chapter 1
destructive spatial practices

part i
the contemporary urban condition

1. Introduction

More than half the world's current population are urban dwellers (UNFPA, 2008) who find themselves in cities that are becoming increasingly complex and difficult to navigate. The contemporary city is the laboratory where global processes meet local conditions; it consists of an ever shifting mix of dynamic conditions of continuous instability (Koolhaas & Mau, 1998:22).

2. Global processes

Globally, people and places are in a state of uncertainty. Economic globalisation,[1] the information revolution[2] and the so-called associated time-space compression[3] have called into question many aspects of urban spaces previously uncontested. Globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms in cities around the world. Therefore, the city has become an important terrain for a series of conflicts and contradictions.

One of the processes that can give rise to such conflict is global economic conditions. The contemporary city is a nodal element in a system of regional and worldwide economic exchanges. The city is thus divided into 'in' and 'out' areas and groups. More often than not, these urban spaces of comings and goings do not correspond with existing politico-administrative territories (Borja, 1998:5). In other words, we see the rise of an urban condition where new economic developments and old regulations are in growing tension.

"The city has emerged as a site for new claims: by global capital which uses the city as an 'organizational commodity', but also by disadvantaged sectors of the urban population" (Sassen, 1994:5). The joint presence of these two absolute extremes in cities have brought the distance between them into even sharper focus. Inequality in the profit making capabilities of different sectors of the economy has always existed. However, what we see happening today takes place on a larger scale and is causing massive distortions in the spatial organisation of the economy (Sassen, 1994:3). We can think of these developments as constituting new geographies of centres and margins that not only contributes to strengthening existing inequalities but also sets in motion a series of new dynamics of inequality (Sassen, 1994:3).

Borja (1998:5) believes that the contemporary city does not contain centralities or strong 'places'- points of high social density and strong symbolic identification. This weakening or non-existence of 'place', combined with the above mentioned economic conditions stimulates anomic[4] dynamics and destroys social cohesion.

The global city concentrates diversity (Sassen, 1994:6). It acts as the terrain where people from many different backgrounds are most likely to meet and where numerous cultures come together. According to Bunschoten, Hoshino & Binet (2001:24) the increased mobility of people has led to the re-definition of urban spaces: spaces of inclusion, exclusion, of surveillance, of control, of new identities. This in turn has brought about new tensions between the dynamic 'open city' and the historic closed city. Mobility and the subsequent formation of new groups and collectives constantly lead to new spatial identities in the city. It is characterised by interwoven patterns of use and ownership as well as a diverse range of users, often with clashing needs and desires. These joint presences render the city fragmented, and more often than not, give rise to contested urban territories.[5]

3. Spatial implications of the contemporary urban condition

Global processes and local conditions are always mutually interdependent. Signs of the contemporary urban condition as described above are visible in cities of both the 'developing' and 'developed' world (Sassen, 1994:2). Cities like New Delhi, Mexico City, São Paolo and Johannesburg are becoming increasingly important examples of the contemporary urban condition. This is evident in the choice of location for significant events like the Urban Futures Conference[6] which is to be held in São Paolo in 2008 (presented in Johannesburg in 2000).

The way in which the urban condition realises itself within different cities remains context sensitive, but always has some sort of spatial implication. Hannah (1997:172) states that any spatial reaction is important, whether it manifests at an 'architectural' or larger scale. In societies where inequality, tension and uncertainty are the rule and not the exception, spatial reactions

1 Refers to the integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows migration and the spread of technology
2 The term describes current economic, social, and technological trends that sees information is the central theme of several new sciences
3 Defined by Massey (1994:2) as movement and communication across space in other words the geographical stretching out of social relations

4 Refers to a lack of direction or purpose - a condition of aimlessness or rootlessness (Barnhart, C.L & Barnhart, R,K (eds), 1988:85)
5 An urban area of interest or value to group(s) of people or institution(s) that is the object of dispute or tension (definition composed of information from Barnhart, C.L & Barnhart, R,K (eds), 1988:448,2166)
6 This conference will involve an interdisciplinary investigation into the processes of urbanisation in South America with specific focus on Sao Paulo, Rio de Janiero, Buenos Aires and Lima. The conference offers a regional perspective to key social, spatial and economic issues underlying urban growth in South America. (Herhausen, 2008)

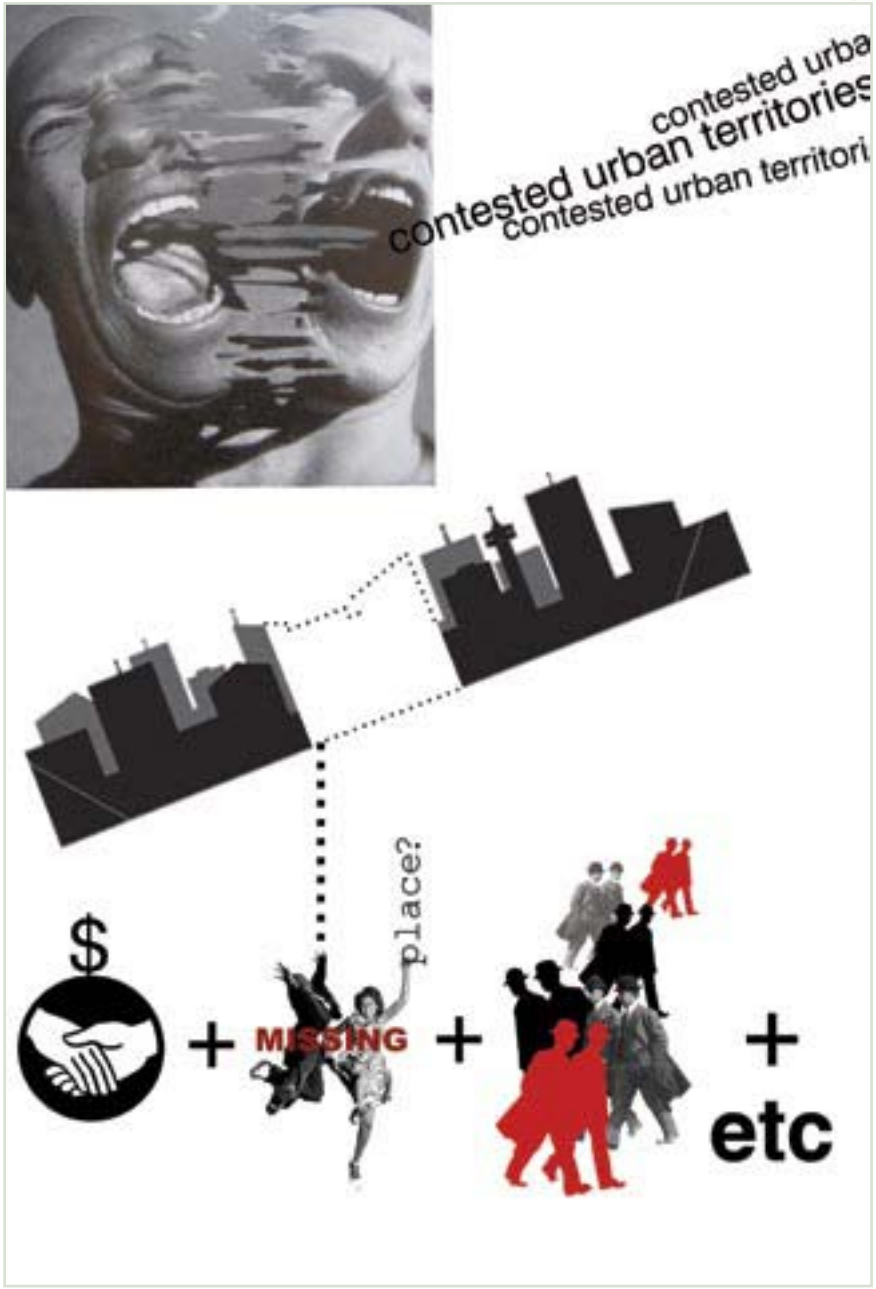


FIGURE 1: The Global Condition
image top left from (Mahurin, M. 1995. Illustration for *Spin* Magazine, in *Design Basics,* Lauer, D.A. & Pentak, S. 2002. *Design Basics.* London: Wadsworth)

are often visibly potent. South Africa, characterised by rapid rates of growth and change, high levels of poverty as well as spatial and income inequality (Dewar & Todeschini, 2004:5), is an example of one such society.

4. The South African urban condition

South African cities share global problems with cities like São Paolo and Mexico City (Connoly *et al.* in Mabin, 2005:57), but are also unique in many aspects. According to Dewar & Todeschini (2004:20) three processes have led to the spatial characteristics of South African towns and cities: Modernism, Apartheid policies and informal settlement. Each of these processes has been widely discussed by both national and international authors. What is important for the sake of this study is the fact that the combination of these processes not only had severe effects on the organisation of urban space, and the natural environment, but also on the lives of people (Dewar & Todeschini, 2004:21).

South Africa is currently characterised by an unprecedented endeavour to accomplish social justice by economic, political and spatial means. Almost every neighbourhood in urban South Africa either experiences rapid change or anticipates it. This is especially true after the demise of legal racial segregation and the arrival of democracy. Change is also encouraged by the increasing openness of a once-protected economic environment to wider global economies (Mabin, 2005:44). However, these changes are taking place in conditions of rapid urbanization, widespread poverty, unemployment and the constant threat of crime and violence. The South African city is thus in tension. The desire to increase social justice and diminish inequality in cities is in direct conflict with current spatial practices (Mabin, 2005:45).

It is therefore imperative to investigate and understand these spatial practices and the way in which they play out in a South African context.

chapter 1
destructive spatial practices

part ii
spatial reactions in contested urban territories

1. Introduction

More often than not, uncertainty gives rise to increased control over all segments of society. Findley (2005:2) explains that the expression of such control or power extends to the built environment: "… [architecture] gets bundled up with power and building from the very first foundation of our imagination about human culture." Spatial control extends over all scales of the built environment. According to Findley (2005:9) there are four broad categories of spatial strategies of power:

(1) The construction of hierarchies
Here social, cultural, and economic hierarchies are translated into spatial hierarchies. These powerful strategies are invisibly integrated into our daily lives, so much so that they become practically unnoticed and unquestioned.
Examples:
- Placing a speaker on a raised platform,
- Placing the most important person in the front or centre of room

(2) Segregation
Here groups of 'undesirables' are separated from the majority, but still kept close for economic, political or social needs. The group is thus rendered out of sight and out of contact, and to some extend out of mind
Examples:
- The separation of kitchen and laundry at domestic scale,
- The 'double landscape' in South Africa

(3) Marginalization
Here people who threaten those with power are removed. Marginalization can be physical or procedural – moving people away from the coveted centre or to the margins of society.
Examples:
- Soviet Union and their use of Siberia
- The use of penal colonies under colonialism

(4) Long-term large scale mechanisms of spatial transformation
These mechanisms operate on space with widespread and systematic effects; the strategies are brutal and lasting. They include national strategies like apartheid or international strategies like globalization and colonization.

The aim of such deliberate spatial strategies of power is essentially to deny the user spatial agency – an act that Findley (2005:5) believes deprives life of one of its essential modes of existence. By understanding the broad spatial strategies of control, one can further analyse specific reactions in relation to the local conditions of South Africa.

2. Spatial governance

According to Robins (2002) contemporary cities' regulatory mechanisms have moved from targeting people to targeting places. Cities have applied strategies of 'spatial governance' to almost all aspects of urban life, from the control of alcohol consumption and smoking to movement along streets in neighbourhoods. Signs of such 'spatial governance' are visible in cities all over the world, including those in South Africa.

Spatial governance has always been present in South African cities. In apartheid South Africa, the concern was almost exclusively with policing boundaries and controlling points of entry and exit. Although we have moved beyond enforced political control of space, Hannah (1997:174-175) states that sections of cities and suburbs in South Africa remain committed to strategies of exclusion. Here spatial forms of governance draw on sophisticated security systems, fences and constant surveillance in neighbourhoods, shopping malls and gated communities. As in the apartheid city, visibility remains central, but in the interest of filtering those trying to enter, instead of those trying to leave.

FIGURES 2, 3, 4
2 & 3 Surveillance at 'The Fields' in Hatfield
4 Control of movement at the *Orangerie* in Paris, France

> These days, we are obsessed with borders. ...the less successful we are in keeping intact the borders we have drawn, the more obsessive we become in drawing them again and again.
>
> We are indeed obsessed...
>
> zugmunt bauman (bauman, 2004)

Many of these spatial practices are in response to the prevalence of crime and violence in South Africa. Security access control is by no means only a South African phenomenon, but according to Harrison & Mabin (2006:4), the scale may be greater in large South African cities than in most other parts of the world. Supporters of spatial governance point to lower crime rates, better traffic control, improved community spirit, and enhanced property values in areas that are highly controlled (like gated communities). Opponents have argued successfully that these practices in fact do not produce the intended results. Instead, they lead to a displacement of crime[7] and traffic problems; are socially divisive and exclusionary, and are linked to deeply entrenched racism and class prejudice (Harrison & Mabin, 2006:4).

Practices of spatial governance are not only symbols of the underlying tensions present in the social fabric, but also contribute to further polarisation in the urban environment. The Norwegian anthropologist Frederick Bath pointed out that borders are not drawn to separate differences, but that differences are in fact the products of borders, products of the acts of separation (Bauman, 2004:2). They give rise to newly imposed zones, that are often in sharp contrast and tension to existing zones established through natural use patterns, cultural activity or previously executed socio-political ideals. Findley (2005:5) explains this further:

> ...the physical constructs and spatial practices left behind by previous regimes remain as more permanent marks on the landscape. These spatial wounds are not neutral. They were made using strategies to embody particular attitudes, cultural practices and ideologies. They are specifically designed to support and encourage these practices.

The result is a fragmented urban landscape rife with socio-spatial inequalities where control is applied through the management of space (Robins, 2005:666).

3. A lack of spatial support for a complex society

South Africa's constitution is highly valued and well respected all over the world for its progressive and liberal nature. The new democracy supports and encourages the diversity and complexity of the country and its inhabitants. However, even though the country has undergone major political, economic and social transformations in the past decade, Mabin (2005:57) believes that the restructuring of urban space to accommodate these transformations has sadly lagged behind. Lefebvre (in Findley, 2005:30) explains the importance of spatial change:

> A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language, on space...

South African urban spaces comprise highly complex and overlapping economic systems, movement patterns and social interactions. This is visible in the everyday use patterns of different individuals in the city. The lack of spatial support for these complex and interrelated use patterns have led to the informal adaptation of urban spaces to satisfy basic needs and desires. These informal users are exploiting the void of urban planning; design and governance to give rise to a new subversive city with a texture, order and logic that support their needs (Rasmuss, 2000:3). Sassen (2006:2) illustrates very clearly that these informal economies and systems multiply and diversify the range of practices possible in cities and that they fulfill crucial functions in the city's economic and social realm. However, these practices are still viewed as informal and disorganised; believed to add very little value to the city and therefore are not worthy of supportive urban spaces. "Urban governments tend to see only the advantages of high-profit, high-cost uses of space. [This is] shown to be a short-term view that disregards the longer term costs associated with the impoverishment that this form of development brings about" (Sassen, 1994:9).

There is thus virtually no 'middle ground' between informal adaptation of the city and formal development; between the ideals of transformation and the spatial reality. There is a certain vitality present in South African cities that should not be ignored by practices of transformation. Spatial practices should not aim to change or simplify the dynamics of society and their patterns of use, but should rather aim to mediate, support, combine and exploit these positive features to create a new city order.

7 Empirical research by Wilson-Doenges (2000) has shown that although the perceptions of risk may be reduced by gating, actual crime rates are often not significantly altered. Helsley & Strange (1999) also reached uncertain conclusions in their modelling of crime rates. They concluded that gating generally does have a deterrent effect on crime but that there are instances in which gating may actually increase overall crime rates.

FIGURES 5, 6
5 A sign of South Africans' fear of crime and violence
Photograph taken at the public toilets in Polleys Arcade, Pretoria in 2006
6 The exclusionary nature of borders

FIGURE 7 The non-existent 'middle ground'

4. Increased privatisation of public space

4.1 Introduction & Definition

Recent years have seen the emergence of a deeply problematic international trend that has to do with the erosion of the public domain, also referred to as 'collective space' / 'public space' (Mabin, 2006:7). Public space is defined by Harrison & Mabin (2006:6) as "physical space in which public interaction can readily occur, that is provided and maintained by public authorities, and that is 'open to the public' rather than closed to certain classes of users".

This trend refers to situations where previously public spaces are enclosed and privatised with a subsequent increase in surveillance and control over movement. In order to illustrate why this is a negative trend, one must first understand the importance of public space in the city.

4.2 Importance of public space

> In brief, what is required of public space is nothing more or less than contributing towards giving sense to our urban life.
>
> (Borja, 1998:7)

Public space is important to the city and its users for a number of reasons. Firstly, public space can stimulate a sense of community and belonging in its users. Mitrašinović (2006:246) argues that 'private' and 'public' are not properties of space, but of social relationships that are produced in a specific location. This implies that public space is as much a space as it is an experience, and that the importance of it lies in the degree to which the environment enables a shared human experience or sense of community. Borja (1998:7-8) believes that good quality public spaces will contribute strongly to the formation and progress of civic responsibility.

Secondly, public space essentially allows anonymity (Hannah, 1997:174). There is a sense of freedom associated with the public realm that is vital to the urban user.

Thirdly, public space with its related infrastructure and facilities can be an important mechanism for social redistribution and integration (Borja, 1998:8). It is here that diversity can be expressed, interchanges occur and tolerance for 'difference' is developed (Bauman, 2004:5).

Fourthly, public space is indispensable, or at the least very necessary, for developing the processes of socialisation for the poor, for children as well as for newcomers to the city (Borja 1998:7-8). The urban poor depend on public space as a shared social space, important for leisure activities, collective functions and mobility as well as cultural and commercial events. "Large numbers of people spend considerable amounts of time in [public] spaces because their dwellings are so overcrowded" (Dewar in Jenks & Burgess, 2000:209). It is precisely in these disadvantaged physical and social spaces where investments in the improvement of public space are necessary.

FIGURE 8 The informal adaptation of urban spaces

> ...city is a laboratory where the art of daily and peacefully living with difference is practised and developed.
>
> zugmunt bauman (bauman, 2004)

4.3 Privatisation and the associated problems

South African public authorities are increasingly distancing themselves from city planning. This can be attributed to, amongst other factors, the acceptance of an absolutely dominant private role in shaping new urban spaces (Mabin, 2005:43). Capital is being redistributed in the urban system towards and not away from the successful, self-planning, private development industry. The consequence is that despite the existence of policy documents and even legislation fostering 'integration', 'compact cities' and so on, South African cities are increasingly formed by private capital (Mabin, 2005:59).This also extends towards the creation and control of public space in our cities.

The privatisation of public space essentially renders it private property, making it possible to apply measures of control over movement and use. This has given rise to over-controlled shopping malls and theme parks that masquerade as public spaces in our cities. In essence, private developers capitalise on the voids in public provision of collective space by promising spaces that are safe and secure, spaces that add value to surrounding property and spaces that are supported by extensive maintenance and security strategies (Harrison and Mabin, 2006:7). However, as wonderful as the private provision of public space sounds, it does not come without strings attached.

These spaces often stand in direct opposition to the valued qualities of a public space (as previously defined by Borja). "Malls and theme parks cannot confine patrons, but those who enter are subject to more stringent controls on their behaviour than when they are in generic urban or suburban public spaces" (Hannah, 1997:174). The anonymity of public space is thus destroyed, and so is the freedom of use associated with it. These spaces are over-programmed, leaving no gap for spontaneous and creative appropriation of space.

FIGURES 9, 10, 11
9 The freedom of associated with public space
A lunch time nap in Freedom Park, Chicago is a very common site
10, 11 Public space allows anonymity
This unidentified man feels comfortable enough in Church Square to feed the pigeons daily.

Privately owned public space is no longer the property of the democratic collective, which can very easily destroy the sense of community and civic responsibility that such a space should foster. Patton (2000:183) points out that defining the right to presence in the public spaces of the city (parks, paths, and streets) is "highly political because it legislates who counts as the public and who is allowed to be part of the community".

In the South African context, this problem is even more acute. Here, questions concerned with the integrity of the public realm and of security access restrictions are enmeshed in debates around social exclusion, racism, and elitist practices (Harrison and Mabin, 2006:7). New relationships between public planning and private sector interests have tended to intensify separations related to income, wealth, and forms of employment (Mabin, 2005:44). This in turn has moved public space beyond the reach of the poor as it no longer caters for their needs and desires, thus depriving them of an essential urban social space.

Public space is an essential part of the urban environment. However, current practices of privatisation and associated control of space must be re-evaluated as part of a counter strategy to the South African urban condition.

5. Conclusion

The combination of the above mentioned spatial practices give rise to fragmented cities comprised of newly imposed zones. These are often in sharp contrast to existing zones established through natural use patterns, cultural activity or previously executed socio-political ideals. The zones are enforced by practices of spatial governance visible in the fences, explicit rules, guards and surveillance of contemporary South African cities. These spatial practices not only exacerbate the existing ruptures in the South African societal tissue, but also contribute to further socio-spatial segregation.

However, even though these spatial strategies control and fragment the city, they also open up opportunities and encourage strategies of resistance to the forces that create them. South African cities require a counter-strategy that challenges these destructive spatial practices and aims to return spatial agency to its users.

FIGURES 12, 13
12 Public space as shared social space
Church Square often gets used as an informal meeting space
13 Public space used for commercial activity
Church Square hosts a number of formal and informal vendors

chapter 1
destructive spatial practices

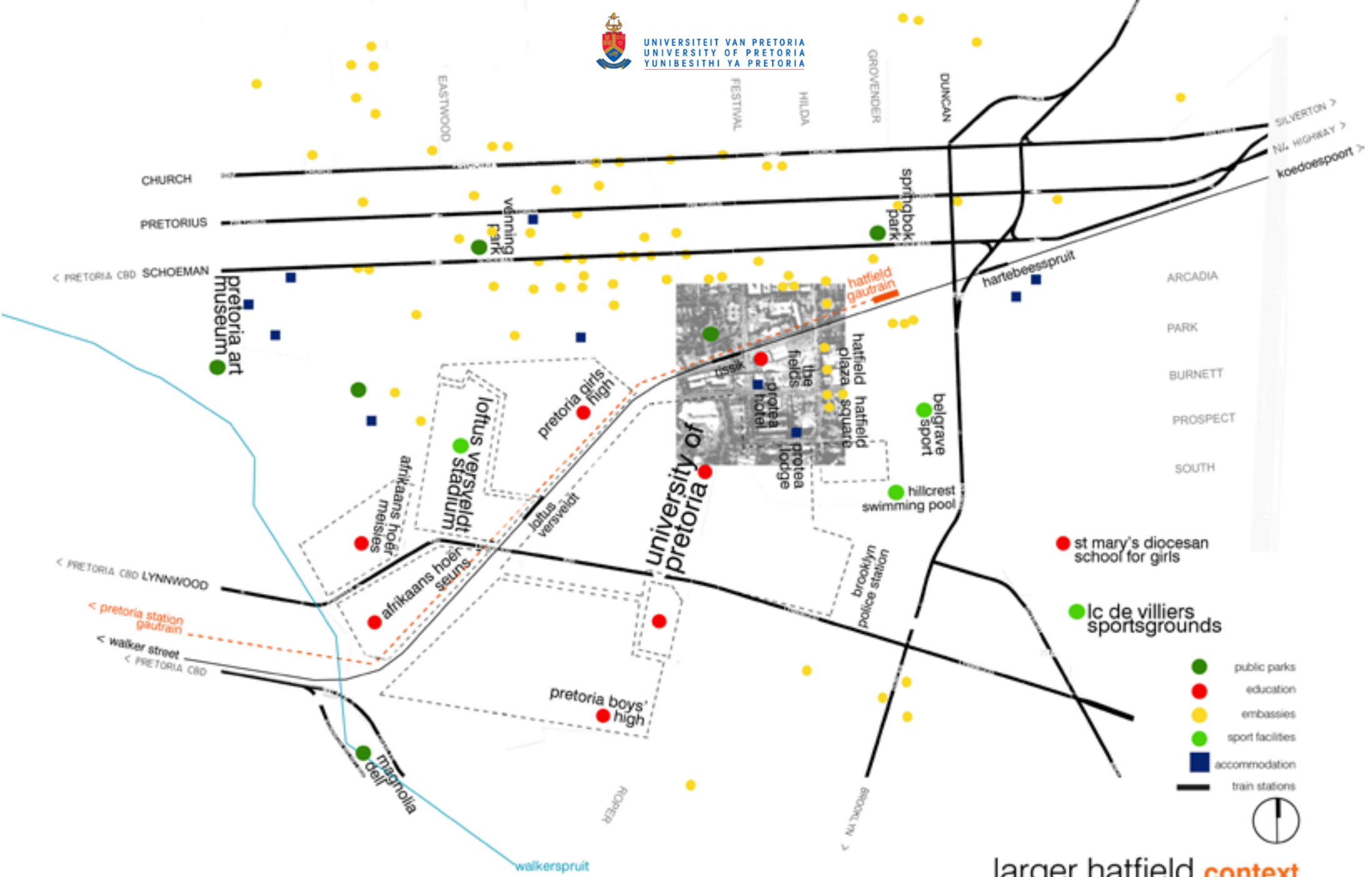
part iii
the site

1. Introduction

It is important to investigate a site that exhibits the complexities of a contested territory. The chosen site is situated in Hatfield, Pretoria (South Africa), home to the University of Pretoria's (UP) main campus. This area provides for most of the residential and recreational needs of the student population. The chosen site is the section of Festival Street stretching between Burnett Street to the south and Arcadia Street to the north. It comprises the Rissik Metrorail station to the west, a neighbouring vacant plot to the east, the railway line to the south and Festival Street as the main north/south axis.

2. The site as contested urban territory

The suburb is distinctly divided by the railway line, both spatially and socially. South-Hatfield is the active commercial and entertainment zone frequented by students, with Burnett and Hilda Street as its main axes. It is extremely busy during the day, and sections remain that way into the night when the pubs and clubs open their doors to the resident student community. The area has seen major development in the past three years, including the R2.8 million development by City Property and the current infrastructural changes for the Park Street Gautrain station. In contrast North-Hatfield is almost stagnant, associated with large office blocks, the railway line and its related users.



larger hatfield **context**

hatfield houses a large number of educational institutions, with the UP as the main roleplayer. the suburb functions as a commercial hub, and is set to house the last gautrain station

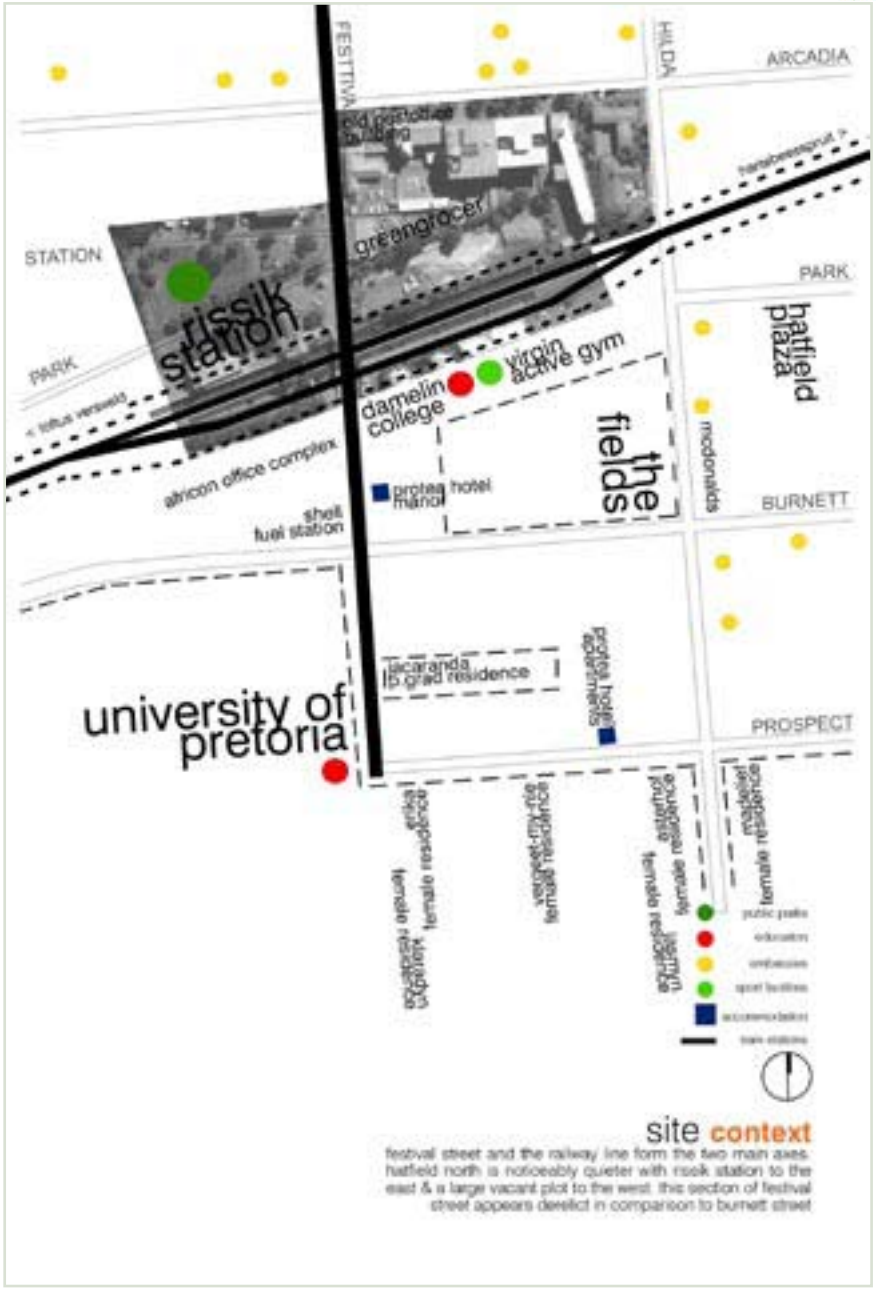


FIGURE 15 The site and surrounding areas

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

construction finished 2011

Pta/Rissik-
Koedoespoort
7400

Koedoespoort
Pta/Rissik-
12300

pretoria art museum

45000 seats

major retail and business node

20-24 years
34%

25-29 years
12%

15-19 years
16%

attempted murder 22
rape 19
assault:grievous bodily harm 82
common assault 203
robbery with aggravating circumstances 296
commercial crime 458
theft of motorvehicle 596
burglary at residential premises 607
theft out of motorvehicle 655
other theft 1622

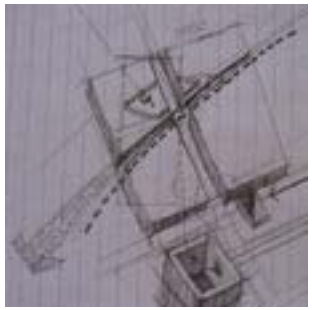
permanent residents

39 000 students

walkerspruit

larger hatfield **context**

population consists mainly of people younger than 24. commercial activities&entertainment are concentrated in south hatfield, north hatfield is characterised by office blocks. large influx of people at times (loftus versveldt), relatively high occurence of petty crime



The railway system in South Africa is perceived as unsafe and unreliable by many and is thus vastly under utilised (City of Tshwane, 2007:32). Little new capital investment is being made in the system, but it continues to be used by thousands of commuters in Pretoria daily (approximately 20000 people make use of the CBD/Rissik – Koedoespoort rail section daily) (City of Tshwane, 2007:38). The Rissik Station functions as a modal interchange in the area and is extremely busy during the 05:00 – 08:00 'morning-commute'. The station was constructed in the 1940's and along with the old Art Deco Post Office, the 1920's dwelling and commercial unit as well as sections of the UP and Girls High, it embodies the last remainder of the old building stock in the area (African Heritage Consultants, 2007). This 'submerged memory' offers great potential, but remains to this point completely unrealised and unaddressed. The Rissik Metrorail station in Hatfield is, at present, almost incidental. The area surrounding it is perceived as quiet, underdeveloped and unsafe; few students and residents venture beyond the Virgin Active gym.

However, there are numerous informal economic activities around the station that provide for the needs of the commuters. When spending some time in the street, it becomes obvious that the vendors at the station have encouraged social activity outside the gates and fences of the station. The diversity and activity present on the street here is not supported by any infrastructure or development, and remains unnoticed and undervalued. Other than activity at the station and at Mozambique Café, the street feels abandoned. Apart from commercial activity along the eastern side of Arcadia Street, the site is inactive and perceived as a dangerous no-man's land after 18:00. This feeling is exacerbated by the presence of the large vacant plot on the eastern side of the street, as well as by the lack of built structures that face and interact with the street.

Considering the number of people that walk along this street daily, the 1,2 meter wide sidewalk along the railway bridge feels cramped and simply unacceptable. Both the station and railway line come across as barriers. The station is uninviting, the platforms in need of seating and shade and the railway line cuts through the area like a large physical scar.

FIGURES 17, 18, 19
17 Signs of spatial governance at Rissik station's main entrance
18 Lack of amenities on Rissik station's platform
19 The railway line as a scar through the landscape

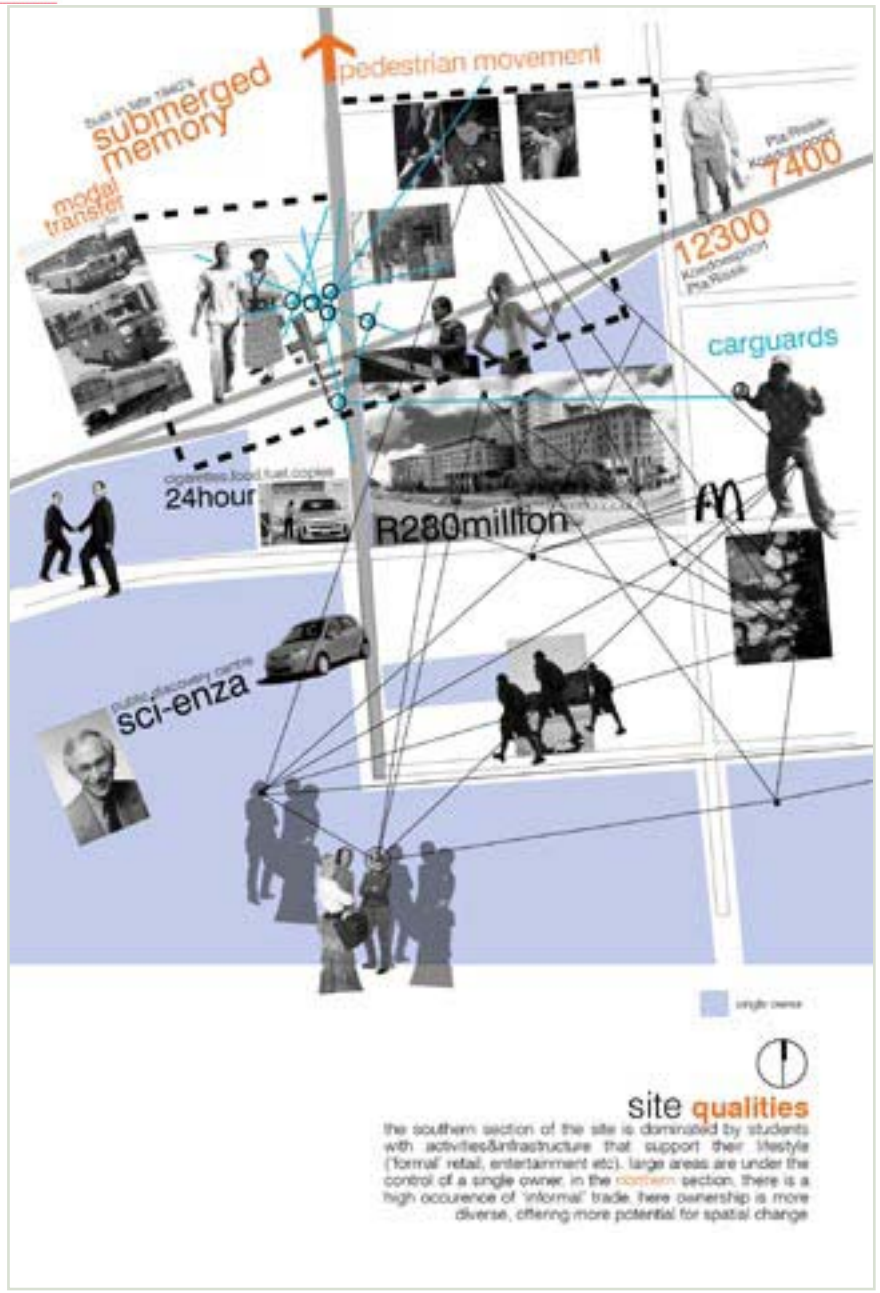


FIGURE 20 Activities and qualities of the surrounding area that influence the site

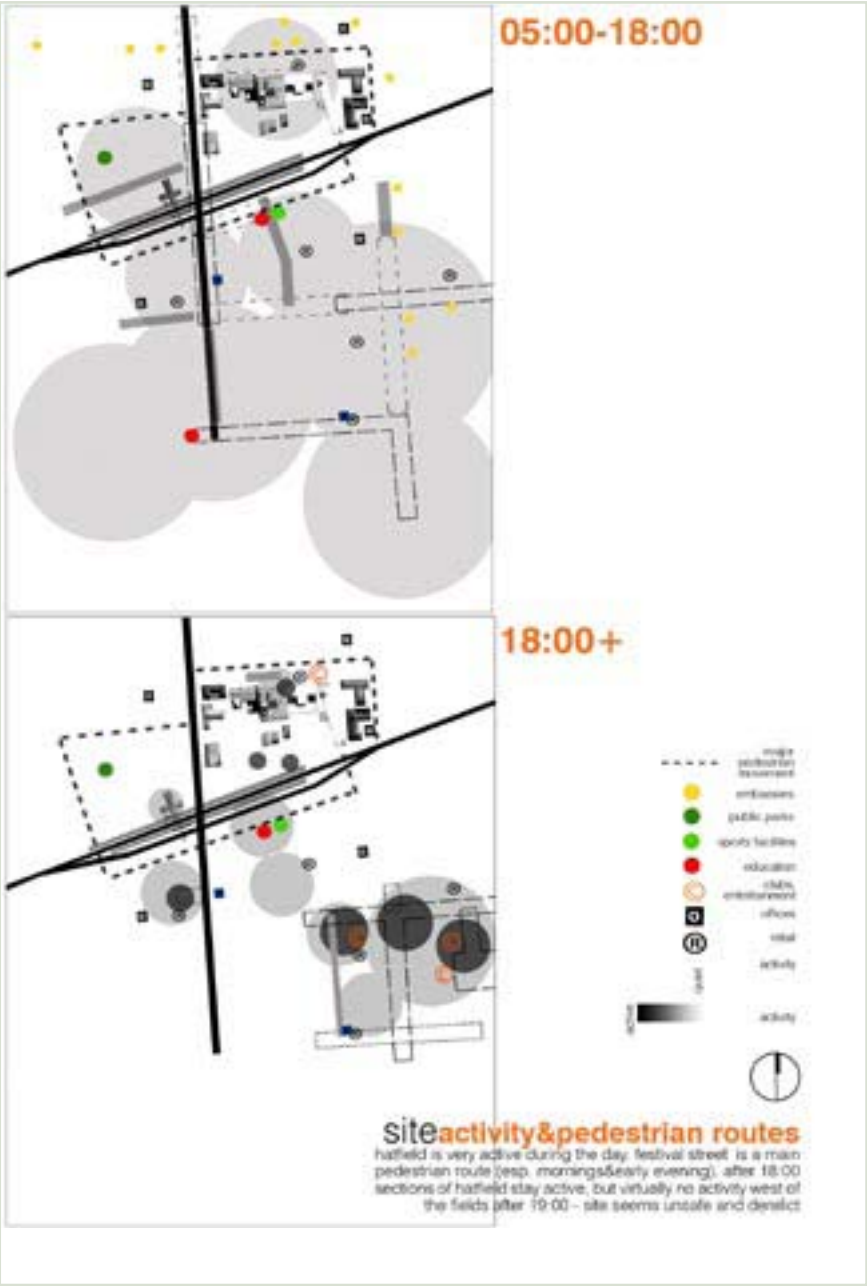


FIGURE 21 Time related activity and movement on the site

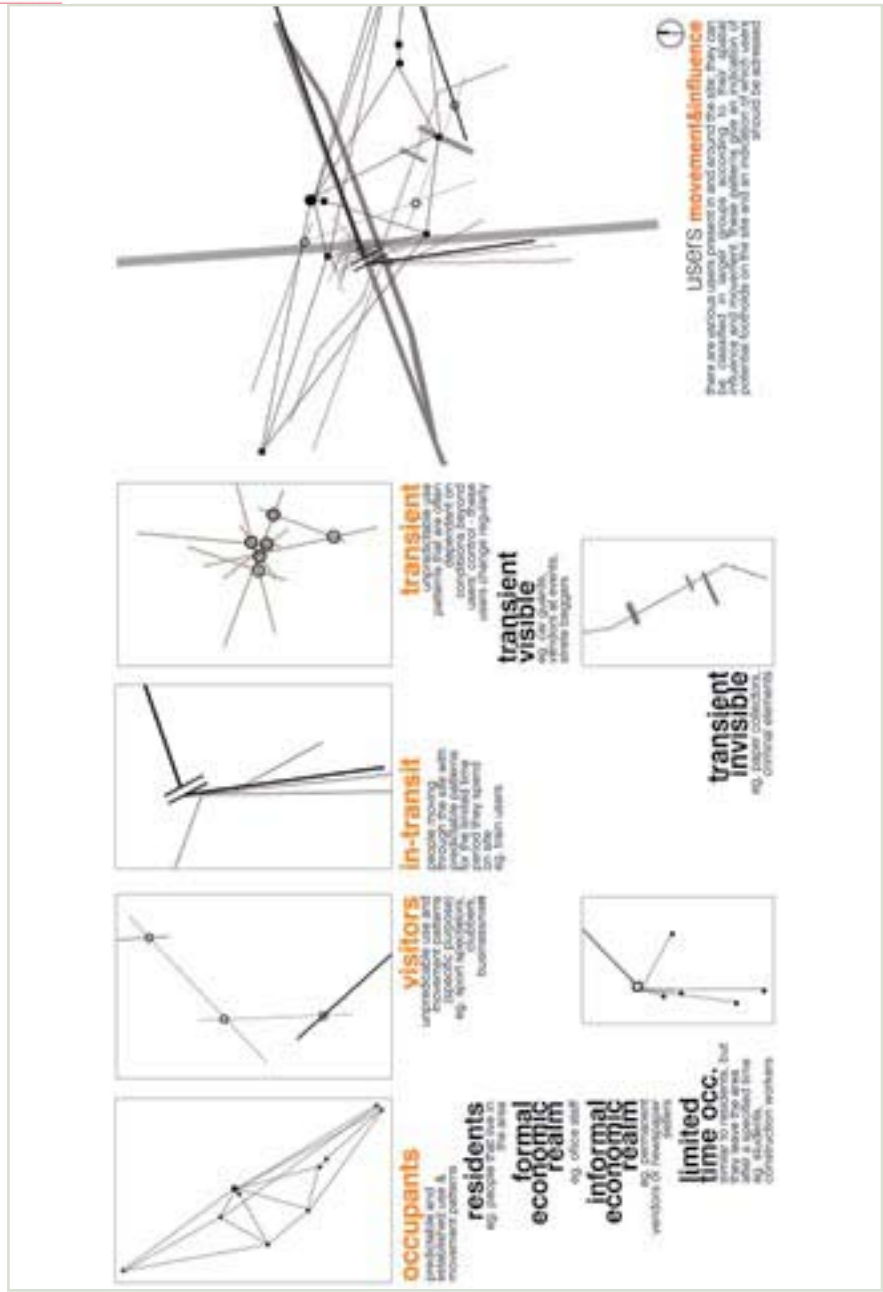


FIGURE 22 Diagrams indicating the use patterns of the various user groups present in the site

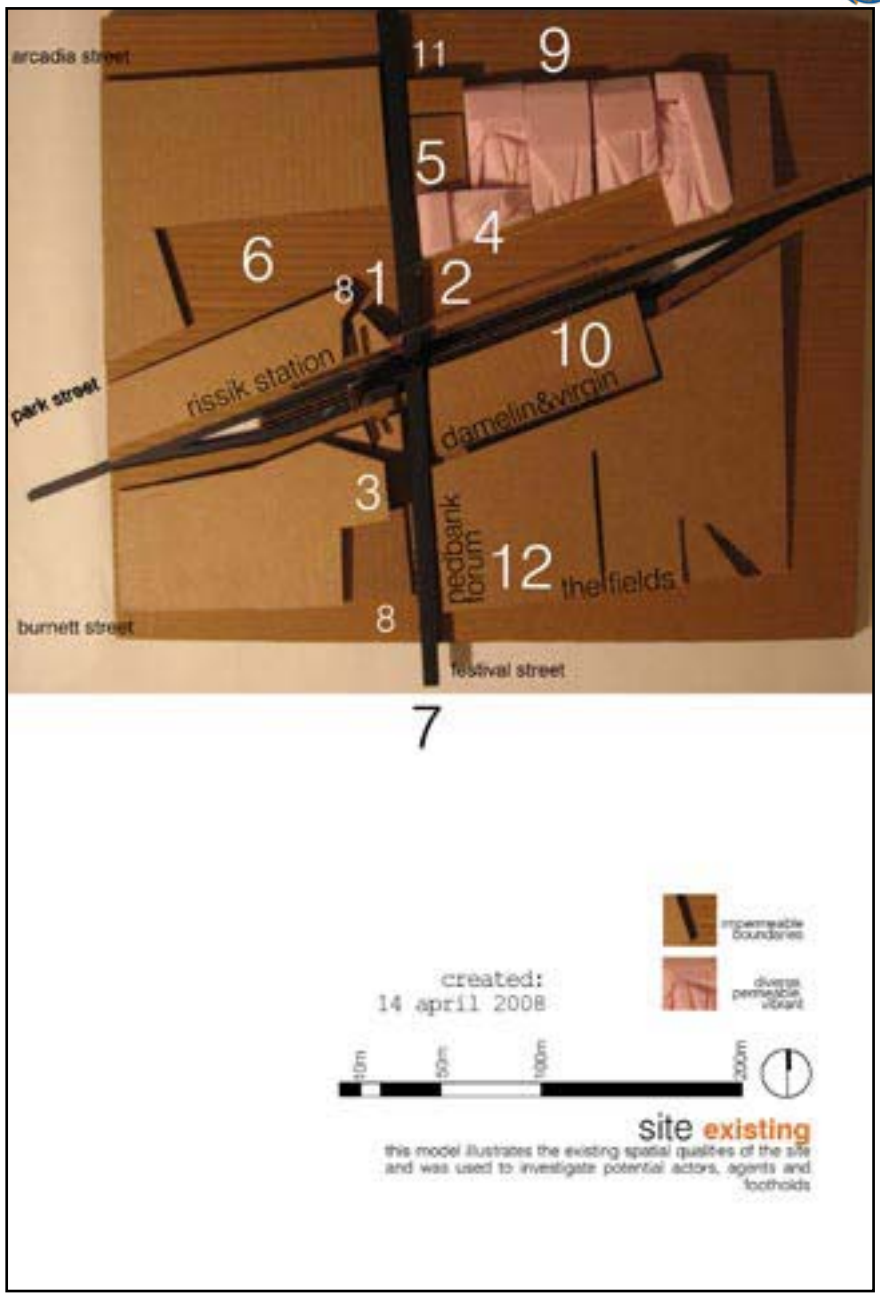


FIGURE 23 Qualitative and topographic model of the site indicating the location of a number of important activities on the site that influenced the final design
The figure correlates with Table 1, Figures 24 & 25

TABLE 1 Break down of important activities on the site that influenced the final design proposal
The table correlates with the images in Figures 23, 24 & 25

	1, 1a,1b,2, 3	1c	4	5	6	7,10	8	9, 11	12
Activity	Informal Economic Activity	Vegetable Gardens - Urban Agriculture	Paper collection	Fruit, Vegetables and General Merchandise	Social interaction [public space?]	major rush hour pedestrian movement, cycling & jogging	public transport &nodal interchange	diverse retail, entertainment and cultural activities	Formal Retail and accommodation
Location	Rissik Station, Africon Electricity substation	Rissik Station, behind Moz. Café, along railway	through-out Hatfield, node behind Moz Café		pocket' park across Rissik Station	along Festival, Arcadia & Burnett Streets	Rissik Stsion, corner of Festival&Burnett, other nodes along street	along Arcadia Street	corner of Festival and Burnett Street
User groups	Occupants_Informal Economic Realm, In-Transit, Transient_Visible	unknown	Occupants_Formal Economic Realm, Transient_Invisible		Residents, In-Transit, Transient_Invisible& Visible	All Occupants, In-Transit, Transient_Invisible& Visible	Occupants, In-Transit, Transient_Visible, Visitors	Occupants, Visitors, In-Transit, Transient_Visible	All Occupants, Visitors
Indiv. Actors	Vetkoek ladies, Commuters, Vendors, Tailors		Papermen, Henan Enterprises, Mondi		Residents, Students, the Homeless, Chubb Security	Commuters, Residents, Students, papermen etc	Commuters, Residents, Students, workers etc	Students, Residents,Tings 'an Times etc	Commuters, Residents, Students, papermen etc
Importance	Well defined (but invisible) spatial & economic network Important economic entities		Existence of a successful formal/informal interdependent economic network	Important economic entity	Uncontrolled, free, public space	Vast number of people in area at specific times	Vast number of people in area at specific times	Indication that small retail ventures and diversity in ownership has an influence on the social character of a street	
	Stimulate social interaction		Presence of an activity that can be expanded		Stimulates diverse social interaction		Major node along the street - potential to upgrade	Possibility of extending towards the South	Start and termination point for the street
				Only node of activity along the street after 17:00	Illustrates the need for more such spaces in the area that are supported by activities and infrastructure	Illustrates the importance of upgraded sidewalks and infrastructure that encourages pedestrian movement	Potential to shift the focus away from vehicular movement to pedestrian movement	Indication of the vitality that was present along Burnett Street before the construction of the Fields - resilience	Potential to rethink the way that typical retail space functions in a contested territory
	Skills & knowledge base	Skills & knowledge base	Skills & knowledge base						
	Presence of 'food culture' - prepare, sell & eat on site	Presence of 'food culture' - GROW,prepare, sell & eat on site		Vegetable sales - potential link with 4			revalue the station and railway line		Encourage movement from here along Festival Street

site **users and activities**

there is a diverse range of activities present on the site. many of these have the potential to be expanded upon and illustrate potential footholds on the site

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5
1c
6a
6b
7
8
9
Eros Florist
10
Coca-Cola
9b
9a
11
12
12a
12b
NO LOITERING
NO HAWKERS
RIGHT OF ADMISSION RESERVED

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11 Art Deco
Arcadia Post Office
Post Office now functions as a function hire venue - virtually no interaction with the sidewalk

10

almost no street definition offered by buildings or activities

9
< mainly offices

7 bridge
1.2m wide sidewalk on the bridge over the railway

disregard for pedestrian movement
street is a nightmare here - 4 different parking lot entrances in one place

Telkom substation

10 damelin college & virgin active
- hidden from view.
- college draws people from all over the city
-gym mainly frequented by residents and

the

"...can observe that there is a remarkable memory from the 1920-1940 period in the form of the Arcadia Street dwellings, the old post office, the commercial units, the Fire Station, Pretoria Girls High and the University of Pretoria...the extensive renewal of the Hatfield area have to a large extent erased the memory of the old fabric of Hatfield..."
(African Heritage Consultants, 2007)

4

1920's dwelling
(behind commercial unit)

henan enterprises
[scrap paper collection & temporary storage est 2008]

1930's commercial unit 5
mozambique cafe
[fruit,vegetable & general merchandise_est. min. 5 years ago]
successful commercial venture in the area, frequented especially by train users

2& 1c
vacant lot
during construction work at 'the fields' builders lived on the site; the site now houses a number of homeless people
vegetable garden along railway fence

nedbank forum 12
'formal' retail & protea hotel manor (investigated in detail later in the Chapter)

university & flat complexes

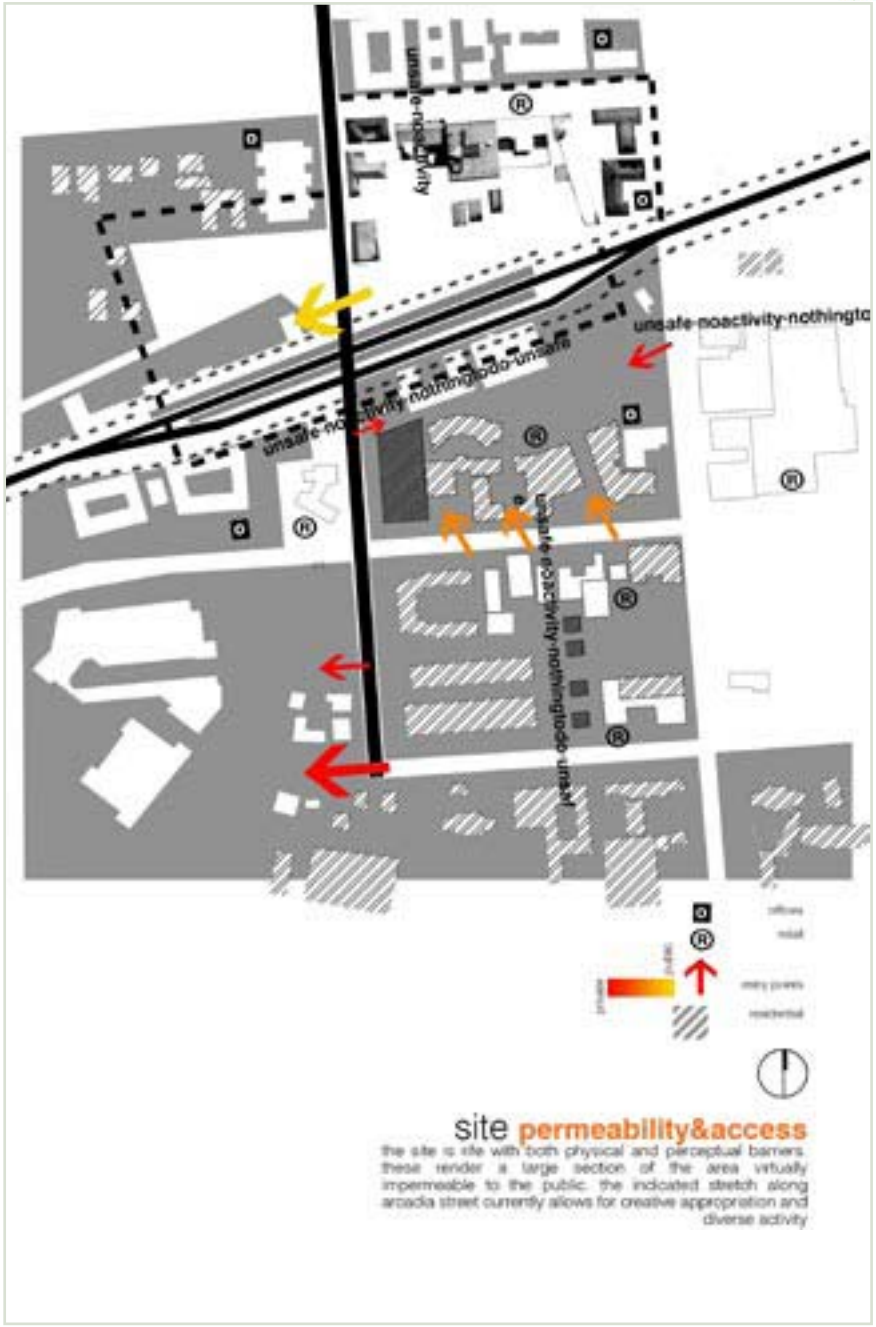

FIGURE 26 The permeability (or lack thereof) of the site

On the corner of Festival and Burnett Street is a multistory, mixed use building, Nedbank Forum. This is really the only building along this stretch of Festival Street that gives any definition to the street and that, to some degree, encourages interaction with the sidewalk. The ground floor comprises a number of smaller formal 'retail' ventures, including a hair salon and 'African Fashion' store. Van Schaiks and Protea Hotel are the two major tenants in the building. Even though the building has some positive attributes, it still turns its back on the rest of Festival Street and does not encourage any movement beyond the vehicular ramp leading up to the second floor parking level. This building is again an example of a missed opportunity and is explored in more detail in Chapter 3.

It becomes clear that the site is divided, both spatially and socially. The railway line is the most visible barrier in the area, but not necessarily the most potent. The site exhibits practices of 'spatial governance' - the fences of the UP campus and Rissik station, as well as the surveillance cameras of the Hatfield CID are all telltale signs of this phenomenon. Disconcertingly, the recent City Property development, 'The Fields' along Burnett Street also exhibits signs of such exclusionary spatial practices. It has turned its back on the Northern side, thereby rendering the railway line an increasingly potent barrier and rendering the adjacent vacant plot a disjointed void.

2.1 The Fields

The Fields consists of a consolidation of seven properties situated in the street block bounded by Hilda Street to the east, Burnett Street to the south, Festival Street to the west and the railway line to the north. It is a R280 million development that provides both housing and ground floor retail space. The construction of the new multi story building complex required the demolition of a number of buildings. According to City Property (Premium Properties, 2007) "…many of the buildings were old and dilapidated, [but] none of them were considered historic and all were less than 65 years old. Amongst them was a former cinema turned derelict nightclub". One wonders whether some of these (especially the old cinema) could have been preserved and incorporated into this development.

Even though 'The Fields' is not a fenced-in development, it still has very definite boundaries controlled by guards and surveillance cameras. It is also an excellent example of the potential negative effects of the privatisation of public space. Before the development, the street front was characterised by informal activity. Earlier drawings published on the internet by City Property (Premium Properties, 2007) indicate the presence of on-street parking as well as a sidewalk that seemed proportionate to the rest of the street. However, in reality the sidewalk is almost double its original size, and there are no on-street parking bays. This has rendered the development disjointed from both the street and the diversity visible around it. According to Jeffrey Wapnick, managing director of Premium Properties Limited, "…The Fields maximises the synergies to the surrounding areas, facilities and public transport routes…" (Premium Properties, 2007). Earlier drawings reflected this with the inclusion of a taxi stop, unfortunately this was also never realised.

The area was previously characterised by a permeable street front, with 'semi-public' spaces towards the centre of the city block. These spaces were supported by diverse and eclectic commercial and residential activity in the form of Tings an' Times (Rastafarian bar & eatery), Rudy's Tattoos and other similar ventures. Even though the new development is also permeable, its 'public' spaces are controlled, guarded and surveyed. There is almost no provision for spontaneous activity; in fact, it does not even provide informal seating / resting areas for pedestrians. However, according to a press release by City

> Expansive common areas, including an upbeat piazza to be developed in future phases, combine with detailed soft design elements, such as landscaping, to create dynamic social interaction areas [?]
>
> city property (2007)

Property (Premium Properties, 2007) pedestrian movement and scale was an 'integral' part of the original design proposal:

> The design philosophy is based on a convergence of pedestrian routes… Safety and convenience to pedestrians are given a high priority. The urban design will make use of lighting, street furniture, planting and water features to enhance the urban areas.

This philosophy is not clearly visible in the realised development, and the incorporation of pedestrian routes in the final product is questionable. The development might be secure, it may have increased density and raised surrounding property values, but it has lost the vitality, diversity and life that the previous conglomeration of building styles, owners and users possessed.

Many of the practices of spatial control in the area are 'justified' by the Hatfield/Brooklyn area's relatively high crime rate (SAPS, 2007). However, even though these practices may seem to counter criminal activity, one can argue that the resultant socio-spatial segregation and fragmentation outweighs this 'positive' outcome by far. These practices 'harden' the existing urban fabric in an area where shared public space, a necessity in a healthy urban environment, is already a rarity.

3. Conclusion

The site comprises a diversity of over-lapping use, activity and movement patterns, many of which go unnoticed and unattended to. The site also hosts a number of complex informal economic systems like the network of paper collectors in the area. These systems are currently invisible and under-valued, even though they hold tremendous potential for the area and its users. By re-evaluating them, it becomes visible that they could be expanded, exploited and offered opportunities for growth if they were connected to other 'informal' systems and were supported by both organisational and spatial infrastructure.

The old building stock present along the street has major potential, and should be rendered both visible and valuable. The station, railway embankments and Nedbank Forum also present valuable opportunities for interventions on the site.

It is clear that in spite of the socio-spatial issues present in the area the site has tremendous potential to be re-imagined and re-designed as a valued public space. If a new approach to spatial development is not followed, this site will soon become completely 'impermeable', leaving only the sidewalks and streets as neutral ground. It is therefore imperative to develop a spatial strategy that will combat some of the destructive spatial practices visible on this site. The spatial strategy should guide future developments and possible interventions to recover this site as a valuable asset in the area.

FIGURES 27, 28

27 Original plan of the south western corner of 'The Fields'
The plan indicates a public space with public amenities and planting, as well as a taxi stop. Neither of these were realised in the final development

28 View of 'The Fields' from Burnett Street

FIGURES 28, 29

28 Public space in 'The Fields'
This 'public space' consists of a raised planted platform, removed from the street and from any infrastructure or activity that could stimulate use.

29 The sidewalk along 'The Fields'
The sidewalk seems completely out of scale with no street furniture and no tolerance for spontaneous use.

FIGURES 31, 32, 33 Before 'The Fields'

31 The back of the Fields - desolate, wasted space

32 Tings 'an Times, a Rastafarian pub and live music venue, was a popular hangout

33 Tings 'an Times in its current location