



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

URBAN OPEN SPACE: USER PERCEPTIONS OF THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT

by Sally Harper

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
M.A. (RESEARCH PSYCHOLOGY)

In the Faculty of Arts
University of Pretoria

PRETORIA

September 1998

Study leader: Prof. André Clemens Fiedeldey



"A deep relationship with places is as necessary, and perhaps as unavoidable, as close relationships with people; without such relationships human existence, while possible, is bereft of much of its significance"
(Relph, 1976, p. 41)

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	xii
SUMMARY	xiii
OPSOMMING	xv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY	1
1.2. ABOUT URBAN OPEN SPACES.....	2
1.2.1 People and cities.....	2
1.2.2 What is an urban open space?.....	2
1.2.3 Why urban open spaces are important	3
1.2.4 What is "good" urban open space?.....	3
1.2.5 Windhoek's urban open spaces	4
1.3. ABOUT THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT	4
1.4. AIM OF THE RESEARCH	5
1.5. ABOUT THE STUDY'S METHODOLOGY AND METHODS.....	5
CHAPTER 2: METATHEORY: SYSTEMIC AND ECOSYSTEMIC THINKING.....	7
2.1 THINKING ABOUT THINKING	7
2.1.1 Ontology.....	7
2.1.2 Epistemology.....	8
2.1.3 Paradigms	8
2.1.4 Ideology.....	8
2.1.5 Paradigm shift.....	9
2.1.6 The "old" epistemology.....	9
2.1.7 The "new" epistemology	10
2.2 SYSTEMIC THINKING	10
2.2.1 The nature of things	11
2.2.1.1 Phenomena are wholes.....	11
2.2.1.2 Phenomena are simultaneously wholes and parts	11
2.2.1.3 Wholes and parts are separated by boundaries	11
2.2.2 The nature of relationship	12
2.2.2.1 Systems are linked in recursive feedback or information loops	12
2.2.2.2 Homeostasis, or equilibrium	12
2.2.2.3 Causality	13
2.2.2.4 Phenomena can never be without context	13
2.3 ECOSYSTEMIC THINKING.....	13
2.3.1 Constructivism.....	14
2.3.2 Detached observation is not possible	15
2.3.3 Objective description is not possible	15
2.3.4 Language.....	15
2.3.5 Observing things, changes them.....	16
2.3.6 A system is autonomous.....	16
2.3.7 Agency, control, power and empowerment	16
2.3.8 Dialectical thinking	18
2.3.9 Ecosystemic thinking's contribution.....	18
CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE STUDY	20
3.1 INTRODUCTION	20
3.1.1 Lewin's field theory.....	20
3.2 PERSON-CONTEXT "FIT"	21
3.3 CONCEPTUALIZING "QUALITY OF LIFE"	22

3.4	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN EVOLUTIONARY SPACE	23
3.5	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A RESTORATIVE SPACE	23
3.6	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN ECOLOGICAL SPACE	24
3.6.1	A behaviour setting	25
3.6.2	A behaviour setting has many contexts	26
3.6.3	In a behaviour setting ---	26
3.6.3.1	The milieu is circumjacent and synomorphic to the behaviour	26
3.6.3.2	The pattern of behaviour is extra-individual	27
3.6.3.3	People assume different roles	27
3.6.3.4	The pattern of behaviour is a standing pattern.....	28
3.6.4	Critique of Barker's theory.....	29
3.7	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A PHENOMENOLOGICAL SPACE	30
3.7.1	Identity of place	31
3.7.2	Constituent elements of identity of place	31
3.7.3	Identity with place: insideness and outsideness.....	33
3.7.4	Link between individual and group images of place	34
3.7.5	Development, maintenance and change in identity of place	34
3.7.6	Authenticity and place.....	35
3.7.7	Placelessness.....	35
3.7.8	Spirit of place	36
3.7.9	Authentic placemaking.....	36
3.8	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A CULTURAL SPACE.....	36
3.9	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SPACE	38
3.10	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A PERCEPTUAL SPACE.....	40
3.11	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A SOCIAL SPACE	42
3.12	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION SPACE.....	43
3.12.1	Hungerford & Volk's model of responsible environmental behaviour	43
3.13	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A DESIGN SPACE	44
3.14	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A POLITICAL SPACE	46
3.15	URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN ETHICAL SPACE.....	50
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN		52
4.1	THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN METHODOLOGY AND METHOD	52
4.2	RESEARCH IN SYSTEMIC MODE	52
4.2.1	Emotion	53
4.2.2	Subjectivity	53
4.2.3	The subjectivity of our data	53
4.2.4	Unit of analysis	54
4.3	ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY RESEARCH.....	55
4.3.1	Research in everyday settings [contextualism]	55
4.3.2	Both explanation and description	55
4.3.3	Eclectic methods	56
4.3.4	Holistic process	56
4.4	EMPOWERMENT AND ACTION RESEARCH.....	57
4.5	VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY IN EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH.....	58
4.5.1	Internal validity	58
4.5.2	External or ecological validity [generalizability]	58
4.5.3	Reliability	59
4.6	VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY IN THIS STUDY'S METHODOLOGY	59
4.6.1	In community empowerment research.....	59
4.6.2	In environmental psychology research.....	60
4.6.3	In interview research	60
4.7	CORE ASSUMPTIONS OF A CONTEXTUAL RESEARCH DESIGN	62
4.8	THE RESEARCH DESIGN	62
4.8.1	The research question	63
4.8.2	The research plan.....	63

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA COLLECTION METHODS.....	65
5.1 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS.....	65
5.1.1 Rationale for method	65
5.1.2 Influencing metacontexts of a behaviour setting	65
5.1.3 The ecological context.....	66
5.1.4 Socio-economic context of the Avis dam environment	67
5.1.5 The political-economic context of the Avis dam.....	68
5.1.5.1 Avis dam within the Windhoek Municipality's urban open space policy 68	
5.1.5.2 The Avis dam's legal history	69
5.1.5.3 The setting programme as it was prior to 1994.....	69
5.1.5.4 The 1994 Malaysian development proposal	69
5.1.5.5 Subsequent development proposals.....	70
5.1.6 Non-governmental policies.....	70
5.1.6.1 Greenspace	70
5.1.6.2 Present setting programme.....	71
5.2 THE BASELINE OBSERVATION.....	72
5.2.1 Rationale for method	72
5.2.2 Barker's observation method	72
5.2.3 Is the Avis dam environment a behaviour setting by Barker's criteria?.....	72
5.2.4 The descriptive dimensions of a behaviour setting	73
5.2.5 Sampling.....	74
5.2.5.1 Of people.....	74
5.2.5.2 Of seasons	74
5.2.5.3 Of areas, days, times and activities	75
5.3 INTERVIEWING.....	76
5.3.1 Rationale for method	76
5.3.2 Verifying.....	77
5.3.3 Thematizing the interview.....	77
5.3.4 Designing the interview	78
5.3.4.1 Pre-design of the interview schedule.....	78
5.3.4.2 Sampling design.....	79
5.3.5 Generating data.....	80
5.3.5.1 Pre-testing of the interview schedule	81
5.3.5.2 Main interviewing phase.....	82
5.3.6 Transcribing.....	82
5.3.7 Analyzing	82
5.3.7.1 Method chosen.....	83
5.3.7.2 Establishing and allocating category codes.....	83
5.3.7.3 Establishing consistency	84
5.3.7.4 Verifying analysis results	84
5.3.8 Reporting	85
5.4 QUESTIONNAIRE PHASE	85
CHAPTER 6: INTERPRETATION OF DATA	87
6.1 OBSERVATIONS.....	87
6.1.1 The questions asked of this phase of the study were.....	87
6.1.2 What activities take place at the dam and floodplain?.....	87
6.1.3 How may these activities help in understanding whether the Avis dam environment is a behaviour setting at all by Barker's (1968) criteria?.....	89
6.1.3.1 The structural test	89
6.1.3.2 The dynamics test	89
Figure F6.1: Activities observed at the dam, weekdays and weekends, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998.....	90
6.1.4 What do the activities observed say about the Avis dam area as a behaviour setting? 91	

6.1.5	As the Avis dam area is a behaviour setting, how may it be described in terms of Barker's (1968) identified dimensions?	91
	Figure F6.2: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times of cars at the dam during the week, 5/1/1998 - 15/4/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day....	92
	Figure F6.3: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times of cars at the dam over weekends, 1/2/1998 - 7/6/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day	92
	Figure F6.4: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times of cars at the floodplain during the week, 17/2/1998 - 24/4/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day	92
	Figure F6.5: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times at the floodplain over weekends, 24/1/1998 - 10/5/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day	92
	Figure F6.6: Gender distribution of visitors to the dam, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998 ..	93
	Figure F6.7: Women alone, and women alone with children at the dam, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998	94
	Figure F6.8: Occupancy time at the dam and floodplain, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998	95
6.2	INTERVIEWS	97
6.2.1	Key questions	97
6.2.2	Codes for characterizing users' experience of the Avis dam	97
6.2.3	Method for understanding the experience of particular individuals	98
6.2.4	To what extent is user experience of the dam idiosyncratic - different for different users?	100
	6.2.4.1 Respondent 1	100
	6.2.4.2 Respondent 2	100
	6.2.4.3 Respondents in interview 4	101
	6.2.4.4 Respondent 17	101
	6.2.4.5 Respondent 19	102
6.2.5	Is there some level of intersubjective agreement on experience of the dam?	102
	Table T6.2: Users' experience of the Avis dam and floodplain: summary of intersubjective agreement on elements of identity by percentage occurrence	103
	6.2.5.1 Core and peripheral elements of identity	104
	6.2.5.2 SETTING	104
	Figure F6.9: % content [average and maximum] of the Avis dam, 1987 - 1998	
	February 16	105
	6.2.5.3 ACTIVITIES	107
	6.2.5.4 PEOPLE	109
	6.2.5.5. MEANINGS	111
6.2.6	<i>Identity of the Avis dam</i>	113
6.2.7	<i>Identity with the Avis dam</i>	113
6.2.8	The spirit of the Avis dam	114
6.3	Conclusion	114
	Table T6.3: Interview analysis codes	115
CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS		121
7.1	Appropriate and inappropriate development at the dam	121
	7.1.1 Meta-recommendation	121
	7.1.2 The area's "undetermined" zoning in the town planning scheme should be changed to that of 'Public open space'	122
	7.1.3 Erf 2882 should be de-registered and incorporated into the lease area; alternative commercial development sites should be considered	123
	7.1.4 There should be an official forum through which members of the public may express opinions on both the siting, and the style, of commercial development at the dam	123
	7.1.5 Any non-commercial development, including rehabilitation and management plans, should also understand, and seek to enhance rather than damage, the area's unspoiled character	124

7.2 Future research issues highlighted by this study	126
7.2.1 Non-user perceptions of the Avis dam	126
7.2.2 Perceived comparisons of the Avis dam and the Goreangab dam	126
7.2.3 The place of the Avis dam in an integrated urban open space system	126
REFERENCES	128
ANNEXURE A: DRAFT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	142
ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS	146
ANNEXURE C: OVERVIEW OF TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT	147
ANNEXURE D: USERS' EXPERIENCE OF THE AVIS DAM AND FLOODPLAIN	168
ANNEXURE E: INTER-RATER RELIABILITY	194
ANNEXURE F: SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUALS' EXPERIENCE OF THE IDENTITY OF THE AVIS DAM AND FLOODPLAIN	198
ANNEXURE G: QUESTIONNAIRE	205
ANNEXURE H: MAPS OF THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT SHOWING LOCALITY, AND FEATURES MOST OFTEN REFERRED TO IN INTERVIEWS.....	216



TABLES IN TEXT

[please use Table of Contents for correct page numbers]

T6.1	Activities observed at the dam and floodplain, December 1997 to May 1998.....	143
T6.2	Users' experience of the Avis dam and floodplain: summary of intersubjective agreement on elements of identity by percentage occurrence.....	162
 <u>Page</u>		
T6.3	Interview analysis codes.....	178

FIGURES IN TEXT

[please use Table of Contents for correct page numbers]

F6.1	Pi chart of activities observed at the dam, weekdays and weekends, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998.....	145
F6.2	Line chart of peak and off-peak times at the dam during the week, 5/1/1998 - 15/4/1998.....	148
F6.3	Line chart of peak and off-peak times at the dam, over weekends, 1/2/1998 - 7/6/1998.....	148
F6.4	Line chart of peak and off-times at the floodplain, during the week, 17/2/1998 - 24/4/1998.....	149
F6.5	Line chart of peak and off-times at the floodplain, over weekends, 24/1/1998 - 10/5/1998.....	149
F6.6	Gender distribution of visitors to the dam, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998.....	150
F6.7	Women alone, and women with children at the dam, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998.....	151
F6.8	Occupancy time at dam and floodplain, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998.....	152



F6.9 Bar chart of the Avis dam water level content
by percentage, 1987-1998
February.....164

ANNEXURES

A	Interview schedule.....	193
B	Interview sample characteristics.....	197
C	Transcriptions of interviews with Avis dam users.....	199
D	Users' experience of the Avis dam and floodplain: Summary of intersubjective agreement on elements of identity, and development.....	268
E	Inter-rater reliability: Co-rater's analysis categories.....	297
F	Summary of individuals' experience of the identity of the Avis dam and floodplain.....	300
G	Questionnaire..... ...307	
H	Maps of the area indicating locality, and the features most often referred to in the interviews, and study.....	316

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First, of my study leader, André, for whose ecosystemic environmental psychology course I enrolled at the University of Pretoria in the first place. I wasn't disappointed - how many students are lucky enough to have a supervisor with whom they can share one day cricket, excellent jokes *and* ecosystemic thinking?

Of the many people who helped me with this thesis: in particular, University of Pretoria library staff, Greenspace members, those interviewed, Gudrun Kober, and John Mendelsohn.

Then of K., who put up with the many years of studying which preceded this thesis, looked after my home for me while I was away for a year, generally made most things possible, and was unperturbed by what the "clever" books had to say about people and places. We don't need psychology books to tell us that, she would usually say - anyone knows that ... !

Of my friends, many of whom thought I was out of my mind to be still studying at my age, but supported me in a good-natured way anyway. Special thanks to M. of Denu Distributors (Pty) Ltd who sponsored the printing and binding of this thesis.

And of the two associates of the firm with whom I did my internship in Windhoek, for their personal and financial support of this study.

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development (HSRC, South Africa) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Centre for Science Development.

Thanks also to the University of Pretoria, for direct financial assistance in completing the research.

Windhoek, September 1998

SUMMARY

From its infancy, environmental psychology [which concerns itself with the co-influencing interface between people and places] has required attention to actual context, and attention to social relevance. There has always been an emphasis on research into real problems within a context of meaningful theory, and on results which have potential not only for individuals, but also for policy-makers and those who execute that policy.

This environmental psychology study is about the potential role of green open space in contributing towards quality of life in the city generally. It is also about a specific, well-loved urban open space in Namibia's capital city, Windhoek, the Avis dam environment, which is often the contentious target of proposed commercial development. At the moment, the Windhoek Municipality has no well-structured urban open space policy, and possibly also no full understanding of the meanings of the Avis dam for its users. This study hopes to make contributions to both these areas of policy-making.

As the applicability of research findings to the development of public policies and community interventions depends very much on the suitability of the methodology and theories chosen (Stokols, 1991¹), this study begins with a discussion of systemic and ecosystemic thinking [Chapter Two]. They were chosen as the guiding metatheory for this study, not only because of their recognition of the inescapable connectedness between person and environment, but because of their personal appeal too. Chapter Three examines theories and models which are compatible with systems thinking, and which help understand the potentially positive psycho-social and socio-economic roles of urban open space generally, and how the extent of that potential in a specific open space may be appreciated and described.

The implications of systemic/ecosystemic metatheory for the study's methodology and research design are discussed in Chapter Four, and the data collection methods, which comprised observation and interviewing, in Chapter Five. Ecosystemic thinkers do not believe that facts can be "found" [they are not there objectively, but co-emerge subjectively from people's individual and collective experience in a place], so Chapter

Six deals with a co-emergent interpretation of the data gathered. Based on that interpretation, recommendations for urban open space policy generally, and the Avis dam environment specifically, are made in Chapter Seven.

Key Words

Urban open space

Systems theory

Ecosystemic thinking

Behaviour setting theory

Place

Public participation

Empowerment

Environmental psychology

Place identity

Metropolitan Open Space System

¹ Stokols, D. (1991). Conceptual strategies of environmental psychology. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 1 (pp. 41-70). New York: John Wiley.

OPSOMMING

Omgewingssielkunde (wat gemoeid is met die mede-beïnvloedings tussen mense en plekke) het van sy vroegste jeug aandag benodig ten opsigte van werklike verband asook maatskaplike toepaslikheid. Daar was nog altyd klem op navorsing ten opsigte van daadwerklike probleme binne die verband van 'n betekenisvolle teorie asook op die uitslae wat potensiaal het vir die individualis sowel as die beleidsbepalers en beleidsuitvoerders.

Hierdie omgewingssielkundestudie gaan oor hoe groen oop spasies moontlik kan bydra tot kwaliteit van lewensgehalte in die stad oor die algemeen. Dit gaan ook oor 'n besondere, geliefde stedelike oop ruimte in Namibia se hoofstad, Windhoek, nl. die Avisdamomgewing, wat voortdurend 'n teiken is vir bedryfsonwikkeling. Tans beskik die Munisipaliteit van Windhoek nie oor 'n welsaamgestelde beleid oor oop ruimtes nie en moontlik ontbreek ook by hulle die nodige begrip van die betekenis van die dam vir sy verbruikers. Hierdie studie be-oog om 'n bydrae in die beleidsbepalings van altwee leemtes te lewer.

Die toepaslikheid van navorsingsbevindings in die ontwikkeling van openbare beleid en gemeenskapsbemiddeling hang baie van die gepastheid van die metodologie en teorieë (Stokols, 1991)² af. Hierdie studie begin met 'n bespreking oor sistemiese en ekosistemiese denke (Hoofstuk Twee). Hulle is as die leidende metateorieë gekies, nie alleen vir hul erkenning van die onontkombare verband tussen persone en hul omgewing nie, maar ook vir hulle persoonlike aantrekkingskrag.

In Hoofstuk Drie word teorieë en voorbeelde bestudeer wat verenigbaar is met sistemiese denke en wat help om die potensiële positiewe psigo-sosiale en sosio-ekonomiese rolle van stedelike oop ruimtes oor die algemeen te verstaan, asook hoe om die omvang van die potensiaal van 'n spesifieke oop ruimte te kan waardeer en te kan beskryf.

In Hoofstuk Vier word die implikasies van die sistemiese/eko-sistemiese metateorie vir hierdie studie se metodologie en navorsingsplan bespreek. Die dataversamelingsmetodes wat uit waarneming en onderhoude bestaan, word in Hoofstuk Vyf hanteer. Ekosistemiese denkers glo nie dat feite "gevind" word nie (dit is nie objektiewelik daar nie maar ontstaan subjektiewelik deur persone se individuele en gesamentlike ondervindinge van 'n plek), dus word die vertolking van die saamgestelde data in Hoofstuk Ses bespreek. In die lig van dié vertolking word aanbevelings

² Stokols, D. (1991). Conceptual strategies of environmental psychology. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 1 (pp. 41-70). New York: John Wiley.

vir stedelike oopruimtebeleid in die algemeen asook spesifiek vir die Avisdam omgewing in Hoofstuk Sewe hanteer.



Sleutelwoorde

Stedelike oopruimtes

Sistemiese denke

Ekosistemiese denke

??

Plek

Openbare deelname

Bemagtiging???

Omgewingsielkunde

Plekidentiteit

Metropolitaanse Oopspasiesstelsel????

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This study has been undertaken within the context of systemic and ecosystemic thinking, and the discipline of environmental psychology. It is about urban open space generally, and a specific urban open space in Namibia's capital city, Windhoek, the Avis dam environment.

1.1. ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

Environmental psychology, which began in the 1940s in the USA (Gifford, 1987) initially took shape as a separate field in psychology, in response to a demand for social *relevance* in the sixties. It was felt that traditional academic psychology research was not contributing to social reform, economic justice and political equality (Sommer, 1991). Particularly, the dominant scientific laboratory-experimental model of the time came under criticism for failing to deliver when required to solve real-world problems (Proshansky, 1991), and for eliminating through control, physical environment variables which might be influencing behaviour in real-life contexts (Sommer, 1991). Some social psychologists began to turn again to Lewin's model of action research: research on real problems, conducted in real life settings, which was "... theoretically meaningful and socially useful." (Proshansky, 1991, p. 1474).

Also, the design professions, particularly architecture and landscape planning, contributed enormously to environmental psychology's development. These professionals began to ask questions about the role of space and place in human experience and behaviour, which traditional psychology could not at first answer (Proshansky, 1991).

The third major impetus came from the sudden upsurge of interest in ecology and environmental quality which occurred in the late sixties and early seventies, fuelled by the energy crisis, and large scale pollution. Another factor was the moving experience of seeing the earth's obvious fragility, and *wholeness*, for the first time from space.

Two of the things which continue to characterize environmental psychology, are a holistic approach [person and setting or place are considered to be a holistic entity, not to be understood in isolation from one another (Gifford, 1987)], and an inter-disciplinary orientation to the phenomenon under study. Particularly, environmental psychology is characterized by a concern with practical social [person-place] problems, and their possible solutions.

Environmental psychologists endeavour through their research to contribute to social action aimed at improving the quality of life in several ways:

- Properly conducted social impact assessments can assist decision-makers significantly in achieving sustainable development
- Well-presented post-occupancy evaluations can suggest needed improvements to already-designed settings (Viljoen, Van Staden, Grieve & Deventer, 1987)
- They may seek to influence political decision-making by identifying a real-world area where a policy is needed (Singer, 1977). So for example, the continuing post-

independence influx into Windhoek has put enormous development pressure on undetermined areas in the town planning scheme: no pro-active urban open space policy exists. A clearly presented research report in this respect could guide cost-benefit analyses which are usually driven by "... physical, economic, and legal concerns only." (Singer, 1977, p.76)

- Environmental psychologists can also contribute to primary health care. For example, they can identify the physical setting features which make for a healthy neighbourhood or community setting (Bechtel, 1984) by creating a sense of community (Riger, 1993); or they can identify the tangible and intangible features of a setting which promote participation and empowerment (Rappaport, 1987). Urban open spaces have this potential too.

1.2. ABOUT URBAN OPEN SPACES

1.2.1 People and cities

We are not always consciously aware that as human beings we have lived for hundreds of thousands of years in natural surroundings, and by comparison, only hundreds of years in human-made surroundings such as villages, towns and cities. The biophilia thesis says that people simply need some sort of access to nature - it's part of our evolutionary and biological make-up (Bell, Greene, Fisher & Baum, 1996). Yet Namibians live increasingly in cities. Some 25% already do, and this percentage increases every year. Windhoek's population - variously estimated at between 180 000 and 220 000 - grows by between 5-6% each year (Frayne, 1992).

Environmental psychology research confirms what ordinary people already know, that is, on the whole, living in the city is a stressful experience (Bell *et al.*, 1996). The irritations of travelling and parking, the high noise and dirt levels, the actual and perceived crime and violence, the homelessness, beggary and loitering are some urban environmental stressors encountered daily.

Some of the ways³ we cope with urban stress are to

- flee, or if we choose to stay, then to
- reduce our affiliative behaviour, that is, our desire to be open to contact with strangers - it is likely to be less in the inner city than in our home suburb, and to
- reduce our prosocial behaviour, or willingness to help someone in real need (Bell *et al.*, 1996)
- seek out "urban nature" (Rachel Kaplan's phrase for nature in the city, 1983). Many studies show that natural landscapes are preferred to urban scenes (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1982; and Ulrich 1986, cited in Bell *et al.*, 1996). These natural landscapes can sometimes be found in urban open spaces.

1.2.2 What is an urban open space?

³ This general pattern is mediated by individual differences though: some studies have different findings (Bell *et al.*, 1996)

An urban open space is any “green” or “soft” open space in the city such as its parks, gardens, riverside areas, and undeveloped pieces of veld⁴. They are also the city's “hard” or “brown” spaces such as plazas, squares and malls, which usually contain some elements of nature, such as a fountain, or trees and flowers. An urban open space is basically an expression of nature in the city.

1.2.3 Why urban open spaces are important

Both psychological and lay literature accept that “good” urban open space can increase quality of life in the city (Bell *et al.*, 1996; MOSS international conference committee, 1994; City Council of Pretoria: Inner City Partnership, Feb. 1997). Sufficient “urban nature” (Kaplan, 1983) contributes to reducing urban stress (Kaplan, 1983; Bell *et al.*, 1996), probably by providing a connection to the **restorative influence of nature** (Fiedeldey, 1994a). For the many city residents who are poor and without transport, urban open spaces are the most immediately accessible pieces of nature. They provide opportunities, often at no cost, for active and passive recreation too.

A well-planned urban open space system can contribute in other positive ways to quality of life for city residents:

- Carefully selected urban open space has potential **socio-economic benefits**. Viable inner city gardening and woodlot projects can create both social support and self-reliance opportunities (Moss international conference committee, 1994), and reduce the degradation that tree-cutting for fuel and income brings. Attractive urban open space also increases the city’s tourism potential, and delays the onset of business’s flight to the suburbs, which contributes to inner city decay.
- Hungerford & Volk (1990, p.11) found that there is a “... dramatic relationship ...” between **environmentally responsible behaviour**, and “... environmental sensitivity ...”. Given that environmental sensitivity is most strongly developed in those people who from an early age have had ongoing positive experiences in “... relatively pristine ...” (Hungerford & Volk, 1990, p.14) outdoor settings, good quality urban open space assumes added significance.
- Agenda 21 has created an awareness amongst local authorities of the need for participatory management of urban open spaces by stakeholders (City Council of Pretoria: Inner City Partnership, Feb. 1997; Windhoek Aloe, September 1997). Participation creates opportunities for individual and group **capacity-building and empowerment**, both of which hold psychological benefits (Albee, 1980, 1982; Bechtel, 1984). It also contributes to an awareness of, and the acquisition of skills for, the political process generally. Usually people who have political competence are environmentally responsible as well (Irwin, 1991; Lefcourt, 1976 cited in Viljoen *et al.*, 1987).

1.2.4 What is “good” urban open space?

Just looking around any city is enough evidence that not all urban open spaces are “good” enough to deliver even some of the above potential benefits. In most cases, urban open space is determined by town planners who rely on their own judgements of which spaces have natural beauty, recreation potential or ecological value. Environment-behaviour research suggests however that agreement between professional planning

⁴ Translation: “land”

and public perception and experience cannot simply be assumed (Zube, 1976). The professional training of urban designers tends to distance them from how ordinary people think (Moughtin, 1992). This study assumes that peoples' perceptions, or subjective assessments, are one important way of assessing what is "good" urban open space.

1.2.5 Windhoek's urban open spaces

It is important to remember that urban open space is a non-renewable resource - once lost, it can not be re-created. Windhoek has beautiful open spaces which provide access to nature right on its doorstep: river beds with camelthorn and other indigenous trees, dams large and small, attractive hill ridges, and stunning mountain vistas. There is a need to ensure that this natural urban resource is protected for the sustainable⁵ use of Windhoek's residents and tourists.

As the city's population grows, the Windhoek Municipality is compelled to re-allocate financial resources towards providing shelter and basic services for its citizens. It comes under increasing pressure to sell undeveloped land -- especially on the urban fringes -- for commercial development. One such urban open space in Windhoek is the Avis dam, currently leased on a short-term basis from the Municipality by Greenspace⁶, a voluntary organization which seeks to provide community participation and private sector funding in the management of Windhoek's urban open spaces. The Municipality has indicated that it would consider a longer lease period, if Greenspace were to submit an acceptable management plan for the area.

1.3. ABOUT THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT

The Avis dam and its floodplain are situated in a valley on the eastern boundary of Windhoek, bounded on at least two sides by unallocated commonage⁷. Other than the dam wall, a railway bridge, and a small electricity station, views in a radius of at least 260 degrees [standing on the dam wall] offer scenes of unspoilt nature. There are wide vistas of water [that is, at the moment; mostly the dam only contains a little water, or is quite dry], of grassy and wooded foothills, and of the Auas Mountains in the middle distance. In most directions, these vistas are almost devoid of evidence of human impact. The dam and its natural vegetation also support bird and wildlife. Even in its dry and dusty periods, the dam remains a favourite visiting place for Windhoekers.

Although the dam does have a controversial and confused status as a "nature" area, it is not considered as such by the Windhoek Municipality. In the current town planning scheme, the Avis environment is zoned as "undetermined", meaning it may be used for any purpose which the Municipality deems fit.

⁵ Sustainable development is generally considered to be development which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment & Development, 1987, p. 43, in Gale, 1992, p.724)

⁶ More about Greenspace in Chapter Five

⁷ See annexure H for an external and internal locality plan of the area

Both the dam and its floodplain are heavily used as passive and active recreation areas, causing conflict between diverse users such as walkers, dog exercisers, mountain-bikers, horse riders, 4x4 drivers, birdwatchers, and boating enthusiasts. Unprotected by its current zoning, the area is coming under increasing pressure from the extremely poor on the one hand [squattling and natural asset damage and destruction as a result of the high post-independence urban influx], and the rich on the other. The Municipality has in the recent past (1994), and is currently again considering several upmarket development plans on a site which is within the lease area, but excluded from the Municipality-Greenspace lease agreement.

1.4. AIM OF THE RESEARCH

Broadly, the study aimed to understand the quality of the Avis dam environment as an urban open space - is it "good"? If so, what makes it good? This was important for me [not only as a researcher, but also as a long-standing visitor to the area, and a Greenspace member], for without a formal understanding of what users particularly value about the dam, there is a real possibility that some types of development could be inappropriate. An understanding of the dam's identity would also assist in understanding its particular role in Windhoek's urban open space system as a whole. Some of the results from the study have therefore been incorporated into the Greenspace draft management plan for the Avis dam environment (Harper & Maritz, 1998), which was submitted to the Windhoek Municipality in early June 1998.

1.5. ABOUT THE STUDY'S METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Research methods are generally guided by the theory or theories within which the researcher has chosen to conceptualize the phenomenon of interest, and behind those theories is implicitly or explicitly, the researcher's methodology. Methodology is not the same as method. Methodology is an expression of the assumptions which the researcher holds about the nature of valid knowledge (Winkel, 1991), about the nature of the phenomenon being studied, and about the nature of her relationship with the people involved in the study (Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, Wandersman & D'Aunno, 1984).

The methodology and methods of this study are informed by assumptions from three sources:

- The field of environmental psychology
- Empowerment and action research in community psychology, and lastly
- Systemic and ecosystemic thinking,

which is where this study of urban open space generally, and the Avis dam specifically, begins in Chapter Two.



CHAPTER 2: METATHEORY: SYSTEMIC AND ECOSYSTEMIC THINKING

2.1 THINKING ABOUT THINKING⁸

“... people, and especially social scientists, select theories that are consistent with their personal values, attitudes, and prejudices, and then go out ... to seek facts that validate their beliefs about the world and about human nature, neglecting or denying observations that contradict their personal prejudices.” (Albee, 1982, p.5).

It is now generally accepted that science can never be value-free (Colapinto, 1979; Garbers, 1996). So how may you, the reader, satisfy yourself that I have not been guilty of Albee’s accusation? By establishing what my ontology and epistemology is. Nor should you have to infer what these may be from the discussion offered; on the contrary, according to Bateson (1979, p. 29): “... right or wrong, the epistemology shall be *explicit*. Equally explicit criticism will then be possible.”

2.1.1 Ontology

An ontology is a theory of how the world *is* (Dell, 1985); it attempts to answer the question: what is the nature of things and of beings (Parker, 1992)? The answer we implicitly or explicitly give to this question, has political consequences for ourselves and others, for it helps us decide what is “real”, and what should be done to change that reality should we disagree with it. As Parker (1992) explains, there are two major viewpoints. The one is materialism, the belief that matter is what counts as real. The other is idealism, the belief that ideas can create the things we think are real. Is the way a park *is*, constituted in the meanings with which I imbue it? Or is its meaning in the particular arrangement of its trees, grass, water, and furniture? By making a conscious effort to apply dialectical thinking, (Rowan & Reason, 1981), I believe that one can look at this issue non-dualistically: both descriptions of the park’s meaning are real.

I shall refer briefly again to the materialism and idealism dimensions of the ontological debate when considering the place of constructivism in ecosystemic thinking.

⁸ Bateson's (1979) phrase

2.1.2 Epistemology

Epistemology is intimately related to ontology. Although it has many meanings (Bateson, 1979; Dell, 1985) it is about the nature of knowing – what may I know? How may I know it? Our usually unarticulated answers to these questions are important, for they guide how we think, and how we decide (Bateson, 1979). At another level our answers to these questions have political consequences too, for in deciding which is a legitimate [or not legitimate] way of knowing, I might limit my or your reality, or my or your potentialities. Even worse, I might deny your reality. As a practical example, are peoples' subjective perceptions of a particular piece of urban nature, expressed in language, legitimate knowledge, or is legitimate knowledge constituted only in the observation and measurement of peoples' behaviour in urban nature? Are both ways of knowing, equally legitimate?

One's epistemology "... is always and inevitably *personal* ..." (Bateson, 1979, p.100) but should be made explicit too (Bateson, 1979). On how one may know, I believe that all methods of enquiry, whether empirical or subjective, are equally legitimate, provided that in both cases, the academically-accepted criteria for reliability and validity are satisfied (Garbers, 1996; Winkel, 1991). This approach has its detractors, but also enjoys extensive support, particularly in environment-behaviour research (Low, 1987; Marans & Ahrentzen, 1987; Stokols, 1991). It also accords with the systemic approach, which I discuss in paragraph 2.2.

2.1.3 Paradigms

Thinking about *how* one should think, and so make decisions on how to behave, leads one to consider scientific paradigms, which in one sense certainly, combine both ontological and epistemological assumptions. Jordaan & Jordaan's (1989, p.13) definition of a paradigm captures this well: "... a representation of reality, and how this reality can be examined ... a thought framework within which questions ... can be posed and answered.". In the scientific endeavour, it sometimes happens that new irrefutable data cannot be accommodated or adequately explained within the existing paradigm (Newton & Caple, 1985). In such a case, there is a paradigm shift, a moving away from the old epistemology to a new one, which can be relatively abrupt, or gradual (Kuhn, 1962, cited in Newton & Caple, 1985; and Lucas, 1985).

2.1.4 Ideology

Knowledge is not only created within a dominant scientific paradigm, but also within a dominant ideology, itself frequently not explicit. The political context in which we are embedded also shapes our reality as Carlton's (1977, cited in Dawes, 1985, p. 56) definition of ideology makes clear: "... a pattern of beliefs and concepts (both factual and normative) which purport to explain complex social phenomena with a view to directing and simplifying socio-political choices ...". Ideology is in the final analysis about the uses to which knowledge may be put, and so about power (Dawes, 1985; MacKinnon & Miller, 1987).

2.1.5 Paradigm shift

Science, and particularly psychology in the social sciences, is now in a period of transition, from the “old” epistemology to the “new”, and a brief introduction to the “old” will provide a context for the “new”.

In the social sciences at least, the “new” epistemology is not the only alternative to the “old”. Postmodernism, and discourse analysis, are others that should be taken into account, for they not only share with the “new” epistemology a distrust of the certainty of inherited knowledge (Lyotard, 1984), but also a recognition of the enormously constructivist function of language (Freeman, 1985) in the creation of our realities.

2.1.6 The "old" epistemology

Despite the strange-sounding description of this paradigm – the Cartesian-Newtonian paradigm – much of it will be familiar to readers. It seems to be merely a more precise description of what we already “know”.

It derives its name from René Descartes and Isaac Newton whose combined thinking in the 16th and 17th centuries generated a powerful framework for thought. This thought framework has allowed the creation of almost magical technology capable of extending our senses, our lives, and our world (Gellner, 1992). It also limits our thinking [and our reality] in ways of which we are often completely unaware.

Descartes

Descartes set us on the road of disconnection and dualism. We think and speak easily of ourselves in disconnected ways: disconnected from our bodies, as in: “The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak!”. Disconnected from others as in “you’ve got your troubles, I’ve got mine!” Disconnected from nature, as in “the taming of the west” and “the conquest of space”. Disconnection has allowed objectification, and this in turn allows the possibility of denial of another organism’s being; allows the possibility of dominance and abuse.

Dualism has been around in western thinking for many centuries. It can be traced back to Aristotle’s dictum that a thing is either A, or not A, an obvious [?] statement to which we will return when later considering dialectical thinking. Descartes’ primary contribution was to implant in our thoughts and in our language, a separation [a dualism] of mind and body, the latter being “real” and the former not (Capra, 1983). This first dualism of mind/matter, once born, multiplied into many dualisms of the same nature. We are scarcely aware of them, until they are pointed out to us: subjective/objective, intuitive/rational, phenomenological/empirical, qualitative/quantitative, quality of life/standard of living (A.C. Fiedeldej, personal communication, 1997). And usually, the implicit assumption of inferiority/superiority in these dualisms is never made explicit [except by postmodernists who delight in deconstructing such dualisms to reveal their power hierarchies!].

Newton

Newton, like Descartes, thought of the material universe (including our bodies, and animals and plants) as a great machine, reduceable to separate parts (Capra, 1983). But Newton added to Descartes’ reductionistic, mechanistic view of reality, several other concepts that continue to pervade our thinking.

First, determinism: things are linked to each other in one-way, cause-and-effect sequences. And it is so in the non-living things of nature: when the moon rises, the tides come in. [But is this valid for the living things of nature?]. Second, objectivity. Newton thought that objective observation of an unchanging reality by a neutral observer would lead to the discovery of the immutable laws which govern reality. Objective observation was to be the basis of scientific knowledge about reality (Capra, 1983; Fourie, ca. 1991).

This reality was conceptualized as consisting of separate, independent objects, and forces acting upon them in lawful ways. To understand any complex phenomenon, we take it to bits, and see how it "works". Then when we put it all back together, we have understood the whole (Capra, 1983). Initially psychology attempted to understand the human being in this way – an admittedly oversimplified Freudian view of man would be a separate ego, an id and a superego, all at the mercy of various energies described as drives (Maddi, 1989).

To pull all this together then, we have inherited an epistemology which has seduced us into thinking that disconnection is the nature of things, and the “natural” way of our being in the world. But on the other hand, we should also recognize that this reductionist approach has produced technology so powerful that we can now see, that the nature of living things at least, is *connectedness*.

2.1.7 The “new” epistemology

The term “new epistemology” [also often called the “new paradigm” (Berman, 1990)] is generally used to describe both systemic and ecosystemic thinking [which is both similar to, and significantly different from, systemic thinking]. What is important about both, is that they are meta-approaches to thinking – they are at a higher level of abstraction than any single theory – that is, they are capable of encompassing any theory whose tenets are not in conflict with “systemic” thinking. Hanson (1995) suggests that systems thinking is not only an inter-disciplinary way, but also a non-judgmental way of seeing things - according to her, no truly systemic concept carries with it an *inherent* assumption of its goodness or badness.

To absorb systemic concepts and language is therefore to be able to engage in neutral interdisciplinary discourse across both the natural and social sciences. Systems thinking can, and has been, successfully applied to understanding the functioning of living organisms such as ecosystems in nature; humans in context [for example, an individual, a family, an organization, or a community in its physical, cultural and socio-economic contexts]; and even to nonliving systems (Schultz, 1984). Environmental psychology applies systemic principles extensively to understand human-environment interaction.

2.2 SYSTEMIC THINKING

A brief introduction to the basic tenets of General Systems Theory will provide the context for understanding the ways in which ecosystemic thinking modifies and extends systems thinking.

General systems theory derives from the work of von Bertalanffy in the field of organismic biology, and accordingly has a strong ecological orientation (Schultz, 1984).

The biological orientation of systemic thinking is frequently informed by principles from cybernetics – the world of communication engineering, computer science and information theory (von Bertalanffy, 1974, in Schultz, 1984). “First cybernetics” or “first order cybernetics” is sometimes used as a synonym for systemic thinking.

Systems thinking’s major concern is relationship, in context. Not surprisingly then, its individual tenets are interrelated, and only to be understood in the context of the whole theory. Although all the concepts are inter-related, some refer more to the nature of things, and others to the nature of relationship.

2.2.1 The nature of things

2.2.1.1 Phenomena are wholes

By "phenomena" is meant any distinguishable aspect, e.g. psychological phenomena such as perception, or physical entities such as the environment, or conceptual entities such as the idea of difference. We habitually conceive of any phenomenon as having discrete, separate parts which together make a whole. So we try to understand it by taking it apart, and then putting it back together again. Systems thinking suggests that things *are, they exist as*, wholes, and we should therefore rather try to understand them by perceiving, and understanding their “wholeness”. While an understanding of the whole will exhaust explanation for any particular part, a summative understanding of all the separate parts will only provide partial explanation of the whole (Hanson, 1995). In concrete terms, if we have “understood” a particular piece of urban space – how it is put together - and assuming we can understand a particular user, we have still not understood the whole that comprises a user-in-space *unless* we also understand that the user-in-space is a co-emerging phenomenon.

2.2.1.2 Phenomena are simultaneously wholes and parts

Systems comprise smaller subsystems, and are at the same time, part of a larger or supra-system. A person is at the same time, a system of physical and psychological subsystems, and a subsystem within his family system. He as system and family subsystem is encompassed by, and in ongoing interchange with, social, economic, and cultural suprasystems. These suprasystems can be understood as social institutions, but importantly, also as “idea systems” or “meaning systems” (Keeney, 1979). Two people from differing meaning suprasystems might “see” [perceive] a particular urban open space, in two totally different ways, which we would never understand if we did not simultaneously conceptualize the person as system, and subsystem of system.

Seeing a part or a whole is, so to speak, in the eye of the beholder. One may see a system “person-in-space”. Or one may see a system “person” comprising his cognitive, emotional and physical subsystems, and his various suprasystems. Or one might see a system “space” comprising plants-animals-physical structures. In systemic language, you, the observer, are creating these different level systems by “drawing distinctions” (Keeney, 1983, p.24), or by “punctuating” reality, from moment to moment. The gain in understanding is to see that these distinctions are arbitrary, not absolute – depending on context, one is as valid as another.

2.2.1.3 Wholes and parts are separated by boundaries

A system [depending on context, also to be understood as a sub- or suprasystem] is marked by boundaries, both actual and conceptual. An example of the latter would be the conceptual boundaries which clearly but invisibly continue to demarcate the Jewish religious belief system from the belief systems of cultures in which Jews have settled

over many centuries. Though one can use the density of connections between parts to gauge the extent of one system relative to another (Kramer & de Smit, 1977, in Fiedeldej, 1997), these boundaries are not sharply defined. They are also characterized by differing levels of closedness or openness from moment to moment. Living systems always have open boundaries; that is, they are in continuous, active interchange of information, energy and resources with their environments (Schultz, 1984). Open systems do not live in isolation. In the park, the man pushes away the branch in his path, and the plover tries to scare him away from her nest nearby. The message is relatedness and interconnection, and in the process, systems constantly and mutually affect one another.

2.2.2 The nature of relationship

2.2.2.1 Systems are linked in recursive feedback or information loops

Feedback is an idea derived from cybernetics. Cybernetics is so “successful” a word that it has since its first use by Wiener (Hoffman, 1990), acquired many different meanings (Fiedeldej, 1997; von Foerster, 1992). The particular interest of cyberneticians was in the idea that all systems – both living and non-living – may be governed by error-activated feedback loops (Hoffman, 1990). In the cybernetic paradigm, part and whole are linked in an informational circuit. The part performs some action that has some influence on the whole – the feedforward part of the loop. The whole then has some reaction on the part – the feedback part of the loop. Systems are therefore self-regulating: their output is fed back into the system as information for subsequent process.

This recursive [circular] feedback has at least two corollary concepts: causality, and homeostasis [equilibrium], or stability and change.

2.2.2.2 Homeostasis, or equilibrium

First, homeostasis, which can be understood as a kind of dynamic equilibrium of the system (Fourie, ca. 1991). Feedback can be deviation-reducing - the reaction to the original action results in less of that original action; and the system returns to its original range of functioning [also called negative feedback]. It can also be deviation-amplifying. In this case, the reaction to the original action results in more of that original action – taking the system beyond its normal range of functioning, until negative feedback causes it to return to a state of equilibrium. One could think of the ongoing patterns of behaviour that occur in a park over a weekend as a manifestation of equilibrium. Several activities occur - sitting, walking, talking, jogging, picknicking, listening to a band playing – but they remain within an unspoken range, despite the fact that the inhabitants of the setting change frequently. Should a gang of motorbike riders invade the park, negative feedback within the system would soon reduce such deviant behaviour.

The issue of stability and change as a function of negative and positive feedback is a feature of both systemic and ecosystemic writing. Hoffman (1981), and Dell (1982) have both criticized first cybernetics' over-emphasis on homeostasis and negative feedback (Schultz, 1984). If systems are constantly striving to maintain homeostasis [stability], how may they ever change and evolve? This is the concern of second cybernetics (Maruyama, 1968, in Schultz, 1984). The work of Prigogine [a physicist and chemist] centres on how systems operate when driven far from equilibrium. If large enough fluctuations in system functioning occur, these deviations can trigger an instability – the system can undergo transformation to an entirely new organization (Schwartzman,

1984). For this transformation to occur, certain conditions must be met, the most important of which is that the fluctuation must be large enough to change feedback patterns. This occurred recently at the Avis dam in Windhoek. Its floodplain was so dry that it had become a paradise for quads⁹ to practice sand spraying [achieved by riding in a tight circle at speed], which dangerously accelerates the loss of ground cover. However a massive inflow of water after heavy rains effectively drowned the whole floodplain, and eliminated the practice terrain. On the other hand, the instability might lead to the disintegration of the system altogether (Schultz, 1984).

2.2.2.3 Causality

The second corollary of feedback is causality. In the world of nonliving things, relationship between parts can be understood in terms of energy and motion – if a vandal throws a stone at the glass of the notice board in the park, it breaks. In linear sequence, the stone is the cause, and the shattered glass is the effect: A affects B, but B does not affect A: antecedent events cause subsequent events (Schultz, 1984). In the world of living things, information exchange defines relationships, which are recursive, not linear. A leads to B which eventually leads back to A – causality is circular (von Foerster, 1992).

Acceptance of recursivity means that there can be no unilateral action [influence is mutual]. It also means there can be no action which has linear progression and a finite end. The effects of any action [or inaction] will ripple throughout the system - in indeterminable ways, at unpredictable times – and eventually feed back into the system as input in new cycles of action or inaction.

2.2.2.4 Phenomena can never be without context

Context [and relationship] is probably the central message of systems thinking. This is quite simply because no thing, no organism, no action or inaction, no information, can be appropriately understood without the meaning conferred upon it by context (Bateson, 1979), or more precisely, without the meaning which the *observer* draws for the phenomenon from the context, or lack of context. Bateson (1979) also emphasizes that context is not static, but is context-through-time. This principle has at least two research implications. The meaning of people-in-open-space needs to be understood in context, and in process. In all contexts: Where is it physically located? How is its socio-economic climate? What is its place in local history? What are its politics - who are its gatekeepers, users, silent supporters, opponents? What is its ecology? It must also be studied through time. One would probably derive only partial understanding of the person-space relationship in a once-off study; a study of person-space interaction over time would be better (Proshansky, 1976).

General systems theory introduces important new ideas about context, relationship, stability and change, and causality. It allows us as an objective, detached observer, to study, understand, and describe a phenomenon in a more encompassing way (Fourie, ca. 1991).

2.3 ECOSYSTEMIC THINKING

⁹ A four-wheeled motorbike

I believe the primary message of ecosystemic thinking to be, that things are connected in patterns. If we wish to understand any phenomenon, we should therefore seek "... the pattern which connects ..." things (Bateson, 1979, p.16). These patterns can be discerned in communication or information networks (Bateson, 1979).

As its name suggests, ecosystemic thinking derives its ideas, inter alia, from systems thinking, ecology [which Keeney (1984) defines as the assumption that all things in nature are complexly but systematically related], and second order cybernetics (MacKinnon & Miller, 1987). It is not always possible to make a clearcut distinction between which are systemic, and which are ecosystemic concepts. Some authors for example consider constructivism a characteristic of systems thinking (Hanson, 1995); others consider it an essentially ecosystemic notion.

2.3.1 Constructivism

Perhaps because of its centrality [and contentiousness] in ecosystemic thinking, it will be helpful at this stage to re-place constructivism into its ontological [and epistemological] context. Ecosystemic thinking is idealist rather than materialist in its ontological assumptions (Parker, 1992).

What is constructivism? Constructivism firstly inhabits the idealist area of the materialist-idealist range. It is the antithesis of realism, which means, rather like materialism, "... that there is a single, objectively existing, non-mental world common to and including all experiencing organisms." (Johnson, 1996, p.4). Constructivism says that human knowledge is a human construction. Von Glasersfeld (in Johnson, 1996) differentiates between trivial constructivism and radical constructivism. Trivial constructivism claims that the known is always known-by-someone; that is, in the context of this study, any and every view or perception of an urban open space, is a "... view from somewhere ..." (Johnson, 1996, p.3) – it's my view, from where I physically am in time and space, perceived through my senses, conceived through my cognition, of an external, objectively existing urban open space. Radical constructivism on the other hand, holds that the knower *creates* the known. Superficially, this may sound the same, but on reflection it is something quite different – it means that the urban open space is *not*, it has no reality, no existence, no independence whatsoever, outside my thoughts and language, and yours. To state as radical constructivists tend to do (Mingers, 1996), that their [radical] viewpoint is an epistemological one [i.e. about the extent and limits of what we may know], and not an ontological one [i.e. about the nature of things] seems to be merely playing with words.

My own belief on constructivism, which guides this study, is that of trivial constructivism, or as Johnson [more flatteringly!] describes it, "constructivist realism" (Johnson, 1996, p.4), a belief that accords with my both-and epistemology. Constructivist realism allows both for the objective [non-mental, or mind-independent] existence of something and for its subjective perception in many differing ways. It acknowledges that reality is probably independent of our perceptions of it, but that at times, we might be capable of grasping it directly. It allows the possibility of reaching social consensus on the meaning of reality, without insisting that this is always necessary. Constructivist realism says that though we construct our ideas of the world, we do not construct the world itself. It rejects radical constructivism.

To return to ecosystemic thinking. The main differences between systemic and ecosystemic thinking centre around the implications of constructivism, and second order cybernetics.

2.3.2 Detached observation is not possible

This notion is derived from second order cybernetics, which assumes that the observer cannot be other than in the system being observed. As von Foerster (1992, pp. 10-11) says: "... if the properties of the observer, namely, to observe and to describe, are eliminated, there is nothing left: no observation, no description." We move from objectively-observed systems to observing systems (Fourie, ca. 1991). This idea of observer-dependence goes against all our inherited beliefs on how to obtain knowledge (Lyotard, 1984), and has not escaped criticism from realists (Johnson, 1996). It also leads to inelegant formulations of the observing system. Bateson (1979, p. 131) describes how he watched his cat curled up next to him on the table while he was typing. He described his observation as "... man-watching-man's-watching-cat-watching-man ...". Clumsy but accurate?

2.3.3 Objective description is not possible

If there can be no observer independence, there can be no objective description either. This notion disposes of another of our certain knowledge foundations: knowledge is that which can be empirically shown. Ecosystemic thinking says that description is constructivist, that is, I "make" or "construct" [through my epistemology, through the limitations of my sensory perception, through my whole physical being] what I see out there. In Bateson's language, the territory is indeed objectively out there, but I can always only describe it through my subjective map. And the map is not the territory (Bateson, 1979). If this is so, then there are as many descriptions and explanations of things as there are people. But if we agree that your map says more or less what my map says, then we have co-constructed something for ourselves which is valid for that context-in-time; we have co-constructed a reality for ourselves (Fourie, ca. 1991). There will be many differing but equally valid descriptions of an urban open space; there could also be a co-constructed understanding of it.

Although ecosystemic thinking includes radical constructivism (von Glasersfeld, in Johnson, 1996), it does not slide into solipsism, that is, an "anything goes" position (Fourie, ca. 1991; Johnson, 1996). The meanings ascribed to something, have to "fit" with participants' co-constructed ideas of reality - what Bateson (1979) calls an "ecology of ideas" and von Glasersfeld (in Johnson, 1996, p. 11) calls "... the consensual domain of the social environment ..." - otherwise they will find no home in peoples' meaning systems. On the whole, the idea of a glitzy hotel and casino prominently located in the centre of a wilderness area, would not accord with most people's meaning system for "wilderness".

2.3.4 Language

Constructivism explains ecosystemic thinking's interest in language:

Language! What magic indeed!" (von Foerster, 1992, p.16).

Aside from its magic [and its hidden power hierarchies, discourse analysts would say (Boyne, 1990)], language has function – a creative function, a constructive function.

Human organisms process information mostly through language. Ecosystemic thinking pre-occupies itself with how the ways we name things, create them, and so influence what we see; with how *not* giving something a name [not drawing a particular distinction], denies that something, existence or reality in our maps; with how language freezes process into static nouns (Bateson, 1979; Keeney, 1979); with how language structures relationships (Watzlawick, Bavelas, & Jackson, 1967). In this respect, ecosystemic thinking shares many discourse analysis interests (Freeman, 1985), though the latter tends to concentrate more on the power dynamics, and less on the magic of language (Boyne, 1990). Given this kind of thinking, verbal descriptions of urban open spaces are a legitimate source of knowledge and understanding.

2.3.5 Observing things, changes them

The Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle (Keeney, 1979), which you meet in ecosystemic thinking, certainly adds to any uncertainty you may now be experiencing. It says, that the observer constantly alters what he observes by the obtrusive act of observation¹⁰.

2.3.6 A system is autonomous

Whereas first-order cybernetics accepted that systems could be programmed, or influenced from outside, second cybernetics conceptualizes systems as self-creating, supremely independent entities. Their state at any time is not determined by history (Hoffman, 1990), nor is their evolution teleological or predictable. In systems thinking, an outside person can "do" things to a system - interfere with its boundaries or change its way of communicating, and the system will react to this intervention more or less in the way intended by the person intervening. Ecosystemic thinking says this is not possible. A system has its own autonomy, you cannot intervene in it, you can only "perturb" it. It will respond in a way that is informed by its own structure, not by what you are doing. You can never know what will happen, you can never predict output from input. The best thing to do, is to uncover as many intra- and inter-patterns of connection as possible before intervening.

2.3.7 Agency, control, power and empowerment

Autonomy is a troublesome concept in ecosystemic thinking, for both critics and supporters. This is because it brings up contentious questions of agency, power and control.

The interwovenness of agency [our sense that we can make things happen, of being "the captain of our souls"], power and control is evident from Hanson's (1995, p.51) description of agency as "... an issue of efficacy in the sense of the ability to act or exert power or control.". Hanson (1995) contends that while systemic thinking allows the

¹⁰ DiNicola (1985, p.94) explains the Heisenberg Principle a little differently as "... to be *in* the context is to become *part* of the context".

ability of a part to act, it does not allow that a part can exert power or control (Hanson, 1995).

Power is the attempt to control, and is an essentially linear concept, really (Dell, 1989). The idea of power is anathema to supporters of systemic thinking. Yet em-powerment is a topical, social issue, particularly here in Namibia as we emerge from an era of disempowerment. In a later chapter, I argue that urban open space may contribute to citizen empowerment through participation. It is essential therefore to consider the issue from a systems theory viewpoint.

Power, empowerment and systemic thinking are linked concepts. Protagonists of empowerment agree that empowerment requires a *real*, not only a perceived, redistribution in power (Rappaport, 1987). Riger (1993, p.285) criticizes community psychology's empowerment agenda as perpetuating the values of "... separation, individuation, and individual mastery ..." and devaluing "... relatedness and interdependence as central values of human experience.". Empowerment should not promote agency above communion [an individual's sense of being part of a larger whole (Bakan, in Riger, 1993)]. May an ecosystemic thinker reject power yet embrace empowerment?

The "power" debate began in the fifties. Although Bateson & Haley worked together in Bateson's Palo Alto (1952) double bind project relating to schizophrenia, they differed radically in their thinking on power. Whereas Haley emphasizes authority and power in human relationships, Bateson disassociated himself from what he termed Haley's "obsession with power". Bateson believed power to be a self-validating myth, a false though conventional epistemology (Boscolo, Cecchin, Hoffman & Penn, 1987; Dell, 1985).

Bateson's views have confused supporters and angered critics. As power is such an obvious part of our existence, could Bateson have seriously meant that it didn't exist? Some do think he meant that: Keeney (1983) considers power an aesthetically displeasing concept. Dell originally supported the non-existence of power: "To believe that one might control what happens is to aspire to the stature of the gods." (Dell, 1982, p.30). Maturana considers power to exist only as a creation of submission – a particularly infuriating comment for feminist critics (MacKinnon & Miller, 1987).

Other systemic supporters have tried to explain what Bateson could possibly have meant, other than the obvious. Hoffman (1990, p. 6) thinks "... he meant to say that he did not agree with a philosophy of therapy that recommended a power stance for the therapist, but wished to avoid moralizing because he saw that would be to take a power position in turn.". Dell (1989) makes the point that Bateson is not taking a moral stand on the use/abuse of power, he is saying that power [the attempt to control any part of the system to which we belong] is not in accordance with the way things *are* - he is making an ontological statement. Dell (1989) concluded that what Bateson actually meant, was that while power was a concept not acceptable at the level of scientific explanation, it was valid at the level of human experience.

Critics writing within the discourses of feminism and social action, label ecosystemic writers who maintain the non-existence of power, as witting or unwitting proponents of a status quo (MacKinnon & Miller, 1987), which perpetuates unjust differences in the distribution of social, economic and power resources. Postmodernists do not even debate the existence or otherwise of power; their entire project is to uncover it, and expose it wherever it might exist, and particularly, where it is hidden in language – such as doctor/patient in medical discourse (Boyne, 1990). Berman (1990), writing as a former supporter of cybernetic thinking, suggests that Bateson was not able in his later

writings to hold together both the mental and physical aspects of reality, and became overly mentalistic.

In one way or another, any Bateson supporter [myself included] must come to terms with the dissonance within themselves which his thinking on power generates. It is difficult to think that Bateson could have been simply wrong, given the obvious depth, breadth and influence of his thinking (Berman, 1990). This leaves one the difficulty of resolving, or trying to resolve an inconsistency in your thinking: can a person on the one hand believe deeply in the connectedness and interdependence of things, yet on the other hand, accept the reality of power?

I have wondered if *time* is not a key to understanding what I think Bateson is saying: that to ignore the nature of things [connectedness, circuitry] by exercising power [linear control], is to invite pathology (Bateson cited in Keeney, 1979) and destruction *in the long run*. We experience time as linear, and the limitations of our physical being preclude us from actually seeing the long-term, presumably circular workings of any act of power. Speaking in the context of how our commonsense solutions to complex problems often have the opposite effect to what we intended, Forrester (in Hoffman, 1990) believes that this is because we cannot see the secondary and tertiary feedback loops of our action. If we were able to live at a higher order of time, would we see the completion of the power-act's [pathological] recursion to itself, and so understand its [destructive] interdependence with its connections? For example, at a higher order of time than our own experience, will our [power-ful] act of extending our limited energy resources through nuclear power ultimately be "neutralized" by the killer effects of toxic waste and acid rain?

However despite such wonderings, our experience of time is immediate and short span, so our reality is to see power operating powerfully. A perhaps not entirely satisfactory way of resolving the uncomfortable dissonance, is to reconstrue empowerment as the process of helping people to recognize their interdependence with their socio-ecological systems and so to act [or not act] with both individual responsibility and a sense of community (Rappaport, 1987; Riger, 1993).

2.3.8 Dialectical thinking

Instead of the familiar Aristotelian proposition that a thing is either A, or not A, ecosystemic thinking introduces us to the notion of "both-and". This is based on dialectical thinking, which is a way of trying to resolve opposites by focussing on the interdependence, the interpenetration, and unity of opposites. Dialectical thinking is often closer to human experience than either-or thinking (Rowan & Reason, 1981). We do not experience an absolute day or night, each one fades gradually into its opposite. Or, emotion intermingles with reason in many of our decisions in ways of which we are not even aware: "The heart has its *reasons* which the reason does not at all perceive." (Pascal, in Bateson, 1972, p. 321). Can one give entirely rational reasons for the wonder of a wilderness landscape? Dialectical thinking can be seen as a liberating concept which helps us think about the interrelationship and interdependency of seemingly opposite ideas [although, as an alternative view, some discourse analysts see dialectical thinking as a threatening attempt to deny difference!].

2.3.9 Ecosystemic thinking's contribution

I believe ecosystemic thinking's major contribution is twofold. First, it opens our eyes to the connectedness of living things, and to the "pattern which connects" these things. It

invites us to sensitivity and humility rather than arrogance in our relationships with *all* living organisms [not just people]. Secondly, through its dialectical thinking, it extends our choices. We can [and should] continue to employ analytic, objective, rational and linear thought where it is appropriate. Thinking this way has adaptive value for us, it helps us deal with what would otherwise be the overwhelming complexity of life (Keeney, 1979); it has, despite criticism of inappropriate use, produced almost magical technology (Gellner, 1992). But we should remember that this construction of things is not the whole of reality, it is a partial description, a partial arc of the recursivity, of the holism of things.

In this study of urban open space generally, and of one specific urban open space, I have tried to follow Capra's advice:

“Reductionism and holism, analysis and synthesis, are complementary approaches that, used in proper balance, help us obtain a deeper knowledge of life.” (Capra, 1983, p.288).

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There is as far as I know, no conceptual framework within environmental psychology specifically evolved for urban open space. However, some theories developed within ecological and phenomenological orientations lend themselves particularly well to understanding people in urban open space - amongst others, Lewin's field theory (Viljoen, van Staden, Grieve & van Deventer, 1987), Barker's (1968) behaviour setting theory, Relph's (1976) study of "place" and "placelessness", and Rappaport's (1981, 1987, 1990) empowerment theory.

These approaches are complementary. Barker was, for example, a disciple of Lewin, a Gestaltist¹¹ who emphasized constructivism in people's experience of their "lifespace" [thereby linking with phenomenology's contention that meaning is conferred by intention-towards-something]. Rappaport's views nicely capture Lewin's contention that research should be social action too, and his writings also have a strong ecological flavour. Behaviour setting theory enquires into many of the aspects identified by Relph (1976) as components of a place's essence and identity, for example, the physical appearance of a place, personal involvement in a place, and the intersubjective experience of place.

Other psychological constructs such as "biophilia", "quality of life", and "environmental perception" contribute towards understanding particular aspects of an urban open space. Then there is also a body of literature on urban open space [for example, that relating to the MOSS (Metropolitan Urban Open Space) concept] which provides a-theoretical, but good knowledge and insight into the workings of urban open space.

In this chapter I shall be considering both scientific and non-scientific literature, assessing in how far it is consonant with systems thinking, how it might contribute to our understanding of how we experience urban open space, and what it might suggest to us in the way of better design and management of urban open space.

3.1.1 Lewin's field theory

Lewin's field theory provides the broad context within which I shall be placing all the concepts and models considered in this chapter. Lewin [1890-1947] proposed in the 1930's that behaviour could not be understood separate from the context in which it occurred, where context meant both the person's social field/interpersonal relationships and his physical environment (Pattison & Hurd, 1984). Though person and environment can be roughly distinguished from each other, behaviour is a function

¹¹ Gestaltism shares phenomenology's belief in the wholeness and indivisibility of human experience

of the state of the person and the state of the environment at any given moment (Marsella, 1984); hence Lewin's well-known formulation $B = f(p,e)$.

This interaction between person and environment takes place in the "lifespace", a term derived by Lewin from "field" theory in physics. The lifespace comprises the person (P) and his *representation* of the physical and social aspects of his environment: the psychological environment (E). The "foreign hull" of the life space is a non-psychological environment (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987; Fuhrer, 1990). Originally, Lewin thought that environmental factors of which the person was unaware, could not affect him. However, in response to criticisms from Brunswick, he later allowed that unselected aspects of the physical and social environment could affect the person psychologically (Gifford, 1987; Fuhrer, 1990). Lewin termed the study of this aspect of human functioning, "psychological ecology" (Gifford, 1987) – it became the starting point for ecological psychology.

Lewin's thinking introduced the dimensions of "wholeness", multiple causality, bi-directionality of influence (Jasnoski, 1984), and constructivism in understanding person-environment relations. Kenneth Gergen traces the evolution of social construction theory, which emphasizes the importance of social interpretation and language in forming our concepts of the world, to Lewin's field theory (Hoffman, 1990). Lewin's recognition of constructivism in interaction in the lifespace, his idea that boundaries between the lifespace and foreign hull were permeable, and that these two areas were therefore interconnected and reciprocally influencing, also remarkably foreshadows later systemic thinking in environmental psychology theory. Lewin insisted that research should not be only a theory-building exercise, but also improve the quality of life through social action. This, together with his action-research mode of enquiry into social problems, make his work an excellent model for both environmental and community psychology, each of which, in differing ways, shares an interest in improving person-environment fit (Rappaport, 1987).

3.2 PERSON-CONTEXT "FIT"

We are context-embedded beings; the environment is an *inescapable* context for our every thought, our every action. As the person-environment relationship is transactional, recursive, and mutually-influencing, environmental psychology should

enquire into the “fit” between a person and their multiple environments. “Fit” in psychological literature can be, and is, variously envisaged. In this study, I follow the “quality of life” approach frequently found in ecologically-based community psychology (Albee, 1980; 1982; Goodhart & Zautra, 1984), and consider how urban open space, as one of the many interfaces between a person and their environment, can contribute to quality of life.

3.3 CONCEPTUALIZING “QUALITY OF LIFE”

“Quality of life” is a nebulous concept - easy to understand intuitively, difficult to explain precisely. Albee (1980; 1982) proposes one way of understanding it, which is appealing because it is quite concrete, picks up many of the issues frequently mentioned in literature on urban open spaces, and is broadly systemic. However, one limitation is that he conceptualizes “context” as exclusively socio-economic, without any direct reference to the natural environment.

His competency model (Albee, 1980; 1982) assumes that quality of life is a function of positive physical and emotional functioning, within a socio-economic/cultural environment in which there is equitable access to resources.

Conversely, negative physical and emotional health is a function of

$$\frac{\text{Organic causes} + \text{environmental stress [problems in living]}}{\text{Competence [= self-esteem + coping skills + social support]}}$$

In other words, the quality of life/standard of living dialectic [also often found in urban open space literature under the guise of conservation vs. development] must be placed within a context of active social reform.

Re-interpreting Albee’s model, urban open space could contribute to quality of life in three concrete ways: by increasing socio-economic justice, by reducing environmental stressors, and by increasing competence of both communities and individuals in person-place transactions. I begin with urban open space as a way of reducing the stress of living in the city.

3.4 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN EVOLUTIONARY SPACE

As evolutionary beings, we have lived for thousands of years in nature, and only hundreds of years in the city. It seems safe to assume, that at deep psychological and physiological levels, the city is an “un-natural” environment for us. This is the biophilia hypothesis (Wilson, 1948, and Ulrich, 1993, cited in Bell, Greene, Fisher & Baum, 1996) – we have a biologically-prepared readiness to seek out, and feel comfortable in, the natural environment.

Urbanization is however an inevitable way of life for most of us. Even in Namibia, with its high rural population, there is a steadily increasing drift to the cities. Some 25% of its population¹² already lives in urban areas, and this percentage increases every year. Windhoek's population - variously estimated at between 180 000 and 220 000, - grows by between 5-6% each year. There are increasing levels of poverty, unemployment and inequalities in living (Frayne, 1992); the crime rate is perceived to be high.

Environmental psychology research confirms what ordinary people already know, that is, on the whole, living in the city is a stressful experience. The irritations of travelling and parking, the high noise and dirt levels, the actual and perceived crime and violence, the homelessness, beggary and loitering are some urban environmental stressors encountered daily.

Some of the ways¹³ of coping with urban stress are to

- flee, or if we choose to stay, then to
- reduce our affiliative behaviour, that is, our desire to be open to contact with strangers - this is likely to be less in the inner city than in our home suburb, and to
- reduce our prosocial behaviour, or willingness to help someone in real need (Bell *et al.*, 1996)
- seek out “urban nature” (Rachel Kaplan’s phrase for nature in the city, 1983). Many studies show that natural landscapes are preferred over urban scenes (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1982; and Ulrich 1986, cited in Bell *et al.* 1996, p.29).

3.5 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A RESTORATIVE SPACE

Ordinary observation shows that people living and working in a predominantly artificial context try to keep in touch with nature through pictures, a flower box or a walk in the park (Wohlwill, 1983). Non-psychological literature on urban open space simply assumes that contact with nature contributes to human well-being (Council for the Environment, May 1989; MOSS international conference committee, 1994; Muniviro,

¹² Compare this to South Africa, where some 60% of the population probably by now lives in the city (Dewar, 1991).

¹³ This general pattern is mediated by individual differences though: some studies have different findings (Bell *et al.*, 1996)

May 1996). The assumed benefits of urban nature are supported by several studies which consistently show that we *prefer* scenes containing natural elements [such as trees, vegetation] to those without (Fiedeldey & Groenewald, 1996; Kaplan, 1983; Schroeder, 1989).

Studies also show that we don't just prefer nature, it actually holds *physical and psychological benefits* for us (Fiedeldey, 1994a). Contact with nature in free-nature settings can enhance competence, positive affect, and self-esteem (Hartig, Mang, & Evans, 1991). People report feeling better, just knowing that there is a park nearby, even if they don't often use it (Kaplan, 1983). Patients recover faster, and better, from surgery if their hospital window has a view of nature. Nature also helps in stress recovery (Ulrich, 1984, 1986, in Bell *et al.*, 1996). Perhaps nature provides us access to organic change and growth, or gives us a rest from the pace and people of our lives (Knopf, 1987) - it requires no response from us; it doesn't talk back (Wohlwill, 1983).

Urban nature seems therefore to be an essentially important way of improving the fit between a person and their urban context. What design/management implications do these findings on urban nature have for urban open space? While some authors explain nature's positive effects through biophilia (Bell *et al.*, 1996), or reduced neurophysiological arousal and accompanying positive affect (Ulrich, 1983, cited in Hartig *et al.*, 1991), the Kaplan's research (Bell *et al.*, 1996; Hartig *et al.*, 1991) suggests that an important aspect of the restoration experience is the reduction of mental fatigue. This is often achieved through the setting's ability to elicit fascination, curiosity, or interest in us. Another important dimension is the feeling of being away from one's usual settings, and a sense that the place is part of some larger place or whole (Kaplan, 1989, cited in Hartig *et al.*, 1991). Also, the presence of water in any scene is consistently, and highly, valued (Fiedeldey & Groenewald, 1996). A "better" urban open space is one that can offer these characteristics.

3.6 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN ECOLOGICAL SPACE

Here I am not so concerned with the ecological status of an urban open space [its contribution to the maintenance of ecosystems and biotic diversity, its water, light and sound quality, and other such variables], though these are also concerns of an environmental psychologist, as the development of an Environmental Quality Index (Bell *et al.*, 1996; Steyn, 1996) shows.

Rather I think of the contribution which ecological psychology could make to understanding urban open space. Ecological psychology is an eco-behavioural science, concerned with both molecular and molar behavior, and with both the psychological and ecological environment [that is, the objective, preperceptual context of behaviour] (Barker, 1968).

Within ecological psychology, Barker concentrated on people's molar behaviour [behaviour of the whole body, not a part of it], in the naturally-occurring ecological, not psychological, context in which it occurred. During 20 years of research involving extensive *observing and recording of behaviour and its conditions in situ*, he generated a theory of behaviour settings¹⁴.

¹⁴ This account of behaviour settings is as Barker gave it in his 1968 book "Ecological psychology" unless otherwise indicated

Simply put, behaviour setting theory states that there is a certain conformity between environment and behaviour, and establishes what these sources of conformity might be. Barker's theory is predominantly written in non-systemic language, so that some of his writing falls quite harshly on systemically-attuned ears - linear concepts such as cause and effect laws, and forces, abound. However Barker (1968, p. 167) also uses "force" to mean connections between, feedback from/to, and communication with, as well as the more linear meanings of determination, dependency upon, and control.

Also, his insistence on the objective, preperceptual reality of a behaviour setting initially sounds strangely a-constructivist, yet when writing about the setting's objective, out-there reality, Barker is comfortably systemic. The preperceptual environment is characterized by order, direction and purpose, and incommensurability. The *order* is usually that of nesting structures, or systems within systems; a unit is "simultaneously both circumjacent and interjacent, both whole and part, both entity and environment" (Barker, 1968, pp 154-155). Mutual causal relations connect the nesting structures one to another; any entity in such a structure is part of its own context; it influences itself through the circumjacent entities that it, in part, composes (Barker, 1968, p.155).

Barker was also influenced by Ashby, an early cybernetic writer, so that cybernetic concepts are evident in his description of *purpose* in the preperceptual environment. Units in the ecological environment [such as a behaviour setting] are described as target-directed systems: "self-regulated entities with control circuits that guide their components to characteristic states within limited ranges of values in the face of disturbances" (1968, p. 155).

Barker makes the further point that in the preperceptual environment, there is an *incommensurability* of the laws according to which the various nesting entities work, yet all together are able to function as a harmonious whole - "... this is so clearly true that we have an axiom for it, namely, that an entity (a whole) is different from the totality of its interior elements (its parts)." (Barker, 1968, p. 158). As illustration, different laws govern the functioning of people, plants, animals and physical objects in an urban open space, yet the setting functions as an entity.

3.6.1 A behaviour setting

A behaviour setting is an eco-behavioural entity. It is a natural unit of time-person-place-thing (McGrath, 1984, cited in Wicker, 1987) which requires no experimenter to create, or theory to see (Barker, 1968). It can be [and is] directly perceived and experienced by laypersons every day - working in the office, watching the rugby, and socializing at the pub, are all familiar behaviour settings. Any community sorts itself into behaviour settings to "get the business of living done", and these behaviour settings encompass up to 95% of our daily behaviour (Bechtel, 1984, p. 223).

A setting has a boundary, and the pattern of behaviour inside the boundary is easily distinguishable from that outside the boundary. The behaviour setting has a time-space locus - the rugby game takes place on Saturday afternoons, at the stadium. People "know what to do" in the setting: the crowd watches, the players play, the vendors sell. On the whole, everybody behaves "rugby game". Prediction of a person's behaviour relying on the setting in which he finds himself, rather than on his personality, is often more reliable. This is because settings ""call for" and get certain behaviors and not others" (Gump, 1984, p.67).

An urban open space can readily be recognized as just another class of behaviour settings. Barker's theory is therefore important for this study because by applying his concepts and methods, we have a real-world, empirically-proven, manageable way of

- taking context into account in thinking about an urban open space, and doing it holistically, and systemically
- describing an urban open space
- discriminating between “good” and “not so good” behaviour settings
- understanding the recursive relationship between its physical context and its standing pattern of behaviour
- predicting with reasonable certainty, the *overt* actions of a settings' inhabitants *en masse*, and so
- designing or re-designing either the behaviour or physical [nonpsychological] components, or both, of a setting appropriately, and
- managing it with an understanding of people-place recursivity.

Particularly the following aspects of Barker's theory are useful in understanding, designing and managing an urban open space:

3.6.2 A behaviour setting has many contexts

A behaviour setting occurs in reciprocally-linked circumjacent-interjacent series [an interconnected suprasystem-system-subsystem] – an urban open space is in a suburb, in a city, and so on [Barker's nesting systems of mutual causal connections]. Like any organism's ecological niche, a behaviour setting is a place of mutual exchange of *resources* between itself and its environment; it is an open system (Wicker, 1987). A behaviour setting's contexts could also be conceptual. In understanding and describing an urban open space, the reciprocal influence between it and its historical, cultural, demographic, social, economic, and political contexts would need to be studied too – Wicker (1987) suggests ways in which a setting's contextual links could be considered.

3.6.3 In a behaviour setting ---

3.6.3.1 The milieu is circumjacent and synomorphic to the behaviour

The behaviour occurring inside a behaviour setting, is actually behaviour-and-milieu behaviour. Swinging-on-the-swings, feeding-the-ducks, and picknicking-on-the-grass are behaviour-milieu behaviours in a park.

The milieu is often a complex of times, places and things. It is circumjacent to [surrounds] the behaviour. This aspect has an important design and management implication. Are the physical and temporal *boundaries* of the setting clear – can people see clearly when and where certain types of standing patterns of behaviour are appropriate and others not? Example: is the park open for 24 hours? In what areas may I drive my car, and where not?

The milieu is also *synomorphic* [like in structure] to the behaviour – Barker emphasizes their mutual “fittingness” [a truly systemic concept!]. He identifies eight sources of this synomorphy, one of which is the physical forces¹⁵ acting directly on behavior. This

¹⁵ Ecosystemic thinking accepts that some things simply do act in linear ways. If people usually don't swim after sundown, it's because our biological structure determines that our tolerances for lower temperatures are being exceeded. Some things are truly not

source of synomorphy has design and management implications. The nonpsychological attributes [the physical things] of the behaviour setting must be critically assessed: to what extent do they invite, or deter certain behaviours? Rivers are good for 4x4 driving, but as this is undesirable synomorphy in a nature reserve, it should be broken by some physical sign or barrier. On the other hand, synomorphy could be designed in: braaivleis¹⁶ areas would encourage braaing in certain areas only.

3.6.3.2 The pattern of behaviour is extra-individual

The behaviour to be observed and described, is the *extra-individual pattern of behaviour*, not the behaviour characteristics of an individual. These may differ widely, and the setting will be experienced differently by each person, yet there will be conformity to a *pattern* of behaviour which will persist even though inhabitants of the setting change: walking, driving, game-watching, socializing, camping, are characteristic extra-individual behaviour patterns regularly seen in a nature reserve, regardless of who the individual tourists are.

Within the extra-individual pattern of behaviour, Barker identified eleven different types of action patterns, and also the different behaviour mechanisms required to execute them. Action patterns relating to urban open spaces would be aesthetics, physical health, recreation, and social contact, all of which can be rated on their participation, supply, and evaluation/appreciation dimensions. Similarly, the various behaviour mechanisms involved could also be rated in terms of their participation, tempo and intensity characteristics for the person. Together, the action patterns and behaviour mechanisms of a setting generated for Barker, an index of the setting's *richness* [i.e. differentiated a "good" from a "not so good" setting.

3.6.3.3 People assume different roles

People are the *sine qua non* of a behaviour setting (Barker, 1960, cited in Wicker, 1987). People, and categories of people, come into a setting seeking to satisfy various personal needs and goals. They inhabit the setting to differing degrees, that is, more, or less, of them enter settings for different amounts of time; they participate in them in different capacities and with differing degrees of involvement and responsibility. Barker (1968) calls this the *penetration dimension*; and those parts of a setting with some direct influence over all or a part of its functioning, he calls the *performance zones*. Using an organism and its nucleus as an analogy, Barker (1968) identified six such zones, the deeper the penetration, the greater the involvement and responsibility of its occupants: Zone 1 [onlooker], 2 [audience or invited guest], 3 [member or customer], 4 [active functionary], 5 [joint leaders], 6 [single leader]. Persons in zones 4-6 [or the nucleus of the setting] are called *performers*, and often include what Wicker (1987) terms the "founders" of the setting.

The implication for urban open space management is that it is performers who have encoded in themselves the setting's full *programme*, acquired either through training, or involved experience in the setting. The programme [a set of social rules (Kaminski, 1989) or shared meaning worlds (Jordaan & Jordaan, 1989)] is a key element in eliciting an appropriate standing pattern of behaviour in a setting; the pattern itself once established also has co-ercive powers encouraging conformity. Wicker (1987) extends Barker's theory here by

constructed in the psychological sense; there is a measure of structure determinism at work (Fiedeldej, oral discussion, 1997).

¹⁶ Barbecue areas

giving considerable attention to the social processes by which the programme is negotiated and organized. He also considers whether it is in harmony with its neighbourhood or community's values.

Manning [subsequently further developed into a staffing theory (Wicker, 1987; Winett, 1987) is another important behaviour setting concept. Each setting demands certain roles, varying from onlooker to performer to leader, to be performed by its occupants. The relationship between the psychological benefits offered by a setting, and an increasing number of persons in that setting, has an inverted U-shape, with maximum benefit occurring just below the top of the U. Barker's theory considers the number of people conventionally assigned to roles in a setting as crowded [overmanned] (Bechtel, 1984). In undermanned settings, occupants tend to participate more and experience feelings of responsibility, competence and satisfaction. This aspect of Barker's theory is discussed under "Urban open space as a political space".

What if a setting is overmanned? Wicker (cited in Bell *et al.*, 1996) suggests that any setting has a *carrying capacity* - the maximum number of inhabitants the setting can hold. This capacity might be decided by social factors and/or by physical factors. If the number of applicants to the setting exceeds the capacity, the setting is overstaffed, a dissatisfactory situation. If the physical setting cannot [or should not] be enlarged, inhabitants are likely to experience crowding, information overload, perceived loss of control and psychological reactance (Bell *et al.*, 1996). In an overmanned urban open space, the desired experience of re-connection with nature, of re-generation, is lost. Management options would be to apply stricter admission measures: to "funnel" applicants into the setting [only so many allowed at a time], or to place restraints on time spent in the setting (Winett, 1987).

3.6.3.4 The pattern of behaviour is a standing pattern

Perhaps that which makes the greatest contribution to a setting's stability and co-ercive potential, are its homeostatic regulatory circuits. A setting is characterized by homeostasis and self-corrective feedback – both familiar systemic concepts!

Understanding how these homeostatic circuits work has practical management implications for ensuring appropriate behaviour in an urban open space setting.

Several *eco-behavioural circuits* join inhabitants and setting; those of interest for management are the programme [or operating] circuits, deviation-countering circuits, and vetoing circuits. Each of the circuits that join behaviour settings and inhabitants is regulated by a control unit located within the organism sector of the eco-behavioural circuit. Information about the setting is tested against inhabitants' criteria of behaviour setting adequacy, and via feedback loops, corrective action is undertaken. The control unit in the feedback loop might be a person or persons, or some component of the milieu.

The setting's criteria are encompassed in the setting *programme*: a kind of permissible action guide, a detailed schedule of concrete person-environment interactions, not necessarily written, that is enforced by input from performance zone inhabitants and from the milieu itself, e.g. from an official, a voluntary warden, or signage and symbols in the area.

In an adequately functioning setting, there are two circuits which correct deviation of behaviour from the programme: deviation countering, and vetoing circuits. Both deviation-countering and vetoing circuits may terminate in a behaviour-setting inhabitant, or in a milieu component, and both circuits may operate via mechanical or human channels. For example, a human deviation-countering mechanism terminating in an inhabitant might comprise an honorary Friend of the area asking an inhabitant not to allow dogs to chase birds; a non-human vetoing mechanism terminating in the milieu might comprise a creatively-devised barrier to prevent 4x4 entrance.

3.6.4 Critique of Barker's theory

Writers differ on the categorization of Barker's theory. Some consider it an example of a situationist perspective, given its attempt to explain experience in terms of the qualities of environmental settings (Van Staden, 1984; Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). Others consider it a prototypical interactional theory, given that it is derived from Lewin's interactional field theory, and from ecological psychology (Bechtel, 1984). Altman & Rogoff (1991, p.29) describe it as "transactional in most respects"; while Fuhrer (1990) criticizes it as not being transactional enough. The theory therefore seems versatile and useful enough to be re-interpreted each time worldviews in environmental psychology change.

It has been criticized for being skewed towards understanding group behaviour-in-setting, rather than individual behaviour (Fuhrer, 1990; Gifford, 1987; Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). Wicker (1987) and Fuhrer (1990) both criticize Barker's theory for not giving sufficient attention to the individual; there is little attempt to explain how the individual's goals and expectations, his role, and the individual and socio-culturally shaped meanings he attaches to the setting and objects in it, affect his behaviour in any setting, or how the individual affects the setting.

There is limited attention to temporal process. Other than occurring in specific periods, a behaviour setting is conveyed as a static entity which is simply "there" (Fuhrer, 1990). Wicker (1987) has subsequently highlighted the dynamic nature of behaviour settings: they come about, grow or decline, influencing, and being influenced by, the actors and activities within them, and the socio-cultural historical process encompassing them (Altman & Rogoff, 1991). Wicker (1987, p. 616) was of the opinion that Barker (1968) [over?] emphasized the pre-existing ecological reality of behaviour settings, whereas he considered them to be, to a considerable extent, "social constructions – the result of sense-making of inhabitants."

Despite these criticisms, Barker's theory has been highly regarded in environment-behaviour research (Kaminski, 1989), and is useful for this study in at least three ways

-

- (1) it suggests that a “rich” setting is one which allows many different categories of persons to participate in responsible roles in that setting, via many action patterns, and via many behaviour mechanisms

- (2) it suggests that in managing an urban open space, there should be –
 - a physical milieu synomorphic to the behaviour considered appropriate in the setting – environmental layout and legibility are important in getting people to conform to behaviour setting programmes, and also for managing conflict between different groups of users (Bell *et al.*, 1996)
 - a programme visibly clear and/or well-known enough to elicit the appropriate programmed behaviour for the setting, and trigger maintenance circuits when required; the more ambiguity, the more violations there are likely to be of the setting programme (Bell *et al.*, 1996)
 - sufficient performance zone inhabitants who know the setting’s comprehensive programme
 - a pragmatic balance between deviation-countering and vetoing circuits in the setting because
 - a. while it requires less effort to veto a deviant behavior setting component than to counter its deviancy (Ashby 1956 cited in Barker, 1968), this means that the number of behaviour setting components is reduced, requiring increased effort to maintain the setting at an adequate level;
 - b. also, an interesting difference between deviation-countering and vetoing mechanisms is that deviation-countering mechanisms tend to act as setting-unifying and strengthening processes. They are discriminating, they are directed against the behaviour, but not against the component. Vetoing circuits are not discriminating, they remove both behaviour and component. While their final effect is to strengthen the setting, their immediate effect is divisive and weakening;

- (3) it confirms the usefulness of observing and describing as a method in environmental psychology research [though Wicker (1987) urges that ecological psychology should now turn more to qualitative methods, particularly interviewing].

3.7 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A PHENOMENOLOGICAL SPACE

While Barker’s (1968) ecological theory helps understand an urban open space as extra-individual patterns of behaviour in a behaviour-milieu setting, it does not give us access to the individual’s psychological world (Barker, 1968). One way of gaining this, is through Relph’s (1976) phenomenological concept *place*, which complements Barker’s *setting* in almost dialectical fashion.

Relph’s (1976) discussion of place and placelessness is important in several ways for this study. First, because of its phenomenological approach, it links easily to Lewin’s field theory through its emphasis on the “wholeness” of our experience in a place. Phenomenology holds that meaning defined by human intention is central to our existence and that this meaning will be as wide as is the range of human consciousness (Relph, 1976). The inevitability of subjectivity [personal meanings], and the emotional

dimension of meaning construction, hold a pivotal place in Hanson's (1995) understanding of systems theory. Relph's recognition of out-there reality, individually and intersubjectively construed, also accords with Johnson's (1996) position of "constructivist realism" [discussed in the previous chapter] within ecosystemic thinking.

Not only does Relph's phenomenological approach give us access to people's lived experience [to a part of Lewin's "life-space"] in an urban open space, but the dimensions which he identifies as contributing to the experience of place, have design and management implications for urban open space as well. Without knowing what these dimensions are, it would not be possible either to make changes to a place which are in keeping with its identity, or to deliberately change that identity/personality, if that were wished. The concept "place" is additionally useful for this study in that it is regarded as important and significant in architectural theory, which inevitably influences environment-behaviour design (Groat & Despres, 1991). Canter (1977, 1983, cited in Groat & Despres, 1991) has made it an important concept in environmental psychology too. *Place* provides an essential conceptual bridge between architecture, other design professions, and environmental psychology. This last aspect I discuss again in "Urban open space as a design space".

Perhaps Relph's (1976) most basic contention is that while every place [every urban open space] is unique, and set aside from space, not every place [urban open space] is *experienced* individually and/or intersubjectively as *place*. He advances this intuitively-felt point through a phenomenological discussion [based on "careful observation and description" (Relph (1976, preface, 2nd page))] of the concept "place". What constitutes a place's "essence", its "identity", and its "authenticity" [or lack of it]? He concludes that while some settings have, for some people, a pervasive sense of "place", comprising identifiable dimensions, others convey "placelessness", generated through insensitive design or re-design, abuse, neglect, or simply ignorance.

Relph begins his discussion of the "essence" of place by identifying what it is not. It is not only its name, or its geographic location, or its physical visual form, or the stage of its being [becoming, flourishing, or declining - a nice link to Wicker's (1987) dynamics of a setting], or what we do in it, or its significance for us. It is all of these dimensions, and an emerging whole besides - Hanson's (1995) principle of non-summativity in action. A place's "essence" is its "identity".

3.7.1 Identity of place

Relph conceptualizes the identity of a place as a "fusion of meaning, act, and context" (1976, p.44). Though each element is important, the identity of place resides in the interwoven, emerging relationship between the three. This is almost a transactional view, in which place, person, time and act form an indivisible unity (Wagner, 1972, cited in Relph, 1976, p. 44). The three constituent elements of a place's identity then, are its static physical setting, its activities, and its meanings for people. Other than these constituent elements *of* place, Relph argues that identity should also be considered in terms of peoples' identity *with* place; the link between individual and group images of a place, and the ways in which identities of places develop, are maintained, and change.

3.7.2 Constituent elements of identity of place

- ***Physical setting,***

Above all, a place has a physical, visual form [rather similar to Barker's (1968) "milieu"] - a landscape (Langer, 1953, cited in Relph, 1976, p. 30), often with distinctive, persisting features, which contributes to that place's identity, and to its imageability (Lynch, cited in Relph, 1976, p.18). These features may also contribute naturally to a sense of being "inside", or belonging to the setting, as opposed to being "outside" and removed from it. While a landscape is publicly observable, and capable of being described; it is important to remember that it will always be described as it is experienced in its meaning for a person (Relph, 1976). Relph does not discuss in any detail how to gain access to people's descriptions of landscape, but various models in environmental psychology do - these are discussed further in "Urban open space as a perceptual space".

- **Activities,**

Other than its physical attributes, a *place* is also a centre of intention and action towards-something-in-its-place. This is really just phenomenology's way of saying that activities are an intrinsic part of the transaction between a person and his context, and it agrees strikingly with Barker's (1968) ecological view, where behaviour [seen as behaviour-in-milieu] was an inherent part of a behaviour setting. Relph says little about activities in a place, other than to distinguish between them as creative, or passive, or destructive [this is almost too evaluative for comfort within ecosystemic thinking's celebration of diversity - for example, some graffiti can also be creative and contribute to a sense of place (Fiedeldej, oral discussion, 1997)]. Relph does emphasize though, that the relative weightings of the occurrence of these activities may be "of considerable importance in establishing the identity of particular places ..." (Relph, 1976, p. 48).

It is easy to form an idea of phenomenology's views on the contribution of physical setting and activities to a place's identity. Rather more difficult to grasp, is the significance or meaning component of identity, for it is in this component that the other two elements find their expression.

- **And significance, or meaning**

"The meanings of places may be rooted in the physical setting and objects and activities, but they are not a property of them - rather they [the meanings] are a property of human intentions and experiences." (Relph, 1976, p. 47).

Significance includes not only the setting's meaning for us, but a whole complex of things such as our visual, auditory and olfactory experiences in the setting, the season in which we experience it, our present circumstances, our purpose in the setting, our past experiences and associations, the vistas that we see, the criteria by which we judge them, the extent of our involvement with the setting, our care for it, the other people in it, the influence of our culture on our experience of the setting (Relph, 1976). Significance also includes the familiar sense of yearning and loss when we are away from a meaning-full place, and the sometimes-felt sense of resentment, constraint and drudgery when we are in it.

We can be forgiven at this stage for thinking that Barker's (1968) model of setting was easier to concretize into urban open space design and management implications! One implication can however already be deduced from Relph's discussion of meaning. Almost the first human action which gives space meaning, is the naming of it. We claim space for ourselves, we link it and ourselves through the name we give it. More often than not, the name is not simply a name, it enriches and confirms the personality of the place (Hawkes, 1951, cited in Relph, 1976, p. 151), it is the first structuring of our experience in it. Politicians throughout the ideological spectrum are deeply aware of this aspect of place, as they seek to manipulate, re-construct and re-define our

experience and expectations of place through name-changing. We as urban open space designers, managers and users, need to be equally aware of it.

A place which has significance for its people continues to exist, while those stripped of their meaning wither away and die. Old rituals in England such as “beating the bounds” of a parish to re-confirm its meaning, and set it apart from meaning-less space, as well as Barker’s (1968) discussion of boundary as delimiting a setting, recognize this. Here in Relph, is an imaginative way of establishing boundary as a symbol in peoples’ minds. For example, a walking trail around the boundary of a free-nature open space would both make that place known to newcomers, and serve as an expression of stability and continuance for those who know it. It could be a concrete and symbolic contribution to the experience of place.

3.7.3 Identity with place: insiderness and outsiderness

“... it is not just the identity *of* a place that is important, but also the identity that a person or group has *with* that place, in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or outsider.” (Relph, 1976, p.45).

The concepts “insiderness” and “outsiderness” have several nuances for Relph, who distinguishes between

- behavioural insiderness, or mere physical presence in a place, an attending to the appearance of that place without “seeing into” it;
- empathetic insiderness which involves emotional participation in and involvement with a place, or at the least, a willingness to be open to the significance of a place, to know and respect its symbols – for example, allowing one’s dogs to chase the buck coming down to drink at the dam would be to disregard both the ecological meaning of the dam and perhaps the harmony-in-nature which such a scene would convey to an insider. Anyone who has some awareness of the environment, who is prepared to look for, and appreciate the essential elements of that place’s identity, can be an empathetic insider, and
- existential insiderness, or complete, unselfconscious commitment to a place; you are part of that place, and it a part of you; there is a profound bond between that place and you.

and also,

- existential outsiderness – a sense of being in a place and yet feeling deeply alienated from it, or strange in it, or uninvolved with it. Or, the place itself seems not to have any particular identity – it could be anywhere [many international airport hotels convey this meaningless, featureless identity]
- and objective and incidental outsiderness. Objective outsiderness is a deliberately adopted intellectual attitude towards a place, while incidental outsiderness reflects an attitude in which places are experienced as little more than a setting for activities – the setting could have been anywhere else too (Relph, 1976).

Despite these fine differentiations, their essence concerns involvement in, or identification with, a place. It is the person’s experience of being “inside” as distinct from “outside” that sets place apart from space. Insiderness may be generated by physical things – being in a valley surrounded by hills may generate a physical feeling of insiderness, or it may reside in the repeated activities and symbols of the place. Above all, it is related to the intensity of experience of a place (Relph, 1976). To be inside a place is to belong to the place and to identify with it; and the more profoundly inside you are, the stronger is this identity *with* the place (Relph, 1976).

This sense of insiderness or outsiderness has implications for urban open space design and management, because it is in an insider perspective, that care and concern for, and commitment to a place - to an urban open space - are rooted. Being *inside* means there is both communal and individual attachment to a place, a familiarity based not necessarily in extensive knowledge of [though it could be], but in emotional ties with that place [one is reminded of Hanson's (1995) principle: emotion is suprarational]. There is a feeling of affection, respect for, and responsibility towards that place. Insiderness then is identity *with* place, at feeling or action levels, or both. I discuss the importance of involvement, its necessary conditions, and its feedback into context, in "Urban open space as a political space".

The concepts "insiderness" and "outsiderness" have a research implication too – when gathering people's descriptions of an urban open space, it would obviously be important to gauge broadly, whether they experience that place as an outsider or insider. This would serve merely to contextualize the description, not evaluate the one as valid, and the other not.

3.7.4 Link between individual and group images of place

There are as many identities of place as there are people (Nairn, 1965, cited in Relph, 1976, p.45), for "identity is in the experience, eye, mind, and intention of the beholder as much as in the physical appearance of the ... landscape" (Relph, 1976, p. 45). Yet common experience of a place exists too, and is an important element of understanding a place's essence (Relph, 1976). Underlying common experience is not only the physical sharing of the same space, but also an intersubjective sharing of culture – people in a space often have the same values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours towards people, other organisms and things. This influences their being in an urban open space, and influences that place's being too – there is recursivity between culture and context. This social structuring of the image of a place, I discuss under "Urban open space as a cultural space".

Other than identities of places formed from individual and group experience, a place also has a "mass" identity. This has usually been imposed on it in ready-made form by opinion-makers through the public media. For example, efforts to protect a particular piece of free-nature are condemned by politicians as elitism, or an urban open space is labelled in the press as "unsafe". The place concerned almost instantly acquires a pseudo-, remote-from-experience identity which construes an outsider's images of it from the outset, unless he or she makes a deliberate effort at empathetic insiderness. The idea of stability in the "internalized" identity of a place does suggest that all possible means of attitude, belief, and behaviour change would have to be adopted to shift a negative mass identity of a particular urban open space. It probably also suggests that urban open space managers should not underestimate the mass media's role – both positive and negative - in the co-construction of a place's identity.

3.7.5 Development, maintenance and change in identity of place

Here Relph is considering development, maintenance and change in the identity of a place *in the person* [not in the place]. He follows Piaget's notion that we organize our world through the twin processes of assimilation [of the new] and accommodation [of the newly integrated knowledge to the world out there]. In the context of place, he argues that the identity of a place – of an urban open space – will be "an expression of the adaptation of assimilation, accommodation, and the socialisation of knowledge to

each other.” (Relph, 1976, p. 59). This identity tends to be stable - an idea [reminiscent of the concept homeostasis], which, interestingly, he derives from the cybernetician Ashby. This suggests that in seeking to understand experience of place, the researcher should also enquire into length of association between person and place.

3.7.6 Authenticity and place

Perhaps that which contributes most clearly to a sense of place, is its authenticity, a complex phenomenological concept meaning amongst other things¹⁷, sincerity; an avoidance of the false; that which is genuine at both superficial and deep levels. A sense of place may be authentic and genuine, or inauthentic, contrived, or artificial (Relph, 1976). Authenticity towards a place - an urban open space - may reside in our attitudes, or in the ways in which we change the landscape of a place [is the mountain gouged out during strip mining still an authentic place?], or in the things that we construct in that place [is the Lost City¹⁸ authentic in its context?]. All these have implications for our experience in an urban open space.

Relph describes authentic attitude towards place at its best, as a profound and unselfconscious identity *with* that place; a deep psychological and communal link to that place which is almost spiritual. The place is not a physical space interchangeable with any other, it is a place full of symbolism and meaning, a symbolization of a person's ecology of ideas (Fiedeldey, oral discussion, October 1997). A person may feel a sense of place if he or she is willing to approach it with empathetic insideness – that is, to see it as a centre of other people's [if not one's own] intentions, actions and meanings, unmediated by its mass identity, or technical values, or current fashions, or stereotypes.

An inauthentic attitude towards place would be, if our attitudes reflected without critical self-examination, mass values, stereotypes, or what the anonymous “they” say about a place. Meaning and involvement are not present in inauthentic [uncritical] attitudes; instead technology, efficiency, and manipulation predominate. Anyone who has watched with a sense of concern, the indiscriminate clearing of trees which often precedes construction, will have an initial, intuitive understanding of what an inauthentic attitude towards place means. This attitude of not acknowledging significance in place, leads to the creation of placelessness; so does replacing diversity with sameness.

3.7.7 Placelessness

If we do not design, or re-design, with care for place-making, then we run the risk of creating places which allow only for commonplace and mediocre experiences. The rich variety and diversity of places is obliterated in sameness and shallowness. There is essentially no sense of place; a place becomes a physical space interchangeable with any other – does one McDonald's differ markedly from another? In an urban open space context, placelessness would be engendered if in a city's overall urban open space policy, there was not recognition for variety and diversity of meaning: for the differing experiences offered by active recreation playgrounds, pocket-sized parks and free-

¹⁷ Other meanings which have to do with an openness to the world, or a mode of being in the world in which one assumes full responsibility for one's own existence, are not directly relevant for this study

¹⁸ An elaborate theme park in a predominantly rural area, not too far from Johannesburg, in South Africa

nature spaces; for the need to adapt urban open spaces and their constructed attributes to local conditions and communities. A one-size-fits-all approach, as in seeking to make one urban open space all things to all people [a lowest common denominator approach], might destroy the distinctiveness and authenticity of that place.

Placelessness is also engendered if an urban open space is seen only in terms of its usefulness, its development potential, its efficient use, without regard for its existential significance, without appreciation of its identity. Such an approach would epitomize an inauthentic attitude towards place.

3.7.8 Spirit of place

There are no places that have no identity (Relph, 1976). But there are places with a special attribute, which is variously termed 'spirit of place', 'sense of place', or 'genius loci' – all terms which refer to the character or personality of a place. It involves all the aspects already discussed, and a powerful presence, sincerity and authenticity which cannot be easily analyzed or expressed, yet which we intuitively feel when in such a place. In trying to convey this quality, Relph quotes D.H. Lawrence (1964, cited in Relph, 1976, pp. 48-49): "Different places on the face of the earth have different vital effluence, different vibration, call it what you like. But the spirit of place is a great reality."

One needs to ask here, does Relph mean that the "spirit" is a quality of the space – much like Barker's argument that a behaviour setting has an objective, preperceptual reality? Or does he allow for some measure of co-construction, in that the "spirit" is also a quality of people's common and intersubjective experience of that place?

3.7.9 Authentic placemaking

While one can appreciate intuitively Relph's discussion of the experience of place, it is difficult to deduce concrete implications for good urban open space design from it, because his arguments are frequently complex and abstract. As an example, he suggests that one way of creating an authentic place, would be through a selfconscious design process in which people's relationship to "the gods and nature, and on the possibilities of expressing this in particular settings" is recognized (Relph, 1976, p. 67). The result would be a place possessing internal harmony, and fit with context. This is difficult to conceptualize. Perhaps a more understandable suggestion is to seek inspiration in recognizing humans' need for attachment to place, and to encourage authentic diversity in design, derived from local experience and meaning, rather than to begin with arbitrary abstractions and concepts represented on maps and plans (Relph, 1976). So are the conditions for roots in, and care of, *place* created. As far as actual design is concerned, the urban open space planner and manager, *and the commercial developer*, would [1] probably need to rely on an architect with a phenomenological background or interest, and [2] definitely take into account, through the methods of environmental psychology, the meanings of that place for people.

3.8 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A CULTURAL SPACE

Does cultural affiliation influence landscape preference? Do people from different cultures have different needs and expectations of their city's urban open spaces? Does urban open space reflect current and past cultural meanings?

Following Barnouw, 1985 (cited in Matsumoto, 1994, p. 15) I take culture to mean "The set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors, shared by a group of people, communicated from one generation to the next via language or some other means of communication". Matsumoto (1994) argues convincingly that **only insofar** as these same beliefs, attitudes and values are shared by people of the same colour, or geographical space, can culture also narrowly be equated with "race", or "nationalism". His point is worth remembering for two reasons at least (1) In South Africa and Namibia, public debates over urban open space easily slide into sterile "racist" and "elitist" accusations and counter-accusations (2) urban open space literature often falls into the same trap of wholly equating culture with race, nationality and space – hence we encounter discussions of black vs. white perceptions, or western vs. non-western perceptions of urban open space. Urban open space planners and managers need constantly to re-frame such discussions and debates as differing beliefs, attitudes and values concerning urban open space, and design and manage accordingly.

Whether or not there are similarities in *landscape preference* perception across cultures is fairly well-researched. Though there are some contradictory results, many cross-cultural landscape preference studies show there is relatively high agreement where cultures are similar, and even when they are not, as in one study comparing Canadian and Ugandan samples, and another between a British and Chinese sample (Yang and Brown, 1992). [It is unclear from the discussion of these studies though, whether socio-economic class as an influencing variable was controlled]. McAndrew, Turner, & Fiedeldey (in preparation) studied the preferences of a group of university students from Germany, India, the United States, and South Africa, for visual and non-visual features of outdoor environments. The results indicated a strong cross-cultural agreement as to the relative attractiveness of different landscape features.

Yang and Brown (1992) undertook a cross-cultural comparison of landscape preferences, with particular reference to (1) landscape styles: Western, Japanese and Korean, and (2) three landscape elements: water, rock and vegetation. From their study, several cross-cultural environmental design principles can also be extracted, concerning (1) the presence or absence of landscape elements, (2) their "hardness" or "softness" (3) the arrangement of these elements in space and (4) visual access and exposure.

Confirming other studies, water was found to be the most preferred landscape element, regardless of culture [phylogeny?], particularly water with tree reflections, and water in a natural setting. "Soft" elements such as vegetation are highly preferred, regardless of culture, but the preference did vary according to its form, type, and combination with other elements. However, the juxtaposition of water and vegetation was consistently

more preferred. “Hard” elements such as paving, or concrete, or rock, were not liked unless combined with “soft” elements. Scenes allowing visual access were preferred to those in which visual access was lacking, blocked, or unclear.

Joardar (1989) comments that *facilities* for active and passive recreation, and users’ perceptions of landscape and *visual resources, maintenance level, and safety*, are features of urban open spaces that are universally significant in appreciation and use of urban open space. Hull & Harvey (1989) argue that an *emotional response* to an environment is primary, and fundamental across all cultures (again reminiscent of Hanson's (1995) suprarationality of emotion).

Low (1997) conducted a very different enquiry into space and culture. Her study shows vividly how urban public spaces are public representations of culture, as Matsumoto (1994) understands “culture”. Her basic contention is that urban public spaces form a stage “for the performance of personal, social, and cultural drama that can be observed, recorded, and analyzed” (Low, 1997, p.4). By comparing two “hard” urban open spaces (plazas) in San José, Costa Rica, she demonstrates how their histories, physical and spatial symbolism, daily user activities, and media reports about them, changed as their social and material contexts changed over time. The plazas are not just public spaces, but cultural representations reflecting the changing meanings and understandings of those spaces for both the rulers and the ruled of the city. For example, the plazas variously represented domination of the local culture by a foreign [Spanish] culture, efforts to re-vitalize local culture, and also attempts to solve contemporary socio-economic and socio-political problems. Their changing physical design, and changing activities through the days, weeks, and years of their existence, tell part of the city’s social, cultural and political story through time.

Low’s (1997) study is useful in that it suggests to me that urban open spaces as public spaces are probably no less cultural representations than plazas, and that urban open space design should both support, and reflect cultural expression. The ethnographic methods of her study [observation, interviews, and study of historical documentation] suggest how we might gain access to the cultural meanings of urban open space.

3.9 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SPACE

It is quite difficult to separate cultural from socio-economic differences when considering environmental concern [and thus concern about urban open space too]. *Supposed* “cultural” differences do show in studies examining environmental concern. In several American studies, Blacks have been found to display less environmental concern than whites, for which both social and cultural explanations have been offered (Taylor, 1989).

In South Africa, McCarthy (1989), in a study of black South Africans' constructions of their urban environments, found that their major concerns were house type and quality, streets and lighting, and water and electricity. Urban open space was not mentioned at all; the nearest possible concern was recreation facilities, which ranked 14th. During the conference held in South Africa to launch the MOSS concept, Black

perceptions of urban open space were described as negative [ascribed to post-apartheid scepticism (Khan, 1994)], or only to be seen as a minimal part of housing needs (Sokutu, 1994).

Willers (1996), in a study on environmental concern in South Africa, found that ethnic¹⁹ grouping is the single most significant and consistent predictor of both passive environmental concern [other people are responsible for solving environmental problems], and active concern. Specifically, coloured and black respondents showed less environmental concern than white and Asian respondents. Within all ethnic groupings, those with a higher level of education consistently showed higher levels of *passive* concern. Education level was not an important predictor of higher *active* concern, though. Rather, this depended on the interaction of ethnicity and age, or ethnicity and gender.

Gibson's model of perception (Bell *et al.*, 1996) would suggest a socio-economic explanation of the Black/White concern gap on environmental issues, and urban open space, rather than a "cultural" explanation. He proposes that we see the environment [also urban open spaces] in terms of "affordances". These are invariant properties of the environment, which represent personally meaningful opportunities to interact with the environment. Through perceiving affordances, any organism [a human being too] finds its niche in the environment (Bell *et al.*, 1996). An ecological niche can be thought of as a part of the ecological system through which resources are accessed and re-cycled (Daniels, Wilkinson & O'Connor, 1984). This concept of "affordances" is well-illustrated by an excerpt from Namibia's Green Plan (1992, p.3): "The poor see the environment as a supply of essential renewable resources that meet their basic requirements for food, shelter, medicine, fuel, agricultural implements and fencing ... [they] inadvertently contribute towards environmental degradation in the process ... [but feel] powerless to do much about the situation."

It would seem then, that socio-economic status and concern for the environment are closely connected. The ever-present threat of squatting, and tree-felling in urban open spaces for fuel, which sets off a cycle of environmental degradation, is unlikely to subside until the local authority concerned both tightens up its regulations on the service conditions which building contractors must offer their workers, and supplies subsidized electricity or some other fuel source to those living on or below the breadline.

Taylor (1989), on the other hand, finds only weak evidence for correlation between socio-economic status and environmental concern. She argues that the Black/White concern gap is better understood in terms of an "action gap". Blacks "do" less about the environment for a variety of reasons, including lack of political efficacy and limited resource availability. This suggests that differing black attitudes to environmental issues [and urban open space] is not so much a matter of cultural differences [about which little could, or should be done] as political participation differences.

Albee's (1980; 1982) competency model suggests that both improvement in individual and collective competence [for both blacks and whites] and socio-economic reform, are needed to increase environmental concern. Urban open space can contribute on a small but meaningful scale to socio-economic improvement. The Pretoria conference on the potential of urban open spaces for productive utilization (Department of Environment

¹⁹ This finding should probably be interpreted within the complex [and troubled] political meanings of "ethnicity" in South Africa and Namibia. It does however agree with Taylor's (1989) analysis of findings in American studies on environmental concern of Blacks.

Affairs, 1994) extensively discussed inner city gardening, social forestry [woodlot projects], and urban agriculture [primarily vegetables] which create both self-employment and social support opportunities for participants. Urban open space is increasingly becoming a base for informal sector selling. More obviously, attractive urban open space increases the inner city's tourism potential (City Council of Pretoria, 1996). It also increases the economic value of property situated nearby. The flight of business to the suburbs [and consequent shifting of the tax base for government] can be partly ascribed to the more pleasant [natural?] surroundings there. The contribution which urban open space can make to political competence is discussed at "Urban open space as a political space".

3.10 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A PERCEPTUAL SPACE

Though the natural environment has an out-there reality, we do not see it objectively. Our worldviews, socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, ideas of beauty, previous memories of other landscapes, adaptation levels to different kinds of landscapes, and our present goals in that environment, influence what we see. Recursively, what we see, influences how we think and feel. This is the field of environmental perception in environmental psychology.

Environmental perception, attitudes, and cognition are interrelated processes. *Environmental perception* involves "seeing" the immediately present environment through all five senses [seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, smelling] - Gibson's affordance model is one of the two major perspectives on how perception "works". While perceiving the environment, a positive or negative attitude towards it forms: we consider its quality, how it compares with our own preferences, how it makes us feel, the meanings it has for us; this is our *environmental assessment*. We store what we have "seen", and our responses to it, in mental representations of the environments concerned. These images, or thought-pictures, form the database for our *environmental cognition*, that is, how we get from where we are, to where we want to be (Bell *et al.*, 1996; Gifford, 1987; Holahan, 1982). I shall focus more on perception and assessment, because what we "see" influences our evaluations of an urban open space.

If we could establish what "seen" aspects of an urban open space contribute to its favourable evaluation by diverse groups of users, then some of these things could either be carefully preserved if present, or designed into the urban open space. We know that water is a favourite feature, and water combined with vegetation even more so. We appreciate trees (Schroeder, 1989). We don't like the intrusion of man-made elements into predominantly natural scenes (Kaplan, 1978; Schroeder, 1991, cited in McAndrew *et al.*, 1997, in preparation). We like places which shelter us from too much visual exposure to others, but which allow us free visual access to others, and which offer us a line of "retreat" if we need it. We don't like too much undergrowth. Such visual features [underpinned by Appleyard's (1975) prospect-refuge theory, Newman's (1972) "defensible space", and Archea's (1985) access-exposure model] are important considerations in designing for safety (Fisher & Nasar, 1992) in urban open spaces.

According to Rachel and Stephen Kaplan, we are busy with *information-processing* when we look at a landscape; we are thinking about what opportunities we can see in it for ourselves, about how we can attain our goals. Their argument is that we are evolutionary beings, so we will tend to prefer those landscapes in which we think we can "survive" by doing what human beings do best – thinking, and wondering! (Bell *et al.*, 1996; Ruddell, Gramann, Rudis, & Westphal, 1989). We look for scenes that we can

make some sense of – the greater their coherence and legibility, the greater our preference for them. We also look for scenes which prick our imagination – the greater their complexity and mystery, the greater our preference for them. The relationship between complexity and preference is probably best depicted at present by an inverted u-shape, i.e. too much complexity decreases preference (Ulrich, 1983). There is also an ecological model as is Gibson's, but in Gibson's model, the emphasis is more on the invariant opportunities in the landscape, rather than on the opportunities in our heads [as is the Kaplan model]. The Kaplan and Kaplan model (1987, in Bell *et al.*, 1987) is usually considered an evolutionary-cognitive model of landscape assessment.

Research in the United States has shown that the single most important reason quoted by people for visiting a favourite park, beach, or recreation area, was the pleasure derived from its natural beauty (Ruddell et al., 1989). This supports Hanson's (1995) contention that emotion has the potential to explain far more of human behaviour than rationality, and Zajonc's (1980) viewpoint that preferences are based primarily on feeling. Affective theories of landscape perception and preference, such as Ulrich's (1981, 1983, cited in Ruddell et al., 1989), propose that observers experience an immediate feeling-response to a scene, which generates both neurophysiological and emotional arousal, prompting the person to act in ways that enhance their well-being. Based on this assumption – that the primary response to an environment is affective, not cognitive – Russell & his colleagues devised and empirically tested a circumplex model²⁰ which reliably measures people's feelings about a place (Bell et al., 1996; Hull & Harvey, 1989).

When a local authority zones [or de-zones] public open space, who should assess the “goodness” of the place involved - experts or users? In the former atmosphere of top-down planning, it was frequently a professional team of environmental designers who decided this, or individual town planners relying on their own judgements of what spaces had natural beauty, recreation potential, ecological value, or the SLOAP approach (Space Left Over After Planning became urban open space). Environment-behaviour research shows though, that agreement between professional planning and public perception and experience cannot simply be assumed (Zube, 1976). The professional training of urban designers tends to remove them from how ordinary people think (Moughtin, 1992). Ideally, planners and managers should turn to users to assess natural resource spaces (Holahan, 1982).

These assessments are broadly of two types: an empirical or phenomenological [lived experience] approach. In the empirical approach, people's assessments of a place are measured through pre-designed questionnaires or self-report scales. The descriptions so elicited could be objective or subjective [relatively speaking, for no description can be truly objective]. An objective description [an Environmental Quality Index, or EQI] might entail using instruments to measure water, air and sound quality, and also include objective counts of flora and fauna diversity, and littering. Or the description could be derived from the average response of how a group of people perceives those qualities – this is a Perceived Environmental Quality Index, or PEQI. Level of agreement amongst observers completing a PEQI is usually high (Anderson, Zube, & MacConnell, 1976, cited in Gifford, 1987, p.68), and PEQI's frequently correlate positively with EQI's (Bell *et al.*, 1990). People's feelings about a place have also been reliably measured (Hull & Harvey, 1989).

²⁰ A person describes his emotional response to a place by selecting the appropriate terms from pre-supplied words arranged in a circle around two axes: a horizontal axis representing “unpleasant-pleasant”, and a vertical axis, “arousing-not arousing” (Bell et al., 1996; Hull & Harvey, 1989).

But can the *meaning* of a place be measured? And what does “meaning” mean? I have tried to convey some sense of this through Relph’s (1976) discussion of *place*, and his concepts of “insiderness” and “outsiderness”. “Place attachment” and “place identity” are other terms which also try to convey the meanings a place can hold for people. Place attachment is the feeling of being part of a place, which is often a function of familiarity. The meaning of place and the meaning of self begin to merge (Tuan, 1974, in Gifford, 1987) – some places are not simply contexts for action, but have become a very part of one’s identity, and so also, of one’s self-esteem (Bell *et al.*, 1996; Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). This aspect of self is sometimes called “place identity”. How to access meaning? Here the environmental psychologist may choose a phenomenological approach, that is, seek to understand the meaning of a place through people’s subjective descriptions of their experiences there. According to Kvale (1996, p. 105), an interview is particularly well-suited to studying “people’s understanding of the meanings in their lived world ...”.

Environmental assessments are of value to local authority officials, and urban open space managers, because through them

- the characteristics which users associate with quality in a space can be established
 - baseline data for possible intervention could be gathered
 - changes in environmental quality of specific urban open spaces could be monitored
 - the impact of development in or near to such an area could be partially gauged
 - an overall urban open space system could be devised
- (Bell *et al.*, 1996; Holahan, 1982).

3.11 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A SOCIAL SPACE

In assessing the potential of space as urban open space, a town planner would not necessarily consider its social support value. Yet social support is one of the dimensions of competence [together with self-esteem and coping skills] in Albee’s (1980; 1982) quality of life model. Urban nature can contribute to quality of life by promoting opportunities for social support (Holahan, 1982). Research on urban community gardening for example shows that what is actually produced in the gardens is of less importance than the sensory pleasures gardening provides, and the opportunity to socialize (Kaplan, 1983). Open spaces also provide opportunities for feeling “connected” in informal, casual contacts with others (Bechtel, 1984), for example, when out walking your dog (Grove, 1990), or flying a kite. On the other hand, research shows that lack of social support is a good predictor of psychological, psychosomatic and physical complaints; and early death (Berkman & Symes study, 1979 cited in Thoresen & Eagleston, 1985).

Bechtel (1984) argues that some behaviour settings more than others, promote healthy relationships among community residents; he called them “behavioral focal points”. They seem to be the kind of setting “where the greater number of different kinds of people have access.” (Bechtel, 1984, p. 220). People can see and be seen there, meet friends and acquaintances, hear the latest gossip, and speculate about the “familiar strangers” whom they often see there but do not know (Milgram, 1977). It’s a good place to socialize. While a behavioural focal point does not guarantee healthy relationships, it can provide the context for them. Some of the urban open spaces in a city’s urban open space system at least, should meet this need.

3.12 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION SPACE

Environmental education is commonly assumed to be the best way forward in dealing with our environmental problems. But research has shown that environmental education, based only on attitude-behaviour models, is not so successful, because the relationship between attitude and behaviour is complex, with many intervening variables (Bell *et al.*, 1996). Such models assume that providing environmental information to target groups will promote awareness of environmental problems, which will create positive attitudes, which in turn will translate into constructive environmental behaviours (Bell *et al.*, 1996). You could, for example, have a generally positive environmental attitude, without necessarily taking part in urban open space management schemes. More complex models of environmental education are required.

There are correlates of higher environmental concern, other than environmental education. Some of these other correlates, are higher socio-economic standing, social responsibility, and an internal locus of control (Holahan, 1982; Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). Environmental responsibility is regarded as a subset of social responsibility (Lefcourt, 1976, cited in Viljoen *et al.*, 1987). O'Riordan thinks that the link between the two might be political competence (Irwin, 1991). This is promising, because while we as environmental psychologists cannot directly improve peoples' socio-economic standing, we can contribute to internal locus of control and competence, via skills training. More on this at "Urban open space as a political space".

3.12.1 Hungerford & Volk's model of responsible environmental behaviour

What is needed, is a model of environmental education that will take into account at least the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour, personality variables such as locus of control, and the level of people's political competence. And improving competence you will remember from Albee's model (1980; 1982), was an important way of contributing to quality of life.

Hungerford & Volk (1990) have attempted to develop such a model. They suggest that three clusters of variables contribute to environmental citizenship behaviour: certain entry level variables, an ownership cluster, and an empowerment cluster.

□ The empowerment cluster comprises three dimensions:

- locus of control;
- knowledge of and skill in using environmental action strategies, and
- intention to act.

An external locus of control has been linked to Seligman's "learned helplessness" (Baron & Byrne, 1987). Because of non-contingency between reduction of an environmental stressor/stressors and the person's coping responses, the person becomes convinced that their further efforts will not affect future outcomes (Holahan, 1982). A person who believes she is "... powerless to make changes in society probably will not act in a citizenship dimension ..." either (Hungerford & Volk, 1990, p. 12). By implication from the model, she is also less likely to act in environmentally responsible ways, or to participate in a community urban open space programme.

Teaching citizenship action skills [such as investigating an issue, learning about effective citizenship action strategies at individual or collective level, evaluating and

selecting options, knowing how to carry out a decision and monitor its effects] all strengthen an internal locus of control. Knowledge of environmental action strategies is also empowering, but the very best "empowerer" is perceived skill in using these environmental action strategies - people who have perceived skill, feel powerful to influence the quality of their environment and their quality of life (Hungerford & Volk, 1990).

- Feelings of ownership seem to derive from the understanding which in-depth ecological knowledge generates, and accompanying feelings of personal investment in the economic, social or ecological aspects of an environmental issue - the person feels they "own" the issue, and consequently, has a greater desire to "do something" about it (Hungerford & Volk, 1990) - they participate.

- The one variable in Hungerford & Volk's research that has "... shown a dramatic relationship to behavior ..." (Hungerford & Volk, 1990, p.11), is "environmental sensitivity", which they define as "... an empathetic perspective toward the environment ..." (Hungerford & Volk, 1990, p.11). Wahlström (1991, p. 52) describes it as understanding and experiencing emotionally, that we are dependent on nature, or more poetically, we are able "to listen to the voices of nature". How does environmental sensitivity develop? People who from an early age have had ongoing environmentally positive experiences in outdoor settings [preferably "pristine"], and in pleasant company, are more likely to be environmentally sensitive (Hungerford & Volk, 1990, p. 14). It's obvious from this that well-identified and maintained urban open spaces can play an important role in promoting environmental sensitivity.

3.13 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A DESIGN SPACE

If urban open spaces are to be environmental solutions to urban problems such as overcrowding, crime, pollution, housing problems, traffic congestion, noise, lack of public appreciation and so on, then they need to be well-designed.

Urban open space design is traditionally the field of urban planning, architecture and landscape architecture. These fields are much concerned with beauty and form (Marcus, 1990; Moughtin, 1992). When their practitioners are faced with a design problem, such as in matching needs with spaces, materials, and construction techniques, they usually turn to their professional body of substantive theory (Lang, 1987, 1988, cited in Bell *et al.*, 1996). A good example of a design approach to urban open space is Marcus & Francis's (1990) "People Places. Design guidelines for urban open space", in which design problems and solutions for seven different types of urban open spaces are considered. Even though Marcus (1990, p. x), almost apologizes to fellow designers for believing that "human behavior or social activities" and "user preferences" should also inform and shape the designed environment [!], rather than visual form only, there is scant mention of behavioural theory to support the otherwise useful design guidelines for urban open space.

Environmental psychologists on the other hand, enquire into the perceptual, cognitive, affective, and behavioural processes which might underly an environment-behaviour problem in an urban open space. Based on environment-behaviour research, they would be likely to make suggestions which would address psycho-social issues in urban open space design and management, such as experiences of territoriality, privacy, personal control, defensible space, social support, empowerment, and such like. An environmental psychologist who is also a supporter of sustainable development [that is,

"development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development definition, 1987, p. 43, cited in Gale, 1992, p. 724) would be likely to support a holistic development design approach. Such an approach integrates an "anticipate-and-prevent" approach to environmental degradation/depletion concerns with a concern for distributive justice, and quality of life (Gale, 1992). However environmental psychologists often lack the expertise needed to translate their research findings into actual design solutions.

Despite the common assumption between the design professionals and environmental psychologists that the environment, designed or natural, is an important contributor to behaviour and emotional well-being, there is still, in South Africa and Namibia at least, insufficient co-operation between the two professions. This is well-demonstrated by the recent impressive EMPRET exercise in Pretoria (City Council of Pretoria, 1996), which did not include a single environmental psychologist, even though how people think, feel and act in a place is environmental psychology's *raison d'être*.

How can environmental psychologists get onto the urban planning team? Hubbard (1992) suggests that if we wish our environment-behaviour research results to be taken seriously, we should at least

- have a working knowledge of the normative theories in urban design [which is more concerned with beauty and form (Moughtin, 1992), and less with psycho-social theory]
- have a feel for such pivotal concepts as "placemaking" and "placelessness", and
- be aware of current issues and debates in urban design, such as how to convert our cities' many inward-looking buildings outwards towards our streets and squares (City Council of Pretoria, Feb. 1997).

We can enter into the debate on revitalized city design, and how green open spaces could contribute to that re-vitalization, as soon as we actively seek to link our work to current urban design issues (Hubbard, 1992).

Apart from the behavioural science [including environmental psychology] – design professionals "gap" (Russel & Ward's "applicability gap", 1982, cited in Bell *et al.*, 1996, p. 423), there are two other gaps which detract from good "fit" between user and space. One is the already-mentioned gap between professional designers of urban open spaces and their using clients. Design education and training seem to shape and change the expert's perceptions of the environment so that they pay more attention to design ideas and concepts, whereas non-architects are more likely to make general affective (emotional) judgments (Devlin, 1990; Groat, 1982; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1982; S. Kaplan, 1987, cited in Bell *et al.*, 1996, p.422). The second is the gap between the needs of the design professional's paying client and using client. This is particularly true for town planners who must consider lucrative development proposals for areas in which the locals wish to retain the status quo.

One answer to the gap-dilemma is to train design professionals to be more sensitive to the psychology of urban open space for its users. Another is, of course, to increase communication between all parties (Bell *et al.*, 1996; Moughtin, 1992), and to foster participation by those who actually use, or will be using, the urban open spaces concerned (Marcus & Greene, 1990). Kaplan & Kaplan (1982, cited in Bell *et al.*, 1996) lament that the single most striking aspect of participation as it is now practiced, is how badly it works! They make three useful suggestions on how to improve community participation in design:

1. Involve the user community at an early stage, so that their suggestions can be considered as part of the design process
2. Make several design alternatives available so that the user community can react to concrete options [these could be informed by inter alia, Marcus & Francis' (1990) design guidelines for urban open spaces, and Mark Francis' (1987) article on urban open space design and management] as well as making their own suggestions
3. Present the options in an understandable format – the lay public usually does not have the professional training and experience to translate one-dimensional plans into three-dimensional conceptualizations.

It is not my intention to review here all the literature which considers what makes an urban open space successful, for urban open spaces vary so widely – from highly specialized urban childrens' playgrounds to free nature areas. However, apart from those suggestions made elsewhere in this chapter, some basic design guidelines are:

- the urban open spaces should as far as possible form an interlinked system in the city (MOSS international conference committee, 1994)
- the overall housing density of the neighbourhood in which an urban open space is situated, and the income level of the neighbourhood's inhabitants, are two important factors affecting use of space, and should therefore inform design (Marcus, Watsky, Insley & Francis, 1990).

Environment-behaviour research and practice (Francis, 1987) has shown that for urban open space to be successful, it should –

- be used by a variety of users, including children, teens, and the elderly
- allow for a variety of activities
- provide for its users a feeling of safety and security
- be comfortable
- afford opportunities for user involvement, control, and manipulation
- be publicly accessible
- provide opportunities for environmental learning
- include opportunities for discovery, delight and challenge
- be ecologically healthy
- contribute economic benefits to the surrounding community
- be re-evaluated and re-designed over time
- be democratic
- *be loved by those who use it and live or work nearby* [own emphasis].

What factors might contribute to this “love”, or attachment-to-place?

3.14 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS A POLITICAL SPACE

If all roads lead to Rome, then I hope I have by now suggested to you that many urban open space paths lead to involvement and participation, or participation and involvement, for the two are intertwined.

For those to whom “place attachment” seems a strange concept, philosophy, music, art, literature and every day politics all provide re-assurance that attachment to place is as basic a human need as is attachment to people. So we have, for example,

phenomenology's concern with place as "a base to set down Being and realise our possibilities – a *here* from which the world discloses itself, a *there* to which we can go" (Eric Dardel, 1952, cited in Relph, 1976, p.41); Anton Dvorak's yearning and plaintive "Going home"; Turnbull's paintings of the English countryside; Olive Schreiner's "The story of an African farm"; and the very real land hunger manifested by displaced black communities.

Curiously though, even a deeply-felt involvement-with-place is not necessarily enough to guarantee that people will participate in actions concerning that place. The ingredients of participation are therefore of interest to politicians, administrators, and psychologists alike.

For politicians in newly-emerging democracies [such as Namibia and South Africa] participation is not only required as an international sign of success, but it is the foundation on which local democracy is built. Politicians simply assume that involvement leads to empowerment, and ownership of a process. This excerpt from one of the six basic principles of the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) of the ruling African National Congress in South Africa (ANC, 1994, p. 5) expresses it briefly, but powerfully:

"Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment".

For urban open space planners and managers, who often operate at local government level, participation is important because many international, national and local environmental policy documents, such as Agenda 21 (Department of Environmental Affairs & Tourism, November 1995; Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, July 1996), the RDP (ANC, 1994), and the Integrated Environmental Management Procedure (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992), demand participation. Here is an example from the current discussion document on an environmental policy for South Africa (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, October 1996, p. 29):

"[The] participation ... principle recognizes that all interested and affected parties have a right to participate in environmental management and decision making ... Participation implies a particular emphasis on hearing the voice of those previously excluded in order that policy development, decision-making and environmental management processes are truly representative."

For psychologists [and environmental psychologists], it is of importance, because many studies equate participation with psychological benefits – Barker's (1968) behaviour setting theory, Bechtel's responsibility theory, and Rappaport's (1981; 1987; 1990) ecologically-based empowerment approach are all examples which are easily transferable to an urban open space context.

Barker's (1968) behaviour-setting survey research showed consistently that participation in a setting led to inhabitants experiencing both that setting, and themselves, positively. Inhabitants who participated in the setting, reported

satisfactions deriving variously from (a) the development of competence [cf. the benefits of competence in Albee's (1980; 1982) theory], (b) being challenged, (c) engaging in important actions, (d) being involved in group activities, (e) being valued by others, and (f) acquiring the ethical and cultural values of that setting (Barker, 1968).

Although Barker's (1968) findings were derived from participation in undermanned settings, I do not think that detracts from the importance of the benefits of participation in principle. Bechtel (1984), building on Barker's (1968) work, showed that a key variable in setting experience is not so much setting size as role responsibility in that setting, and that responsibility is important in people's well-being [this is recognized in industrial psychology too, through the concept of "job enrichment"].

The eleven assumptions of community psychology's empowerment theory (Rappaport, 1987, pp. 139-142) are not only interlinked with those of systemic thinking, but emphasize the importance of participation as well. I give briefly here, without too much elaboration, those assumptions which confirm this:

Empowerment theory is self-consciously a world view theory.

Presuppositions are to be shared openly between the researcher and the researched; those researched are to be treated as collaborators; the researcher is considered a legitimate participant in what she is studying, and the language which we use in research is important for the way it structures interactions between the researcher and the researched.

Empowerment is a multilevel construct.

Relationships within and between systems [individuals, groups, organizations, communities, settings, and so on] are mutually influencing.

The historical context in which a person, a programme, or a policy operates has an important influence on the outcomes of a programme.

This is derived from the principle of "succession" in ecology, and points towards a need to consider the historical context of any urban open space under study [as did Low (1997) in her study of urban plazas].

The cultural context matters.

People bring a variety of cultural assumptions into a setting, which will influence the "fit" between person and setting.

Longitudinal research, or the study of people, organizations, and policies over time, is seen to be at least desirable, and perhaps necessary.

Here Hanson's (1995) concern with observing process over time is echoed.

It is assumed that the conditions of participation in a setting will have an impact on the empowerment of members.

Locally developed solutions are more empowering than single solutions applied in a general way.

This again confirms the need for local participation in urban open space design and management.

The size of the setting matters.

Settings should be small enough to provide meaningful roles for members, yet large enough to generate resources.

Above all, empowerment is a social agenda “ ... committed to identifying, facilitating, or creating contexts in which heretofore silent and isolated people, those who are “outsiders”²¹ in various settings, organizations, and communities, gain understanding, voice, and influence over decisions that affect their lives.” (Rappaport, ca. 1990, p. 52). Politicians associate easily with this definition! Empowerment means enhancing the possibilities for people to control their own lives, and to participate democratically in the life of their community, often through mediating institutions such as voluntary organizations (Rappaport, 1981, 1987).

Empowerment assumes a strengths rather than a deficit perspective about people – people have potential. Many competencies are possible, “given niches and opportunities” (Rappaport, 1981, p. 16). Top-down-only policies [urban open space policies included] in the past often treated citizens metaphorically as “children”, as people needing to be represented, assisted by experts, saved from their own ignorance (Rappaport, 1981). Urban open spaces exactly represent one class of “niches and opportunities” in which people may develop, in a real-life setting of self-learning, the competencies needed to participate, together with experts, in urban open space development and management. “... spreading the power around a bit more” (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, cited in Rappaport, 1981, p. 18) fosters a sense of personal control, and enhances self-esteem (Rappaport, 1981). Again, there is the link to Albee’s (1980; 1982) quality of life model.

But how do we get people to participate in the political processes that affect their lives? Experience in various urban open space settings has shown, that simply providing the mechanisms for participation, where they were lacking in the past, does not automatically elicit participation. Take the Pretoria Inner City Partnership experience, which included in its extensive agenda, urgent attention to participative design and management of urban open spaces. The process was specifically structured to allow for participation by stakeholders, and participation was widely solicited both through mass media and individual appeals. Yet those managing the Partnership were, by the end of 1996, somewhat disappointed with actual participation (City Council of Pretoria, 1996).

Or take the MOSS experience as another example. Community participation, right from the outset, is considered essential for the success of any urban open space system and is therefore built into the MOSS concept (Munnik, 1994). Yet delegates to the 1994 MOSS conference on the potential of urban open spaces for productive utilization acknowledged that obtaining participation, especially from previously marginalized communities, was difficult. Conference delegates concluded that it was first necessary to build citizens’ capacity to participate, so that they would be able to express their needs and preferences, and so assume ownership of the process (Munnik, 1994).

Research has shown that one consistent and important dimension of empowerment is perceived competence – both personal, and political (Zimmerman, 1986, cited in Rappaport, 1987). Often people, whether from marginalized communities or not, feel themselves powerless to participate (Hungerford & Volk, 1990). Attending meetings, speaking out at meetings, defining problems, considering alternatives, making

²¹ This is not the “outsideness” of Relph’s phenomenology of *place*

decisions and actually carrying them out, are all skills which need to be learnt. And in the case of urban open spaces, decisions need to be made within a context of environmental knowledge. **Capacity building** is therefore needed before there can be meaningful public participation in the urban open space debate. An important additional benefit, is that coping skills is a dimension of Albee's (1980; 1982) competence as a way of increasing quality of life.

However, how to handle public participation in environmental planning is a confusing world all of its own. Just some of the dimensions to be considered are: Who is the "public" anyway? How should one decide which decisions are best left to "experts" and which not? Is this distinction justifiable at all? How must the participation be facilitated? Who makes the bottom-line decisions, and who is responsible for their implementation? What should the relationship be between those participating as officials, experts and citizens? Is public participation real, or just tokenism and clever window-dressing? (Human Sciences Research Council, 1997; Moughtin, 1992).

3.15 URBAN OPEN SPACE AS AN ETHICAL SPACE

Urban open space is land, and, as Aldo Leopold (1949) points out in the land ethic chapter of his "A Sand County Almanac and sketches here and there", ethics, that is, the differentiation of social from anti-social conduct, does not yet extend to land, or to the plants and animals that live on it and from it. Just as in former times we did not see slaves within our ethical system, most of us do not now see land as a community of organisms within our ethical system either. Instead we see land as a commodity to be judged solely in terms of its resource and economic value to us - there are many environmentalists who preach the doctrine of sustainability. We see ourselves as overlords of the community, not as ordinary citizens amongst other community citizens. We do not recognize the equal right of other organisms in our land community to existence and well-being *in their own right*, regardless of their value to ourselves. This is Leopold's (1949) plea: that we change [undergo a paradigm shift] from an anthropocentric approach - land is there solely to meet our needs and wants - to an ecocentric approach: the land, all life on earth, deserves our ethical behaviour.

I accept that the majority of urban open space designers and managers will find this a somewhat impractical if not totally ridiculous idea, and indeed it is for the majority of our highly artificial urban open spaces. But in concluding this chapter, I make a plea for those urban open spaces which are still recognizable as *land*, and particularly, as free nature. I base the plea not on the arguments of the deep ecologists (Sessions, 1995), of whom Leopold was a forerunner, but on Relph's (1976, pp. 38-39) phenomenological approach to *place*:

"The places to which we are most attached are literally fields of care, settings ... which call forth an entire complex of affections and responses ...there is also a real

responsibility and respect for that place ... There is, in fact, a complete commitment to that place..."

Such commitment and responsibility entails what Heidegger has called 'sparing' (Vycinas, 1961, p.266 in Relph, 1976, p. 38): "... sparing is letting things, or in this context places, be the way they are; it is a tolerance for them in their own essence; it is taking care of them through building or cultivating without trying to subordinate them to human will. Sparing is a willingness to leave places alone and not to change them casually or arbitrarily, and not to exploit them."

If a particular urban open space were the last remaining piece of free, or almost-free nature in the city, possessing an individual and collective sense of *place*, would the city fathers and commercial developers consider "sparing" it? Perhaps my main motivation in undertaking this research, is to contribute towards this goal.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

“Textbooks concerned with social science research often neglect a critical component of the research enterprise: the researcher.”
(Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, Wandersman & D'Aunno, 1984, p. 52).

Although the terms “methodology” and “method” are often used interchangeably, they are different, and as Bateson (1979) would say, it is a difference which makes a difference. Data collection methods are just that – technical ways of gathering and recording information. Research methodology on the other hand is an expression of the assumptions which the researcher holds about the nature of valid knowledge (Winkel, 1991), about the phenomenon being studied, and about the nature of her relationship with the people involved in the study (Heller *et al.*, 1984).

Research methods are generally guided by the theory or theories within which the researcher has chosen to conceptualize the phenomenon of interest, and behind those theories is, implicitly or explicitly, the researcher's "worldview" on the research process. Just as systemic thinking requires the researcher to make her epistemology and ontology explicit, so too should the researcher's methodology, or “worldview” on research be made explicit to provide the context for the data collection methods chosen.

The methodology of this study is informed by assumptions from three sources:

- Systemic/ecosystemic thinking
- Assumptions on research in the field of environmental psychology
- Empowerment and action research in community psychology.

4.2 RESEARCH IN SYSTEMIC MODE²²

Hanson (1995) suggests that our chances for measuring in research what we think we are measuring - in this case, people's experiences of a particular urban open space - are better if we firstly conceptualize our phenomenon of interest as a co-emergent,

contextual whole, and secondly, if we allow ourselves to use the tools of emotion and subjectivity in our enquiry.

4.2.1 Emotion

She argues that emotion has been noticeably absent from models of human behaviour, and presents a persuasive case for emotion as suprarational in human affairs. Emotion overrides rationality, logic and cognition, and therefore has the potential to explain far more of human behaviour than can models based on rationality alone: “Rationality may please [as a model of human behaviour], but it does not fit.” (Hanson, 1995, p.121). The primacy placed by Hanson on emotion is found outside systems thinking too – Zajonc (1980) presents convincing evidence that human responses are first emotional and then only logical or rational. Not all responses can be reduced to logic and cognition, and given the biophilia hypothesis on our responses to nature [Chapter Three], our primary response to any urban open space could well be emotional.

4.2.2 Subjectivity

Systems thinking defines subjectivity as a characteristic of human groups (Hanson, 1995). The subjective impressions, constructions and interpretations of both the researcher and the researched are therefore a legitimate and central focus of enquiry (Hanson, 1995), rather than variables to be controlled through exclusion. The human reflexive capacity should be fully recognized in any research endeavour. The subjectivity of this researcher in choosing a particular urban open space as a study phenomenon is freely acknowledged, and some of the study’s research methods have been specifically selected to elicit respondents’ subjective assessments of the Avis dam and its environment.

4.2.3 The subjectivity of our data

We should also recognize that the data generated by any enquiry represent a particular relationship between the phenomenon investigated and the researcher. Both the researcher and the researched have reduced and selected the phenomenon down to manageable levels, in both conscious and unconscious ways. In systems thinking therefore, data can never be considered “raw”, or “objective”; they have been punctuated

²² This section relies heavily on Chapter 8 entitled “Moving ahead” in Barbara Gail Hanson’s (1995) General systems theory: Beginning with wholes. Washington: Taylor &

in various ways long before they ever reach a particular storage medium [paper, tape, photograph, observation or whatever].

How does one maintain scientific credibility in the face of so much subjectivity? Through transparency! Usually data are presented in research findings only in their final format. Apart from the initial reduction described above, the researcher has further imposed an own way of seeing what was offered to him/her by respondents; he/she has "drawn distinctions" that others might not have. Keeney (1979) therefore suggests that as well as making the research epistemology explicit, the systemic researcher has an ethical obligation to explain how the final ordering of data was reached, and to make the initially gathered data available as well so that others may draw their own distinctions (Keeney, 1979).

Striving for ecological validity, and consensual validation are two other important ways of maintaining the scientific standard of findings in systemic research – these are discussed in Chapter Five.

4.2.4 Unit of analysis

Research in systemic mode requires careful attention to the unit of analysis, the passage of time, and the type of information which is, or is not selected for inclusion.

A major principle in systems thinking is that of *nonsummativity* – the whole is greater than the sum of its parts (Hanson, 1995). Things co-emerge when two or more parts act together that are not seen in those parts alone (Hanson, 1995). The unit of analysis in the research design therefore needs to be the relational whole of two or more parts – the emergent whole of a person-in-an-urban-open-space cannot be inferred from first gathering data about the physical attributes of the setting, then gathering data from selected persons about that space, and adding the two together. The context of person-in-space would need to be preserved, for meaning emerges from context.

It takes *time* for the pattern which connects (Bateson, 1979) in any particular context to emerge. Systems thinking requires that the researcher looks "... beyond the immediate, the first reaction, the simple, and toward the long term, the concerted playing of parts, the complex patterns of change in systems." (Hanson, 1995, p.30). The research design should at the least measure at "... time one, time two, [and] time three ...", if not "... process in continuous time." (Hanson, 1995, pp. 30-31) to uncover what cyberneticians would call the self-steering processes of the phenomenon under study.

To allow a time sequence long enough for any emergent environment-behaviour patterns to manifest themselves, the research design included data gathering over a period of time at the Avis dam and floodplain.

Acceptance of suprarationality in human affairs would also suggest that *a range of data*, capable of capturing both logical and emotional bases of the environment-behaviour relationship, should be gathered: verbal and non-verbal behaviour, actual and self-reported behaviour, and self-reported impressions and feelings. Apart from the possibility of capturing a wider range of human functioning, such data are also useful for comparison of the actual with the reported.

4.3 ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY RESEARCH

All research in environmental psychology is not necessarily undertaken within a systems framework, or even any other particular framework. Yet environmental psychology research shares certain common features with systemic research which are also relevant to this study.

4.3.1 Research in everyday settings [contextualism]

In the traditional science model, the independent observer studies an objectively definable phenomenon under rigorously controlled conditions (Altman & Rogoff, 1991). This decontextualized laboratory approach enhances internal validity, and therefore strengthens the probability of causal connections through the control of extraneous variables (Viljoen, van Staden, Grieve & van Deventer, 1987).

However, concern for ecological validity, that is, the degree to which the research takes the relationship between people, their actions, and their socio-physical context into account (Wicker cited in van Staden, Grieve, Burger & Genot, 1987) generally makes the controlled experiment inappropriate. Instead, the phenomenon under study, such as wayfinding, territoriality or place identity, is researched *in loco* (Proshansky, 1990).

Any urban open space is a physical context, itself containing a socio-cultural script (Gifford, 1987; Proshansky, 1976; Proshansky in Altman & Christensen, 1990), and being contained within other contexts. Applying the principle of *respect for context* in the present study meant that the research design aimed to consider as many of the Avis dam's internal and external environments as possible, and provided for the collection of data whenever possible from people in the Avis dam setting itself.

4.3.2 Both explanation and description

While environmental psychology shares basic research's concern for the establishment of relationships (Proshansky, 1976), and the generalization of findings (Altman & Rogoff, 1991), the primary aim is not to discover universal principles and general causal laws on which to base explanation and prediction (Proshansky, 1976). Rather, environmental psychology research is frequently more exploratory than experimental (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987); more descriptive than explanatory; more qualitative than quantitative (Proshansky, 1976); more hypothesis-generating than hypothesis-testing (Altman & Rogoff, 1991).

However, in the many debates on the relative merits of quantitative vs. qualitative methods (Zube & Moore, 1987), environmental psychology researchers do not advocate an either-or approach (Stokols, 1991). Depending on the nature and complexity of the phenomenon being investigated, the one or the other, or both together, might be more appropriate; their combination can offset the weaknesses of each separately (Stokols, 1991). If some universal principle [uncovered through the experimental approach] does help to understand the phenomenon, it is used, together with phenomenologically oriented descriptions, which aim to understand the meaning of a situation for an individual (Altman & Rogoff, 1991; Wapner, 1991). The approach is dialectical.

4.3.3 Eclectic methods

The both-and approach, coupled with insistence on ecological validity, leads to the advocacy of a variety of methods in environmental psychology research. Some examples are observation [direct obtrusive or unobtrusive, or through photography or video-recording (Viljoen *et al.*, 1987)], and/or the gauging of phenomenological experience through, *inter alia*, questionnaires, open-ended and structured interviews, topographic maps and rating scales (Proshansky, 1990; Wapner & Craig-Bray, 1992).

4.3.4 Holistic process

Environmental psychology research shares systemic thinking's interest in process-in-context. Environmental psychology's current interest in a transactional approach to understanding person-environment transactions in context means that new research strategies must be devised which recognize the holistic, changing nature of the phenomenon under investigation. This is a considerable challenge (Stokols, 1991), made more complex by the acceptance of constructivism in current conceptualizations of "environment" (Canter & Craik, 1981; Ittelson in Viljoen, 1981).

As a concrete example, Proshansky (in Stokols & Altman, 1991) suggests an ethological approach in research design: repeated, if not continuous, recording of people-in-setting

behaviour. Such continuous time observation would allow the researcher to see how things co-emerge, how sequences of events repeat until a pattern emerges (Hanson, 1995).

4.4 EMPOWERMENT AND ACTION RESEARCH

Lewin's action research model (McNiff, 1988), and Rappaport's (1987; 1990) assumptions on community empowerment research are also inherent in the research methodology of this study. Because empowerment theory is an ecologically-based theory, many of its assumptions are already familiar from previous discussions of systems thinking.

Empowerment/action research (Rappaport, 1990; Serrano-Garcia, 1990) assumes that

- "ordinary" people ["ordinary" as opposed to "expert"] have many competencies and resources in their daily transactions with their environments
- the researcher is subjective about, and involved in, the research being undertaken. She shares her presuppositions clearly and honestly at the beginning of the study so that she and others in the process are aware of them
- there is an expectation that the research will not merely generate "knowledge" but make a useful contribution to some real social problem or concern, in a way that empowers the community involved
- the relationship between the researcher and the community researched is therefore ideally one of mutually beneficial exchange and participation. Mutual exchange requires that roles, expectations, decision-making and available resources are clarified at the outset. Participation recognizes that community members possess valuable local competencies and knowledge, requires that they should have the opportunity to influence the research design [what is to be studied, and how], and be involved in its execution, should they so wish. It acknowledges their right to information feedback at all stages of the process
- the research will primarily take place in the setting of interest, and over a period of time, to allow the patterns of that behaviour setting to emerge. Not only the setting, but the setting's context [socio-economic, political, historical, cultural] matters to the research process
- the information sources tapped, and the research methods employed, will be multiple, and diverse
- the reality of the phenomenon investigated is subjectively constructed. Not only objective behaviours, but subjective emotions, meanings, experiences and desires are also legitimate sources of data
- some of the data collection methods employed should allow participants to express their constructions of reality freely, without being confined within those of the researcher
- there will be no one-only, final solution to any question investigated, given the complex and dialectical nature of any social issue
- while reliability, validity and generalizability in their traditional scientific meanings do not form part of community empowerment research, the trustworthiness of the findings can still be demonstrated through equivalent concepts.

4.5 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY IN EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH

Both the assumptions about research in systemic, environmental psychology and community psychology thinking, and the specific theories selected to understand how urban open space may contribute to better person-environment fit in the city [*inter alia*, Lewin's field theory (Proshansky, 1991; Viljoen *et al.*, 1987), Albee's (1980; 1982) quality of life model, and Rappaport's (1987; 1990) ecological theory of empowerment] require, almost demand, a type of research orientation and method rather different from positivistic [experimental] notions of scientific research. In the positivist philosophy, knowledge is a mirror of reality – there is a one-to-one correspondence between an objective reality and our knowledge of it (Kvale, 1996) as obtained through “science”. But systemic thinking holds that if there is an objective reality, we can have no direct one-to-one access to it; rather, we construct it [postmodernism would say that reality is *socially* constructed]. If knowledge is constructed, not “found”, so would be our meanings of concepts such as validity too. There will be no one, absolute, meaning.

4.5.1 Internal validity

In experimental research, validity has various dimensions [face, construct and criterion-related validity being some] but all rest on the answers to two main questions: are the instruments of the study measuring what they were intended to measure, and are they measuring accurately? If they are, and the research design has controlled or minimized all variance except wanted [experimental] variance, the researcher may, within pre-determined limits of confidentiality, make statements about the degree to which an independent variable or variables is responsible for observed changes in a dependent variable/s (Duffy & Wong, 1996) such as: if x, then y, given a, b and c (Kerlinger, 1986). The better the internal validity of the study, the more possible it is to produce generalizations from the study about individual and group human behaviour and experience which are *not* limited to any particular setting, time or historical context (Winkel, 1991). Maximum control, randomization [in sample selection, in assignment of subjects to comparison groups, and in assignment of treatments to groups] and the comparison of findings from experimental and control groups are essential to high internal validity in a study (Kerlinger, 1986). The classical research design first seeks internal validity through maximum control of variance, and then considers external validity or generalization.

4.5.2 External or ecological validity [generalizability]

The principle of generalizability is important because it determines how widely *beyond the sample* the findings of the study may be applied – to the target population from which the sample was drawn, or to target populations in contexts different to the context of the original study (Kerlinger, 1986). In short, how representative is one situation of another? (Brunswick, cited in Stokols, 1991).

The extent of generalizability depends considerably on the adequacy of the sampling design, and several formulas are available (de la Rey, 1997) to determine how large a sample should be in order to ensure scientifically accountable and generalizable results. It also depends on how successfully the researcher was able to balance external [ecological] validity with the control demands of internal validity. Usually, the

greater the internal control over variables, the less the ecological [contextual] validity of the findings. For example, is wayfinding in the laboratory the same as wayfinding in a strange shopping mall at the end of the month?

4.5.3 Reliability

Reliability is the accuracy or precision of a measuring instrument. It means there is a consistency [or lack of it] in the results which the measuring instrument – usually a quantitative one – gives, which can be expressed in terms of a reliability co-efficient (Kerlinger, 1986). Provided the same instrument is used, more or less the same results should be obtained when the phenomenon is measured by different people at different times. When doing non-quantitative research however, such as interviewing, this meaning of reliability obviously becomes problematic.

4.6 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY IN THIS STUDY'S METHODOLOGY

4.6.1 In community empowerment research

Rappaport (1990, p. 60), discussing what he calls the “naturalistic” methodology of community empowerment research, suggests (following Lincoln & Guba's criteria²³, (1985)) that “trustworthiness” should replace the concepts of validity and reliability. Trustworthiness is achieved through a research design which includes “... prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation of sources and methods, negative case analysis, member checks, thick (very detailed) description to enable others to compare the setting with their own, and an external audit.”

Trustworthiness comprises credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. *Credibility* is established through prolonged engagement with and observation of the phenomenon being studied. *Transferability* means that the descriptions, tables and interpretations given in the study must be “... thick (detailed) ... [enough]... to permit others to determine similarity to new contexts” (Rappaport, 1990, p. 61). *Dependability* is achieved by an external audit of the process by a competent disinterested party/parties. *Confirmability* requires that the draft report be submitted for an audit external to an appropriate evaluator or evaluating body.

²³ These were the criteria also followed by Georgiou & Carspecken (1996) in their quantitative (Barker's (1968) Behaviour Setting Survey)/qualitative (Critical Ethnography) study of a university department

4.6.2 In environmental psychology research

The traditional experimental meaning [and research design implications] of internal validity is problematic, because internal validity is frequently achieved through decontextualization of the phenomenon under study. Internal validity needs to be re-interpreted in a way which strives to preserve the real world context of the phenomenon being investigated, *and* scientific credibility (Winkel 1991).

For example, a systemically-oriented environmental psychology researcher must take at least the following field-setting characteristics (Winkel, 1991) into account when assessing the validity of a field study –

- *Settings and their social structures are dynamically organized* – people as well as settings pass through transitions. The implication for research design is that both people and environment have histories - here are the *maturation* [individual growth] and *history* [general temporal process] frequently regarded as a threat (Kerlinger, 1986) to experimental internal validity. Their threat can [and should] be reduced however by conceptualizing history of the setting at least, as part of the research design
- *There will be differing degrees of participant familiarity with setting characteristics.* Whereas experimental research attempts to increase internal validity by reducing the influence of *learning* on outcome variables, environmental psychology researchers accept as inevitable that the “regulars” are more conversant with the setting’s physical characteristics, participants and programme, than others. At the most, researchers can attempt to establish the extent of this familiarity, and consider how it might affect person-environment behaviour in the setting
- *Behaviour is goal-directed.* This means that how *self-selection* into the setting might influence internal validity must be considered
- *Setting relationships are mediated by social agents and symbolic associations.* People’s actions in a setting are not only mediated by the physical constraints and possibilities of the setting, and the setting programme, but also by the symbolic associations attached to the setting. In terms of systems thinking, these associations are almost certainly influenced by experiences in other settings other than the one being studied. In an experimental research design, this “*diffusion of treatment*” would be a *contaminating or confounding* factor to be controlled (Kerlinger, 1986).

Instead of viewing the complex variability in person-setting characteristics and transactions as a threat to internal validity, Winkel (1991) argues that it is exactly this variability which is of theoretical [and practical] interest to environmental psychology. Variability simply does occur in the setting of interest, and is therefore ecologically valid. An ecologically valid research design *must* recognize the embedded nature of person-environment relationships, and take this variability into account. High internal validity as a means of uncovering universal laws of person-environment behaviour is secondary to the preservation of context, which is, more often than not, what the environmental psychologist is trying to understand and describe.

4.6.3 In interview research

If Winkel’s (1991) contention that people’s actions in a setting are not mediated only by the physical constraints and possibilities of the setting, or by the setting programme, but also by the symbolic associations which they attach to the setting [a statement with which Relph (1976) would surely agree], then observation alone will not give comprehensive access to person-environment behaviour. It can be expected that

people's goal-directed activities will be greatly affected by a complex set of personal, social, *and* situationally based variables.

Qualitative research is an ideal way of understanding [rather than observing or measuring] how a person constructs his behaviour and experience in any setting. But in discussing qualitative research, Kvale (1996, p. 229) also suggests that the “holy trinity” of quantitative psychological science - reliability, validity, and generalizability – are not wholly applicable. He does not advocate that they be entirely dismissed as some qualitative researchers do, but rather, that their everyday social interaction meanings should be re-claimed, and applied to the methods and findings of interview research. This, in his opinion, transforms conversation into knowledge no less scientific than that gathered in quantitative research. Nevertheless, despite these alternative understandings of validity, reliability and generalizability, Kvale (1996) points out that knowledge in social research can never be unambiguous – there can be no single truth.

Kvale (1996) suggests that the positivistic [experimental] meaning of validity [correspondence with an objective reality] should be replaced in interview research by an alternative meaning, that of defensible knowledge.

Validation rests firstly on the *quality of craftsmanship* during the research process – there is a continual checking on the credibility, plausibility and trustworthiness of the findings: biases that might invalidate observations and interpretations are continually reviewed; findings are continually evaluated (Kvale, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Craftsmanship would include, inter alia, checks for representativeness, for researcher effects, triangulation of sources and method, following up on surprises, checking out rival explanations, and getting feedback from informants (Miles & Huberman, 1994, cited in Kvale, 1996, p. 242).

Nor need the idea of *correspondence* with some “truth” be entirely abandoned. Instead, correspondence may be sought through Kvale's (1996) self-correcting interviewing method – that is, on-the-spot interpretation of subjects' meanings, with immediate subject feedback during the interview, and if necessary, in a re-interview to ensure correspondence between what the participant is saying and what the researcher says he/she is saying. The idea is the more attempts at falsification an interpretation has survived, the stronger it is (Kvale, 1996).

The *credibility of the researcher* becomes an important source of validity too. Here Kvale's (1996) approach links easily with systemic research's emphasis on transparency in the research process.

The validity of knowledge claims may also be tested in communication and public discussion; this is Kvale's (1996) *communicative validity*. In the context of this study, it could be sought through public participation. The supervision and moderation process of the university system to which the research [process and] findings are subjected, also contributes to their communicative validity. However, though she strives for agreement through dialogue, it is the researcher who must take final responsibility for the findings and their interpretation.

There is also *pragmatic validity* – knowledge is conversation *and* action. Knowledge becomes legitimized by its applicability, by its contribution to the performance of effective actions (Kvale, 1996). This aspect of Kvale's (1996) plea for an alternative meaning for validity is very familiar from Lewin's action research concept (Proshansky, 1991) – research which both contributes to knowledge and effectively addresses social issues. Community researchers would surely say that knowledge which contributes to individual and group empowerment, is legitimate knowledge. In this study, pragmatic

validity has been sought by converting the research findings into concrete recommendations for inclusion in the draft management plan for the dam environment, thus contributing to informed action on the dam's future. According to Patton (cited in Kvale, 1996, p. 249), the ultimate test of the credibility of an evaluation report is the response of decision-makers and information-users to that report.

Kvale's views on reliability and generalizability will be discussed within the context of the method of interview phase of the research design in Chapter Five.

4.7 CORE ASSUMPTIONS OF A CONTEXTUAL RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Stokols (1991), a *contextual* research design should reflect at least these core assumptions of environmental psychology research:

- Phenomena should be studied in relation to both the psychological and spatial, temporal, and socio-cultural milieu in which they occur
- People's short-term responses to the immediate context should be balanced by longitudinal analyses of their everyday activities and settings
- There should be both objective and subjective analyses of environment and behaviour, and these should be integrated
- There should be both individual and aggregate levels of analysis of the phenomenon
- There should be an attempt to understand the phenomenon in terms of higher-order concepts of person-place interdependence such as person-environment fit, or place identity
- The design should have applied utility - it should have the potential for generating understanding of community problems, and for developing effective community interventions.

Apart from considering context, multiple dimensionality, and measuring instruments, an ecologically valid design must also consider *which variables* should be included to obtain a contextual analysis of a setting. The variety is infinite, and Stokols (1991, p. 46) suggests that the researcher identify an "effective context" for the target phenomenon, in which a "plausible range" of situationally-influencing variables is pre-identified. For the observation phase, selected variables of interest were identified using Barker's (1968) behaviour-setting theory as guide, and in the interview phase, Relph's (1976) theory of place suggested that setting, activities and meanings would be the variables influencing experience of the Avis area.

4.8 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A design is ecologically valid "... to the extent to which the overall design of the research plan and the specific measuring instruments that are employed yield accurate

estimates of the multiple dimensionality of the phenomenon that is the focus of study and those components of the context that may be expected to influence variation in the phenomenon.” (Winkel, 1991, p. 83). Research questions can only be answered as well as the context of the research design allows.

4.8.1 The research question

The aim of the research is to understand the quality of the Avis environment as an urban open space - is it "good"? If so, what makes it good?

Within this aim, three main questions were posed to guide the research:

- Can the Avis dam environment be understood and described as a behaviour setting (Barker, 1968)?
- Can it be understood and described as "place" (Relph, 1976)?
- In what measure do these two understandings support each other?

Within the main questions, certain sub-questions were asked as strategies:

- Within the "behaviour-setting" approach
 - What activities take place at the dam and floodplain?
 - How may they help in understanding whether the area is a behaviour setting at all?
 - Are the dam and floodplain two different behaviour settings or one?
 - What do the behaviour patterns say about the quality of the Avis dam area as a behaviour setting?
 - If the Avis dam is a behaviour setting, how may it be described?
- Within the "place" approach
 - To what extent is user experience of the dam and floodplain idiosyncratic - different for different users?
 - To what extent is there some level of intersubjective agreement on experience?
 - Does the Avis dam have a "sense of place" for its users - an "identity of"?
 - Is there among users, or some users, a sense of "identity with" the place?
 - Can one talk about the Avis dam's "spirit of place"? If yes, how could it be described?

4.8.2 The research plan

The research plan was conceptualized as exploratory, longitudinal, and multi-source/multi-method. It was primarily a field design which comprised several steps, not necessarily sequential, within three phases:

Phase 1

- relevant document analysis
- key informant interviews

Phase 2

- baseline (participant) observation of behaviour-in-setting
- interviewing users about their experience in the setting
- questionnaire administration

For this phase, the research site was the Avis dam itself, with the focus on the dam wall and immediate waterfront area there, as well as the floodplain. These are the two most heavily used areas of the Avis dam environment.

Phase 3

- synthesis and interpretation of data
- dissemination of findings and recommendations [primarily through a publicly-discussed management plan for the Avis dam area].

Data collection began as planned with document analysis, which proved to be an excellent introduction to many of the contexts of the Avis dam environment.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA COLLECTION METHODS

"Different kinds of data provide researchers with different vantage points on events. And research methods differ in their strengths and weaknesses. ... No strategy, design or method *used alone* is worth a damn. Multiple approaches are *required* ... " (Wicker, 1987, pp. 644-645, discussing multi-method research in environmental psychology).

This chapter describes the four methods used to obtain data in this study: document analysis, observation, interviewing and questionnaire administration²⁴.

5.1 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

5.1.1 Rationale for method

The Avis dam environment as system is surrounded by both tangible and intangible metasystems [for example, an economic system, and a political system] which may potentially influence its growth, maintenance and decline as behaviour setting (Wicker, 1987). Document analysis (Low, 1987) is a way of accessing and understanding some of the Avis dam's cultural, historical and political metacontexts. Particularly archival document analysis highlights the evolution of the present structure, function and meaning of the setting (Low, 1987). In so far as the documents represent a societal [and not an individual] view of the phenomenon being studied, document analysis fulfils Stokol's (1991) demand for an aggregate level of analysis of the Avis dam environment. Finally, document analysis also provides essential background information on the dam for both the researcher and reader. In context lies meaning, and much of what respondents say in the interview phase of the study gains in richness when placed in the context that this section provides.

5.1.2 Influencing metacontexts of a behaviour setting

According to Wicker (1987, p. 637), some contextual influences²⁵ on a behaviour setting are -

- *Economic conditions*
- *Demographic and geographic conditions*
- *Political and legal conditions*
- *Value patterns and other cultural conditions.*

²⁴ This questionnaire was designed [annexure G] but never actually used - see paragraph 5.4 of this chapter

²⁵ Wicker (1987) also lists technological and informational conditions, meaning mainly, verbal and computer literacy levels in a community - these influences on the Avis dam environment are not discussed

Considered over a period of time, all these influences become the setting's *history*, also identified by Wicker (1987) as an important behaviour setting context. This fits well with ecosystemic thinking's recognition of constructivism, which is also present in community psychology's empowerment agenda: "The overriding premise of intervention within research is that reality is socially constructed. ... Understanding the constructed reality will require historical analysis to see how the phenomena of interest have varied across times and cultures" (Serrano-Garcia, 1990, p. 172).

For most of the contextual influences listed by Wicker (1987), document analysis was found very useful. It was assumed that value patterns and other cultural conditions as influencing metasystems would manifest themselves in the interviewing phase (Buchanan, 1996).

5.1.3 The ecological context

The [biological] ecology of the Avis dam is frequently advanced as one of the main reasons for its preservation (Burke, 1997; Dames & Moore, 1975; Namibia Bird Club, 1994). The intention here is not to describe the ecology of the dam in any detail, but merely to highlight those aspects which are expected to form part of users' experience as related in conversation.

The Avis dam area is located to the east of Windhoek²⁶, partly in Township Nr. 70 and partly in Windhoek townlands, at 17° 7' 55"E and 22° 39' 17" (Ramdohr, ca. 1988). It occupies some 230-290 Ha (Municipal Council of Windhoek, 1997; Ramdohr, ca. 1988). To the north it is surrounded by the Eros mountains, and to the south by the foothills of the Auas mountains. The Auas mountains themselves, up to 1900m high (Ramdohr, ca. 1988), provide a striking visual framework for the dam. They and their foothills contribute significantly to the visual relief which the dam environment provides from the human-made city environment.

The dam receives water from the Avis and Klein Windhoek rivers which enter the dam from the north, and south respectively. Although planned to supply the city with water, during the period 1933/34 to 1998 May, the dam was only over 90% full on four occasions²⁷ (Ramdohr, ca. 1988). More often than not, the dam's water level is low, or non-existent. The Avis dam was withdrawn from the city's water supply system in July 1987 and the water extraction works below the dam wall are currently not in use (oral communication, Superintendent: City Engineer's Department, Water Services Operations, 22 May 1998). Walking along the top of the dam wall, or next to it, or sitting on it, are favourite behaviour patterns.

Other than the dam itself, there are three main landforms: the slopes and ridges of the Eros and Auas foothills, the riverbeds, and the floodplain. The slopes and ridges provide the potential for off-road driving, climbing, hiking trails and outlook points. They also support the highland savanna vegetation, typical of which is perennial grass, the *Acacia* tree, and less commonly, *Boscia* and *Combretum* (Burke, 1997). These trees are also the target of illegal woodcutters. The area around the dam supports a variety of fauna, perhaps the most significant of which for Avis dam users, are the birds [some 187 species have been observed there (Burke, 1997)], baboon troops, and buck. These latter

²⁶ This is not the original site of the dam as planned in 1898 by Th Rehbock of the German Colonial Administration. The interested reader can consult Lau & Stern's (1990) "Namibian Water Resources and their management. A preliminary history", *Archeia* Nr. 15, National Archives Windhoek

²⁷ 1933/34 [year of construction completion]; 1941/42; 1949/50; and 1962/63

are dwindling in number as poaching, and human traffic generally in the area increases. Animal tracks can still be seen at the dam, and early morning/late evening walkers may be lucky enough to observe the remaining buck.

The bed of the river which enters the floodplain from the south-east is another favourite area for scramblers and off-road drivers. Windhoekers, private and commercial, have grown used over the years to removing the accumulated soil and stones from the river bed [which is often indistinguishable from the floodplain]. Little or no vegetation is left on the floodplain; the roots of the few remaining trees are quite badly exposed because of commercial soil removal, and off-road driving.

5.1.4 Socio-economic context of the Avis dam environment

Socio-economic context is crucial, for it influences municipal policy on the Avis dam environment.

Windhoek, Namibia's capital city, has a population of approximately 180 000²⁸, which is estimated to grow at between 5-6% per year (Frayne, 1992). It has a highly skewed socio-economic profile. Five percent of its population accounts for 70% of its GDP, while the poorest 55% account for only 3% (Frayne, 1992). Its residents are greatly disparate in their income patterns, housing, education and political consciousness levels [that is, in their self-perceived ability to influence the decision-making process (Frayne, 1992)]. To understand the political context of the Council's shift in allocation of its resources [referred to in an interview with the Chief Town Planner, December 1994²⁹], the pressure on land on Windhoek's urban fringe, and the political activism which surrounds the Avis dam, it is helpful to contrast Katutura, a suburb on Windhoek's western edge, near the Goreangab dam, with the Klein Windhoek, Ludwigsdorf and Avis suburbs on Windhoek's eastern edge, near the Avis dam.

Most of the city's in-migrators typically settle first in Katutura, which in 1992, was home to just over half of Windhoek's residents. Katutura experiences a high unemployment rate [about 50%], low education levels, lack of skills, single parent households, poor food security, and a high natural growth rate. Formal housing is unaffordable to the majority (Frayne, 1992). Crime is a major problem. Katutura has now extended to include a large informal settlement on the shores of the Goreangab dam, where the water is polluted, and deforestation to supply fuel, fencing and income is rapid.

By contrast, the Avis dam is situated on the edge of Windhoek's eastern suburbs, which are already home to some of the nation's leading politicians. Property values in the east are amongst the highest in the city (Municipality of Windhoek, 1998). Although residential pressure in Ludwigsdorf is high [threatening the scenic hilltops there], it is not as great in Avis, which is earmarked for residential development from the year 2000 onwards (Municipality of Windhoek, 1980). The dam is popular amongst whites [and increasingly amongst persons of colour too] as a recreation resort; most of its visitors come from Windhoek's more affluent suburbs; and many of Windhoek's top earners visit the area (Quantum Research, 1995). The significance of these facts is the link

²⁸ Estimates vary: "Windhoek Facts" in the ca. 1997 street map of Windhoek printed for the Windhoek Municipality by John Meinert Printing gives the population as 182 000; Braby's 1997 "A review of commerce, industry and tourism in Namibia '97" gives it as 169 000

²⁹ Transcript available on request

between socio-economic status and environmental concern, which has already been discussed, as has the link between environmental concern and social activism. Both can be seen at work in the public interest surrounding the protection of the Avis dam.

5.1.5 The political-economic context of the Avis dam

5.1.5.1 Avis dam within the Windhoek Municipality's urban open space policy

Formal planning frequently guides the rule structures and behaviour sequences seen in a setting - when no formal plan can be identified, implicit rules evolve which are communicated by those familiar with the setting's natural history of use (Winkel, 1991). Municipal policy is a particularly important metasystem, because it provides the tangible and intangible civic community resources available for achieving any aims and objectives (Ventre, 1989) relating to the Avis dam. Municipal policy reflects the changing political, legal and socio-economic context of the dam's past and present setting programme. It also reflects the dam's history.

The nature of Windhoek's present official urban open space policy (Municipality of Windhoek, 1996) is better understood when compared with the previous policy, which dated from 1980, and which was conceptualized by a professional team of environmental designers (Dames & Moore, 1975). This policy is therefore discussed first. The Dames & Moore (1975) conceptualization, incorporated in the 1980 municipal guide plan (Municipality of Windhoek, 1980), linked activity nodes [parks, school grounds, the golf course, historic buildings, and so on], natural corridors [primarily the Arebusch, Gammams and Klein Windhoek Rivers], and six conservation areas, including the Goreangab and Avis dams at the western and eastern city edges respectively, into a unified system of interrelated open space. In the land use development plan accompanying the 1980 Guide Plan for the Windhoek Basin (Municipality of Windhoek, 1980, plan P/1111/S, scale 1:25 000), the Avis dam area is demarcated as an "Open space recreational area". An indication of "conservancy" land use in a guide plan does not however enjoy any legal status, as would for example, a zoning of the same area as public or private open space (oral communication, Ms. S. Engelbrecht, Windhoek town planner, January 1998).

In the 1996 Structure Plan (Municipality of Windhoek, 1996), the Avis dam is discussed together with the Goreangab and van Rhijn dams, as a "major recreational opportunity". No indication is given that it retains its 1980 informal "conservancy" status, or that any special status, formal or informal, is accorded to it [compare its undetermined zoning with that of the van Rhijn dam which is zoned as "public open space", or with that of the remains of the Kleine Kuppe conservancy, now designated in the 1996 structure plan as the "Kleine Kuppe Nature Park"]. No vision of its future zoning as "public open space" or park is given. On one of the maps in the 1996 Structure Plan (Municipality of Windhoek, 1996), the dam is depicted in an area described as "Open space predominantly for recreational purposes, sports clubs, game farms, lodges and tourist centres" (Municipality of Windhoek, 1996; untitled map following annexure 1). The shift in municipal thinking on the Avis dam seems clear, though the ultimate destination of the shift is not. By not committing itself to a public open space zoning for the area, the Council has left itself wide discretionary powers (Ventre, 1989) on the dam environment's future use.

5.1.5.2 The Avis dam's legal history³⁰

Construction of the dam was completed in 1933. It became a park by Government Notice in 1939, in terms of the Parks Regulations of 1929. Its status as a park remained unchanged for almost 40 years, until the 1939 Government Notice was repealed by the Parks, Recreation Grounds and Camping Site Regulations of 1977. Because of technical-legal reasons, these regulations could *not* be made applicable to the dam area, though the City Council passed a resolution to this effect (Council resolution 696/9/79). In 1980, Council followed the correct legal procedures, and the area was validly set aside as a temporary park in terms of sections 177 and 231 of the Municipal Ordinance, 1963, with the consent of the SWA/Namibia Executive Committee.

5.1.5.3 The setting programme as it was prior to 1994³¹

Following the 1980 decision, several notice boards [one of which is still standing on the entrance road to the dam, and the other two on the floodplain side] were erected at the dam and floodplain areas. They contain the setting programme as it was originally conveyed to the general public, and before the dam's legal status as a park was publicly placed in doubt towards the end of 1994 (paragraph 5.1.5.4):

- "1. The Avis dam area is established as a park under section 177(1)(b) of the Municipal Ordinance of 1963 together with Resolution No. 696/9/79 of the City Council of Windhoek.
2. Admission to the dam area is permitted for pedestrians only from sunrise to sunset.
3. Pollution of the dam area is prohibited. Flora & fauna shall not be disturbed.
4. Admission to the draw-off tower and treatment works is prohibited.
5. Angling and boating is prohibited.
6. No motor vehicle or motor cycle is allowed inside the fenced-off dam area.
7. No fire-arms, pellet guns, bows and arrows, slingshots, etc. are permitted.
8. Dogs are allowed.
9. All other regulations relating to parks, recreation grounds and camping sites of the City of Windhoek as promulgated under Government Notice No. 73 dated 15 February 1977 shall apply."

5.1.5.4 The 1994 Malaysian development proposal

The philosophy underlying the 1975 Dames & Moore open space and recreation concept plan, was that six conservation areas [inter alia, the Goreangab and Avis dams, and Kleine Kuppe - an attractive hilltop feature providing panoramic views of the city] should be preserved from urban encroachment (Dames & Moore, 1975; Municipality of Windhoek, 1980). The nearest area to the Avis dam envisaged for future development at that stage was the area south of the dam, across the main Gobabis road, which was earmarked for low density residential development.

³⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, the information for this section is taken from Greenspace files, which are kept by the Secretary of the organization.

³¹ The year of the Malaysian development proposal, discussed in the next paragraph. It forms an important turning point in the dam's history

Open space however, especially on the urban fringe, is particularly vulnerable to socio-economic development pressure even when conceptualized as a conservancy³². During 1994, the Windhoek Municipality received from a Malaysian developer, a proposal to build a recreation club, housing development, and possibly also a hotel, *within* the Avis dam conservation area [as demarcated on the 1980 land use development plan (Municipality of Windhoek, 1980)]. In May 1994, the Council registered the erf intended for the development, erf 2882³³. Only in December 1994, were the public invited through the media to lodge objections. There were strong objections, largely on the grounds that the area was understood by the public to be a park or nature reserve, and that the development was therefore not appropriate. During the public protest meetings which followed, Council members stated that contrary to public opinion, municipal legal advisers were of the opinion that the Avis dam area enjoyed no legal protection as a park or nature reserve.

5.1.5.5 Subsequent development proposals

The Malaysian proposal eventually fell through because of funding difficulties. Nevertheless erf 2882 remains of prime interest to commercial developers. In April 1998, the Windhoek Municipality, unable to decide between two rival offers, called for tenders for the lease of the erf for the erection of a hotel³⁴ (Windhoek Aloe, May 1998).

5.1.6 Non-governmental policies

5.1.6.1 Greenspace

Non-governmental (NGO) policies are also an important metacontext for the dam. Volunteer organization policies for example, frequently differ radically from those of government, and can be implemented more rapidly (Ventre, 1989; Gale, 1992). The most important NGO policy to be considered is clearly that of Greenspace. During the same series of public protest meetings which followed the announcement of the Malaysian development proposal, the Namibian Greenspace Project [now simply Greenspace] came into being. As one of its objectives was to ensure the protection of the dam as a nature area, its Steering Committee called for a legal opinion on the dam's status as park³⁵. According to this, the dam was, and still is, legally set aside as a

³² The Goreangab and Kleine Kuppe areas did not fare much better. The Goreangab area is now home to a large informal settlement, its water polluted and the area deforested; the Kleine Kuppe area was sold for a Taiwanese development which has not yet materialized. Both areas are effectively destroyed as conservancies. This ties in with Gale's (1992, p.723) findings in a Canadian study that where policymakers support a neo-classical or socioeconomic development model [as opposed to an ecologically sustainable development model] "environmental issues are rarely considered integral to decisions on the economy and that support for genuine integration lies outside the institutional arrangements and decision-making centers of economic and social development"

³³ Deeds Office folio 2882, Klein Windhoek

³⁴ Greenspace again registered its objections to commercial development on that site, and during an unofficial meeting with senior municipal officials on 5 May 1998, put forward alternative development sites (Harper & Maritz, 1998)

³⁵ The Steering Committee also submitted to the Council a counter-proposal to the Malaysian development, which was rejected. The Malaysians eventually withdrew their proposal because of funding difficulties

temporary park³⁶. In February 1997 Greenspace applied to the Municipality to lease the Avis dam environment, and was granted a one-year lease. The same reservation of wide discretionary power over the dam's future use discussed in paragraph 5.1.5.1, can be seen in the terms of the lease agreement (Municipal Council of Windhoek, 1997), which excluded erf 2882³⁷ from the area. Extension of the lease, which expired in June 1998, is subject to the submission by Greenspace of an acceptable management plan for the area. At the moment then³⁸, the autonomy of Greenspace in the area is somewhat tenuous. Should the management plan (Harper & Maritz, 1998) be accepted, and the lease extended, Greenspace's autonomy would be considerably extended. The management plan would become an important metacontext for understanding both the dam's identity, and users' experiences of the dam.

5.1.6.2 Present setting programme

My interest in the dam's status as park at this stage, is not the legal niceties [though that is an important concern for the management plan] but that for many years, the dam's "park" status had guided the setting programme. By the time Greenspace acquired the lease, there was in the mind of the general public, considerable ambiguity on what behaviour patterns were, or were not, appropriate at the dam. The ambiguity provides the context for the considerable friction [related in the interview stage] between those who remember the "old" setting programme, and those who recognize no rules whatsoever³⁹.

I suggest that the reversal of the dam's status as a protected area, in public, by Councillors, was not the only contextual factor contributing to the conflicting behaviour patterns now seen at the dam. Other possible contributing socio-political and socio-economic factors are the non-availability in recent years of the Goreangab dam on the western side of Windhoek as a recreation resort⁴⁰, due to the socio-ecological factors mentioned earlier. The relatively high crime rate in other undeveloped areas of Windhoek compared to the Avis dam area [which is still regarded as reasonably safe, even though there have been incidents recently of theft and assault (Kohrs, 1998), and the increasing pressure on the area by the very rich [commercial and residential development] and the very poor [who seek economic survival through harvesting the assets of the dam] are also influencing factors.

Perhaps the most important contributory factor is the precedent set by those casual visitors who have not yet assimilated the "new" rules of the setting. According to Barker (1968, p. 81), the "central problem of behavior setting operation is to get the proper

³⁶ The legal opinion also stated that the Council could revoke this status at any time 14. Section 17.4.4. reads: "that tenders might be invited for development of erf 2882 as a suitable tourist accommodation facility in future and should the successful tenderer require additional land for this purpose adjacent to erf 2882, same will be extracted from the lease agreement" (Municipal Council of Windhoek, 1997)

³⁸ That is, July 1998. Greenspace has been informed that the Council has extended the present lease period by six months, while the recommendations of the management plan are considered by officials

³⁹ This ambiguity was lessened somewhat when Greenspace erected in the first week of February 1998, one visitors' information board at the dam parking area and two at the floodplain

⁴⁰ According to Wicker (1987) any historical analysis of a setting should not only consider events and other settings which contributed to the focal setting's establishment and maintenance, but also antecedent settings that previously served same or similar functions to the focal setting

program stored within ... inhabitants ...". This both neatly highlights one of the present problems at the dam, and confirms the necessity for a management plan for the area, which clearly sets out appropriate behaviours, *and* the ways of making these generally known.

5.2 THE BASELINE OBSERVATION

“One of the major tasks for setting analysis involves the mapping of setting programs, which in turn involves the identification of the behavioral rules that determine the nature of the programs themselves” (Wicker, 1979, cited in Winkel, 1991, p. 79).

5.2.1 Rationale for method

The decision to observe the setting as one way of understanding and describing it, derives primarily from Barker's (1968) ecological⁴¹ behaviour setting theory. Its primary method is observation of behaviour *in its natural setting*, to answer questions such as: What is happening in this setting? What are the natural units in the stream of happenings I see here (Kaminski, 1989)? The need to observe that Barker's theory stresses, is echoed in Relph's (1976) identification of "activities" as a dimension of place experience, and also in Kvale's (1996) injunction to the researcher to "hang around" the context of study during interview research.

5.2.2 Barker's observation method

Barker held that ecological psychology is a "transducer science", that is, when the ecological psychologist functions as a transducer-observer [as opposed to the operational observer of experimental science], the data-generating system created by the coupling of the psychologist and the thing observed, "... produces data that denote a world the psychologist did not make in any respect ..." (Barker, 1968, p.141). The ecological psychologist is a "... docile receiver, coder, and transmitter of information..." (Barker, 1968, p. 143).

As already discussed elsewhere, a systems researcher could not agree with this, nor could an empowerment-oriented community researcher. The variables chosen from Barker's suggested dimensions of observation [discussed next] in themselves represent the researcher's construction of the things needing to be observed, and so will necessarily generate a researcher-constructed description of the dam environment.

5.2.3 Is the Avis dam environment a behaviour setting by Barker's criteria?

It has been implicitly assumed throughout this discussion, that the Avis dam environment is a behaviour setting, the behaviour patterns of which are open to

⁴¹ Barker characterized his theory as "ecological" in the sense that it aims to describe and analyze naturally occurring behaviour in its natural surroundings (Kaminski, 1989)

observation. This assumption is examined in Chapter Six in the light of the results obtained from the observation data.

5.2.4 The descriptive dimensions of a behaviour setting

If a place is a behaviour setting, then it can be described in terms of specific dimensions which are open to observation (Barker, 1968). Brief descriptions of all the dimensions are given in Chapter Six, so that the context of, and rationale for the particular dimensions, or aspects of dimensions observed [or not observed] become clear. At this point, the observable and describable dimensions of a behaviour setting are merely listed:

- Geographical locus
- Occurrence
- Temporal locus, and duration
- Population
- Occupancy time
- Action patterns
- Functional position of inhabitants
- Behaviour mechanisms
- Pressure
- Welfare
- Local autonomy.

Not all these dimensions were observed. Observation data were gathered primarily as a context within which to understand users' experiences at the dam as related in interviews, to guide inclusion or exclusion of items in the questionnaire phase of the study, to assist Greenspace in its management of the area, and to provide selected base data for the management plan. Thus observations of both desirable and undesirable behaviour patterns at the dam were frequently fed into pre-management plan remedial or facilitative actions by Greenspace. These in turn recursively influenced observed behaviour patterns. The erection of [off-road] vehicle restriction signs to break the natural synomorphy between milieu and behaviour in the floodplain, was one such example.

The variables finally selected were chosen as indicators of:

- (a) demographics of users
- (b) behaviour patterns both encouraged and discouraged at the dam and floodplain,

and the underlying rationale was that the aggregated information should contribute to the study and management plan as follows:

Base information	To infer	For
Range of activities	Behaviour patterns at dam and floodplain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding interviewees' experiences • Activity management • Facility provision • Questionnaire item selection
Visit timing and duration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peak and off-peak times • Behaviour patterns 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toilet provision • Understanding interviewees' experiences • Questionnaire item selection
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maximum number of people • Maximum number of cars 	Peak/off-peak visiting times during weekdays and weekends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carrying capacity estimates for various land use zones • Security provision

5.2.5 Sampling

5.2.5.1 Of people

The dam and its floodplain are settings which any person may choose to enter or leave with no social, political or economical constraints. While the *people* observed did self-select themselves into the setting, there were no formal rules for their assignment to setting, or self-selection, in experimental design language. There are quite possibly socio-economic and personal interest factors at work though, the possibility of which is recognized, but investigation of which was beyond the scope of this study. The behaviour patterns observed were therefore assumed to be representative of the behaviour patterns of any persons who could potentially also self-select themselves into the setting (Winkel, 1991).

5.2.5.2 Of seasons

Apart from the various theoretical imperatives to engage with a setting over a period of time, my own informal knowledge also suggests that use [and experience] of the Avis dam environment co-varies with season. For example, good rains, and time of day, are two factors which strongly influence use and experience.

Experientially [for the researcher], the seasons at the dam occur as follows:

- September/October - February/ March [*Summer*]

The weather at the dam is hot, and dry, unless there has been some rain in the "little" rainy season in December/January. In a good rainy season, there can be inflow into the dam during this period. Mornings and evenings are pleasantly cool. Ants which bite are a particular problem around December and January

- March-April [*Spring*]

"Big" rainy season; an influx of water into the floodplain and dam is possible; temperatures and conditions at the dam are more pleasant than in summer, and for longer hours too. Sometimes spectacular sunsets are a feature of this time of year

- May - June [*Autumn*]

The change to winter time [usually in April] in which clocks are set back an hour, means that the period of light after working hours becomes extremely short - this in turn influences the occupancy times of the dam

- June/July - August/September [*Winter*]

Late "black" frost is possible in and around the dam area which can be extremely cold. It can also become dry and dusty; if it is, then these conditions are aggravated by the wind [often rather cold] which usually begins around September.

Unfortunately, the study's timeframe did not permit a full year's observation. Observations began on a trial basis from mid-December 1997 to mid-January 1998,

and continued on a more formalized basis until approximately middle May⁴². The full seasonal effect on behaviour patterns could therefore not be captured, but the observation period [a little less than 5 months] did encompass exactly that part of the year when the dam offers some of its most pleasant weather, the greatest possible inflow/presence of water, the widest range of activities, and the changeover from summer to winter time.

5.2.5.3 Of areas, days, times and activities

Following the model used by Low (1997) in her observations of urban public "brown" spaces, I worked out a method by which I hoped to be able to observe a sample of all activities which occurred in the key areas of the dam environment during the five-month observation period.

The first decision was, which areas to observe? Informal observation [confirmed by the trial period observation from December 1997 to January 1998] suggested that the prime usage areas are the dam wall and water's edge/hillsides at the traditional dam area, the water's edge and riverbed in the floodplain, as well as the hillsides immediately north of it. Although this area probably represents less than 10% of the entire dam environment, it still provides a good sample of behaviour patterns occurring there.⁴³

Areas, activities and times were sampled as follows:

(a) Certain Greenspace Friends of Avis members between them⁴⁴ recorded from approximately mid-December 1997 to mid-January 1998, the activities they had observed at the dam and at the floodplain during their normal walk routines. These included week and weekend days, morning or evening walks, and either the floodplain, or the dam area, or both. They were unobtrusive and "moving" observations, and served to give an idea of what people were doing when not in the immediate vicinity of the dam or floodplain's entrances.

(b) From about mid-January to the end of the observation period, two types of observations were undertaken:

- in the first period, I, usually assisted by one other Greenspace Friends of Avis member, undertook "stationery" observations at the visitors' parking area at the dam, and at the floodplain entrance over at least

⁴² This was a "natural" cut-off point in that the management plan was already in draft final stage, and the interviewing phase completed, by mid- May

⁴³ It would not however normally include poaching or woodcutting which takes place further away from the most-used visitor routes

⁴⁴ Gudrun Gongoll, Bertchen Kohrs, Nina Maritz, and Kitti Stern

two weekends. During these "sectoral" observations, I recorded activities seen⁴⁵, duration of visit, sex, broad categories of age, and maximum number of vehicles. This was obtrusive observation as I openly observed and recorded vehicle registration numbers as cars arrived and left

- Thereafter, "timescans" were undertaken at both the dam area and the floodplain during different days and times of the week, to obtain an idea of the setting's occurrence times, and maximum number of vehicles. Each ten minutes, from a reasonable vantage point, I scanned the area using field glasses. At the floodplain, I was particularly interested in observing the effect of vehicle restriction signs which had been placed at vulnerable areas, in an attempt to break the synomorphy which particularly off-road drivers perceived between milieu and activity!

Throughout these observations, I included myself and my vehicle in the people and car statistics generated. The results are discussed in Chapter Six.

5.3 INTERVIEWING

5.3.1 Rationale for method

"... [An important] assumption lying behind my definition of ecological validity is that major emphasis should be placed on understanding the meanings or interpretations that people provide for the environments they encounter over the course of their development." (Winkel, 1991, p. 85).

Barker's (1968) ecological psychology highlights the importance of observation as an "objective" means of describing the physical fit between a place and the behaviour patterns occurring there. But what do the observed behaviour patterns *mean*? According to Kvale (1996, p.105) an interview is well-suited to studying "people's understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences ... and clarifying and elaborating their own perspective on their lived world" (Kvale, 1996, p.105). Interviewing seemed an appropriate method to add depth, richness and colouring - *significance* - to the record of activities observed.

⁴⁵ Observation at the floodplain proved difficult as vision from the floodplain entrance over the whole floodplain area is limited

Interviewing as method also meets the requirements of more recent ecological psychologists not only to describe what is observed, but understand, explain and interpret it as well (Georgiou & Carspecken⁴⁶, 1996; Kaminski, 1989). Observed person-environment behaviour needs to be understood within people's "... personal histories, demographic backgrounds, values, [and] symbolic associations to settings ..." (Winkel, 1991, p.72). Aggregated interview information would also meet Stokol's (1991) requirement for a *composite representation* of people and environment, of person-place interdependence.

Kvale (1996) suggests that interview research be conceptualized in seven stages: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying, and reporting. Because of its qualitative nature, interview research, particularly its reliability, generalizability and validity [verification in Kvale's terms], is often viewed as non-scientific (Kvale, 1996). Although verifying is represented as one phase of the research process, it runs like a thread through all phases. I therefore discuss it briefly as a principle, and again where appropriate in the context of the other phases. It is not discussed as a separate phase.

5.3.2 Verifying

Kvale (1996, p.229) suggests that although the "holy trinity" of quantitative psychological science - reliability, validity, and generalizability - are not suitable concepts for qualitative research, they should not be dismissed altogether, but re-defined [as discussed in Chapter Four]. At the various stages of the interview process, I indicate how and to what extent, the demand for reliability, validity and generalizability have been met in this stage of the study.

5.3.3 Thematizing the interview

The researcher has two simultaneous tasks in this phase of interview research. Firstly, he or she should establish whether and if some framework exists which would provide a provisional understanding and/or hypothetical description of the research question. This was found in ecological psychology's behaviour settings approach [used in the observation stage], and also in Relph's (1976) phenomenological concept of "place".

And, the researcher should clarify *what* she wishes to know. I hoped to understand and describe if and how users conceptualize the identity of the Avis dam, and how they

⁴⁶ Georgiou & Carspecken (1996) used a combination of Barker's behaviour setting survey and critical qualitative research to understand and describe behaviour patterns in a university department

identify themselves with it. What meanings do the dam and its floodplain have for them (Kvale, 1996; Relph, 1976)? How do they feel about development there?

Key questions for this stage then were:

- Does the Avis dam have an "identity" or sense of place for its users?
- What is it? To what extent is it largely idiosyncratic - different for different users?
Or is there some level of intersubjective agreement?
- If there is, what would the implications be for development [commercial and non-commercial] at the dam? If there were for example intersubjective agreement that the dam does indeed have "identity", then formal knowledge of the dam's experienced "... distinctive and essential features ..." (Relph, 1976, p. 6) would be needed to ensure that only changes which do not destroy its uniqueness are proposed in the management plan.

5.3.4 Designing the interview

A researcher working within the phenomenological approach, is interested in where in the "life world" of the respondent, the thing she is researching manifests itself. The life world "is the world as it is encountered in everyday life and given in direct and immediate experience, independent of and prior to explanations." (Kvale, 1996, p.54). The meaning of the Avis dam would be likely to manifest itself therefore primarily in the opinions of *users* of the Avis dam, and probably in the context of a visit to the dam.

According to Kvale (1996, p.49), the qualitative interview researcher should have an extensive knowledge of the research topic so that he/she may be "... sensitive to the nuances of meanings expressed and the different contexts into which the meanings may enter." (Kvale, 1996, p. 49). Before the interviewing phase began, I therefore added to my own personal knowledge of the dam by studying research literature on ecological and phenomenological approaches to understanding urban open space and place generally, as well as by studying documents and debates on the Avis dam issue specifically. I extended this conceptual knowledge through ongoing formal observation before and during the interviewing.

The next step in this phase was to decide whether the research design should be exploratory, or hypothesis testing. I decided on the former, even though I had two tentative hypotheses in mind: the Avis dam *does* have an identifiable "genius loci", and, this spirit of place could be damaged if any development in the area was not undertaken within an understanding of that spirit.

5.3.4.1 Pre-design of the interview schedule

Kvale (1996) insists that the interview should have an implicit structure, whether or not this structure is translated into actual questions. This structure [derived from some pre-knowledge of the phenomenon being investigated] both guides the interview itself, and provides the framework for subsequent analysis.

The two options I considered were either a totally unstructured interview, or open-ended questions within some sort of pre-structure. I opted for the latter for several reasons. I firstly was interested in how far Relph's (1976) understanding of "place" as a fusion of meaning, act and context would contribute to an understanding of the Avis dam's identity. Pre-constructing some open-ended questions relating to these components made sense because it would allow me to really listen while the respondent was talking without devoting at least some mental energy to wondering what I should ask⁴⁷ next. It would ensure a level of consistency across interviews that I would not be able to obtain with entirely open-ended interviewing. It should also allow me to compare respondents' answers across questions, should I wish to do so. Finally, because the research was also intended to contribute to the Greenspace management plan for the area, certain questions needed to be asked, such as what activities should be included or excluded at the dam, and how users felt about development at the dam. Such topics were easily accommodated within Relph's (1976) components of place identity [setting, activities, meaning] anyway.

A draft interview schedule, structured around the three components of a place's identity, and indicating both potential open-ended questions, and subsequent analysis elements, is attached as annexure A.

5.3.4.2 Sampling design

Sampling design concerns itself with the requirements respondents would have to meet, to take part in the interview phase of the project.

Quantitative psychological research sets store by a sampling design [often based on randomness], and a sample size large enough to allow statistical generalization from the sample to the target population. Settings where the variables of interest can be controlled, are generally preferred (Kerlinger, 1986). Qualitative researchers on the other hand, usually work with small samples of people, who are studied in-depth, in the setting/s of interest (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This latter approach is reflected in the sampling design, which was *not* based on randomness. It can be described as a theory-driven [(Relph's (1976) concept of "place" at this stage of the study), maximum-variation purposive sample, with the possibility of evolving as the interview phase progressed (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Within this methodology, I decided that respondents should be users, because otherwise they would not have had the *lived* experience I wished to research (Polkinghorne, 1989). There were no other requirements, except that the interview should be on-site. Because formal observation confirmed that activities in the "dam" and "floodplain" areas differ a little from each other, interviews were conducted in both these areas.

Relph (1976, p.45) also felt that "... it is not just the identity *of* a place that is important, but also the identity that a person or group has *with* that place, in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or outsider." I therefore planned to interview people who [from their activities] could be expected to feel differing degrees of insiderness and outsiderness towards the dam.

⁴⁷ This had been an experience during previous unstructured interviewing

The sample comprised first time and long-time users; men or women of all age groups, alone, or with their families or friends; walking, dogwalking or picnicking [the main activities at the dam]. In ecological psychology terms, some "setting founders" (Wicker 1987, p. 644) [Greenspace members] were interviewed too, to hear their "scripts" for the Avis dam area. To provide a counterbalance, three local authority officials intimately connected with the dam's future management were also interviewed, but not according to the pre-designed interview schedule⁴⁸. The objective was not however so much representativeness in its traditional scientific sense as a requirement for generalizability, as it was to gain access to a wide variation in users' experiences of the dam.

As generalization or behaviour prediction were not objectives, I decided to conduct an initial number of 15-20 interviews [about 5 of which would be pilot interviews, the material of which might or might not be included in the final analysis]. Having analyzed those, I would then be able to gauge the probability of new dimensions of experience emerging from further interviews or not. If this seemed probable, I would then conduct more interviews until a sufficient saturation point had been reached, that is, no further categories of experience were emerging.

The final sample comprised 30 people across 18 interviews. A summary analysis of the sample's characteristics appears in annexure B.

5.3.5 Generating data

The interviews were conducted only by myself. On the one hand, this ensured reliability [consistency]. On the other hand, it opened up the possibility of interviewer bias, especially since I have such a strong sense of identification with the dam. To counteract this, I spent some time undertaking Polkinghorne's (1989) "pre-interview self-reflection". This helped me identify, and become aware of my own assumptions about, and wishes for, the dam and floodplain (Polkinghorne, 1989). I also decided to adopt maximum transparency in data gathering and analysis during the interview phase, so that others could judge for themselves in how far they agreed with my interpretations.

In principle, I budgeted one hour for each interview: 30 minutes for briefing and debriefing of respondents [including obtaining informed consent, permission for

⁴⁸ Transcripts of these interviews are available, but not included in this study

subsequent quotation, and guaranteeing confidentiality], and 30 minutes for the actual interview. In practice though, interviews seldom exceeded 20 minutes.

The interviews were on the whole audio-taped, so as not to lose the richness of respondents' replies, and so that the tapes could act as a source of verification. However, if a respondent didn't wish to be taped, I took handwritten notes instead.

5.3.5.1 Pre-testing of the interview schedule

The pilot phase consisted of nine interviews conducted over weekends in February 1998, at both the dam area and the floodplain.

The order of the questions in the schedule was found to work reasonably well in that people would often themselves spontaneously mention the topic on which the next question was to be asked according to the pre-design. I took the wide range of answers I received to some of the pre-designed questions as an indication that they were open enough to allow a respondent to offer whatever was important to them, without being too much restricted by the question. For example, one respondent mentioned birds in reply to almost every question, another water sport, and another, the place's peace and quiet.

The question "How would you describe this area" which was intended to test the "imageability" of the area according to Lynch's theory as discussed by Relph (1976) as an element of "place", did not produce the expected results [e.g. strong references to a view for example], but did produce some wonderful descriptions of the dam's meanings for people [Chapter Six]. In later interviews, a follow-up question "any particular feature which captures the essence of the place?" was introduced. This too required some modification as it seemed people had difficulty responding to the word "essence" - the straightforward question: "Is there any particular view that you like?" worked best.

Another change made was to shorten the introduction to simply "I am a University student doing research on the Avis dam, how people feel and think about it, would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?" If yes, I then explained briefly that it was for a Master's degree, and for the Avis dam management plan, and also explained confidentiality. For most this was enough; some wanted more detail at the end of the interview.

In the first few interviews I began by asking biographical detail, but later found it better to conduct the interview first and then at the end [once we had built up a working relationship] whether they were prepared to give me names and a contact telephone number. The disadvantage here was that I sometimes forgot to ask this crucial information!

In the first few interviews, the last question about development was incorrectly asked as a specific reference to a hotel or lodge; this was corrected in later pilot interviews, as it was too focussed. People usually brought up the topic of lodges, hotels and restaurants quite spontaneously.

The quality of the pilot interviews was judged good enough to be included in the final sample of 18 interviews.

5.3.5.2 Main interviewing phase

In practice this was not clearly distinguishable from the pilot phase. It commenced in March 1998, and comprised a further 9 interviews.

Throughout I tried to achieve correspondence as a qualitative equivalent of validity. That is, there should be confidence that the respondent is saying what the researcher says he is saying. This is achieved through Kvale's (1996) self-correcting interviewing method – that is, on-the-spot interpretation of subjects' meanings, with immediate subject feedback, during the interview, and if necessary, in a re-interview. Although I did this whenever it seemed necessary during the interview, transcription revealed that I did miss some golden follow-up opportunities to establish the full meaning of what was said. This experience did highlight though what Kvale (1996) considers one of the strengths of interview research - the possibility of contacting a respondent later, to follow up loose ends. I did not do this however, as I felt the immediacy of what had been said in the vibrant context of the dam or floodplain would not be recoverable at another time and place.

5.3.6 Transcribing

In interview research, the reader is primarily dependent on what the researcher says the respondent is saying (Kvale, 1996). Kvale (1996) recommends that reliability and validity in the transcription stage of the design should be sought by -

- using more than one transcriber
- employing the method of inter-transcriber reliability
- adopting a clear, written editorial policy.

Of these methods, I opted for the last only.

I decided that to achieve the highest level of transparency in the written presentation of the interviews, the transcription would be as *literal* as I could possibly make it. Punctuation has therefore been omitted except where it is essential to understand the text, and each um, ah, yes and uhuh has been recorded as faithfully as possible. No attempt has been made to smooth out people's talking mannerisms [my own included!]. Different font types have been used for the different participants in an interview, and the transcription therefore also gives a visual picture of how participants agreed, disagreed or interrupted each other during the interview. To re-create the atmosphere and context of the interview as far as possible, its time and place have been recorded as part of the transcription, laughter has been indicated too, and many illustrative footnotes have been inserted. Generally, interviews were transcribed within days of being recorded, while the content and circumstances were still fresh in my mind.

For those wishing to verify content, the original tapes [where the interview was recorded] are available.

5.3.7 Analyzing

The purpose of any scientific study, including a qualitative study, is to produce systematic knowledge. This is derived primarily from the analysis stage. Various

qualitative approaches are possible - Kvale (1996) consolidates the many available methods (Tesch, 1990) into five main approaches: condensation; categorization; narrative; interpretation; and ad hoc.

5.3.7.1 Method chosen

Of these, the categorization method of analysis suggested itself for several reasons:

- it seemed appropriate for the subject matter
- it allowed the additional possibility of presenting verbal statements in quantifiable form. This was an important consideration, in case the results needed to be presented to officials and councillors - people who could be expected to feel more comfortable with, and ascribe greater importance to, numbers rather than words
- it allowed validation through the possibility of an agreed on rate of inter-rater reliability.

Most qualitative research textbooks (Kvale, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tesch, 1990) suggest that analysis can and should begin concurrently with interviewing. This gives the opportunity to pre-test and modify one's preliminary categories [and also recursively, the interview guide], so that by the time the interviews are concluded, there should be a workable, flexible, categorization model with which to re-check analysis. The beauty of this method is, that the analysis framework is derived from both pre-knowledge, and from the data themselves.

5.3.7.2 Establishing and allocating category codes

In the analysis stage of qualitative research, rigour, and accountability are to be achieved by a clear account of *how* the coding of transcriptions was done (Kvale, 1996). After the nine pilot interviews were completed, the first analysis was undertaken. Using Relph's (1976) three components of place identity, that is, physical setting, activities [with people implied] and meanings, the first step was to create the codes S for Setting topics, A for Activities, P for People, and M for Meanings. Development is a topical and contentious issue at the dam. What respondents say about it, frequently indirectly expresses the meaning of the dam for them, or their conception of the dam's identity, or both. Hence a separate category D was created for development-related issues.

I then read the first two transcriptions several times, to identify the themes presented by the respondents, and to specify the criteria which would constitute a reference to that theme. As each theme occurred, it was identified as A, B, C, etc., given a tentative name as category of experience, and allocated to one or more of the five main categories S, A, P, M and D. This allowed new themes occurring in subsequent protocols to be added easily. In identifying the themes, and specifying their criteria, I primarily followed the categorical qualitative method outlined by Fiedelvey (1991).

At first, themes presented themselves bewilderingly, elusively and profusely. I felt much like the Eskimos who can distinguish, and have names for, several kinds of snow, where others see only snow. However, by the ninth protocol, the themes had largely stabilized themselves, and it was more a question of deciding on their names and descriptions, than what they should be.

Every effort was made to make the themes as independent of each other as possible. Yet the richness of language is such that respondents do not speak in independent themes. They might say something, and mean that, and something in addition too. A respondent could say: "we saw 30 baboons!" To record this only under SM: wildlife as an attribute of the physical setting would be to lose something of what *else* he/she is saying - this

else could perhaps be an experience of excitement, or appreciation. Themes were therefore sometimes allocated to two or even three categories. This is indicated by the appearance of more than one code in column 3 of the protocol.

Having decided on the coding structure, the next issue was *how often* to record a theme presented by the respondent. Once a protocol is one method (Fiedeldey, 1991). However, to help in understanding a person's idiosyncratic experience of the Avis dam area, I decided on a different method, which is discussed together with my interpretations on this topic, in Chapter Six.

5.3.7.3 Establishing consistency

Although consistency is important at all stages of the process, perhaps it is most pertinently required in the coding of respondents' texts into the established analysis categories. To achieve an acceptable level of reliability in this aspect, the research design included a first coding of the subjects' texts by myself, and then a second coding by another person. A pre-agreed level of inter-rater consistency [around 75%] in coding would indicate intersubjective coding reliability.

Once the themes had stabilized themselves in my mind, I sought inter-rater reliability by consulting GK, a Windhoek-based clinical psychologist, psychology lecturer at the University of Namibia and Avis dam walker. I provided her with the discussion of Relph's theory of place in paragraph 3.7 of Chapter Three: "Urban open space as a phenomenological space", the first two sections of the description of the categorization process at paragraph 5.3.7.2 above, and the first eight protocols of annexure C. No assistance was given as to themes within the five categories established: S, A, P, M and D. The themes identified by GK are listed in annexure E. After two discussions [in April 1998] in which we explained our categories to one another, GK set the inter-rater agreement at more than 75% for *clear* agreement between categories of experience. This was deemed sufficient indication of both rating reliability, and category validity.

5.3.7.4 Verifying analysis results

Analysis results are presented in Chapter Six. Their validity [in the sense that what respondents are saying about the meaning of the Avis Dam reflects "truth" or "reality"] cannot be expressed in validity co-efficients – there will be no one-to-one correspondence between what the dam *is*, and what it *means*. This does not mean that the knowledge generated in this study is not valid knowledge.

Instead, the positivistic meaning of validity was replaced by an attempt to meet the three philosophical criteria for truth: correspondence, coherence, and pragmatism. As examples:

- As high a level as possible of *correspondence* was sought through Kvale's self-correcting method during interviewing, such as: "What do you mean by "commercialization?" Nevertheless, precise meanings which lent themselves easily to categorization did not always emerge; this does not render what was said invalid though - it is in the interview, for anyone to see.
- I attempt to present my understanding of the identity of the Avis dam as revealed in subjects' texts, and what measures would maintain and preserve that identity, as defensible knowledge, as Kvale (1996) suggests. That is, the account of the dam's identity should have persuasive *coherence* for and a credibility to the communities for which they are intended: Avis dam users and policy-makers. Also, an Avis dam user should *recognize, and feel familiar with* most of what is put forward in the description - this is Kvale's (1996, p.234) "analytical generalization".

- Validation can also be understood as the extent to which the knowledge produced has *pragmatic* value (Kvale, 1996). Most of the research results have been included in the management plan [Harper & Maritz, 1998] for the dam, and thus will hopefully contribute to informed action on the dam's future.
- Kvale's (1996) demand for communicative validity has been partly met through the public workshopping of the preliminary draft of the management plan in May 1998.

5.3.8 Reporting

The aim of the research is not only to convey to readers a clear understanding of how users experience (Polkinghorne, 1989) the Avis dam, but also “ ... to advance sensible discussion ...” (Kvale, 1996, p. 245).

The main vehicle for conveying the findings, other than this study, is the Greenspace management plan. Here the intention was to convey to members of the public, municipal officials, and councillors, in a clear, informative way (Polkinghorne, 1989), the essence of the dam's character, the type of development at the dam which would be appropriate [or inappropriate] to that character, and the link between the dam and Windhoek's other urban open spaces. A further intention of the document was to convince the Municipality that Greenspace had both a clear and sustainable land use plan for the Avis dam environment, and the management and financing infrastructure to execute it.

5.4 QUESTIONNAIRE PHASE

It was originally intended that this phase of the study should be a joint undertaking between myself and a resource economist at the Directorate of Environmental Affairs of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

A non-probability sample of approximately 300 respondents was planned, to be selected on a quota basis from three broad socio-economic groupings, based on a GIS⁴⁹, - generated map indicating ground values in Windhoek (Municipality of Windhoek, 1998). The Ministry, which had originally intended to supply the field staff to drop off and re-collect the questionnaires, later found itself unable to do so. As an alternative, a quotation was requested from a local socio-economic research firm to undertake the field work, but the price requested was not viable. Finally, the resource economist resigned from the Ministry.

However, the questionnaire is included as annexure G -

⁴⁹ Geographic Information System

- to demonstrate [intended] commitment to the multiple-method multiple-source methodology advocated in Chapter Four, and
- to show how both the observation and interview data were used in the questionnaire's construction.

Results of the data-generating methods are presented in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER 6: INTERPRETATION OF DATA⁵⁰

Various questions were asked of the differing types of data collected. Interpretations are therefore presented by data type, and within that, by question asked.

6.1 OBSERVATIONS

6.1.1 The questions asked of this phase of the study were

- What activities take place at the dam?
- How may they help in understanding whether the area is a behaviour setting at all?
- Are the dam and floodplain two different behaviour settings or one?
- What do the behaviour patterns say about the quality of the Avis dam area as a behaviour setting?
- How may the Avis dam area be described as a behaviour setting?

6.1.2 What activities take place at the dam and floodplain?

Over a period of five months, Greenspace members⁵¹ and I observed [formally via observation sheets, or simply while out walking at the dam] activities, and signs of activities, seen at the dam and floodplain. Some of the activities recorded were conveyed to me during interviews, or during informal conversations with other users about the dam. A list of activities appears in table T6.1, and a pi-chart at figure F6.1 indicates the frequency of some of the activities observed at the dam in that period.

⁵⁰ This chapter could also have been called "Findings". However I dislike the word, because I don't think there is anything totally objective "out there" to "find". What is written in this chapter, is a co-emergent interpretation of what is "out there"

⁵¹ Gudrun Gongoll, Bertchen Kohrs, Nina Maritz, Kitti Stern

Table T6.1: activities and signs of activities observed at the Avis dam and floodplain, December 1997 to May 1998

At the dam

- Arriving at parking area with dogs running free behind or alongside car
- Sitting in the car at the parking area
- Socializing
- Walking
- Walking with or without dogs off-leash
- Jogging
- Hill-climbing [the flooding of traditional walks by last year's influx of water has led people to create some new paths]
- Swimming
- Playing with dogs in the water
- Horse-riding
- Canoeing, sailing, paddling
- Cycling
- Picnicking in parking area
- Walking with picnic basket
- Commercial photo-shoots and private photography
- Scrambling
- Bird-hunting
- Game poaching
- Littering

- Vandalism, theft, assault
- Sketching
- Group functions [e.g. church groups]
- Bird- watching

At the floodplain

- Driving around in car, with or without dogs running behind
- Sitting in car [sometimes next to the water's edge; sometimes not]
- Socializing
- Walking
- Walking with or without dogs off-leash
- Jogging
- Hill-climbing [using some of the former 4x4 roads]
- Swimming [mostly kiddies]
- Playing with dogs in the water
- Horse-riding
- Canoeing, sailing, paddling
- Cycling
- Extended picnicking [often several hours]
- Commercial photo-shoots
- Scrambling
- Bird-hunting
- Game poaching
- Littering

- Music-playing
- Drinking
- Fire-making for braais [barbecues]
- Overnight camping
- Playing games in the river
- Parking next to the river when it comes down
- Quad driving in the plain and up the hills
- Environmental education
- Dumping
- Woodcutting
- Soil and stone removal
- Off-road driving up the hillsides

Error! Not a valid link.

Figure F6.2: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times of cars at the dam during the week, 5/1/1998 - 15/4/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day⁵⁵

Error! Not a valid link.

Figure F6.3: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times of cars at the dam over weekends, 1/2/1998 - 7/6/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day⁵⁶

Error! Not a valid link.

Figure F6.4: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times of cars at the floodplain during the week, 17/2/1998 - 24/4/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day⁵⁷

Error! Not a valid link.

Figure F6.5: Line chart of peak and off-peak visiting times at the floodplain over weekends, 24/1/1998 - 10/5/1998, aggregated over a hypothetical day⁵⁸

(d) *Population*

A behaviour setting has a definite number of inhabitants at each occurrence. People's presence in a setting is an objective representation of certain aspects of those people (Stokols, 1991). The setting's population can be identified with respect to whatever attributes the researcher considers relevant, such as total number of persons who inhabit it during a specified period, or by subgroupings such as age [for example, people belonging to different age cohorts have differing values and expectations about that setting (Stokols, 1991)], or sex [the sex of a person is often linked to their sense of safety for themselves and their children if any], or social class, or suburb of origin.

Although age and sex of visitors were pre-identified as variables for observation, in practice, accurate observation of age proved difficult. The chart in figure F6.6 below shows the gender distribution, children included, of visitors to the dam during the observation period. Apart from the one outlier result, the general tendency is for more women than men to visit the dam area. Insufficient observation was undertaken at the floodplain to be able to discern any gender pattern.

⁵⁵ 78 observations on 16 days

⁵⁶ 133 observations on 10 days

⁵⁷ 119 observations on 19 days

⁵⁸ 51 observations on 11 days

6.1.3 How may these activities help in understanding whether the Avis dam environment is a behaviour setting at all by Barker's (1968) criteria?

There has been throughout this study an implicit assumption [based on informal knowledge and experience] that the Avis dam environment *is* a behaviour setting whose behaviour patterns are open to observation. To qualify as a "behaviour setting", a setting must be, in Barker's ecological-psychological terminology, a "behaviour-milieu synomorph", which can be determined by applying a structure and a dynamics test (Barker, 1968).

6.1.3.1 The structural test⁵²

- a. Are there a standing patterns of behaviour [patterns in the behaviour of persons en masse which occur independently of the particular persons involved]?
- b. Are they, anchored to a particular milieu?
- c. Can these patterns of behaviour occur at any time in any place, or are they occurring in particular time-space loci? Is the boundary of the setting also the boundary of the behaviour?
- d. Are behaviour and milieu synomorphic, with milieu circumjacent to behaviour?

Observation of behaviour patterns confirms that the answer to all these questions is yes. Table T6.1 shows that walking and dogwalking are behaviour patterns that occur every day, independently of the presence of specific walkers and dogwalkers [the "regulars"]. The behaviours generally are anchored to the specific milieu of the dam and floodplain, and some, picnicking or scrambling for example, tend to take place more in the floodplain than in the dam area. *Some of the individual patterns of behaviour could no doubt occur at any other time or in any other place - there could be boating wherever there were sufficient water in a publicly accessible space, or one could dogwalk in other places, or picnic, or horse-ride, but no other place in Windhoek offers the opportunity to undertake all these behaviour patterns in the same place at the same time.* This observed uniqueness of the area is confirmed in the related experience of users [paragraph 6.2].

6.1.3.2 The dynamics test

The internal dynamics test [based on the activity list] can be used to establish whether the dam and floodplain are two separate behaviour settings, or one. The internal dynamics test considers the degree of interdependence of synomorphs structurally interjacent to each other [in this case, the "dam" interjacent to the "floodplain"]. Synomorphs that are too independent of each other, are separate behaviour settings; those that are interdependent are part of the same behaviour setting.

⁵² The concepts used here have been discussed in Chapter Two, and so are not re-discussed here

From the activity list (table T6.1), it can be seen that there are many floodplain and dam activities in common: walking, hill-climbing, dogwalking, swimming, cycling and horse-riding are some. However one essential *difference* seems to be that activities at the floodplain tend to be more active and recreation-oriented, while dam activities tend to be more passive. Between them, for example, walking and dogwalking represent 73% of the observed behaviours at the dam:

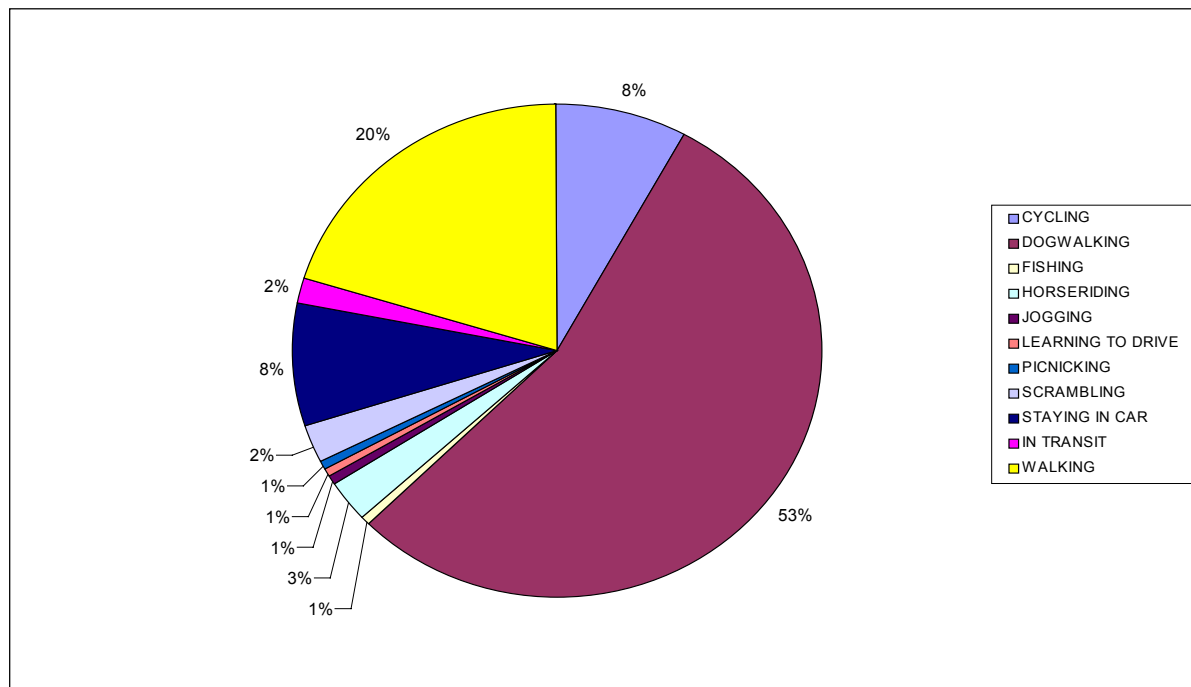


Figure F6.1: Activities observed at the dam, weekdays and weekends, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998⁵³.

People tend to stay longer when visiting the floodplain than they do when going to the dam [mostly because their activities are picnic and watersport-related]. Another essential difference is the present access of vehicles to the floodplain, which creates the possibility of users engaging in damaging activities such as off-road driving, dumping, soil removal, poaching, and woodcutting. This observed informal differentiation of space [there is no formal differentiation] is reflected again in the interview phase of the study, where its *meaning* for users becomes clearer. However, despite these differences, both settings offer the opportunity for active and passive recreation in a natural setting, and they can properly be considered as subsystems of the same system.

The external dynamics test requires that the degree of interdependence of the assumed synomorph with synomorphs external [not interjacent] to it, be considered. To survive this test, and remain a behaviour setting, the synomorphs must be independent of each other. The behaviour patterns of the Avis dam environment are clearly independent of those of the commonage [cattle grazing] and the national road [driving] adjacent to it. There is *some* linkage between the behaviour patterns of the dam environment, and those of the adjacent residential and business areas. For example, some horse riders, walkers and bikers enter the traditional dam area via the path west of the dam wall, and many users allow their dogs to run next to their cars as soon as they pass the horse riding school on their way to the traditional parking area [perhaps 500 metres]. There is some pedestrian transit traffic between the thatching business outside the floodplain, and the residential areas of Avis, Klein Windhoek and Ludwigsdorf, also outside the setting. However, even informal observation confirms that the peak times, and types of behaviour patterns occurring *inside* the behaviour setting, are sufficiently different to those of

the residential and business areas outside it, for the dam environment to be considered an independent synomorph.

By Barker's (1968) criteria then, the Avis dam area is a single "behaviour setting" which however comprises two closely related, yet differing areas.

6.1.4 What do the activities observed say about the Avis dam area as a behaviour setting?

One particularly interesting aspect of the activity list is its considerable diversity. Barker (1968) characterizes a setting as "rich" if it allows many different categories of persons to participate in responsible roles in that setting, via many action patterns, and via many behaviour mechanisms. Here then, is the first suggestion that the Avis dam area is a "rich" urban open space, by virtue of the observed diversity of recreation opportunities it offers.

6.1.5 As the Avis dam area is a behaviour setting, how may it be described in terms of Barker's (1968) identified dimensions⁵⁴?

Here I describe only those dimensions related directly to observations; the others have already been described in Chapter Five.

(a) Occurrence

"Occurrence" means the number of days in a year on which a behaviour setting occurs for any period of time. As the Avis dam is a place accessible to the public, it is a setting which can be initiated by anyone at any time without special arrangement. In Barker's descriptive method, it therefore has an occurrence of 365 days.

(b) Temporal locus, and duration

Although it is available at any time, its use does show patterns of peak and off-times. A broad trend of increased use in the late afternoons and early evenings can be seen for the dam both during the week and weekends, and also for the floodplain during the week. However, over the weekend, the floodplain shows higher use during the midday hours - this I believe reflects its use as a picnic/braai [barbecue] area.

These time-use patterns can be seen in the four charts [figures F6.2 - F6.5] which appear in the following pages:

⁵³ 196 observations on 7 days

⁵⁴ Most of the dimensions chosen for observation/reporting were selected for their potential usefulness for the management plan, some for their promise of increased understanding of users' related experience

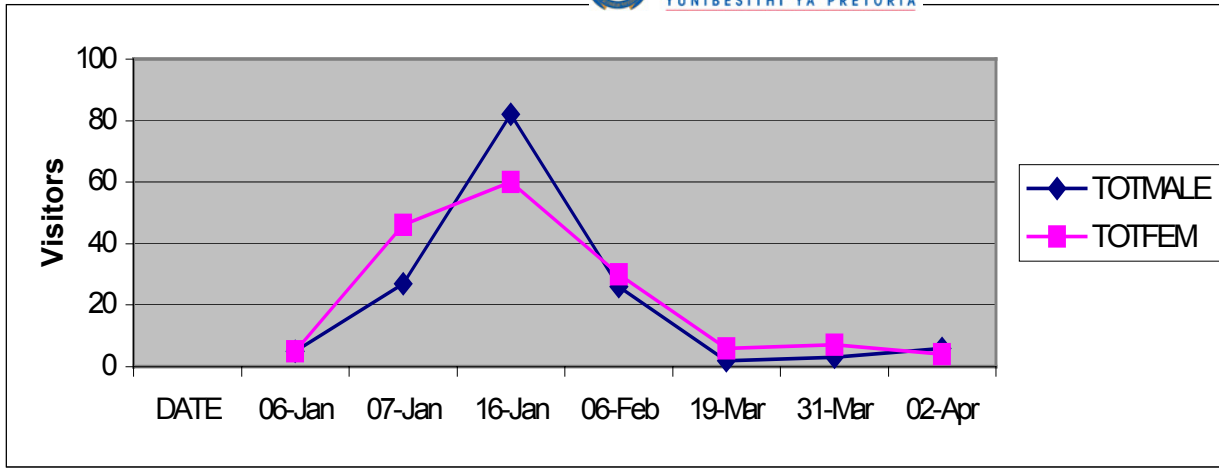


Figure F6.6: Gender distribution of visitors to the dam, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998⁵⁹

⁵⁹ 191 observations on 7 days



CLASS INTERVAL	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
90-99%	se: naturalness			
80-89%	sb: water	ad: dog walking af: off road driving		ma: place of return
70-79%	sc: soundscape sl: birds			me: free nature mf: involvement mi: peacefulness mm: freedom, escape mo: access to nature
60-69%	sg: topography sn: vegetation	ab: picnicking & braai-ing	pc: crowding	mj: relaxation
50-59%	sd: uniqueness sh: change sq: openness st: landmarks	ac: watersport ae: walking ag: littering	pa: like-mindedness pb: space differentiation pf: harmonious relationships pg: non-crowding	mr: deep pleasure
40-49%	sa: proximity ss: greenness & brownness	aa: leisure option	pe: inharmonious relationships	mc: attachment ml: regeneration
30-39%	sf: scenery si: freshness sm: wildlife sp: beauty sv: cleanness	al: driving in the floodplain	ph: socializing	mh: Goreangab dam mv: city as stressful
20-29%		ah: birdwatching ak : swimming an: criminal activities	pe1: noisy people pi: socially accessible/not	md: enjoyable mn: change in self/not my: resignation
10-19%	sj: coolness sk: odours su: dirt	ai: poaching aj: cycling am: horse-riding ao: unspecified activities	pd: family connectedness	mk: reflection mp: order & control mq: squatting ms: soul/spirit- related mt: meaning, purpose mu: discovery mw: restlessness
0-9%	So: inaccessible Sr: insects			mb: change in place mx: balance

Table T6.2: Users' experience of the Avis dam and floodplain: summary of intersubjective agreement on elements of identity by percentage occurrence

The important thing to note about this table is that the percentages do *not* indicate approval or disapproval of the theme mentioned, but merely the percentage *occurrence* of that theme in the interviews conducted. Approval or disapproval, or positive or negative rating of a particular theme, is indicated by a + or - in front of the interview reference in annexure F.

Whether or not women, or women and children, were walking without male company, was also observed as a superficial indication of the safety of the area. Of the 191 occurrences observed, half were of women, or women and children walking alone, [figure F6.7] indicating at least on the surface, a sense of security in being at the dam. Security at the dam, and its threatened loss, emerge again as aspects of lived experience in the interview phase.

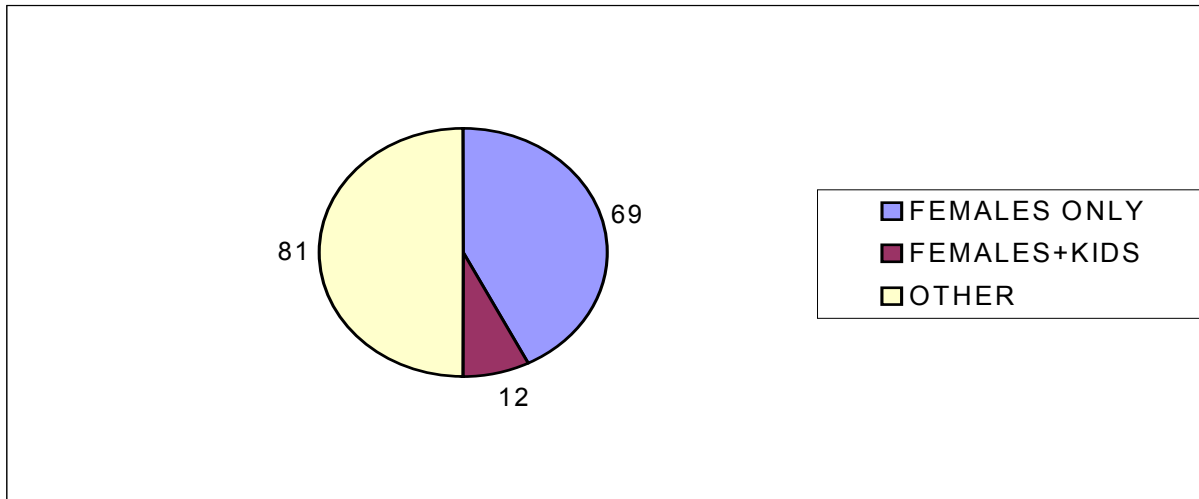


Figure F6.7: Women alone, and women alone with children at the dam, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998⁶⁰

(e) *Occupancy time*

According to Barker's method, occupancy time is the product of the number of occurrences of a setting, the average number of inhabitants per occurrence, and the average duration per occupancy in hours. This calculation was considered unnecessary for the study and therefore not done. However formal observation at the dam suggests that the usual duration of a visit is predominantly less than 1 hour [figure F6-8]. Informal unrecorded observation at the floodplain suggests two types of occupancy times, a shorter one much like a visit to the dam [for a walk, or dogwalk, or horse-ride for example], and a longer occupancy period usually associated with picnicking and braai-ing.

⁶⁰ 191 observations on 7 days

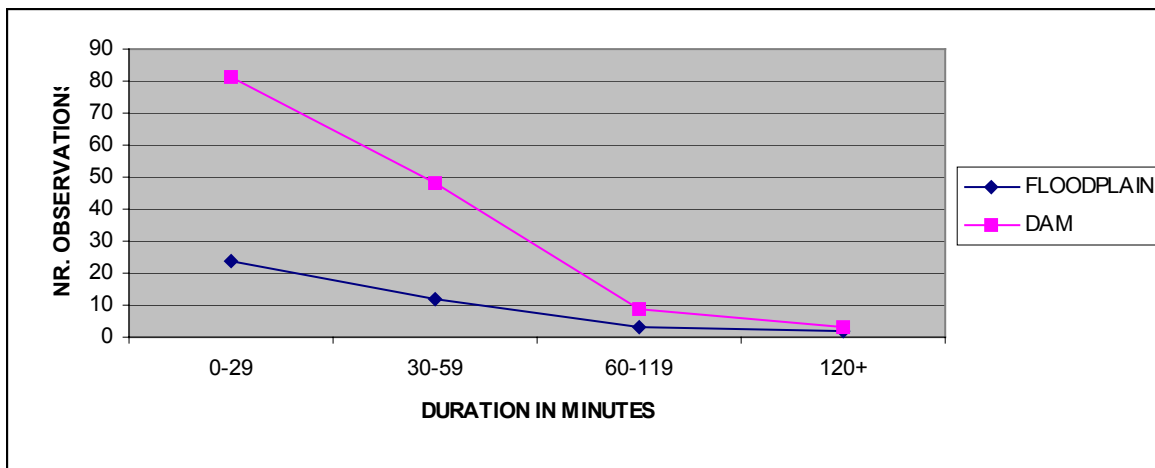


Figure F6.8: Occupancy time at the dam and floodplain, 6/1/1998 - 2/4/1998⁶¹

(f) *Action patterns*

Behaviour patterns in an urban open space can be observed and recorded. Barker (1968) identified and investigated the degree of occurrence of 11 attributes, or action patterns, in a behaviour setting: aesthetic, business, educational, governmental, nutritional, personal appearance, physical health, professional, recreational, religious, and social action. Only those patterns which seemed directly related to the study and draft management plan were observed, that is, the recreation and social interaction patterns. These action patterns, observed⁶² and reported on formally and informally by Greenspace members and myself, have already been discussed.

(g) *Functional position of inhabitants*

Barker also calls this *penetration* of behaviour settings by inhabitants. Not only do inhabitants enter settings for different amounts of time, but they enter and participate in them in different capacities, and with different degrees of involvement and responsibility. One index of the involvement and responsibility of a person in a setting is the depth of his penetration. Barker [using a cell and its nucleus which stores the coding for the cell's functioning as a fittingly systemic analogy] defined six zones of centrality; the more central the zone, the greater the involvement and responsibility of its occupants.

Barker termed persons penetrating to the 3 inner zones *performers*, as opposed to the onlooker/guest/member status of people in the outer 3 zones of the setting. Persons in the inner [performer] zones 5 and 6 should know most or all of the setting's programme, as they exercise control over its functioning to differing degrees. Other occupants, for example, are only aware of parts of the programme, or are totally unaware of it. Sometimes this setting programme is available in written form, but frequently it is not.

Functional position/penetration of inhabitants was not recorded. What was informally observed, and is generally known about the Avis dam, is that many of its visitors are long-standing, and regular "customers". As a Greenspace member, I know which users are directly involved in Barker's performer zones of the Avis dam, and so can state comfortably that most inhabitants of the setting belong to the outer zones 1-3. Though these users are not *performers*, their continued observed return to the area nevertheless suggests a degree of involvement, which

⁶¹ Floodplain visit duration is indicative only as it is based on 41 observations from one day only. The dam visit duration is based on 141 observations across 7 days

⁶² It was not considered viable or necessary to observe the selected patterns in the detail described by Barker [in which each action pattern is rated along various subscales]

is confirmed in the interview phase of the study. Other than that, it is also well-known⁶³ to regular users, that although not *performers*, Mrs. X can be observed each day picking up litter in the parking area; Mr. Y frequently removes wire snares set to trap animals; members of the horse-riding school nearby have painted fences and rubbish tins at the parking area and removed undergrowth there to increase security; the chain fence separating the dam from the floodplain⁶⁴ is kept in repair by a person or persons as yet unknown, and recently, someone [frustrated by the car-driving and scrambling in the floodplain?] has placed a speed restriction sign there. Returning to Barker's (1968) definition that a setting is "rich" if it allows many different categories of persons to participate in responsible roles in that setting, via many action patterns, and via many behaviour mechanisms, here we have a second observed indication of the Avis dam's "goodness" as an urban open space.

(h) *Behaviour mechanisms*

The behaviour patterns of a setting involve different effector systems to various degrees – some which Barker studied were the affective, gross motor, manipulation, verbal, and thinking effector systems. Again, because they were not considered necessary for the study, or relevant to the management plan, these dimensions were not observed.

(i) *Pressure*

Barker's rather mechanistic term "pressure" here, could be re-interpreted as meta-or intra-setting influences. Behaviour settings differ in the degree to which they influence people to enter and participate in them, or leave them. Inhabitants are sometimes in a setting because some other setting has required them to be there [such as the schoolchild participating in a clean-up campaign at the dam]. The one clearly observable aspect of the dam which did exercise considerable [biological?] pressure on people to enter it, was the unusual presence of water. Also clearly observable, was the novel presence of several varieties of water sport. This was ascribed to the pressure exerted on the Avis dam setting by the non-availability of Goreangab dam, the former venue of yachting and sailing in Windhoek. Pressure on a particular group of people to leave the setting was exerted from the end of January 1998 onwards, via the erection of off-road vehicle entry restriction signs at the entrances to the floodplain. Non-observance of these signs was recorded during the observation period [though the results are not given here]. Transgressions by vehicles, if not by scramblers, were observed to decrease.

(j) *Welfare*

Settings differ in the degree to which they cater to the needs of different sectors of the population. In the past, responding to criticisms of proposed commercial development at the dam, councillors have publicly referred to interested citizens' critical response as white elitist behaviour, motivated by a desire to maintain the area as "white". Colour of users was therefore a demographic variable chosen for observation. It emerged that non-white⁶⁵ persons are starting to use the area, particularly the floodplain, on a small scale. Of the 30 different days

⁶³ No observations were made to support the personal knowledge statements which follow. Some of them are however substantiated by interview evidence

⁶⁴ At present under water

⁶⁵ This term is not intended to be racist - it merely seems the appropriate term to use in response to the Councillors' comments

between 24 January and 10 May 1998 that observations were made at the floodplain, persons of colour were observed to be present on 10 of those days⁶⁶.

(k) Local autonomy

The local autonomy of a setting is a rating of the degree to which four decisions regarding the operations of a setting, namely, appointment of performers, admittance of members, determination of fees and prices, and establishment of programmes, occur within five geographical areas with differing proximities to the setting [town, district, county, state, nation]. If all four decisions are made within the town, the setting has the highest possible local autonomy.

Barker's geographical areas are not readily applicable to the Avis dam situation, which might be better described in terms of bodies: leasing body, local authority, regional authority, and central government. Nevertheless, it is a setting characteristic which should be examined, as it is one of the few of Barker's descriptors which refer to contextual influences on a setting (Wicker, 1987). Some aspects of the setting's autonomy [at leasing body and local authority levels only] have already been described in Chapter Five, paragraph 5.1.6.1.

6.2 INTERVIEWS

6.2.1 Key questions

The key question to which I sought answers in this stage was: How do users experience the Avis dam? What do the observed behaviour patterns *mean to users*?

Specifically

- To what extent is experience of the dam idiosyncratic - different for different users?
- To what extent is there some level of intersubjective agreement?
- Does there emerge from any intersubjective agreement which may be present, an "identity" for the Avis dam? Does it have a sense of place (Relph, 1976) for users, or for some of them?
- What would the implications of an "identity" be for "development" at the dam?

6.2.2 Codes for characterizing users' experience of the Avis dam

User experience of the dam and floodplain was understood in terms of Relph's (1976) three components of place, that is, setting characteristics, activities [with people implied] and meanings. The fourth component, "development" is not an aspect which Relph (1976) identified directly, but is not in disharmony with his discussion of authentic and inauthentic placemaking either.

The codes allocated under each of these five components are presented at the end of this chapter, in table T6.3, which shows the broad theme of each code, and the criteria used to allocate an experience to that code. [Examples of the kind of statement allocated to each code, together with a listing of all the interviews in which

⁶⁶ The data on which this statement is based, is available in Excel format

that type of statement occurred, can be seen in annexure D]. An overview of analysis codes may also be obtained in table T6.2 on page 162 of this chapter.

6.2.3 Method for understanding the experience of particular individuals

Because Relph (1976) conceptualized a place's identity as comprising setting attributes, activities and meanings, it made sense to me that the more often a respondent named a particular attribute, the more he considered it a part of, or alien to, the dam's identity. Thus some respondents frequently mentioned birds, or water, or a sense of freedom during an interview. Or their dislike of motorbikes. So I decided that the respondent's answer to each of my questions was to be my basic unit of analysis, and that within each unit of analysis, *the first time* the theme was presented would be recorded:

- in the protocol itself
- in the summary analysis schedule of individuals' experience of the Avis dam area [annexure F]
- and in the summary analysis schedule of intersubjective agreement on elements of the dam's identity [annexure D].

Subsequent references by a respondent to that theme *within that unit of analysis* were also recorded in the protocol, but between brackets: [code]. They were not entered as an occurrence for that theme in either of the two summary analysis schedules.

Respondents' answers to follow-up questions were considered as part of the original question. Thus a unit of analysis for coding was fixed as "the respondent's answer to a main and any follow-up question pertaining to that main question". An example: if A. mentioned motorbikes three times in an answer to one of my main/follow-up questions, only the first mention was recorded. However if A. mentioned motorbikes in answering three different main/follow-up questions, it was recorded three times.

Though it is neither an exact estimate, nor takes the context of the person's visit into account, one can gain an idea of which elements of place were important in that person's experience of the dam from the individual analyses in annexure F. For example, by simply visually comparing the codes [without reading the protocols concerned], one can form an idea of the differing importance of *people* in respondent 6 and respondent 10's experience of visiting the dam:

RESPONDENT 6

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
28		af		
39	se	ad ae	pd	md mi mo
53	se si		pd	mm mo
64	sb1	ak	pd	
71	se	ae	pf	mo
78		af af+		
86	se sn	ak		mo
105				
108	sv			mh mj

RESPONDENT 10

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
10		ad		ma
19			ph1	
28	sb1 st1	ad ae	pb	mc
52	? sg1 sh sj sm	ad	pg ph2	mp+ mr
85	sa se si sj		pi	ml mm mo ms
99		ad	pf	
111	sb1 sc1 sh sj	af- ao	pb pc	
132	sh sv	ag+ ao	pf pg	
144	sc2		pc	mf mi
159	sa sh	aa ab+ ac+ af+		md mp+
179			ph1 pi	

Even superficially, it is clear that for respondent 6, people feature far less as an element of his experience of the dam, than they do for respondent 10.

6.2.4 To what extent is user experience of the dam idiosyncratic - different for different users?

Studying annexure F [individuals' experience] together with annexure D [intersubjective agreement], suggests that the answer to this question is that user experience is partly the same, and partly different. The "sameness" component is discussed in paragraph 6.2.5.

As introduction to the suggestion that people *do* experience the Avis dam area idiosyncratically, one can compare again respondent 6 and respondent 10's experience of people. It is clear that respondent 6's experience centres on the opportunity for connectedness with his family [pd], while for respondent 10, the opportunity to socialize [ph] predominates.

In other words, while everyone described their experience of the dam in terms of its setting characteristics, other users, the activities going on at the dam, the meanings the dam had for them, and their ideas on the nature of future development at the dam, some users experienced an element or elements of those components particularly strongly. Some examples follow:

6.2.4.1 Respondent 1

For A, a male between 21-39, who has been coming to the dam "all his life", the dam is tied up with the presence or absence of water [sb], the protection of the wetland bird life there [sl], his intense dislike of the noise pollution and physical damage caused by scramblers and quad bikes [af-], and his frustration about the breakdown in order and control⁶⁷ that he experiences [mp-]:

RESPONDENT 1				
COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
12				ma
24	sa sb1 sl	ah ad af	pa	mb mi mj mk
47				mi mj mm mn
54	sa sb1 sc1 sd sl			mi mo
63	se sg1 sl sn	ad- ad+ ad af-	pc	
94	sb2	ab- ac- af-	pc	ma mp-
119	sb1 se	ac- ad- af-		me
133	sm	aa ai		mf
148	sb1 sb2 se sl sm	ac- ad- ah	pc	ma mo
166				
181	sb1	aa an		mp-
206	sb1 se sm	ab- ag	pb	mf mh mq
229	Sd se sg1			ma me mf mp-
243	sb1	af-		mf mp-

6.2.4.2 Respondent 2

AB is also male, aged between 21-39, and has known the area for some ten years. The presence of water [sb] is also paramount in his experience of the dam, but largely because of the opportunity that it offers for sailing and yachting, especially in the light of Goreangab dam's non-availability in this respect. While the importance of water for AB is clear from the analysis below, the importance of sailing is not, because of the explained method of recording the first mention only of a topic. However, it is clear from the protocol that AB mentions watersport [ac] at least 8 times during the interview. Also striking is AB's prolific description of his experience of the dam in terms of its setting characteristics:

RESPONDENT 2

⁶⁷ This interview was conducted before Greenspace erected "ownership" signs, a fence, and vehicle restriction signs at the traditional dam area, and before security guards were appointed for weekend duty

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
31	sb1 sb2 sg1 so st1			mc
52	sb1 sp			ma
58	sb1 sc2 sd	aa ac+ ad ak		ma mm
81	sa sb1 sd sf sg1 sh sl sp sq sr ss			ml mr
96	sb1 si st3	ad ae	pd	mc mj ml
111	sf sh st1	af-	pc	mf mr
134	sb2 sc2 sg4 st3	af-	pa pc pe	me mf
154		ad+ ad-	pe pf	
167	sa sb1 Sc1 Sc2 se sf sk sm	aa ac+	pa	me mh
189	sb1 sh st1		pb	
206	sf			
224	sb1 se			me mf

6.2.4.3 Respondents in interview 4

For C and J, a young married couple who have known the dam for 12 and 4 years respectively, it's not so much the water, as the dam area's naturalness [se] and quiet soundscape [sc1] which are an important part of their experience. They value the area's undisturbed appearance [me], and its atmosphere of peacefulness [mi], and experience any infringement of the area's quietness [sc2] as particularly disturbing:

RESPONDENTS 4 [husband and wife]				
COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
167				ma
174	sb2 sc1 se	ad af aj	pb pc pg	ma mn mo
186	sb1 sc1 se sg1 sg2 sj sl			me mi mj mm ms mv
212				mi mj ml
216	sg1 sl sn sq sv	ad		ml mm mr mt
235	sc1 sc2 se	ab- ag	pa pb pe pe1	me mm
250	se sg4	ad af+ af-	pa pe pf	mf mv
274	sb1 se sg1	aa aj ak		me mf mu
296	sb1 sc1 sc2 sd se			mh mo
314		ag		mf

6.2.4.4 Respondent 17

C is over 60, and has been coming to the dam for more than 9 years. While she used to experience it as a safe place, now she is so concerned about the increased level of criminal activities there [an], that she has abandoned her former habit of walking alone. She feels that her former sense of security is lost, and the presence of familiar people is important to her [ph1], as it restores some of the former secure feeling. Nevertheless, she still derives a deep sense of joy and pleasure from the dam [mr]:

RESPONDENT 17				
COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
12				ma
26	sb1 sb2 sc1 sf sg1 sl sm sn sp ss st2			mc
65		ae ah an		mc mt? mx
83		an	ph1	mp- my
117	se	ah		mj? mr ms
130	sv	ac ad af af- am an		mr my
147		ab- ab+	pb	
157	sb2	ao	ph1	mr
179	si	ad		mm mv
189		ae		my
199	st1 st3	an		mf
219		an	ph1	

6.2.4.5 Respondent 19

E is a young black lady, who has known the dam area for scarcely a year. Its water [sb1] and mountains [sg1] are important to her because they remind her of her home in another country. She experiences it as a place of peacefulness [mi], which offers her freedom from the ever-presence of people [pg], and escape from the routine and pressure of daily living [mm]:

RESPONDENT 19				
COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS
22	sb1			ma md mr?
37	sb1			ma mj mk mm
50	scl sg1 sp sq			mi
58	sb1 scl sg1 sh sj		pa pg	mi mj mm
90	sq		pg ph2	mc mi
99		ad an	pg	
109	se	ab	pa pi	mo
132	sd	ae		mh+ mk
147	se sg1			me
159				mi my
187	sa se			me mi
213	sb1 sb2 sd		pa pg	mi mm
246	sl			mm

6.2.5 Is there some level of intersubjective agreement on experience of the dam?

Stokols (1991) believes that an environmental psychology research design which takes context seriously should include both individual and aggregate levels of analysis. Apart from that, the aggregate or intersubjective agreement level is particularly important, because in it lies the clue to the dam's identity - those things about the dam that are as recognizable to users as the distinctive personality characteristics of people - those things which constitute the Avis dam area's sense of place for its users.

The approach used to answer this question was to record the occurrence of categories of experience, not by respondent as in Annexure F, but by category. For example, it can be seen from annexure D [and table T6.3 at the end of this chapter], that the proximity [sa] of the Avis dam as a nature/recreation area to Windhoek was mentioned in 8 of 18 interviews⁶⁸ [or 44%], as follows:

Extract from Annexure D: Intersubjective experience:

SA 44.44	Proximity	Avis' closeness to the city	1.24, 1.54, 2.81, 2.167, 5.40, 5.132, 10.85, 10.159, 11.207, 12.1, 12.3, 12.7, 18.186, 19.187
-------------	-----------	-----------------------------	---

The percentage intersubjective agreement among users was calculated for all themes within Setting characteristics, Activities, People, Meanings and Development [appropriate and inappropriate], and then grouped into ten class intervals for easier comprehension. This is shown in table T6.2 overleaf:

⁶⁸ In all there were 19 interviews, but interview 13 was not analyzed for reasons given elsewhere. All percentages are therefore based on the occurrence of a theme in 18 interviews

I believe that the occurrence percentages indicate quite clearly that rather like a person's core and peripheral personality characteristics (Maddi, 1989), which may be "good" or "bad" depending on the evaluator, the dam too has its essential and peripheral identity characteristics, which can be evaluated positively or negatively. One could consider those elements mentioned more often than others to be "core" elements, but the problem is to decide at what level the cut-off point should be - it would be arbitrary. Nor do I believe that the core elements are necessarily more important than the peripheral elements of the dam's identity, which emerges from both core and peripheral elements in a non-summative way. For example, some expressions of familiarity with the area, or some of the meanings which were mentioned less, are precisely those things which, by Relph's (1976) discussion of insiderness and outsiderness, would indicate an "insider" experience of the dam. Where a division between core and peripheral seems appropriate I use it, and set the separation level at 60%. However even then, I do not maintain this arbitrary division consistently; as will be apparent from the percentages mentioned in brackets. Sometimes it is not used at all.

6.2.5.2 SETTING

6.2.5.2.1 Core setting elements

If percentage occurrence is any indication, then it is the dam's (se: 94%) **natural environment** - which would include the other high occurrence themes such as the presence or absence of water (sb: 89%), soundscape (sc: 78%), birds (sl: 72%), vegetation (sn: 67%), and topography (sg: 61%) - that users consider to be the dam's core identity [setting] characteristic. Users refer to this natural environment in terms such as a wetland⁶⁹ [1.119], an ecosystem containing many sub-ecosystems [15], as one of Windhoek's last "green" places [1.229], as the veld [6.39; 10.85], as "almost wilderness" [19.187] or simply as "natural" [7.216] or "nature" [8.58; 12.3]. The Avis dam is essentially a place of naturalness.

There is also agreement that the Avis dam is currently a place of **water** (sb1: 89%). Other than the expected comments about the attraction that water holds for people generally [1.47; 4.203], the pleasure of just watching water [12.10], or that it supports waterbirds [1.119], or wildlife [17.26] or watersport [2.58], there were comparisons between its usual virtually empty state (sb2: 56%), and the current presence of water from those who have known the dam over time. There were specific references to the 1997 inflow [7.199] which filled the dam up to its present high level, expressions of appreciation for the present additional beauty which water has brought to the area [2.52], and recognition of the rarity of the present water level, specifically in the context of Windhoek [9.197]. One person captured the unbelievableness, the illusion almost, of the 1997 inflow as follows:

☺ *"I'll never forget when this place flooded ... two years ago ... I came four times that day bringing friends and bringing children and I kept expecting it to have gone away" [11.336].*

The unusualness of the present water level is illustrated in the chart below which shows the average and highest level of the dam over the last ten years:

⁶⁹ It is not officially listed as such though

Error! Not a valid link.

Figure F6.9: % content⁷⁰ [average and maximum] of the Avis dam, 1987 - 1998 February⁷¹ 16

Although the high water level was experienced as beautiful, and rare [and useful, because for a while, it prevented off-road driving in the floodplain], it was not the unmitigated blessing one would expect. It brought increased numbers of people to the dam [1.148], resulting in perceived crowding for some users [2.111]. The water drowned some favourite walking routes - particularly the one around the dam [10.28] - and so caused a greater congestion of people along the other still accessible routes. Some users felt confined as a result [3.98]. One felt that the presence of water was bringing people to the dam, who wouldn't normally come [faithfully, as did the regulars] in the dry periods [18.126] - almost a case of suffering breeds commitment!

The dam's **soundscape** (sc: 78%) - both its silence (72%) and noise (50%) - is a strong setting identity element. Its silence or near-silence, or the sounds of nature such as the call of the turtle doves, or the cries of the waterbirds, are precious to users [4.191; 19.246]. The several references to "peace and quiet" (mi: 72%), mean not only the measurable sound level, but also the frame of mind which the sound level generates- a sense of calmness and peacefulness. This even though the noise from the passing traffic on the main road to Gobabis can be clearly heard from most places in the dam and particularly in the floodplain; and the flight path to the international airport also passes over the dam area. Users who value the area's near-silence, and peaceful ambience, find the sounds of scramblers and quads (af-: 89%) or noisy people (pe1: 22%) particularly offensive. Avis is a place of natural soundscape, and noise of any kind is perceived to be in disharmony with this aspect of the dam's character.

Birds as an identity element (sl: 72%), are intertwined with both the water and soundscape of the dam. Users refer to their presence or absence, the calming effect their calls have [19.246], the pleasure of watching them [11.207; 18.50], sometimes for hours [17.117], the need to protect them from interference by dogs [1.63] or off-road activities [7.204], or the educational advantages of having information on them available for users [5.132]. However, bird-watching specifically mentioned as an activity occurs surprisingly little (ah: 28%).

Part of the area's naturalness resides in its **vegetation** (sn: 67%). Users observe and comment on the indigenusness or naturalness of the vegetation generally, or refer specifically to its changing colour through the seasons [11.207], or to how the yellow flowers and long grass can only be seen at a certain time of the year [17.26]. One found the particular bossies (scrubs) and trees of the area strange in terms of former experience [7.175]; another spoke of Avis as a place of greenness and shade [16.131]. Some formed what can only be described as a bond with particular trees, describing them in words and emotions usually associated with people: "*a very special old tree ... an old friend of mine*" [3.46], or, "*this [pointing to a specific tree] is Acacia Karoo ... it's quite nice to see in the evening ... but now the tree is dead and I'm sorry*" [5.40]. Here through its vegetation, but in many other ways too, the Avis dam is a place of *connection* - with trees, with animals, and with people.

The area's **topography** (sg: 61%) features strongly in people's descriptions of the dam's physical appearance. Some users have little or no knowledge of it, others an intimate, loving knowledge:

⁷⁰ Based on figures obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development, Department of Water Affairs, Hydrology Section

☺ "I love the ... the softness and the water, just the gentleness of it" [11.207].

A few constructed what they saw in the context of their experience with other settings - these were as far-ranging as Scotland [11.207], Kenya [19.147], or the western Cape [7.175]. Many (sg1: 61%) referred specifically to the hills immediately surrounding the dam and floodplain, and also to the Auas mountains beyond them. Some of the peaks in this range reach 1900m, and users commented appreciatively on the beauty (sp: 39%) of the dam's scenery (sf: 33%) generally, or of the mountains specifically. Soil, sand and dust were also commented on (sg4: 33%), sometimes within the context of the dam's usual dryness, but more often than not, in the context of the damage that off-road vehicles, particularly quads and scramblers cause. These comments were often surprisingly sensitive: "the horses *trample* the ground" [12.3; my italics]; "they're *destroying* the soil ... at the back there" [5.107], or "the guys used to *rip up* the area" [12.3]. An interesting feature of people's topographical descriptions was their natural differentiation of the area into a "dam" space, and a "floodplain" space (pb: 56%). This crept into descriptions as "front" and "back" , or "this side" and "that side", used interchangeably between the dam and floodplain. Some users did not know "that side" at all, visiting only "this side".

6.2.5.2.2 Other setting elements

Confirming observations, users consider the dam a **unique** (sd: 50%) leisure opportunity (aa: 44%) in Windhoek. Its uniqueness lies therein that it allows both active and passive activities, in a natural setting, yet close to town (sa: 44%).

Visitors appreciate it's physical **openness** (sq: 56%), which probably accounts for the experience of **freshness** and fresh air (si: 33%). This openness is probably also an important part of the *meanings* of freedom and escape which many users attribute to the area (mm: 78%). Interestingly, one person [11:275-] found the openness too much, the vision too sweeping - overwhelming perhaps?

Time and change are an important part of users' experiences of the dam as a physical setting (sh: 50%). One user experienced that he himself had changed over the years [4.174] and so now sought out a different area of the dam; others [particularly respondents 1 and 17] saw a change for the worse in the general atmosphere of order and control (mp: 17%) at the dam. On the whole though, the perceived change was related to the way in which the passage of time - through the day, through weather conditions, through seasons, and through years - affected the physical appearance and ambience of the area. Users were particularly observant of the change from brown to green in the rainy season (ss: 44%), how the cloudy weather enhanced the already splendid sunsets [2.111], how the combination of water and an early morning visit to the dam before the sun becomes too hot means coolness (sj: 17%), how the vegetation changes through the seasons [17.26], the beautiful evening light [3.121], the rainbows created by rain [3.121], even how the wind blows the algae across the water [11.207]. The Avis dam is a place of inherent change, which is appreciatingly observed, and confirmed in its existence, by those users attuned to the passage of time there.

It is a place where **wildlife** (sm: 39%) can be seen, or more accurately now, a place holding the *promise* of seeing wildlife [7. 255]. Users fear that increasing numbers of people in the area will disturb them unduly, or that poaching (ai: 11%) will chase them even further away. Occasionally a lucky early morning user still sees animals

⁷¹ The interview phase covered the period 1 February to 15 April 1998

drinking at the water [17.26], or a dog out walking with its owner chases after a buck [12.3] or a baboon [10.52], or one may see a whole troop of baboons swinging over the nearby railway bridge [9.226]. Users are concerned that any development should not disturb the animals [12.9], and would welcome some form of protection for the area's wildlife [7.255].

The **cleanness** of the area (sv: 33%) is commented upon favourably, often in relation to the pollution of another formerly popular urban open space, the Goreangab dam (mh: 33%). It is probably this cleanness, which makes the occurrence of littering (ag: 56%) even more offensive, a perception often reported in environmental psychology literature (Bell *et al.*, 1996).

Avis is also a place of **mundaneness**, and of drudgery (Relph, 1976). It can be a place of bad smells (sk: 11%), of dirt (su: 11%), of sand and dust (sg4: 33%), of long periods of dryness (sb2: 61%). At times, the ants bite so badly that walking there becomes difficult if you are not forewarned and forearmed. All this makes people's committed return to the dam (ma: 89%) even more remarkable.

6.2.5.3 ACTIVITIES

6.2.5.3.1 Core experiences of activities

Two activities recur strongly throughout the interviews as central aspects of the Avis dam's identity, the one positively, and the other negatively evaluated: dogwalking (ad: 89%), and off-road driving. (af: 89%). Picnicking and braai-ing is the third most-mentioned activity (ab: 61%).

- **Dogwalking** (ad: 89%)

It would be superficial to conclude that dogwalking at the dam is simply dogwalking. It is instead interwoven with a myriad of other personal experiences and meanings. It is associated with starting to visit the dam [9.190; 10.10], or coming more often to the dam [3.23; 5.28], because one now owns a dog. Personal length of association with the dam is often counted off in the number of years one has owned a specific dog [11.196]. Walking one's dog is not just walking the dog, it is also seen as an opportunity for a time of connectedness with the animal [4.216], an opportunity to give them some of the pleasure, the freedom, the sense of space and unrestrictedness and the opportunity to socialize, that a visit to the dam brings for oneself [1.63; 4.216; 7.140; 9.213]. It is seen as part of family connectedness too [2.96; 6.39].

Walking the dog means being particularly observant about how the wind is blowing the algae across the surface of the water (you don't want your dog to swim in dirty water) [11.207], about whether or not there are baboons nearby with whom one's dog could get into trouble [10.52], and about whether or not other people's dogs are likely to harm one's own dog [4.250; 10.28].

Walking the dog brings one inevitably into interpersonal exchanges with other users. Most of the time these exchanges are pleasant and harmonious [2.154], but sometimes not. There is also a sense of conflict, frustration and annoyance with, for example, other walkers [4.250], horse-riders [12.3], bird-lovers [1.119], and off-road drivers [7.208]. For one user, walking close behind someone who has many, or big dogs, restores some of her lost sense of security at the dam [17.83]. *How* one walks the dog - with discipline or not - also calls forth

comment: German-speaking users are stereotyped as disciplined dog-walkers [10.99; 11.226.]. Dogwalking is simply is an integral part of how people know and describe the Avis dam [1.24].

- **Off-road driving** (af: 89%)

This, and the related activity of driving in the floodplain (al: 33%), occur often as an aspect of especially the floodplain's identity [6.78; 9.197]. Off-road driving is an activity which is consistently negatively evaluated, with one or two exceptions [6.78], some of which are qualified [2.134; 4.250; 10.159; 16.145]. Particularly the scramblers and quads⁷² are seen as an alien and unwanted part of the dam [1.119; 2.111; 8.92]. Their owners are particularly resented for the noise pollution they generate [3.121; 7.181; 11.241], desecrating almost the natural soundscape of the dam, about which people feel strongly (sc1: 72%). They are perceived to have a lack of concern about the safety of other users: both people, and animals [7.204]. Their attitude is considered offensive [2.134] and their behaviour attention-seeking [12.5]. By contrast, B [interview 6], a first-time visitor, seemed to consider watching the bikers as part of the area's entertainment - he was pleased he had a good seat (6.78). The way the off-road drivers destroy the soil, cause dust, and damage the vegetation and the hillsides [particularly the 4x4 drivers] caused concern [4.250; 5.107; 12.3; 16.145]. Some users try to temper their sense of annoyance and frustration by humour about the riders' antics [4.250]; others by rationalizing that they have as much right to be there and enjoy themselves as anyone else, but ... [5.120; 11.241].

At the moment, cars are allowed into the floodplain [whereas they are not allowed in the dam area]. On-road driving around in the floodplain, with or without dogs running alongside or behind, is an often-observed activity, which brings about a sense of not only noisiness, but also restlessness [8.58; 9.197], perceived to be at odds with the dam's identity element "Peaceful and quiet" (mi: 72%). There are contradictory feelings about driving to the water's edge to picnic - some thought this aspect of driving in the floodplain acceptable [14]; others not [8.92].

On the whole though, off-road driving, and the presence of vehicles in the floodplain is seen as something "out of character" - spoiling "the natural part about everything here" as one user phrased it [1.63].

- **Picnicking and braai-ing (barbecuing)** (ab: 62%)

This too is an activity related more to the floodplain than the dam area, though occasionally one sees people carrying food and drink in rucksacks on the dam side of the area. There are no braai facilities at all in the floodplain [or anywhere else at the dam]; users bring everything they need, and braai at whatever spot they like. Again, braai-ing is not just braai-ing. It brings with it a sense of enjoyment and relaxation, of being "out" [9.240; 10.159]. The activity itself is not seen as alien to the area [9.240; 16.131], as is off-road driving. What matters, is *how* you braai. This speaks strongly to other users of who you are as a person; of what your understanding of the dam's character is: "almal braai nie op die selfde manier nie .. mense bring hulle beelde saam in die natuur⁷³" [4.235]. It provides one of the unspoken criteria for differentiation of users into "them" and "us" [4.235], sometimes quite strongly: "we try and ignore them" [18.114]. For some, the occurrence of the activity at all suggests that order and control has broken down at the dam [1.105] - this probably because the habit of making fires entrenched itself in the interim period between the two setting programmes [Chapter Five].

⁷² Two and four-wheeled motorbikes used for off-road driving

⁷³ Translation: Not everyone barbecues in the same way - people bring their images with them into nature

Braai-ing even serves to differentiate between the dam and floodplain as a space - braai-ing takes place *there*, on the *other side* from where I am [1.206; 18.114]. Braai-ing is frequently negatively evaluated; partly because of the irresponsible fire-making [12.3; 17.147], or the partying, noise and drinking that sometimes accompanies it [4.235], but mostly because of the associated littering (ag: 56%) [3.135; 7.232]. In turn, some users experience the littering - not just from the braai-ers, but generally too - as frustrating [4.235]; unacceptable and uncaring [12.5]; offensive and upsetting [18.92]. It is alien to the perceived cleanness (sv: 33%) and naturalness of the place, and should be prevented [5.120; 11.311]. Users who are seen to be cleaning up after those who litter, are valued [10.132; 18.92].

6.2.5.3.2 Lesser-mentioned activities

The dam is a place of **walking** (ae: 50%), experienced variously as just walking [1.63], vigorous exercise [2.96]; getting out into the veld [6.71]; feeling good [10.28]; even something needed to maintain one's sense of well-being [17.65]. Walking offers the possibility of exploration [7.168], of getting away to some solitary place for privacy [2.31; 19.90], or of meeting people you know [10.52], and of course, of being with one's dogs.

Now that the dam is a place of water, it is also seen as a place of **swimming** (ak: 28%) - if the dogs all swim, surely people can too [2.58]? It's also a place of **watersport** (ac: 50%). Boating, yachting and sailing are strongly linked to the perceived non-availability of Goreangab dam (mh: 33%), often referred to with a sense of loss [2.167; 4.296], even horror that the same thing could possibly happen to the Avis dam [1.206]. The presence of water generates mixed feelings on the activities it invites. Some feel the boats must be kept out - they detract from the naturalness of the area; they could disturb the animals [1.148]. Others feel that as long as the boats don't make a noise, they're acceptable [2.58; 7.204; 10.159; 11.241]. Naturalness, and silence, come through again as strong elements of the dam's identity.

Criminal activities (an: 22%) have become a disturbing identity element. The losses which they bring are not only material - damage to property [1.181], theft, and personal assault [17], but also experiential. That which was an unquestioned and intrinsic part of the dam's character - its safeness - is lost for some users: "that security that we had long ago..the secure feeling you can just walk and nothing will happen that we have lost now altogether" [17.83].

6.2.5.4 PEOPLE

Two core experiences relate to **perceived crowding, and perceived non-crowding**. Some users experienced feeling crowded [pc: 61%), whereas others did not (pg: 56%). The Avis dam is a place of connectedness, and paradoxically, of solitariness too. Some of this dialectical relationship can be understood in terms of the time of day that users visit the area. Some take care not to come during "rush hour" [11. 226]; others come only in the early mornings when they know not many people are about [10.111]. Still others avoid certain areas altogether - for example, the floodplain is usually [but not always] experienced as noisier and busier, and the dam as quieter [4.174]. Whatever the explanation, I believe that the ability of the Avis dam area to satisfy both the user's need for connection and separation simultaneously speaks of its richness and uniqueness as an urban open space.

When high population density levels contribute to perceived crowding, and when they do not, is a complex topic (Bell *et al.*, 1996) not the subject of this study. This complexity is evident in interview 3, where in answer to the

question "what kind of things make a visit special for you?", one person in the group responded with "you meet friends... it's big enough that it doesn't get overcrowded", and another felt there were too many people in the same space, suggesting that the *fewer* people present, the more special the visit [3.98].

However from the interviews it seems clear that the high water level contributed to a sense of crowding for some users, in that it simultaneously brought more people to the area, yet confined them to a smaller space. This was doubly difficult for those users who value the *space* and openness of the Avis dam (sq: 56%), together with the sense of freedom and escape that it brings (mm: 78%). For some, the presence of "too many" people brings with it a sense of confinement [2.111], makes it unpleasant [1.148], changes its character [1.94 in the context of 1.24], means not having the place to yourself [11.226]; or spoils it [7.216]. The word "spoil" occurs often in interviews, together with "it". With which dimension of the dam's identity (and their own?) were they feeling [at some unconscious level of functioning?] that the over-presence of people was in disharmony? I try to answer this question in paragraph 6.2.6. Apart from creating an unwanted sense of crowding, "too many" people bring with them noise [8.127], drinking and misbehaving [12.5] as well.

Others felt that the place was big enough so that it didn't feel overcrowded [3.98], that the presence of so many people was not bothersome [6.71; 7.199], in fact quite pleasant [5.79; 5.96], that it still offered the opportunity for privacy [18.82] and solitude [19.90] and reflection [16.131], despite the growing number of visitors [11. 253; 18.186], especially if the visit was not in peak times [10.52]. The feeling of not being crowded was experienced at both the dam and the floodplain.

Socializing is an important part of visiting the dam [I deduce this from combining the occurrence of Socializing (ph: 39%) and Harmonious relationships (pf: 56%) in the interviews, which would give a 72% occurrence for this theme]. This suggests that the dam is, in terms of ecological psychology theory, a "behavioral focal point" (Bechtel 1977, Wicker 1987), a place where people can informally meet and interact, and which promotes and strengthens a sense of community. People greet each other at the dam, even though they don't know each other (2.154; 19.90). Unexpectedly meeting people you do know, and chatting to them, is experienced very positively [3.98; 8.75]. Often users recognize people [or their car, or their dog/dogs] who are familiar to them by sight, but whose names they do not always know [10.19; 17.83], and with whom they don't necessarily stop to chat - wonderful examples of Milgram's (1977) concept of the "familiar stranger". Sometimes regular users become friends with other regular users (18.105). On the whole, relationships with other people are experienced as harmonious (pf: 56%), important when one remembers the diverse range of potentially-conflicting activities taking place in the area, as well as the number of unleashed dogs running around simultaneously [2.154]. Some users associated visiting the dam with feeling good in a family context too - feeling connected with one's family members (pd: 17%).

Nevertheless there are the unpleasant encounters too (pe: 44%). These often centre around a feeling that other users are not like-minded (pa: 50%): "I mean unfortunately ... these type of people don't normally have the closeness to nature you know so they don't know what you're talking about ..." [2.134]. They don't think or feel about the place the same way you do, they don't see what you see in the place [1. 24; 3.121] and therefore act in ways unacceptable to you - people who engage in off-road driving, littering, making a noise (pe1: 22%), or hunting animals (ai: 11%) fall into this category. There are feelings of annoyance, frustration and anger at such non like-minded people [1.133, 4.235; 12.5]. Sometimes the unpleasant encounter is related to perceived undisciplined dog-walkers, or horse-riders who are perceived to be riding in the "wrong" place [12.3]. Non like-mindedness also seems to be a criterium [as was *how* you braai] for differentiation between "them" and "us". For some users, which

area of the environment you use - dam or floodplain (pb: 56%) - is a physical reflection of, or statement of, your "otherness" or "likeness" [10.111; 18.114].

6.2.5.4.1 Insiderness and outsiderness

The discussion so far has been about the identity *of* the Avis dam. But there is also identity *with* the Avis dam. Identity *with* is particularly linked to whether a user is experiencing the place as an insider or outsider (Relph, 1976, p.45). I discussed these two concepts at an abstract level in Chapter Three [paragraph 3.7.3], but would like to re-introduce them here, at the actual user experience level.

I think that the feeling which some users express, in which they recognize that not everyone thinks and feels about the place as they do, that not everyone is like-minded, is the first indication that these particular users are experiencing the Avis dam environment as an insider [the second, I discuss under "Meanings" in paragraph 6.2.5.5]. An inside or outside experience of the dam is *not* related to how long a user has been coming to the dam - E. [interview 19] knows the dam for scarcely a year, but her whole experience of the dam is that of an "insider". Insiders are not merely *in* the environment, its naturalness is not merely the context or background for whatever they happen to be doing there, they are empathetically *inside* the place - they participate in it emotionally, they are involved in it (Relph, 1976), they "see" it differently:

"... every day something else if you open your eyes there's a lot of people who don't see anything it is just a normal place [for them]...
I find everywhere something special..." [3.121 and 3.46].

6.2.5.5. MEANINGS

Although Relph (1976) seems to consider "meanings" on the same level as "setting" and "activities", in systems thinking "meaning" could be considered the non-summative thing or phenomenon which co-emerges from the various system elements discussed so far - setting, activities and people, as well as the self as system. For me, meaning is supra, or meta to these other elements, for it encompasses both *identity of*, and *identity with*, the Avis dam environment.

Not surprisingly, it is the experienced naturalness of the area (se: 94%), including its water, soundscape, and plant and animal life, which generates almost every meaning expressed. This naturalness is not only experienced as the physical context of these meanings, but it would seem that it is the particular value which is ascribed to the naturalness, which informs the meaning. And it is in and from this particular value, that I believe the *spirit of* the place dwells, and emerges - for *insiders*.

Avis is above all, a **place of return** (ma: 89%). Users come over and over again, through the seasons, and through the years. This has nothing to do with how long they have known the place, which ranged from 30 years [3.23] to months [9.190]. One user has been coming almost every day, for almost 20 years [18.62]. Others have been

coming every day for one and a half months [9.190]. There are many time variations inbetween - some come mostly weekends [1.12], and some come during the week, but not weekends [17.12]. The recurring theme [except of course the first-time user interviewed [6.28]] is *return*, regardless of what Relph (1976, p. 41) might phrase, "the drudgery" of place. BS [18.70] continues to return, despite the dust. Not motorbikes [7.181; L. has been coming almost every weekend for about 3 years], nor the absence of water [2.52; Ab has been coming for 10 years], nor bad smells [3.98; PS has been coming for about 30 years], deter users from returning. They come back for their customary (ritual, almost) walk [5.23; 18.50], their favourite view, their favourite place [2.31; 8.6], their special tree [3.76]. They have not only attachment to the place as a whole, but to specific dimensions of it (mc: 50%). What brings them back, and back again? The naturalness (se: 94%) clearly, and what it *means* to them.

The naturalness of the Avis area was often referred to as "nature" [8.58; 18.50] or "the veld" [6.39; 10.85]. **Access to nature** at Avis was an oft-recurring theme (mo: 78%), usually accompanied by expressions of love of nature [4.296; 5.120], appreciation for the opportunity to be in, get back to, or be near to nature [18.186], enjoy [19.109] the sights [17.26] and sounds of nature [1.54], being able to show city kids what nature is, now, and also in the future [5.132; 19.246]. There was a recognition of the autonomy of nature [12.3], and that it had its own rhythm regardless of yours [reminiscent of ecosystemic thinking on the autonomy of systems discussed in Chapter Two, paragraph 2.2.9.6]. Two users obviously trained in ecology were reverent of the ecosystems they saw in nature there [14] and conscious of the need not to disturb them unnecessarily. Others also understood the need to care for nature at the dam [4.250].

Being in nature at Avis means **freedom, lack of restraint, and escape** (mm: 78%). It means your escape, your outlet [18.186], and just getting away from it all [1.47]. It is escape from Windhoek city (mv: 39%) with its noise [4.186], concrete and tar [5.40], traffic [12.4], its sense of confinement [7.241], tension [4.186] and stress [5.79], its experienced harshness [11.311]. It means escape from the high demands of family responsibilities [19.58], the seemingly never-ending people-intrusions at home [6.53], or just people generally [19.213]. It means escape from the drudgery of routine, so that you have some space and time *for yourself* - perhaps to sit and read [19.37], or to reflect on things bothersome or otherwise (mk: 17%). Being there means escape from restraint - you don't feel prescribed to, or over-organized [11.207; 16.158]. Being there can also mean an exhilarating sense of freedom [7.181; 10.85], it's a change so complete [12.4], it can feel almost like "holiday" [17.179]. Interestingly, it seems that this sense of freedom can also be experienced vicariously, through watching your own or other dogs enjoy the freedom of the unconfined open space [1.63; 4.216; 9.213]. Avis is a place of space, both physical and conceptual.

No doubt because of its topography, water and soundscape, Avis is experienced as a place of great **peacefulness** (mi: 72%), usually articulated simply as "peace and quiet" or "calmness", but once poignantly as "just the gentleness of it .. it's the gentle spirit [of it]" [11.207]. It is possibly within this peacefulness that Avis's powers of regeneration (ml: 44%) lie - during or after a visit a user may feel uplifted [10.85], refreshed and revived [2.96], as though they had left their burdens behind [8.48; 12.3], as though they could breathe again [4.216; 18.186]; as though they had regained their sense of balance (mx: 6%), or meaning and purpose (mt: 17%), even as though they had been spiritually refreshed (ms: 17%; 4.186; 17.117). The area also offers the chance for simple relaxation (mj: 61%). Not surprisingly, that which disturbs or threatens the ambience and peacefulness of the Avis environment, is deeply resented. Noise pollution has already been discussed. Another perceived threat is squatting (mq: 11%). A less tangible threat is the perceived breakdown in order, control and security in the area

(mp: 17%). The primary threat is, of course, potential commercial development at the dam itself - this is discussed at paragraph 6.2.8.

6.2.6 Identity of the Avis dam

Does Avis have a "sense of place"? Yes it does. It is not only the naturalness of the Avis dam, or its ambience, or the access to nature which it offers, which per se, are important for users. It is also the *particular* "naturalness" and "nature" of the Avis dam. In the words of CM:

"daar is nog nie 'n plek in Windhoek waar jy ... die natuur het soos wat jy hom hier het.. daar is nog nie so 'n plek nie...Daan Viljoen [a proclaimed nature reserve just outside Windhoek] het dit nie⁷⁴"[8.127].

Insiders intuitively know of this sense of place, though they might struggle to capture it in words. It was most often the topic of development, commercial or otherwise, which prompted remarks on Avis's sense of place. All the next examples refer to this "something", this "it" without actually specifying it:

- [having a hotel here] *will change the whole story* [10.144]
- [will Greenspace] keep it *the way it is?* [10.179]
- [if there is development] "the advantage would have gone ..it would have changed it radically" [19.159]
- [commercial development] would change the *character* of this area" [9.265]
- "jy gaan verloor *dit* wat ... waarvoor 'n mens hiernatoe kom⁷⁵" [8.127].

What is the something that gives the Avis dam environment its sense of place? I attempted to answer this question by lifting out of the interviews some of the concrete things that users preferred not to see or hear *too much of* at the dam: People [4.174]; cars [8.92]; noise [3.121]; signs of cement [7.216]; broad walks [2. 31], roads or tar [9.265]; littering [18.92]; buildings [8.127], too much development [19.246], or abusive commercialization [5.145]. There is an implicit understanding that some common element of these things is not in harmony with the dam's character; will "spoil" it. That common element seems to be too much evidence of human use, or misuse of the natural, and beautiful, state of the area. Leave everything out of the dam [1.119], and keep it as natural as possible [11.311] were two ways users tried to express this. In short, it is the relative naturalness, unspoiltness and undevelopedness [7.216], the untouchedness [19.187] of Avis which users really value. This "free nature" (me: 72%) constitutes, I believe, the quintessential *identity* of the Avis dam environment.

6.2.7 Identity with the Avis dam

"Free nature" also seems to constitute *identity with* the area, which is shown in expressions of Relph's (1976) existential insideness: some users are unselfconsciously committed to the place, it is a part of them; there is a profound bond between them and that place (mf: 72%). This bond is expressed in words and phrases such as haven [7.168], oasis [2.81], heaven or paradise [17.117], and a place for the soul to rest [4.191]. The commitment of insiders (mf: 72%) is reflected in the range of emotions⁷⁶ that the place was capable of eliciting in those interviewed: its neglect by authorities angers them [1.243]; its misuse upsets [18.92], frustrates [4.235] and

⁷⁴ Translation: "There is not another such place in Windhoek where you have nature as you have it here.. there isn't another such place.. Daan Viljoen doesn't have it"

⁷⁵ Translation: "You are going to lose that [thing] which ...[the thing] for which a person comes here"

⁷⁶ I hasten to add, that these emotions were expressed by both female and male users

angers them [5.107]; there is sadness [5.40] and delight [10.52]; a sense of something precious found [19.22]. There is protectiveness - some users wished to guard it [2.111], and see care of it [1.206]. There was strong possessiveness about the place: this is my place, said one user [3.46]; keep the dam for us [11.275], and leave Avis alone [16.180], said others. Love of the area was freely expressed [7.168; 18.50]: "It would break our hearts if anything would happen to this dam" [11.311]. Avis is a centre of love, care, and concern for existential insiders.

6.2.8 The spirit of the Avis dam

Talking at a theoretical level about the "spirit of place" in paragraph 3.7.8. of Chapter Three, I wondered if Relph (1976, p.p. 48-49) meant that the "spirit" was a quality of the space, or whether he allowed for some measure of co-construction. I believe I can answer this for myself now. I submit that Avis's "spirit of place" - felt and described by one user as the place's "aura" [19.187] - co-emerges from an *insider* experience of the place's *free nature*.

6.3 Conclusion

It seems reasonable to conclude that the Avis dam environment is for most of its users, "good" urban open space. Assessed in terms of Barker's (1968) model, it is a "rich" behaviour setting. Assessed in terms of Relph's (1976) discussion of place, it has for some of its users at least, a definite sense of place, and a spirit worth preserving.

Table T6.3: Interview analysis codes

Code	Broad theme: Avis dam as a place of:	Allocation criteria: Positive (+), or neutral, or negative (-) reference, direct or implied from its context, to
-------------	---	--

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: PHYSICAL SETTING		
SA 44%	Proximity	Avis' closeness to the city
SB 89%	Water	<u>Sb 1</u> The dam, or the presence of water, or present high level, or the 1997 rainfall and inflow, or the water's edge, or the attraction of water
		<u>Sb 2</u> The customary low level, or absence of water in the dam
SC 78%	Soundscape	<u>Sc1</u> Recognition of naturalness of soundscape, or references to quiet, or silence [the meaning ascribed to the physical attribute of silence, or near silence, coded at MI]
		<u>Sc2</u> Reference to noise; disapproval of disturbance of natural soundscape by people and things making a perceived noise, wish to exclude perceived noise
SD 50%	Uniqueness	Avis as place, opportunity, or experience not available elsewhere in Windhoek
SE 94%	Naturalness	To the "veld", to naturalness of the area, to area as a green place [i.e. a place of nature]; to its vulnerability [meanings ascribed to the area's naturalness, mostly at MO and ME]
SF 33%	Scenery	General or specific views at the dam or floodplain
SG 61%	Topography	<u>Sg1</u> Mountains or hills or cliffs
		<u>Sg2</u> Valleys
		<u>Sg3</u> Gentle topography
		<u>Sg4</u> The soil, sand, dust
		<u>Sg5</u> The river
SH 50%	Change through time	Season, or weather conditions, or time of day contributing to views or scenery, or dam's changing appearance: Clouds, thunderstorms, rainbows, sunsets, season, light
SI 33%	Freshness	Fresh air, freshness
SJ 17%	Coolness	
SK 11%	Odours	Bad smells
SL 72%	Birds	Birds themselves, or the sounds they make, or their presence being threatened, or the need for their protection
SM 39%	Wildlife	Presence of wild animals other than birds, recognition of their need for protection from disturbance by people, and poachers
SN 67%	Vegetation	Vegetation or flora generally, or specific trees, and other plants, or shade
SO 6%	Inaccessibility	An area or place as being less accessible or visited by less people, or offering a sense of remoteness

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: PHYSICAL SETTING		
SP 39%	Beauty	Any feature specifically, or area generally as beautiful, pretty, attractive, picturesque
SQ 56%	Openness	Big enough, having enough space, being open, being able to see far
SR 6%	Insect life	Insects generally, or specific insects such as ants or dragonflies
SS 44%	Greenness and brownness	The colours green, or brown
ST 56%	Landmarks	The dam wall, the railway bridge, and other less-mentioned landmarks such as the main road, the power line
SU 11%	Dirt	Dirt; litter [not to the activity of littering i.e. not a reference to people littering]
SV 33%	Cleanness	Free of litter

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: ACTIVITIES		
AA 44%	Recreation	Leisure option, something to do, place to go, or having potential as such, or being an entertainment or recreation area
AB 61%	Braai-ing	To braai-ing itself , or picnicking
AC 50%	Water sport	Power boats, sailboats, dinghies, canoes, windsurfing, paddle skis, jet skis
AD 89%	Dogs	Dogs, or dogwalking, or dogwalkers, or dogs swimming, or visiting the dam because one now owns a dog: all or some of those
AE 50%	Walking, exercising, playing	
AF 89%	Off-road driving	Presence of motorbikes, quads, 4x4's & scramblers, their noise, the degradation caused by them: Negative comments about (-); positive or don't mind comments (+)
AG 56%	Littering	Rubbish dumping (-); people picking up others' rubbish (+); rubbish, bottles, papers
AH 28%	Birdwatching	
AI 11%	Poaching	Disturbing, hunting or killing of animals
AJ 17%	Bike riding	
AK 28%	Swimming	
AL 33%	Driving around/sitting in car	
AM 17%	Horse-riding	
AN 22%	Criminal activities	Theft/damage to cars, graffiti, vandalism
AO 17%	Other unlisted activities	E.g. volleyball, sports activities, church or other social group activities

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: PEOPLE [implied in activities]		
PA 50%	Like-minded ⁷⁷ and non like-minded people	A general sense that other people might, or do, perceive the place differently to self and so act differently; or recognition that the place is different things to different people
PB 56%	Differentiation of space by people	"Otherness" of people at the dam or floodplain; "otherness" of these two places; the floodplain or the dam, referred to as "front" or "back" or "this side" and "that side" or "here" and

⁷⁷ The term "like-mindedness" comes from the co-rater's codes of analysis - annexure E

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: PEOPLE [implied in activities]		
		"there"
PC 61%	Crowding	A feeling that there are too many people in one place, a feeling of confinement, or that too many people's presence detracts from a visit
PD 17%	Connectedness with family	Family members
PE 44%	Inharmonious relationships	Inharmonious interaction of self with other users, or between other users; feelings of annoyance or frustration or anger towards other users; conflict between users
PE 1 22%	Noisy people	Perceived as detracting from experience, being annoying
PF 56%	Harmonious relationships	Affiliative, positive or supportive relationships of self with others, or between other users; socializing; other people not bothersome to self
PG 61%	Perceived non-crowdedness	The place as big enough for everybody, offering opportunities for privacy and solitude [often related to time visited, or referred to as contributing to value of visit]
PH 33%	Socializing	Ph1 Recognizing other "regulars" whose names might or might not be known (Milgram's (1977) "familiar strangers")
		Ph2 Meeting people you know, and chatting
PI 22%	Socially accessible, or inaccessible	A place [figuratively and physically] accessible to all, or not benefitting many people

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: MEANINGS		
MA 89%	Avis as place of return, a place re-visited	Familiarity with the area expressed quantitatively or qualitatively
MB 6%	Sensed change in place	The way the place used to be cf. its present way
MC 50%	Attachment to an area, thing, or routine	An area, thing or routine which usually forms part of a visit to the dam
MD 28%	Enjoyable	Enjoyment, having fun, pleasant
ME 72%	Free, or almost-free nature	Awareness, directly or indirectly expressed, or appreciation of the area's undisturbedness, minimal signs of human impact, lack of organization, untouchedness, unspoiltness, almost-wilderness feeling
MF 72%	Caring involvement [really expressions of Relph's insideness]	Involvement, commitment, feelings of protection, possessiveness nurturing, caring, love, fear for well-being of place, prevention of unwanted things
MG	CANCELLED	
MH 33%	Goreangab dam	Compared with Avis as open space or recreation area, often negatively, or with sense of loss
MI 72%	Peacefulness	Peace and quiet, peaceful, gentle, calm
MJ 61%	Relaxation	The place as being, or offering the possibility of relaxation, of involuntary attention, a sense of not being rushed, of having time, of "switching off"
MK 17%	Reflection	The opportunity to think over the day, or happenings in one's life
ML 44%	Regeneration	Revival, refreshment, recuperation, stimulation
MM 78%	Freedom, escape	Escape from tension, stress, burdens, routine, confinement, a present situation, the office, getting away from it all; getting out, being in a bigger space, a sense of freedom
MN 22%	Sensed change in self/no perceived change	Any perceived sense of change in self, or not, before, during or after a visit, not attached to a specific category of experience, or a sensed change in self over the years affecting a visit
MO 78%	Access to "nature" [as opposed to open space not conveying a sense of "nature"]	Nature vs. non-nature, veld vs non-veld, enjoying/caring about nature, showing nature to children, getting into/closer to/near to nature, recognition of ecosystems present, of nature's own rhythm and autonomy [references to the unspoiltness of nature at Avis dam, at ME]
MP 17%	Order, control, personal safety, security, or lack of it	A sense of order having broken down, of control being absent, or of safety threatened (-); or of order and security and

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: MEANINGS		
		personal safety being present (+)
MQ 11%	Fear of squatting	Potential threat of squatting; a fear that it will happen at the dam as at other open spaces
MR 56%	Deep pleasure	A sense of joy, delight, deep appreciation, of something giving great pleasure [sometimes shared with others or one's pet]
MS 17%	A soul or spirit -related experience	
MT 17%	Meaning, purpose	
MU 17%	Discovery, mystery, exploration	Potential or actual discovery possibilities of the area
MV 39%	Negativeness of city living	The stress; noise, or negative experience of the city
MW 11%	Busy-ness	Sense of busy-ness, restlessness, too much movement [mostly a floodplain feeling]
MX 6%	Balance	Essential for one's sanity, balance, health
MY 22%	Inevitability and helplessness	Sense of loss, inevitability, resignation, helplessness [mostly related to commercial development at the dam; but also to lost security]

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT		
DA 72%	Appropriate commercial development generally	<p><u>Da1</u> Scale: small, low-key, not massive; unobtrusive</p> <p><u>Da2</u> Function control/care of area & wildlife, as in provision of guards, policing</p> <p><u>Da3</u> Provision of food & drink</p> <p><u>Da4</u> Guided tours</p> <p><u>Da5</u> Siting at a distance: [mostly away, or where other development is, or not close]</p> <p><u>Da6</u> Having a view</p> <p><u>Da7</u> Style: Done the "right" way; not fancy, blends in; fades away; not obvious:</p> <p><u>Da8</u> Not bothersome to animals</p> <p><u>Da9</u> OK generally</p> <p><u>Da10</u> Allow more people to benefit, bring more people to area, add to area's attraction</p>
DB 94%	Commercial development seen as inappropriate	<p><u>Db1</u> General dislike</p> <p><u>Db2</u> Brings noise</p> <p><u>Db3</u> Night activities as in discos, casinos and night clubs</p> <p><u>Db4</u> Massive, large scale</p> <p><u>Db5</u> Next to the water</p> <p><u>Db6</u> Prominent; close</p> <p><u>Db7</u> Exclusive of public: [e.g. price or siting]</p> <p><u>Db8</u> "Commercialized"; exploitative, abusive</p> <p><u>Db9</u> Impact too great</p> <p><u>Db10</u> Other places available</p> <p><u>Db11</u> Intrudes on naturalness, breaks atmosphere, spoils the place</p> <p><u>Db12</u> Will bring too many people, or not the "right" people</p> <p><u>Db13</u> Bothers the animals</p> <p><u>Db14</u> Waste of time and money because of low bed occupancy rate</p> <p><u>Db15</u> The proposed Malaysian development of 1994</p>
DC 22%	Roads, parking and accesses	Opening, closing or maintenance of these facilities, or of a fenced parking area at the floodplain

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT		
DD 50%	Restaurant	A restaurant, café, or facility providing food and drink [comments on appropriateness or otherwise, at DA and DB]
DE 50%	Hotel	A hotel [comments on appropriateness or otherwise, at DA and DB]
DF 33%	Formal protection of area, and its fauna and flora	As nature reserve, game park, conservancy, or nature area, or via a development plan, or municipal zoning
DG 28%	Lodge; conference centre	A lodge [comments on appropriateness or otherwise, at DA and DB]
DH 11%	Residential development	Townhouses
DI 6%	Development nearby	
DJ 72%	Level of development	<u>Dj1: present level</u> Good because natural
		<u>Dj2: Future development</u> Not change place too much, not make the place too formal, as little as possible, not go too far, make the place too organized; not know when to stop, set off something irreversible, not having a limit
		<u>Dj3</u> "lots"
DK 61%	Control and order	<u>Dk1</u> Generally
		<u>Dk2</u> Security [not related to commercial development]
		<u>Dk3</u> Internal zoning; designated areas for things
DL 6%	Bird-related	A bird island
DM 28%	Picnic/braai places	
DN 28%	Trails	<u>Dn1</u> Off-road
		<u>Dn2</u> Bike
		<u>Dn3</u> Walking trails; jogging trails
		<u>Dn4</u> Horse
DO 22%	Recognition of monetary value of nature, of payment for preservation	Willingness to pay fees of some sort
DP 22%	Information	Via boards, or pamphlets, on birds, on trees; guided trails/tours, on do's and don'ts
DQ 11%	A shop	As place to buy picnic requirements, or to cater for tourists
DR 22%	Toilets	
DS 22%	Not-listed facilities and services	

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Stokols (1991), research "findings" should be able to suggest intervention points not only at the individual level, but also at community level. In this study, it is the community level which is of interest, and it is conceptualized as public policy on urban open space generally, and the Avis dam specifically. It is hoped that the interpretation of data gathered in this research, and related recommendations, will contribute to the formulation and re-formulation of public policy on these issues, through local authority acceptance of the Greenspace draft management plan for the Avis dam environment⁷⁸.

Two topics are therefore addressed in this chapter:

- What do the research findings suggest would be appropriate and inappropriate development at the Avis dam/floodplain?
- Has the research process highlighted further related research issues?

7.1 Appropriate and inappropriate development at the dam

7.1.1 Meta-recommendation

Development, commercial or otherwise, should not spoil the character of the place, for this is what makes it so desirable; this is what sets it aside from its urban environment; this is what sets it aside from other urban open spaces in Windhoek too.

Most users were able to translate their experience of the dam's identity into expressions of what would be authentic and inauthentic development [commercial or otherwise] at the dam [the percentage occurrences of the various comments may be seen in table T6.3 at the end of Chapter Six, or in Annexure D]. From these, it appeared that interviewees were using some unspoken value as the standard (Buchanan, 1996) by which to decide

1. As the writing of this thesis ran parallel with the writing of the Greenspace management plan for the area (Harper & Maritz, 1998), there was continuous [and recursive!] feedback between the two. Much of what is written in this chapter appears in the management plan, and much of what is written in the management plan, is taken from this study.

what would, or would not, be authentic development -that is, development in harmony with the dam's identity as "place".

There was some resistance to the idea of commercial development generally [db 1: 44%]. Comments on what would be inappropriate development [db: 94%] occurred more often than those referring to appropriate development [da: 72%].

The development should not bring noise [8.127], allow casinos or night clubs [12.9], be massive or large scale [1.166], prominent in one's vision [2.206], or next to the water [3.128]. It should not speak of commercialization and exploitation of nature [5.145]. Above all, it should not intrude on the naturalness of the place [14]. Conversely, appropriate development would be small-scale and low-key [2.224], built in a style which would fade away, or blend into its surroundings [7.247], not bothersome to the area's animal life [12.8], and preferably sited some distance away [3.128]. The thought that development might bring with it care and control of the area was welcomed [1.206].

In non-"place" terms, and non-"behaviour-setting" terms, I believe that users understand the *character* of the place to be "natural, unspoilt, unbuilt and quiet; as well as free, accessible and unrestricted" (Harper & Maritz, 1998, p. 37). They use this implicit understanding of the area's character as a value to distinguish between [again, in non- "place" terms], appropriate and inappropriate development at the dam. In cybernetic terms, the core meaning of values is *criteria for the measurement of error*, and values function to *provide for error-correction* (Buchanan, 1996). Development, commercial or otherwise, would be in error if it were to "spoil" the experienced untouchedness of the place.

This meta-recommendation comprises a whole system of sub-recommendations:

7.1.2 The area's "undetermined" zoning in the town planning scheme should be changed to that of 'Public open space'

The study has shown that the whole *experience* of the place emerges from its naturalness; its construction by users as "nature in the city". Its protection from noise, and from excessive evidence of human presence, is called for. It should also retain as far as possible, its present openness to the general public as a place of recreation; parts of it, should not be excluded from public use. However, the present "undetermined" status of the area within the town planning scheme makes it extremely vulnerable to urban encroachment. Its location near to a fast-growing "upmarket" residential area, and the newly-opened Trans-Kalahari highway, compound this vulnerability. Municipal re-zoning "public open space" would be an appropriate mechanism of finding a balance between

maximum protection of the area as "natural" urban open space, and maximum appropriate public access to that nature

7.1.3 Erf 2882 should be de-registered and incorporated into the lease area; alternative commercial development sites should be considered

This recommendation relates to both the perceptual experience of the area, and the "free nature" of it. From the area plan [annexure H), it can be seen that erf 2882 is right in the middle of the perceiver's vision as his or her eyes are drawn quite involuntarily towards the water, rolling foothills and impressive heights of the area's *perceptual* boundaries. At the moment, apart from the main road and the railway bridge [this latter at least, has become in users' eyes, an authentic part of the area's scenery) the view is one of unspoilt nature.

It is precisely such scenes which are the most highly valued. A literature review undertaken by Fiedeldey (1995) shows that "researchers from a variety of *different* disciplines, using *different* perspectives on landscape aesthetics and psychological benefits, and focussing on *different* levels of human functioning, have provided consistent findings that natural landscapes in their unspoilt form, and especially in the case of a visible or known water presence, elicit higher aesthetic ratings than any other kind of landscape that has so far been investigated, together with consistent reports of highly restorative psychological benefits" (Fiedeldey, 1995, p. 25). In short, people like unspoilt nature more, and it's better for them too.

Any development on erf 2882, no matter how carefully planned and undertaken, will intrude visually on this presently almost pristine view towards the Auas mountains. Not only that, but such development would also irrevocably alter the natural soundscape of the place. *Any* development on this site therefore runs the real risk of damaging, even destroying the "spirit" of the place, that is, its aura of "free nature". Alternative commercial development sites which are sited nearby, but not in the immediate dam area, would make possible the economic development which the Municipality seeks, yet not destroy the area's natural character. Such alternative sites are fully discussed in the management plan (Harper & Maritz, 1998).

7.1.4 There should be an official forum through which members of the public may express opinions on both the siting, and the style, of commercial development at the dam

The Municipality has already committed itself to an Environmental Impact Assessment [and therefore the public scoping exercise which forms a routine part of an EIA] as part of

the process of leasing or selling erf 2882 for commercial development. *This is not the same as saying that the public will have the opportunity for participative planning in the selection of the site, and the design of the development on it.* In the former case, the public is merely called upon to comment upon a fait accompli in terms of both siting and design. Participative planning, on the other hand, means that there is *real*, not apparent, power-sharing between politicians and the public (Human Sciences Research Council, 1996); that the public has a *real* role to play in the selection and design of the commercial development. *That* is community empowerment.

This study has shown that the Avis dam is a setting in which participants become caringly involved in many ways other than at a committee-administrative level. Users, whether first-time, recent or regular, tend to identify strongly with the area. Greenspace and similarly concerned non-official bodies have already offered the public several opportunities since 1994 for input into appropriate development at the dam (Harper & Maritz, 1998). The results of this study merely confirm the results of all previous surveys, street-corner questionnaires, and public meetings, that is, that the interested public is concerned that if there must be development at the dam, then it should be the "right" development.

This links up with Relph's (1976) idea on authentic placemaking [paragraph 3.7.9, r Chapter Three], that designers should recognize humans' attachment to place, and seek inspiration in local experience and meaning, rather than confront users with arbitrary abstractions and concepts represented on maps and plans (Relph, 1976, pp. 145-146). Early participation in design by user groups is also recommended by environmental psychologists Kaplan and Kaplan (1982, cited in Bell *et al.*, 1996).

The Municipality should capitalize on interested citizens' desire and willingness to participate in the decision-making process on the Avis dam environment, and not see it as elitist opposition to economic progress. Creating the opportunities for real participation could strengthen the local government level democratic process, and be a positive example of the community empowerment and sustainable development principles which underpin Agenda 21 (Department of Environmental Affairs & Tourism, 1996), the local programme of which is currently being negotiated in Windhoek.

7.1.5 Any non-commercial development, including rehabilitation and management plans, should also understand, and seek to enhance rather than damage, the area's unspoilt character.

Here a host of development possibilities which also relate to the visual character and natural soundscape of the place are included:

- the careful siting of information boards and advertisement boards
- "guidance" [through low-key environmental education which utilizes information boards, information pamphlets, and part-time voluntary guides] of users through the area rather than regimentation to preserve the experienced freedom of the area
- the limiting of vehicular access to restore peacefulness and tranquillity to the floodplain area
- the relocation of the present parking area at the dam, which also disturbs the pristine view towards the Auas Mountains
- restoration of areas damaged by off-road driving to minimize unwelcome signs of human impact
- the thoughtful provision of minimal picnic facilities to contribute towards responsible enjoyment of the area
- the continued provision of security as a [poor] substitute for the area's previously experienced sense of safety
- an ongoing awareness by town planners that the *perceptual* boundaries of the Avis dam environment [for example, the sweeping view towards the Auas Mountains] are much wider than its actual boundaries, and an inherent part of the dam's sense of place. Even developments not directly affecting the immediate *physical* area could *directly* affect the dam's largely unspoilt character.

Specific recommendations on all these and other management and development issues are included in the management plan (Harper & Maritz, 1998). However, the meta- principle underlying them all remains the same: Development, commercial or otherwise, should not spoil the *character* of the place, for this is what sets it aside from other urban open spaces in Windhoek.

One test of the usefulness of research "findings", would be to assess the influence they have on modifying or re-directing public policy². The draft management plan was submitted at the end of May 1998, in order to meet the lease expiry deadline of June 1998. Greenspace has already [July 1998] been officially informed³ that the present lease has been extended by six months until December 1998, while the Municipality investigates the management plan recommendations; the tender for the sale of err 2882 has likewise been suspended for six months. The ultimate test of the plan's success will of course be reflected in the tenure period, and tenure/boundary terms, of any future

t
=

² According to Patton (cited in Kvale, 1996, p. 249), the ultimate test of the credibility of an evaluation report is the response of decision-makers and information-users to that report

³ Letter from the Chief Property Manager to Chairperson Greenspace. L/Avis/KW dated 13 July 1998.

lease agreement between the Windhoek Municipality and Greenspace -this is currently being negotiated, and will most probably only be finalized early in 1999.

7.2 Future research issues highlighted by this study

7.2.1 Non-user perceptions of the Avis dam

Together, the results of previous public participation opportunities, and the results of this study, contribute to a reasonably comprehensive and rich understanding of how users act in, and think and feel about, the Avis dam environment. But the same cannot yet be said of the irregular user, or the person who knows nothing about the area at all. Kaplan's research (1983) in the USA suggested that people generally feel good to know that there is an urban open space nearby, even if they don't use it themselves [this could probably be related to the psychological benefits of choice, and control]. Would this also be the case here? Do Windhoekers really feel better just knowing that the Avis dam is there, even if they don't use it?

7.2.2 Perceived comparisons of the Avis dam and the Goreangab dam

And how does the Avis dam compare in people's imagination, or lived experience, with Windhoek's other urban open space which contains water, the Goreangab dam? What are their perceived similarities and differences?

7.2.3 The place of the Avis dam in an integrated urban open space system

The Avis dam environment should not be considered in isolation from the rest of Windhoek's urban open spaces. To do so could possibly lead to the mistake of trying to make it meet all the recreation needs of all Windhoek's citizens, thus obliterating its current experienced uniqueness. Participative research should be undertaken to underpin the design and management of a holistic and integrated urban open space system which could contribute to quality of life in the city, given it possessed *diversity* and *meaning* for its users. Urban open spaces are more likely to be conserved by people who "love what they are conserving, and who are convinced that what, they love is intrinsically lovable." (Naess, in Sessions, 1995, p.67).

And for those whose thinking, actions and money will influence the future development of the Avis dam environment, I believe there is no better guiding philosophy than that of deep ecologist Arne Naess (Sessions, 1995, p.26):

"Simple in means, rich in ends".

REFERENCES

- African National Congress (1994). The reconstruction and development programme. Johannesburg: Umanyano Publications.
- Albee, G.W. (1980). A competency model to replace the defect model. In M.S. Gibbs, J.R. Lachenmeyer & J. Sigal (Eds), Community psychology: Theoretical and empirical approaches (pp. 213-238). New York: Gardner Press.
- Albee, G.W. (1982). Preventing psychopathology and promoting human potential. American Psychologist, 37 (9), 1043-1050.
- Altman, I. & Rogoff, B. (1991). World views in psychology: Trait, interactional, organismic & transactional perspectives. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 1 (pp. 7-37). New York: John Wiley.
- Barker, R.G. (1968). Ecological psychology. Concepts and methods for studying the environment of human behavior. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Baron, R.A. & Byrne, D. (1987). Social psychology: Understanding human interaction. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bateson, G. (1972). Steps to an ecology of mind. Collected essays in anthropology, psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology. Northvale: Jason Aronson.
- Bateson, G. (1979). Mind and nature: A necessary unity. London: Flamingo.
- Bechtel, R.B. (1984). Patient and community, the ecological bond. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp. 216-231). New York: John Wiley.
- Bell, P.A., Greene, T.C., Fisher, J.D. & Baum, A. (1996). Environmental psychology (4th ed.). Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace.
- Berman, M. (1990). The cybernetic dream of the 21st century. In J. Clark (Ed.), Renewing the earth. The promise of social ecology. London: Green Print.
- Boscolo, L., Cecchin, G., Hoffman, L. & Penn, P. (1987). Milan systemic family therapy. Conversations in theory and practice. New York: Basic Books.

- Boyne, R. (1990). Foucault & Derrida. The other side of reason. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Buchanan, B.H. (1996). Assessing human values. Paper presented at the 10th International Congress on Systems and Cybernetics, Bucharest, Romania, August 26-31, 1996. <http://intermix.org/buchana1.htm> 15 December 1996.
- Burke, A (1997). Avis dam environmental baseline study and management plan. Unpublished manuscript in the files of Greenspace, Windhoek.
- Canter, D.V. & Craik, K.H. (1981). Environmental psychology. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 1, 1-11.
- Capra, F. (1983). The turning point: Science, society, and the rising culture. London: Flamingo.
- City Council of Pretoria: Inner City Partnership (Nov. 1996). Strategic development framework for the Pretoria inner city – growing towards 2020. First draft for discussion, 4 November 1996. Pretoria: Pretoria City Council.
- City Council of Pretoria: Inner City Partnership (Feb. 1997). Strategic development framework for the Pretoria inner city - growing towards 2020. Second draft for discussion, 5 February 1997. Pretoria: Pretoria City Council.
- Council for the Environment (May 1989). Guidelines for the planning and management of natural open space in urban areas. Pretoria: Council for the Environment.
- Colapinto, J. (1979). The relative value of empirical evidence. Family Process, 18, 427-441.
- Dames & Moore, Consultants in the Environmental Sciences (1975). Concept plan. Open space and recreation. City of Windhoek South West Africa. Unpublished report, National Library, Windhoek.
- Daniels, S., Wilkinson, C.B. & O'Connor, W.A. (1984). The psychosocial ecology of urban black youth. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp. 322-334). New York: John Wiley.
- Dawes, A. (1985). Politics and mental health: The position of clinical psychology in South Africa. South African Journal of Psychology, 15, 55-61.
- De la Rey, P. (1997). Class lecture material, Research Methodology, M.A. Research Psychology, University of Pretoria.

- Dell, P.F. (1982). Beyond homeostasis: Toward a concept of coherence. Family Process, 21, 21-41.
- Dell, P.F. (1985). Understanding Bateson and Maturana: Toward a biological foundation for the social sciences. Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 11, 1-20.
- Dell, P.F. (1989). Violence and the systemic view: The problem of power. Family Process, 28, (1), 1-14.
- Department of Environment Affairs (1994). Conference. Urban open spaces. Potential for productive utilisation. Technikon Pretoria, 24-25 February 1994. Pretoria: Department of Environment Affairs.
- Department of Environmental Affairs (1992). The Integrated Environmental Management procedure. University of Cape Town.
- Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (1995). Urban open space guidelines for effective management. Discussion document based on Agenda 21 and the RDP. Pretoria: Department of Environmental Affairs & Tourism.
- Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (1996). Agenda 21: a global plan for sustainable development. Pretoria: Department of Environmental Affairs & Tourism.
- Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (1996 October). An environmental policy for South Africa. Green paper for public discussion. Pretoria: Department of Environmental Affairs & Tourism.
- Dewar, D. (1991). Cities under stress. In M. Ramphela (Consultant Ed.), Restoring the land. Environment and change in post-apartheid South Africa (pp. 91-102). London: Panos Publications.
- DiNicola, V.F. (1985). Overview. Family therapy and transcultural psychiatry: An emerging synthesis. Part I: The conceptual basis. Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review, 22, 81-113.
- Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment & Tourism (1995). Namibia's Environmental Assessment Policy. Windhoek: Ministry of Environment and Tourism.
- Duffy, K.G. & Wong, F.Y. (1996). Community psychology. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

- Fiedeldey, A.C. (1991). Experiencing nature on hiking trails: A psychological study. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pretoria.
- Fiedeldey, A.C. (1994a). Man, nature and therapy: Romantic illusion or psychological reality? In P.S. Hattingh & G.D.H. Wilson (Eds), Human-environment interaction: Selected themes from the humanities. University of Pretoria: Department of Geography.
- Fiedeldey, A.C. (1995). Recommendations on outdoor advertising: the role of psychological perception and aesthetic appreciation of outdoor environments. Contractual report for Dept. of Landscape Architecture, University of Pretoria, for the Department of Tourism and Environmental Affairs and the Department of Transport. University of Pretoria, Pretoria.
- Fiedeldey, A.C. & Groenewald, A.E. (1996). The experience of waterscapes: An ecosystemic analysis. Paper presented at the 104th APA Congress, Toronto, Canada, 9-13 August 1996.
- Fiedeldey, A.C. (1997). Ecosystemic epistemology, systems terminology: Definitions, discussion, examples and applications. Unpublished manuscript, University of Pretoria, Department of Psychology.
- Fisher, B.S. & Nasar, J.L. (1992). Fear of crime in relation to three exterior site features: Prospect, refuge and escape. Environment and Behavior, 24 (1), 35-65.
- Fourie, D.P. (ca. 1991). The development of ecosystemic thinking. Unpublished manuscript, University of South Africa, Department of Psychology, Pretoria.
- Francis, M. (1987). Urban open spaces. In E.H. Zube & G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior and design, Vol. 1 (pp.71-105). New York: Plenum Press.
- Frayne, B. (1992). Urbanization in post-independence Windhoek (Research report 6). Windhoek: Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Research.
- Freeman, M. (1985). Paul Ricoeur on interpretation. Human development, 28, 295-312.
- Fuhrer, U. (1990). Bridging the ecological-psychological gap. Behaviour settings as interfaces. Environment and Behavior, 22 (4), 518-537.
- Gale, R.J.P. (1992). Environment and economy. The policy models of development. Environment and Behavior, 24 (6), 723-737.

- Garbers, J.G. (Ed.) (1996). Effective research in the human sciences. Research management for researchers, supervisors and master's and doctoral candidates. Pretoria: J.L. van Schaik.
- Gellner, E. (1992). Postmodernism, reason and religion. London: Routledge.
- Georgiou, D. & Carspecken, P.F. (1996). A method for contextual research on person-environment interactions: Behavior setting survey and critical ethnography. In J.L. Nasar, and B.B Brown (Eds), Public and Private Places. Salt Lake City: Environmental Design Research Association/EDRA, 27th Conference Proceedings (pp.163-169).
- Gifford, R. (1987). Environmental psychology: Principles and practice. Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.
- Goodhart, D.E. & Zautra, A. (1984). Assessing quality of life in the community: An ecological approach. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp. 251-290). New York: John Wiley.
- Groat, L.N. & Després, C. (1991). The significance of architectural theory for environmental design research. In E.H. Zube & G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior and design, Vol. 3 (pp. 3-52). New York: Plenum Press.
- Grove, N. (1990). Greenways: paths to the future. National Geographic, June 1990, pp. 77-98.
- Gump, P. (1984). Ecological psychology and clinical mental health. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp. 57-71). New York: John Wiley.
- Hanson, B.G. (1995). General systems theory: Beginning with wholes. Washington: Taylor & Francis.
- Harper, S.A. & Maritz, N. (1998). The Avis dam environment. Greenspace's draft management plan presented at public meetings on Tuesday 12 and 19 May 1998. Windhoek: Greenspace.
- Hartig, T., Mang, M. & Evans, G.W. (1991). Restorative effects of natural environment experiences. Environment and Behavior, 23 (1), 3-26.
- Heller, K., Price, R.H., Reinharz, S., Riger, S., Wandersman, A. & D'Aunno, T. (1984). Psychology and community change. Challenges of the future. Homewood: The Dorsey Press.

- Hoffman, L. (1981). Foundations of family therapy. New York: Basic Books.
- Hoffman, L. (1990). Constructing realities: An art of lenses. Family Process, 1, 1-12.
- Holahan, C.J. (1982). Environmental psychology. New York: Random.
- Hubbard, P.J. (1992). Environment-behavior studies and city design: A new agenda for research? Journal of environmental psychology, 12, 269-279.
- Hull, R.B. & Harvey, A. (1989). Explaining the emotion people experience in suburban parks. Environment and Behavior, 21 (3), 323-345.
- Human Sciences Research Council (1996). Proceedings of a workshop on planning and the environment: A case for public participation. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Hungerford, H.R. & Volk, T.L. (1990). Changing learned behavior through environmental education. The Journal of Environmental Education, 21 (3), 8-21.
- Irwin, P. (1991). Environmental education: A quest for the future. Inaugural lecture delivered at Rhodes University. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.
- Jasnoski, M.L. (1984). The ecosystemic perspective in clinical assessment and intervention. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp.41-56). New York: John Wiley.
- Joardar, S.D. (1989). Use and image of neighbourhood parks: A case of limited resources. Environment and Behavior, 21 (6), 734-762.
- Johnson, D.K. (1996). The view from somewhere: A philosophical critique of radical constructivism. Cybernetics and Human Knowing, 3 (4), 3-17.
- Jordaan, W. & Jordaan, J. (1989). Man in context. Isando: Lexicon.
- Kaminski, G. (1989). The relevance of ecologically oriented conceptualizations to theory building in environment and behavior research. In E.H. Zube & G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior and design, Vol. 2 (pp. 3-36). New York: Plenum Press.
- Kaplan, R. (1983). The role of nature in the urban context. In I. Altman & J.F. Wohlwill (Eds), Behavior and the natural environment. New York: Plenum Press.

Keeney, B. (1979). Ecosystemic epistemology: An alternative paradigm for diagnosis. Family Process, 18, (2), 117-129.

Keeney, B. (1983). Aesthetics of change. New York: The Guilford Press.

Keeney, B. (1984). An ecological epistemology for therapy. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp. 24-40). New York: John Wiley.

Kerlinger, F.N. (1986). Foundations of behavioral research. Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Khan, F. (1994). Creation of livable environments in post-apartheid S.A. Report of proceedings: MOSS International conference. "Putting plans into action", Durban, February 9-11, 1994. Durban: MOSS International Conference Committee.

Knopf, R.C. (1987). Human behavior, cognition, and affect in the natural environment. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 1 (pp. 783-825). New York: John Wiley.

Kohrs, B (1998). Incidents of theft, vandalism, damage to property and assault at the dam. Unpublished list in the files of Greenspace, Windhoek.

Kvale, S. (1996). InterViews. An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Lau, B. & Stern, C. (1990). Namibian water resources and their management: A preliminary history including excerpts from unpublished sources. (Archeia No. 15). Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia.

Leopold, A. (1949). A Sand County almanac and sketches here and there. London: Oxford University Press.

Low, S. (1987). Developments in research design, data collection, and analysis. Qualitative methods. In E.H. Zube & G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior, and design, Vol. 1 (pp. 279-303). New York: Plenum Press.

Low, S.M. (1997). Urban public spaces as representations of culture. The plaza in Costa Rica. Environment and Behavior, 29 (1), 3-33.

- Lucas, C. (1985). Out at the edge: Notes on a paradigm shift. Journal of Counseling and Development, 64, 165-172.
- Lyotard, J-F. (1984). The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- MacKinnon, L.K. & Miller, D. (1987). The new epistemology and the Milan approach: Feminist and sociopolitical considerations. Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 13 (2), 139-155.
- Maddi, S.R. (1989). Personality theories. A comparative analysis. Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole.
- Marans R.W. & Ahrentzen, S. (1987). Developments in research design, data collection, and analysis: Quantitative methods. In E.H. Zube & G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior, and design, Vol. 1 (pp. 251-277). New York: Plenum Press.
- Marcus, C. C. (1990). Preface. In C.C. Marcus & C. Francis (Eds), People places. Design guidelines for urban open space, pp. ix-xi. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Marcus, C. C., with Watsky, C.M., Insley, E. and Francis, C. (1990). Neighbourhood parks. In C.C. Marcus & C. Francis (Eds), People places. Design guidelines for urban open space, pp. 69-118. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Marcus, C. C., with Greene, N.H. (1990). Miniparks and vest-pocket parks. In C.C. Marcus & C. Francis (Eds), People places. Design guidelines for urban open space, pp. 119-142. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Marsella, A.J. (1984). An interactional model of psychopathology. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp. 232-250). New York: John Wiley.
- Matsumoto, D. (1994). People. Psychology from a cultural perspective. Pacific Grove: Brooks Cole.
- McAndrew, F.T., Turner, S. & Fiedeldej, A.C. (in preparation). A cross-cultural study of preferences for visual and non-visual features of outdoor environments. Obtainable from the Psychology Department, University of Pretoria.
- McCarthy, J.J. (1989). Black South Africans' constructions of their urban environments. South African Journal of Psychology, 19 (4), 215-223.

- McNiff, J. (1988). Action research: Principles and practice. London: MacMillan Education.
- Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Milgram, S. (1977). The individual in a social world: Essays and experiments. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- Mingers, J. (1996). "Radical Constructivism: A Way of Knowing and Learning" by Ernst von Glasersfeld. Cybernetics and Human Knowing, 3(4), 3-17.
- MOSS International Conference Committee (1994). Metropolitan Open Space Systems International conference: "Putting plans into action". Report of proceedings, February 9-11, 1994, Durban. Durban: MOSS International Conference Committee.
- Moughtin, C. (1992). Urban design: Street and square. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Municipal Council of Windhoek (1997). Lease agreement. Memorandum of agreement entered into by and between the Municipal Council of Windhoek and Greenspace Friends of Avis. Unpublished agreement in the files of Greenspace Windhoek.
- Municipality of Windhoek (1980). Guide plan for the Windhoek Basin. Unpublished report, National Library, Windhoek.
- Municipality of Windhoek (1996). The Windhoek Structure Plan. Unpublished report, Town Planning Division.
- Municipality of Windhoek (1998). Windhoek Ground Valuation. Extract from the Town Management System overlayed on the GIS, scale 1: 60 000, produced by M. Amedick, 4 March 1998.
- Muniviro. Manage the urban environment, 13 (2), May 1996.
- Munnik, V. (1994). MOSS conference: Open space systems depend on public participation. African Wildlife, 48 (2), 31-32.
- Namibia Bird Club (1994). Petition to the Mayor of Windhoek on the Avis dam and surrounding area, November 1994. Unpublished petition in the files of Greenspace, Windhoek.

Namibia's green plan (Environment and development). Namibia's green plan to secure for present and future generations a safe and healthy environment and a prosperous economy (ca. 1992). Windhoek: Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism.

Newton, F.B. & Caple, R.B. (1985). Once the world was flat: Introduction and overview Journal of Counseling and Development, 64, 163-164.

Parker, I. (1992). Discourse dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology. London: Routledge.

Pattison, E.M. & Hurd, G.S. (1984). The social network paradigm as a basis for social intervention strategies. In W.A. O'Connor & B. Lubin (Eds), Ecological approaches to clinical and community psychology (pp. 145-185). New York: John Wiley.

Polkinghorne, D.E. (1989). Phenomenological research methods. In R.S. Valle & S. Halling (Eds), Existential-phenomenological perspectives in psychology. Exploring the breadth of human experience. New York: Plenum Press.

Proshansky, H.M. (1976). Environmental psychology and the real world. American Psychologist, 31, 303-310.

Proshansky, H.M. (1990). The pursuit of understanding: An intellectual history. In I. Altman, I. & K. Christensen (Eds), Environment and behavior studies: Emergence of intellectual traditions, Vol. II (pp. 9-30). New York: Plenum Press.

Proshansky, H.M. (1991). The field of environmental psychology: Securing its future. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 2 (pp. 1489-1510). New York: John Wiley.

Quantum Research (1995). Attitude and usage study. Users of Avis Dam. Unpublished report in the files of Greenspace, Windhoek.

Ramdohr, W. (ca. 1988). Untitled and unpublished student assignment on the Avis Dam in the files of Greenspace, Windhoek.

Rappaport, J. (1981). In praise of paradox: A social policy of empowerment over prevention. American Journal of Community Psychology, 9 (1), 1-25.

Rappaport, J. (1987). Terms of empowerment/exemplars of prevention: Toward a theory for community psychology. American Journal of Community Psychology, 15 (2), 121-147.

- Rappaport, J. (ca. 1990). Research methods and the empowerment social agenda. In P. Tolan, C. Keys, F. Chertok & L. Jason (Eds), Researching community psychology: Issues of theory and methods. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Relph, E. (1976). Place and placelessness. London: Pion.
- Riger, S. (1993). What's wrong with empowerment. American Journal of Community Psychology, 21 (3), 279-292.
- Rowan, J. & Reason, P. (1981). On making sense. In P. Reason & J. Rowan (Eds), Human enquiry: A source book of new paradigm research. New York: John Wiley.
- Ruddell, E.J., Gramann, J.H., Rudis, V.A. & Westphal, J.M. (1989). The psychological utility of visual penetration in near-view forest scenic-beauty models. Environment and Behavior, 21 (4), 393-412.
- Schroeder, H. (1989). Environment, behavior, and design research on urban forests. In E.H. Zube & G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior and design, Vol. 2 (pp. 87-117). New York: Plenum Press.
- Schultz, S.J. (1984). Family systems therapy: An integration. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Schwartzman, J. (1984). Family theory and the scientific method. Family Process, 23, 223-236.
- Serrano-Garcia, I. (1990). Implementing research: Putting our values to work. In P. Tolan, C. Keys, F. Chertok & L. Jason (Eds), Researching community psychology: Issues of theory and methods. Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association.
- Sessions, G. (Ed.) (1995). Deep ecology for the twenty-first century. Boston: Shambhala.
- Singer, J.E. (1977). Psychology and ecology. International Journal of Psychology 12 (2), 73-77.
- Sokutu, T. (1994). South African urban youth: Their attitudes. Report of proceedings: MOSS International conference. "Putting plans into action", Durban, February 9-11, 1994. Durban: MOSS International Conference Committee.

- Sommer, R. (1991). Dreams, reality, and the future of environmental psychology. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 2 (pp. 1489-1510). New York: John Wiley.
- Steyn, H. (1996). Wat is die ekologiese status van stedelike oopruimtes? Muniviro, 13 (2), 7-8, 10.
- Stokols, D. (1991). Conceptual strategies of environmental psychology. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 1 (pp. 41-70). New York: John Wiley.
- Taylor, D.E. (1989). Blacks and the environment. Toward an explanation of the concern and action gap between blacks and whites. Environment and Behavior, 21 (2), 175-205.
- Tesch, R. (1990). Qualitative research. Analysis types & software tools. New York: The Falmer Press.
- Thoresen, C.E. & Eagleston, J.R. (1985). Counseling for health. The Counseling Psychologist, 13 (1), 15-87.
- Ulrich, R. (1983). Aesthetic and affective response to the natural environment. In I. Altman & J.F. Wohlwill (Eds), Behavior and the natural environment (pp. 85-125). New York: Plenum Press.
- Van Staden, F. (1984). Transactionism in person-environment theory. South African Journal of Psychology, 14 (4), 140-143.
- Van Staden, F., Grieve, K., Burger, L. & Genot, S. (1987). Only study guide for PSY318-J (Environmental Psychology). Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Ventre, F.T. (1989). The policy environment for environment-behavior research. In E.H. Zube and G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior and design, Vol. 2 (pp. 317-342). New York: Plenum Press.
- Viljoen, H.G. (1981). The new environmental model of man and the shift from the traditional structural to a transactional view of perception. South African Journal of Psychology, 11 (3), 98-105.
- Viljoen, H., van Staden, F., Grieve, K. & van Deventer, V. (1987). Environmental psychology: An introduction. Isando: Lexicon.

- von Foerster, H. (1992). Ethics and second-order cybernetics. Cybernetics and Human Knowing, 1 (1), 9-19.
- Wahlström, R. (1991). Growth towards peace and environmental responsibility. From theory to practical implications. Institute for Educational Research. Publication series B. Theory into practice, No. 67. University of Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä.
- Wapner, S. (1991). A holistic, developmental, system-oriented environmental psychology: Some beginnings. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 2 (pp. 1433-1459). New York: John Wiley.
- Wapner, S. & Craig-Bray, L. (1992). Person-in-environment transitions: Theoretical and methodological approaches. Environment and Behavior, 24 (2), 161-188.
- Watzlawick, P., Bavelas, J.B. & Jackson, D.D. (1967). Pragmatics of human communication. A study of interactional patterns, pathologies, and paradoxes. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Wicker, A.W. (1987). Behaviour settings reconsidered: Temporal stages, resources, internal dynamics, context. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 1 (pp. 613-653). New York: Wiley.
- Willers, V.A. (1996). Environmental concern in South Africa. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Windhoek Aloe, September 1997, p. 3, "Space wide open for comment". Windhoek: Municipality of Windhoek.
- Windhoek Aloe, May 1998, p. 1, "Avis Go-ahead". Windhoek: Municipality of Windhoek.
- Winnett, R.A. (1987). Empiricist-positivist theories of environment and behavior. In E.H. Zube & G.T. Moore (Eds), Advances in environment, behavior and design, Vol. 1 (pp. 29-57). New York: Plenum Press.
- Winkel, G.H. (1991). Implications of environmental context for validity assessments. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds), Handbook of environmental psychology, Vol. 1 (pp. 71-97). New York: John Wiley.
- Wohlwill, J.F. (1983). The concept of nature: A psychologist's view. In I. Altman & J.F. Wohlwill (Eds), Behavior and the natural environment (pp. 5-37). New York: Plenum Press.

Yang, B-E. & Brown, T.J. (1992). A cross-cultural comparison of preferences for landscape styles and landscape elements. Environment and Behavior, 24 (4), 471-507.

Zajonc, R.B. (1980). Feeling and thinking. Preferences need no inferences. American Psychologist, 35 (2), 151-175.

Zube, E.H. (1976). Perception of landscape and land use. In I. Altman & J.F. Wohlwill (Eds), Human behavior and environment: Advances in theory and research, Vol. 1 (pp. 87-121). New York: Plenum Press.

ANNEXURE A: DRAFT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

[slightly altered after pilot interviews - see Chapter Five]

RESEARCH THEME ⁷⁹	TOPIC and initial question	POSSIBLE FURTHER THEMES TO PURSUE	REMARKS
	BRIEFING		Purpose of interview, procedure, consent; Confidentiality
	BIO-GRAPHICAL DETAIL		Context for the subject's story; description of the person
<p>IDENTITY OF THE DAM AS REVEALED IN ITS MEANINGS</p> <p>*relationship between time, sense of rootedness and care of place</p>	<p><i>For how long now have you been coming to the dam?</i></p> <p><i>How often would you say you come?</i></p>	<p>Which area of the dam environment do you mostly visit?</p>	<p>Despite the underlying theory, these are neutral, "easy" topics for both of us to handle, while settling into the interview</p>

⁷⁹ Element of Relph's (1976) theory; also subsequent provisional analysis category



RESEARCH THEME	TOPIC and initial question	POSSIBLE FURTHER THEMES TO PURSUE	REMARKS
<p>IDENTITY OF THE DAM AS REVEALED IN ITS PHYSICAL SETTING</p> <p>*location *landscape *image-ability</p> <p>IDENTITY OF THE DAM AS REVEALED IN ITS MEANINGS</p> <p>Personal involvement,</p> <p>Identity of person <i>with</i> place, sense of insiderness or outsiderness</p>	<p><i>If you were to describe how the dam looks to someone who had never seen it, what would you tell them?</i></p> <p><i>What do you experience when you come here, what is it like for you to be here?</i></p> <p>✦</p> <p><i>What kind of things/ experiences make a visit to the dam really satisfying for you?</i></p> <p><i>Unpleasant?</i></p>	<p>Is there any particular view, or part of this whole area which captures the essence of the place for you? Could you describe it?</p> <p>⇒ Is there anything special about it for you? – How would you describe it?</p> <p>✦</p> <p>What do you wish for yourself when you come here? What expectations do you have?</p>	<p>Talking about something concrete first, rather than meanings, might set the subject at ease</p> <p>I'm trying to formulate a question that will allow the person to talk spontaneously about whatever aspects of their experience of the dam are meaningful to them. If this question doesn't "work" then I'll ask the kind of questions in column 3. ⇐</p>



RESEARCH THEME	TOPIC and initial question	POSSIBLE FURTHER THEMES TO PURSUE	REMARKS
<p>IDENTITY OF DAM AS REVEALED IN ACTIVITIES</p> <p>Meaning as defined by action and intention</p> <p>What new things, if any, will confirm or detract from the dam's authenticity</p> <p>Protecting authenticity, sense of "place" if present</p>	<p><i>It seems that what makes the dam special for you is ...</i></p> <p><i>How do all the other people and activities here influence your experience of the dam?</i></p> <p><i>What connection is there for you between the dam's present level of development and its atmosphere?</i></p> <p><i>There has been talk of developing the dam – how do you feel about that?</i></p> <p><i>Do you think the dam should be protected in some way? Why? How?</i></p>	<p>What sort of activities should be allowed, and what should not be allowed?</p>	<p>Be sure to clarify what the person understands by development</p> <p>Leading questions, but key ones for the management plan</p>



RESEARCH THEME	TOPIC and initial question	POSSIBLE FURTHER THEMES TO PURSUE	REMARKS
	<p>CLOSING</p> <p><i>It seems that what is really important about the dam for you is that ..</i></p> <p><i>I don't have any further questions. Are there some things we haven't covered that you would like to add?</i></p>		<p>Final opportunity for feedback from subject [will try to use Kvale's (1996:189) "self-correcting" method throughout]</p>
	<p>DE-BRIEFING</p>		<p>Explanation of what happens next in the research study, including the possibility of re-interview</p>

ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

ANNEXURE C: OVERVIEW OF TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT

	<u>Page</u>
C-01 With A, male, 21-60, at the visitors' parking area at the dam, Sunday 1 February 1998	193
C-02 With AB, male, 21-39, at the water's edge, traditional dam area, Sunday 1 February 1998	199
C-03 With PS, male, 40-59; AS, female, 21-39 and UB, female, 60+, at the water's edge, traditional dam area, Sunday 8 February 1998	207
C-04 With CV, male, 21-39, and his wife, JV, female, 21-39, on the dam wall, Sunday 8 February 1998	210
C-05 With And., male, 21; Ang., female under 21, and Fr., female, 40-60, on the dam wall near the extraction tower, Sunday 8 February 1998.....	216
C-06 With B, male, 21-39 [accompanied by wife and 2 children], at the floodplain, beneath Dassie Rock, Sunday 15 February 1998	220
C-07 With L, female, 21-39, [accompanied by little boy], at the floodplain, near the water's edge at the entrance to woodcutter's road, Sunday 15 February 1998	223
C-08 With M, female, 21-39, and C, female, 40-59, at the floodplain, near the water's edge at the entrance to the old Gobabis road, Sunday 15 February 1998	227
C-09 With H-P, male, 21-39, and B, female, 21-39, at the floodplain, near the water's edge at the entrance to the old Gobabis road, Sunday 15 February 1998	231
C-10 With AR, female, 40-59, in the parking area at the dam, Saturday 28 February 1998	234
C-11 With TR, male, 40-59, and his wife SR, female, 40-59, in the parking area at the dam, Saturday 28 February 1998.....	237
C-12 With K, J and S, all 21-39, two males and one female, at the floodplain, near the water's edge at Dassie Rock, Sunday 8 March 1998	241
C-13/15 Notes on interviews ⁸⁰ conducted at the floodplain, Saturday 4 April 1998.....	244

⁸⁰ *During all these interviews, I neglected to push the record button. Nor was I taking notes, so that what is recorded here are the key issues which I remembered immediately afterwards*



TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT, cont.

	<u>Page</u>
C-16 With CM, male, 40-59, and his daughter, 13-20, in the river near the floodplain entrance, Saturday 4 April 1998	245
C-17 With CM, female, 60+, in the parking area at the dam, Wednesday 8 April 1998	248
C-18 With BS, male, 60+, in the parking area at the dam, Thursday 9 April 1998	252
C-19 With EH, female, 21-39, next to the water beneath the cliffs below the parking area at the dam, Wednesday 15 April 1998	256



Interviews C1-12 here

ANNEXURE C-13/15

**NOTES ON INTERVIEWS 13-15 CONDUCTED AT FLOODPLAIN
Saturday, 4 April 1998, 16.45 - 18.00**

[During all these interviews, I neglected to push the record button. Nor was I taking notes during the interview, so the following represents what I remember [directly after the interviews] as the key issues mentioned by the interviewees. As I also neglected [for interview 13] to record contact details, this interview has not been analyzed, because it cannot be validated.]

<p>Interview 13 [conducted on the road across the river, while the occupants [2 young men and their girlfriends] were in the car]</p> <p>I particularly wanted to interview the occupants of this 4x4 which I had observed ignoring the no-entry signs at the road up the north hill, so waited for them to come down again, before asking if I could interview them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was their first visit to the area • They appreciated the naturalness of the place very much • They did not want the place further developed; the only change they wanted, was a few braai areas • They were concerned that the area should be kept clean too 	
<p>Interview 14</p> <p>This interview was at the water's edge [near the entrance to woodcutter's road] with a mixed couple - she black/coloured, and he white.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coming to the area for the last ten years • Her experience of being there: "bliss" • Both understood the area as an ecosystem, full of life, and were concerned that it should be minimally disturbed • He described its asset as being the last "semi-wilderness" area in Windhoek • Both considered the cars driving around as a problem - cars should only be allowed to get to a point; the scramblers also perceived as a problem • Avis dam discussed as a perceived elitist area because of its situation on eastern side of town, unknown to most blacks. She particularly was insistent that such a perception could not be used to argue that as only whites were concerned about maintaining the naturalness of the area, development was therefore acceptable. Commercial development might benefit the poor initially but in the long run would only benefit those who could afford to pay. It was not only whites who didn't want the area developed; she, a black, didn't want it developed either because it would infringe upon its natural state. No further development; stop it by all means possible, she said. 	<p>ma mr se mo</p> <p>sd me al af-</p> <p>pi</p> <p>db7</p> <p>db11 db1</p>
<p>Interview 15</p> <p>With the young foreign lady [soon leaving Namibia] dog-walking</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She had been coming every day for the last 1 and half years to walk her dog • came to the floodplain rather than the dam because it was usually quieter, except for the scramblers which she disliked • appreciated the nature, openness, freedom for her dogs to run around • disliked the cars and scramblers and 4x4's driving around • wanted the cars to stay on the main road side of the river, and people could walk from there 	<p>ad mi af- se sq al</p> <p>me db10</p>

ANNEXURE C-01

TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
 With A. ², male, 21-60,
 at the visitors' parking area at the dam,
 Sunday 1 February 1998, approx. 18.00-18.25

N r s	TEXT AND ITS DIVISION INTO RESEARCHER-IMPOSED UNITS	Code
	[Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of: "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?"]	
7	<p>S. [tape not switched on soon enough] part of the dam do you mostly come to? A. to this side this side is [pause] the middle the middle area I would say S. so this area here? A. ja the middle area S. and the dam A. and the dam itself S. How long have you been coming here now? A. Ssss [S. if you can say] ever since I've been a youngster say about 30 years now S. 30 years as long as that? And how how regularly do you come would you say? A. I'd say I used to come on a daily basis [???] now and then you come over the weekends Saturdays and Sundays normally in the evenings. Sometimes you come on a Sunday morning or so mmm but that's that's about it S. So if you if you were to describe say how many times a week [??] A. I would say twice a week</p>	ma [ma]
2 4	<p>S. Twice a week. OK imagine now umm you have to describe this area that you visit so often to somebody who's never seen it. Mmm what would you tell them? A. mm I would say that the way I used to know it is I used to say if they wanted to come and watch birds or they want to do a bit of walking with their dogs and so on umm or just describe them as the closest area which we've got for a bit of peace and quiet uhuh umm that's how I would describe it. Its changed. over over the past I would say 3, 4 years now mmm mmm we have a lot of motorbikes here and so on mmm so it's a bit of .. It's It's changed. It depends to who you're talking to anyway you know . mmm mmm For me it's a place where I can just in the evenings just come here and relax mmm with your own thoughts and so on mmm at that stage</p>	mb ah sl ad sa mi [mb] af [mb] pa mj mk

¹ Interview 1, Tape 2 Side A 1-245

² Occasionally, A's brother in the car next door to us contributes something to the conversation, which influences what A. says

³ Approximately 3 units difference on rewind

Nr	TEXT AND ITS DIVISION INTO RESEARCHER-IMPOSED UNITS	Code
4 7	S. Ok is there any particular view or area which sort of captures the essence of the place for you? A. the water ja its still the water its still the water its still the main attraction here	sb1
4 7	S. OK what do you experience when you come here what's it like for you to come here? A. [pause] Peace and quiet mmm that's what I I wouldn't I wouldn't say I experience anything different mmm or something its just its just from getting away from it all first of all and just sitting down here and just relaxing	mi mn mm mj
5 4	S. What kind of things make a visit here really worthwhile for you? A. The wat the First of all the water yes and then of course I mean I love the turtle turtle doves yes and so on and the noise of nature as such yes and I think this is this is one thing I've always it's the closest thing that we've got in nature that's in the in the Windhoek area because you cant you can't go anywhere else in Windhoek for a bit of peace and quiet mmm and so on mmm	sb1 sl sc1 sa mo sd mi
6 3	S. What makes it if you think of all your visits what makes it unpleasant for you? The motor bikes first uhuh the people with their motor bikes and their four by fours mmm the dogs too although that I believe it's a there's a lot of dogs locked up and so on its good for the dogs to to roam around but you can't go you cant go walking anymore because people use use the place and then they it spoils ja it spoils the whole thing the dogs go into the dams and the dogs take the birds away and everything like that. That's the unpleasant thing about it. I would say the people should be allowed to still have a place here for their dogs but not the whole dam mm as such this is a a difficult part about it I dislike the motor bikes and the four by fours the four by fours driving up the mountains mmm and spoiling the the vegetation mm and the natural part about everything here mmm	af- ad- ad+ ae pc [ad-] sl [ad] [af-] sg1 sn se
9 4	S. you have sort of touched on this but I'd like to ask you specifically how do all the other people first of all influence your experience of the dam? A. um [pause] I used to take the I used to be when I used to be younger I used to take my dog around here and so on umm we used to be able to walk right around the dam and so on it was it wasn't It wasn't visited so often mmm by people and so on so of course I've got a nowadays I I see its being its being how do you say its getting a bit too much here mmm there seems to be no control here anymore	ma sb2 pc [pc] mp

N r	TEXT AND ITS DIVISION INTO RESEARCHER-IMPOSED UNITS	Code
1 6 6	<p>S. Any activities you think that should be included not going on here at the moment?</p> <p>A. Any activities what do you mean um ?</p> <p>S. Something that should be happening here that isn't?</p> <p>A. No I think there should be development in a in a way as the Municipality or whoever has been given the lease and so on should actually start looking after the the roads here mmm that there's a bit more an area here maybe I've always thought maybe a person should actually build a type of a restaurant up here uhhuh and control control the area mm um make it a bit more I'm not saying a restaurant for uh that there's night activities mmm or anything like that mmm a small place where you have like . Sunday afternoons you can sit Saturday afternoons you can sit um a sort of a that blends in with the nature [interjection] not a massive mmm development mmm system mmm um look after this road that's that's that 's how that's how far I would go but nothing nothing nothing further? Mmm</p>	<p>da2 dc</p> <p>dd+ [da2] db3 da1</p> <p>da7 db4 [da2] [dc] dj2</p>
1 8 1	<p>S. Um this links up rather nicely with the next question is that there is talk of of a of a hotel or a lodge exactly here no I wouldn't say a hotel where we are sitting</p> <p>A. A hotel and anything that um [interjection from brother] ja then it becomes commercialized mmm and and if I say that if this an area where people could say say now they had this area where most of the people come here anyway and you had a a lodge overlooking the dam where they could people could come for their morning or afternoons and so on people aren't safe here anymore because mmm um I was just telling my brother that that this week someone's wheels got stolen out of here mmm⁴ because he they came here in the early morning mmm and I do actually think this could be one of the better attractions for Windhoek if they actually developed it into um [interjection from brother] ja like a little game reserve and so on [interjection from brother about restaurant with floodlights at night to see the animals drinking] ja something something [intervention from brother] uh huh that's important I think I must interview you separately because I'm sure I'm not picking all this up um</p>	<p>de-</p> <p>db8</p> <p>dg+ da6 sb1 mp an</p> <p>aa</p> <p>df da2</p>

⁴ What actually happened was that all four tyres of the car belonging to a lady who was walking at the dam at about 11:00 on Friday 30 January 1998 [no one else was parked there] were slashed

Nr	TEXT AND ITS DIVISION INTO RESEARCHER-IMPOSED UNITS	Code
2 0 6	<p>S. Um I want to pick up on two concepts you've used they they're terribly important you've talked about development what what and you've talked about commercialization and I want to understand in your mind the difference between the two</p> <p>A. Um if I want some time ago they had a big massive story where they were going to build townhouses here and hotels and [?] you name it⁵ yes and we were really very much against that mm that's as far as I I can call development um because then they are exploiting the area mm they're gonna start chasing away the animals they are going to start chasing everything away If I If I say um a small place I I would say it caters for the smaller area it's it's looking after the dam it's looking after the reserve and so on it's got its guards it's got its um policing as such mm and everything like that mmm that's how far I would go at saying the dam should be developed um you'll still have people throwing down their rubbish here mm and especially on the other side especially on the eastern side there where they make their braais and so on umm it all washes into the dam in the end and it's I think we can't we can't let this dam go the same way as Goreangab dam mmm and that's the thing If we if we think think of development that's going to start putting squatters up all the way east and you're gonna start no one's going to come to the dam in the end mm its the appalling conditions will appear and that's that you know. Mmm So .. So we've got to prevent the squatters arriving and sort of make this leave this as a un a green a green place Yes for Windhoek Yes</p>	<p>db15 [db15] [db8] db8 db13 sm da1 da2 [da2] [da2] dj2 ag pb ab- sb1 mf mh mq [mf] se</p>
2 2 9	<p>OK now do you think the dam should be formally protected in some way or another? Yes What would you have in mind?</p> <p>A. Well it's up to the Municipality it belongs to the Municipality in the first place uhhuh and I actually think that they they should they should do something about it really they don't do anything about it this that's actually appalling it I mean its one of the last green places I can see ourselves .. we were just talking about the development and there you see housing popping up there behind the mountains already mmm yes and you think to yourself you know one of these days you'll be looking at housing on the other side of those mountains [points to mountains on northern side of dam] and so on mmm and it's it's very difficult they should make a an area around here already that's that's protected stretch it all away Protect it from housing? Yes Protect it from buildings? Buildings as such buildings in a in a in a good way mm I mean in a I mean this place how long has this dam been with us mmm it's been with me all my life as such Since 1939 no since 1934</p>	<p>df mp sd se dh sg1 mf mo ma [mf]</p>

⁵ The Malaysian development referred to elsewhere in this study

Nr	TEXT AND ITS DIVISION INTO RESEARCHER-IMPOSED UNITS	Code
	<p>S. OK So I want to try and summarize what I think you've said about the dam and then you can help me right. I think this place is important to you as a green area it's important for its bird life um you are somewhat concerned about the low lack of apparent care of the place that's correct you certainly want it preserved as a green area you don't want to see it overrun by commercialization that's correct and and too much development. Um would you like to add anything to that that's important for you that I haven't touched on?</p>	
2 4 3	<p>Um would you like to add anything to that that's important for you that I haven't touched on?</p> <p>A. I don't think so at the moment I think we've covered most of this</p> <p>S. OK thank you very much um [switches off tape but A. continues talking so I switch the tape on again]</p> <p>A. Avis area and so on mmm um nothing ever happens to it mmm um we watched the people up here when they come here and um you have people that are belong to the that green I think green areas or something mm Greenspace mm and they scream and shout at the motorbikes driving up and down mmm here but nothing is done about it mmm there are no signs mmm the motorbikes know they're not allowed here mmm but where does it who stand mmm who says that they're not allowed here mmm I mean there's no signs there anymore everything's been demolished and so on um and this is what I'm afraid of mmm it's a nothing ever happens there the municipality's useless um [?] its never done anything good for this place anyway um [pause] its very um its just something that's I think if people didn't scream and shout they would have let the water out of this place too [laughter] No .. OK ...</p> <p>[interview ends]</p>	<p>mg</p> <p>mp</p> <p>af- [mp]</p> <p>mf [mg]</p> <p>sb1</p>

31

S. Um Which part of the dam do you usually visit?

AB. Well I mean let's put it the way when it wasn't flooded we used to go basically all around but now it's a bit difficult and also with the little one so we normally just go basically up to the end of the wall uhuh maybe a bit further mmm and then back again ok but I mean I think that area you know at the back there? you can actually see some people there now its actually very nice you mean beyond the wall there that is you know up into the mountains those cliffs there

sb2
mc
sb1
[tsc]
st1
sg1
[tsc]

(eg1)

Page 2 of 1-20
* indicates the cliff on the western side of the dam

ANNEXURE C-02
TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT

With AB, male, 21-39

At the water's edge, traditional dam area
 Sunday 1 February 1998, approx. 18.30-18.50

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Analysis code
	<p>[introductory details] um would you be prepared to give me your name? The reason I ask Yes is that sometimes I go back over the interview and I haven't perhaps quite understood Ja no sure what you've said and so You are A.....B.....[pause] [AB spells] you are male 21 to 39 OK And where would I be able to contact you at home or at work [gives a number] Is that a home number or a that's at home ja OK that's great um let me tell you [?] I hope your wife does join us but it doesn't look as though she's going to Ja no I think she'll just she'll just go on do a bit of a roundabout OK um as I say the purpose of all these interviews is to interview a series of people try and get their opinions on the Avis dam try and discover from them how they think the area should be managed um there is complete confidentiality I am doing it for my thesis so on the one hand its going to go into my thesis uhhuh but on the other hand its going to go into the management plan which is being drawn ja up for the area so it will have some sort of concrete use it's not just an academic ah good exercise S. OK Could you tell me what suburb you come from AB. Um Ludwigsdorf just around the corner here basically. S. Ludwigsdorf. Are the ants worrying you shall we go somewhere else they are a problem AB. No well maybe a bit closer to the water S. to the water yes that might put them off seems to be there just one patch OK</p>	<p>[sb1] [sb1] [sb2] [ma] [ma] [sb1] [sp] [ma] [ma] [sb1] [sp]</p>
31	<p>S. Um Which part of the dam do you usually visit? AB. Well I mean let's put it this way when it wasn't flooded we used to go basically all around but now it's a bit difficult and also with the little one so we normally just go basically up to the end of the wall uhhuh maybe a bit further mmm and then back again ok but I mean I think that area you know at the back there² you can actually see some people there now its actually very nice you mean beyond the wall there that ja you know up into the mountains those cliffs there</p>	<p>[sb1] [sb2] [mc] [sb1] [mc] [st1] [sg1] [mc] [sg1]</p>

¹ Tape 2, B 1-230

² Indicates the cliffs on the western side of the dam

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Analysis code
	<p>yes ja it is very nice Um but it is a bit inaccessible you know mmm with small children and so on yes but I think that's fine it should probably stay that way Should stay inaccessible? Well not inaccessible mmm but it should shouldn't be you know there shouldn't be nice broad promenades and that kind of Oh OK thing you know OK um but look I would imagine that this this is a bit unusual you know with so much water yes I mean its not going to stay this way mmm and in time you will be able to to go across here again and then go around you know mmm which at the moment's a bit a bit difficult</p>	<p>so dj2 [so] dn3- [sb1] [mc] [sb2]</p>
52	<p>S. You said something there that I want to pick up on again but just let me deal with these other issues um how long have you been coming here? AB. Well I mean you know I basically grew up here OK and then I was away for about 15 years so alright and now we've been coming here for the ah probably the last what close to ten years now. So you know the area well? So I know the area well ja and I mean its certainly the first time that I've seen it you know with so much water in it mmm mmm It's actually really quite beautiful It is isn't it</p>	<p>ma [ma] [ma] sb1 sp</p>
58	<p>S. And how often would you say you come here? AB. About twice a week I'd say OK Um So you Maybe maybe you know to walk the dogs but I mean its also its really the only area you can go to in Windhoek you know where mm where you can get out a bit I mean yes there's not really much on offer at all mm I mean especially with a bit of water and so on mmm so I I feel its its got a hell of a lot of potential and I I think what would be nice I mean if if the water was sustainable mmm it would be nice to do a bit of water water sport type of thing OK you know like I mean not I'm not talking of motorized yes but with with canoes mmm or sailing I don't know what what is actually the present policy with sailing? Is that allowed? wind surfing that kind of thing? I think well I mean I'm sort of jumping the gun but I would think that the policy would be along the lines of carry in and carry out ja that that you can carry into the area you can sort of do Ja Now what is actually the situation with swimming? I mean I've been wondering quite often uh you</p>	<p>ma ad sd mm aa sb1 [aa] [sb1] ac sc2 [ac] [ac] ak</p>

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Analysis code
	<p>know I mean if all the dogs swim then surely the humans should should be allowed to swim as well Yes I don't see why one can't swim I haven't seen anybody ever swim in here mmm They tend to swim more on the ja eastern ja side the floodplain ja</p>	<p>ad [ak] [ak]</p>
81	<p>S. OK um I still haven't forgotten that point I want to come back to but I don't want to talk about that just yet rather I want to ask you if you now had to describe this area to somebody who's never seen it how would you describe it? AB. Well I'd say it's it's the the only real you know oasis close to Windhoek um where where one can you know have at least a bit of openness and also especially if you go to that side³ you have a nice view of the mountains mmm you know its hilly mmm and and especially this time of the year you know very very um picturesque mmm and especially this open water type of situation yes it's very nice mmm S. You used the word oasis what does that conjure up for you? Well I mean you know uh uh water greenery yes birdlife uh huh um ja you know like things like like these these dragonflies you know just yes yes just anything to do with water you know mmm which is which is really a rarity here it is and and therefore you know a novelty really you know for Namibia mm mmm</p>	<p>sd ml sa sq sf sg1 [sg1] sh sp sb1 mr [sb1] ss sl sr [sb1] [mr]</p>
96	<p>S. What's it like for you when you come here? What do you experience? AB. Well basically relaxation you know mmm its it's a its very relaxing you know mm with the water and the dogs and the kids yes and so on So uh and you know with the fresh air and so on you obviously also get kind of to an extent revived mmm you know I personally like to when I come by myself you know really go and almost use it a bit for for ja almost for exercise you know yes um but that's obviously a bit difficult with a with 2 or 3 year old kids mmm so I mean when I come alone mmm then I then I go right down to the fence down there or even beyond and and yes come onto this island here but I mean you know that's quite a quite a long walk mmm mmm mmm</p>	<p>mj [mj] sb1 ad pd si ml ae mc st3 [ae]</p>
111	<p>S. So what kinds of things or experiences make make a visit really worthwhile here for you you</p>	

³ The western side, at the end of the wall

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Analysis code
	<p>go back home and you think now that was a really good visit what kind of things made it really good?</p> <p>AB. Well I'd say um you know when its when its like sunset um thunderstorm mm kind of yes yes um what do you call it ? scenery you know mm mm but I mean that obviously you can't create [S. laughs] .. no but it does make it special it it does help if there are not yes that many people yes I mean I think that's one drawback um at least at the moment there's there's the the the area is so confined that mmm you know the the people like on the dam wall you know yes get really get a bit it gets a bit crowded so I mean if one if one could do something about that to try and spread it a bit you know yes that would be that would be quite nice yes I mean maybe also have some other accesses you know mmm I mean you could perhaps even have an access coming from from that side⁴ you know mmm mm and um ja just to just to spread it a bit ja that that would certainly um help help quite a lot [?] sorry mmm sorry do carry on No but I think you know its it's really as it is I mean um one one shouldn't probably change too much you know mmm its just nice to have yes you know and one one must just guard it mmm that it stays that way you know mmm and that you don't have too many mmm infringements and and too many um ja you know these people with their with their four by fours and so on yes you know that you keep them out yes</p>	<p>sh [sh] sf mr</p> <p>pc</p> <p>[pc]</p> <p>st1</p> <p>[pc]</p> <p>[pc]</p> <p>dc</p> <p>[pc]</p> <p>dj2 [mr] mf dj1</p> <p>dk af-</p>
134	<p>S. That leads onto to my next question what kinds of things um make a visit unpleasant for you you go back home and you think gosh that was now really I didn't enjoy that because</p> <p>AB Ja well I mean you know if if um I mean I've had once the experience that was before it was so full mmm you know where there was a whole horde of these tricycles coming along yes and I actually [started?] confronted them mmm and stopped them mmm and said to them listen you're not allowed to ride around here yes because at that stage there was actually that boundary⁵ where they're not yes supposed to come across mmm and then they just had an offish remark you know and mmm uh I mean</p>	<p>sb2 pc af-</p> <p>pe mf</p> <p>st3</p> <p>[pe]</p>

⁴ Indicates towards the location of the municipal dump site

⁵ The cable between the dam and the floodplain, currently under water

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Analysis code
	<p>unfortunately normally these type of people don't uh normally have the closeness to nature you know so they don't yes know what you're talking about yes so I mean it's the same as in the dunes in the desert you know mmm and and unfortunately one will probably have to say one day sorry you know you're not allowed to do it anymore yes yes I mean if they were responsible about it and had say one track going somewhere along you know like a like a trail I I wouldn't I wouldn't object to that you know mmm as long as it would be out of sight and so on but if they are all over the place just the way they like I mean I think that's objectionable mmm What about them is objectionable do you think? Well the noise the noise for one um I mean in the dry periods the dust yes yes and and just the way you know that they that they kind of think they can just ride anywhere mmm you know mmm um ja if they were if they were just a bit more subtle about it [S laughs] then it would be but it's difficult to be subtle with a with a motorbike yes it is isn't it?</p>	<p>pa [pa] [sc2] ac sc1 dn1 me sc2 sb2 sg4 [pe] [sc] [af]</p>
154	<p>S. um You have touched on this and this is the point that I wanted to come back to how do all the other people here influence your experience of the place? AB. Well I think there's a there's a very harmonious kind of um atmosphere you know mmm specially the people with the dogs they all yes working together quite nicely so that I've I've actually not really ever had a nasty experience here except once where where a dog attacked our dog and then the owner was was like very difficult about it mmm you know but otherwise it it seems to work out fine you know and it seems the people who come here um they they appreciate the you know the atmosphere and you also generally find that they greet each other although yes they don't know each other you know yes that kind of thing so mmm ja it's a very harmonious type of atmosphere</p>	<p>[pa] [sc] pf ad+ [pf] ad- pe [pf] [pf] [pf] [pf]</p>
167	<p>S. Allright um we have also touched on this next question what kind of activities should we exclude here you've mentioned some kind of uh better approach with the ja well I think anything scramblers what else should we exclude here. Should we exclude anything?</p>	<p>[da10] [sc]</p>

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Analysis code
181	<p>Anything that makes a noise anything that makes a noise and and and a kind of a stink you know mmm I mean um um normally they do go hand in hand mmm you know um like any anything with a motor I think should should really be excluded yes but I I find like I would imagine something like like sailing yachting mmm shouldn't interfere with the mmm with the with the this aspect ok you could probably have some people who would object to the you know maybe they think it it spoils the picture if they have a boat out there yes yes one would have to try and find out about that but I think that would be a real attraction although I mean maybe I'm a bit biased there because I we you know we used to sail on Goreangab mmm dam yes as kids and and now obviously one can't do that anymore so mmm it would be nice to have a resort close to town and and now I mean with this amount of water you could actually do it you know yes you could its enough its enough water I mean um you could you could you know just for the fun of it you know mmm</p> <p>S. I liked that phrase you used "spoil the picture" what what would you mean by that? Would you like to say a bit more about that?</p> <p>AB. Well I mean some people might might see it that way mmm I mean to me if I if I see scenery like this and a boat on it mmm that doesn't spoil the picture mmm uhuh some people might find that you know mmm that its an unnatural ah yes um you know addition. But you yourself don't No no me certainly not OK I mean you know I have sailing at heart so so mmm and I don't think it disturbs the wild life either you know either yes because it's a silent yes silent sport yes yes</p>	<p>sc2 sk</p> <p>[sc2]</p> <p>ac sc1</p> <p>pa se me [ac]</p> <p>[ac]</p> <p>mh aa sa</p> <p>sb1</p> <p>[ac]</p> <p>[pa] sf [ac]</p> <p>[pa] [se me]</p> <p>[ac]</p> <p>sm [sc1] [ac]</p>
189	<p>S. Alright let's lets think about things that aren't going on here that could possibly be included can you think of anything</p> <p>AB. Well I think what what one could perhaps do I mean um you know to on to your wife is looking quite desperate ja I mean to to perhaps add a bit of variety I could imagine that one could perhaps on the other side there⁶ where there is anyway more activity shall we walk slowly in that direction? Ja sure Will that help?⁷ mm you um and</p>	<p>[da10]</p> <p>pb</p>

⁶ The floodplain

⁷ Towards AB's wife

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Analysis code
	<p>could be you know a bit more round the corner mmm mmm which would still give the same type views yes but you know not be quite as ja obvious you know ja something like that</p>	<p>da5 sf [db6]</p>
224	<p>S. OK I think we've covered hi Sally hi how are you? fine and you? busy doing research as you see yes [laughter] um I think we've covered most of the most of the topics is there anything you want to add that you feel we haven't covered just to close off ?</p> <p>AB Ja I think I think we must maybe just prevent any large scale type of development you know mmm the thing they were talking of a couple of years back ¹¹ about about a whole big urban type of development mmm along the watershore and so on yes I think that would certainly spoil it for most people um you know a low key kind of restaurant type of th perhaps attached to a lodge that could be if it's handled the right way that could work mmm but nothing on a large scale OK Thank you very much I appreciate your time OK and I might [tape cuts]¹²</p>	<p>mf db4 db15 [db15]</p> <p>sb1 db11 se me da1 dd dg da7 [db4]</p>

¹¹ The Malaysian development

¹² I forgot to ask A. his views on formal protection for the area

TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENTWith PS, male, 40-60, AS, female 21-39, UB, female 60+²

at the water's edge, traditional dam area,

Sunday 8 February 1998, approx. 18.30-18.40

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
2 3	[Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of: I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me?] S. um I just want to record here sorry would you be prepared to give me your name? [respondents give names] S. Right let me start um how long now have you all been coming to the dam it doesn't matter if it's different times you can just tell me UB: Um 30 years 30 years and you? AS: not so often! you obviously not so often! not so long! Yes And what part of the area do you always come to? UB: What do you mean? Which part which part of All around yes if you can walk all around ³ I walk all around otherwise I just go across the dam wall Oh I see so you mostly you're mostly are mostly here ja ja in the dam area not so much no no in the floodplain [AS calls dog] S: OK how often would you say you come? UB: Ooh AS now that we've got a small dog [laughs] we come [a lot more often?] ... UB: Say uh 30 times a year S. What would that be about gosh I'd have to work that out Once every [number] days S. Once a week? Once every two weeks? Ja ja	 ma sb1 st1 ad ma [ma]
4 6	S. If you [?] if you had to describe this dam now to someone who had never seen it how would you describe it? PS [?] some people see a lot can see a lot mmm in the area mmm and the other one say it's a stinky place I don't like it S. What do you see? Oh I like it I I don't accept [expect?] a lot of things you know I find everywhere something special [..?] .. I need a big area for myself Mm mmm is there anything special about this place for you? For me? Mmm I've got a very special place in this area mmm I visit this place nearly every evening I come for this is my place and I don't tell any body where this place is	 pa sk ? mr mm mc ma mf

¹ Interview 3. Tape 4 Side A 1-142² PS just happened to be standing at the water's edge with AS and UB which I only discovered later - they did not know each other at all³ A reference to the present water level which has drowned one of the traditional walks around the edge of the water

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
7 6	[laughs] you mean a special place at the dam here or the dam itself special place Ok but what makes that place special for you here? This is this is my own my own what do you call it ah secret! No! I don't I don't You know why want to know where it is! I just want to know what about that place is special for you ... a very special old tree uhhuh a tree? An old friend of mine [???] I visit him and talk to uh ok ok	[mr] sn [mc]
8 2 8 7	S. What's it like for you... UB: I think it is very peaceful here uhhuh and I would like it to stay like this mmm but it would also be nice if we could have an island here for the birds for the water birds that they are not disturbed by the dogs and that's actually all one could think was sagst du? AS I think it is especially nice for the dogs if you have some dogs you can't always take them around in the streets so um there ? are a lot of dogs mmm mmm	mi dj2 dl sl ad- ad+ [ad]
9 8	S. What kind of things make a visit special? Let's think about what might make it special when you come here you go back home UB: you meet friends yes which is very nice you talk AS fresh air ja fresh air ja ok and and it's big enough that it doesn't get overcrowded uhhuh PS The problem for me presently at the moment is too much water⁴ therefore you must go always the same way uhuh ok and if you walk around I also normally walk around the other side⁵ was always the last time very dirty and stinky mmm and therefore a lot of people just go this way⁶ mmmm mmm	ph3 si sq pg sb1 pc mc su sk
1 2 1	S. What would make a visit to the dam unpleasant for you? UB Motorbikes! OK AS: Loud noisy people loud noisy people, and for you? PS: oh the same S. What is it about the motorbikes and the loud and noisy people that you don't like? AS: I think it disturbs the peace and quietness UB: the whole atmosphere is disturbed S: How would you describe the atmosphere here? AS: [?] What is it for you? UB: Peaceful peaceful the only thing is peaceful ok and the surrounding is so nice also mmmm if you take a photograph of the Auas mountains for instance it's beautiful yes the mountains are beautiful sorry you were saying PS: there's sometimes a very special light in the evening [..?] can you see the little rainbow there yes yes that's true just a little bit every day something else if you if you open your eyes mmm there's a lot of people who don't see anything it is just a normal place I can also stay at home in the garden it's the same mmm mmmm but for you it's a special place? ja of course	af- pe1 sc2 [af pj sc2] mi sc1 [mi] sf sg1 sp sh [sh] mr pa [mr]
	S. There's been talk of development in the area what do you	

⁴ Again a reference to one of the traditional walking routes being under water

⁵ Before the present water level, many people walked past the wall and around the back of the dam, from where one had access to at least three walks - to the left into the river bed there, or right: either around the back of the hill there; or in front of the hill along the implied edge of the water

⁶ Meaning, along the wall

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
1	think about that? PS: Pardon? There's been talk of developing	
2	the area here what do you think about that?	
8	PS: It's not ah it's not the right thing S: what makes you say that well what what's development? What is holiday place or? I don't know let's rephrase that would you think any kind of development here is is suitable or should we allow some kinds of development and not others? UB: [who has been playing with her dogs up to this point] I think a café would be nice a café? Ja ja [laughter from AS] Honestly! Ja! Mm mm where should it be? Where should it be built? UB: Far away! [laughs] Far away? Now why do you say that? we can still walk to the yes here? ja S: So you don't want it right here? UB: Definitely not at the water definitely not AS Maybe at the top there ⁸ PS: I'm not sorry, I'm not a coffee drinker [laughs] UB: Ja but its nice for elderly people PS: If I drink the coffee then I drink it at home not here OK Do you think the dam should be protected somehow UB: Definitely S: how how should it be protected? UB: um so people don't throw their rubbish around here uhuh AS: don't squat ja don't squat mmhuh and uh one has got to watch it [...?] I think because people have picnics here and throw their bottles here and the containers which is not good mmmm OK Thank you very much UB: Is that all? Yes AS: You're welcome!	db1 dd+ da3 da5 sb1 db5 [da5] db11 dk1 ag mq [dk1] ab [ag]

167 um how long have you been coming to the dam now? CV: jee .. ek kom al van my skooldae af S: OK hoe lank is dit dan? CV: um [?] dis so 12, 15 jaar S: And you? JV: og um I haven't been so long here um I studied in Pretoria mm mm and I started working in '94 mmm but I think it's since we've met I think from '93 that we started coming here S: OK also quite a long time .. ja

174 S: What part of the area do you usually come to? CV: Ok um toe ek op skool was .. ja .. het ons nou meer vir die sports en die oorkant van die dam? weg van die damwal af .. ja .. het ons maar meestal vir toe daar nog nie water was nie in die gate motorfiets gery en fiets gery ook mm eers met fiets en toe motorfiets mm in die gate vir mmm en van die ek wil amper sê motorcross in aanhangstokke mmm het ons daarmee gespeel maar nou het dit nou bietjie meer rustig is⁷ hou ek daarvan om meer na die stiller kant [laughter] aan die hoe sal 'n mens sê aan die noorde kant van die wal [laughs] waar die minste wense is waar dit waar dit stil is OK OK JV: ons is nou hier fiets ook want as jy nou

⁷ To the water's edge is implied

⁸ Points to hills right of the parking area when looking towards the Auas mountains

TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT

With CV, male, 21-39, and his wife JV, female 21-39, [

On the dam wall, Sunday 8 February 1998

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p>[Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of: "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?"]</p> <p>... and we can just forget about it. JV From where are you? S. I'm from I'm a Namibian but I'm studying at the University of Pretoria Environmental Psychology and this is part of my MA thesis on the one hand and on the other hand um I think Greenspace might use the information JV So they need they want this research? S. Yes it'll be the research will partly go into my thesis and partly into the management plan for the area. Ok you must please now just sit as close as you can to this thing because the wind is blowing away a lot of what we say OK there's the microphone. Are you prepared to give me your names? CV: Yes sure [respondents give names and age category; we negotiate language of interview]</p> <p>S. Right let's start off on the on the easy questions JV do you want to sit? S. No I'm just concerned that the wind is blowing all this away</p>	
167	<p>um how long have you been coming to the dam now? CV: jus .. ek kom al van my skooldae af S. OK hoe lank is dit dan? CV: um [?] dis so 12, 15 jaar S. And you? JV: og um I haven't been so long here um I studied in Pretoria mm mm and I started working in '94 mmm but I think it's since we've met I think from '95 that we started coming here S. OK also quite a long time ...ja</p>	<p>ma [ma]</p>
174	<p>S. What part of the area do you usually come to? CV: Ok um toe ek op skool was ja het ons nou meer vir die sports aan die oorkant van die dam² weg van die damwal af ja het ons maar meestal vir toe daar nog nie water was nie in die gate motorfietse gery en fiets gery ook mm eers met fiets en toe motorfiets mm in die gate vir mmm en van die ek wil amper sê motocross in aanhalingstekens mmm het ons daarmee gespeel maar nou wat dit nou bietjie meer rustig is³ hou ek daarvan om meer na die stiller kant [laughter] aan die hoe sal 'n mens sê aan die noorde kant van die wal [laughs] waar die minste mense is waar dit waar dit stil is OK OK JV: ons ry soms hier fiets ook want as jy nou daar oor ry dan kan jy daar langs fiets ry dis</p>	<p>[mn] pb st1 sb2 af aj [af] mn sc1 [st1] pg [sc1] [aj]</p>

¹ Interview 4. Tape 4 Side A 151 - 327

² A reference to the floodplain

³ This seems to be a reference to self rather than "dit"!

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<i>nogal lekker</i> mmm <i>ons ry ook</i> CV: daar waar daar nog natuur is waar daar nie waar die mense nie so baie is nie mmmm S. um how often would you say you come? CV: ag so JV: <i>gewoonlik Sondae</i> CV: ja gewoonlik maar maak dit maar liewers elke tweede Sondag mmm kom stap ons hierso	se mo pc ma ad
1 8 6 1 9 1 2 0 3	S. OK sê nou maar ... you now have to describe this area to somebody who's never seen it hoe sou julle dit nou beskryf? JV: [laughter] as jy dit nou nie sien nie jy moet nou sê wat wat hoe dit lyk? S. ja jy moet nou vir jou pal beduie jy weet ons gaan stap by hierdie plek en dis ... CV: ek sê dit is dis 'n [..?] 'n laag valleitjie wat afkom van wes ja van die ooste af weswaarts mmm mmm maar dan [..?] nou so tussen die berge opdam JV: ek sê dis dis um iewers waar jou siel kan rus dis rustig jy hoor die voels ek sê nou net vir hom die tortelduiwe maak altyd so rustig ek sou dit beskryf as 'n plek waar jy kan wegkom van die stad se gewoel af van die spanning die stad druk 'n mens dood [laughs] CV: ja dis mos 'n bietjie sielwas ja as 'n mens dit so kan uitdruk S. ja dis 'n mooi uitdrukking So what's special about the place? CV: die feit dat dit dit baie natuurlik dis nie ontwikkel hierso um huisies en um baie ontwikkeling is nie dis meer [a black sausage dog belonging to someone else jumps onto the tape recorder] dis nie baie [..?] nee! Dit is baie umm ontspannend as 'n mens lus is om uit die stad se geraas te kom mmm ... hier's nie soos ek sê nie geboue en lodges mmm as 'n mens dit nou so wil uitdruk ek dink in die omgewing JV: die water dit koel die wêreld af [vir my?] mmm water lok altyd mense mmm ek weet nie hoekom nie .mmm .	[mm] ml [ml] sv sg2 sg1 ms mi sl sc1 mv mj mm [mv] [ms] se me dj1 [mj] [mv] [me] sb1 sj [sb1]
2 1 2	S. Hoe voel julle as julle hierso is CV:ag ontspanne vergeet daarvan dat ons more moet werk [laughter] ja <i>gewoonlik rustig</i> ja <i>nie gejaag nie</i> uh ok	mj ml mi
2 1 6	S. What makes a visit here really worthwhile? Ek bedoel julle gaan nou huistoe en julle sê vandag was nou 'n lekker besoek omdat. [pause] JV: ek dink kyk soos soos met die honde die honde is omtrent ons kinders [laughs] dis dis en hulle geniet dit verskriklik hierdie een het nou net geswem en ek dink dit is half mens voel jy jy gee vir hulle ook spasio want daar's nie in in die week tyd vir die honde nie hulle word nou net af afgelaai iewers en jy jy voel hulle want ons is [..?] hierdie honde oor hulle soos mense mmm dis ons kinders hoor dit voel vir jou jy't vir hulle ook die dag uitgegee	[dm] [ag] ad ? [ad] mm ⁴ ? ? [mm] ⁵ mr

⁴ "ook" seems to imply, giving yourself space too

⁵ Here "ook" seems to mean, you have given yourself a day out too

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p><i>dit maak 'n mens rustig CV: ag en 'n mens kry weer 'n bietjie sin in die lewe jy sien mmm jy sien gras wat groei mmm en [?] hoe berge vir die omgewing hoe berge en ag en [..?] daar anderkant swem 'n paar eentjies wat 'n ou mee kyk oorkant ..[talks to dog] S. I liked that expression you used about space is that how you feel too if you come here?</i></p> <p><i>Ja Jy sê jy voel asof jy nou die honde 'n bietjie spatie gee JV. Ja ja ek ek voel voel maklik vasgedruk ek dink dis omdat my werk ook um jy voel jy's altyd in 'n gejaag ek haat hierdie roetine en en as 'n mens nou uitkom dan voel jy whew ek kry asem dis dis regtig as ek nou teruggaan dan voel ek alright nou's daar weer lug in my mond daar's meer ruimte ja dis skoon oop</i></p>	<p>mt sn sg1 sl [mm] ml [ml] sv sq</p>
2 3 5	<p>S. ok and unpleasant I mean we all have unpleasant visits here what would that be what would cause that for you?</p> <p><i>CV: vir my die die baie mense wat kom party hou hierso en wat my absoluut frustreer is soos die wind het nou weer daar 'n coke bottel op die water opgejaag en mmm papiere wat wat 'n mens sien en harde musiek mmm mmm ja harde musiek mmm dit pas nie in die natuur nie uh dit kan nou by 'n partytjie maar dit ja dit is dis hoekom ek's bly hy's nog nie ontwikkel nie dat hier nie elke aand 'n geparty is nie mense kan nie hulle het moes die vermoë om 'n vol bottel wat twee keer so swaar is of tien keer so swaar soos 'n ligte bottel te bring maar hulle kan nie die leë terugbring nie mm dit is mmm JV: ons het anderkant⁶ ook gestap maar en die die nadeel is dat daardie mense braai nou vreeslik ag en dit kuier en dis musiek en dit drink en dis lawaaiërig daar's ook nie meer so lekker soos wat dit dis nie so stil alhowel dit ek het nou net vir hom gesê dit behoort lekker te wees as hulle braai plekke [..?] waar 'n mens kan braai maar almal braai nie op dieselfde manier nie [laughter] mense mense bring hulle beelde saam in die natuur CV: nee dit is so dat hulle nie orals vuur maak nie dat hulle liewers dan 'n braaiplek dan maar bou waar die ou 'n vuur maak en sit dan 'n asdrom daar die ou wat hopelik sy bottel in die kar wil gooi en dat hy hom dan in die asdrom gooi</i></p>	<p>mf ag pe1 sc2 [sc2] se dj1 me [ag] pe pb ab- [pe1] [pb] [sc2] sc1 dm pa dm [dm] [ag]</p>
2 5 0	<p>OK well you've sort of answered this next question for me but I'm going to ask it anyway how do you feel about all the other people ? CV: um ons het per toeval nou net daaroor gepraat oor mense wat hiernatoe kom sê ek vir haar dis amper vir my partykeer nou loop ek met my klein hondjie hierso nou kom hierdie ou en sy wolfhond hierso verby mmm maar eintlik is dit die ou wat ook</p>	<p>mu ad</p>

⁶ The floodplain

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p>omgee vir sy hond so jy moet eintlik bly wees daar's sulke mense want hy bring ook sy hond bietjie uit die stad en hy [..?] ontspan op dieselfde manier as jy dis nou net jy's bang vir sy hond wat nou eintlik die fout is JV: ag die mense wat soos hy sê hier kom verby [..?] dit pla 'n mens rêrig nie dis net dis net hier en daar hier iemand want dit gaan nie regtig vir hom oor die natuur nie mmm dit gaan meer oor partytjie hou en CV: ja hy kom hiernatoo om party hou hou maar soos hierdie mense hulle pla ons nou gladnie want dis eintlik dit maak jou eintlik gerusstellend as jy [..?] mense wat omgee vir die natuur mmm diere bring en CV: ag en dit pla my ook nie rêrig die ouens wat nou sy vier-by-vier hier kom uittoets nie partykeer lag jy vir die simpel goed wat hy aanvang maar 'n ou moet nou ook nie van die manne ruk nou weer hulle trap 'n nuwe pad uit en ek voel hierso is die natuur die natuur is hierso um wat fyngesoelig mmm jy jy jy moet die plek oppas ook dat jy nog morê weer kan kom nie vandag alles klaar klaar mors nie dat jy morê weer kan kom S. ja that's a nice phrase</p>	<p>mv⁷ sg1 [da1] pe pa pf af+ af- sg4 se mf</p>
2 6 7	<p>What kind of activities are going on here that you think shouldn't be going on here JV: here at the dam? hierso ek praat nou nie van daar agter nie alhoewel alhoewel julle kan ook daaroor praat mmm as julle wil maar [..?] CV: jus JV: hiers nie vreeslik nie nee nee nie rêrig iets waarvan ek waarvan ek weet nie behalwe as ek na die mense wat so jaag [..?] maar hier's nie rêrig [...?] CV: ag neewat ek dink nie ek nie waarvan ek weet nie stel dit so ek weet nou nie of hier nou in die nag 'n geruilery van inligting of [laughter] drugs of watookal is nie mmm</p>	<p>db1 db10 dg db11 st db1 [db11] mh</p>
2 7 4	<p>S. What do you think um should be going on here that isn't going on here is is daar iets hierso wat ontbreek vir julle? JV: ek sou sê as mens as jy nou kyk so oorkant⁸ mens kan eintlik sulke lekker piekniekplekke hier maak ek dink as hulle bietjie ontwikkeling hier insit want Windhoek het regtig nie soos jy daar jy kom van Pretoria af jy sal self weet daar's lekker plekke wat jy Sondag kan gaan piekniek hou en dit kort nogal mmm en ek dink as 'n mens dit bietjie ontwikkel net dit dit hoef nou nie braaiplekke maar dakkies of dit net bietjie gelyk maak dat 'n mens kan soos kan kom piekniek hou ek dink dat sal nogal CV: ek voel ook so as 'n mens kyk daar oorkant dit is daar sulke padjies wat inloop weet ek nie waarnatoo dit loop nie maar daar is uh hierdie⁹ jy mag nie daar</p>	<p>de [dg] db7 dm dj2 aa [da3] [db11] mu sc1</p>

⁷ I take this to mean, the dog also experiences the visit as escape from the city

⁸ From the dam wall where we are, across the water

⁹ A reference to the No Entry signs erected at the entrance to hillside roads in the floodplain at the beginning of February 1998

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p>ingaan nie jy mag nie daar inry nie tekens wat nou sê janee jy moet jy moenie daar inry nie maar ek voel as hulle 'n rustige pad hierso die ouens wat nou hier oor die berge wil ry laat hy laat hulle daaroor ry hier opry teen die berge maak 'n pad wat wat die ouens dat hy nie 'n nuwe pad maak nie en mmmm mmmm um ook [laughter over the dog's antics] vir fietse vir vir bergfietse mmm dit is um gebruik bietjie dit hoef nie vreeslik te wees nie maar net dat 'n dat 'n trap net 'n pad uit laat die ouens kom met die fietse dan ry dat hulle nie want ek dink dit is nog vir my is dit baie lekker om die fiets te vat en hier om die bundus te kom ry as jy klaar gery dan spring jy eers in die water en jy swem 'n draai en koel af en jy ry huistoe dis dis wat ek dink kort hierso bou 'n lekker fietsrybaan hierom mmm 'n roete ja 'n roete nie 'n nie 'n baan nie meer 'n pad waar daar mmm 'n fiets kan druk net hierde klip plat probeer die natuur so min moontlik hou dit hou dit natuur mm dat 'n mens hiernatoe kan kom mmmm</p>	<p>dn1 sg1 [dn1] dn2 do aj sb1 ak [dn2] se me [dj2] mf</p>
2 9 6	<p>I hear that you both say over and over again that it's the nature of the area that you really like um there's talk about development here um lodges ek het gehoor daarvan hotels that sort of thing how do you feel about that CV: ek is nie ten gunste daarvan nee nie ek hier's baie plekke om mooi lodges te bou mmm kom bou jy nou hier 'n lodge dan dan druk jy weer die natuur die enigste plek hier hierso dis al plek waar daar rêrig water is en dan druk jy dit nou uit as 'n mens vat hoe lyk Goreangab dam vandag dit is niemand kan daar swem nie niemand kom meer daar nie dis daardie water is absoluut dit sal jou doodmaak omdat die mense dit toegebou het almal sit gooi hul gemors daarin um jy kan gladnie in in my jonger dae het ons daar gaan windsurf ek sê nou my jonger dae my my hoërskool dae liewers [laughter] het ek het daar gaan windsurf hierso hier't ek daar anderkant het 'n ou gesien toe windsurfer um JV: ek dink as 'n mens as 'n mens hierso van hotelle en lodges en goed waarvan jy dit beperk vir wie hiernatoe kan kom want jy kry mense [wat?] dit nie kan bekostig nie en jy gaan weereens iets wat nou vir almal moontlik is wegvat en net vir 'n sekere deel wat ag jy jy kan nou as ons daar op die berge hutjies bou ek sal nou byvoorbeeld en ek dink mens kan hierso staproetes en goed ook inbring mmm dat jy nou hutjies en goed daar bou mmm maar ek sal dit nie in 'n hotel omskep nie want dit gaan al dit gaan weer die atmosfeer breek want hoor hoe rustig is dit nou en dit gaan nie meer so wees nie daar gaan maar daar gaan musiek wees en casinos en lawaai en dit gaan nie so die stilte is vir julle ja die stilte is belangrik ja ons is baie lief vir die natuur</p>	<p>db1 db10 dg db11 sd sb1 [db11] mh de [dg] db7 dn3 [dn3] [db11] sc1 sc2 db2 [sc1] Se mo</p>

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
3 1 4	<p>Do you people think that the area should be preserved somehow protected JV: Ja I think it CV: Ja ek dink tog so ja <i>should be</i> anderste ja as 'n mens dit net los dan dan gaan die mense hom weer afbreek dit is mos hoe mense natuur [..?] breek mos alles af what would you think would be appropriate? Vra toegang vra toegang om JV: as jy as jy bietjie hier ontwikkel het ja ek sê dan kan hulle toegang vra nee maar al vra jy ook net vir die vir die ek sal dit ook betaal om om ek sê nie vra R50 'n kop om hier in te kom mmm maar al vra jy net ag R5 'n kop mmm <i>maar dan doen jy iets wat die mense kan sien</i> en dan kan jy dit dan kan jy daardie R5 gebruik om ietsie te maak mee te maak um ok dan kan 'n mens ja dan kan jy die geld gebruik om ietsie te maak mmm mmm en dan hou jy ook die ou wat net hier wou sy bierbottel kom neergooi het hou jy ook in 'n mate uit want hy gooi hom weer op 'n ander plek neer waar dit nie geld kos nie! [laughter] ja ja waar dit nie geld kos nie ja dis waar dis waar</p> <p>Ok that's the end of my questions is daar nog iets wat julle wil byvoeg of bysê of ag nee nee agwat nee nie rêrig nie well thank you very much for your time pleasure dis 'n plesier thank you ek hoop dit beteken iets [tape switched off]</p>	mf do [do] ag

1 Interview 5, Tape 4B 1-185

2 Approx 2 units difference on rewind

3 A reference to the 'drowned' walk around the edge of the water

4 The path beneath the cliffs

5 Back down to the train bridge

TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With And., male, 21; Ang., female under 21; and Fr., female, 40-60;
On the dam wall near the extraction tower, Sunday 8 February 1998, approx.
19.10-19.20

N r 2	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of: "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?"] [we negotiate on tape language of interview]	
1 5	S. I'm a I'm a student at the University of Pretoria and ja I'm studying environmental psychology uhhuh and this is part of my master's thesis but it's also going to be probably used by Greenspace in deciding how to manage the area ja so I think the first thing I'd like to know is how often do you all come here? And: um well I don't come very often but my family every Ang: once a week every S. [to Fr.] do come closer every week to come and sit down in fact and let me stand do Fr: no no come on really every week every week? Um sometimes Fr. Ja about in holidays some more often And. More often ja 2 3 times a week	ma
2 3 2 8	S. OK and uh how long have you been coming now? And. Since '93 since '93? Ja so that's quite a long time so we came to Windhoek in '93 so we came uh we also came to Avis dam more often since we had our dog uhuh right and uh what part of the whole area do you usually come to? And. Oh we actually uh more often walk just along the dam wall at the back the time where it was dry we walked more a circle³ um ja Fr. Since last year it's full there yes ja there we walked down there⁴ and turned back [..?] Fr. otherwise you can go there on the mount on the there on the mountain ja it's a nice walk yes ja around around this little koppie hill there ja mmm	ma ad mc st1 sb2 sb1 [mc] sg1 [sg1]
4 0	S. How would you describe this area to someone who's never seen it? What would you tell them about it? And. I would say it's a it's a very nice dam uhhuh full at the moment mmmm nice to look at between hills S. ja what makes it nice to look at? Um ja The hills the trees around it also S. uhhuh would you agree with that? Fr. It depends on the people I think uh S. um mm what do	sb1 [sb1] sp sg1 [sg1] sn

¹ Interview 5. Tape 4B 1-185

² Approx 2 units difference on rewind

³ A reference to the "drowned" walk around the edge of the water

⁴ The path beneath the cliffs

⁵ Back down to the train bridge

Nr 2	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p>you think Fr. if they are from overseas mmm I would like to say it's a um mostly indigenous uh plants and um mmm ja [Ang also says something inaudible] I think in Germany you know we come from Germany you have um nowhere um the indigenous forest mmm and savannas and so on mmm and that's I I like the plants mostly the plants and uh environment yes I think what what you were saying it's a a piece of nature [this was Ang.'s inaudible comment earlier] And. ja in town in town And. it's nice to come out out of the all the concrete yes and and tar roads yes it is</p> <p>S. so um any particular part of this dam that that captures the place for you that that really expresses it best for you? Any favourite scene that you like [laughter] And. Ja I like the scene very much from here from the north side mmm watching to the to the train tow⁵ um so back down to the Ang. ? <i>back down to the railway bridge</i> [Fr. ...it was very nice ...?] S. just come a little bit closer here because otherwise I am going to lose what you are saying Fr. I'm sorry no that's OK Fr. this is Acacia Karoo⁶ that one yes uhuh and it was so nice it was just standing on the uh side mmm from the lake there ummm ja ah it is my English no that's alright as I say please talk German if it's easier and its quite nice to see in the evening Yes ja from there yes ja very nice it's true but now the tree is dead [laughter] and I'm sorry mmm mmm had too much water the same I think ja</p>	<p>pa [sn]</p> <p>[sn]</p> <p>se mo sa mv</p> <p>sf st2</p> <p>[sn]</p> <p>sh [sn] mc [sb1]</p>
7 9	<p>S. What's it like for you to come here how can I say this in German how does it feel? How do you feel when you come here?...</p> <p>And. It's nice I mean [laughter] <i>Ang. Relaxing</i> relaxing [..?] give me some give me some German words that would describe the feelings German words? Mmm [..?] ok dat wären uh ja erholsam⁷ uhuh entspannend uh <i>Ang. Friedvoll</i> ja ja ja ja S. ok so it's restful peaceful ja ja these are the sort of words Fr. ja and little bit you will come out of the stress ah ja uhuh you can let it in the town yes behind you And. it's also nice all the people coming here um are very all all want to get out of the city so and and it's there are not too much too many people</p>	<p>mj</p> <p>ml [mj] mi</p> <p>mm pf mv pg</p>
9 6	<p>S. mmm that's actually one of my questions how do you feel about all the other people here? how does it uh influence how you feel about the place? And. It's s if it's if it's sometimes it's quite full then it's um well all all the dogs and uh it's not as peaceful but I mean I I don't care I don't it doesn't matter for me uh I still like it Fr. alright when you come from because the people Germany [laughter] they don't they don't they don't make stress ja all very relaxing so Fr. Sometimes you meet some some uh people you know ja it's nice to have</p>	<p>[da]</p> <p>[pg] ad pe1 pg</p> <p>pf mj</p>

⁶ Points to the dead tree now standing in water near the foot of the extraction tower

⁷ Translation: Recuperative

Nr 2	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	a chat a chat ja yes yes	ph2
1 0 7	S. And what do you think about all the activities that go on here And. Uh the Fr.[fits almost hurt?] mmm? the driving the hills with this yes? motorbikes [..?] not so good no And. Some people also have to have their fun but Fr. they're destroying the um soil and the sands the just on the at at the back there ⁸ ja Fr. I have seen it [laughs] and I was angry mm and put some rocks mmm on the pad mmm to say no entry ja but it doesn't matter ⁹	sg1 af- sg4 pb pe mf
1 2 0	S do you think some of these activities should be excluded [pause] And. I mean I really say I can't I mean I I like the nature very much mmm but I can't forbid other people doing their [laughs] I mean it's their sport and I know some people do it yes ja but I don't agree with it but I can't say don't do it ja I mean always always giving don'ts and no's mmm is giving a negative impression on the people ja I mean that's right you have to find a solution somehow mm Fr. except the litter I think ja ja ok littering is should be prohibited otherwise the cars ja and motorbikes [are alright?]	se mo pa ag [af] ¹⁰
1 3 2	S.And what do you think should be going on here that's that's not going on? do you think there are things that that should be included here that aren't happening? And. Should be included? Mmm something that's not happening here that that perhaps should be happening here And. Maybe some um boards or information mmm on birds for example OK Fr. [..?] so ein Lehrpfad uhhuh a sort of educational trail ja something like that? And. Ja with with trees or named named mmm and mmm for for the people who don't for the school really know I think the schools could be a possibility to come here and to show the kids yes the trees yes and the plants And. because it is available place to go yes yes um	dp sl [dp] sn sa mo
1 4 5	S. There's uh talk about development here um ja if you look back here towards the parking area ja there's talk about a lodge there how do you feel about that? And. I mean if if the people of the lodge would really care about the nature how it looks here mmm I mean it depends on um a piece of nature has also to give its profits nowadays yes to uh ja to be saved [laughs] I mean if yes I hear what you say ja there has to be some kind of return for it ja ja and I mean nat and nature provides for such also provides it um you just have to	da2 do [do]

⁸ Refers to the hills north of the floodplain

⁹ I think this means "it doesn't help"

¹⁰ Not coded because her meaning is not clear. Earlier she had said she disliked the motorbikes, now she seems to be implying they are alright

¹¹ Refers to Keding's riding school, below the dam wall

Nr 2	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p>utilize what is there or ja sustainable use it as it live with it not take it and don't do anything for it so I mean I mean it's I wouldn't I was uh hearing about the hotel [..?] they wanted to build a hotel and <i>golf course</i> <i>golf course</i> that's right that was the Malaysian development <i>the Malaysian development</i> Malaysian development and I was totally against that because um they wasn't in their mind to keep Avis dam as it is but to profit from it and get in luxury for money ja money-paying tourists who don't actually uh who care more about golf than about birds <i>mmm</i> I mean golf is also a quite natural sport to a degree <i>we have a golf course ja</i> but <i>already one</i> there's a there's a golf course here I mean it's <i>du brauchst doch viel Wasser na für den [..?]</i> ja for the greens <i>you need a lot of water for their ja</i> So I hear you that you wouldn't be opposed to a lodge provided that it's provided that what?</p>	<p>db15 [db15] db8 [db15]</p>
1 7 4	<p>And. That I mean giving guided walks around here uhuh I mean there's lots of nice hills and uh indigenous plants also it's not too disturbed around here and ok you've got the power line and the uh road road to the south not much development yes you're saying not much man-made ja stuff um but I mean it's if they [..?] guided tours I mean they can horse trails you've got them [..?] horse stables just around the corner¹¹</p>	<p>da4 sg1 sn me st3 [da4] dn4</p>
1 8 5	<p>S. OK that's the end of my questions is there anything else that you'd like to add that you haven't added? No no Thank you very much for your time I appreciate it [tape switched off]</p>	<p>ni af</p>

B. Ek het vir twee ure hier geëet want baie rustig. S. Was dit rustig. Ja, my kinders kom hier en hier rond te hardloop is dit? Ek het spesiaal vir hulle gekook met hul klein hondjie om hier te kom rondhardloop. S. Nou hoekom het jy nou spesifiek hierna toe gekom ek bedoel wat is vir u nou aantreklik van hierdie plek. B. Nee kyk vir hulle is nader aan die veld. S. Meneer moet net so staan dat die ding kan opvang. B. Vir hulle is dit nader aan die veld om veld toe te gaan. Ja ja B. en soos hulle was hier in die veld en het weer teruggekome ek dink hulle het dit geniet want hul se my hulle's moeg nou. S. Hulle's moeg nou B. Ja nou vat ek hulle terug [laughs]

ni
ar
ed pd
se mo
[se]
md [ae]

S. Ek sien. Wat was nou van van die twee uur wat u nou hierse was wat was nou vir u die lekkerste van hierdie plek?
B. Ek het lekker kommunikasie gehad spesifiek met my vrou. S. uhuh so daar was hoekom se u nou lekker kommunikasie met u vrou. B. Daar was nie

pd
mm

Interview 6, Tape 24, 1-117
In this interview in the sense that B is a first time ever visitor, and a person of colour
Appendix 2.3 with difference in racial
The researcher can be heard very clearly in the background!

**TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With B², male, 21-39, [accompanied by wife and two children] at the floodplain,
beneath Dassie Rock, Sunday 15 February 1998,
approx. 17.45 - 18.00**

Count ³	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of: "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?"] [we complete biographical detail and negotiate language of interview on tape. Wife does not want to join us for the interview]	
28	S. Ok um Vir hoe lank nou kom u na die dam toe of is dit u eerste besoek of B. Ja dis die eerste besoek S. staan net B. dis die eerste besoek wat ons hier het S. Die heel eerste besoek? B. Die heel eerste besoek. ek ry elke dag hier verby werk toe OK ek het besluit ek gaan vandag 'n draai maak hier S. So dis die eerste keer wat u wat u wat u in die in die Avis area self is? Ja So u was nog nie anderkant by die dam nie? Dis nou B. Ek was nog nie anderkant by die dam nie. OK Ek sien altyd baie karre hier bikes [..?] besluit ek dat ek kom bietjie kyk Ok	al af
39	S. Hoe't dit nou hoe hoe was dit nou vermiddag hoe lank is u al hierso? B. Ek het vir twee ure hier gesit maar baie rustig S. Was dit rustig Ja⁴ my kinders het dit geniet om hier rond te hardloop Is dit? Ek het spesiaal vir hulle gebring met hul klein hondjie om hier te kom rondhardloop S. Nou hoekom het jy nou spesifiek hiernatoe gekom ek bedoel wat is vir u nou aantreklik van hierdie plek . B. Nee kyk vir hulle is nader aan die veld S. Meneer moet net so staan dat die ding kan opvang B. Vir hulle is dit nader aan die veld om veld toe te gaan Ja Ja B. en soos hulle was hier in die veld en het weer teruggekom ek dink hulle het dit geniet want hul sê my hulle's moeg nou S. Hulle's moeg nou B. Ja nou vat ek hulle terug [laughs]	mi ae ad pd se mo [se] md [ae]
53	S. Ek sien. Wat was nou van van die twee uur wat u nou hierso was wat was nou vir u die lekkerste van hierdie plek? B. Ek het lekker kommunikasie gehad spesifiek met my vrou S. uhuh so daar was hoekom sê u nou lekker kommunikasie met u vrou B. Daar was nie	pd mm

¹ Interview 6. Tape 5A 1-117.

² An interesting interview in the sense that B is a first time ever visitor, and a person of colour

³ Approx. 2-3 units difference on rewind

⁴ A scrambler can be heard very clearly in the background!

Count ³	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
100	mense soos by die huis verwag jy enige tyd mense en hier al wat ek verwag het was die kinders maar hulle was veld toe ons het lekker sit en gesels S. so u kon nou lekker 'n slag met u vrou weer gesels B. bietjie vars lug inasem aha ok B [lag] en nou's ons weer op pad terug ok	[pd] se mo si mh [mh]
64	S. [..?] was daar was daar nou iets vermiddag wat vir u nou onplesierig was van u kuier hierso? B. Nogal net al ..my meisiekind het in die water geswem mmm die klein babatjiekie van my mmm dit was nou vir u ongenaam ja dit dis al wat my ⁵ ek het haar gesê nee sy sê sy moet swem ok	sb1 ak pd [ak]
71	S. en hoe't u nou gevoel oor al die ander mense wat hierso was? B. Nee junne ek het geen probleem met die mense die's die mense wat langs my was ⁶ ek kan nie kla oor hulle nie hulle was ook net veld in is dit bietjie gaan stap mm en weer terug mm	pf se mo ae
78	S. En die dinge wat die mense hierso doen hoe voel u daaroor? B. Lyk my dis meer 'n sportplek hierdie die ouens hulle ry met hulle bikes mmm mmm vierwiel aangedrewe voertuie hoe voel u daaroor? B. geen probleem geen probleem B. ek het in elk geval 'n goeie parking gehad is dit ek kon alles sien ⁷ wat die kan nie kla nie	af [af] af+
86	S. Dink Meneer hier is hier is fasiliteite wat moet bykom? B. Asseblief baie baie wat sou u hier graag wil sien? B. soos in die eerste plek 'n poel vir die kinders mmm soos ek kan daar induik maar nie die kinders nie die kinders is spesiaal oor swem mm soos die enetjie loop swemklasse maar sy kan tog nie hier swem nie en [hier's?] die natuur my kinders kom van die plaas af hulle eet die bome se gom hulle't nou gaan gom soek en [laughs] S. Is daar nou nog iets wat u soek hierso in verband met fasiliteite B. nee net swem en miskien soos ons het nou vandag niks saamgebring om te eet mmm miskien iets om te eet wat hier verkoop word [..?] wat hier verkoop word ja uhhuh ok	dj3 ds ak [ak] se mo sn [ak] dd da3
101	S. Is daar iets wat u dink hier aan die gang is wat nie um behoort toegelaat te word nie? B. Ek het tot dusver toe nog niks niks ja niks gesien nie niks gesien nie ok	
105	S. Daar's daar's sprake daarvan um kommersieële ontwikkeling hierso in die area hoe sou u daaroor voel? B. Nee geen probleem nie 'n probleem nie geen probleem Ok	da1

⁵ B points to all the algae on the surface of the water

⁶ They drive past us at this point

⁷ This suggests that B. considered the bikes more entertainment than irritation

Count ³	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
108	S. As u nou terugdink oor vermiddag se besoek wat was nou die lekkerste van u [...?] vir alles ja B. Dit was ontspanne gewees ontspanne ek het geen⁸ en die plek is nog baie skoon ja as jy gaan by Goreangab nou uhhuh you you jy gaan dit nie geniet nie mm die plek het nou is nou geteister van vlieë en daardie klas van dinge mmm maar hier is dit nog skoon skoon [a child says something] Ok baie dankie meneer ok thanks Baba kom!	mj sv mh [mh] [sv]

1	S. Ok so if I if I could start off um -mum which part of the dam do you usually vist? The floodplain here or the ...	
4	L. um when I come on my own mmmm I we normally go to the other side ⁸ ok we didn't learn about this one for quite a while mmm but when my husband comes with the 4x4 bakkie then he likes to drive along here and then sit yes and just park yes I'm a walker yes he's a sitter [laughs] Ok but the main thing is to get the dogs out yes and the water	mc pb al [al] ac ad sb l
1	S. So so depending on whether or not your husband's with you that sort of helps you decide where you come L. Yes the boys my boys I've got my elder boys they quite like it on this side as well and [...?] S. you just need to sorry face oh yes the microphone otherwise ja ja we're going to lose what .. because the wind's blowing quite strongly here ja	[pb]
1	S. Ok and then for how long have you and your family been coming here now	
5	L. For three years for three years yes we moved to Windhoek just over three years ago and it was during the first few months [...?] and we've been coming most every weekend really? So you come Saturdays practically sometimes both Saturdays and Sundays. I don't actually walk my dogs in the in the city because um other dogs bark mmm you mmm into the ground it's no pleasure mmm really mmm because all you're doing is shushing up the dog and so on on the streets of Windhoek so I prefer to come here [...?] to give the dogs their exercise S. I see your dogs have found some friends if these are your dogs [laughs]	ma [ma] ad [ad]
1	S. Ok and um gosh I really am worried about this perhaps perhaps we should just go and stand ⁸ ja I'll just I'll just do it like this yes ja I think that's easier I know most of these questions by now off by heart Um say now you had to describe this area to somebody who'd never seen it how would you how would you describe it what ja [... pauses] if you think about the dam and this side and the floodplain and so -um ⁸ where's my little boy gone? Yes I see him -um I I love it I love the dam and I love the water and I love the the veld and uhhuh and we have	mf sb l sc mo

Interview 7, Tape 54, 151-266
 Differing by about 2-3 units on revised
 The dam that is

⁸ At this point the tape recorder fell off the car bonnet!

**TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With L., female, 21-39, [accompanied by little boy] at the floodplain, near the
water's edge at the entrance to woodcutters' road, Sunday 15 February 1998,
approx. 18.00 - 18.10**

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	Introductory comments not taped but along the lines of "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?"] [purpose of research explained on tape]	
1 4 0 2	S. Ok so if I if I could start off um mmm which part of the dam do you usually vist? The floodplain here or the L. um when I come on my own mmmm I we normally go to the other side³ ok we didn't learn about this one for quite a while mmm but when my husband comes with the 4x4 bakkie then he likes to drive along here and then sit yes and just park yes I'm a walker yes he's a sitter [laughs] Ok but the main thing is to get the dogs out yes and the water	mc pb al [al] ae ad sb1
1 4 6	S. So so depending on whether or not your husband's with you that sort of helps you decide where you come L. Yes the boys my boys I've got my elder boys they quite like it on this side as well and [...?] S. you just need to sorry face oh yes the microphone otherwise ja ja we're going to lose what .. because the wind's blowing quite strongly here ja	[pb]
1 5 0	S. Ok and then for how long have you and your family been coming here now L. For three years for three years yes we moved to Windhoek just over three years ago and it was during the first few months [...?] and we've been coming most every weekend really? So you come Saturdays practically sometimes both Saturdays and Sundays. I don't actually walk my dogs in the in the city because um other dogs bark mmm you mmm into the ground it's no pleasure mmmm really mmm because all you're doing is shushing up the dog and so on on the streets of Windhoek so I prefer to come here [...?] to give the dogs their exercise S. I see your dogs have found some friends if these are your dogs [laughs]	ma [ma] ad [ad]
1 6	S. Ok and um gosh I really am worried about this perhaps perhaps we should just go and stand ⁴ ja I'll just I'll just do it like this yes ja I think that's easier I know most of these questions by now off by heart Um say now you had to describe this area to somebody who'd never seen it how would you how would you describe it what ja [L. pauses] if you think about the dam and this side and the floodplain and so um⁵ where's my little boy gone? Yes I see him um I I love it I love the dam and I love the water and I love the the veld and uhhuh and we have	mf sb1 se mo

¹ Interview 7. Tape 5A 131-266.

² Differs by about 2-3 units on rewind

³ The dam that is

⁴ We move into the wind shadow of a car parked nearby

⁵ A ??? bird starts calling

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
8	explored most of the little paths all around mm and I would just say that it's that it's a haven a haven for a city dweller in Windhoek really S. That's that's a very nice expression. Ja Any particular feature of the physical landscape that that L. No I come from the western Cape I can't get used to these doringbome and little bokkies [bossies?] OK and so that's that's not to me the main thing⁶ but it's the open space and the water S. Sorry is this your car? Ja We're busy draping ourselves all over it sorry! [laughter] Ok thank you very much	mu ae ml sn- sq [sb1]
1 8 1	S. Ok what's it feel like for you when you come here L. I feel as though it's it's it's lovely for relaxation I feel free mmm which you don't feel in the city and um I grew up on a small holding mmm which makes it worse for me mmm to get used to living in the city mmm and then we lived in Hermanus mmm for a long time which is close to the sea mmm and there's so much more opportunity for getting out yes into the open there in the western Cape anyway so I feel I would I would say free and kind of a release and it's calm except for those blooming noisy bikes mmm which I dislike [laughs] and you hear them even when you walking across the wall mmm on that side mmm you hear them mmm and that spoils it a bit I think mmm yes	mj mm mv [mv] [mm] mi af- sc2 [af] st1 pb [af] me?
1 9 4	S. What kind of things make a visit here really worthwhile? L. Well I come for the walk and the exercise and um and I love to watch the water I find watching the water mmm relaxation uhuh uhuh	ae sb1 mj
1 9 9	S. What do you think about all the other people how do you feel about here all the other people here how does that influence a a visit? L. Ag no I I they've never really bothered me when it came in down in flood last year mmm um I once called it the Windhoek waterfront! [laughter] walking along there yes we were really but mostly you only meet with 2, 3, 4 people and usually they're very friendly so it doesn't bother me uhuh	pf sb1 pg [pf]
2 0 4 2 0 8	S. And all the activities that go on here how do you feel about that? L. I haven't really struck many of the activities so I don't really know I've seen I saw once they were picking up rubbish and so on but we haven't really been to any of the any of the organized activities mmm that were held here S. but the sorts of things that people do here how do you feel about that L. well the rowing is fine⁷ I think mmm the walking is fine mmm and and it's marvellous for the dogs but I do dislike really the motorbike mmm things I feel they can motorbike somewhere where there's not birds to disturb mmm mmm and dogs and small children yes where's my child? S. There he is he's sitting at the water edge Oh yes he's still there he's still Why don't we just step a bit down this way then you can see him or we can walk in his direction how	 ag+ ac ae ad af- sl

⁶ A scambler can now be heard in the background and also the voice of a man approaching us

⁷ A child is paddling nearby on the water as we talk

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	would you like that	
2 1 6	um do you think that uh more things should be going on here I mean if you think about what there is here should something else be included here? L. Ag I wouldn't really participate with much in much more I don't think because if you start putting then then they're going to build quays and there's going to be cement and mm entrances I don't even think they should bother to put braai little braai areas except maybe on a very limited corner mmm mmm um I would prefer it to just stay natural and unspoilt and undeveloped um that's my personal feeling mmm what what makes you say that? L. well whenever there's development mm then eventually you get landed with smelly toilets mmm and that's ghastly and then you get more people coming and that would then spoil it more yes and then I don't think it would be a bird sanctuary any more or um peaceful walks and so on it would be then fuller and I dislike cement I want to come and walk in the veld [laughter] yes	db3 db2 dj2 db11 dm- dk3 se me dr pc [me] sl mi [pc] [se] [me]
2 3 2	S. Ok you've touched on some of the things that bother you when you come here are there any activities that you think should be excluded L. um those motorbikes uhuh but um ag it also is a pity that people do come and braai here and then they leave their broken bottles and things around so that I suppose you know a couple of braai sites mmm and then one would have to stick to them and then with a drum with something would be probably better S. Ok	af- ab- ag dm
2 4 1	there's been.. just before I go on to that question um what is the essence of this place for you how would you try and how would you try and capture it? L. mm mm [pause] I would say it freedom from the traffic and the confines of the city mm mmm that's the second time you've used the word freedom ja ja release ja also you said earlier release ja	mm mv
2 4 7	S. There's been talk of development in the area how do you feel about that? Ja I would like to keep development down to a minimum and if it is necessary to do it very unobtrusively and for it then to blend into the surroundings mmm Ok any ideas on on where it should be sited? L. No I [wouldn't have any idea?] but I think the key word that you used was unobtrusive unobtrusive ja maybe nearer the gates but I mean gosh if they gonna really go all over development that would spoil it I think mm mmm	dj2 da7 [da7] da5 db4 me
2 5 5	S. Ok and I think my last question is do you think the area warrants protection in some way or another Yes I would say um that the the bir I they they say that no chopping down of trees mmm and so on but for birds mmm and for we haven't ev ever seen any small game mm but they they it could be re-introduced I would say mmm small game and make it a real paradise for fauna and flora	sm df

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
2	mmm mmm S. That's the end of my questions is there anything else you'd like to add L. No I don't think so [laughs] Thank you very much for your time L. something that would be nice would be I see some some people are running there	dn3
6	mmm mm you know paths for for jogging and so on ok	sb2
2	empty we used to cut right across the dam yes we used to circle the dam yes um but we one can't very easily go round it when it's so full as it is now no you can't Ok if I could just um somewhere here's a stop .. thank you [we complete biographical details off tape]	sb1

6	S. Ok um which part of the dam do you two usually come to? M. <i>mais part dam wall</i> C. <i>Ja hoe het herno miskien moet jy net met haar praat dan praat jy later met my</i> S. <i>nee nee julle kan altyd praat</i> C. <i>nee a problem nie</i> So um M. [...?] 50-50 [laughter]	pb st1 mc ma
9	S. OK um for how long have you been coming to the dam now? M. um I would say two years S. And how often would you say you come? Once a week S. so you know the area pretty well M. ja	ma [ma]
20	S. Ok um if you now either of you or both of you had to describe this area to somebody who's never seen it what would you say how would you describe it? M. I would say it's a look at that little bay riding that way ok I would say it's an area S. <i>just just way near the mike</i> ³ an area to come to after a hard day's work it's quiet the dam wall is quiet um grass water things like that [that you need?] C. <i>Ja en 'n oop st die n hulle's n op die oomblik is hier nou water so die n dam um met uh plantegroei en dis rustig hierse buite n Sondag natuurlik</i> ⁴ en jy kan na voete kyk en so aan S. Ok any particular feature of the area that appeals to you M. <i>trees trees</i> C. <i>hierdie views is vir my die en hierdie in die floodplain as jy so terugkyk na daardie berge</i> ⁵ toe mmm en as jy by die by die dam is waar ons sou vandag mos omgeloop daar na die anderkant toe so ons mmm daar's nou water mmm kan jy daardie walleie inkyk views views OK M. and trees vegetation [...?]	ml scl st1 pb ss sb1 [sb1] [sb1] sn ml af- ah sl [sn] af [pb] [sf] sg1 [pb] [sb1] sg2 [sf] [sn]
4	S. Ok what's it like for you to come here how do you feel when you're here M. I know how I feel when I'm when I'm when I've left here ok how's that C. <i>how's that?</i>	mn
5	mmm usually I come here usually I'm a bit frustrated or irritated or something if I come here I'm	

¹ Interview 8, Tape 5B 1-170.

² These two people are not strangers to me, as the other respondents have been - I have known them for several years both as Greenpeace members and as friends. This was nevertheless a chance meeting.

³ The sound of a scrambler nearby prompts this remark.

⁴ A scrambler comes past.

⁵ The local mountains.

TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With M., female, 21-39, and C., female, 40-59², at the floodplain, near the water's
edge at the entrance to the old Gobabis road,
Sunday 15 February 1998,
approx. 18.15-18.30

Count	Transcription and its division into researcher imposed units	Code
	Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of "You know I'm doing research on the Avis dam don't you want to do an interview with me on tape?" [we negotiate whether it should be two interviews or one, and wait for a scrambler to go by]	
6	S. Ok um which part of the dam do you two usually come to? M. main part dam wall C. <i>Ek kom baie hierso miskien moet jy net met haar praat dan praat jy later met my</i> S. nee nee julle kan altwee praat dis nie 'n probleem nie So um M. [..?] 50-50 [laughter]	pb st1 mc ma
9	S. OK um for how long have you been coming to the dam now? M. um I would say two years S. And how often would you say you come? Once a week S. so you know the area pretty well M. ja	ma [ma]
20	S. Ok um if you now either of you or both of you had to describe this area to somebody who's never seen it what would you say how would you describe it? M. I would say it's a look at that little boy riding that car ok I would say it's an area S. just just stay near the mike ³ an area to come to after a hard day's work it's qu it's the dam wall is quiet um green water things like that [that you need?] C. <i>Ja ek sou ook sê dis 'n hulle's 'n op die oomblik is hier nou water so dis 'n dam um met uh plantegroei en dis rustig hierso buiten 'n Sondag natuurlik⁴ en jy kan na voëls kyk en so aan</i> S. Ok any particular feature of the area that appeals to you M. trees trees C. <i>hierdie views is vir my die en hierdie in die floodplain as jy so terugkyk na daardie berge⁵ toe mmm en as jy by die by die dam is waar ons sou vandag mos omgeloop daar na die anderkant toe so ons mmm daar's nou water mmm kan jy daardie valleie inkyk views views OK</i> M. and trees vegetation [..?]	ml sc1 st1 pb ss sb1 [sb1] [sb1] sn mi af- ah sl [sn] sf [pb] [sf] sg1 [pb] [sb1] sg2 [sf] [sn]
48	S. Ok what's it like for you to come here how do you feel when you're here M. I know how I feel when I'm when I'm when I've left here ok how's that C. <i>how's that?</i> mmm usually I come here usually I'm a bit frustrated or irritated or something if I come here I'm	mn

¹ Interview 8. Tape 5B 1-170.

² These two people are not strangers to me, as the other respondents have been - I have known them for several years both as Greenspace members and as friends. This was nevertheless a chance meeting

³ The sound of a scrambler nearby prompts this remark

⁴ A scrambler comes past

⁵ The Auas mountains

Count	Transcription and its division into researcher imposed units	Code
	better I I immediately go away without that I leave that behind ok C. ja ja ek dink dis baie ontspannend ja mmm	mm [mm] mj dc [dcl]
5 8	S. What kinds of things make a visit here really worthwhile you go back home and you say today was a good visit because M. The water [pause] the nature the openness ja C. ja S. and what kind of things would make a visit unpleasant Together: Quads! C. Hierdie [laughter] motorfietse M. and music [...?] C. en musiek it's the noise level seker dink ek the noise level ok M definitely noise ja allright so the noise level if it's sort of beyond acceptable bounds yes ja M and funnily enough people I I your nicest times I have here is when there's hardly anybody here uhuh I'm not mad about people C. ja ek dink as almal net ook wil stilstaan nê [laughter] as jy so kyk en jy sien hierdie ouens wat die karre wat hier mmm geparkeer is ⁶ is ok mmm maar maar hierdie beweging nou hierso tussen in van goed dit M I don't like people	pc ab [ab-] ab sb1 se mo sq af- [af-] sc2 [sc2] pc pg [mw] al mw [pg]
7 5	S. ok well the next question is how do all the other people and activities influence a visit here M. It influences definitely S. In what way M. Negatively usually noise because people generate noise um I don't have too much of a problem on the dam wall mmm because there people are quiet mmm and also I also much prefer it because there're few people there you know just one or two people walking around you say hello and that and I also like the dam I'm probably going back to one of the other questions mmm is that you see people that you recognize mmm hello [..?] that I like I really like that mmm dis verskillend van die dam hierso ek meen jy gaan ons jy gaan S. sorry we're using your car is that ok um as jy na die dam [car owner: if you don't want to drive it it's ok [laughter] no no we don't] C. as jy na die dam toe gaan mmm en stap jy baie keer daar en jy kry vyf ouens wat jy wat jy ken en jy yes gesels oor hoe die werk was en so on M that's nice en as jy hiernatoe kom is jy op jou eie daar's net net jy en die natuur hierso S. There's quite a social element to it isn't there? Ja Ja	sc2 st1 pb sc1 pg ph2 [pb] [pb] ae [ph2] pf [pb] [pg] se mo
9 2	S. And the activities do you think there're activities going on here that should be excluded? M. yes ja fill in the missing words [laughter] C. 4x4's hierdie quads ⁷	af- [af-]

⁶ We are conducting the interview in the wind shadow of a parked car

⁷ One rides by

⁸ A car playing a radio drives by

Count	Transcription and its division into researcher imposed units	Code
	mmm um en musiek ⁸ ek ek reken eintlik hierdie hierdie tipe van om die dam ryery moet ook nie toegelaat word nie ouens moet op 'n plek stop en van daar af loop M. mmm they must keep the cars to one side ja and I'm not too crazy about people sitting and braaing and drinking C. die ouens wat hulle I must I must admit I don't like that C. die ouens wat hulle piekniek wil kom maak moet hulle goedjies maar dra van daar af mmm ek meen hoeveel goed het jy nou as jy nou wil kom piekniek maak 'n skottelskaarbraai en 'n stoel en 'n vleisie ok en 'n koelbox	sc2 al- dc [dc] pe ab- [ab-] ab [dc] mw ⁹
1 0 6	S So what do you think should be included then that's not that's not here at the moment what ought to be included ¹⁰ ? M. fencing¹¹! [laughs] S. ok fencing [pause] M. I would also like to see something like um C. jy wil 'n plek hê waar jy jou glasier wyn kan drink M. [laughs] plekkie waar jy 'n glasier wyn kan drink ok M. I would also like it's something like Kirstenbosch which I enjoyed you go there it's a it's a little not a it's a hut or whatever mmm but they've got you know somebody that says you know this time of year or this time of the month or whatever you can now see this plant flowering or you can see this or you can see that an information type of board Some kind of information ja backup [...?] C. ja soos daardie plek in in Hermanus waar jy jy kom en jy stop by 'n plek en van daar mmm daar's 'n inligtingsplek mmm en jy van daaraf rondloop M. that I like um daar naby dit is daar dink ek n plek waar jy kan piekniek hou as jy wil maar nie nie by 'n punt verby nie mmm	[sc] dm- mi [sc mo] [sc] dc da3 dd dp [dp] [dc] ¹²
1 2 7	S. Ok um there's been talk about development in the area ¹³ how do you feel about that M. not happy about it S. what makes you say that M. because then I mean what we've got here would be you know you'd have people you'd have noise you'd have buildings you'd have all that and I don't I won't say it's inevitable¹⁴ S. [laughs] Ja well we we're trying to distinguish here between what you what you like or dislike and what you think is inevitable! M. I know! ok so that's why I say I mean I wouldn't like it [...?]¹⁵ C. ek sou sê hierdie area soos wat ons hom hier het en die area wat Greenspace huur op die oomblik ja as dit enigsins moontlik	db1 me ¹⁹ se db12 sc2 db2 [db1] [se] dj2 [me]

⁹ It's not so much about keeping the cars away as *why* this should be done - I impute here [based on her earlier comments] that she dislikes the sense of restlessness and busy-ness that they bring

¹⁰ We wait while a scrambler goes by

¹¹ This refers to Greenspace's proposed fencing off of a parking area in the floodplain so as to limit harmful activities in the area - off road driving, poaching, tree-cutting and dumping being some

¹² Again C's wish that cars must stop at a place, not drive around

¹³ A scrambler drives by

¹⁴ This a reference to the Greenspace conversations in other times and places during which some members [M. included] will often say: development is inevitable let's just make the best of it

¹⁵ This comment inaudible above the noise of a scrambler

¹⁶ The sound of the wind drowns this part, but it's probably "ouens" or "mense"

¹⁷ A Ministry of Environment and Tourism nature reserve some 20 kms out of Windhoek in the Khomas Hochland

¹⁸ This was almost a landmark comment for me in my research. As Daan Viljoen is also a nature area, what is the "dit" that Avis has that Daan Viljoen doesn't? - I assumed unspoiltness

¹⁹ This is my interpretation of "what we've got here" other than the obvious nature of the place. It is based on the intrusiveness, or evidence of human impact, of the things she mentions next: people, noise, human-made things ...

Count	Transcription and its division into researcher imposed units	Code
	<p>moet daardie area gehou word sonder ontwikkeling hier's genoeg plek dan langs die pad of so waar en daar na die na die pomphuis se se kant toe waar die waar die Munisipaliteit of waar jy kan ontwikkel wat dan wat dan um die area kan gebruik soort van as 'n aangrensende as 'n aangrensende um vermaaklikheid of vermaaklikheid is nie die woord nie ja so am I hearing that that no development at all really is is what you're mmm saying ja S. what makes you say that? C. jy gaan verloor wat dit wat jy ..waarvoor 'n mens hiernatoe kom gaan jy verloor niemand gaan soontoe wil kom nie die oomblik wat jy daarso 'n plek gaan maak waar daar waar daar 50 [...?]¹⁶ kan piekriek hou dan is hierdie area [verlore...?] vir ons wat wil rustig hierna kom hiernatoe kom mmm en die natuur geniet mmm ok daar is nie nog 'n plek in Windhoek waar jy waar jy kan gaan en en die natuur het soos wat jy hom hier het daar is nie nog so 'n plek nie [M. ...?] Daan Viljoen¹⁷ Daan Viljoen het dit¹⁸ nie ja ja</p>	<p>db10 da5 Code mf [se] mo [me]²⁰ [pc] dm- mi [se mo] sd [se mo me] [me]</p>
1 5 6	<p>S. ok do you think the area warrants protection yes in some way or another C. yes! M. yes S. what what kind of protection what level M. fencing mmm I do feel the cars must be kept out ok um protection of what we've got here the the the you know the natural the the vegetation ok some kind of legal protection? M. yes why not as what? M. as um it has protection now because of the lease isn't that legal protection? Is it not? What do you mean by legal protection? C. <i>Nee dit is um om sonering hê wat wat um die Munisipaliteit sal verhoed om die plek oor tien jaar te ontwikkel M. mmm oh that? ja</i></p>	<p>dc se me²¹ mo sn ad df</p>
	<p>S. Ok that's the end of my questions is there anything you want to add? M. That was quick pleased I took her with me</p>	<p>sh sb1 sq ma sh sc1</p>

²⁰ Again, this is my interpretation of "that thing" which will be lost through development.

²¹ Again "what we've got here" is interpreted as free-nature, based on C's comment further on about preventing the Municipality from developing

TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT

With H-P, male, 21-39, and B., female, 21-39, at the floodplain, near the water's edge
at the entrance to the old Gobabis road,
Sunday 15 February 1998,
approx. 18.30 - 18.45

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
1 8 1	[Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?"] [purpose of research explained on tape; technicalities of where the microphone is are explained]	
185	<i>B. a problem if we don't know the area very well?</i> S. No <i>no mmm</i> I'll just look I'll balance the the tape recorder here and then we can all chat and I can start my questions ok um what part of the dam area do you usually come to when you come here do you come this side or do you come ? <i>B. this side H. this side yes</i> you come to the floodplain <i>yes</i> S. um are you German speaking? <i>yes yes</i> [we negotiate language of interview]	
190	S. Ok how long have you been coming here now H. We are in in Windhoek now for one and a half months S. is that all? H. Yes that's all So you haven't been here very often then ? <i>B. No H. no yes every day in this in this one and a half month because of the dog</i> S. every day! <i>B. yes H. Yes every day ok</i>	ma ad
197	S. Right so you've been here almost every day then for a month and a half <i>yes yes</i> ok so now supposing um you were asked to describe this area to somebody who's never seen it what would you say how would you describe it to them? H. mmm green yes especially now yes um watery because you are not used in Windhoek to to have such a big lake yes like this um it's an entertain ment area I would say because especially on weekend you find quite a lot of people here camping and barbecuing and so on mm mmm um <i>B. sometimes a very busy area yes yes a lot of cars yes too much car yes and I would say also a motocross area mmm car-riding and and bike riding area mm</i> S. any particular feature of the area that that sticks in your mind that you think of when you think of this place B. I would say that the lake that the dam is is <i>B. and the sunset and the sunsets</i> the sunsets you like the sunsets? Yes yes its beautiful S. yes they are <i>yes</i> particularly this time of year yes in the rainy season they are rather nice	ss sh sb1 aa ab mw al- [al] af [sb1] [sh] sp
213	S. Ok what's it like for you to come here how does it feel? How do you feel? H. We enjoy it every day because you can walk the dog and he can he can run wherever he want it's big enough <i>B. he meets other dogs yes which is very nice and it's big enough to um to let him run mmm and it's very nice because we always come at about this time so we normally we see the sunset here and it's it's quiet and after a busy</i>	md ad mm ² sq [sq] ma sh sc1

¹ Interview 8. Tape 5B 181 - 300

² I interpret this to mean, they too have a sense of freedom, watching the dog "run wherever he want"

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
265	<p>day it's a very nice place mmm to relax mmm how do you feel? <i>B. yes I feel the same but as I said sometimes it's too busy for me mm I don't like if I walk the dog and I have to be careful with because of the cars mm mm but now it's a beautiful very peaceful place yes but ja sometimes it's too busy mm mmm</i></p>	<p>mj mw [ad] al- sp mi [mw]</p>
226	<p>S. ok perhaps we could pick up on that question next what what kind of things [would make a visit]³ unpleasant for you you've mentioned I think some of the things <i>B. yes the cars the bikes bikes</i> H. but not the the normal bikes only the motorbikes the quad bikes H. quad the noisy bikes anything else? H. no I don't think so you? Ok <i>No no</i> S. And the other way around what what makes what things make a visit here really nice? H. If it is during the week and it is normally very quiet mm quiet peaceful relaxing so the quietness is yes yes <i>yes something you both appreciate B. and the birds birds and the baboons the baboons</i> yes? have you seen baboons here? <i>yes yes yes</i> Really oh I haven't seen them for some time it was three days ago I think ja about twenty five to thirty really? on the bridge yes ok on the railway bridge they're cheeky aren't they? [laughter]</p>	<p>al- af- aj+ [af-] sc2 sh sc1 mi mj sl sm [sm] st2</p>
240	<p>S. Um you've mentioned now how you feel about all the other people here and um if you look at the activities that go on here um well we can see quite a few going on here do you think any of them should be excluded? <i>B. yes I think so</i> S. What did you what have you got in mind? <i>B. I think the land rovers and mm quad bikes</i> bike driving quad bike driving <i>should be limited yes or or perhaps they could have a certain area but not the whole area mm</i> H. me too but I think you you should not exclude the barbecuing and the camping mmm ok horseriding because because I think it's it's part of the area that should be should be part of the area mmm mmm because people really enjoy it and it's it's almost the newest place where you can relax <i>yes it's one of the newest places? Yes yes that's true</i></p>	<p>af- dk3 ab+ am md aa</p>
250	<p>S. ok any thing any activities here that you think should be should be happening here that aren't? are there things missing here for you? <i>B. yes I think boats are missing boats are missing</i> yes me too S. What do you mean by boats? Power boats? No No no um Ruderboating yes yes rowing boats yes sailing boats? Yes yes small ones yes Quiet boats so this this kind of thing that we see there⁴ that's that's nice that's nice? <i>I think that's nice ok</i> and we also would like to to swim there because mmm some of our friends told us mmm they swam some days ago and it would be nice to swim there if there's so much water there S. mmm but you can swim nothing prevents you from swimming there H. yeh but we didn't know if if it <i>B. healthy or not [laughs] yes</i> B. and perhaps volleyball or something is missing uhuh yes S. oh you think there should be some kind of formal <i>yes</i> facility here <i>yes yes</i> H but no restaurant I think you you can</p>	<p>ac+ [ac+] sc1 ak [ak] sb1 ao dd- [dd-]</p>

³ This section inadvertently cleared

⁴ A child in a rubber dinghy on the water

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	bring your own stuff in and eat it here and drink it here ok don't need any big restaurants or any shops ok	dq
265	S. That leads right into my next question um which is there is talk about development here um it ranges from low level um development to to quite a high level of commercial development but there's certainly talk about that how do you feel about that? B. No no? I see you shaking your head [laughter] no S. Why are you saying no? B. yes because it would change the character uhuh? of this area S. in what way? B. It would be more busy mm people would come to eat and drink yes yes I know I more traffic more more teer roads S. more what sort of roads? More tar roads tar roads ok not not as natural yes yes yes as it is now ok so is it the naturalness of the area I think so yes you think that would be affected ja ok allright	db1 se me ⁵ mw pc al dc- [dc-] [se me] mo
274	S. Do you think the area should be protected somehow? B. yes What what would you think would be the right kind of protection? H. I think they're they're started I don't know who they started to protect the area mmm by by⁶ those signs there put up the signs and they close the streets for the cars for the cars yes some of the roads been closed off ja H. um I think they should really leave it like this and should should only make as B. said I mean some facilities to play perhaps volleyball mm or some some kind of private sports or sports facilities ok but not not very um not so commercial ones no jet skiing [laughter] and yeh it would be would be [...?] but mmm mmm I wouldn't like it S. But I mean if you think in terms of of braaivleis places and this kind of thing what would you feel about that? toilets? This is also a kind of development? How would you feel about that? I see you're ⁷ still [laughter] that's difficult [...?] still shaking your head yes B. I mean if there are no restaurant I think it's no need for toilets yes ok yes the two do go together H. I think so because I think it's it's very hard to to to um put on put on the limits mmm where you where you end and where you start and where you end so if you if you put on some toilets or put some toilets here mmm then the next step would be mmm to put on to build a shop and restaurant restaurant yes anything like that that's true	dp al dc dj2 me ds [ds] [ds] sc2 ⁸ db1 dr- [dd, dr] [dj2] [dr] dd dq-
292	S. Thank you that's the end of my questions. Is there anything else you'd like to add that I haven't perhaps thought of anything you want to say yes no no I only want to ask you what kind of what kind of research I'm doing? [I explain my research in more detail and how it links with the Greenspace management plan for the area. Tape switched off at count 300]	

⁵ I impute "free nature" here, based on the signs of human impact that they list as undesirable

⁶ Points to no entry sign erected at head of the old Gobabis road by Greenspace at the beginning of February

⁷ B. is shaking her head at this point

⁸ I interpret this to mean, they think the noise of the jet skiing inappropriate, based on their earlier comments about silent water sport being appropriate

TRANSCRIPTION¹ OF AN INTERVIEW IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With AR, female, 40-59, in the parking area at the dam²,
Saturday morning, approx. 7.00-7.20

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
3	[Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam. Would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?" If yes, purpose of research, confidentiality, and technicalities of taping explained]	
10	S. How long have you been coming to the dam now? <i>AR. Ag ever since we got doggies no ever since we got married but since we have the doggies it's much longer ah that means about four and a half years regularly [laughs]</i> Ok <i>we come and air our doggies mmm mmm</i> So what does regularly mean every day? <i>Every day every second sometimes [?]</i>	ad ma [ad] [ma]
19	S. Ok so you know the area pretty well <i>AR yes we are a lot of regulars so you know you miss them [laughter]</i> that's true that's true <i>you see I know it's Mr. D ... I know it's Mr. Mmm I know it's Mrs. V. Mmm with her three doggies you don't all know all their names You remember them you remember their faces ja</i>	ph1 [ph1]
28	S. So what part do you usually come to when you come to the dam? <i>AR. I always take this route along here but you know two years ago mmm almost two years ago they had the big rain that's right and the dam was full every time every morning I could walk past you know round so you went along the wall and then round the that's right back of the dam there that's right ja and it was a lovely walk, a quick walk mm mmm and a good walk yes but then I got this doggie two years ago this is a little poodle hey and then my Mom died and I got this little doggie and then she cramped my style I couldn't really walk fast I couldn't mmm I had to look after her and every time a big dog was coming mmm I had to pick her up yes I don't want them to crush her mmm yes um and so now you just walk along but I see most people go another route mmm I believe there is a better route mmm I still walk walk along the wall and so you don't go to the floodplain at all I don't know where it is You don't know where it is? no oh ok well when the interview is finished I'll tell you how to get there [laughter]</i>	mc sb1 [mc] ae ad [ad] [ae] [mc] st1 pb
52	S. Um ok you know the area pretty well obviously and you come here pretty often <i>yes and my doggies have got lost here once when the baboons chased the one uhuh and was lost all day and I was here virtually all day walking amongst baboons call them again⁴ [laughs]</i> but we did get him back that evening no ok, no that is worrying ok if you if you know this area quite well how would you describe it to someone who didn't know it what would you tell them <i>AR I would say it looks like uh here they are it looks like the Western Cape early in the morning before the sun gets too hot [laughs] mmm mmm and it looks like Switzerland you can sometimes [??]⁵ JI... SI! ... ooh julle's baie stout kom [laughs] sorry sorry that's ok it's alright and uh [?] out of the way ok and uh ag nee sorry it's alright it's ok I've got dogs of my own ok what were</i>	ad sm [sm] ? sh sg1

¹ Tape 6A, 1-192

² The interview is conducted in AR's car, which is parked in the lower parking area

³ Count differs by 2-3 units on rewind

⁴ AR gets out of the car to call the other two dogs

⁵ Next words lost in the exuberant arrival of the dogs, who pant through the rest of the interview!

Count 3	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
144	<p><i>we were saying how would you describe I was saying ok I would describe it as delightful it's cool in the morning mmm where it's terribly hot in the day mmm and it's not overcrowded at all this time of the morning you don't feel unsafe at all I have my cell phone in my pocket mmm and every few hundred yards you meet people that you know.</i></p>	<p>mr sj pg mp ph2</p>
85	<p>S. What's it like for you to come here how do you feel? AR. <i>Oh it's most refreshing and most uplifting</i> S. That's a nice word <i>uplifting</i> .. AR <i>thank you</i> S.ok what do you think um what do you think creates that feeling in you AR <i>I think it's the coolness and the and the look at that one⁶ and uh the freshness and the freedom yes and the veld I'm yes I'm very fond of the veld uhuh I'm from Pretoria as well mmm mmm very very fond mmm and I think it's much nicer than Pretoria in a way that you are so clo so much closer yes I live three kilometres from here oh ok so everyone is about in reach mm of Avis dam mmm that's true</i></p>	<p>ml ms sj si mm se mo [se] sa [sa] pi</p>
99	<p>S. What do you feel I mean you have made one or two mentions of the other people here how do you feel about all the other people here? AR. <i>They're very polite and very kind very friendly and very [pause] friendly! [laughs] mmm That's true ja I find it's mostly Germans uhuh coming here mmm the Germans are more outdoor people mm mmm and looking after their dogs mmm in a better way [laughs] I wouldn't make a general mmm statement mmm but they they discipline their dogs yes their dogs walk [?]</i> so do so some don't discipline their dogs ja <i>like me, I don't [laughter]</i></p>	<p>pf [pf] ad [ad]</p>
111	<p>S. All the other activities going on here I see there's a wide range of activities going on here AR <i>you know I have</i> how do you feel about them <i>I don't know I have not seen them . There was once a tent here on a Sunday morning mm mmm and I found it very cute mm a beer tent mm with a band really just after it rained uhuh and it was a church that [laughter] a church group it must have been on Saturday nee my skat and it would be a pity if it's overcrowded yes it would be a pity if it's if it's ah commercialized yes what do you mean by this word commercialized ok I would you know I don't go there that way⁷ mmm because mainly but in the afternoons they go four by fours mmm and with the beach uh buggies uhuh and it's overcrowded there I mm mmm but in the mornings it's very quiet here it is it is I I believe there's going to be a restaurant etcetera etcetera but I still think in the morning six o'clock it will be quiet mmm and cool and mmm</i></p>	<p>ao sb1 pc db8 pb af- [pc] sh sc1 dd [sh] [sc1] sj</p>
132	<p>S. Do you think that there are any people here doing things that should be excluded I mean you know we see people here um horse riding and sailing ja and canoeing ja and climbing and <i>ag it's part of the thing and if you come at six o'clock in the morning they won't be doing that [laughter]</i> S. Ok so I'm starting to hear that you get up at six o'clock in the morning yes for yes a very good reason ja ja those are mostly <i>nothing is really worrying me yes yes ok but when the tent was here the the that Sunday morning [Noke?] the main ouderling he was walking himself here mm mmm with a black bag picking up every yes bit bit of rubbish and you know it's amazing how how relatively mm clean mm and tid but that's Windhoek hey yes it is a bit better than Pretoria that's for sure right</i></p>	<p>sh pg pf ao ag+ sv</p>

⁶ A reference to one of the dogs

⁷ A reference to the floodplain

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
3		
144	S. Ok you've you've mentioned um some development here there is definitely talk about restaurants or hotels or lodges or so how would you feel about that AR. <i>Aw, if there's a hotel here I will cry but I hope I'm dead by then [laughter] why do you say that no because I'm joking no but seriously I just hope it doesn't happen in my lifetime wh wh what about having a a hotel here would would no it will change the whole story⁸ ok that's that's like really interesting what would change for you? Oh people you know Namibians are very very ah spoilt mmm they they they're they love their peace and quiet mmm they don't like crowds mmm they don't like people yes they don't like noise if they like noise they make it themselves mmm yes that's true so you think it would change the no it certainly will change but I can't imagine it so I keep it from my mind S. you keep it ok ok</i>	de db1 mf [mf] pc ⁹ [pc] mi [pc] sc2 [mf]
159	S. Do you think the area should be um protected in some way <i>most certainly</i> formally? What what would you have in mind? What do you think AR. <i>Oh perhaps a guard here mmm but some I don't think if you could [?] all through life a guard shame you're having trouble holding that dog let me [?] no not at all no no no I must [laughs] I'm used to this because they don't know the word no yes I suppose so Ok you were saying you'd have a a guard here and what other ok I would appreciate when there's a guard mmm there were rumours mmm that there was going to be a guard mmm from seven to seven then on guard yes um but I don't feel unsafe ok not one bit that's important not one bit S. In terms of making the area a nature reserve or a game farm or anything like this how do you feel about that? AR <i>a nature reserve restricted is restricting access and what what could be done here I think it's rather sweet to have canoes here mm and um people enjoying themselves mm having a braai mm on a Saturday afternoon no there must be something to do mmm mmm if you don't have a four by four and go out to the dunes or whatever so you you don't have a problem with the four by fours here with the uh the smaller ones those little quads ja because I'm not here [we laugh together]</i></i>	dk2 [dk2] mp+ df- ac+ md ab aa sa ¹⁰ af+ sh ¹¹
179	S. ok right ok thanks that's the end ok of my questions is there anything you want to <i>not really nothing</i> ok thank you very much for your time AR. <i>Tell me what what are you planning are you doing it for Green Greenspace Greenspace partly for Greenspace so they would like to to keep it the way it is or [?] broadly speaking yes it would be super mm it would be super but you know only few people have the benefit of it really and one would like I could understand mm that uh people more people would come and do their thing if if what if there's a hotel mm and there's a hello!¹² You could interview them as well - I know them too well [laughter] have you interviewed them already? No she's a Greenspace member along with me.... Ja, no I know all their viewpoints! ok [tape switched off]</i>	dj2 pi da10 de ph1

⁸ Said with great emphasis

⁹ I interpret this to mean, development will bring too many people to the area [change its sense of "wilderness"?]. My interpretation is based on her subsequent explanation which is related to people

¹⁰ She is implying I think, that Avis is close by for those who cannot get "out"; this interpretation fits her earlier comments about Avis being within reach of everyone

¹¹ The time that she visits the dam, influences her experience strongly

¹² N. and her mother walk past; also "regulars" at this time of the morning

TRANSCRIPTION¹ OF AN INTERVIEW IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With TR, male, 40-59, and his wife, SR, female, 40-59, in the parking area at the dam²,
Saturday morning, approx. 7.25-7.45

Count ³	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	[Introductory comment not taped but along the lines of "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam. Would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?" If yes, purpose of research, confidentiality, and technicalities of taping explained]	
196	S. Well let's start with this one how long have you both been coming to the dam? <i>SR. About seven years</i> TR. Ja, or even more .longer than that <i>SR Actually how old are the dogs X and Y are eleven years old, so let's say eleven years.</i> TR Ja no well ja ten or eleven years that's fine. OK and um how often do you come? TR Ah we try and come every week sometimes twice over a weekend but ah in effect it ends up being one and a half or 3/4 times a week.	ma ad [ma] [ma]
202	S. mm mmm ok so I mean you know the area pretty well? TR pretty well ja and the reason we come is to walk the dogs um we we're not actually birders or anything specific like that S. you're dogwalkers we're dogwalkers and um especially this one⁴ we normally come here because he likes to have a swim mm mmm won't you just come the littlest bit closer [not intelligible] ja because other wise I might just lose what you're saying OK Ja	ad [ad]
207	OK if you if you had to describe this area to somebody else, somebody who's never seen it what what would you say? <i>SR. I know exactly</i> right what would you say? <i>It's like the moors of Scotland like the moors of Scotland ok Glencoe if you've ever been to Glencoe uhuh no it's beautiful I love the lack of trees actually just {?} the softness and the water just the gentleness of it it's the gentle spirit beautiful</i> TR. Ja but it's it's more that's what it's kind of like now but it changes seasonally ja that's [unintelligible] yes yes its different all of the time mmm at the moment its its green hue is going but there's lots of water mmm 3, 4 years ago there was no water mmmm and it was dry as a bone mmm and and so Glencoe was the furtherest thing from your mind then yes [laughter] I think that's what so great about it mmm it's a different experience every time you come sometimes all of this green floating stuff is that side so you walk that side and another time it's there so you plan your route according to what you see when you come here⁵ it's true and it's nice to look at the birds <i>SR. it's it's one it's one of Windhoek's luxuries this place a luxury it is truly if you live in any capital city to have this five minutes from your house mmm mmm is is just the roughness the lack of it being organized yes yes that's interesting that you say that walk here walk there little arrows it's as if it's your own walk each time mmm without being dictated to mmm which way to go mmmm making it a jolly little outing</i>	sg1 sp sn sg3 sb1 [sg3] mi [sp] sh [sh] ss [sb1] sb2 [sb2] [sh] [sb1] ah sl mr sa se me [pc] ad dj1 mf [me]

¹ Tape 6A, 194-345

² The interview is conducted in the upper parking area, standing next to their car

³ Count differs by 2-3 units on rewind

⁴ One of the dogs pants his way through the interview too.

⁵ The whereabouts of the "green floating stuff" is of great interest to those who bring their dogs to swim

Count ³	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
226	<p>S. How do you feel about all the other people sometimes there are a lot of people here how does that influence a visit for you? TR Absolutely right now because of the dogs and the swimming we only come at 6'o clock in the morning mmm and we're normally gone by seven. Right Well it depends on when the light is ... season .. but ah there're a lot of other people with dogs without leashes it's it's a real problem because then they start looking for each other rather than going for a swim SR and also he he just thinks everyone's his friend ja and a wet dog on a on a very strict German is not good! [laughter] TR We'll never we'll never come in the afternoons ok when it's rush hour here mmm it's only early in the mornings mmm but that's because of the dogs really ja ...but also it's lovely the light... but I think even without the dogs it's the best time of the day to come uhuh and it's nicer to have the place more to yourself yes yes and the light? It's beautiful [unintelligible] It is isn't it? This morning it was [all?] these monochrome colours it was gorgeous What do you mean by monochrome colours? About 3 or 4 colours Oh, ok there wasn't .. TR But we think a beautiful place for a hotel would be up here on the hill [laughter] right on top there? Yes ja Ok ok I'll get to that I'll get there [laughter all round]</p>	<p>ad sh [sh] [ad] pe [sh] pc [sh] pg sp [sh] [sp] de</p>
241	<p>S. Ok the kind of activities that that you see people doing the things that you see people doing here how do you feel about that? <i>I'm surprised there isn't more boating I often think that um I think as long as people are careful with their litter they can do anything mmm that's always my thing</i> Ok so nothing that you can think of that should be excluded here? no <i>Well I must say I get a bit mad with the 4x4's mmm but they've got as much right as we have to to enjoy that peace [or piece?]</i> TR Ja but they can they can go to another place they don't need this dam. Look I think the noise is a is a factor there yes that when you talk about 4x4's it's not because of where they're going yes it's because of the noise they're making yes yes and the same would then apply to boats that that boat there is fine [but?] with an engine on that it would be a problem ja because it's dead quiet well then I'm I'm presuming ja no I'm presuming sail or row boats yes I'm not even considering motor boats on this water that would be hideous so is it the sound level that that you're thinking about I think that's one of the great things about the dam it's the silence yes</p>	<p>ac ag af- [af] sc2 [af] [sc2] [ac] [sc2] sc1 [ac] [sc2] [sc1]</p>
253	<p>S. Ok if you think about what you see here people doing and so what .. anything that should be included? Something that's not going on here that you think could or should be going on here? TR I think if you do any more to this then you start to start formalizing it ja even mmm formalizing it ja look I mean the only problem that you have here is that more and more people are coming yes and at certain times of the day there are too many people and too many dogs yes and I don't think you can start introducing controls for that I don't know how you would do that mmm you certainly can't start putting people onto concrete paths with arrows and that type of thing yes I don't think so um make them go round in one direction it has been suggested [laughter] I don't know then you know there certain people quite happy to come at rush hour so let them happen let that happen yes those that want to have it to at a quieter time must come like we do early in the morning mmm mmm SR. I don't know who looks after the rubbish but it's always clean</p>	<p>dj2 pc sh [pc] ad [dj2] pa pg [sh] sv</p>

Count ³	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p><i>and I don't even I can't even say that that's [?] ja that's really important if that starts to to really become a problem and this place becomes polluted then then you'll have to maybe start finding a way to to make some money mmm to be able to make sure you clean that up yes yes SR. and I would be happy to pay a small stipend uhuh if I knew that it was being looked after yes honestly I wouldn't mind paying say even two rand a couple to bring your dogs for a walk mmm I don't think that's a lot to ask</i></p>	<p>mf do [do]</p>
<p>275</p>	<p>S. Ok now there's been talk about development here as as as most Windhoekers know lodges hotels townhouses restaurants um how do you feel about that you have already mentioned that [TR laughs] you thought that was a good place [laughter] no I was actually uh being facetious joking being facetious ja ok ja look I think this is a this is in an urban area mmm and you can't expect forever to keep development completely away you've already got intrusions of development yes there within your sight here mmm I think as long as it's done in a if any development is done here it should be done in accordance with a properly organized and fully publicized and participative plan yes yes and if that plan ends up even though some people might not agree mmm if it if it goes through that proper planning system and it gets approved ultimately and development takes place in accordance with that then I can live with that but then I certainly want to know that I have a say and so do all walks of life especially the users yes they've had an opportunity to really participate in that in that plan and that plan can be one with a blank piece of green that says no development that's the one extreme yes on the other you can bring in hotels and golfcourses you know that wouldn't be what I would go for mmm but if that 's if that's how it has to be then that I I can't see that that's necessary mmm because there are Windhoek is not that tight mm mmm at this stage so so I'm I'm not a total conservationist that says mmm it must remain like this yes I don't want to see a single thing mmm that's too much this area of vision here is too big um really? You think so? In certain directions uhuh ja because you also walk on top of the hills mm and then you see for miles yes in this little basin you've already got [?] I think they could just develop behind us it was really nice what do you mean by behind just show me sorry sorry S. just here⁶ that doesn't that's not a worry because it's not the dam ok I know but if we could just keep our dam if development has to happen keep the dam for us that's what I think even if it's a tight thing mm but keep the dam for us and let them with a nice thatched roof mmm very eco-friendly ok charming place ok you could get away with it mmm a huge concrete thing would be yes if you had to keep it as as TR Oh it's quite easy to see the parts of it that people use yes people don't go up there mmm but people do walk on top as well yes they do and they walk around here and so so you know it's important to keep that arc as it were yes that is an important arc isn't it that must be completely open [?] people use that and you could even extend walks further into that way if that's townland yes this side's not so important you've got the noise of the road⁷ here in any case it would be a pity to have something right</p>	<p>de db6 my dj1 mf [de] db10 sq- sg1 ae da5 [mf] [my] [mf] da7 db4 [ae] sc2 [db6]</p>

⁶ Points to hill above parking area

⁷ To Gobabis and the TransKalahari highway

Count ³	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p>here because it's a bit close ja but perhaps you know down there down there towards where the houses and the road is anyway but the trouble is I don't think any any hotel or development's gonna want to come if they're gonna come they want to be right here they're not gonna be interested in being far away so it's it's difficult</p>	<p>[da5] [de]</p>
311	<p>Ok alright my last question is how would you feel about formal protection for the area in other words at at the moment there's sort of no visible formal protection whatsoever TR are you talking about security or that's one of the aspects ja that that one could think of but I mean perhaps some kind of legal protection how would you TR oh ja SR very good no I think What would you have in mind if we think ? TR ja you can you can have these sort of conservancy things where some sort of community interest group ja can for a period of whatever the contract is take responsibility for the maintenance and operation and even charging an entrance fee and I wouldn't object to that if if that happened and there was some kind of control and some sort of a fee that would be ok SR [?] provided it wasn't a profit making thing and and one could be happy that what was going into it was in the interests of of of implementing this development plan SR [?] planning the status quo I think would be the bottom line and I think that that group would would be a good group to then be charged even with the assistance of the municipality to do some kind of a plan yes maybe a five year yes or a ten year development plan because that would be the tenure of this thing I would say. S. you were saying status quo there that that interests me what what were you thinking of then SR well well just maintaining this what we see now today⁸ this kind of 180 vision of of just gorgeousness yes [laughter] true and I'm happy if if it comes to us I mean there's two issues here you've got someone protecting it just from litter and generally keeping it as as natural as possible and also you've got a lobby group yes um so I mean it would break our hearts if anything would happen to this dam yes because its really just not a Windhoek is is a harsh town to live in yes there's not that many places to go to mmm the lodges and places around Windhoek to go out are exorbitant this really is one of the last places where you can come for for free I don't expect that to last because even if we have to pay</p>	<p>dk2 df do dk1 [df] sf sp mf ag mo me se mf [mf] mv aa sd [do]</p>
336	<p>Ok that's the end of my questions anything you want to add? I'm glad to say that all thank you [tape switched off. SR then begins talking about asking AS, well-known Namibian photographer, to produce a calendar of the dam] SR well just to take the different ... get pictures of each month ok and so you've got a calender of the different mmm like when all the yellow flowers are out mmm and different lights of the dam mm and just I just ... I'll never forget when this place flooded yes two years ago yes I came four times that day mmm bringing friends and bringing children and I kept expecting it to have gone away [laughter] yes that's true you could hardly believe your absolutely I just think you could do a very nice calendar ... [we discuss the promotional possibilities of such a calendar for Greenspace; tape switched off again at 345]</p>	<p>sh sn sb1 mr</p>

⁸ We are looking out over the dam from the upper parking area

NOTES ON AN INTERVIEW ¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With Koos, Jonathon & Sonja, all 21-39,
At the water's edge, near Dassies rock, Sunday 8 March 1998,
approx. 17.15-17.30

	Notes on questions and answers	Code
	[Customary introductory comment along the lines of: "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?" No! - interview continues via note-taking ² Explanation about Master's research and research for the Greenspace Management plan	
1	How often do you all come here? Not that often - quite a few times to the dam - you come here when you don't want to ride too far	pb sa
2	For how long have you been coming? 10 years - 14 years - normally with friends - we used to ride bikes here when the dam wasn't so full - we came more when the dam wasn't so full because we could ride bike then	ma aj sb1 sb2 [aj]
3	How would you describe the area to someone who has never seen it [this mostly Jonathon, with odd contributions from Sonja] Nice place to spend the day - nice to come out to nature - place hasn't seen water in many years - see it turn from brown to green - when it was so dry, the plants were dying, it's really something to see, how nature changes. If you see what it was before and now - the guys ³ used to rip up the area - now that the water is in, the sand is settling, it's getting thicker. The place is getting green again. I'm not much of a bird watcher - now and then we do see some animals in the mountains, my dogs chase after them. I don't like the horse riding in the area - they can ride at the back ⁴ - the horses trample the ground - they can ride in the valley and in the river at the back there - the dogs chase the horses, and the horse riders get verbally abusive - they've got somewhere else to go - not here at the front [next mostly from Koos] We came here to ride bikes - mountain bikes on the hills - it's not far out of town - you can get back into nature - relax - find your roots, lay down your load, watch people and things, enjoy it as is. Nice if they kept the horses	md se mo sb2 sh ss [sb2] sn [sh] af- sb1 sg4 [ss] sl ah sm ad am- pb [am-] [sg4] sg2 sg5 [pb] [ad] [am] pe [pb] aj sg1 sa [mo] mj mt ml pf [md] dk3

¹ These three and their friend [swimming at the time of our interview] were busy making a fire for their braai when I interviewed them

² No doubt that you lose some richness of reply while trying to listen and note-take! Also I was not able to keep track of who was saying what. The notes reflect contradicting viewpoints without being able to attribute the viewpoint to owner

³ A reference to the scramblers and quads

⁴ This now the first time I have encountered the traditional dam area described as "the back" - this term is usually used to describe the floodplain, where we are now

	Notes on questions and answers	Code
	and dogs on the other side - make some picnic spots, make some braai areas rather than have the remains of fires all over the place	[am] [ad] [pb] dm [dm] ab-
4	What makes it pleasant here? [mostly Sonja] Getting out of town, away from the people, noise, cars - there's a big difference between nature and town - Koos: basically a feeling which has no words to describe it - it's just that you are there, you are just out, it's just perfect, it goes on its own balance, it just goes on It's a complete change - it's like living again	mv [mv] mo mm mn ml
5	What makes it unpleasant here? Big crowds of people, noise, people going mad, drinking, misbehaving - people driving cars, bragging with their cars, spinning wheels and so - motor bikes also. The pollution - the people don't take their things along - this is not acceptable - it was clean, they found it clean, why leave their mess? They don't care - we're not all the same	pc sc2 pe1 pe al af ag [ag] mf pa
6	How do all the other people influence a visit here? What do you mean? [I give a non-directive reply]. OK, everyone is free to come here, its an open place, as long as everyone behaves and leaves the others in peace - the people aren't bothering one another [refers to his next door neighbour who also picnicked there] - the people greet you, they're friendly	pi Pf [pf]
7	What about all the other activities⁵ we see going on here? Should some be excluded, and others included? Nothing should be excluded, rather make more things! Our economy is not so good - they can promote this area - it's close to town - they can make it an area for sailboats. There on the dam side they can build a hotel or a restaurant, promote water-based sports - have paddling cars for hire - families could come - make braai spots, enjoy the day out, even have a shop to buy what you need.	da9 aa sa ac pb de dd [ac] pd dm md dq
8	What do you think about development in the area? Keep it within limits - it would bring more people to enjoy what there is, but don't misuse it - I don't think it would bother the animals - they drink mostly on the other side - the chalets at von Bach haven't bothered the animals - they come down at night to drink - but then, you'll always get people misbehaving	da1 da10 db8 sm pb da8 ai
9	Anything to add? We heard about a big development here that was stopped; we heard they were going to stop everything, dogwalking too [I deny this]. If they do build something	db15 ad

⁵ At this stage, kids were playing in a rubber dinghy on the water, someone was swimming, there were dogs swimming further away, people were driving around; some were walking their dogs

Notes on questions and answers

Code

	<p>then it must be on top of the mountain, not next to the water [I ask why they say this?] it will ruin the birdlife, be damaging for the animals, there'll be gambling, casinos, discos and night clubs, that's chaotic - then make it far away that the [strong word] ou⁶ has to walk far and have a hard time to get to the water!</p>	<p>da5 db5 sb1 sl sm db3 [da5] [sb1] mf</p>
<p>1 0</p>	<p>Should the area be protected? That would be nice - there must be limits - there must then be designated braai areas if they want to turn it into a reserve - the bird community is small⁷ The majority want to braai, sit and relax and watch the water, get away from town life. If they build a hotel that brings the busy life here - there must be divisions - walking trails, not just for people, for animals too, dogs and horses, designated areas for water sports there on the back side below the hotel, camping sites, place for rowing boats. No motor boats though, they disturb the peace.</p>	<p>dj2 dk3 df- ah ab mj sb1 mv db11 [dk3] dn3 dn4 [dk3] pb [dk3] [du] ac- sc1</p>

Interview 14

This interview was at the water's edge [near the entrance to woodcutter's road] with a mixed couple - she black/coloured, and he white.

- Coming to the area for the last ten years
- Her experience of being there: "bliss"
- Both understood the area as an ecosystem, full of life, and were concerned that it should be minimally disturbed.
- He described its asset as being the last 'semi-wilderness' area in Windhoek
- Both considered the cars driving around as a problem - cars should only be allowed to get to a point; the scramblers also perceived as a problem
- Avis dam discussed as a perceived elitist area because of its situation on eastern side of town, unknown to most blacks. She particularly was insistent that such a perception could not be used to argue that as only whites were concerned about maintaining the naturalness of the area, development was therefore acceptable. Commercial development might benefit the poor initially but in the long run would only benefit those who could afford to pay. It was not only whites who didn't want the area developed; she, a black, didn't want it developed either because it would infringe upon its natural state. No further development; stop it by all means possible, she said.

ma
nr
se mo

ad me
al af-
pi

db7
db11
db1

Interview 15

With the young foreign lady [soon leaving Namibia] dog-walking

- She had been coming every day for the last 1 and half years to walk her dog
- came to the floodplain rather than the dam because it was usually quieter, except for the scramblers which she disliked
- appreciated the nature, openness, freedom for her dogs to run around
- disliked the cars and scramblers and 4x4's driving around
- wanted the cars to stay on the main road side of the river, and people could walk from there
- felt that development as in hotels, etc. was unnecessary because there were other places to develop, could it not be further away, somewhere else?

ad
ml
af-
se sq
al

me db10

⁶ Translation: "guy"

⁷ The implication seems to be: they can't have the whole place as a reserve ...



- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• felt that development as in hotels, etc. was unnecessary because there were other places to develop, could it not be further away, somewhere else? | |
|--|--|

ANNEXURE C-16

**NOTES ON AN INTERVIEW⁸¹ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With CM., male, 40-59, and his daughter⁸², 13-20, in the river at the
floodplain, Saturday 4 April 1998, 17.30-18.00**

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	Customary introductory comment along the lines of: "I am doing research on how people think and feel about the Avis dam - would you be prepared to talk to me on tape?"	
1 2 1	S. Ok here we go. How long have you been coming here now? CM. I would say the last 5 years on and off 5 years not not very regularly but ja I was going to say how often do you come <i>Daughter: sometimes we bring our pups and [that sort of thing]?</i> S. you've got two lovely dogs ⁸³ you really have are they border collies? Rough collies rough collies ja they really are nice. [he whistles for dogs] S. Ok so how often do you come? um [daughter calls dogs] depending at some stage we came every Sunday I think this is the first time in the last four months that we've been here just to give the dogs some exercise⁸⁴ Ok ok	ma ad [ma] [ad]
1 3 1	S. If you had to describe the area to somebody who'd never seen it what would you tell them about it mm! <i>I'll tell them it's a lovely green place uhuh there's a lovely dam mmm they can just .. even if they don't swim in it they can put their feet in it mmm they don't have to worry about the glass pieces because there isn't any actually ok there's lov.. there's lovely shade here yes true lovely picnic spots</i> Ok what do you think? ja I think that more or less sums it up ok I like the the little roads and stuff that you can get inbetween the trees and stuff mmm mmm	ss sb1 ak sv sn ab mr [sn] mu

⁸¹ Tape 7B 119-203

⁸² This was the fourth interview I had conducted at the floodplain that afternoon. A few seconds after commencement of the interview, the young girl said to me, mustn't you push the record button?!

⁸³ I had earlier watched this man exercising his dogs in the floodplain by [unusually] keeping them on leads while they ran next to his bakkie as he drove around. During the interview, they were running free in the river

⁸⁴ In retrospect, it could have been interesting to have enquired into the obvious change of routine

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
1 4 1	<p>S. What makes a visit here really worthwhile? Well actually the the space mmm and the fact that you can let your dogs run mmm um some peace and quiet except for the motorcycles yes a bit of a problem but uh sort of get get closer to nature <i>you can just come here when you want to think of something nobody disturbs you here [she says something [what?] about which we laugh together]</i> that's true</p>	sq ad mi sc1 af- se mo mk pg
1 4 5	<p>Ok what makes it unpleasant? you go back home and you think gee today wasn't really a good visit Well I think I think the only thing that ever bothered us were the motorcycles yes yes I think that's a bit of a hassle mmm um I don't have a problem with the motor bikes cycles especially these fourwheelers yes you know the motor cycles like the two that passed that's that's OK but these fourwheelers that goes round and round mmm and round mmm and that's all they do and they go round and round and there's so much dust yes although if I had a fourwheeler I mean it would be the ideal place to come that's also true [he calls dogs] ja that's so</p>	af- af+ sg4
1 5 8	<p>S. Ok well we've thought about some of the things that that shouldn't be going on here what what do you think what sort of activities do you think could be going on here that aren't? <i>I think that'll be expensive but maybe they can put a restaurant in here OK or something that's just I wouldn't really think anything organized should go on here OK that's that's why do you say that? I've ..well what I like about the place is the fact that it's nature you know mmm that you can get into nature and there's no rules and regulations and stuff except that but in some sort of way it hasn't been a big hassle yet but I can foresee that you might have drunk people coming here mmm and stuff and that that might become a hassle yes [daughter calls dogs] but I wouldn't really like anything organized yes maybe a few braai places and stuff mmm where you can um [daughter calls dogs] have your meat braaied with without danger to the environment mmm or something like that mmm but I don't really think you know any commercial activities yes definitely not</i></p>	dd dj2 se mo me pe [dj2] dm mf db1

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
1 7 1	S. Ok and all the other people we see here how do you feel about that? <i>[daughter says something]</i> I'm quite happy with what what I've seen here today I mean I think most people who come here really come here for the dogs and mmm to get out in nature because there's not not really any space where you can mmm I mean um we used to walk the dogs in in in um the Tintenpalast gardens as well oh ja? Now they're not allowed there any more so ok um it's basically the only space where you can get your dogs out where you can really get out and um get into a river or anything like that and it's <i>[pause]</i>	pf ad mo sd [sd] [ad] sg5
1 8 0	S. Ok my my next and my last question really is there is talk about commercial development here I wouldn't like that <i>[laughs]</i> I wouldn't like that at all! <i>[laughter]</i> ok? Um I think there's enough space for commercial development in Windhoek I think we can leave Avis alone I really think so you know maybe a tuck shop or something like that but but small things although I I don't know you know the moment you have a tuck shop here you've got papers and you've got games and you've got bottles and that kind of thing yeah mm I really like it undisturbed the way it is mm do you know the other side of the dam at all? yes we usually walk over the dam wall oh do you so you know both sides fairly well ja yeah they're thinking of of siting it on the other side at the moment mmm	db1 db10 mf da3 dj2 ag se me st1
1 9 1	S. That's the end of my questions is there anything that you want to add from your side? I I think um what I don't I'm not exactly clued up with the plans that were here at some stage mmm before Greenspace took over mmm but I think that would be the wrong kind of development to do here there's enough other space in Windhoek yes we don't have the sort of facility uh nature facility where they can develop houses and flats and hotels and whatever I think they should leave this as is ok I think that's basically it thank you very much	db1 db10 dj2
1 9 8	<i>Daughter: I think it's a good sign yes that they had this um that board there says no cutting down trees yes and yes there at Avis the dam side mm and there they also have it's a new newish board⁸⁵ mmm no picking flowers that's right I think that's good that's a good thing? Ok</i> <i>[tape switched off at 203]</i>	dk dp [dp]

⁸⁵ The boards erected by Greenspace, end January/beginning February 1998

ANNEXURE C-17

**TRANSCRIPTION⁸⁶ OF AN INTERVIEW IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
With CM, female, 60+⁸⁷, in the parking area at the dam⁸⁸,
Wednesday morning, approx. 7.30-8.00**

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	[I did not follow the customary introduction. On the previous morning at the same time while I had been doing observations from the parking area, this lady saw me making notes, and said Who are you ⁸⁹ ? I explained that I was a Greenspace member and an MA student doing research. She told me a little about her connection with the dam, and we arranged this interview]	
12 ⁹⁰	S. For how long now have you been coming to the dam? <i>CM. For more than nine years</i> S. nine years <i>CM more than nine years</i> mm <i>going towards ten..</i> S. and how often do you come? <i>CM. I come here plus/minus five times a week</i> almost every day then <i>almost every day</i> but but not on weekends <i>Sundays I go to church</i> oh ok so do you usually come the same time every morning <i>yes half past seven every morning every morning</i> ok alright	ma [ma] [ma]
26	S. So so you know the area pretty well obviously you come every day <i>yes I do</i> ok how would you describe it to somebody who's never seen it? What would you tell them? <i>CM. I would tell them you can compare this with Europe</i> mmm in what way? <i>It is beautiful the water the green trees the mountains except that its different here it's more quiet than in Europe</i> mmm mmm it is nice <i>and even when there was no water it was beautiful with all the yellow flowers down there</i> mmm <i>and the high grass</i> is there any um particular view that you really like here <i>I often go right up there⁹¹</i> you mean there at the end of the wall at the water [extraction tower] oh you mean the water tower right on top of the hill or do you mean at the end <i>half up half way up</i> oh I see half way up the hill <i>and then I look down</i> ah <i>and then you can see over to the Gobabis road⁹²</i> that's right <i>and the bridge</i> yes yes <i>and I often saw animals here</i> uhuh? <i>For instance kudas</i> yes <i>about I can say once a month</i> really where did you see them which area? <i>In that down there over there and down here if you come early in the morning you see them down here at the water</i> really yes ok still? <i>No not now not now they've got enough water in the veld</i> ok <i>when there was no water</i> mmm <i>in the veld</i> mmm <i>up to twenty down here</i> really <i>early in the morning</i> that's fantastic <i>that's about half past six and many baboons</i> uhuh <i>and Stachelschweine</i> oh yes <i>yes porcupines</i> yes so there is still some game around here then <i>and lots and lots of birds</i> ja of course ja	sp sb1 sn ss sg1 sc1 sb2 [sp] [sn] mc sf ⁹³ st2 sm [sm] [sm] sl
65	S. If you ja if you think about um your visits here in the morning and you go back home what makes a visit here for you really special? <i>This visit is almost a necessity to me</i> really yes uhuh <i>it</i>	mt?

⁸⁶ Tape 7A, 1-255

⁸⁷ She is actually 72

⁸⁸ The interview is conducted next to CM's car, which is parked in the upper parking area, near the Greenspace sign

⁸⁹ I took this as an interesting expression of her sense of ownership: I belong here, who are you?

⁹⁰ Differs by about 3 units on rewind

⁹¹ She points in the direction of the end of the wall

⁹² An aeroplane flies overhead - Avis is on the flight path between the city and the international airport, and right next to the main road

to Gobabis. Despite these noise intrusions, it is often characterized as "quiet"

⁹³ This is the view of the Auas mountains



	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<i>makes my day I can't live without it I say I rather come here every day instead of going to the doctor ok it keeps it gives me [?] what about it do you think what about it why why do you feel you need to come every day? I need the walk ah ok you know I've been a nurse all my life uhuh and now I'm on pension mmm and I need that walk mmm mmm so do you do you go on a specific walk every morning? I used to before all these baddies⁹⁴ came here I used to walk right round ok with S.M-V⁹⁵ yes we sometimes walk right round uhuh then she counts the birds ah ja ok</i>	mx ae [mx] mc an [mc] ah
83	<i>S. And if you go back home and and you feel dissatisfied what what what would make a visit here not satisfactory not as nice as usual? Well lately with all these no bad men here and you always have to watch out for [just come a bit closer] you have to watch out for uh these black men that come mmm here mm and they want to steal and they took my tyre ah ja? they loosened my wheel on that side really ? yes yes and I had this wobbling wheel hai! Yes I came here just in time unverschämt! And they took all my grand my grandchildren's clothes out of the car so the security's becoming a problem yes and also I often speak to Mrs D⁹⁶ it's that you know that security that we had long ago you know mm the secure feeling mmm you can just walk and nothing will happen mmm that we have lost now altogether yes altogether yes we keep on watching watching waving to each other keeping next to each other which long ago we didn't I walked down there all alone miles along that river yes alone yes and I didn't think of anything bad and you don't feel you can do that any more? No! I can't do that any more I keep next to Mr. V⁹⁷. with his dogs and Mr. S. with his five dogs I just keep behind them or in front of them because you never know who is where. Yes And I often met black people up here and I said to them one day I said to you [him] who are you? I am a security man he said to me he had a black stick in his hand yes but he wasn't! yes is he not perhaps one of the [ex] Koevet ah guards who lives in the house⁹⁸ here maybe maybe then he is a security guard ja maybe</i>	an ph1 mp my [my] [ph1] [my]
117	<i>S. If you now think of the days when you well when you're here how do you feel how does it make you feel? It feel in heav I feel in heaven it its really to me this is paradise uhuh? Absolutely I think there's no place on earth that you that I uhuh would prefer to this and I even want to have my ashes here [I laugh] one day yes yes no it is it is just a lovely place Sometimes I sit on a rock up there and I watch these birds for hours mmm I've got my binoculars mmm ja</i>	se ⁹⁹ mr [mr] ms mj? ah
130	<i>S. How do you feel about all the the things that you see people do here all the different activities all the different things that people do how do you feel about that? For instance the four-wheel drivers or what do you mean? Whatever do you think that some of the things</i>	af

⁹⁴ She herself is one of the victims of the recent spate of attacks on people, damage to cars and vehicle theft at the dam parking area. Greenspace appointed security guards to be on duty from 6am to 6pm over the Easter weekend in response.

⁹⁵ Well known in bird circles for her ability to rehabilitate small damaged birds, and bird counting

⁹⁶ Another "member" of the 7.30 "group" at the dam [there is also a 6am group]

⁹⁷ Both these gentlemen are also 7.30 am walkers

⁹⁸ Two former Koevets [South African anti-"terrorist" fighters] live in the Boy Scouts's house which is immediately below the wall of the dam

⁹⁹ I'm assuming the nature of the place here; she doesn't actually say it, but I believe from all her other comments about the vegetation, birds, water, etc. it is a correct assumption

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	people do here should be excluded or included should there be more things happening here <i>Well it is nice as it is and it's nice and clean now yes as you can see and this is perfect here everything's OK except these bad people that come here yes they want to kill¹⁰⁰ us they want our cars and they want our jewellery as you can see I've come here without anything and I have to come with a weapon yes nowadays but otherwise the four wheel drivers I never liked here mmm you know they went across here and the motorbikes I don't like them mmm but the little boats mmm on a Saturday morning mmm I think they are beautiful mmm and the horse riders are beautiful and all the walkers with their dogs I think that is perfect ok</i>	sv mr an my af- [af-] ac am ad
147	S. Would you like to see any thing else happening here? <i>No I wouldn't like to have hotels and bungalows and toilets because within a few weeks those toilets would be so dirty mmm you know mmm and I see people make fires sometimes in the mountains mmm which I think is also wrong because I've seen um veld fires here mmm on that hill oh ja and there and there ja caused by these picnic fires mmm but of course down there¹⁰¹ at the bridge that is ok they often make fires there yes but it's more open there mmm</i>	db1 de dg dr ab- pb ab+
157	S. do you ever go there on the other side? <i>I used to when there was no water here yes that's true I walked across here mmm and I collected rubbish there and brought it mm all the way up here uhuh tell me about your rubbish collecting that I started the minute I came here my daughter's a teacher and I said to her look look here the weekend you come with me and the children and we pick up rubbish and we picked up heaps and heaps and then I called the municipality and they came here with a lorry and removed it all and ever since then I you will never find me without a plastic bag collecting rubbish every day and I can't believe it mm sometimes I think surely there's nothing today and I come back with a full bag mm you can see there yes what I collected yesterday yes but the people I the people really do appreciate it um I've spoken to many people and and most of them comment on how clean this area is so your work is is appreciated I'm not the only one Mrs. D¹⁰². collects bottles mmm Mrs. H mmm collects rubbish so there're quite a few of you quite a few some say I I won't do it they say I'm not here to collect rubbish they think I'm mad mmm they told me so uhuh but I do it every day well other people appreciate your madness thank you</i>	sb2 ao [ao] mr [ao] ph1
179	S. Ok how do you feel about all the other people here if you think about the people here what do you think about? <i>Well I think all these people come here you know to have a a holiday they come here with their dogs the dogs are so happy mm and they want this this fresh air here they don't want to go for a walk in town they want this fresh air without any trains cars this is such beautiful air here it is lovely isn't it it is lovely a change from the from living in the city perhaps yes a change from living in the city mmm</i>	mm ad si mv [si]
189	S. They have been talking about development they they keep talking about development here what do you think about that? <i>well</i>	

¹⁰⁰ This a reference to the incident with Mrs. T. on Friday 3 April 1998 at 15:00 when she was attacked by 4 men who threatened to kill

her

¹⁰¹ Meaning, the floodplain

¹⁰² One of the 7.30 "regulars" - there is also Mr. S. and Mr. V. , other than Mrs. M herself

	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p><i>actually I'm too old to give any comments you know if why do you say¹⁰³ if they want if they want to build a hotel there mmm what can I do ? then they must just go ahead but how do you feel about it? [pause] actually I don't care uhuh if there's a hotel I still go for my walk uhuh do you think it will change the place at all? I don't think they will change this place at all maybe there will be more walkers mmm that's all I think mmm maybe there will be more security that's true that's true</i></p>	<p>my [my] ae da2</p>
199	<p>S. Ok that's the end of my questions is there anything that you'd like to ask or add <i>no I just want to say thank you very much for Greenspace ah thank you for having done these signs putting up the signs and the fence which has already been damaged damaged [we laugh] as you can see yes whatever you do they damage it mmm there's another thing I want to mention yes on that wall¹⁰⁴ and also here on the overflow on the spillway ja somebody drew very ugly pictures grafiti yes we saw that did you s yes we saw that did you see those pictures yes yes they were rather crude weren't they very mm so one day I decided to bring paint along uhuh and I covered those ugly pictures oh it was you?¹⁰⁵ Yes oh I'm glad to meet you I brought a big can full of paint uhuh you know that expensive paint yes and I painted that mannetjie over there¹⁰⁶ that's right yes and that round thing here yes with all those what what what I can't remember what all it said mmm but ugly words mmm and I also sprayed all those sayings down there at that electricity house you know at the dog 's club oh ok no I don't know that on that little house they also had mm all these words grafiti mmm you know these mmm usual words mmm something the world and you know the I sprayed over them at least I took a big paint brush and I painted that and this thank you very much OK</i></p>	<p>an st1 st3 [an] mf [an]</p>
219	<p>Mrs. M. <i>That is Mrs Z. coming up here¹⁰⁷ yes the two black people got hold of her forced her rings off mm and her watch ai! She's over 80 Really she looks amazingly fit doesn't she? Over 80 ag that's wonderful ok thank you very much thank you very much for your time thank you I really appreciate it</i> [Mrs. Z. approaches us and Mrs M tells her about her interview. Mrs Z. tells me about the theft incident. Not too long after that, Mrs. D. pulls up in her car. She too was a victim of damage to her car at the car park, on two occasions. Mrs. D. joins us too, and tells me about these incidents. Mr. V. pulls up with his four dogs but doesn't join us. Mr. S. who has in the meantime arrived with his five dogs, walks past us and Mrs. M calls him over to meet me. We set up an interview for the next day at 7.30am]</p>	<p>ph1 an [ph1] [an]</p>
256	Tape ends	

¹⁰³ I'm always bothered by people's political apathy

¹⁰⁴ The dam wall

¹⁰⁵ This "fairy godmother" phenomenon is quite strong at the dam. Just recently, the fence at the parking area, the rubbish tins, and the

marker stones were all painted - it took a week or so before we could establish that the members of the Horse Club had done this!

Similarly someone [still unknown] has recently erected at the floodplain a 20km an hour speed restriction sign

¹⁰⁶ The graffiti on the dam wall

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Z. is approaching us by foot along the entrance road

ANNEXURE C-18

TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW¹⁰⁸ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
with BS, male, 60+, in the dam parking area,
on Thursday 9th April 1998, 7.30-8.00

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
50	BSyou know at least twice a week I walk right round the dam and it takes about an hour an hour and a quarter and it's just stimulating you know to be in nature all the time to watch the the duck to watch the birds to watch the bush mmmm I don't expect everyone to be the same we're different people thank God for that but I love it	mc se ml mo sl sn pa mr
62	S. ja sorry I see I hadn't I didn't have this first button switched on I just I just want to repeat again you say you've been coming here every day for the last more than twenty years BS well not every day let's be honest there are some times just unfortunate uh delays mmm mmm and if we go down to Cape Town or Swakop or Johannesburg I can't come here you know yes obviously but I mean generally most days ja but generally most you can say 300 days out of a year I come here	ma
70	S. sorry the other question I'm sorry to do this to you yes the other question I asked was um how would you describe the area to someone else and you well you know this¹⁰⁹ is typical this arid country of ours yes it's still a bit green now but it gets very very dry as you know mmm mmm in the winter times and fall and uh it's not always like this no it's not this is something special you know this where we see water now used to be just dust mmm sand and dust and you still came every day? oh yes I come every day ok	sn ss1 ss2 sh sb1 sb2 sg4 ma
82	S. um if you go back home and you think now today was a really good visit what about the visit was like really special for you [he laughs] what makes it really special? well I suppose it will depend on your temperament that type of thing [we laugh] but to me it's just I like it mmm I like the quietness yes I like the privacy mmm I like the nature and I can't expect the man who's busy in town in his office to feel the same way as I do but I I really appreciate it mm I mean the nearest I can get to nature is here yes mmm	pa mr sc1 pg se [pa] [mr] mo
92	S. and if you now go home and you think today wasn't so good what would create that feeling in you what would make you think like that? BS. Well I suppose if I see a lot of dirt lying around you know that type of thing because people are inclined to be a bit uh I wouldn't say filthy [laughter] but they don't always keep it neat and clean you know this one old German lady¹¹⁰ who spoke to you yesterday yes she goes every day and pick	su ag

¹⁰⁸ Tape 8A 1-210 [forgot to push the record button again, so tape only starts at 50]

¹⁰⁹ In the untaped version he had referred to the vegetation as being typical

¹¹⁰ Mrs. M - interview 17

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	up every thing and it upsets one you know really it upsets you if you walk around mm and you see dirt mmm you see a lot of bottles mmm some time ago people painted here with real paint on the wall there here on this slab¹¹¹ here mmm uh obnoxious scenery mm and that type of thing mmm then you you get upset yes of course	? mp [ag-] pe an [mp] mf
105	S. How do you feel about all the other people here? I like it uhuh we become become friends you know all these years some of these people been walking here and you like to see them yes and just say hello yes how are you today yes you know that type of thing mmm and it's nice mmm it's nice that is typical of this country you know we very thinly populated we see a fellow human being you like it to see mm you want to say hello mmm that type of thing be friendly with them mmm	pf ph1 [pf]
114	S. And the activities? the things that people do here how do you feel about that? Ag I've seen people drinking here and chucking things around and you talk to them nicely and explain to them that sort of thing but on the whole I'm satisfied. That group down there¹¹² weekends they inclined to be a bit dirty you know you mean over there at the floodplain ja mmm because there's always papers lying around and bottles empty bottles et cetera but uh we try and ignore them we just [I laugh] look this way you know sort of thing [we both laugh] ja ja	ag mf pb [ag] [ag] [pb]
126	S. Ok um there's been talk about development here what do you think about that? how do you feel about that? You know development the word is wonderful isn't it? what really wonderful mmm but I'm afraid I'm honest with you si since meeting you yesterday mmm if money should be available and they start developing it would it be the same? mmm you know this is still part of nature mmm as nature gave it to us mmm and I think we should try and keep it as near to nature as possible mmm there might be one or two places where you can have a toilet or something like that perhaps for the elderly people but otherwise I wouldn't suggest any really development ag no [Luchs?] come on man don't be jealous¹¹³ mmm if they did go ahead and um build this development where where do you think it should be sited where should it be? [he laughs] do you think they will take notice of our views? well why not? [we laugh together] I don't know I'm honest with you I think it's a waste of money really I know this country I was born and bred in this country spent most of my life here yes and I think it's a waste of time and money you know there are more empty hotel rooms in this country than we can imagine and why they want to build still more hotels I don't know mmm no but if you know as you've said development well it goes hand in hand with population growth and we can't keep it back but I hope if they start building it won't spoil you know	my dj1 me dj2 dr [dj2] my db14 [db14] [my] db11

¹¹¹ The spillway

¹¹² He indicates in the direction of the floodplain

¹¹³ This to his dogs who are now getting restless

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	the nature really yes they will bear this in mind and uh you know they must keep in mind that most of the year this dam is empty yes and it loses its appeal to the general public now every day cars come out they want to see water mmm but uh what will happen when it's dry mmm will the people come out I can't see it really mm mmm	sb2 sb1 [sb2]
160	S. Ok my last question is um do you think the dam should be formally protected in some way pardon? do you think the dam should be protected in some way have some kind of ja yes oh yes oh yes what what would you have in mind? well I don't know [we both shout at the dogs who are now barking at a black lady passing by below us] ag just ignore them please they won't do anything shut up! how we can protect it I don't know but I'd like to see just one or two guards sometimes just showing their face and telling the people listen don't dump dirt here you know that type of thing and keep it clean and behave yourself that type of thing you know yes yes but I wouldn't like to see too many people walking around in a uniform sort of uniform that type of thing mmm that will also distract nature from what it really should be you know mmm mmm but you know the the as you know where people flock mmm together there's always inclined to be people who can't behave themselves et cetera yes yes	pf dk2 ag [dk2] dj2 me pe
175	S. Ok if you had to sum up how do you feel about the place? ¹¹⁴ I love it [he laughs]	mr
177	Ok that's the end of my questions um is there anything you'd like to ask or add or well I I would like to know what have you people¹¹⁵ have got in mind what do you visualize how do you uh [?] to develop it et cetera? where will there be space for us with the dogs you know as you see I've got five dogs [he laughs] uh will there be sp room enough for all of us once you've developed it won't it attract too many people who really don't want to enjoy nature but just want to come out mmm because it's something they can do here I don't know well I think I think I need to explain what I'm doing because there's obviously I mean there is a certain amount of confusion um let me just turn this off we don't have to record all this [I switch tape off, but then Mr. S. continues to express his views on the dam, so I switched it on again]	my ad [my] db12 mo aa mf
186	few people walk around here but I'd like you know we've got Windhoek here mmm but where else can we go just for a morning ride take your dogs it's here mmm and I'd like to keep it as natural as possible yeah well I think um there will be public meetings Greenspace will be organizing public meetings and and you're wrong to think that your opinion doesn't count it does count come to the public meeting and express it tell me are you	sd ad se me

¹¹⁴ Right in the beginning in his first untaped! answer to the question How would you describe the place?, he had said, I love it!

so I held my breath almost when I asked him this question, wondering if he would repeat it

¹¹⁵ Meaning Greenspace. Mrs. M. had introduced me to Mr. S. the day before as a Greenspace member



Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p>still in contact with the local municipality? yes we talk to them oh you do yes do they listen? no [we laugh together] but we do talk to them unfortunately you know uh Windhoek these people development is everything it's their first priority and mmm I admire them for their view but you must have an outlet for people living in a bigger town like Windhoek where they can sort of just get near to nature mmm in a few minutes time you know that type of thing mmm because there's nowhere else to go I used to go first ag there in the seventies to Goreangab dam mmm but it became so filthy you know that I lost all interest mmm and now we we flock here and its growing make no mistake more and more people are coming here mm no it's true and that's actually alright provided it doesn't um as you say detract from what this place is ja that's right and it's awfully hard to describe what this place is ja it's difficult to say you know the bit of water here I mean it's a small dam compared to bigger dams elsewhere but it's our outlet it's our lungs in nature where we can still breathe fresh air et cetera mmm ok thanks very much for your time I'm very pleased I appreciate that thank you very very much</p>	<p>pa mm mv mo sa [sd] mh pc? sb1 [mm] mf ml si</p>

ANNEXURE C-19

**TRANSCRIPTION OF AN INTERVIEW¹¹⁶ IN THE AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT
with Eh¹¹⁷, female, 21-39,
next to the water beneath the cliffs below the parking area at the dam
on Wednesday 15 April 1998, 7.30-8.00**

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
4	[Customary introduction about research for MA and co-operation with Greenspace on the management plan for the area; whether or not the person is prepared to talk about their experiences at the dam, on tape]	
22	S. Ok I've got a couple of questions to ask and you can talk as much or as little as you like <i>ok</i> and the first one is um for how long have you been coming to the dam now <i>E. since last year</i> S. I wonder if I shouldn't just pick this [the tape recorder] up a bit closer S. Ok you say since last year <i>E. mmmm uhuh</i> But you're new to Windhoek aren't you ¹¹⁸ ? <i>E. no not really I've been here for nine years now</i> ok so why did you start coming last year? <i>E. Well I kind of discovered it last year</i> ok um it's very close to where I drop my kids off mm and so um we heard about you know Avis dam was full mm and came to see mm and I thought it was a very nice place S. it is	ma mr sb1 md
37	S. How often do you come now that you've found it? <i>E. almost every morning actually really after I've when I have a bit of time uhuh before 8 o' clock uhuh after I drop my son off ok and then I come here just to relax really and I also come here in the afternoons mm sometimes mm when I've got something to read mm or you know get away from the office mm and come and sit and read</i> Do you always come to this same place here? <i>no sometimes I go up that way out over the wall there yes and especially like in the afternoons mmm just to be by the waterfront yes really it's quite something isn't it¹¹⁹ yeah</i>	ma mj ¹²⁰ mk mm sb1
50	S. What's it feel like for you when you're here? <i>E. no it's peaceful for one and then it's it's a beautiful area all the hills and [?] but mostly it's the peace and quiet and the sort of you know open space</i>	mi sp sg1 sc1 [mi]

¹¹⁶ Tape 8B 1-250

¹¹⁷ This was also a pre-arranged interview. At the end of my interview with Mrs M [interview 17], Mrs. D., in the context of talking

about crime at the dam, had told me about the white Corolla she had observed parked every morning at the dam, and the black lady

who owned it. [The car number had also been written down by other Avis walkers as "other" to the setting].

The next morning while

interviewing Mr. S [interview 18] this lady walked past beneath us. After my interview with Mr. S. I saw her returning to her car,

introduced myself and told her about my research. She reminded me that we had been introduced to each other at the one day

Environmental Trust Fund workshop a few months earlier. We set up the interview for a morning after the Easter weekend.

¹¹⁸ I asked this because her accent did not sound local

¹¹⁹ We are sitting watching the early sunlight play across the water, with the hills in the background. There are several birds on the

water, now and then some call out, or one flies past. We can see part of the water in the floodplain too, and also the Auas mountains

¹²⁰ Later when we were talking after the tape had been switched off, she said she often used her time at the dam to "reflect", to "regroup

herself" and to "get some sanity". I feel justified in coding this particular statement as "reflection" as well



Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<i>it's a what makes you feel very calm yes yes</i>	sq
58	S. What what would make a visit really special? <i>Mmm Sometimes some visits are better than other visits yes I think just when it's quiet or it's in the morning now and still early and not too hot mmm and um you know the water lots of water when there's lots of water yes and then when you have a bit more time you can really sit and enjoy the place yes And if you go back home or you start working and you think gosh it wasn't such a good visit today mmm have you had that sort of feeling? No not at all they always not at all they always good visits for you? Always good visits and um you know always because I come here specifically for the peace and quiet mmm and looking at the wa over the water and you know at the hills and that and then imagine I'm somewhere else completely from Windhoek [we laugh] some escapism here is there? yes that's right ok I mean last year it was you know particularly useful because I had a houseful mm of we had a sick I had a sick father in law uhuh so we had we had something like um 19 people in the house regular goodness kids and what have you mmm and very nice break to come here yes and just be you know peaceful and then um sometimes I also bring the kids mmm but the kids don't seem to enjoy it so much cause after they've seen the water and walked up and down yes they want to go home now yes I've often wondered they want to do something exactly that's exactly it I've often wondered if it's got something to do with age you know when you're younger yeah you want to be able to do something don't you go out and do something mm mmm</i>	sc1 sh sj sb1 mj mi [sb1] sg1 mm [mm] pg [mi] pa [sb1]
90	S. How do you feel about all the other people here how do they influence a visit for you? <i>E. well well not really because it seems it's big enough and you can go to a space and you can find a little space where there's nobody and also the people come here and kind of I suppose they come not to chat to other people¹²¹ or anything like that so yeah you do say good morning or talk about the rain if there's been some rain and just get on with you know go and find your own little peaceful spot mm your own spot ja</i>	sq pg [pg] mi mc
99	S. The things that you've seen people doing here people do all sorts of things here <i>oh really I was surprised actually to see the notice about crime¹²² uhuh but I haven't seen anything II normally just see people walking their dogs mm uhuh how do you feel about that? No I think it's fine and it's a good space for it and um so long as they're not too many and and start you know messing the place up mmm otherwise and the the volumes of people that come here you know really it doesn't really make all that much difference</i>	an ad pg
109	S. <i>mmm That's an interesting point I want to pick up on um I think specially with you because I remember meeting you mmm at that Environmental Trust meeting and I remember thinking that</i>	

¹²¹ This bothered me, because it is unlike most other people's experience of socializing at the dam. I wondered if it had something to do

with her being black, and the unfortunate series of criminal incidents involving black people

¹²² After the incident in which Mrs. T. was attacked by men who tied her hands, threatened to kill her and stole her possessions and car,

Greenspace decided to hire security guards over the Easter weekend and for the next two weekends in April.

A notice to this effect was

posted at the parking area

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	you know you seem to have a foot comfortably in both worlds you're still able to to think "black" and you're able to think "white" if I can phrase it <i>mmm</i> like that one of the one of the things that's often said about the Avis dam is it's an elitist place <i>yeah</i> it's a place for white people it's a place for rich people <i>mmm</i> what do you how do you how do you see that? <i>E. well I I just see that as it's a place for people who like this sort of thing who enjoy maybe the nature and that and you know the fact that maybe not many black people come mmm it could be to do with you know one maybe transport uhuh a bit far and secondly also maybe the fact that there are no sort of braai areas ah ja tourist not not a you know place where you go to have your braai mm and and stuff so you know I think it's for a different kind of person [?] not rich or poor or anything but just you know it's different not so much a colour thing really as as what your</i>	se mo pi ab pa
132	<i>no as what you really you know value [?] I mean the the Goreangab dam is is fine as well mmm but I don't think it quite serves the same purpose not? Ok how would you differentiate between the two? Well Goreangab dam is more like a social place ok you know there's uh the chairs and little braai places and uh you know more people I guess but this is not so much that kind of a social gathering place this is a place for an individual to come and take their walk or to sit and reflect yes yes I find that too yeah so you know sometimes when you have you know real problems or something that you really need to think about mmm to you won't immediately think of Goreangab dam yes [I laugh] at least I wouldn't yeah yeah think more of Avis dam go to another place</i>	mh+ sd ae mk [mk] [sd] [mh]
147	<i>where I come from there's lots of hills so I do like to see hills mmm and you know untouched places as it were that's that's yes I think that's one of the things about Avis mmm it's untouchedness yeah I think so I think it's [?] where do you come from I come from Kenya ok well that's beautiful isn't it I mean yes Kenya's just beautiful Kenya's full of people [we both laugh] ok! so I'm hearing another reason I'm not against you know people or anything yes but um still you can find places in Kenya yes like in the hills mmm and places where people don't immediately think like it's a place where you can go and sit yes</i>	sg1 se ¹²³ me
159	<i>S. Ok um this untouchedness let's pick up on that because you know there's talk about development here mmm you know they there's forever talk about selling erven to hotels¹²⁴ and houses and so on what do you feel about that well I think well maybe development is inevitable mmm if it's a good spot and they can build their hotel but I mean not not to to spoil the place but just maybe make it more that it fits in mmm with the general I mean I think it it might be a very nice place to put you know conference centres uhuh somewhere behind there where you know the people need a bit more you know bit more of a peaceful environment mmm peaceful atmosphere but I think um the developments wherever they are urban or what have you need to you know need to be thought through yes so that I mean you could still</i>	my de db11 da7 dg da5 mi

¹²³ I'm imputing untouched naturalness here, and also at the coding SE at count 187

¹²⁴ Greenspace's objections to the site of the proposed hotel development had appeared in all newspapers the previous week

Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p><i>have little houses like they have at Brakwater uhuh where they you know little plots big plots that houses are far from each other and you know they put a big motorway right next to it or excavate it and change its shape and you know sorts of things blast off some hills [we laugh] things like that yes you know and then again it's not it's not if you did do that then there would be nothing special about living here yes or you know you would just have another you know um residential area yes that would have a lot of disadvantages far from town mmm maybe amenities not so good mmm and all of that but then it wouldn't present the advantage would have gone yes it would have changed it radically</i></p>	<p>dh [db11]</p>
187	<p>S. Ja no you've said so many interesting things there let me pick up on some of them let's let's go backwards the advantage is gone what what is this it what is this thing you said earlier it will spoil it what is this it <i>ja it's a sort of a peaceful untouched kind of uh uh uh the whole aura of the place peaceful untouched you know just slightly out of town but there again you know even though you're you're in town it's within reach but it's a place which is almost like still wilderness yes yes so that's at the same time it doesn't have some of the other things like you know um wild animals and snakes and things mmm well at least not in the places where you walk mmm and I think if they were to make it even more [?] more accessible accessible to more people mmm or attractive to more people they'd have to put you know tarmac tracks yes probably blast off a few of the rocks to make a nice easy walk which I think again would would would spoil that thing which makes it special wilderness feeling yes yes well I think it's as you say it's almost inevitable that they are going to have some kind of development here but where would you think I mean if you had the choice as to where it should be put <i>yea behind the hills where you couldn't see it [we laugh] yes ok a kind of ja exactly out of the way there but sort of not seen yes yeah not seen and the buildings should be brown and sort of blend into the place yes yes</i></i></p>	<p>se mi me [mi me] sa [me] dj21 [me] da5 da7</p>
213	<p>Ok my last question is really um do you think the area should be formally protected in some way at the moment it's got no formal protection at all <i>mmm yeah I think it should I think it should I was even thinking that um maybe they should you know you know the idea of an open space it depends on what kind of a person you are but mm for some people it's it's very important to have at least some moments of the day where you know you really feel at at peace mmm and far away from from people mmm or or anything else I mean not necessarily that you mmm are against people themselves mmm but somewhere where you can just sit and there's no telephone ringing ja or anything like that so yea in that sense it should be protected for that you know as an alternative because we shouldn't have everything the same I mean ja all dams shouldn't look like Goreangab dam yes or you know it should be you know it should cater for that type of person mmm as well mmm and then I was even thinking that you know have it protected in in in the sense that perhaps even link up this dam with others and sort of just keep it watered [we smile] even a minimal level of water yes in dry years but I think even when its dry I think</i></p>	<p>pa mi pg mm sd sb1</p>



Count	Text and its division into researcher-imposed units	Code
	<p><i>its still .. when the dam is dry I think its still having this space this this would be even without the water mmm this would be would be a good thing mmm but there again when you talk of protection I guess you're talking about some sort of paying mechanism to to keep up the place so I guess you know maybe make arrangements for some sort of membership or something mmm people can actually pay to have access yes and and then you know keep it maintained that way mmm and and keep the maintenance at the minimum level just cleaning up yes in case people drops yes drop bits of paper just garbage cleaning maybe and keeping safe in terms of being safe people coming in who are not really coming for recreation [we laugh] that kind of thing yes yes and I think there should be protection protection to keep it this way yes and to maintain the place .</i></p>	<p>sb2 do [do] ds dk2</p>
246	<p>S. Ok that's ja the end of my questions is there anything you'd like to add <i>not really it's just that I hope it'll keep like this because [?] ja and also the the birds it's very calming to come and hear ducks and things like that and I just hope they keep it like this so as as Windhoek grows and grows and gets noisier and noisier at least my kids will have somewhere yes [we laugh] to escape to if they need to sure ja ja Ok thank you very much ja I really appreciated your time and your thoughts and so [tape switched off]</i></p>	<p>dj2 sl [dj2] mm</p>

ANNEXURE D: USERS' EXPERIENCE OF THE AVIS DAM AND FLOODPLAIN

SUMMARY OF INTERSUBJECTIVE AGREEMENT¹²⁵ ON ELEMENTS OF IDENTITY, AND DEVELOPMENT

Code	Broad theme Avis dam as a place of:	Allocation criteria: Positive (+) or neutral, or negative (-) reference, direct or implied from its context, to	Mentioned in: Interview number and nearest tape count	Example
------	---	---	---	---------

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: PHYSICAL SETTING				
SA 44.44	Proximity	Avis' closeness to the city	1.24, 1.54, 2.81, 2.167, 5.40, 5.132, 10.85, 10.159, 11.207, 12.1, 12.3, 12.7, 18.186, 19.187	1.24 "closest area for peace and qu 10.85 " everyone is about in reach 11.207 " it's one it's one of Windho is truly if you live in any capital c minutes from your house"
SB 88.89	Water	<u>Sb 1</u> The dam, or the presence of water, or present high level, or the 1997 rainfall and inflow, or the water's edge, or the attraction of water. 88.89	<u>Sb1</u> 1.47, 1.54, 1.119, 1.148, 1.181, 1.206, 1.243, 2.31, 2.52, 2.58, 2.81, 2.96, 2.167, 2.189, 2.224, 3.23, 3.98, 3.128, 4.186, 4.274, 4.296, 5.25.23, 5.40, 6.64, 7.140, 7.168, 7.194, 7.199, 7.255, 8.20, 8.58, 9.197, 9.250, 10.28, 10.111, 11.207, 11.336, 12.2, 12.3, 12.9, 12.10, 16.131, 17.26, 18.70, 18.126, 18.186, 19.22, 19.37, 19.58, 19.213	<u>Sb1</u> 1:47 "it's still the water it's still th 2:31 "this is a bit unusual you kno 3.98 "The problem for me present much water" 7.140 " I love the dam and I love t 10.28 "but you know two years ag they had the big rain" 11.336 " I'll never forget when this ago .. I came four times that day b bringing children and I kept expe away.."

¹²⁵ Interview 13 not coded. The figure underneath the theme code represents the percentage interviews in which that theme was mentioned. Percentages have been calculated out of 18 interviews.

		<u>Sb 2</u> The customary low level, or absence of water in the dam [61.11]	<u>Sb2</u> 1.94, 1.148, 2.31, 2.134, 4.174, 5.23, 7.255, 11.207, 12.2, 12.3, 17.26, 17.157, 18.70, 18.126, 19.213	<u>Sb2</u> 1.148 " we used to come here say very much water here" 7.255 " when the dam was very er across the dam yes we used to cir
SC 77.78	Soundscape	<u>Sc1</u> Recognition of naturalness of soundscape, or references to quiet, silence [the meaning "peace and quiet" coded at MI] [72.22]	<u>Sc1</u> 1.54, 2.58, 2.167, 3.121, 4.174, 4.191, 4.235, 4.296, 8.20, 8.75, 9.213, 9.226, 9.250, 10.111, 11.241, 12.10, 16.141, 17.26, 18.82, 19.50, 19.58	<u>Sc1</u> 1:54 "I love ... the noise of nature" 4.174 "maar nou wat dit nou bietj daarvan om meer na die stiller ka 11.241 " I think that's one of the gr it's the silence"
		<u>Sc2</u> Reference to noise; disapproval of disturbance of natural soundscape by people and things making a perceived noise, wish to exclude perceived noise [50]	<u>Sc2</u> 2.58, 2.134, 2.167, 3.121, 4.235, 4.296, 7.181, 8.58, 8.75, 8.92, 8.127, 9.226, 9.274, 10.144, 11.241, 11.275, 12.5	<u>Sc2</u> 2.134 "objectionable .. the noise [o 3.121 "[unpleasant?] loud noisy p 4.235 " harde musiek dit pas nie in 8.92 "[how do other people influ Negatively usually noise becaus 11.241 " when you talk about 4x4' they're going .. it's because of the the same would then apply to bo 11.275 " this side's not so importan the road ¹²⁸ here in any case"
SD 50	Uniqueness	Avis as place, opportunity, or experience not available elsewhere in Windhoek	1.54, 1.229, 2.58, 2.81, 4.296, 8.127, 11.311, 14, 16.171, 18.186, 19.132, 19.213	1:54 "you can't go anywhere else i peace and quiet" 2.81 "only real oasis close to Wind 4.296 " dan druk jy weer die natu hierso dis al plek waar daar rêrig 8.127 " daar is nie nog 'n plek in V kan gaan en en die natuur het soc is nie nog so 'n plek nie ¹³⁰ "
SE 94.44	Naturalness	To the "veld", to naturalness of the area, to area as a green place [i.e. a place of nature]; to its vulnerability [meanings ascribed to the area's naturalness, mostly at MO and ME]	1.63, 1.119, 1.148, 1.206, 1.229, 2.167, 2.224, 4.174, 4.186, 4.235, 4.250, 4.274, 4.296, 5.40, 5.120, 6.39, 6.53, 6.71, 6.86, 7.168, 7.216, 8.58, 8.75, 8.127, 8.156, 9.265, 10.85, 11.207, 11.311, 12.3, 14,	4.174 "daar waar daar nog natuur mense nie so baie is nie ¹³¹ " 6.53 " die kinders ... was veld toe 10.85 "...I think it's the freedo fond of the veld very very fond" 11.207 "is is just the roughness" 11.311 " well just maintaining this this kind of 180 vision of of just g

¹²⁶ Translation: But now that it is a little bit more restful, I like to come more to the quieter side .." This seems to be a reference to more to self than "it" ["dit"]!

¹²⁷ Translation: Loud music .. it doesn't fit in with nature

¹²⁸ To Gobabis and the TransKalahari highway

Translation: Then you force nature [out] again ... it's the only place here the only place where there is really water¹²⁹

¹³⁰ Translation: There isn't another place in Windhoek where you can go, and have nature as you have it here .. there isn't another such place..



			15, 16.141, 16.158, 16.180, 17.117, 18.50, 18.82, 18.186, 19.109, 19.147, 19.187	protecting it and generally keep possible"
SF 33.33	Scenery	General or specific views at the dam or floodplain	2.81, 2.111, 2.167, 2.181, 2.206, 3.121, 5.40, 8.20, 11.311, 17.26	2.81 "if you go to that side you have mountains" 2.216 "would still give the same type" 3.121 "the surrounding is so nice" 11.311 " well just maintaining this this kind of 180 vision of of just go
SG 72.22	Topography	<u>Sg1</u> Mountains or hills or cliffs [61.11]	<u>Sg1</u> 1.63, 1.229, 2.31, 2.81, 3.121, 4.186, 4.216, 4.274, 5.23, 5.40, 5.107, 5.145, 8.20, 10.52, 11.207, 11.275, 12.3, 17.26, 19.50, 19.58, 19.147	2.31 "You know at the back there . mountains" 2.81 "... you have a nice view of the hilly" 3.121 "if you take a photograph of instance" 11.202 " It's like the moors of Scotl

¹³¹ Translation: There where there is still nature .. where there aren't so many people

¹³² Translation: The children went into the countryside [or fields]

¹³³ We are looking out over the dam from the upper parking area

		<u>Sg2</u> Valleys [16.67]	<u>Sg2</u> 4.186, 8.20, 12.3	12.3 [they can ride in the valley and there] -
		<u>Sg3</u> Gentle topography [5.56]	<u>Sg3</u> 11.207	11.207 " I love the ... the softness and gentleness of it"
		<u>Sg4</u> The soil, sand, dust [33.33]	<u>Sg4</u> 2.134, 4.250, 5.107, 12.3, 16.145, 18.70	2.134: "I mean in the dry periods the soil is so hard" 5.107 "they're destroying the um soil on the at at the back there ¹³⁴ " 12.3 [the guys ¹³⁵ used to rip up the soil] 12.3 [the sand is settling, it's getting hard] 12.3 [the horses trample the ground] 16.145 "and they go round and round and dust" 18.70 " where we see water now under the sand and dust"
		<u>Sg5</u> The river [11.11]	<u>Sg5</u> 12.3, 16.171	12.3 [they can ride in the valley and there] -
SH 50	Change through time	Season, or weather conditions, or time of day contributing to views or scenery, or dam's changing appearance: Clouds, thunderstorms, rainbows, sunsets, season, light	2.81, 2.111, 2.189, 3.121, 5.40, 9.197, 9.213, 9.226, 10.52, 10.111, 10.132, 10.159, 11.207, 11.226, 11.253, 11.336, 12.3, 18.70, 19.58	2.111 "you know .. when it's like sunset" 3.121 "sometimes a very special light" 11.207 "...that's what it's kind of light" seasonally ...its different all of the time" 12.3 [it's really something to see, how it has changed, to see what it was before and now]
SI 33.33	Freshness	Fresh air, freshness	2.96, 3.98, 6.53, 10.85, 17.179, 18.186	2.96 "with the fresh air and so on ... it's almost to the extent revived" 3.98 "[what makes it special?] fresh"

¹³⁴ Refers to the hills north of the floodplain

¹³⁵ A reference to the scramblers and quads

SJ 16.67	Coolness		4.186, 10.52, 10.85, 10.111, 19.58	4.186 "die water dit koel die wêreld 10.111 " ... but I still think in the morning quiet and cool"
SK 11.11	Odours	Bad smells	2.167, 3.46, 3.98	2.167 "anything that makes a kind of 3.98 "the last time very dirty and smelly"
SL 72.22	Birds	Birds themselves, or the sounds they make, or their presence being threatened, or the need for their protection	1.24, 1.54, 1.63, 1.119, 1.148, 2.81, 3.82, 4.186, 4.216, 5.132, 7.204, 7.216, 8.20, 9.226, 11.207, 12.3, 12.9, 17.26, 18.50, 19.246	1:54 "I love the turtle doves" 1:63 "the dogs take the birds away" 19.246 "it's just stimulating to watch them"
SM 38.89	Wildlife	Presence of insects and wild animals other than birds; recognition of their need for protection from disturbance by people, and poachers	1:133, 1:148, 1.206, 2.167, 7.255, 9.226, 10.52, 12.3, 12.8, 12.9, 17.26	1:133 "this should be ... more of a 2.167: "I don't think it [sailing] disturbs 7.255 " we haven't ever seen any it could be re-introduced I would 10.52 "[my dog was] lost all day day walking amongst baboons " 12.3 [now and then we do see some my dogs chase after them]
SN 66.67	Vegetation	Vegetation or flora generally, or specific trees, and other plants , or shade	1.63, 3.46, 4.216, 5.40, 5.132, 5.145, 6.86, 7.168-, 8.20, 8.156, 11.207, 11.336, 12.3, 16.131, 17.26, 18.50, 18.70	1.63 "I dislike the four by fours driving spoiling the vegetation" 3.46 "This is my own secret .. a very friend of mine" 11.207 ".. I love the lack of trees and 11.336 " like when all the yellow flowers 12.3 [see it turn from brown to green plants were dying,] 17.26 " it was beautiful with all the and the high grass"
SO 5.56	Inaccessibility	An area or place as being less accessible or visited by less people, or offering a sense of remoteness	2:31	2:31 "it is a bit inaccessible you know"

¹³⁶ Translation: The water .. it cools down the world ..[it cools things down]



SP 38.89	Beauty	Any feature specifically or area generally as beautiful, pretty, attractive, picturesque	2:52, 2.81, 3.121, 5.40, 9.197, 9.213, 11.207, 11.226, 11.311, 17.26, 19.50	2.52 "with so much water in it ..it's beautiful" 3.121 "the Auas mountains ... it's beautiful" 11.226 " the light? It's beautiful [... [all?] these monochrome colours . .11.331 " well just maintaining this kind of 180 vision of of just gorgeo
SQ 55.56	Openness	Big enough, having enough space, being open, being able to see far	2.81, 3.98, 4.216, 7.168, 8.58, 9.213, 11.275-, 15, 16.141, 19.90	2.81 "where you can ...have at least 3.98 "it's big enough that it doesn't 7.168 " that's not to me the main th and the water" 11.275 " ... this area of vision here directions .. because you also wal then you see for miles"
SR 5.56	Insect life	Insects generally or specific insects such as ants or dragonflies	2.81	2.81 "things like ... these dragonfli
SS 44.44	Greenness and brownness	References to the colours green, or brown	2.81, 8.20, 9.197, 11.207, 12.3, 16.131, 16.141, 17.26, 18.70	2.81: "well I mean you know water 11.207 " at the moment its its gre 12.3 [place hasn't seen water in ma brown to green] 18.70 " it's still a bit green now but know in the winter times and fall
ST 55.56	Landmarks	The dam wall [50] The railway bridge [16.67] Other less-mentioned landmarks such as the main road, the power line [22.22]	<u>St1: the wall</u> 2.31, 2.111, 2.189, 3.23, 4.174, 5.23, 7.181, 8.6, 8.20, 8.75, 10.28, 16.180, 17.26, 17.199, <u>St2: the bridge</u> 5.40, 9.226, 17.26, <u>St3: other</u> 2.96, 2.134, 5.145, 17.199	2.31 "so we normally just go basic wall" 5.40 " Ja I like the scene very much the railway bridge" 17.26 " and then I look down an the Gobabis road and the bridge" 5.174 " and ok you've got the pow to the south" 17.199 "... and also here on the ove ugly pictures"

SU 11.11	Dirt	Dirt. Litter [not to the activity of littering i.e. not a reference to people littering]	3.98, 18.92	3.98 "the last time very dirty and s 18.92 [what detracts from a visit?] walk around and you see dirt"
SV 33.33	Cleanness	Free of litter	4.216, 6.108, 10.132, 11.253, 16.131, 17.130	4.216 " ja dis skoon ¹³⁷ " 6.108 "maar hier is dit nog skoon.. 11.253 " I don't know who looks af always clean"

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: ACTIVITIES				
AA 44.44	Recreation	Leisure option, something to do, place to go, or having potential as such, or being an entertainment or recreation area	1.133, 1.181, 2.58, 2.167, 4.274, 9.197, 9.240, 10.159, 11.311, 12.7, 18.177	1.181 "this could be one of the bett Windhoek" 2.58 "there's not much on offer at a a lot of potential" 11.311 " Windhoek is is a harsh to that many places to go to .the lod Windhoek to go out are exorbitan places where you can come for for
AB 61.11	Braai-ing	To braai-ing itself , or picnicking	1.94-, 1.206-, 3.128, 4.235-, 7.232-, 8.92-, 8.92, 9.197, 9.240+, 10.159+, 12.3-, 12.10, 16.131, 17.147-, 17.147+, 19.109	1.105 "people using the eastern sid and so on" 3.128 "people have their picnics he good" 4.235 " die nadeel is dat daardie m en dit kuier en dis musiek en dit t
AC 50	Water sport	Power boats, sailboats, dinghies, canoes, windsurfing, paddle ski's, jet ski's	1.94-, 1.119-, 1.148-, 2.58 (+ but not power), 2.167+, 4.296, 7.204+, 9.250+, 10.159+, 11.241, 12.7, 12.10-, 17.130	2.167 "I would imagine that somet yachting shouldn't interfere with t 10.159 " I think it's rather sweet to
AD 88.89	Dogs	A reference to dogs, or dogwalking, or dogwalkers or dogs swimming, or visiting the dam because one now owns a dog, all or some of those	1.24, 1.63, 1:63+, 1:63-, 1:119-, 1:148-, 2.58, 2.96+, 2.154+, 2.154-, 3.23, 3.82-, 3.82+, 4.174, 4.216, 4.250, 5.23, 5.96, 6.39, 7.140, 7.150, 7.204, 9.190, 9.213, 10.10, 10.28, 10.52, 10.99, 11.196, 11.202, 11.226, 11.253, 12.3, 12.9, 15, 16.121, 16.141, 16.171, 17.130, 17.179, 18.177, 18.186, 19.99	1:24 "do a bit of walking with thei 2.154 "specially the people with th together.." 11.196 " we're dogwalkers and un normally come here because he lik 16.141 "and the fact that you can l
AE 50	Walking, exercising, playing	A reference to walking for exercise, or doing all the walks	1.63, 2.96, 6.39, 6.71, 7.140, 7.168, 7.194, 7.204, 8.75, 10.28, 11.275, 17.65,	2.96 "when I come by myself a exercise" 6.71 " hulle was ook net veld in ..b

¹³⁷ Translation: Yes it's clean

¹³⁸ Translation: But here it's still clean

¹³⁹ Translation: The disadvantage is that those people barbecue a lot, and there's partying, and music, and drinking, and it's noisy



RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: ACTIVITIES				
			17.189, 19.132	weer terug ¹⁴⁰ 17.65 " I need the walk you know and now I'm on pension and I need
AF 88.89	Off-road driving -	Presence of motorbikes, quads, 4x4's & scramblers, Their noise, the degradation caused by them: Negative comments about - Positive or don't mind comments +	1.24, 1:63-, 1.94-, 1:119-, 1.243-, 2.111-, 2.134-, 3.121-, 4.174, 4.250+, 4.250-, 5.107-, 6.28, 6.78+, 6.78, 7.181-, 7.204-, 7.232-, 8.20-, 8.58-, 8.92-, 9.197-, 9.226-, 9.240-, 10.111-, 10.159+, 11.241-, 12.3-, 12.5, 14-, 15-, 16.141-, 16.145-, 16.145+, 17.130, 17.130-	1.24 "we have a lot of motorbikes 1.134 "there was a whole horde of along" 4.250+ " ag en dit pla my ook nie vier-by-vier hier kom uittoets nie simpel goed wat hy aanvang ¹⁴¹ "

¹⁴⁰ Translation: They were also just in the field, went to walk some, and then came back

¹⁴¹Translation: It doesn't really bother me, the guys who come and test their four by fours here, sometimes you can laugh at the stupid things they try to do

AG 55.56	Littering, Rubbish dumping, and People picking up others' rubbish (+)	Rubbish, bottles, dumping	1:206, 3.128, 4.235, 4.314, 5.120, 7.204, 7.232, 10.132+, 11.241, 11.311, 12.5 , 16.180, 18.92-, 18.114-, 18.160-	1:206 "you'll still have people thro here" 3.128 "so people don't throw their 7.204 " I've seen I saw once they v rubbish and so on" 10.12 " the main ouderling ¹⁴² he w with a black bag picking up every
AH 27.78	Birdwatching		1.24, 1.148, 8.20, 11.207, 12.3, 12.10, 17.65, 17.117	1.24 "if they wanted to come and v 8.20 "en jy kan na voëls kyk ¹⁴³ "
AI 11.11	Poaching	Any reference to disturbing, hunting or killing of animals and insects	1.133, 12.8	1.133 "we'll still have the elements animals" 12.8 [the chalets at von Bach ¹⁴⁴ hav they come down at night to drink people misbehaving]
AJ 16.67	Bike riding		4.174, 4.274, 9.226+, 12.2, 12.3,	4.174 " toe daar nog nie water was gery en fiets gery ook mm eers m mm in die gate ¹⁴⁵ " 12.3 [we used to ride bikes here w
AK 27.78	Swimming	Reference to swimming	2.58, 4.274, 6.28, 6.64, 6.86, 9.250, 16.131	2.58 " Now what is actually the sit mean I've been wondering quite o all the dogs swim then surely the allowed to swim as well" 9.250 " we also would like to to sw our friends told us they swam som nice to swim there if there's so mu 16.131 "even if they don't swim in it"

¹⁴² Translation: a church official

¹⁴³ Translation: You can watch the birds

¹⁴⁴ A recreation resort between Windhoek and Okahandja

¹⁴⁵ Translation: When there wasn't water in the holes yet we used to ride bike, first bicycle, then motorbikes, in the holes [caused by commercial sand removal]

AL 33.33	Driving around/sitting in car	[Mostly a floodplain activity]	7.140, 8.58, 8.92-, 9.197-, 9.213-, 9.226-, 9.265-, 9.274, 12.5, 14-, 15-	7.140 " but when my husband com bakkie then he likes to drive along 8.92- " ek reken eintlik hierdie hier dam ryery moet ook nie toegelaat moet op 'n plek stop en van daar a 12.5 [people driving cars, bragging, spinning wheels and so]
AM 16.67	Horseriding		9.240, 12.3-, 17.130	9.240 " you should not exclude the because because I think it's it's par 12.3 [I don't like the horse riding i can ride at the back]
AN 22.22	Criminal activities	Theft/damage to cars, graffiti, vandalism	1.181, 17.65, 17.83, 17.130, 17.199, 17.219, 18.92, 19.99	1.181 " I was just telling my brothe week someone's wheels got stolen he they came here in the early mo 17.199 " there's another thing I wa on that wall and also here on the o spillway somebody drew very ug 18.92 " some time ago people pain paint on the wall there here on thi obnoxious scenery and that type o
AO 16.67	Other unlisted activities	E.g. volleyball, sports activities, church or other social group activities	9.250, 10.111, 10.132, 17.157	9.250 " and perhaps volleyball or s missing" 10.111 " There was once a tent here morning and I found it very cute . band"

¹⁴⁶ Translation: I reckon this type of driving around the dam should not be allowed..
people must stop at a place and walk from there

¹⁴⁷ The spillway

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: PEOPLE [implied in activities]				
PA 50	Like-minded ¹⁴⁸ , and non-like- minded people	A general sense that other people might, or do, perceive the place differently to self and so act differently; or recognition that the place is different things to different people	1.24, 2.134, 2.167, 3.46, 3.121, 4.235, 4.250, 5.40, 5.120, 11.253, 12.5, 18.50, 18.82, 18.186, 19.58, 19.109, 19.213	1.24 "it depends to who you're talking to For me it's a place .." 2.134 "normally these people don't know what nature ..so they don't know what 3.121 "there's a lot of people who don't know what a normal place" 4.235 " maar almal braai nie op die natuur ¹⁴⁹ "
PB 55.56	Differentiation of space ¹⁵⁰ by people	"Otherness" of people at the dam or floodplain; "otherness" of these two places: the floodplain or the dam, referred to as "front" or "back" or "this side" and "that side" or "here" and "there";	1.105, 1.206, 2.189, 4.174, 4.235, 5.107, 7.140, 7.181, 8.6, 8.20, 8.75, 10.28, 10.111, 12.1, 12.3, 12.7, 12.8, 12.10, 17.147, 18.114	1.206 "you'll still have people there here and especially on the other side 2.189 "I could imagine that one could sit on the other side there where there is anyway 4.235 " dat daardie mense braai nie op die natuur en dis musiek en dit drink en dis 8.6 "[where do you usually come from?] 10.28 "[so you don't go to the floodplain where it is"
PC 61.11	Crowding	A feeling that there are too many people in one place, a feeling of confinement, or that too many people's presence detracts from a visit	1.63, 1.94, 1.148, 2.111, 2.134, 3.98, 4.174, 7.216, 8.127, 9.265, 10.111, 10.144, 11.226, 11.253, 12.5, 18.186 [neutral?]	1.94 "it's getting a bit too much here 2.111 " it does help if there are more people mean I think that's one drawback 2.111 "it gets a bit crowded" 3.98 "too much water therefore you can't enjoy the way" 7.216 " and then you get more people and then spoil it more" 8.58 ". ja ek dink as almal net ook"
PD 16.67	Connectedness with family	Family members	2.96, 6.39, 6.53, 6.64, 12.7	2.96 "it's very relaxing with the wife and the kids" 6.39 " Ek het lekker kommunikasie met my vrou ... ons het lekker sit en geselskap"
PE 44.44	Inharmonious relationships	Inharmonious interaction of self with other users, or between other users; feelings of annoyance or frustration or anger towards other	2.134, 2.154, 4.235, 4.250, 5.107, 8.92, 11.226, 12.3, 12.5, 16.158, 18.92, 18.160	2.134- "they [the quad bike riders] are annoying, you know" 2.134 "they kind of think they can't be bothered" 4.235 "die baie mense wat kom party is absoluut frustrer is soos die wyn drinkers wat die bottel op die water opgejaag ¹⁵⁴ "

¹⁴⁸ The term "like-mindedness" comes from the co-rater's analysis of certain transcriptions

¹⁴⁹ Translation: Not everyone barbecues in the same way ..people bring their images with them into nature

¹⁵⁰ The term "differentiation of space" comes from the co-rater's analysis of certain transcriptions

¹⁵¹ Translation: The disadvantage is that those people barbecue a lot, and there's partying, and music, and drinking, and it's noisy

¹⁵² Translation: Yes and I think if everyone [everything] would also just stand still]

¹⁵³ Translation: I had good communication specifically with my wife, we sat and chatted very nicely

RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: PEOPLE [implied in activities]				
		users; conflict between users		12.3 [the dogs chase the horses, and verbally abusive] 16.158 "but I can foresee that you coming here"
PE1 22.22	Noisy people	Perceived as detracting from experience, being annoying	3.121, 4.235, 5.96, 12.5	3.121 "[what makes a visit unpleasant for people]"
PF 55.56	Harmonious relationships	Affiliative, positive or supportive relationships of self with others, or between other users; socializing; other people not bothersome to self	2.154, 4.250, 5.79, 5.96, 6.71, 7.199, 8.75, 10.99, 10.132, 12.3, 12.6, 16.171, 18.105, 18.160	2.154 "Well I think there's a .. very nice atmosphere you know" 2.154 "you also generally find that although they don't know each other" 7.199 " Ag no I I they've never really they're very friendly so it doesn't bother" 10.132 [about the people] "nothing"
PG 55.55	Perceived non-crowdedness	The place as big enough for everybody, offering opportunities for privacy and solitude [often related to time visited, or referred to as contributing to value of visit]	3.98, 4.174, 5.79, 5.96, 7.199, 8.58, 8.75, 10.52, 10.132, 11.226, 11.253, 16.141, 18.82, 19.58, 19.90, 19.99, 19.213	4.174 "hoe sal 'n mens sê aan die mens" [laughs] waar die minste mense is" 5.79 it's also nice all the people coming too much too many people " 7.199" but mostly you only meet v
PH 38.88	Socializing	<u>Ph1</u> Recognizing other "regulars" whose names might or might not be known (Milgram's (1977) "familiar strangers")	<u>Ph1</u> 10.19, 10.179, 17.83, 17.157, 17.219, 18.105	10.19 " yes we are a lot of regulars and them ...you don't all know all the names them you remember their faces" 17.83 " No! I can't do that any more than his dogs and Mr. S. with his five c
		<u>Ph2</u> Meeting people you know, and chatting	<u>Ph2</u> 3.98, 5.96, 8.75, 10.52, 19.90	3.98 "you meet friends which is very nice" 5.96 " Sometimes you meet some people you know ja it's nice to have a chat and chat" 8.75 " you see people that you really like I really like that" 10.52 " and every few hundred years you know".
PI 22.22	Socially accessible, or inaccessible	A place [figuratively and physically] accessible to all, or not benefiting many people	10.85, 10.179, 12.6, 14, 19.109	10.179 " but you know only few people really" 12.6 [everyone is free to come here] 14 [perceived by some as elitist]

¹⁵⁴ Translation: The many people who come and have parties here...what absolutely frustrates me is like the wind has now chased a coke bottle onto the surface of the water there

¹⁵⁵ Translation: How would one say it .. on the northern side of the wall where there are fewer people



RELPH'S ELEMENT OF PLACE: MEANINGS				
MA 88.89	Avis as place of return, a place re-visited	Familiarity with the area expressed quantitatively or qualitatively	1.12, 1.94, 1.148, 1.229, 2.52, 2.58, 3.23, 3.46, 4.167, 4.174, 5.15, 5.23, 7.150, 8.9, 9.190, 9.213, 10.10, 11.196, 12.2, 14, 16.121, 17.12, 18.62, 18.70, 19.22, 19.37	1:12 "ever since I've been a young 1:229 "it's [the dam] been with me 2:52 "I basically grew up here" 3.46 "nearly every evening I come
MB 5.56	Sensed change in place	The way the place used to be cf. its present way	1.24	1:24 "the way I used to know it [i.e. changed"

MC 44.44	Attachment to an area, thing, or routine	An area, thing or routine which usually forms part of a visit to the dam	<p>A specific area 2.31, 2.96, 3.46, 3.98, , 7.140, 8.6, 19.90</p> <p>a specific walk: 2.96, 3.98, 5.23, 10.28, 17.26, 17.65, 18.50</p> <p>a specific tree 3.76, 5.40</p>	<p>An area 2:31"that area at the back ... it's ac 3.46 "nearly every evening I come 7.140 " I we normally go to the oth about this one for quite a while"</p> <p>A walk 2.96" when I come alone then I th fence down there or even beyond island here" 3.98 "I also normally walk around 10.28 ". I always take this route al 18.50" you know at least twice a w dam and it takes about an hour an</p> <p>A tree 3.76 " This is this is my own my ov it ah secret! a very special old friend of mine" 5.40 " this is Acacia Karoo¹⁵⁷ that nice it was just standing on the ul lake there and its quite nice to see from there ... but now the tree is</p>
MD 27.78	Enjoyment, having fun, pleasant		6.39, 9.213, 9.240, 10.159, 12.3, 12.7, 19.22	<p>9.240 " barbecuing and the campir because ...I think it's ...part of the really enjoy it" 10.159 " and um people enjoying t having a braai mm on a Saturday</p>

¹⁵⁶ That is, the dam

¹⁵⁷ Points to the dead tree now standing in water near the foot of the extraction tower

ME 72.22	Free, or almost-free nature	Awareness, directly or indirectly expressed, or appreciation of the area's undisturbedness, minimal signs of human impact, lack of organization, untouchedness, unspoiltness, almost-wilderness feeling	1.119, 1.229, 2.134, 2.167, 2.224, 4.186, 4.235, 4.274, 4.296, 5.145, 7.181 [implied], 7.216, 7.247, 8.127, 8.156, 9.265, 9.274, 11.207, 11.311, 14, 15, 16.158, 16.180, 18.126, 18.160, 18.186, 19.147, 19.187	1.119 "definitely leave everything ... and that type of thing" 2.134 "I wouldn't object to that [a ... would be out of sight2.134 "I would ... motorbike track] as long as it would ..." 4.191 " die feit dat dit dit baie natuur hierso um huisies en ... hier's nie ... lodges ¹⁵⁸ ..." 7.216 " I would prefer it to just stay undeveloped um that's my person ..." 8.127 " as dit enigsins moontlik me ... word sonder ontwikkeling ¹⁵⁹ " 11.207 " it's as if it's your own way dictated to which way to go" 11.311 "there's two issues here you ... it and generally keeping it as a ..." 16.158 " and there's no rules and r ..." 16.180 "I really like it undisturbed ..."
MF 72.22	Caring involvement [really expressions of Relph's insideness]	Involvement, commitment, feelings of protection, possessiveness nurturing, caring, love, fear for well-being of place, prevention of unwanted things	1.133, 1.206, 1.229, 1.243, 2.111, 2.134, 2.224, 3.46, 4.235, 4.250, 4.274, 4.296, 5.107, 7.168, 8.127, 10.144, 11.207, 11.253, 11.275, 11.311, 12.5, 12.9, 16.158, 16.180, 17.199, 18.92, 18.114, 18.177, 18.186	1:206(+) "We can't let We've got ..." 1:243 'it's never done anything good ..." 2.111 "one must just guard it" 3.46 "nearly every evening I come ..." 4.250 " jy moet die plek oppas ook ... kom nie vandag alles klaar klaar r ..." 7.168 " um I I love it I love the dam ... love the the veld" 10.144 " if there's a hotel here I will ... then ...I just hope it doesn't happen ..." 11.275 " but keep the dam for us a ..." 11.311 " so I mean it would break ... would happen to this dam" 16.180 "I think we can leave Avis a ..."
MG	CANCELLED			
MH 33.33	Goreangab dam	Compared with Avis as open space or recreation area, often negatively, or with sense of loss	1:206, 2.167, 4.296, 6.108, 18.186, 19.132+	1:206 "We can't let this dam go the dam.." 6.108 " as jy gaan by Goreangab nie ..die plek het nou is nou gete ... klas van dinge ¹⁶¹ "
MI 72.22	Peacefulness	Peace and quiet, peaceful, gentle, calm	1.24, 1.48, 1.54, 3.82, 3.121, 4.186, 4.212, 5.79, 6.39, 7.181, 7.216, 8.20, 8.127, 9.213, 9.226, 10.144, 11.207, 15, 16.141, 19.50,	1:24 "a bit of peace and quiet" 3.82 "I think it is very peaceful her ..." 3.98 "I think it disturbs the peace a ..." 11.207 "... the softness and ... just ... gentle spirit"

¹⁵⁸ Translation: The fact that it's very natural, its not developed here .. little houses.. as I say there aren't buildings and lodges

¹⁵⁹ Translation: If it's at all possible that area must be kept without development

¹⁶⁰ Translation: You must look after the place so that you can also come tomorrow, not mess up everything today

¹⁶¹ Translation: If you go to Goreangab now you won't enjoy it .. the place has now .. is pestered by flies and that type of thing

			19.58, 19.90, 19.159, 19.187, 19.213	
MJ 61.11	Relaxation	The place as being, or offering the possibility of relaxation, of involuntary attention, a sense of not being rushed, of having time, of "switching off"	1.24, 1.48, 2.96, 4.186, 4.212, 5.79, 5.96, 6.108, 7.181, 7.194, 8.48, 9.213, 9.226, 12.3, 12.10, 17.117 [imputed], 19.37, 19.58	1.24 "just come here and relax" 2.96 "it's very relaxing you know"
MK 16.67	Reflection	The opportunity to think over the day, or happenings in one's life	1.24, 16.141, 19.37, 19.132	1.24 " relax with your own thought"
ML 44.44	Regeneration	Revival, refreshment, recuperation, stimulation	2.81, 2.96, 4.212, 4.216, 5.79, 7.168, 8.20, 10.85, 12.3, 12.4, 18.50, 18.186	2.96 "with the fresh air and so on . . . extent revived 4.216 " as ek nou teruggaan dan voer weer lug in my mond daar's meer 7.175" and I would just say that it's a dweller in Windhoek really " 18.186 " it's our lungs in nature with fresh air"

¹⁶² Translation: If I go back now then I feel alright, I can breathe again, there's more space

MM 83.33	Freedom Escape	Escape from tension, stress, burdens, routine, confinement, a present situation, the office, Getting away from it all; getting out, being in a bigger space, a sense of freedom	1.47, 2.58, 3.46, 4.186, 4.216, 5.79, 6.53, 7.181, 7.241, 8.48, 9.213, 10.85, 12.4, 17.179, 18.186, 19.37, 19.58, 19.213, 19.246	1:47 "it's just ... getting away from 2.58 "where you can get out a bit" 3.46 "I need a big area for myself" 4.191 " ek sou dit beskryf as 'n ple- die stad se gewoel af van die spa- mens dood ¹⁶³ " 7.181 " I feel <i>free</i> mmm which yo
MN 22.22	Sensed change in self/no perceived change	Any perceived sense of change in self, or not, before, during or after a visit not attached to a specific category of experience, or a sensed change in self over the years affecting a visit	1.48, 4.174, 8.48, 12.4	1:48 "I wouldn't say I experience a 4.174 "maar nou wat dit nou bietji daarvan om meer na die stiller ka- 8.48 " I know how I feel when I'm I've left here ... if I come here I'm immediately go away without tha behind "
MO 77.78	Access to "nature" [as opposed to open space not conveying a sense of "nature"]	Nature vs. non-nature, veld vs. non-veld, enjoying/caring about nature, showing nature to children, getting into/closer to/near to nature, recognition of ecosystems present, of nature's own rhythm and autonomy [references to the unspoiltness of nature at Avis dam, at ME]	1.54, 1.148, 4.174, 4.296, 5.40, 5.120, 5.132, 6.39, 6.53, 6.71, 6.86, 7.168, 8.58, 8.75, 8.127, 8.156, 9.265, 10.85, 11.311, 12.3, 12.4, 14, 16.141, 16.158, 16.171, 18.50, 18.82, 18.177, 18.186, 19.109	1.54 " it's the closest thing that we the in the Windhoek area" 1.148 " but it's not only the birds t nature ..the whole thing with this 8.127 "vir ons wat wil rustig hiern en die natuur geniet ¹⁶⁵ " 12.3 [you can get back into nature] 12.3 [basically a feeling which has just that you are there, you are jus on its own balance, it just goes on]

¹⁶³ Translation: I would describe it as a place where you can get away from the city's busyness .. from the tension .. the city crushes you to death

¹⁶⁴ Translation: But now that it is a little bit more restful, I like to come more to the quieter side .." This seems to be a reference to more to self than "it" ["dit"]!

¹⁶⁵ Translation: For those of us who want to come here for peace and enjoy nature

MP 16.67	Order, control, personal safety, security, or lack of it	A sense of order having broken down, of control being absent, or of safety threatened (-); or of order and security and personal safety being present (+)	1.94-, 1.181-, 1.229-, 1.243-, 10.52+, 10.159+, 17.83-	1.94 " its getting a bit too much he control here anymore" 1.181 "people aren't safe here anyr" 1.243 "nothing ever happens ... th never done anything good for this" 1.243 "I mean there's no signs any demolished and so on.." 10.159+ " but I don't feel unsafe ok
MQ 11.11	Fear of squatting	Potential threat of squatting; a fear that it will happen at the dam as at other open spaces	1.206, 3.128	1.206 "That's going to start putting east" 3.128 "[protected so that people] d
MR 55.56	Deep pleasure	A sense of joy, delight, deep appreciation, of something giving great pleasure [sometimes shared with others or one's pet]	2.81, 2.111, 3.46, 3.121, 4.216, 10.52, 11.207, 11.207, 11.336, 14, 16.131, 17.117, 17.130, 17.157, 18.50, 18.82, 18.175, 19.22 [imputed]	2.111 "one shouldn't probably cha just nice to have" 2.111 "but I mean that obviously y [commenting on the beautiful sun rainy season] 3.121 "every day something else if 10.52 " I would describe it as delig 11.207 " it's it's one it's one of Wind 11.336 " I'll never forget when this ago yes I came four times that day and bringing children and I kept away.." 17.117 " I feel in heaven it's rea uhuh? Absolutely I think there's n that I uhuh would prefer to this"
MS 16.67	A soul or spirit - related experience		4.186, 10.85, 17.117	4.186 " ek sê dis dis um iewers wa 10.85 " What's it like for you to cor Oh it's most ... uplifting"
MT 16.67	Meaning, purpose		4.216, 12.3, 17.65 [imputed]	4.216 " ag en 'n mens kry weer 'n l 12.3 [you can get back into nature down your load]
M U	Discovery, mystery, exploration [16.67]	Potential or actual discovery possibilities of the area	4.274, 7.168, 16.131	7.175 " and we have explored mos all around" 16.131 " I like the the little roads ar get inbetween the trees and stuff"
MV 38.89	Negativity of city living	The stress; noise, or negative experience of the city	4.186, 4.250, 5.40, 5.79, 7.181, 7.241, 11.311 12.4, 12.10, 17.179, 18.186	4.186 " ek sou dit beskryf as 'n ple wegkom van die stad se gewoel ad die stad druk 'n mens dood ¹⁶⁸ " 5.79 "they all want to get out of th 7.181 " I feel free mmm which yo city" 7.241 "freedom from the traffic an city"

¹⁶⁶ Translation: I say it's somewhere where your soul can rest

¹⁶⁷ Translation: And you find some sense in life again

¹⁶⁸ Translation: I would describe it as a place where you can get away from the city's busyness .. from the tension .. the city crushes you to death

MW 11.11	Busyness	Sense of busyness, restlessness, too much movement [mostly a floodplain feeling	8.58, 8.92, 9.197, 9.213, 9.265	8.58 "ja ek dink as almal net ook w ...maar maar hierdie beweging no van goed dit ¹⁶⁹ " 9.213 " but as I said sometimes it's mm I don't like if I walk the dog a careful with because of the cars"
MX 5.56	Balance	Essential for one's sanity, balance, health	17.65	17.65 " This visit is almost a necessity makes my day I can't live without"
MY 22.22	Inevitability and helplessness	Sense of loss, inevitability, resignation, helplessness [mostly related to commercial development at the dam; but also to lost security]	11.275, 17.83, 17.130, 17.189, 18.126, 18.177, 19.159	11.275 " if development has to happen 17.83 " you know that security that the secure feeling you can just walk that we have lost now altogether" 18.126 " development well it goes population growth and we can't keep 18.126 " if money should be available developing it would it be the same 18.177 " will there be space for us to be sp room enough for all of us or 18.126 " [where do you think it should do you think they will take notice

¹⁶⁹ Translation: If everyone would also just stand still .. all this moving around inbetween ..

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT				
DA	Appropriate commercial development generally	<u>Da1</u> Scale: small, low-key, not massive; unobtrusive [22.22]	<u>Da1</u> 1.166, 1.206, 2.189, 2.224, 6.105, 12.8	2.224 "um you know a low key ki perhaps attached to a lodge that could be the right way that could work"
		<u>Da2</u> Function control/care of area & wildlife, as in provision of guards, policing [16.67]	<u>Da2</u> 1.166, 1.181, 1.206, 5.145, 17.189	1.181 "I do actually think this could be good attractions for Windhoek if they are done right" [interjection from brother] ja like a lodge on" 1.206 "its looking after the dam it's got its guards and so on it's got its guards it's got its guards and everything like that" 17.189 "maybe there will be more commercial development]"
		<u>Da3</u> Provision of food & drink [33.33]	<u>Da3</u> 1.166, 2.189, 2.206, 3.128, 6.86, 8.106, 16.180	3.128 "I think a café would be nice" 16.180 "you know maybe a tuck shop but but small things.."
		<u>Da4</u> Guided tours [5.56]	<u>Da4</u> 5.145	"I mean giving guided walks around"
		<u>Da5</u> Siting at a distance: [mostly away, or where other development is, or not close] [38.89]	<u>Da5</u> 2.189, 2.206, 3.128, 3.128, 7.247, 8.127, 11.275, 12.9, 19.159, 19.187	2.189 "it [the restaurant] should be sited away" 3.128 "[where should the café be?]"
		<u>Da6</u> Having a view [16.67]	<u>Da6</u> 1.181, 2.216, 3.135 [implied]	1.181 "and you had a lodge overlooking the dam they could have people could come for the afternoon and so on" 2.216 "maybe it could be you know a lodge in the corner ...which would still give the view"
		<u>Da7</u> Style: Done the "right" way; not fancy, blends in; fade away; not obvious [27.78]	<u>Da7</u> 1.166, 2.206, 2.216, 2.224, 7.247, 11.275, 19.159, 19.187	2.206 "but look if they if they do it right it could be it could be quite nice" 7.247 "Ja I would like to keep development to a minimum and if it is necessary to have it for it then to blend into the surrounding"
		<u>Da8</u> Not bothersome to animals [5.56]	<u>Da8</u> 12.8	12.8 "the chalets at von Bach haven't been built yet they come down at night to drink"

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT				
		<u>Da9</u> OK generally [11.11]	<u>Da9</u> 6.105, 12.7	6.105 {there's talk about commercial problem ¹⁷⁰ " 12.7 "our economy is not so good,
		<u>Da10</u> Allow more people to benefit, bring more people to area, add to area's attraction [16.67]	<u>Da10</u> 2.189, 2.206, 10.179, 12.8	2.189 " Well I think what what one um you know to on to ... I mean to variety I could imagine that on something like you know a little a type of thing " 10.179 "I could understand that come and do their thing if . if there
DB	Commercial development seen as inappropriate	<u>Db1</u> General dislike [44.44]	<u>Db1</u> 3.128, 4.296, 8.127, 9.265, 9.274, 10.144, 14, 16.158, 16.180, 16.191, 17.147	3.128 " There's been talk of development think about that? It's not ah it's not the right thing" 8.127 " not happy about it [what because then I mean what we've got you'd have people you'd have noise you'd have all that and I don't ...s wouldn't like it " 10.144 I [a hotel] t will change the imagine it so I keep it from my mind 16.158 "but I don't really think you activities definitely not"
		<u>Db2</u> Brings noise [11.11]	<u>Db2</u> 4.296, 8.127	4.296 "daar gaan musiek wees en o 8.127 "you'd have people, you'd have
		<u>Db3</u> Night activities as in discos, casinos and night clubs [11.11]	<u>Db3</u> 1.166, 12.9	1.166 "I'm not saying that there's not like that" 12.9 "there'll be gambling, casinos, that's chaotic"
		<u>Db4</u> Massive, large scale [22.22]	<u>Db4</u> 1.166, 2.224, 7.247, 11.275	1.166 " a small place not a massive 7.247 " but I mean gosh if they got development that would spoil it I
		<u>Db5</u> Next to the water [16.67]	<u>Db5</u> 2.224, 3.128, 12.9	3.128 "Definitely not at the water, 12.9 "if they do build something the hill not next to the water"

¹⁷⁰ Translation: No problem

¹⁷¹ Translation: There's going to be music and casinos and noise

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT			
	<p><u>Db6</u> Prominent; close [11.11]</p>	<p><u>Db6</u> 2.189, 2.206, 11.275</p>	<p>2.216 " .. I mean this is this is a ve maybe you know if there is any ta you know a bit more round the co 11.275 " it would be a pity to have because it's a bit close"</p>
	<p><u>Db7</u> Exclusive of public: [e.g. price or siting] [16.67]</p>	<p><u>Db7</u> 2.206, 4.296, 14</p>	<p>4.296 "dit beperk vir wie hiernatoc [wat] dit nie kan bekostig nie..¹⁷³ 14 [commercial development migh but in the long run would only be to pay]</p>
	<p><u>Db8</u> "Commercialized"; exploitative, misuse [22.22]</p>	<p><u>Db8</u> 1.181, 1.206, 5.145, 10.111, 12.8</p>	<p>5.145 "[it] wasn't in their mind to k profit from it" 10.111 " it would be a pity if it's if</p>
	<p><u>Db9</u> Impact too great [5.56]</p>	<p><u>Db9</u> 2.206</p>	<p>2.206 "an upmarket thing where y gonna be probably too much of a j</p>
	<p><u>Db10</u> Other places available [27.78]</p>	<p><u>Db10</u> 4. 296, 8.127, 11.275, 15, 16.180, 16.191</p>	<p>4.296 " hier's baie plekke om mooi bou jy nou hier ..¹⁷⁴" 16.180 "I think there's enough spa development in Windhoek I think</p>
	<p><u>Db11</u> Intrudes on naturalness, breaks atmosphere, spoil the place [44.44]</p>	<p><u>Db11</u> 2.224, 3.128, 4.296, 7.216, 12.10, 14, 18.126, 19.159</p>	<p>2.224 " they were talking of a coup about a whole big urban type of d water shore and so on ... I think th for most people 19.159 " if you did do that then the about living here yes or you know another you know um residential lot of disadvantages far from tow not so good mmm and all of that b the advantage would have gone y radically"</p>
	<p><u>Db12</u> Will bring too many people, or not the "right" people [11.11]</p>	<p><u>Db12</u> 8.127, 18.177</p>	<p>18.177 " once you've developed it people who really don't want to e come out because it's something th know"</p>

¹⁷² That is, the top parking area

¹⁷³ Translation: [that would] limit who could come here you get people who could not afford it

¹⁷⁴ Translation: There are many places here to build nice lodges .. if you now come and build here ..

¹⁷⁵ The Malaysian development

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT				
		<u>Db13</u> Bothers the animals [5.56]	<u>Db13</u> 1.206	1.206 " because then they are exploding gonna start chasing away the animals chasing everything away"
		<u>Db14</u> Waste of time and money because of low bed occupancy rate [5.56]	<u>Db14</u> 18.126	18.126 " and I think it's a waste of time there are more empty hotel rooms imagine and why they want to build know"
		<u>Db15</u> The proposed Malaysian development of 1994 [22.22]	<u>Db15</u> 1.206-, 2.224, 5.145, 12.9	1.206: "a big massive story where there are townhouses here and hotels" 5.145 ""they wanted to build a hotel for the Malaysian development"
DC 22.22	Roads, parking and accesses	Opening, closing or maintenance of these facilities, or of a fenced parking area at the floodplain	1.166, 2.111, 8.92, 8.106, 8.156, 9.265-, 9.274	1.166 "should actually start looking at the roads" 2.111 "maybe also have some other facilities" 8.156 " fencing I do feel the cars need to be fenced"
DD 50	Restaurant	A restaurant, café, or facility providing food and drink [comments on appropriateness or otherwise, at DA and DB]	1.166+, 2.189, 2.206+, 2.224+q, 3.128+, 6.86, 8.106+, 9.250-, 9.274-, 10.111, 12.7, 16.158	1.166 "should actually build a type of restaurant" 2.189 "quite nice you know to come here" 3.128 "I think a café would be nice" 6.86 "miskien soos ons het nou van die saamgebring om te eet ... miskien hier verkoop word ¹⁷⁶ " 8.106 " jy wil 'n plek hê waar jy jou eie restaurant kan hê"
DE 50	Hotel	A hotel [comments on appropriateness or otherwise, at DA and DB]	1.166, 1.181-, 2.206-, 2.224, 3.128, 4.296-, 10.144-, 10.179, 11.226, 11.275, 12.7, 17.147, 19.159	2.206- "a hotel is too exclusive you know" 10.179 "I could understand that maybe they could do their thing if there's a hotel" 19.159 "if it's a good spot and they can afford it"
DF 33.33	Formal protection of area, and its fauna and flora	As nature reserve, game park, conservancy, , nature area, via a development plan, municipal zoning	1.133+, 1.181+, 1.229, 7.255, 8.156, 10.159-, 11.311, 12.10-	1.229 "should be more of a park for recreation" 7.255 " and make it a real paradise" 10.159- " .. a nature reserve restricts what what could be done here" 11.311 " ja you can you can have things where some sort of community garden a period of whatever the contract is for maintenance and operation and even a fee"
DG 27.78	Lodge; conference centre	A lodge [comments on appropriateness or otherwise, at DA and DB]	1.181+, 2.206-, 2.224, 4.296, 17.147, 19.159	1.181 "a lodge overlooking the dam" 2.206 "No I think I mean a lodge a conference centre exclusive you know that again exclusive you know that again"

¹⁷⁶ Translation: Perhaps like today we didn't bring along anything to eat perhaps something to eat could be sold here

¹⁷⁷ Translation: You want a place where you can drink your glass of wine

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT				
		otherwise, at DA and DB]		
DH 11.11	Residential development	Townhouses	1.206-, 19.159-	19.159 "if you did do that then the about living here you know you w know residential area that would
DI 5.56	Development nearby		2.189	2.189 "also where there is just across lodge thing"
DJ 72.22	Level of development: Present and future	<u>Dj1: present level</u> Good because natural [38.89]	<u>Dj1</u> 2.111, 4.186, 4.235, 7.216, 7.247, 8.127, 11.207, 11.275, 18.126	<u>Dj1</u> 4.186 " die feit dat dit dit baie natuur hierso um huisies en ... hier's nie lodges ... ¹⁷⁸ " 7.216 " I would prefer it to just stay undeveloped um that's my person 8.127 " as dit enigsins moontlik mo word sonder ontwikkeling ¹⁷⁹ "
		<u>Dj2: Future development</u> Not change place too much, not make the place too formal, as little as possible, not go too far, make the place too organized; not know when to stop, set off something irreversible, not having a limit [72.22]	<u>Dj2</u> 1.166, 1.206, 2.31, 2.111, 3.82, 4.274, 7.216, 7.247, 8.127 9.274, 10.179, 11.253, 12.10, 16.158, 16.180 , 16.191, 18.126, 18.160, 19.187, 19.246	<u>Dj2</u> 1.206 "that's how far I would go at developed" 2.111 "one shouldn't probably cha 3.82 "very peaceful here and I wou 7.241 " Ja I would like to keep dev minimum" 19.246: " and I just hope they keep Windhoek grows and grows and g least my kids will have somewher if they need to"
		<u>Dj3</u> "lots" [5.56]	<u>Dj3</u> 6.86	6.86 " [fasiliteite wat moet bykom?
DK 61.11	Control and order	<u>Dk1</u> Generally [27.78]	<u>Dk1</u> 1.133, 2.111, 3.128, 11.311, 16.198	1.133 "you've got to have a preven 2.111 "that you don't have too mar

¹⁷⁸ Translation: The fact that it's very natural, its not developed here .. little houses.. as I say there aren't buildings and lodges

¹⁷⁹ ¹⁷⁹ Translation: If it's at all possible that area must be kept without development

¹⁸⁰ Translation: [are there facilities which must be added here?] Please, many

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT				
		<u>Dk2</u> Security [not related to commercial development] [22.22]	<u>Dk2</u> 10.159, 11.311, 18.160, 19.213	10.159 " Oh perhaps a guard here"
		<u>Dk3</u> Internal zoning; designated areas for things [22.22]	<u>Dk3</u> 1.119, 7.216, 9.240, 12.3, 12.10	12.10 [there must be divisions - wa people, for animals too, dogs and water sports there on the back side sites, place for rowing boats]
DL 5.56	Bird-related	A bird island	3.82	3.82 'it would also be nice if we co the birds"
DM 27.78	Picnic/braai places		4.235, 4.274, 7.216-, 7.232, 8.127- , 12.3, 12.7, 16.158	4.235 " dat hulle nie orals vuur ma 'n braaiplek dan maar bou waar d dan 'n asdrom daar ¹⁸¹ " 7.216 " I don't even think they sho braai little braai areas except may corner" 8.127 ". jy gaan verloor wat dit wa hiernatoe kom gaan jy verloor ...d plek gaan maak waar daar waar o hou dan is hierdie area [verlore..?] hierna kom. ¹⁸³ ."
DN 27.78	Trails	<u>Dn1</u> Off-road [11.11]	<u>Dn1</u> 2.134, 4.274	4.274 " maar ek voel as hulle 'n rus wat nou hier oor die berge wil ry hier opry teen die berge maak 'n p hy nie 'n nuwe pad maak nie ¹⁸⁴
		<u>Dn2</u> Bike [5.56]	<u>Dn2</u> 4.274	4.274 " dis wat ek dink kort hierso hierom ¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Translation: That they don't make fires all over the place that they then rather build a barbecue area where you can make a fire and sit and put a rubbish tin there

¹⁸² The sound of the wind drowns this part, but its probably "ouens" or "mense"

¹⁸³ Translation: You are going to lose what .. that which you .. the thing for which you come here you are going to lose .. .the minute that you make a place where 50 [people?] can picnic

then this area is lost for those of us who want to visit here in peace and quiet .

¹⁸⁴ Translation: But I feel if they build a quiet road here .. those who want to drive over the hills let them drive over.. let them ride up the hills .. make a road so that he doesn't make a new road

¹⁸⁵ Translation: That's what I think is missing here .. build a nice bike [bicycle] trail around here

EXPERIENCE OF DEVELOPMENT: APPROPRIATE AND INAPPROPRIATE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT				
		<u>Dn3</u> Walking trails; jogging trails [22.22]	<u>Dn3</u> 2.31, 4.296, 7.255, 12.10	7.255 " something that would be n some people are running there ... jogging and so on ... would be wo
		<u>Dn4</u> Horse [11.11]	<u>Dn4</u> 5.145, 12.10	5.145 "I mean they can [have] hors
DO 22.22	Recognition of monetary value of nature, of payment for preservation	Willingness to pay fees of some sort	4.314, 5.145, 11.253, 11.311, 19.213	5.145 "a piece of nature has also to 11.241 " and I would be happy to p if I knew that it was being looked wouldn't mind paying say even tw your dogs for a walk I don't thin
DP 22.22	Information	Via boards, pamphlets, on birds, on trees; guided trails/tours, on do's and don'ts	5.132, 8.106, 9.274,16.198	5.107 "Maybe some um boards or example ... a sort of educational tr named" 8.106 " but they've got you know s know this time of year or this tim you can now see this plant floweri you can see that "
DQ 11.11	A shop	As place to buy picnic requirements, or to cater for tourists	9.250, 9.274, 12.7	9.250 " don't need any big restaura 12.7 [even have a shop to buy wha
DR 22.22	Toilets		7.216-, 9.274-,17.147, 18.126	7.216 " well whenever there's deve eventually you get landed with sm ghastly " 9.274 " I think it's ... very hard to t where you ...end and where you s toilets here ...then the next step w and restaurant"
DS 22.22	Not-listed facilities and services		6.86, 9.250, 9.274, 12.7, 19.213	6.86 ". soos in die eerste plek 'n po 9.274 " should only make as B. saie play perhaps volleyball mm or so sports or sports facilities" 19.213 " keep the maintenance at t cleaning up yes in case people dro just garbage cleaning maybe"

186 Translation: Like in the first place a pool for the kids

ANNEXURE E: INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

Categories of experience as developed from interviews¹⁸⁷ conducted within framework of Avis dam research project, by GK

Code	Meanings	Equivalent category ¹⁸⁸
MD	Differentiation of space	[PB]
MD1	Differentiation of space into active (noisy) and quiet (calm) parts	[PB]
ME	Experience of the place, including the dam itself and the floodplain	[MA?]
MR	A place for relaxing	[MJ]
MQ	A quiet, tranquil place	[MI]
MS	A place where one can experience solitude	[MS]
MSL	A place which is spiritually liberating	
MC	The meaning of the place articulated in terms of the extent to which 'we' can keep/make this place as 'we' want	
MaD	Awareness of place at a distance (subsumed under this category is "no experience of Avis dam area")	
MVP	Personalised meaning of certain vegetation	[MC]
MRE	A place where one can recuperate	[ML]
MML	A place which gives meaning to life	[MT]
MBS	A place where it is possible to enjoy breathing space	[MM?]
MH	A place associated with holidays	
MGP	A place which should be available/accessible to the general public	[PI]
MB	This is a place of basics, in other words, it is a place which does not lend itself to luxuries such as restaurants, cafes	[DJ?]
MS	There is space here, and this area should provide for a sense of space	[MM]
MP	The area provides a special, private place	[MC?]
MW	This place means walking (not driving)	[AL?]

Code	Activities	Equivalent category
AE	Exercise	[AE]
AS	Swimming	[AK]
ALn	Littering, negatively evaluated [This should perhaps be subsumed under PrL]	[AG]
AP	That the place lends itself to picnics	[AB]

¹⁸⁷GK received only the first 8 transcriptions

¹⁸⁸An assessment of clear correspondence by GK between categories of experience is indicated by my equivalent code in brackets. Where GK considered there was a measure of overlap, but not clear correspondence, this is indicated by [code?]. Where she felt there was no equivalent category, there is a blank space opposite her code

AV	Driving of vehicles	[AL]
AVn	Driving of vehicles, negatively evaluated	[AF]
AVc	That activities of cars should be controlled	[DC]
AVnt	Driving of vehicles neutrally regarded	[AL]
ANn	Making of noise, including music, negatively evaluated	[SC2]
APn	Partying, making braais, negatively evaluated	[AB]
AW	Walking	[AE]
APr	Activity to protect the environment	[MF]
AB	Bicycle riding	[AJ]
ASd	Drinking of sundowner	[DA3]
AWs	Non-motorized watersport eg windsurfing	[AC]
ADW	A place where one can walk with dogs, pay attention to them	[AD]

Code	Setting	Equivalent category
SV	Vegetation (this is mainly positively evaluated)	[SN]
SB	Birds	[SL]
SW	Water	[SB]
SWp	Water positively evaluated, especially in context of Namibia as a dry country	[SB]
SL	Landscapes/views	[SF]
SM	Mountains, positively evaluated	[SG1]
SNp	Nature, positively evaluated (includes the idea that this space should be enjoyed as nature)	[SE] [MO]
SNT	Nature in the midst of town	[SA]
SOp	Openness of the place positively evaluated	[SQ]
SU	Avis as unique setting, only one of its sort and in this regard a sense of loss with regard to the Goreangab dam	[SD; MH]
SF	A setting where people should not be prescribed to (even if they do things one does not agree with)	
SFA	A place where one can breath fresh air	[SI]
SS	A setting for sport	
SC	Setting as clean	[SV]
SH	A place which has a history that they have witnessed, experienced; as such, they have different images of it	[SH]
SI	(Part of setting) as difficult to access	[SO]

Code	People	Equivalent category
PCn	People, specifically crowds, negatively evaluated	[PC]
PCnt	People, specifically crowds, neutrally regarded	
Pn	People, negatively evaluated	[PE]
PI	People as irresponsible	
PH	People relating/acting harmoniously	[PF]
PFp	Meeting familiar people, positively evaluated	[PH]
PF	Few people, not crowded	[PG]



PR	People experienced as calm and relaxed	
PLp	Like-minded people (who appreciate nature, walk with their dogs) positively evaluated	[PA?]
Pc	Children	[PD?]
PcN	Children's needs can be met in this place	
PFpr	Couple can enjoy privacy in relation to the rest of the family	[PD]

Code	Development	Equivalent category
DN	Development is positively evaluated	[DJ3]
DSp	Development of swimming pool called for; "this is a place where my kids should be able to swim in clean water". [SWn, water negatively evaluated, is subsumed under this heading]	
DP	Development of picnic places called for	[DM]
DA	Diversification of access to the place called for	[DC]
Dnt	Neutral stance in respect of development	[DA9]
Dn	Development is negatively evaluated	[DB1]
D-C	Development would detract from the character of the place [Dn and D-C need to be amalgamated, with the latter being a sub-category of the former]	[DB11]
DGe	Development of golf course as ecologically unsound	
DTn	Development for tourists negatively evaluated	[DB8]
DU	Urban development is negatively evaluated	
DSS	Small scale development called for	[DA1]
DC	Development of commercial activities seen to be acceptable	[DA3]
DE	That charging of entrance fee should be linked to development	[DO]
DS	Development which would be sensitive to the nature of the place and would respect this. This category subsumes the following categories: DI provision of information about the area [DP] DWg development of guided walks [DN] DHt development of hiking trail [DN] DR development must be removed from the dam itself [DA5] DSS development of "silent" sport [-]	
DPr	Development to protect the environment subsumes the following categories DRct development of specific road so that Uncontrolled driving can be reduced [DN] DBt development of specific bike trail [DN] PrE protect area by charging entrance fee [DO] "D"F development to enhance protection of fauna [DL]	

Code	Protection	Equivalent category
Pr	Protection of place is called for	[DF]
PrL	The protection of the area against littering is required	
PrSq	The protection of the area against squatting is required	[MQ]
PrCV	Controlling access and activities of cars is required	[DC]

From the above, GK estimates some 80% agreement, based only on definite, clear correspondence

Windhoek, 27 April 1998

ANNEXURE F: SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUALS' EXPERIENCE OF THE IDENTITY OF THE AVIS DAM AND FLOODPLAIN

INTERVIEW 1 [1 person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
12				Ma	
24	Sa sb1 sl	Ah ad af	Pa	Mb mi mj mk	
47				Mi mj mm mn	
54	Sa sb1 sc1 sd sl			Mi mo	
63	Se sg1 sl sn	Ad- ad+ ad af-	Pc		
94	Sb2	Ab- ac- af-	Pc	Ma mp-	
119	Sb1 se	Ac- ad- af-		Me	Dk3
133	Sm	Aa ai		Mf	Df+ dk1
148	Sb1 sb2 se sl sm	Ac- ad- ah	Pc	Ma mo	
166					Da1 da2 da7 db3 db4 dc dd+ dj2
181	Sb1	Aa an		Mp-	Da2 da6 db8 de- dg+
206	Sb1 se sm	Ab- ag	Pb	Mf mh mq	Da1 da2 db8 db13 db15 dj2
229	Sd se sg1			Ma me mf mp-	Df dh
243	Sb1	Af-		Mf mp-	

INTERVIEW 2 [1 person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
31	Sb1 sb2 sg1 so st1			Mc	Dj2 dn3
52	Sb1 sp			Ma	
58	Sb1 sc2 sd	Aa ac+ ad ak		Ma mm	
81	Sa sb1 sd sf sg1 sh sl sp sq sr ss			Ml mr	
96	Sb1 si st3	Ad ae	Pd	Mc mj ml	
111	Sf sh st1	Af-	Pc	Mf mr	Dc dj1 dj2 dk
134	Sb2 sc2 sg4 st3	Af-	Pa pc pe	Me mf	
154		Ad+ ad-	Pe pf		
167	Sa sb1 sc1 sc2 se sf sk sm	Aa ac+	Pa	Me mh	
189	Sb1 sh st1		Pb		Da1 da5 da10 dd di db6
206	Sf				Da3 da5 da7 da10 db6 db8 db9 dd+ de- dg-
224	Sb1 se			Me mf	Da1 da7 db4 db11 db15 dd+



					dg
--	--	--	--	--	----

INTERVIEW 3 [3 people]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
23	Sb1 st1	Ad		Ma	
46	Sk sn		Pa	Ma mc mf mm mr	
82	Sl	Ad ad+		Mi	Dj2 dl
98	Sb1 si sk sq su		Pc pg ph2	Mc	
121	Sc1 sc2 sf sg1 sh sp	Af-	Pa pe1	Mi mr	
128	Sb1	Ab ag		Mq	Da3 da5 db1 db5 db11 dd+ dk1

INTERVIEW 4 [2 people]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
167				Ma	
174	Sb2 sc1 se	Ad af aj	Pb pc pg	Ma mn mo	
186	Sb1 sc1 se sg1 sg2 sj sl			Me mi mj mm ms mv	Dj1
212				Mi mj ml	
216	Sg1 sl sn sq sv	Ad		Ml mm mr mt	
235	Sc1 sc2 se	Ab- ag	Pa pb pe pe1	Me mf	Dj1 dm
250	Se sg4	Ad af+ af-	Pa pe pf	Mf mv	
274	Sb1 se sg1	Aa aj ak		Me mf mu	Dj2 dm dn1 dn2
296	Sb1 sc1 sc2 sd se			Mh mo	Db1 db2 db7 db10 db11 de- dg dn3
314		Ag		Mf	Do

INTERVIEW 5 [3 people]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
15				Ma	
23	Sb1 sb2 sg1 st1	Ad		Ma mc	
40	Sa sb1 se sf sg1 sh sn sp st2		Pa	Mc mo mv	
79			Pf pg	Mi mj ml mm mv	
96		Ad	Pf pg ph2 pe1	Mj	
107	Sg1 sg4	Af-	Pb pe	Mf	
120	Se	Ag	Pa	Mo	



132	Sa sl sn			Mo	Dp
145	Sg1 sn st3			Me	Da2 da4 db8 db15 dn4 do

INTERVIEW 6 [1 person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
28		Af			
39	Se	Ad ae	Pd	Md mi mo	
53	Se si		Pd	Mm mo	
64	Sb1	Ak	Pd		
71	Se	Ae	Pf	Mo	
78		Af af+			
86	Se sn	Ak		Mo	Da3 dd dj3 ds
105					Da1
108	Sv			Mh mj	

INTERVIEW 7 [1 person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
140	Sb1	Ad ae al	Pb	Mc	
150		Ad		Ma	
168	Sb1 se sn sq	Ae		Mf ml mo mu	
181	Sc2 st1	Af-	Pa	Me? mi mj mm mv	
194	Sb1	Ae		Mj	
199	Sb1		Pf pg		
204	Sl	Ac+ ad ae af- ag+			
216	Se sl		Pc	Me mi	Db11 dj2 dk3 dm- dr-
232		Ab- af- ag			Dm
241				Mm mv	
247				Me	Da5 da7 db4 dj2
255	Sb1 sb2 sm				Df dn3

INTERVIEW 8 [two persons]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
6	St1		Pb	Ma mc	
9				Ma	
20	Sb1 sc1 sf sg1 sg2 sl sn ss st1	Af- ah	Pb	Mi ml	
48				Mj mm mn	
58	Sb1 sc2 se sq	Af- al	Pc pg	Mo mw	
75	Sc1 sc2 se st1	Ae	Pb pf pg ph2	Mo	
92	Sc2	Ab- ab af- al-	Pe	Mw	Dc
106					Da3 dc dd+ dp
127	Sc2 sd se		Pc	Me mf mi mo	Da5 db1 db2

					db10 db12 dj2 dm-
156	Se sn			Me mo	Dc df

INTERVIEW 9 [two persons]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
190				Ma	
197	Sb1 sh sp ss	Aa ab af- al-		Mw	
213	Sc1 sh sp sq	Ad al-		Ma md mi mj mm mw	
226	Sc1 sc2 sh sl sm st2	Af- aj+ al-		Mi mj	
240		Aa ab+ af- am		Md	Dk3
250	Sb1 sc1	Ac+ ak ao			Dd- dq
265	Se	Al-	Pc	Me mo mw	Db1 dc-
274	Sc2	Al-		Me	Db1 dc dd- dj2 dp dq- dr- ds

INTERVIEW 10 [one person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
10		Ad		ma	
19			Ph1		
28	Sb1 st1	Ad ae	Pb	Mc	
52	? sg1 sh sj sm	Ad	Pg ph2	Mp+ mr	
85	Sa se si sj		Pi	Ml mm mo ms	
99		Ad	Pf		
111	Sb1 sc1 sh sj	Af- ao	Pb pc		Db8 dd
132	Sh sv	Ag+ ao	Pf pg		
144	Sc2		Pc	Mf mi	Db1 de-
159	Sa sh	Aa ab+ ac+ af+		Md mp+	Df- dk2
179			Ph1 pi		Da10 de dj2

INTERVIEW 11 [two persons]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
196		Ad		Ma	
202		Ad			
207	Sa sb1 sb2 se sg1 sg3 sh sl sn sp ss	Ah		Me mf mi mr	Dj1
226	Sh sp	Ad	Pc pe pg		De
241	Sc1 sc2	Ac af- ag			
253	Sh sv	Ad	Pa pc pg	Mf	Dj2 do
275	Sc2 sg1 sq-	Ae		Mf my	Da5 da7 db4 db6 db10 de dj1
311	Sd se sf sp	Aa ag		Me mf mo mv	Df dk1 dk2 do
336	Sb1 sh sn			Mr	

INTERVIEW 12 [three persons]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
1	Sa		Pb		
2	Sb1 sb2	Aj		Ma	
3	Sa sb1 sb2 se? sg1 sg2 sg4 sg5 sh sl sm sn ss	Ab- ad af- ah aj am-	Pb pe pf	Md mj ml mo mt	Dk3 dm
4				Ml mm mn mo mv	
5	Sc2	Af ag al	Pa pc pe pe1	Mf	
6			Pf pi		
7	Sa	Aa ac	Pb pd	Md	Da9 dd de dm dq
8	Sm	Ai	Pb		Da1 da8 da10 db8
9	Sb1 sl sm	Ad		Mf	Da5 db3 db5 db15
10	Sb1 sc1	Ab ac- ah	Pb	Mj mv	Db11 df- dj2 dk3 dn3 dn4

INTERVIEW 13 [not analyzed]

INTERVIEW 14 [two persons]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
	Sd se	Af- al-	Pi	Ma me mo mr	Db1 db7 db11

INTERVIEW 15 [one person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
	Se sq	Ad af- al-		Me mi	Db10

INTERVIEW 16 [one adult and child]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
121		Ad		Ma	
131	Sb1 sn ss sv	Ab ak		Mr mu	
141	Sc1 se sq	Ad af-	Pg	Mi mk mo	
145	Sg4	Af+ af-			
158	Se		Pe	Me mf mo	Db1 dd dj2 dm
171	Sd sg5	Ad	Pf	Mo	
180	Se st1	Ag		Me mf	Da3 db1 db10 dj2

191					Db1 db10 dj2
198					Dk dp

INTERVIEW 17 [one person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
12				Ma	
26	Sb1 sb2 sc1 sf sg1 sl sm sn sp ss st2			Mc	
65		Ae ah an		Mc mt? mx	
83		An	Ph1	Mp- my	
117	Se	Ah		Mj? mr ms	
130	Sv	Ac ad af af- am an		Mr my	
147		Ab- ab+	Pb		Db1 de dg dr
157	Sb2	Ao	Ph1	Mr	
179	Si	Ad		Mm mv	
189		Ae		My	Da2
199	St1 st3	An		Mf	
219		An	Ph1		

INTERVIEW 18 [one person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
50	Se sl sn		Pa	Mc ml mo mr	
62				Ma	
70	Sb1 sb2 sg4 sh sn ss1 ss2			Ma	
82	Sc1 se		Pa pg	Mo mr	
92	Su	Ag- an	Pe	Mf mp	
105			Pf ph1		
114		Ag-	Pb	Mf	
126	Sb1 sb2		Me my		Db11 db14 dj1 dj2 dr
160		Ag-	Pe pf	Me	Dj2 dk2
175				Mr	
177		Aa ad		Mf mo my	Db12
186	Sa sb1 sd se si	Ad	Pa pc?	Me mf mh ml mm mo mv	



INTERVIEW 19 [one person]

COUNT	SETTING	ACTIVITIES	PEOPLE	MEANINGS	DEVELOPMENT
22	Sb1			Ma md mr?	
37	Sb1			Ma mj mk mm	
50	Sc1 sg1 sp sq			Mi	
58	Sb1 sc1 sg1 sh sj		Pa pg	Mi mj mm	
90	Sq		Pg ph2	Mc mi	
99		Ad an	Pg		
109	Se	Ab	Pa pi	Mo	
132	Sd	Ae		Mh+ mk	
147	Se sg1			Me	
159				Mi my	Da5 da7 db11 dg dh
187	Sa se			Me mi	Da5 da7 dj2
213	Sb1 sb2 sd		Pa pg	Mi mm	dk2 do ds
246	Sl			Mm	Dj2

ANNEXURE G: QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: THE QUESTIONNAIRE WAS NOT USED

MY OBJECTIVES FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

To establish:

- 1.0 WHAT **CHANGES OR NON-CHANGES** will PRESERVE, OR ENHANCE THE AVIS DAM'S "IDENTITY" [its essence]?
(based on understanding of "identity" = activities + setting + meaning gained from observation and interview phases of research)
These changes centre mainly on conservation/development at the dam
- 2.0 IS THERE **WILLINGNESS TO PAY** TO PRESERVE THE DAM'S IDENTITY?

INTRODUCTORY LETTER FOR QUESTIONNAIRE

- **Our purpose**
- **Why it's important that you to help us**
- **Confidentiality**
- **How long it will take you to fill it in**
- **How to fill it in**
- **What happens to it once you've filled it in**
- **Our contact details**



Sampling area	01	02	03	04	Resp. nr.		Suburb		
----------------------	----	----	----	----	------------------	--	---------------	--	--

PERCEPTIONS OF THE AVIS AND GOREANGAB DAMS THEIR VALUE AS RECREATIONAL AREAS

1.0 BIOGRAPHICS/DEMOGRAPHICS

1.1 *Are you female or male?*

Please tick ✓

Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	Male	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------	--------------------------	------	--------------------------

1.2 *How old are you?*

Please make a tick ✓ next to your age group:

12 -20 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 21 and 39 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
Between 40 and 59 years old	<input type="checkbox"/>
60 years and older	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.3 *How many people live in the household where you stay, including yourself?*

Example: If it is 5, then please make a tick: ✓ in the square below 4-7 people

1-3 people	4-7 people	More than 7 people
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.4 *Are you working or not working at the moment?*

Please make a tick: ✓ in the square which best describes your present situation:

I am employed by someone else	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am self-employed	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am unemployed at the moment	<input type="checkbox"/>
I receive a pension, or money, or support from other people	<input type="checkbox"/>



2.0 USE/NON-USE OF THE AVIS AND GOREANGAB DAMS

We'd like to know whether, and how often, you use these two areas
Please make a tick ✓ in the square opposite to your answer.

2.1 How often do you usually visit Goreangab and Avis dams?

	Goreangab		Avis
I used to, but not any more			
Almost every day			
Two or three times a week			
About once a week			
About once a month			
Occasionally			
I hardly ever go there			
I have never been there			

2.2 For how long have you been visiting the Avis and Goreangab dams?

	Avis		Goreangab
I've only been once			
Less than six months			
Less than a year			
For about 1-4 years now			
For 5 years and more			

2.3 I don't visit the area at all but it's good to know it's there

Avis dam				Goreangab dam		
Agree	Disagree	Unsure		Agree	Disagree	Unsure

SECTION THREE: AVIS DAM ENVIRONMENT ONLY

If you know the Avis dam area, we would really appreciate your opinions. They will be used in compiling a management plan for the Avis dam [target date May 1998]. *Even if you **don't** know the area, you are very welcome to complete this section - otherwise please go straight to section **four** on page ???*

3.1 VALUE OF THE AVIS DAM AND FLOODPLAIN

3.1.1 I go to the Avis dam, or floodplain, or both because there I can -

In the first column, please tick ✓ as many statements you agree with.

In the second column, tick **only** the three most important reasons

	Avis dam			Avis floodplain	
Get out of the city a little					
See some nature					
Exercise my animal [dog, horse]					
Get some exercise myself					
Feel safe					
Say hello to people					
Relax					
Look at my favourite view, or tree, or place					
Get some peace and quiet					
Think back over, or prepare for the day					
Feel revived, refreshed					
Do my favourite sport					
Picnic and braai					
Have some time with my family and friends					
Get some peace and quiet					
I really like the place - care about it					
Get away from all the signs of human development I see in the city					
See water					



Other: please specify

.....

.....

.....

3.2 REGULATIONS

At the moment there are very few regulations controlling what people do at the dam and floodplain, or how they behave towards other people. Some people think this is what is so nice about the area, and others think some regulations are needed.

3.2.1 Which of the following statements would you support?

In the first column, please tick ✓ as many statements as you agree with.

In the second column, tick **only** the three most important ones

	Floodplain		Dam	
I don't want any regulations there				
Dogs may not run free, except in certain areas				
No noise of any kind allowed				
No loud music allowed				
Dogs may not swim in some areas				
You may not drive around the floodplain at all. You must park your car at a designated parking area, and walk to where you want to be, just as you now do at the dam				
Horse riders must be restricted to certain areas only				
No scramblers, quads or motorbikes				
You may not make fires for braaivleis				
Any other regulation? Please specify:				
.....				
.....				

3.3 FACILITIES NEEDED AT THE DAM AND FLOODPLAIN

Some people think that more facilities are needed to make the area more enjoyable. Others think that one of the attractions about the dam and floodplain is that it shows little sign of development - it's still largely natural. Here you can express your opinion on this, and assist in the planning process

3.3.1 Which of the following facilities would you support?

Make as many ticks ✓ as you like!

Facilities	Dam		Floodplain
No more facilities please			
More paths			
Hiking trails, with or without overnight facilities			
Some of the trees to be marked with their names			
A free hand-out of the 10 most commonly seen birds			
Cycle trails			
Horse paths			
Toilets			
Picnic areas with rubbish tins, a braaivleis grill, and a table and benches			
Picnic areas where the ground has been cleared and made flat, but nothing else			
Fences to be repaired everywhere			
A fenced parking area to be provided at the floodplain: no vehicles to be allowed beyond that point			
An information centre			
A place where I can sit and buy something to eat or drink			
A security guard			
Someone to clean toilets and picnic places			
A launching place for boats			
Other facilities: Please specify:			
.....			
.....			

3.4 COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT AT THE DAM

The Municipality has indicated that for the next several years, it will not have funds available to maintain or preserve the Avis dam as a recreation or nature area. It is considering commercial development as an alternative funding option. Here you can give your opinion on this.

3.4.1 Which of these commercial developments do you think would be suitable at the Avis dam and floodplain area?

Please tick ✓ your choice or choices:

<i>A hotel</i>	<i>A lodge</i>	<i>A restaurant/kiosk</i>	<i>None of them</i>

3.4.2 If you ticked ✓ "None of them", please explain why

.....

.....

.....

3.4.3 If you chose a hotel, or lodge, or restaurant, please give your opinion on what you consider appropriate or inappropriate

(a) The buildings should be sited:

Please tick ✓ only one!

Siting	Reply
At the present parking area at the dam	
Halfway up the hill next to the parking area at the dam	
Right on top of the hill behind the parking area	
A little bit away from the dam, nearer the airport road	
I really don't mind	
Somewhere near the end of the wall, below the water tower	
Wherever they don't spoil the naturalness of the view	
Rather on the floodplain side, where they can't be seen from the dam	
Anywhere below the dam wall	
Across the road from the dam where all the other development is	
Other: please specify:	

(b) *What should the scale and style of the buildings be?*

Please tick ✓ only one in each section!

Scale and style	Reply
The buildings should be no higher than ground level	
The buildings can be any height at all	
The buildings can be any height, so long as they don't interfere with the skyline	
The size of the development should be small-scale	
It doesn't matter how much area the buildings cover	
Any style is suitable: the fancier the better really	
The buildings should blend in with nature; look eco-friendly	

(c) *Which of the following should the commercial development offer?*

Tick ✓ as many as you like!

A golf course	
Townhouses	
Swimming pool and splash pools for kids	
Simple food and drink	
All facilities open to the public at market-related prices	
Casinos	
Children's playground	
Full-scale restaurant facilities	
Night time activities such as dancing, discos	
Hotel offering many rooms for tourists	
Protection of the area's natural resources: it's wildlife and plants	
No accommodation at all	
Maintain the area generally	
Tourist /souvenir shops	
Lodge offering limited accommodation for a few guests only	
All facilities to close at 9pm	
Other: please specify:	



3.4.4 *The municipality should ensure that the general public has sufficient opportunity to comment on the design of any commercial development before it gives permission to the developer to go ahead. What do you think?* Please tick ✓ your answer:

I AGREE	I DISAGREE	I DON'T MIND
---------	------------	--------------

3.4.5 *Commercial development has the potential to change the area for the better or the worse: Are there any other views or comments you would like to add?*

<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

SECTION FOUR: WILLINGNESS TO PAY

Here we would like to know, whether **you** are willing to pay to keep the Goreangab and Avis dams as recreation and nature areas, whether or not you use them. Please help us by answering the following questions. Just make a tick ✓ for your answer, but **please** answer for both dams!

4.1 *I feel so strongly about the area, that I'll pay something for its preservation and maintenance even if I don't use it*

Goreangab				Avis		
Yes	No	Unsure		Yes	No	Unsure

4.2 *If I didn't have my own transport, I would be willing to pay someone else to take me there*

Goreangab				Avis		
Yes	No	Unsure		Yes	No	Unsure

4.3 *Would you pay an entrance fee each time you visit?*

Goreangab				Avis		
Yes	No	Unsure		Yes	No	Unsure

4.4 *If yes, how much? Please give an amount:*

Goreangab				Avis		

4.5 *Would you contribute to a trust fund for the area?*

Avis				Goreangab		
Yes	No	Unsure		Yes	No	Unsure



4.6 *If yes, how much? Please give an amount:*

Avis		Goreangab

**ANNEXURE H: MAPS¹⁸⁹ OF THE AVIS DAM
ENVIRONMENT SHOWING LOCALITY, AND
FEATURES MOST OFTEN REFERRED TO IN
INTERVIEWS**

¹⁸⁹ *The maps, which are approximately to scale, are oriented so that north is at the top of the page.*