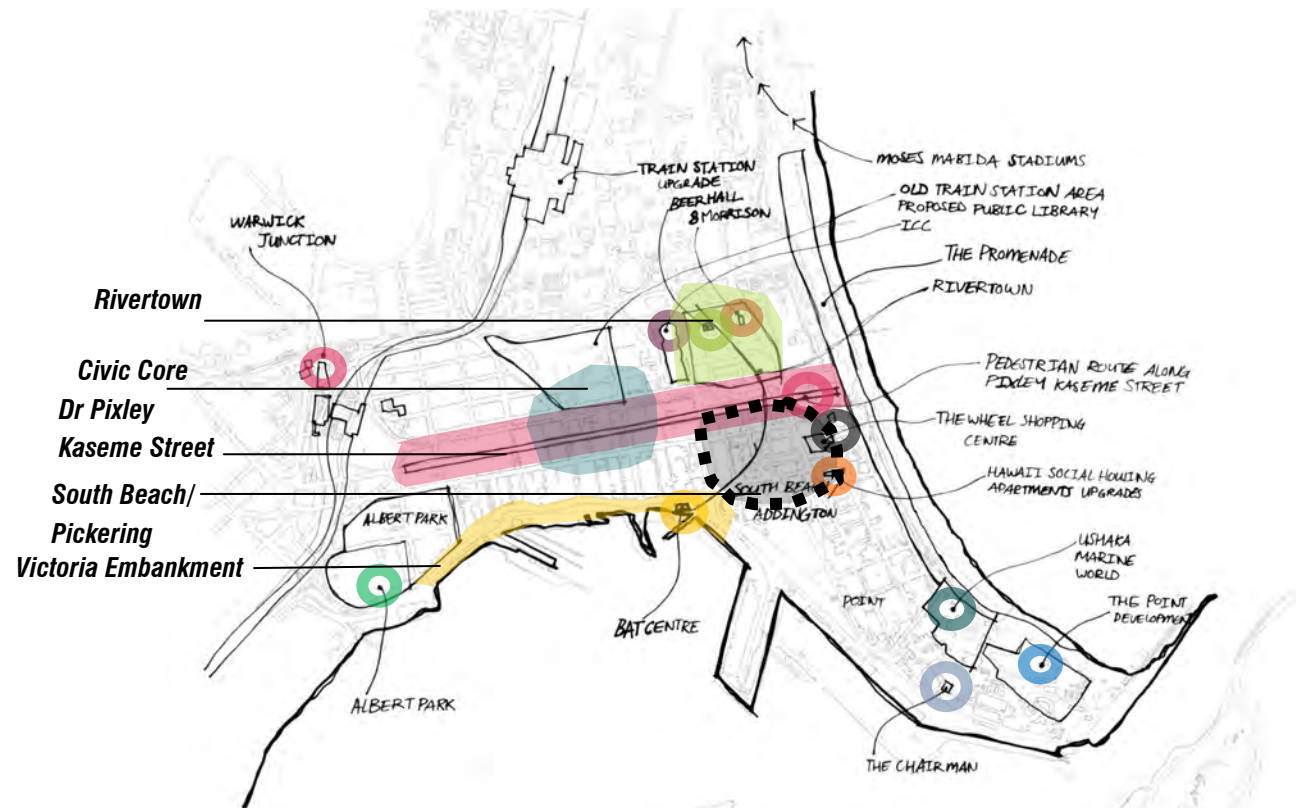


Fig. 7.2: Site Location between developments in Durban

7.1.1. Paths

Road lengths

The lengths of road within the city have been calculated using data from the National Geographical Institute (NGI). The road lengths serve as an indication of the hierarchy of a road within Durban's inner city gridiron layout, and also serves as an indication of how many connections with other streets a road is likely to have. Dr Pixley Kaseme Street, Anton Lembede Street and Mahatma Gandhi Road are important in this regard along with Margaret Mncadi Avenue. It is interesting to note that this area of Durban has a large number *very short disjointed streets that are less active in terms of commuter traffic*. These streets have become spaces of criminal activity. The area is thus easily accessible from legible major routes but have a finer network of ill-integrated road segments with poor structural legibility experienced by the pedestrian.

Movement Hierarchy

There is a hierarchy of roads that can be derived from the lengths of roads as well as the activities that take place along them. Dr Pixley Kaseme Street and Mahatma Gandhi Road are considered Primary Rotes in this project within this project. The map also indicate the People Mover routes and stops. Minibus taxis can generally be found on most of the *primary* and *secondary* streets indicated on the adjacent map.

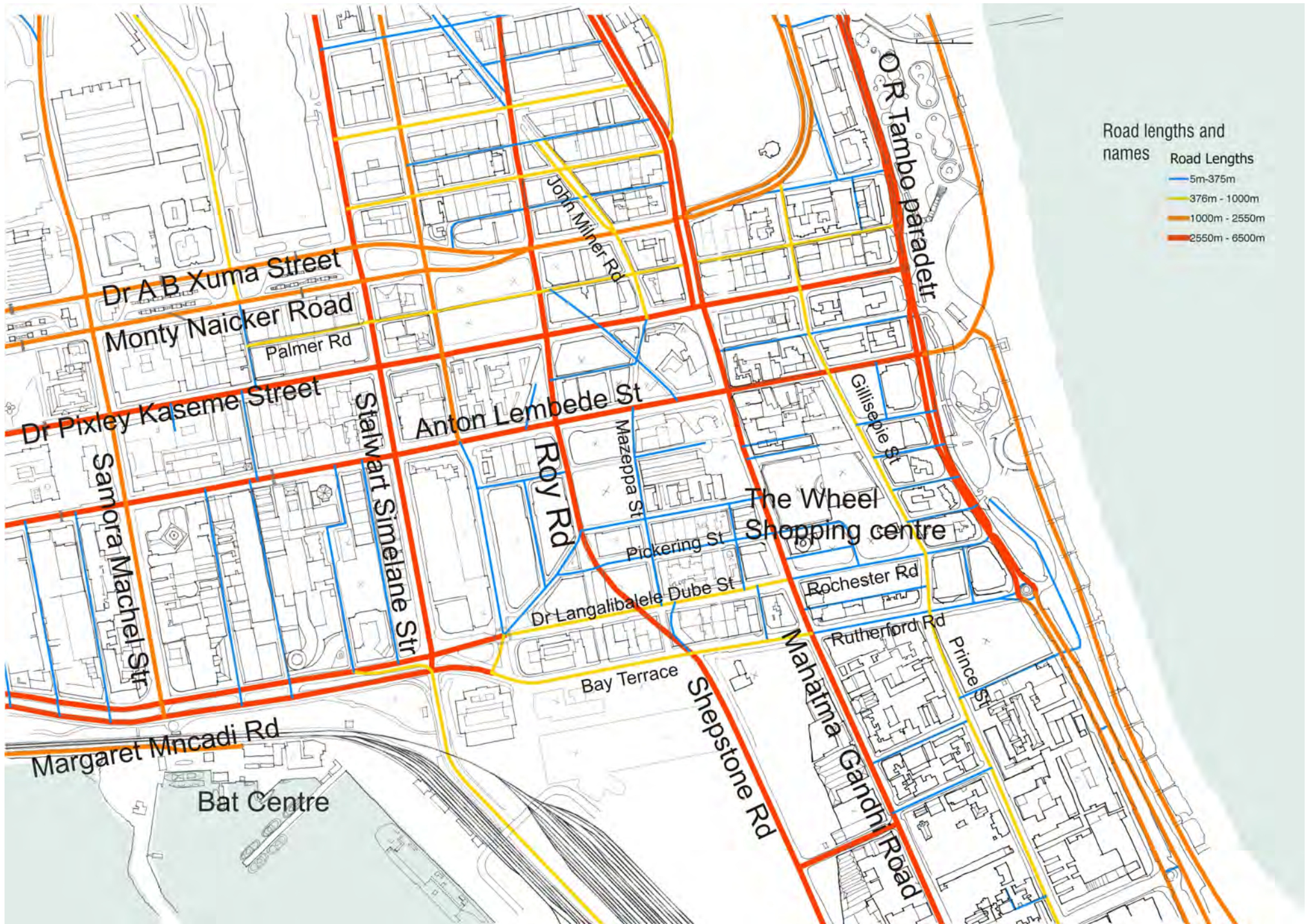
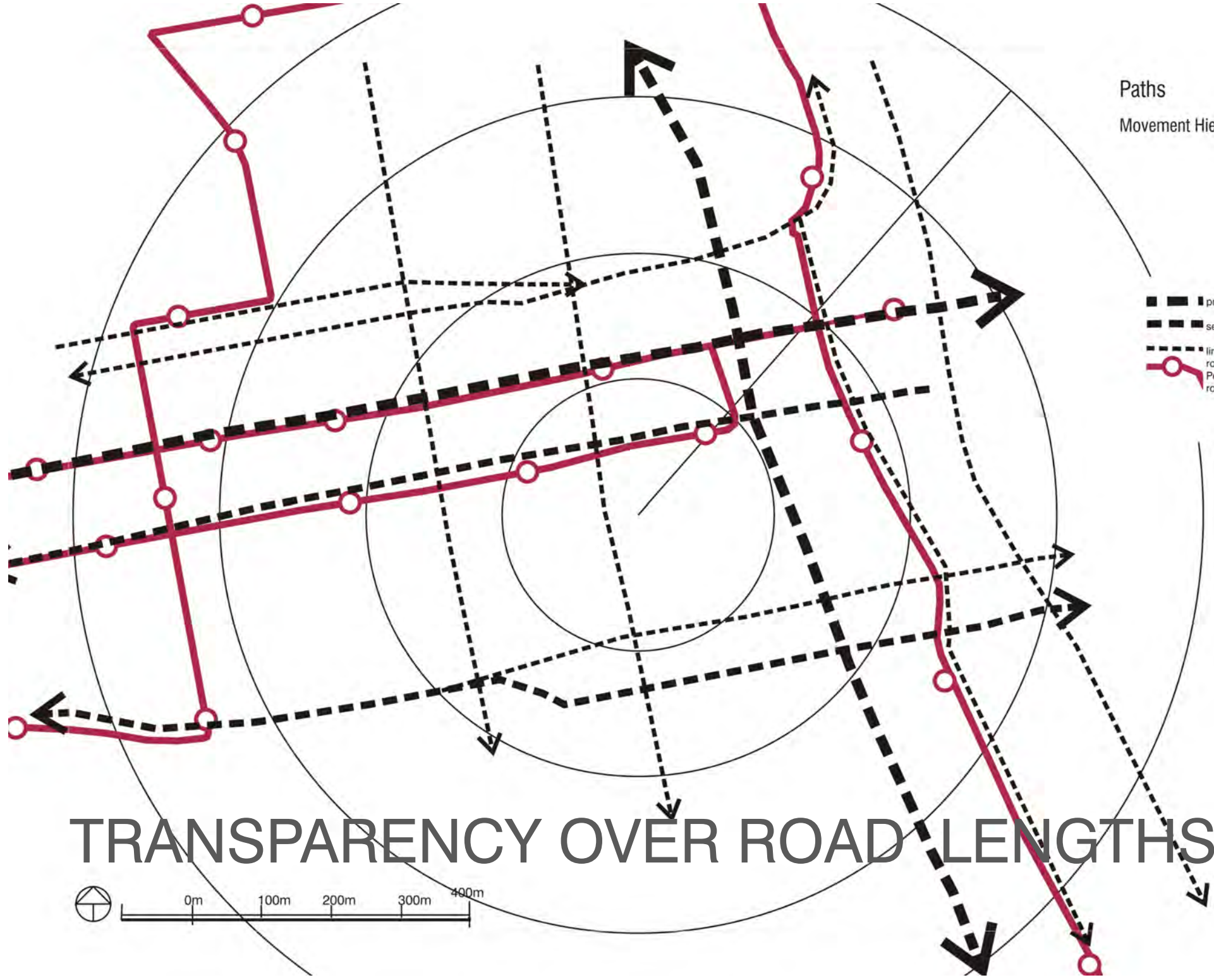


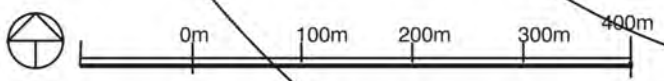
Fig. 7.3: Paths- Analysis



Paths
Movement Hierarchy

- primary movement
- secondary movement
- ⋯ linking movement routes
- People Mover Bus routes

TRANSPARENCY OVER ROAD LENGTHS



7.1.2. Activity

Trade and Activity

The adjacent map illustrates the trading activities prevalent in the area as this serves as an indication of the character and function of the area. Some of the most notable clusters of trade appear close to close to Pickering Street where there are many informal car repair shops along with a cluster of locksmiths and pawn shops.

Other notable clusters of activity occur around the primary streets. Along the lower part of Dr Pixley Kaseme Street and where it joins Mahatma Gandhi and Gillespie roads, there are many take away restaurants, barber shops, large fast food chain outlets, small stores for cell-phone and electronic repairs and kiosks or tuck-shops.

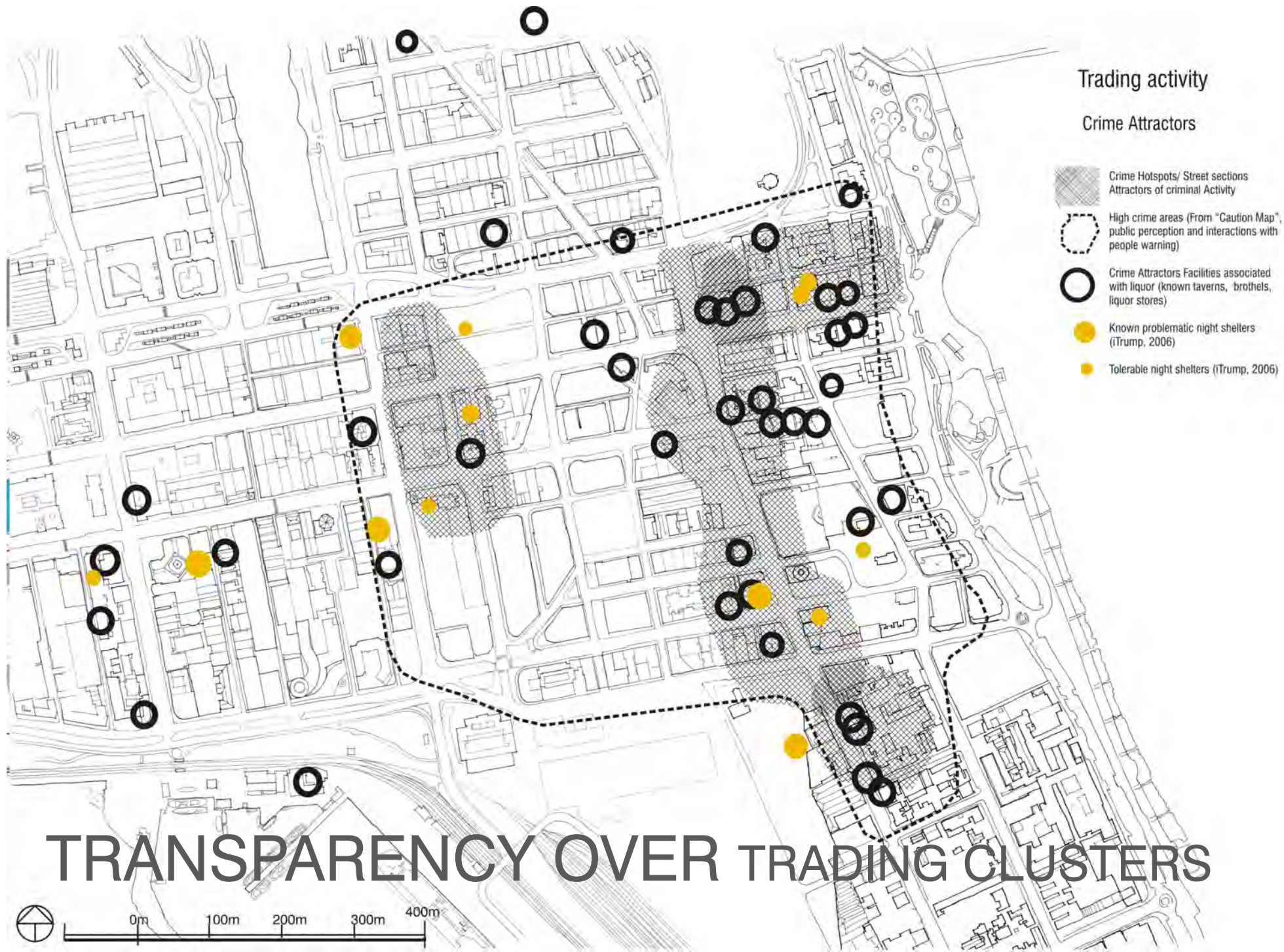
Further away from these active roads, car dealerships, car part sales, repair services and car imports and exports are located. Some of these are more formal than others with the most formal being located in close proximity to the port and along Anton Lembede Street.

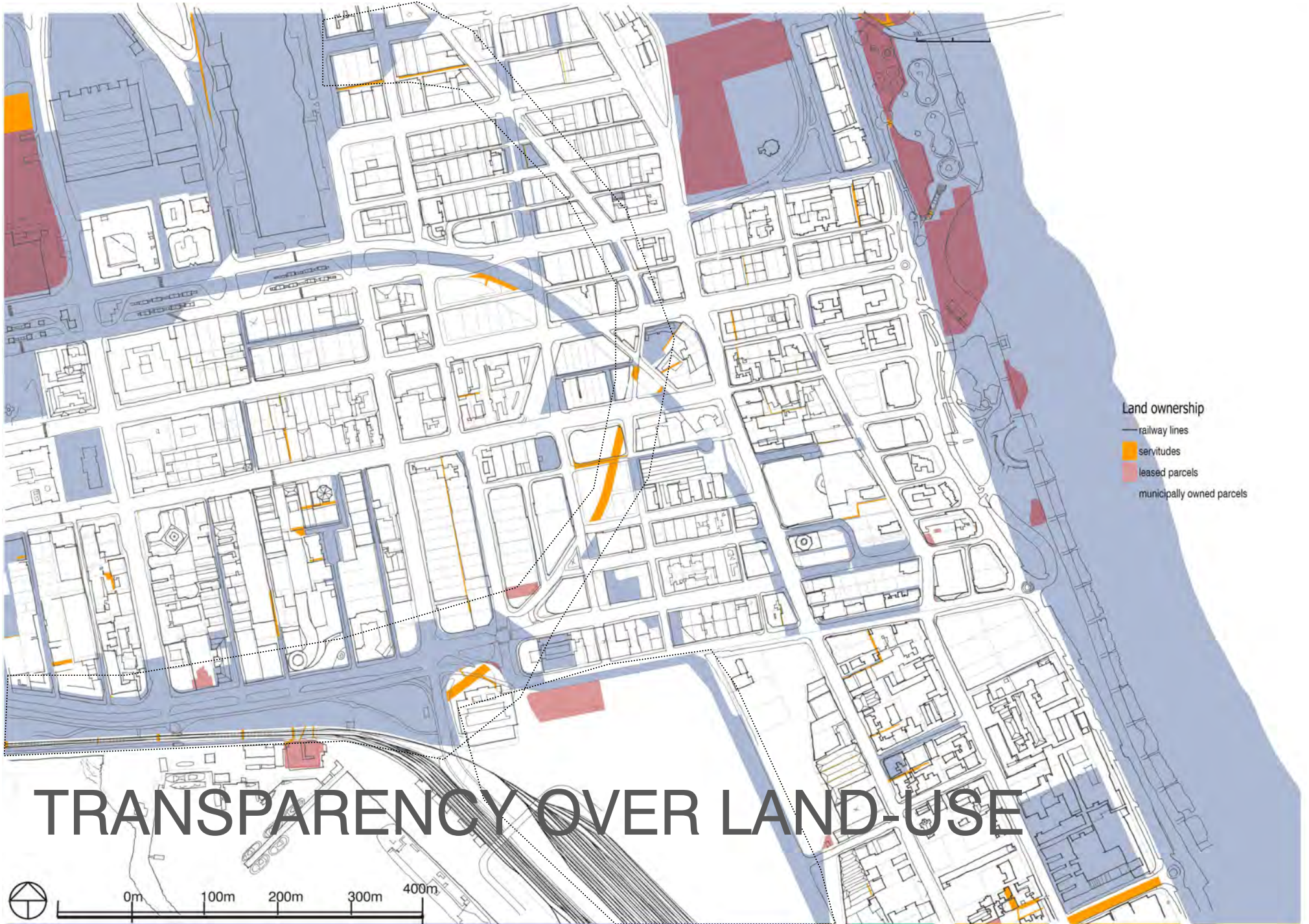
Crime Attractors

This layer shows the clustering of liquor related businesses. This serves as an elaboration of the layer of Crime Attractors in the previous city scale section. There are street segments that stand out as hubs for taverns and bottle stores. The end of Dr Pixley Kaseme Houses more formal drinking establishments. A notable cluster of bottle stores and taverns are hidden the in the narrow extension of Anton Lembede Street after it crosses Mahatma Gandhi road. The area surrounding this street and is known for muggings as well as derelict buildings. The corners of these streets also become points of potential crime and potential increased surveillance.



Fig. 7.4: Activity - Analysis





TRANSPARENCY OVER LAND-USE

7.1.3. Land Use and Ownership

Zoning

The city is largely zoned for general business that allows for all the above mentioned activities to take place and has clearly been flexible enough to allow to the large variety of built form found in the inner city of Durban. A residential zone runs along the city's sea-facing edges, suggesting that these land parcels are generally reserved for residential purposes, but have also allowed for small businesses to run for the bottom of these buildings.

An interesting development to note here is the recent changes in road layouts. The dark brown section indicates a "new road" or extension of Shepstone Road that was constructed between 2005 and 2006. Here low-rise industrial buildings and land were bought by the city in order to build a road that would run from the Northern edge cities, directly to the Point Development. This illustrates the possibility for the buying and restructuring of land in this light industrial area; it suggests that demolition and reconstruction is perhaps less difficult than in other denser areas of the city.

Ownership and leased land

This map indicates areas where land is owned by the municipality or where land is leased, presenting potential starting points for redevelopment. The Victoria Embankment along with some servitudes (in yellow) above the canal are municipally owned suggesting that a route along this stretch can become possible, especially if some strategic parcels of land can be purchased for the creation of public space around the servitude.

The Port area, owned by Transnet and the National Ports Authority (NPA) is also currently used by them; negotiations for redevelopment might be difficult here, but lease agreements of 30 or 99 years could potentially be arranged, allowing access to land that is owned by parastatal Transnet, but leased by a private developer. This would all rely on the feasibility and lucrativeness of such agreements with the Transnet and the NPA.

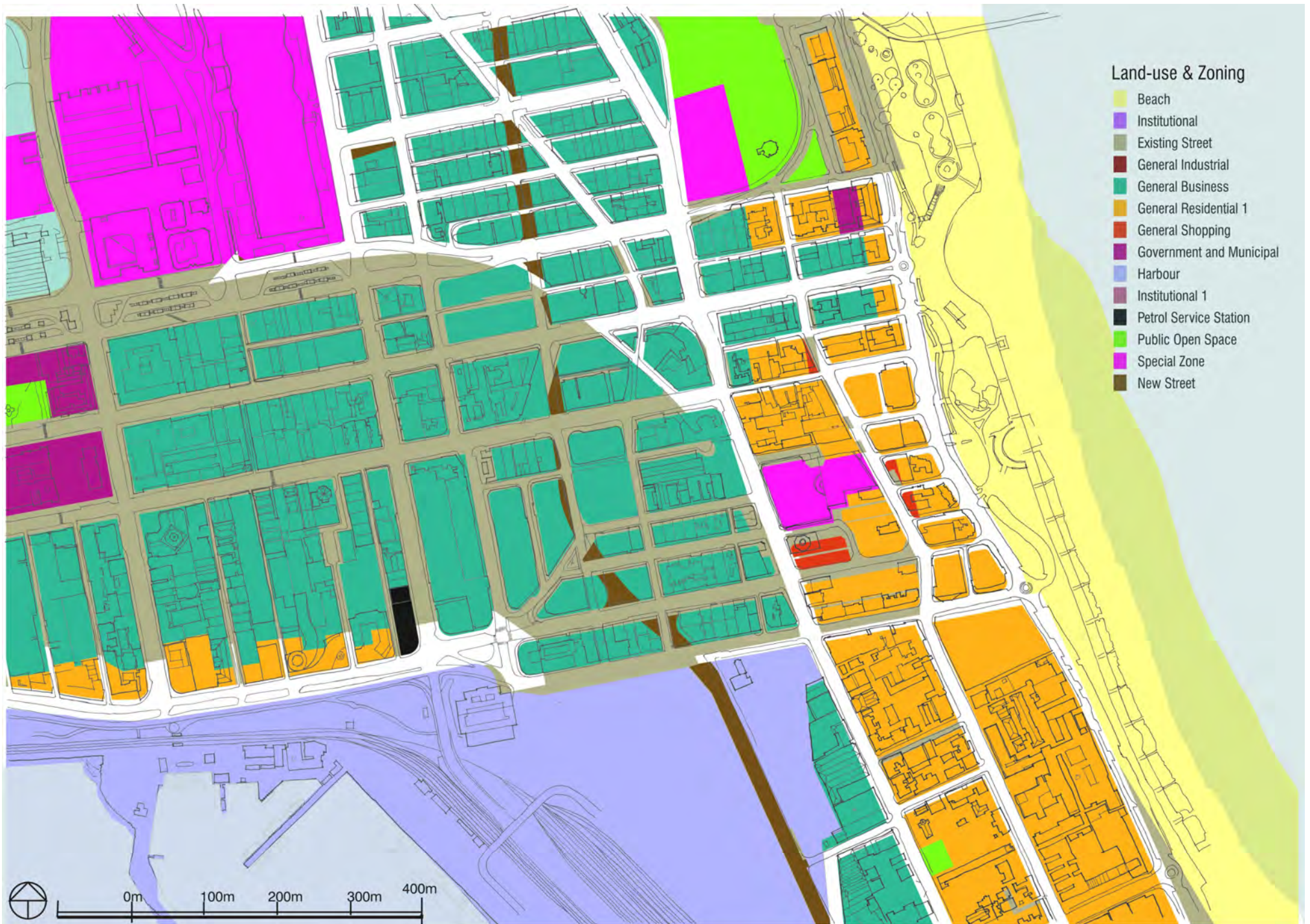
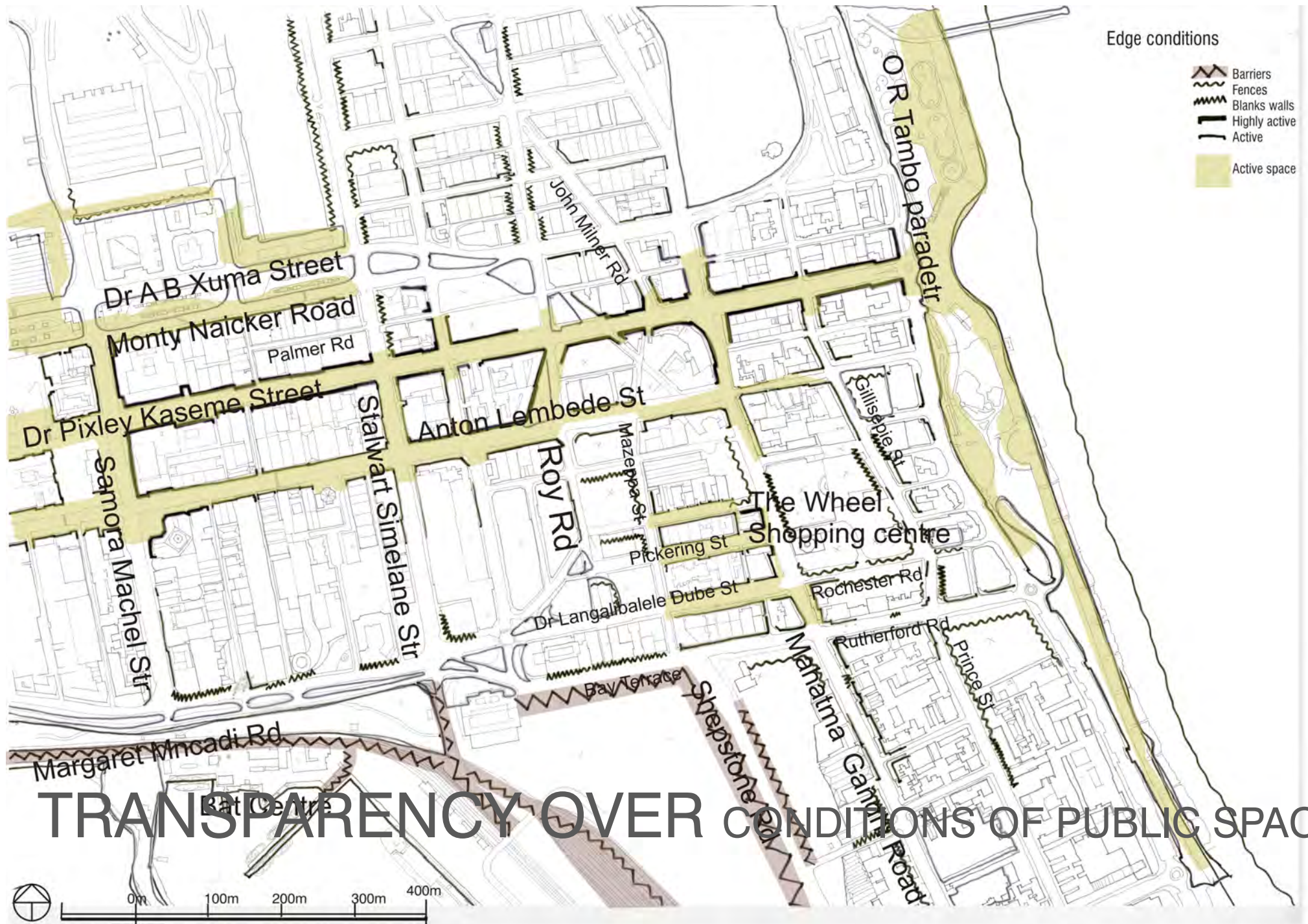


Fig. 7.5: Land-use and Ownership - Analysis



7.1.4. Conditions of Public Space

Public Open Space

There is a clear lack of public open spaces within this area, especially considering that the area does house residential accommodation with no private open spaces. This suggests that people need make use of the streets if they wish to experience anything outside of their apartments. However, the quality of public space along streets is also poor, with few signs of care or humanising features such as trees, street furniture, shading devices or colonnades.

Edge conditions

The active spaces along with active street edges, shop fronts and colonnades generally occur away from this area and along major routes, with a small cluster of active streets around Pickering Street where some informal car repairs, pawn shops and locksmiths are located.

Barriers are presented along the Harbour where fences with controlled entrance points were erected after the tightening of international port security protocols in 2003. Further blockages in the urban fabric are presented by the Car imports and exports area adjacent to the passenger terminal and T-Jetty where fresh produce is delivered.

Further smaller barriers are created with fences around vacant lots used for car storage on corners of roads. There are also many blank walls further along Shepstone road where the road was constructed to cut through city blocks and the buildings on either side continued to face other street rather than create active edges along the new road.



Fig. 7.6: Conditions of Public space- POS and Active edges and spaces- Analysis

7.1.5. Conditions of Built Form

Building Heights

This building Height map has been creating using Geographical Information Systems data from the iTrump project. The building heights in various area serve as indications of the density or bulk on a site and thus whether the land is optimally used or whether it has the potential to be redeveloped. A large are of underdeveloped land close to Pickering and the Harbour is currently dominated by warehousing related to the motor industry.

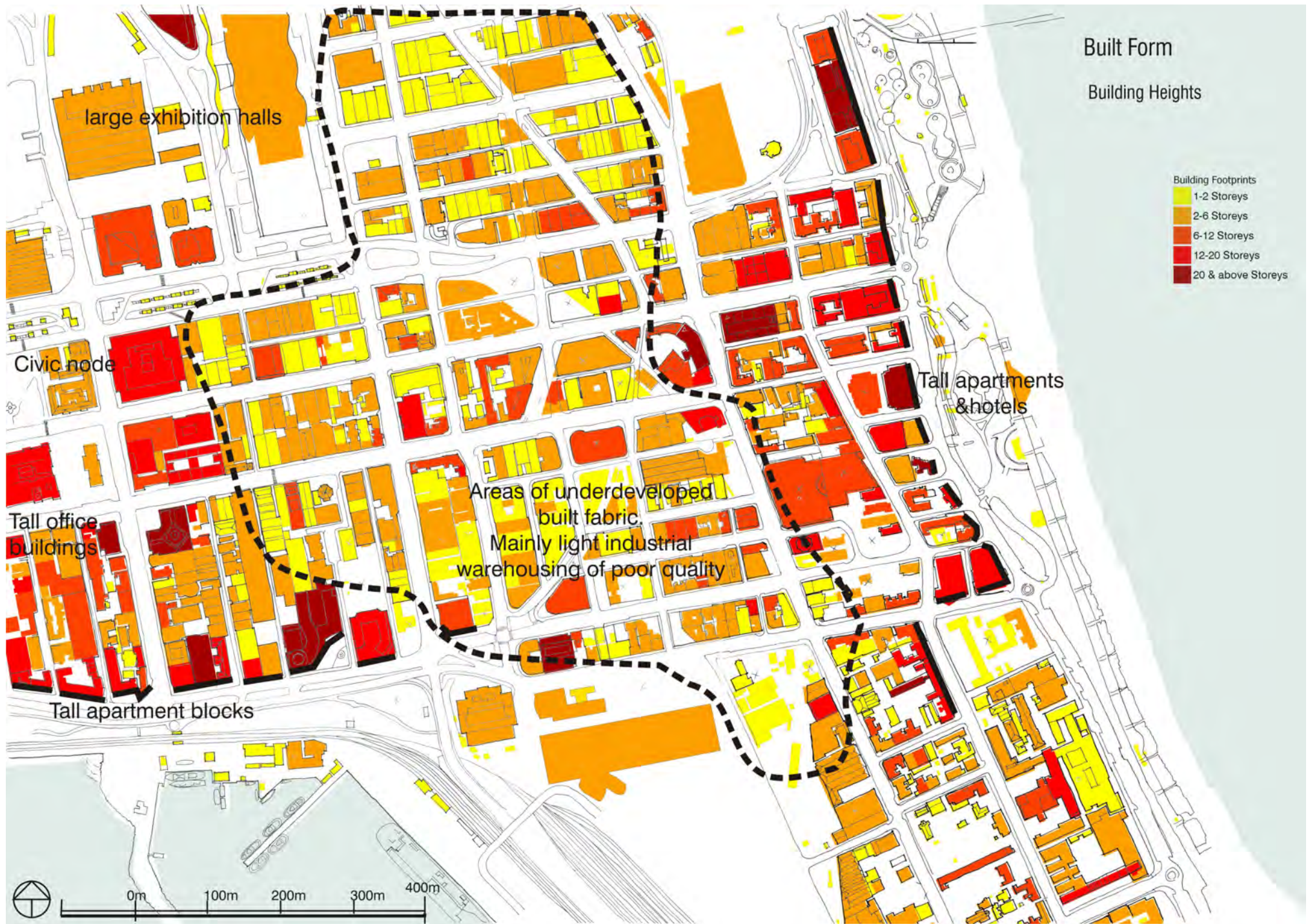
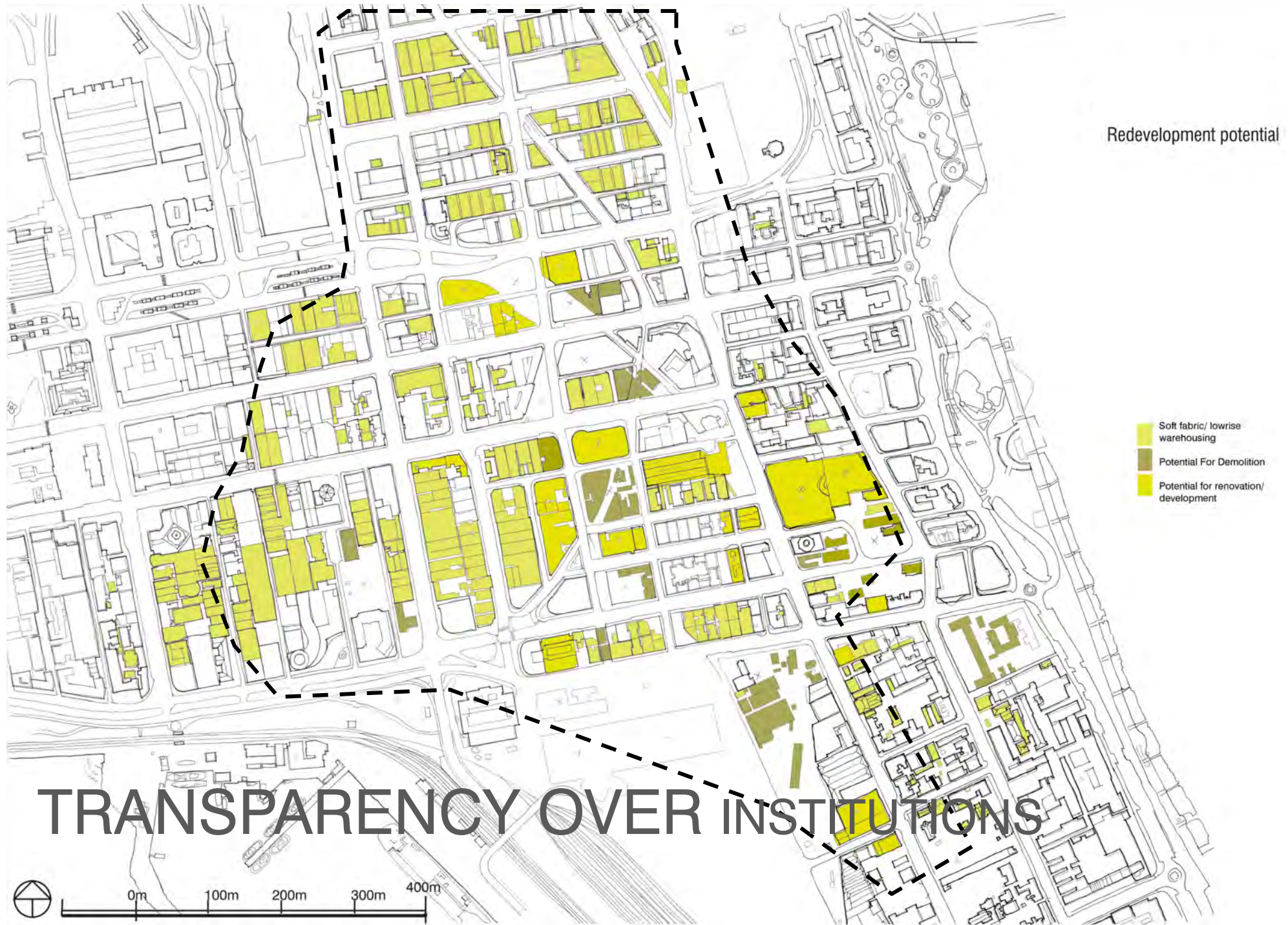


Fig. 7.7: Conditions of Built Form- Building Heights- Analysis



Institutional Facilities:

‘Hard’ urban fabric

Institutional facilities are indicated on the adjacent map. These are seen as valuable assets to the area and thus as *hard urban fabric* which should be retained. The map clearly illustrates a lack of institutional buildings, public facilities or tall buildings in the immediate study area.

Redevelopment Potential:

‘Soft’ urban fabric

This map elaborates on the previous Building Height analysis. The map indicates areas with low density urban fabric that are shown in the previous map as having fewer than 3 storeys. These plots of land are then marked according to their potential for redevelopment and densification around a new node for Pickering area. Some other derelict buildings and buildings with potential developable bulk are added to the map and mainly fall along major routes. Potential sites for demolition are also indicated where strategic links or public space can be created.

Conclusions: on the Analysis and towards a proposal

The analysis of the area of South Beach surrounding Pickering Street provides insight for the potential proposals in the area.

It must be noted that the analysis and proposals for this area were developed simultaneously, with the analysis influencing the proposal, and the design ideas indicating and informing the relevance of various layers of analysis and inquiry into the nature and needs of the area.

The three dimensional exploration of design ideas in section and elevation as well as physical and computer generated three dimensional models of the area were also developed alongside the analysis. Thus a non-linear process is sometimes necessary engage sufficiently and produce a structured, and even seemingly linear, argument.

The next part of this section will delve into the proposal for the area in plan, whilst the next section will explore these potential design ideas and their implications for the experience of the city in a more three dimensional and detailed exploration or routes running through the area.

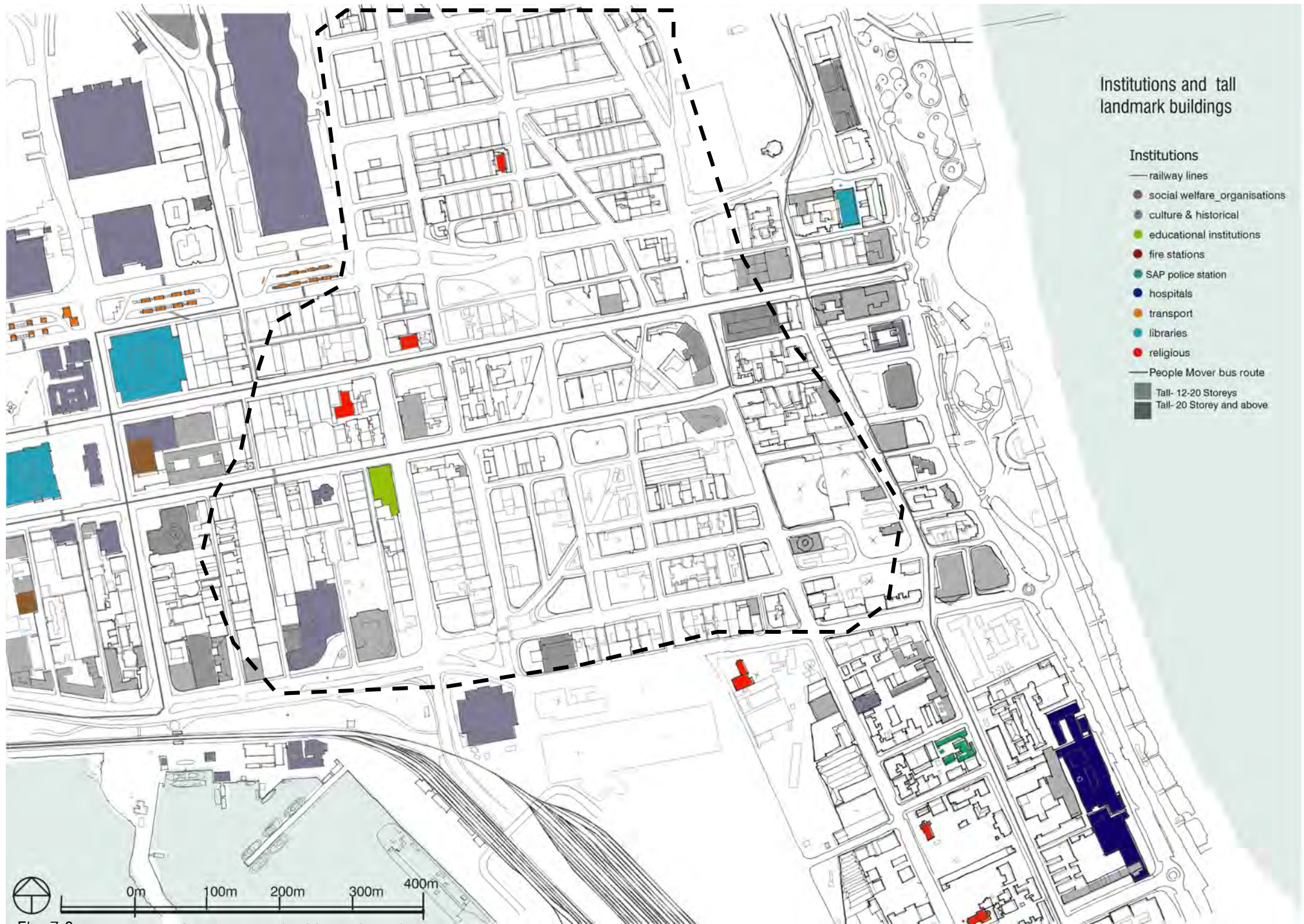


Fig. 7.8: Conditions of Built Form- 'Soft' and 'Hard' Built Fabric- Analysis

7.2. Proposals for Pickering

The proposal for intervention can once again be explain through a layering of various elements of the area. These interventions are suggested in terms of *Paths* of movement, *Conditions of public spaces*, and *Built Form*.

Layers of Analysis:

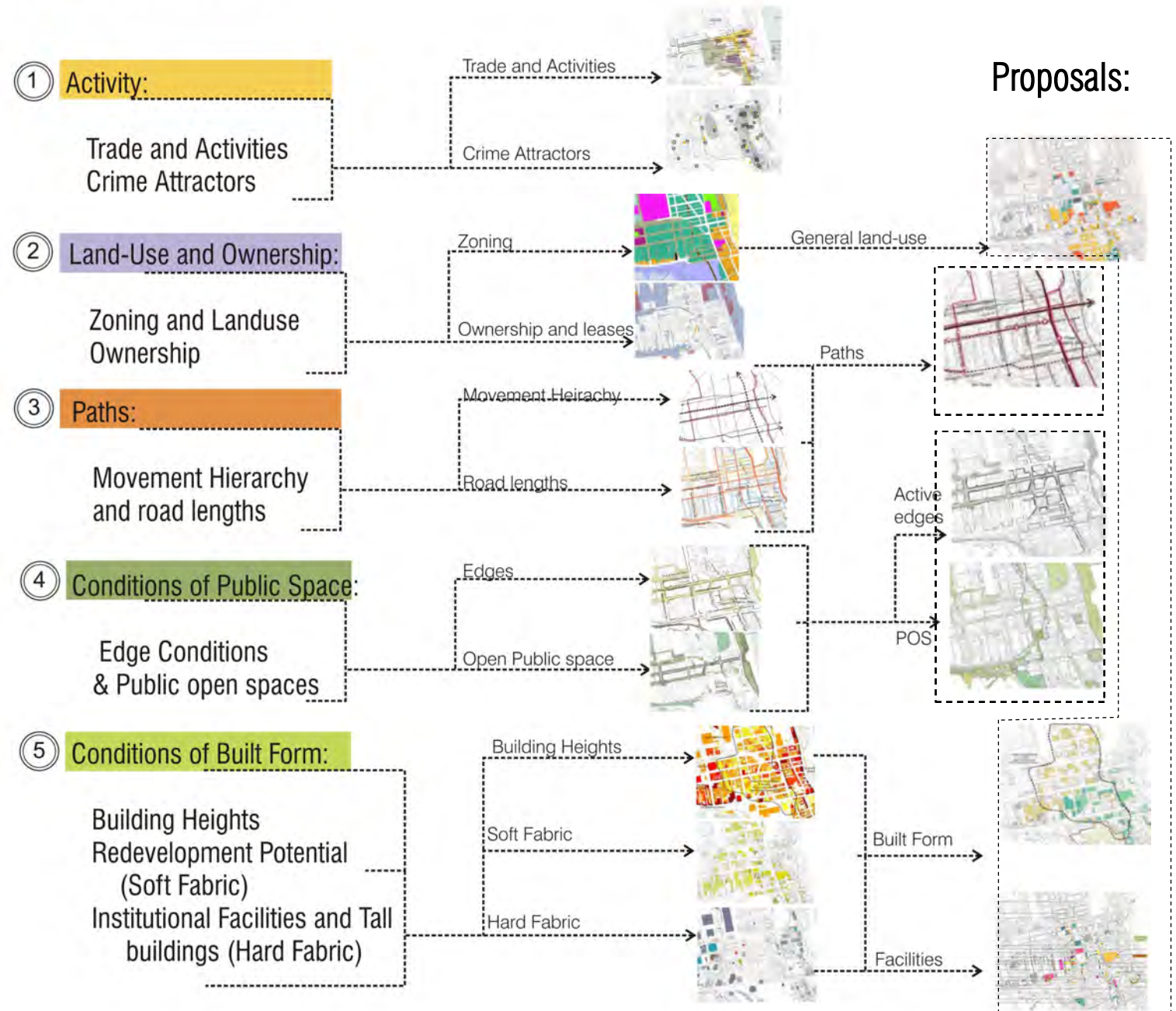


Fig. 7.9: Layers of Analysis on precinct scale leading into Proposal

7.2.1. Paths:

Movement Hierarchy

The proposal for Pickering areas suggests a prioritisation of various routes that run through the area and connect it with the rest of the city. Dr Pixley Kaseme Street and Mahatma Gandhi Road are prioritised as primary routes, whilst Margaret Mncadi Avenue and Anton Lembede Street are seen as secondary routes. Approaches to upgrading these roads are explain below

Primary routes- These streets, due to the high number of people who use it and their connections with the rest of the city, should receive attention in terms of improving their pedestrian realm.

- These 2 roads currently have 6 and 4 lanes of traffic with narrow pedestrian walkways; traffic lanes can be narrowed to 4 and 3 lanes of 3.1m each.
- This would serve as traffic calming along roads that have high pedestrian rates. Intersections can also be raised.
- Provisions for Non-motorised transport (NMT) should run on both sides of the roads and spaces for informal trade can be demarcated along the widened pedestrian walkways.
- Shading and trees should be planted on both sides of the road to emphasise the route and provide comfort.
- The beach-line People Mover routes can be altered to run along Mahatma Gandhi Road and back up Gillespie, ensuring a variety of public

transport options. (Minibus taxi's already run along Mahatma Gandhi Rd.)

- Active edge should be maintained with no more than 5m of blank façade allowed along the route. An eighty percent built-to line should also be enforced, however it should be noted that most buildings on these streets are well placed and have been built to support the street edge. This ensures good surveillance and a comfortable enclosed pedestrian space.
- Surveillance and activity is important on street corners.

In terms of secondary routes:

- These routes also currently have 4 lanes of one-ways traffic, which can be narrowed to 3 lanes to widen pedestrian pavements.
- Trees should be planted on one side of the road (at least) where they would have the largest effect on pedestrian comfort.
- Cycling lanes should be installed on one side of the road to allow for the creation of a network of routes throughout the city (indicated in orange in the adjacent map). Durban's Promenade is a well-functioning NMT route and indicate the potential for, and existence of, a cycling and skateboarding culture within the city.
- Active edges should be encouraged and blank walls should be disallowed on active pedestrian parts of these roads (along the entire stretch of Anton Lembede Street and along most of Margaret Mncadi street within this precinct area).
- Surveillance and activity is important on street corners.

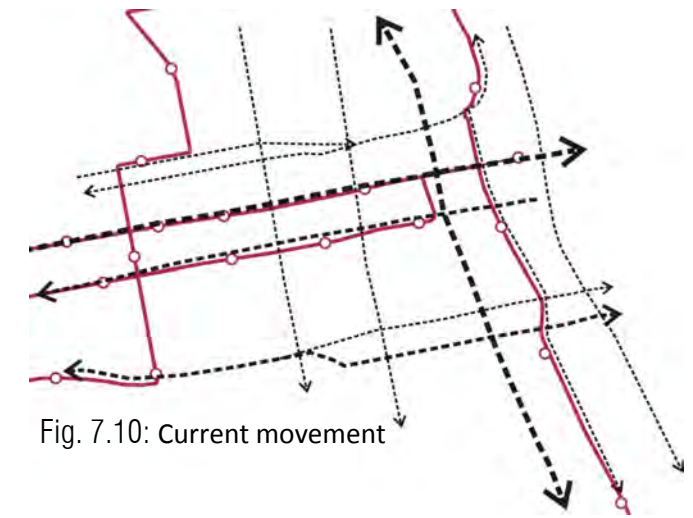


Fig. 7.10: Current movement

Furthermore a blue line on the adjacent map indicates a new pedestrian oriented route along the currently enclosed canal. This can potentially be opened to create a route through the city that brings elements of nature back into the heart of these light-industrial motor areas.

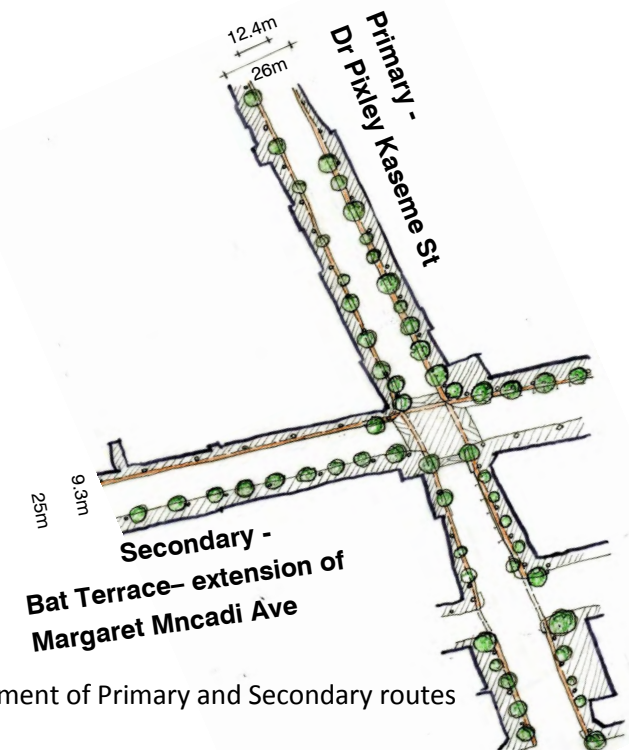
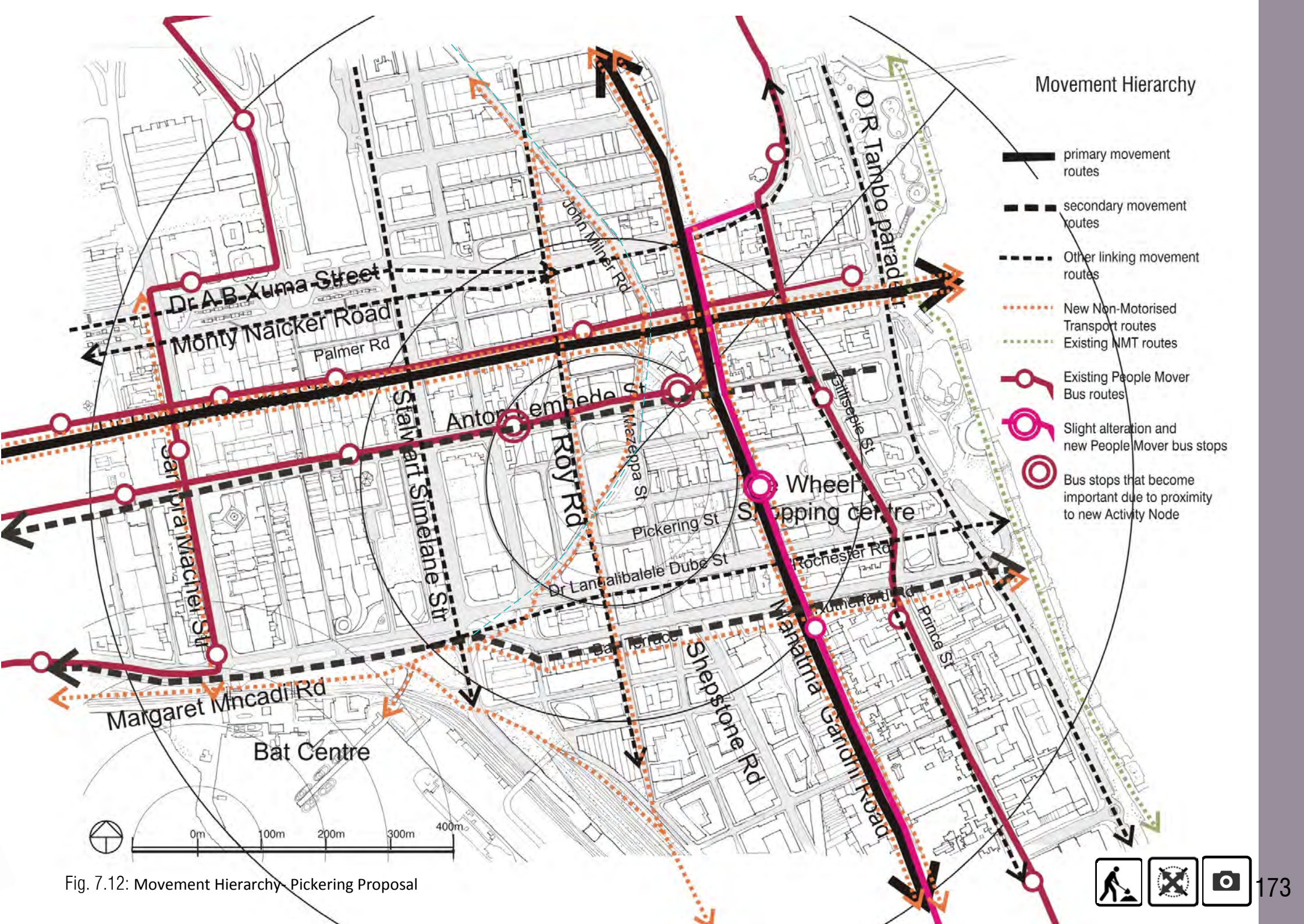


Fig. 7.11: Treatment of Primary and Secondary routes



7.2.2. Conditions of Public space:

Active Edges

High levels of activity currently only takes place away from this area. The idea here is to create a node of activity at the heart of Pickering area. Some low-rise warehousing would need to be removed along the servitude under which the canal lies to free the land parcels for public open space usage. This Space then has the potential to draw new energy into the area and to activate the space with more eyes on the street. Active street frontage is important along these new active routes and to support the public spaces. The square can also be activated through events that might start to attract more people into the area.

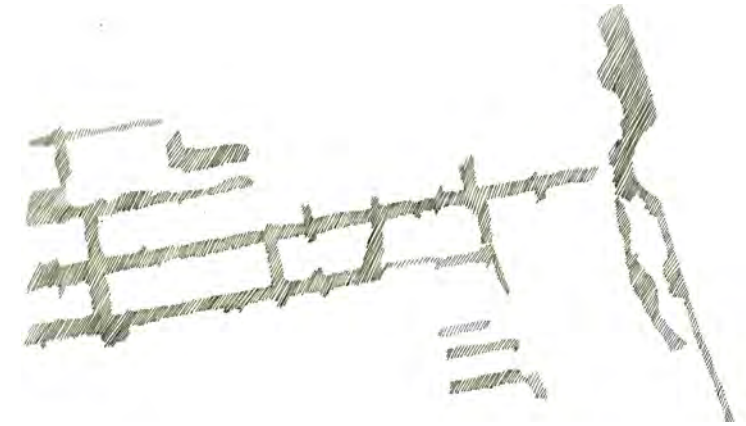


Fig. 7.13: [simplified] Current Active spaces

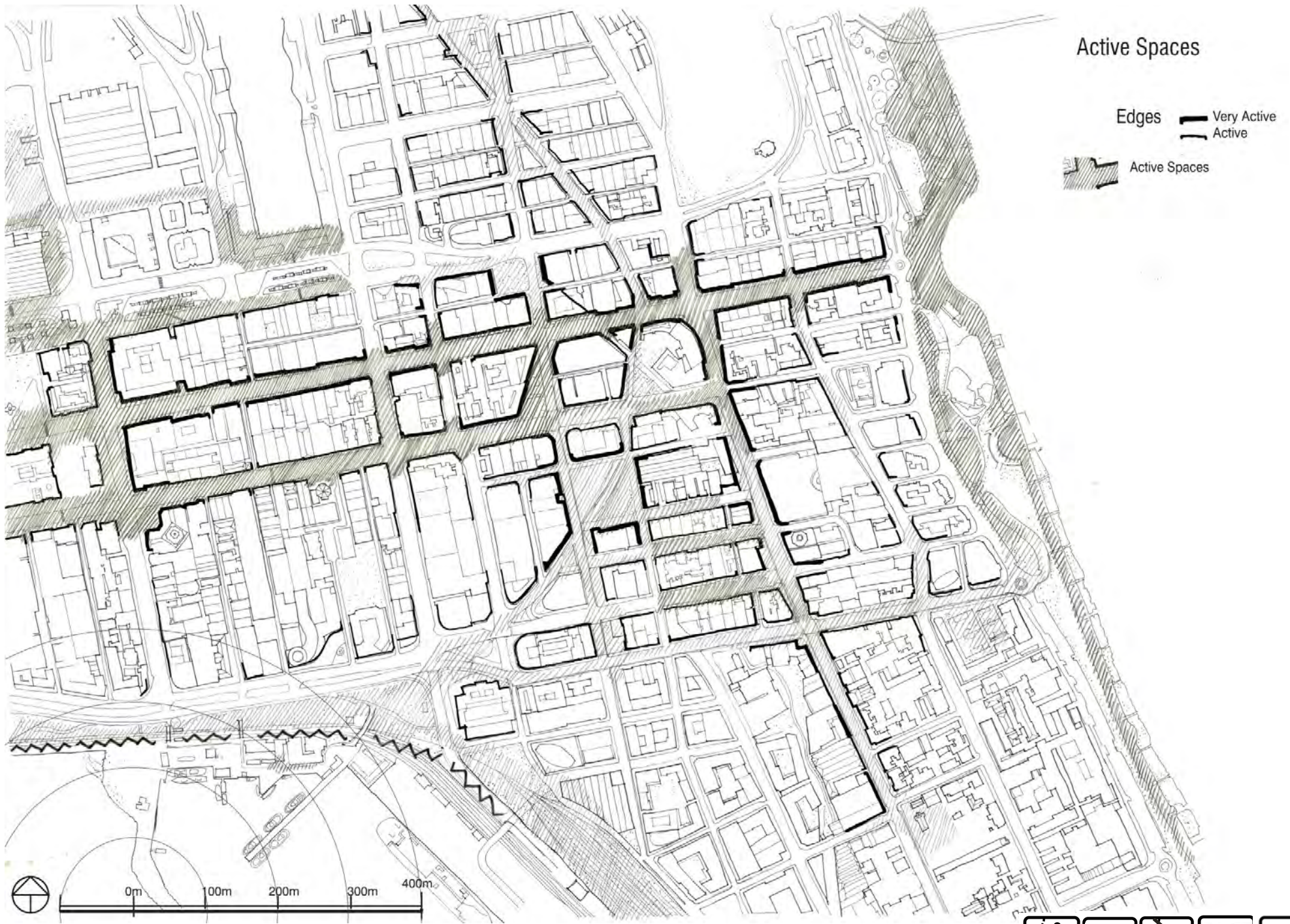


Fig. 7.14: Active Edges and Spaces – Pickering Proposal



Public Open Space and green systems

A system of public spaces is suggested to run from the Harbour, through Pickering Area to Rivertown. These would be planted with treelines and allow for landscaping without hindering *clear visibility* of the streetscape. Landscaping in public open space should not obstruct views or create hiding space, but should suggest care, provide shading, alleviate the heat island effect and bring an element of nature into these hard spaces. It is suggested that the new public square have some green surfaces as well as hard surfaces as it would allow for a variety of usages of the space and for more relaxed usage of the space during the day.

The linear park created along the Victoria embankment also has the potential to be extended around the point and to link with the beachfront. The extension of the linear park along a portion of railway tracks can only commence if this portion on the city side were to be decommissioned and if the area were to be leased from the NPA for redevelopment. As for the connection to the beach, treelines and an improved pedestrian realm could aid in this and will be discussed in the next section.

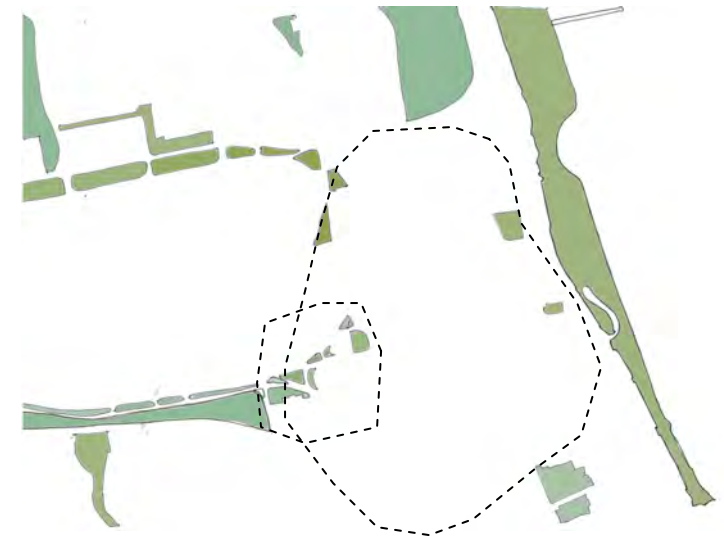


Fig. 7.15: [simplified] Public Open Space System



Fig. 7.16: Public Open Space System- Pickering Proposal



7.2.3. Built Form:

Building conditions and changes:

The analysis of the built fabric has been developed into a more strategic proposal for redevelopment of buildings and land within the area. The map alongside shows the land parcels and buildings of interest.

Some building are in need to refurbishment or adaption, in order to change these buildings from socially and economically obsolete buildings to well-functioning, financially feasible and positive spaces.

Other parcels house buildings of lower densities or poorer quality have been marked as potential spaces for new builds. These are mostly warehousing, vacant buildings or derelict vacant plots.

The adjacent map also shows a potential redevelopment of the land next to the T-jetty with its passenger terminal. This should be an extension of Durban's existing grid. This development is not considered part of the redevelopment of Pickering, but would aid in the development of the area in general if it were to materialise.



Fig. 7.17: Conditions of Built Fabric- Soft built Fabric and Facilities

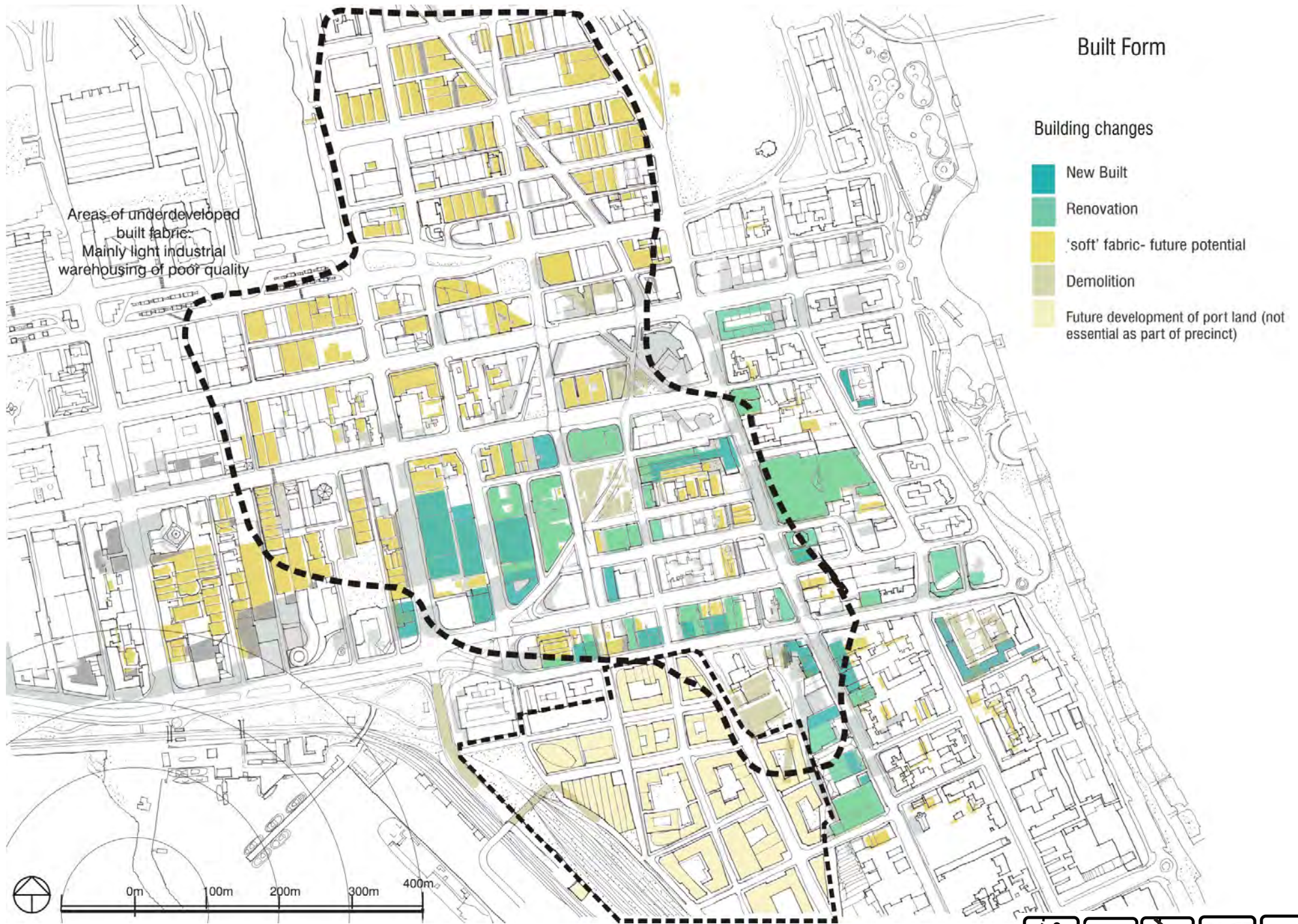


Fig. 7.18: Built Form- Pickering Proposal

General Land-use suggestions

As a general indication of the types of activities in the area, a proposal for general land-use is shown alongside. This illustrates the potential for clustering of mixed use facilities and the location of additional residential densification and serves as an example of potential land-uses rather than a proposal for zoning. Land-use should be decided by free-market forces in order to be economically feasible, but can be suggested or incentivised. Mixed use developments that provide active street fronts or fund upgrading of public space in the area, could receive financial benefits or additional bulk allowances.

A variety of uses is important in order to ensure vibrancy and use throughout the day and night. Hence a mixture of residential, office, institutional, recreational and commercial spaces is necessary for a well-functioning and naturally safer precinct.



Fig. 7.19: Land-use

Fig. 7.20: Proposed Clustering of Facilities to create node





Fig. 7.21: Land-use for Adapted and New built Buildings



Suggestions for Facilities

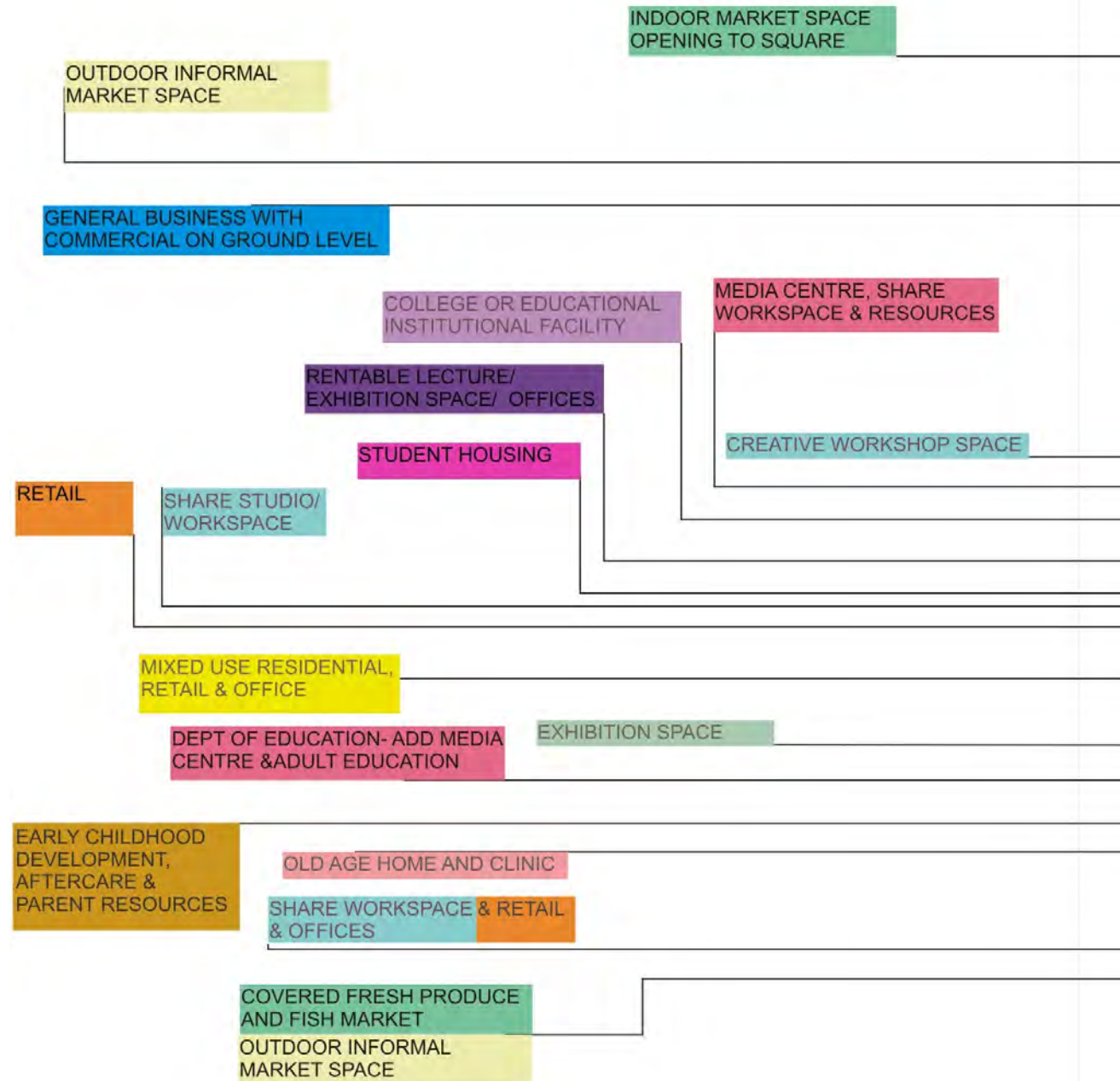
The area currently has a shortage of public facilities, institutions and supporting amenities for the residents of the area. These are important in term of 'ownership' and surveillance of public space, as explain previously, and generally act to moderate criminal activity and bring a sense of order to an area.

Suggested facilities include educational facilities such as rentable lecture and workshop spaces, an adult education centre, early childhood development centres, colleges or institutionally linked facilities and media and resource centres that can provide work spaces for public and private usage. Institutional facilities are generally placed overlooking and supporting the edges of public spaces to ensure guardianship.

Recreational facilities such as sports fields are suggested for underutilised sites at the end of Rutherford street and along Gillespie Street.

General office space and share/ rentable office space can also be suggested alongside residential apartments, live-work studio space, exhibition spaces or retail facilities. In terms of residential accommodation the inclusion of student residences will help to activate spaces, whilst some underdeveloped sites and derelict, inhabited buildings can be renovated and developed as social housing.

The aim should be to introduce facilities, along with a variety rental stock that provides a range of apartment types, sizes and prices to allow for choice, vibrancy and diversity.



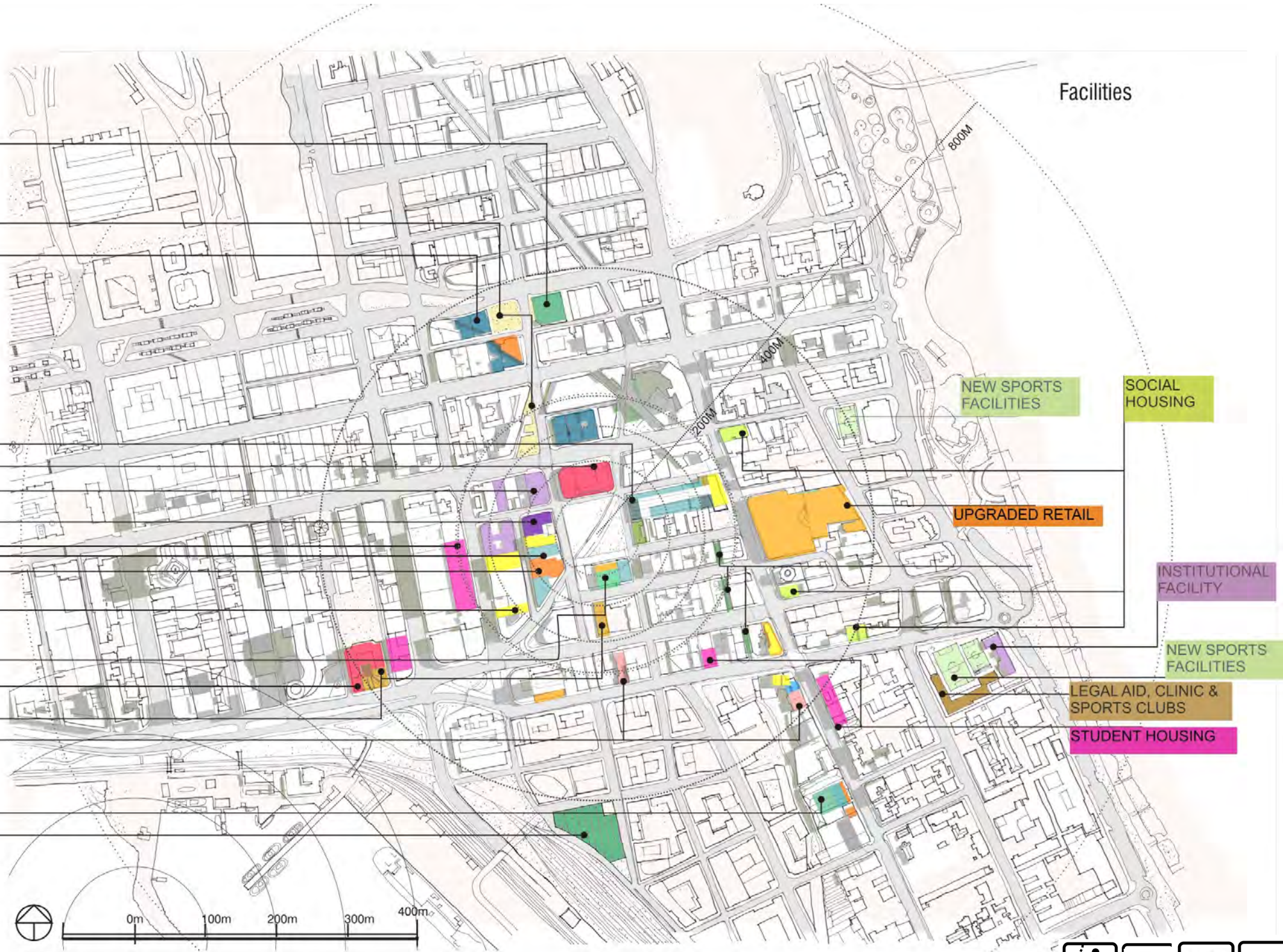


Fig. 7.22: Suggested introduction of Facilities



Composite proposal:

The proposals for developments in the area serve as demonstrations of *the possible* and provide options for development rather than a rigid master plan. For such developments to have a positive effect on the area, each one needs to be implemented with care in terms of the principles laid out in section 5. Although some of these principles such as *Natural access and movement* and *appropriate edges*, speak of the structure of the city, other principles, such as *surveillance* and *territoriality* are served by individual sites to make up the whole. Issues of the *image and dignity* of the city and *maintenance* of the spaces can be considered principles that need to be attended to by both public and private stakeholders throughout an area in order to have an effect.

A composite map is presented alongside and will form the basis for investigation in the next section. As a method of exploration, a few routes are mapped out and the potential for developments along these is discussed in the next section. Mahatma Gandhi Road, due to its reputation, will be examined along with the link between the Victoria Embankment and the beach front, and the new pedestrian route along the canal. These will be discussed in the next section in terms of adjustments and additions to the built form along the streetscape that can lead to safer and more vibrant spaces.

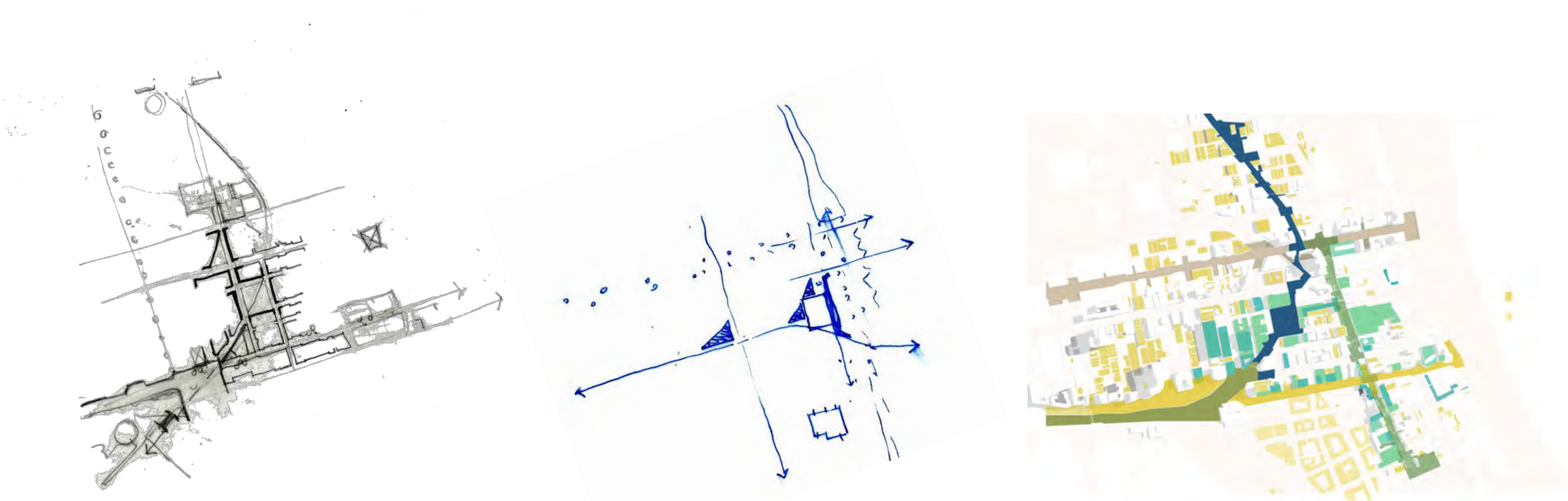
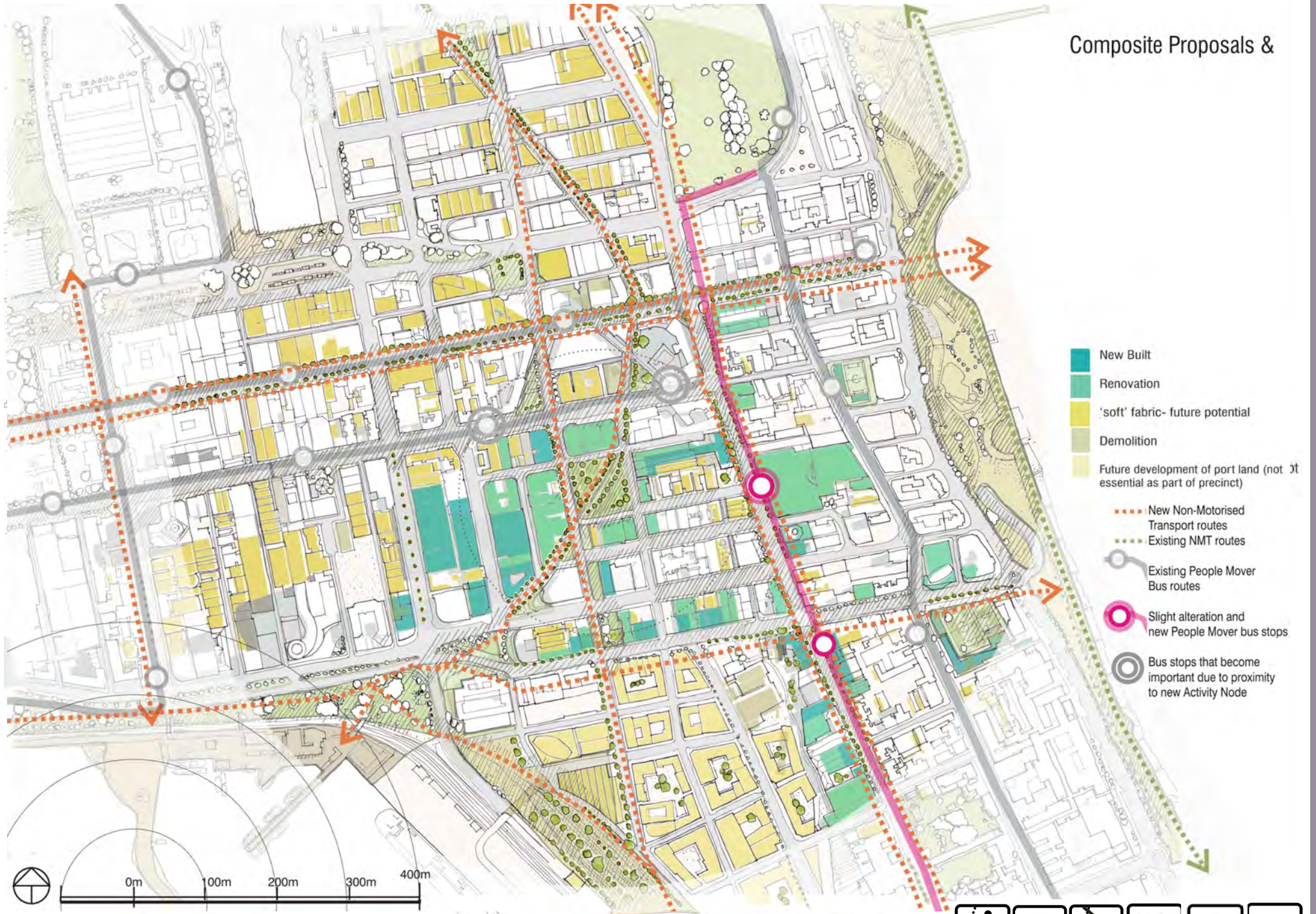


Fig. 7.23-25: Conceptual Exploration of structural parts and routes for the area

Composite Proposals &



- New Built
- Renovation
- 'soft' fabric- future potential
- Demolition
- Future development of port land (not essential as part of precinct)
- New Non-Motorised Transport routes
- Existing NMT routes
- Existing People Mover Bus routes
- Slight alteration and new People Mover bus stops
- Bus stops that become important due to proximity to new Activity Node

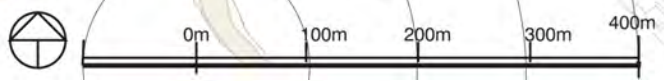
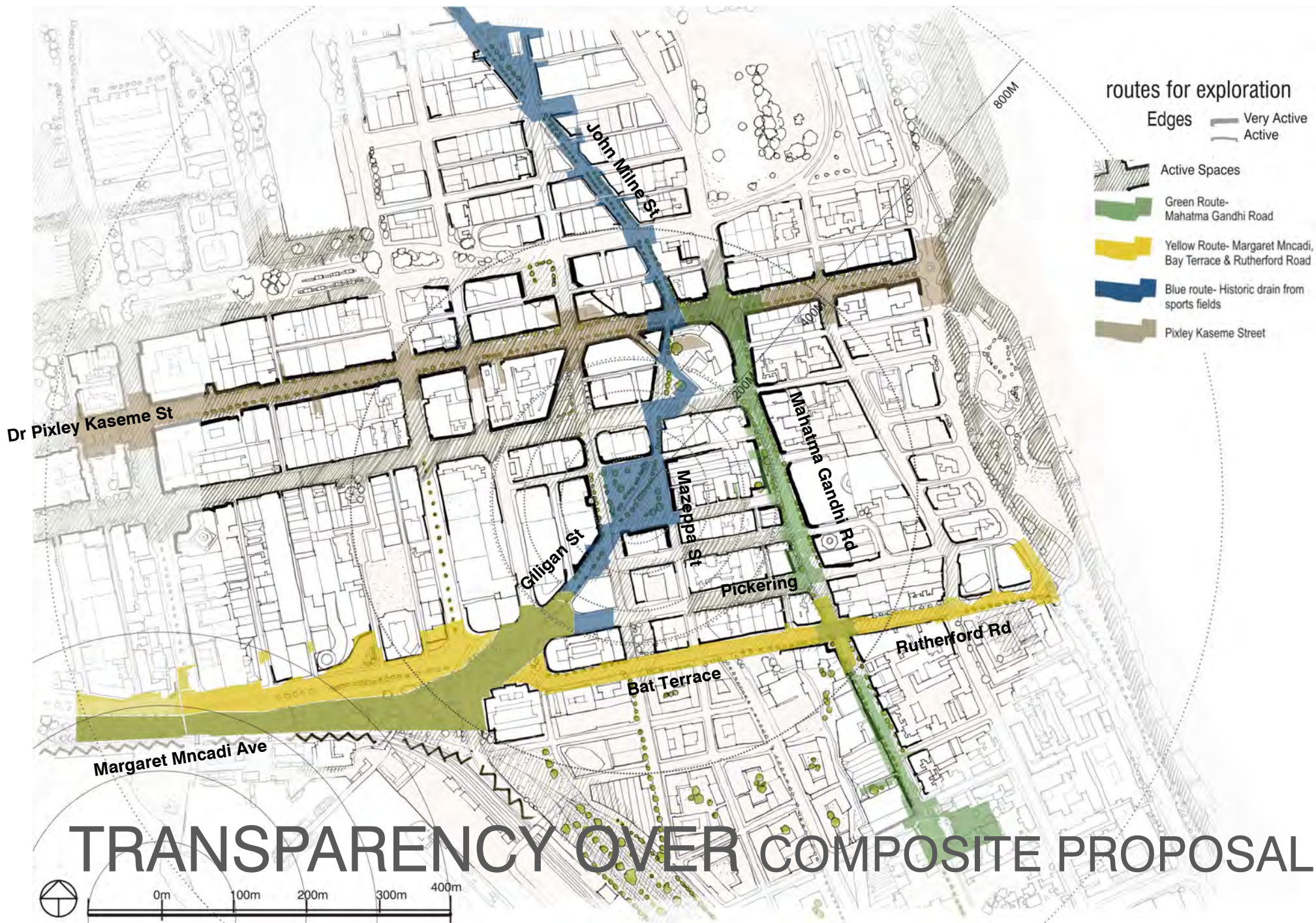


Fig. 7.26: Composite Proposal for Pickering & routes for exploration





TRANSPARENCY OVER COMPOSITE PROPOSAL

Detailed Explorations of routes

SECTION 1

SECTION 2

SECTION 3

SECTION 4

SECTION 5

SECTION 6

SECTION 7

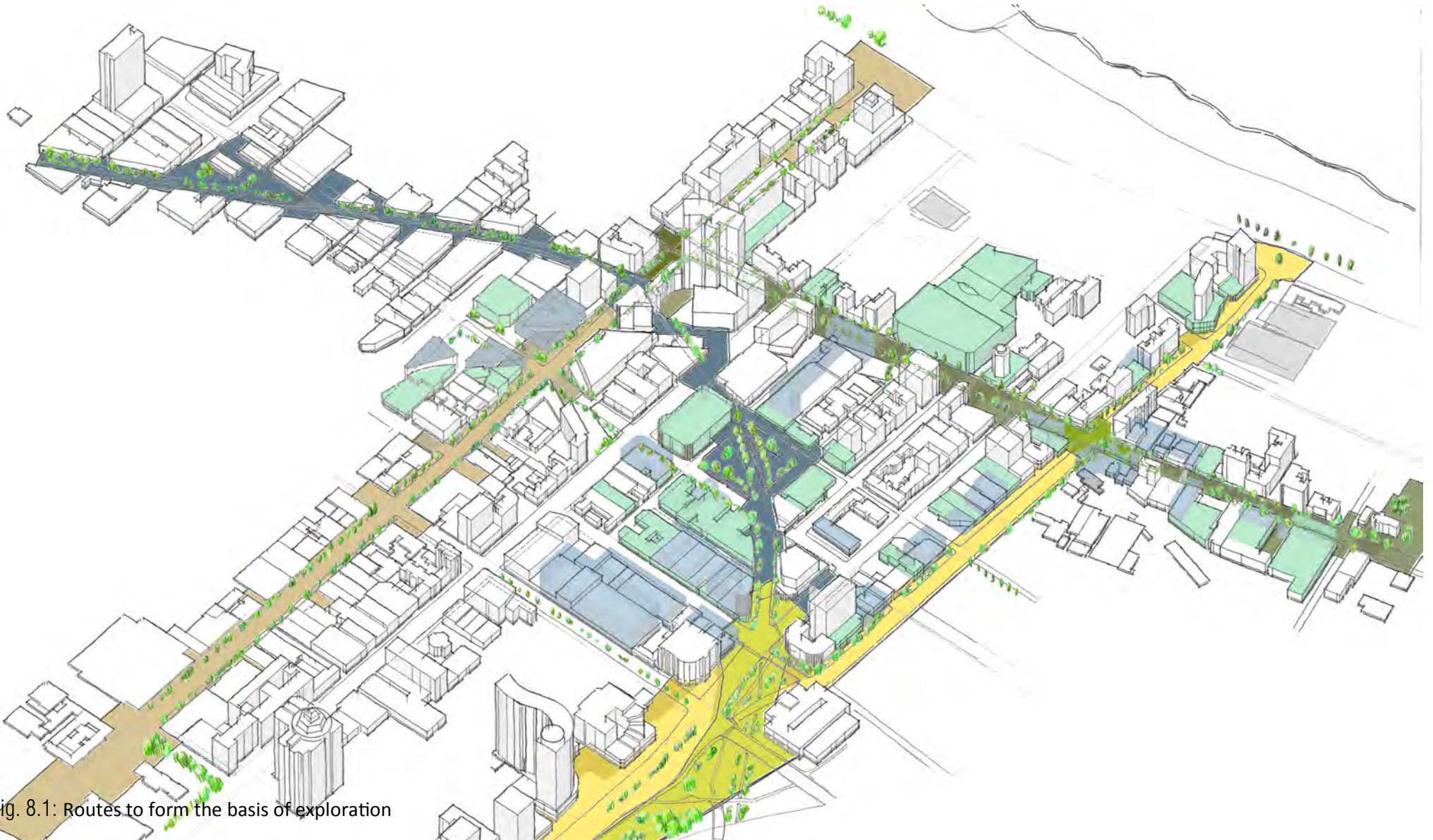
SECTION 8

SECTION 9

- SURVEILLANCE
- TERRITORIALITY
- MAINTENANCE
- DERELICT
- NON-MOTORISED
TRANSPORT
- PEDESTRIAN
ACTIVITY
- REGENERATION
INTERFACE
- HUMANISING
FEATURES
- DEMOLISHION
- UPGRADING
- CORNER CONDITION
- OPENNINGS
- LINKAGES
- OPTIMISE LAND

8.1. Detailed exploration of Routes

In order to test and explore the urban design principles for safer urban spaces, it is necessary to consider the city at a street segment scale. A few routes are discussed in this section. The built fabric is considered in terms of the experience and safety they provide for pedestrians, and in terms of potential modifications that would aid in the creation of safer spaces or create more humane streetscapes and hence better experiences of the city.



188 Fig. 8.1: Routes to form the basis of exploration

Green Route- part 1

8.2. Mahatma Gandhi Road- First street segment linking to Pixley Kaseme Street

This part of Mahatma Gandhi Road is the busiest with taxis, busses and motorists using it as one of the primary movement routes of the city. The road is thus highly active with 4, and later 5 lanes of one way traffic running from north to south parallel to the beachfront.

The road connects with Pixley Kaseme Street. Some informal trade is also visible despite no provisions being made for it. Most of this stretch has active shop frontage, but many of these are vacant or derelict despite the high levels of activity along the road. This part of the road is also known for drug dealing and gangs discussed in previous chapters. Ensuring adequate management of this road segment is vital if the road is to change from a drug trafficking hotspot to a pedestrian friendly route.

Despite this being a well traveled taxi route, the People Mover Bus runs along in a parallel street, Gillespie Street, one block closer to the beachfront. Mahatma Gandhi Road could also easily be incorporated without much change in route for the bus system.

Pedestrian sidewalks are relatively narrow considering the 27m width of the road. The road can be narrowed to 3 to 4 lanes of traffic with larger pedestrian sidewalks that allow for cycling lanes, treelines, and informal trade provisions at major intersections. The road has adequate provision for lighting, which should be maintained at all times. Additional lighting can be installed at intersections with smaller roads and at entrances to buildings.

This road segment also houses some infamous derelict buildings, but generally the segment is in need of humanising features rather than major changes in terms of built form.

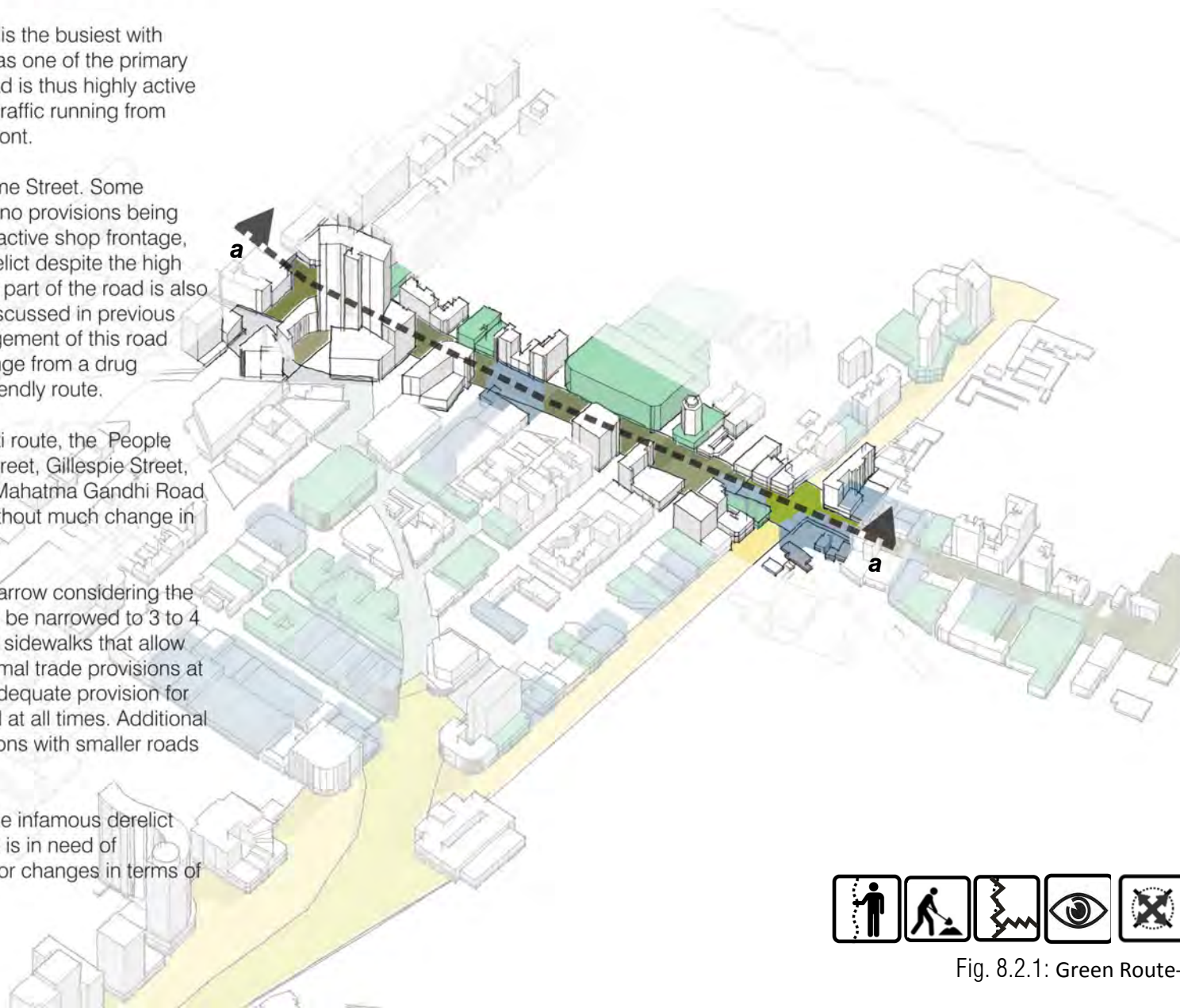
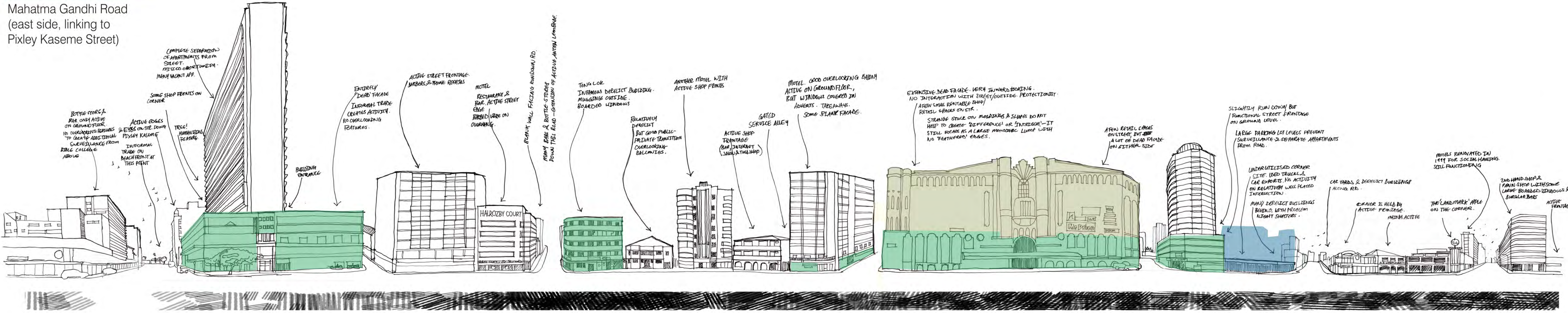


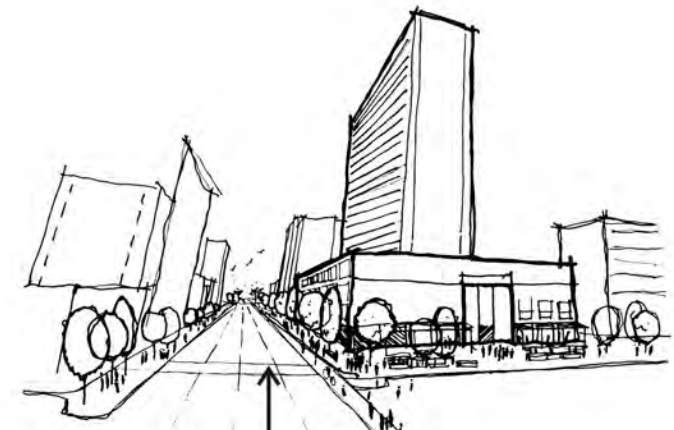
Fig. 8.2.1: Green Route- Part 1

SECTION A

Mahatma Gandhi Road
(east side, linking to
Pixley Kaseme Street)



SECTION A



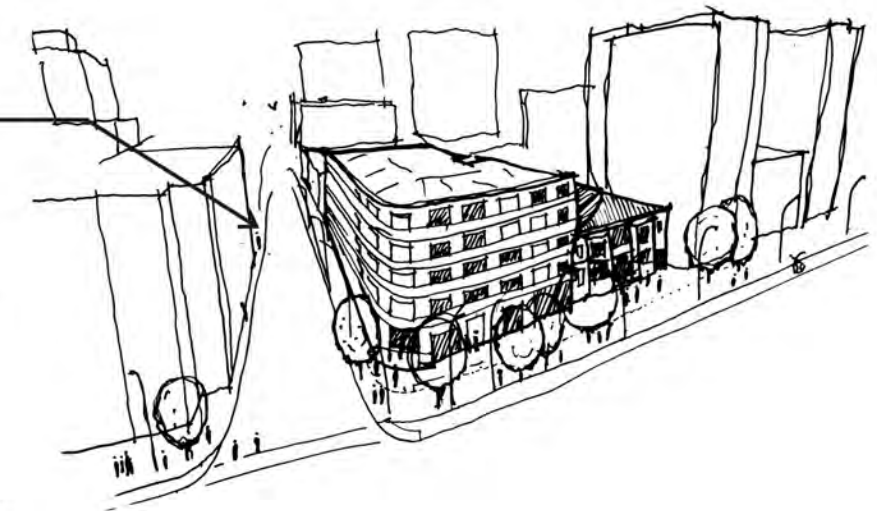
The Corner

This building sits at the intersection of 2 primary movement routes. It houses a grocery store, Spar, on the corner but is not active beyond the corner.

- Informal traders operate from the mainly **dead façade** to the south of the buildings.
- More formal provisions, stalls and storage facilities can be provided along this wall.
- Floors above do not provide any **surveillance**.
- Adapting the building to allow for better **territoriality** in terms of traders and better **surveillance** from above should be considered.

The Tong Lok Building

- This building is a known **derelict** building. It lies at the end of a **strip of taverns** that run in the road perpendicular to Mahatma Gandhi Road. The building used to house a restaurant/ bar, but this has been **boarded up**. The building is **not well maintained and managed**.
- A **strategy** should be developed to deal with such a building and upgrade it. First Metro Housing (FMHC) has done some similar projects in this area as well as in Albert Park.
- The **actual built form of the building is not problematic**; rather the building has fallen into disrepair due to **management**.
- The immediate area around the building is also known for larcenies, such as **muggings**, as well as drugtrafficking and prostitution.
- Investigations need to be conducted as to whether the building can be **expropriated** purchased by a public private partnership like FMHC or a private owner, or whether the **owner would be willing to negotiate** or take part in a **renewal process**.
- A **Satellite police station** running from this building should also be considered as it would provide **guardianship** for the building as well as **supervision of the problematic street segment**.



The Wheel

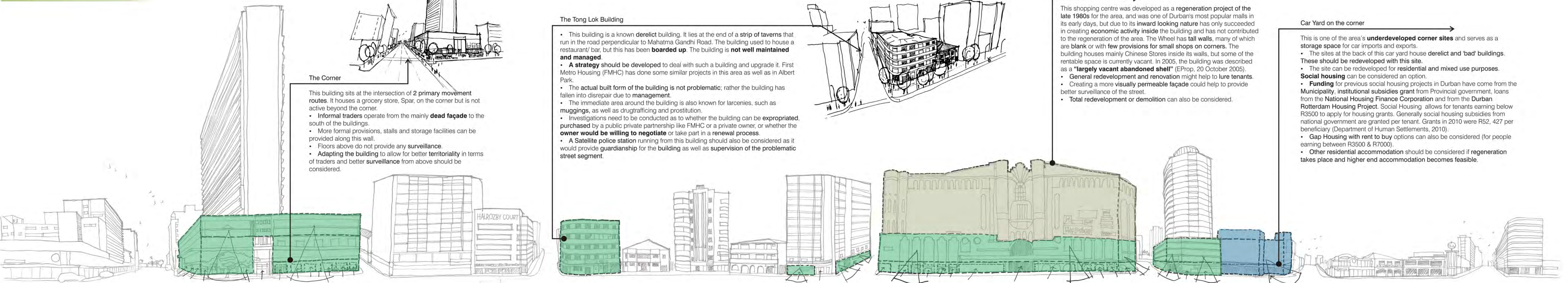
This shopping centre was developed as a **regeneration project of the late 1980s** for the area, and was one of Durban's most popular malls in its early days, but due to its **inward looking nature** has only succeeded in creating **economic activity inside** the building and has not contributed to the regeneration of the area. The Wheel has **tall walls**, many of which are **blank** or with **few provisions for small shops on corners**. The building houses mainly Chinese Stores inside its walls, but some of the rentable space is currently vacant. In 2005, the building was described as a **"largely vacant abandoned shell"** (EProp, 20 October 2005).

- **General redevelopment and renovation** might help to lure tenants.
- Creating a more **visually permeable façade** could help to provide better surveillance of the street.
- **Total redevelopment or demolition** can also be considered.

Car Yard on the corner

This is one of the area's **underdeveloped corner sites** and serves as a **storage space** for car imports and exports.

- The sites at the back of this car yard house **derelict and 'bad' buildings**. These should be **redeveloped with this site**.
- The site can be redeveloped for **residential and mixed use purposes**. **Social housing** can be considered an option.
- **Funding** for previous social housing projects in Durban have come from the Municipality, **institutional subsidies grant** from Provincial government, loans from the **National Housing Finance Corporation** and from the **Durban Rotterdam Housing Project**. Social Housing allows for tenants earning below R3500 to apply for housing grants. Generally social housing subsidies from national government are granted per tenant. Grants in 2010 were R52, 427 per beneficiary (Department of Human Settlements, 2010).
- **Gap Housing with rent to buy options** can also be considered (for people earning between R3500 & R7000).
- **Other residential accommodation** should be considered if **regeneration** takes place and higher end accommodation becomes feasible.



Green Route- part 2

8.3. Mahatma Gandhi Road- second segment along the lower part connecting with Bay Terrace

This road segment is further along Mahatma Gandhi road. It is less active than the part that joins with Pixley Kaseme Street, yet is still an important pedestrian and vehicular route. Many of the buildings have active edges, although some shopfronts have fallen into disrepair and are vacant or boarded up.

With the regeneration along this road it become possible for these shop fronts to draw investment once again, perhaps decrease vacancies and become a more active part of the city with a close connection to the activities on the beachfront. Furthermore this area also has the potential to house more residential accommodation.

Buildings on this road should respond to the street as an active pedestrian route, by increasing opportunities for surveillance and ownership and upgrading the street as a quality public space.

Blanks facades should not be permissible and overlooking feature that provide shading should be encouraged. Variety in terms of visual and built form as well as land-use is important in ensuring some sense of vibrancy and a positive experience for the pedestrian. The street should be well lit and maintained, and due to its nature as a major movement route in the city, should also make provisions for NMT and a pleasant pedestrian experience. Treelines and paving can also increase legibility and the impression that the area is well-maintained.

Furthermore, there are corner sites which link to important movement routes that are underutilised and can easy become places of criminal activity if there is a lack of surveillance and ownership.

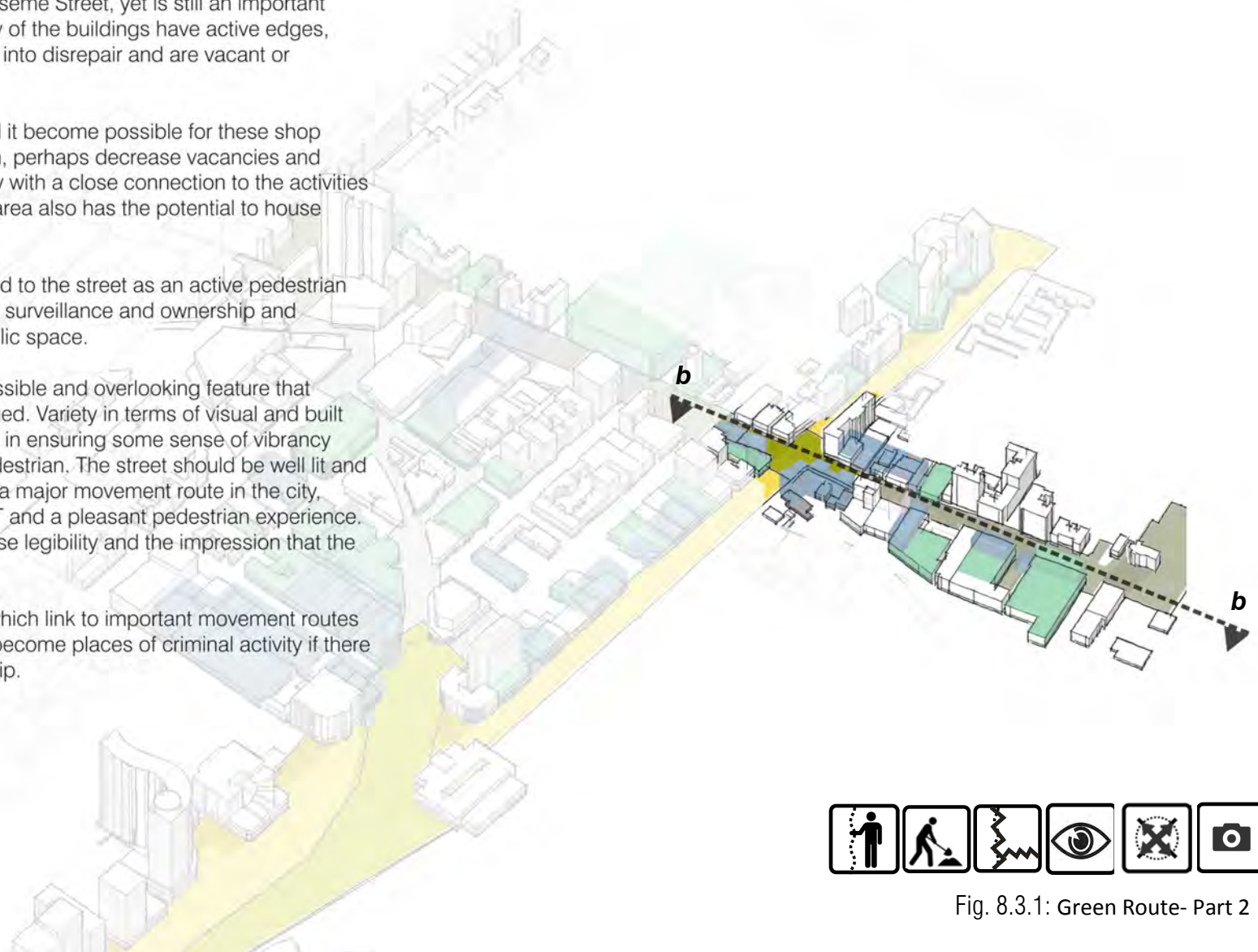
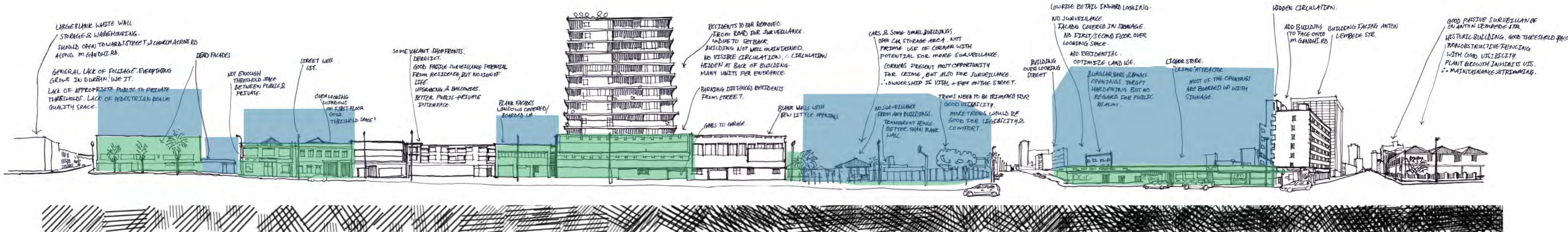


Fig. 8.3.1: Green Route- Part 2

SECTION B

Mahatma Gandhi Road
(looking west, lower part linking to Bay Terrace)

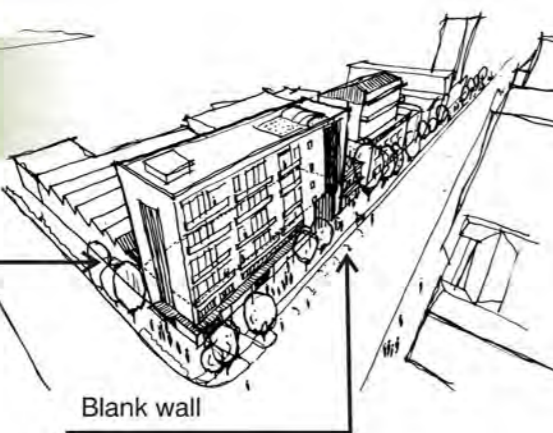


Perceptual Fear Scale

SECTION B

General Guidelines for redeveloping low rise warehousing & Car Storage

Buildings such as this one, opposite the church and on a corner, can be redeveloped for mixed use residential purposes. Blank walls should not exceed 5m and entrances should be placed at less than 20m increments along this street in general. Windows and entrances should allow for passive surveillance. Overlooking features, balconies and shading devices add to the pedestrian realm. These are also informed by the climate, which requires shelter from both sun and rain during summer. 4-8 Storeys allows for a human scale and for a connection of the residents to the street. These floors are most important for passive surveillance, but additional bulk is not a problem if administered correctly. Addition of landscaping, trees and shading helps to soften the harsh environment such as this one opposite the church yard.



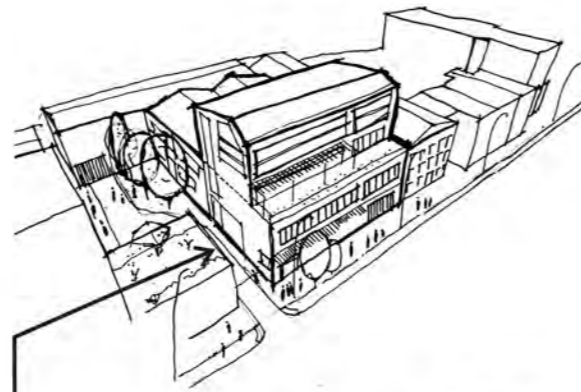
Blank wall

Instead of a blank wall with a parking lot behind it, buildings should provide an edge to the street. A courtyard can provide a pocket of enclosed and more intimate public open space. Cars can be housed in the car storage behind the new facilities.

Potential for mixed use office space. Warehousing can be converted into studio/shared work-spaces. Courtyard can be used by new offices. Balconies should look onto street and provide surveillance. Potential for small economic facilities/ retail arises.

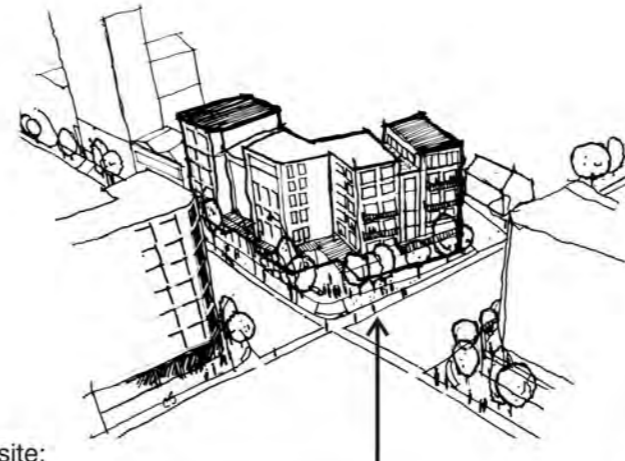
New residential apartments above renovated active shop fronts (which are currently vacant).

The residential accommodation is separated from the street by 3 floors of parking. This street frontage should be adapted to house alternative facilities such as active offices or residential apartments that allow for better passive surveillance than car storage.



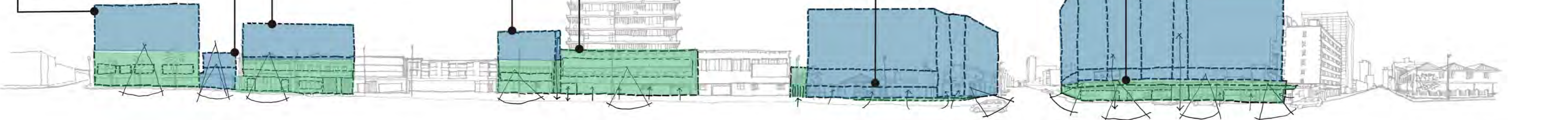
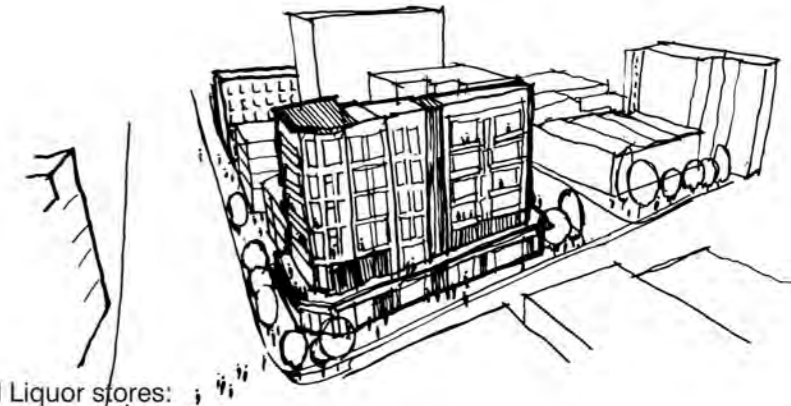
'Cars from Japan' site:

- Underutilised corner site with potential for commercial activity and high level of surveillance. Corner sites are particularly important in terms of surveillance and activity as crime often take place close to corners.
- Land can be developed on corner of 2 important movement routes.
- Between Beachfront and Esplanade.
- Commercial activity on ground level, potential for old age home, apartments or hotel with some semi-private garden space potential at the back of the site.
- This would provide a 24hour active period.
- Proximity to hospital and clinics is an advantage for old age home.
- Some rentable office space can be considered as well.



Current second hand Furniture and Liquor stores:

- Highly underutilised land-parcel.
- Liquor stores with advertisements covering all windows
- Lack of surveillance
- **Poor quality building.**
- Demolish and build new residential block facing onto and supporting street corner, with retail spaces maintained on ground level and residential above.
- Area already has high number of residential buildings and there is a high demand for gap housing. Thus funding models might help to create affordable accommodation.
- Other forms of accommodation are also options at a later stage if these are found feasible once the area has seen some regeneration.



Yellow Route - part 1

8.4. Margaret Mncadi Avenue- The Victoria Embankment

The Victoria Embankment serves as Durban's second interface with the ocean. The area overlooks the Port and has the potential to serve as a key recreational and pedestrian route. The area has received little attention as a viable tourist area due to reasons discussed in previous chapters, such as crime and the general migration of wealthier residents. After the events of 9/11, and an increase in awareness of security, international security protocols port have also enforced the use of fences and barricades for all international ports leading to some loss of visual and symbolic connections with the ocean, especially in places such as the Victoria Embankment where port activities could be 'displayed'. This part of the city embodies the commercial origins of the port city and is one of its oldest living and leisure districts, but is underutilised.

The area is similar to the beachfront before the development of the promenade in the sense that it has vast latent potential to be a leisure location that is accessible and safe for all Durban's inhabitants. However, this area has not received the attention the Promenade has.

In order for the route to function as a key recreational route around the city, some unnecessary barriers should be removed or reconsidered. The railway line should be considered for passenger usage along the route and should be reconsidered as an edge. It should not provide a barrier to pedestrian movement; more regular crossings would also allow for new life for the Bat Centre.

The Victoria Embankment should also be dealt with as an extension of a pedestrian route from the Rivertown precinct to the Bat Centre. The Bat Centre can be redeveloped as a more accessible public precinct and has the potential for a fresh produce/ fish market alongside the arts. The vacant tarred land surrounding the Bat Centre should be reconsidered and redeveloped as quality public spaces with the potential for creating a node with open public gathering spaces that celebrate the Victoria Embankment.

This route should also be developed as an extension of the Promenade and as a non-motorised transport route connecting the promenade via Rutherford Street to Margaret Mncadi Ave.

For this project it is assumed that the port will remain functional, but that the land use can be optimised and that the car storage areas can be reduced significantly, allowing for the development of an area that currently forms a large barrier within the city. Thus this route will, in future, be able to thrive off the energy from this area if this space is to be developed (and managed) to its full potential.

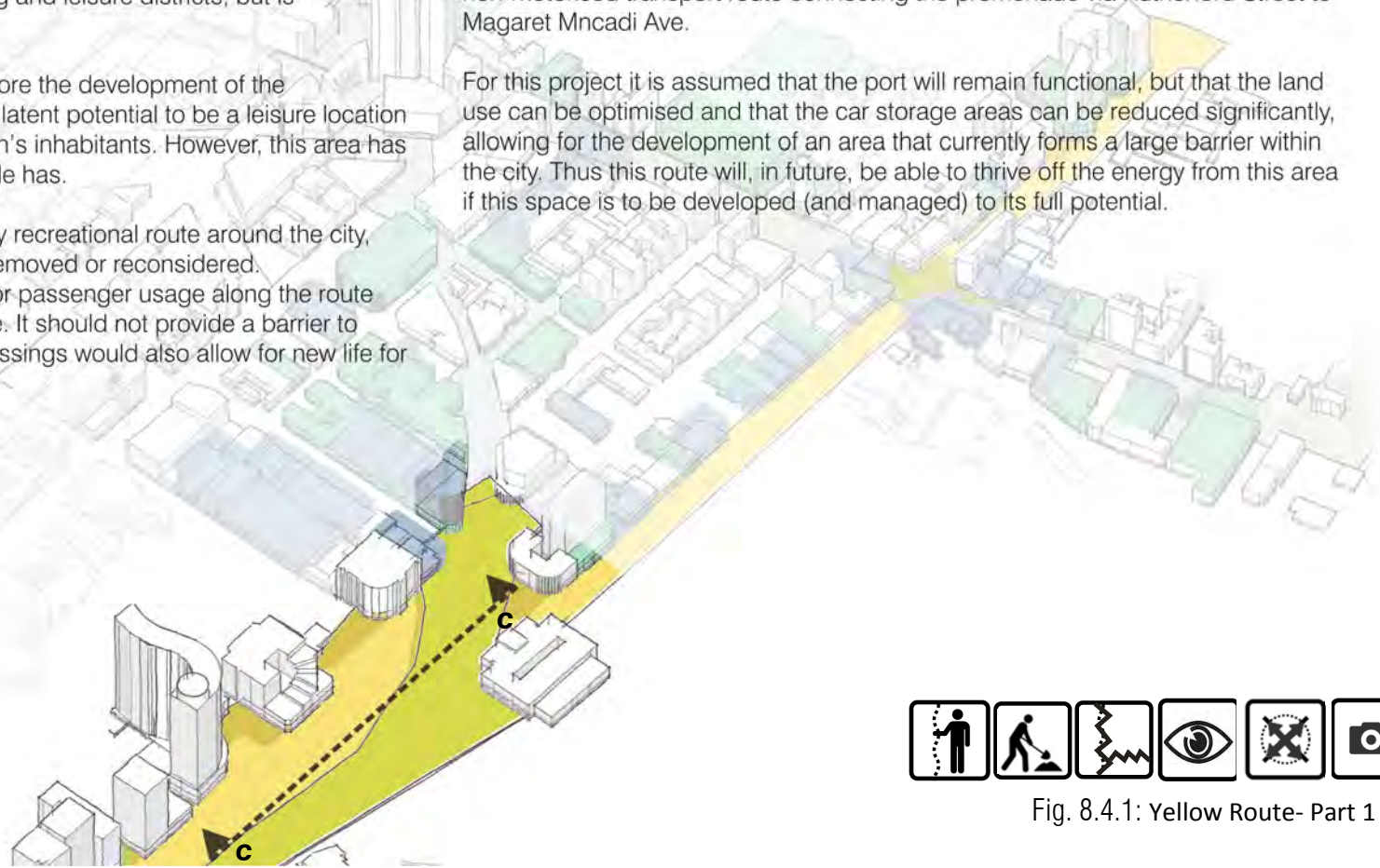
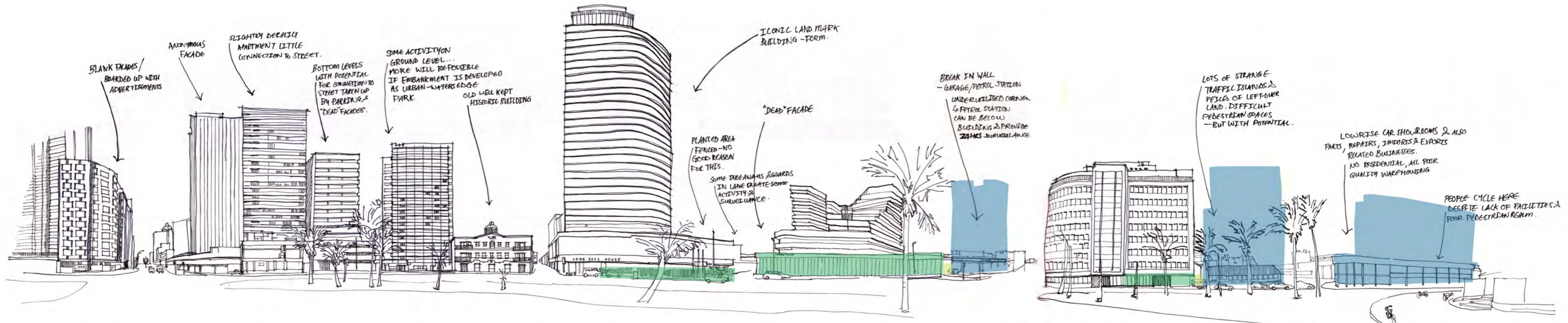


Fig. 8.4.1: Yellow Route- Part 1

SECTION C

Margaret Mncade Avenue
or the Victoria Embankment
(Looking north)



SECTION C

- **remove unnecessary fences** and barriers to allow for public usage of the open space in front of the active facade of the building.
- **Landscaping should be trimmed** and allow for maximum visibility, whilst providing signs of ownership and maintenance. **Additional trees** would also provide shade and a more **pleasant pedestrian realm**.
- The building could potentially provide **better surveillance from the first floor**.

KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education

- **Blank facades** to be **redeveloped**. A lot of pedestrian activity around building; this can be capitalised on.
- This building has the potential to function as an **institutional landmark** within the city as a public facility. - **legibility**.
- The building can house more **appropriate facilities on ground level** to allow for surveillance.
- Additional **Educational facilities** for the area.
- Addition of **rentable space** or adult education facilities can **extend the active period** of the building.

Take-aways in alleyways provide **passive surveillance and safety**; with move activity in the area, more small **economic opportunities** will arise to create employment.

Parking Lot and Engen Petrol Station

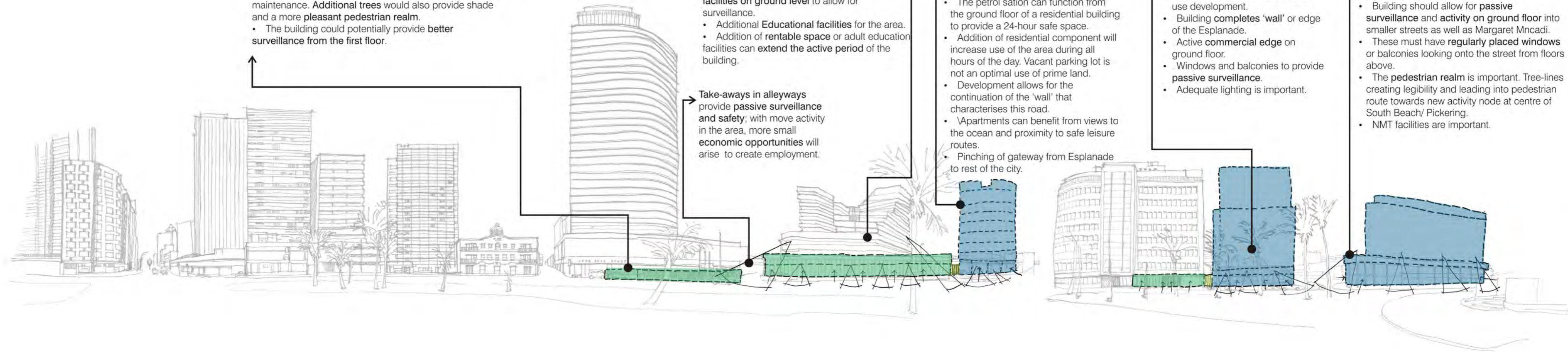
- Corner location of route to port creates lucrative position for a petrol station.
- Although land is financially lucrative, it is physically underutilised.
- The petrol station can function from the ground floor of a residential building to provide a 24-hour safe space.
- Addition of residential component will increase use of the area during all hours of the day. Vacant parking lot is not an optimal use of prime land.
- Development allows for the continuation of the 'wall' that characterises this road.
- Apartments can benefit from views to the ocean and proximity to safe leisure routes.
- Pinching of gateway from Esplanade to rest of the city.

Vacant parking lot and lost space around small 1 storey buildings on corner of site

- **Land not optimally used**.
- Potential for residential or mixed use development.
- Building **completes 'wall'** or edge of the Esplanade.
- Active **commercial edge** on ground floor.
- Windows and balconies to provide **passive surveillance**.
- Adequate lighting is important.

Low-rise car showrooms

- Land is not optimally used.
- Potential for **gateway towards new activity node** along pedestrian route from Rivertown to Bat Centre.
- Showroom can be maintained with residential or office space above.
- Building should allow for **passive surveillance and activity on ground floor** into smaller streets as well as Margaret Mncadi.
- These must have **regularly placed windows** or balconies looking onto the street from floors above.
- The **pedestrian realm** is important. Tree-lines creating legibility and leading into pedestrian route towards new activity node at centre of South Beach/ Pickering.
- NMT facilities are important.



Yellow Route- Part 2

8.5. Bay Terrace & Rutherford Road-connecting route from Esplanade to beachfront

This road provides the potential for a pedestrian linkage between the currently well used and safe beachfront, and the Victoria Embankment. The Victoria Embankment has the potential to be reinstated as one of the city's most important leisure precincts. This road segment can provide a link between the two highly pedestrian oriented routes.

The road runs from the Victoria Embankment slightly up over what used to be the sand dunes, before lowering back down towards the beachfront. The main concern with the development of this area is crime and the derelict fabric that one needs to traverse to reach an apartment. This road segment can form a strategic safe route along with the beach front, Mahatma Gandhi Road and Margaret Mncadi Avenue that can allow people to navigate the area without the perceptions of danger and fear. This can in turn help relieve some of the obstacles to regeneration in South Beach area.

Parts of this road segment closer to the beachfront have received some attention in terms of tree planting and paving, as well as the restoration of two formerly derelict holiday apartment buildings that had slipped into ruin and were purchased in 1999 and converted into social housing apartments. These developments have been close to the beachfront, rather than towards the port and light industrial warehousing. The road becomes less dense and more derelict as one moves along it towards the port. The activity of the T-Jetty and car imports and exports occupies a vast portion of land towards on the harbour side. If operations were to be optimised or simply moved to an alternative location, this would free land for development. The large blockage on the southern side of the study area would be removed. This could lead to more activity along this route and a clearer link between the two pedestrian areas.

In order for this route to function as a link between the Victoria Embankment and the beachfront, the warehousing areas would need to be densified and redeveloped with fewer blank facades. Many of these warehouses are currently vacant, with most of the occupied warehouses used for car related storage.

Furthermore the pedestrian realm away from the beachfront is of very poor quality. Sidewalks are very narrow (less than 3m), on either side of 4 lanes of one-way traffic. There are no signs of care or ownership towards the port's side. Despite Durban's climate, there are also very few trees (the area has sandy soil, but it is evident that plants are still able to flourish). Many of the warehouses have very few openings resulting in large blank facades, no passive surveillance and an alienating pedestrian environment. There are also large plots of land currently used for car storage that detract from the pedestrian experience and aid in the feeling of exposure. If a legible connection is to be made here, the pedestrian environment will need much improvement.

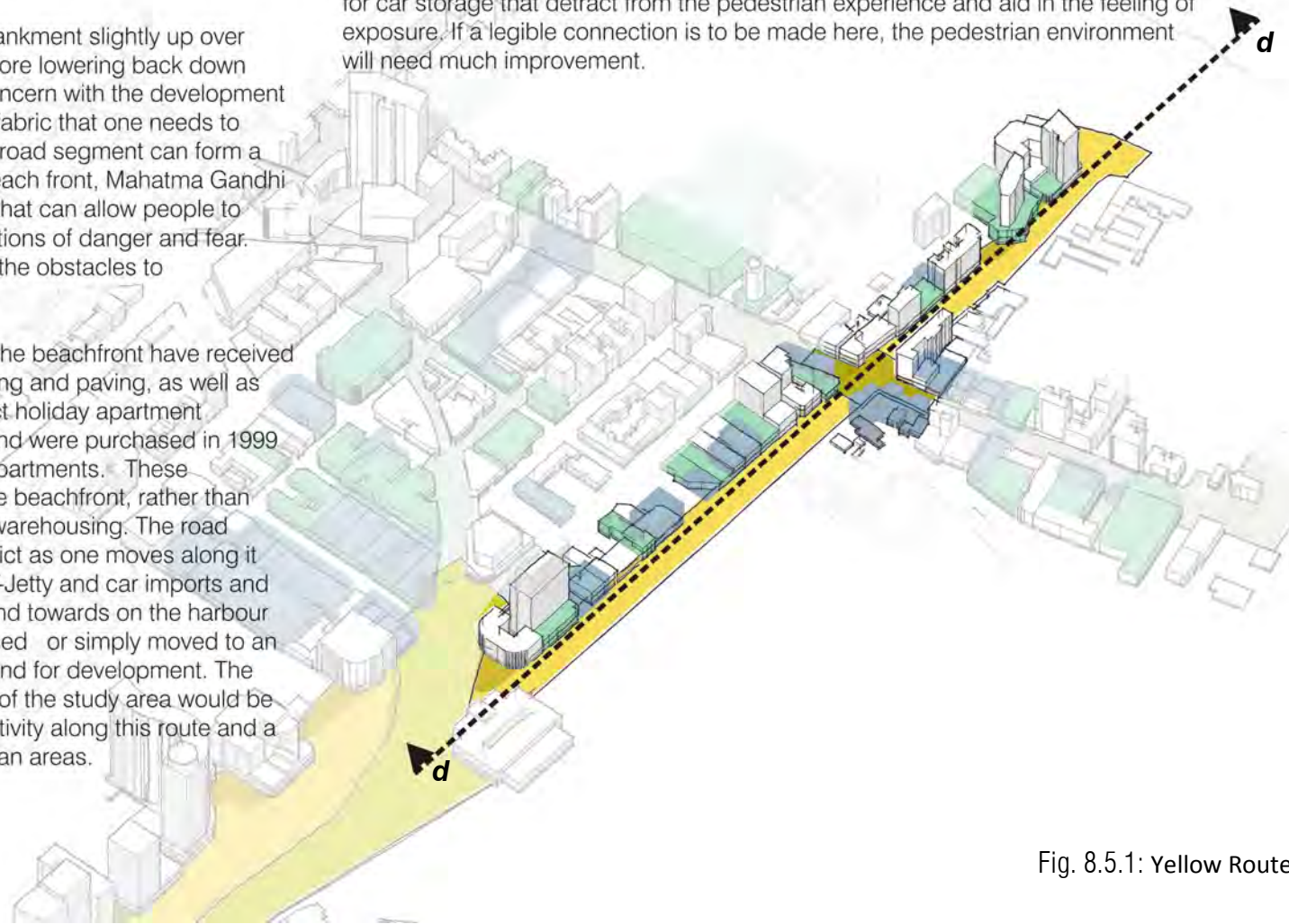
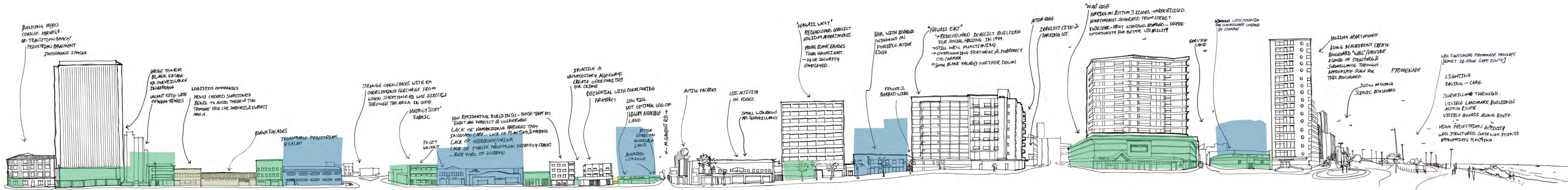


Fig. 8.5.1: Yellow Route- Part 2 201

SECTION D

Bay Terrace & Rutherford Road
(looking north, connecting the Esplanade
and The Beachfront)



SECTION D

One Victoria Embankment

Although the building does attempt to address the corner that marks the start of the Victoria Embankment, it does relatively little to enhance the public realm once in Bay Terrace. There is also **little threshold space between the public and private realm**. Widening sidewalk and allowing to semi-public space, along with humanising features such as trees would help. The street edge is also **inactive**. More activity and pedestrian movement on the route would increase economic opportunity and allow for active edges and more entrances onto Bay Terrace.

Dead façade to be reconsidered. Parking can potentially be combined with sleeve shops to allow more activity. Uses other than parking should be considered.

Demolition of warehousing and straightening of new Shepstone/ Roy Road increases linkage and legibility to new development of port land and to new activity node and square.

Intensification and residential densification possible. Other possible facilities can include **offices or institutional functions** but residential densification is important to ensure 24 hour activity.

- Straightening of Road and infill of left over space.
- More legible grid.
- Densification of buildings.
- Replace low-rise warehousing and storage with residential and other functions for mixed use area.

- Potential for old age home, student residence, early childhood development centres, adult education centres, and other institutional facilities. Warehouses to be **adapted, restored, upgraded or demolished** and redeveloped for a variety of new uses.
- **Variety and choice** is important in avoiding monotonous urban environments.

- **Surveillance is most important on corners of high connectivity and access.**
- This creates opportunities for crime but also provides opportunities for passive surveillance and for positive economic endeavours.
- Redevelop corner to house retail on ground floor with balconies on first floor to ensure surveillance.
- Residential densification along with other facilities, including office space, should be considered.
- Potential for social housing or student residence if other private developments are not currently feasible/ lucrative enough.



Hawaii- West Social Housing development

This building generally provides good **passive surveillance** and is well-kept suggesting **capable guardianship and territoriality**.

- The lower part of the façade presents a blank wall; this can be reconsidered to have more openings to the street or house sleeve shops.
- This is an example of a social housing project that is still well-functioning. The derelict holiday apartment block was purchased in 1999 and adapted for social housing.

Harlequins

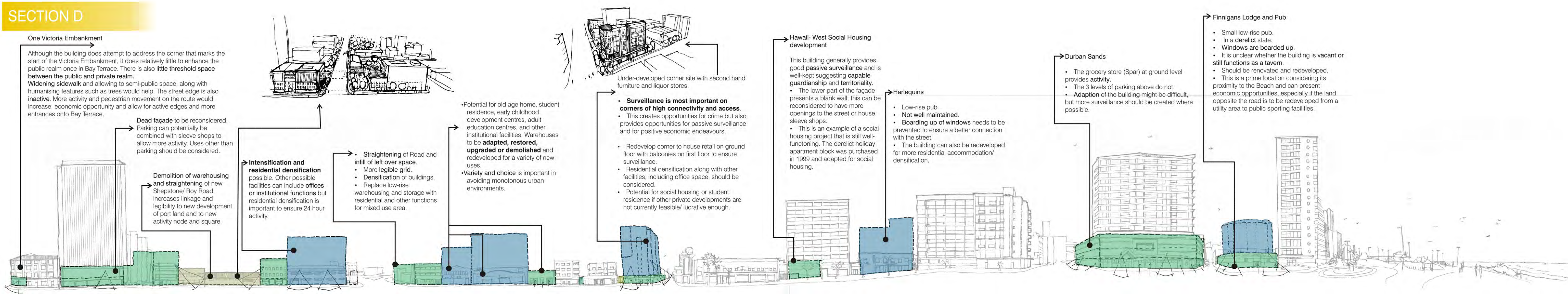
- Low-rise pub.
- **Not well maintained.**
- **Boarding up of windows** needs to be prevented to ensure a better connection with the street.
- The building can also be redeveloped for more residential accommodation/ densification.

Durban Sands

- The grocery store (Spar) at ground level provides **activity**.
- The 3 levels of parking above do not.
- **Adaption of the building** might be difficult, but more surveillance should be created where possible.

Finnigans Lodge and Pub

- Small low-rise pub.
- In a **derelict** state.
- **Windows are boarded up.**
- It is unclear whether the building is **vacant or still functions as a tavern.**
- Should be renovated and redeveloped.
- This is a prime location considering its proximity to the Beach and can present economic opportunities, especially if the land opposite the road is to be redeveloped from a utility area to public sporting facilities.



Blue Route

8.6. The Canal linking 'Rivertown development' to The Bat Centre and Harbour- through Mazeppa Square and Pickering

This route runs along a canal that was constructed to serve as drainage for the low lying wetlands and sport fields on the other side of Rivertown. This route links the Bat Centre, an art precinct, to Rivertown, a new developing creative precinct, via Pickering area. A square is suggested between Roy Road and Mazeppa Street to create a dignified public space for the area around which facilities and institutions can be located to create an active heart for the area. The canal runs diagonally through the space with park space on either side and hard surfaces to join with the newly adapted buildings on the northern and southern side of the space.

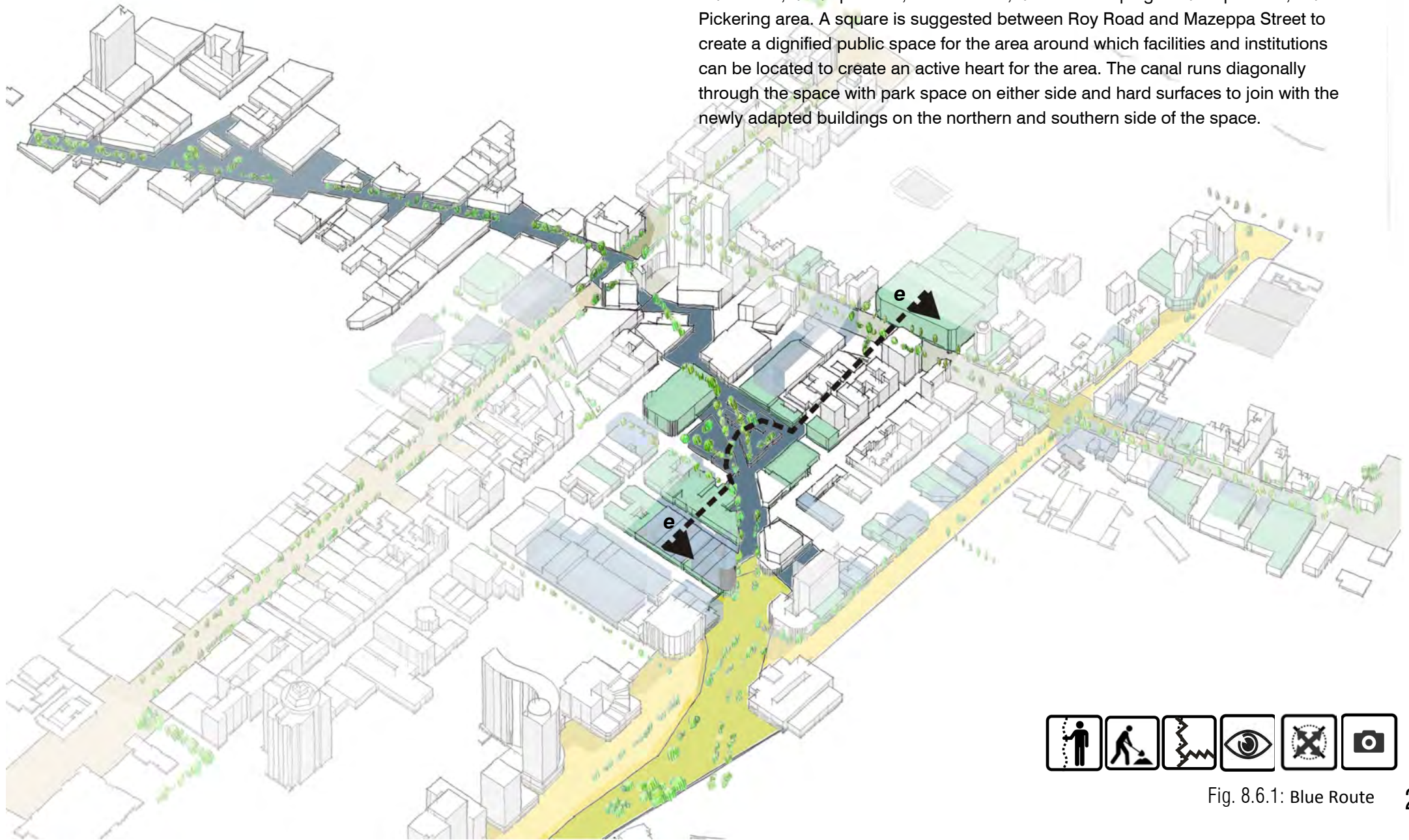


Fig. 8.6.1: Blue Route

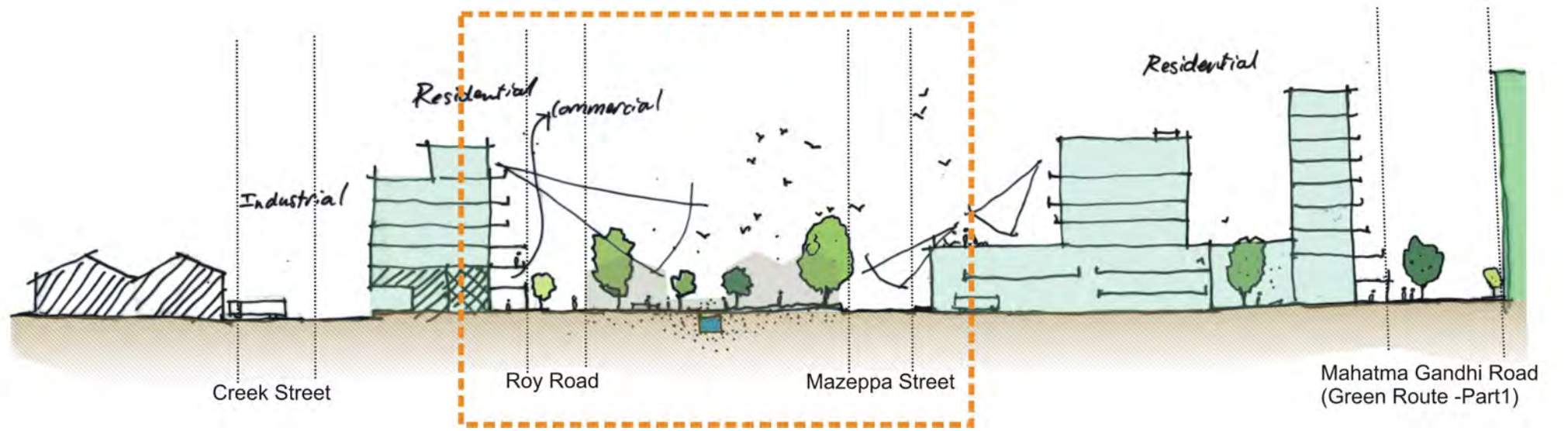
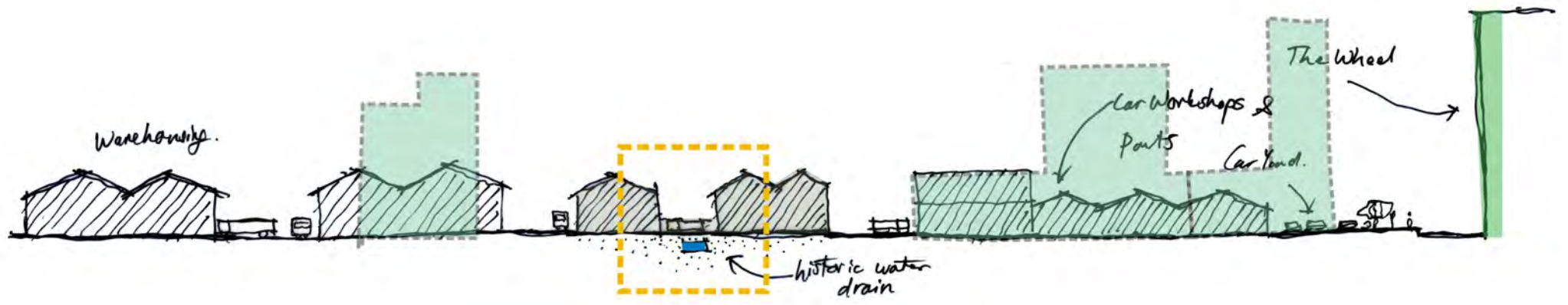
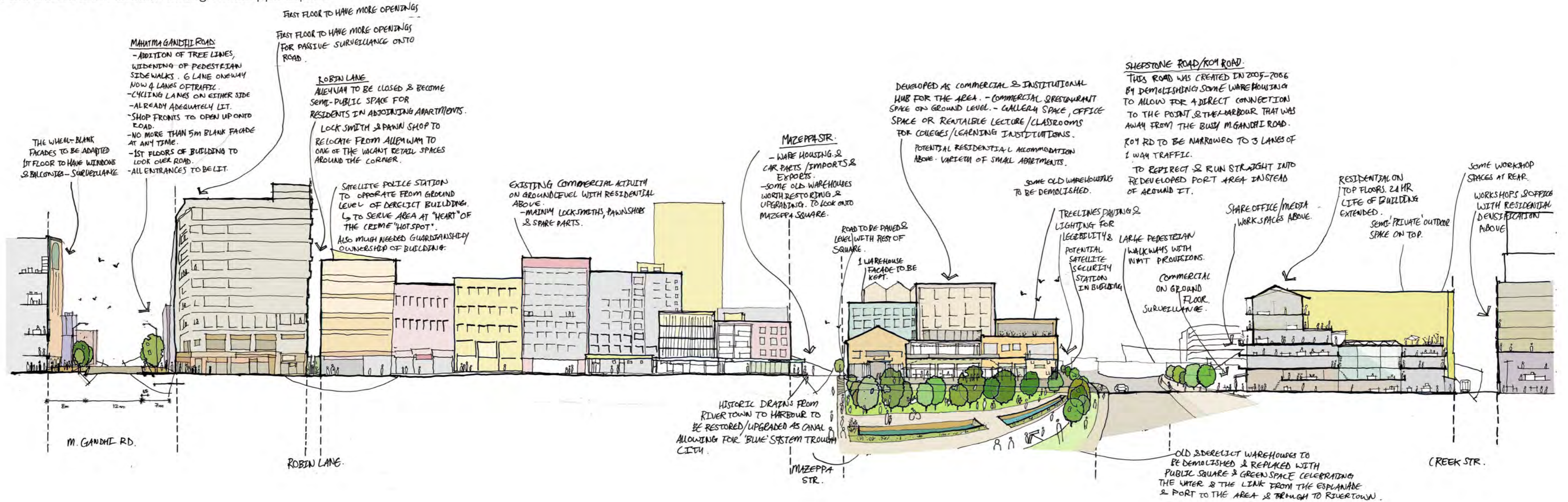


Fig. 8.6.2: Blue Route- Rough Sketch of Section E- Existing

Fig. 8.6.3: Blue Route- Rough Sketch of Section E- Illustrating an alternative use of this space.

SECTION E

Pedestrian walk and Canal linking 'Rivertown development' to The Bat Centre and Harbour- through 'Mazeppa Square'



MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD:
 - ADDITION OF TREE LINES, WIDENING OF PEDESTRIAN SIDEWALKS. 6 LANE ONEWAY NOW 4 LANES OF TRAFFIC.
 - CYCLING LANES ON EITHER SIDE
 - ALREADY ADEQUATELY LIT.
 - SHOP FRONTS TO OPEN UP ONTO ROAD.
 - NO MORE THAN 5m BLANK FACADE AT ANY TIME.
 - 1ST FLOORS OF BUILDING TO LOOK OVER ROAD.
 - ALL ENTRANCES TO BE LIT.

THE WHEEL-BLANK FACADES TO BE ADAPTED 1ST FLOOR TO HAVE WINDOWS & BALCONIES - SURVEILLANCE

FIRST FLOOR TO HAVE MORE OPENINGS FOR PASSIVE SURVEILLANCE ONTO ROAD.

ROBIN LANE
 ALLEYWAY TO BE CLOSED & BECOME SEMI-PUBLIC SPACE FOR RESIDENTS IN ADJOINING APARTMENTS.
 LOCK SMITH & PAWN SHOP TO RELOCATE FROM ALLEYWAY TO ONE OF THE VACANT RETAIL SPACES AROUND THE CORNER.

SATELLITE POLICE STATION TO OPERATE FROM GROUND LEVEL OF DERELICT BUILDING. ↳ TO SERVE AREA AT "HEART" OF THE CRIME "HOT SPOT". ALSO MUCH NEEDED GUARDIANSHIP/ OWNERSHIP OF BUILDING.

EXISTING COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY ON GROUNDLEVEL WITH RESIDENTIAL ABOVE.
 - MAINLY LOCK SMITHS, PAWN SHOPS & SPARE PARTS.

MAZEPPA STR.
 - WARE HOUSING & CAR PARTS / IMPORTS & EXPORTS.
 - SOME OLD WAREHOUSES WORTH RESTORING & UPGRADING. TO LOOK ONTO MAZEPPA SQUARE.

ROAD TO BE PAVED & LEVEL WITH REST OF SQUARE.
 1 WAREHOUSE FACADE TO BE KEPT.

DEVELOPED AS COMMERCIAL & INSTITUTIONAL HUB FOR THE AREA. - COMMERCIAL RESTAURANT SPACE ON GROUND LEVEL. - GALLERY SPACE, OFFICE SPACE OR RENTABLE LECTURE / CLASSROOMS FOR COLLEGES / LEARNING INSTITUTIONS.
 POTENTIAL RESIDENTIAL ACCOMMODATION ABOVE. VARIETY OF SMALL APARTMENTS.

SOME OLD WAREHOUSING TO BE DEMOLISHED.

TREELINES PLANTING & LIGHTING FOR LEGIBILITY & POTENTIAL SATELLITE SECURITY STATION IN BUILDING

LARGE PEDESTRIAN WALKWAYS WITH WMT PROVISIONS.
 COMMERCIAL ON GROUND FLOOR. SURVEILLANCE.

SHARE OFFICE / MEDIA WORKSPACES ABOVE.

RESIDENTIAL ON TOP FLOORS. 24 HR LIFE OF BUILDING EXTENDED. SEMI-PRIVATE OUTDOOR SPACE ON TOP.

SOME WORKSHOP SPACES AT REAR. WORKSHOPS OFFICE WITH RESIDENTIAL DENSIFICATION ABOVE

HISTORIC DRAINS FROM RIVER TOWN TO HARBOUR TO BE RESTORED / UPGRADED AS CANAL ALLOWING FOR 'BLUE' SYSTEM THROUGH CITY.

OLD DERELICT WAREHOUSES TO BE DEMOLISHED & REPLACED WITH PUBLIC SQUARE & GREEN SPACE CELEBRATING THE WATER & THE LINK FROM THE ESPLANADE & PORT TO THE AREA & THROUGH TO RIVERTOWN.

M. GANDHI RD.

ROBIN LANE.

MAZEPPA STR.

CREEK STR.

8.6.1. Instigating Renewal

The Figures alongside illustrates the potential for redevelopment of the area. The predominant building typology is currently low-rise warehousing. Many buildings here are in a derelict state or vacant, whilst some merely house functions that do not lend themselves to activity or the enhancement of the public realm (Storage and Car parts). As cities develop and transform, they generally gain a larger appetite for high quality spaces (as discussed in previous sections). Land within the inner city becomes sought after and their light-industrial areas become redundant or obsolete and industries move to less prime locations within the city. The development of this land for public space and new facilities can be seen as relatively small scale catalyst for the renewal of the area.

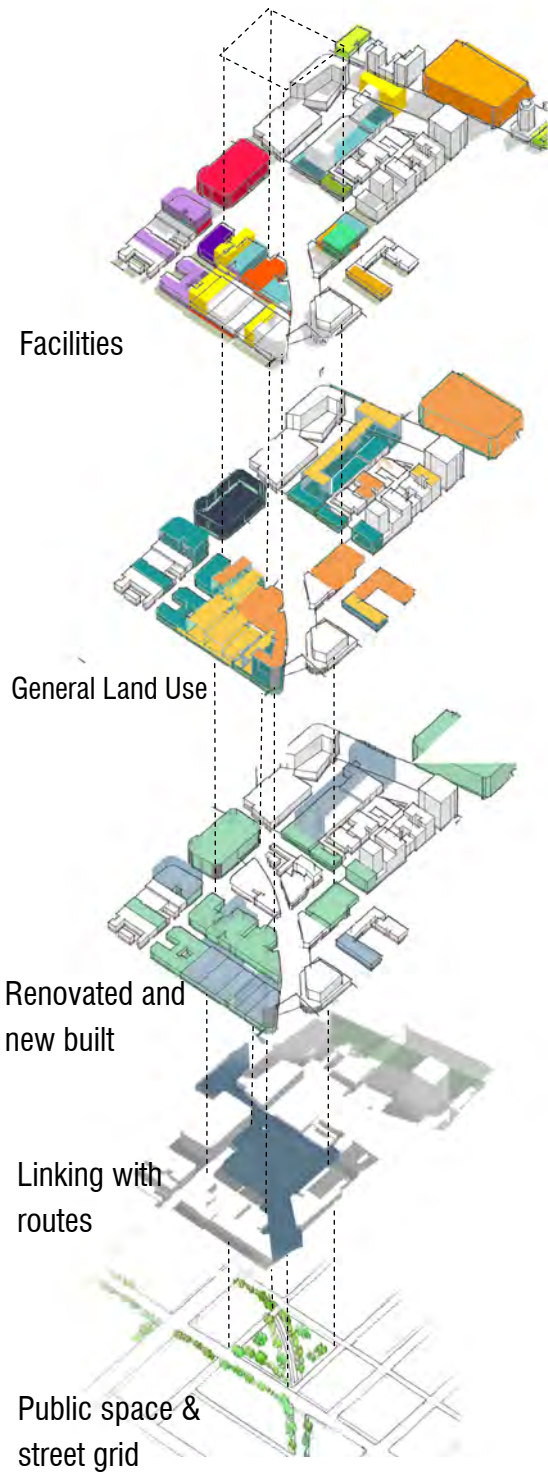


Fig. 8.6.5: Layering of "Mazzeppa Square"

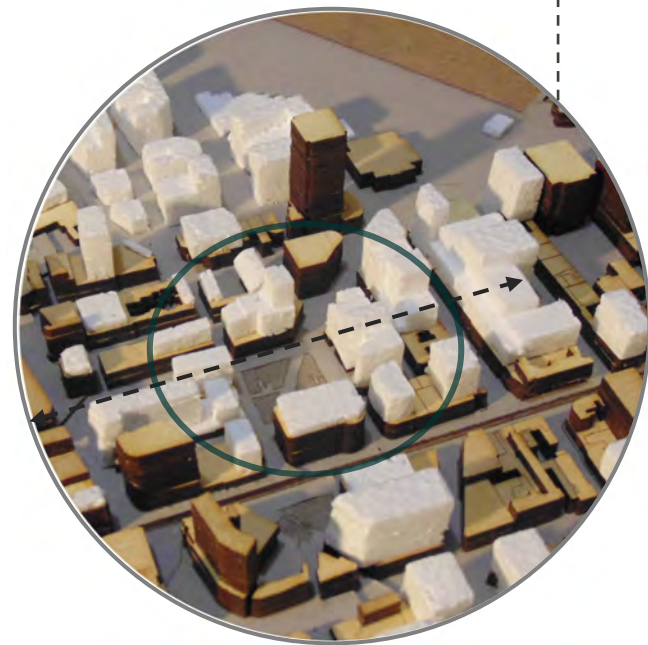
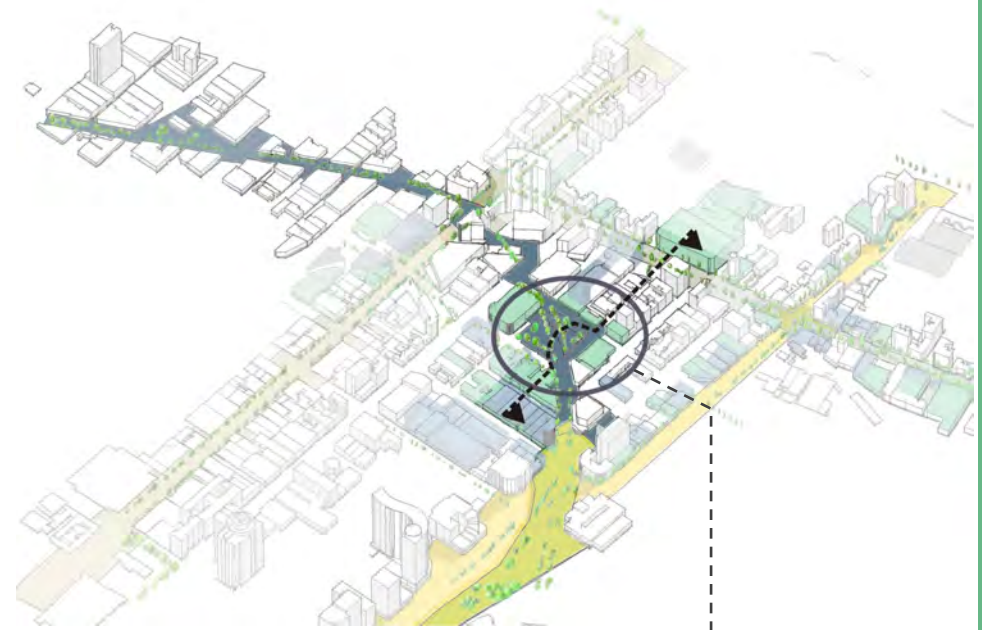


Fig. 8.6.6: Physical Model of "Mazzeppa Square"

8.7. Conclusions for Detailed Explorations

The design ideas proposed in this section suggest an approach to creating safer streets and spaces. Each one of these suggestions can cause small shifts for its part of the street segment and should together be able to form a patchwork of interventions that would create a pleasant streetscape for all. Other suggestions for the upgrading of streets and the creation of a public space at Mazeppa Square suggest relatively small, yet catalytic interventions that can unlock the potential for the area and draw investment, but would still rely heavily on the execution of other acupuncture projects in order to function successfully.

Over the past few years the potential for regeneration of inner cities has become apparent and has started a slow process of luring investment back into the heart of our cities. Crime seems to be one of the main obstacles preventing such developments from being undertaken by law-abiding crime-fearing citizens. Perhaps it is possible to harness these new shifts in development initiatives in order to start creating safer city centres.

As much as interventions are needed to curb crime, developments will only function if the area in which they can provide a sense of safety for those who wish to inhabit them. This proposal thus attempts to suggest an alternative to the bubbles of artificial safety created by security estates and suggests that cities can flourish if we are to pay more attention to the way in which we create and manage the public realm.

SECTION 1

SECTION 2

SECTION 3

SECTION 4

SECTION 5

SECTION 6

SECTION 7

SECTION 8

SECTION 9

Conclusion

Conclusion:

This project has explored the notions of crime in the city and the potential use of situational crime prevention methods within the Durban's inner city. Despite the rhetoric of decay and decentralisation that surround much of the literature regarding the dynamics of the inner city, there has been more recent shifts in mind-sets that suggest a renewed desire for urban spaces and the possibility for regeneration of parts of the city. These desires are however hindered by a latent sense of fear of victimisation within much of the CBD, with many of these fears being substantiated by statistics as well as people's experiences and encounters with crime.

In order to better understand the underlying tensions, a brief historical background was provided. The findings within the literature studied, suggests a fundamental link between fears and the historical development of our country. Per-apartheid segregatory tendencies set the scene for the implementation of apartheid policies that sought to control cities as 'islands of order' away from the uncivilised chaos of the hinterland.

With the advent of democracy, the nature of the inner city changed drastically from a controlled environment to one that now supports people of all backgrounds and serves as a place of convergence for many people who rely on the public transport and for whom the city represents a central location. The city also provides a space where the informal economy can flourish.

Some developments have taken place that have caused concern regarding the ever-imminent decay of the inner city. Many businesses have migrated north and the city has shown signs of decay in its derelict and often vacant buildings. One of the most noticeable sign of decay is *crime*.

In order to understand the extremities of the situation in Durban, crime statistics for various areas were also considered. When considering the relatively unique situation of South African cities, one starts to understand the tendencies of South African developers and the consumers of space to demand safety through target hardening and exclusion of 'others' from their gated communities.

The connections between crime and place is investigated. In order of crime to take place an offender needs a suitable target as well as a suitable location in which the crime can take place. The city can thus be mapped as areas that attract the right combination of these variables. There is much debate in the literature regarding the most appropriate methods of passive crime prevention. Some suggest a more closed approach, whereby the offender is discouraged from committing crimes through a mixture of target hardening and territorial reinforcement. Other approaches suggest that more people and activity is key to creating better surveillance and hence increasing the risk of the offender being caught red-handed. One of the most interesting debates in terms of city form is the effect of access and road layouts on crime rates. Here it was found that different

crimes will take place in different types of spaces. Crimes patterns also change during different times of the day depending on the type of road segment. Permeability and connectivity are, in many cases, both the causes and the solutions to crime problems. In a quiet neighbourhood with few walking targets, crime can be reduced further by preventing through-movement, however in the connected and already bustling inner city of Durban the opposite might be effective. It was thus assumed that connectivity should be harnessed to create more activity and surveillance along well travelled routes and on corners of intersections.

The analyses and design processes also brought to light the dynamics of criminal activity within the city. It was discovered that some areas produce better environments for drug trafficking, muggings and criminal territoriality. These areas generally occur away from the main bustle of the city, but are connected via major movement routes through the CBD and are thus highly accessible.

Precedent studies were also considered and helped to inform the approach to the design as well as the underlying principles.

These principles include *natural and defined access and movement, surveillance, appropriate barriers, territorial reinforcement and maintenance and management*. The analysis at the scale of the inner city was done taking these into consideration.

A framework for general developments within the city was suggested and illustrates the potential for

past and current developmental projects to have a positive impact on the image of the city. This would also provide momentum that might be able to ignite interest in the regeneration of slightly more problematic areas. For example, the future development of Rivertown has major positive implications for possible interventions in Pickering area, a crime ridden area that would currently be considered a 'no-go' zone for developers and potential clients alike.

The project then turned to smaller scale acupunctural projects in Pickering area specifically. The approaches used to develop design ideas were informed largely by the site and the principles that were developed from precedent studies and literature on crime and place. Design ideas included the creation of an *active and safe node* at the centre of the area that would serve an institutional and educational cluster of facilities and provide *services to the community* as well as *territorial reinforcement* for the area.

The notion of routes was used as a basis for more detailed explorations. Small acupunctural projects and changes in the urban fabric supporting the streets are suggested along these routes. The general approach was to support the street with more *passive surveillance*, provide quality *pedestrian and NMT facilities*, increase *legibility* through treelines and the straightening of roads, to *upgrade and adapt derelict or underutilised buildings* and to suggest *densification* and *new builds* on vacant plots and low-rise warehousing

sites. Special attention was paid to *buildings on street corners* as these were considered important points of surveillance.

These routes were used as a method of structuring the area conceptually and prioritising developments. The project should thus not be considered a comprehensive 'plan' for implementation. Rather these suggestions serve as an illustration of possible methods of intervention in terms of the principles for safer urban spaces.

This project illustrates an alternative approach to creating safe spaces within the urban environment of Durban. It is hoped that, in a country where fears govern our daily movements as well as the morphology of our cities, that these ideas might be able to suggest ways in which we can combat fears and victimisation, whilst still creating spaces that are inclusive and serve as common meeting grounds. Through providing a safe urban core, a city can allow for positive interactions to take place and hence fulfil the role that cities have to play in fostering transitions and growth in society.

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