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(An)other space is possible: An exploration of the conflicts and contestations in the realisation of a "democratising" Public Space in the City of Tshwane

By

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in the

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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DEDICATION

To my parents Gladys and Moses Makakavhule, this is for you.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores societal and municipal perceptions and meanings of urban public spaces in the City of Tshwane (CoT). Focus is placed on how these perceptions and meanings contribute to the conflict and contestations over the realisation of democratic urban public spaces. Focussing on three case studies of different urban public space typologies in the City of Tshwane, namely; Jubilee square, Magnolia Dell Park, and Rietondale Park, the study interrogates how society's perceptions of urban public spaces on the one hand, and municipal official's ideas and conceptualisations of space on the other hand, contribute to the contestations and conflicts over the realisation of democratic urban public spaces in the City of Tshwane. Predicated on the qualitative research methodology and thematic data analysis, the thesis relies on semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, documentation reviews and on site observations as data collection strategies. The thesis is premised upon the argument that urban planning seeks to produce, shape, and control urban public spaces through its legal and institutional apparatus. At the same time, society seeks to resist such controls through its uses of and practices in space as part of its efforts to realise its socio-economic, religious, cultural, and political needs. In other words, there is a contestation for the production of democratic urban public space by both urban planning as an institution and society to meet their respective needs, and to engage with space in ways that are meaningful to their everyday experiences. Using Henri Lefebvre's theory of space production and his spatial triad, alongside David Harvey's conceptualisation of space, the thesis found that the parks under study are made and remade by societies contentious processes of physical and psychological appropriation of space on the one hand, and municipal efforts of sanitisation and domination on the other. These processes are embedded in notions of belonging, resistance, citizenship, planning aspiration and societal needs. As such, the thesis proposes a conceptual framework for understanding how democratic urban public spaces are made and remade through the inter- and intra-play between these different notions and the implications for future planning. The thesis offers a shifting of perspectives from democratic urban public space as a means to an end, but rather positions it as a continued process of democratising space through conflict and contest. Therefore, the thesis argues for a "democratising public space" instead of a "democratic public space" as an(other) space possible in a democratic dispensation. This is a shift from the noun to the verb reinforcing the idea that democracy in space should mean continued actions (doing) and evolving meanings and experiences that conflict and contest, not a state of absolute existence which suggests a semantic category as the noun proposes.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	: African National Congress
BRT	: Bus Rapid Transit
CAQDAS	: Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CBD	: Central Business District
CoT	: City of Tshwane
CPTED	: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
CTMM	: City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality
DIRCO	: Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DoH	: Department of Housing
EFF	: Economic Freedom Fighters
FGDs	: Focus group discussions
GBV	: Gender-based violence
GEAR	: Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy
IDP	: Integrated Development Plan
IPA	: Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
NDP	: The National Development Plan
NP	: The National Party
PP	: Public Participation
RDP	: Reconstruction and Development Project
RHOA	: Reitondale Home Owners Association
SDF	: Spatial Development Framework
SPLUMA	: Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 2013
STATS SA	: Statistic South Africa
TOSF	: Tshwane Open Space Framework
UN	: United Nations
UNHabitat	: United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UP	: University of Pretoria
VOD	: Verenigde Oostindische Campagnie

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Introduction

This thesis explores societal and municipal perceptions and meanings of urban public spaces in the City of Tshwane (CoT). The intention is to explore how these perceptions and meanings contribute to the conflict and contestations over the realisation of democratic urban public spaces. According to Conger (2017), democratic public spaces are defined by their idealistic, publicly owned, flexible and universally accessible nature. They represent the complex relationship between citizenship, agency, appropriation, control, and freedom which, although sometimes present chaos, are imperative in the construction and maintenance of a democratic society (Amin, 2008). According to Purcell (2013), democratic public spaces encourage the diversity of voices, liberty, and freedom of expression. They have their origin in the Greek *agoras* and Roman *forums* which are argued to be public spaces where citizens gathered to make decisions and to collectively cultivate the conditions of their existence (Mitchell, 1995; Parkinson, 2012; Sennett, 1977). Accordingly, such spaces were open for society to interact with its physical formation and with each other. Adversely, Brain (2006) argues that the idea of public spaces as accessible and open to all, was never lived, even in the *agora* era. The *agora* is criticised for its discrimination against women, children, and slaves of the era (Banerjee, 2001). However, it remains romanticised in literature as a space for gathering that encouraged democratic action, representation, and deliberation in society (Baker and Hurley, 2015; Parkinson, 2012). These competing arguments are relevant for this study because they showcase how contested the public space has been throughout history. Evidently, they also bring to the fore the realisation that the 'public' is not made up of coherent homogeneous elements. Rather, it is made up of fragmented constituents simply signified by different ages, socio-economics, affiliations, interests, and identities. Such complexities are imperative to acknowledge in the quest for democratic spaces (Carmona, 2015. Carmona, de Magalhaes, and Hammond 2008; Less, 1994).

Taking an interpretivist approach, the thesis posits that the exploration of the realisation of democratic public spaces in the city of Tshwane requires a two-fold approach. The thesis interrogates how society's perceptions of urban public spaces on the one hand, and municipal official's ideas and conceptualizations of space on the other hand, contribute to the contestations and conflicts over the realisation of democratic urban public spaces. The thesis avers that the

conflicts and contestations in urban public space are a result of societal and planning perceptions. This is what makes the understanding of perceptions important for this thesis. Furthermore, the thesis posits that exploring everyday societal perceptions, practices, meanings, and experiences from below (grassroots) and exploring municipal perceptions, practices and strategies from above (institutionally) presents an understanding of how democratic public spaces are produced and reproduced through everyday encounters between the municipality and society. Therefore, the thesis presents a view into the conflicts and contestations embedded in the processes of producing, using, managing, perceiving and experiencing democratic public spaces in the City of Tshwane.

The thesis makes use of Henri Lefebvre's theory of space production (1991) and his spatial triad, alongside David Harvey's (2004) conceptualisation of space. Through the use of the above scholar's conceptions, I argue that urban public space is produced under three moments, namely; (1) everyday practices and perceptions in space, (2) institutional representations and aspirations of space and lastly, and (3) through experiences, meanings, and symbols attached to space. However, these moments in the production of urban public spaces do not provide a framework that explains how they interact to produce democratic urban public spaces. The thesis, therefore, proposes a conceptual framework that could provide an understanding of how democratic urban public spaces are made and remade through the inter- and intra-play between these different moments and the implications for future planning.

Through the use of semi-structured interviews with public space users, focus group discussions with municipal officials, documentation reviews, and on-site observations of three urban public spaces, the thesis brings forth the current realities of urban public spaces in the City of Tshwane. Using the concepts of appropriation, domination and sanitisation, the thesis analyses different actors and interests, practices and strategies involved in the quest for a democratic urban public space. These concepts uncover the meanings behind different uses and practices in public spaces, management strategies, acts of resistance and divergence, experiences of belonging, citizenship and survival, and aspirations and expectations of democratic public spaces. Moreover, through a close reading of certain practices in space by society and municipal officials, I suggest that everyday practices in urban public spaces represent strategies of defending space and meeting basic physical and psychological needs in ways that are meaningful to different actors. Public space has become a subject of growing academic, professional, and public interest, as reflected in a growing body of international and national literature (Carmona et al, 2008; Hou, 2010; Landman, 2019; Middelmann, 2020; Low and Smith, 2006; Madanipour 2019). This rising

attention to public space is a welcome development as few people would doubt its value. However, the thesis questions whether different actors have the same idea of a public space and democratic public spaces specifically, and if not, what are the implications of such differences in the quest for democratic spaces in societies such as South Africa?

1.2. Background and Context

In South Africa, land and public spaces, in particular, present contentious issues which date back to the Dutch who settled in the Cape in 1656. Since that settlement in the 16th century, South Africa became a product of socio-spatial engineering which stretched from the colonial period, throughout the apartheid and post-apartheid era. There has been a constant struggle for the use, construction and control of space throughout South Africa's history (Horn, 2002, Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2010; Landman, 2016). Apartheid planning, in particular, consigned the majority of South Africans to live in places far away from places of work where basic services could not be delivered and where social integration amongst people of different races became criminalised. (Horn, 2002; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2010). More significantly for this thesis, the settlement patterns under the apartheid dispensation were consequentially uneven (Oranje and Merrifield, 2010). Different racial groups lived in different neighbourhoods and were provided with different amenities and access to those amenities was based primarily on race (Swilling, 1991; Watson, 2002). The segregation of people and spaces limited social integration amongst different racial groups. Moreover, it limited individual agency and self-determinism (Houssay-Holzschuch, 2009). It was an era in which the ruthless use of space to organise society into strict categories and controlled social relations was witnessed. This was evidenced by the adoption of racial pieces of legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Horn, 2002; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2010; Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008; Landman, 2016; Sigodi, 2020).

Since the attainment of democracy in 1994, South Africa has experienced great political, social and economic transformation (Landman, 2019; Makakavhule and Landman, 2020). The ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), recognised the damaging spatial and social legacies left by apartheid and responded with a range of policies such as the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (2001) and the Urban Development Framework (1997). These policies sought to give expression to the rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights in Chapter Two of the South African Constitution (1996). The Bill of Rights makes provision for rights regarding assembly; demonstration; picket and petition; freedom of association; political rights; citizenship; freedom of movement, residence, and the environment which are directly exercisable

in public spaces, in particular. Such rights demonstrate the efforts that the South African government has made towards the redress of the mistakes made by the apartheid government. Accordingly, these efforts are not only directed towards areas of spatial planning and guiding contemporary planning and design practices, but also in areas of education, health and many other sector departments (Adams, Van de Vijvera and De Bruin, 2012; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2010; Landman, 2016, 2019).

Today, the aspiration for a socially, economically and politically transformed South Africa remains even after twenty-five years of democracy. The spatial challenges faced by the country before 1994 persist even as the government continues to push forward its amendments of existing policies and the creation of many others (Oranje and Merrifield, 2010). The National Development Plan (NDP, 2011) is an anchoring policy which can be defined as a broad long term plan set to achieve its goals and objectives by the year 2030. It has been at the forefront of many policies that came after it. The NDP (2011) posits that more attention should be given to the design and quality of urban public space and that the country needs to improve the urban public space to make it easier for South Africans to interact across racial and class divides.

Urban public spaces need to achieve the ideals of a socially-integrated society, especially within the context of democratic South Africa. This has been recognised by the government as is evident in the Spatial Development Frameworks (SDF) and Integrated Development Plans (IDP) of all metropolitan municipalities in the country (Landman, 2019; Mavuso, 2016). Subsequently, divisional departments that work with all matters related to public space design, provision, management, and maintenance in metropolitan municipalities have been created (Willemse and Donaldson, 2012). The City of Tshwane, in particular, promotes the need for public spaces to yield social cohesion in their 2012 IDP. The SDF (2012), in alliance with the IDP (2012), specifies that all residents must have access to public open spaces and that all common spaces need to be functional and attractive to all their users. This concretises the efforts made by the municipality to improve the quality of life and to integrate its city dwellers and visitors. However, it raises questions on how this can be achieved in a country that is diverse in its needs, perceptions, and expectations moulded by different socialisations over time. Moreover, Mabin (2001: 252) poses a question "what exactly is public space in a post-apartheid global condition?" where notions of what is just, good and even democratic becomes contested, especially when it relates to a public good like public space.

The value of public spaces is not only expressed in the South African society. It is a project that the global community, as a whole, has been after regardless of the countries' individual histories.

The New Urban Agenda is proof of this. The New Urban Agenda was signed by 193 member states when The United Nations hosted a conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in 2016. This signifies a unanimous decision by all nations in the world, considering that only two countries do not currently form part of the UN. The New Urban Agenda focuses on the quality of cities, and asserts the relevance of public spaces. Moreover, it addresses the concerns of environmental degradation, rapid urbanisation, segregation and inequality and speaks to the positive role that public spaces can play amidst these phenomenon (Madanipour, 2019; Mehaffy and Low, 2018).

The South African government and the international community can be applauded for the efforts and advancements made in prioritising public spaces in their policies and frameworks. As a result of this, on the macro-scale, public spaces are viewed as spaces of social integration and cohesion, but on the micro-scale, they are increasingly being experienced as spaces of conflict and contestation (Carmona, 2019; Purcell, 2013). These contestations exist within the framework of what is regarded as formal and informal, intended and unintended, African and Eurocentric, and need and desire (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). It is imperative to keep in mind that the institutional changes that are made on the macro-scale need to be accompanied by relevant changes on the meso- and micro-scales (Houssay-Holzschuch, 2009; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2010; Landman, 2016 and 2018). Moreover, these newly drafted plans, policies, frameworks, and international agreements need to be interrogated in relation to their orchestration, Focus should be placed on whether or not they are conceptualised in a manner that is able to respond meaningfully to the needs and the context of the contemporary South African City.

1.3. Rationale for the Study

Democracy in South Africa came with different expectations and perceptions of space on different scales, ranging from one's individual choices and household actions/options to macro transformations in the development of urban public spaces and settlements (Houssay-Holzschuch, 2009). According to Landman (2019), it is therefore, important to understand the changing form and function of urban public spaces in South Africa and the implications in the democratic dispensation. The public spaces which were once designed to control and determine social behaviour have to find new methods of accommodating new practices within the parameters of democracy (Mabin, 2001; Robinson, 1998). However, the ideas of democracy, as a concept in urban theory, are unfortunately flawed (Parker, 2004). According to Parkinson

(2012), the idea of democracy in urban theory is either taken as a background assumption not worth exploring or is taken to be something roughly equivalent to freedom. Consequently, this generates unintended irony. Parkinson (2012) makes it clear that this view of democracy limits people's understanding of the concept of a democratic public space. Parkinson (2012) further articulates that this kind of thinking only leads to thinking about a democratic public space as a space where one can do as they wish. Alternatively, this kind of thinking can also lead to viewing public space as a non-democratic space where one cannot do as they wish. This way of thinking, unfortunately, only paints a narrow picture of all that democracy encompasses (Habermas, 1989). Instead, democracy should be seen as a means used to make choices about what happens in and to public spaces and not something that make choices for the people.

The above stipulates that there is a complex and multi-layered understanding of democracy in public spaces. Scholars such as Barnett (2003) are interested in the socio-cultural conditions of democracy, whilst others such as Parkerson (2012) are interested in the physical conditions of democracy in public spaces. Scholars such as Sennett (1998) have also been intrigued by the physical democratic architecture of public spaces. Thus, they provide interesting examples of how the experience of the marginalised has been shaped by the changing physical and visual form of public spaces. Drawing from such literature, this thesis shows an interest in the socio-cultural, political and physical conflicts, and contestations in the nature of democracy. It interrogates this alongside the normative ideals of democracy and the ideologies of planning practitioners and municipal officials who produce and regulate such spaces. This is because in as much as there is a socio-cultural and political practice of democracy, there is also a physical architecture and design of democracy that is upheld, regulated and facilitated by planners, and other built environment officials. Thus, democratic public spaces need to be considered not only in terms of their physical features or their social or cultural significance, but all holistically. Furthermore, they need to be explored as an entity that is continuously shaped and reshaped by society alongside bureaucratic and state enablement or interference in the name of normative standards (Schmidt and Nemeth, 2010).

Scholars have also questioned the future of physical democratic public spaces considering how societies all over the world are losing their public spaces (Banejeree, 2001; Conger, 2017; Fraser, 1992; Mitchell, 1995). Carmona (2012) draws attention to how the borders of what continues a public space are constantly being redrawn and how privatisation in particular has altered the meaning of public space. Lefebvre (1991) also points out how neo-capitalism has begun to use public spaces as spaces of production and thus, altering the role which these spaces should

ideally play. Lefebvre (1991) further suggests that the appropriation of space by the neo-capitalists is not merely about the alteration of physical public space, but also the public realm. In general, public spaces are developing in ways that challenge their initial purpose. They are being redefined, relocated, and appearing in places they did not before. This has implications on public life and democratic space production (Orum and Neal, 2010). Moreover, the rise in non-place-based public space, such as cyber-space continues to alter traditional physical public space (Banejeree, 2001; Park, 2010). Parkinson (2012) argues that physical public space cannot be replaced because it is where physical beings live their lives. However, as we have seen throughout history and even in the 21st century, the public aspect and the quality of these spaces seem to be deteriorating. In addition, the extent to which these spaces are truly public is continually differentiated legally, culturally, and politically (Carmona, 2012, 2019). Furthermore, the 'democraticness' of these spaces is complex and entangled in the web of private and public ownership, as well as management and governance (Carmona, 2001). For example, the rise of malls, residential gated communities and recreational domains are blurring the public-private distinction and thus, challenging the notions of democratic space (Landman, 2006; Patterson, 2010; Parkinson, 2012). These spaces are public in the sense that they are common spaces in which public life is lived. However, they are legally private property designed for consumers, tourists, or employees (Conger, 2017; Friedmann, 2007; Von Hirsch and Shearing, 2001). These dichotomies influence how people interact in public spaces and ultimately impact on the experience of a democratic space and the approaches to their regulation and conceptions by planning officials.

This thesis suggests that urban planning in a democratic dispensation needs to simultaneously and continuously play a proactive and reactive role in the production of public space. There is a need to acknowledge that socio-political change and practices alter in space and through space. This change alters the processes of public space production, perception, experience, and expectation for different actors. As such, planners need to pay a crucial role in the production of public space which, Carmona (2019) argues, contains two distinct responsibilities. Firstly, Carmona (2019) argues that planners initiate public space projects either by identifying the need or potential, or through regenerating existing spaces - all which is based on their institutional frameworks, plans, and professional beliefs. Secondly, Carmona (2019) argues that planners have the responsibility of managing and regulating public spaces in the interest of the public. These roles insinuate that planning perceptions of space are integral to the production of democratic space. Parera (1998, 2008) also argues that many of today's socio-spatial conflicts and injustices, among success, are caused by planning perceptions. What Perera (1998, 2008)

is alluding to is that planners and municipal officials are professionals who hold certain perceptions about space. These perceptions are created in particular structures and processes of their daily work whilst, on the other hand, society and its various clusters hold their own perceptions and expectations of space. As a result, urban planning produces, shapes, and controls urban public spaces based on its perceptions, while at the same time, society resist such controls through engaging space in ways that are meaningful to their everyday experiences.

Therefore, there is a need to explore the relations between planning, as an institution represented by planning officials in the municipality, and society, as represented by everyday users of public spaces in the quest to understanding the processes of a democratic urban space. I argue that the subject of democratic public spaces requires the perspectives of the local ordinary people who make use of them and the officials who work in positions that grant them the authority to make decisions on behalf of the majority. Such knowledge will then yield to a better understanding of the conflicts and contestations embedded in the production of democratic spaces, the inter and intra relations that exist between society, and its municipal institution, as well as the different aspirations of urban public space held by both. The study was based in the City of Tshwane, South Africa, the description of which is detailed next.

1.4. Study Area

The study was undertaken in the City of Tshwane, South Africa. Focus was placed on three public space typologies, namely; Jubilee square, Magnolia Dell Park, and Rietondale Park. These three public spaces present different physical characteristics, sizes, neighbourhoods, and intended, and actual uses. In this section, a brief introduction to the City of Tshwane is given. This is followed by an overview of the three public spaces where site observations and semi-structured interviews were conducted.
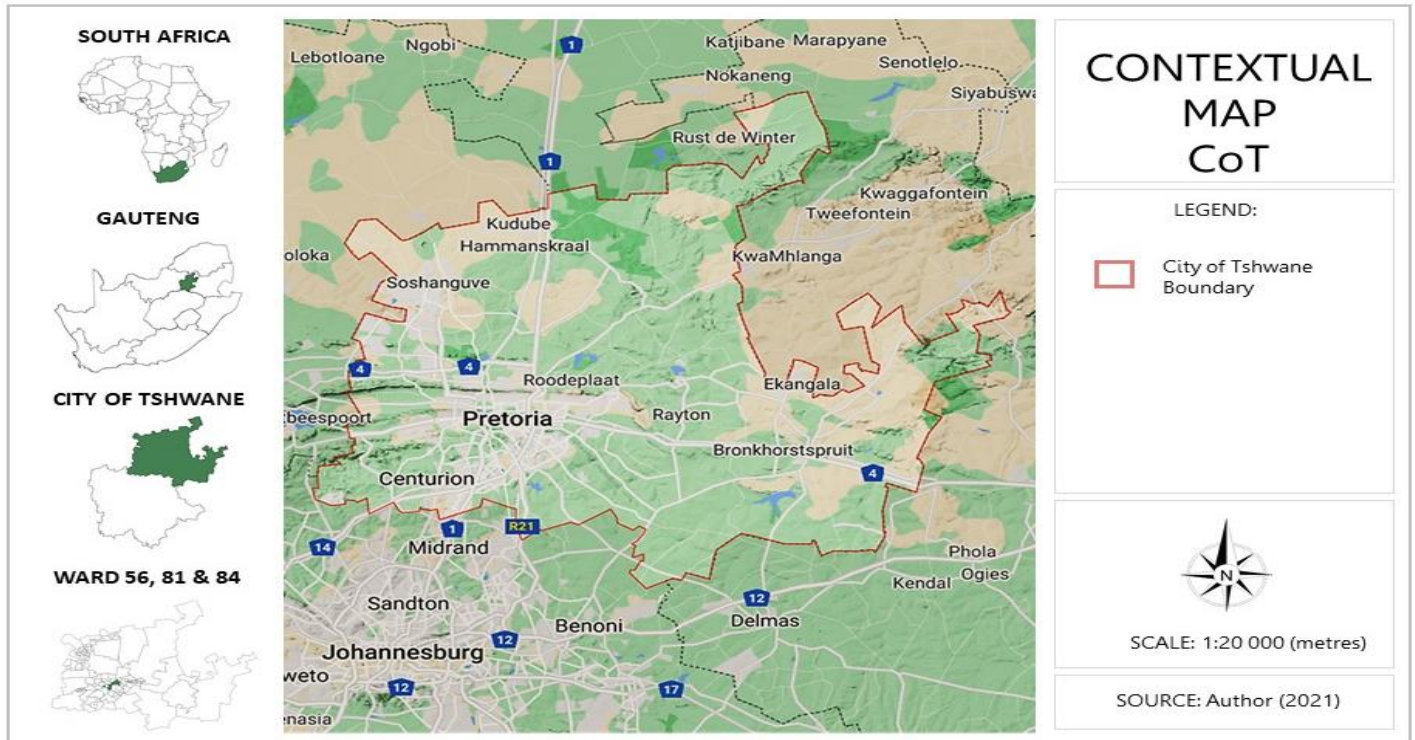
Figure 1: Contextual Map of the City of Tshwane

Source: Author (2021, Adapted from Google Earth)

1.4.1. The City of Tshwane

The city of Tshwane (Figure 1 above), historically known as the city of Pretoria, is the administrative capital city of South Africa. It was founded in 1855 by Marthinus Pretorius, a leader of the Voortrekkers, who named it after his father Andries Pretorius (Thompson, 2001). Tshwane is built around a church square located in the Central Business District (CBD) of the city. It is the single-largest metropolitan municipality in the country (de Villiers, 2017). It is home to seven regions, 105 wards and 210 councils. The city has an area of 6,298 (km²) and a population of 3,275,152 with a population density of 520.0 per km² (Statistics South Africa, 2016).

Pretoria was named Tshwane in 2005 after long controversial deliberations which began in the year 2000. The call for renaming Pretoria was fuelled by the need to reflect transformation in the country after the attainment of democracy in 1994. Thus, the name change signified the transformation of the city, its institutions, and racial ideologies. The name Pretoria signified historical and cultural values for some, whilst for others, it represented discrimination and racism. The word Tshwane is argued to be a Setswane word directly translated as "we are the same" whilst others argue that it is a Sotho word translated as "monkey" (South African History online,

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2019) or r even "black cow" (<u>South African Geographical Names System</u>, 2007). It is also believed that the name Tshwane is the name of the son of a local Nguni pre-colonial headman, chief Musi, who had lived in the east of Pretoria in the late 1600s or early 1700s (Dixon, 2005). Despite the contest between the two viewpoints held by different groups in South Africa, as well as the contested meaning of the name Tshwane, the city was renamed.

The selection of the City of Tshwane as the study is informed by the rich history of the city. It is known as the ideal apartheid city (Horn, 2002; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2010) which implemented strict zonings and designed a multitude of laws preventing people of colour from accessing and occupying certain spaces within the city (Thompson, 2001). More specifically, it restricted the use of certain public open spaces and recreational facilities. The City of Tshwane was a symbol of Afrikaner power, sovereignty, culture, and religion (Houssay-Holzschuch, 2009). It was a clear reflection of how space and physical elements in space can be organised to either encourage or discourage certain behaviours and associations.

Today the city is categorised by closing roads and parks, zero-tolerance policing, electric vigilance, gated communities and defensive architecture (Landman, 2002, 2004a, 2004b; Makhale and Landman, 2017). These features signify rules and regulations enforced in space and relate closely to issues of inclusion and exclusion and formality and informality. Such regulatory mechanisms work to exclude those that are either unable or unwilling to adhere. Consequently, this symbolises a city that is experienced less democratically by some and more democratically by others (Patterson, 2010). Therefore, there is a need to understand the physical, conceptual, and perceptual nature of public open spaces in this city in the quest of democratic public spaces.

1.4.2. Jubilee Square, Magnolia Dell Park, and Reitondale Park

The selection of the public space under study (Figure 2 below) is based on their public status, as well as differences in physical nature, social culture, size, uses and location which present opportunities for in-depth interrogation on the nature of public spaces in the city, their perceptions, meanings and experiences by both society and municipal officials. The spaces present different design considerations, surroundings and demographics which present a multi-dimensional, sometimes paradoxical, view of the processes of democratic public spaces for different communities. The public spaces are explored through the evaluation of the nature of the spaces, their location in relation to other spaces, the vision of the city for the spaces, their intended function, regulatory mechanisms, institutional ideas and current utilisation. The thesis moves the

analysis of urban public spaces beyond the questions of inclusion and exclusion, to an empirical examination of the powers, practices, ideas and perceptions which work together in the construction of the democratic public space. The intention is to examine the spaces as perceptual, conceptual, and symbolic sites of conflicts and contestations in the production of democratic space.
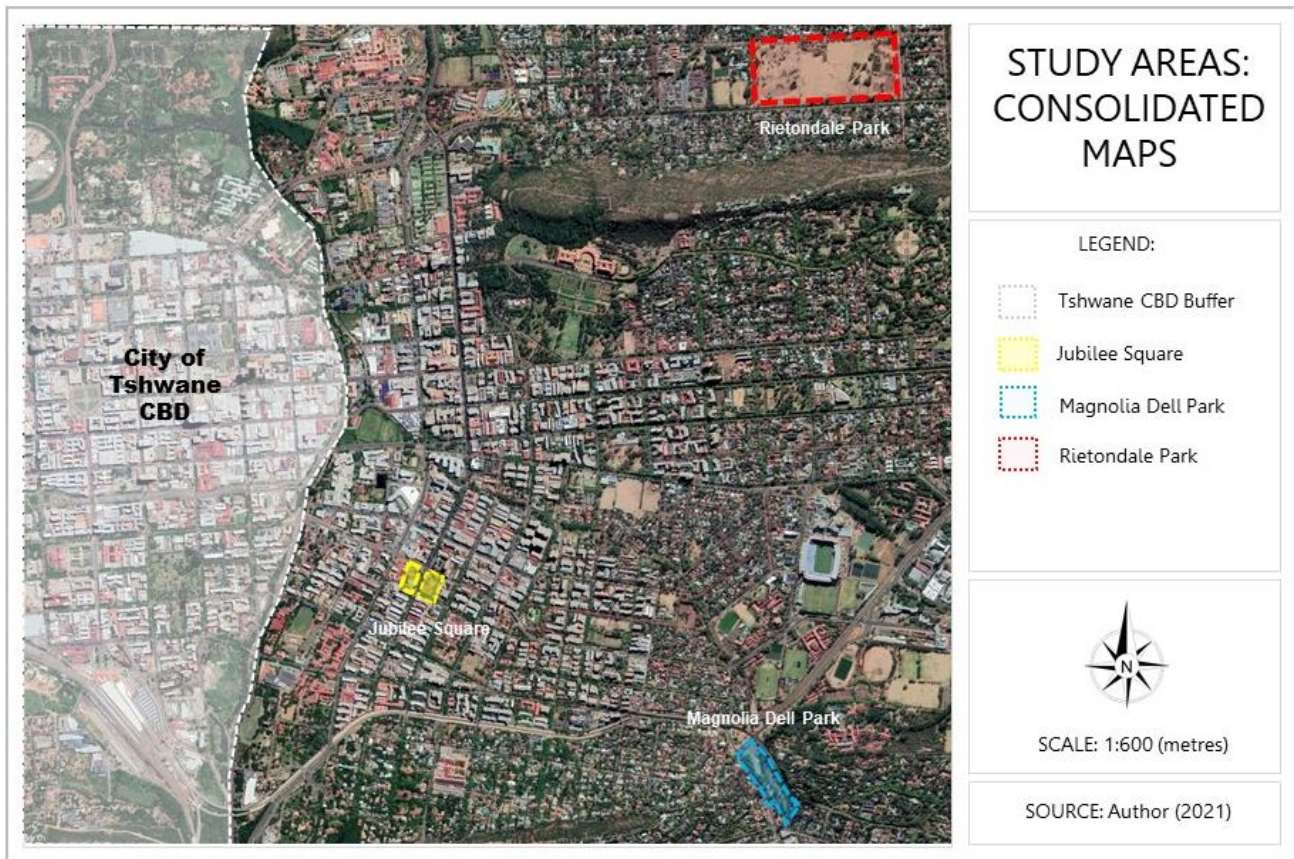
Figure 2: Case Study Areas - Consolidated Maps

Source: Author (2021, Adapted from Google Earth)

1.5. Problem Statement

The South African population is diverse in its background, socialisation, perception, and expectations of what democratic public spaces are or should be. This conflict of interest and expectations, coupled with historical racial segregation and contemporary issues brought about by capitalism, technology, and the dialogue of failed modernisation in an era of African Urbanism brings about challenges in the discussion of democratic public spaces. Consequently, this evokes a conceptual and methodological challenge in trying to conceptualise South African democratic

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public spaces, and to decide on their criteria and how to research them. Unfortunately, there is an absence of a more complex body of literature on the specificities of democratic African urban public spaces and how to research them (Pieterse, 2011). Although literature on South African public spaces post-1994 is present, it focuses on the role of urban design (Landman, 2016; Schoulund and Landman, 2018), the transforming nature of public space (Landman, 2019), the physical quality of public space (Cloete, 2018), the distribution, accessibility and use of public spaces (Willemse and Donaldson, 2012), the privatisation of public space (Landman, 2006), and episodic moments of protest action in public spaces (Ndhlovu, 2017). Moreover, although scholars in Southern Africa have employed theoretical and conceptual frameworks of space developed by Henri Lefebvre (1974, 1991), David Harvey (2004) and Edward Soja (1996) (see Middelmann, 2020; Mwathunga, 2014; Nkooe, 2015; Sigodi, 2020), much focus has been on understanding the conflicts in the processes of urban space production and conceptualisation, and not how these processes interact to produce or reproduce democratic urban public spaces, in particular. Therefore, the thesis proposes a conceptual framework for understanding how democratic urban public spaces are made and remade through conflicts and contestations embedded in societal and municipal perceptions, conceptions, and experiences of space.

1.6.   Research Aim and Objectives

This study aims to explore how society's perceptions of public space (and their practices in public space), and municipal official's ideas and conceptualisations of space (represented in urban plans and policies), may contribute to the conflicts and contestations in the realisation of democratic public spaces in the city of Tshwane.

1.6.1. The objectives of the study

1. To explore the public space user perceptions of space, their daily uses and conflicts to produce and redefine space according to their recreational, social, economic, political, and religious needs;

2. To explore the municipal planning official's perceptions and conceptions of space in order to understand the conflicts between society and the municipality in the realisation of democratic public space;

3. To explore meanings and symbols attached to the public spaces under study by those who encounter it, in order to understand the space experienced by users and how it relates to the conflict between the society's perceptions and planning conceptions; and

4. To identify and construct a conceptual framework for the understanding of conflicts and contestations in the production democratic public spaces.

1.7.   Clarification of Research Concepts

The thesis largely draws on the works of Henri Lefebvre (1974, 1991) and David Harvey (2004), and their respective conceptualisations of space. These concepts embrace the idea of looking at space as a physical phenomenon (materials), a condition of the mind (dreams), and a product of social processes (bodies). The thesis also makes use of the concept of democratic public space that is constructed from literature pertaining to the principles of public spaces and their desired nature.

The use of the concepts should not be misunderstood as an empirical effort to define the meaning of space or democratic public space in its entirety. This is beyond the bounds of this research because of the profound nature of 'space' itself. Rather, this thesis seeks to conceptualise and organise aspects of space into different inter-related spheres and relationships so as to better understand the conflicts and contestations embedded in the realisation of democratising public space. Therefore, the descriptions provided throughout the thesis are not exclusive, but rather they are multiple, multi-dimensional, and overlapping; and build on the works of others in seeking to understand the nature of space.

1.7.1. The Material Space

Informed by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004), the material space in this thesis is understood as the space of everyday activities. It is the physical space which we can perceive with our senses. It encompasses the eminently real and immovable objects in space that can be measured in all manners of cadastral mapping, engineering, and mathematical practices. Such a space, in this research, is used to refer to the physical elements of the selected public spaces, their location, design elements, demographics, and the various uses and users physically observed in therein.

1.7.2. The Space of Dreams

The space of dreams, also informed by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004), refers to planning ideals, aspirations, and conceptions of space held by urban planners who believe in planning knowledge, philosophies and standards in the City of Tshwane. According to Parera (2008), planning officials communicate their aspirations and dreams of space through plans, policies and designs. However, a gap exists between these aspirations and the realities experienced by the public on the ground. The assumption is that space is conceptualised and experienced differently by urban planners and society.

1.7.3. The Space Experienced by Bodies

The space experienced by bodies refers to the intangible meanings attached and associated with space by those who engage with it. Drawing from Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004), this space is highlighted as presenting the complexities in human experiences, processes of meaning making, emotions, and memories that are associated with space. This space is the actual experience of the material space and the space of dreams.

1.7.4. Democratic Public Space

The thesis is based on the argument that democratic public spaces are spaces that are multi-faceted and multi-dimensional in nature. They encompass three distinct, but related dimensions. Firstly, a democratic public space facilitates societal contact and access to its physical and material formation (Parkinson, 2012; Sennet, 1977). Secondly, it facilitates contact with and between different groups in society (Brain, 2008). Lastly, it facilitates the meaning making process and symbolic expression of different cultures in space (Amin, 2008). As such, democratic public spaces involve multi-faceted relationships between the physical space, society and its public culture. It grants different individuals the right to access it, to relate, and engage in it and to express themselves in ways meaningful to them. From this understanding, democratic public spaces include (1) the consideration of the physical design of space that encourages its accessibility, (2) the consideration of management which encourages different uses, appropriation and inclusivity, (3) the consideration of different meanings and symbols attached to space which encourage liberty, freedom, belonging and an active public culture. Democratic public spaces do not present one right way of designing them because every public space presents a different character. However, through engaging with different communities, centering their lived experiences, responding to their requirements and re-centering urban planning

aspirations, democratic public spaces can be produced and reproduced in different ways (Baker and Hurley, 2015).

1.8.   Towards a contribution to the study

The conceptual contribution of this study is threefold - on a physical level, on a conceptual level, and also on a symbolic level. The first level entails physical space being used daily for various activities. The second level comprises conceptual ideas, visions and myths as embodied by planners. Lastly, the third level entails the symbolic meaning where all the tensions, conflicts, and negotiations are given meaning in how democratic space is produced and reproduced. Although the first two levels are important for the study, what is of absolute significance is the meaning drawn from all the practices of everyday life captured in the physical material space and the ideals and challenges that are explored in the space of dreams. There is a lack of attention given to public space use as an everyday and ordinary practice in which users renegotiate their presence and belonging in South African cities. More specifically, how such ordinary uses can become the means with which to produce and reproduce democratic public space.

Therefore, the thesis immerses itself into uncovering the symbolism of the everyday practices that produce democratic spaces. This is done through uncovering the practices and processes of space appropriation that symbolise forms of agency, active citizenship, feelings of belonging, identity, negotiation, hope, securing livelihoods and humanizing 'the other' (discussed in Chapter eight). This thesis conceptualises these practices in urban public space as processes of *(re)membering*. The process of (*re)membering* exists as the thread in the fabric that knits together the production of space. However, such processes are, in many instances, confronted with municipal attempts of standardisation, normalisation and order which the thesis conceptualises as processes of sanitisation, domination and *(dis)memebering.* However, through physical appropriation, spatial practices, routines and uses of space, conceptualised as processes of *membering*, society confronts and contests urban planning conceptions physically. Public spaces are, therefore, the micro, everyday sites of processes of *(re)membering, (dis)membering* and *membering* by society and institutional organisers of space. Public spaces represent the physical and symbolic spaces which are continually and simultaneously ordered and challenged by everyday practices. Drawing from Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004), the findings of this thesis are separated into three chapters that cover the themes of 'materials' 'dreams' and 'bodies'. Bodies refer to the ability of society to produce its democratic urban public space through the meaning attached to their everyday practices and uses of space, which are sometimes in direct

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conflict and contestation with the dreams and the vision of public space held by municipal urban planning officials.

The thesis is also an exploration of the ways in which planning dreams of sanitising and ordering space become physically materialised in space and how society, through its spatial practices, sits in relation to and responds to these 'dreams and materials', whether in conflict or in harmony through their physical and psychological appropriation of space. Therefore, the contribution of this thesis is the development of a conceptual lens which is supported by empirical findings. This assists in the understanding of the inter-intra conflicts and contestations faced by municipal urban planners in ordering the desired space and the response that is expressed by society through their differentiated spatial practices and experiences. The thesis argues that it is through the examination of the interplay between dreams, materials and bodies that we can better reflect on the ways in which the space of dreams transforms into the material space and how these spaces are in conflict because of the varied symbolic meanings given by 'bodies'. Moreover, through this examination, the thesis contributes to the conceptualisation of the production of democratic spaces, thereby decentering democratic spaces and centering the active, dynamic concept of "democratising" space that is signified by the continuous process embedded in the production of democratic space.

1.9.   Thesis Outline

Having provided the main arguments, background, rationale and objectives of the study, the remainder of the thesis unfolds in eight chapters.

Chapter Two

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework underpinning the study. It provides an in-depth review of the various understandings of the concept of 'space' presented by Henri Lefebvre (1974. 1991) and David Harvey (1989, 2004). It brings to the fore the equal workings and contestations between society and planning institutions to shape and control urban public space.

Chapter Three

Chapter 3 provides the conceptual lenses that informs the study. It discusses the concept of democracy and its relationship with urban public spaces. Building on the concepts of space provided by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) in the previous chapter, it develops a conceptual framework to understand the making and unmaking of democratic urban public spaces. It introduces the concepts of physical appropriation, psychological appropriation, domination and

sanitisation as integral concepts for understanding the different conflicts, practices and powers embedded in the production of space. These concepts are used to form a conceptual framework that I utilise throughout the thesis to make sense of the actions and actors in space and how they interact in the production of a democratic urban public space.

Chapter Four

Chapter 4 provides a brief historic trajectory of urban public spaces and urban settlements in South Africa from the colonial to the post-apartheid era. The rationale is to show how history informs present and future perceptions, conceptions, and aspirations of space and what is possible in a democratic dispensation. The chapter also introduces the concepts of *(dis)memebering, membering* and (*re)memebering* influenced by the works of Ndhlovu (2020). These concepts are used to map and conceptualise different spatial practices by society and planning throughout history and to give meaning to present day conflicts in urban public spaces

Chapter Five

Chapter 5 provides an outline of the methodological approach used for the study. This chapter provides a detailed explanation of the tools that were used to collect, interpret, and analyse data, and the justification for this in this particular study. It discusses the discomforts of being a black woman conducting research in urban public spaces, navigating the process of disclosure and consent, the limitations of language and dealing with participant expectations. The chapter positions these challenges as *awkward distractions* that researchers face in the field.

Chapter Six

Chapter 6 explores the material space. It responds to the first objective of the thesis, which explores the public space user perceptions of space, their daily uses and conflicts to produce and redefine space according to their recreational, social, economic, political, and religious needs. Moreover, the chapter explores the physical nature of the spaces under study and the character of the neighbourhoods in which they are located as a process of mapping the perceived and absolute space by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) respectively. The chapter conceptualises the different uses and perceptions as processes of *membering* and appropriation (sometimes in conflicting ways with the intended uses). The chapter intentionally refers to the conflicting uses as unanticipated uses, moving away from binaries of formal and informal uses. The use of this terminology allows the reader to engage with practices in urban public spaces that could easily be demonised because of their "informal categorisation".

Chapter Seven

Chapter 7 presents the analysis of the space of dreams as a response to the second objective of the thesis. The chapter yields to the understanding of how urban public space, as conceived in plans, policies and by municipal practitioners, differs from the perceptions, activities and routines of users on the ground. Using Lefebvre's (1991) conceived space and Harvey's (2004) relative space, the chapter interrogates municipal official decisions and rationale in the production of space. Moreover, it analyses the various ways in which officials *(dis)member* public space in effort to order it through processes of sanitisation and domination. This chapter sheds light on the drivers of conflict and contestation experienced in urban public spaces by municipal officials and society alike. Moreover, it discusses the various challenges faced by officials in navigating through their identity as an individual member of society, a civil servant and a professional adhering to normative standards.

Chapter Eight

Chapter 8 presents the analysis of the space experienced by bodies and responds to the third objective of the thesis. It locates the diverse experiences and meaning of urban public spaces and centres them within broader democratic debates which challenge the nationalistic notions of citizenship, belonging, collective memory, sacredness, freedom, bodily protest and self-governance. It introduces the concepts of *divergent citizenship* and *freedom of appearance* as concepts that are crucial in the process of *(re)membering*. Through the use of Lefebvre's (1991) lived space and Harvey's (2004) relational space, the chapter humanises the unscripted activities and concepts discussed in chapters 6 and 7, thus providing an understanding of the inter- and intra-conflicts and contradictions embedded in the material space and the space of dreams.

Chapter Nine

Chapter 9 responds to the final objective of the thesis and provides an overall conclusion. It contains a summary of the results and elaborates on the contribution of the study by presenting the proposed conceptual framework for the understanding of conflicts and contestations in the production democratic public spaces. Lastly, the chapter presents the reflections of the methodology, study limitations and prospects for future studies.

The next chapter provides the theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

SPACE AS MATERIALS, DREAMS, AND BODIES

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework underpinning the study. The chapter also provides an in-depth review of the various understandings of the concept of 'space' presented by Henri Lefebvre (1974. 1991) and David Harvey (1989, 2004). This chapter shows how the separate, but interconnected works of Lefebvre and Harvey can be used to advance our understanding of society, space, and everyday spatial practices in urban public spaces. These scholars conceptualise space as both physical and mental, internal and external, as well as fixed and fluid. Space is regarded as the manifestation of socio-political, economic, and ecological processes and events that have occurred throughout history and continue to shape and reshape space in the present. Most importantly, it shapes our behaviour and aspirations of what is possible. Due to the holistic understanding of space presented by these scholars, ideas of urban public spaces become implicated and the processes that transpire in and around them present an opportunity for democratic scrutiny. Therefore, the chapter seeks to show how urban theory can influence and shape present-day understandings of urban public spaces, democracy, everyday practices, perceptions and experiences that manifest in multi-dimensional, contradictory or harmonious ways (Merrifield, 1995; Mwathunga, 2014; Nkooe, 2015; Uwin, 2000; Zhang, 2006).

This chapter begins with the introduction of Henri Lefebvre because of the influence that his work has had on Harvey. Using Henri Lefebvre's (1974, 1991) theory of space production, this chapter presents his unitary triad made up of three overlapping and interrelated concepts of space. These concepts are classified by Lefebvre as: perceived space (spatial practices), conceived space (representation of space) and lived space (representational space). The chapter argues that these concepts, embedded in Lefebvre's theory of space production, work together to unearth the multi-dimensional elements, struggles and nature of urban public spaces in cities and therefore, will form the basis of the theoretical, methodological, and empirical analysis of the thesis.

Secondly, the chapter introduces David Harvey (1989, 2004, 2006) and presents his matrix of space, which includes the concepts of absolute, relative, and relational space as systematic and analytical approaches of understanding the capitalist society. The discussion presents the ways

in which Harvey conceptualises space, his views on capitalism and its production of the physical, mental and social space.

Thirdly, the chapter presents the rationale for the triads, how the triads have been applied in the Southern African context and their theoretical and practical limitations. Lastly, the chapter presents the theoretical framework diagram (figure 3) that summaries and links the works of Lefebvre and Harvey before concluding.

2.2. Henri Lefebvre: The Spatial Triad

Born in rural France, Henri Lefebvre has had a significant impact on how scholars from different disciplines theorise space. His work *The Production of Space* first published in 1974 and translated from the French *(la production de l'espace)* to English in 1991, can be regarded as his most famous and cited intellectual project which stands central to the current debates regarding space and spatialisation (Elden, 2004; Ghulyan, 2019; Merrifield, 2000, 2013; Uwin, 2000; Zhang, 2006).

In the *Production of Space*, Lefebvre presents a theory composed of two structurally-interrelated frameworks. The first framework is his periodization of the production of space which uncovers the different processes of space production throughout history in European societies. It seeks to show how present day urban struggles, conflicts, and contestations are embedded in the historical production of space in that society. He argues that "society is confronted by an indefinite multitude of space each one piled upon, or perhaps contained within, the next" (Lefebvre, 1991: 8). Boer (2015) argues that Lefebvre's periodization of space can be regarded as a reincarnation of Marxist periodization which traces different modes of production throughout history. Lefebvre (1991) discusses the different modes of space production, in particular, histories and particular periods showing how different relations produced different forms of space. This is seen in his concepts of *absolute space* - which discusses the hunter gathering communities; the *historical space* - which captures the details of the ancient mode of production or *abstract space-* which discusses the dominant space of capitalism (Boer, 2015; Ghulyan, 2019; Hubbard et al., 2003).

Lefebvre's history of space production, especially as it is influenced by Marxism, leads to the understanding that space has historically been organised in accordance to the social division of labour. Moreover, Lefebvre argues that this continuation of the spatial order is maintained by the hegemony of the ruling class (Ng et al. 2010). This order creates an urban class struggle that oppresses the marginalised. However, Lefebvre, like Marx, remains hopeful that urban residents,

through spatial practices and bodily protests, can create revolutionary forms of space that offer greater democratic control over the production of urban space (Lefebvre, 1991). As such Lefebvre (1991:42) implores researchers to "study the history of space and the history of representations, along with that of their relationships - with each other, with practice, and with ideology." This consideration of the periodization framework makes the exploratory capacity of Lefebvrean theory powerful (Ghulyan, 2019).

Lefebvre's periodization of space has been challenged by critiques who argue that it follows a linear, Eurocentric model that does not consider how other societies develop (Ghulyan, 2019. Mwathunga, 2014. Shields, 2005). This critique is also one which Lefebvre himself also presented when he argued against the use of his theory in a manner that is detached from its actual context. Lefebvre argues that such an application of his theory runs the risk of becoming nothing more than a convenient metaphor, with only a descriptive function. Accordingly, I argue that Lefebvre's historical space contribution should not be deployed in research as a methodology, but rather as an analytical approach to understanding contemporary spatial order. As such, researchers can use his views on the *absolute, abstract, and historical space* to inform their analytical approach, explore their own contextual histories, and present forms of space production. Lefebvre's periodization serves as a tool of awareness of the diverse modes of production covering specific societies with their particular histories and institutions. Therefore, this thesis adopts Lefebvre's periodization of space as an analytical approach to exploring the history of space production and urban public spaces in particular in South Africa.

Lefebvre's second framework – which is also the most popular - is his unitary theory or 'spatial triad' (Ghulyan, 2019; Hubbard et al. 2002; Stewart, 1995; Nkooe, 2015). With the triad, Lefebvre (1991) sought to show the relationship between the material, mental, and social spaces (Merrifield 2013; Zhang 2006). Lefebvre's spatial triad draws on the ideologies of both idealism and materialism as influenced by the works of Hegel and Marx respectively. Hegel's ideas state that an individual perceives and reacts to a situation in space based on his mind or spirit (Bataille and Strauss, 1990; Eden 2004). This suggests that there is no reality outside our consciousness and also that things only exist if we are conscious of them. In contrast to this, Marx's ideas state that external factors outside an individual's consciousness are real (Bataille and Strauss, 1990). This suggests that both man and space are products of circumstance, actions, and intentions and not a result of the condition of the mind. For example, political and economic activities associated with space determine the nature of the space and sometimes exclude certain people and

activities. Furthermore, this suggests that individuals act from objective circumstances and that if the objective circumstances change, the individual's subjective actions will also change.

These simplified dichotomies of idealism and materialism contributed to the way in which Lefebvre, and subsequently Harvey, think of and conceptualise space. Lefebvre's interest lies not only in seeing space as the embodiment of mental constructs, but also seeing mental constructs as a reaction to space. This reveals the relational characteristic of space as constantly changing and continuously being produced by social relations. It can be said that Lefebvre combines the central ideas of both idealism and materialism in his understanding of the world, the social processes and space production while also embracing the relationship between matter and mind.

According to Lefebvre (1991), the spatial triad conceptualises three distinct, but interrelated types of spaces. The spatial triad also considers space in its perceptual, conceptual, and symbolic forms. Armed with his predominantly Marxist knowledge, Lefebvre refused to see space in a fragmented form, but rather pursues an interconnected and overlapping consideration of space. This resulted in is development of the unitary theory or spatial triad. Lefebvre's triad introduced the concepts of perceived (spatial practices), conceived (representations of space), and lived space (representational space) which he regards as the premise for the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991: 33, 38-39). These spaces can be thought of as (1) the routine and spatial activities that can be perceived in the world (perceived space); (2) the conceptions of space which order our notion of what is possible (conceived space); and (3) the spaces that are produced by the body in everyday practice (lived space).

The above understanding of space is crucial to the central argument of this thesis which states that there are contestations and contradictions between these different spaces. A discussion of each element in the spatial triad is discussed next.

2.2.1. Perceived Space (Spatial Practices)

According to Lefebvre (1991), perceived space refers to the physical space. This is the space of our immediate experience as users or consumers of space. According to Buser (2012), perceived space is the everyday space of sensory and observable phenomena which can be seen, heard, smelled, touched, and tasted. Spatial practices and processes occur in this space and can be seen in the movement of people through migration and other everyday human routines (Hubbard, Faire and Lilley, 2003). According to Lefebvre (1991), society encounters this space in their daily environment. It is the space that they see and know. Moreover, this space gives structure to

everyday spatial practices. It secretes society's space and facilitates social life (Lefebvre, 1991; Nkooe, 2015). This space is pivotal in ensuring societal cohesion and continuity and it fulfils an ambiguous regulatory role between work, play, and leisure (Merrifield, 1999). In this way, "spatial practices [become] nourished by perception: they are the realm that reinforces routine, normalization, and reproduction (Merrifield, 1999: 347). This is an example of how this type of space can regulate and structure the practices and processes that occur within it.

In its own right, this space involves an ongoing process of physical, mental, and social transformation. This continuous transformation of perceived space is important to take note of because it is through this transformation that democracy itself is (re)made into a continuous practice (Baker and Hurley, 2015). This space can be studied through the direct observation of society because "the spatial practice of a society [lived or conceived] is revealed through the deciphering of its [geographical] space" (Lefebvre, 1991:38). Therefore, an observation of the geographical area may provide insight into the perceived space.

In reflection, this space retains a form of power over every day human practices and endeavours merely through its physical composition and organisation. In a more practical and urban planning context, perceived space is the physical space that is all around us, such as roads and buildings, amongst other physically constructed urban features, which are tangible and can be studied in the traditional sense. According to Zhang (2006), perceived space comprises pure mathematical figures and it is manifested in the design of building structures. When looking specifically at public spaces, the perceived space is manifested in the physical form and design of the public space and elements within and around it.

2.2.2. Conceived Space (Representations of Space)

Conceived space refers to the mental and conceptual space encompassing normative standards and ideologies (Lefebvre, 1991). It is identified as a set of representations of space that are rendered and produced by technical planners, designers, architects, technocratic, sub-dividers, and bureaucrats that have legitimised power to (re) produce space (Ng, Tang, Lee and Leung, 2010). Conceived space produces the images, sketches, and visions of the urban space. These are influenced by state institutions and are devised in plans, maps, and schemes to order society. Soja and Hooper (1993) view conceived space as the space that contextualises power through upholding the politics, ideologies, and utopic ideas of those in the professional and political capacities indicated above. Everyday human spatial practices and processes in this space are either legitimised or contested against a set of ideologies. This done through the use of

surveillance, plans, policy, zoning laws, and by-laws which are often conceptualised in an effort to uphold normative ideas (Ghulyan, 2019; Lefebvre, 1991; Zhang, 2006).

Conceived space has also been associated with modernist reductionist approaches to spatial practices (Purcell 2002). These are often associated with the rational planning of the 20th century that flattened the social and cultural elements of space and replaced it with technical logic, thereby, contradicting societal practices (Harvey, 1992; Healey, 1996; Sandercock, 1999). According to Mwathunga (2014: 86), this view of planning is embedded in "economic rationalisation, social scientific management of space, and bureaucratically controlled mass production used to determine the experience of citizens in capitalist society." In other words, there is a conflict between the conceived space and the lived space as both struggle to meet their desired needs which are different and oppositional. In this regard, conceived space is directly associated with Lefebvre's *abstract space* which refers to the capitalist domination of space that prioritises exchange-value relations over use-value relations in an effort to homogenise space and standardise it. Leary (2013) argues that abstract space is the advancement of capitalism through the use of the conceived space by the state. Accordingly, conceived space "dances to the tune of homogenising forces of money, commodities and capital which oppose the celebration of the lived space" (Merrifield, 1995: 524). This process is, however, met with resistance as society continues to oppose these homogenising forces (consciously or subconsciously) through its everyday spatial practices that create the differential space. This is the space of inclusiveness and it privileges use-value over exchange value. It is also attained through the appropriation and active assertion of rights to urban space (Leary, 2013, 2016).

According to Lefebvre (1991: 222), "the conceived space is a place for the practices of political powers that are designed to manipulate those who exist within them". In other words, conceived space is highly political and dominant because it plays a substantial role in the production of space and urban public spaces to be precise. According to Nkooe (2015: 30), "its political dimension makes it particularly powerful and 'dominant' in society because of the state or government's antagonistic political position and scientific knowledge at its disposal." The state is then able to control planners, architects, and geographers and instruct them on how to represent certain locations and order their social and spatial practices according to its own socio-cultural or economic posture. This is important to note because of the role that the apartheid state played in the conceived space of South Africa (discussed in detail in chapter four). The apartheid state had its own mode of producing space and "the authority to make the rules which governed society to achieve racially-based ideological ends" (Scott and Marshall, 2009: 726). As such, Eden (2004),

Lefebvre (1991), Mwathunga (2014) and Nkooe (2015) argue that conceived space is not neutral or passive, but rather, it is instrumental in seeking order and control, sometimes through extreme measures of violence.

Reflecting on the nature of perceived space as discussed earlier, one can argue that it is the manifestation or embodiment of conceived space. This is because what is conceived is physically produced and therefore, perceived. This close association of the concepts can make the triad somewhat confusing. Therefore, an example is used to clarify. For instance, a neighbourhood is characterised by physically built houses of different shapes and sizes with streets of different hierarchies and loops (perceived space). However, this same neighbourhood is controlled by building codes, land rights, and restrictions as per the respective title deeds and land-use schemes (conceived space). Both the perceived and conceived spaces mentioned in this example define, control, and order space both physically and conceptually. Moreover, it demonstrates the different and similar powers that space in its perceived and conceived nature can embody. Furthermore, it differentiates and establishes the interconnected relationship between the two concepts more clearly.

In the context of urban public space, perceived space is the physical composition of a space. This includes the benches, pavement, lighting, fences and gates, and all other objects which can facilitate or hinder certain activities within that space. The by-laws and rules and regulations of the space form part of the conceived space. These can also facilitate or hinder certain activities within that space. In this context, what these two spaces have in common is the fact that they offer an objective view of how public spaces should work for all, through their attempts at creating a homogenised social life (Hubbard, Faire and Lilley, 2003). Adversely, this often results in unintended consequences where, instead of homogenisation, resistance manifests in the name of informality and disorder. Thus, conceived space is seen to undermine the realities of everyday citizens, their conditions, and circumstances through how it imposes its ideologies and normative ideals. According to Mwathunga (2014), these reductionist actions to establish homogeneity in space in the name of planning, order, and formality is bound to be encountered with resistance from the users of the space.

2.2.3. Lived Space (Representational Space)

The concept of lived space draws on the first two concepts discussed above. However, it includes the "humanness" of space (Lefebvre 1991; Purcell 2002; Watkins, 2005). Lefebvre (1991) argues that the perceived and conceived space are imbued with normative, capitalist, and political

content which dehumanise society. This implies that the introduction of the lived space could (re)humanise society and give people back their power to (re)produce their own space and thereby creating new forms of urban life. Lived space is inspired and influenced by the physical manifestation of perceived space and the ideologies as well as the powers and normative standards of conceived space. However, what sets it apart is that it is more open to change as opposed to physical space and mental space which tends to reinforce the status quo (Zhang, 2006). As such, lived space exists within, but is not reducible to, the perceived and conceived space.

According to Leary (2013), lived spaces can refer to the complex symbolism attached to space. These can be embedded in emotional, historical or traditional affiliations to space. In this way, space can embody and evoke feelings of belonging, sacredness, freedom, agency and being. Lived space is thus, a reflexive space which is essential for "self-realisation as a total person" (Sözer, 2016: 18). More specifically, lived space encompasses human emotions, feelings, dreams, and aspirations.

In the context of urban planning (and following through with the previous example of the neighbourhood with different houses, roads, by-laws and building codes), the lived experience would be the experiences of the neighbourhood residents. It can refer to their frustrations with the road networks, their desires for self-governance, the sense of security or insecurity due to new residents and the sense of power and status that may arise from owning property. It is worth noting that lived space is not just a 'passive' stage existing in an 'innocent context' (Mwathunga, 2014), but rather, like the previous two spaces, it embodies internal and external influences of culture, socialisation, race, class, and identity, amongst others.

Lefebvre (1991) argues that lived space should be moved from the margins to the centre. In other words, the contextual knowledge of space as society encounters it, appropriates it and experiences it, should be integral in the production of urban space. The lived space represents the stories, memories, and daily experiences of society which ideally should feed into the conceived space that would then give birth to the perceived space. Unfortunately, according to Lefebvre (1991), we are constantly witnessing the rationality approach to urban planning putting conceived space above the lived and perceived space. Merrifield (2000) states that this secondary positioning of perceived and lived space has resulted in the continuous injustices experienced in urban space which perpetuate power, control, and domination over society.

Purcell (2002) argues that the discarding of lived space yields to different forms of dominated space where space is no longer produced by inhabitants and users, nor influenced by their diverse forms of appropriation. Consequently, societies become mere consumers of urban space and they become increasingly displaced, disenfranchised, and alienated from that space. Ng et al (2010) explain this further by stating that these consequences erode the identity of society and disrupt the organic daily activities undertaken by that society. Thus, how a space is used by society is more than a physical act, but rather, it is an interplay of all the interconnected parts of the perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. These spaces occur simultaneously and overlap with one another. Therefore, the exploration and understanding of democratic urban public space will require a constant rearranging of all these spaces simultaneously.

2.3. David Harvey: Spatial Matrix

Harvey, as mentioned above, was influenced by the works of Henri Lefebvre and Karl Marx in his development of what he calls *The Spatial Matrix* (Harvey, 2004). David Harvey is a social and economic geographer, influential in political-economic thinking and urban studies. He shares similar views with Karl Marx particularly his ideas on use value, exchange value, and value[1]. Similar to Lefebvre, Harvey conceptualises space in a matrix of three parts, namely; absolute, relative, and relational space. He intentionally harmonises this with Lefebvre's spatial triad:

> I propose, therefore, a speculative leap in which we place the threefold division of absolute, relative and relational space-time up against the tripartite division of experienced, conceptualized and lived space identified by Lefebvre. The result is a three-by-three matrix within which points of intersection suggest different modalities of understanding the meanings of space (Harvey, 2006: 133).

Harvey insisted at the early stages of his work that one cannot explore and have a deeper understanding of space if one considers it as a fixed neutral container of matter. Pugalis and Giddings (2011) agree with Harvey when they argue that space's multivalent strength, vitality,

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[1] From this perspective, Harvey argues that "everything that pertains to use value lies in the province of absolute space and time, whereas everything that pertains to exchange value lies in relative space-time because exchange entails movement of commodities, money, capital, labour and people over time and space. Finally, because value is a relational concept, its referent is […], relational space-time, underlining that value, as Marx states, is immaterial, but objective." (Harvey, 2006: 141).

and importance is often downplayed. Accordingly, Lefebvre and Harvey consider space to be ''alive'' and 'active' especially considering their understanding of the strength and vitality of space.

Harvey (2004) also holds the perspective that space embodies the experiences, memories, interests, actions, and interactions that need to be taken into consideration in the analysis of urban space, urban transformation, justice and other socio-economic processes (Dos Santos, 2014; Harvey, 2004). Furthermore, Harvey suggests that space presents an arena where different agents with different interests confront each other. Therefore, space is "neither absolute, nor relative nor relational in itself, but it can become one or all simultaneously depending on the circumstances and on human practice" (Harvey, 1973: 13). Harvey argues that space is neither perceived nor conceived nor lived in itself, but it is one or all simultaneously. He posits that:

> I cannot box political and collective memories in some absolute space [perceived space] by clearly situating them on a grid or a map, nor can I understand their circulation according to the rules, policies and laws, however sophisticated of relative space-time [conceived space]. If I ask the question: what does Tiananmen Square or 'Ground Zero' mean, then the only way I can seek an answer is to think in relational terms [lived space] (Harvey 2004: 5).

The spatial matrix, therefore, provides the means to understand the events that occur around us and to formulate ways of thinking and theorising about geographical phenomena and processes (Harvey, 2004). Moreover, the spatial matrix provides us with the tools for exploring and interrogating urban and spatial phenomena with all its complexity and diversity. Grappling with matters of class struggles and capital domination, Harvey, much like Lefebvre, poses questions about social justice, social transformation, and *the right to the city* (Harvey, 1978, 1996, 2008). Both scholars seek to investigate questions regarding who (re)produces the city, the ways in which it is reproduced, and to what ends it is produced. Developing concepts to assist in the deciphering of such questions has allowed urban scholars to critically analyse socio-spatial, political and economic sources, and to determine the drivers of inequality, social transformation and environmental degradation and destruction (Shields, 1999; Whaley, 2018).

Harvey argues that the different concepts of space are able to tell us something different about the inter-intra conflicts, contestations, continuities, and discontinuities in urban spaces beyond the notions of capital domination. It is for this reason that the work of David Harvey is used alongside Lefebvre in the analysis of the conflict and contestation in the urban public spaces of the City of Tshwane. This thesis rests on the argument that urban public spaces have a multifaceted and

multidimensional physical, mental and social character. Therefore, it is imperative to employ the tools that can assist in the unravelling of such complexities. The concepts provided by Harvey (spatial matrix) and Lefebvre (spatial triad) assist in investigating what forms of public spaces are emerging and what powers, controls, and contestations are at play in the formation of such spaces while also assessing their implications on the processes of realising democratic urban public spaces in the City of Tshwane. A discussion of each element of the spatial matrix is discussed below.

2.3.1. Absolute Space

Harvey (1973:13) argues that space can be conceptualised as absolute. He was influenced by the classical geographic views of Kanti, Hettner, Humboldt and Hartshorne who regarded space as "a thing in itself with an existence independent of matter." Within the realm of absolute space, space is fixed and immovable and society plans and record their events within this physical and fixed frame (Harvey, 2004:2). This space provides a regulatory role through the routes, rituals, and patterns of interaction that manifest in this frame.

Absolute space can be seen as the space of all cadastral mapping, including geometric, Euclidean and standardised methods of calculation (Harvey, 2006; Sheppard, 2008). Much like perceived space in Lefebvre's conceptualisation, this space is comprised of physicality and physical objects which can be perceived through our senses. More importantly, it is the space that can be measured in a three-dimensional grid system (Belkind 2007; Whaley, 2018). Physical objects such as public buildings, roads, squares and other designed hard and soft elements in space form part of absolute space. In urban planning, this is the space we can observe and the space where size, scale, frequency, repetition, and rhythm can be determined. For instance, urban public space encompasses design and structural elements such as paving, statues, outdoor furniture, plants and trees, and the overall physical environment of the space.

Harvey (2006) argues that absolute space is easily controlled by urban planners and managers through how they organise its physical location and objects within it. Lefebvre (1991) categorises such controls as dominant in urban spaces. Urban planners and managers are able to control and eliminate uncertainties and ambiguities within this space. For example, public spaces, especially those designed for fleeting encounters, which lack comfortable seating and sufficient lightening may deter people from using the space for longer periods or during certain hours. Thus, behaviour and activities within that space is controlled. Its control of activities and behaviour is easily asserted by those who physically design public spaces with specific intents. Absolute space

holds significance in society because it is a tool used to dominate, order, and control society on different scales, from its physical location to the demarcation of human settlements.

However, Middlemann (2020), Nkooe (2015), and Mitchell (2003) argue that society resists and contests the controls of the absolute space. Nkooe (2015) provides an example of how absolute space is used to exclude and marginalise the homeless community through the production of physical spaces that restrict their activities. Homeless people resist such controls by developing creative ways of engaging with the space in an effort to meet their needs despite the imposed controls. Nkooe (2015:34) posits that:

> In spite of the dominant order of absolute space that always seeks to change and appropriate space for the sake of consistency, formality and homogeneity, society gains some level of spatial competence that materializes in everyday life as the capacity to survive life in unpredictable.

Mitchell (2003), like Nkooe (2015), does not deny the power of the absolute space and argues that its power is undeniable because of its physical presence. However, he argues that space is ultimately defined by society through their engagement with it. Likewise, Middlemann (2020), argues that controlled spaces tend to be dominated spaces and hence, become passively experienced space. However, the way societies use space through their spatial practices can transform space, especially where users contest and construct new meanings for themselves based on their perceptions. The power of absolute space is challenged, contradicted, and contested by society's spatial practices (Middlemann, 2020).

2.3.2. Relative Space

Relative space, according to Harvey, can be associated largely with the works of Einstein. Harvey (2004:3) asserts that "there are multiple geometries from which to choose and that the spatial frame depends crucially upon what it is that is being relativised and by whom." This brings to the fore the ontology that space is relative. This is substantiated by Einstein who lays claim that all forms of measurement depended upon the frame of reference of the observer. This simply means that the measurement of absolute space depends on the observer's point of reference. Therefore, "relative space requires consideration of the argument that all forms of measurement depend upon the framework of the observer" (Perrault, 2012: 17). More significantly, it insinuates that a perfectly scaled map on the earth's surface, for instance, is impossible as one's position impacts the measurement.

Relative space, according to Harvey (2004), is the space encompassing the movement of people, money, capital, resources, technology, and assets which influence and relativise our position in space and in society in accordance with the capitalist system (Castells, 1977. Harvey, 2004). Thus, the thesis argues that in order to understand the multiplicity of urban public spaces, one must glance at the social classes and the relation between capital, labour, technology, and space.

In bringing this to size and contextualising it to urban public spaces, it is imperative to understand that relative space is affected by a multiplicity of perspectives, and thus, urban public spaces are fuelled with multiplicity. People present pluralities which have located them in different physical locations in the city with different resources and different orientations. Therefore, in urban planning and social geography, relative space requires the consideration of multiplicity in the specific rules, laws, and frameworks ascribed to the handling of socio-spatial phenomenon or conditions. Without that consideration, the rules, laws, and frameworks have no meaning.

Consequentially, Harvey argues that "comparisons between different spatio-temporal frameworks can illuminate problems of political choice" (Harvey, 2006: 123). For instance, the use of space by one group may result in the displacement or withdrawal of use by another group in the real sense. However, as a lived experience, this may create feelings of oppression and anxiety for the displaced group, whilst simultaneously creating feelings of safety and security for the other. In this case, an observer may perceive the positive use of space while another observer may observe displacement based on their respective frames of reference. This provides interesting questions when exploring the notion of democracy, which is necessarily embedded in the views of the majority. However, the unintended consequence of this is the denial of minority views. Moreover, it presents dilemmas in cities filled with a rich diversity of inhabitants with different spatial needs, wants, and desires, and which may conflict with the desires of the elitist few. Subsequently, planners and designers find themselves in a space where rules, plans, and frameworks regarding democratic public spaces need to be drafted amidst such relativity. Harvey (2006:8) avers that:

> How we [urban planner, designers, geographers] represent this world is an entirely different matter, but here too we do not conceive of or represent space in arbitrary ways, but seek some appropriate if not accurate reflection of the material realities that surround us through abstract representations (words, graphs, maps, diagrams, pictures, etc.).

In light of this, urban planners and managers need to understand that their ideologies and normative stances of reaching a state of democracy, formality or modernity may have adverse

effects even on those form whom the designs, plans and policies, are directed towards. Therefore, the consideration of relative space is crucial. Lefebvre and Harvey reaffirm that the observing of inhabitants' spatial practices may lead to clues on the meaning of space which can then inform the conceived space. Harvey (2006:147) posits that:

> It is all fine and good to evoke spatial conceptions [and frameworks], but no one knows what any of that means until real bodies go into the streets of Seattle, Quebec City, and Genoa [absolute spaces] at a particular moment and give it meaning.

Relative space highlights the question of whether or not the normative ideals of planners and designers can achieve true democracy. This is because what may seem to be one's liberty may be another's subjugation based on their point of reference. Relative space also highlights the idea that what is perceived to work may have adverse effects on who it is said to work for and to what end. Furthermore, it highlights the idea that homogenisation, as advocated by the rationality of conceived space, manifests in differential space, which once again, prompts the conceived space to come in and homogenise it. Thus, utopia will not be attained as the cycle will continue to reproduce itself. For example, the prevalence of informal traders in public spaces may serve as a means of making a living for one group, whereas it may be seen as undesirable by another group. Thus, the 'judgement' and 'measurement' of the activities conducted by informal traders will be observed differently based on the observer's point of reference. The planner's expert knowledge and normative position, as influenced by professional ideologies, is therefore, different to that of the space user and their experiential knowledge and context. Thus, relativity is experienced and has a bearing on democratic public space production, especially as these two positions may stand in contrast to one another. This raises very interesting and controversial questions about the actual value of norms in society. It presents the old philosophical questions about whose norms and values are upheld and on what are they based (Bicchieri, 2006, 2016). In this case, the planner's norms are based on their professional training, their philosophical orientation or the majority view (e.g. politicians in council). These aspects are further addressed in chapter seven of this thesis.

2.3.3. Relational Space

The relational concept of space is, most often, associated with the name of Leibniz who argues that "it is impossible to disentangle space from time...therefore [we must] focus on the relationality of space-time rather than [that] of space in isolation" (Harvey, 2004: 4). Harvey refers to what he calls the relational space which is the space of experiences, memories, feelings, and fantasies

amongst other non-tangible elements. The relationality of space-time implies that peoples' collective memories (public space users), for instance, about absolute or relative space cannot be framed on maps or grids (absolute space) or through various circulation laws (relative space), but are experienced through social relations (Harvey, 2006). It is historically constituted by specific social processes and relations which are different for every society in space and time. Dos Santos (2014) provides an example when he discusses the spatial matrix and positions the relational space as an intangible space made up of sentiments, memories, and meanings radically contingent on a direct and dialectical intersection with absolute and relative space. Dos Santos (2014:149) opines that:

> A square has a physical and legal materiality and is related to the absolute space. In addition, it is possible to situate the same square in relation to other places - e.g., residence, work or leisure, or commerce - and in relation to the flows of persons, services and money, thus recognizing its position in relative space [relative space]. Finally, it is also possible to attempt to understand the relationship of the square and the process of local property construction in the global property markets, including financing the economy, participating in history and heritage of the city, and its meaning as a place traversed by personal and collective sentiments and memories, among other aspects [relational space]. All of these aspects sustain the square as a place of leisure and circulation.

Thus, through society's everyday life and spatial practices in and through space, things are internalised. Thus, they produce symbols, desires, memories, and expectations emerging either from relative deprivation or pure fantasies. Society creates these mental constructs through individual acts of agency. The absolute space and relative space represent physical and conceptual boundaries, whilst the relational space through its subjectivity and consciousness confronts and challenges these boundaries. Society may come together and mobilise to articulate these demands to urban planners, designers, and officials by seeking the physical manifestation of relational space. This is also witnessed in events throughout history where society often mobilised itself in resistance to the absolute or relative space. Such resistances often brought about revolutions and transformations in society in many different dimensions.

2.4. Rationale for the Triads

Scholars have argued that the physical nature of public space is purely materialistic, whilst the 'planned' nature of public space is purely idealistic (Elden, 2004; Lefebvre, 1991; Zhang, 2006). Therefore, one needs to explore the bridge between the two - which is the space that society

experiences. This complex exploration is necessary in the study of urban public spaces as they present complex, contradictory and differentiated spaces that cannot be studied through a single lens. Lefebvre provides the genesis of space (or the production of space itself) whilst Harvey provides a classification of space. Therefore, the conceptions of space anchored in Lefebvre's work and supported by Harvey, will show the inter-intra-relationships, conflicts and contestations between the material space and the ideal space, all the while demonstrating how the nature of space is never simple or stable.

Fundamentally, the synopsis on Lefebvre and Harvey's understanding of space provides for the tools of inquiry into the competing ways by which lived space produces itself and how its spatial practices are shaped by, but not conforming to, the political practices of conceived space in everyday life. However, the concepts discussed in this chapter need to be accompanied by other context-specific concepts related to space production in order to build on the understanding of the inter-intra conflicts encountered by society and planners and implications on democratic public space. These concepts are physical appropriation, psychological appropriation, sanitisation, domination, place and democracy, which will be discussed in the following chapter (Chapter three).

2.4.1 The use of the triads in an African context

Many fields and studies in Southern Africa have also undertaken the use of the triad and the spatial matrix in efforts to explore the conflicts and contradictions in the multi-layered nature of space. For example, a study conducted by Sigodi (2020) is based on Lefebvre's spatial triad in the exploration of artistic representations of urbanisation produced by black South African artists throughout the 20th century. As a scholar in visual arts, Sigodi uses Lefebvre to analyse representations of "black cities", commonly referred to as "townships" in South Africa by black artists against those represented by white discourse. Sigodi (2020) holds these discourses against the experience of townships by black residents. Sigodi finds that white discourses constructed black urbanisation as a "problem" which did not capture the "multi-dimensional, complex and layered experiences of urban-based black existence" (Sigodi, 2020: iii). He argues that such representation created an unprecedented negative interpretative of black lives. Through the use of Lefebvre's lived space, Sigodi provides an alternative interpretation of space and a reframing of black life depictions moving away from essentialising binaries that characterised the 20th century. Sigodi shows how a conflict exists between the conceived and lived space of black

people, and how history can be used to explore such conflicts and offer critical answers to present day misconceptions.

On the intra conflicts of representations of space, Mwathunga (2014) who conducted a study on urban informality and squatting in the Lilongwe city and Blantyre city in Malawi, contends that urban spaces in Malawi embody multiple meanings and lived experiences that are divergent to the dominant modernist conceptions of space. As such, urban space is contested in ways that represent different core values from that which it is contained in, especially regarding official planning policies and documentation. More interestingly, Mwathunga finds that planning authorities in Malawi are unable to impose the conceived space on urban residents because of their awareness of people's everyday life in the cities. As such, Mwathunga's study shows how the conceived space can be in conflict with the lived space, but also with the perceived space and with itself, whereby, those put in positions to enforce the conceived space are also divergent and in conflict with it. This shows how the conflicts and contestation in space can be both external of it, whilst simultaneously internal of it.

Nkooe (2015) uses Lefebvre and Harvey to explore how users of Mary Fitzgerald Square in Johannesburg, South Africa contest and defend their use of space against dominant neoliberal policies that manage the square. Nkooe finds that the square is characterised by private management practices like human surveillance, by-laws, and defensive architecture, which discourages its use by marginalised social groups. Drawing on Harvey's ideas of use-value and exchange value, Nkooe thoroughly discusses the prioritisation of capitalism over the lives of city inhabitants. He shows the relationship between Lefebvre, Harvey and Marx and how the material and conceptual space can be used to marginalise ordinary inhabitants who require and desire the use of space. The study, however, argues that through creative overriding spatial practices by the homeless community and skateboarders, space is contested and its historical meaning and symbolism is (re)constructed. These groups challenge their marginalisation through acts of deviance and demonstrate the everyday struggle between private interests and public needs in an African metropolis. Nkooe demonstrates how the conceived space can be used as a tool to dominate space, how it favours neoliberal policies and thus, facilitates the domination of space by capitalism. Furthermore, his study affirms Lefebvre and Harvey's' hope that the marginalised can resist and (re)claim their space through spatial practices.

More recently, a study conducted by Middlemann (2020) uses Lefebvre to examine how the history, design, management, and use of public space relate to the interaction of public space with spatial injustice. Middlemann focuses on three public spaces in the inner-city of

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Johannesburg where he explores the changing physical nature of the spaces and the transforming meanings and experiences in arguing how the conceived space (site-level management) and spatial practices (use patterns) play a significant role in (re)shaping the lived space (public culture). Moreover, he argues that the order and performance of public spaces have broader spatial (in)justice implications. This study shows how the exploration of micro public spaces in different dimensions can tell us more about society's broader macro issues and also provide clues on how to resolve them.

Using the reviewed literature above, it can be assumed that in developing cities like the City of Tshwane, the conceived space tends to undermine the hard socio-spatial realities and human conditions of space inhabitants (users). However, urban planning as an anchor of the conceived space in this context aims to order space in a "relational" (Massey, 2005) and "provisional" (Hillier, 2017) way that encompasses "a multidimensional and multifaceted sensitivity toward class, race, sex, and culture" (Burayidi, 2000: 1). This ensures that the visions and ideals shaping the fantasies of the future city are reflective of the heterogeneity and multiplicity of the privileged and underprivileged in society. Yiftachel (1995: 123) states that planning revolves around two questions: What is a good city? What is good planning? However, Yiftachel (2002) also argues that planning is inherently ideological in its practices and discourses which intentionally or unintentionally favours the hegemonic desires of the dominant and privileged. Therefore, there exists a disjuncture between the calculated and static place of planners and the socially active space of citizens. In the context of South Africa, Coetzee (2012: 16) argues that this disjuncture is a result of "old style planners' who are still caught up in the archaic, rigid, autocratic and control-oriented mind-sets." According to Kamete (2013), authorities in this part of the world are obsessed with 'normalising' urban spaces and in the process, trigger conflict. Furthermore, he argues that this obsession is misplaced because it glaringly defies the reality on the ground.

Kamete (2009, 2013) also seems to engage Lefebvre and Harvey in his work although not explicitly expressed in his writing. He argues that contestations over urban space seems to emanate from the contradictions between society's reality and everyday life and urban authority's conception of space and how it should function. Therefore, Kamete (2013: 639) implores scholars to investigate "the reasoning behind, and effectiveness of, 'corrective' measures that exclude and marginalise through "technicalisation", "expertisation" and "depoliticisation" in their own context and locality which can be understood as a call to explore the lived and relational space. Moreover, it can be read as a call for "otherness" that functions in non-hegemonic conditions and is made

up of the physical and mental which when explored simultaneously, present more meaning than what first meets the eye.

Although scholars have over the years argued for new approaches to planning (Todes, 2011) that embrace the personal emotions of the planner (Baum, 2015), the understanding of power relations and how it (re)produces itself (Flyvbjerg 1998), how to manage diversity in cities (Sandercock, 2000), the centering of people in planning projects (Simone, 2004), and the necessity of participation and deliberation (Hillier, 2017), it seems, planning continues to "miss the point" (Kamete, 2013: 639). How does urban planning continue to elicit and trigger contestations over space? All the same, research about the lived experiences, spatial practices and its misalliance with the conceived space continues to lack, more particularly the implications it has on the meaning of democratic space and broader democratic debates (Hou, 2010; Madanipour, 2010, 2019; Parkinson, 2012).

2.4.2. Limitations of the Triads

It would be naive to assume that the spatial concepts presented by Lefebvre and Harvey exist in a vacuum, and thus, are without criticism and scepticism. Scholars have, throughout the years, narrated the risks of using the concepts in analysing processes in and through space (Merrifield 1999; Schreiner, 2016; Wallis, 1996). The criticisms can be categorised into theoretical and practical considerations. Within the theoretical criticisms, many have argued that the concepts of space leave one with a sentiment that space is everything or everything can be explained through these ideas of space (Boer, 2015). This is a view that many outside the postmodernist approach uphold, as postmodernist flourishes in resisting totalizing phenomenon's, it seeks to keep discussions and debates open to ensure that it does not fall into the trap of reductionism. According to Schreiner (2016), spatial theories do not provide a full reflection of reality. It is said specifically, that Lefebvre portrays space as the truth which defines and controls the existence of the social subject in its everyday life (Wallis, 1996).

Moreover, Lefebvre has been criticised for "elevating the urban spatial problematic to an intolerably central and apparently autonomous position" (Wallis, 1996:11). This position suggests that space is the determinant in the construction of social space and excludes the influences of socio-cultural determinants that have been witnessed throughout history to shape and construct society. According to Unwin (1999), the triads represent a Eurocentric reality where space is characterised by capitalism and modernity. However, countries in the global south present more complex realities that cannot be captured by the Eurocentric ideas of everyday social process,

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thus, he specifically argues that the triads present an urban bias of space. As such, Carpo (2008), Jones (1994), and Mwathunga (2014) argue that the triads are hardly employed in research of the global south, or used as an analytical tool. However, Ghulyan (2019) argues that the use of Lefebvre's conceptualizations of space appear frequently in the Middle East, North Africa and Turkey-related scholarship. Furthermore, Ghulyan (2019) argues that the use of this conceptualisation appears in different disciplines such as architecture, urban planning, geography, literature, and gender studies. Therefore, Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) both instruct scholars and readers to avoid using their conceptions of space as abstract models without specific political, historical and social contexts. This indicates that Lefebvre and Harvey are aware of the shortfalls of their socio-geographic positionality and suggests that academics and researchers must not use these concepts in isolation.

It is important to note that these concepts have contributed to thoughts in modern capitalist societies (Xin and Shangyi, 2018). Despite the practical criticisms by Merrifield (1999) that suggest that the concepts are too confusing, 'fluffy' and too philosophical with little practical application prospects, Roberts, Barnes, Moss and Iveson (1999) agree that the spatial concepts are a way to improve our epistemological composition of space. Moreover, Merrifield argues that the lived space and the relational space seem to have exciting potential for democratic public spaces, but the question of what they look like, feel like, where they are, and how one gets there provides problems for application, exploration and understanding for spatial thinkers. Hernes (2004), Shields (1999), Li and Zhou (2018), agree with Merrifield and indicate that the triad model itself is not tidily drawn, but that it can easily cause confusion between all the concepts presented because of the way it seeks to demonstrate ''the unmappability of the dialectic'' (Shields,1999: 341). However, it should be kept in mind that urban dynamics can create philosophical problems which can only be solved by philosophical answers (Harvey, 2004). This study uses the ontology and epistemic logic of these concepts to create a comprehensive methodological starting point to the analysis and exploration of contestations in public space. Moreover, it responds to the criticisms of the spatial concepts by locating itself within the historical, political, socio-cultural space of South African and specifically the City of Tshwane. According to Zhang, (2006:01), "space should be seen as the site of ongoing actions and interactions rather than the mere result of such actions." Thus, the context in this study is crucial and imperative in doing justice to Lefebvre and Harvey.

2.5. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework considers Harvey's absolute space alongside Lefebvre's perceived space as the material space. Harvey's relative space is explored in conjunction with Lefebvre's conceived space as the space of dreams. Lastly, the relational space by Harvey is explored alongside the lived space by Lefebvre as the space experienced by bodies. All these moments in space work to produce and classify democratic urban public space. A summary of this link between the triad and spatial matrix is demonstrated on figure 3 below.
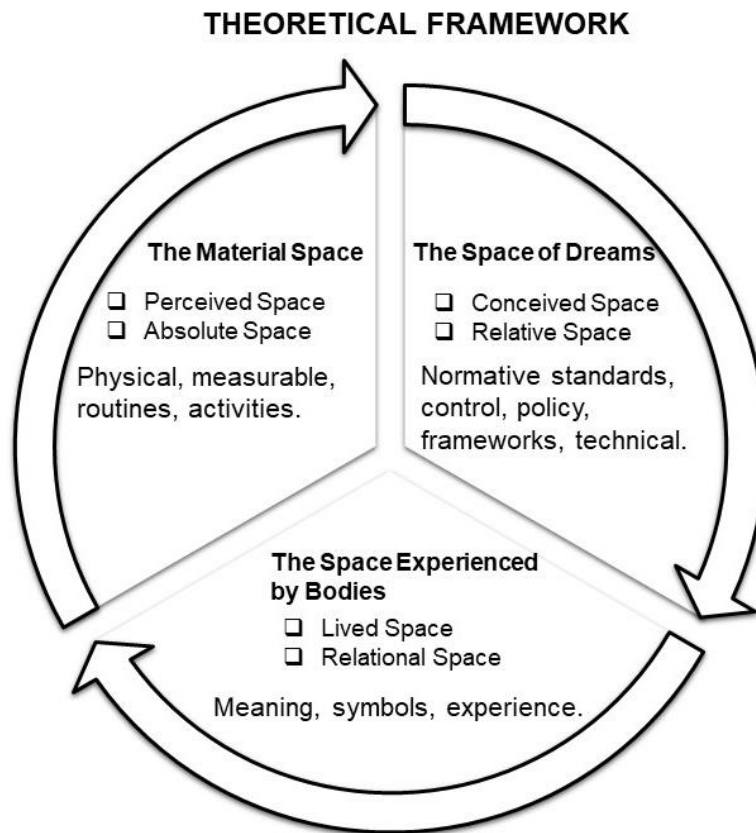
Figure 3: Theoretical Framework

Source: Author (2021)

2.6. Conclusion

The anchoring scholars engaged in the theoretical framework employed in this thesis have contributed largely to the thinking and construction of the arguments that frame the study, the lens

in which the topic is investigated, the methods of data collection employed and the analysis, interpretation and presentation of the data. The decision to apply this framework, as challenging and abstract as the concepts may seem, was informed by the idea that conceptualising space in this way is able to open up innovative ways of thinking about different forms of perceptions, conceptions and meanings of public space and urban space in general, and the conflicts thereof.

The conceptualisation of space by Lefebvre and Harvey can assist in the analysis of democratic urban public space that is not merely limited to the physical access or restrictions brought on by the ideals of planners or the exchange value principles of capitalism. Rather, it opens up the analysis to possibilities and processes in how society is able to transform space through its appropriation and desires, which implicate democracy. These conceptualisations ultimately require understanding, not mere knowing (Zhang, 2006) to widen the narrowness of exploring space. Thus, the study brings to light (through the use of the triads) the impositions of the planner's rationality and how it can lead to tensions over the realisation of democratic urban public space and how society continues to resist these rationalities by creating differentiated spaces. The triads allow one to investigate social agents with competing, inflicting and conflicting interests alongside the processes and events in history that gives rise to the symbolisms, imagination and expectations of society and planners alike. This provides for new possibilities in urban planning actions and decisions, especially regarding the nature of democratic urban public spaces. More importantly, the triads provide the scope for building on the theory of space production.

The next chapter presents the conceptual framework which shows the analytical tool for the study and how it builds on concepts discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

THE PRODUCTION OF DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SPACES

3.1. Introduction

This chapter builds on the concepts of space provided by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) in the previous chapter. It seeks to merge the spatial triad with various hand-picked concepts of space drawn from reviewed literature. The aim is to provide an analytical tool that will be used throughout the thesis to examine the inter-intra relations between the material space, the space of dreams and the space experienced by bodies. These hand-picked concepts, together with the conceptualisation of space provided in the previous chapter, will form the expanded conceptual framework of the thesis. This will assist in deriving meaning from the processes that were studied and to align them with broader and larger debates around democratic processes, democracy and democratic public spaces.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Firstly, the chapter explores the notion of democracy as a construct - its opportunities, limitations, its relationship with the ideals of public spaces, and the collective meaning making processes embedded in space. Secondly, it explores the concepts of physical appropriation, psychological appropriation, and the notion of appropriation in relation to urban public spaces. Thirdly, it discusses the concept of domination and dominated space which reveal the different ways in which individuals and different social agents transform space physically and symbolically. Lastly, the chapter presents the concept of sanitisation which is central in the extended conceptual framework proposed in this chapter. It gives clues to how urban planning through its aspirations can unintentionally hinder the realisation of democratic urban public spaces.

3.2. Democratic Space

This section discusses democratic issues in the context of its genesis and relationship to public space. The section is divided into four sub-sections, namely; democracy as a construct; criticisms and opportunities for democracy; democracy and public space: a perspective on the nature and the limitations of democratic public space; and the concept of place and collective meaning making: implications for democratic public spaces.

3.2.1. Democracy as a Construct

The concept of democracy can be regarded as primordial. It first appeared in ancient Greece between 508-507 BC where the first democracy was said to have been established (Dunn, 1994). The word is made out of two parts which are "demos" and "kratos" which means "people" and "power" respectively (Mavropalias, 2017). As such, democracy warrants a rule by the people. It warrants a situation where citizens have the right to make decisions and the power to govern their own societies amongst themselves. Democracy, as a concept, is overarching and is associated with many virtues that legitimises it over other forms of rule such as autocracy or monarchy. For example, democracy advocates for the freedom of speech, orientation, and association. It upholds human rights, equality, rule of law, and most significantly, majority rule (Barry, 1991; Landman, 2018; O'Donnell, 2005). Democracy is commonly associated with processes of elections and voting as those processes are imperative to democracy. Each vote carries equal weight and all elections need to be free and procedurally fair (Barak, 2006). During the beginning phases of democracy in Athens, all eligible citizens were allowed to speak and vote in the assembly. For example, Athenians would vote using the stone ballot voting protocol. In Sparta, as early as 700 BC, citizens would assemble and vote through shouting and chanting. Thus, the idea of voting publicly has always been central to democracies and its outcomes throughout history. According to Barry (1991), the key thing to take away from the tradition of voting is not that voting needs to yield to certain outcomes, but that every vote is considered equal regardless of the voter's gender, social class, religious affiliation or even if the voter believes in democracy or not.

Socrates, as quoted by Plato in The Republic Book X (Plato, 1992), suggests that democracy is charming because of its tolerance to difference and disorder in the name of promoting equality to equals and unequal's alike. It advocates for the freedom of individuals to act as they choose, and holds none as more worthy over the other. Such palpable words by Socrates demonstrate the undeniable attractiveness of the concept of democracy in modern day society. According to Derrida (2003), democracy valorises three virtues simultaneously, that is, solidarity, heterogeneity, and the creation of new voices. Therefore, it exists as a system of rule that emphasises the cohesion of all citizens, upholds their diversity, and calls for the emancipation of marginalised and peripheral groups. More significantly, democracy presents a system of participation that ideally should manage conflict amongst different groups and interests, whilst not controlling or determining the outcome of such participation. Inherently, such an approach to participation, decision making, and governance makes outcomes uncertain, but attractive. Evans (2016: 312), refers to this uncertainty as the "immanent temporality of democracy" because of

how society has historically been in constant debate and conflict over ideas, preferences, and inclinations. Therefore, all decisions are inevitably temporally and spatially significant. According to Habermas (1981), such temporality is necessary as it defines the true nature of democracy; and although resolutions are binding, they are not fixed and the revisiting and revival of previous decisions is necessary for a healthy public realm.

The concept of democracy may have its flaws. However, it continues to be attractive and inviting because it lends itself to different variations that can adapt to varying needs, cultures, and ideas as is seen in the branches of presidential democracy, parliamentary democracy, Islamic democracy, and social democracy. Nevertheless, the essence of democracy requires society to be fearless in raising their voices. Such fearlessness occurs in two registers. Firstly, individuals in society need to speak out about their desires for democracy. Secondly, they need to be open to listening to one another without being deterred (Evans, 2016). What this suggests is that although one is comfortable speaking widely about their preference for democracy, they should be willing to open themselves up to hearing about alternatives to democracy even if the alternative is anti-democracy. Derrida (1997, 2000), refers to what he calls *hospitality* which suggests that all voices, regardless of whether they are for or against democracy, should courageously speak and be heard without prejudice. The onus is on society to speak fearlessly and to be open to hearing. All this should be done in the name of the freedom and equality granted by democracy. This substantiates the Habermasian view of deliberative and communicative democracy which promotes collective understandings and engaged action, through the encouragement of free speech (Makakavhule and Landman, 2020). However, Kumalo (2021) argues that this *hospitality* is in many instances, confronted by state violence as a way to essentialise certain voices whilst silencing others.

In a practical sense, society should be willing to listen to the white supremacists in democratic debates because the dismissal of their arguments before hearing them would not constitute a democratic process. However, after the hearing, society should then make decisions to prevent them from co-opting democracy as their argument would be undermining to the ideology of democracy itself. Taking cognisance of this, Barry (1991), Derrida (2005), and Patton (2007) argue that the quintessential nature of democracy opens itself up to those who believe in it and those who do not because "a democratic state may allow enemies of democracy to seize power by democratic means or, alternatively, it may seek to prevent this by interrupting or suspending democratic procedures" (Patton, 2007: 18). Their arguments are well illustrated by the principle

of *hospitality*. Barry (1991) expresses the fact that he finds solace in the idea that the majority will rule and that the majority's desires will be satisfied regardless.

The assumption can be made that Barry's view of the majority's desires refers to those contained after the process of deliberation, which would solidify such desires as socially accepted democratic norms and values. Therefore, society can uphold liberty and equality and regard everything and anything that goes against such values as undemocratic. Subsequently, the voices of the white supremist would be heard, however, their rationales, policies, and rhetoric would not be accepted as they would go against what society would regard as desired conduct. Evidently, this suggests that the white supremist or those against democracy would have their needs unmet within a democratic society and as such would feel in some way marginalised. However, one of the principles of justice and the making of a city by Plato and Socrates that can be useful for the discourse of democracy is that of happiness.

Plato, in *Book IV* (Plato, 1992), indicates that justice is not about making everyone in society happy, or providing happiness for an elite group of people, but rather it seeks to make the majority of the population as happy as humanly possible. This principle can be useful in resolving the democratic conflicts in highly stratified and diverse societies. Such sentiments are also shared by Immanuel Kant's universal principle of public right (Kant, 2007) and Rawls' theory of justice (Rawls, 1971) which suggests that there are limitations to one's freedom and rights in instances where they undermine the rights of others or infringe another's capacity to exercise his rights as *per* the desired conduct of society and the essence of democracy itself.

3.2.2. Criticisms and Opportunities for Democracy

The idea of democracy suggests that decision making rights should be in the hands of the majority through the act of voting, and that these rights are given to every citizen by the mere fact of birth. However, in Athens, Greece, where democracy is said to have begun, this was not so. Democracy, during this period, was only experienced by men who were Athenians by birth, over the age of 20 years old and land owning. Therefore, women, children, foreigners, and slaves were not regarded as citizens with the power to make decisions. What this suggests is that even though democracy was regarded as the capacity of all citizens to take part freely and fairly in public decision making, the majority of the population was excluded from this freedom, and therefore, excluded from law making, political, and social collectivism (Kelsen, 1955).

Such decisions to exclude a large percentage of the population was based on various rationales. For instance, democratic processes were regarded as the benefits of citizenship only for those who were eligible to fight war campaigns. According to *The Republic of Plato, Book X*, Socrates argued that the only citizens who should be part of democracy are those who are educated (Plato, 1992). He was of the belief that democracy in the hands of the uneducated majority would only result in populism and not proficiency. Thus, he advocated for democratic rights that were not afforded to society by virtue of birth (origin), but by virtue of level of education. Similarly, Aristotle was of the view that societies should be governed by those with merits rather than blood. His view was motivated by his belief that society should be governed by the "best of the best" (Habermas, 1996). According to Derrida (2005) and Patton (2007), the ancient concept of democracy, unfortunately, does not provide a univocal meaning of democracy. Therefore, it lends itself to a concept moulded by ideas of friendships and loyalty between brothers and elite acquaintances (Patton, 2007).

Consequently, our modern views and characterisation of democracy are contaminated by an internal contradiction between inclusion and exclusion, as well as between singularity and plurality. We continue to witness citizenship benefits as benefits that are only suitable for certain classes in society or to those contributing to their cities through the payment of rates and other form of taxes (Mouffe, 2000; Ndhlovu, 2020; Putnam, Leonard and Nannetti, 1994). Therefore, those who are unable to contribute unintentionally disqualify themselves from certain urban or city benefits. These groups are often from lower social classes and consist predominantly of the poor, the homeless, and informal settlers (Przeworski, et al. 2006). Ideas concerning the right to vote and active citizenship indicates that the origins of democracy itself signifies some level of explicit exclusion and prejudice for some groups in society and such sentiments have been carried out in different ways throughout history, to date. This hereditary contestation in the concept of democracy provides interesting opportunities for the thesis and the study of democratic public spaces. It can assist in envisioning a democratic public space that is fully detached from the historical sediments of the exclusion of women, children and other minorities in society, alongside those with alternative ideals. It opens up democracy to the possibilities that arise when moving away from the ideas of merits, elites, intellectuals, and obedience in an attempt to create a democracy that is unconditional, non-exclusive, and resilient to conquest.

Another crucial element in the criticism and opportunities for democracy is that of representation which, unfortunately, has been criticised for replacing rule by the elite because in many instances, those in representative positions are still the elite in society (Putnam, et al., 1994). As such, the

outcomes of democracy are not always what society desires. Therefore, the will of the majority people is not always represented. Moreover, even if the majority were to determine the outcome, that would not necessarily imply that the minority did not stand for what is reasonable or morally acceptable. It could merely be the fact that those advocating for certain ideas were unable to convince the majority. Moreover, religious, cultural and perceptual factors are able to attract certain populations to certain ideas. In this regard, one may think of democracy as not always being reasonable and the justification of the majority as not always being in favour of society as a whole because it may not result in the well-being of society.

Barry (1991) gives a hypothetical scenario of five men seated together in a train station where the signs of "no smoking" or "smoking area" are omitted from the design, and, therefore, there's no designated seating for smokers. As such, the five men need to share the common space. However, without the signage and designated seating, it is not clear whether smoking is permitted in the space or not. Upholding the concept of majority rule and in the event that three of the five men are smokers, the notion of democracy would permit them to smoke. In such a case, the concept of moral-practical reason by Habermas (1992) becomes crucial in the practical manifestation of the idea of democracy. Habermas (1992) indicates that moral-practical reason is a mode of justification that we can use in our socio-political deliberations when seeking to reach an agreement. He suggests that answers to the question of how one must live are complex. They cannot necessarily warrant a substantive answer. However, moral-practical reasoning can assist in determining valid claims of coexistence. Therefore, reason is needed in justifying claims within democratic discourse because some claims might not be for the well-being of a society. Moreover, the foundations of such moral-practical reasoning should always remain open to justification as well as criticism.

Another important angle is that democracy does not suggest that the majority rule will force the minority to comply. On the contrary, it suggests that they continue to fight for their own interests in an effort to resist domination. This should be achieved through voicing their opinions without fear of sanctions or prejudice (Habermas, 1992; Mouffe, 2000). In the hypothetical smoking scenario, all five men would then have to negotiate amongst themselves and reach an agreement at which point it would become undisputed because an agreement was reached through rationality and not by the majority imposing their ideas onto the minority. According to Prothro and Grigg (1960), this complies with the principle of consensus which has been a recurrent proposition in democratic theory and suggests that "a successful democracy requires the existence of a large measure of consensus in society" (Prothro and Grigg, 1960: 276). According to Griffith,

Plamenatz, and Pennock (1956), consensus should be arrived at through the deliberation of ideas that can be regarded as norms of desirable conduct at a given point in time. As such, the deviation from such desirable conduct in society would be subject to social disapproval and all moral-practical reasoning would be guided by desirable codes of conduct. Unfortunately, the danger that society faces today is that these agreements or consensus quests are led by those who are selected to represent the majority and its interests. In this sense, promises are made, but their delivery is not always consistent because the elite representatives are said to be in cahoots in their attempts to defend their own interests, often, at the expense of the majority whom they represent. Therefore, only the elite representatives' needs are socially, economically, politically, and spatially met as a result of their careful balance of competing interests and their upholding of the pretentious rule of law.

3.2.3. Democracy and Public Space: A Perspective on the Nature and the Limitations of Democratic Public Space

The literature concerning democracy and public space presents similar requirements and contradictions because of their emphasis on 'publicness', 'equality', 'inclusion', and 'participation'. The thesis argues that the concept of public space can be read as inseparable from the concepts of democracy. According to Madanipour (2019), the idea of a democratic public space stems from the ideal is to achieve spaces where society can "participate, communicate freely, and develop opinions about the affairs of their society, enabling them to make informed decisions in democratic governance" (Madanipour, 2019: 39). According to Sennet (1998), a democratic space is a space where people can consider views other than their own; and where different families, tribes, natives, and foreigners come together. According to Parkerson (2006) and Purcell (2013), democratic spaces are the spaces in which different people are able to live together, and manage themselves.

Moreover, democratic public spaces are spaces that allow all members of society to be part of its production and reproduction through its inclusive, non-discriminatory, and non-prejudicial nature. According to Morlino (2007), democratic public space provides its users with liberty and equality because it either meets their needs or if it does not, they have the power to hold the people who design and plan the public spaces accountable. In taking this further, and relating it to Lefebvre and Harvey's conceptualisations of space, a democratic space would be one in which society is able to determine how it is produced, what its functions and uses are, and how it is regulated. This will provide them with the power to not only physically produce their spaces, but also socially,

culturally, and economically order its functions. Therefore, democratic public spaces are spaces that are legitimised by law and are responsive to the desires of society - all the while encouraging equality and freedom. These conceptions of democratic spaces represent the mixture of people, activities and experiences that need to co-exist within the realm of rights and the corresponding appreciation of creativity, and the feeling of being acknowledged that can exist there. Such ideas of democratic space allude to the complexity of democratic public space and the dynamism of its construct.

The discussion on democratic public spaces can be categorised in one of two ways. Firstly, they are discussed in relation to different forms of political demonstrations that have to do with some form of unrest, dissatisfaction or strife in the name of exercising political rights (Parkeson, 2006). Secondly, they are examined in relation to physical components and legal ownership, whether it be a square, town hall or plaza owned by a municipality or city council (Goodsell, 2003). However, in the context of this thesis, democratic public space does not only live within the realm of politics or public demonstrations, nor in its mere spatial or legal form, but rather, they are spaces where all members of society are given opportunities to appropriate the space and self-determine through their agency, preference, creativity, and taste. Hannah Arendt, as referenced in Benhabib (1996), anchors her views on democratic space in two philosophies, namely; *natality* and *plurality*. According to Arendt, *natality* refers to the process of new beginnings. Arendt sees human beings as creatures that are constantly being reborn from the first date of birth. This recurring state of new beginning represents a state of freedom where humans have the liberty and capacity to continuously begin anew. As such, natality relates to how human needs are continuously evolving and how this evolution is manifested in space and public space, in particular. *Plurality* on the other hand, refers to the fact that individuals are not born into empty spaces, but rather that they are born into a world that is populated by other individuals from different backgrounds, socialisations, and social classes. The argument here is that all individuals are unique in their own way and that this uniqueness needs to be communicated and revealed to enable cohabitation in the world. *Plurality* is often seen and experienced in public spaces. It is in such spaces that the actions of *natality* can be facilitated in light of the processes of coexistence and cohabitation. Therefore, as suggested by Lefebvre (1991), the city and its spaces need to be remade collectively through actions of co-production, especially, because space is filled with modes of difference and plurality that need to be catered for.

O'Malley (1996) argues that *plurality* continues to deteriorate in urban public spaces because of urban planning's need to "normalise" space. As such, individual uniqueness has been

"recognized, characterized and then standardized" in an effort to regulate space and deter uncertainty (O'Malley, 1996: 189). The consequence of such normalisation has alienated society from its own *plurality*. This is witnessed particularly in public spaces where the construction of idealised norms of conduct, standards of normality and abnormality, appropriateness, and inappropriateness have been created (Amin and Thrift 2002). Much like Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004), O'Malley (1996) is concerned with the noteworthy alienation that society experiences due to the modern psychological and class forces that seek to homogenise space through urban planning.

Lefebvre (1991), through his theory of the *right to the city* and the concept of the *city Oeuvre* began paving the way for the understanding of a democratic space which facilitates *natality* and encourages *plurality*. The city *oeuvre*, according to Zieleniec (2018), is a work of art representing everyday life. It indicates that spaces need to be designed for play, festivals, imagination, and opportunities for co-creation. Similar to Harvey's views on urban spaces (2004), the *city* oeuvre emphasises use value over exchange value, and strives for creativity through the building of relationships between the dominated and the dominators - interpreted as society and built environment professions, bureaucrats and politicians respectively. Lefebvre (1991) emphasises the idea of a city that would embody ongoing and collective struggles by individuals in society in an attempt to manage their spaces for themselves through the making and remaking of their spaces. Harvey (2006) advocates for the right to radically transform the city as a work of art that is socially made and remade. Therefore, to understand the principles of the *right to the city* and the *city oeuvre* one must interrogate the processes, designs, and activities that occur in public space as they mirror democratic processes in urban spaces.

Habermas (1974) shares similar views to Lefebvre and Harvey. Although his work is associated with the ideas of the public sphere, it can also be used in relation to urban spaces. According to Habermas (1974), the public sphere is the place of conversation and discussions. This is the 'arena' in which individuals can deliberate and debate on matters of public interest and make decisions in the name of the public good. The key to Habermas' views on the public sphere, is that this 'arena' should be open to all of society and should encourage the sharing of ideas, promote the values of rational criticism and solidify the importance of free communication and expression. It is thus not uncommon for one to begin to question what this 'arena' would look like, how it would be designed, and how it might be regulated in order to be democratic. Sennet (1998) provides a thorough description of how the *agora* was physically designed for democracy. Although the space excluded women, children, slaves, and foreigners, its physical design was

substantially democratic. Sennet (1998), indicates that the design encourages diversity, accessibility and free expression in two ways. Firstly, he describes how the *agora* had visual barriers that provided for physical compartmentalisation during times when different activities would be occurring simultaneously and "as a result, in coming to the town square to deal with a banker, one might suddenly be caught up in a trial occurring in the law court, shouting out one's own opinion or simply taking in an unexpected problem" (Sennet, 1998: 276). Secondly, the space had visual admittances in the form of an edge which people could retract back to and stand if they choose to enter or remove themselves from an engagement. This edge opened up and transitioned into the private space which created a defined zone of public and private space, but not separating them completely. The *agora* made use of visual barriers and visual admittance which would allow one to focus, see and hear different things warranting it as a democratic experience. In this regard, it is also crucial for the physical design to indicate that different spaces are designed for different purposes. For example, squares have historically been designed to encourage and house spontaneous debates where outsiders can look in and engage, shouting their opinions, and showcasing their "orderly disorder." Theatres, on the other hand, are designed for concentrated debate because they visually discipline the audience through a design that renders people fixed to their seats and fixated on a single scene, therefore, providing for a more orderly debate (Sennet, 1998). The examples of the theatre and the square signify the different orders of democracy and democratic participation that can be achieved by different designs of space. Moreover, it also proves that design, or lack thereof, can have implications on the democratic uses of public spaces.

What can be deduced from the arguments presented above is that democratic public space can be characterised not only by its physical properties, but also by what it offers society and humanity. However, this can be seen as problematic in societies with great levels of inequality, diversity, and difference. Such societies may not benefit from the ideas of coming together to discuss matters in an equal and free manner. Racial, tribal, and economic prejudice, amongst many other stratifying layers, may exist and hinder public spaces from delivering on their normative ideals.

3.2.4. The Concept of Place and Collective Meaning Making: Implications for Democratic Public Spaces

According to Montgomery (1998) and Massey (1994), the concept of place is filled with contestation within different disciplines. Place, much like the concept of space, is varied in its

interpretation and conceptualisation, and has evolved throughout history. Place, in the context of urban planning, design and architecture, is commonly associated with other concepts such as 'sense of place' (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001), 'place attachment' (Giuliani, 2003) and 'place identity' (Low and Altman, 1992) amongst other emerging concepts. In this regard, place can be explored and understood through its physical composition and also through its psychological conceptualisation. It is a complex concept that embodies a set of tangible and intangible qualities - from one's physical position and location, to the emotional and cultural connections that people make with space (Hu and Chen, 2018).

According to Soja (1996), place is created by the relationship that society has with a particular physical setting. Place include symbols and meanings that people attach themselves to, either through experiences, expectations or perceptions. Therefore, the idea of place is more than a physical formation and extends to include how societies attach to it (Najafi and Shariff, 2011). It refers to the physical environment that is constructed through its interrelationship with the individual minds, activities and social processes at that place (Relph, 1976; Smaldone, 2005; Ujang and Zakariya, 2014). Rapoport (1982) argues that place is space plus 'something else'. He mentions that the notion of place is difficult to comprehend and measure because of the difficulty in explaining what that 'something else' is. However, scholars have, over the years, continued to campaign for this abstract idea of place, more specifically, in terms of how individuals and groups experience it individually and collectively (Gustafson, 2009; Lynch, 1960; Jacobs, 1961).

According to Kevin Lynch (1960), the meanings, symbolism, and values that people attach to space thereby transforming it to place, do not only depend on the spatial form of the space [the material space], but they are also influenced by a person's socialisation, personal experiences, and social class [the space experienced by bodies]. As such, democratic public spaces can be experienced and perceived as democratic or undemocratic based on the meanings, experiences, and values attached to them by the respective users. In an effort to problematise Lynch's (1960) ideas, this thesis explores how space becomes place for different individuals and groups, especially considering varying experiences, knowledge, and socialisations. These questions are fuelled by the ideas of democracy that rest upon the norms and values of the majority, thereby implicating collective meaning-making. The idea of place, in this thesis, is analysed in terms of how individuals collectively give meaning and symbols to space that ultimately transform it into democratic or non-democratic place. Thus, it interrogates how subjective individuals are able to collectively attach meanings and symbols to public spaces, thereby moulding its democratic identity through various contestations and processes of difference and struggle.

The ideas around place-making and subjectivity highlight the fact that humans often falsely assume that their experiences, perspectives, and expectations of space are universal. This naivety, together with these misplaced assumptions, assume that the meaning attached to space and the ideas of order and appurtenant are moulded within this arbitrary subjectivism. In the context of planning, this subjectivism creates spaces that are intended to fulfil a certain objective (for example, to coerce certain activities and behaviours). However, this objective is normatively constructed in the human mind, and therefore, society may deviate from the 'desired order' because of their personal cognitive representations of space (Makakavhule and Landman, 2020). The question, in this regard, is how planners can account for the collective understanding of space and how it can be empirically studied in order to bring about the realisation of democratic spaces.

As such, meaning-making in space is crucial in the dialogue of democratic public space because it is often contested, disputed or accepted either through communication and deliberation amongst affected and interested stakeholders in communities (Makakavhule and Landman, 2020), or through shared activities (Healey, 1992) or through a combination of both. Therefore, the democratic meaning of public space comes to fruition through this struggle between subjectivism and coexistence. Furthermore, these processes can lead to collective place making overseen by collective agreement or collective resistance. Therefore, the meanings, symbols, and values attached to space cannot exist solely in the individual minds of planners and designers, but should arise from the processes of contention or harmony between the minds of planners and society (Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 2004; Makakavhule and Landman, 2020).

This process of collective meaning making is often met with much scepticism, as captured by Heritage (1984) when he questions the ability of individuals to share a common experience of space and have the ability to connect their experiences with others accordingly. In keeping with this, it becomes difficult to create places that are collectively meaningful, or places that share the same meaning amongst those who inhabit it. These questions revolve around the debate of how people can collectively make sense of their environments whilst existing as inherently different beings at the same time. In understanding this dynamic nature of society and their processes of meaning-making in space, environmental psychologists have studied the inter- and intra-subjectivity of people and their relationships to, and experiences of, the built environment. According to Alfred Schutz (1962), each individual in society possess what he calls "stocks of knowledge" which are cultivated through that individual's life experiences and through the combination of the experiences of those that came before him. In simple terms, the stock of

knowledge is a compilation of individual experiences and inherited experiences from family and teachers, amongst others, through socialisation.

Schutz's (1962), ideas were largely influenced by Max Weber - a renowned sociologist who is known for his conceptions on methodological individualism and the subjective meaning of human action (Hisashi, 2008). According to Schutz (1962), the stock of knowledge is categorised in two ways, namely; typified knowledge and recipe knowledge. The typified knowledge refers to how we experience objects in space as similar to those that experienced it before us. Typified knowledge represents a system of constructs in which we accept things as given and unquestionable facts. The assumption here is that such knowledge is accepted by the mere fact that it is shared by the group. According to Dreher (2011), this can be found in various expressions of authority, blind acceptance, and complete ignorance. Contrary to this typified knowledge exists the recipe knowledge which Schutz (1962) identified as the knowledge characterised by motivation. It is the knowledge that exists within the constructs that give meaning to the decisions and the actions that we take. According to Auburna and Barnes (2006), recipe knowledge can be seen as "in-order-to" knowledge, influenced by our desire to achieve a certain outcome. In the context of this thesis, and in urban planning in general, Schutz (1962) presents a clear lens into the phenomenon of democratic public space and the dynamics between societies and planners pertaining to planning rationales, decisions, and interventions. It also raises questions of how individuals in society collectively produce space and attach meanings to it and how planners themselves produce spaces and attach meanings to them based on their knowledge and experience.

For the planner, typified knowledge is observed where planning officials make decisions regarding public spaces based on how things were done before them, following institutional culture, planning vernacular, and planning idealism (Coetzee, 2012). Similarly, society uses and engages in activities in public spaces that represent and coincide with how they were socialised. In this light, one may see such actions as existing within the constructs of 'imposed relevance'. This signifies the idea that such actions play out without our power and that they are without our discretion (Bourdieu, 1993). However, recipe knowledge presents a different scenario in which planners can act spontaneously to achieve a certain outcome. Actions and decisions with regards to public spaces are made to achieve the outcome of homogeneity and orderliness whereas society engages in certain activities in public spaces in order to meet their socio-economic and political needs. Therefore, recipe knowledge represents the instinctive relevance of actions which are directed by our own thinking, needs, and motives to attain a certain goal. The thesis thus, argues

that these stocks of knowledge should not be seen as existing in isolation, but that they exist simultaneously and play out in different contexts in our daily lives and in our daily experiences of public spaces (Dreher, 2011).

Place-making, in this chapter, yields to the question of how different stocks of knowledge (which are contained within different and diverse minds) can be communicated in a coherent way so as to bring out collective place identity. In other words, how do these inter- and intra- subjectivities and stocks of knowledge which are made up of unique constructs, come together for the realisation and experience of democratic public space? The concept of place and place-making is thus explored throughout the thesis to see how it intersects with different process of space appropriation both by society and municipal officials.

3.3. Appropriation of Space

The concept of the appropriation of space is an essential part of this thesis. According to Lefebvre (1991), appropriation refers to the modification of 'natural space'. In this regard, the natural space refers to the space that exists without any production activity of people (Lefebvre, 1991; Sadri and Sadri, 2012). He also introduces the term "re-appropriation" as its contrast in referring to processes where an individual or a group do not modify the natural space. Lefebvre stands firm in the argument that the natural space is only appropriated through its modification. However, through the review of appropriation literature, Lefebvre's views on the modification of the natural space seems problematic. The problem arises specifically from the concept of re-appropriation which insinuates that any space that exists without any production activity signifies an 'empty space'. Dorsh (2018) also argues that this presents a romanticisation of natural space and brings about key questions concerning what is natural and who decides on the natural state of space.

This thesis argues that space cannot be alleged to have ever been empty. The mere existence of human life suggests that space is filled and appropriated, whether consciously or subconsciously, by human behaviour, activities and practices. Moreover, the use of the concept 're-appropriation' is in contradiction with Lefebvre's very own notion of space and particularly the social space. Norberg-Schultz (1980) has also discussed the notion of natural space as referring to the space that existed before humans build any physical infrastructure, such as buildings or roads, and that any space with infrastructure is, therefore, considered man-made space. Over time, through spatial practices and as society encounters and relates to it, space is transformed into place. With such an understanding, Lefebvre's ideas of modification can be (re)interpreted as space before human interaction – the primeval landscape that was there before any kind of human intervention.

Appropriation of space can thus, refer to the processes in which people or individuals modify space through their activities and practices in an effort to satisfy their needs, whether they be social, emotional, psychological or economical needs amongst others (Dorsch, 2018). According to Rioux, Scrima and Werner (2017: 60), "appropriation has been studied as a mechanism by which space is transformed through activities and uses of space". Appropriation takes place when the "appropriators pursue a certain activity over a given period of time" (Eissaa, Khalilb, Gabra and Abdelghaffar, 2019: 202).

According to De Lauwe (2013), the concept of the appropriation of space in the discipline of psycho-sociology can be understood as the process in which objects arranged in the daily space are appropriated by individuals through their practices in space, their perceptions of space, their desires and aspirations, and also their imaginary representations of space. With this in mind, it is clear that such processes will inevitably bring about complex dialectical tensions between different social actors. This signifies the importance of understanding Harvey's (2004) relative space as it creates the conditions in which society find themselves in and how they go about the routine of their lives. Therefore, for this thesis, appropriation involves the use of space by individuals or groups, consciously or subconsciously, in compliance with their needs and in conformity with their socio-cultural norms.

Arguments of appropriated space that exist in urban planning and architecture often give attention to the spatial and meso-scale (Hou, 2010; Iveson, 2013; Mierzejewska, 2011). This is the scale between the micro- and macro-scale, such as neighbourhood communities and cities. Finn (2014) argues that the appropriation of space occurs to fulfil local needs which are often unaddressed by the state or local authorities. As such, scholars such as (Hou, 2010) refer to appropriation as 'insurgent urbanism' or 'guerrilla urbanism' in cities, whilst Eissaa et al. (2019) refers to it as 'do-it-yourself urbanism'. These arguments are, however, different from interpretations presented by Ostermann and Timpf (2009: 30) who argue that space is appropriated simply "in doing something somewhere". In the context of urban public spaces, this can be the mere act of using the space to read or play a ball game of some sorts. Kaspar and Bühler (2009) also argue that in public spaces, for example, appropriation is the use of space and urban practice where negotiation with unfamiliar people is constant.

Scholars in anthropology and psychology have focused on the micro-scale of this phenomenon, such as households (Kaspar and Bühler, 2009). Rioux, Scrima, and Werner (2017) have indicated different scales in which appropriation occurs. They give extensive examples of how the rearrangement of decorations and furniture to create a desired home environment signifies the

appropriation of space on a micro level. On a meso-scale, the rearranging of public furniture in public parks in order to have a better view or to sit in a circle with friends is also an act of appropriation. They extend the examples further to explain how taking pride in one's city through identifying, for example, as 'Parisian', 'Bostonian', or 'Londoner' shows how individuals appropriate their cities. This also extends to a macro-scale to include countries and continents when people identify as 'African' or 'Italian' because of one's physical or cultural positionality and identity. Upon reflection, these examples begin to show how appropriation is possible both physically through spatial practices in the 'material space' and psychologically through feelings, emotions and memories 'experienced by bodies'. Scholars such as Dos Santos (2014) have also referred to this distinction as material or symbolic appropriation, related to Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey's (2006) distinctions between perceived and lived space, or absolute and relational space

This study explores the concept of appropriation on a meso-scale to portray the different ways in which the urban public spaces under investigation are being appropriated by different actors and the meaning that this has for future democratic planning and practices in space.

3.3.1. Physical Appropriation of Space

The physical appropriation of space refers to the physical or material occupation of a space granted through spatial practices. According to Eissaa et al. (2019), urban public spaces can be physically appropriated through spontaneous, planned or informal uses of space. For instance, the scholars provide examples of how urban public spaces can be physically appropriated through the spatial practices of street trading or car repairing, which are born out of necessity and specifically correlated with certain socio-economic conditions. They also analyse the appropriation involved in the activities of sitting, picnicking or watching others because of pure leisure. Furthermore, the scholars also distinguish between two ways of physically appropriating space, which they refer to as formal physical appropriation and informal physical appropriation. Formal physical appropriation refers to the formal uses of the space and formal physical interventions in space through top-down interpositions, such as the building of a franchised coffee shop by the private sector in a public park. Informal physical appropriation refers to the informal uses of space born out of bottom up initiatives, such as informal trading and the use of informal temporary physical structures. This begins to show the different ways in which different actors appropriate space and how appropriation of space is an act by ordinary people through their daily activities as well as an act by institutions such as the state and private sector. Appropriation can therefore, occur by different actors with different interests and at different scales.

Lefebvre (1991) argues that the appropriation of space can result in the creation of two opposing types of space. He conceptualises this as the social space and the abstract space. The social space emerges from a society's collection of physical actions of co-production and appropriation of space. It is the process in which society produces spaces that meet their needs through the sharing of traditions and daily aspirations. Most importantly, it is a process that happens over time and is led by individuals of different ages and orientations. It implies a constant co-creation, co-evolution, and transformation of shared space and has occurred throughout history. All that we see around us is a representation of all the social processes and appropriations that occurred before us (Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991; Sadri and Sadri, 2012). On the contrary, the abstract space (further discussed below) refers to the physical appropriation of space by elite groups of people in society and not collective action. It is the space produced by capitalism, neo-capitalism, and neo-liberalism. It embodies the power, control and supremacy of the state, capital and institutional knowledge (Harvey, 1996. Lefebvre, 1991. Sadri and Sadri, 2012). These two spaces hold a contentious relationship because of their varying interests and their need to control physical space.

This is crucial for this thesis because it shows how conflicts exist between the different actors and ways in which space can be appropriated. It shows the conflict between bottom-up and top-down physical appropriations of space. Moreover, it substantiates and builds on the arguments presented in Chapters one and two which suggest that the conceived space (abstract space) seeks to shape and control space, while at the same time, society (social space) seeks to resist such controls through spatial practices (perceived space) and appropriations of space to meet their survival needs. Therefore, there is a contestation between the abstract space and the social space to gain control of the space. The chapter thus, associates the physical appropriation of space with Lefebvre's perceived space, and Harvey's absolute space.

3.3.2. Psychological Appropriation of Space

Psychological appropriation refers to the enthusiasm and the motivation to act and to transform space in light of either possessing the feeling of belonging or feeling out of place (Kaspar and Bühler, 2009; Kwiatkowski, 2010). In simple terms, it is the feeling to either be in conflict or in harmony. Unlike physical appropriation that upholds the physical acquisition of land, psychological appropriation refers to the feelings of exercising agency by allowing a particular experience of space. In public space, and in its design particularly, one can attribute this to where people can feel comfortable in a space because it represents them and symbolises elements that

they can relate to (Madanipour, 2003, 2019; Parkinson 2012), and thus, their minds are free and they can liberally perform in space. Also, it is the lack of such feeling that also manifests in a resistance that equally exhibits itself through the negative appropriation of space (Makakavhule and Landman, 2020).

Reflecting on the idea of a democratic space, one can argue that this psychological appropriation is linked to one's feeling of being a 'citizen' or mere 'subject' in space as influenced by the works of Mamdani (1996). Mamdani distinguishes between citizen and subject by identifying citizenship as the rights of the civilised, while the uncivilised maintain the status of subjects. As commonly known, subjects are persons under one's control or jurisdiction, without a mind of their own, without agency and without self-determination. Kamete (2013) argues that the ideas of civilisation, modernity, and formality in urban spaces are romanticised by urban planners which reflects the multiplicity of inter- and intra- conflicts that are experienced by individuals through their various psychological appropriations of space.

Although, these identities of citizen and subject were constructed during colonialism, they continued in apartheid South Africa and continue to exist in the post-apartheid era under the banner of race and class variances (Ndhlovu, 2020). Different groups in society may either feel like citizens or mere subjects in urban public spaces based on whether or not they have a sense of belonging or lack thereof. This refers to the degree to which one sees it fit to act more or less freely in space. This is a useful conceptualisation in thinking about democratic public spaces because during apartheid, South Africa's black population carried a different psychological appropriation of urban public space. In their minds, the city was not their home, and more specifically, their interaction with urban space was not their right (Sigodi, 2020). Likewise, their presence in, and use of, public spaces was never meant to be their right. The consideration of this history has implications on how space is psychologically appropriated and experienced by different social groups.

It was expected that democratic South Africa would ease the barriers of the positive psychological appropriation of space through their attempts at cultivating an inclusive and tolerant society, especially through the regime changes which were designed to facilitate the feeling of belonging and citizenship to all South Africans (Ndhlovu, 2020). However, the prevalence of continued strata, in terms of race and class, complicate this process of positive psychological appropriation, belonging and citizenship. Consequently, it leads to notions of an 'imagined democracy' with 'imagined democratic public space' because the 'real' democracy remains a battle field of different interests and expectations. The competing ways in which public spaces are psychologically

appropriated introduces a 'new space' of conflict and contestation experienced in the material and mental space (Ndhlovu, 2020).

From the above reflection, it should not be assumed that these inter- and intra-conflicts are negative. If anything, they are positive because conflict is necessary for the making of urban citizenship and the everyday production of the democratic public space. Psychological appropriation should also not be reduced to the ideas of difference between the rich and poor in contemporary society. If psychological appropriation is merely seen as the struggle between the rich and poor, or black and white, or the politics surrounding access to public space, we run a risk of reproducing the hegemonic binaries that hinders the processes of positive psychological appropriations of space. Moreover, it undermines the idea that the process of space production is constant; and thus, psychological appropriation is never fixed. We need to start seeing psychological appropriation of space as not merely a process within the bounds of relative deprivation by the state, but rather as a multi-faceted ever shifting process. The psychological appropriation of space, therefore, represents the endless possibilities of how spaces can be experienced by society, based on their subjective memories, feelings and associations with the space. This chapter associates the psychological appropriation of space with Lefebvre's lived space and Harvey's relational space.

3.3.3. The Appropriation of Space in the Context of Public space

In terms of public space literature, specifically, the ideas of appropriation are mostly associated with the harmfulness of appropriation or what is regarded in this thesis as negative appropriation (Mierzejewska, 2011). A key concept that has emerged from these debates is that of the 'usurping appropriation of space'. According to Kwiatkowski (2010), usurping appropriation is described as the process in which public spaces are taken over illegally or symbolically. The implications of this kind of space appropriation varies. In some cases, it erodes communities, whereas in other cases, it is innocent and does not disturb the everyday state of a community.

Kwiatkowski (2010) provides a classification of three different ways in which usurping appropriation of public space occurs. Firstly, Kwiatkowski refers to the functional usurping which describes the phenomenon of privatisation of public spaces through the prevalence of shopping centres or malls. Secondly, there is the cultural usurping that occurs in instances where certain groups of people take over certain neighbourhoods, for example, the phenomenon of gated communities. Lastly, there is the quasi-criminal and crime usurping which relates to how gangs and other illegal activities take over public place, deeming it unsafe for the rest of the community.

The above discussion on usurping appropriation can be linked to situations where society experiences constant competition and conflict with regards to the pressures of the capitalist market, the rights to self-determination, and the phenomenon of social decay.

Thus, the appropriation of the public space, in particular, evokes the need to negotiate with others on the rules of engagement and the conditions of co-existence in a space shared by all citizens. This brings the practical challenges of urban management and governance which urban planners and designers are confronted with. According to Nasser (2018), the physical design of public space can also play a role in facilitating the positive physical appropriation of space, for example, through the provision of sufficient access and exit points, wheelchair ramps and permeable pavements. It can also facilitate the psychological appropriation of space through representative symbolism, authenticity and Feng Shui[2]. However, one needs to keep in mind that society has a mind of its own and that the physical environment alone cannot fully subjugate forces that shape one's life, one's decisions, and one's performance in space.

In light of this, it should be mentioned that public space design can also bring about a situation where the design makes individuals feel as though they do not fit in and do not belong (Cheshmehzangi, 2012; Makakavhule and Landman, 2020). Thus, they experience alienation. Gans (1969) mentions that 'bad design' can have negative implications on the social exchanges that are anticipated in public spaces, but that good design should not the romanticised as the saviour. Furthermore, it is important to note that the shape or the physical form of the space is not socially determining, but that the specific use of the space is (Gans, 2002). This is to say that good design alone is still not sufficient in cultivating the positive processes of space appropriation (Gans, 1969, 2002; Madanipour, 1996). This emphasizes the importance of observing spatial practices in space and examining how space is used, and by whom, when considering positive appropriation (Lefebvre, 1991).

Thus, there is a need to deploy perceived space when seeking to explore the dynamic appropriations of democratic public spaces. More importantly, perceived space provides a suitable framework for the analysis of the appropriations that exist on the ground and what their relationship with the conceived and lived spaces are, especially within the context of the City of Tshwane.

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[2] Chinese geomancy which uses energy forces and arrangement of physical objects to bring harmony between people and their environment.

3.4. Dominated Space

The concept of dominated space as conceptualised by Lefebvre (1991) clashes with the positive tones of social space discussed earlier. Thus, it is discussed here in relation to abstract space. As briefly discussed in the previous sections, abstract space emerges as a result of individual actions of appropriation which transform space and carve it up onto exchange value parcels. Lefebvre (1991) argues that abstract space does not provide for equal representation of society, rather, it brings about the alienation of those that do not form part of its production. This leads to the homogenisation of space which creates different parcels or compartments of homogeneity in society (Harvey, 2009). Unfortunately, this type of homogenisation results in the fragmentation of space because as different compartments are created, the integration and inclusivity of space become eroded. According to Sadri and Sadri (2012), this space is also hierarchical in nature. It puts those with the power, capital, and control at the top of the pyramid and the rest of the society at the bottom. This has direct implications on how space is produced, for whom and to what end. In light of social space, space is produced and appropriated by society, to meet the different needs of that society and cater for different generations and associations. Whereas the abstract space is produced and appropriated by the elite few to exercise power and control, aggravate inequality and cultivate a pseudo legitimised exchanged value driven society (Fuchs, 2018; Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1999).

Similar to abstract space, dominated space refers to the phenomenon in which there is no harmony between modified 'natural' spaces and the society inhabiting those spaces. Lefebvre (1991), indicates that alienation is experienced by society once all social structures and private institutions appropriate the natural spaces. Domination, at least in its traditional connotation, refers to the process in which an individual or a group exercises some form of power, control or supremacy over another (Fuchs, 2018). However, Lefebvre (1991) practically situates this connotation of domination in his analysis of how the state, capital, and institutions of knowledge exercise control and power over the everyday use of space. Private institutions, in particular, appropriate or dominate spaces in terms of their physical demarcation. This appropriation or dominance can further transcend to the function, use, and activities within that physical territory and are a true reflection of abstract space (Merrifield, 1999).

For the context of this study, dominated and abstract space can be seen through the emergence of privatised public spaces characterised by entrance fees, controlled conduct, and active surveillance (Carmona, 2010a; Landman, 2019; Madanipour, 2003). According to Dorsch (2018), these privatised 'public spaces' represent 'pseudo-individuals' that replace personally lived and

appropriated space with dominated spaces characterised by exchange value. This is clearly coherent with Harvey's (2009) ideas on capitalism and capitalist markets that change the character of public spaces through privatisation of such spaces. Macleod and Ward (2002) also argue that these privatised spaces, which are ruled by exchange value, lead to geographies of exclusion, all the while, exacerbating alienation. Individuals experience alienation and are stripped off their capacity to fully appropriate space because the space is already dominated by "pseudo-individuals" in the name of free market practices (Harvey, 2009). MacLeod and Ward (2002) also indicate that such domination is systematic and not coincidental. It intentionally excludes those who are deemed undesirable or threatening. This is what the two scholars termed "interdictory space".   Moreover, this kind of appropriation carries significant social meanings that are transmitted through the banners of social class, culture, and identity.

Interestingly, Lefebvre (1991) also brings to light the idea that the appropriation of space by one group will inevitably result in the alienation of another. This is in accordance with his argument that the appropriation of space is a necessity for man and that it will express itself, whether we want it to or not. De Lauwe (2013) extends Lefebvre's domination argument further by asserting that the dominated space is not only the space of capitalism or neo-liberalism, but that it naturally exists in society as public space by virtue of society's values and norms, which categorise public spaces as spaces that are inevitably dominated by 'someone'. As such, domination exists regardless of capitalist or neoliberal structures. This creates a dilemma because it suggests that domination is inevitable (Leveratto, 2018). However, how it manifests in space will be determined by the objective conditions in which individuals find themselves (Shaw and Hudson, 2009). For example, when lower income groups come into certain affluent neighbourhoods, older residents may feel alienated from the neighbourhood because the space becomes transformed by new and emerging spatial activities and practices that they do not relate to. This signifies a transformation of a neighbourhood where a lower income group resists the status quo in order to create a more relatable space. In such processes of resistance, old residents may either come together to create a new space all together, or they can retreat and abandon the space. This also indicates that domination is not only in the hands of the 'haves' (conceived space), but also in the hands of the 'have nots' (lived space), through the exercise of agency.

De Lauwe (2013) also provides an example of how mining workers in mining towns gradually appropriate certain neighbourhoods and ultimately transform them. Through their use and spatial practices, they give it a sense of character, meaning, and identity. As such, the space begins to represent who they are and what they have carried with them from their home towns, villages or

countries, bringing about a feeling of 'home' and familiarity. This can be attributed to how the people who move into neighbourhoods begin to transform them by introducing new uses, social cultures and rules of engagement. This disturbs the existing routine of everyday life and transforms the space, both physically and socially. These disruptions may also alter the existing institutions and, in the context of urban planning, this disrupts the land uses, by-laws, and other rules and regulations which previously governed the space (conceived space). Therefore, we should not see domination as a definer of space. Rather, we should see it as an opportunity to spark the type of resistance that can result in something birthed from the questioning, agency and self-determination of society.

The similarities between Lefebvre's dominated space and abstract space can be interpreted as the spaces that can emerge when conceived space has taken precedence over lived space in society. This is important to note because abstract space and dominated space will be associated with conceived space (Lefebvre) and relative space (Harvey), as a way to analyse the different forms of appropriation that are conducted by institutional agents in society and also the kinds of spaces and experiences that are (re)produced by such appropriations. This is fundamental for this thesis because of the conflicts and contradictions that exist within the framework of how spaces become planned and controlled, and how they are used and experienced.

3.5. Sanitised Space

Sanitised space is a concept that is quickly gaining momentum in the disciplines of urban planning and architecture (Bergamaschi, Castrignano and De Rubertis, 2014) and also in the social sciences (Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf, 2013) where the focus is on the relationships between people and their built environment. It refers to the process in which urban space is 'cleansed' from all things that make it dirty, undesirable, and differentiated (Smith and Walters, 2018). The process can be done either through the use of soft power or coercion such as penalties, fines, policies, and by-laws against certain activities and uses (Huey, 2009). Alternatively, it can also be done through hard power. This refers to the use of physical building structures, fencing, landscaping, and other forms of physical design, defensive architecture, and in extreme cases, through the use of violence (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Radhakrishnan, 2013; Swanson, 2007; Taylor and Toohey, 201). The sanitisation of space seeks to create a particular image of space legitimised by planning, political and capitalist norms, values and rhetoric (Mashayamombe, 2018). It acts as a tool for urban organisation and social 'normalisation', which refers to the efforts made towards establishing spatial relations that encourage behaviours that

are repeatable, predictable and compatible with the dominant social roles and rules of engagement (Stavrides, 2015). More recently, we have witnessed these efforts of normalisation through the use of surveillance cameras, biometrics, and other forms of technology that shape human behaviour and sanitise public space.

Drawing the link between sanitised space, and conceived and relative space, as conceptualised by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004), allows for a focused interrogation on urban planning unjust actions in urban spaces. For example, Dorman's (2016) article on the regulation and control of urban life in Zimbabwe highlights how processes of urban control and sanitisation are represented by policies that seek to dictate the behaviour of urban people. These policies lie in the hands of planners and politicians alike, whom according to Healey (1997) and Harvey (2006), are engulfed with scientific and technical knowledge which often overrides their human convictions. Kamete (1999) indicates that planners are trapped in modernist rationalities and assumptions of what is order and how to maintain it without approaching reality from a human perspective. In this regard, urban planners and architects exist as decision-makers who disregard their emotions in the work that they do. According to Holland (2006), emotions are important and add power to the understanding, analysing, and interpretation of socio-economic realities. Healey (1997) and Kamete's (1999) echoes are verified in the Zimbabwean case of Operation 'Murambatsvina' (translated as *one who rejects filth*). This was a programme used to enforce by-laws and eradicate informality and illegal activities in the city of Harare and surrounding urban areas. The operation is also known as Operation Restore Order. The operation was launched between May and July 2005, and left thousands of Zimbabweans displaced by the removal of homeless people, loiterers, vendors, and shacks from Harare's urban centres in the quest to 'clean' up the urban space. The state, through the use of military style operations, demolished all informal structures, whether it was residential or business in nature. The urban dwellers were regarded as 'filth' because of their violation of planning laws and by-laws in the city (Kamete, 2009). According to Tibaijuka (2005), over 700 000 urban dwellers lost their homes or livelihood sources, whilst 2.1 million others were indirectly affected by the loss of services and income.

This operation was legitimised in the name of 'planning' which disregards planning as a socially-constructed practice. It undermines the role of planners as human beings who can reconstruct planning processes in light of its implications to societies. Moreover, it was seen as an effort to rebrand the image of Harare and spruce up its reputation as a world class city by ensuring that it is 'clean, well laid out and comparing favourably with cities anywhere in the world' (City of Harare 2005 as referenced in Dorman, 2016).

Unfortunately, these ideas of planning, order, and desire signify a re-emergence of discourses and practices that Zimbabwe experienced during its colonial period and was carrying this legacy into its post-colonial and modern era (Dorman, 2016). The vision of a 'clean' city lived in the minds and normative standards of the bureaucrats, planners, and politicians in powerful positions who unfortunately were not in touch with the realities of those who they were making decisions for. The case of Zimbabwe is one, amongst many other cases, that describes how space can be sanitised in the name of the planning, order, and organisation that exists in conceived space.

The city of New Delhi is also a good example of how cities sanitise their urban spaces in order to appear more modernised, beautiful, and appealing to tourism and business investments. New Dehli's hosting of the commonwealth games in 2010 is a direct example of this. The city had a campaign to remove beggars, vendors, and the homeless off the streets whilst also deploying police men and women to roam the streets so as to discourage the troubling population from being visible in the public spaces (Cook and Whowell, 2011). The city argued that it was creating a safe and conducive environment for tourisms to enjoy and experience New Delhi. However, it was taking away the character of the city and disseminating the injustices suffered by those of lower classes who were regarded as 'undesired'. Sanitised space in this regard is also seen as 'fixing' the urban problem (Kamete, 2013). Unfortunately, such 'fixing' continues to strip the lower classes of their right to the city and perpetuates the progressions of inequality and injustice.

In Italy, decades after the Second World War, the processes of urban expansion represented the clean-up of Italian city centres. The process was undertaken by removing the poor from the urban centres after which they were moved to mono-functional high density neighbourhoods on the periphery of the historical city centres. These areas were homogenous, segregated and far from all city amenities (Chiodelli, 2013). To date, the city centres in Italy are inhabited by the upper class who are afforded access to entertainment, other conveniences, and an active social life. On the other hand, the peripheries are still inhabited by the poor who are hidden away and excluded from city life. According to Swanson (2007), sanitised space in Ecuador where the streets were sanitised of the indigenous Ecuadorians in the name of creating an aesthetic modern image of the urban landscape has also resulted in hegemonic racism and the erosion of authenticity.

The processes of sanitising space are directly related to the (re)configuration of perceived space and the normative ideas of modernity which exists in conceived space. This is especially relevant to the spatial ordering of space as determined by the minds and rationales of planners, architects, and bureaucrats who give little consideration to the social process that exist in the lived space. According to Harvey (1997) and Fainstein (2000), such processes elevate spatial forms over

social processes in the name of order, which obstructs all efforts to produce democratic and just spaces.

In light of the case of Zimbabwe, the harsh evictions and cleaning of the city of Harare resulted in the displacement of many people. However, those in power had conceptualised the phenomenon differently from those who were experiencing it on the ground - which represents the essence of Harvey's (2004) concept of relativity. Moreover, the government's understanding of a home or a house was far removed from the understanding shared by the locals. The politicians in this regard had relied heavily on the Western perspective of what an urban area was, how it had to look and be organised; and more importantly, how society was ought to behave in such a space. The evictions were a true reflection of these misapprehensions and it seems as if though those in power had no sympathy and attachment to those who had suffered as a result of the operation. This also shifted the focus to who belonged in the urban space and who did not.

The repercussions of such planning practices are that society will reject the 'rules' through acts of resistance and planners will continue to play the role of 'fixing' things that are not broken, especially in the name of organisation and the creation of globally competitive public spaces (Kamete, 2013). In so doing, those that fall short of these modernist expectations conceived by planners will continue to be pushed to the peripheries and forced to find their way back to spaces that are said to be suitable for them, whether it be in the name of poverty, backwardness, or un-civilisation. The quote below illustrates that conceived space handles resistance harshly and that, in its quest for formality through the processes of sanitised space, it removes its human face to urban governance and instils a false premise of urban realities through rational and technocratic' activities (Flyvbjerg, 1998). According to Dr Godfrey Magwenzi, cited in Dorman (2016):

> We have not made anybody homeless. These people were not living in homes; these people were living in shacks. And these are the things that we were destroying. We have not destroyed anybody's home … We are not making anyone homeless … before they put up these structures these people had homes somewhere. We are saying go back to your homes.

Drawing from the above-cited academic literature, it becomes increasingly evident that public spaces in the City of Tshwane, and South Africa as a whole, are going through the process of sanitisation. The criminalisation of homelessness, informal trading, loitering, and unauthorised gathering (Landman, 2019; Middelmann, 2020; Nkooe, 2015) depict the attempts that were made to cleanse the public spaces from disorder. For instance, the regulations on loitering, as *per* the

City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality By-Laws related to public amenities (City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2010) state that no loitering or lingering by the general public is permitted in public spaces. In this regard, Beauregard (1989) states that loitering becomes an activity that infringes on the desired public space order as conceived of by local authorities.

Another example is that of the City of Cape Town which has started treating vagrancy as a crime and thus fining homeless people for lingering and sleeping on the streets of Cape Town (Head, 2019). The concept of sanitised space and the concept of conceived space, therefore, become crucial in the exploration of democratic spaces in South Africa. This allows for an interrogation of how space is physically formed and technically (re)configured in light of the ideas and standards set by planners and officials who often disregard the perceptions, experiences, and expectations of the people on the ground - all in the name of order and organisation.

Despite such reflections, we continue to witness the rise of gentrification, as in the case of Bo-Kaap in Cape Town and in other urban regeneration projects as in the case of Maboneng Johannesburg, which all represent clean up initiatives that displace those who are financially unsuitable to exist and dwell in those areas. Moreover, these examples are mirrored by the processes that occur when informal traders are moved out of public spaces, in the name of urban cleansing and urban regeneration. According to Kamete (2009), such practices are a way in which the Global South rationalises 'restoring order' or 'improving' urban areas. The justifications of such rationalities lie in conceived and relative space which are supported by the measurable variables of health, public safety, security, sanitation, and environmental protection as emphasised in the physical design and legal controls of public spaces. However, the unintended consequences of such practices result in the control and suppression of minorities, the creation of societal divisions, and the perpetuation of classism (Yiftachel, 2002).

The deployment of the concept of sanitised space alongside the concepts of space provided by Lefebvre (conceived space) and Harvey (relative space) provide an opportunity to zoom in and out of the complexities, continuities, and discontinuities of the urban public space controls and orderings in The City of Tshwane. In addition, it can also reveal the contradictions and paradoxes that exist between the societal and municipal perceptions and meanings of urban public spaces.

3.6. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework developed in this chapter builds on from the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter two. It links the idea and processes of appropriation, domination and

sanitisation with Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey's (2004) conceptualisations of space. The conceptual framework proposes that the production of democratic urban public space presents a contentious process of physical appropriation in the perceived and absolute space, sanitisation and domination in the conceived and relative space, and psychological appropriation in the lived and relational space, between society and urban planning institutions.

The conceptual framework of the thesis is summarised in Figure 4 below.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Physical Appropriation
- ❑ Perceived Space
- ❑ Absolute Space

Physical uses and transformations of space by different agents in society.

Sanitisation & Domination
- ❑ Conceived Space
- ❑ Relative Space

Hard & Soft tools of urban control, normalisation & alienation.

Psychological Appropriation
- ❑ Lived Space
- ❑ Relational Space

Subjective feelings, & experiences of space.

Figure 4: Conceptual Framework

Source: Author (2021)

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter built on the conceptualisations of space presented by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) in the previous chapter. It linked the triads with other hand-picked concepts found in space and place literature with the aim to provide a comprehensive analytical tool that would be used to explore the inter-intra relations between the material space, the space of dreams, and the space

experienced by bodies in the production of democratic urban public space. As such, the chapter thoroughly explored the concepts of appropriation, domination, and sanitisation. The chapter argues that the conceptual framework, as it was developed in this chapter and presented on Figure 4 above, is necessary for the exploration of the processes involved in the production of democratic public spaces. Moreover, through a review of the political and philosophical literature on democracy, it was found that there is an interaction between the concept of democracy and the concept of public space. This interaction between the two concepts has critical outcomes in terms of the dialectical interplay between appropriation, domination and sanitisation. Accordingly, I argue for a primary focus on the nature of these interactions, and their respective outcomes will be discussed in the succeeding chapters of the thesis.

The next chapter explores the historical production of urban public space in South African colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid eras. It seeks to understand how urban public spaces in South Africa were historically perceived and produced, and how their production relates to the interplay and interactions between the theoretical framework (Chapter two) and the conceptual framework presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:

HISTORICAL PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the history of urbanisation, settlement planning, and public spaces in South Africa. Attention is placed on the historical processes of space production. The chapter also discusses broader ideas of how capitalism, planning discourse, and political ideologies have been central to the conquest of space over time. The intention is to introduce readers to the historical production of space in South Africa and, particularly, to the production of urban public spaces. In addition, the historical overview presented in this chapter provides an insight into the main forces that were involved in the production of public space. This then leads to an appreciation of the dynamics of urban public space perceptions, meanings, and experiences (as discussed in Chapters six, seven and eight).

This chapter is underpinned by Lefebvre's theory of space production, which suggests that space is not a pre-existing empty container, but rather that it is an entity filled with content and meaning (Lefebvre, 1991). He argues that every society produces its own space through its history, politics and ideological influences, which ultimately aim to produce particular orders and controls of space. Accordingly, Harvey argues that the history of space is embedded in specific societies and their particular institutions (Harvey, 2009). He implores scholars to not only consider 'things' in space, but rather to integrate such 'things' with historical ideas and discourses about space. This thesis has intentionally selected historical periodisations which relate to the most important factors that impact the order, meaning and experience of urban public spaces. It does not account for a specific history of the City of Tshwane, but rather provides a broader lens for understanding the historic peculiarities of South Africa as a whole.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section sets the scene and offers the reader the lenses required to understand the multidimensional story of space production in South Africa. The second section presents the literature on the history of urban settlement planning in South Africa. The third section presents the history of urban public space and the key policies that facilitated the control and organisation of such spaces. Lastly, the chapter presents the moves towards redress after 1994, the ideas of democratic urbanisation and the conclusion.

While each section of this chapter can be read on its own as a contribution to understanding the conflicts and contestations over urban public space in South African cities, together, these sections provide a non-linear sequence that can assist in understanding the continuity and discontinuities of these conflicts and their implications on the realisation of democratic urban public spaces.

4.2. Setting the Scene

In this chapter, I follow Hlengiwe Ndhlovus (2020) ideas on "remembering". Ndhlovu (2020) reflects on the process of "remembering", where she discusses how telling stories of violence and trauma is not always a linear process. She argues that story tellers construct a recollection of deconstructed pieces and then and join them together so that the stories make sense to the reader or listener. In seeking to tell the history of space production in a way that the reader understands, I construct three socio-political process of space production, namely; the process of *membering*, *(dis)membering,* and *(re)membering*.

In African philosophy, people are considered to be one with their land (Mbembe, 2001a, 2001b; Mudimbe, 1988). This is signified by the burying of a child's umbilical cord in the soil once it falls from the naval. A person is always asked 'inkaba yakho iwelephi' (translated as *where is your umbilical cord buried*) as a way to confirm your birthplace and where you will be buried when you go back to the soil. Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) suggest that spatial practice or daily activities, conducted by members of a society in a particular spatial location in a particular time period, consecrate society's space. Therefore, through forced removals, racial, and ethnic zoning practices, the space of dreams constructed by the colonial and apartheid regime respectively dismembered the black society from its land, its ancestors, its inheritance and its umbilical cord*.* This process can be referred to as a process of *(dis)membering,* which I conceptualise as a process of separating, disjoining and mutilating people from their land.

The process of *membering* refers to how the blacks, through their spatial practices and strategies attempted to 'member' themselves with their land after the conceived space of the time attempted to dismember them. Processes of *membering* in this instances refers to practices of rebellion by black communities, who continued to practice their scared and spiritual rituals in restricted urban areas, as seen in the slaughtering of animals in urban areas, in efforts to reconnect to their roots and reclaim their humanness and connection to 'themselves'. Other processes also include the squatting and illegal occupation of land, and their demands for independence through protests

and land claims. I argue that such actions and practices are processes of *membering*, where people seek to put constituent pieces of themselves back together in the material space.

Lastly, the process of *(re)membering* refers to the process of going back to our roots as humanity, where our lived experiences are at the centre of our production of space. Where land is thought of as more than exchange value (Harvey, 2004), but consists of use value, sacred value, historical value and emotional value (Lefebvre, 1991). Therefore, the process of *(re)membering* refers to bringing our spatial practices (material space) and practices of space organisation (space of dreams) into consideration when approaching the concept of a democratic urban public space. *(Re)membering* is the space experienced by bodies in conversation with the material space and the space of dreams in the production of democratic urban public spaces. This process is summarised on figure 5 (page 96).

Given this interpretation of different processes in history, the historical processes of space production in South Africa can be read as contentious and competing acts of *(dis)memebering*, *membering* and *(re)memebering* by different actors. The lenses provided above, shows how historical processes in space can be analysed and interpreted in a way that can explain present day perceptions, practices and meanings in space.

4.3. *(Dis)membering*: The Historical Overview of Settlement Planning in South Africa

This section follows a chronological approach to South African history as espoused by Stauss (2019) and Gbadegesin et al. (2020). These scholars begin by explaining Pre-Unification Colonialism (1652–1910). They further review the processes of control and settlement segregation in South Africa, as exercised by the colonial rule in the name of capitalism. Secondly, they discuss Post-Unification Colonialism (1910–1948), which illustrates the ways in which planning legislation was used to segregate, dispossess, and exclude the black population. Lastly, they discuss the Apartheid era or what Stauss (2019) calls the "Consolidation of Spatial Segregation during Apartheid (1948–1990)", which is characterised by the use of legislation, planning instruments, political discourse and religious ideologies to entrench segregation and its lasting legacy.

The rationale behind discussing these different periods and their specific events in a chronological order is to assist the reader in understanding the roots of the conflicts over space in South Africa. The discussion also enables an understanding of how different control strategies by one group leads to the different strategies by another in their attempts to defend space and resist domination.

As a result, no period in history existed entirely independent of earlier ones (Fourie, 2009). Moreover, it highlights how urban public spaces have always been contested spaces, and how the perceptions, conceptions and experiences of these spaces are shaped by broader historical, political, religious, economical, and ideological discourses.

Therefore, the following sub-sections show how South Africa's urban history was shaped by westernised geographies, capitalism, ideologies of racial purity and urban cleansing (Mabin and Smit, 1997; Magubane, 1979; Sigodi, 2020). This review also illustrates the different strategies that were used by the British, the Dutch (later naturalised Afrikaans speaking Afrikaners) and the non-whites (black, coloured, and Indian people) to appropriate, dominate, sanitise and defend space.

4.3.1. Pre-Unification Colonialism (1652–1910)

According to Stauss (2019), the land in South Africa, prior to colonial occupation, was initially inhabited by Africans who occupied settlements and developed them alongside agrarian and economic trading routes. These settlements were strategically located and spatially organised to meet the social, cultural, and economic needs of society. This is evident in the ways the capitals of the Zulu Kingdom, the medieval state of Mapungubwe and the villages of Tswana chiefdom are located and organised (Duffey, 2012; Fouché, 1937; Mabin, 1992; Smith, 1992; Van Wyk, 2012).

In 1652, the Dutch first came to the shores of South Africa through the Dutch East India Company commonly known as Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC). The result was the development and later conquest of Cape Town in South Africa (Fourie, 2009; Sigodi, 2020). The Dutch East India Company was a trading empire that used the Cape as its trading stop point between Asia and Europe. Jan van Riebeeck was the chief merchant in the company. It was his mandate to secure this convenient location and to establish a 'refreshment station' that could provide fresh provisions for the Dutch East India Company members sailing between the continents at the time (Davenport and Saunders 2000; Lindfors, 1999). According to Giliomee (2003:3), the VOC was "the world's first multinational corporation" with the sole purpose to trade and accumulate profit. As such, the company came into contact with the indigenous people of the Cape, namely; the nomadic Khoisan, and attempted to batter contacts for livestock and land (Sigodi, 2020). However, as suggested by Giliomee (2003) and Lindfors (1999), these attempts to create trading agreements led to the Khoisan's dispossession of land because of the military superiority of the Dutch. At this point, there were already clear racial and hierarchical lines as well as explicit forms

of domination which began the racial segregation and led to killing of the indigenous people who resisted the terms and conditions that were set out by the Dutch. Sigodi (2020: 22) argues that not much is known about the number and scale of Khoisan killings or slavery because VOC archives "do not include people that the [VOC] considered outsiders". The Dutch further regulated and administered land and commercial agriculture. This was informed by the approach that "the land inhabited by the indigenous communities was *res nullius*" (Stauss, 2019: 137). In other words, the land inhabited by the native community was "nobody's land" and thus, available for the appropriation of whoever legally administered it first (Fourie, 2009). According to Seidman (2004), this was because the coloniser saw the natives as 'childlike', 'feminine', 'despotic', 'immature', and in need of rational guidance by the West, to civilize them and organise their land.

The British took over the Cape Colony in 1806 and enforced their own liberal and free market approaches to land and tenure. The British system allowed black people to own land and indeed, they did (Gbadegesin et al., 2020). However, the British regulated "the cultural life of colonial society to the legal realities of British rule" (Davenport and Saunders 2000:45). The conquest for land and control of space by the Dutch and the British was, therefore, driven by the need to acquire economic resources and cheap labour, but also to secure land ownership and rights, or what Karl Marx would refer to as the means of production (Davies, 1981). All this afforded the whites (British and Dutch) the capacity to regulate social and economic relations in society.

The regulation of resources and societal order brought about conflict at national, regional, and local levels, especially where ethnic and tribal conflicts over land and other resources also occurred (Baffi, et. al. 2018; Sigodi, 2020). It was further compounded by the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1885 and diamonds in Kimberly in 1869. During this period, access to the gold mines resulted in tension between the Afrikaner and the British which resulted in the Boer War of 1899. The war was primarily based on land, natural resources, and the control of black labour. Eventually, the mining activities of precious minerals fuelled the development of cities like Kimberly and Johannesburg; and turned them into some of the fastest growing cities in the world (Sigodi, 2020). They were designed for, and catered to, European needs (Mabin, 1991). Johannesburg also later evolved into a "quasi-colonial" city which was structured in ways that reinforced racial inequality (Sigodi, 2020:32). Accordingly, these two cities became rare examples of industrial cities in Africa, fuelled with conflict over precious mineral wealth, beautiful landscapes, and the demand for cheap labour (Anderson and Rathbone, 2000).

The period inevitably saw an influx of black labourers seeking livelihood opportunities in these growing cities. As a result, the white population increasingly demanded the removal of the African

from its proximity. This resulted in forced removals and harsh settlements restrictions (Gbadegesin et al., 2020). Black labourers who owned land were prevented from supplementing their income by erecting or renting out rooms on their plots of land (Stauss, 2019). As such, livelihood strategies were disrupted as they could not use their land for personal economic gain because of the colonial spatial order. However, through their own strategies, some were able to build accommodation structures without the permission of local authorities. These practices represented strategies to defend and physically appropriate space outside the order defined by the British conceived space.

Moreover, it demonstrated the will of the oppressed and marginalised to participate in their growing economy, regardless of the colonial regulations. No colonial law and urban by-law conceived by the 'White Supremacist State' as Mbembe (2004) notes, could effectively keep Africans away and out of the perceived, conceived, and lived urban space of the European colonialists in South Africa. Unfortunately, these strategies led to unsafe housing and unhealthy living conditions. As a result, in 1901, an outbreak of fleas occurred which was caused by fodder that was imported by the British from Argentina for their horses. According to Robins (2020), with the fodder came rats, and with the rats came fleas which lead to the Bubonic plague. According to Robins (2020: page not specified):

> The blame was placed on the Black Africans who were regarded as unclean. The highest mortality was amongst the Coloureds, but it was the Africans who suffered the most, because the first plague casualty was an African. Their homes were suddenly invaded by sanitary officers and police, their possessions confiscated and they were forcibly sent under an armed guard to locations outside the cities. This was the beginning of imposed racial residential segregation.

The colonial rule did not respond to the outbreak of fleas, the unhealthy living conditions, and overcrowding (due to an increase in housing structures) with improved housing or settlements conditions for black labourers. Rather, it maintained its control and surveillance over the black population by addressing the situation through forced removals and influx control systems in the name of cleaning the urban areas from the plague - that is, the Black African (Stauss, 2019). This approach exacerbated spatial, economic and psychological segregation, and the exclusion of the black population from the economic urban areas. It gave health and local officials convincing reasons to further exclude the economic minorities from the urban centres based on a moral panic and 'sanitation syndrome' hysteria which justified the perceived threat of black people. According to Kamete (2009), activities and land occupations that happen outside of designated planning

areas and regulations have historically been considered as filth, as in the case of Zimbabwe where the urban poor were forcefully removed from urban centres because of their violation of planning and property laws.

In 1902, the Native Reserve Locations Act 40 of 1902 was passed. It permitted the British authorities to establish black residential areas on the peripheries of urban areas because they carried disease. Thus, the movement and presence in urban areas needed to be controlled, thereby, strengthening influx laws. Landlords who were renting out rooms and other illegal structures in their back yards were severely impacted by the loss of income. Nevertheless, tenants had an opportunity to become their own landlords in the relocated areas. However, the dispossession of land still had a severe impact on the lived experience of black people, whether they were landlords or tenants, because new relationships, attachments, and meanings with land had to be (re)created in the new areas that they were being relocated to.

The influx laws of the time also required Africans to carry metal badges that were used to identify them and to control their movement between urban and rural areas (Kahn, 1949). This influx control system was used throughout the mining boom to control labour and urban settlements (Davenport and Saunders 2000; Phakathi, 2012). This restricted movement and occupancy, thereby, controlling behaviour and strengthening the association between economics and social order. Africans had to obtain permission from their employer, chief, magistrate, or local missionary before travelling to and from urban areas (Sigodi, 2020). Phakathi (2012) discusses how the use of the influx system also ensured that mining employers did not have to deal with unaccounted absenteeism from workers and "protected the mine owners from desertion by workers seeking better opportunities outside the mines" (Phakathi, 2012: 283). He further argues that this system separated the supply of labour to farming, mining, and urban labour markets which ensured an equilibrium in the supply of black labour. Such examples of control over the mobility and association of people substantiates the argument that segregation and exclusion was not only used to maintain westernised urban order and promote a healthy urban environment, but also to promote the agenda of capitalism.

From an urban planning perspective, the above literature can be read in two ways. Firstly, as act of sanitisation by the state. This is where planning is used to order and maintain orderly and ordered cities. Fainstein (2000) argues that planning ordering processes are believed to enhance living conditions. However, in reality they ignore and override social processes in order to achieve their preferred (physical) spatial order. Harvey (1997:2) refers to this as "a process of privileging spatial forms over social processes." Secondly, the case can be read as a form of domination

where capitalism dominates space and reorders its appropriation based on its own needs (Harvey, 2006). The mining houses of the time needed to maintain the order of their labour, and as such had to maintain the order of urban space. There was a clear relationship between planning and capitalism during this area. Therefore, it is not surprising that planning has been celebrated for its role in promoting capitalist interests, whilst supressing the livelihoods of ethnic minorities (Foglesong, 1986; Yiftachel, 1993, 2002).

The colonial rule was committed to imposing its planning methods on the existing indigenous settlements which resulted in unsuitable planning practices. According to Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1989), the problem in colonial urban areas in South Africa was not the rapid urbanisation and influx of black labourers, but rather the way in which the colonial rulers handled it. The realities of the labourers and black occupants of land did not measure up to the policies formulated on the back of Western ideas, and as such, the colonisers' responses to urbanisation left black people disenfranchised because of the misplaced rationalities of the coloniser. Kaufman (1993: 262) argues that "the result of the gap between government policy and the needs of the urban poor is the proliferation of "illegal" squatter settlements" which is not a result of a lack of housing policies, but rather the existence of housing policies that favour a minority. As such, "when the occupants do not abide, the officials evict" Kaufman (1993: 263). Moreover, Stauss (2019) argues that the colonial planning and the land-use management of the time was insensitive to the realities of black people, their family structures, and their economic and domestic responsibilities. As such, the settlement order and regulation legislation were implemented without an understanding of the lived space of the blacks. This ultimately rendered the approaches incompatible with the social, economic, cultural and spiritual needs. Kaufman (1993) also argues that such incompatible planning was largely due to the fact that the legal frameworks and regulations of settlements were based on Western models and designed for economies distinct from the actual contexts in which they were implemented.

When critically reviewing the influx control system, the initial forced removal, the misplaced legal and planning frameworks and the conflicts between the British, Dutch (later neutralised as Afrikaners) and the Black Africans in their attempts to control urban space, it is clear that the system was a paradox of exclusion. For instance, the British and the Afrikaners needed to maintain an exclusionary requirement as a means to maintain urban order, security, and good health through the control and policing of the perceived threat of blackness in white areas. However, in the same breath, they maintained an inclusionary requirement to ensure an unlimited

supply of cheap labour within those white areas. Sigodi (2020) refers to this paradox as conflicting ideological demands which create ambiguous urban space.

4.3.2. Post-unification Colonialism (1910–1948)

Against the backdrop of mining development, the Afrikaners gained moderate agency from the British and in 1910, South Africa became the Union. This comprised of four political entities, namely; the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal (Gbadegesin et al., 2020; Mabin, 1992; Stauss, 2019). The Union signified a centralised state where Afrikaners took up political, economic, and social power and claimed their supremacy over South Africa. The Union establishment focused on legal mechanisms that would lead to the control of land-use management, town planning, housing, and public administration (Stauss, 2019). These mechanisms were designed to reinforce segregation, landlessness, and the socio-economic exclusion of the African. During this time, the British were not completely silent. They still maintained and determined the mode of urbanisation, capitalism, and order (Sigodi, 2020). This was mainly due to local planning officials who still drew inspiration and planning knowledge from British land-use management practices which, according to Kamete (2009), are fixated on the instrumental application of scientific knowledge.

This period continued from where the colonisers left. Black South Africans were still denied access to any rights of citizenship such as the right to vote, the right to self-determine, and freedom of association. South Africa was the land of the white race, and it was the mandate of both the British and Afrikaners to build the country for their own benefit. According to D.F. Malan - a prominent politician who became the Prime Minister of South Africa in 1948, South Africa was "a country inhabited by two white nationalities who [stood] independently alongside each other" (quoted in Koorts 2014:48). However, the country was still largely regarded as a British colony until 1961 (Oliver and Oliver, 2017).

After the establishment of the Union in 1910, the Afrikaners slowly engineered political, economic, and educational institutions that would put them in a position to lead the making of urban space for the rest of the 20th century. In 1913, The National Party, which later became the ruling party under the apartheid administration, was established and eventually took power in 1948. This should not insinuate that the African was silent. The African National Congress (ANC) was established in 1912 and the two parties were in constant battle over land and governance since their establishment. The United Party government embodied an intensity in ideas of segregation and a purist idea of race and space (Bickford-Smith 1995; Mabin and Smit, 1997). There was also

a clear rationale to establish an Afrikaner identity as signified by the introduction of The Afrikaner Broederbond (Afrikaner Brotherhood) in 1918. This sought to unite the Afrikaner and also attempted to prepare them for urbanity (Sigodi, 2020; Wilkins and Strydom 2012). This was because the Afrikaners were originally an agrarian society until the growth in the mining industry fostered their transition into urban life. Consequently, the National Party engineered the physical landscape of South Africa into one of the most unjust and peculiar ways (Mabin, 1992). Adegeye and Coetzee (2019), Soja (2010), and Evans (2017) argue that the pre-apartheid era was distinctive because of how it legitimised its rule through harsh legislation, ideological rationalisation, religion, and violent political action. In this thesis, the term "ideology" is influenced by the works of Peter Ekeh (1975: 94) who conceptualised the term ideology as "unconscious distortions or perversions of truth by intellectuals in advancing points of view that favour or benefit the interests of particular groups for which the intellectuals act as spokesmen". What Peter is suggesting is that, ideologies are interest-begotten theories.

Evidently, these theories distract us from focusing on the scientific truth and focus on assumptions about reality that have no epistemic reasoning. One example is the introduction of the 'Swart Gevaar' in 1918 after the establishment of the Afrikaner Brotherhood. Swart Gevaar, translated as 'the black danger', was used to describe the perceived danger of the African. This was reminiscent of the Bubonic plague case. It then became influential in many of the Afrikaner's engagements and relations with the black Africans. The discourse on Swart Gevaar created panic and perpetuated fear of the perceived security threat posed by black Africans and as such, it justified the separation legislation. This is a perception embedded in the politics and ideologies of fear which criminalised blackness because of the "imaginary idea of the savage black man who would barbarously kill white men and rape their women" (Sigodi, 2010: 57). Therefore, such a man needed strict controls, surveillance, and restrictions, much like a wild animal. Acts such as the Native Land Act of 1913, the Urban Areas Act of 1923, and the Black Administration Act 38 of 1927 were some of the legislative products presented by the white supremacy ideology which acted as cleansing strategies to curb the Swart Gevaar.

The Native Land Act of 1913 prohibited any purchase or lease of land by blacks outside of black reserves. This meant that blacks were not permitted to own land in specific areas. Therefore, black reserves were the only parcels of land that black people were allowed to own, and these areas only made up one-tenth of the country (Sigodi, 2020). In addition, The Urban Areas Act of 1923 defined urban blacks as temporary residents who were welcome only insofar as they adhered to the needs of the white population. According to Morris (quoted in French, 1983:20):

The Native should only be allowed to enter into the urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to administer to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases to so minister.

In other words, this Act gave city councils grounds "to exclude the unemployed from towns" (French, 1983:18). The Black Administration Act 38 of 1927 was passed to enable spatial and social control of black people's affairs, including whether they could marry in or out of community of property. These restrictions had implications on assets such as land and housing which the state was particularly interested in. They also sought to segregate urban areas and cleanse them of blackness through ensuring surveillance and control over black lives. The Native Land Act of 1913, in particular, was designed and conceived by the British Empire to weaken black landlordism and undermine the blacks' experience of land dispossession through the constant regulation of land acquisition. The Urban Area Bill of 1918 supported the segregation of white and black people in urban areas because of the fear of unhealthy living conditions in black slums. However, instead of upgrading black housing and providing services to eradicate the health ills caused by unsanitary living conditions, the state evicted the Africans from urban areas and placed them on the periphery, much like the period before it. However, the Urban Area Bill of 1918 was not only to evict those living in unsanitary conditions, it was also to strength evictions in racially integrated areas because according to Sigodi (2020:39) "racial mixing was a suicidal mission."

During this period, there was a clear differentiation between African rural areas and white farmlands. This gave authorities the power to organise urban settlements according to racial structures and hierarchies (Adegeye and Coetzee, 2019). As such, blacks were forcefully evicted and removed from their land which the whites now legally owned and occupied. It has also been noted that The Urban Areas Act of 1923 denied Africans the right to own land in urban areas. This ensured that whites owned most of the land in economically robust areas even though the white population was the minority. As a result, there was a displacement of Africans, especially through the dispossession of land which led to increased poverty in black communities and their corresponding need to offer their labour in order to make a living instead of living off the land as they had traditionally done.

Moreover, certain social practices and forms of life were permanently vanquished from the appropriation the narrowly designed black settlements. Ultimately, blacks were being confined to separate settlements which also ensured the smooth continuation of the influx control laws and policies even after the unification of South Africa. Such practices turned black communities into labour reserves and erased the essence of the city as an *oeuvre* or a living, creative work of art,

which is constantly remade and brought to life by its inhabitants (Butler, 2009; Harvey, 2003; Mitchell, 2003).

What was similar in this period, and the one discussed earlier, is that the African remained necessary for the economic development of the country, especially for his labour, even though regarded as a danger. As such, the sanitisation and domination of space continued alongside an ambiguous urban space which sought to advance the colonial agenda through processes of (dis)membering.

4.3.3. Consolidating Spatial Segregation during Apartheid (1948–1990)

In 1948, the National Party won the national election which had excluded black voters. From there, racial segregation and economic inequality became more entrenched than ever. In keeping with this, Hyam (2010:408) argues that apartheid was an intensification of the segregation initiated by colonial rule:

> What happened from 1948 was that a seismic shift took place, from pragmatic, occasional and limited measures of discrimination and separation, to an ideological, unified, and systematic denial of black rights in all spheres of life: something dogmatic, rigorous, and totalizing. Ad hoc arrangements were superseded by an unmerciful programme, regulating not just physical space, but human movement and social relationships too.

Hyman (2010) argues that the difference between apartheid and colonialisation is that apartheid extended its legislations to control personal relations between individuals. This was seen in the 1927 Immorality Act which prohibited interracial sex and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. Both these acts were ideologically driven and were designed to prevent racial mixture. By the 1950s, housing settlements, places of work, cities, schools, public spaces, church, and all instances of private life and sexual affairs were subjected to apartheid practices.

This era also saw the birth of the Population Registration Act of 1950 which organised and categorised the racial groups in the country into the rigid brackets of Blacks, Whites, Coloured, and Asians (Smith, 1992; Swilling, Humphries and Shubane, 1991; Wilson and Hattingh, 1992). The Act was also designed to facilitate the spatial restructuring of urban areas based on ethnically stratified layers (Dodson, 1990). It was also supported by the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 which sought to control society and to create standardisations for different settlements, land-uses, tenure and occupation, based on certain ethnic and racial standards, thereby stratifying society's physical and social geography. Sigodi (2020: 43) regards the Group Areas Act as the "soul" of

the apartheid rationality, whilst Lemon (1991) refers to it as the "pillar" of apartheid because of its mandate to criminalise the multiracial use or occupation of urban land, which was embedded in earlier Afrikaner purist ideologies.

The Act was implemented to ensure that the ethnic and racial division of people could materialise, spatially and otherwise, and as a result, the sentiment of the 'other' became engraved in all of society. It was also embedded in the practice of urban planning through the use of zoning, which clearly defines areas for living and working (Mabin, 1992; Stauss, 2019). The Act resulted in large-scale evictions of black people from urban areas some of which were well located and multiracial areas, as seen in the forced removal of Lady Selborne residents. Lady Selborne was a multiracial urban settlement developed in 1905 some 10 km north-west of the City of Tshwane's city centre. The settlement was established by coloured people, but was later inhabited by black Africans, Indians, and some white people who chose to live there. Lady Selborne permitted Africans to hold titles to land even though it was situated in a white suburban area. The area had ten primary schools and two high schools. This meant that children and teenagers were socialising and learning together (Maserole and Kgari-Masondo, 2020). It was an exceptional case which escaped the wrath of the Urban Areas Acts of 1923, 1937, and 1945.

In Lady Selborne, black people, like their white counter parts, could secure tenure. However, in the early 1950s, just a couple of years after the National Party took power, there were clear attempts to destroy Lady Selborne. On 23 October 1953, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, outlined a schedule to eliminate 'undesirable' settlements nationwide, and Lady Selborne was on the list (Carruthers, 2020). According to Nkooe (2015), mixed race settlements were never celebrated for demonstrating their ability to encourage tolerance and integration, but rather, they were demonised and spoken of as immoral spaces. For example, the extract below from The Rand Daily Mail in 1928, uses the word veld to describe Johannesburg's mixed-race slums. The use of the word "veld" which is translated from Afrikaans to English as open and uncultivated grassland implies, at least in Lefebvrian terms, an understanding of the colonised urban land space as an 'empty' space in need of filling with conceived content. In other words, it implies that space without European order is primitive and empty and that it requires a colonial ideology and order. According to The Rand Daily Mail in 1928:

Rapid has been the growth of beauty from bare veld, but quite as rapid the spread of squalor and crowded discomfort. White, coloured, native (African), Indian and Chinese are huddled together in airless hovels in the centre of a vast open land that is crying out for population. There is in Johannesburg a very real danger of the moral degradation and physical degeneracy that comes of insanitary town life.

The justification for the rezoning and reordering of Lady Selborne proposed that the multiracial residents needed prescribed order to save them from immorality and over crowdedness; and that the state had to intervene. The settlement could accommodate 7000 people, but it was home to an estimated 50 000 people in the 1950s (Carruthers, 2020; Van Eeden, 1997). It was a vibrant settlement close to the city centre, and where people sold food from their houses and rented out rooms in their homes and backyards (Kgari-Masondo, 2008). As a result, the settlement was regarded as problematic, especially in terms of health, sanitation and social welfare. So, the decision was made to 'handle the problem'. In 1956, the Pretoria City Council (known as Tshwane today) proceeded to racially re-zone Lady Selborne because it threatened the notion of an all-white city (Carruthers, 2000). Consequently, non-white residents were ordered to move and could not initiate an interdict to resist eviction.

In 1961, the removals were eminent and according to the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act 46 of 1959, black South Africans could not be relocated to a single location as they were not a homogeneous group of people, but rather different in language and culture. So, they were to be relocated according to their ethnicity (Van Eeden, 1997). This had dire implications for social ties and social relationships within the settlement. People were dehumanised and humiliated. Some never recovered or made their way to their new place of residence. To date, many still regard Lady Selborne as their home and refer to themselves as "Selborners" or Batho ba Selborne (people of Selborne) (Kgari-Masondo, 2008: 81).

The residents had physically and psychologically appropriated their land when they lived in Lady Selborne. Therefore, their re-location represented leaving behind a piece of themselves, their ancestors, their inheritance, and their humanness (Carruthers, 2000, Kgari-Masondo, 2008). Such an understanding of their lived space was ignored by the apartheid government which conceived space through purist ideological lenses. In this case, planning was used by the state to legitimatise and achieve controversial results and planners were agents and players in the political arena who used planning tools to order space according to the national modernist racial project, thereby *(dis)membering* space. According to Kamete (2007: 7), such actions can be regarded as "cold-hearted, negligent and spineless".

Subsequent to the Group Areas Act of 1950 came the introduction of The Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 which sought to control not only society, but also private space and property. Africans without permits in urban areas were regarded as squatters and therefore, were legally forced to move back to their 'homes'. The idea was to keep people where the government required them to be as *per* the standards of apartheid and the influx control laws. For example, in 1952, the Natives Act was passed. This Act stipulated that all blacks needed to carry a single book, called the "dom pas" or "pass-book" which had to be produced to the police or local authorities at any time and a failure to do so resulted in arrest (Kiloh and Sibeko, 2000; Savage, 1986). Therefore, this legislation gave authorities the right to control the presence, movements, and activities of the entire African population. Moreover, it was used to remove them from urban areas, thereby, confining them to designated locations and maintaining white domination (Savage, 1986.). Drawing from Harvey's relative space, this was a mechanism used, not only to control the influx of blacks into urban areas, but also to place curfews on those who had permission to be present in the city. This system also distinguished between rural and urban citizens, thereby, making it possible to have complete surveillance over the entire black population (Davenport, 1987).

The 'mixing' of different races and ethnicities in South Africa was not an option. According to Sigodi (2020: 40), "the white colonists feared that the urban space, if unchecked, would result in undesired and irreversible mass creolisation between whites and black urban dwellers". Blacks represented particular dangers, and without control, they could become the danger they represented (Simone, 2017). This is seen in the 'pass' system in which black people without passes would need special permission to be in an urban area for a maximum of three days or as *per* the agreement with the authorities (Kiloh and Sibeko, 2000). However, the internal passport system required costly resources and was repealed in 1986 (Clark and Worger, 2016). According to the State President, P. W. Botha. August 1985 (Quoted in Savage, 1986: 182):

> On the question of influx control I can only say it is outdated and too costly. The President's Council will probably report on this matter in the near future, while the government itself is also considering improvements.

Although the blacks were economically necessary for the urban agenda, they were culturally threatening. Therefore, they were paradoxically situated at both the periphery and the centre of South African progress. Planners, thus, had the task to keep blacks far enough to control influx, but close enough to access their labour. Thus, the task to develop labour reserves started to develop. These reserves were close to the city and they were called 'townships'. Townships are peri-urban neighbourhoods located on the peripheries of cities and Central Business Districts and

were designed to specifically to house black people. A speech in Parliament presented in 1952, by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Hendrick F Verwoerd, captures the purpose and justification for townships:

> Every town or city, especially industrial cities, must have a single corresponding black township. Townships must be large, and must be situated to allow for expansion without spilling over into another racial group area. Townships should be within easy transport distance of the city, preferably by rail and not by road transport. Everybody wants his servants and his labourers, but nobody wants to have a native location near his own suburb.

Townships were, thus, placed far enough to keep the blacks out of the city, but close enough for them to arrive to the city on a daily basis to work. These areas include Soweto, established in the 1930s located close to Johannesburg, Khayelitsha, which was established in the early 1980s located close to Cape Town and Mamelodi, established in 1953 located close to Tshwane. However, the apartheid government restricted access to cities by putting up buffer zones such as green belts and railways lines to separate the city and physically demarcate black areas from white areas (Harrison, Todes and Watson 2008). The urban planners of the time understood that "as cities grow, they expand outwards", therefore, they ensured significant distance between the white and black areas to maintain racially-zoned settlements (Weber and Lloyd, 1975:29).

Stickler (1990), argues that space is conceived and imagined through the eyes of the cartography because maps enjoy a long-standing reputation as unbiased and neutral sources of information about the world (Stickler, 1990: 329). However, throughout apartheid history, many cartographers failed to map townships and black areas in a way that reasonably reflected their size, complexity, and influence. Indeed, cartography distorts reality to some extent. However, in this case, it was an intentional task which reflected the negative attitude towards black settlements that occurred through the production of the conceived space. Stickler (1990) further argues that there was an omission or distortion of black settlements in maps because settlements had a population density that was four or five times that of many small 'white towns' which were often omitted from, or given less prominence on the maps.

Such manipulation can be read as direct efforts to make black settlements invisible and not part of the spatial reality of apartheid South Africa. Secondly, what is clear is that there was an intentional, symbolic, and literal erasure of blackness and black spaces during the apartheid period. Black settlements were perceived as spaces with "too many bodies, too many things, too

many trades, too many intensities, too many demands" (Simone, 2017: 3) which were intentionally not represented in the conceived space.

The Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 also did not yield the expected results of keeping blacks out of urban areas. The early 1970s saw the number of blacks in urban areas increasing and going above the total number of whites in urban areas. Blacks were resisting oppression through their illegal appropriation of space and refusing to remain in resettlement camps. This contributed to the proliferation of informal settlements on the urban edge (Stauss, 2019). In 1972, the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (1972:3) reported that more than 4.4 million blacks in South Africa were urbanised. Blacks were squatting throughout urban areas in the country, invading land, constructing backyard shacks, and finding their way into urban rental agreements even though it was a criminal offence for any landlord to accommodate Africans as rent paying tenants under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1924 (Besteman, 2008). They had resorted to accessing urban areas and resources by adapting their basic survival strategies through the occupation of vacant plots of land or open spaces in, or near, towns and cities in efforts to secure their livelihoods. Once again, blacks were defending their space through their physical presence and appropriation. Such resistances according to Harvey (2006), brings about revolutions and transformations in society in many different dimensions.

Aliber (2003) indicates that there was a shift in the organisation of land and in the authorities' attempts to regulate it during the late 1950s to 1970s. This is exemplified by the introduction of the ten homelands, or what was regarded as Bantustans, which were conceived by the National Party through the implementation of the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959. The Act would only award residence rights to certain ethnic groups based in certain areas. In other words, blacks were forced to live among themselves in an effort to institutionalise existing differences between different ethnic tribes. Therefore, the Afrikaners were using pre-colonial structures for their own benefit (Marks, 1995). It can also be argued that blacks were calling for their own independence, whilst whites on the other hand, insisted on preserving their white purity (Mashayamombe, 2018; Phakathi, 2012). As such, the introduction of The Bantustans or independent states was a response that tried to meet both these requests. The rationale behind this was to "elevate" the African rural to the status of self-governing "mini states" within South Africa where they can have some form of independence (Aliber, 2003: 474). At the same time, white areas could remain clean of blackness (MacDonald, 2006). These areas were, thus, ethnically organised as seen in the example of the Xhosa people who were designated to live in the Transkei and Ciskei, whilst the Vha-Venda people were designated to the area of Venda. There were ten homelands in total.

These catered to all ethnic groups in the country and those that had been living in other areas were forcefully removed in an effort to achieve the homogeneity and cultural purity, conceived of by the apartheid government (Butler, Rotberg and Adams, 1977).

A decade later, in 1970, the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act was then introduced. It defined blacks living throughout South Africa as legal citizens of the homeland designated for their particular ethnic groups. Blacks were now "independent of, yet oddly nestled within South Africa's borders" (Sigodi, 2020: 54). Although this was seen as a step forward, it was actually two steps backwards because the citizenship associated with homelands denounced South African citizenship and all the civic and political rights associated with it. The myth was that granting these homelands their own government, rights, and self-organisation responsibilities would render them independent and self-reliant. However, in actual fact, they were impoverished areas on the periphery of economic activities which were underdeveloped and dependent on the apartheid government (Butler, Rotberg and Adams, 1977).

The homelands made up only 13% of the total land area of South Africa, but housed over 75% of the black population (Sigodi, 2020). As such, black areas were congested and lacked infrastructure and other basic services. Moreover, they could not generate their own tax revenues because of the rife poverty levels and, therefore, depended on the apartheid government for monetary assistance. The apartheid government supported homelands financially because in the broader scheme of things, homelands were strategies to maintain the dominance of whiteness. The apartheid government was willing to maintain this whiteness and segregation at all costs. As a result, approximately R2 billion was spent over the course of 15 years (1961–1976) (Hindson 1985). The white population obviously benefitted from being prioritised. However, this prioritisation came at the expense incurred in maintaining the homelands. Therefore, Dubow (2014) describes the homelands expenditure as a wasteful project based on false ideologies.

The idea that the homelands should be self-governing and, therefore, responsible for their own development also indicates that the apartheid government used funds to cater for the white minority population through separating themselves from taking the responsibility of the majority population. As a result, the white areas had higher quality settlements, better designed public spaces, flourishing vegetation, and Eurocentric design features (Venter, et.al. 2020). However, the black areas lacked public spaces as they were not incorporated into their settlements. These spaces were merely conceived and designed as labour dormitories made up of match box houses with no room for anything else (Seekings and Nattrass, 2001). Accordingly, Kuruneri-Chitepo and Shackleton (2011) argue that the black areas, and the absence of public spaces, stood in stark

contrast to the white areas. Black areas were characterised by unsuitable planning practices which were neither contextualised nor sensitive to the heterogeneous black cultures. Stauss (2019) also state that apartheid spatial planning did not take into account the black understanding of public and private spaces or their family structures, religious practices, and spiritual specificities.

Therefore, apartheid superimposed Western practices, land-use patterns, and by-laws in an effort to segregate pre-colonial space and social practices into colonial ones (Watson, 2002). According to Dirsuweit (2009), this is distinguishable through their 'private' and 'public' functions, which only attempted to maintain capitalist domination. Venter et al. (2020) argue that this ignorance towards the black lived space and the institutionalised racial discrimination during the colonial and apartheid eras left Black South Africans, who made up 86% of the population, with lower levels of education, income, and public spaces. Overall, government made very little public investment to develop black areas (Barchiesi 2007; Posel 2004; Ndhlovu, 2020). Consequently, uses, meanings, and value for public spaces vary throughout the country because of the ways in which different communities were socialised, especially with regards to public amenities. To date, scholars such as Shackleton and Blair (2013) argue that because of the neglect of previously disadvantaged settlements and the lack of public space; the needs, meanings, and perceptions of these spaces remain misunderstood. As such, Venter (2020) argues that the uses of public spaces, especially within these areas, go beyond those commonly covered in the literature from Global North settings, and thus require a more nuanced and contextual understanding. Public spaces in these communities are used for various reasons ranging from livestock grazing to economic uses through trading or urban agriculture (Khumalo and Sibanda, 2019; Makakavhule and Landman, 2020; Venter, et. al. 2020) This presents a multitude of challenges for the planning, designing, and managing of these spaces, especially without a specific and contextualised point of reference.

Through-out the history of apartheid settlement planning, it was clear that the government sought to create different settlements for different people, with unequal rights and unequal access to economic, social and political opportunities. This legislation-controlled movement was an effort to maintain racial purity. To a larger extent, the government tried to limit the number of blacks residing in towns and cities, or outside their designated homelands. Therefore, it can be argued that blacks were regarded as a problem that needed fixing by white urban planners, politicians, beauracrats and religious leaders, who had no respect or regard for black lived space. The apartheid government thought they had a duty to civilise the black so as to make them more

suited to the white, clean and pure spaces. As a result, blacks had to assimilate to white standards in order to be regarded as civilised and worthy of urban life (Reader, 1961). In other words, the black had to be *(dis)membered* in order to assimilate into another identity.

4.4. *Membering*: The Historical Overview of Urban Public Spaces in South Africa

The pre-unification, post-unification, and consolidating spatial segregation eras had significant implications on public life and social relations. These moulded South African urban public spaces into sites of conflict and contestation. This section focuses on the overview of urban public spaces in South Africa during the consolidating spatial segregation era. It seeks to demonstrate how urban public space were perceived, conceived, and experienced through a review of literature, key policies, and legislation. It is important to read the historical overview of urban public spaces in relation to the overall settlement history of the country provided above. Also, it is important to read the historical overview of urban public spaces in relation to the expectations and *membering* processes of urban public spaces in post-apartheid South Africa.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 is crucial to mention in this section as it concerns this thesis directly. The Act was put in place to regulate public spaces and spaces meant to cultivate civic culture. It was used to expand existing segregation practices that came before it, for example, the Urban Areas Act of 1923, which sought to segregate and restrict the presence of blacks in urban areas. However, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act later extended to include restrictions and the segregation of particular races in public and private premises, such as public parks, restaurant, squares, public transport, hotels and cafes (Donaldson; 1996; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Sigodi, 2020; Swilling et al. 1991). Therefore, the Act allowed the provincial and municipal authorities to regulate public access and use (Willemse and Donaldson, 2012). The Act also regulated private spaces by preventing "indecent acts" as defined under the Immorality Act of 1927. In 1960, the Act was amended to include beaches, in the quest to control all spaces of potential multiracial contact (Goitom, 2015).

The legislation was designed specifically to regulate social behaviour and to create homogenous groups in society, which instilled intolerance and hostility amongst different groups. Moreover, it was directly deployed to undermine democracy and democratic practices in society through the use of explicit regulation and surveillance. The motive was to ensure that the white population does not find an opportunity to integrate or encounter other members of society who do not look like them. According to Lemon (1991: 51), the Act was deployed to "minimise racial contact and thereby, it was argued to minimise friction." The ideology was constructed with the rationale of

keeping the white race as pure as possible, which necessitated a decrease in contact amongst different groups.

As can be imagined, this undermined and discouraged the solidarity amongst different groups, across various ethnic and racial lines. According to Donaldson (1996), this quest to decrease the encounters amongst different groups in society was also intended to 'protect' the white population from the black suffering and their plight. In this way, the white groups in society would, in some ways, be unaware of the harsh realities of the Africans and, therefore, not share any sympathy or empathy to their struggle. Undoubtedly, this also discouraged many white South Africans from standing up against the state because they did not have a strong point of reference. In addition, public spaces in black areas were also believed to encourage gathering and mobilisation which was something the apartheid government worked to discourage in their efforts to deter uprisings and riots (Willemse, 2010).

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act had to be paired with other pieces of legislation that would support it so as to contribute to the realisation of the Apartheid dream. For example, it was paired with the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 to engrave a sense of "otherness" which could discourage interaction amongst different racial groups. Upon reflection, such controls represented stiff forms of sanitisation whereby groups in society were regulated to portray a certain image as conceived by those in power and decision-making positions. Urban public spaces were discursively represented using rhetorical strategies, which imagined urban space through the eyes of the beholders, whether that beholder was the cartographer, the planner, the politician or the municipal official. In other words, black people were not to be visible in public spaces because they did not represent the urban image that the apartheid government sought to establish and maintain. As such, public spaces were reserved for interactions between white people, representing apartheid beliefs. Therefore, the uses and users of urban public spaces physically represented and communicated apartheid ideology. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act fought against the personal interests and social identities of all inhabitants in their racial, geographical and gendered diversity. For example, the quote below demonstrates how white women were devoid of their personal choice to interact with other races. According *The Star*, 25/06/1935):

> No white female shall be employed or be in any place of public entertainment or in any house, part of which is licenced as a place of public entertainment, for coloured persons, Asiatics or natives.

Schools and even night clubs also fell under this category of controlled spaces. A prominent South African comedian Trevor Noah in his 2016 memoir *Born a Crime*, details how his Xhosa mother and Swiss Father would go dancing in hidden night clubs in the city of Johannesburg in the early 1980s. It was a crime for them to be together. As a result, Trevor was born a crime in apartheid South Africa. His mother had to hide him from local authorities because of her fear of being arrested and her contravening of the Immorality Act of 1927 and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was also passed to minimise, amongst other things, 'crimes' like the birth of Trevor and to deny society the right to sexuality, to different encounters and the right self-manage in space.

The local authorities in white neighbourhoods would also control society and enforce legislation through signage that served to remind both blacks and whites of the rules and regulations of public and private spaces. Therefore, town planners, architects, and designers would work to design, provide and regulate public spaces as instructed by the state. Accordingly, they would communicate apartheid rationale and ideology through the conceived spaces of policies and by-laws. Interestingly, as argued by Donaldson (1996), the majority of the black population did not know about the legislation itself. However, they were aware of the acceptable and unacceptable practices that could occur in public and private spaces. This is clearly evident in the all famous "whites only" signs which were put up to remind society of where they do or do not belong. Such signs haunted many citizens, whilst many rebelled as the National Party attempted to impose restrictions on their public and private life. Such a reading draws us to Lefebvre's (1991) link between the conceived space and the perceived space where conceptions of space, communicated in by-laws and urban policies have direct psychological impacts on spatial practices and on the behaviours of those they regulate. Moreover, Lefebvre's work enables us to analyse the relationship between the state and its citizens, especially within the framework of the struggle for individual urban life.

Evidently, harsh punishment was inflicted on those who broke the law through practicing *membering* strategies in space (either by making use of spaces that they were not supposed to, or through their associations with other racial groups). People would face brutal police violence or even prosecution for such violations. A book by Alan Paton, published in 1953 and titled *To Late the Phalarope* presents the tragedy that befalls those who violate such laws. The book tells a story of a white young man who destroys his policeman career and reputation when it is revealed that he has fallen in love and engaged in a sexual relationship with a coloured (mixed-race) woman. The book narrates how the young man was shunned by his Afrikaner community, the

state, and also his own conservative family. The book can be read as critique towards the ideology that was communicated through the Immorality Act of 1927 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. The book shows how public spaces played an integral role in facilitating the meeting and association of different groups of people from different backgrounds. It is said that urban public space are special spaces because they open the eyes and minds of many to the divergent meanings and seemingly endless possibilities of urban life (Nkooe, 2015). As such, the apartheid government deemed it necessary to forcefully control these spaces in an effort to control society and its processes of *membering*.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was fortunately repealed in the year 1991. Thereafter, all citizens of the country could use the same public spaces and meet and integrate as they so wished. However, even with this development, black areas were still at a disadvantage because public spaces and amenities were not yet available in their neighbourhoods (Harrison, 2008; McConnachie, and Shackleton, 2010; Venter, et.al. 2020). The apartheid government had neglected the development of public spaces and recreational facilities in black areas and focused more on housing as a response to the rapid growing pace of black urbanisation in the cities (Willemse and Donaldson, 2012). Consequently, public spaces were not delivered and not planned for in any prospective future developments (Wilson and Hattingh, 1989). As such, townships did not have recreational spaces, parks or other forms of gathering spaces to enjoy, and if they did, those spaces were limited in capacity, function and development (Wilson, 1992). What was common in townships were space left overs or spaces that were open without grass or any development. With the expansion of townships after 1994, such spaces were vulnerable to invasion, informal structure erections, and illegal dumping (Hernandez-Bonilla, 2008; Gwedla and Shackleton, 2015).

A study conducted by Donaldson in 1993 in the Northern Province of Limpopo, stated that 65,1% (total sample was 355 township dwellers from 6 different townships) of the respondents indicated that they anticipated a change in the societal use, access to, and provision of public spaces after apartheid. The perception was that "the new government [was] democratically elected and [created] facilities where everybody [would] be accommodated" (Donaldson, 1996: 876). When asked about their understanding of outdoor recreation, 35.5% of the respondents did not know what recreation was, whilst 13, 4% perceived it as a 'white people's thing'. A total of 7.4% regarded it as a waste of land in light of the need for housing and solution to over crowdedness. It is clear from Donaldson's study that many black people did not have any experience of public spaces because they were deprived of them and as such, their perceptions and meaning differed from

those who had other experiences. In addition, many scholars since the 1990s have begun to interrogate these alternative perceptions, meanings and understandings of space in black communities in South African cities and townships, which has also led to the wide exploration of alternative uses of public spaces (Gwedla and Shackleton, 2015; Landman, 2019. Willemse, 2010; Willemse and Donaldson, 2012; Wilson 1992).

The legacy of urban public space planning in South Africa represented deliberate efforts by the state to sanitise space and dominate it for capitalist and ideological reasons. It illustrates the ways in which space has always been contested from a national to a household level through the control of settlements, public spaces and intimate relations. For this reason, urban spaces have always been sites of *membering* and appropriation where different strategies are used to defend space against oppressive rule and planning power. This experience of space throughout history has had implications on how public space is perceived and lived by society. As a result, after the attainment of democracy in 1994, society presents harmonious and oppositional expectations of what public spaces are, or ought to be, in a democratic dispensation.

4.5. *(Re)membering:* Democracy and The Need for Democratic Urban Public Space

The apartheid regime came to an end in 1994 when the ANC led by Nelson Mandela ushered the country into a new democratic dispensation. The year saw the first black South African being afforded the right to vote, and to participate actively in mainstream politics and the economy. The country has implemented different policies in the past 27 years to redress the pitfalls of apartheid and grant South Africans a democratic society in all spatial and economic aspects. According to Posel (2004), the early 1990s saw many promises from the ANC political party to provide what their famous slogan suggests; "A better life for all".

As expected, this meant so many things for so many people, and unintentionally created tensions due to the different ways in which democracy was imagined and constructed by different communities. For example, Ndhlovu (2020) in her work; *Fractured Communities and the Elusive State* unpacks the notion of democracy and argues that residents of Duncan Village (a black township) do not articulate their anti-apartheid struggles as a fight for democracy. Rather, what they fought for is *Inkululeko* (translated as *freedom*). She argues that the concept of democracy replaced the concept of *Inkululeko* as constructed and defined by the community itself. The residents of this previously disadvantaged black area are still fighting the same struggles that they fought during apartheid which are struggles for housing, services and public spaces. Ndhlovu further argues that after the attainment of democracy, these struggles only continued. Her

participants argue that democracy did not deliver what they had fought for, rather it introduced a "new space" of conflict and contestation over resources, corruption, and *abantu boku fika* (translated as *immigrants*). This democracy deviated from the ideas of freedom that they had conceived for themselves as a community. Ndhlovu (2020) conceptualises these struggles as inter-struggles between the community and the state where there is a discrepancy between the idea of democracy and how it is imagined by different social actors, which inevitably results in tensions between spaces of control and new appropriations of space.

Democratic spaces can, thus, be considered as visionary macro frameworks on the one hand, and as practical micro activities on the other hand, especially in the quest to affect meaningful change in the South African society at large. Ndhlovu's (2020) research demonstrates the conflicts and contestations of democracy, which are embedded in these different scales and interpretations. As such, this thesis argues that the interpretation of democracy is problematic because of the many divergent/convergent meanings and potential interpreters/decoders of the term. This necessitates for a solid understanding of democratic space on both the micro and macro levels, especially against the backdrop of the historical production of space.

Contrary to the expected results of the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa continues to face many challenges related to the provisioning of basic services, housing, education, and public spaces (Landman, 2019; Willemse and Donaldson, 2012.). Although change has been effected in some spaces, to some South Africans, this change appears to be too sudden, even traumatic, whilst others argue that it is too slow, leaving them disillusioned about the 'new' South Africa (Williams, 2000).

After 1994, metropolitan areas such as the cities of Johannesburg and Tshwane, amongst others, were facing rapid urbanisation, as well as internal and external migration which needed to be absorbed whilst restructuring continued. Therefore, the government was tasked with moving from rigid apartheid planning to more affirmative planning (Coetzee, 2012). Evidently, the ANC-led government had to somehow find its feet whilst the country was continuously growing and transforming. At the forefront of the efforts made by government to redress the mistakes of apartheid has been the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) which was informed by the ethos of the Freedom charter of 1955 and suggested that South Africa belongs to "all who live in it". The Constitution brought hope that the lives of all South Africans were going to change.

The ANC-led government also introduced a series of programmes and legislation to ensure that the promises that were made could be realised. An example of this is seen in the Reconstruction

and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994 which is an integrated and coherent socio-economic policy framework that seeks to build a democratic future for all South Africans and attempts to mobilise people and resources so as to eradicate poverty and address the shortfalls of the apartheid government (Bond and Tait, 1997; Koelble and LiPuma 2010; Williams, 2000). The RDP has been at the forefront of housing provision in both rural and urban areas of South Africa, and many refer to the state provided houses as "RDP houses" (Seekings, 2000). The critique that was most prominent against the RDP and its housing policy, and one that is most significant for this thesis, was that the housing policy failed to integrate housing with other socio-economic facilities, such as public spaces. "RDP houses" were criticised for being built in poor locations, existing far from places of work, consisting of a redundant design and contributing to further segregation by mimicking the match box houses of the apartheid era (Huchzermeyer, 2003; Manomano and Kang'ethe, 2015; Seekings, 2000).

The vision of the 1994 White Paper on Housing was to "establish viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas [and] allowing [for] convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities" (DoH, 1994: 19), but unfortunately, this was not manifesting on the ground. As a result, the government introduced the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy in 2004. The BNG had a vision to develop an integrated society which could contribute to sustainable human settlements and quality housing (SA, 2004:17). In this vision, the idea of "sustainable human settlements" is emphasised. This vision focuses on the combating of crime, the cultivation of social cohesion between inhabitants, and expansion beyond mere shelter concerns in an attempt to build integrated neighbourhoods and communities (SA, 2004:19; South African Cities Network, 2014). As such, the development and management of public spaces, urban greening, and other recreational facilities would inevitably form part of this sustainable settlement agenda.

The challenges to integrate settlements, people, amenities, and social infrastructure in a country with a growing population such as South Africa is a challenge that many developing countries face (UN Habitat, 2006). The role of public space has become more significant in the achievement of sustainable human settlements, aside from the strategic location of housing and provisioning of alternative housing typologies. Therefore, McConnachie and Shackleton (2010) argue that South Africa is an intriguing case because of the lasting ill-effects of the apartheid regime, and the new democratic government's effort to redress these ills through processes of *(re)membering*. Urban public spaces have become the sites where this redress is practiced by the state, the

economy and society in their efforts to (re)member segregated and ambiguous spaces, where new ways of using and defining democratic spaces are explored.

4.6. Summary of space production during and post-apartheid South Africa

Figure 5 below summaries the process of space production during and post-apartheid South Africa. It draws the relationship between the concepts of *membering, (dis)membering* and *(re)membering,* with Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey's (2004) conceptualisations of space. This summary sets the foundation for the interpretation of the continuities or discontinuities in the practices performed in urban spaces by society and the state. Such an understanding is vital in the demystification of democratic urban public spaces as they are membered, (dis)membered and (re)membered in the everyday.
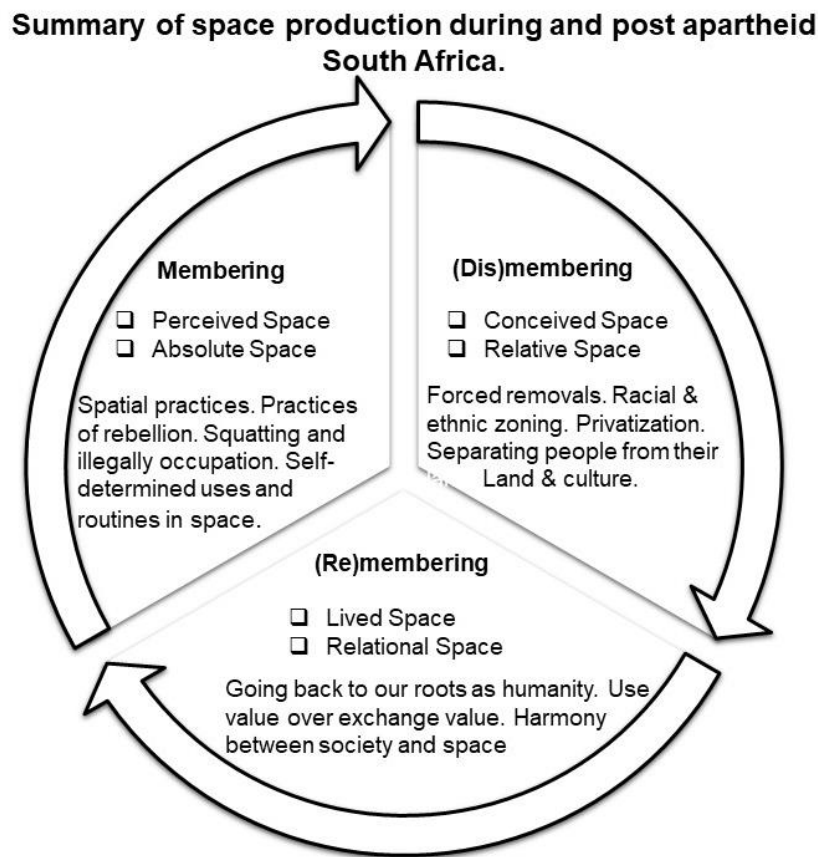
Figure 5: Summary of Space Production during Post-apartheid South Africa

Source: Author (2021).

4.7. Conclusion

Due to the pre-unification, post-unification, and consolidating spatial segregation eras, the country remains characterised by spatial, economic, and social inequalities that are still deeply felt in the everyday lives of the majority of South Africans (Makakavhule and Landman, 2020; Venter, 2020). This is despite the efforts made by the ANC-led government to redress this in the past 27 years. As can be imagined, public spaces have also lagged behind and continue to be a battle ground. It is against this backdrop of South African history that the production of democratic public spaces and urban spaces may present conflicts in the use, perception, conception and meanings. Therefore, this chapter argued that an understanding of the present-day processes and practices in public space is contingent on the understanding of macro historical processes that implicate social life on the micro scale.

The interests of this chapter lied specifically in telling the story of the historical production of space through the lenses of *membering, (dis)membering* and *(re)membering*. As such, it also linked these lenses to the conceptualisation of space by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) to uncover how space has historically been used, governed and experienced and what such processes mean for present day interpretations of perceptions, practices and meanings of democratic public space production.

The next chapter presents the research methodology for the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1. Introduction

Research methodology refers to the science of how research is done. It is the way in which techniques are used in an attempt to answer questions and logically solve research problems. In addition, research methodology provides the process of conducting an investigation. It also provides the methods and the rationale behind the research methods (Bryman, 2012; Kothari, 2004; Leedy and Ormrod, 2013). This chapter provides a detailed explanation of the tools that were used to collect, interpret, and analyse data, and the justification for this in this particular study. It elaborates on all the approaches and methods that were utilised in exploring the public open spaces under study, especially with regards to the user's perceptions, experiences and varied meanings of public spaces, alongside those of municipal officials and the conflicts between these elements.

The chapter consists of four sections that explain the research process. The first section outlines the research approach and the overall orientation of the research, the paradigm, and the methodology which underpins the study. The second section is the research design. It serves as the blueprint for the collection, interpretation, and analysis of the data (Kothari, 2004). This section outlines the overall strategy used in the data sampling, data collection and data analysis techniques used to achieve the research aim and objectives. Thirdly, a summative diagram (Figure 6) illustrating the relationship between the theoretical and conceptual framework, research objectives and research methods is provided to demonstrate the coherence in the research logic. Lastly, this chapter discusses the notion of reflexivity in research as a way to approach research limitations and addresses ethical considerations.

5.2. Research Approach

According to Du Toit and Mouton (2013), research in the built environment has traditionally focused on the application of existing knowledge and has historically relied on the social science for the generation of new knowledge. The built environment focuses extensively on training technical professionals and not necessarily researchers. As such, it borrows research tools, designs and approaches from other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and psychology. Amaratunga et al (2002: 17), describe research in the built environment as "cognitive", "affective" and "behavioural", which substantiates the borrowing from the social sciences. As such,

Amaratunga, et.al (2002) argues that built environment research is led by the research aim, philosophical position and points of inquiry in selecting where it borrows its knowledge from. Therefore, research in the built environment can take on a qualitative, quantitative or mixed method approach.

This study used a qualitative research approach. The approach makes use of words and observations to explain and analyse the natural world. In qualitative research, the researcher collects data with the intention to explain the experiences of a phenomena encountered (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). This approach was selected because of the nature of the study. The study sought to gain an in-depth understanding of people's daily life practices in public spaces and their various experiences, memories, and processes of meaning making. This requires a "dwelling" into their narratives and stories and an engagement with their knowledge (Burawoy, 1998).

Qualitative research provides researchers with some flexibility in the collection and analysis of data. This flexibility is necessary because qualitative approaches require a prolonged and intense contact with the research field as data is collected in a natural environment and should capture everyday "normal" experiences and practices. This approach enables the researcher to interrogate and problematise these everyday experiences and provide a holistic view of the complexities in an iterative manner (Amaratunga et al., 2002). The approach was chosen as it would allow the researcher to make knowledge claims derived from multiple perspectives. Unlike quantitative research that focuses on post-positivist philosophies and reduces the research to specific variables and hypotheses, qualitative research acknowledges the complexity of the natural world and the researcher's personal worldviews and allows them to be integrated into the research in a reflexive manner (Burawoy, 1998; Creswell and Creswell, 2018). It is therefore, important to mention that the qualitative approach in this study was selected because the researcher was interested in how society's perceptions of urban public spaces on the one hand, and municipal official's ideas and conceptualisations of space on the other hand, contribute to the controversies and conflicts over public spaces. This required an approach that would allow the researcher to hear the stories and voices of the individuals under study and to interpret these stories in a way that can construct meaning and give insight to the debates surrounding the production of space and democratic public spaces in particular. In accordance with the qualitative approach employed in this study, the research locates itself within the Interpretivist Paradigm.

5.3. Research Paradigm

Decisions and strategies that are employed in research do not occur by chance, but rather they are informed by paradigms. Paradigms underpin beliefs, values, and visions existing within philosophical debates (Nudzor, 2009). In simpler terms, paradigms communicate the position of the researcher and what the researcher believes about the nature of reality, epistemologies, values, and methodologies. For instance, logical positivism, traceable from philosophers such as Aristotle, Emmanuel Kant and John Locke posits that reality is objective and that there is always a cause that is responsible for every effect. Therefore, they believe in logical justification through the use of experiments and quantitative methods to test hypotheses and draw generalisations (Amaratunga et al; 2002). However, the interpretivist sciences, traceable from scholars such as Edmund Husserl phenomenological studies and by Wilhem Dilthey's 'hermeneutics', believe that reality is subjective, and thus, rely on qualitative approaches to holistically understand human experiences in a specific context (Wagner, et. al. 2012).

This study locates itself within the interpretivist paradigm because this paradigm seeks to understand the world from the subjective stance of its participants. It holds the position that there are multiple realities and multiple truths that the mind constructs (Guba and Lincoln; 1994). This suggests that our reality is socially-constructed. We are in continuous negotiations with what we know, pulling threads from our culture, and society in general. Within this position, the researcher is able to make knowledge claims based on people's descriptions and narratives of their perceptions and experiences. Such narratives can either be socially or historically constructed. Thus, flexibility is often required to probe where necessary and to ensure that everything is tailored towards the specific respondent, all the while acknowledging their subjectivity. This approach was selected as it allows for the usage of words and descriptions, which can further assist in developing themes and sub-themes throughout the research process.

In this thesis, in line with the interpretivist paradigm, I sought to understand the participants' world view, to explore the public spaces under study through the eyes of the participants while taking into account how they perceive urban public spaces and what the spaces mean to them. Interpretivism also allows the researcher to interpret the subjective data alongside broader cultural, economic, social, and political phenomena in a continuous process of sense making. Therefore, the study aimed to explore the multiple realities and make sense of them through an interpretation of what was seen, and not seen as well as what was said and not said without any predetermined hypothesis. It is in this view that the thesis makes use of the Interpretivist Phenomenological Analysis (IPA).

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5.4. Research Methodology

Phenomenology is a methodology that studies individual's direct experiences (Cohen, Manion and Morrison; 2007). Accordingly, this research sought to study the lived experiences of its participants and their perceptions of urban public spaces. The study acknowledges that these experiences and perceptions can be influenced by specific beliefs and past experiences that participants are either conscious or unconscious of. According to Alase (2017), this requires an Interpretivist Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) as its main objective is to explore, describe, interpret, and situate the lived experiences of the participants under study.

IPA is a participant focused methodology and seeks to expand knowledge through the process of incorporating and acknowledging other knowledge perspectives (Smith et al., 2009). In other words, it offers new insights to knowledge through the investigation of participants in a given context and their given accounts to certain ideas, events and phenomena. Several scholars have demonstrated that this methodology can provide a rich context for understanding lived experiences in a complex social world (Alase, 2017; Creswell and Creswell, 2018; Husserl, 1931; Van Manen, 1990). It is also able to probe beneath the surface. Therefore, it offered the researcher the ability to obtain an in-depth understanding of how individuals are perceiving a particular situation, how they are making sense of those perceptions, and how those perceptions are imbued in their personal and social experiences.

IPA as a methodology is suitable for this study as it assisted in interpreting and drawing patterns between social contexts and other broader ideological structures. The motive for using this methodology was that public space users' and municipal officials' perceptions arise from "their imbrication in systems of historically contingent meanings, as communicated by institutionalised patterns of behaving, thinking and speaking" (Tenorio, 2011:192). Thus, in the context of this study, we can begin to understand how societies' experiences and perceptions of urban public spaces are embodied and contingent on their personal and cultural networks and interpretations of what urban public spaces are, or ought to be. IPA also allowed me to explore different perceptions and expectations of the spaces under study. More significantly, it allowed me to explore this through taking into account the influences and intersectionalities of culture and broader ideologies, traditions, politics, and social power structures amongst other influences. In consistent with IPA, the thesis was also situated in a multiple case study research design.

5.5. Research Design: Multiple Case Studies

Research design refers to the comprehensive strategy of how data will be collected, organised and ultimately analysed (Bryman, 2012; Kothari, 2004). According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), research designs include (1) exploratory designs, which seek to gain in-depth understandings of phenomena, (2) explanatory, used to explain phenomena in detail, (3) descriptive, used to describe characteristics of a phenomena, (4) correlational, used to explore relations between variables, and (5) casual experimental, used to explore cause and effect. According to Du Toit and Mouton, 2013), research design is less often acknowledged in the built environment than in mainstream social science disciplines. Scholars argue that built environment research seldom provides comprehensive prototypical designs, and as such, the scholars present 10 research designs that capture the essence of research in the built environment (Du Toit and Mouton, 2013). Being influenced by the work of Du Toit and Mouton (2013), this thesis classifies its design as a multiple case study with a core logic to explore, interpret and contextualise a phenomenon. According to Yin (1984: 23), case studies are "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context". Case studies use multiple sources of evidence to investigate a contemporary phenomenon through the use of different research methods, which are applied concurrently (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Although the article by Du Toit and Mouton (2013) regards interpretation as the core logic of field studies and not necessarily case studies (which they argue seeks contextualisation), Amaratunga et al (2002) argue that it is possible to find overlaps in different designs and that these overlaps are influenced by the research questions that are asked, the control over behavioural elements, as well as the degree of focus into the specifics of the research. Crowe et al. (2011) also argue that case studies can be approached in different ways depending on the position of the researcher. Accordingly, Crowe et al. (2011) refers to an interpretivist position in the undertaking of a case study design which refers to trying to interpret and understand shared social meanings and moving iteratively between context and interpretation in an effort to understand the explored phenomena. As such, this thesis argues that the use of a case study design as embedded in interpretive phenomenology, and underpinned by an interpretivist paradigm, contributed greatly to the explorative, interpretivist and contextual nature of the study.

A multiple case study examines several cases simultaneously or sequentially in their context to develop a more in-depth understanding of the phenomena (Baxter and Jack, 2008). It is considered to be reliable and robust (Creswell and Creswell, 2018) and provides information that can be used to draw similarities and differences between different cases which allowed me to

analyse them within and across settings and situations (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Stake, 1996; Yin, 2003). The design is time consuming and requires intense iteration in and between cases, as such, researchers find themselves prioritising some cases above others (Yin, 2003). This prioritisation dilemma is what Stake (1995), calls "case quintain dilemma" which is the tension that arises when one case gets more attention than another. However, Stake argues that there is no wrong or right way as it is up to the researcher to organise and present the research in their own unique ways, capturing in-depth information of a single case individually or as representing all cases as a mosaic.

The focus of this thesis was to explore people's perceptions about urban public spaces, their everyday practices and how these interacted with planning to generate contestations and conflict in the public spaces of the City of Tshwane. A multiple case study research design was deemed suitable for this exploration. The thesis also employed a replication strategy where data was collected in similar ways across the different cases. This was a way to explore, confirm or challenge the patterns identified, and to start dialogues between and within the cases. Given the fact that the thesis was interested in different actors (public open space users and municipal planning officials) and their perceptions, practices and experiences, it was imperative to do a thorough analysis of different actors in their contextual state, not only for contextual purposes, but to yield interpretations of the activities and practices leading to the contest over urban public open spaces.

According to Stake (1995), the selection of cases in a case study design is imperative. Thus, I used the proposition of the thesis to inform the selection of the cases and how they would be studied. A proposition refers to a statement about the concepts that will be studied as being either true or false in any observable phenomenon (Cooper and Schindler, 1998). Baxter and Jack (2008) argue that when a study includes a proposition, it allows the researcher to place limits on the scope of the research, thereby increasing the feasibility of the study. Miles and Huberman (1994) also argue that the proposition serves to focus the data collection and gives overall direction to the study. Accordingly, Baxter (2000) indicates that the proposition can be influenced by personal experiences of the researcher, as well as literature or theory.

The proposition of the thesis was influenced by Henri Lefebvre's (1991) theory of space production, his spatial triad and David Harvey's (2004) spatial matrix. In the selected theory and conceptualisations of space, the scholars argue that space is in constant evolution and that each society possesses its own way of producing space. As such, the researcher selected cases that represented different communities, economies, demographics, and cultures which would reflect

the differences or similarities in the perceptions of urban space and the conflicts in the production of space. In order to select these different cases, census data on neighbourhoods were reviewed. The census data, as detailed in chapter six, provides information on the race, income, nationality, languages, age groups, and various household compositions. This information was necessary in understanding the diversity of the cases and to justify their selection.

I argue that in order to understand the constructed meanings of space and associated conflicts underpinned by a phenomenological methodology, the thesis required cases with the following criteria: (1) that they could be studied in their natural settings, (2) that the data is collected where the participants experience the phenomenon, (3); and that the researcher engage and physically share the space with the participants in order to establish an in-depth awareness of the practices and to geographically locate the shared narratives. I also realised that I would not have the time or the resources to collect data from the entire population of each of the cases selected, therefore, there arose a need to sample and determine the participants within each of the selected areas.

5.6. Research Sampling

Sampling refers to the process of selecting members from an entire population group (Kumar, 2011). It is the process of selecting who will actually participate in the research project in accordance with the research aim and objectives. Those selected, therefore, become the participants of the study. Sampling can take many forms and is ordinarily categorised into probability or non-probability sampling (Nueman, 2011). The former refers to the random selection of participants or informants drawn from a wider population, using statistical inference, in order to make generalisations. It uses scientific assumptions to develop generalised knowledge about reality and is underpinned by the logical positivist paradigm. The latter refers to a non-random selection based on the researcher's subjective judgement, where specific participants of interest are hand-picked to respond to the research aim and objectives. The thesis made use of the non-probability sampling strategy as the study was purely qualitative.

5.6.1. Non-Probability Sampling

Non-probability sampling is often associated with case study qualitative research. According to Taherdoost (2016), this is because the focus is on small samples which are used to examine a real life phenomenon. This was the case for this study. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), sampling decisions rely on a variety of factors, including the aim of the study, access to the participants, the sample size, and the research logic. This study sought to explore urban public

space users' perceptions about specific public spaces, their everyday practices in those spaces and how these interact with perceptions held by municipal planning officials. As such, the study required specific characteristics from the participants. The research, thus, focused on a strategy that would rely on the researcher's judgement to identify the participants. Therefore, non-probability purposive sampling was employed as the sampling strategy for both the users of the space and the municipal officials. This strategy is used when the researcher is trying to gain an in-depth understanding from participants who have certain knowledge and experiences about the phenomenon under study.

Central to purposive sampling is maximum variation. This refers to the search for variation in participants or perspectives. According to Seidman (2012), the researcher should seek to capture a heterogeneous sample which will be fair to the larger population by ensuring representation. Therefore, the researcher needs to identify key variations that are different from each other to ensure diversity. As such, maximum variation was pursued in the selection of urban public space users as well as in the selection of municipal officials.

5.6.2. Participants: Public Open Space Users

In the case of the users of the public space, the sampled population needed to have knowledge of the spaces under study. They also needed to be users of these spaces in order to be selected for the study. This presented an interesting challenge for sampling and the subsequent process of data collection. At this point, I realised that the sample could not be pre-determined and would require me to sample the population as the research process was unfolding. Another realisation was that it would not be completely representative. However, it would still require a clear rationale and criterion. Therefore, participants were included in the sample because of their use, presence, and availability in the spaces under study. This ensured that the criteria of having knowledge of the space and being a user was met. Their selection was also based on my judgement regarding whether their presence and activities in the space warranted their inclusion in the study. This was particularly relevant when specific practices were observed, such as people picnicking, playing sports, and trading.

During the data collection phase, the research also employed a snowball sampling strategy, where selected participants recruited and encouraged other potential participants thereby increasing the sample. According to Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2007), this is particularly helpful in instances where certain populations are difficult to access. In this case, snowballing was

particularly useful in identifying users who have used the spaces for lengthy periods of time, those who were involved in the community activities that occur in the spaces, and those that formed part of associations directly involved in the spaces, for the sake of maximum variation. According to Mwathunga (2014), snowballing is particularly common amongst researchers studying vulnerable or hidden population group as it assists in the process of manoeuvring around gatekeepers and reaching a state of data saturation (Bernard, 2006; Breweton and Millward, 2001). Taherdoost (2016) also argues that purposive and snowball sampling strategies are ideal for exploratory research because they encourage subjectivity and allow for an in-depth analysis of specific cases. It was through this particular snowball sampling strategy that a focus group session was organised with the Rietondale Home Owners Association (RHOA). The association is particularly involved in the Rietondale Park and works closely with the users of the space and the City of Tshwane.

Having access to this particular association also opened up access to other residents of the area who shared valuable information about the space under study, its history, and its continuous transformation. Purposive sampling and snowballing presented advantages in this study which are discussed particularly in Chapter eight of this thesis where the concepts of community, politics of belonging and (re)constructions of citizenship are explored in light of how their meanings are constructed in public spaces. However, these sampling strategies also posed some limitations. For example, although snowballing allowed for a process of working with participants in the construction of the research, it also represented dilemmas of biasness, where people would recommend those who shared similar views to them thereby reinforcing their own ideas. It also introduced some inconsistencies because the recruited participants were in direct contact with the recruiter, and not the researcher. As such, some would not show up for interviews or constantly reschedule before ultimately cancelling their interview. This increased the attrition rate, and led to disappointments and research fatigue. At the end of the data collection phase, 47 urban public space users were interviewed.

5.6.3. Participants: Municipal Officials

Sampling the municipal officials was a process that required what Mwathunga (2014; 110) calls, "personal touch". He describes this as a process of recruiting individuals who are regarded as difficult to access through the use of personal networks. Mwathunga (2014), as influenced by Madriz (2003), narrates how he made use of this technique where he used his personal networks, which he obtained from working in land-use management and as a lecturer, to gain access to

experts in land use management in Malawi. In light of this, I also made use of personal contacts to gain access to municipal officials at the directorate level, at the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

The municipal officials needed to be professionals working within the area of public open spaces within planning, development, policy, and management portfolios in order to be included in the study. Initially, the study began with an interest in urban planners specifically. However, through the course of the research, it became clear that matters of public open spaces were shared by a variety of experts from the fields of urban planning, landscape architecture, environmental sciences, and horticulture. Nueman (2011) argues that qualitative research provides the researcher with the flexibility to shape and re-shape the research as new knowledge is acquired in the research process, as such, I re-shaped my municipal official population.

In this regard, purposive sampling through "personal touch", was used to gain access to the officials. A master's student who was previously supervised by me provided access and information regarding who to contact for the study. This student works in the municipality as a director and was able to give direction regarding the ethical applications at the municipality, and the email addresses of the key informants. As such, the first meeting with the officials was held with the student present. He played the role of a gatekeeper and assisted in the organisation of the first meeting and establishing rapport. Thereafter, snowballing was used to gain access to other officials through internal recruitments made by those who had already been interviewed.

Patton (2002) also describes what he calls 'opportunity sampling' which refers to spontaneous interviews that occur unplanned, giving the researcher an advantage, and growing the sample unexpectedly. In some instances, certain officials would join interview sessions and insist on giving input or they are called in by other interviewees to answer specific questions about specific details of an event. In this study, opportunity sampling, thus, allowed me to take up the opportunity to interview certain individuals who were not initially considered, for example, the Urban Forestry, Nursery and Training division at the City of Tshwane, who offered to be interviewed because of the recruitment by others. Making use of snowballing and opportunity sampling also offered me insight into institutional and organisation dilemmas that exist within departments and their corresponding impact on the envisioning of democratic public spaces within the city. This brought up key issues of working in silos, politics of budget sharing, the challenges of chasing universal standards whilst advocating for local particularities and navigating different professional egos. More significantly, it exposed the internal conflicts endured by officials and how they navigate

between their identities as citizens, as professionals and as individuals. Such dilemmas presented interesting themes which will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter seven where the officials' perceptions, conceptions and daily encounters with public spaces are explored. The number of municipal officials interviewed is indicated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Summary of Interviewed Municipal Officials

Departmental Division	Number of Officials
Environmental Management	9
Parks and Horticulture (Regional Office)	9
Urban Forestry, Nursery and Training	5
Integrated Development Planning (Office of the Executive Mayor)	1
Total 24	

Source: Author (2021)

Following this, it is important to note that only 5 municipal officials were interviewed individually whilst the remaining 19 were interviewed in different focus group sessions. The rational for this is discussed later in this chapter.

5.7. Data Collection

In approaching the phase of data collection, the thesis was guided by the theoretical framework of the study which informed not only how research was philosophically or theoretically approached, but also how data was collected, interpreted, analysed, and ultimately reported (Lederman and Lederman, 2015). Following this rationale, the thesis employed different methods to adequately capture the material space, the space of dreams, and the space experienced by bodies developed from Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad and Harvey's (2004) spatial matrix.

Four data collection methods were selected to achieve the above goal, namely; (1) spatial and participant observations, (2) analysing documents, (3) semi-structured interviews and (4) focus

group discussions. These methods enabled me to conduct what Madanipour refers to as the social-spatial analysis of the public spaces. According to Madanipour (1996), a socio-spatial analysis studies the space in its physical and socio-cultural context, exposing everyday activities and experiences, alongside their spatial attributes. It is relevant for people-environment studies and is essential in understanding the space in its social, physical, and psychological significance. As mentioned in Chapter one, the interest of the researcher lies not only in the socio-cultural conflicts in space, but also in the physical and institutional conditions embedded in these conflicts. Therefore, this thesis calls for an approach that is not entirely focused on the physical or institutional environment or the social climate, but rather an approach that considers all these elements in relation to one another (Moudon, 2003).

5.7.1. Observations

According to Bryman (2012), observations are necessary in social inquiries as they help solve problems embedded in meaning and human action or interaction. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argue that the sounds, rhythms, smells and sight are imperative in understanding the experiences of human behaviour and human practices. Accordingly, Lefebvre (1991: 228) argues that "the body is both a point of departure and destination". Whilst Harvey (2012) argues that there is value in exploring what social actors utter and what they exhibit in their natural habitats. The scholars agree that the sensory experience of the body is essential in understanding space.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) state that there are different methods of observation that need to be considered before one is selected. For example, Ciesielska et al (2018) discuss the methods of participant observation, non-participant observation and indirect observation, which refer to the processes of immersing oneself in the practices of the participants, studies the participants without involving oneself and relying on observations done by others respectively. For the purpose of this thesis, participant observation was deployed. This requires the researcher not only to observe, but to also participate in the activities undertaken by the research participants.

The researcher did not only observe the users of the space, but also the physical environment in and around the spaces. In order to fully understand the uses, users and municipal perceptions, it was important to understand where physical objects were located, as well as their shape, layout and size. I argue that observing the physical environment in conjunction with the participants, was a practical way of understanding the phenomenon. I observed the physical nature of the spaces, especially in terms of its accessibility, movement routes, out-door furniture, trees and shade, scale, taps and toilets, statues and over all maintenance because all of these physical elements

have a bearing on the perception and experience of the space. The researcher also used photography and maps as a way to gain knowledge and evidence of the urban geography and public spaces under study.

The aim was to gain an understanding of the physical environment, and to examine how it looks, how things were organised, the different uses of the space and the user's perceptions thereof. Furthermore, the public spaces were visited at different times of the day between May 2018 and July 2019. Visiting the spaces at different intervals was necessary to determine how the space was experienced at different times and also to regard what contributes to that experience. In addition, it was necessary to observe how the users related not only to space, but also to each other to the extent that the researcher becomes "immersed in the daily lives of the people" (Leedy and Ormrod, 2014: 145). This helped me to navigate the space as an insider would and thus, blurred the lines between "a researcher and a member of society merely using the space". This dualism of insider/outsider helped me to locate the experiences of others, all the while being aware of the context and developing a sensitivity towards the subjective perceptions of the participants.

Through participant observations, I was able to understand how the public spaces are (re)shaped through the everyday experiences and perceptions of ordinary citizens, municipal officials and my own experiences within the spaces. It was through this data collection strategy that I was able to learn about the different ways in which people use, make sense, and (re)construct their everyday lives in ways that disrupt the institutionalised (desired) order of public spaces as communicated by the City of Tshwane. This is discussed in detail in Chapters six, seven and eight where the uses of the space are analysed and interpreted within the broader concepts of livelihoods, sacredness, self-governance and freedom.

5.7.2. Document Analysis

Creswell (2018), discusses the importance of documents in a research study and argues that they provide contextual information about the phenomenon. Moreover, he argues that documents give insight into the comparison between text and reality. Documents need to be analysed and interpreted to gain understanding and elicit meaning (Cardno, 2018). Atkinson and Coffey (1997:47) refer to documents as 'social facts' which can be used to develop empirical knowledge. According to Denzin (1970), the use of documents in qualitative research is expected to go through a process of triangulation which is defined by Wagner et al (2012) as a process of using different data sources and methods in the inquiry of a single phenomenon. Patton (1990) argues

that triangulation eliminates bias and gives credibility to the findings. As such, the documents in this thesis were analysed alongside other sources of data and methods, to ensure triangulation and to guard against the bias. Documents have been a staple in qualitative research for many years and the use of documents has been steadily increasing, particularly in interpretivist studies (Cardno, 2018). They may include, but are not limited to, advertisement, agendas, minutes of meetings, manuals, background papers, event programs, maps and charts, newspapers and policy (Bowen, 2009: 27).

Due to this vast category of documents that can be used in research as forms of secondary data, I collected secondary data in the form of official and unofficial documents. The official documents were from the City of Tshwane's Metropolitan Municipality (listed in table 2 below). These documents communicated the vision of the city regarding its public spaces, the history, objectives, and overall strategies and plans. Moreover, these documents also communicated the beliefs, local regulations, and structures within which the municipal officials exercise their duties. I also analysed advertised event programs that would take place in the selected cases as unofficial documents. I looked at some social media pages (Facebook) to see how the spaces were being used even before data collection commenced in 2018 which provided context and background to the cases. Anonymous comments on social media pages were also reviewed and provided information on issues and debates surrounding the spaces. May (2011) argues that documents need to be exploited by an investigator who is alert. This is supported by Mwathunga (2014) who argues that such an investigation enhances the researcher's understanding of the theoretical and conceptual basis of cases under study. However, Scott (1990) and Cardno (2018) posit that researchers need to be aware that documents are not value free and carry the biases of the author, and as such, it is necessary to ensure that the documents are representative, authentic, and credible.

The documents used in this thesis assisted in providing the context for when municipal officials and public space users were interviewed. They informed questions that needed to be asked and certain things that needed to be observed. This position and openness to the benefits of documents in this thesis was influenced by Glodstein and Reiboldts (2004: 246) who explore the multiple roles of low income, minority women in urban communities in their research. They argue that document analysis provided the opportunity to generate more focused data. In this regard, I remember a particular interview where an official bluntly asked whether I had read through the Public Open Space Frameworks before scheduling the interview and if that was not the case, the interview would not proceed. Therefore, the documents complemented the interviews and

generated a level of rapport and preparedness, while also showing professionalism and commitment to the research. In hindsight, I also realised that document analysis was a way of traveling back in time and interpreting history in line with present realities.

Table 2: Summary of Official Documents Reviewed

Official Documents	
The City of Tshwane Vision 2055 Strategy	Town-Planning Scheme
The Public Open Space Framework (Volume 1: Status Quo Report)	Public Amenities By-law
The Public Open Space Framework (Volume 2: Open Space Vision, Policy, current Metropolitan and Regional Open Space Plans, and Local Open Space Plans in future)	Street trading by-law
The Public Open Space Framework (Volume 3: Implementation Strategies)	City of Tshwane Resident's manual on by-laws and legislation

Source: Author (2021)

5.7.3. Interviews

In order to meet the second and third objectives of the thesis as presented in Chapter one, I needed to collect data about people's opinions, perceptions, feelings, and experiences of spaces which included both the general public and the municipal officials. This called for interviews and according to Alsaawi (2014) and Mann (2011), the most widely employed tool for collecting such information is interviews. Interviews are regarded as basic modes of inquiry where knowledge and personal experiences can be shared (Neuman, 2011).

Leedy and Ormrod (2013) indicate that there are a variety of interview strategies that can be implemented in a study. This, however, depends on the nature of the research and what it seeks to achieve. Bryman (2008) discusses what is called structured interviews where the questions are

controlled, pre-defined and pre-planned to focus on a specific topic, thereby, eliminating elaborations and interruptions. However, Alsaawi (2014) argues that this strategy limits the responses of the interviewees and therefore, lacks richness. Bryman (2008) also explores the idea of unstructured interviews which can be referred to as in-depth interviews (Minichiello, et al., 1990) or ethnographic interviews (Patton, 2002). This type of interview is flexible and allows for a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee where questions and answers are not predetermined. The interviewee is able to tell their story and thereby lead the direction of the interview depending on how much they are willing to discuss on a particular topic. As expected, this can provide in-depth rich data, reflective of depth, and quantity.

Seeking a balance between the two interview types above, researchers are able to design a combination of the above types of interviews, which is known as a semi-structured interview (Alsaawi, 2014). These interviews and questions are pre-planned and organised to give direction to the interview and focus it on specific topics that need to be covered. However, the interviewer is flexible enough to give the interviewee an opportunity to elaborate and expand on particularly points of interest. This ensures depth in the data and also facilitates the discovery of complex issues by allowing the interviewees to speak for themselves while ensuring that specific topics are covered in the process (Bryman, 2008; Leedy and Ormrod, 2013).

Another interview strategy that can be explored is focus group interviews. According to Neuman (2011), focus group interviews can take the form of a brainstorming or informal discussion session between four to ten interviewees. They generate data that is able to capture group dynamics and group perspectives on a particular issue (Mwathunga, 2014). Due to the fact that interviewees are allowed to argue and debate with each other during the session, the researcher is able to gain in-depth understanding of conflicts and sentiments that would have gone unnoticed in individual interviews (Alsaawi, 2014).

As indicated earlier, 47 individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with public space users as shown on Table 3 below.

Table 3: Summary of Semi-Structured Interviews

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH PUBLIC SPACE USERS		
Jubilee Square	**Magnolia Dell**	**Rietondale Park**
23	15	9
Total 47		

Source: Author (2021)

Five individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with municipal officials. During this period, focus group sessions were also conducted, of which four were focus group sessions with municipal officials and one was a focus group session with public space users within the Rietondale community. Alsaawi (2014) argues that it is important to either audio or video record interviews, particularly with semi-structured or unstructured interviews because note taking is not always enough to capture all that is discussed during the interview. Therefore, I audio recorded the interviews with the interviewees' permission while also taking notes to ensure nothing was missed. The audio recordings were later transcribed to aid the process of data analysis as discussed later in this chapter. However, it should be mentioned that some public space users refused to be recorded and in these instances, only notes were taken.

- ***Semi-Structured Interviews***

Semi-structured interview sessions were conducted with public space users to explore their experiences, perceptions, and the meanings they attached to public open spaces. Some interviews were short and straight to the point, whilst others would turn into long conversations. The interviewees would at some point begin asking the researcher personal questions and diverge from the interview schedule. This was an interesting opportunity to allow people to relax and engage fully into the experience of communicating with another person. It was also an opportunity for me to get to know the interviewees, even if it was just for a short while. Interviews would take between 15 and 35 minutes depending on the openness of the respondent and how much they were willing to elaborate on their experiences. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews allowed me to explore the unanticipated responses shared by the interviewees, and it ultimately shaped how the chapters on study findings were engaged with.

Semi-structured individual interviews were also conducted with municipal officials to explore their understanding and perceptions of the policies, plans and laws governing public spaces, and the challenges they encountered in their everyday practices in the enforcement and implementation of these policies. This was an important objective to meet because at the core of the theoretical argument of this thesis was the notion that the space of dreams (conceived and relative space) seeks to shape and control public space, whilst society in turn seeks to resist this control.

The interviews with municipal officials were not easy to plan. Officials would have commitments and time constraints that would make them unavailable to participate in the study. Although some would apologise profusely for being unavailable, some would merely not respond to the invitation.

However, those who were available for the individual interviews were thoroughly prepared, engaged, and provided eye opening responses. Interviews were conducted at the municipal offices where the officials conduct their day to day activities. The timeframes of the interviews would vary. Whilst some would take a minimum of an hour, others would continue for over two hours. Municipal officials were open and shared more than I had hoped for. Two officials, in particular, shared their visions for the spaces under study, as well as other important background information on budgeting and the importance of the prioritisation of public spaces in the city. All their contributions assisted me in interpreting the data collected.

- ***Focus Group Discussions***

Focus group sessions are considered an effective way to gain data from multiple voices and reduce the power imbalances between the researcher and the participants under study (Mwathunga, 2014). In this study, the use of focus group discussions allowed me to engage with four groups of municipal officials and a single group of the Rietondale Home-Owners Association. It also allowed the researcher to have access to multiple municipal officials at the same time to ensure that their busy schedules were respected. This strategy focused on homogeneity and enhanced the discussion and openness of the participants.

The composition of the focus group is of high importance if the researcher wants the session to be fruitful (Alsaawi, 2014; Dörnyei, 2007; Neuman, 2011). The focus group interview with the Rietondale Home-Owners Association was made up of four participants who were residents of Rietondale and users of the park for more than two decades.

The municipal officials' focus group sessions were divided in terms of the official's departmental divisions. The groups were made up of colleagues that interacted with each other on a daily basis and that shared similar responsibilities. The focus groups ran as follows: 1 group of 5 participants from the Urban Forestry, Nursery and Training division, 1 group of 7 participants from the Parks and Horticulture division, 1 group of 3 participants from the Environmental Management division, and another group of 4 participants from the Environmental Management Division, making this a total of 19 individuals interviewed through focus groups (indicated in Table 5.4 below).

Table 4: Summary of Focus Groups

FOCUS GROUP SESSIONS WITH MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS	
DIVISION	**NUMBER OF OFFICIALS**
Urban Forestry, Nursery and Training	5
Parks and Horticulture	7
Environmental Management	3
Environmental Management	4
TOTAL 19	

Source: Author (2021)

The focus group discussions revealed the internal conflicts in and between departments in the municipality as discussed in Chapter eight. Moreover, they also revealed the conflicts within the different perceptions shared by a single association. The focus group discussions showcased the different ideas that are shared and communicated and how these, in turn, contribute to the conflicts in the production of space.

5.8. Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research can be regarded as the most complex and mysterious phase of the entire research process. Many researchers find it difficult to communicate what they actually did in this phase and how they moved from raw data to coherent arguments in explaining their findings. Thorne (2000) discusses how it seems as if the raw data is left out overnight and when one wakes up, the analysis process is completed and everything is coherently structured. Therefore, seeking to move away from such critiques, this section will discuss and describe the data analysis process as clearly as possible.

According to Wong (2008: 14), data analysis in qualitative research refers to the "reading of a large amount of transcripts and field notes, looking for similarities and differences and subsequently finding themes and developing categories". Creswell (1994:153) states that "through data analysis, a researcher aims to gain a new understanding of the situation and process being investigated." According to Mashaymombe (2018: 61), data analysis involves the "breaking down of data by arranging it into manageable forms [codes] that will enable the researcher to make sense of the data".

Since the study made use of qualitative data collection methods, it is important to mention that data analysis did not begin once all data was collected. The process actually began and ran

concurrently with data collection. Interpretive memos were constantly being written and thus, informed the process of further data collection. Therefore, the process of analysis happened during the data collection phase, and also afterwards. The thesis made use of thematic data analysis which moves beyond counting explicit phrases, but rather, focuses on interpreting both implicit and explicit ideas (Namely, et.al. 2008).

Researchers can employ different methods of qualitative data analysis such as constant comparative analysis, ethnographic methods of analysis, narrative and discourse analysis. For the purpose of this study, phenomenological approaches to data analysis, which seeks to orient the researcher towards the depth and detail of experiences as they are lived, were employed (Thorne, 2000). Traditionally, qualitative researchers use a method of 'cut and paste' and use coloured pens to categorise data into themes and subthemes as a process of coding the data. However, in this case, I made use of a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) called NVivo. NVivo was developed by the world's largest qualitative research software developer (QSR International) and gives qualitative researchers the ability to enhance their research quality. The decision to make use of NVivo was made because of the amount of textual and field note data that was collected. The researcher had to find a way to organise the data in a systematic way and lessen the burn of many pieces of paper scattering all around.

What is important to mention is that the main function of CAQDAS is not to analyse data (Zamawe, 2015), but rather to mark, cut, sort, and store the data. Thus, it only eliminates the task of manual management, organisation, and storage (Wong, 2008). This helps with efficiency, speeding up the process, and ensuring a systematic organisation and control over data. Simply put, the researcher still needs to create the codes, categories and themes as the software does not provide for that. Moreover, the researcher needs to identify the patterns and draw meaningful conclusions from the data, as they would if the process was undertaken manually.

NVivo gives you the option to work on text, audio files or both concurrently. This means you can directly import audio files and analyse them without the need to transcribe them first (which is a time consuming and cumbersome process). However, I made a decision to transcribe the audio recording before importing them into NVivo because according to Duranti (2006), transcribing audio interviews is a process of data analysis in itself. Tessier (2012) also argues that transcribing is a selective process led by a theoretical position, rather than the mere mechanical application of symbols. Therefore, for interpretivist studies, it is an imperative process as it is able to reveal hidden nuances that can easily go unnoticed. This is why Duranti (2006) states that transcription allows each individual to come across different meanings in the text.

It should also be mentioned that the field notes that were taken during observations and interviews are of the utmost importance in interpretivist studies. As such, the transcripts were also complemented by field notes which documented the contents of the interview, my emotions and feelings and the notes on the context. These notes were written during the interview as well as after. According to Tessier (2012: 448), such notes play a significant role because "the ideas and memories from the interview will most likely be lost further down in the research process". To avoid this, I began writing down thoughts, drawing relationships and re-ordering the data during the interviews and observation.

In preparation to begin the analysis on NVivo, I read and re-read all texts to become familiar with the contents by looking for keywords, preliminary ideas, and themes. Due to the nature of the proposition and the theoretical framework, I was already aware of the themes that were sought after. This made the coding processes easier and more structured. However, it was also insightful because of all the unanticipated themes that emerged. This which reminded me of the need to remain flexible as informed by the phenomenological methodology.

The process of coding started when I put together extracts across various texts and organised them into a labelled file representing codes (or what NVivo calls nodes). For the purpose of this section, the codes and nodes are referred here as files. Within these files, I was able to paste different extracts, pictures, and also add personal memos and reflections as part of the sense making process of the data analysis. The files were then paired with other files to begin the process of analysing patterns and relationships and also narrowing or splitting the initial files that were created. This is how the themes and concepts discussed in the findings chapter emerged. The files were, however, thick in descriptions because they were made up of all data sets combined (observations, documents, interviews, focus groups discussions and field notes). This warranted the process of data reduction.

Data reduction refers to an aspect of the analysis process that "sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards, and organizes data in such a way that "final" conclusions can be drawn and verified" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 11) In other words, it is the process of eliminating what is not relevant to the research inquiry or selecting what is most relevant. Due to the interactive process of analysis, it was important to be able to retrieve information when themes were being constructed and reconstructed based on new acquired knowledge during the analysis processes.

NVivo made the process of the retrieval of extracts and pattern building much easier because of how the data was stored. Moreover, it allowed me to be creative through the options of modelling

relationships and colour coding without the anxiety of losing anything. Although the steps followed were no different to traditional manual thematic analysis, the use of the software relieved the burden of storage, organising and retrieving information, because in NVivo, "all the sources are kept together under one roof" (Zamawe, 2015: 14). It also allowed me to keep all the participants' information safe and secure because there were no papers laying around or exposed during the time of analysis. In addition, having a secure NVivo account that required a username and password to access, ensured the privacy that was needed to protect the participant's identity and their verbatim transcripts. A summary of the entire research process is summarised in Figure 6 below.
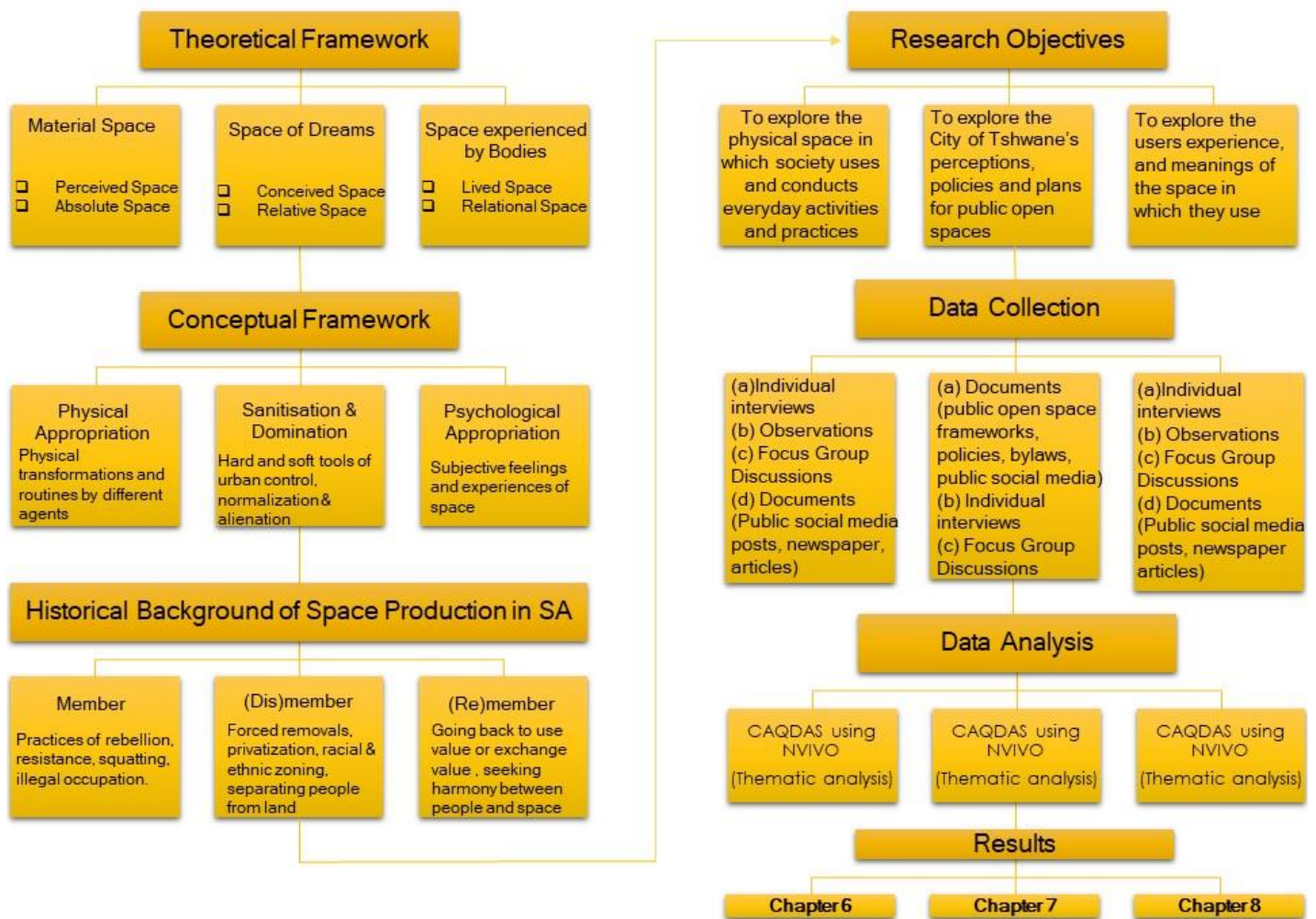
Figure 6: The Summary of the Research Process

Source: Author (2021)

5.9. Reflections from the Research Field

Phenomenological research requires the researcher to be aware or to take notice of his or her own position and prejudgements in the research process because of the impact that they may have in the production of knowledge (Spinelli, 2005). When embarking on this research project in 2018, I made an effort to constantly reflect on my position, biases, and pre-conceived ideas in order to become aware of them and where and how they featured in the research.

It is important to mention that qualitative phenomenological research has the potential to change the researcher in many ways and these changes have implications on the research process (Bryman, 2008). It is thus, important to engage with how I have shaped the research, and how the research has shaped me through a process of reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to the process of being self-aware and conscious of yourself in the research process (Burawoy, 1998). It is about realising that as researchers, we enter the field with our own experiences and socialisations and that we exist in the same world in which we study. Ultimately, this means that we cannot completely study the world as outsiders with objective ethical standards (Palaganas et al., 2017). We need to acknowledge that our social, economic, geographical, racial and gendered backgrounds affect our research practice and ethical considerations.

Ethics in research refer to a wide range of values, morals and norms that are used to constitute and regulate scientific activities in research. According to Bryman (2008), ethics arise in different stages in research and researchers need to constantly ask themselves questions around how they should treat the people on whom they conduct research and whether there are activities in which they should or should not engage in our relations with them (Bryman, 2008; 476). In an effort to standardise research practices and their moral principles, researchers need to abide by the principles of no harm to participants and limited invasions of privacy, disclosure of information, deception in the name of anonymity and confidentiality through the use of consent forms (Bryman, 2008; May, 2011; Neuman, 2011). As straightforward as these principles may seem in theory and how they are taught, their application in the research field may pose dilemmas

I approach this section with the argument that my position and social location had an impact on how I viewed the idea of ethics and conducted my research. The complex nature of being a researcher in a community where I am simultaneously familiar, but also foreign and the dynamics of being a black female researcher in a patriarchal society is explored in this section. In addition, I explore how my "privilege" of being "educated" and under the banner of a prestigious institution like the University of Pretoria presented ethical dilemmas and limitations in conducting the

research. Such dilemmas invoked the need to rethink ethical issues, particularly for studies that are interested in the lived experiences of their participants in their natural environment.

Ultimately, this section argues that research ethics are not a means to an end, but rather should begin the conversation around the epistemological questions regarding the decolonisation of research practices in a broad sense. Decolonisation in this regard calls for a diversity of research strategies which researchers in my contextual location can use and think about independently as a necessary step towards epistemic (re)construction.

5.9.1. The Discomforts of being a Black Woman

Chacko (2004) argues that one's gender has a direct influence on how participants in the study are accessed, how they are engaged with, and how knowledge is produced between the participants and the researcher. In agreement with Chacko, this section presents my personal experiences, especially regarding the gendered dangers and "awkwardness" of fieldwork in a country such as South Africa, which is paralysed by high crime levels and increasing cases of gender-based violence. This section, however, does not argue that these dilemmas are unique to me, but rather argues that these dilemmas are often silenced as the assumption is that researchers have some form of power and status in the research field.

Recalling my experience in the research field, particularly during the first initial observations at Magnolia Dell Park in 2018, I would find a bench under a tree to sit, write down my notes and take some pictures. However, for some reason, there was always a discomfort. I would feel watched by men using the park and in other instances, would approach me to either ask for my number or if they could join me. Such incidents made me wary to visit the park alone for my observations, particularly during late afternoons, and early evenings. These incidents persisted and became the order of my observation days through-out all the parks under study. In specific cases, during semi-structured interviews, participants would make remarks such as, "I will only agree to this interview if you provide me with your cell number" or "Let's not talk about that, let's talk about us". I would have to negotiate my way into getting an interview without stepping over my research and personal ethical boundaries. I quickly learnt that I needed to manage different egos and uncomfortable advances in order to diversify my sample and ensure representation of the population. It was an ethical dilemma that I had to negotiate delicately because of its implications on the data and my personal dignity. I thought about employing a fieldworker who would assist me with data collection. However, due to limited financial resources, that was not a feasible option. Ultimately, I decided to stop visiting the parks alone. I realised that I needed a male companion

to accompany me whenever I visited the parks. This had dire implications on my research schedule as data collection days and times had to be reshuffled to accommodate my companions. However, this also revealed the complexities in conducting research and the unintended clashes between ethics, personal dignity, and the desperation to collect data with limited time and resources.

Over and above the concerns of visiting the parks alone, I would also find it difficult to approach certain individuals, particularly in Rietondale Park, situated in a predominantly white Afrikaans neighbourhood. Being a young black woman with dark skin walking up to a stranger who is white, male, and middle age was something that I had to overcome. Field research requires a level of self-assurance and confidence which I thought I had when writing the proposal for this thesis. However, the experience in the research site was different. Asking seemingly odd questions about the park, its uses, evolution, and meaning warranted the political discussion around "newcomers" in the Rietondale Neighbourhood or what the thesis has developed in Chapter eight as "*Divergent Citizens*". Such discussions were tied specifically to ideas of difference, race, culture and invasion which made conversations uneasy between myself and the participants who would respond with much hostility, describing the behaviour of black people to me as if I were not black.

I describe the above dilemmas as *"awkward distractions"* because they create emotional internal conflicts which have a bearing on how women such as myself conduct research and collect data. They have implications on how we select research participants, how much time we spend in the field, and how we make sense of the context in which we study. These dilemmas represent my honest experiences of collecting data in parks. However, I have not conceptualised them negatively. Rather, I saw them as an opportunity to begin honest and reflexive conversations around context and positionality, which are necessary to consider before and after ethical applications have been approved. Hopefully, such conversations can prepare young researchers such as myself for fieldwork and bring to the surface the complexities of ethical dilemmas in our context.

5.9.2. Navigating the process of disclosure and consent

According to Dranseika et.al (2017), a firmly established requirement in research ethics, is the requirement of disclosure of information. In other words, a participant should not participate or consent to the participation of a study when they are not informed about the study. The disclosure of information is thus, directly linked to informed consent forms that need to be signed by each participant. Bryman (2008) argues that there are debates in social sciences on the use of consent

forms, particularly in instances of disguised or covert observations, where participants are studied without their knowledge. Creswell and Creswell (2018) also discuss some of these debates, particularly in ethnographic research and situations where the researcher cannot possibly attain the signed consent of a wide variety of participants.

Engaging with my own experience, consent forms presented a challenge where users of public spaces would be open to conversing with me. However, when I handed them the consent form, they would change their attitude. On many occasions, some would ask me to sign it myself. This was also the case with some municipal officials who would read the consent form, but refuse to sign it. It was a recurring situation, even though the form stated clearly that anonymity and confidentiality would be observed unless requested otherwise. A particular event struck my attention in Jubilee Square in Sunnyside, when I approached one particular young woman. She was friendly and easy going. However, when I disclosed that I was a student at the University of Pretoria conducting research in the park and needed her consent, the young lady had this to say:

> Ahh… You people from the university just come here to ask us questions, wearing your university T-shirts and then when you are done, we don't know what happens with your research… you just go and things remain the same here (Thlogi: Jubilee Square, 2018).

It was at this moment that I realised that the challenge of ethics with regards to disclosure and consent was broader and more critical than I had initially thought. The response by Thlogi (2018) was an indication that participants still hold some form of expectation when they participate in research projects. Moreover, it also highlighted the fact that researchers have, in some way, maintained the tradition of using participants for their information and never going back to share their research findings.

This encounter with Thlogi (2018) led me to a process of reflecting on ethics, disclosure, and informed consent which made me realise the unintended spill over challenges. For instance, during my data preparation and analysis phase, I found myself writing extensive memos and interpreting the interviews that were conducted. I then realised that I would need to request for consent once again from the participants with respect to how I have interpreted the stories and the meanings derived from those interpretations. It became apparent that consent would need to be an unending process that could be revisited multiple times until the thesis is submitted for examination. However, because of the impossibility of this task, I then approached the idea of validation interviews that were conducted with certain municipal officials who were available to be interviewed for the second time. Validation interviews or participant validation is a process of

verifying whether the researcher has understood the participant and interpreted their stories correctly (McGrath et al. 2019). This can be done by sharing the interview transcripts with the participants or discussing the interpretation result with them (Creswell, 2013). I found that this process did not only improve the quality and validity of the data, but also gave the officials an opportunity to *(re)consent.* Unfortunately, due to the time constraints of the research, this process could not be replicated with the other participants in the study.

5.9.3. The Limitations of Language

In seeking to explore in-depth experiences and perceptions about a phenomenon, language becomes imperative. According to Van Nes et al. (2010), language is used to express and construct meaning and is thus, crucial in qualitative research, because "language can be used to mirror the world and also to construct and negotiate it in contextually bounded ways" (Ndhlovu, 2020: 27). It is in this context that I find it necessary to discuss the challenges presented by language in this research.

Whilst the City of Tshwane is a melting pot of cultures and languages, it is predominantly made up of seTswana speaking people. Therefore, the majority of my participants were also seTswana speaking. I, on the other hand come from a different province and speak tshiVenda as my home language. This means for most of my life, I navigated the word and constructed meaning using tshiVenda. This is imperative to mention because different languages and dialects use different metaphors and expressions to communicate and without this contextual understanding and interpretation can be difficult. Therefore, it is necessary to work across languages, paying close attention to the value of language and "the politics of translation" (Palmary 2014: 577).

I experienced great challenges during interviews in parks where I would approach different people of colour, and because we are both black, the assumption was that we should greet and communicate in seTswana or another dominant indigenous language, such as isiZulu. However, being a person from a different province and speaking a language not predominantly spoken in the capital city made it difficult to start conversations with some participants. I recall having to greet in seTswana and then having to switch over to English in order to communicate my reason for seeking to converse with them. They would look at me differently and at that moment, I would have to disclose my personal identity and background in order to convince them that my use of English is not to undermine them or assert my "educational status", but to be able to clearly utter what I need to. This was necessary because in all encounters with my participants, I did not want to create a hierarchy nor to offend anyone. I would attempt to move back and forth between two

languages (English and seTswana). However, I found difficulties in explaining words such as "experience" "perception" "democracy" and "meaning", which are complicated terms to use in African languages and are, most often, not simple for the participants to understand. They represented foreign concepts which the participants and myself struggled to conceptualise in an indigenous language.

This language dilemma was not only experienced with seTswana or Zulu participants, but also with tshiVenda speaking people, who ironically spoke the same language that I do. I found myself having to think very carefully about what I wanted to say and also think deeply about what the participant was responding to. I came to realise that although I was Venda, and have been speaking tshiVenda since birth, all my educational and research training was in English. My mind was therefore, programmed to theorise and conceptualise only in the English language. It must be mentioned that I do not assume the inferiority of indigenous languages, nor do I assume that they are incapable of expressing theoretical and conceptual views. However, my experience of reading and learning in English has led me to think only in the English language. Unfortunately, the English language in this context was not accessible for all the participants that I encountered. It made me realise the wrath of colonialism and how it stripped me of a unique sense making of the world. The dominance of the English language as a universal vehicle of communication had failed me in my quest to dig into the stories of my own people. I began to regard myself as *"relationally illiterate"*. I had to be conscious of this position and to be aware that interviewing my participants in English also forced them to respond in English so as to accommodate me. Although this may seem fine at face value, it is actually problematic because in order to capture the richness of experience, one needs to interrogate language-specific narratives. Those who speak different languages perceive the world in its unique linguistic context (Jackendoff, 2009). In simple terms, how reality is experienced is unique to one's own language.

As a way to face this challenge and to ensure the validity of the data, I spent much time thinking about the translation of the interview schedule before going back into the field. I also intentionally encouraged respondents to respond in a language that they were comfortable with and thus, challenged myself and those around me to translate the transcripts of those who chose not to speak English. Moreover, I ensured that I insert verbatim extracts from the interview transcripts throughout the thesis. I refrained from editing the English grammatical and language errors because I wanted to do justice to the stories shared by the participants. I wanted the extracts to communicate for themselves and to show the originality of the data. Language is the vehicle with

which meaning is communicated to the reader. In an effort to be true to that meaning, I allowed the extracts to speak for themselves.

5.9.4. Dealing with Participant Expectations

Being reflexive in research does not only refer to being mindful of yourself but also being mindful of how others may perceive you. It is common that in research, researchers are seen as individuals with some form of power, connectedness, and level of importance, particularly once the researcher has disclosed who they are and the organisation they are with (Wagner, et al., 2012). This can create expectations with the participants who assume that after their participation in the research, change will be apparent and that, somehow, they will benefit from that change. LaRocco et al. (2020) discusses their experience in rural Botswana a country in sub-Saharan Africa. The scholars argue that the rural communities under study saw them as the fixer of their problems and people who could successfully convey their grievances to the local authorities because they were from America. They also indicate that such an experience empirically demonstrated the relationship that the rural communities have with their local authorities and it showed how they viewed white foreigners and their conceptions of who has power.

In reading the experience by LaRocco and her colleagues, I began to reflect on my own experiences in the field. I recall one incident, in particular, when I was collecting data at Jubilee Square in Sunnyside. I had identified an informal trader who I had been observing for some time, and I thought I was ready to interview him. He was selling sweets, DVDs, CD's, and sunglasses laid neatly across the floor. Upon approaching him, he seemed reluctant to talk to me because I was not buying and politely dismissed me. I left his 'stall' and moved on to talk to other people in the park, including other traders that were present. When I was about to leave the park, I walked past him and the young man called me back to which I hurriedly agreed. He asked why I was walking around and giving people things to sign (referring to the consent forms). I then disclosed my identity to him and his initial hesitation quickly turned to enthusiastic willingness to talk. By virtue of being associated with the University of Pretoria, collecting data for a "PhD" degree and working as a lecturer, he assumed that I had the power or connections to change things in the park. He began telling me about his character, dreams, and aspirations and how the government can help him in achieving his goals. It seemed as if he was giving me a list of things to take forward to the 'correct people'. I concluded that he believed that because of my position and social location, I had the power and privilege to influence change. This situation shows how participants can be easily coerced into participating because of the assumption that something will come out

of their participation in the study. It is therefore the researcher's responsibility not to abuse this misconception and to be candid about research and what it can or cannot do for those who participate.

5.10. Conclusion

This chapter has detailed and described the roadmap that was followed in exploring and understanding the conflicts in perceptions, experiences, and meanings of public spaces in the City of Tshwane. The chapter was divided into four sections as indicated in the introduction. Firstly, it sought to detail the research approach, research paradigm and research methodology that was used to underpin the study. Thereafter, it proceeded to describe the multiple case study research design that was selected for the research. It covered debates surrounding sampling, data collection and analysis techniques and presented those suitable and utilised for this study. The chapter also summarised all the research steps and integrated them into the theoretical and conceptual frameworks in order to demonstrate the research coherence and logic. It also showed that although the research was located within the Town and Regional Planning discipline, it borrows its methodologies from scholars from other disciplines. Therefore, this chapter argues that the interdisciplinary arguments and methodologies shaped the research and revealed the in-depth constructs, contests, and conflicts embedded in the processes of space production and reproduction. It used methods of triangulation which were necessary not only for the credibility of the data, but also because at the core of the theoretical argument of this thesis is the notion that contestations in space production need to be explored from different perspectives in order to present public spaces in their totality.

Lastly, at the end of this chapter, I described the reflexive exercise that was undertaken during the entire research process. This revealed the ethical dilemmas and research limitations that shaped how knowledge was produced. The chapter presented the dilemmas that were faced and how they were resolved. Additionally, it revealed the need to think critically about the importance of being conscious of one's own position, how research methods are taught, the importance of language, and the conflicts experienced when ethical principles are met with 'awkward distractions'.

The next chapter presents the results of the first objective of the study, which is the exploration of public space user perceptions, daily uses and conflicts in the production of a democratic space.

CHAPTER SIX: THE MATERIAL SPACE

UNPACKING THE PHYSICAL AND PERCEPTUAL DIMENSIONS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter satisfies the first objective of the thesis, which is: to explore the public space user perceptions of space, their daily uses and conflicts to produce and redefine space according to their recreational, social, economic, political, and religious needs. The chapter also interrogates the perceived space, which according to Lefebvre (1991), is the space in which people live and go about their daily activities, and absolute space, which according to Harvey (2004) is the empirically observable space where we are constantly negotiating between physical space, spatial uses and spatial realities. Moreover, the chapter conceptualises the different uses and perceptions in the public spaces as processes of *membering* and physical appropriation.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Firstly, a brief methodology on how the first objective was studied is made, so as to show how and where the findings were derived. Although the previous chapter tackled the entire research methodology that was deployed for the thesis, the methodology section presented here narrows it down to the specific inquiry of the material space and how the first objective of the thesis was met. Secondly, the demographic profile and neighbourhood character in which the respective public parks are located is discussed to allow for a better understanding and contextualisation of the data presented. Thirdly, the physical nature of the spaces, their design elements and considerations are discussed. Lastly, the findings of the space use and user practices to physically appropriate and produce the democratic space are presented, alongside the analysis of the users' perceptions.

6.2. Methodology: Inquiry into the Material Space

In order to explore, analyse, and interpret the material space, the study made use of participant observations. An observation schedule was carried and notes of all uses and practices were recorded. The exploration of the uses and users in this research included behavioural mapping wherein uses were not only observed, but the behaviour of the user was also taken into account. I did not only rely on personal observations in this regard, but also posed questions to respondents in order to capture the perceptions and practices of the users and uses to back up personal observations. As such, the fulfilment of the first research objective of the thesis was based on the data collected through participant observations and semi-structured interviews. The focus was

placed on who sat where, what they did, who they did it with, and how they entered and exited the space.

I also spent a significant amount of time in the physical trace mapping where the physical nature of the space was observed and explored. In this case, I was looking at the beauty and aesthetic of the spaces, the ordering of all physical elements, fences, benches, and other materials. This method of exploring the parks was influenced by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) who put emphasis on the importance of understanding the physical composition and organisation of space in exploring relations within it. According to Lefebvre (1991), physical space holds power over everyday human practices and endeavours. Whilst Harvey (2004), argues that the power of the physical space is undeniable because of its physical and undisputable presence. As such, the material spaces in this chapter was explored through the lens informed by Lefebvre and Harvey's conceptions of the perceived and absolute space.

6.3. Case Study One: Jubilee Square in Sunnyside Pretoria

This section provides a brief introduction into the case of Jubilee Square located in the neighbourhood of Sunnyside Pretoria.

6.3.1. Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character

Sunnyside is a centrally located, mixed-use neighbourhood with an area of 2.25km². It offers retail businesses (including restaurants), offices, nightclubs, and mostly high-density residential developments which range from reasonably upmarket apartments to some that are considerably dilapidated. The demographic portfolio of Sunnyside is useful because it provides a preview into the different population groups living in the area. Moreover, it also illustrates who is most likely to visit the space, their age, gender, nationality, which are all necessary in the understanding and analysis of their perceptions of the public space.
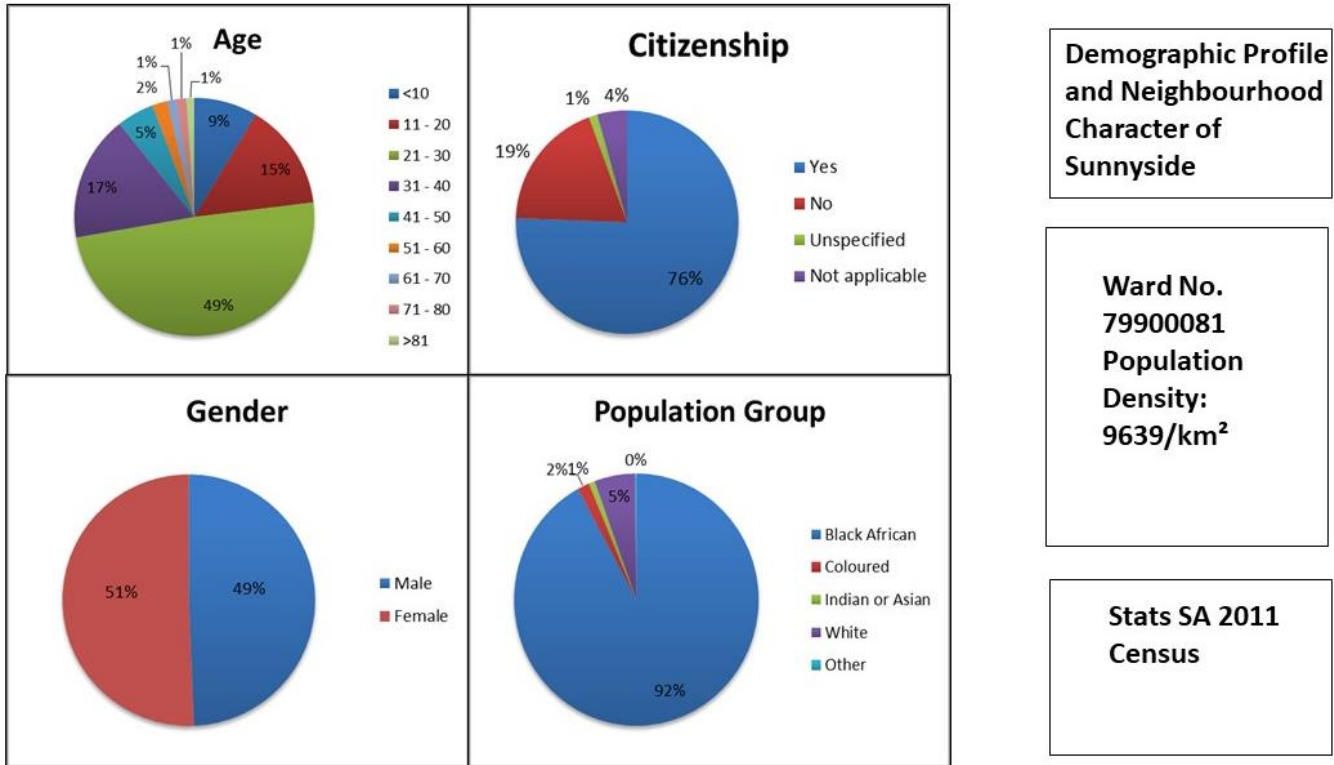
Figure 7: Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character of Sunnyside

Source: Author (2021).

Figure 7 above shows the population size of Sunnyside as *per* the Stats SA 2011 Census data which is 39,282. The breakdown of this population group consists of 92% Black Africans as the majority population group residing in the area, followed by 5% Whites, 2% coloured and 1% Indian or Asian. The gender distribution indicates that the male population constitute 51% whilst women made up the remaining 49% of the population. The area is inhabited by 76% South Africans, 19% non- South Africans while the other 5% was unspecified. Sunnyside is predominantly made up of a young population between the ages of 21 and 30 years at a percentage of 46%. The household size is made up of 74% of people living either alone or with another person, and a percentage of 24% living in medium sized households of 3-5 people.

It is important to note that Sunnyside is a highly dense area made up of flats that attract students and young working people as indicated by the large percentage of people between the ages of 21-30. As such, the population can be argued to be made up of an active youth population. The household size may also allude to the fact that such age groups do not necessarily live as families.

The vibrancy and robust streets of Sunnyside can also be linked to the youth in the area and the diversity of nationalities that live in the same space and are all in some way making and remaking the space together.
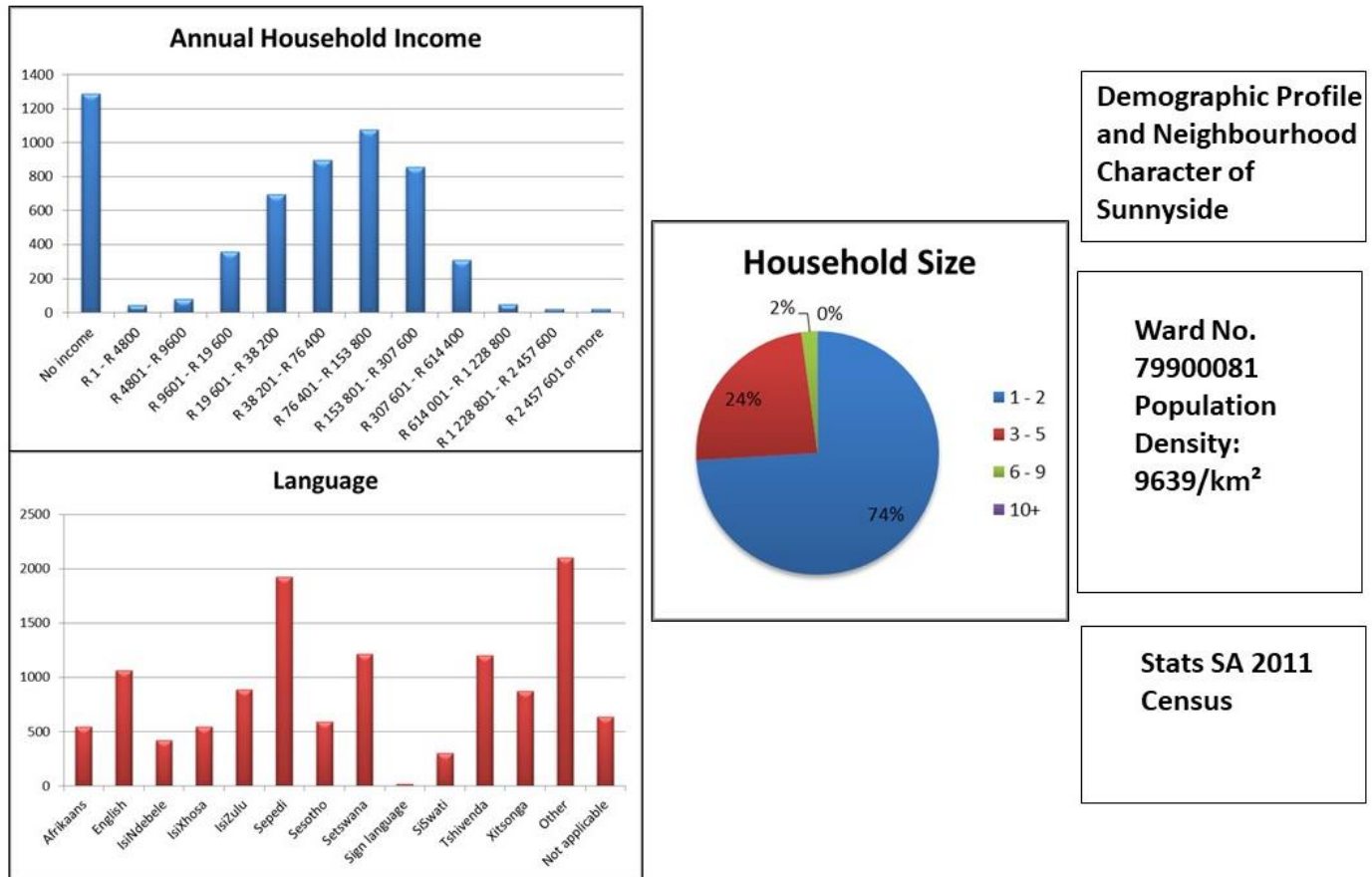
Figure 8: Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character of Sunnyside

Source: Author (2021).

Figure 8 above illustrates the annual household income for Sunnyside. It indicates that the majority of the population had no income. This was followed by those who had an income of between R76401-R153800 per annum. The first bar graph also indicates other income levels. It portrays Sunnyside as a diverse in income area with some people actually earning nothing while some earn considerably well. Although the gap between the highest income and the lowest is vast, the attractiveness of Sunnyside to different groups with different incomes shows how the

area is able to cater for different preferences. The element of language is also important to mention in the context of Sunnyside. The second bar graph illustrates all the official languages of South Africa and also includes the information regarding other languages that are not official in the country. These are shown as 'other'. The 'other' languages constitute the majority of languages spoken in Sunnyside. As such, this implies that the area is home to not only South Africans, but also to foreign nationals. This indicates the cultural dynamics and diversities within the neighbourhood. According to Lefebvre (1991), space is not made up of an 'innocent context', rather it embodies internal and external influences of culture, socialisation, race and class. This diversity has implications on how space is perceived and used by different social actors. According to Harvey (2009), diversity in communities requires diversity where rules, plans, and frameworks are concerned.

6.3.2. Physical Nature of Jubilee Square

Jubilee Square is a park that is located in Sunnyside, in-between the busy streets of Troy and Justice Mohammed. The map below (Figure 9) illustrates the different land uses in and around Jubilee Square. As can be seen on the land use map, the area is predominantly residential. It makes use of the zone "Residential 4" as per the City of Tshwane's zoning scheme. According to the land use scheme, Residential 4 includes dwelling-units, guest-houses, parking sites and residential buildings. Other uses such as boarding houses, hostels, places of public worship, and places of child care, retirement centres, fitness centres, and other compatible uses are permitted with municipal consent. The park is also 0.18km from Robert Sobuke (Esslien) street - which is a strip filled with clusters of land uses zoned as "Business 1" in the City of Tshwane's Zoning scheme. This is represented by the colour red on the zoning map. Business 1 comprises government institutions, places of refreshment and other uses such as light industries of which the most predominant are salons. Therefore, Jubilee Square in Sunnyside is home to a variety of compatible uses that support its temporal, as well as socio-economic dimension.

Figure 9: Jubilee Square - Land Use Map

Source: Author (2021).

The park is divided into two sections separated by Troy Street (see Figure 10). It is made up of hard and soft elements and has a rule board at the entrance of the park (Figure 11). The park has paved walkways which provide for navigation throughout the park (Figure 12). It also provides steel and concrete sitting options (Figure 13). The larger section of the park has a demarcated outdoor gym area which is fully equipped with outdoor gym equipment (Figure 14). The other section of the park has a children's play area that has some play equipment including a slide and jungle gym (Figure 15). The ablution facilities are located on the children's side of the park. The structure is covered with graffiti and has adverts and posters pasted on the walls (Figure 16).

Figure 10: Jubilee Square Park

Figure 11: Municipal Rules and Regulations Board at Park Entrance - Sunnyside

Sitting Options:
Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 12: Sitting Options: Jubilee Square

Paved Walkway:
Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 13: Paved Walkway - Jubilee Square

Outdoor Gym:
Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 14: Outdoor Gym - Jubilee Square

Children's Play
Area: Jubilee
Square

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 15: Children's Play Area - Jubilee Square

Ablution
Facilities: Jubilee
Square

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 16: Ablution Facilities - Jubilee Square

6.4. Case Study Two: Magnolia Dell Park in Bailey's Muckleneuk

This section provides a brief introduction into the case of Magnolia Dell Park located in the neighbourhood of Bailey's Muckleneuk Pretoria.

6.4.1. Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character

Bailey's Muckleneuk is a neighbourhood neatly nested within the greater neighbourhood of Muckleneuk and adjacent to the affluent neighbourhood of Brooklyn and also boarded by Sunnyside to the north. It is home to embassies, large homes, restaurants and some student accommodation considering its close proximity to the University of Pretoria's Main Campus.

According to the census data of 2011 illustrated on Figure 17 below, Bailey's Muckleneuk represented a racial population distribution of 53% whites and 39% black. The statistics overtly represented a white majority population in the area. This was followed by the black race, the Indian/ Asian (4%), Coloured (2%) and other (2%) respectively. The distribution indicates the diversity in the population and a positive indication of the integration between the white and black populations. The neighbourhood is also characterised by a majority of females as illustrated in the pie chart with a percentage of 55%. The population is predominantly South African as demonstrated by a percentage of 67%. However, considering the nature of university precincts and their temporal nature, the statistics as recorded in the census data can easily fluctuate. The area is inhabited largely by a young population as represented by the age group of between 21

and 30 constituting the majority of the population (36%). This is followed by the age group of between 11 and 20 that constitute 31%. Although the majority of the population is young, Bailey's Muckleneuk does have a representation of older populations which represents the diversity in age groups living in the area houses not only South Africans, but other foreign nationals as represented by the "others" category.
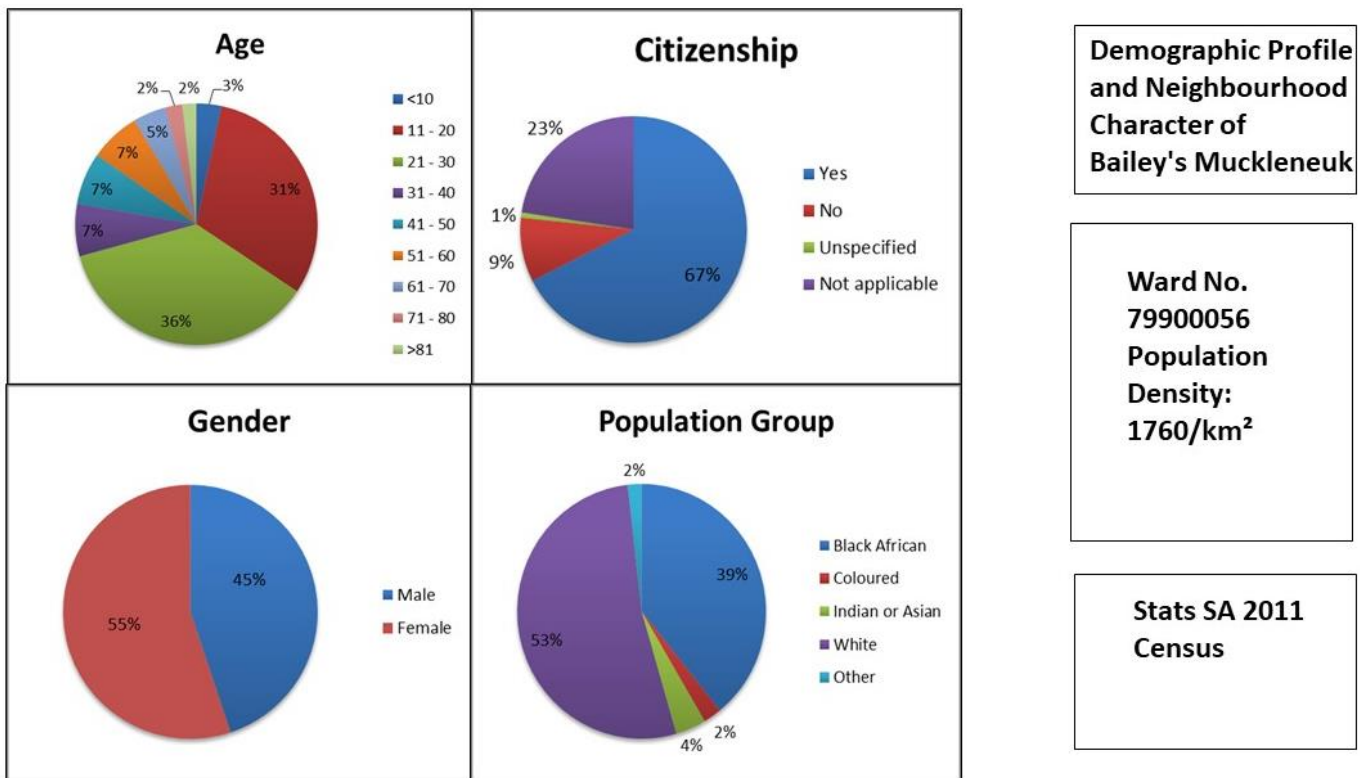
Figure 17: Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character of Bailey's Muckleneuk

The household size illustrated on Figure 18 is predominantly small as 84% of the population resides alone or with one other person. Bailey's Muckleneuk is a neighbourhood located close to The University of Pretoria, and one can assume that the presence of the university also plays a significant role in moulding the occupancy status of the area. The household income graph (Figure 18) illustrates that the majority of the population has no income. However, this is not surprising as the majority of the population are young and presumably still in some form of school or university, thus unemployed. The language spoken is predominantly Afrikaans, which correlates with the racial majority group. This is followed by "not applicable" and English.
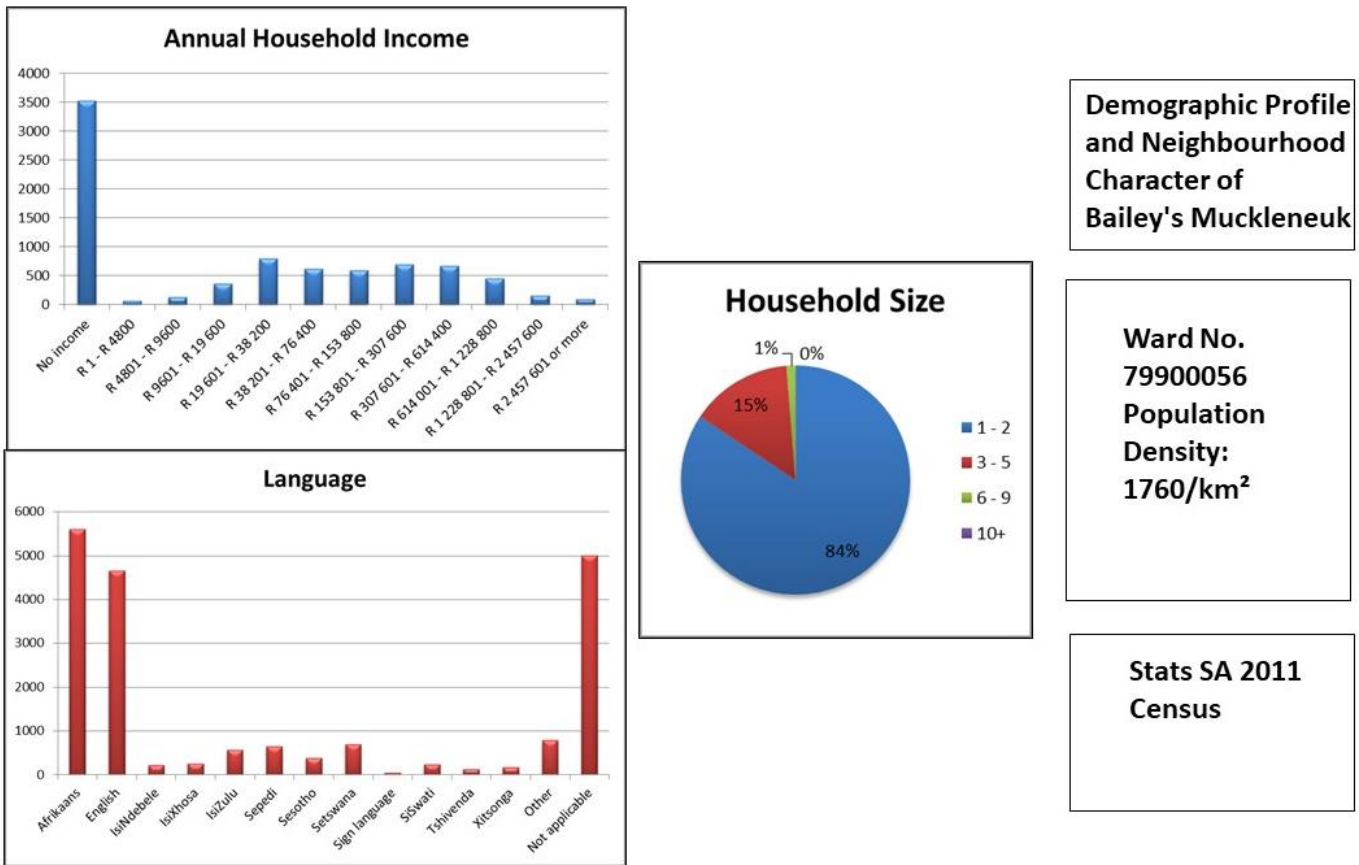
Figure 18: Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character of Bailey's Muckleneuk

6.4.2. Physical Nature of Magnolia Dell Park

Magnolia Dell Park is predominantly a soft open space surrounded by residential establishments under the zone Residential 1 and 2. According to the Tshwane land-use scheme Residential 1 and 2 accommodate homes, duplex buildings, and businesses that are compatible in residential areas like hair salons, attorney offices, dentists, and place of instructions. The University of Pretoria is also located close to the park (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Magnolia Park - Land Use Map

Magnolia Dell Park was developed from a soil dumping site and consists of two sections which are separated by University Road (Figure 20). The section on the east of University Road is much larger than the portion on the western side. The park is a public park and requires no entrance fee as illustrated by the park rules and regulations on Figure 21. However, it shares its space with a private restaurant called Huckleberries (Figure 22). The restaurant attracts not only locals, but also foreigners as tourist buses bring tourists to the park during lunch time. The identity of the restaurant is also undoubtedly influential in the functioning of the park, its safety, and attractiveness. According to Bonenberg (2015), the appearance of a space and its identity has implications on the behaviour of its users. The lack of a well-established identity in a park can contribute to anti-social behaviour, a sense of insecurity, and alienation for its users. As such, the positive identity of the park aided by the restaurant has an influence on how the park looks, how it is used, and by whom.

Figure 20: Magnolia Dell Park

Figure 21: Park Municipal Rules and Regulations - Magnolia Park

Figure 22: Onsite Restaurant - Magnolia Park

The park has a stream running through it as well as a manmade pond where water settles (Figure 23). The natural vegetation is aesthetically pleasing and mimics green pastures (Figure 24). There are benches spread through-out the park and under the shade of the trees, encouraging people to sit (Figure 25). The landscape of the park consists of slopes and contours, which create an enclosed environment, protecting it from the traffic on Justice Mohammed street and University road. The trees are also planted on the edge of the park boundaries, which filters the vehicular noise from the traffic. The park has no pavements within the green areas for navigation. However, it does have a small bridge over the stream allowing for crossing over or taking pictures (Figure 26). There is a play area located on the edge of the park (Figure 27). This is equipped with children playground equipment. The ablution facilities are not vandalised, and show no signs of graffiti (Figure 28).

Empty Pond:
Magnolia Dell
Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 23: Empty Pond - Magnolia Park

Green Pastures:
Magnolia Dell
Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 24: Green Pastures - Magnolia Park

Sitting Options:
Magnolia Dell
Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 25: Sitting Options - Magnolia Park

Running Stream:
Magnolia Dell
Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 26: Running Stream - Magnolia Park

Children's Play Area: Magnolia Dell Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 27: Children's Play Area - Magnolia Park

Ablution Facilities: Magnolia Dell Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 28: Ablution Facilities – Magnolia Dell Park

6.5. Case Study Three: Rietondale Park in Rietondale Pretoria

This section provides a brief introduction into the case of Rietondale Park located in the neighbourhood of Rietondale Pretoria.

6.5.1. Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character

Rietondale is a suburb in the moot area of Pretoria. It was previously a farm and was established in 1924 after the state bought the farm from the original owner (The Heritage Portal). Rietondale still upholds a village disposition, and although many houses are being renovated, the area maintains an old conservative physical character. It is a typical neighbourhood with good primary and secondary schools and maintains a farm style charm. It is also in close proximity to the University of Pretoria and the headquarters of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO). It represents a community that is trying to hold on to its roots and remains low density, despite the developments that are occurring around the area.
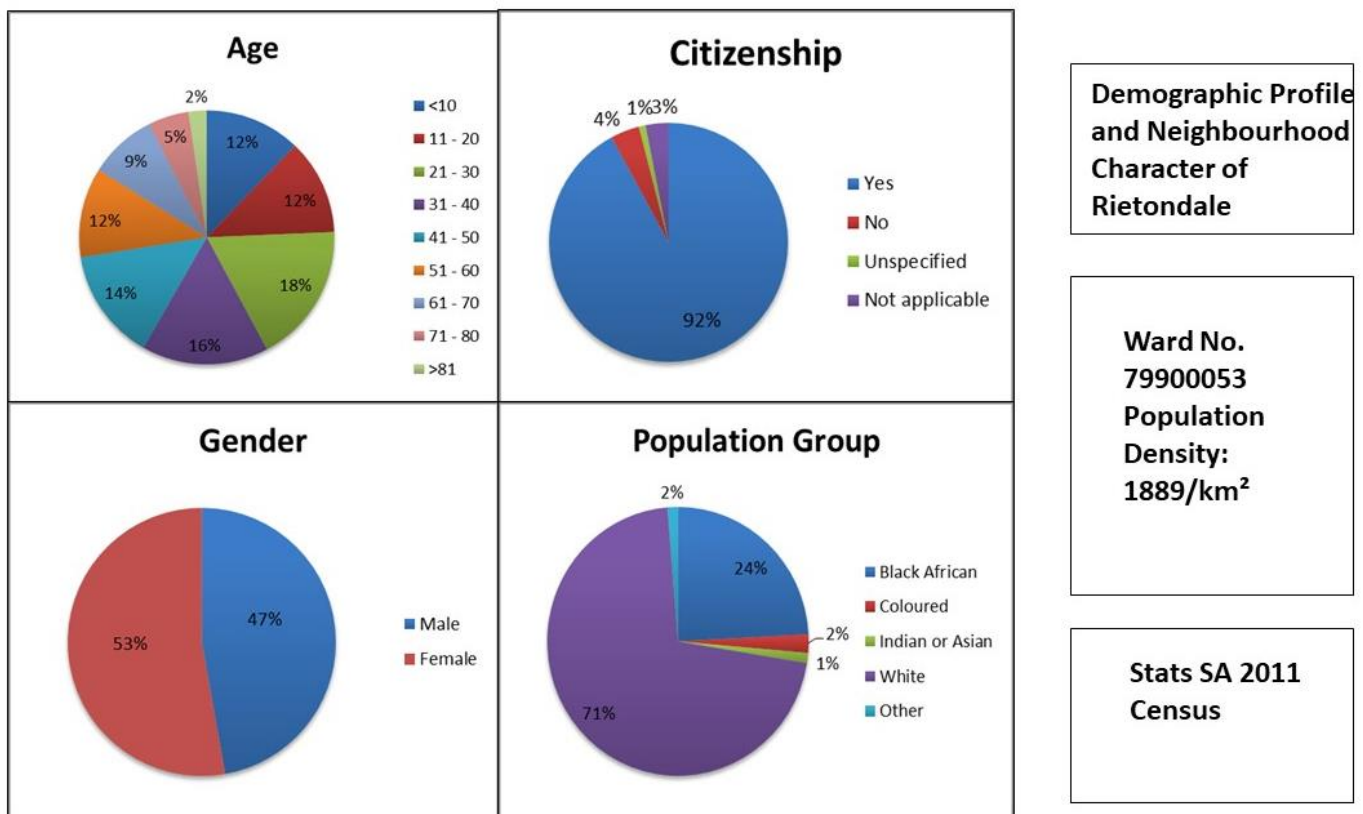
Figure 29: Demographic Profile - Rietondale

The population of Rietondale above (Figure 29) shows a racial distribution that indicates the white race as the majority at 71%. This is followed by blacks (24%), Indian/Asian (2%), coloured (1%), other (2%). The population distribution in the area of is not one that requires the census data to indicate who the majority population is. Observations in the neighbourhood also correlate with this because white people are predominant on the streets, houses, and passing cars. The population distribution does not represent much diversity or integration in the neighbourhood. The gender distribution indicates a majority of women at 53% and men at 47%. Rietondale is also made up of 92% of South African citizens, with 4 % declaring themselves as non-South Africans. This was followed by 3% who could not be accounted for while another 1% was not specified.

As such, one can conclude that the neighbourhood is made up predominantly of white South Africans. The age distribution in Rietondale is more diverse than the other cases under study. The majority of the population was between 21 and 30 years old at 18%. This was followed by 16% of those between 31 and 40 and 14% of those between 41-50%. Interestingly, 12% is made up of the age group 0-10, another 12% makes up the group between 11-20, as well as 12% made up of an age group between 51 and 60. These percentages indicate that the neighbourhood is made up of a considerable number of young as well as old people. However, this also alludes to the tensions that may arise in the different and varying perceptions of space and value experiences because of the generational imperatives, particularly because one generation lived in the apartheid era whilst the other did not. According to Harvey (2004), space presents an arena where different agents with different interests confront each other. This provides interesting questions when exploring the notion of democracy, which is embedded in the views of the majority.

Figure 30 below shows the majority of households (67%) consisted of 1-2 people. This was followed by 36% of those living in families of 3-5 people and 4% living in households with 6-9 members. The household size can be considered small to average in this area and illustrates no sign of over crowdedness in the households considering the population density of 1889/km². The statistics in Figure 30 above also show the languages and annual household incomes in Rietondale. The predominant language spoken in the area was Afrikaans. This was followed by English, whilst other South African and "other" languages are minimally represented. The minimal diversity in the languages spoken in the area alludes to the homogeneity of the residents and potential park users. The income group that was dominant in the area consisted of those earning between R153 801 and R307 600 followed steadily by those earning between R76 401 and R153 800 and also those earning between R307 601 - R614 400. It is clear from the graph that the

neighbourhood is made up of people who are homogeneous in race and language but diverse in age groups and income.

Annual Household Income

Language

Household Size

Demographic Profile and Neighbourhood Character of Rietondale	
Ward No. 79900053 Population Density: 1889/km²	
Stats SA 2011 Census	
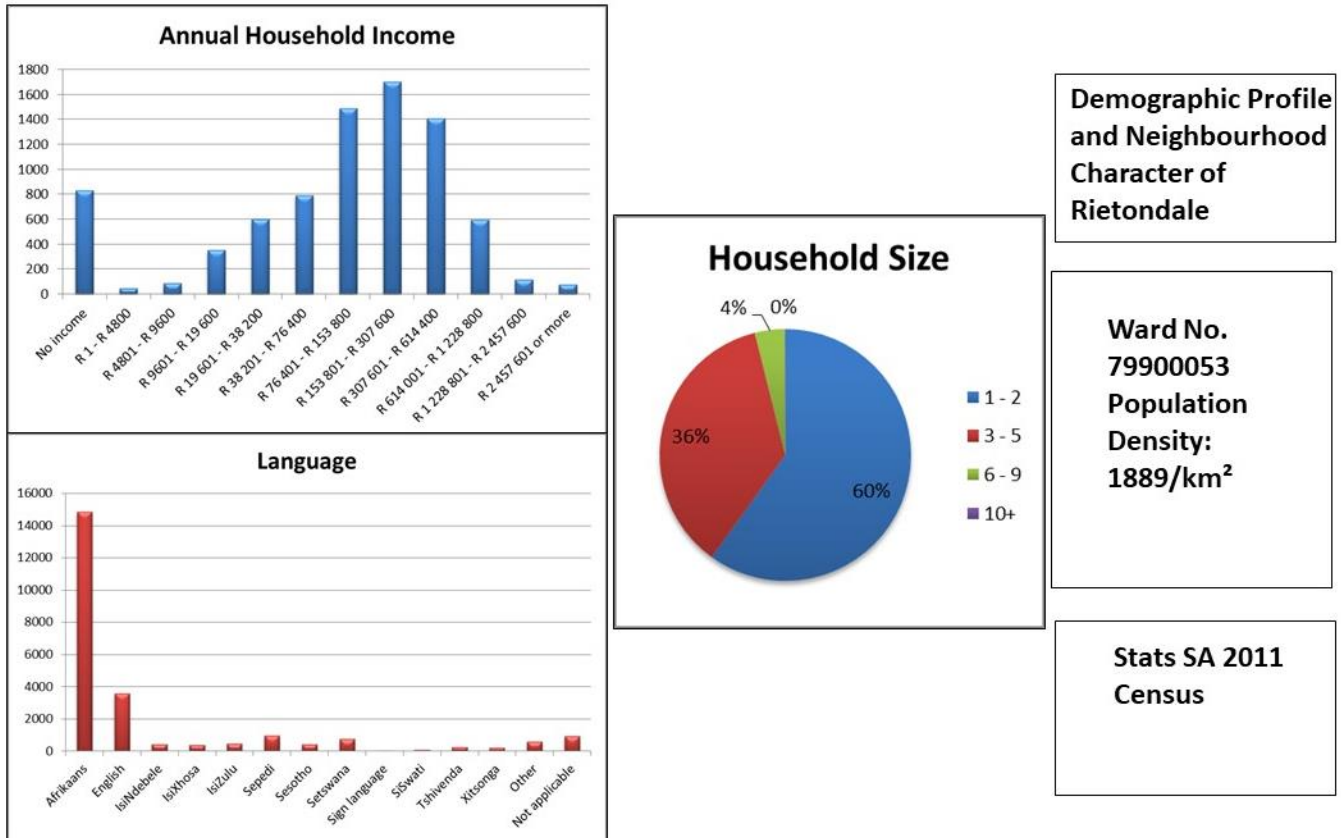
Figure 30: Annual Household Income, Language, and Household Size - Rietondale

6.5.2. Physical Nature of Rietondale Park

As seen in Figure 31 below, the land uses surrounding the Rietondale Park itself, much like Magnolia Dell Park, is predominantly residential land uses as represented by the colour yellow. Residential 1 refers to single dwelling houses as per the City of Tshwane's land use scheme. This suggests that the park is surrounded by single standing low-density housing. There is also a primary school that is built facing the park. As such, the park is surrounded by compatible land uses which are strategically located to serve not only the residents, but also the primary school children. Government institutions, and particularly DIRCO, was built in close proximity to the park and shields the park. There are a few spots that represent businesses around the park which fall under Business 1; and according to the City of Tshwane, these allow for businesses, such as dwelling units, medical consulting, offices and veterinary clinics.

Figure 31: Land Use - Rietondale

Rietondale Park is one of the largest freely accessible parks in the city of Tshwane. It is divided into different sections that accommodate different activities, specifically tennis, softball and a picnic area (Figure 32). Rietondale Park is also home to the tennis club in the neighbourhood which has its own management system, however, the park remains under the management of the City of Tshwane as illustrated on the rules and regulations boards (Figure 33). It is predominantly soft with some hard features as represented by the tennis courts (Figure 34). The park has four entrances two of which allow for motor vehicles to enter (Figure 35). It also has pavements to assist pedestrians with navigation around the park (Figure 36). There are trees all around the park. However, the vegetation itself does not hinder one from seeing and being seen. The park also has abolition facilities on the premises, however, during observations they were always locked (Figure 37).
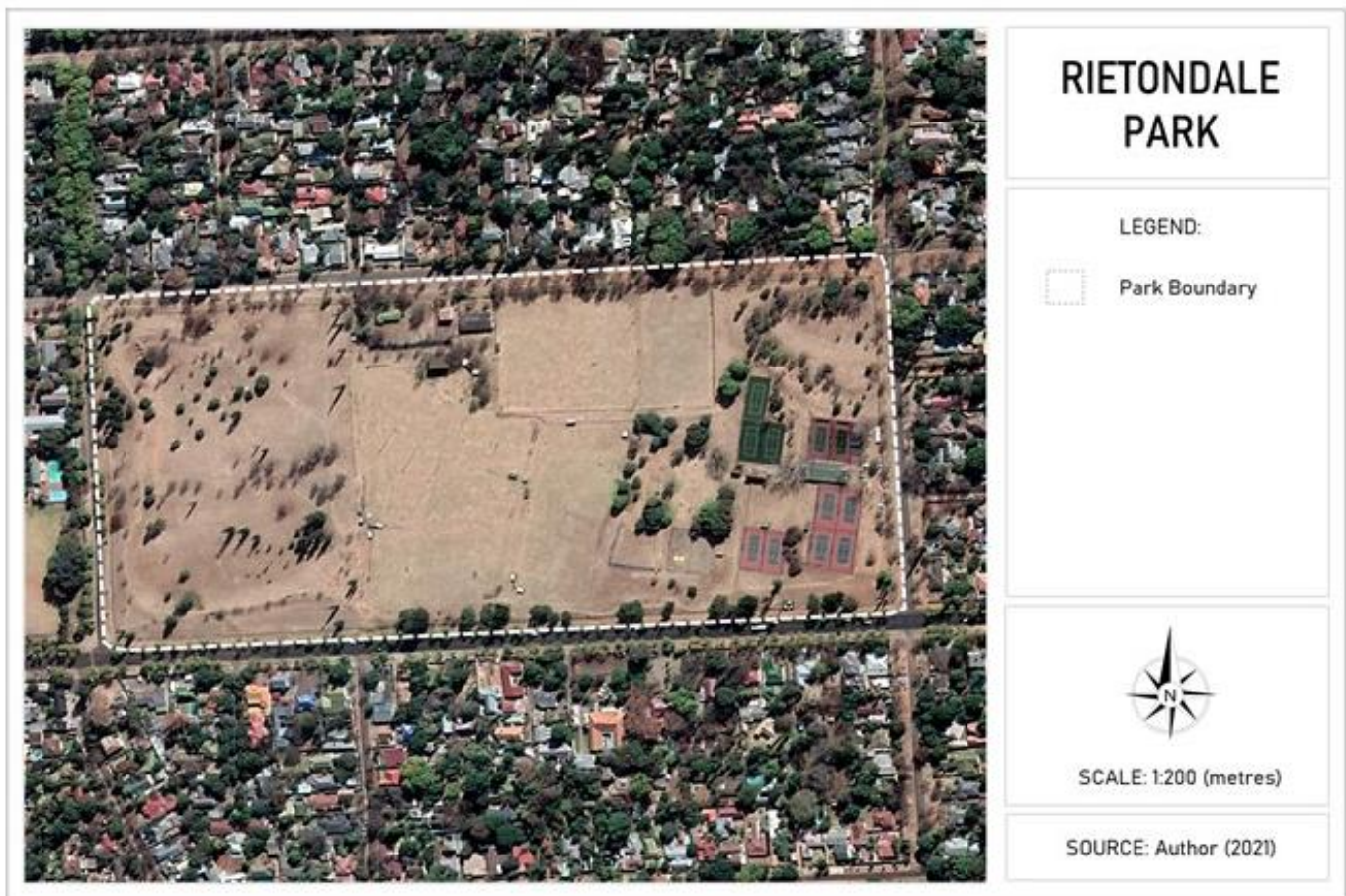
Figure 32: Rietondale Park

Municipal Rules
and Regulations:
Rietondale Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 33: Municipal Rules and Regulations - Rietondale Park

Tennis Court
Facilies:
Rietondale Park

SOURCE: Rietondale Tennis Club, 2018.
https://rietondaletennis.sportyhq.com/ [Accessed October 2018]

Figure 34: Tennis Court Facilities - Riotondale Park

Main Entrance
Gate: Rietondale
Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 36: Main Entrance - Rietondale Park

Paved Walkway:
Rietondale Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 35: Paved Way - Rietondale Park

Locked Ablution
Facilities:
Rietondale Park

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 37: Locked Ablution Facilities - Rietondale Park

6.6. Spatial Practices: The Rationale, Observed Uses and User Interviews

The section shows the different ways in which communities produce and reproduce the parks themselves through their spatial practices in the material space. According to Lefebvre (1991) practices in space have the power to transform and redefine space. However, Harvey (2009) asserts that these practices and processes in space are often legitimised or contested against a set of ideologies constructed by the elite in society. As such, the intention of this section is to explore all practices within the parks whether they are in conflict with municipal rules and by-laws or not. This section stretches beyond the binaries of what is formal and informal, thereby introducing the idea of 'anticipated' and 'unanticipated' uses of space. Public spaces present interesting and positive activities that in many instances, officials do not anticipate and thus do not design or include in their policies.

Based on the field observations, the following section has categorically organised the uses to assist in the understanding of the activities that take place and the users' perceptions thereof.

6.6.1. Recreational Uses

According to Styne and Honiball (2016), public parks provide people with opportunities for a wide range of leisure, sport and recreational activities. They are regarded as crucial in cities and provide opportunities for social engagement through practices of recreation in common spaces (Sallis, Frank, Saelens, and Kraft, 2004). Das and Honiball (2016) also indicate that although public parks have their recreational benefits for urban citizens, they are often underutilised, particularly in South Africa. This sub-section discusses all observed recreational activities, as well as the users' perceptions of the space. All three cases under study presented a significant amount of recreational activities and, therefore, all three cases are discussed.

Recreational Uses - Jubilee Square

The park offers its community and surrounding neighbourhoods the opportunity to participate in recreation, leisure and sports. During observations, it was clear that the park, although small in size as compared to the other parks under study, was thriving in soccer. The sport was being played by different age groups at different intervals. During the day, after school hours from 13:30 to about 17:00, the park was filled by young schoolboys playing soccer on the grass section of the park (Figure 38). Thereafter, from around 17:00-18:30 or even 19:00, depending on the season, the youths were observed playing soccer on the concrete or paved part of the park which was originally designed to be the amphitheatre (Figure 39). This was also the case during school holidays and weekends. However, during those periods, the young kids started playing soccer from around 10:00am.

Children Playing
Soccer: Jubilee
Square

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 38: Children Playing Soccer - Jubilee Square

SOURCE: THEDEEDAWG, 2018.
https://www.facebook.com/thedeedawg/photos/a.10155782690
287242/10155782690442242
[Accessed October 2018]

SOURCE: THEDEEDAWG, 2018.
https://www.facebook.com/thedeedawg/photos/a.
10155782690287242/10155782690732242
[Accessed October 2018]

Figure 39: Users Playing Soccer - Jubilee Square

The soccer activities kept the park busy and encouraged practices of sitting and watching by those who were interested in the game of soccer. A young lady residing in Sunnyside mentioned how soccer was a norm for the park and indicated how many visited the park merely to watch the games:

> You need to come after 4 [pm] you will find even adults playing soccer and others watching and making noise (Munki: Jubilee Square, 2018).

However, the park is not only used for soccer. It also attracts users who use it for yoga and other recreation exercises as demonstrated by the availability of an outdoor gym and the provision of gym equipment. As such, many visit the park on weekends and early evenings to use the park as their own training and exercising space (Figure 40). These activities happen on the east side of the park where the gym equipment has been made available. These recreational activities have contributed to the overall positive and vibrant identity of the park.

Herbalife Fitness
Awareness
Campaign:
Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Sunnyside Jubilee Square Facebook Page, 2017.
https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1783498001914538&set=bc
[Accesses May 2020]

Figure 40: Herbalife Fitness Awareness Campaign - Jubilee Square

Jubilee Square offers physical accessibility in the sense that the equipment is free for all users of the park at no cost. Moreover, the park is located in a highly dense area and majority of the respondents indicated that their flats do not provide for a garden or any outdoor space besides parking. Due to this, many of them come to the park to exercise because they do not have space at their place of residence. The park is extremely vibrant and buzzing throughout the day because it serves as the only out-door space that the community has. This is despite the fact that there is no security, designated parking spaces, and the ablution facilities are locked. Styne and Honiball (2016) argue that the presence of security facilities is considered one of the most important characteristics influencing successful recreational use of urban parks. However, the Jubilee Park seems to be performing successfully in this regard even without security facilities. The park merely has a short fence and no gates, nor does it have park security at the access and exit points, and yet people still find it suitable for their recreational activities even during early evenings. According to Herzele and Wiedeman (2003), physical accessibility needs to be accompanied by visual accessibility which takes into consideration elements such as sight and distance. The park is not enclosed nor hidden. If anything, it is located within two busy four lane streets. Its fence is low and transparent, it has different entrances and exit points which are paved and permeable so as to also provide for a sense of continuity on the various sides. This allows for visual accessibility that can override the omission of physical security. Moreover, the focus on visual accessibility and lack of physical security elements allow for the space to appear less intimidating.

The successful recreational quality of the park was also highlighted in an interview conducted with Thandile, a young woman who was observed during weekdays between the times of 17:30-18:30 using the gym equipment. When asked the question of why she uses this space and how often she uses it, Thandile confidently said:

> I come here every day after work, I use it [the park] to gym, I keep fit and train my clients
>
> (Thandile: Jubilee Square, 2018).

Thandile was actually working as a personal trainer at the time and she was trying to build her image as a personal trainer who trains clients outdoors. As could be expected, Jubilee park was the best site for her to choose because it had equipment that she could use without paying. Thandile was also observed training a client who was also female. The two would be seen going about their session without a care of all that was happening around them. Fascinatingly, other park users would also sit and watch them as they went about their training, as evidenced by the comment from the following extract:

I want to come and gym like those ladies but I have a problem with storage, there is nowhere to put my things. Maybe if there was storage, I can put my things and join them.

(Mpumi: Jubilee Square, 2018).

These recreational activities observed in Jubilee Square may be positioned and communicated positively in this thesis, but this is not always the case in other research. For example, a study on the death of public spaces in Accra, Ghana conducted by Arku, Yeboah and Nyantakyi-Frimpong (2016) states that the recreational activities in public spaces can be seen as a contravention to the idea and ideal standard of urban parks. Moreover, they indicated that their belief is that in Accra the mention of a park does not evoke the image of a green space for leisure but an open field for sporting activities, especially soccer. The scholars refer to this condition as "sorrowful" (Arku, Yeboah and Nyantakyi-Frimpong 2016:1513). Therefore, the idea concerning the recreational uses of urban parks is in itself a contested one, depending on the context.

Recreational Uses - Magnolia Dell Park

Magnolia Dell Park represents a spectacle of uses. Although not particularly designed for any sporting activities, the park has recently been used as a soccer field by young men. In the early evening between the times 16:30 and 18:30 or even later depending on the season, young men are seen playing soccer in the park and using sticks and plastic as goal posts (Figure 41).

Users Playing Soccer: Magnolia Dell Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 41: Users Playing Soccer - Magnolia Park

Children are also observed playing carefree with their shoes off and scattered all over the grass. Throughout the day, people are seen walking their dogs in the park (Figure 42). Some users are observed jogging through or around the park usually in the mornings or early evenings. Although these activities are observed, they are not seen as disruptive, chaotic or out of place. The size of the park allows for all these activities to happen simultaneously.

User walking his Dog: Magnolia Dell Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 42: User Walking his Dog - Magnolia Dell Park

Recreational Uses - Rietondale Park

Rietondale Park can be argued to be one of the parks in the City of Tshwane that benefitted immensely from the apartheid government. This is particularly in terms of its large space and the provision and clustering of different sporting and recreational facilities in the same space. As can be expected, the recreational uses of the park are predominantly those revolving around sports. The park is famous for hosting sports activities such as the Intercare Classic Road Race and the National Business Challenge relay. During weekdays, especially in the late afternoons and early evenings, users can be observed playing soccer (Figure 43), whilst others play tennis (Figure 44).

Users Playing
Soccer:
Rietondale Park

SOURCE: Author,
2019.

Figure 43: Users Playing Soccer - Rietondale Park

Users Playing
Tennis:
Rietondale Park

SOURCE: Rietondale Tennis Club, 2018. https://www.facebook.com/591033274251948/photos/bc
[Accessed January 2019]

Figure 44: Users Playing Tennis - Rietondale Park

The culture of physical activity in the park is facilitated by the nature of the space that is conducive to, and planned for, sporting activities. The park is also well equipped with a children's play area and play equipment where kids play. Rietondale Park represents a park where different activities are working together in harmony because of its physical design and also because of the culture

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of the community. However, in some instances, certain activities are more readily welcomed than others. For example, interviewed community members find the sport of soccer as out of place and one that is not encouraged. However, the reasons for this differs. For some it is because the park itself was not designed for the sport and therefore, there is no space for it, whilst for others, the concern is not with the sport itself, but more so with the behaviour of the participants:

> I think there is enough sport as it is. We are not against the sport but I think it is enough as it is. It is unfair, because if you move your goal post, you are going to affect the next person. Infringing on their rights. I don't think there is really space for more sport here.
>
> (Martha: Rietondale Park, 2019)
>
> There are regulations, but the problem is when the soccer guys finish playing soccer, they start to have the loud music from their cars and they are drinking, now people complain, now who is supposed to look after that?
>
> (Kate: RHOA, 2019)

Although many complained about soccer and what it brings to the park, other respondents were not bothered about this change and the behaviour of its participants:

> I think some of the people are a bit too sensitive about things. Let them [soccer players] have their fun. My daughter lives right opposite the fields and she has never complained.
>
> (Herold: Rietondale Park, 2019)
>
> But Kundani, I think the other reason why the park is so well used especially for sport is because it is so much bigger than the other parks in the city, especially in north street and the two short sides, it has more space, if a ball goes over the side, it's not a big problem.
>
> (Isha: Rietondale Park, 2019)

The above quotes suggest that there are different perceptions which are apparent regarding different sports in the park. According to Henry et al. (2015), perceptions are worse than reality and are often difficult to change. These scholars argue that communities would rather choose to be offended by a parade taking place in their neighbourhood because of what they perceive it to be, instead of inquiring into, what it is actually about. The same goes for political protests, riots, and other public demonstrations. Unfortunately, such negative perceptions have a bearing on the willingness of people to change their attitude and their ability to build trust and to accept difference.

Soccer was unfortunately not the only unanticipated sport that had competing perceptions. The cricket that is played in the park is also a recent activity that does not have its own designated area. The park was not designed for it and thus, no space was allocated for its practice. As such, the sport is posing a physical danger to other users of the park:

> The cricket is informal. I don't think it is formal. And the cricket is actually dangerous because they use the one pathway as the cricket pitch. Now the people want to walk there and one Sunday afternoon an 80-year-old lady was hit on her head when she was taking her walk.

> (Collins: Rietondale Park, 2019)

> I always enjoyed seeing the guys play informal cricket on that side of the park over weekends, [It is] kind of an institution in the park itself. I agree that there are rules to be followed for the good of all, I just hope they don't hurt the friendly homeliness that the park has always represented.

> (Baron, Rietondale Park, 2019)

Such unfortunate incidents make it clear why certain activities can be dangerous and thus require a form of planning and designing. Indeed, creative spontaneous activities are what give public parks their vibrancy and identity, however, the line is drawn when people can be harmed.

Discussion on Recreational Uses

The perceptions regarding sporting activities in the parks were observed as positive on the one hand, but also as conflicting on the other. Some respondents regarded sports in the parks as necessary for vibrancy, whilst other perceived it as distracting and dangerous. This brings about intra-conflicts between park users in their appropriation of space and inter conflicts between users and municipal official who regulate the parks. Moreover, it implicates notions of democratic spaces and what they ought to be. In light of this, Harvey (2009) identified some reasons for conflicts in space by suggesting that internationalised ideas of globalisation present "values" that prevail over local needs and realistic characteristics. Harvey (2009) also argues that such neglect of realistic local characteristics is a result of how space use is poorly studied and misunderstood in its own context. However, Lefebvre (1991) remains hopeful that urban residents, through their spatial practices and appropriation of space, can create space that offer greater democratic control over its production and use.

The observation of recreational uses in the three spaces under study suggests that public spaces in the urban environment should not be seen as stagnant spaces, but rather, spaces that transform to meet the evolving needs of their community through processes of *membering*. In this regard, recreational uses in the three public spaces act as transformative spatial practices of *membering* which users use to redefine and appropriate the democratic space.

6.6.2. Religious Uses

Public spaces have been perceived and used as sites of religious activities throughout history Dora (2015) argues that it is because of such history that spirituality cannot be separated from geography and spatiality. This is demonstrated throughout Asia and Africa where spiritual beliefs and cultural norms permit believers to worship, cleanse and sacrifice in the public space. In post-apartheid South African, cities are witnessing a rise in the religious activities in public spaces. Mchunu (2018: 1) refers to these as the "open-air-temples". Public spaces are perceived to be much more than spaces of recreation in this regard, but rather exist as spaces where spiritual and religious activities can take place openly. This section seeks to discuss the religious activities observed in the public spaces under study. All parks presented religious activities and therefore all the parks will be discussed.

Religious Uses - Jubilee Square

Jubilee Square presents an interesting case of how religion and religious activities are carried out in public parks. During observations, there was a group of Jehovah Witness evangelists who were constantly standing at the access and exit points awaiting potential converts (Figure 45). The site is always interesting to watch as other users of the park seem to actively avoid coming into contact with them. However, regardless of that, this group of evangelists are always present in the park from morning to early evening. Their presence at each corner aids the surveillance in the park and this might be the reason for the many thriving activities even without any form of security.

Jehovah Witness
Outreach group:
Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 45: Jehovah Witness Outright Campaign - Jubilee Park

The park is also popular for hosting religious crusades, all night prayers, and church music events (Figure 46), either during the week or during weekends. One respondent indicated that there was not a week that would go by without her seeing some form of religious activity from different church denominations. In some instances, churches are able to transform the space for the day by adding chairs, tables and podiums so as to turn the space into a functional outdoor church (Figure 47).

SOURCE: Kingdom Nation South Africa, 2019.
https://www.facebook.com/kingdomnationsa/photos/bc.AbqCH6ijBFp4VcTlYU_k [Accessed May 2020]

Figure 46: Religious Event - Jubilee Park

SOURCE: Evangelist Olajide Jones Israel Facebook Page, 2018. https://www.facebook.com/evangelist.o.f.jones/photos_all [Accessed January, 2019]

Figure 47: Church Service - Jubilee Square

This transformation of the space illustrated on Figure 46 and 47 above, shows the extent to which the space can be both physically and psychologically appropriated by the community of Sunnyside and its visitors. Moreover, it also displays the flexibility of space that is necessary for democratic performance. According to Lefebvre (1991) urban citizens have a desire to appropriate space in a manner that suites their needs. In this case, the users of Jubilee Square have appropriated the space to meet their spiritual and physical needs. Harvey (2004) also suggests that space should be produced by inhabitants and by their diverse forms of appropriation which transcend above what we can map using cadastral mapping or standardised methods of calculation.

Religious Uses - Magnolia Dell Park

Magnolia Dell Park, unlike the Jubilee Square is not considerably used for religious purposes. However, there are occasions where individuals and groups come to the park for prayer, vigils, and religious celebrations. During observations, a young black man was seen sitting alone on a bench under a tree. When interviewed, the respondent mentioned that he uses the space for what he called his "quiet time". He mentioned that he comes there to read the bible and pray with no interruption. What was also intriguing was the fact that he was all dressed up for this occasion, in a three-piece suite. The respondent went on to say that he is a junior pastor in his church and actually resides in Sunnyside, but could not use Jubilee Square in because of its relatively chaotic and busy nature. As such, he opted for Magnolia Dell Park which he regarded as tranquil and natural. According to Mchunu (2018: 1), green public spaces are steadily being considered the "ubiquitous open-air temples" of the South African society. The use of public spaces for prayer, represents an interesting and often unacknowledged park use. It further introduces the need to consider the new identities of public spaces in the City of Tshwane and the multi-layered experiences that they warrant in a democratic society.

During the month of June 2019, following the killings of five homeless men in public parks in the City of Tshwane, the Centre for Contextual Ministry at the University of Pretoria, alongside other organisations such as the Tshwane leadership foundation and surrounding communities planned a night vigil to mourn the death of the five men (Figure 48). Various religious leaders from different church denominations were present, walking around the park holding candles and praying for those that had passed. The religious use of the park was not only to mourn the homeless, but according to a respondent from the Tshwane Leadership Foundation, it was also to bring the community together. As such, the use of the park for religious uses also plays a role in unifying those with the same values.

Religious
Memorial Service:
Magnolia Dell Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 48: Religious Memorial Service - Magnolia Park

Magnolia Dell Park is not only religiously attractive to the Christian or African Spiritualists communities, but also attractive to the Muslim community. This is the park where one can witness a Christian gathering on one day and a Muslim gathering on another. During the fieldwork observations, the Muslim community was observed celebrating Ramadan in the park during the month of June 2018 and 2019. Families were observed coming into the park with picnic baskets, chairs, and blankets to sit and enjoy their day together (Figure 49). It was a spectacle of well-dressed men, women and children who regarded the day as a special occasion to be spent in the park.

Figure 49: Muslim Celebration during Ramadan - Magnolia Park

Religious Uses - Rietondale Park

Rietondale Park is also a host for many religious celebrations and ceremonies. Over the years, the community members have celebrated Christmas with carols in the park. This is an event that is largely advertised and seen as attractive and embodying the Christian values of the community. For example, during the festive season, the park hosts events where the community of Rietondale and surrounding areas come together to sing Christmas carols, and enjoy the evening together (Figure 50). A respondent also indicated that the events bring families together and uphold the identity of the area as a family orientated neighbourhood. This was revealed by Martha (Rietondale Park, 2019) who had the following to say:

> And I can tell you that when I spoke to a guy, I think the beginning of last week. He had just moved in and he said he had been looking for a house here to buy because it is a safe area and because it is family friendly.

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SOURCE: Carols in the Park Rietondale, 2019.
https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10157800911314082
&set=br [Accessed March 2020]

SOURCE: Carols in the Park Rietondale, 2019.
https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=1015780091134908
2&set=br [Accessed March 2020]

Figure 50: Christmas Carol Event - Rietondale

Discussion on Religious Uses

The religious activities practiced in all three public spaces represent different ways in which different communities use public space for religious practices. Whilst some of the uses do not transform space physically, other religious practices do. This is evident in the ways in which the users are able to assemble certain physical elements in order for them to make the space functional. Although this assembly is temporary, it is a way in which society has exercised its power of appropriating and *membering* space and thereby completing what architecture had started.

The physical appropriation of space observed in these spaces is not particular to the City of Tshwane, but has also been witnessed all over the world. For example, the Latino community in the United States are argued to have taken over beaches through the practice of setting up card tables for the playing of domino, the decorating of picnic sites, and the using of open areas for salsa dancing. This is regarded as the process where individuals physically and psychologically appropriate space and thereby, transform it into place (Massey, 1994). The observations made support the arguments of appropriation discussed in the conceptual framework chapter (Chapter

three) and *membering* discussed in the historical chapter (Chapter four), which suggests that the process of collective place making is rooted in the everyday practices that occur within spaces.

However, when considering the findings conceptually, these activities may bring about conflicts of exclusion or what Kwiatkowski (2010) refers to as cultural usurping in the conceptual chapter (Chapter three). Moreover, they may present planning dilemmas when such activities override others taking place in the name of democratic expression. Mchunu (2018) presents an example of how the Shembe Church has taken over some public spaces. They have marked the space with their own symbols, either through the painting of sticks and stones in open spaces, which discourage others from making use of the space even when the church is not in service. Local authorities are then either forced to remove the congregants from that space or allow them to claim it for themselves indefinitely. Therefore, the concerns and debates surrounding the Right to the City (Lefebvre, 1967) and the call for diversity (Harvey, 2008) is challenged. This thesis argues that this should bring about a curiosity and a need for further interrogation into understanding public spaces as religious sites in the African context and what the implications on future democratic planning, designing and urban management may be.

6.6.3. Political Uses

In recent years we have witnessed an explosion of political expressions and demonstrations erupting in public parks, squares and streets. For example, the reclaiming of public space in the Arabic world, the Hong Kong riots, and the 2019 Egyptian protests. This suggests that there is a call for a global democratisation of public space, especially for political mobilisations, campaigns, protests and outcry. Although different societies express their political rights and needs in different ways, there is a clear affirmation that the site of these conflicts are public spaces. This section demonstrates how political activities are practiced in Jubilee Square as the only space where political activities were observed.

Political Uses - Jubilee Square

During observations, it was not uncommon to see people of different political parties wearing their political shirts and caps and interacting amongst themselves in Jubilee Square. Used as a voting station, the park has an undeniable political character where rallies are organised, mobilisation campaigns are held, and celebrations are hosted (Figure 51). The neighbourhood of Sunnyside, it is home to a significantly young population and throughout South African history, the youths

have always played a significant role in national politics. The park also attracts other political parties, such as the ANC. Therefore, different political groups are able to use the park for their own political causes which suggests the usability of the park by various and competing actors.

The respondents who were interviewed also highlighted the fact that the park was predominantly used by a specific political party called the EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters). The members of the EFF are most visible in the park, as mentioned by the respondents below:

There is something about this park, why does the EFF come here? EFF people do their meetings here always, so it shows that they want something here.

(Namhla: Jubilee Square, 2018)

EFF people are doing their meetings here, it shows people that we can use this park for better things, not only drinking and smoking.

(Mulalo, Jubilee Square, 2018)

Figure 51: Political Celebrations - Jubilee Square

However, in other instances, the space is used by political parties in ways that the community disapproves of (Figure 52) as highlighted by the response below:

> They say no cars, but the cars are parking here. EFF people are parking their cars here. They don't care about the rule, so you can think they don't respect us. I think that they feel they own the place and can do what they want. But they want to be the leaders, they must show us how things must be done.
>
> (Neo: Jubilee Square, 2018).

Political Celebrations: Jubilee Square

SOURCE: EFF Ward 81 Facebook Page, 2018.
https://www.facebook.com/EFFSunnysideBranch%20/photos/bc.AbqDWCm2qiJewJkcB8Bdr81UOAfApS9j3NRCg0aYTva19YhOJHCrxGCD0pkDUuE

[Accessed May 2020]

Figure 52: EFF Uses Having Social Braai - Jubilee Square

Discussion on Political Uses

Given its central location, Jubilee Square attracts different political parties who are able to use the space at different intervals. Moreover, the design of the park is conducive for political activities and public gatherings. According to Lefebvre (1991) the perceived space has power to encourage or discourage certain behaviour. Whilst Harvey (2004) argues that absolute space is predictable through how objects within it are organised. The park has a well demarcated amphitheatre, also

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serving as the focal point which is designed to encourage the gathering of groups. Therefore, it is unsurprising that political groups meet and physically appropriate the amphitheatre as their stage of performance. As such, the users of Jubilee Square, through their everyday political practices in space have engaged with space in harmony with its design, although sometimes in conflict with each other.

In recent times, we have witnessed a rise in the use of technology for the mobilisation of political causes and debates (Shirky, 2011), especially on online forums, such as Facebook and Twitter. However, the case of Jubilee Square shows that there is still a need for physical space to facilitate political dialogue and processes (Parkinson, 2012). It is also worth noting that this political use of urban parks is not only particular to Jubilee Square, and that other urban parks have also been designed with politics in mind and served political causes as seen in the Beijing Park of China, which provided an arena for political participation and transformation. Therefore, the physical design of Jubilee Square has been successful in determining and encouraging political activities through the use of the perceived and absolute space.

6.6.4. Economic Uses

Public spaces, all over the world, are increasingly transforming into sites of various anticipated and unanticipated small-scale economic activities. Unfortunately, the presence of small-scale vendors in public spaces is one that is contested and has resulted in hard and soft government controls in efforts to discourage the practice. In many instances, it is regarded as an undesirable practice that encroaches into the city (Bayat, 2010; Broadway, 2017). Jubilee Square and Magnolia Dell Park are the spaces in which economic activities were observed and; therefore, they will be the discussed.

Economic Uses - Jubilee Square

Aside from the fact they attract tourists and bring in income for municipalities or park managers, public parks are not traditionally referred to as spaces of economic activities. However, in the context of Jubilee Square, the park has slowly become a space wherein vendors have positioned themselves strategically following human traffic. The vendors locate themselves on the edges of the park, for example the barber and the tailor shown on Figure 53. Whilst those who sell CD' and Sunglasses positioned themselves alongside the paved walkways within the park (Figure 54).

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The park is also home to "Wandis Food", which is a food container that sells food and drinks in the park (Figure 55).

Outdoor Barbershop and Tailor: Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 53: Outdoor Barbershop and Tailor - Jubilee Square

Informal Trading "Stall" Selling CD's, DVD's and Sunglasses: Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2018.

Figure 54: Informal Stall - Jubilee Square

Fast Food Trailer Restaurant: Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 55: Fast Food Trailer Restaurant - Jubilee Square

Fellow Jubilee Square users perceive the small scale economic activities as necessary activities in the park. According to an elderly lady, who had visited the park with her grandson, the vendors were well in their right to be at the park:

> It is good to have them here, they must be around because the kids can buy what they want as they are playing, they do not have to cross the busy road and go far. That side its Shoprite and also Pick n Pay, but they are far and expensive for the kids.
>
> (Mia Phophi: Jubilee Square, 2019)
>
> The traders are fine; I don't have a problem with the selling as long as it is not a crime.
>
> (Neo: Jubilee Square, 2018)

The elderly lady sees the vendors as convenient for the children who play in the park after school and during weekends. The overall perceptions of the practices and uses of space by the vendors were well received by the respondents because they did not find anything wrong with the practice. In addition, much attention was paid to the convenience of having them present in the park. The park also has a barbershop station at one of the entrances where men come and cut their hair. This also serves as a social space where men would sit under the tent and interact with one another.

Economic Uses - Magnolia Dell Park

Magnolia Dell Park does not only attract locals or those from surrounding neighbourhoods and townships, but also international tourists. During weekdays around lunch time, tour buses are seen dropping off tourists at the park to either have lunch at the restaurant or to walk around. As such, at the main entrance of the park, which is adjacent to the parking space, vendors display their goods in hopes that those entering or exiting the park will see something that they might like (Figure 56 below). The goods sold at Magnolia Dell Park consist of artefacts, paintings, jewellery and other African decorative goods. This is different from Jubilee Square where the goods that are sold are predominantly perishable goods, such as food. However, what is of interest in Magnolia Dell Park is that it seems as though the vendors only cater for the tourists and not the locals, especially when their inventory was critically observed.

Informal Trading "Stall": Magnolia Dell Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 56: Informal Trader Stall - Magnolia Dell Park

What was also clear at the Magnolia Dell Park and which was different from the other parks, was how the parking space was designed. The cars have a specific parking area and cannot merely park around the edges of the park. Car guards were observed waiting for cars to arrive and also offering car wash services. The presence of such unanticipated activities ensures that there is always a presence of people at the park. The car guards use water from the stream in the park to wash cars. In some instances, respondents mention that they come to wash their cars there because of the convenience it provides. As the car is being washed, people can relax in the park or the restaurant as mentioned by one respondent who mentioned that:

I come here with my colleagues for lunch, we park here and they wash for like "4klippa" [R40.00]. We have something to do while they are busy. And they are quick you see, so we come here.

(Themba: Magnolia Dell, 2018)

Discussion on Economic Uses

Jubilee Square and Magnolia Dell Park, both have an active economic use of space, whether anticipated or unanticipated. Jane Jacobs (2011) speaks of what she calls demand goods in space, which refers to qualities that draw people to a public space. She asserts that it is necessary for a space to possess a demand good that will attract users with some form of activity. In the instance of both parks, the economic activity can be regarded as the demand good. Users are not merely visiting the space because of its physical beauty or design quality, but also because of the convenience and alternatives that it offers them. Unfortunately, the unanticipated economic activities in the parks are, in many instances, discouraged by local authorities. According to Lefebvre (1991) urban planners and mangers seek to control the perceived space in attempt to eliminate uncertainties and ambiguities characterised by unplanned spatial practices. Harvey (2008) argues that this is because urban planning has historically been used as a tool for capital domination, and thus, local authorities use measures of harsh regulation and constraint to eliminate threats to the capitalist system. However, as both scholars assert, society continues to resist these controls through their everyday spatial practices and appropriation of space as illustrated by the activities in Magnolia Dell Park and Jubilee Square.

This thesis argues that there is a lack of attention paid to unanticipated economic activities as everyday practices of *membering* in South African cities. As such, Chapter eight of this thesis humanises these unanticipated economic activities observed in the perceived and absolute space and discusses them following Lefebvre's (1991) lived space and Harvey's (2004) relational space, as symbolic and meaningful acts of livelihood construction and state resistance.

6.6.5. Social Uses

Urban public parks have the ability to play a unique role in building relationships in communities. According to Cloete and Yusuf (2018), urban parks allow for local encounters, congeniality, and community engagement. They have, throughout history, been regarded as social spaces of interaction which constitute social capital (Coley, Kuo and Sullivan, 1997). Urban parks can also

provide opportunities for communities to participate in activities that benefit and integrate the less fortunate in society (Robare, Okech and Onyango, 2009). All cases under study demonstrated aspects of social activities in the park and therefore all cases will be discussed.

Social Uses - Jubilee Square

Parks are not neutral spaces. Rather they are socially-constructed. So, understanding current uses may reflect a park's contemporary history and social climate (Benton-Short, 2006). This is true for Jubilee Square because its vibrant, yet unpredictable social climate is seen in how people socialise in the park. Many groups of people were observed socialising amongst themselves or with those whom they visited the park with. The park is used for sitting, watching others, and as a neutral space for meeting friends. When respondents were asked why they visited the space and how often they visited. Responses varied from users who visited the park to use the free Tshwane WIFI, to others who used the space to meet up with friends, or some who used it as a resting space. In some instances, respondents would indicate that they visited the park just to watch people and to get time out of their flats.

Sunnyside has a history of being unsafe, where criminal activities are common. As such, many of the respondents indicate that they are afraid to talk to strangers at the park. They were open to engaging with people who they were familiar with. However, because of the crime in the area, they refrained from interacting with strangers. This had implications on the users' attitudes towards allowing their children to play unsupervised. A young lady had brought her niece to play at the park. She sat close, eyes glazed, watching the young girl play:

> I don't talk to anyone, it's not safe to talk to anyone. Before kids could go outside and play on their own, here you will need a security guard to watch the kids.

> (Kelly: Jubilee Square, 2018).

The reputation of the area had made it difficult for the respondent to socialise with other users. Even when answering the few interview questions, the respondents seemed uneasy and often rushed to conclude the interview by giving quick answers and avoiding eye contact. Although the history of Sunnyside has instilled a certain level of anti-social behaviour in some of the users of the space, there were some users who were open to conversations with those they were unfamiliar with. However, this too had its limitations:

I do not mind talking to strangers, but only South African strangers because I do not speak any foreign language. I am from Thohoyandou and I am visiting my daughter with her son who stays home with me. We were walking to the mall and so he asked for us to pass by the park and play

(Mia Phophi: Jubilee Square, 2018)

As evident in the quote above, the lady visiting Sunnyside had a different perspective from the young lady who was a resident. Both individuals had brought young children to play at the park. However, they both showed different levels of sociability with others.

Sunnyside also has an undeniable presence of homeless people, both in the park and in the streets. They are seen walking about, begging for money or food, pushing recycling carts and sometimes washing parked cars. In Jubilee Square, in particular, they are seen lying motionless on the grass, seemingly breathless and far removed from the physical space in which they lay (Figure 57). In many instances, people walk past them as if they are not there or explicitly avoid coming into close contact with them. According to Matshedisho (2015), this is due to the fact that homeless people are unpredictable because of a variety of reasons. They can either be intoxicated by some form of substance, mentally ill or even the desperate. Therefore, they often resorted to petty crimes. As a result, people usually avoided contact with them. This was also the case in Jubilee Square.

Homeless Men Sleeping: Jubilee Square

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 57: Homeless men - Jubilee Square

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Respondents were also asked questions about what disturbed them in the park, and a variety of answers were given, for example the overflowing bins, litter and the presence of the homeless community. Pillows and blankets were observed laying around the park during the day as a sign that the park is used by the homeless even when they were not physically present. Some respondents did not want to see them around and thus did not socialise with them or include them in any of their activities as extracted below:

> The homeless, they disturb us because some are sick. Who is helping these people? Who wants them close?
>
> (Moloko: Jubilee Square, 2018)
>
> Why do they leave their things here? The homeless people must go, they need their own space. We need security guards to walk around and control entrance and exit of these people so we can be free.
>
> (Mia Phophi: Jubilee Square, 2018)

The homeless community interviewed in Jubilee Square made it clear that they were aware that they are unwanted in the park. Therefore, they found ways to spend their days elsewhere:

> I don't like the park during the day, everyone just looks at you like you are nyaope boy or you want to rob them like a criminal. Sometimes we just want to sleep but they think we are here for them. I keep my things here at the park during the day, then I go away and look for some food, I come back late to sleep.
>
> (Anonymous Homeless Man 1: Jubilee Square, 2019)
>
> People they are not the same. Some treat us like criminals, some treat us like we are sick, some they are normal with us. But the only thing I don't like is when they pretend like they don't see me. I don't like that because I am here and they can see me.
>
> (Anonymous Homeless Man 2: Jubilee Square, 2019)
>
> People they see us like we are nothing, they can even call us names even when you are not asking them for anything.
>
> (Anonymous Homeless Man 3; Jubilee Square, 2019).

Whilst on the other hand, there are those that have a different, more positive perception of the homeless community and the role they play in the park.

The park is safe because we know each other. We know the homeless they always sleep here so we feel safe, they do not do anything to us. You can come and sit here at 20:00 [pm] and use the WIFI, nothing will happen to you. You are not alone; these people are here. I come in the evening with my friends and we can sit and smoke then go back to the flat. They know us and we know them.

(Tebogo: Jubilee Square, 2018)

The homeless do not bother me, they are just minding their own business, you just leave them,

(Nomalanga: Jubilee Square, 2019)

The quotes above illustrate the diversity in perceptions about the use of public space by the homeless community and their physical appropriation of space. They also illustrate the diversity in society's willingness to associate and socialise with the less fortunate and the marginalised. Public spaces are spaces in which we can learn about each other, where we can engage with those we normally would not interact with. Public spaces should be seen as creators of opportunities to co-exist. However, the meaning of co-existence and daily encounters within public spaces has been contentious in academic literature. According to Amin (2002) and Pullan (2013), daily encounters in the public space are debated over whether or not they can lead to meaningful relations, or whether the relations remain on a superficial level of mere familiarity. On the contrary Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) argue that space is not a neutral container, it is shaped by our daily activities and encounters, and as such, they are able to facilitate meaningful relationships. This is further elaborated in Chapter eight where the social activities in the perceived and absolute space are explored in terms of their symbolism and meaning for the production of democratic public spaces.

Social Uses - Magnolia Dell Park

Magnolia Dell Park is vibrant and flourishing with different social events, as arranged by the park users themselves. It is not uncommon to see trees decorated with colourful balloons in celebration of either a wedding or bridal shower, or the birthday party of a child or an adult (Figure 58). In some instances, people use the park to gather together and have picnics (Figure 59). Whilst others come to take wedding pictures. One day, in particular, a couple who were taking wedding

pictures were observed posing in their traditional attire (Figure 60).

Users Celebrating
a Birthday Party :
Magnolia Dell
Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 58: Celebrating Birthday Party – Magnolia Dell Park

Users Having a
Picnic: Magnolia
Dell Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 59: Users Having a Picnic - Magnolia Dell Park

Users Taking
Wedding Pictures:
Magnolia Dell
Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 60: Users Taking Wedding Pictures - Magnolia Dell Park

On some occasions, there are live performances at the park, where music groups set up performance for the public (Figure 61). The organisation of such events often includes the support from the restaurant. The social gatherings and events at Magnolia Dell Park make it an attractive park to visit and spend time, especially on weekends.

Live Band
Performing:
Magnolia Dell
Park

SOURCE: Foodyas, 2019.
https://www.foodyas.com/ZA/Pretoria/147785155319532/Huckleberry%27s-Magnolia-Dell [Accessed May 2020]

Figure 61: Live Bank Performing - Magnolia Dell Park

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Social events in public spaces offer opportunities for strangers to engage with one another. Despite this, scholars such as Smith (2015), have argued that events form part of commercialisation, privatisation, and securitisation of public space; and thereby, alienate some users. However, in light of this, Carmona (2019) argues that public spaces cannot be everything for everyone. He indicates that public spaces should offer events and characteristics that can provide for variety in the city. He goes on to say that "it would be foolish to try and design all public spaces according to some idealised cloned blueprint in order that each is equally appealing to all" (Carmona, 2019; 50). In light of this, the social events in Magnolia Dell Park offer entertainment and attraction for a particular interest group. Different spaces need to be given the freedom to function differently and to offer diversity in the city. Sennet (1990) encourages planners and designers to move away from standardised approaches to public spaces and to allow the space to become what the users need it to be according to their lifestyle and interests. It is also in the embrace of this diversity where people who visit Magnolia Dell Park can experience integration and the sense of democracy, as expressed by a respondent who was visiting from Malawi below:

> Different people come here, you see different people from different places. It is fantastic. I have enjoy being here. People do what they want, no one is bothering anyone. We are just enjoying ourselves. The WIFI is also good, but the connection is sometimes slow. There is good noise all around. For me this park represents a true democracy, if it did not, I would not be here, I would not have been offered the opportunity to even access this park and be here with all these people.

> (James; Magnolia Dell Park, 2019)

The park is not only appealing to what can be regarded as mainstream society, but also to the homeless community. Homeless people observed in Magnolia Dell Park are often seen walking around the park and busking in the sun, particularly on the northern side of the park. Although in June 2019, two homeless men were found murdered in the park, people are not deterred from visiting the park and continue to use it for social gatherings. According to Monde Vanto, the manager of the restaurant located in the park in an interview with Pretoria news (Pretoria News, 2019), park users as well as restaurant customers were not heavily affected by the murders:

> Look, there was a bit of a setback after the incident. Nothing heavy though. I think the more people know that it happened on the northern side of the park across the street, the more they are at ease.

Social Uses - Rietondale Park

During observations people are seen having picnics or just walking around, and enjoying family activities. During weekdays, it is not uncommon to see women who are assumed to be house helps seated and socialising in the park (Figure 62). The park also hosts social events where the community comes together to celebrate their community and to spend time together as illustrated on Figure 63 below. This implies that the park is used for planned as well as spontaneous social meetings by different users.

Figure 62: Women Socialising - Rietondale

Figure 63: Advert for Social Braai/ Barbeque - Rietondale

What was frequently observed during weekends is the gathering of people with their camp chairs, playing music from their cars, and having alcoholic beverages (Figure 64). According to Demant and Landolt (2014), youths drinking in urban public spaces is a contested subject. Such uses of space challenge, not only policy regulations, but also political and moral debates. In Rietondale Park, social drinking was indeed contested. It was perceived differently by different people and caught up in the complex web of inclusion and exclusion narratives. This is unsurprising as acts of drinking in public spaces are often associated with delinquent behaviour, criminality and immorality.

Park Users Drinking: Rietondale Park

SOURCE: Author, 2019.

Figure 64: Park Users Drinking – Rietondale Park

The social drinking created a dialectical tension between acceptable and nonacceptable public behaviours. According to the Residents and users of Rietondale Park, the park is a social space for everyone to use. However, the terms of acceptable use needed to be agreed upon:

> We don't mind sharing the park with people but then they must abide by the rules. The rules say no drinking, no fires. You can play music but it must not be so loud that all the residents around and the whole park have to listen to your music. I mean, I don't even play my music that loud in my house that the neighbourhood complains about.

> (Kate: RHOA, 2019)

If I could add to that, we often have problems dealing with those people drinking at the park. They park their cars there and they don't make provision for guards or for their own safety and if an incident happens, what must happen?

(Shirley, RHOA, 2019).

Okay, normally we drink at Ayepyep [Lounge in Sunnyside], but these days we like to start here, then after we can go there. Everything starts here, we meet and we chill then go to Ayepyep later re tswere plaka (once we are tipsy). Alcohol is more expensive there so we like to get there re le sharp [when we are already tipsy].

(Pitso: Rietondale Park, 2019)

I think these people want this place to be quiet and only for them. But it is also our park. They will get used to us, there is no other way.

(Abigail: Rietondale Park, 2019)

The observations and responses clearly show the different perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate uses of the park. According to Jayne, Valentine and Holloway (2008), the drinking practices in public spaces as a social activity produces conflicts in how space is read by the different users. It also affects processes of place making. Kraack and Kenway (2002) provide examples of how young people drinking in public beaches in Australia are frowned upon by the residents who see the activity as disrupting the social character of the neighbourhood. This is also the case in Rietondale Park. The social drinking that takes place is seen as conflicting with the reputation of the area built by the residents over the years. Moreover, it is directly challenging their morals and values:

When there is something funny going on in the park. I'll give you an example, I think about 3 years ago during [the] matric exams. And there were a couple of school kids in school uniforms on the pavilion. I think they were drinking and smoking and we asked Quatro [Security Company] to just go and just stay there, busy sitting in their cars. And if Quatro can't handle it, if it is out of their jurisdiction, they phone the police.

(Shirley, RHOA, 2019)

In light of the response above, it was clear that any use of the park that contravened with the community's ideals and values would not be tolerated. Moreover, the response made it imperative to probe on the matter of the private security company that was referred to and to understand its

role in the neighbourhood and the park. The community mentioned that they had employed the company to watch over their community, 24 hours a day, to ensure safety and security:

> We are actually quite a small community and the good thing is we contract a security company and we have 24hours security guards patrolling our whole area. They don't go out of our area. If they go out to pour the car with petrol, another car comes in for that bit of time. So it is really under surveillance and the reason that Rietondale is what it is.

> (Conrad: RHOA, 2019).

> I just want to make one point. For anything that is safe, we pay dearly for it. The park is also safe. If it wasn't for the security company… the park could be unsafe. So I say the community keeps the park safe more or less.

> (Kate: RHOA, 2019).

> That's the starting point, we all look out for one another. We've got a security company. If you see somebody strange, a suspect or a car that we do not know at the park, you call them and say please go and check them out.

> (Shirely: RHOA, 2019).

As can be expected, the roaming of security cars around the neighbourhood can scare away criminals and discourage delinquent behaviour. However, it can also be intimidating for outsiders. The security company was observed roaming around the park and, in some instances, the residents indicate that the security company gets involved in law enforcement and control of park activities. These actions taken by the security company yield to the different approaches and modes of sanitisation of space that are not only in the hands of the municipality. The residents mention that they rely more on the private security company to bring order to the park because the Tshwane Metro Police either do not respond or respond later than reasonably expected. The private company, therefore, takes the instructions from the community to sanitise the space, as per the requests of those paying rates and taxes in the area. There was a strong sense of what sociality was in the community and what was considered appropriate in the park. This was also demonstrated in the perceptions regarding the availability of Wi-Fi in the park and its value:

Tshwane had put up a Wi-Fi what do you call it? I think it is hotspot. And that was a problem because people were sitting there all day long in cars and you don't know what are they doing.

(Shirely: RHOA, 2019).

They sit in the trees and then it looks a bit suspicious – proper sitting in the tree. Umm people become suspicious because what are they doing there? Because some can be busy with legitimate stuff and others not. But how do you differentiate?

(Conrad: RHOA, 2019).

The quotes above indicate the communities' concerns as it pertains to the Wi-Fi project undertaken by the city. The community members indicate that the free Wi-Fi brings unnecessary traffic to the park and suspicious activities. Within this narrative it was clear that the community, in discrete terms, wanted to be in control of who visits the park and who does not. According to Ilkay (2016), we should be aware that power relations influence narratives that are communicated in and over space. The consensus was that Wi-Fi would not improve the sociability of the park, nor would it bring positive value.

But the park is not the place where you do your work over WIFI, you come to the park to be with the people in the park.

(Conrad: RHOA, 2019)

Unlike the other two parks under study, Rietondale Park showed no obvious presence of homeless people, either roaming around, sleeping or even begging. When users of the park were asked about the different users and the different uses, none of the respondents mentioned the homeless community. However, with much probing, it was clear why they were not visible in the space or even mentioned.

You won't see them because they were removed. They were removed because we act timely. When we see them, we make plans to get them to move. So, the park is not being invaded by vagrants. If I remember correctly, we use a combination. We contract Quatro our security and the police to remove them, and they did so.

(Shirley: RHOA, 2019).

Such responses indicated that the homeless were not welcome in the neighbourhood or even in the park. The community and other users of the space have taken it upon themselves to deal with

any uses that they regard as inappropriate uses of the park. However, it was also indicated that the park is a public good and should be used and shared by the public, with necessary trade-offs.

Discussion on Social Uses

All the cases under study represented a variety of social uses. Some were embraced whilst others were contested. All parks showed the diversity in societal preference when it comes to social uses of space, from perceptions about the homeless, social events in parks, the use of Wi-Fi in public spaces, safety and security threats and youths drinking behaviour. According to Harvey (2004) space presents an arena where different agents with different interests confront each other in the production of space. Therefore, the conflict and contestations observed in the parks are inevitable. The parks all demonstrated practices of physical appropriation and *membering* by users which represented the plurality of perceptions and needs in space. According to Lefebvre (1991), society presents pluralities which construct plural spatial practices in space. As such urban planning is required to consider this plurality in handing social phenomenon's and producing democratic public space.

According to Nasser (2015), the physical nature of a public space is a key circumstance that underpins the sociability of a space. She argues that the size, design, location, distance and availability of supporting facilities are key to bringing about positive social uses of space. However, this section influenced by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) argues that the physical environment alone (perceived space and absolute space) cannot guarantee the establishment and flourishing of social uses and relations among members of society. The chapter argues that it is in such a context that designers need to understand their limitations when it comes to designing social spaces, because the designers' ambitions may not be met positively by social reality. At times, social activities in space may seem to improve the democratic character of the space, whilst in other instances, they may present a negative correlation for other uses and users. However, this thesis argues that it is in such dialectics of social space that democratic public spaces are produced through conflicting spatial practices and daily strides of *membering* by users.

6.7. Conclusion

This chapter was a response to the first objective of the thesis, which was to explore the public space user perceptions of space, their daily uses and conflicts to produce and redefine space according to their recreational, social, economic, political, and religious needs. The chapter was

divided into five sections which provided a brief methodology, the various demographic profiles of the study areas, a discussion of the physical nature, and the premise of the inquiry as it pertained to the users and the uses of the parks, alongside discussions on the different uses of the parks and the user's perceptions thereof.

The chapter revealed that the public parks under study had a variety of uses varying in intensities and user perceptions. It organised the uses into five categories namely; recreational, religious, economic, political and social uses. The data revealed that there were some similarities in how parks are used throughout the different cases. However, the perceptions of those uses differed. This exposed the intra-conflicts and contestations within community perceptions of space use and how public spaces are constantly in a struggle for what can be considered acceptable and therefore democratic. Moreover, the chapter revealed the anticipated uses in space that were in line with the conceptions of space. However, it also revealed the unanticipated uses which contravened the rules and regulations as stipulated by the city, but were somehow key activators of the space. This showed how public places are shaped and reshaped by everyday spatial practices of appropriation and *membering* which directly respond to societal needs in time and space.

The chapter further showed that the material space conceptualised through the influence of Lefebvre's (1991) perceived space and Harvey's (2004) absolute space is not sufficient to explore the conflicts and contestations embedded in the production of democratic space because these conflicts and contestations cannot be separated from broader phenomenon's of urban planning, symbolism, experience and meanings attached to space. Therefore, the next chapter explores the space of dreams to uncover the ways in which democratic public space ideas, uses, perceptions, and desires are conceptualised by City of Tshwane's technical practitioners and the implications of these for democratic public space production.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE SPACE OF DREAMS

PLANNING CHALLENGES EMBEDDED IN THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

7.1. Introduction

This chapter fulfils the second objective of the study which explores the way in which public space ideas, perceptions, and desires are conceptualised in the City of Tshwane from those in decision-making positions. It also explores these conceptions in relation to the inter-conflicts between society and the municipality in the production of public spaces. Moreover, it also interrogates the intra-conflicts between municipal officials themselves. This is done in an attempt to uncover the conflicts and contestations embedded in the realisation of democratic public spaces.

The chapter employs the concept of the space of dreams influenced by Lefebvre's (1991) concept of conceived space and Harvey's (2004) concept of relative space discussed in Chapter two. It will draw links between the said concepts and the concepts of sanitisation and domination discussed in the Chapter three, so as to make a contribution to the current literature on the topic. It illustrates the various ways in which officials *(dis)member* public space in effort to order it through processes of sanitisation and domination which eliminate unanticipated practices and users (discussed in Chapter six). Moreover, it discusses the various challenges faced by officials in navigating through their identity as an individual member of society, a civil servant and a professional adhering to normative standards.

The chapter begins with a brief methodology of how the data was collected and the instruments used to gather the said data. Secondly, focus is placed on visioning as an act of *membering* officials and the spaces in which they work. Thirdly, it discusses the threats to the space of dreams and conceptualises them as an autoimmunity[3]. Fourthly, the chapter discusses processes of *(dis)membering* public space embedded in the paradox space of dreams. Lastly, the chapter explores attempts made by the space of dreams to *(re)member* itself, public spaces and society through processes such as public participation. Throughout the chapter, focus is placed on the dilemmas in the space of dreams, and how officials respond to them in ways that perpetuate *(dis)membered* public spaces through measures of sanitisation and domination in the paradoxical quest for democratic public space.

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[3] Autoimmunity refers to the mistake made by the immune system, where it attacks its own body, thus fighting against its own health. Municipal structures are often attacked by municipal processes and cultures, thereby resulting in an autoimmune disease.

7.2. Methodology: An Inquiry into the Space of Dreams

In order to attain the data that concerns the space of dreams, the research relied on the documents that are available in the City of Tshwane concerning public spaces. As such, the research analysed the Public Open Space Framework of the City of Tshwane, which consists of three volumes. The volumes include Volume1: Status Quo, Volume 2: Open Space Plan and Volume 3: Implementation Strategies. The research also did an analysis of the By-laws pertaining Public Amenities, as well as the By-laws pertaining to Street Trading. The rationale behind the selection of these specific documents was their accessibility not only to professionals, but also the general public.

I remained cognisant of the fact that there is more to the space of dreams than the documents stated above. As such, I also conducted individual face to face interviews and focus group discussions with different officials from the directorate and management positions, detailed in Chapter five. As expected, professionals working in public spaces come from different disciplines. Therefore, town planners, landscape architects, environmentalists and horticulturalists were interviewed and given pseudonyms to protect their identity. During the interviews, designs and proposals for the redevelopment of Jubilee Square as well as Rietondale Park were shared because the city is currently considering upgrading those particular parks. These designs and layout plans were also analysed in conjunction with the current status quo of the parks. More importantly, they served as a key data set because they communicated the official conceptions and perceptions against the users' realities and current practices.

7.3. Visioning as Membering in the Space of Dreams

In the context of this thesis, visioning is conceptualised as a process of thinking about a desired future that relies on intuitive risk taking and target setting (Klein, Benson, Anderson and Herr, 1993; Shipley and Newkirk, 1999). As such, it refers to the process of stitching actions and ideas together for the realisation of a specific goal. According to Lefebvre (1991), the conceived space lends itself to ideas around visioning, dreaming, and images shared within technical and professional domains. Whilst Harvey (2008) argues that although these professionals aim to develop visions and images that can foster the realisation of justice and equity, they often achieve nothing more than spaces of intolerance, capital domination and conflict. Nonetheless, Amin (2002) argues that it should be acknowledged that the same professionals have the knowledge

to identify, measure, classify, and examine urban spaces for the good of society. Therefore, as an integral part of initiating action, visioning is integral in the realisation of democratic public spaces in the city.

This section discusses the conceived vision of public spaces in the City of Tshwane as a process of *membering* professionals and the spaces in which they work. It discusses the perceptions, challenges and conflicts faced by the professionals in effort to *member* themselves in the space of dreams.

7.3.1. Producing Democratic Public Space through visioning

Municipal officials who were interviewed were all asked about the vision that the City of Tshwane has for its public spaces. This question seemed to puzzle many of the respondents. It was not clear whether the officials were aware of the vision or not, or if they believed in it and its philosophy. According to the officials themselves, there are conflicts as it pertains to the vision. Some assume that there is no vision, whilst others rely heavily on the vision provided in the Tshwane Open Space Framework which states: "A sustainable Open Space network which provides the setting for the capital city, is of a high international standard yet based in the African context, empowers the community to prosper in a safe and healthy environment, and protects the integrity of its ecological systems" (Tshwane Open Space Framework Vol 1: 9). The framework seems to emphasis the "African city" which is also emphasised by the vision of the City of Tshwane which reads: "An Internationally acclaimed African Capital City that inspires the community to prosper in a safe and healthy environment" (Tshwane Open Space Framework Vol 1: 9). However, the understanding and conceptualisation of the words "African City" are not given, nor elaborated on and, therefore, can mean as many things as those trying to give it meaning. As indicated above, the officials that were interviewed are from various academic disciplines and backgrounds. Consequently, their backgrounds have implications on their conceptions of the vision of the city for public spaces and their views on how the vision can be brought to life. The responses indicated that although the framework stood as the anchor of the vision, it seemed as if each official had their own ideas and interpretations.

> There is an unspoken vision of what we want to see like for example, to create sustainable communities.
>
> (Motho: Environmental Management, 2018)

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I think there is really no vision, because the vision would inform what and when you prioritise certain things, in which manner and location for all of us, but for now, we are just working on our own.

(Shane: Parks and Horticulture 2019)

But then the vision... there is no real vision. Because we come from different perspectives, from our perspective, we provide the land through requesting developers to leave open spaces for parks but I think the challenge is this there has been no time to think of the vision because we are trying to catch up with the backlog of public spaces in the city.

(Koki: Environmental Management, 2018)

Look, it's difficult now to say what the vision for public open space is in the city and that's because of the transition, the government. The priorities change from government to government, so that changes the budgeting which changes everything.

(Oupa: Integrated Development Planning, 2019)

I don't like those top level things and usually visions for public space are like that. Sometimes they just don't make sense to us and we must make them work on the ground. I ask you how?

(Rendi: Environmental Management, 2018)

The responses from the officials above represent varied ideas and conflicts with the vision. Whilst some focused on the challenges of why there was currently no official vision (although contained in the framework), others focused on the challenges of working with different departments and professionals in the pursuit of this vision, paying close attention to their roles and specific duties. The challenge of working in silos and not having clear communication between the various departments all working within the same space made it difficult for the officials to pursue the vision and thus *member* themselves within the same philosophy.

The evidence also suggests that the officials are facing challenges in institutionalising the concept of the African city and its public spaces. Despite the popular impulse to brand cities with particular homogenising identities, the officials had a limited understanding of the 'African city'. Many believed in the renaissance of the 'African space', whilst others believed that it existed and remained in the distant past. However, its continued reinjection in urban public space policy and frameworks indicates that it is still an idea supported by key decision makers. However,

throughout the interviews and focus group discussions, officials struggled to imagine or fantasise about the "African public space" as directed by the framework. This alluded to the prioritisation and deeply embedded conception of Western public spaces, their image and their standards. As such, the African public space represented something foreign to its own indigents, a mere mirage or myth. Harvey (2008) indicates that this is the case in many instances where homogenising identities are pursued. The city and its spaces are continually made and remade, pushed and pulled in different directions shaped by a complex web of idealised standards and misplaced realities.

Hollands (2008) critiques the current vision discourse in planning and argues that it tends to be motivated by capitalist ideas, as opposed to real social agendas. As such, we find ourselves using logos such as "smart cities" and even "green cities" which no one fully understands, however, to remain globally competitive and relevant, such terminology is often loosely thrown around in vision statements. Harvey (1989) and Oranje (2003) argue that in many instances, these vision statements constitute a senseless play on words that diverts attention from important issues such as inequality and exclusion. In light of Lefebvre's (1991) critique of the conceived space, one may begin to think of how these 'fashionable' vision statements require careful consideration before adoption. Moreover, the thesis argues that at their core, these conceptions of public spaces represent reinforced philosophies about the city and its ideas of order. As such, they can be regarded as myths, constructed by planning traditions and stories that are shared for the sake of preserving the fundamental planning rationale.

How officials conceptualise the public space vision and how they institutionalise it in their different departments has direct implications on the physical and regulatory production of democratic public space and, therefore, should be considered alongside the framework and other municipal plans as a process of *membering* the space of dreams. During an individual interview with an official, it was made clear that the need for a shared institutionalised vision for democratic public space was there, as echoed by the respondent below:

> My issue about the vision is that it needs to be spoken, augmented, contextualized and then shared. That is what democracy is about and it is what we need to do if we want to move forward together.
>
> (Koki: Environmental Management, 2018)

This discussion on visioning, its limitation and the challenges faced by officials is not to encourage the move away or disregard of the process of visioning and its role in public policy. Rather, it

seeks to position the process of visioning as an integral part of *membering* officials and the public spaces in which they work and serve. Needless to say, planners and related officials need to keep dreaming of a better and desired future, filled with hope and possibilities, "because it is only in the evanescent and still undecided present that planners can hope to be effective" (Friedmann, 1993: 482). The argument is that the human imagination should not be contained, but that there should be processes operating in actual or real time which can anchor these imagined democratic futures.

7.4. Autoimmunity: A threat to the Space of Dreams

This section discusses how the space of dreams is threatened by its own norms and culture, and the impact that this has for the realisations of democratic public spaces in the city.

7.4.1. The Professional Triangle and Working in Silos

Scholars such as Amin and Roberts (2008) have argued that professional knowledge is merely a single type of knowledge and way of knowing. It can encompass unique claims to particular matters. However, it should not be considered the supreme or sole form of knowledge. These claims are well-supported by other scholars such as Foster (1993), Rydin (2007) and Sandercock (2000, 2003). The scholars embrace the ideas of learning through academic practices, which include learning by doing and learning from others, whether they be communities or other professionals outside of the discipline. As inviting as these claims may seem, they do not always find home in practice and may be challenged with resistance, organisational culture and professional egos. This was established from the officials who were interviewed. Conflict was observed between the different departments working with public spaces. It seemed as if one form of knowledge was regarded as superior to another and this brought conflicts which hindered processes of working together in the realisation of democratic public space. For example, the officials in the horticultural sector department lamented on how the division of parks and recreation could be managed more effectively if the head of that division was one of their own:

> The managers used to be one of our own [horticulturalist]. They all came through the ranks and worked in the parks, so they had that experience which is necessary to manage parks in the city. That is not the case anymore. Now we get planners who are just administrators.
>
> (Jim: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

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Another good thing that they used to do, was that the director of parks was a horticulturist… During that time, you could see how parks were prioritised. Now, that is no longer happening, we can see how the interest of the parks are no longer prioritised.

(Colt: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

The officials above are insinuating that things within their division were significantly better during the period where a horticulturalist served as a director. The assumption was that he understood the playing field extremely well, was clear on what needed to be done, and also made decisions that had positive impacts on the parks. The horticultural training, knowledge, and practice in this regard was seen as essential in being able to execute what needed to be done in public parks in the city. Such arguments are not surprising as in any field there are those who are regarded as experts and therefore, most suitable for a particular job:

Yes, we are all educated in that field [horticulture], whereas the town planners that make these decisions got absolutely no clue! They do not know what horticultural or environmental impacts are. Environmental studies are quite a big component of our qualification. All of us who are sitting here, we are educated and trained to build that into our processes. Whereas you get office workers that know absolutely nothing about it making decisions that we [experts] must follow. This cannot be democratic.

(Vinny: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

The quote above, represents the level of frustration that some officials have towards how things are done within the municipality. Moreover, it suggests that the officials have a certain perception of who they need to work with and report to. This has implications on how the departments communicate and work towards the goal of democratic public spaces in the city.

According to Coetzee (2010), after 1994, local municipalities within the country had to go through a period of transformation by moving away from rigid blueprint planning towards more integrated democratic planning. Consequently, he argues that this required professionals to go through an organisational, as well as a cultural and individual transformation. Coetzee argues that this transformation brought about certain unintended consequences as the officials and their organisation now required a paradigm shift in how they thought, how they did their daily business, and how they related with each other. The implications of this were felt in policy drafting, budget formulation, and working relations. Local municipalities in South Africa continue to experience these challenges, especially as it pertains to budgeting, interdepartmental communication, and

working in silos (Coetzee, 2010; Watson, 2016). The officials who were interviewed also echoed this statement and indicated that there is lack of communication and interdepartmental planning that occurs within their department(s):

> We've got a situation where the restaurant at Springbok Park is going under because of lack of parking. Now the town planners did not consult us in 2010 with the soccer world cup. They decided to change all the curbing for making blocks in Hatfield. They installed none mountable curbs, which impacted the parking space. Drivers could park on the sidewalks of the parks, but now they can do that no longer. Now they have come to us trying to get a portion of our parks to themselves for parking provision. They realise that they need parking for the customers. So we are all fighting for the same space, obviously we will not support from horticulture's side to giving up half of the park for parking so that is just a case to show that no one is talking to us.

> (Colt: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

They indicate that there is also a professional hierarchy that exists where some officials feel more superior to others. It is evident that the officials do not see themselves as unified in knowledge, in mandate, or in respect:

> We are the ones who are supposed to advise the managers but now it's now vice versa, actually they do not listen to our advice, they say we are just gardeners, hence we see the status of the park today, it is going down because of their decisions.

> (Jim: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

> And I think even the politicians don't think that horticulture is a career, they don't take it as a career. They think anybody from the street can come and do this job. That's the mentality. They think of us as home gardeners.

> (Shane: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

The officials indicated that these challenges are both organisational and structural and, therefore, impact their day to day activities. This hinders them from meeting their targets and improving the quality of public spaces in the city. The chapter regards these conflicts and contestations between officials as a state of autoimmunity. In this regard. The departments who are supposed to work together are working against each other and therefore, creating an autoimmune disease that threatens the realisation of democratic processes and public spaces in the city.

7.4.2. Politics, Priorities and Budgeting

Throughout history, urban planning has existed alongside politics, in a space where scarce resources, economics, and society form a complex web of interests and conflicts. According to Auerbach (2012), planning is conducted based on competing considerations. On the one hand, it is a professional activity grounded in objective rational thinking, whilst on the other hand, it is inseparable from subjective, political and particularistic judgement. As a result, planning professionals find themselves in a constant battle where decisions regarding the public need to be made within this differentiated paradigm. As such, many have questioned the nature of planning and what it entails, examining whether it is a political activity, a technical profession, or an administrative task (Altshuler, 1965; Dyckman, 1969). With the above in mind, it becomes clearer why Lefebvre's (1991) and Harvey's (2004) argument that the conceived space and relative space respectively cannot be regarded as neutral or only dependent on the planner's knowledge and influence. Rather, politics plays a big role in the prioritisation and setting of the overall agenda for the direction of technical professionals.

The interviewed officials indicated that there seems to be an underrated value for the public space agenda in the municipality and that this is seen through the prioritisation and effort put towards public spaces. According to Koki an official from the department of Environmental Management, public parks always find themselves scratching at the bottom of the budget pot after bigger projects such as housing have been given their share. Koki argues that these projects attract votes and can be used for political campaign projects, as such, politicians prioritise these. This sentiment was also echoed by the following respondents:

> But unfortunately, the importance of parks and I am saying this as a professional and as an individual, I don't think politically it's a priority whether it's on the metropolitan or local or even national level, because if it was a priority at national level I believe public works would prioritise development of open spaces especially if you are talking about them as democratic spaces. So I think it's a national problem. Housing is always the easiest one to use for political campaigns. I guess it's the easiest way to impress people.

> (Noks: Environmental Management, 2018)

> Housing is currently prioritized in the city, service delivery comes first. Our municipalities "go with the noise". The municipality goes with housing as per the politician's request.

> (Colt: Parks and Horticulture, 2019).

Although the benefits of parks are fully communicated by the Tshwane Open Space Framework and by the officials themselves, there seems to be a disjuncture or a misalignment between these benefits and the budget (see figure 65 on page 202). This is despite the fact that the benefits of public spaces are read in international agreements such as the New Urban Agenda as well as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These are considered the drivers of social and economic development (Mehaffy, Elmlund, and Farrell, 2019). However, these ideas are not felt on the ground or practiced by planners and politicians. As another respondent noted:

> Also, parks are not prioritised in the city, they get the lowest budget. If you look at the IDPs for the past 5 years, you will see that the budget for parks has been declining in the city. The city focuses on giving projects money and not programs, for example, the 2 parks per ward program. We have about 105-106 wards in the city. Housing, Roads and Utilities are prioritised and get the most of the budget. I will show you a pie chart for you to see.

(Oupa: Integrated Development Planning, 2019)
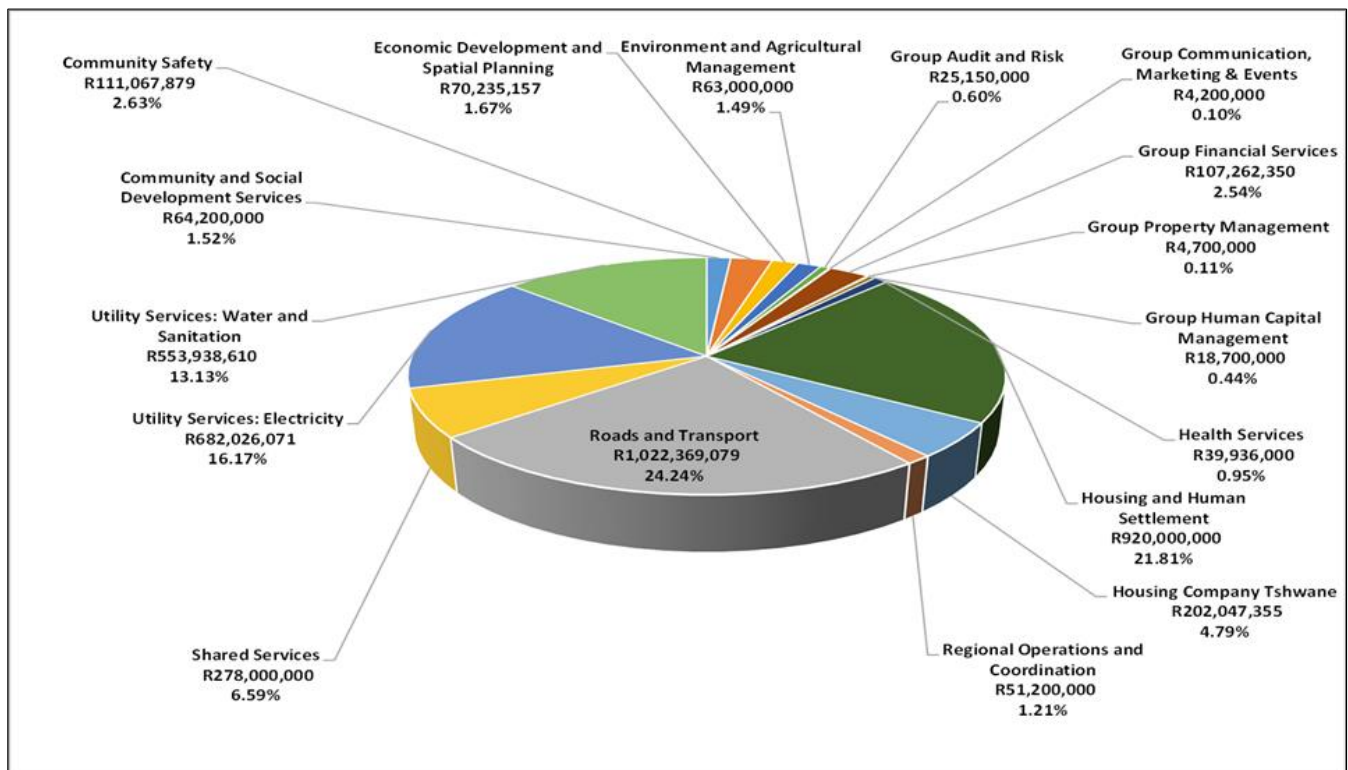
Figure 65: City of Tshwane 2019/20 Budget per Department

Source: (City of Tshwane IDP Office, 2019)

As indicated by this pie chart shared by the official above (Figure 65), the Department of Environment and Agricultural Management has been allocated a thin slice of the pie at only 1.49% of the budget. This should, however, be put into perspective because South Africa is a developing nation and, therefore, it prioritises the basic needs of the people, which according to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs can be regarded as shelter, food, sleeping, clothing, air and water (Kenrick et al., 2010). Although one may argue that public space is a basic need, it can also be said that the first priority is to have shelter and, therefore, the City of Tshwane as a metropolitan municipality in partnership with the provincial department of human settlements need to ensure the provision of housing first. The need for quality public spaces exists despite this trade off, more so in a country such as South Africa that is working towards integration and social cohesion as communicated by Shane from the division of Parks and Horticulture (2019):

> And this stage I think that we need them [public spaces] more. We need the open space because most of the people, they cannot afford to buy bigger houses with big yards or even have gardens. We stay in flats; we stay in small town houses. So if you need somewhere where you want to unwind or even meet the community, obviously you will look for public spaces, so we really need them.

The need is clearly explained from the perspective of the interviewed officials. However, as mentioned in the beginning of this section, urban planning is a profession that exists alongside politics. Moreover, according to Lefebvre (1991: 222), "the conceived space is a place for the practices of political powers that are designed to manipulate those who exist within them". Therefore, the involvement of politicians in trying to meet their campaign targets, the limited resources available, and the competing interests and priorities of communities lead to difficult trade-offs in the realisation of democratic public spaces. I argue that the above dilemmas of politics, prioritisation and budgets make up the realm in which the space of dreams exists. This space is shaped by pressures that exist externally of it whilst also forming an integral part of its make-up. Therefore, much like the professional triangle and working in silos discussed above, the politics of prioritisation and budgeting create an autoimmune disease that impacts on the efforts made to produce democratic spaces. Moreover, in interrogating the space of dreams and its effort to produce democratic public spaces in the city of Tshwane, it is necessary to not only consider what is communicated in its plans and policies, but also what has shaped and continues to shape its rational and priorities.

7.5. (*Dis)membering* and the paradox of the Space of Dreams

This section analyses the dilemmas in the space of dreams, and how officials respond to them in ways that perpetuate *(dis)membered* public spaces through measures of sanitisation and domination in the paradoxical quest for democratic public space.

7.5.1. Global Competition and its Influence on the Local Space of Dreams

Municipal officials seem to be facing structural pressures to produce democratic public spaces in the midst of existing and ever increasing global and capitalist pressures. According to Castells (1996), there are tensions that exist between globalisation, global competition, and local identity which affect planners and designers in their everyday quest to produce meaningful spaces. Mamdeli (2019) also argues that city officials are increasingly emphasising new versions of public spaces to generate and globally disseminate the promotional images that make their cities competitive. This is done in the name of attracting investment either through the tourism industry or private business and property investments. However, scholars such as Allmendinger (2001) and Qian (2017) carry the assumption that these efforts of global competition are rationalised at the expenses of existing socio-cultural structures and social needs in public space.

In line with the above, interviewed officials indicate that they face pressure within their everyday working environment because of the need to provide locally contextualised democratic public spaces whilst also chasing global titles in the name of performing according to global and capitalist standards. According to Lefebvre (1991), the conceived space maintains the hegemony of the ruling class by prioritising exchange value over use value, thereby producing *abstract space*. This is agreed upon by Harvey (2004), who argues that the capitalist domination of space prioritises exchange-value relations in an effort to homogenise space and standardise it for its own purpose. Unfortunately, the results of such prioritisation can easily lead to measures of sanitisation and over regulation that *(dis)member* space and erode the cultures and authenticity of local public spaces. Furthermore, these global and capitalist aspirations shared by municipal officials have implications on what is produced in the material space, and how the material space is perceived and therefore managed as demonstrated by the responses below:

In my experience, all those informal things taking place now in Jubilee Square, like the soccer and informal trading repeal the investors and kill the beauty of the environment as well. It does not look good for us, like we are not doing our job. We need to remove all those things if we want to attract investors there.

(Jim: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

When you see other cities like Paris and Buenos Aires, they have nice looking public spaces … we went to Argentina for a tour as the division, and we want to bring back the things we saw there.

(Mike: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

The rationale shared by the officials above perpetuates the marginalisation of those who are already marginalised, for example, the homeless community, street vendors, and the poor. The ever growing anxiety over homelessness, trading and other "informalities" in the public parks of the City of Tshwane, is, therefore, related to the rationalities of beauty, investment, and competition as discussed by the officials. Moreover, it presents dilemmas in cities filled with a rich diversity of inhabitants with different spatial needs, wants, and desires, and which may conflict with the desires of the elitist few. According to Harvey (2004), planners and designers find themselves in a space where rules, plans, and frameworks regarding urban space need to be drafted amidst such relativity.

With this in mind, it is apparent that the space of dreams within post-apartheid South Africa and, particularly, in the City of Tshwane should be analysed beyond the questions of inclusion or exclusion, black or white, the haves and the have nots, and move towards more empirical examinations of the powers, interests, institutions and ideas which govern and ultimately influence the production of public space. With such interrogation, the understanding of the drivers of privatisation, regulation, and sanitisation of space become more meaningful. This interrogation may also be useful in understanding certain (im)posed public space identities and their implications on broader global city pursuits. It is within this dichotomy between the city's aspirations and meeting the needs of the public that professionals need to navigate. However, as a result of this, we continue to witness an increase in *(dis)membering* processes under the legitimised pursuit of global competitive public spaces and cities.

7.5.2. Power: Conceived Plans versus Spatial Practices

It is necessary for the space of dreams to be aligned with the spatial needs and realities on the ground in the quest for democratic public space production. However, the space of dreams in many instances, conflict with the spatial realities on the ground. According to Harvey (2004), urban planning professions seek to represent the world in some appropriate if not accurate reflection of the material realities that surround us through abstract representations (words, graphs, maps, diagrams, pictures, etc.). Unfortunately, the data collected in this section represented illusions and misplaced rationalities. The municipal officials interviewed shared redesign plans for two of the three parks under study, namely Rietondale Park and Jubilee Square. Therefore, those two parks are analysed in terms of the redesign plans and the practices that are currently observed on the ground. This could present a view into civil society's practical needs against local government's (re)development aspirations.

Interviewed officials often narrated stories of how there is a constant battle between what is planned and unplanned. According to Kamete (2012), any spatial activity that does not comply with the [space of dreams] or that which is stipulated in the municipal instruments of order, is considered an abnormality. This sentiment was also shared by the municipal officials under study. According to the officials, people not conforming or complying with the designs and intended practices in space were classified under the banner of disorder and disturbing the public realm. According to Lefebvre (1991), such ideas which are engraved in the conceived space capacitate hegemonic tendencies.

Figure 66: Proposed Redesign - Jubilee Square

Source: City of Tshwane Department of Open spaces (2019)

In the case of Jubilee Square, the redesign and plan for the park represent it as a fitness park (Figure 66 above). The design takes into consideration all sporting and fitness aspects. However, it does not consider the reality of the small-scale economic activities that happen in and around the park, or the need thereof, thus *(dis)membering* the park from the economic role it plays in the community.

In this regard, activities that are not designed or planned for, such as the small-scale economic activities will continue to represent an "abnormality" in the space although the activity itself is normalised and welcomed by the users (discussed in Chapter six). In addition, the refusal to acknowledge the existing activities in the park by the officials in their redesigned plans signifies the park as a site where the municipality exercises its absolute power over society. Those making the decisions hold power that is based on certain ideologies and prepositions and, therefore, those particular modes of power are reproduced in the material space (Foucault, 1995). According to Kamete (2012), such decisions made in the name of technical knowledge and expertise is not surprising in the developing world as there is a link "between power-produced scientific knowledge

and normalising intent" (Kamete, 2012: 642). Beyond exerting their power, officials are also acting out what it is that they have been taught about cities, order, and the purpose of public spaces. In this instance, their knowledge is favouring their ideas of what is regarded as the purpose of public space, which emphasises its aesthetic and health function. Consequently, such conceptions are put ahead of the social reality and culture of those being planned for. It is also important to acknowledge that designs and plans are not always far removed from the reality on the ground. In the case of Rietondale Park, the designs and plans drafted by the municipal officials represent the full reality of the existing uses and activities (discussed in Chapter six). The design simply reinforces the activities currently taking place in the park (Figure 67). It works with the existing equipment and infrastructure and is compatible with the existing uses. The redesign of Rietondale Park proposes an amphitheatre to accommodate gatherings, a formalised picnic area and a seating wall facing the children's play area, where people can sit and watch the children.
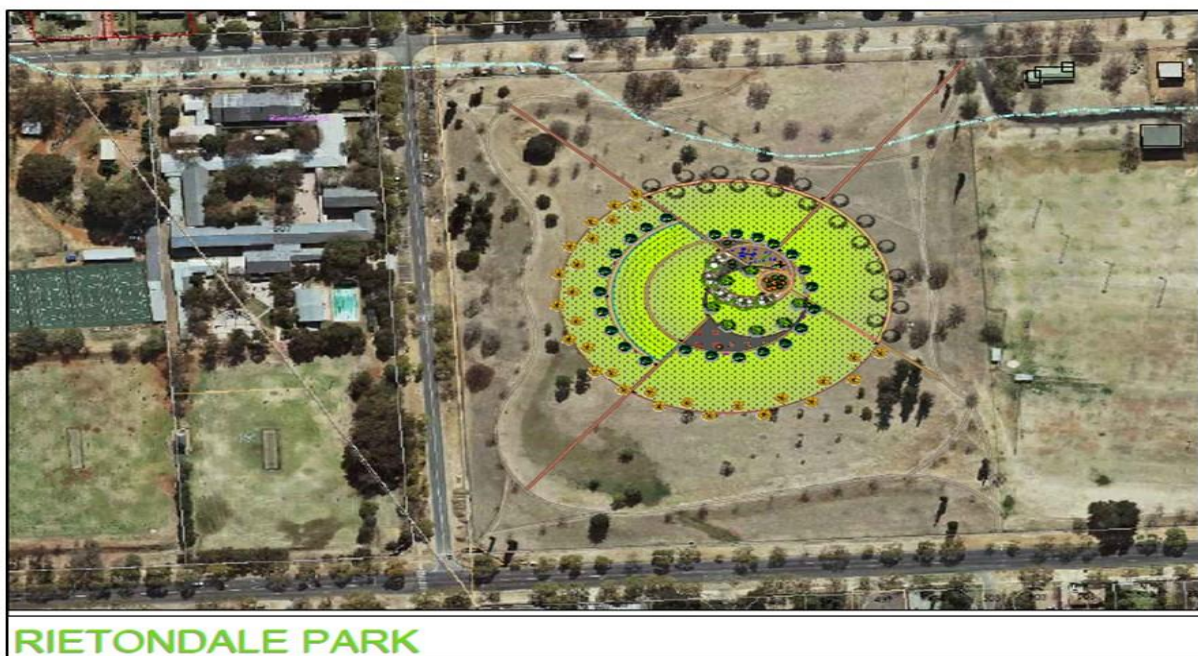
Figure 67: Proposed Redesign - Rietondale Park

Source: City of Tshwane Department of Open spaces (2019)

In this instance, one may draw inference on how certain activities in specific areas naturally fall within the lines of what is acceptable and, therefore, are easier to integrate into the larger planning ideas. Rietondale Park is an interesting case in this regard. However, in many other parks within

the jurisdiction of the city of Tshwane, this may not be the case. Jubilee Square is amongst some of them. It represents something outside of the 'norm' and its designs and plans can be conceived as attempts at correcting this abnormality, in accordance with official by-laws and regulations. Rietondale Park falls comfortably within the narrative of public space use, not only because the community is using the park in line with the designers' ideas, but because the history of the neighbourhood is tightly knitted within this narrative. As mentioned in the historical chapter (Chapter four), recreational practices were not promoted in black areas before 1994. As such, the culture of recreation is more embedded in the previously white areas than it is in the black areas.

Magnolia Dell Park, although not having a recent redesign plan or proposed upgrade, also represents a phenomenon where the conceived space is somewhat in conflict with the spatial reality. According to the officials, Magnolia Dell is a green open space meant for leisure activities such as walking, picnicking, playing, and socialising. However, it has recently become a space in which users play soccer, host parties, make open fires and play loud music. In the eyes of the officials, this represents something outside the intended purpose. The officials within the horticulture section seemed most concerned about the activities in this space because of their knowledge of what is acceptable and unacceptable:

> We believe as horticulturalists that in those olden days during the bible time, God used to communicate to people in the gardens. So now the park represents the garden where you can have space to meditate, smell the air, and have inner peace in the green environment. Messing up spaces like Magnolia, it means now we are not achieving what we are supposed to achieve as horticulturalists.

> (Vinny: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

The quotes above suggest a conflict in professional aspirations and evolving uses of space. This is understandable because the professionals are speaking from a position of what Schutz (1962) described as typified knowledge in the conceptual chapter (Chapter three). It is, however, with such legitimations that power persists in public spaces. For many of the officials, their views and aspirations of democratic spaces are based on standards and concepts that do not acknowledge the evolving socio-spatial realities of the societies in which they serve. Roy (2009) in her work on the subaltern, engages the idea of seeing unplanned spaces not only in the light of dystopia and dysfunction, but rather as positive spaces that oppose technical narratives and push for its evolution.

It is evident that power needs to be shared between the decision makers and the communities who make use of the space. Currently, the space of dreams is seen to impose its power on the production of democratic space in Jubilee Square and Magnolia Dell Park, through its attempts to order space according to its aspirations. This is done through the labelling of what is informal or formal, normal or abnormal, which result in physically *(dis)membered* spaces that perpetuate sanitising practices.

7.5.3. Polarised State Responses: Planning Contradictions and Forms of Domination

Neighbourhood socio-economic statuses have influenced the ways in which municipal officials respond to, and act on, certain matters. This is also seen in how law enforcement agencies handle informality. There are certain unspoken assumptions about certain neighbourhoods that lead to officials treating communities differently. According to Roy (2009), such assumptions remain the site of power play. In the context of this thesis, the planning contradictions are seen in the different treatment of the same activities in public spaces. For example, Jubilee Square's observations showed an obvious presence of unanticipated trading, whilst Magnolia Dell has the same. However, the views and acceptability of the two activities differ. In Jubilee Square, trading activities were frowned upon by the officials whilst the same activity was approached with empathy in Magnolia Dell Park. According to Ghertner (2011), the state responds differently to the rich and the poor. In rich areas, informal activities are dealt with in terms of legalisation, whereas in poor areas their response is violence. Such contradictions allude to the fact that municipalities respond to poverty and not necessarily informality. In light of this, the City of Tshwane officials lamented over the 'invasion' of street traders in Jubilee Square, and how they are destroying the image of the city and emphasising the need for their removal:

> On the streets and in parks of Sunnyside, they should be removed because we haven't allowed it, we haven't designed for it and even our policies don't allow it.

> (Rendi: Environmental Management, 2018)

> I would say remove them, simply because their presence there also influences littering and influences all sorts of other trading that you don't want to subject your kids or people who use the parks to. People are kind of naïve about what's going on around the park, and trading can conceal a lot of things. It's just better to remove them.

> (Leslie: Environmental Management, 2018)

The officials indicate that such activities have not been designed for or granted permission and therefore, should not be allowed. The officials in this regard hold the power of producing a space according to their image, democratically or not. Ultimately, they pave the way for law enforcement to handle the issue on the ground and in many instances, through violence and public disgrace (Pezzano, 2016). The urban poor who attempt to salvage a living in the city outside the 'formal' market find themselves having to contend with hostile officials who are bent on sanitising the city (Bayat, 2004; Graham and Healey, 2007; Kamete, 2013; Lindell, 2010; Steck et al., 2013).

Interestingly, although informal traders are also present in Magnolia Dell Park, officials did not indicate their disapproval of them there. Surprisingly, they communicated with empathy regarding the trading in the area. Jubilee Square traders predominantly serve the Sunnyside community with their goods and services. However, Magnolia Dell Park traders serve the tourists who visit the park. Using Harvey's (2004) relative space, one can argue that the market being served has implications on the official's perception of the activity. This substantiates Campbell and Marshall's (2002) ideas which suggest that there is no single public and therefore, no unified public interest. Although trading was unwanted and clearly stipulated on the rules and regulations board when entering Magnolia Dell Park, the officials had different sentiments regarding the practice, as one official noted:

> So... the trading in Magnolia Dell Park is something we need to take into consideration...because they are trying to make a living and it probably activates that space a little more. The tourists can also see something different.
>
> (Longtom, Environmental Management, 2019)

It is comforting to hear a humanistic sentiment from the official regarding this particular activity. However, it was saddening that this sentiment was only directed to this specific space. Planning contradictions can be detrimental when officials refuse to acknowledge practices in a just manner. However, in light of this, one may argue that such a response also indicates that there is a paradigm shift towards consideration of unanticipated activities in urban areas. According to Harrison, Todes, and Watson (2008), South Africa is gradually witnessing a shift in ideas pertaining to informality; and although the practice remains the same, the political and economic terminology has changed to those with positive connotations such as "small businesses", "second economy" and "township economy". However, the contradiction remains in planning practices and the full understanding of this and all its complexities still needs attention.

The unanticipated trading activity that occurs in public parks seems to be increasing in the City of Tshwane despite all the attempts to combat it. According to officials, they have been dealing with this phenomenon for quite some time. They discussed the different ways in which they have attempted to get rid of the traders in public parks or at least find a way to regulate them, even in different political administrations as is evident by the respondent below:

> What happened is that, with the previous administration, they realized that they needed to formalise the informal traders in order to regulate them. So, they built an area, a place here in the city. It is municipal structures and then we just rent [the structures] out to the public.
>
> (Motho: Environmental Management, 2018)

The statement above alludes to a particular method that the city has used in effort to clean up and sanitise public spaces. Moreover, it indicates that such a planning rationale exists alongside the political rationale because planning and politics are working together in the city to ensure the realisation of a globally competitive city that has been envisioned. Moreover, one cannot simply ignore the environmental degradation and health hazards prominent in the informal sector, as discussed by the respondents below:

> To me, the trading in Jubilee square is kind of unhygienic. They cook the food in the trailer or the tent, then they throw out the used oil just next to the trailer. Health inspectors must come and see what they are doing and even where they get their water from. I don't think the trading would pass the health test.
>
> (Leslie: Environmental Management, 2018)
>
> Some of these kiosks are on a trailer there at Jubilee, and they need to pull it on a bakkie or a car to move it, so now they move into the parks and they damage our irrigation and sprinklers.
>
> (Colt: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

As noted from the quotes above, there are valid concerns pertaining to the use of public parks for unanticipated trading and these concerns are justified. Accordingly, the officials' responses towards this phenomenon can be regarded as well-meaning. However, the approaches that are suggested perpetuate the sanitizing tendencies. The notion of creating safe and clean spaces in

urban planning should be sensitive to function and quality of life, not merely aesthetic, and image. Mandeli (2019) argues that public spaces should progress beyond ruthless functionalism and aesthetic concerns in the global south. In moving forward, there is a need for planners to be well aware of how people on the ground survive, how livelihoods are stitched together in public spaces and in what ways planning can positively reinforce the positives of these phenomena. It is imperative to study the practice from those practicing it and to refrain from seeing the task of sanitising informality as an elite project that is reserved for technical experts.

Unanticipated activities also bring the concern of space domination, as Harvey (2006) argues, the use of space by one group may result in the displacement or withdrawal of use by another group in the real sense. Moreover, it presents dilemmas of juggling the needs and interest of different groups as highlighted by the respondent below:

> As it is now with these small micro businesses occupying Magnolia, when you do that and your business is successful, you basically occupy part of the park for yourself. Now if every new member of the community wants to do that, you can imagine that there won't be enough space for everyone to have his piece of the park. So we just want no one there.

> (Mike: Parks and Horticulture, 2019).

> We've got a business situation with a lot of the parks. Many are now occupied by restaurants, just like Magnolia Dell Park has its own restaurant and others by informal traders. A lot of them in Hatfield. I cannot say it is true all across the city, maybe it's not, but that is the case in Hatfield. So there is obviously a clash of interest when a situation like that develops. By us the council, we allow the restaurants to take over our parks and not the informal traders because they are unpredictable. But then, even with the restaurant you got a completely different interest group that you must serve. They also want to control certain things in the park and take over the space.

> (Leslie: Environmental Management, 2018).

The quotes above can be regarded as a point of concern as it alludes to how the trading in its formal or informal categorisation in public spaces can dominate space. Business location logic in this regard is shown to exist in micro- and macro- scales and as defying ideas of formality and informality. Although the restaurant is regarded as formal business which is welcomed by the officials. They too are following human traffic and strategically placing themselves where the

people are, just like the small-scale traders do. In light of public interest, it is apparent that the public in this regard is the economic elite whilst the small scale traders form part of a public that is not catered for. Harvey (2008) discuss how planning safeguards formal business interests and finds ways to legitimise "unfair competition". Moreover, such legitimation is in line with ideas of economic growth, job creation and giving people the 'best' in terms of world standards. However, in this regard, the erosion of local economies, the cultural fabric as well as the lasting implications of these activities are not considered.

Planning contradictions can easily lead to dominated and sanitised public spaces in the name of capital interests. In this instance, it was a case of informal traders versus restaurants in public parks. In other cases, it can be a public park versus the pursuit of privatising parks. The rationale and conceptions are the same, the differences lie merely in the scales and intensities of the domination in the name of planning aspirations.

7.5.4. The Problem with Universal Standards

"It would be foolish to try and design all public spaces according to some idealised cloned blueprint in order that each is equally appealing to all" (Carmona, 2019; 50).

The planning profession has, over the years, endured the criticism of being too reductionist and for considering settlements as unitary material objectives (Graham and Healey, 2007). Such sentiments derive from the dissatisfaction with the Euclidean concepts of space that are embedded in many zoning schemes. Euclidean concepts are grounded in the rationale of managing or eliminating any environmental, social or economic problems in cities or settlements. Planning has over the years moved away from this objectifying doctrine and cities have increasingly become recognised as heterogeneous spaces that require context and circumstantial considerations. Scholars such as Friedmann (1993), Ellin (1997), and Healey (1997) have persistently argued for non-Euclidean forms of planning wherein the time-space continuum is recognised and the fixation on 'imagined future times' is relaxed.

The rationale behind this quest for a non-Euclidean way of practicing planning is to allow officials to spend less time preparing documents embedded in the space of dreams and work towards bringing themselves to the ground and encouraging them to remove their 'bureaucratic' masks. Despite this paradigm shift in the conception of planning, the residue of modernist and determinist planning continues to influence the day to day activities in planning and related departments. Moreover, it continues to be communicated in municipal by-laws and ordinances in light of the

phenomena of sanitising and normalising urban space. Public spaces in the City of Tshwane are, therefore, also subjected to this zoning practice where land needs to be zoned off as public spaces in order for it to be regarded as such by municipal officials and for them to award it any attention, as described by one respondent below:

> What we work with is the zoning, it is zoned public it is public. We just need to ensure that there is space for the public open space as per the scheme and SPLUMA [Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act]. The details of the size, big or small and everything else is contained in the by-laws, and that is what we follow.
>
> (Benny: Environmental Management, 2019)

The above quote illustrates how the idea of zoning impedes on the official's creativity and leads them to act in mundane standardised ways without consideration of anything else. Needless to say, the value of zoning is important as it is the foundation of planning, its standards must be contextually adjusted in time and space in order to serve the common good. Standards in planning perpetuate the idea of "spaces as unbiased representations of places". In this regard, public spaces may not yield the intended results:

> I also worked on a project whereby I designed this public space with a pool, basketball court, netball court and braai/ sitting area. According to the spatial planning standards, I had to reserve a certain amount of space for parking, about 25 parking spaces. The unfortunate thing is that it was a waste of space because no one ever parked at that parking space because the community actually walked to the space. It was in a township and we should have done our analysis and consulted to avoid wasting such space for parking where it is not needed. So, standard restrictions without any context impede the success of parks. Another issue with standards is that they also impact where you put in the entrance and exit points in a park. I had to move the entrance to the back as per the traffic people and now the community is discouraged to walk all the way around.
>
> (Oupa: Integrated Development Planning, 2019).

The above quote illustrates how inflexible management regulations and technical standards, which are devoid of a holistic awareness, can lead to unintended consequences. Standards of parking are undeniably important in how we design and plan for our democratic public spaces. Insufficient parking spaces may discourage users from visiting the space and render it

inaccessible. Unfortunately, in most instances, standards created by engineering plans ignore urban spaces and the ways in which society may respond to them. The thesis argues for an approach to the production of democratic spaces that avoids oversimplified planning regulations and homogenised standards. Planning officials need to move away from the ideas of standardised requirements which may lead to *(dis)membered,* undemocratic and unutilised spaces.

7.6. In Space but Out of Place: Homelessness as a complex democratic problem

Homelessness remains a persistent social issue throughout the world. This is also the case in the City of Tshwane (Brand, De Beer, De Villiers and Van Marle, 2013; Kriel, Tembe, and Mashava, 2017.) Consequently, city officials find themselves between a rock and a hard place in trying to respond to this epidemic. Homelessness presents a multi-layered challenge to the city and, therefore, requires interventions from different departments and sector departments.

The officials in the city of Tshwane were very eager to discuss the homeless community, how they make use of public space, and their general sentiments towards the rising phenomenon. It was clear that all officials were aware of the significant presence of homeless people in Jubilee Square and Magnolia Dell Park. The general consensus was that homeless people should not be there and that they were out of place as echoed by the officials below:

> These vagrants have such a big impact on our parks, we are on the break of doing a redesign of Springbok Park which is a monument. Because people won't use it anymore. They don't feel safe in the park because of these vagrants, we don't want Jubilee Square and Magnolia to also end up like that.
>
> (Colt: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)
>
> When people visit the park, we don't want them to think "someone will break into my car whilst I am here". Vagrants are just a threat
>
> (Mike: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

Contrary to the above quotes, scholars such as Amster (2003) argue that this threat is merely a perception constructed by the dominant groups and cultures in society and that it does not mimic reality. Furthermore, it is used as justification for the privatisation of space of bourgeois cleanliness (Harvey, 1989). However, in a country like South Africa, one may argue strongly against such a proposition. Crime rates in South Africa have continued to rise steadily since 1994. In 2020, South Africa was rated as the third highest in terms of the crime rate in the world (Crime

Index, 2020) following Venezuela and Papua New Guinea. Moreover, scholars in the domain of public spaces and sustainable neighbourhoods in South Africa have also written extensively on the impact that crime has on the use of public spaces (Breetzke, 2010; Kruger et al, 2017; Landman, 2017, 2019; Mavuso, 2016).

Accordingly, it was not surprising that the officials would view the homeless community as predominantly made up of criminals and, therefore, consider them not welcome to share spaces with mainstream society. Their views on homelessness and its prevalence in public spaces was not only shaped by their professional ideas of aesthetics and order, but also because of the overall perception of the homeless community as shared by society. According to Kriel et al (2017), most people who are homeless are treated with suspicion, alarm, annoyance, and fear in the public spaces that they occupy. This is rooted in the stigmatisation of poverty. The urban poor who have homes to live in, are "out of sight" and, therefore, "out of mind". However, the homeless are unfortunately often in plain view and therefore, subjected to this harsh stigmatisation.

During focus group discussions, officials often referred to themselves as civil servants who work to please their customers. Moreover, they discussed how they need to ensure the safety of the communities they serve. An official in particular mentioned that they received pressure from various communities regarding the removal of homeless people in parks:

> Communities come to our office, requesting that we take care of the vagrant problem in their parks. That puts us in a very difficult position because we get complaints from the public all the time. For example, Rietondale community has approached us. Look at the state of the park, how can you allow the vagrants, it's not safe for them to stay there, it is not hygienic for them to stay there, how can you allow it. It is not a question that we are allowing it, we can do nothing about it because we don't have shelters for these people.

> (Shane: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

As alluded to in the quote above, communities have certain expectations of their public spaces, and officials are seen as the people who should deliver on these expectations. Officials lament on how communities expect them to regulate the homeless community's presence in public spaces. However, according to them, this is the task of the Metropolitan Police Office. Officials argue that it is their duty to draft by-laws and institutionalise them. However, it is the task of the metro police to enforce those by-laws. This lamentation is not surprising because scholars such as du Toit (2010) have argued that local governments tend to see homelessness as an issue

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outside their jurisdiction because it can be ascribed to individuals' lack of affordable housing or their individual moral failure and, therefore, should be the responsibility of law enforcement:

> Come on, we do not have the power to arrest these people or even give them fines to get them out of the parks. That is what the metro police are supposed to do. I will see them in the park, like all the time in Jubilee, but I will just pass like any other person.

> (Longtom: Environmental Management, 2019)

According to the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality By-Laws Pertaining to Public Amenities (under the section of loitering and prohibited action), "it is illegal for anybody to be homeless and perform actions like begging or being on the streets without a home to return to" (Environment and Recreation Management, 2014 as quoted in Kriel et al, 2017: 433.) The by-law statement above can be regarded as problematic because of how it explicitly discriminates against the homeless. Mitchell (2003) argues that contemporary public spaces are controlled and that their access needs to adhere to a certain image of cities. This is done through soft and hard measures such as physical barriers, strict policing, surveillance cameras and by-laws. He argues that such measures are a form of discrimination and a violation of peoples' right to the city, especially with regards to the marginalised groups in society.

With the above in mind, the control of public spaces in the city, as represented by the by-laws, prove to be a violation of the homeless community's democratic right to enjoy state provided public spaces (Lefebvre,1991). Moreover, it can be regarded as an attempt to sanitise space and display an image of "public space neatness" whilst institutionally hiding the brutality of rigid urban space controls. However, one can also argue that the concerns regarding the presence of homeless people in public spaces and their use of the spaces are not completely unwarranted. Unfortunately, the homeless community is not made up of a homogenous group of people with the same socialisation, aspirations, and view of life. Thus, they cannot be discussed as such (De Beer, 2013). The officials are aware of this, and also indicate that this makes their task to design, develop, maintain and regulate democratic public spaces that much more difficult. For example, the officials argue that they need to navigate between protecting the rights of all urban citizens whilst also maintaining safe public space, to attract and maintain investments and to decrease the deterioration and vandalism of public infrastructure as echoed by the following respondents:

Yes, they have the democratic right to use those spaces, it would be nice if they could use it like all other people. But they don't only use it exercising the democratic right, some of them actually have got this urge to break something. You can use it; we can't complain if you use it. We complain if you break it.

(Jammy: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

In Jubilee we've got the outdoor gym and the homeless people come and steal everything that they can take for scrap metal so we can't keep advocating for them when they are destroying everything.

(Jim: Parks and Horticulture, 2019).

From the quotes above, it is clear that the officials are not against the use of space by the homeless, therefore, not maliciously advocating for their exclusion. They are merely against the vandalism that they have witnessed. Bergamaschi et al (2014), mentions that once a person has lived on the streets their former identity disappears and they form a new identity based on their situation and as such, many act and engage in activities that they normally would not, for example, the unwarranted vandalism as explained by the officials above. From the focus group discussions, it was made clear that the harsh by-laws pertaining to the homelessness phenomenon in public spaces came into being as a result of such activities. The officials were also adamant that the locking up of public abolition facilities in Jubilee Square, Magnolia Dell Park and Rietondale Park was a decision taken because of the criminal activities that would take place, as well as the homeless people who would sleep in them as one official noted:

I don't know how to handle the question on access to toilets, it is very difficult. You find that parks that have toilets end up being a very scary park. Because homeless people will hide in the toilets, you go there and they ambush you because you don't know what happens in the toilet. So we are trying to manage, that but unfortunately it is creating problems but we still don't know how to handle it.

(Rendi; Environmental Management, 2018)

The levels of crime in the country cannot be ignored and the officials' only response is to lock up the toilets in the name of safety. However, this also has implications democratic nature of the space, the amount of time people can spend in a park and how comfortable their experience will be. According to Greed (2004), the provision of public toilets is a strategic urban policy issue that

has implications on a variety of affairs such as the natural environment, health, tourism and public transport strategies. Moreover, it is a policy issue, which, if not handled with adequate consideration, affects the most vulnerable members in society such as women, the elderly, and the disabled (Cooper, Law, Malthus and Wood, 2000). Therefore, in this case, the decision made by officials to lock up toilets in the public parks deals with the issue of crime, safety and illegal occupancy which are highly prioritised matters. Unfortunately, the trade-off is that society's experience of public life and comfort becomes constrained. Officials also indicate that the other alternatives could be the introduction of a payment system where individuals could pay a certain amount to use the facilities. However, the question that kept recurring was "what about those who cannot afford?" One participant mentioned that:

> Public toilets are a problem in the city, not only in the public spaces you are researching. The city is now stinking because of this. So every night we have people that go around all corners spraying chemicals. It's costing the city a lot of money. We are saying build more toilets and have a lady at the entrance charging R1.00. But then again, how can you charge a homeless person R1.00 to use a toilet when he has nothing.

> (Oupa: Integrated Development Planning, 2019).

The concern raised above by the official is a valid one. Moreover, the introduction of payment fees to enter and use the toilet has direct exclusion implications for the less privileged. However, it is clear that the first priority in public spaces is safety and restrictions which function to protect society. In light of this, officials recognise that there is more that still needs to be done to ensure safe public spaces for both the homeless and mainstream society. Their approach leans towards soft governance measures that can be interpreted as over-regulation of the public space. According to Carmona (2010b), public space can be placed into two broad classifications in contemporary society, either being over-managed or under-managed. In this situation, the officials either under-manage by insisting that there is nothing that they can do in a situation and, therefore, the spaces are left neglected and invaded. On the other hand, they over-manage by proposing measures that result in exclusion, access control, and segregation.

Interestingly, the officials were also in some way sympathetic to the plight of the homeless community. A certain official had taken it upon himself to think of ways in which to assist the homeless in public spaces through the use of design that would allow them to store some of their valuables safely in Magnolia Dell Park. However, such ideas are often faced with much criticism and resistance as the assumption is that many will flood to such a space, decreasing the safety

perceptions, and property values of the neighbourhoods. According to Du Toit (2010), when it comes to the control of space, businesses have a significant influence on the spatial governance exercised by local governments. This also has implications on where shelters are located within the city. Therefore, the ideas that the officials may have, may be welcomed in the city centre where shelters already exist. However, that may not be the case in other suburbs such as Bailey's Muckleneuk.

However, the stigma around homelessness and the homeless community still remains and continues to shape municipal officials' perceptions of crime and security in public spaces. As such, we continue to witness the constant removal, restrictions, and regulation of the homeless from public spaces. The homeless community in the City of Tshwane continue to be at the mercy of the officials, their urban policies, by-laws and law enforcement agencies. Whether it is in the name of preserving the image of the city, sanitising space, protecting civil society or attracting businesses, the homeless communities' right to the city and their place in the production of democratic public space remains contested amongst an array of competing interests.

7.7. Attempts to *(Re)member*

This section analyses the attempts made by municipal officials in the City of Tshwane to *(re)member* public spaces, society and themselves together, and the challenges thereof.

7.7.1. Public Participation: A Democratic *(Re)membering* Tool

In curbing the limitations and shortfalls of the space of dreams discussed in this chapter, one may call on the role of public participation as a tool to *(re)member* what has been *(dis)membered*. The discourse of public participation has been advocated for by scholars in different ways and it is often emphasised as the cornerstone of democracy which regards citizens as consumers of city, co-creators, beneficiaries, or even cohabitants of the earth (Harbermas, 1989; Healey, 1996; Madanipour, 2010; Marcus, 2017).

It is important to note that, although the discourse is virtuous and welcomed by scholars and practitioners alike, it is not without contestation. Many of the interviewed officials shared that they thought the processes of public participation merely wastes their time and that it does not yield any of its popularised benefits, as stipulated by the respondents below:

From my experience it [public participation] does not work. You involve those people, but they are the same people who will be going back to steal those bricks that you have used for pavement.

(Benny: Environmental Management, 2019)

Today, we do a lot of participation in planning processes and there is always some money put aside for it, but I think it adds no value. People just take whatever we give them, whether they participated or not. Sometimes these processes are attended by the public for a free lunch or something like that.

(Leslie: Environmental Management, 2018)

Officials seemed dismayed when it came to the discussion of involving communities in the processes of producing democratic spaces. Their personal experiences did not encourage them to want to continue with the task of involving communities. In actual fact, the officials felt that it was the role of the ward councillors to conduct public participation meetings with local communities and consolidate the needs of the community. Thereafter, feedback would be brought back to them to add their technical contributions whilst drafting the public space designs and policies. This indicated that the officials were drawing a distinction between their roles as civil servants and technical experts. Municipal officials found this method of participation as one that not only saves them time for all the administrative tasks laying on their desks, but also one that protects them as they cannot solve all community problems. The assumption is that, once communities meet with the city officials, they begin to make demands and requests for things that are sometimes out of the scope of what the officials are able to deliver, as explained by the officials below:

Communities put us in very awkward positions. Even before the participation meeting has started, they are already asking questions like "will I be employed?". Mind you, sometimes these participation meetings are scheduled even before we have assurance that the project will even happen. It's awkward.

(Longtom: Environmental Management, 2019)

People just have trust issues, they don't trust us and what we say. So if we say there is no money for such, they don't believe. Or if we say, we can do this, they also don't believe. Maybe it is because of what they hear from councillors during campaigns or what, I don't know.

(Oupa: Integrated Development Planning, 2019).

Unfortunately, councillors themselves are also not neutral individuals serving their communities. They represent certain political ideologies and agendas and as such, their personal and professional capacities as councillors may affect the success of certain projects and the authenticity of community interests and demands put forward to the municipality. Moreover, their presence can be threatening and uninviting for those who are from a different or competing political affiliation. However, in many instance, officials indicate that they would rather allow ward councillors to take over the task, because according to them, it is a compliance exercise to render a project legitimate, and used to gain trust and rapport.

Public participation as a process of *(re)membering* can be used as a tool to not only discourage certain behaviours in public spaces, but also as a way of understanding how and why things happen. Although some acts cannot be justified, it is important to stray away from blame theory and seek ways to understand and explain the occurring phenomenon. For example, an official narrated a story of a particular case that warranted the understanding of the community in order to understand activities characterised as vandalism:

Tennis courts in the city are a good example. You will design and produce a public space with a tennis court. Users will come and remove the net in the middle and put two bins in the middle of the court. I have seen this in Sunnyside. I will tell you why; tennis is played by only two people, they need a racket each and a tennis ball. Rackets are expensive, however, with soccer more people can play, all you need is one ball and it can cost you around R100. 00. So, you buy the ball, rearrange the space and play soccer. That is what they do. We need to think about the actions, but also why it is happening. What this taught us is that producing something without consulting will waste your time and your money.

(Oupa: Integrated Development Planning, 2019)

One may argue that the reconfiguration of the physical space itself in the case discussed by the official above was a process of *membering* the democratic space by society in a way that suits a

their specific-context. Therefore, the reconfiguration of the tennis courts can be reconceptualised as a cry for facilities that are in the interest of those who will be using the space. This is in line with Harvey's (2004) argument of the importance of recognising relative space. As the official indicated, public participation, in this regard, would have directed where and how municipal resources are used.

Despite concerns raised in this section, public participation in democratic societies is still pursued and it remains the backbone of democracy and can be considered as a tool to *(re)member* democratic public spaces. Although some of the officials presented negative sentiments toward the process, others see its benefits:

> The public knows their space better than I do. I am working for the City of Tshwane, I live in Centurion, I am from Soweto, what do I know about Bailey's Muckleneuk or Jubilee Square? How can I tell them about their space?
>
> (Oupa: Integrated Planning, 2019)
>
> Communities need to design their own spaces. We can bring our technical experience but we can only share that experience with them once they have given us their ideas. Something simple like a concrete bin, a steel bin or a plastic bin can be very important for a community so we need to ask.
>
> (Longtom: Environmental Management, 2019)
>
> The community can help you save money and they can help you help them meet their needs instead of wasting. That's why IDP processes are so important because the community needs to participate, to know what we are spending on, what we want to do and for them to have their input.
>
> (Benny: Environmental Management, 2019)

The quote above represents the rationale for the continued deployment of public participation processes. It substantiates the idea that professional or technical knowledge does not equate contextual or local knowledge. I argue that as a *(re)membering* tool, democratic participation opens up opportunities for society and the municipality to conceive the space of dreams together. The process can yield an understanding of what is valued in a community and ultimately shape the material democratic space by dismantling the existing hegemonic ideas of what is desirable,

normal, and appropriate in a public space situated in a given context. However, this is a difficult task that requires a broadened understanding of the nature of power, politics, communities and the role of technical experts in the production of democratic space.

7.7.2. "Fixing a Moving Bus": A Threat to *(Re)membering*

In the context of South Africa, the phrase "fixing a moving bus" is one that can be heard quite frequently in many political and municipal releases regarding service delivery. It captures the severity of the current status quo and why service delivery in the country is always lagging behind. Officials narrate stories of how difficult it is for them to produce public spaces that are context-specific to their communities because "there is no time, we are fixing a moving bus" (Koki: Environmental Management, 2018). As discussed in the historical space production chapter (Chapter four), during apartheid, public space in black areas were not prioritised. Consequently, previously-disadvantaged communities lack public spaces. As communities grow and rural to urban migration increases, municipalities find it difficult to provide public spaces contextually designed for their communities:

> I don't know how to put it but maybe to be blunt, like I am saying it's like fixing a moving bus, the demand is too high, even the conceptualisation and understanding of why certain things happen or what is appropriate to design, there is no time to think about that. Although yes, ideally that's how it should be done, but at the moment, it's not.
>
> (Koki: Environmental Management, 2018)
>
> Yes, there is a shortage of public open spaces in the city. There is a historic backlog and a current backlog, and like I said, the backlog is too high to even consider contextual details.
>
> (Motho: Environmental Management, 2018).

The city is growing at an alarming rate and it's perhaps in all cities and the government is forced to formalise informal settlements and even those like most recent ones. If you know the Nellmapius area, you know that it keeps growing and it's the same everywhere, if you go to Soshanguve and Atteridgeville, those are areas in the townships that people are now settling and they have a bit of land to occupy. There will always be a backlog of parks because of this, so chances are we'll always have to go back there again. The areas are growing, they need roads, they need lighting, they need water and they need housing. Once they have that, then the next thing is the open spaces.

(Noks: Environmental Management, 2018).

Municipal officials find themselves focusing on standard designs of public spaces which fit their budget and are assumed to work, without taking into account the community or the diverse needs and interests. The increased pressure to produce parks at such a rapid rate in order to combat the existing and inherited backlog has unfortunately pushed officials to a point where contextual detail is not prioritised. The city has also transformed since 1994, and therefore, the backlog is not only in previously disadvantaged areas or prevalent in areas experiencing sprawl (whether formal or informal), but it is also within the Central Business District of the city. The implications of this is that the city centre also needs public space development as explained by the respondent:

Yeah, so what also happen in CBD is a lot of companies move out to like Pretoria East, Centurion and Akasia, so the office blocks that used to be in the CBD they changed now to flats and now 40 years ago it used to be office workers that come to town and go back home in the evening. So there wasn't a lot of parks in the CBD, but now there is people staying in the CBD and there are not enough parks ma'am.

(Jammy: Parks and Horticulture, 2019).

Municipal officials are under pressure to develop democratic public spaces under budget constraints, political interference and varied ideologies. As such, measures to ensure the full understanding of each context, need and aspiration become a secondary thought that cannot be acted upon sufficiently. The argument is that because there is no time to understand communities, development merely continues to ensure the meeting of set targets. The officials are aware of what is necessary before the development of a space. However, the pressures of meeting targets get in the way of their own conceptions of how things should be done. There is a conflict of professional ideals and standards against municipal pressures and the realities that need to be

negotiated in the production of democratic space. According to Townshend and Madanipour (2008), even spaces in the same city will have their own stories, associations, uses and configurations. Thus, without time to take these into consideration, the process of *(re)membering* public spaces and their communities will leave much to be desired in the quest for democratic public space production.

7.8. Conclusion

This chapter explored the ways in which public space ideas, perceptions, and desires are conceptualised in the City of Tshwane from the perspectives of technical practitioners and those in decision making positions. To explore the thinking and rationale behind the plans and policies that we see in the pursuit of democratic public space production and the contestations thereof.

The chapter discussed the nature of the space of dreams and how in itself, is conflicted. There is a greater understanding of public space designs and policies once there is an understanding of who the planner or designer is, the organisational environment in which they work, what informs their planning and what ultimately influences their production of the material space and the space of dreams. The chapter also revealed that the officials involved in this space do not work in isolation, nor are they immune to the social, political, economic and global factors, which inevitably influence their decisions. Officials find themselves having to constantly construct and deconstruct their identity as 'technical professional' and 'civil servant' alongside balancing professional egos which impede on their *membering* processes within the municipality. The chapter conceptualised the conflicts between the different professionals and politics of budgeting as an autoimmune disease affecting the progress and processes of realising democratic public spaces. Moreover, it locates the conflicts and contestations between global competition, planning contradictions, forms of domination and fixation on universal standards as phenomenon's perpetuating the continuity of sanitised and *(dis)membered* spaces in the city. Lastly, the chapter discussed the complex problem of handling homelessness in public spaces and the attempts made by the municipality to *(re)member* public space through participation and "fixing a moving bus" in the quest for democratic public space production. The argument is that processes of conceptualising democratic public spaces in the City of Tshwane present continued inter and intra-conflicts between the municipality and society, which can hinder or facilitate the realisation of democratic public space.

The following chapter explores the lived space by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey's (2004) relational space in an attempt to relate the lived experiences and meanings associated with the conflicts

and contestation discussed in the material space (Chapter six) and the space of dreams (Chapter seven).

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE SPACE EXPERIENCED BY BODIES

THE USERS' EXPERIENCE AND MEANING OF DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SPACE

8.1. Introduction

This chapter fulfils the third objective of the thesis which explores meanings and symbols attached to public spaces by those who encounter it. The chapter explores the experiential standpoint of the public space users and how it relates to the conflict between the society's perceptions and planning conceptions of democratic spaces. The overall argument in this chapter is that public spaces are not secure and unwavering geographies, but rather, they are places where meanings are constantly produced through spatial practices and psychological appropriation (discussed in Chapter three). The chapter invokes Lefebvre's (1991) lived space and Harvey's (2004) relational space which conceptualise space and its meanings as embedded in emotional, historical or traditional affiliations or attachments. In this regard, space encompasses intangible aspects such as feelings, emotions and images that define, humanise and *(re)member* space. Thereby, giving society power to contest and (re)produce their democratic public space in opposition to municipal conceptions. Accordingly, this chapter seeks to humanise the unscripted activities, uses and interactions in space discussed in Chapter six, by moving away from simplistic ideas of what people do and how they do it, but rather introducing the meaning and experience behind the practices and its relationship with broader societal democratic actions. The chapter reveals the ways in which society (re)produces its democratic public space through the meanings it subjectively attaches to everyday practices and experiences of space, which are sometimes in direct conflict and contestation with planning conceptions discussed in Chapter seven.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses a brief methodology of data collected and the instruments used to gather the said data. Secondly, the chapter discusses democratic public spaces as defended, (re)imagined, and contested by bodies through processes of psychological appropriation of space. In this instance, focus is placed on the concept of *divergent citizenship* conceptualised in this thesis as a process where society (re)produces its own space through diverging from the status quo as a way to contest and defend their conceptions of a democratic space. Thirdly, the chapter moves towards the meaning of democratic public spaces as *(re)membered* by the users who encounter it. The chapter ultimately argues that through processes of (re)imagining and (*re)membering*, urban public spaces are given multiple meanings by users, and these meanings are used to contest and defend space in ways that give democratic public space its meaning.

8.2. Methodology: An Inquiry into the "Space Experienced by Bodies"

Meanings and experiences were studied following two distinct, but intertwined, approaches. Firstly, they were studied directly and intimately through conversations in the form of semi-structured interviews with public space users to attain subjective experiential and meaningful responses. In addition, a focus group session was held with members of the Rietondale Home-Owners Association (RHOA) to explore meanings and experiences of collective memory and collective identity which influence urban space attachment and psychological space appropriation.

Secondly, experience and meaning were studied indirectly through conceptual and mediated symbols. Corresponding to Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualisation as sustained through this thesis, lived space is generally the symbolic dimensions of space. In this instance, observations were conducted, and activities were categorised in terms of what they represented on a symbolic and conceptual level. The intention was to explore the experiences and meanings in direct and indirect ways in order to fully unravel the findings from an interpretivist paradigm. As such, I focused not only on what was said during interviews and the focus group session or what was seen during observations, but also on the conceptual and symbolic interpretation of both data sets to understand the experiences and meanings of democratic public spaces from those who encounter it.

8.3. Public Space Defended, (Re)imagined and Contested by Bodies

In this section, the thesis focuses on the meaning of space and how it is (re)imagined, contested and defended by its users in relation to ownership and management, accessing urban resources, appropriating space and earning a living. These meanings of space are interrogated in relation to municipal public space conceptions and perceptions discussed in Chapter seven. Using the concepts of lived space and relational space by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) respectively, the section argues that society seeks to transform the physical and conceptual boundaries of perceived and conceived space through its spatial practices and imagination. As such, this section shows how users oppose and contest ideas presented by the municipalities and its planning administration through (re)imagining public space according to their desires, emerging either from history, relative deprivation or pure fantasies.

8.3.1. Defending Public Space through Collective Memory and Nostalgia

How a community remembers or interprets its history is important in the experience of the present, and the (re)imagining and reproduction of the future. A community that interprets its history as that of deprivation, inequality, and unjust treatment, against that which experienced state generosity and dignity will not experience and draw meaning from space in the same way. According to Belanger (2002), collective memory alongside nostalgia can maintain meaning and significance in the imagination of the public. Nostalgia can also shape attachment to space, especially when it is used to claim ownership to something or to differentiate between groups of publics. In the focus group interview with the Rietondale residents, a respondent indicated that there was something to discuss before the interview could begin:

> I just want to go one step back and I want to give you a document. This is the document [handing over the document dated 1924]. This document says that the park was given in trust to us, the Rietondale Community. The benefactor gave it to this community of Rietondale as you can see. It also says in here that it was given in trust to us and that the city council is to maintain it for the benefit of the Rietondale community. But as it has evolved over time, the city has taken over literally the whole park and they are renting out the biggest sections to sports. Now we have to negotiate with those sports guys if we want to use our park. Which is a bit of a negative and sad situation. So, the residents here to a certain degree feel left out and neglected because the park was given to us by the benefactor. We are aware of the fact that the council pays a lot of money for maintaining the park. They pay the water, the electricity, mowing the lawn, and keeping it clean. You know, as a community we can't afford that so that is essential that the city does it for us. But now we are not getting all the milk we think we should be getting. Because contracts are renewed annually and we have no say in that. So that is one problem that we do have.

> (Kate: RHOA, 2019)

The quote above expresses the respondents' sentiments regarding the park and how the municipal institution has undermined the documented history of the neighbourhood and its park. By referring to their history, the respondents were able to capture the significant meaning of the park to them as a collective. In the quote, it is also clear that this meaning and significance is ignored in the space of dreams as municipal officials do not acknowledge the history of the park. The respondents collectively stood together in their belief that the park was given to them. Indeed, as far as they are concerned, the document that they presented is a symbol and proof of that

record. However, the current management of the park suggests to them that their history is taken for granted by the municipal officials, who in their opinion, have *(dis)membered* them from their park.

In spatial and temporal terms, the existence of the document as well as its immediate availability in the hands of the respondent before the interview began, spoke louder than words. The room was filled with pride and dignity. As a collective, they were traveling back to a time in which they could be proud of, whether they physically experienced that time themselves or not. It demonstrated how the experience of space is not only spatial, but also timeless in the way that it can transcend over decades. The document transported past memories and truths to the present. It represented a time in history where the park was managed as per the desires of the beneficiaries. In addition, the document is seen as a tool to (re)imagine and contest the park in favour of the community's authority over it. In other words, the document is considered proof of their "ownership" and "legal right" to be the decision makers in the park. Unfortunately, despite the presented document, the respondents lamented that they are not "getting all the milk that they think they should be getting" as beneficiaries.

Another dimension that can be explored in relation to the respondents' attachment to the park is the fact that as an owner of property in the neighbourhood, a person is more likely to strongly attach to all other assets surrounding their own. In this instance, that is the park. In light of nostalgia, attachment literature indicates that individuals are likely to attach to a place where positive memories were once shared with acquaintances, family and friends. In the context of Rietondale Park, the respondents would proudly boast about the park in making reference to how the park embodied their memories as children, and how it served their children and subsequently their grandchildren. These stories would be authenticated by other respondents who would nod their heads in agreement and also verbally justify what was being said.

> I mean both my children spent a lot of time at the park growing up … Even when they were in high school up to university, they used the park a lot, so really we must try and keep this park the way that it is for this community.
>
> (Conrad: RHOA, 2019)

It is evident that relationships and strong ties were made in the park through the conversations between parents while children played and during recreational and leisure activities. According to Lefebvre (1991), the lived space is connected to the history of a people, it acknowledges the importance of the past and of collective stories which have implications of the imagining of the

future. These past memories have great meaning in how the current park is currently experienced. Therefore, it can be concluded that collective memory and nostalgia can be used by users to contest and defend space against the space of dreams and evolving uses

8.3.2. (Re)imagine The Park as a Temple

Murray and Doughty (2016) argue that the lived space is a product of imagination. According to Soja (1996), the imagined space exists somewhere between spatiality and the human mind. What is key to this, is the understanding that the human mind is complex and powerful. It can experience things real and unreal, true and untrue and completely immerse itself in that experience. According to Pateman (1997: 1), "the imagination can fill out, complete, or concretize something that is given only in outline or merely suggested in a text or image". We are therefore, able to make and remake space in our imagination, to look at things as if they could be otherwise.

This chapter looks at the public spaces as 'otherwise', which is informed by the users' experiences and routines which presented the spaces as 'other' than that which fits into the public space binaries. Jubilee Square, as mentioned in previous chapters, finds itself in a location where "you can find whatever it is that you are looking for". During interviews, respondents would talk about their disapproval of the crime, drug and alcohol abuse that happens in the area as well as within the park. However, in light of all of this, the space was also experienced as something 'other' than what the above suggests.

> When we pray here, it is a holy place. It is holy ground. I can tell you like Matthew chapter 18 verse 20 says, where two or more are gathered, I am there. I am in their mist. So if He is in our mist, He is here. I don't know how else to say.

> (Jehovah Witness 1; Jubilee Square, 2018)

In the above quotation, it is quite clear that regardless of how city officials conceived the physical and socio-cultural quality of Jubilee Square, the park is (re)imagined and experienced as 'holy ground' by those who congregate, pray, and worship in the park. Street and Coleman (2012) argue that humans derive pleasure in seeking to restore what they see as in need of restoration. As such, the park, in the physical eyes of others, may seem like a place in need of restoration and intervention. However, for others it is subjectively experienced as the place where spiritual connections can be made. The users have (re)imagined the park as a site of holiness amidst the prevalent delinquencies. Their imaginations have transformed the park from a physical space of disorder to a spiritual place which remains hidden to the naked eye.

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From these findings, it can be argued that public spaces hold meanings and experiences that can be physical, spiritual, and imagined. Therefore, society, through its daily activities, imagination and perceptions can produce the meaning and experience of a sacred space that defends their use of space and conflicts with municipal conceptions.

8.3.3. Wild Bathing as Bodily Protest

"A (half-) naked urban wild swimmer's body presented in a public space will cause a sensation, smiles or a scandal, but it will primarily make a comment about the urban social text" (Kowalewski, 2014: 172). This quote by Kowalewski could not be truer for the wild public bathing that takes place in Magnolia Dell Park. During observations, it was not uncommon to see men bathing in the running stream. This was observed particularly in the early mornings between 06:00-07:00am, sometimes even later in the day. According to Kowalewski (2014), such activities in public spaces are associated with a weakening of security control, disorder and it becomes a step towards crime and other social delinquencies which are rife in public spaces. However, this section seeks to propose an alternative approach to reading the "wild bathing" activities as practiced by the users of Magnolia Dell Park. This alternative approach will relook the notion of wild bathing as hazardous, barbaric behaviour, and will rather locate it within the concept of survival and as situated within the broader urban spatial reality of South Africa. This is in line with Lefebvre, who challenges us to draw attention to the importance of everyday activities observed in the city and to read the city within its context (Lefebvre, 1991).

In locating the wild bathing activities within the broader urban spatial context of South Africa, it is imperative to discuss the apartheid spatial planning which has led to different forms of homelessness, including what can be conceptualised as temporal homelessness due to the displacement that left many residing far away from social amenities as well as economic opportunities (discussed in Chapter four). Although the spatial landscape of South Africa has been changing since 1994, many things have also remained the same. In the era of rural to urban migration, many cities are filled with people who cannot find affordable housing close to places of employment (Naidoo, 2010). In other instances, their homes are on the outskirts of the city and traveling in and out on a daily basis is unaffordable for many. As such, some sacrifice to be homeless during the week and only travel home during the weekends in order to survive. This is an example of temporal homelessness.

In light of such a context, the wild bathing activities in Magnolia Dell Park present an interesting opportunity to (re)read and (re)interpret the meaning of public spaces as spaces of contest and

conflict. The park rules and regulations prohibit the act of swimming, bathing or entering the stream by users. However, users were observed taking baths and then dressing up, presumably for work. On a particular day, a homeless man was seen taking a bath, whilst his clothes hung over a large stone to dry. The young man was seen using deodorant, putting on a clean white formal shirt and a pair of black trousers. He packed his belongings into a small bag, carried it over his shoulder and walked towards the neighbourhood of Sunnyside. According to Harvey (2008), meanings in space are produced through spatial activities that are not in accordance with the dominant ordering of the city. Whilst the city authorities conceive and perceive the park and the stream as spaces that need protection through rules, the users perceive it as a space that can be transformed into a physical site of bodily protest against a state that has failed them.

In a broader analysis, wild bathing in this context solidifies the argument that; the current democratic dispensation cannot cater for the needs of every individual. However, it should provide spaces where conceived orderings, rule and regulations can be challenged and contested as represented by the wild bathing practices in Magnolia Dell. Frankly, much literature on wild bathing from public health and environmental sciences demonstrates the negative effects of wild bathing on the individual's health as well as the natural ecosystem (Kowalewski, 2014; Start, 2008). However, in a situation where people are fighting for survival, wild bathing should be (re)read within the context of broader societal realities and not as empty acts of barbarism, irrationality, and disorder.

The (re)reading of wild bathing promotes the concept of 'divergent citizenship' which the thesis seeks to develop. *Divergent citizenship* is conceptualised as a type of citizenship that is developed through acts of resistance against the status quo, in an effort to transform space and meet one's basic needs. This form of citizenship maintains that democracy is not static, but rather that it reflects a constant struggle for equality and justice and, therefore, it is continuously practiced in our everyday life, knowing or unknowingly. *Divergent citizenship* is rooted in the processes of the disruption of dominant cultures, codes of conduct, values and standards. It forms the essence of transforming space and also leads to action in the formation of new norms and perspectives. In the quest for (re)imagining and (re)producing democratic space, it is imperative to allow the meaning of public space to be constructed by the users themselves through divergence. Lefebvre (1991) argues that the body is important in space as it has the power to transform the perceived, conceived, and lived space. Wild bathing, as practiced by the users, therefore, is a bodily questioning and conquest against the conceived space. It symbolises a passive protest against the failure of the state and a discreet resistance to the space of dreams and its urban spatial

order. Furthermore, it opens up the opportunity to analyse the deeper meanings behind acts that seem foolish and unsophisticated at first glance.

8.3.4. Contesting Space to Secure My Daily Bread

Informal traders have, throughout history, demonstrated their ability to reinvent space through their contest with and in space. In this context, traders contest against other traders, municipal officials, law enforcement, and the physical space in which they find themselves. The rearrangement of public space furniture and the adding of personal structures and materials to meet their needs signifies this contest with and in space. Furthermore, these contests are able to transform space physically (even if it is temporarily) and also socially by changing the dynamics, relations and performance of space. Traders are, therefore, in constant contest with and in public space where their aspirations and dreams are challenged daily by the space of dreams, as evident by the response below:

> I have dreams for myself, sister. I don't want to be here forever, I want to grow you see and maybe one-day God will bless me to have my own shop. We can't sit at home and wait for government, we must get up. "Indoda iya phanda my sister" [a man must hustle]. The problem is sometime metro [police] come and chase us away. Sometimes they take our stock and we must go and pay R1000 to get it back from their storage and that is a lot for us. But we still come back here, because there is nothing else.

> (Informal trader 1: Jubilee Square, 2018).

In the above selected quote, it is quite clear that traders experience these spaces as representative of their livelihoods and hopes for the future regardless of the ways in which city officials and law enforcement perceive and conceive their activities in the space of dreams (as dirty, disorderly and unplanned). The quotation also presents a broader narrative of how wilful subjects in society will continue to appropriate and contest with and in space to defend their daily bread (Harvey, 2008). Public open spaces in this instance are a site where dreams can be practiced on a daily basis and where the traders defend and contest their democratic public spaces in name of broader socio-economic realities.

8.4. Towards The Meaning of Democratic Public Space Through *(Re)membering*

Lefebvre (1991:146) argues that "space is never empty; it always embodies meaning". It is therefore important to understand the various meanings of democratic public. In this section, I

discuss the different meanings of democratic public spaces derived from conceptualised processes of *(re)membering,* such as humanising the other, negotiation, self-governance and lastly, *freedom of appearance.* Which were constructed from the unscripted activities, perceptions and conceptions discussed in Chapter six and seven respectively.

8.4.1. Democratic Space as a Site of Humanising the Other

The concept of humanising the other is rooted in the inquiry of prejudice amongst different intergroup relations. In other words, it aids the analysis and understanding of why and how certain groups are likely to form more favourable attitudes towards one another (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). In this thesis, the concept of humanising the other is understood as the recognition of human qualities in fellow humans and responding to them in humane ways in space. Freire (1970) in his famous work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* argues that the vehicle to humanising the other is through critical reflection, dialogues, and action. In light of Freire's argument, this thesis confronts this idea and locate it within the lived experiences and *(re)membering* processes of users in producing democratic public spaces. It presents a reading of basic routine practices which have direct implications on the experience and democratic meaning of public spaces.

Below is a quotation by a respondent who presented a basic approach to humanising the homeless community in the Jubilee Square. When interviewed about her experiences in the park and what it meant to her, she responded with the following:

> I have not experienced anything bad in this park, let me be honest with you; you see the hobos, they also don't disturb me. I have made it a point to always greet them when I am passing by here. I greet them and try to be familiar with them. Sometimes I even ask them to "khapha" [escort] me. I need to show them that I am not scared of them so I can continue coming to this park and not worrying about anything. They know me now and when I pass they will ask "sister u kae?" [sister how are you?]. So now I know I am safe around here, this park means a lot to me.
>
> (Thandile: Jubilee Square, 2018).

This respondent has deliberately established a certain level of trust with the homeless community through her consistent acknowledgement of their presence in space. This simple act of greeting can be conceptualised as the deliberate action of dialogue which serve as *(re)membering* actions in democratic space. Where the respondent has critically reflected on her privileged position in relation to the homeless and has sought to humanise them in space. Public spaces in this regard,

present themselves as sites of humanising the other, where we do not only acknowledge the presence of others, but we act on that acknowledgement through the simple acts of dialogue. The meaning of democratic public spaces in this regard, signifies a place where social value can be cultivated through acts of humanising the other. In her experience, the homeless were not merely vagrants, but they were individuals with life stories, personality, and character.

This thesis decentralises the assumption that the homeless community is supposed to be feared and dehumanised in public spaces. Alternatively, it presents them as subjects with stories that are often overlooked. This is opposed to what some believe is the driving force of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design programs (CPTED), which are deployed to create safer and more humane environments and relationships over time. The respondent demonstrated how individuals can relate with others and how those relations are not stereotypically threatening. Thus, democratic public spaces are spaces of humanising the other, as the other is encountered in the public space.

8.4.2. Democratic Space as a Site of Negotiation

Public spaces, by virtue of their nature, require negotiating amongst different needs, ideas, and visions. However, according to Agboola, Rasidi and Said (2016), the negotiation of public space use in diverse communities often results in conflict, rift, and misunderstanding. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the meaning of democratic public spaces as sites of negotiation. However, these negotiations are not always clear because they can be imbued with fear, uncertainty and resistance alongside the notions of respect, familiarity and social culture.

When exploring the concept of negotiation with public space users, it became apparent that users often experienced their public spaces as spaces where negotiation was not an option. The respondents would narrate that not all public spaces offer an opportunity to negotiate or for opportunities of co-presence. Some respondent mentioned that this was due to the fear of crime in public spaces. In this regard, a respondent at Jubilee Square narrated his experience as follows:

I can just go to a park and park my car under a tree because I am tired, like I am doing now. Whites in the neighbourhood will call the police or the ADT [Neighbourhood private security] and 10 minutes later, they will come and ask me what I am doing there. I am driving a BMW but they will ask me what I am doing there as if I am a criminal. They automatically think of crime and drugs when they see someone unfamiliar. Here in Jubilee, that does not happen. You can use the space and no one will ask you anything. You will see other people sitting on the other side and you just find another side to sit. It's easy. People just want to relax; can we just do that with no questions?

(Thabo: Jubilee Square, 2018).

The above quotation can be analysed in two ways. Firstly, different communities do not perceive public spaces as spaces of negotiation and co-presence with those who seem unfamiliar in the space. This negates the 'public' in public space. Therefore, public space is experienced as exclusionary as some users are not afforded the same rights of accessibility. As such, without negotiation between diverse groups, democratic spaces are not experienced. According to Megalhaes (2010), negotiation in space provides for the synergy of equal right of access, use and ownership. Therefore, without this negotiation democratic space cannot be achieved.

Secondly, there exists implicit forms of negotiation in public spaces where users, through mutual respect, grant others an opportunity to enjoy the space. This is illustrated by how the respondent indicated that he will just find another side to sit if another is occupied. Democratic public spaces, in this instance, can be experienced as spaces of negotiation if mutual respect is valued by all users, regardless of their background. However, in other instances, they are experienced as spaces of conflict where use is subjected to familiarity.

In Jubilee square, users would tell their stories and experiences from a perspective of tolerance and negotiation. There was an obvious implicit level of negotiation in the space where different groups would be using the space simultaneously, and that was the order of the park. The users were willing to share their space and negotiate it with those who were familiar or unfamiliar. Moreover, they would attach this experience to their ideas of democracy. With this in mind, the thesis argues that negotiation in democratic public spaces can happen implicitly through mutual respect and consideration discussed in this section and also explicitly through dialogue and deliberation in the section above as processes of *(re)membering* the democratic public space.

8.4.2. The Space as a Site of *Freedom of Appearance*

Scholarly literature on freedom in appearance already exist in the discipline of philosophy, particularly, aesthetic philosophical theory and was made popular by the German Philosopher Friedrich von Schiller in his work *Concerning Beauty* published in 1793. Schillers' argument suggests something entirely different than what will be presented here. Therefore, the two should not be confused with one another. In Schiller's argument, Freedom in Appearance refers to the way in which society experiences natural things as beautiful because their formation is based on order and rule. He gives the example of a leaf which is regarded as beautiful because its appearance is based on following a rule (Welsch, 2014). Its orderliness is beautiful because it comes from the leaf itself and therefore, the leaf is free. Freedom is appealing and therefore, the leaf is beautiful (Maftei, 2014). However, this thesis introduces what it calls *Freedom of Appearance. Freedom of Appearance* is what the thesis conceptualises as the freedom to be visible in a democratic public space.

In society, certain groups may seek to be hidden from the public eye because of the stigma attached to them and the perceptions that society holds about them. In such cases, these individuals make a choice to hide away from society or the public eye. In a simple case, an individual may shy away from the spotlight because they are underdressed for a particular event. However, what happens when this freedom to appear is not as a result of an individual's agency but imposed by the space of dreams? Rules and regulations by bureaucrats or public space management officials can be regarded as those mechanisms that take away the *Freedom of Appearance* for certain groups in space. Such measures are imposed as a way to order societal behaviour and relations and most importantly, to order its aesthetic (Lefebvre, 1991). The justification for this is that mainstream public space users must be made to feel comfortable. For example, they should not be driven away by unsightly homeless people. According to Harvey (2008), this is the predominant way of seeing contemporary cities. However, such measures maintain a modernist posture which denies the marginalised in society the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1991) and ultimately, the *Freedom of Appearance*. When the homeless were asked about their views on the nature of a democratic public space, majority of the responses were a direct call for the *Freedom of Appearance*:

The park management and the police disturb us a lot, it is not even democratic what they are doing. They say we must not be here. The metro police can take our belongings and take our blankets. They can even pour us with water when we are sleeping. They say we must move because we must not be here, but where am I going?

(Anonymous Homeless man 4: Jubilee Square, 2019).

Last week Thursday the metro police were pouring water on us and beating us with a belt. They take our things and want our ID [identity document] but we lost our ID. They treat us bad and are always chasing us at night.

(Anonymous Homeless man 5: Magnolia Dell, 2019).

The quotations above demonstrate how the *Freedom of Appearance* in public space is taken away from the homeless on a daily basis by those instructed by the space of dreams. Again, it relates back to crime prevention theory that maintains that anything that is disorderly can lead to crime. This causes a lot of misperceptions and dehumanisation, and as a result, people want to hide away. Many of the homeless respondents also discussed how they use the public spaces to sit and watch people, to sleep, to rest after a day's activities and to relate with others. Those uses symbolise that, in some instances, the *Freedom of Appearance* reigns. However, after night fall, that freedom is stripped away. According to Lefebvre (1991), such actions show the failure of the conceived space to acknowledge the realities of city dwellers and to frame this acknowledgement into the policies and plans which are needed to regulate space with dignity and with respect to vulnerabilities. Therefore, the meaning of democratic public spaces rests on its ability to provide the *Freedom of Appearance.*

8.4.3. Democratic Public Space as a Site of Self-governance

The inquiry into innovative ways of community involvement in the democratic designs, production, and management of urban spaces have been thoroughly investigated even before the famous writing of Arnstein (1969*)* entitled, *A ladder of citizen participation.* We continue to witness more innovative complex schemes, such as user management programmes, partnerships in action, and 'friend groups' which are put in place to mobilise communities and enable them to take ownership and responsibilities for their neighbourhoods, parks, and streets (Jones, 2010). This also means that in some communities, the legal roles of who does what in the public space may expand to include community members. Such approaches are regarded as the way in which the public space can be saved, especially as the state's capacity to do so continues to decline. Public

spaces are thus, open to personalisation by the different communities who use their own materials, funds, and resources to furnish and maintain their public spaces, as evident by the responses below:

> But sometimes you have a community like for example, I can say Rietondale Park, there are these people who call themselves Rietondale House Owners Association. They are playing a major role in the development of Rietondale Park, so for that space I can also say that they are stakeholders of the park because they are assisting a lot. When it comes to security they are giving the security, when it comes to furniture, they are also buying the furniture. But I think even in some of colleague's side, there are some communities that are really involved in the park, this is great.

> (Shane: Parks and Horticulture, 2019).

The involvement of the Rietondale community in their park was highly praised by the officials who were interviewed. It was seen as something worth encouraging in other neighbourhoods. The community members themselves expressed their views on how things are managed and regulated in the park. They all seemed content with managing the park by themselves without the interference of the city officials as discussed by the respondent below:

> No. I don't think we want them [local officials] in our meetings, I think the best way is to communicate amongst ourselves, decide what the community wants and take that to whoever is responsible. Otherwise you won't get anywhere with the officials, we need to keep them out of our meetings.

> (Shirley: RHOA, 2019).

This thesis presents an alternative reading of the self-governance perspective shared by all the officials, residents, and dominant literature. It argues that although the activities and involvement of the community are commendable, they can also be (re)read as forms of passive protest against the state. In other words, this form of self-governance represents a situation where trust is lost in the ability of the system to do what it is required to do. Therefore, communities take the responsibility into their own hands as a form of passive protest and *(re)membering* their public space. Arguably, such a method of passive protest is democratising because of its ability to disperse power more broadly in a society, whilst also maintaining a level of respect for authority. Accordingly, it is a protest that is compatible with the ends being sought after. However, it also provides a source of power to those who feel deprived or disenfranchised from mainstream

politics and the powers to self-determine. Furthermore, such activities can shift the boundaries from the perceived meaning of public spaces by different users, especially where lines are blurred and equal access is compromised. Evidently, this often creates contestation between the contributors and the perceived 'free-riders'. However, such efforts can have adverse impacts if not contextually interrogated.

In light of this, it is important to interrogate the political potential of self-governing activities over public resources. This thesis argues that not all political protests present themselves in the form of covert political behaviour and direct threats to authority. Adversely, public space can be the site where self-governing programmes are (re)read and interpreted alongside organised strikes and riots. The thesis is also careful not to regard all communal activities as forms of political action, but acknowledges that in different contexts, different activities can have various interpretations.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter analysed Lefebvre's (1991) concept of lived space and Harvey's (2004) relational space in order to understand how public space users use their experience of space to (re)produce their meaning in democratic public spaces. The chapter discussed how experiences and conflicts in public spaces are imbued with meanings of belonging, community, and attachment, alongside collective memory and nostalgia. The chapter suggested an alternative reading of everyday spatial practices in space, such as 'wild bathing', as acts of individual or collective protest against the state and broader societal issues of inequality and relative deprivation. Moreover, it proposed the concept of *divergent citizenship* and used it to explain the conflicts and contestations that exist in public spaces as a result of complex societal injustices. *Divergent citizenship* explains the essence of democracy, not as a means to an end, but rather as a cyclical process that implores society to continuously begin anew so that norms can be redefined in responsive ways to societal realities.

Lastly, the chapter moved towards the meaning of democratic public spaces through the analyses of spatial practices and experiences that informed the narratives of negotiation, humanising the other, *freedom of appearance* and self-governance. These narratives reveal the multiple meanings of democratic public spaces as true lived experiences by the users which may or may not be recognised by planning conceptions of space. Overall, the chapter argues that the everyday ordinary experiences and activities in public spaces can reveal the latent and overt conflicts and contestations in the meaning of democratic space. However, these conflicts and

contestations should not be what signifies the end of democratic public spaces, but rather should lead to a paradigm shift in the understanding of the multiple identities of democratic public spaces. This reveals the potential for (an)other meaning of democratic public space that can emerge from everyday experiences of public space. Furthermore, it opens the door for further research into public spaces as sites of multiple orderings and meanings that emerge through conquest.

The following chapter concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION:

(AN)OTHER SPACE IS POSSIBLE: THE REALISATION OF A "DEMOCRATISING" PUBLIC SPACE

9.1. Introduction

This chapter serves as the conclusion of the thesis. It presents a summary of the findings and demonstrate how the objectives of the thesis were met by outlining the major arguments. The chapter proceeds to provide the contribution of the thesis to the academic scholarship by highlighting the conceptual framework for the understanding of conflicts and contestations in the production democratic public spaces. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the reflections on the methodology used, outlines the limitations and presenting the opportunities for future research and the potential for *democratising* public space planning in the City of Tshwane.

9.2. Summary of Findings and Key Arguments

The aim of this research study was to explore the societal and municipal perceptions of public spaces in the City of Tshwane in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the perceptions, experiences, and meanings of space, and how they contribute to the conflict and contestation in the production democratic public spaces. The study focused specifically on how society's perceptions of public spaces on the one hand, and municipal official's ideas and conceptualisations of space on the other hand, contribute to the contestations and conflicts over the realisation of democratic public space in the City of Tshwane.

The thesis was premised upon the argument that urban planning seeks to produce, shape, and control public spaces while at the same time, society seeks to resist such controls in an effort to realise its socio-economic, cultural, and political needs. In other words, there is a contestation for the production of urban public space by both urban planning and society to meet their respective needs. Therefore, I argued that public spaces are a social construct which is produced in three distinct ways, namely; everyday practices and perceptions in space, institutional representations of space and lastly, through experiences, meanings and symbols. These different constructs of space embody contesting and conflicting interests, which are reflected in the ongoing appropriation, domination, and sanitisation of space over time. This reasoning was influenced by Henri Lefebvre's theory of space production and David Harvey's spatial matrix. According to Lefebvre (1991), space is not neutral or merely a container inherited from nature, but rather, it is a social construct produced by human interaction and intentions. Therefore, space is a setting

where all activities find their manifestation and contestation. According to Harvey (2004), space can privilege certain activities and practices whilst also prohibiting and deterring others - all with the intention to produce or reproduce a particular order. Furthermore, the scholars argue that space presents an interlinked relationship between the built environment, symbolic meaning and the routines of everyday life, all simultaneously competing for what space should be.

Calling for a holistic approach into the study of space and moving away from fragmented methods of space analysis, Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004) introduce three interconnected concepts or what is called the "spatial triad" or "spatial matrix" respectively, to assist scholars in grasping the multi-dimensional nature of space. The spatial triad and the spatial matrix formed the theoretical framework for this thesis discussed in Chapter two. Firstly, the theoretical framework considered Harvey's absolute space alongside Lefebvre's perceived space, as "The Material Space", which refers to the physical cadastral space where daily practices and uses, are performed by society. Secondly, the theoretical framework considered Harvey's relative space in conjunction with Lefebvre's conceived space, as "The Space of Dreams", which conceptualises the space of experts and professionals in spatial knowledge, where space is ordered according to its relationship with capital, labour and technology. Lastly, the conceptual framework considered Harvey's relational space alongside Lefebvre's lived space, as "The Space Experienced by Bodies". This space conceptualises space as made up of complexities and intricacies of human emotions and experiences in space which are interpreted through everyday activities, images and symbols attached to space. Moreover, it captures the different tangible and intangible ways in which the meaning of space is constructed, contested and defended. The analysis of this space was essential in understanding public space municipal conceptions and user's experiences and meaning, and how these conflict and confront each other in the physical space.

Building on the theoretical framework provided by Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2004), the thesis developed a conceptual framework made up of hand-picked concepts that assisted in the understanding of the processes and conflicts embedded in the production of democratic public space. Therefore, the thesis used the concepts of physical appropriation, psychological appropriation, domination and sanitisation (Chapter three). These concepts were used to form a conceptual framework that I utilised throughout the thesis to make sense of the actions and actors in space and how they interact in conflicting and competing ways. To further contextualise these concepts and to map how they informed historical processes of space production throughout the history of South Africa, I made use of the concepts; *(dis)memebering, membering* and

(re)memebering influenced by the works of Ndhlovu (2020) which gave meaning to present day conflicts and expectations of space by society and municipal officials alike, in the study areas (Chapter four).

9.2.1. Returning to the Research Objectives

In order to understand urban public spaces in their totality, as influenced by Lefebvre and Harvey above, the thesis developed four objectives which provided the structure for the study. The first objective of the study was to explore the public space user perceptions of space, their daily uses and conflicts to produce and redefine space according to their recreational, social, economic, political, and religious needs. The second objective was to explore the municipal planning official's perceptions and conceptions of space in order to understand the conflicts between society and the municipality in the realisation of democratic public space. This was done through the analysis of policies and frameworks that guide the production of public spaces. Moreover, the research stretched further to interrogate the municipal officials who work as experts and professionals in this area. The third objective was to explore to meanings and symbols attached to the public spaces under study by those who encounter it, in order to understand the space experienced by users and how it relates to the conflict between the society's perceptions and planning conceptions. The above objectives were explored in Chapters six, seven and eight respectively. They revealed the various ways in which public spaces are appropriated, *membered,* defended, and contested through uses and perceptions. Moreover, they revealed how the public spaces under study are dominated, sanitised and *(dis)membered* through municipal conceptions of space and order. Lastly, they revealed how these different practices in space are embedded in different histories, traditions, attachments, lived experiences and processes of *(re)membering* which create multiple conflicting and evolving meanings of democratic public space. The struggle for the realisation of democratic public space is thus, not only between society and institutions of planning, but also within society itself. The last objective of the thesis was to identify and construct a conceptual framework for the understanding of conflicts and contestations in the production democratic public spaces. This objective is addressed in this chapter.

9.2.2. Returning to the Research Methodology

The objectives of this study required an analysis of space, which would employ different techniques to collect data so as to capture the multidimensional nature of space. The study thus, made use of a multiple case study qualitative method, using three case studies (parks), in three

different neighbourhoods in the City of Tshwane, namely; Jubilee Square in Sunnyside, Magnolia Dell Park in Baileys Muckleneuk and Rietondale Park in Rietondale.

Data was collected using four techniques, namely; (1) spatial and participant observations to capture the physical nature of the space, its surrounding land uses, and the various uses and activities conducted there, (2) document analysis which was used to explore the representations of space as captured in newspapers, policies, frameworks and other written text, (3) semi-structured interviews which interrogated the different perceptions and experiences of space as communicated by the different users and officials and (4) focus group interviews which capture collective ideas, identities, rebellions and meanings. All collected data was iteratively analysed through Nvivo software using a thematic data analysis guided by a phenomenological methodology. The data collection techniques used opened up different paths to thinking about space in different dimensions. Illustrating the different ways in which space is used, represented and experienced by society and municipal officials.

In the next sub-sections, a summary of the empirical results which emerged from the different findings chapters are presented. Since the research is based on the City of Tshwane, it is important to note that the results are context-specific to the cases studied. However, some of the findings may be helpful in illuminating broader questions on the relationship between planning as an institution and society. Moreover, the results could also contribute to the broader understanding of urban public open spaces as battlefields involving different interests and lived experiences in the quest for democracy. Lastly, the conceptual framework for the understanding of conflicts and contestations in the production democratic public spaces is presented. This is followed by reflections on the limitations, methodology, and prospects for future research.

9.2.3. Summary of the Material Space Findings

It was the intention of the chapter to move away from the binaries of formal and informal uses in space because of the limitations that their connotations pose. As such, the chapter referred to the different uses in the spaces as anticipated and unanticipated uses. The rationale behind this decision was that; the terminology allows the reader to engage with practices in urban public spaces that could easily be demonised because of their "informal categorisation". Kamete (2013; 2016) argues that informality in urban spaces is viewed as a problem needing fixing by planners. Whilst Xue and Huang (2015, p. 156) argue that informality is "one of the major challenges to urban policies". However, this thesis conceptualises the "informal" as physical manifestations of societal struggles that can inform innovative, inclusive and supportive planning policies.

The chapter revealed that the urban public spaces under study present a variety of uses and user perceptions. Therefore, these different uses were explored on five levels, namely; the political, economic, religious, recreation and socio-cultural levels. This rationale was influenced by Ali Madanipour (2003), who argues that public spaces are spaces of cultural, political, economic, social and individual trajectories. The thesis saw it fit to explore the uses in this way in order to respond to the debates surrounding the diverse uses and perception of urban public spaces.

The empirical data revealed the similarities, differences, harmonies and conflicts in how the spaces are used and perceived. The recreational activities in space showed soccer as a dominant sport in all the three cases. Indeed, it was unanticipated, unplanned for and also banned by the municipal by-laws in all the spaces under study. However, it was widely practiced by the users. The municipal officials regarded the sport as out of place and causing unnecessary disorder and environmental degradation. However, on the ground, the sport seemed to give the different spaces a temporal dimension, spectacle, and overall vibrancy. Interestingly, the unanticipated activity defined the spaces at specific times of the day and activated the social interaction. In spite of this, the sport was met with some contestation in some instances. For example, the Rietondale community regarded soccer as a nuisance, not only because of its infringement and conflict with the space of dreams (municipal by-laws), but also because of the clashes with the community's values. The data revealed how different communities perceived different uses and *membered* themselves based on their history, community values, and morals. In this instance, public spaces were not only sites of diverse recreational activities, but also conflicting community ideas and identities. Such data began the conversation regarding the constant struggle over what is acceptable, appropriate and correct in urban public spaces, especially because it is made up of transforming communities.

The chapter also revealed that all spaces under study were used for different religious activities. People would gather and produce what Mchunu (2018) calls "open air temples". The religious activities, although unanticipated, presented the least conflicts between the users as demonstrated by the Christian and Islamic faith sharing Magnolia Dell Park. In Jubilee Square, the religious activities showed how different urban public space uses are tolerated simultaneously. This data also revealed the growing new identities of urban public spaces. It, however also show the dangers that can arise when those who do not share the faith are excluded. Overall, the activities demonstrated the different ways in which society perceives, engages and appropriates space both physically, through the arrangement of public space furniture to accommodate the activity, as well as psychologically, because people feel comfortable enough to be seen publicly

praying, worshiping and praising. The chapter argues that such a finding brings about a curiosity and need for further interrogation towards the understanding of public space as religious places in the African context and how predominant planning theories are inadequate to conceive the diversity of urban experiences. Furthermore, the data raised implications for the future planning, designing, and urban management of such spaces.

Jubilee Square and Magnolia Dell Park were observed as spaces which thrive with regards to the unanticipated economic activities that occur there. Jubilee Square seemed to cater for the local resident's everyday needs, offering goods, and services tailored to the community, such as outdoor barbershops, fast food stalls, outdoor shoe fixers and tailors, whilst Magnolia Dell Park served a different market where paintings, artefacts, and beads were sold and cars are washed. These different uses of space showed how space is appropriated through creative and innovative strategies in order for people to make a living. Although the activities were unanticipated and thus, unplanned and not designed for, the traders had put up their temporary structures and located themselves where their goods and services could be appreciated. According to Harvey (2008), the underprivileged urban dwellers are constantly struggling to make ends meet and thus, create their own governance rules in direct conflict with local authorities. This was precisely the case with the unanticipated traders in the Magnolia Dell Park and the Jubilee Square. The traders were seen to be transforming the identity of the spaces and reordering its relation, even though the literature predominantly represents such activities as 'encroachments' in urban spaces (Gumbo, 2013; Kamete, 2013; Musoni 2010; Potts, 2007). The thesis conceptualised these activities as processes of remapping, reordering *membering* the city as per the needs of society where boundaries of appropriation are continuously constructed, re-constructed, and expressed in physical space. The thesis argues that this encroachment, although in conflict with local authorities, is in harmony with the users, thereby disrupting the notion of what is normal and abnormal in public parks in the City of Tshwane.

Political uses of space were prevalent in Jubilee Square. The space is favoured by different political parties because of its location and proximity to young people. However, the use of the park by the political parties is met with some moral conflicts. The perception by the users was that political parties come to the park and disregard the by-laws by drinking and parking in undesignated areas. According to the users interviewed, this symbolised a level of disrespect to the resident community. The users were arguing that the park rules need to be respected. This was contradictory as the users themselves did not abide by the municipal by-laws. However, they abided by their own moral standards developed through interactions and encounters with each

other in the park. The data showed that communities are constantly struggling for the control of their own public spaces and continue to resist the imposed controls by local officials whilst abiding by their own standards which keeps shifting the goal post. This finding was important because at the centre of this thesis is the argument that society and local authorities are in a constant battle for the control of urban space, where power and authority are in constant dispute. Jubilee Square was also a clear example that although political debates and mobilisations are steadily moving towards online platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, there is still a need for the physical space of politics, particularly in a democratic society, where people can gather and negotiate as citizens, beneficiaries or co-producers of space (Makakavhule and Landman, 2020).

Lastly, all the parks under study were home to various social uses, such as "braai in the park" in Rietondale, music and band entertainment in Magnolia Dell Park and everyday "hanging out" in Jubilee Square. Overall, the argument of this thesis was that spaces are used and perceived in different ways which bring about conflicts within society as well as between society and the space of dreams. However, it is in such conflicts for appropriation and *membering* that society can produce its own democratic public spaces.

9.2.4. Summary of the Space of Dreams Findings

In Chapter seven, data revealed the intra-inter-conflicts and inconsistencies between the vision of the city for its public spaces, the officials' conceptualisation of the vision, and the realities of urban public spaces on the ground. It was found that municipal officials had varied ideas and understandings of the municipal vision which impede on their *membering* processes within and as a municipality. Moreover, the thesis identified the visions contained in the different analysed documents as concentrated on the "African city" without a clear understanding of what this city entails. Furthermore, this vision was seen to be in conflict with the standards communicated in the public amenities and street trading by-laws. The municipality seeks to create public open space that "empower the community to prosper in a safe and healthy environment" (Tshwane Open Space Framework, Vol 1: 9) whilst in reality, the institutionalised by-laws are embedded in modern and neoliberal ideas that criminalise survival strategies in public spaces. Therefore, the thesis argued that the frameworks and by-laws, as representations of space, were in conflict with themselves and with society.

Chapter seven also revealed that the agenda and responsibility of urban public spaces in the city is not only in the hands of urban planners, but also in the hands of a variety of professionals who

come from different disciplines and schools of thought. Although this insinuates a holistic approach to urban public space production, governance and maintenance, it also posed challenges of hierarchy between different professionals. The chapter discussed how certain professionals felt undermined and undervalued because of their educational background. As such, these experiences cause division and a culture of working in silos, where decisions are made without consideration of all the officials involved. Moreover, data revealed the conflicts municipal officials face when it comes to the politics of budgeting in the municipality across different divisions and departments. The thesis conceptualised these challenges as an autoimmune disease, where municipal structures and attitudes attack the municipality itself, thereby threatening its processes of democratic public space production.

The data revealed that the officials involved in the space of dreams are not immune to the social, political, economic and global factors, which inevitably influence their decisions. As such, officials find themselves navigating the fallacy of global competition and universal standards in public space production and regulation. The thesis revealed that these standards continue to represent ideologies of sanitisation whilst ignoring local realities and struggles. As the Tshivenda proverb says; *"hu si halwo, lukunda a lu kokomedzwi lwa kokomedzwa lu a thara"* directly translated as; do not force a bracelet where it does not belong, if it is forced it will break. In other words, the attempts by municipal officials to sanitise and *(dis)member* space according to universal and global standards is met with societal resistances, as expressed through individual and collective agency that lead to the production of new forms of divergent spaces.

However, what was also discovered is that the officials who were interviewed were not oblivious to the realities of everyday life on the ground. However, they existed in an institution governed by bureaucracies which hindered them from acting on what they may personally or professionally believe in. It was therefore, not my argument to demonise the officials and their motivations to sanitise and dominate space because there is undeniable value in regulating matters of the environment, health and safety. However, what is pointed out is that these sanitising or dominating strategies practiced by officials willingly or unwillingly, is in contradiction to the realisation of the city's own vision of public spaces and broader ideas of democracy and democratic spaces. As such, the thesis questions who controls the space of dreams as the imagining and reimagining powers of control do not only lie within the hands of the local officials, but also within the realm of conflicting identities and bureaucracies. In line with the above contradiction, the chapter revealed the challenge of polarised responses in the municipality, where the state keeps moving the goal post and not being consistent with its processes and

decisions in public space regulations and control. This was demonstrated in how the municipality and law enforcement agencies responded differently to different communities, especially as it pertains to unanticipated activities such as trading.

Furthermore, the data revealed the complex problem of handling homelessness in public spaces and the attempts made by the municipality to *(re)member* public space through participation and "fixing a moving bus" in the quest for democratic public space production. However, due to the nature of the politicised processes, and struggling to navigate between their identities as 'technical professional' and 'civil servant', officials find themselves leaning back to *(dis)membering* practices. Above everything, the chapter sought to contribute to the discussion of the presence of sanitisation, domination and *(dis)membering* practices embedded in the space of dreams which are in conflict with spatial realities and uses of space based on local needs and histories. Thus, because of this conflict, we witness a constant struggle for the realisation of democratic space that is defined by conflicting interests and ideas.

9.2.5. Summary of the Space Experienced by Bodies Findings

Chapter eight discussed the democratic experience and meanings of space constructed by those who encounter it. The chapter revealed that urban public spaces experiences are embedded in invisible, (re)imagined, and symbolic realities that knit together the fabric of society and are used to defend and contest space. Moreover, the data suggested that history and nostalgia are used to defend space against new norms and standards in society. This thesis represented the different ways in which notions of community could be disrupted through transforming uses and interactions in urban public spaces. However, these disruptions are also challenged by collective memory that relies on history as a definer and defender of a community and desired social order.

This chapter showed how society through its daily activities and perceptions can defend space and (re)imagine its democratic experience. This was demonstrated in how society (re)imagines its public space as a space of survival and meeting of basic needs through activities such as trading instead of waiting for the state to provide employment. Here, communities (re)imagine their livelihoods and actively participate in activities that demonstrate their agency and self-determinism. This was also demonstrated in how wild bathing practices were (re)imagined as acts of individual protest against the state and broader socio-spatial injustices, instead of haphazard acts of barbarism. It was quite clear that regardless of the ways in which city officials and law enforcement perceive the disruptive activities in the space of dreams (as dirty, disorderly and unplanned), to the users of space, these spaces represent their livelihoods and hope for the

future, resulting in their defence of these spaces. Chapter eight thus, sought to develop a concept that would assist in the understanding of this process of contesting and defending space through (re)imagining space from the unscripted activities of users. The concept of "*Divergent Citizenship*" was thus, introduced. *Divergent Citizenship* explains the essence of democracy, not as a means to an end, but a cyclical process where norms can be redefined as society transforms. The proposed concept sought to locate public space unscripted activities, perceptions, and experiences within broader understandings of social transformations which consciously and deliberately strives to create and (re)imagine new spaces. In essence, the argument is that communities are not static social institutions, but rather fragile arrangements that will continue to change as a result of evolving societal needs. Urban public spaces are thus, the stage in which such processes can be observed and discussed alongside broader societal change on the macro-scale, such as a change in national governance and the economy.

The chapter proceeded to move towards the meaning of democratic public space as constructed by the users themselves. As such, the meanings of negotiation, 'humanising the other' *Freedom of Appearance* and self-governance were cultivated from the data and discussed. *Freedom of Appearance* was introduced as a concept that I sought to develop. It describes the role of urban public spaces as spaces where each member of society is granted the freedom to be seen and to be present regardless of their socio-economic status. It argues that the space of dreams fails to acknowledge the realities of city dwellers and thus, deprives certain groups in society the freedom to appear in urban public space as is the case with the homeless. However, the homeless continue to be present in urban public spaces as a way to assert their democratic right, right to the city, and their corresponding fight for survival. This thesis was able to argue that ordinary, everyday practices, and experiences of public spaces can tell us more about the social value of space and the meaning of democracy in a transforming society. Moreover, 'self-governance' was re-read alongside riots and protests as a democratic act of collective political protest and a defending strategy necessary in democratic space production.

Overall, Chapter eight demonstrated how uses, activities, and practices in urban public spaces carry different meanings and experiences which are often used to defend and contest space. Moreover, it revealed how these meanings and experiences result in conflicting interests between the material space, the space of dreams, and everyday lived experiences of space. Therefore, urban public space becomes the site where these conflicting interests confront each other and where each social agent seeks to achieve its heart desires. This reveals a need for the further

exploration of public spaces as sites of multiple orderings and the meanings that can emerge through these varied conquests.

9.3. Contribution of the Study

This thesis argues that the present is continuously changing; and therefore, planners, urbanists, and designers should not be content with establishing and communicating the results of democracy obtained by some 'classical period'. Rather, their reflections must be renewed constantly. For this very reason, democratising public spaces are forced to begin anew again and again, and as such, they are not a state of existence (noun), but rather reflective of continued processes, actions and experiences (verb). Democratising public space through the exploration of Lefebvre and Harvey demonstrate how space is always changing as conceptions, perceptions, and lived experiences change. Democratising urban public space is thus, an ever-continuing struggle for society to seize back their creative control and communal self-definition in time and space. It is a process of *(re)memebering* urban public space after it has been *(dis)membered* by the space of dreams. This requires various deliberative initiatives *(membering).*

Figure 68 below allows us to consider the ingredients of a democratising public space in two dimensions. On the one hand, it is a requirement by society to produce its own space for its own needs through spatial practices and forms of appropriation, especially taking into consideration its history, livelihoods, dispossession and deprivations**.** Society's requirement to produce its own space manifests itself through the different uses and activities in space, which often represent power struggles, different interests and various agendas by different social actors. On the other hand, democratising public space demands an aspiration by institutions of planning and local authorities to create desired order in society. This aspiration manifests itself through the sanitisation and domination efforts and the conflicting quest for democracy. Therefore, from the proposed democratising public space framework presented in Figure 68, the idea of a democratic urban public space is in itself an object of contestation and conflict.

However, these conflicts should be viewed as a constant prerequisite for democratising urban public space. This is because democracy itself requires all members of society to be part of its production and reproduction, in other words, it seeks to produce space in its own similarity and image. Therefore, because of the nature of democracy, democratising urban public spaces are essentially the battlefield where society should fight for its right to produce space according to its own desires alongside the fight against hegemonic orders of sanitisation and domination. This contribution demonstrates that the embedded interests of society, local authorities and their

institutional structures can be read as requirements and prerequisites for processes of democratising public spaces. Moreover, they can lead the debate for future questions regarding the shape, design, and governance of the physical public place itself.
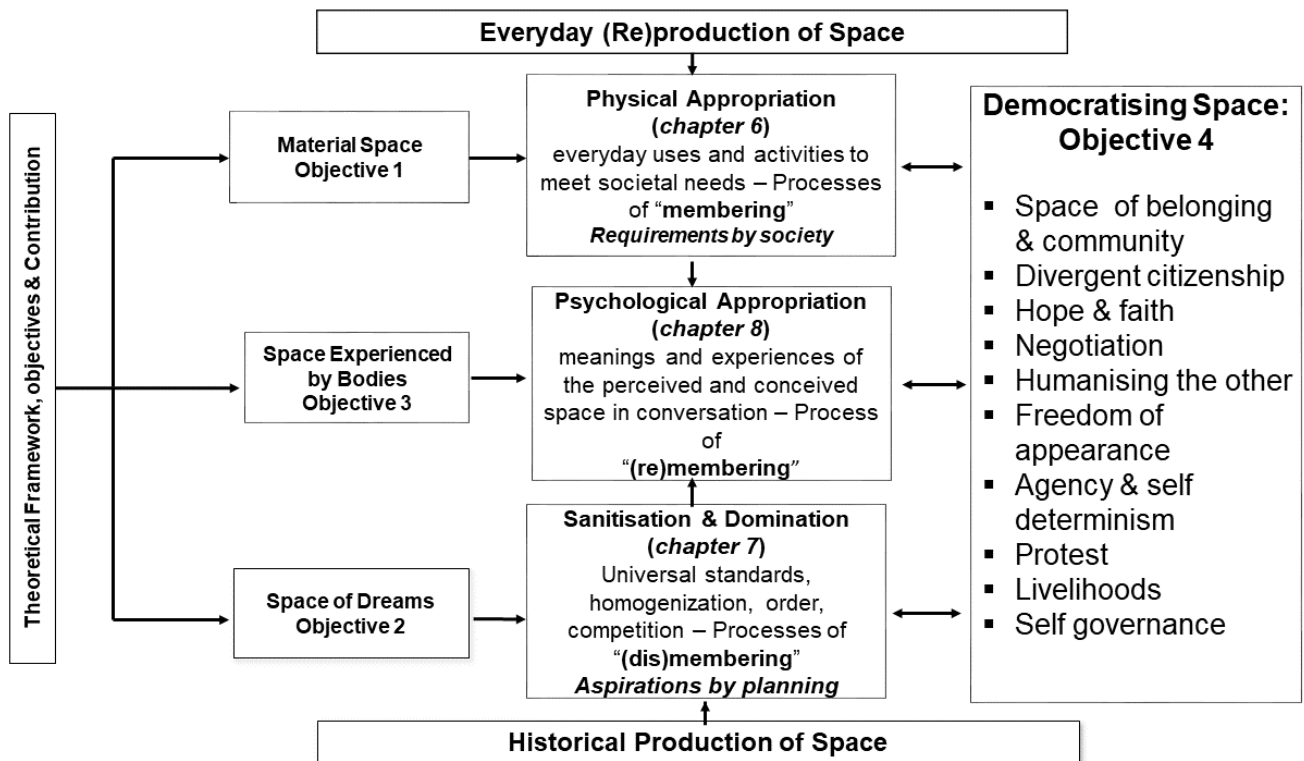
Figure 68: Proposed Framework for Democratising Public Space

Source: Author (2021).

9.4. Reflections of the Methodology, Study Limitations and Prospects for Future Studies

In this section, I outline some of the reflections that I have made throughout the research process, concerning the methodology utilised, limitations encountered, and the prospects for future research.

9.4.1. Reflections on Methodology

The study was underpinned by various spatial triads and made use of a methodology which could capture space in its different dimensions. In order to do this, the study made use of individual semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, document analysis, and spatial and participant observations to understand the different perceptions, conceptions, meanings and

experiences of space. The methodology enhanced my understanding of the space of spatial practices, the space of ideals and the space of bodies, and how they interact in the (re)production of democratising public space.

Through a personal reflection of the methodology employed, I implore researchers to embrace multiple epistemologies and ontologies through more artistic data collection methods. For example, my experience has highlighted that exploring human perception and experience through dialogue, verbal speech, and text is imperative in understanding matters beneath what one perceives through observations. However, researchers can challenge themselves to go beyond this through employing the use of metaphor drawing where participants can draw their personal experiences through associated symbols. Participants can also write down these experiences themselves using their own words and descriptions. Such methods can be used alongside methods of Photo voice where participants can take pictures of things that they associate with certain meanings and experiences. In addition, they can also write memos or letters where they imagine and reimagine space through their own concepts. These data collection methods can thus, be analysed using thematic or critical discourse analysis where meaning can be harvested from language and metaphors used, photos taken, and drawings sketched. They can also reveal the multi-dimensional meanings of space imperative in the understanding of hidden aspects of personal and social life, whilst also overcoming language barriers.

As a reflection in hindsight, it would have also been a ground breaking idea to capture the direct activities and practices using GIS software that would have been able to map the exact location of such uses and present the findings visually as scattered on the map of the park to ensure greater understanding and context for the reader.

Over and above, the stated data collection techniques can also be used as a personal project towards social justice and respect for participants' own epistemologies and ontologies because participants play a more co-constructive and co-authoring role where they actively participate in the capturing and documenting of their everyday experiences in public spaces. I argue that this can be a way to centre the experiences of the participants and a way to learn from their subjective ways of navigating everyday life. More significantly, it is a way to connect deeply to their realities and to offer them room to exercise consent and *(re)consent* (Chapter five).

9.4.2. Study Limitations

The study has based its conclusions on the understandings of everyday intra-inter relations, encounters, conceptions, meanings and experiences of space by users, and local officials in the City of Tshwane. Therefore, the findings are a result of particular individuals and their respective positions within their local context. As such, the findings cannot be generalised across all public open spaces in South Africa. However, they can definitely be used to closely examine localised understandings of the complex inter-intra-play between conceived space, perceived space and lived space. More importantly, they can illuminate broader conflicts and be used to interrogate questions regarding belonging, community, divergent citizenship, collective memory, sacred spaces, negotiation, humanising the other, freedom of appearance, agency and self-determinism, protest, livelihoods and governance (Chapter eight) on the neighbourhood, city and perhaps regional scale.

However, in reflecting on the limitations discussed in Chapter five, it is clear that there was unequal representation of voices during data collection. For example, the sampling technique relied on convenience and snowball sampling. These sampling types are open to researcher and participant bias as they both share the role of selecting participants. In Chapter five, the research concerns of being a black woman in public space was also discussed and the process of navigating through awkward distractions, realising participant expectations and being relationally illiterate because of language barriers were analysed. These concerns and limitations alongside time constraints impacted negatively on the representation of voices in the study. Nonetheless, I still maintain that the voices that were captured are adequate and support what the contribution of the study proposes.

9.4.3 Prospects for Future Research

In taking the subject matter of this thesis forward, researchers can begin interrogating how democratising public spaces can be managed, regulated, and governed in ways that allow for continued democratising experiences as well as for conservation and preservation. These can be explored from a process and product perspective.

The thesis also acknowledges that the conceived space (represented by local officials, the municipality and institutions of planning) constitute a broader community which goes beyond what was explored in this thesis. Therefore, future research can explore the conceived space from the views of other stakeholders in the arena of public open spaces, such as the private sector

(developers), area-based community development organisations, law enforcement agencies regulating public space and other actors, such as multidisciplinary teams working towards safer environments, for example, VPUU (Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading) and SPUU (Safety Promotion Through Urban Upgrading). Different viewpoints from different stakeholders would add value to the understanding of inter-intra-play between the conceived, perceived, and lived space. There is a need to (re)examine certain taken-for-granted spatial practices, processes and representations of space, which have been normalised but are actually detrimental to democracy. Therefore, narratives from different perspectives and stakeholders can pave the way for a better understanding and approach to the notion of democratising public space.

Although Lefebvre's triad is criticised for being "stereotypical, linear, and Eurocentric" (Shields, 2005: 170), or being "elusive in character" which makes it difficult to interpret (Unwin, 2000:19), I argued that it still provides a useful framework which can be used to analyse the historic, present, and future productions of space through the interrogation of the human mind, human experiences, and physical space itself. The logic of this is that it attempts to explore human and space relation in its totality. Therefore, although it is predominantly used in Urban studies, Architecture, Human Geography and in Urban Social Movements, it can also be applied in other disciplines such as literature, visual arts, decolonial studies, gender and even queer studies to explore the various representations, conceptions, and meanings of everyday experiences in space. This calls for continuous engagement with the triad between and across scales and disciplines in order to fully comprehend space and its multifaceted nature.

9.5. Conclusion

The thesis offers a shifting of perspectives from democratic urban public space as a means to an end, or something achieved by the end of coloniality or the apartheid regime. Rather, I position democratic public space as a constant process of democratising space through conflict and contest between different actors, interests and meanings of space. The hope is to move democratic public space thinking from mere debates around what can or cannot be done in a public space, inclusion or exclusion, to thinking about democratic public spaces as spaces of dynamic uses and practices, ideas, institutions and relations that respond to societal needs and diverse expectations. Therefore, even if a space is publicly owned and formalised as such, it (re)produces the larger socio-spatial politics within which it is located. In this regard, theories of democracy and space can be informed by the different ways that people engage in and signify space in different communities. Through an analysis of the conflicts and contestations present in

the selected urban public spaces, the thesis argued for a "democratising public space" instead of a "democratic public space" as an(other) space possible in a democratic dispensation. This requires a re-imagination of the alternative perceptions, meanings and experiences that can emerge and evolve in urban public spaces.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: Ethical Clearance University of Pretoria

Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology

Fakulteit Ingenieurwese, Bou-omgewing en Inligtingtegnologie / Lefapha la Boetlenere, Tikologo ya Kago le Theknolotši ya Tshedimošo

Reference number: EBIT/25/2018   9 May 2018

Ms K Makakavhule
Department Town and Regional Planning
University of Pretoria
Pretoria
0028

Dear Ms Makakavhule

FACULTY COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH ETHICS AND INTEGRITY

Your recent application to the EBIT Research Ethics Committee refers.

Approval is granted for the application with reference number that appears above.

1. This means that the research project entitled "A socio-spatial exploration of the absolute, relative and relational nature of public open spaces in the city of Tshwane" has been approved as submitted. It is important to note what approval implies. This is expanded on in the points that follow.

2. This approval does not imply that the researcher, student or lecturer is relieved of any accountability in terms of the Code of Ethics for Scholarly Activities of the University of Pretoria, or the Policy and Procedures for Responsible Research of the University of Pretoria. These documents are available on the website of the EBIT Research Ethics Committee.

3. If action is taken beyond the approved application, approval is withdrawn automatically.

4. According to the regulations, any relevant problem arising from the study or research methodology as well as any amendments or changes, must be brought to the attention of the EBIT Research Ethics Office.

5. The Committee must be notified on completion of the project.

The Committee wishes you every success with the research project.

Prof JJ Hanekom
Chair: Faculty Committee for Research Ethics and Integrity
FACULTY OF ENGINEERING, BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

APPENDIX B: Ethical Clearance City of Tshwane

City Strategy and Organisational Performance

Room CSP22 | Ground Floor, West Wing, Block D | Tshwane House | 320 Madiba Street | Pretoria |
0002| PO Box 440 | Pretoria | 0001
Tel: 012 358 0798
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CITY OF
TSHWANE
IGNITING EXCELLENCE

My ref: Research Permission/Makakavhule   Tel: 012 358 4559
Contact person: Pearl Maponya   Email: PearlMap3@tshwane.gov.za
Section/Unit: Innovation and Knowledge Management

Ms Kundani Makakavhule
House Protea, Room A1-1-1
Duxbury Road
Hatfield, Pretoria

Date: 15 March 2018

Dear Ms Makakavhule,

APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH ON "A SOCIO-SPATIAL EXPLORATION OF THE ABSOLUTE, RELATIVE AND RELATIONAL NATURE OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACES IN THE CITY OF TSHWANE"

Permission is hereby granted to Ms Kundani Makakavhule, a PhD candidate in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Pretoria to conduct research in the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

Is noted that the research aims to explore the absolute, relative and relational nature of the public open spaces and the relevance of these for planning in the City of Tshwane. The City of Tshwane further notes that all ethical aspects of the research will be covered within the provisions of the University of Pretoria Research Ethics Policy. You will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement form with the City of Tshwane prior to conducting research.

Relevant information required for the purpose of the research project will be made available upon request. The City of Tshwane is not liable to cover the costs of the research. Upon completion of the research study, it would be appreciated that the findings in the form of a report and or presentation be shared with the City of Tshwane.

Yours faithfully,

Pearl Maponya (Ms)
ACTING DIVISIONAL HEAD: INNOVATION AND KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

City Strategy and Organisational Performance • Stadstrategie en Organisatoriese Prestasie • Lefapha la Thulaganyo ya Tiro le Togamaano ya Toropokgolo • UmNyango wezokuSebenza namaQhinga aHleliweko kaMasipala • Kgoro va Leanopeakanyo la Toropokgolo le Bodiragatši bja

APPENDIX C: Consent Form Expert Interviews

City Strategy and Organisational Performance

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PO Box 440 | Pretoria | 0001
Tel: 012 358 7542
Email: NosiphoH@tshwane.gov.za | www.tshwane.gov.za | www.facebook.com/CityOf Tshwane

My ref:	Confidentiality Agreement	Tel:	012 358 4559
Contact person:	Pearl Maponya	Email:	PearlMap3@tshwane.gov.za
Section/Unit:	Innovation & Knowledge Management		

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE RESEARCHER AND THE CITY OF TSHWANE MUNICIPALITY

(To be completed by researchers who require access to conduct research within the City of Tshwane Municipality)

Name of Researcher	Kundani Makakavhule
ID Number	9205240397089
Research Topic	A socio-spatial exploration of the absolute, relative and relational nature of public open space in the City of Tshwane

I, the undersigned, acknowledge, understand and agree to adhere to the following conditions of access.

(Insert details of dataset fields and other information to be accessed in course of research)

- I will maintain the privacy and confidentiality of all accessible research data and understand that unauthorized disclosure of personal/confidential data is an invasion of privacy and may result in disciplinary, civil, and/or criminal actions against me.

- I will not disclose data or information to anyone other than those to whom I am authorized to do so.

- I will access data only for the purposes for which I am authorized explicitly. On no occasion will I use research data, including personal or confidential information, for my personal interest or advantage, or for any other business purposes.

- I will comply at all times with the City of Tshwane's data/information security policies and confidentiality code of conduct.

City Strategy and Organisational Performance • Stadstrategie en Organisatoriese Prestasie • Lefapha la Thulaganyo ya Tiro le Togamaano ya Toropokgolo • UmNyango wezokuSebenza namaQhinga aHleliweko kaMasipala • Kgoro ya Leanopenkanyo la Toropokgolo le Bodiragatši bja Mmasepala • Muhasho wa Vhupulani ha Dorobo khulwane na Mashumele • Ndzawulo ya Maqhinga ya Dorobakulu na Matirhele ya Masipala • Ummyango Wezeqhinga Ledolobha Nokusebenza Kwesikhungo

- I am informed that the references to personal, confidential and sensitive information in these documents are for my information and research purposes, and are not intended to replace my obligations under the Data Protection and Privacy policies and regulations of South Africa.

- I understand that where I have been given access to confidential information I am under a duty of confidence and would be liable under common law for any inappropriate breach of confidence in terms of disclosure to third parties and also for invasion of privacy if I were to access more information than that for which I have been given approval or for which consent is in place.

- Should my work in relation to the research discontinue for any reason, I understand that I will continue to be bound by this signed Confidentiality Agreement.

_____   15 March 2018
Signature   **Date**

APPENDIX D: Consent Form Public Space Users
Informed Consent

Title: A socio-spatial exploration of the Absolute, Relative and Relational nature of public open space in the City of Tshwane.

Dear Participant

You are invited to patriciate in a study that will be exploring the nature, perception and experiences of public open spaces in the City of Tshwane and the implication of this for future planning in the City. This study seeks to explore the physical nature, the context and the expectation and experience of public open spaces in an attempt to bring forth the user's perception of democratic public open spaces and what this means for future democratic planning in the City of Tshwane. The study will involve a documentation review, spatial analysis, participant observations and semi structured interviews with both the users of the space and the relevant city officials that produce/ manage and maintain these space. Notes will be taken during the interviews and audio recordings will also be incorporated with the permission of the participant(s). This study seeks to influence future policies and/or frameworks regarding public open space design.

Please note that your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. You can also withdraw your participation in this study at any point. There is no penalty what so ever if you choose not to participate or to withdraw your participation at any point. Deciding not to participate or choosing to leave the study will not impede on your relationship with the researcher, the University of Pretoria or the City of Tshwane.

Your information will be confidential and protected. The researcher will not be sharing your information as any information collected about you will have a number/ pseudonyms instead of your name and only the researcher will know what your number/ pseudonyms is.

Be informed that you are free to ask any questions before, during or after your participation. Furthermore, there are no risks involved in this study. There is also no compensation or incentive for your participation. Please do sign your consent with full knowledge of the nature and purpose of the research. A copy of this consent form will be given to you.

Date: …………………………….

Participant Signature ………………………….

Researcher Signature…………………………….

Researcher: Kundani Makakavhule 012 420 4181

Supervisor: Prof Karina Landman 012 420 6379

APPENDIX E: Interview Schedule for Expert Interviews

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule for the municipal officials at the City of Tshwane.
Title: A socio-spatial exploration of the Absolute, Relative and Relational Nature of public open space in the City of Tshwane.
Miss Kundani Makakavhule, PhD Candidate, University of Pretoria.

Strategic Questions:
1. What is the vision of the City regarding public open spaces?
2. What is the ideology/rational/tradition that informs that vision and public open space design?
3. What are the conflicts/challenges faced in the process of developing the vision, establishing the approach and following the traditions?

Historical Analysis:
4. What has been the approach to public open space development pre-1994?
5. How have public open spaces evolved in the past 5-10-15 years?
6. What is your opinion on the evolution of public spaces in the city of Tshwane?
7. What challenges have you faced in the transformation of the approach to public open space production and management?

Public Open Space Use and Function:
8. What is the intended role of public spaces in the City?
9. What are the desired/ intended uses of public space?
10. What are the conflicts in use of public space that you have identified?
11. In your opinion, what are the major driving forces or factors that trigger the prevailing conflicts over public spaces?
12. In the event that a public space is "invaded" by informal traders/ homeless community for example, how does the City respond to defend/ claim back the public space?
13. In your opinion, what are the consequences or impacts of these public space conflicts on urban restructuring? (eg, environmental protection, social/ spatial justice or City beauty/ appearance etc)

Actors in Public Open Space Management:
14. How are public open spaces managed/ regulated in the City?
15. Who are the major actors/stakeholders involved in the management and administration of public open spaces in the City?
16. What are their specific roles and interests in public spaces?
17. What are the challenges and conflicts that you face in the management and regulation of public open spaces?

The Role of the City of Tshwane's Planning and Horticultural System:
18. How do laws, local urban plans and horticultural policies contribute to the growth of conflicts over public space use and function?
19. What are the challenges that you face within the formal planning system of public space development and management?

Public Participation in the planning process of public spaces:

20. What mechanisms or strategies if any, do you have in place to enhance the participation of all users of public space in the planning process?

21. In your opinion, how successful are these participatory planning processes?

22. In your opinion what should be the role of the public in public space production and management?

Please, feel free to add any comments you may find relevant in to this topic.
Thanks very much for taking your time to respond to this questionnaire

APPENDIX F: Interview Schedule for Public Space Users

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule for Park Users: City of Tshwane.

Title: A socio-spatial exploration of the Absolute, Relative and Relational Nature of democratic public open space (Parks) in the City of Tshwane.

Miss Kundani Makakavhule, PhD Candidate, University of Pretoria

This study seeks to explore the nature of public parks in the City of Tshwane. It is interested in how ideas of democratic public spaces are conceived and practiced by planning/ horticultural/ environmental and architectural professionals in the City, as well as how ideas of democratic public spaces are conceived and practiced by communities who use the public spaces. In this regard, the study seeks to explore whether the City and communities share the same ideas about democratic public spaces and how this can contribute to democratic planning.

Uses, Meanings and Experiences:

1. Why do you use this space and how often do you use it?
2. What is the intended role of the park in your community?
3. What are the desired/ intended uses of the park?
4. What are the primary uses of this space and the predominant users?
5. What are the conflicts in use of the park that you have identified?
6. In your opinion, what are the consequences or impacts of these uses and users on the democratic nature of the space?
7. How do you think conflicts in park uses should be addressed?
8. What does this park mean to you?
9. How would you describe your experience of this park?

Form and Access:

1. How would you describe the physical nature of this park?
2. How accessible is this park for you?
3. What is your view on the location of this park?

Strategic Questions:

1. What is the communities vision regarding this park?
2. What are the challenges faced in the process of developing the vision, and bringing it to life?

Historical Analysis:

1. How has the park evolved in the past 5-10-15 years?
2. What is your opinion on the evolution of the park?
3. What challenges have you faced/ witnessed in the transformation of the park?
4. Do you think that change is necessary in the park?

Public Space Management:

1. How is this park managed and regulated?
2. Who are the major actors/stakeholders involved in the management and regulation of the park?
3. What are their specific roles and interests in public spaces?
4. What are the challenges and conflicts that you think are faced in the management and regulation of the park?
5. How do by-laws and horticultural policies contribute to the management and regulation of the park and its function?
6. What are the challenges that you think are faced with regards to enforcing the by-laws, and rules and regulations of the park?

Public Participation in the planning process of public spaces:

1. What are your views on public participation processes to enhance the performance or management of the park?
2. Have you been involved in any public participation processes in the park?
3. In your opinion, how successful are these participatory planning processes?
4. In your opinion, what should be the role of the public in park production and management?
5. What knowledge do you think drives or should drive future planning for the park (community? Municipality? Activists? Private companies etc?)

Please, feel free to add any comments you may find relevant in to this topic.

Thanks very much for taking your time to respond to this questionnaire