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THE CONCEPTUALISATION, INSTITUTIONALISATION, DELIVERY AND
MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC SPACE IN THE BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN
MUNICIPALITY: TOWARDS INTEGRATED PLACEMAKING AND
GREENING PRACTICES

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(Town and Regional Planning) in the Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and
Information Technology, University of Pretoria

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Public Space and the creation thereof is as much a process as it is a product of urban design. The practice of placemaking draws on the potential of place-based conceptualisation to enrich the relationship and interaction between people and places. Simultaneously, greening practices in relation to placemaking hold the potential to enhance human health and well-being whilst contributing to harmonious relationships between nature and the built environment. Given that sound urban design and the delivery of public space at a city-wide scale is a core function of local government, the task of leading and integrating practices of placemaking and greening into the planning, conceptualisation and delivery of public space lies primarily with municipalities. In order to understand the relevance of and the conditions which underpin the institutionalisation of practices of placemaking and greening in a local government context, the study looks into the real-world context of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality as a case study. The research follows a qualitative enquiry to explore, understand, interpret and build a holistic picture of placemaking and greening practices which occur in the municipality.

The thesis proposes a conceptual framework which brings together essential dimensions which enable the integration of practices of placemaking and greening into processes of public space delivery and governance. It positions public space as a product which is an outcome of a series of processes which impacts on the quality, value and use of public space. The conceptual framework assisted to structure the empirical research which presents an observation of the processes of public space delivery and governance within the municipality in terms of placemaking and greening practices, and the impact of these processes on the product of public space as observed within the three operational regions of the city. The narrative highlights key issues which affect practices of placemaking and greening in the city offering lessons for similar municipalities in a Global South context. These issues are framed as a series of protocols for action encompassing five key areas of significance. These include the need to i) re-envision public space highlighting the role of institutional innovation, leadership, collaboration and championing, ii) reclaim the value of public space highlighting the role of planning and investment in public space iii) re-establish the relevance of public space highlighting the role of place-based and green conceptualisations of public space iv) promote innovation in public space governance highlighting the role of multi-stakeholder collaboration and partnerships in ongoing management and maintenance of public space and lastly v) develop design governance tools such as urban design policies, public space strategies and placemaking and greening guidelines which will assist in enhancing place quality as well as in mainstreaming practices of placemaking and greening within public space.

The thesis argues that practices of placemaking and greening hold unique relevance in a Global South context characterised by high unemployment and poverty. The current prioritisation and focus by local government on the provision of shelter and basic infrastructure services results in the corresponding neglect of public space which in many instances becomes the 'unseen space' having consequences for the quality of life of citizens especially in the most marginalised areas of the city which experience severe disparities in access to well managed social, recreational and green spaces and amenities. It is held that the institutionalisation of practices of placemaking and greening within public space could play a significant role in enhancing the liveability, resilience, sense of health, well-being, sense of belonging and sense of place of South African cities. The prospects for institutionalisation however lie within the ability of municipalities, municipal leaders and officials to recognise the significant gaps which exist in relation to the role currently played by public space in order to commit to the necessary institutional shifts which will be required to reconceptualise current practices towards unlocking the full potential of public space in cities of the Global South.

DEDICATION

To my wonderful family, Vinod, Kiran and Amita, you make every day worthwhile...

And

To my loving parents, V.D.G Nair and Ramany G. Nair, for everything...

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BCMDA	Buffalo City Metropolitan Development Agency
BCMM	Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality
BEPP	Built Environment Performance Plan
BKCOB	Border Kei Chamber of Business
BKIA	Border Kei Institute of Architects
CABE	Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment
CBD	Central Business District
CCT	City of Cape Town
CDDC	Compact Developing or Developed Cities
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CLDP	Catalytic Land Development Programme
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CSP	City Support Programme
CWP	Community Work Programme
DALRRD	Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development
DDM	District Development Model
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DEFF	Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries
DFFE	Department of Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment
ECPHRA	Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority
ED&A	Economic Development and Agencies
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPMO	Enterprise Project Management Office
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GGD	Good Green Deeds
GIS	Geographic Information System
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GM	General Manager
GTAC	Government Technical Advisory Centre
HOD	Head of Directorate
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
INU	Instituto Nazionale di Urbanistica
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JCPZ	Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo

IEMP	Integrated Environmental Management Plan
KDI	Koukukey Design Initiative
KWT	King William's Town
KFA	Key Focus Area
LSDF	Local Spatial Development Framework
MBDA	Mandela Bay Development Agency
MBSA	Mercedes Benz South Africa
MDB	Municipal Demarcations Board
MEA	Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
MGDS	Metropolitan Growth and Development Strategy
MMC	Member of the Municipal Council
MOSS	Metropolitan Open Space System
MSDF	Municipal Spatial Development Framework
MSA	Municipal Structure Act
MSU	Michigan State University
MTREF	Medium Term Revenue and Expenditure Framework
MUH	Mdantsane Urban Hub
NDP	National Development Plan
NDPP	Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme
NDPG	Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NMBMM	Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality
NMT	Non-Motorised Transport
NUA	New Urban Agenda
PEP	Public Employment Programme
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PPS	Project for Public Space
RBO	Relationship by Objectives
SACN	South African Cities Network
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SAPOA	South African Property Owners Association
SAPS	South African Police Service
SCM	Supply Chain Management
SDBIP	Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SPD	Spatial Planning and Development
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act

SSACR	State of the South African Cities Report
TOR	Terms of Reference
TPO	Transport Planning and Operations
UCL	University College London
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UFH	University of Fort Hare
UGI	Urban Green Infrastructure
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UN COP	United Nations Conference of the Parties
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNS	Urban Network Strategy
VCPP	Violence and Crime Prevention Programme
WSU	Walter Sisulu University
YCOP	Youth Community Outreach Programme

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

Globally, the role of public space in contributing to economic vitality, city image, community revitalisation, participatory local democracy as well as serving as a source of health and well-being and amenity has been widely emphasised within the urban policy arena (Carmona, 2015; Wyckoff et al. 2015; Wolf, 2004, UN-Habitat 2014, 2015, 2016, 2020). From a Global South and African cities' perspective, the UN-Habitat III Africa Regional Meeting held in Abuja in 2016 called attention to the importance of public space for towns and cities in Africa. The meeting emphasised how public spaces can help urban centres meet the targets for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as set out in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Specifically, Goal 11 which addresses "making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (UN SDGs, 2015). One of the proposed targets, set out by the above goal is "by 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green public spaces particularly for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities" (UN-Habitat III Issue Paper on Public Space, 2015: 2). This is increasingly relevant in light of the key issues facing African cities namely that of inequality due to economic growth which tends not to reach the increasingly lower income population, and population growth which is at a rate that infrastructure development is unable to meet the demands of. Further challenges include informality, poor living conditions and vulnerable livelihoods, exacerbated by extreme weather events caused by climate change (South African Cities Network, 2016). Crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic which effected global and national lockdowns during the period between early 2020 and late 2021 have further exacerbated the above urban challenges. The pandemic has heightened the significance of public space especially in South African cities and cities of the Global South where a large number of newly urbanised communities live in densely packed informal settlements with inadequate access to good quality, safe and green public spaces which offer relief from the confines of informal living.

As highlighted, the profile, advocacy and international dialogue around urbanisation and the role of public space was greatly enhanced through the adoption of Goal 11 of the SDGs, followed in tandem by the development and adoption of the New Urban Agenda (NUA) in 2016, a further UN-Habitat initiative. One of the transformative commitments set out in the New Urban Agenda states:

We commit ourselves to promoting safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces, including streets, sidewalks and cycling lanes, squares, waterfront areas, gardens and parks, that are multifunctional areas for social interaction and inclusion, human health and well-being, economic exchange and cultural expression

and dialogue among a wide diversity of people and cultures, and that are designed and managed to ensure human development and build peaceful, inclusive and participatory societies, as well as to promote living together, connectivity and social inclusion (UN-Habitat, 2016: 13).

The above commitments are echoed in the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 of South Africa, through its objectives for environmental sustainability and resilience, development of economic infrastructure and objectives for transforming human settlements (South African Cities Network, 2016). Despite the above profile set on the global and national agenda, it is held that the approaches to public space conceptualisation at the city-wide and local scales within the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) remain largely technically driven through municipal silos, failing to realise and holistically capture the multiple roles of public space which are increasingly relevant for cities faced with growing urbanisation, poverty and global environmental change. The need to take overall responsibility for urban public space in terms of its quality and image as well as people-friendliness and attractiveness for multifunctional use is lost in the sector-specific implementation of projects. It is held that an urban design lens which seeks to integrate multiple rationalities is required in order to manage and capture the dynamics around the role of public space in the city. It is therefore necessary to further define public space through this lens, clarifying the area of focus of this research.

1.1 DEFINING PUBLIC SPACE: THE AREA OF FOCUS OF THIS RESEARCH

The Charter of Public Space developed at the Biennial of Public Space held in Rome in 2013 defines public space as “all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive” (INU, 2014).

Though the idea of public space occurs at various scales of city and regional planning, the area of focus of this research converges at the city planning and urban design scales, where the nature and quality of public space has an impact on the use, nature and quality of the built environment of the city. The above focus aligns with the classification of public space as outlined in the Global Public Space Toolkit (UN-Habitat, 2015), which classifies physical public space into a variety of types based on three broad categories. The first category encompasses streets as public spaces and includes different types of streets such as avenues and boulevards, squares and plazas, pavements, passages and galleries and bicycle paths. The second category of public space includes public open spaces. Parks, gardens, playgrounds, public beaches, riverbanks and waterfronts fall within this category. The third category of physical public space identified comprises urban public buildings and facilities such as public libraries, civic / community centres, municipal markets and public

sports facilities; those public areas which fall into the realm of architecture and building design. The scale of focus of all of the above categories of public space relate to the built environment within urban areas, where public space becomes the result of planning and design intervention.

For the purposes of this research the first two categories of public space namely that of hard spaces including streets and squares, and soft spaces including green public open spaces encompassing its various typologies and falling within the realms of planning and urban design intervention, form the focus of exploration of this study. This places a lens on the local and site scales of planning and design intervention, albeit recognizing that this occurs in view of the broader ecological and urban systems which comprise the complex socio-ecological and economic interactions which characterise urban areas (Masnavi, Gharai and Hajibandeh, 2018).

1.2 CONTEXTUALISING PUBLIC SPACE: SIGNIFICANCE AND RELEVANCE

In 2014, the UN-Habitat in cooperation with the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU) and other partners put together a global toolkit for public space containing actionable ideas to guide cities on the developing of good public space. The toolkit builds a compelling case for public space built on the roles of public space as the banners of urban civility, promoters of equity and social inclusion, the urban commons of people as well as the producers of environmental sustainability, promoters of income, investment and wealth creation and ultimately the key to great cities (UN-Habitat, 2015). Good quality public spaces contribute to city functionality, social interactions, labour markets as well as urban and environmental health (Kaw, Lee and Wahba, 2020). They also have a positive impact on property values, are good for business, impact on physical and mental health and well-being, have benefits for children and young people, reduce crime, bring together communities, foster social inclusion and enhance environmental biodiversity (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, 2003).

Global policy and case studies on public space increasingly highlight the significance and impact of amenities such as good quality streets and well-designed urban spaces on the performance of urban areas. The UN-Habitat focusses much research in rapidly urbanizing contexts of the Global South where these spaces are in a sense the living rooms, gardens and corridors of urban areas (Kim, 2015). Current research on public space from a global perspective suggests that new and positive narratives need to be formed around the evolving roles of public space (Carmona 2015, Landman 2019). Carmona (2015) states that this new narrative for public space moves away from the search for an idealised urban design blueprint of the perfect public realm. His research within a London-wide context confirms that

newer interpretations of public space favour an acceptance of diverse users, seeking different things from these spaces. The research highlights that public spaces are required to become equally appealing to all people, as spaces of business, consumption, community, spaces in the domestic sphere, the civic city as well as spaces of culture and entertainment or a mix of all the above. Failing these, the option to shun public space altogether and retreat into the private realm emerges as the alternative (Carmona, 2015).

Landman (2019) suggests that the rapidly urbanizing context of cities of the Global South presents new meanings and dimensions that emerge from new functions that public spaces are increasingly required to fulfil. Signalling the new era of democracy in South African cities, Landman (2019: 6) states that “it is important to understand the changing form and function of urban spaces in South African cities and its implications for greater socio-economic integration”. Landman calls for a multidimensional, socioecological framework to understand and guide evolving public space. Landman suggests that such a framework would shed light on understanding public space from an urban resilience perspective which could contribute towards the regeneration of cities in a developing context. Within such a framework, two central concepts which play a role in the conceptualisation of public space and which span both social and ecological dimensions are explored through this research. The concepts of placemaking and urban greening and the intersection of these two approaches within public space are explored with a view that these two approaches can contribute to achieving broader goals of building inclusive, safe, liveable, competent, resilient and sustainable cities that have a strong sense of place and belonging.

1.3 CENTRAL THEME: INTEGRATING PLACEMAKING AND GREENING PRACTICES WITHIN PUBLIC SPACE

The concept of placemaking has been used by landscape architects since the 1970s, originally referring to the creation of streets, squares and other open spaces in cities and neighbourhoods (Lang, 2017). Contemporary placemaking builds on early teachings of Whyte (1980), Gehl (1987) and Carmona et al. (2003), whose lessons merged interdisciplinary and distinctive professional spheres (Santos Nouri and Costa, 2017). As stated by Santos Nouri and Costa (2017: 356), “through time the process of placemaking has accompanied issues intrinsically associated with the physical, social, ecological, cultural and ‘spiritual’ qualities of the urban realm”. The authors argue further that the making of successful public space requires continuous adjustment in the face of new and unrolling obstacles and issues presented before contemporary cities. In the context of South Africa, the adoption of a democratic system of governance in 1994, brought about many political, economic and cultural changes, which required the reshaping of public space to

accommodate these new urban conditions (Landman, 2016). The multi-dimensional scope envisaged and encompassed through the concept of placemaking as it contributes to the making of public spaces holds much potential in addressing the challenges facing cities today.

“Abundant evidence suggests that the world and its constituent landscapes are on an unsustainable trajectory” (Wu, 2013:1000). With 75% of the world’s population likely to be living in urban areas by 2050 and with the threats of climate change and weather related volatility being experienced more frequently, “reducing risks and enhancing resilience of vital infrastructures in our increasingly densely populated urban environments is of crucial concern everywhere” (Staddon et al., 2018). Lawrence, De Vreese, Johnston, van den Bosch and Sanesi (2013) emphasise the increasing global focus on “re-naturing” urban areas through the development of urban green spaces such as parks and forests as a means of addressing the global challenges of attaining urban resilience and environmental sustainability. The term urban resilience is defined by the Rockefeller Foundation (2013) as “the capacity of individuals, communities, institutions, businesses, and systems within a city to survive, adapt, and grow, no matter what kinds of chronic stresses and acute shocks they experience”. Masnavi et al. (2018) engage the idea of resilience from various theoretical underpinnings and outline the general and ecological definitions of resilience thinking as well as the meaning of resilience from an urbanisation perspective, where the role of recovery processes through procedures such as renewal, rehabilitation and reorganization following an unpredicted accident is highlighted. As stated by Ahern, (2011) in the context of unpredictable disturbance and change, a position which anticipates failures and designs systems strategically in a manner that is able to contain and minimise these impacts is more relevant than one which may be static or ‘fail-safe’. Quoting Pickett et al., (2004), Ahern states that resilience as a concept is more strategic than normative as it needs to be “based on, and informed by the environmental, ecological, social and economic drivers and dynamics of a particular place, and it must be integrated across a range of linked scales” (Pickett et al., 2004). As captured by Ahern, (2011: 343)

Achieving resilient sustainability will depend on significant innovations. In the 21st century, much of the infrastructure of the developed world will be replaced or rebuilt, and even more infrastructure will be needed to service the rapidly expanding cities of the developing world. Ironically, when viewed as an opportunity, an unprecedented opportunity to redirect and (re)conceive the process of urbanization from one that is inherently destructive to one that is sustainable and resilient in specific forms. This is the promise and challenge of green infrastructure as a key to build resilience capacity.

As much as the concept of placemaking is able to bring together various social, cultural and economic dynamics into the making of public spaces, the role of greening in public space is often neglected and unseen. It is argued that the purposeful integration of greening and green infrastructure into the making of public space will be significant in building the resilience capacity of cities faced with and adapting to the challenges of global environmental change. Whereas urban greening may be seen as an “integrated approach to the planting, care and management of all vegetation in cities, towns, townships and informal settlements in urban and peri-urban areas” (<https://www.daff.gov.za>), many complex concepts and dimensions of greening and green planning practice bear significance for a resilient conceptualisation of public space. The concept of green infrastructure is emerging internationally as a “way of understanding how green assets and ecological systems function as part of the infrastructural fabric that supports and sustains society” (Harrison, Bobbins, Culwick, Humby, La Mantia, Todes and Weakley, 2014). The notion of ecosystem services offered by green infrastructure and green open spaces underpins the value offered by these approaches. It is held that the four types of ecosystem services as outlined in the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005), which include supporting services, provisioning services, regulating services and cultural services may be integrated within public space through the practices of placemaking and greening. Resilience building strategies of multifunctionality, redundancy and modularisation with the idea of spreading risks across geographical areas and across multiple systems, bio and social diversity, multi-scale networks and connectivity (Ahern, 2011), all have significance for the conceptualisation of public space. As argued by Cilliers, Timmermans, Van den Goorbergh and Slijkhuis (2015) place-making approaches and green-planning approaches can assist in the drive to create better quality, socially viable and environmentally friendly spaces. Gulsrud, Hertzog and Shears (2018: 158) similarly advocate for a green placemaking approach as a nature-based approach to building resilience which challenges conventional environmental management methods by refocusing solutions from purely technological strategies to socio-ecological practices which integrate human well-being and community-based governance. Perhaps the most compelling argument for the integration of an urban greening agenda into the placemaking agenda for public space in a South African context and specifically for this research, within the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, is the following extract from Venter, Shackleton, Van Staden, Selomane and Masterson (2020: 11):

The clear links between urban green infrastructure and human well-being imply that equitable access and distribution of quality urban nature is a matter of human rights. We find that the legacy of Apartheid and socio-economic segregation has entrenched and reinforced inequalities in access to green infrastructure over urban South Africa. The burden of responsibility lies in the hands of both government and individuals

given that this inequity is mirrored in both private and public space across virtually all South African municipalities and that it has not changed but worsened since the end of Apartheid. It is often a challenge for the government to allocate budget to urban greening initiatives in light of larger socio-economic development concerns. However, there is sufficient evidence, alluded to in the Sustainable Development Goals, to show that the ecosystem services derived from green infrastructure are fundamental for socio-economic development and general human well-being. Therefore, any instruments of economic development as well as redistributive justice would do well to include urban greening agendas to dismantle the racial, economic and green Apartheid in South African cities.

1.4 ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH GAP

As put forward by Odendaal (2018: 93), “public space in African cities, as a substantive input into the planning of cities, is underrepresented in the literature on urban planning and design”. As Watson (2014) emphasises, the Global South context encompasses very different social and material conditions from those of its Northern counterparts and calls for planning theory perspectives that work within the limitations of the context. Citing Dados and Connell, (2012:13) Landman (2019: 20) states that the term Global South should be considered as more than a geographical south, as it “references an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential social and economic change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy and access to resources are maintained”. Landman (2019:20) further referring to Roy (2009), states that the dominance of theoretical production from the North “calls for a move to the South as a place not only to study cities, but also to generate and produce provocative frameworks for all cities”. Landman asserts that the steadily growing research from the Global South offers an opportunity to generate place-specific knowledge that can address the incongruence between everyday realities and traditional planning thought and practice. This is aligned to what Watson (2014) refers to as ‘conflicting rationalities’, reflecting on the nature of activities and arrangements characteristic of cities of the Global South where it is necessary to look at fine-grained understandings of context as a means to discover innovative potential within contested urban spaces.

As highlighted by Lew (2017: 13), “most literature on place making conceptualisations and applications are based on experiences in North America, Europe and Australia” and whereas placemaking may have common characteristics in cosmopolitan urban centres, “it is also possible that placemaking will also vary from one culture or country to another, resulting in different placemaking expectations”. Lew (2017) quoting Samadhi (2001), and Friedman (2010), further elaborates that the different worldmaking contexts of Asia, Africa and South

America with their different community challenges, needs and solutions may have significant implications for the understanding of placemaking. In South Africa, as stated by Cilliers et al., (2014), the development of sustainable urban landscapes becomes more challenging considering historic legacies of inequality. Urban greening of townships and informal settlements attains greater significance as these areas were previously disadvantaged in terms of planning for parks as well as tree planting in streets and open spaces (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, <https://www.daff.gov.za>). The significance of the literal greening of cities and the “need to ensure that greening schemes are focused particularly in the most deprived areas, such as industrial and low income residential areas, which by virtue of housing density and general lack of amenity, often lack tree-cover, green open space and recreational areas” is similarly highlighted by Simon (2013: 211). “Spatial inequality, specifically access to resources and access to green areas greatly influences the perceived importance and need of urban green space to citizens and policy makers” (Cilliers *et al.*, 2014: 260). Venter et al. (2020) highlight the need for further research towards understanding the structural processes that shape and maintain inequity in the distribution and access to urban green infrastructure within South African cities. They consider that context specific understandings of perceived values of green infrastructure can influence urban planning workflows towards addressing structural inequities in green infrastructure provision.

Central to innovation in practices of placemaking and greening are the governance mechanisms and policies which structure decision-making and which enable change towards building of resilience within urban spaces. Research by Harrison et al. (2014: 25) on building resilience thinking within municipalities, proposes that in order to ensure long-term resilience, municipalities should find ways “to build systems of governance that can both absorb change and use change proactively to move towards higher levels of sustainability”. As highlighted by Kabisch et al. (2016), the lack of research on socio-cultural contexts is a knowledge gap that plays a role in the success of nature-based solutions in urban environmental planning, management and governance. Cilliers (2021) argues that the realisation of greening initiatives within cities is limited due to the need to embed and mainstream green thinking and practices within urban planning. Cilliers and Timmermans (2015) highlight the potential of place-making approaches and green planning approaches in transforming public spaces. As such, the research into the socio-cultural and governance context of the BCMM seeks to highlight the prospects and potential for an integrated placemaking and greening approach for the conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space, from a Global South perspective. As postulated by Connell (2014: 210), in carrying out a research, the aim should be to draw from the contextual case as a means to “speak back” to current theoretical and best practice perspectives.

It is held that the central theme put forward through this research has significance and relevance for further exploration both in terms of the knowledge gaps outlined above and especially in terms of the need to find effective ways in which to address spatial and structural inequalities present in South African cities. While the thesis explores emergent discourses and practices of placemaking and urban greening, it focuses on the relevance of an integrated placemaking and greening approach for the conceptualisation of urban public space, inclusive of both hard and soft spaces, with a view to tactically enabling the prospects for institutionalisation within the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Poor-quality public environments dominate much of the newly formed human settlements of the post-apartheid South African city. As highlighted by Southworth (2003: 121) design has tended to focus on the objects and buildings of cities rather than on the urban environment within which they are located. “Similarly, the need to consider the public realm as a legitimate and integrative component of the urban system is not acknowledged in practice”. It is argued through this thesis that placemaking and greening practices within public space hold the potential to create greater meaning and value for public space within rapidly growing South African cities. In the context of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, it is held that placemaking and greening approaches within hard and soft public spaces of the city are inadequately addressed. At the same time, the relevance of these approaches in building inclusive and resilient urban public spaces is increasingly evident for cities faced with growing urbanisation, poverty and global environmental change. There is therefore an urgent need to develop a deeper understanding of the processes and values underpinning public space conceptualisation and public space use in the city in order to assess the relevance of, and implications for the institutionalisation of integrated placemaking and greening practices within public spaces of the city. Importance is given to the notion of public space conceptualisation as it is held that the way in which public spaces are visualised and conceived in terms of characteristics, use and activities has far reaching implications for the resulting outcomes and impact afforded by these spaces in terms of liveability, resilience, sense of health and well-being as well as sense of belonging and sense of place.

The main research question that guides this research is therefore as follows:

What is the relevance of an integrated placemaking and greening approach for the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality and how do these processes unfold in the institutional context?

Embedded in the main research question are a number of sub-research questions which are as follows:

1. *How are public spaces currently planned, conceptualised, delivered and managed in the city?*
2. *How well are placemaking and greening practices embedded, resourced and institutionalised in terms of the conceptualisation of public spaces?*
3. *How well do public spaces in the city reflect placemaking and greening objectives?*
4. *Why are placemaking and greening objectives potentially minimised in public space interventions in the city and what are the issues that influence the uptake of these practices within public space?*
5. *How can the insights generated through this case study contribute to a deeper understanding of the processes of public space planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management in a Global South municipal context?*

As will be described in detail in Chapter 4 of this thesis, the research approach followed a qualitative enquiry towards understanding, interpreting and building a holistic picture of placemaking and greening practices which occur within the municipality. The main research question highlights the need for an in-depth exploration and understanding of the context of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality which forms the focus of the research. The research design therefore followed a case study mode of enquiry, where the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality forms the real-world context of the case study. The research method for the collection of primary evidence was two-fold and included the conducting of in-depth interviews with relevant officials in the municipality as well as the site observation and documentation of public spaces in the city. The above method assisted in formulating an in-depth and detailed account of viewpoints and activities of municipal officials as well as provided an opportunity to observe the impacts of the above on public space in the city.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 of the thesis provides a review of the available and pertinent literature on placemaking and greening which have relevance for the conceptualisation of public space. The various dimensions of these concepts are explored in terms of the literature with a view to clarifying the nature and core purpose of each, the relevant theories which underpin the thinking around them and the practices which influence their success and impact. This broad overview framed within a global as well as Global South and South African perspective

provides the backdrop against which it was possible to define and develop the key elements of a conceptual framework which has guided the research.

Chapter 3 of the thesis draws together all the pertinent themes from the literature review, bringing to focus a framework which integrates the concepts of placemaking and greening into the conceptualisation of public space. The intention of the chapter is to frame the essential dimensions, processes and interrelationships that underpin an integrated placemaking and greening approach in the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space within a municipal context. Importantly this chapter synthesises the key theoretical and conceptual frames which underpin the research.

Chapter 4 of the research explains and clarifies the methods followed in conducting the research. The chapter outlines the research approach and design, in view of the research questions which are recounted and confirmed following from the literature review and the development of the conceptual framework. The chapter elaborates the rationale for the case study research method and locates the research within its geographic and institutional context. Summaries of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks are recapped in order to focus the research tools and tactics towards answering the research questions. The chapter ends with a discussion on the ethical considerations taken into account as well as the methods employed in ensuring research validity and reliability.

Chapter 5 sets out the BCMM context in greater detail providing a background and overview of the municipality in terms of its formation, socio-political context, socio-economic and socio-environmental characteristics. Aspects such as location, developmental history, size and demographic characteristics as well as spatial aspects of socio-economic and settlement fabric vulnerability are looked at. The chapter also examines the strategic planning and legislative context of the BCMM, situating the research and examining its relevance in relation to key strategic outcomes as defined within relevant city strategies and plans.

Chapter 6 delves into the processes of public space delivery and governance in the BCMM with a view to understanding the institutional context as well as the initiatives that exist in relation to practices of placemaking and greening in the city. The championing of these initiatives, the contribution of various planning and implementing departments as well as the activities and inter-dependencies involved are narrated. The key themes that emerged through the research in terms of the processes of planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space are brought to light. The chapter concludes by highlighting the key findings in terms of practices of placemaking and greening within public space in the city as seen from an institutional and governance perspective.

Chapter 7 presents a cross-section of public spaces in the city examined through an observation of various types of public spaces within various settlement contexts and located across the three operational regions of the city. The spatial characteristics of these spaces in relation to placemaking and greening at a settlement context scale as well as site scale are documented and analysed through the observation of urban and ecological attributes of each space as well as uses and activities taking place. Common themes that emerge within each region as well as challenges unique to each region are highlighted. The section concludes with the drawing out of overarching themes which characterise the nature of the product of public space in the BCMM.

Chapter 8 discusses and synthesises the key findings of the research as developed through empirical Chapters 6 and 7 of the thesis. The chapter examines the linkages between, and the impacts of current processes of public space planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management as described in Chapter 6 on the product of public space observed and analysed in Chapter 7. The chapter seeks to draw out the underlying issues faced by the city in relation to public space in order to propose purposive actions that could address these issues towards establishing greater relevance for public space. In view of the findings on the institutional challenges inherent in current practices the chapter further highlights the necessary conditions and tools which will need to be assembled in order to affect the institutionalisation of practices of placemaking and greening within public space.

Chapter 9 is the concluding chapter of the thesis and synthesises the key findings of the research. The first part of the chapter links back the research findings to the main research question as well as the sub-research questions which formed the basis of the study. The second set of insights highlights how the research contributes to urban design theory through the drawing together of diverse literature and discourses on placemaking and greening towards a conceptual framework which highlights the role of governance related dimensions on the product of public space. The third set of insights foregrounds the implications of the research for urban design and planning in practice. The chapter reflects on the unique insights gained through the case study context contributing to wider discourses on placemaking and greening as well as highlighting lessons for other Global South municipal contexts. This is followed by a reflection on the research contribution in light of the research gap identified at the outset of the study. The chapter concludes by making recommendations for further work and future research which could assist the municipality in the advancing practices of placemaking and greening within public space.

CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON PLACEMAKING AND GREENING

2: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON PLACEMAKING AND GREENING

Global environmental change and social and economic vulnerabilities associated with the effects of urbanisation in cities foregrounds the need to reconceptualise public space to enhance social, economic and ecological resilience within cities. The main argument of this chapter is that the integration of the approaches of placemaking and greening within public space can result in an enhanced role for public space within cities which could enable the creation of places that improve quality of life and urban living as well as health and well-being of citizens. The objective of the literature review is to present seminal concepts and ideas as well as current and pertinent literature on placemaking and greening approaches in public space from a global perspective as well as through the lens of a Global South interpretation. Section 2.1 and Section 2.2 of the literature review explore the concept of place in relation to space as a basis for exploring dimensions of placemaking as found in the literature. Section 2.3 explores key concepts underpinning urban greening with a focus on how it relates to public space highlighting important considerations in relation to processes of placemaking. Section 2.4 looks at a range of strategies and policies which aid in placemaking and greening in relation to public space. Section 2.5 highlights the relevance of integrated placemaking and greening approaches for the conceptualisation of public space and Section 2.6 draws together successful experiences of placemaking and greening from Africa. Linking the literature to the dynamics of organizational practice Section 2.7 discusses the role of institutional dynamics and collaborative governance in shaping these practices. Section 2.8 provides a concluding overview of the chapter highlighting the research gap which the research seeks to address.

2.1. FROM SPACE TO PLACE: THE CONCEPT OF PLACEMAKING

2.1.1 On the making of place: place making, place-making or placemaking?

As expounded by Lew (2017), 'place making', 'place-making', and 'placemaking' are three ways in which this popular concept has been spelt in the academic literature, also revealing that although definitions for the various terms exist, there is no consensus on how they might be associated. Lew however puts forward two broad meanings associated with two approaches or traditions from which the terms emerged, and which also form the contexts within which the terms are largely used. He ascribes the term 'place-making' to the cultural geography tradition where the term is also closely associated with 'sense of place'. Here the term refers to "how a culture group imprints its values, perceptions, memories, and traditions on a landscape and gives meaning to geographic space" (Lew, 2017: 2, drawing from Tuan, 1977; Coates and Seamon, 1984; Massey, 2005; Wortham-Galvin, 2008; Rose-Redwood,

2011; Othman et al, 2013). Lew associates the term 'place-making' to this more organic and bottom-up approach where places are shaped mostly through social processes and shaped through everyday use. He uses the examples of Tibetan cultural landscapes as well as distinct urban and rural landscapes of parts of Europe to describe the manner in which these places have been formed. Lew (2017: 2) ascribes another broad definition related more closely to the urban planning, architecture, and landscape architecture fields where the term 'placemaking' is used to describe an approach opposite to an organic approach and involves "a planned and often top-down professional design effort to influence people's behaviour and shape their perceptions of place". In between these extremes, Lew uses the term 'place making' to describe the continuum between the scope of both the terms 'place-making' and placemaking.

In contrast to the above postulation of the term 'placemaking' by Lew, the term has gained worldwide momentum through the Project for Public Spaces (PPS) movement which advocates a place-led approach to the design and conceptualisation of public space, driven by a collective imagination and collaborative processes which aim to maximise shared value within public space. "More than just promoting better urban design, placemaking facilitates creative patterns of use, paying particular attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and support its ongoing evolution" (Project for Public Spaces, 2018). The Place Agency, a consortium of universities led by the University of Melbourne, delivering educational and practice-based programs on placemaking and place development, defines placemaking as "a process to increase the capacity and capability of people to invest a place with meaning" (<https://studios.placeagency.org.au/what-is-placemaking/>). The Place Alliance established by the University College London (UCL) is an informal network and movement in the UK that campaigns for and encourages collaboration and collective leadership in the quest for better place quality (<https://placealliance.org.uk/>). The term placemaking and the approach which underpins it has bolstered non-profit organisation efforts in Europe and worldwide through movements such as Placemaking Europe (<https://placemaking-europe.eu>) and PlacemakingX, which bring together a global network of champions who accelerate placemaking as a means of achieving healthy and inclusive communities (<https://www.placemakingx.org/about>).

The choice of use of the term 'placemaking' in this research aligns most closely with the conceptualisation put forward by the PPS which aims to strengthen the connection between people and places through collaborative processes which create shared value within public space. Though closely emerging from the planning and urban design professions, contrary to Lew's proposition, and as reiterated by the PPS, the approach is not imposed from above nor design-driven, but rather community-driven, culturally aware and seeks to put function

before form (<https://charterforcompassion.org>). It is in this sense that the research seeks to explore the concept of placemaking as a tool and approach for the conceptualisation and delivery of public space viewed concurrently with greening approaches, together seeking to enhance the value, resilience and use of public space. In respect of the spelling of the cited use of the term 'placemaking' in this literature review, the usage by the respective author is retained for the sake of accuracy of the citation.

2.1.2 The conceptual engagement between space and place

Central to discussions on place is a philosophical position emerging from the fields of geography, social anthropology, landscape architecture, architecture, environmental psychology, planning and philosophy (Friedman, 2010). The ideas of philosopher Martin Heidegger were central to arguments developed by Norberg-Schultz, Edward Relph, Kenneth Frampton, Tim Creswell and others who have played a role in the development and examination of early theories on 'place'. The planning discourses on place grew out of a growing concern for the poor physical environment of cities which were a result of the modern movement (Jacobs, 1962). Designed to the scale of the automobile, criticisms of the modern city included the loss of connection with the landscape and nature, loss of orientation and identity and the inability of cities to meet the needs and aspirations of people resulting in bleak and meaningless environments. Relph (1987: 260) describes these cities as "drab modernist renewal projects, gleaming towers of conspicuous administration, gaudy commercial strips, quiet residential suburbs, the blank boxes of shopping malls, quaint heritage districts, industrial estates...more modernist housing projects, more suburbs, another commercial strip...where the differences have been increasingly standardized and exaggerated". Relph (1976), articulated the significance of the "intimate conceptual engagement between space and place" (Seamon and Sowers, 2008: 44), where he argues that without a thorough understanding of place as it has human significance and intensity of meaning, it would be difficult to contribute to the maintenance of existing places and the making of new places. Relph introduces concepts of insideness and outsideness which relate to different identities of individuals and groups providing different qualities of feeling, meaning, ambience and identification within a space. The conceptual engagement between space and place is further expressed by Madanipour (1996:23), in the statement that "place is a centre of "felt value", associated with security and stability...in contrast to the openness and freedom of undifferentiated space". In contrast to Relph, Madanipour also emphasises the role of social relationships within a place which have meaning beyond fixed identities of an enclosed space where he quotes Logan & Molotch (1987) who describe the "reality of a place" as being "always open, making its determination an inherently social process" (Logan & Molotch, 1987: 47). Massey (1994:5) similarly argues for a space-time concept of place

where the particularity of a place is “constructed not by placing boundaries around it and defining its identity through counter position to the other which lies beyond, but precisely (in part) through the specificity of the mix of links and interconnections to that ‘beyond’”. Madanipour (1996: 25) concludes that a dynamic conception of place “would more realistically represent the multiplicity of social practices and identities...the identities of places, therefore will be defined and redefined constantly in relation to constant changes in historical time”. Cresswell’s (2004: 39) observations quoted by Friedman (2010) are relevant here:

The work of Seamon, Pred, Thrift, deCerteau and others show us how place is constituted through reiterative social practice – place is made and remade on a daily basis. Place provides a template for practice – an unstable stage for performance. Thinking of place as performed and practiced can help us think of place in radically open and non-essentialized ways...Place provides the conditions of possibility or creative social practice. Place in this sense becomes an event rather than a secure ontological place rooted in notions of the authentic. Place as an event is marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence.

In addition to the core characteristics of urban place emerging from the above which include reiterative social practices, inclusiveness, performability and dynamic quality, Friedman (2010: 154), through his observations of a small temple town in Taiwan adds three more qualities: “the place must be small, inhabited and come to be cherished or valued by its resident population for all that it represents or means to them”. A further important criterion to the formation of places as postulated by Friedman (2010) refers to the “centering of place” expressing place as “spaces of encounter and gathering” which is the “structural imperative for places to come into being” - drawing from Feuchtwang (2004). A key feature of Friedman’s (2010: 162) account of place and place making is the focus on the small and the ordinary “...because the small and ordinary are mostly invisible to those who wield power, unless, when stepped upon, they cry out. But genuine places at the neighbourhood scale have order, structure, and identity, all of which are created, wittingly or not, by the people living there. The order is civil, the structure is centred and the identity...is constantly being made and remade”.

More recent literature on the differentiation of space and place enrich the idea of Madanipour’s “felt value” with respect to the concept of place. Cilliers, E.J., Slijkhuis, J., Timmermans, W., & Van den Goorbergh (2014), speak about the notion of the story behind a place and the importance and influence of stories on how people assign value to a place. Cilliers et al., define the relationship between space and place in the following manner “A place is a usable space, a space that serves a real purpose, has real value and lots of human

energy” (Cilliers et al., 2014: 591). They argue for the need to create active, lively, qualitative and usable spaces for citizens based upon the stories of citizens and future story telling possibilities of citizen life. Through this process, spaces are transformed into places, changing the meaning of that place and ensuring that people using it can appreciate and value it. Landman (2019: 7), quotes Schmidt and Nemeth 2010 and Zukin 2010, where public space is “considered not only in terms of its physical features, but also as an entity that is continuously shaped and redefined by society”. Landman (2019: 142) therefore describes the making of place as an action and a process of “production and management of public space through the actions and reactions of different actors and stakeholders” resulting in a constant remaking of a specific place. The notions of assemblage and evolution are used to describe the manner in which public space is able to accommodate different publics and alternative needs over time (Landman, 2019). Williams (2014), states that through the process or act of placemaking, contested social practices and institutional arrangements can be mediated, making space for the accommodation of diverse identity claims (Gulsrud et al., 2018).

2.1.3 Qualities of a successful urban place

Montgomery (1998), in an analysis on the qualities and characteristics of successful urban places derived a composite model which combined various previous models and indicators by Sherman (1988), Canter (1977) and Punter (1991), see Figure 2.1 and 2.2 overleaf. These elements combine aspects of physicality of spaces such as design styles, ornamentation and featuring drawing on Cullen (1961) and the psychology of spaces such as peoples’ internal guides and senses on how a place feels, encompassing social and cultural dimensions drawing on Lynch (1960) and Alexander (1979) as well as activities which invoke life and liveliness within a space. Theorists such as Jacobs (1961), Gehl (1989) and Cook (1980) “argue that successful urban places are based predominantly on street life and the various ways in which activity occurs in and through buildings and spaces” (Montgomery, 1988). The ideas of vitality and diversity are drawn on, to symbolise a wide diversity of activity and uses which lead to the sustaining of a wide range of economic activities which in turn enhance pedestrian flows, movements and the uptake of facilities. Altman (1993: 34) stated that “we do not just ‘exist’ within a physical environment – we interact with it and derive important meaning from it”.

Sense of place is an essential theme that is closely associated with the literature on ‘place’ and the features of distinct and memorable places. Jaganath (2018) refers to sense of place as the positive emotion experienced by people visiting a place making them feel a sense of longing or belonging to the place. Butterworth (2000: ii) describes sense of place as the “feeling of attachment or belonging to a physical environment, such as a place or a

neighbourhood, and the sense of personal and collective identity that comes from this sense of belonging”. Key concepts which relate to the literature on sense of place include related concepts of ‘place attachment’ and ‘place meaning’, where place attachment is described as the positive, emotional bond between individuals or groups and their environment (Altman and Low, 1992). Masterson, Stedman, Enqvist, Giusti, Wahl and Svedin (2017) ascribe place attachment with two subdomains namely ‘dependence’ and ‘identity’. Place dependence refers to the connection between people and place measured through the ability of a setting to satisfy important needs (Stokols and Shumaker, 1982). In comparison, place identity is defined as “those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment” (Proshansky, 1978:155). Masterson et al. (2017), aver that the above two related behaviours of place dependence and place identity give rise to the concept of ‘place meaning’ which in essence is a short descriptive term which embodies the quality or character of a place or particular setting. Place identity may also refer to a symbolic or interpretive meaning such as place as ‘home’ or ‘escape’.

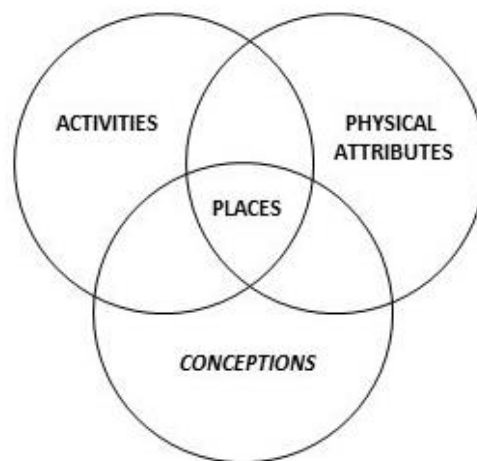


Figure 2.1: A conceptualisation of the nature of places. Source: Canter (1977), cited in Montgomery (1998: 96)

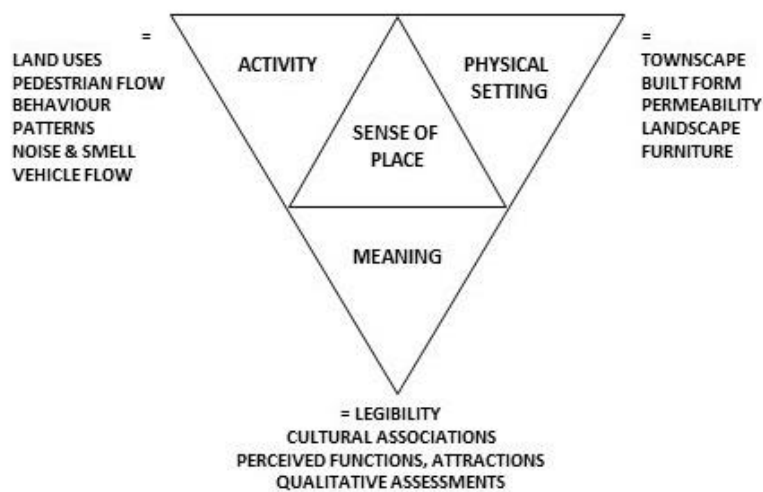


Figure 2.2: Components of a sense of place. Source: Punter (1991), cited in Montgomery (1998: 97)

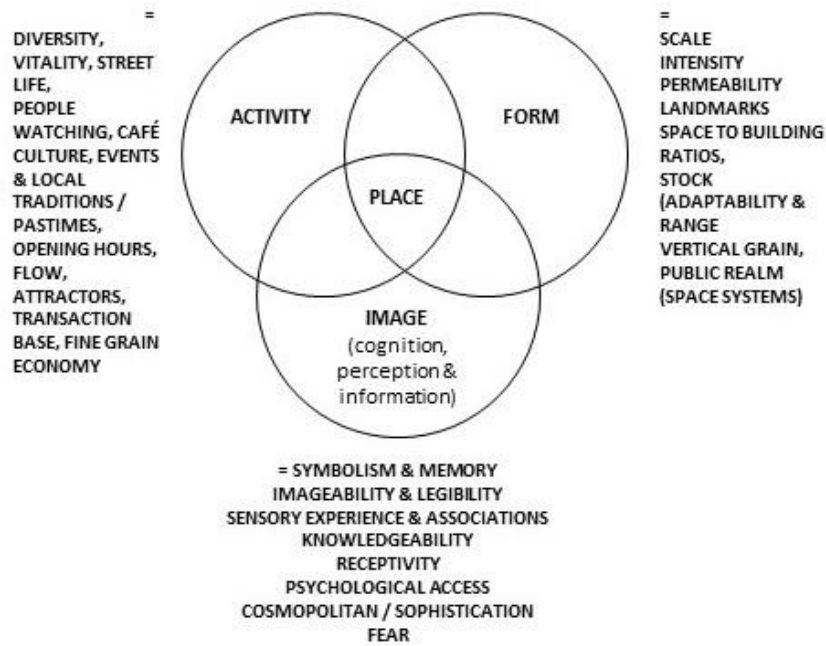


Figure 2.3: Policy directions to foster an urban sense of place. Source: Montgomery (1998: 98)

Based on the work of Whyte (1980) and Jacobs (1961), and through the evaluation since 1975 of thousands of public spaces worldwide, the Project for Public Spaces (<https://www.pps.org>) created a diagram also known as the 'Place Diagram' which refers to four principal urban qualities to the success of public space. These qualities include i) sociability – a place where people meet each other and take people when they come to visit, ii) uses and activities – a place where people are engaged in activities, iii) access and linkages – a place which is easily accessible, and iv) comfort and image – a place which is safe, clean and attractive. Various sub-criteria are identified as a means of evaluating and measuring each of the four principal qualities. In their analysis and consideration of new qualitative and quantitative dimensions to the 'Place Diagram', Santos Nouri and Costa (2017) through their research on user-based approaches to microclimates and prospective climate change, make proposals for the addition of further criteria to the 'Place Diagram' which integrates objectives of urban greening and climate responsive public space design into the mix of what constitutes successful public space, See Figure 2.4 below.

In their explorations of what makes for great places and great cities, PPS advocate the theory of the 'power of 10+', where at the city-scale the idea calls for the development of 10+ major public space destinations in the city. Destinations could include a downtown square, a main street, a waterfront, a park or a museum. Within each destination, the idea calls for 10+ places such as a place to sit, a place to meet, a children's play area etc., and within each place, 10+ things to do. Cumulatively, through placemaking, these destinations, places and activities contribute to the creation of great cities.

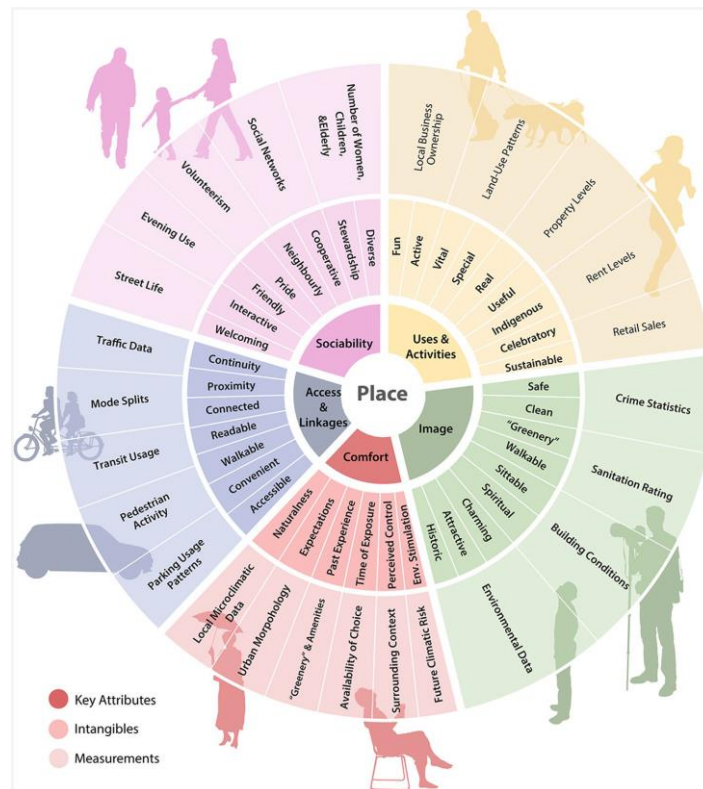


Figure 2.4: The restructured place diagram. Source: Santos Nouri and Costa (2017: 378)

2.2 DIMENSIONS OF PLACEMAKING

The above models on the essential qualities of 'place', have presented the characteristics of place which differentiate, add value and meaning to the use of these places by individuals and communities. Place in this conception becomes greater than a neutral space which is merely a container or conduit of connection or movement from one place to another. The process, the contextual and procedural influences in the making of meaningful places gains significance through the use of the term 'placemaking'. According to Strydom and Puren (2016), the process of placemaking is a multi-dimensional process which includes a spatial dimension, which is realised through the visual properties of the end product; a procedural dimension which includes the negotiations and discussions between relevant stakeholders which define the end product; and a psychological dimension which relates to the intrinsic values and meanings present in the end product of the place. Drawing from Silberberg, Lora, Disbrow and Muessig (2013), Strydom and Puren (2016: 1325) describe the practice of placemaking as "an empowering process which is used to shape an environment by facilitating social interaction and ultimately promoting inhabitants' quality of life". In this context, the spatial dimension outlined above becomes a visible manifestation of the expression of people's involvement in the place making process. Again, highlighting that the spatial expression is not merely a neutral backdrop of independent elements including

physical constructs, but a meaningful expression of place made possible through social constructs. Strydom and Puren (2016) further liken the procedural dimension in placemaking to the empowering process which incorporates various societal viewpoints. They define this dimension of placemaking as the one which strives to teach community members skills in negotiating and participating in the design process which can result in inclusive design outcomes. This is emphasised in Beza and Hernandez-Garcia's (2018:193) description of placemaking derived from a Global South perspective which describes it as "a socio-political and geo-specific community engagement process where value and meaning of a setting are used as a platform to achieve positive public space related outcomes". The third dimension of placemaking alluded to above (Strydom and Puren, 2016), the psychological dimension, is described as the implicit quality which develops as a result of the combination of the first two dimensions and one which evolves during the placemaking process. This dimension draws on key sense of place concepts such as 'place attachment' and 'place identity' described earlier. The following sub-sections seek to highlight the key dimensions of placemaking within the literature, which relate to the procedural aspects and which have an impact on the practice of placemaking.

2.2.1 The process of placemaking and place-shaping

As expounded by Zamanifard, Alizadeh and Bosman (2018: 157), "Placemaking as a promising approach to public space provision became very popular particularly in the praxis of urban design (for example see Friedmann, 2010; PPS, 2000, 2015; Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995)". Madanipour (1996) discusses the various paradigms within which design occurs, referring to urban design as both a product and a process, wherein the product is concerned with the physical environment that is produced and the process is concerned with the conscious act of shaping the environment over time. Madanipour highlights the role of urban design as a process and a conscious act of shaping the built environment over time and by many different actors, where design encompasses the many administrative and urban development processes involved in the implementation thereof. He argues that "to understand urban space, ...following Henri Lefebvre, we need to look at the processes which produce the space" (Madanipour, 1996: 106). Carmona (2014), based on an extensive study of public spaces in London proposed a new theory of urban design process called the 'place-shaping continuum'. Carmona discusses the role of the three influencing factors: the history and traditions of 'place' which influences projects from one generation to the next; the contemporary 'polity' the way in which the policy context and prevailing political economy shapes the design and development ends and lastly 'power', the set of power relationships between stakeholders which focus processes of design in various directions, moulding the nature of outcomes. Together, these contexts influence the four key process dimensions

which mould and shape place over time – the interrelationships of which he argues, constitute the process of urban design. Carmona proposes that the outcomes and interactions between the four process dimensions affect the performance of public spaces and the built environment (see Figure 2.5). These processes include ‘design’ which encompasses key aspirations and vision influencing the creation of public space, ‘development’ which addresses the power relationships and regulations involved in processes of negotiation, ‘space (or place) in use’ which unfolds the reasons and dynamics present in the use of spaces and places, and lastly ‘management’ which addresses the responsibilities for ongoing funding and maintenance dedicated to the stewardship of places.

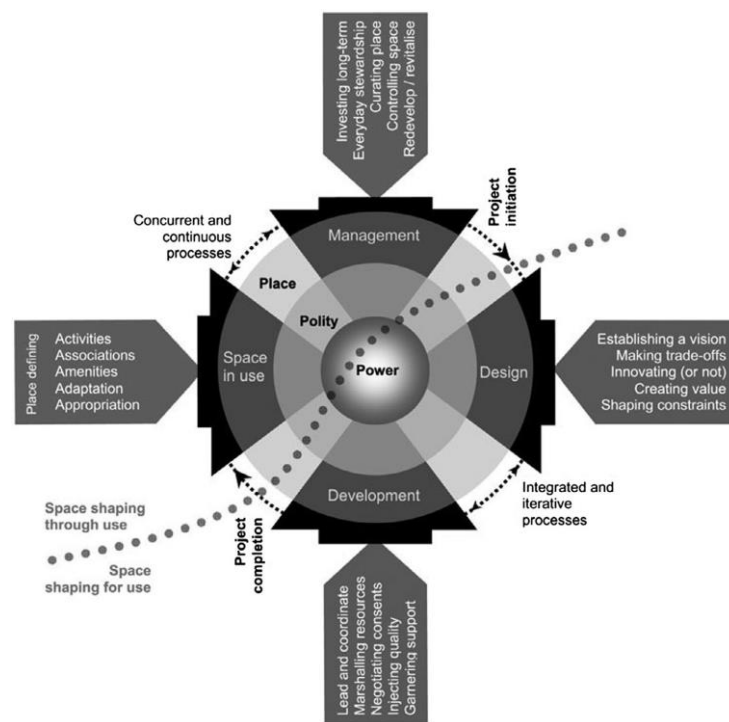


Figure 2.5: Carmona's place-shaping continuum. Source: Carmona (2014: 11)

Zamanifard et al. (2018) contribute to the above discussions by proposing an analytical framework focusing further on all the governance dimensions of placemaking. Their framework provides a useful categorisation related to four major areas of governance viz. ‘governance structure’, referring to the role of power, authority and stakeholder relations; ‘actors and stakeholders’ referring to the three main stakeholder groups, including citizens (individuals), the public sector (e.g. local government) and the private sector; ‘governing tools’ which refer to the instruments and tools which guide and control development and ‘governing tasks’ which signifies the steering and coordination of interventions of various actors in place shaping. Activities within this sphere include visioning, planning, design development, management and maintenance. A further review of literature on the above governance dimensions in relation to public space and placemaking are outlined in the following sub-sections.

2.2.2 Place governance: governance structures, management and maintenance

The nature of the governance structures which initiate placemaking projects play a role in the quality and nature of public spaces created. Dempsey et al., (2012: 11) state that “though public spaces are recognised for their important contribution to economic value, health, well-being and biodiversity, these spaces are often neglected, poorly managed and subject to limited maintenance practices”. In relation to the management of place within the urban context, they highlight the role of management of place to include not just the the physical environment and its design but interrelated and non-physical dimensions of partnerships, governance, funding, policy and evaluation. Carmona and de Magalhães (2006: 79), state that “it is accepted that crucial to delivering high quality external public spaces is the role of local authorities, who are ultimately responsible for managing the vast majority of public spaces within their areas, but also that it is here that greatest room for improvement lies.” The above research by Carmona and de Magalhães (2006) which looked at case studies in twenty local authorities in England revealed that there is a need to recognise the role of non-government stakeholders such as the community, private sector and other bodies in providing public space management services which could achieve resource savings as well as help raise the profile of initiatives in public space management.

A study conducted in England by the Joint Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) in collaboration with BBC Radio confirmed that the perceptions that users form about public space, relates mainly to how space is managed and maintained rather than its original design (Carmona and de Magalhães, 2006). User perceptions in the above study identified qualities of the worst streets to include the following; dirty and poorly maintained, dominated by traffic management, a sense of insecurity, dereliction, decay and lack of activity, superficial and cheap improvements, inaccessible pedestrian and vehicular conditions, uncomfortable to use, inhuman, ugly and unremarkable. This was in contrast to qualities of the best streets which highlighted clean and well maintained environments, pedestrians and traffic in harmony, well lit and safe, good attractions and activities, sensitive alterations and quality landscaping, accessible for both pedestrians and vehicles, comfortable to use, human, attractive and distinctive. The above conclusions bring to the fore the significance of management, maintenance and after-care as equally significant to good quality design.

De Magalhães and Carmona (2009:112) define public space management as “the set of processes and practices that ensure public space can fulfil its legitimate roles, while managing the interactions among, and impacts of those multiple functions in a way that is acceptable to its users”. They offer a conceptual framework for the management of public space to include four interlinked processes; ‘regulation’, ‘investment’, ‘maintenance’ and

'coordination'. The first process refers to the regulation of uses and conflicts between uses. These may either be formulated by by-laws and prescriptive instruments or be managed on the basis of socially accepted practices and attitudes. "How regulation is conceived, adhered to and how it adapts to changing societal needs is a vital dimension of public space management" (De Magalhães & Carmona, 2009: 113). The second process refers to maintenance routines. This process dimension ensures that infrastructure and equipment which constitute the physical components of public space are able to perform the functions they are designed to accommodate. Maintenance routines ensure cleanliness of public spaces, repair and replacement of elements as well as upkeep of street furniture, vegetation, lighting and other facilities which form part of a public space. The investment dimension of public space management refers to the financial and material resources devoted to regulation and management activities. These include both capital expenses from time to time as well as operational expenses related to day-to-day management. It is argued that the success of the development, and the regulation and maintenance processes are defined by the resources allocated in the form of capital and expertise. The last process dimension refers to coordination of interventions in public space. Because the first three processes involve a number of people and organisations, it becomes necessary to bring these together toward common goals through the process of coordination. As stated by De Magalhães and Carmona (2009: 113) citing Leach and Percy-Smith (2001), "the need for coordination has been made all the more important by the fragmentation of the "command and control" state and the emergence of 'enabling' forms of urban governance". The above processes hold good whether they are undertaken by public sector agencies, community organisations or private sector companies.

In their study of management practices for open spaces across local authorities in London, De Magalhães and Carmona (2009) identify three models of public space management; state-centred, market-centred and user-centred models. It is highlighted that though there are differences between the models, they are often not mutually exclusive, and a combination of models may be employed depending on the nature of the challenges at hand. As stated in their work, the dominant management model throughout the world is the state-centred model. The key characteristics of the state-centred model is that there is clear accountability and ethos towards public interests in this model, however there is also a separation between service providers and services users and so the coordination of different aspirations and demands and actions of users become an important factor in public space management with challenges more complex in instances of multi-level and multi-agency institutional contexts. The market-centred and user-centred models are categorised under devolved models as they imply the transfer of responsibilities for the provision and management of public space. The market-centred model is characterised by the ability to draw resources from a wider

constituency as well as greater sensitivity to changes in demand. The delegation of responsibilities is normally based on contractual relationships and there is often an overlap between delivery and use. This model is also characterised by investment based on value for money and competition. In the user-centred model, sensitivity to user needs is strong and motivations are not structured according to market principles of profitability and competitiveness. Services are often co-produced and there is strong stakeholder identification and involvement. Despite the unique advantages of each of these approaches, De Magalhães and Carmona (2009: 128) state that they have serious potential disadvantages “from the lack of flexibility and context insensitivity of the state-centred model, to the very real risk of exclusion and commodification of the market-led approach, to the fragmentation, lack of strategic perspective and spatial inequality of the user-centred model”. The research however highlights that the current challenges facing public spaces can no longer be effectively addressed within a purely state-led model and solutions lie in combining positive contributions of each of the models whilst at the same time controlling and reducing the negative impacts.

Expanding from the work of Carmona and De Magalhães (2009), and following similar delineations, Zamanifard et al. (2018) outline four arrangements in the structures of governance which influence other governance areas. As in the case of the models proposed by Carmona and De Magalhães (2009), Zamanifard et al., also highlight that in reality it may be a mix of two of these arrangements or a gradual transformation from one form to another which shapes places over the course of time. The first is the ‘traditional governance’ arrangement where local government and governmental departments finance, develop and manage the space. As highlighted by Greuning (2001) in Zamanifard et al. (2018: 158) “traditional governance is often criticised for inefficiency, mediocre or low-quality outcomes, and under-management”. It is also possible that the extent of citizen involvement in these placemaking processes are context specific. In the second arrangement, ‘managerial governance’, also referred to as New Public Management (NPM) (Johnston, 2000), responsibilities of intervention and control are given to management agencies which are semi-private entities or arm’s length organisations of government. As highlighted by Pierre (1999), “the challenge here is to avoid or resolve the very likely clashes between expertise and culture of the private institutions and those of the public body” (Zamanifard et al. 2018: 159). The third arrangement is ‘market-based governance’ where the public sector enables the private sector to provide and manage public services. In these instances, the private developer or owner has the rights to control, authorise and make decisions on the use and users of the space. The fourth arrangement is what is termed as ‘governance through networks. Here, a range of stakeholders including public, private and community members work together to deliver quality public spaces and services. As highlighted by Zamanifard et

al. (2018:159), “stakeholders build their relationships on trust, voluntary collaboration, and self-organisations” (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013; Rhodes, 1997).

2.2.3 Participation in the placemaking process

The distinctive characteristic of the placemaking process as outlined by the PPS is that placemaking is a collaborative process which prioritises inclusiveness, community involvement and cultural awareness, focusing on creating destinations that are transformative and sociable (<https://charterforcompassion.org>). Much along the lines of the user-led model of De Magalhães and Carmona and the governance through networks arrangement identified by Zamanifard et al., Cilliers and Timmermans (2014), underline the importance of the role of participants in the placemaking process. Here, the significance of incorporating public user-perspectives and views into the placemaking process is highlighted. Relating the placemaking process to the bottom-up planning approach, Cilliers et al. (2015: 1373) make reference to Gehl (2004:31) and describe the placemaking approach as one which identifies places “where natural life and movements tend to flow, and thereafter creates spaces to enhance these movements and functions and buildings that will support the spaces, thus turning the urban planning process upside down”. Feldman and Stall (2004: 184), describe the appropriation of spaces as “the creation, choice, possession, modification, enhancement of, care for, and /or simply intentional use of space by ‘individuals’ and ‘groups’ to make it their own”. All of these definitions favour and address the needs of communities who are the actual users of the space. “Uncovering and incorporating their ideas is essential to creating successful public place, as users of the space provide perspective and valuable insights into how an area functions and offer a unique understanding of the issues that are important (PPS, 2011: 13).

Cilliers and Timmerman (2014: 417) argue that although participatory planning has been shown to be beneficial in planning, developers and planners often neglect participatory planning and therefore fail to include stakeholder involvement. They state that “meaningful public participation in decision making on urban issues is important for a) upholding the notion of participatory democracy, b) the effectiveness of the planning process and the quality of the planning outcomes, c) improving the quality of, and to validate, political decision making”. Cilliers and Timmerman further highlight two core issues that need consideration; stakeholder identification and the thoroughness with which this is done, and the level of stakeholder involvement pertaining to understanding who the decision-making authority is and to what extent decisions are modified to meet user needs. Stiles (2012) provides an overview of the main actors sitting around the open space table in terms of what they bring to the table and what interests are promoted, see Figure 2.6 below.

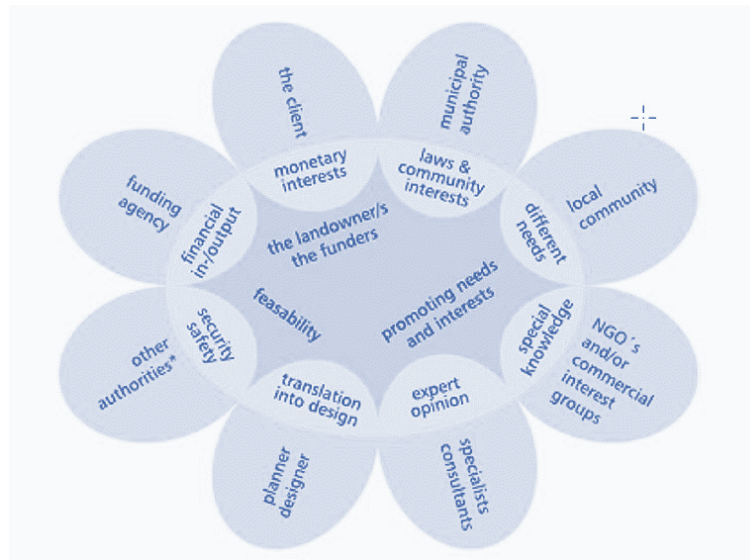


Figure 2.6: Main actors sitting around the open space table. Source: Stiles (2012: 29)

As highlighted by Cilliers and Timmerman (2014), key to successful participation lies in the process of how it is conducted and how it is approached, with evaluation being a necessary factor in determining if social capital was built during the process and if the outcomes demonstrate benefits from the participatory process. Notwithstanding the efforts to engage in effective participatory processes, often it may prove difficult to enhance willingness of stakeholders, community members and local residents to take part in the participatory planning process. Cilliers and Timmerman propose a number of tools which engage the creative participation of communities in the placemaking process. The five methods include the workbench method, the guerrilla gardening method, the extreme experience method and the 'meet my street' tool and the creative techniques tool. Detailed information on the tools are found in the LICl report (Cilliers et al., 2012) as part of the INTERREG EU project Lively Cities: reclaiming public space for public use. All of these tools provide inviting opportunities for users to be part of the planning process, supported by appropriate stakeholder identification and stakeholder involvement criteria. Quoting Soholt, (2004:8) Cilliers and Timmerman note:

To create a lively place, we need to focus on people. The conventional way of planning should be turned upside down and more controversial planning process should be introduced, with people and the life of the cities and public spaces in focus. There is a need to create spaces that are inviting for people and take in consideration people's needs and behavioural patterns.

The creative participatory planning method reiterates the value and unique contribution that residents make in identifying the needs of a space in terms of its functionality and use. Watson (2014: 8) advances the notion of social movement initiated co-production in the

creation of place. This derives from the underpinning that communities often know best how to address challenges faced. In discussing the role of built environment professionals and planners the idea of “providing the right guidance without controlling all the processes”, “asking the right question” without providing all the answers and assisting communities in “finding answers for themselves” is highlighted in bringing together the physical and social aspects of a process. The notion of democratic public space as “spaces of dynamic uses and practices, institutions and relations that respond to societal needs and diverse expectations” as proposed by Makakavhule (2021:257) is relevant here.

In an investigation into the challenges and opportunities for democratic governance in the design of public spaces in the City of Tshwane, Makavhule and Landman (2020) uncover both process related and design related challenges and opportunities which raise important considerations for meaningful public participation. With reference to the process related challenges, they refer to alienation as the condition which is the result of potential users not being involved in the production of space. Further challenges established include; lack of representation, where only a few people make decisions on behalf of a diverse community; homogenisation which refers to the condition where the community is viewed as having similar social aspirations giving rise to generalisation and uniform development; and resistance which refers to the hesitance of officials and design professionals to engage communities directly due to the strenuous nature of reconciliation of community needs in relation to budget and timeframes. To address these challenges, Makakavhule and Landman (2020: 290) highlight the need to focus on the aspects of recognition, voice, diversity and dialogue. “This engagement should allow individuals and groups to stand up and have a say regarding the nature and use of their space, thus giving them a voice. This would also open up opportunities for diversity through an understanding of the context and history of a space and its users recognise various cultural values...” The importance of dialogue between the community and the design team is highlighted as a means of overcoming set perceptions and ideas from planners and designers. As emphasised by Makakavhule and Landman (2020: 291), “the challenges faced in deliberative processes should not be reason to abandon its ideals rather, we need to become aware of the challenges and continuously seek solutions in practice”.

2.2.4 Governance tools for place quality

Carmona (2017: 4) and the Urban Maestro Project (www.urbanmaestro.org) discuss the governance aspects of placemaking defining design governance as “the process of state sanctioned intervention in the means and processes of designing the built environment in order to shape both processes and outcomes in a defined public interest. It achieves this by intervening in the decision-making environment of development stakeholders (whether public

or private) in order that their decisions have a clear place-based quality dimension". Four key conceptual distinctions are made; first, a distinction between the spectrum of 'tools' available for design governance and the 'administration' of it, highlighting that the tools that are chosen and how they are administered will be key to shaping the decision-making environment (Delafons, 1994). The second conceptual distinction is made between 'formal' and 'informal' tools of design governance, where formal tools have a basis in legislation and refer to tools which fulfil regulatory responsibilities and informal tools refer to those which are discretionary or optional in nature. The third conceptual distinction is made between tools which focus on the 'products' of designing the built environment and the tools that shape the 'processes' where the concern is "the pursuit of good design process as much as it does good design outcomes, as ultimately outcomes are shaped by the processes of their creation" (Carmona, 2016: 724) The fourth distinction is between 'direct' and 'indirect' modes of design governance where "a focus on process and on indirectly shaping the decision-making environment is likely to be more long-term and diffuse in its impact, whereas a focus on the product on particular projects and / or places, is likely to be more immediate and clear-cut in its impact on shaping outcomes" (Carmona, 2017: 5).

Apart from the above four broad conceptual distinctions, the Urban Maestro project classifies the tools of urban design governance in two key ways. Firstly 'quality culture' tools versus 'quality delivery' tools where "some tools focus primarily on influencing the broad culture in which the quality of design is prioritised whilst others concentrate on shaping actual projects and places" (www.urbanmaestro.org). The quality culture scenario seeks to gradually build consensus and establish a decision-making environment that recognises that a better quality built environment delivers greater place value. The quality delivery tool seeks to steer decision-making processes in a manner that ensures design quality from intervention to intervention. The second classification defines 'formal' versus 'informal' tools. As described by Carmona in one of the conceptual distinctions described above, these refer to the hard and soft governance tools administered, where the formal tools relate to obligatory requirements to adhere to state policies and the informal tools relate to the use of soft powers of state to encourage development actors to conform to desirable design parameters.

The various aspects of these tools of governance are represented in the diagram, Figure 2.7 below. It is argued that the most successful places emerge where there is effective coordination between the various actors involved in the production of place. Three governance contexts are described in the Urban Maestro typology of tools, these include: hierarchal governance characterised traditionally by the different levels or tiers of government; networked governance characterised by the involvement of a wider range of organisations which support the delivery of urban quality and public open governance which

encompasses individual and group engagement within a loose network of interested parties. Each of these governance contexts use varying degrees and combinations of formal and informal tools / culture and delivery tools. The significance of various governance tools for promoting practices of placemaking and greening within public space and the specific governance context of the BCMM are revealed further in the empirical chapters of this research.

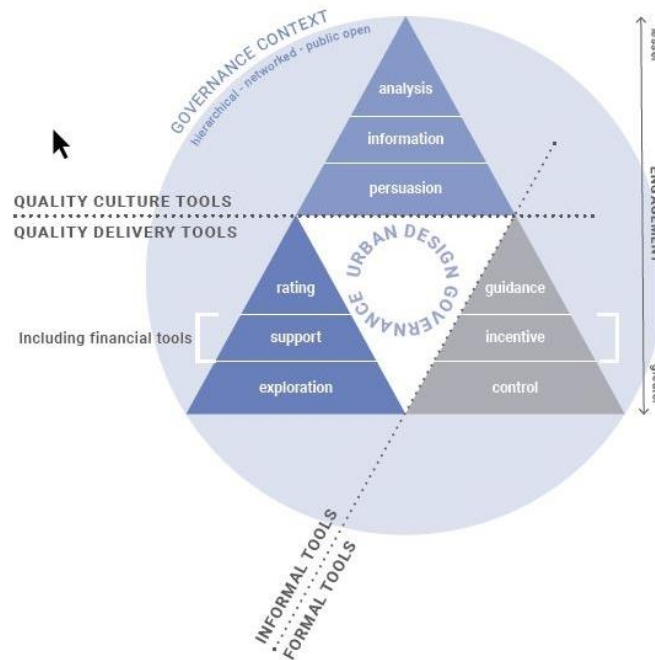


Figure 2.7: The tools of urban governance. Source: www.urbanmaestro.org

2.2.5 Types of placemaking interventions

Originating from the Michigan State University (MSU) Land Policy institute (LPI), the classification of the following types of placemaking was created as part of the development of the curriculum on Placemaking at the MSU. As stated by Wyckoff (2014:2), “placemaking is a process, it is a means to an end; the end is the creation of Quality Places”. The essential ingredients to the making of quality places are described as; proper physical form, proper mix of land uses and functions, proper mix of social opportunity equating to quality activities in quality places and a strong sense of place. Wyckoff uses the analogy of ‘form’ – creating the ‘stage’, ‘activity’ constituting the ‘play’, ‘response’ being the feeling invoked through the play, all of which contribute to economic benefit – ‘if good, the play makes money’. If all of the above criteria are met, the place is said to embody a strong ‘sense of place’.

The three specialized types of placemaking are differentiated from the universal or “standard” placemaking and each type bears a unique relation to physical form, land uses and functions, as well as social opportunity in the creation of quality places. The term standard placemaking

is used to describe the natural incremental way in which the quality of places is improved over a long period of time, comprising many separate projects and activities and continues indefinitely into the future. The MiPlace Partnership Initiative emphasises the role of communities in this process and notes that small incremental projects done sequentially and prioritised in terms of emerging opportunities and budget lead to improvements in quality of life (Wyckoff, Neumann, Pape and Schindler, 2015).

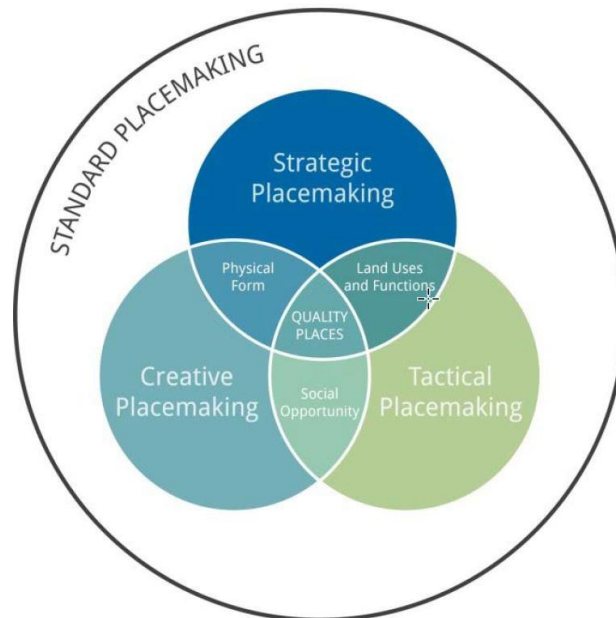


Figure 2.8: Four types of placemaking. Source: Land Policy Institute, Michigan State University (2014: 1-23)

Strategic placemaking, the first differentiated type of placemaking is defined as a targeted process, aimed at creating quality places. The benefits of this approach in attracting talent workers into the city is emphasised where businesses looking for concentrations of talented workers are enticed to locate in a particular city on account of the promise it holds through its many amenities as well as proximity to other talented workers. “Strategic placemaking embraces a range of targeted projects and activities and are pursued collaboratively by the public, non-profit and private sectors over 5-15 years...in particular, projects are in targeted centres, and nodes along corridors in transect locations with dense populations” (MSU, LPI). Examples of strategic placemaking interventions include mixed use development projects in key centres which facilitate and enable the potential to host key cultural and entertainment events as well as recreational activities which add vitality and diversity to a place.

Creative placemaking, the second type, developed by Ann Markusen & Anne Gadwa (2010), has the following definition: “In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighbourhood, town, city or regions around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking

animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired” (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010:1). Examples of projects include developments built around the arts, culture and creative thinking aspects of the built environment with a focus on museums, orchestra halls, public art displays, transit stations with art themes and live-work structures for creative people. Activities which add vitality and diversity to places include movies in the park, chalk art projects, outdoor concerts etc.

The third type of placemaking classified as Tactical placemaking, originates from two approaches: “Tactical Urbanism” (Lydon, Bartman, Garcia, Preston and Woudstra: 2010, 2012) and the “Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper” (LQC) approach popularised by the Project for Public Spaces (www.pps.org). Wyckoff describes Tactical placemaking as the “process of creating quality places that uses a delicate, often phased approach to change that begins with a short term commitment and realistic expectations that can start quickly (and often at low cost). It targets public spaces, is low risk with possibly high rewards...it includes a mix of small projects and short term activities, (which) over a long period of time... can transform an area” (Wyckoff, 2014: 7). Examples include short-term projects that can transform underutilised public spaces, through road diets (shrinking of four lane road to a three lane with bicycle paths on both sides) or new activities through parking space conversions, temporary activity spaces, outdoor music events etc. With this approach, public and policy makers can see the results of small scale interventions and assess various options before committing permanent resources. The various approaches described above encompass either project interventions or interventions in the form of new activities introduced within existing spaces. Similarly, interventions may span various scales ranging from the regional to the local and neighbourhood scales and may have varying design focus related to physical form, land use or functions, or social opportunity. Additionally, interventions may occur within the public, private or within a partnership realm. The payoffs from these various approaches within their contexts have included the creation of a strong sense of place, vibrant and liveable public spaces, diversity, jobs and income as well as the enabling of innovative products and services related to the cultural industries (Wyckoff, 2014).

2.2.6 Global South considerations for place and placemaking

Though the vast body of theory on placemaking has emerged from Global North underpinnings the concept has gained widespread usage in Global South contexts and has been developed further by authors such as Strydom and Puren (2016), Cilliers and Timmermans (2014), Beza, Freeman, Fullaondo and Mejia (2018), who also practice in these contexts. The latter (2018), citing Garcia (n.d.) argue that “each language has its own way to be used,... each word has a different meaning depending on its location”, in the same way,

the authors argue that “the language that one uses to understand place / placemaking in specific cultural contexts has its own specific meaning; which itself depends on a personal relationship to a particular location / space / place and a connection to that setting in that part of the world” (Beza et al., 2018). Their research reveals two place-related dimensions that could be suitable for application in Latin American contexts which forms the underpinning of their research. The first is related to the nuances of language that allow meaning to be relayed in particular ways unique to the context, and the second relates to the conceptual structure that gives rise to something. Here reference is made to Heidegger’s (1962:2008) use of the concept of ‘being’ in a landscape and Timmling’s (2008) application of the term ‘urban memory’ as suitable concepts for application in these contexts. As explained by the authors “by allowing for and accommodating difference in the concepts’ use and application, the linguistic nuances used to express specific cultural ‘feelings’ towards settings can be used to support the richness of place/ placemaking discourse” (Beza et al., 2018). In the above context, words which best link with place and one’s connection with the setting are cited as *lugar*, *sitio*, *ambiente*, *entorno*, *vecindad*, *barrio*, *colonia* and *(la) casa*, various words, which explain the continuum between tangible and intangible aspects which contribute to the definition of place.



Figure 2.9: Tangible (built environment) and intangible (social / cultural) underpinnings of place. Source: Beza, Freeman, Fullaondo and Mejia (2018)

The authors final conclusions acknowledge that firstly, though place related phenomena are global and can be used as a concept outside of the Anglo world, the linguistic and cultural distinctions within each national context must be made. Secondly, it must refer to both the physical and social dimensions within a specific culture; thirdly it should describe the conceptual constructs of a place within a specific culture as well as how a space came into

being in a specific-socio-political context. Lastly, it should describe the feelings towards and symbolism of a setting in relation to the national and local scales of the city or town (Beza, Freeman, Fullaondo and Mejia, 2018). Through similar conceptualisations, a further body of literature in relation to greening within urban spaces linked to biocultural underpinnings from a Global South, South African perspective is touched on further in Section 2.3.7 below.

2.3 DIMENSIONS OF URBAN GREENING WITHIN PUBLIC SPACE

Having concentrated on the various dimensions and aspects of place and placemaking, the focus of the literature review shifts to examining the concept of urban greening with a view to understanding how it bears significance for the role of public space as well as its relevance in the placemaking process. Various dimensions and areas of urban greening were explored to uncover the role and purpose as well as the strategies, tools and methods which enable its practical application within public space. A survey of the literature on greening and green planning approaches and practice reveals the many complex concepts and dimensions of urban greening, which bear significance for the planning and conceptualisation of public space. An overarching scope of the term greening is provided by Turpie, Letley, Chrystal & Day (2017), who outline five elements of a green development policy which include the following. First, measures to reduce water consumption, non-renewable energy and carbon emissions; second, regulations to minimise air, water and solid waste pollution; third, use of “green engineering” measures to retard stormwater flows and enhance water quality; fourth, protection of natural assets for biodiversity conservation, ecosystem services and amenity and last, the maintenance of well-kept parks, street trees and gardens for amenity and pollution control. The usage of the term greening in this research falls within the scope of the last three areas of the above outlined elements. Ranging from theories of ecological resilience and the notion of ecosystem services of green infrastructure and green open spaces, to the planning and management of ecological and green systems at various scales, many interlinked concepts are covered in the literature on urban greening in relation to public space. Some of the key definitions, concepts and theories that underpin greening practices within public space as are presented below.

2.3.1 Key concepts underpinning urban greening in relation to public space

A useful definition of urban greening as put forward by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) states that urban greening is an “integrated approach to the planting, care and management of all vegetation in cities, towns, townships and informal settlements in urban and peri-urban areas” (<https://www.daff.gov.za>). Urban green space can be viewed at various scales and comprises both natural and manmade elements. At a city-wide scale it comprises the ecological open space systems encompassing riverine and

riparian systems, forests, remnant natural vegetation and other adapted natural green areas such as agricultural land. From a manmade perspective, it comprises sports fields, public parks, play areas, allotment gardens, the edges of roads and streets that incorporate vegetation and which form a part of the local urban fabric of the city. A slight ambiguity arises with the usage of the term public open space often referenced in official policies and databases because “open spaces can be ‘grey’ landscapes sealed with impermeable ‘hard surfaces’ such as concrete or tarmac, while green space evokes ideas of permeable ‘soft’ surfaces such as soil, grass, shrubs, trees and water” (James et. al., 2009) cited in Schäffler, Christopher, Bobbins, Otto, Nhlozi, De Wit, Van Zyl, Crookes, Gotz, Trangoš and Wray (2013).

Urban green infrastructure is a term with similar meaning to urban green space and has gained popularity in the literature, emerging as an alternative approach and partner to traditional infrastructure provision harnessing the functioning and services provided by ecosystems (Culwick, Bobbins, Cartwright, Oelofse, Mander and Dunsmore, 2016). It refers to “all natural, semi-natural and artificial networks of multifunctional ecological systems within, around and between urban areas, at all spatial scales” (Tzoulas et al. 2007: 196). As highlighted by Cilliers and Cilliers (2016:11) citing Davies et al. (2008) and Cilliers and Timmermans (2012), “This multidimensional structure and range of green infrastructure can be illustrated through the green-grey continuum”. Pauleit et al., (2011) and Sandstrom (2002) cited in Venter et al., (2020: 2) define urban green infrastructure as “the connected network of multifunctional, predominantly unbuilt, space that supports both ecological and social activities and processes”. Nuances in the definition and usage of the term green infrastructure is also evident in the literature. Whereas in Europe green infrastructure typically refers to all natural environmental features, in the USA, it refers to both environmental and engineered features. As stated by Culwick et al. (2016: 13) citing the NYC (2009) and Philadelphia Water Department (2014), “While these definitions of green infrastructure both place a general focus on existing natural systems, the inclusion of purposefully designed or constructed engineered solutions is a specific feature of green infrastructure plans in the USA”. From a South African perspective, research by Cilliers and Cilliers (2016), revealed that South African typologies of urban green infrastructure are much more limited than international counterparts and refer largely to the term open spaces. Cilliers and Cilliers (2016) developed a comprehensive green space typology drawing from international examples identifying the need to generate greater green infrastructure typologies in South Africa in order to identify opportunities and provide insights on green infrastructure adoption and mainstreaming within planning practice.

The concepts of scale, hierarchy, connectivity / networked green infrastructure and multifunctionality are highlighted as important perspectives in the planning of green infrastructure (Culwick et al., 2016, Venter et al., 2020). Green infrastructure networks therefore generate ecosystem services at different spatial scales. As stated by Culwick et al., (2016), site scale green infrastructure options such as bioswales and rain gardens contribute to regional stormwater management. The scale at which green infrastructure networks generate ecosystem services is therefore of interest to different stakeholders – at a site scale, it bears significance for landowners, and at a city scale it bears significance for city officials, planners and engineers.

A key component of urban green infrastructure is indeed the urban forest. The concept of urban forestry which is generally described as “the art, science, and technology of managing trees and forest resources in and around urban community ecosystems for the physiological, sociological, economic, and aesthetic benefits trees provide society” (Konijnendijk, Ricard, Kenney and Randrup: 2006: 93) is equally fundamental to the greening of public space. At a city-wide scale the urban forest encompasses entire forest ecosystems in and around the city falling within the open space system of the city. At a local scale it refers to the diverse selection of street and park trees which form a critical infrastructural element which maintains the health and liveability of cities (Gulsrud et al., 2018). The review of urban ‘greening’ literature therefore spanned the terms ‘urban green space’, ‘urban green infrastructure’ and ‘urban forest’, in order to examine aspects, which would have relevance for the conceptualisation of public space within South African cities.

2.3.2 Ecosystem services: benefits of urban green space and urban green infrastructure

As highlighted by Zhou (2012: 174), “many researchers note that urban green space can inject cities with vitality in terms of ecological, social and economic benefits (Givoni, 1991; Heidt and Neef, 2008; Tzoulas et al., 2007)”. He further states that the process of urbanization and ever growing populations in cities, in addition to citizens’ expectations calls for the provision of urban green space as an important agenda to ensure quality of urban life. Zhou (2012) outlines the various social benefits of urban green space to include; providing recreational opportunities, rendering aesthetic enjoyment, promoting physical health, adjusting psychological well-being, enhancing social ties and providing educational opportunities. “Besides individual benefits, the city as a whole reaps the benefits of having large areas of green space for regional identity” Zhou (2012; 176). Zhou also highlights the large body of literature which covers the variability in the consumption of green space in relation to age, professional, educational and cultural values and socio-economic status.

The term ecosystem services gained wide recognition in the “Millennium Ecosystem Assessment” (MEA, 2005). The term builds on the notion that humans as part of ecosystems derive a range of benefits from these ecosystems, at the same time, “worldwide evidence of escalating human impacts on ecosystems raises questions about their capacity to continue to provide the services necessary for an acceptable level of human well-being” (MEA, 2005: 51). Cilliers and Timmerman (2015) state that the fine balance between protecting green spaces and developing urban spaces is one that needs to be carefully balanced. An understanding of the various ecosystem services and their linkage to human well-being asserts the relevance of urban greening to support ecological processes as well as build urban resilience. MEA classifies ecosystem services into four types of services viz. provisioning services, regulating services, cultural services and supporting services.

The linkages between ecosystem services, urban green infrastructure and human well-being have been highlighted by Nastran, Železnikar, Cvejić, Pintar, Haase, Mascharenas and Kabisch (2016) through the Green Surge Project (European Commission, 2017). As per McMichael, Scholes, Hefny, Pereira, Palm and Foale, (2005) and Nastran et al. (2016) the various ecosystem services can be understood as follows. Provisioning services include food provision, provision of fresh water, fuel, raw materials, biochemicals and genetic resources. Regulating services include climate regulation, water and flood regulation, pollination and disease regulation. Cultural services include recreation and tourism, aesthetic values, spiritual and religious values, education value, inspirational value and cultural heritage, and supporting services include all the natural processes which take place within ecosystems which make the other services possible. Examples of supporting services include soil formation, nutrient recycling and primary production or amount of energy converted from light energy to chemical energy by plants / autotrophs. Urban greening therefore plays a significant role in contributing to regulating, provisioning and cultural services by way of carbon sequestration, water flow regulation, temperature control and clean air; access to food (in the case of urban agriculture) and cultural, spiritual, aesthetic, educational, recreation and nature-based tourism services, all of which relate to human well-being in various ways (Nastran, Železnikar, Cvejić, Pintar, Haase, Mascharenas and Kabisch, 2016). As stated by Pasquini and Enqvist (2019), green infrastructure plays an important role in one of the most immediate impacts of urbanisation: “the changes in local climate through the Urban Heat Island (UHI) effect” (Adeyemi, Botai, Ramoelo, Van der Merwe, Tsela, 2015). UHI refers to temperatures within cities being higher than surrounding areas due to influences such as air pollution, urban construction and engines and machinery generating excess heat (Roberge & Sushma 2018; Levermore et al. 2018). From a sense of place perspective, as stated by Baycan-Levent, Vreeker and Nijkamp (2004), green spaces also play a role in defining and supporting the identity of towns and cities, enhancing

attractiveness for living, working, investment and tourism as well as enhancing city competitiveness.

2.3.3 Evaluation of ecosystem services

Wolf (2004), in a research on the economics of urban trees, parks and open spaces found that the perceptions of public value may not necessarily integrate scientifically confirmed public goods and services of urban green space. Wolf (2004: 88) describes public value as “the widely held perceptions of the public regarding the function and service contributions of any public entity”. The valuation of such resources therefore increases the legitimacy of adequate staff and funding resources to develop, manage and maintain these resources.

Wolf outlines a number of methods by which to arrive at an economic valuation of urban green space. Direct use value refers to the method which tallies all expenses incurred by users and visitors of a parks system. In this instance nearby users may spend little to use the facility however, others may travel a distance to visit the park and the money spent on travel, meals, accommodation can be prorated based on the amount of time dedicated to the visit. The local purchases made as a result of the visit, knowledge acquired as a result of learning about trees or horticulture while at the park and other incidentals are tallied to make the calculation. Calculation of environmental benefits and costs is another method of valuation of green infrastructure and services. “Trees and green spaces are elements of ecosystems that clean air and surface water, provide or renew potable water and reduce energy consumption” (Wolf, 2004: 89). As an example, Wolf highlights that the Puget Sound basin study (American Forests, 1998) showed that tree cover in the county’s urban boundaries reduced storm water storage costs by \$910 million and generated annual air quality savings of \$19.5 million. Other benefits enumerated from similar studies showed calculated benefits in energy savings, reduced atmospheric carbon dioxide, improved air quality, and reduced stormwater runoff. Differed costs are calculated based on the amount of money that would need to be invested in engineered infrastructure or equipment “For instance, tree canopies intercept rainwater, thereby reducing the amount of water falling to the ground and running off into storm water collection systems, thus potentially saving a community the materials and construction costs of stormwater system built for greater runoff capacity” (Wolf: 2004: 90). A third method for calculating the public benefits of urban greening and green infrastructure includes hedonic pricing. The concept proposes that peoples’ spending behaviours and property values can be affected by the presence of parks and green spaces. Methods of calculating human health and mental health are also described in the study by Wolf.

Cilliers, Cilliers, Lubbe and Siebert (2013), in their research on ecosystem services of green spaces in African countries found that cities face a number of challenges in applying ecosystem based adaptation (EBA), based on ecosystem services (ES) valuation. Ecological challenges faced by African cities include the lack of studies on valuation of ES as well as the lack of determined impacts of climate change on biodiversity and ES both of which could influence decision making processes with regard to green infrastructure. Economic challenges include the need to select appropriate valuation methods to quantify the values of urban greening interventions such as reforestation projects. Political challenges highlighted include the need to develop institutional partnerships and strong political and administrative will to protect ecosystems and their services. It is shown that in most African cities, special social issues such as safety and security (also termed as ecosystem disservices) need to be addressed. Cilliers et al., (2013: 697) state that there needs to be more sensitivity in terms of the ways “in which ecosystem functions can be perceived as beneficial, harmful or insignificant by different people in different situations” (Lyytimaki and Sipila, 2009), and that this may vary between poorer and more affluent communities.

Pasquini and Enqvist (2019: 14), in their research on green infrastructure in South African cities found that there are several ways in which to make better use of the potentials of urban green infrastructure. These include: “improved ecosystem services assessments using existing by-laws and building standards, cross-departmental collaborations, partnerships with non-governmental actors and local communities, linking the green infrastructure concept to climate change policies and ecosystem services discourse, and allowing for experimentation”. They however highlight that there remain great gaps with regard to data and information from real life case studies on the impacts of urban heat and potential mitigating effect of green infrastructure, as well as information on the types of vegetation that can best withstand the harsh conditions that are characteristic of South African cities.

2.3.4 Environmental justice in urban greening

The overarching framework for environmental justice in South Africa is found in the South African Constitution (1996, section 24), which includes a Bill of Rights that grants all South Africans the right to an “environment that is not harmful to their health and well-being” and the right to “ecologically sustainable development”. As described by McDonald, (2002: 3), “environmental justice is about incorporating environmental issues into the broader intellectual and institutional framework of human rights and democratic accountability”. This statement is supported by Wenz 1988; Bullard 1990; Capek 1993; Bryant 1995; Cutter 1995; Goldman 1996; Harvey 1996; Heiman 1996; Dobson 1998; Schlosberg 1999; Bowen and Haynes 2000. In a South African context and as stated by McDonald the concept is most importantly concerned with the environmental injustices in the above relationships, requiring

ways and means of rectifying the injustices as well as ensuring that they are avoided in the future.

As noted by Venter et al., (2020:3), “disparities in access to green infrastructure are increasingly recognised as an important environmental justice issue (Wolch, Byrne, & Newell, 2014; Kabisch and Haase, 2014)”. In their study which investigated disparities in green infrastructure distribution across race and income geographies in urban South Africa, it was found that “public and private green infrastructure is more abundant, accessible, greener and more treed in high-income relative to low income areas, and in areas where previously advantaged racial groups (i.e. White citizens) reside” (Venter et al., 2020:1). The study reported that areas with White residents showed 6-fold higher income, 11.7% more tree cover, 8.9% higher vegetation greenness and residents live 700m closer to a public park than areas with predominantly Black African, Indian, and Coloured residents. They also found that inequities occurred both in private spaces as well as public areas such as street verges, parks and green belts highlighting the failure of governance structures to plan and implement urban greening in previously disadvantaged areas. “This is especially so in the numerous post-Apartheid, government built social housing areas where environmental justice, sustainability and quality of life aspects have been neglected (Venter et al., 2020: 2). A study by McConnachie and Shackleton (2010: 247), which looked at the distribution of public green space across nine small towns in the Eastern Cape in South Africa, found that “recent low-cost housing developments by the South African government are poorly endowed with public green space, to the probable detriment of those residents least able to afford to travel and access green spaces outside the town or suburb.” Venter et al., (2020), highlight that although the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA, Act 16 of 2013), provides legislative structure for correcting green infrastructure inequality, in the context of pressing planning priorities, a national assessment of access to urban green infrastructure has not been carried out. Though the study does not account for the impact of SPLUMA on green space distribution in South African cities, due to its fairly recent implementation, the results of the analysis indicate that settlements throughout South Africa experience backlogs of green infrastructure provision.

Gwedla & Shackleton (2017) in their extensive research in the Eastern Cape of South Africa reveal how the development history and legacy of apartheid have left disparities in the distribution, diversity and variation of street trees between and within towns in the Province (Kuruner-Chitepo and Shackleton, 2011; Shackleton et al., 2014). Their studies highlight the absence of street trees in former homeland towns as compared to towns which were not part of the homelands during apartheid. Former homelands also referred to as Bantustans were territories that the white administration of South Africa set aside for black inhabitants as part

of its policy of apartheid which spanned from 1948-1994. The above study also reveals disparities in the distribution and variation of street trees between residential areas within towns. Suburbs known as 'townships' and 'RDP settlements' are characterised by lower abundance, distribution and diversity in street trees with RDP settlements being worse off than the so called townships. Wilkinson (1998), describes townships as areas within non-homeland towns and cities previously reserved for black South Africans who worked in these cities during apartheid. As stated by Kuruneri-Chitepo and Shackleton (2011), these suburbs were poorly serviced and dominated by small, high-density erven and characterised by high poverty levels due to the restrictions on employment opportunities. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) resulted in what is known as the 'RDP' settlements, which were unrolled as part of post-1994 democratic governance in the country following the end of apartheid. This programme was initiated to address the severe backlogs of service provision and housing created during apartheid (Wilkinson, 1998). RDP houses consisted of single storey 40sqm, low cost houses created for the poor and previously homeless (Gilbert, 2004). As stated by Gwedla & Shackleton (2017), the disparities in the distribution in street trees due to the legacy of apartheid in South Africa need to be addressed. "Indeed, the deepening entrenchment of inequality in access to urban green infrastructure may also be attributed to inadequate implementation of urban greening initiatives. Most smaller municipalities have low financial, staff and skill capacities to support urban green infrastructure development and maintenance. The cooperation between government departments and other entities that could aid greening programmes is also seen to be largely lacking (Chishaleshale et al., 2015, Gwedla & Shackleton, 2015), and is likely worsened by perceived perspectives that public green infrastructure is an optional luxury (Southworth, 2003; Venter et al., 2020:9).

A similar socio-economic bias in relation to tree cover is found in cities like Brisbane, Montreal and Sheffield in the UK (Shanahan et al., 2014, Pham et al., 2012, Barbosa et al., 2007), cited in Venter et.al (2020). Rigolon (2016) confirms that environmental justice is an issue across several geographies. In a nuanced study on the inequities of access to urban parks, the investigation of forty-nine empirical cases mostly in developed countries, highlights that low socio-economic and ethnic minority groups have access to fewer acres of park and parks with lower quality, maintenance and safety than their privileged counterparts. The study highlights that identifying inequities in park proximity, park acreage and park quality can assist in developing strategies targeted to address these inequities.

2.3.5 User perceptions, developmental priorities and greening challenges

"Urban trees growing in roadside verges, boulevards, parkways, tree lawn / strip, private gardens, and remnant forest patches constitute the largest component of urban greenery in

most cities” (Feng & Tan, 2017, cited in Gwedla and Shackleton (2019: 225). As highlighted previously, the legacy of apartheid has left disparities in the distribution, diversity and variation of urban trees in found within settlements in South African towns (Kuruner-Chitepo & Shackleton, 2011; MacConnachie & Shackleton, 2010). Gwedla and Shackleton (2019), citing Chishaleshale, Shackleton, Gambiza & Gumbo (2015) state that this pattern is exacerbated by the dearth in strategic management plans as well as systemic monitoring of existing urban trees and green spaces. The also highlight the lack of adequate policies that deal with the promotion of tree planting and maintenance in South African towns and cities (Shackleton et al., 2014). “Furthermore, housing policies continuously refer to the need for environmental sustainability and to minimise the impacts of development and housing initiatives, but these rarely translated into specific guides, standards or actions (Shackleton et al., 2014)”. (Gwedla & Shackleton, 2019: 226). Within the above background, an investigation into the perceptions of residents on the importance of urban trees across different suburb types within multiple towns in South Africa with differing socio-economic contexts was undertaken. Though the study revealed that most respondents had positive perceptions on the importance of urban trees it was found that residents from wealthier towns, and more affluent suburbs recognised the importance of street trees more than those from poorer towns and suburbs. This pointed out that those who experienced the benefits of urban trees, as evidenced in their responses and by virtue of having experienced living in environments with trees, were the ones who had positive perceptions about trees. The study highlights how developmental priorities are different within different socio-economic, developmental, political and governance contexts, thus recognising the importance of incorporating residents’ perceptions and preferences of urban greening into plans and strategies towards urban forest establishment and management. They highlight that this will assist in improving urban forest structure and distribution as well as prove useful in reducing disparities in urban tree distribution. “This strategy also has potential to cater for user needs and thus encourage residents to use, protect and be stewards of urban green infrastructure surrounding them, in line with their preferences” (Gwedla and Shackleton, 2019: 232).

Just as much as user perceptions have a role to play in the success of urban green interventions, “urban planners and managers play central roles in shaping the structure and appearance of towns and cities at multiple scales” (Broussard et al., 2008 and Gulsrud et.al. 2013 cited in Gwedla and Shackleton, 2015: 17). To investigate this further, Gwedla and Shackleton (2015), undertook a survey of development visions and operational challenges faced by park officials in 24 local municipalities in South Africa’s poorest province, the Eastern Cape. The study found that the managers were acutely aware of spatial differences in between and within the different town in the province. Challenges experienced included lack of funds, lack of space in RDP areas for trees or green spaces as well as high levels of

damage to newly planted trees. In addition to the lack of appropriate policy frameworks at the local level, respondents also cited weak cooperation and communication between national and provincial spheres of government responsible for planning and construction of RDP areas which is described as similar in other developing countries such as Kenya and Morocco and other areas of South Africa (Tuts, 1998 and Roberts and Diedrichs, 2002 cited in Gwedla & Shackleton, 2015). The study identifies that given the knowledge, skills and budget constraints revealed in the study, transitions to a greener future would require catalysing either by local residents or through national government funding and regulation. The study also revealed that few of the officials made conceptual links between environmental quality and the visual attractiveness of towns in attracting businesses and skilled residents. It was found that many officials responsible for urban greening had limited or no qualifications, negatively affecting their ability to champion green issues or lobby for budget and resources. As stated by Cartwright & Oelofse (2016:14) "For many decision makers the environment remains a luxury good, deserving of attention and budget resources only once more pressing needs with regards to housing and basic services have been satisfied, or in order to prevent or respond to a natural catastrophe. It is a view that fails to acknowledge the important linkages between human well-being, development and the health of the natural environment (Cooke et al., 2010), but which remains prevalent due to systematic discounting of environmental value and perceived lags between environmental investments and human benefit". Van Zyl, Cilliers, Lategan, and Cilliers (2021) highlight the need to "close the gap between urban planning and urban ecology" in order to address some of the above challenges. The authors propose that a strengthened educational agenda of planning pedagogy could enable current and future practitioners to better embed ecological considerations within broader planning approaches. This strengthening of ecological knowledge and intelligence will enable planners to better engage and lead stakeholders towards decision-making which integrates urban green infrastructure at the settlement planning scale and site scales. Van Zyl et al.,(2021) emphasise the need especially within Global South contexts to better articulate ecological considerations in spatial planning policy and legislative frameworks where these aspects are applied to a limited extent as compared to Global North contexts.

"Green issues need to be championed in the consultation phase, both by civil society and by suitably informed and qualified municipal officials. Many of the officials currently responsible for urban greening have limited or no qualifications and limited experience for such. Thus, their ability to champion green issues and lobby for budget and resources is weakened" (Gwedla and Shackleton, 2015: 25). The authors propose that the above challenges need to be addressed through appropriate training, information and partnerships with local businesses and citizens who are keen on maintaining and improving environmental quality.

Citing Gulsrud et al., (2013), Gwedla and Shackleton (2015) state that the promotion of green issues within financially constrained and less developed towns requires local and informed champions in order to be successful.

2.3.7 Incorporating biocultural diversity within green spaces

Cocks, Shackleton, Walsh, Manyani, Duncan and Radebe (2020) advocate for an approach to green space conceptualisation that is grounded in fostering biocultural diversity within green open spaces in the city. “Biocultural diversity is based on the premise that nature and culture are not in opposition with each other but are inextricably linked” (Posey, 1999 cited in Cocks et al., 2020). Arguing for the decolonisation of nature in towns and cities of South Africa, Cocks et al., study two colonial towns of Qonce (previously King William’s Town but referenced in this research as King William’s Town in instances of historic referencing) and Komani (previously Queenstown) in the Eastern Cape to highlight how local indigenous understandings of nature continue to remain unaccommodated within Eurocentric constructs of urban nature.

The urban natures that exist and the new ones that have been created post-1994, remain deeply embedded with a Eurocentric understanding of what nature is and how it should be experienced. No attempts have been made by local authorities to re-imagine what local urban natures should comprise by incorporating local interpretations, meanings, needs and values. ...New parks created in the townships post-1994 remain defined solely as places of recreation. Few attempts have been made to include indigenous plant species which have meaning to local residents (Cocks et al., 2020:120).

They continue to state that the immortalisation of heritage within natural environments (Batten & Batten 2008), and the promotion of these by local authorities as destination points for the tourist market further alienates these places from the local communities. “Failure to integrate concepts of place-making and place identity into the planning and management of urban natures within urban areas by local authorities has the potential to alienate urban residents further as very few spaces have been provided in township areas for local residents to attach meaning to” (Williams-Bruinders 2013, cited in Cocks et al., 2020: 120). The authors through the collection of narratives from Xhosa-speaking urban residents reveal that enduring relations with nature are maintained despite changing socio-economic and environmental conditions (Cocks 2006, Ianni et al., 2014). The authors propose that alternative ways of interacting with nature need to be unlocked through providing platforms for the sharing of stories, knowledge systems and experiences of residents so that

communities can play a greater role in caring for nature as per closely held traditions and ways of being with nature.

Shackleton and Gwedla (2021), in their article on the legacy effects of colonial and apartheid imprints on urban greening in South Africa propose the adoption of a more inclusive and co-design approach with respect to the extent, design and types of urban nature provided in South African towns and cities. They also advocate for inclusivity in terms of the types of cultural symbols, as well as activities promoted and permitted within these spaces. The authors emphasise the need for municipalities, local authorities, community leaders and planners to campaign for the inclusion of urban trees, with a focus on indigenous species, as well as promote green space planning within settlement and development plans which is sensitive and inclusive of Afrocentric needs and preferences.

2.3.8 Green space governance and management

As Dempsey et al. 2014 highlight, the integration between planning for place-making and planning for place-keeping together with adaptive management practices that meet site specific demands are key to the sustainability of urban green spaces. In 2013, the European Union launched a collaborative project entitled “Green Surge” (Green Infrastructure and Urban Biodiversity for Sustainable Urban Development and the Green Economy), to assess the state of green infrastructure planning in European urban areas. The project investigated eighteen examples of innovative governance arrangements in urban green space management across Europe. Citing Sørensen & Triantafillou (2009), the researchers highlights “how planning styles across Europe are changing towards more flexible and networked governance arrangements and self-governance” (Ambrose-Oji et al., 2017: 151). Their research found that active citizens, civil society organisations and businesses can contribute to the objectives of municipalities around the creation of green space and its management. The research identified a typology of different kinds of innovative active citizenship approaches in urban green infrastructure governance. These range from government-led process models to co-governance models to non-government led approaches. In municipal led processes, municipalities mobilise social capital through the use of strategic planning instruments where citizens are invited to participate in the place-making or place-keeping processes. In co-governance models, municipalities enter into partnerships with citizens or citizen organizations with power being shared between those involved. The green barter system was also seen as an innovative approach where businesses develop or maintain green space in exchange for rights to use the space for business purposes and / or profits. Non-government led models included grassroots initiatives, organisation-initiated grassroots initiatives and green hubs. Innovation in governance in the above research was found to encompass four key areas: ‘use, functions

and activity', 'organisational structures, relationships and legal arrangements', 'problem solving, maintenance and management' as well as 'resource allocation, funding and staffing'.

As highlighted above, the notion of co-production has re-emerged recently where institutional partnerships between the state and self-organised communities represented by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the private sector play a leading role in green space management (Odendaal, 2018). "The state is no longer simply a public provider, it can be entrepreneurial, the community sector sometimes engages private sector actors in the sale of services (such as labour for community-based maintenance) or public agencies in the delivery of basic services" (Brandsen and Law, 2006 cited in Odendaal, 2018). As Mitlin (2008), shows, when a group is able to consolidate resources, it takes on a stronger negotiation position with the primary service provider which is most often the state. He argues that formalised co-production arrangements have the potential to transform and shift official attitudes (Mitlin 2008, cited in Odendaal, 2018). Odendaal's research work on green space governance in Namibia highlights the role of co-production, the role of intermediaries - the go-between actors who negotiate, translate, coax and leverage in order to mediate between sectoral interests. Odendaal also emphasises the notion of assemblage – the coming together of various actors in ways that are productive, as important lenses in understanding infrastructure negotiations.

Ambrose-Oji B. et al., 2017 established that different approaches would need to be developed at different scales of intervention within the city. It was found that larger city-wide and neighbourhood scale initiatives normally involved government-led or co-governance approaches whereas non-government led models were found to be more suitable for local and site scaled interventions. In the deliberations on governance related issues Buijs, A.E. et al., (2016:13) state that "the central question addressed by any investigation of governance is how decisions are made and implemented (Jouve, 2005). This involves the consideration of a range of issues including: politics and role of government; citizenship and the role of civic society and civil organisations; rights and responsibilities; accountability; legitimacy and partnership working (Durose and Rummery, 2006)". Organisations such as that of the Tree-keepers Association, active in the Cape Town Metropolitan Municipal area for example, plays an important role in promoting the wise maintenance and conservation of mature trees within the city. They undertake advocacy campaigns on the importance and benefits of trees in urban areas, as well as assist with the mapping of scientific and heritage data on significant trees. The organisation facilitates the identification of 'Champion Tree' and 'Significant Tree' for granting of such status. Champion trees are described as the "most outstanding remnants of nature in cities, often advertently and inadvertently damaged", and yet comparable to cultural heritage, forming ambassadors of nature within cities having deep

significance for the local communities (Jim 2003b, 2005a, 2013: 749). In addition, the Tree-keepers Association also supports the training of Council staff, and the accreditation of contractors and tree maintenance professionals. A further important role played is in assisting schools and community groups to conserve and protect trees (<https://treekeeperscapetown.org.za/>). Through association with the City of Cape Town's Parks Department and guided by a signed memorandum of agreement with the city, the organisation helps to conserve and maintain the urban forest in the city.

The role of community participation in green space management is not well documented in an African context as highlighted by Mensah, Andres, Baidoo, Eshun and Antwi (2017), in their study on the role of community participation in the management of green spaces in Kumasi, Ghana, stating that studies that have been done in the African context as a whole, have done very little on the participation of local people which has resulted in a knowledge gap in this area (Mensah, 2014 and Quagraine, 2011).

2.4 A REVIEW OF STRATEGIES AND POLICIES FOR PLACEMAKING, PLACE QUALITY AND GREENING WITHIN PUBLIC SPACE

2.4.1 Strategies for placemaking intervention

When Municipalities are struggling economically, investment in public spaces may be seen as a non-essential response. In the Global South, establishing the minimum conditions for proper public space – safety and cleanliness – can be a particular challenge. But the truth is that even a small investment in quality public space delivers a manifold return to the cities with foresight to see its value. By strengthening the social fabric, providing economic opportunity, and boosting the well-being of citizens, public space can make limited resources go further and enrich the community both socially and monetarily (PPS, 2012).

The UN-Habitat in partnership with the Project for Public Space compiled case study narratives describing the impact of the placemaking process in a number of cities throughout the Global South. The handbook, *Placemaking and the Future of Cities*, proposes ten ways in which to improve cities through the process of placemaking. Five different types of interventions and five ways in which to achieve placemaking outcomes are suggested as a plan of action. The first strategy includes; improving streets as public spaces – promoting the principle that the decision to design streets as comfortable and safe places for people on foot and not for people in cars is an important starting point for designing fundamental public spaces in every city, namely the streets. "Facing massive urbanisation, cities today need to get ahead of the development curve and lay out streets in advance of actual development,

informal or formal. These should not just be arteries for vehicles, but a hierarchy of different street types, from quiet neighbourhood lanes to major boulevards – all of which will become the places of the city’s future” (PPS, 2012: 8). The second strategy includes the creation of squares and parks as multi-use destinations. The principle highlighted is to develop these as ‘places’ which are planned around major public destinations, and which are connected to cultural and political institutions making them multi-use destinations. The third strategy includes the building of local economies through markets. As stated in the handbook, “the informal economy thrives in most cities – but often chaotically, clogging streets, competing unfairly with local businesses, and limiting the hope of upward mobility to marginalised members of society. Markets can, however, provide a structure and a regulatory framework that helps small businesses grow, preserves food safely, and makes a more attractive destination for shoppers” (Ibid., 9). The fourth strategy includes the design of buildings to support places. The principle is that architecture should support place by being permeable at the street level, be built with the human scale in mind and contribute to the liveliness of the neighbourhood. This becomes more significant for public buildings which should always be developed as anchors for civic activities. The fifth strategy includes the promotion of a public health agenda in the design and conceptualisation of all publicly provided infrastructure. For example, cultural institutions such as libraries could provide health education and services, public markets could contribute to health as through the provision of fresh and nutritious foods, transportation systems could promote health through enabling safe walking facilities and reducing car traffic and air pollution. The next five strategies look at processes which enable placemaking. The first being reinventing the process of community planning which supports the principle that community partners are invaluable in getting a project going. Communities also have a holistic vision of their needs as well as the knowledge in terms of managing changes in use over time. PPS strategies of ‘power of 10’ and ‘lighter, quicker and cheaper’ approaches have been outlined earlier in Sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.4 and form the next two strategies outlined in the document. The last two strategies refer firstly to the need to create a public space agenda which is both ‘top down’ – comprising leadership at the highest level of the city and ‘bottom up’ which encompasses grassroots organisation. City leadership can develop bold, new, consensus visions for unused and underused spaces as well as drive new development projects created around a public space agenda. Secondly, governments should mobilise and restructure to support public spaces.

If the ultimate goal of governments, urban institutions and development is to make places, communities, and regions more prosperous, civilized, and attractive for all people, then government processes need to change to reflect that goal. This requires the development of consensus-building, city consultation processes, and institutional reform, all of which enhance citizenship and inclusion. Effectively conceived and

managed public spaces require the involvement of non-state partners, such as NGOs. But, while improving public space can meet the goals of NGOs and foundations, civil society itself needs ways to collaborate more effectively with government. In other words, government needs to mobilize to develop and implement bottom-up policies as well as top-down ones (Ibid., 16).

2.4.2 Municipal policies which aid in enhancing place quality

A desktop exploration of public space and urban design policies adopted within South African Metropolitan Municipalities highlighted two types of policies of differing scale and scope, and with differing areas of impact. The City of Tshwane's policy on the Design Quality of Hard Urban Spaces and Streetscape Elements in Tshwane (2005), and the City of Cape Town's Urban Design Policy (2013), aim towards creating better quality public environments. The City of Tshwane Policy is aimed primarily at Municipal Departments and officials addressing ways of working which could ensure greater coordination and integrated outcomes. The City of Cape Town Policy is aimed towards developers, built environment professionals and city officials involved in design assessments of development proposals and applications. Whereas the first is aimed at influencing and coordinating public sector interventions in public space, the latter is aimed at influencing and guiding private developers towards better urban design leading to positive impacts on the public realm. The City of Cape Town's Urban Design Policy (2013) outlines three desired outcomes; first to introduce urban design thinking into the planning and preparation of development proposals; second to inform desirability in terms of a framework of urban design principles and objectives against which applications are addressed; and lastly to provide a framework for discussion between applicants and approval authorities through pre-submission consultations. In addition to policy parameters clarifying categories of development wherein the policy becomes applicable, it outlines overarching urban design principles and policy objectives which enhance the quality and character of city neighbourhoods.

The City of Tshwane's Policy on the Design Quality of Hard Urban Spaces and Streetscape Elements (2005), was created in recognition of the circumstance that hard urban spaces were increasingly being regarded and planned as mere motor vehicle or service conduits which were designed in a way that prevented pedestrian and trading activities. The policy highlights that most pedestrian spaces are made available only through the private sector in areas that are commercially viable and not necessarily where they are needed. It was further recognised that the local authority had to:

pay attention to ordinary, genuinely public streets and squares and ensure that they are designed not only as road reserves, but also as social and aesthetic spaces for

the enjoyment of residents and visitors alike...in striving to become the leading international African capital city of excellence, Tshwane deserves more than the present mediocre streetscapes with uncoordinated, badly placed and poorly designed public utilities and amenities (City of Tshwane, 2005: 3).

The policy aims to ensure that Tshwane's streets and squares meet minimum requirements of comfort for both drivers and pedestrians as well as in terms of aesthetics. As also highlighted in the City of Cape Town policy, the City of Tshwane's policy highlights that it is primarily aimed at ensuring that sector specific projects are implemented with due regard for the sound principles of urban design. The policy stipulates monitoring procedures and requirements as well as types of spaces to which the policy applies. The requirement of streetscape development plans for various types of developments such as township establishments, as well as various categories of multi-functional hard open spaces is stipulated. The policy is accompanied by a Streetscape Design Guidelines document which outlines guiding principles such as legibility, comfort and safety, attractiveness and liveliness. The document includes design guidelines for hard urban spaces including layout, surfacing, landscaping, lighting, public furniture, service infrastructure, signage and advertising. The above section also highlights guidelines for public-private space interfaces as well as streetscaping costs to guide integrated project planning. The second section of the document contains design guidelines for the design of streetscape elements including surfacing materials and patterns, seating facilities, litter receptacles, bus and taxi shelters, ablution facilities, street name signs, suburb name signs and outdoor advertising structures. The above ensures that these are designed to enhance the use, safety and image of the city.

2.4.3 Strategies for advancing urban greening

Although international treaties such as the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC – COP21, 2015) have secured the commitment of the European Union and 191 countries including South Africa to substantially reduce global greenhouse gas emissions, the implementation of the agreement is seen as essential in shifting towards a net-zero emissions world as well as in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. As highlighted by Pasquini et al. (2019: 05) citing the European Commission (2015) and Ramaswami et al. (2016), state that "cities are increasingly seeking to identify successful climate adaptation strategies as well as promote a shift towards more sustainable development pathways. In this context green infrastructure is increasingly recognised by policy-makers, academics and practitioners as an important complement to conventional 'grey' infrastructure in urban areas". Integration of urban green infrastructure strategies such as multi-scale connectivity of green networks, incorporation of multifunctional uses within greenspace combining both social and ecological functions, combining natural and engineered green infrastructure within parks, wetlands and open

spaces promote redundancy and modularisation enabling greater resilience in the face of external disturbances (Ahern et al., 2011). From a multi-scale planning perspective, Jim (2013) outlines key strategies for sustainable urban greening within compact developing or developed cities (CDDC) which offer a number of considerations packaged into three overarching strategies. The first deals with the application of urban ecological principles in green space location and design. The second addresses the protecting of nature-in-city assets and third calls for with the augmenting of greening opportunities. These are described further in order to draw out key ideas and concepts. The first strategy which addresses green space location and design deals with optimising greenspace geometry and connectivity. Jim (2013) citing Davey (1998), Young (2010) argues that the “key geometrical properties of urban green systems, such as their location, size, shape, orientation and distance from and connectivity with other green patches, could be moulded to enhance their ecosystem services”. Principles advocated for include connectivity and continuity of green sites as well as intra-urban corridors connected to peri- and extra-urban natural areas to accommodate and augment a variety of habitats and species as well as biotic movements. Green corridors parallel to natural linear features such as waterways, canals and coastlines are encouraged to help to restore and conserve these waterways. Planning of metropolitan open space systems could provide a city-wide framework for ensuring the above. The second ecological principle highlights the need to enrich greenspace biodiversity. It is proposed that habitat diversity be integrated with horticultural design by earmarking areas for naturalistic greening. For large sites it is argued that ecological-park design could include a variety of representative habitats as well as promote planting of indigenous trees and plants. The importance of evaluation and assessment of the benefits of green space to communities through improved air quality, enhanced stormwater quality, or suppression of heat island effect are highlighted as creating incentives for integration of ecological principles into greening and green space design.

The second strategy of protecting nature-in-city assets covers the preservation and nurturing of high biodiversity nature areas such as remnant woodlands, core habitats and migration corridors within urban areas termed natural urban areas which could be conveniently accessed by urban residents. Where these are absent, afforestation programs and restoration of disturbed areas to foster the reconstitution of natural ecosystems are proposed. The second principle argues for the conservation of champion quality trees within urban areas. “The fast development and renewal of some CDDC have continued to damage this precious endowment” necessitating intensive monitoring, care and statutory protection (Jim 2013: 749). Recommendations to protect these trees include the enactment of a dedicated urban tree ordinance, as well as the designation of tree conservation areas and sites / roads in the case of tree lined avenues which are recorded on statutory zoning plans. In this way,

developers and professionals involved could participate actively in the protection of these trees. Also advocated within the above strategy is the protection of trees within construction sites or alternatively transplanting trees as a last resort. The significance of arboriculture and urban forestry to deal with aspects of urban tree management from a long-term cradle-to-grave perspective is highlighted. “The shortage of relevant basic and applied research calls for strengthening of local knowledge repertoire and capability. Networking of scientists and practitioners in an urban forestry league, grouped by geographical regions, could facilitate sharing of research and findings” (Jim 2013: 752).

The third strategy calls for the augmenting of greening opportunities though firstly honing planting techniques on narrow roadsides, secondly ameliorating pervasive urban soil constraints and lastly embracing innovative greening ideas and sites. As stated in terms of honing planting techniques, roadsides are the most cost-effective and impactful means to enhance the cityscape. Lists of tree species suitable for different sized planting strips may assist in accommodating trees where site conditions permit, where space is limited, 1m wide strips could allow for the growth of shrubs and herbs. Of significance is also the need for unimpeded below ground space or a soil strip for accommodating tree-root requirements. Bonus plot ratio incentives or transfer of development rights of the setback strip could be offered in exchange for additional street side space for tree planting (Jim, 1999). The importance of tree soil conditions is highlighted in promoting healthy tree growth. It is emphasised that localised improvements in tree pits would not help and the need for the installation of continuous soil corridors is highlighted (Jim, 2013). Enabling incentives and regulatory planning laws could encourage restructuring in redevelopment areas. In space restricted areas, planting of trees at-grade between contiguous parking areas with protective metal grills could be considered. Vertical greening opportunities as well as roof-top gardens bring visual amenity as well as invigorate cityscapes (Jim, 2013).

Cocks et al (2020) highlight the significance of engaging local voices where citizens views and needs in relation nature and heritage are solicited. This is in relation to the mismatch that exists “between the forms and the extent of urban nature that many city authorities provide for their citizens without, or rarely, meaningfully and respectfully engaging with their citizens about their views and needs of nature and heritage”. The need for “reciprocal respect of multiple worldviews and plural valuations” is emphasised, encouraging continued dialogue and collaboration on a long term basis (Ibid., 2020). The authors also introduce the concept of providing “sufficient” urban nature within settlements based on locally relevant criteria and concepts. Addressing guidelines which are set predominantly from a Global North perspective, the authors highlight the need to rather focus on aspects of quality, heritage and attached values and uses rather than striving to meet the amount or ratio of such provision.

At the same time ensuring equitable distribution and access through factors of physical accessibility as well as respect for sacred or customary needs. The degree of inclusivity of the formal and informal rules that shape the norms on use and design of spaces is also emphasised in terms of accessibility. The authors advocate for the rights of spiritual and cultural groups to have access to public spaces to carry out practices such as cultivating food medicinal plants and remedies or practices aligned to cultural and religious norms. This highlights the need to promote the use of native species over exotic ones both within public open spaces as well as streets, embracing and celebrating local national heritage. A further strategy advanced by Cocks et al. is aimed at urban planners where the need to acknowledge a diversity of types of natures and open spaces is highlighted, in contrast to a “one size fits all” approach. All of the above strategies are aimed at “rebuilding severed biocultural links” and embedding plural and inclusive views as contained in the Oaxaca statement which provides a guide to inclusive spaces (Jacobs et al., 2020 cited in Cocks et al., 2020: 404). Lastly the authors propose the “embedding of biocultural understandings within legislative frameworks” where the health and well-being of people connected to their ontological understandings of their relationships with nature are enshrined in legislation thereby ensuring that such rights are upheld (Cocks et al., 2020: 404).

2.4.4 Urban forest policies which aid in greening

A desktop review of available grey literature on municipal policies / ordinances on urban greening related to public space highlighted the role of Tree Management Policies which have been adopted in a few of the South African Metropolitan Municipalities. The Johannesburg Tree Management Policy and the City of Cape Town Tree Management Policy and their envisaged outcomes and approaches are discussed here with a view to drawing lessons for successful governance.

Cape Town Tree Management Policy (City of Cape Town, 2015) aims to provide a uniform approach to the management of trees on municipal owned land throughout the metropolitan area. The policy guides three key areas viz., the planting of new trees in the city, providing a city-wide uniform approach to the management of trees in the city as well as reinforcing the importance and value of trees in the city. Importantly, the policy recognizes that on account of the large number of trees in the city, the overall management and responsibility for the trees cannot be the sole responsibility of the City Parks Department who is the lead department responsible for managing trees including streetscapes and avenue planting as well as all other occurrences of trees in the City. The policy advocates for the transversal management of trees occurring in various places and therefore the responsibility of the respective departmental land “owner”. As an example, the Electricity Department would be responsible for maintenance of trees under overhead electrical cables; the Transport

Department would be responsible for maintenance of trees at transport interchanges and along transport routes such as NMT and IRT networks; Roads & Stormwater would enter into Service level agreements with City Parks with respect to trees planted in road reserves, and the management of trees in rivers and other storm water catchment areas; and the Sport, Recreation & Amenities Department would be responsible for maintenance of trees on formal sports fields, along the coastal zone and at resorts and other recreation facilities; similarly Environmental Resource Management would deal with planting and maintenance of trees in nature reserves and other nature conservation areas. Water Demand Management would cover the management of trees within water catchment areas and Human Settlements, Urbanisation and Human Settlements Development & Delivery would be responsible for planning to plant trees and create landscapes in human settlements. The policy also sets the parameters for engagement with external role players such as Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry, Department of Environmental Affairs, the general public, developers and private companies, environmental groups, NGOs and community groupings, schools and other education institutions, nursery traders and the landscaping industry. Importantly, the policy covers guidelines relating to tree planting, tree pruning and removal, tree protection and maintenance, awareness and promotion, tree asset mapping and evaluation, protection of champion trees, impact streetscapes and tree avenues, memorialisation and commemorative tree planting as well as broad parameters in relation to implementation programmes, monitoring, evaluation and review.

The Johannesburg Tree Management Policy (City of Joburg, City Parks and Zoo, 2017), has similar outcomes to that of the City of Cape Town Policy. Namely, to provide a uniform approach to the management of trees on municipal land within the City of Johannesburg, to plant and protect urban trees, to help them grow and multiply, to preserve and/or recreate the forest cover across the city, to support green-based endeavours, and to inform and involve the citizenry in preserving and enhancing these. In addition, the policy clearly articulates the need to create and maintain a balance in the green environment between the developed and previously advantaged areas within the City of Johannesburg, and the previously disadvantaged communities both in the Southern and Northern regions. As with the City of Cape Town Policy, the policy sets parameters for the planting of new trees in the city, city-wide approaches to tree maintenance, as well as establishing the importance and value of trees through partnerships and participation with various external stakeholders. The policy further provides guiding principles in terms of an implementation strategy covering tree planting, replacement planting, pruning and removal of trees as well as general design guidelines and parameters for engagement with external role players in enhancing tree-planting initiatives. The policy also covers internal risks and controls, objectives for monitoring and evaluation as well as specific accountabilities for coordination and management.

Importantly, the policy clearly stipulates the link with asset recording through a computerised asset management system and through the use of the Geographic Information System (GIS), which could aid in the better evaluation of greening benefits, justifying further investment in green resources into the future.

2.5 INTEGRATING GREENING AND PLACEMAKING APPROACHES WITHIN PUBLIC SPACE

The relevance of bringing together the two approaches of placemaking and greening as a means of enhancing both processes has been advocated for in the literature. Gulsrud et al., 2018 propose a green placemaking approach as a nature-based approach to building resilience “challenging conventional environmental management methods by refocusing solutions from technological strategies to socio-ecological principles such as human well-being and community-based governance models” (Gulsrud et al., 2018: 158). Their research on the City of Melbourne’s approach to urban re-naturing governance from a place-based perspective suggests that “a green placemaking approach to urban green infrastructure (UGI) governance can successfully include “other knowledge systems outside of modern science” such as local place-based perspectives (Williams, 2014; Eggermont, 2015) and can actively facilitate pluralistic views of landscape based in hybrid understandings of place”. In this way they view a green placemaking approach to UGI governance and climate resilience as integrating socio-cultural and scientific knowledge to promote higher levels of biodiversity (Gulsrud et al., 2018: 165). This aligns closely with the argument for the incorporation of bio-cultural diversity within urban spaces as advocated by Cocks et al., (2020).

Cilliers (2021:1) argues that “although the literature is clear on the importance, role, benefits and impact of green(er) cities, the realisation of greening initiatives is still limited, and more should be done to embed green(er) thinking as part of mainstream urban planning”. Cilliers et al., (2015), argue that place-making approaches and green-planning approaches can assist in the drive to create better quality, socially viable and environmentally friendly spaces. Cilliers and Timmermans (2015) argue that place-making approaches are linked to green planning approaches as both have similar objectives of transforming spaces into places by way of functional use and value. As highlighted Cilliers and Timmerman (2015), work by Cilliers et al., (2011), Jansen and Ruifrok (2012), Cilliers and Timmermans (2014) and Cilliers et al., (2013), have endeavoured to strengthen green identities and green values within cities. As stated by Cilliers and Timmerman (2015: 354), citing Banerjee (2001), Gehl Architects (2011) and Hobart City Council (2011: 2) “when bringing place-making and green planning approaches together, the objective is to plan and create versatile public spaces that celebrate the uniqueness of a place, encourage alternative uses of the space and improve possibilities for staying in the space”. They argue that this is achieved through a number of supporting

initiatives such as encouraging more residential development, providing attractive open spaces which enhance city living and by bringing more educational institutions into the city centre. In their evaluation of green-planning interventions and impacts on place-making, Cilliers et al., (2013) in their study of two pilot public space areas in the Netherlands and Belgium found that green planning and intervention not only enhanced place-making within the public spaces but also enhanced the function and role of these spaces leading to the creation of better quality environments. The green-planning interventions in these pilot projects included green walking routes which enhanced connectivity, accessibility and stakeholder involvement; green impulses and green zones, which contributed to the introduction of a variety of functions within spaces dependent on user needs giving them a new identity; city trees, which contributed to the sense of place and identity of the area; green graffiti and green roofs again contributing to identity and usage of different parts of space. They argue that integrated place-making and green-planning approaches contribute to the sustainability challenges by ensuring that the social function of an area and the natural environment is enhanced. These initiatives help to transform temporary spaces into permanent spaces, enhancing place-making within public spaces as well as giving spaces a function and thereby creating a quality environment as highlighted by Cilliers and Timmermans (2015: 364) citing Lefebvre (1992: 190) "To change life, we must first change space".

2.6 EXPERIENCES FROM PLACEMAKING AND GREENING INTERVENTIONS IN AFRICA

Landman (2019: 19) citing Robinson (2002), highlights the enduring divide between First World cities of the Global North which are considered as 'global cities' and Third World cities of the Global South which are seen as 'mega cities' which are characterised by disease, violence and slums. Different levels of income inequality, wealth, economic development, democracy, and political and economic freedoms often characterise the two groups. In order to draw out knowledge and understandings of specific social, economic and environmental circumstances which affect Global South cities, the following three projects are highlighted to demonstrate placemaking and greening experiences from a Global South, African perspective.

The projects are selected based on their illustration of placemaking and greening strategies aligned to those highlighted in Section 2.4 above. The first example, the Kibera Public Space Project builds on a number of placemaking strategies including most notably the role of a strong community participation processes, together with the strategies of the 'power of 10' reinforcing the power of synergy and connection in creating a ripple effect for transformation. The project also demonstrates the role of public space interventions in building

environmental resilience. The second example, the Warwick Junction Project validates the placemaking strategy which promotes markets as places which create opportunities for livelihood generation through the informal economic sector. It also addresses the role of public infrastructure in contributing to the creation of greater health and well-being through dedicated urban management which made an area of crime and blight become a safe and clean place, as well as a source of fresh food and traditional medicine. The last example, the Greening of Soweto Project demonstrates the application of the strategy of augmented greening to transform a previously neglected part of the city through dedicated and concerted efforts to plant trees in the areas within a targeted time period. The Kliprivier-Klipspruit Project which is interlinked with the Greening Soweto initiative demonstrates the application of strategies which make use of nature-in-city assets such as continuous nature corridors to enhance health and well-being of adjacent communities.

2.6.1 The Kibera Public Space Project: Nairobi, Kenya

The summative narration of the case study presented here draws primarily from Tyrrel and Odbert (2013) as well as the Kounkuey Design Initiative (KDI) website, <https://www.kounkuey.org>. Located on the banks of a polluted river corridor, the Kibera settlement is the largest informal settlement in Nairobi and home to about 250 000 people. Challenges faced include open sewers, poor garbage collection leading to clogged river banks, inadequate access to clean water and sanitation and a degraded physical environment. It is within this context that the Kounkuey Design Initiative, an international NGO, has undertaken a series of projects to transform marginal spaces into a series of productive public places. The intervention includes the activation of a small-scale network of productive public spaces that meet the physical, social and economic needs of the inhabitants of the Kibera Informal Settlement. Among the strengths of the community include a strong entrepreneurial character which leads to a burgeoning informal sector as well as strong networking as a basis of survival. The first intervention in 2006 included the transformation of a flood and dumping prone riverside site through a community involved and driven clean-up process, the stabilization of the bank using gabions and the construction of a pedestrian bridge, a community designed and built shade pavilion, a playground and a small office and vegetable garden. The network of public spaces and projects continue to grow and build resilience across the settlement.

Participatory planning and design are key to the sustainable approach to development followed by the KDI Team. "open-endedness is an essential feature of public space proposals in informal communities. Locals must be allowed to work with and complete the development of the new public domain, becoming over time the true owners of the space and its infrastructure. Cross-programming is another way to keep spaces open and flexible enough

to pass into community ownership” (Tyrrell & Odbert, 2013: 68). Since management and maintenance is a challenge in the community, the team has incorporated a micro-economic strategy to the upgrading of infrastructure. Capacity development strategies aimed at creating profitable micro-businesses are fostered. Vegetable grown by the community are sold at local kiosks, compost is produced from vegetable wastes. This not only ensures that programmes are embedded within the social and economic fabric of the community, but a small percentage of the profits are collected towards management and maintenance of created spaces. Bredhauer (2016) describes the KDI community engagement process as two-way, where KDI staff disseminate information about the local development and environment to the residents to build awareness and capacity, and at the same time Kibera’s community groups also educate the staff of KDI on problems and issues in Kibera.

A key learning point from the project as described by Tyrrell and Odbert (2013: 69) is that though “similar problems seem to appear throughout the world’s informal settlements...despite initial appearances, informality does not have a singular quality. KDI’s site by site community engagement process ensures that where technical solutions are employed, they are firmly based in specificities of place and exhibit strong demand-side ownership. It is clear that as stand- alone projects they are not big enough to make much of a difference to the whole of Kibera. However, it is when several of these community nodes are delivered, as KDI intends, that they become emergent networks capable of effecting widespread change”. KDI believes that when micro-operations are embedded within the community, they can transform a degraded environmental system into a large piece of catalytic infrastructure for the entire community. The leadership and involvement of an outside design team such as KDI for the duration of the project has also had a catalytic effect where outsiders act as the agents of change, providing the necessary momentum to mobilise intervention. As stated by Tyrrell and Odbert (2013: 69), “if KDI’s methodology is sound, at some point there should be a tipping point where the river becomes a highly valuable landscape asset to the community. At this point a truly sustainable physical network would have emerged with social, environmental and economic underpinnings to the new physical forms. Informal becomes formalised, yet if this transition can take place through community-driven emergent networks, the cities of the future will not only be places of acceptable health, they will also retain their texture and character, something that a static master planning process has historically failed to deliver, in both the developing and the so-called developed world.”



Figure 2.10 Kibera Public Space Project 05

Source: https://www.kounkuey.org/projects/kibera_public_space_project_network

The project has been made possible through external funding from donors such as Welthungerhilfe, SwissRE and the Rockefeller Foundation who have focussed on implementing projects which build flood resilience, urban agriculture and open data technology for water and sanitation. As stated by Bredhauer (2016: 20), in this way, the development discourse of KDI's donors have influenced KDI's intervention pathways, as they move towards addressing issues of disaster risk reduction, urban food security and use of open data". An important point highlighted by Bedhauer is that though KDI's intervention has brought about physical change in the environment and community of Kibera, the project also indirectly targets other actors and institutions to change conventional approaches towards 'best practice' examples of community engagement in an informal settlement. "Refining KDI's government engagement process, just as they have refined their community engagement process, could be a potential opportunity for contributing towards transforming government planning and political discourse towards more sustainable and equitable development" (Bredhauer 2016: 21).

2.6.2 Warwick Junction Project: eThekweni (Durban), South Africa

"In cities where income inequalities lead to growth in the informal economy, public space plays an important livelihood role" (Beza et al., 2013). As put forward by Dobson (2007: 99) citing economist Kenneth Paton, "cities are successful in their ability to take people from some point of entry and elevate them to some new level in the economic order of things". Dobson points out that redesigning public spaces can be a powerful development tool for local governments to give effect the idea put forth by Paton. The narrative for this case study is drawn from Dobson (2007) and PPS (2012). Warwick Junction, located in eThekweni Municipality, is an intermodal transit hub where bus, train station and taxi ranks converge.

Located on the margins of the CBD, the area houses some 500 informal traders selling herbal medicine. By 1996, the area faced challenges of urban decay, crime and lack of maintenance raising health and safety concerns. The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project initiated by the local municipality in 1997 included a comprehensive multi-agency approach to turn the area into a vibrant business centre and popular tourist destination. “Rather than clear the informal traders out of the area, the city administration recognised the importance of the informal economy and decided to work with them, and other key stakeholders, by negotiating to improve their conditions in a participatory way.

Empty space in the market’s neighbourhood was repurposed to create enclosed stalls for vendors as well as locked storage spaces and sanitary cooking facilities. “The result of all of these improvements, informed by the very people who were to use them, has been an economic blossoming, a safer market, and a dramatic increase in opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship” PPS (2012).



Figure 2.11 Durban’s Warwick Junction Marketplace. Photo by Kyle La Ferriere

Source: <https://thecityfix.com/blog/in-durban-informal-workers-design-marketplaces-instead-of-getting-displaced-by-them-anne-maassen-madeleine-galvin/>

The institutional model which made the project successful is the Area-Based Management Programme which opted for a ‘joint leader’ model where the responsibilities of regeneration were handled by the Planning division, with urban management including the implementation of capital projects being carried out by an Implementation unit comprising the Architectural Services, Urban Design, Infrastructure and Project Management Departments of the Municipality. Operational matters are handled by the management and maintenance line function departments including City Health, Informal Trade, Solid Waste, Metro Police, Waste

Water Management, Parks, Protection Services, Real Estate and Licensing (Dobson, 2007). Each programme leader reports to the City Manager and not directly within a line function. The Operations Unit was headed up by Environmental Health Officers who provided the immediate response link in relation to management and maintenance issues. "The benefit of Area-Based Management is found in the institutional value of this 'kerb-side intelligence'...this information is continuous in its feedback to planning and implementation...the pulse of a developing city must be continually felt in order to achieve creative and responsive local government" (Dobson, 2007: 102). Success factors underpinning the Area-Based Management model include meaningful consultation with stakeholders, a wide project spectrum where projects at different stages of consultation and development and of different types (capital and social projects) ensure that spending within a financial year is not held back by delays due to unpredictability of participation processes, allowing for overall programme progress. An important design related success strategy was to promote safety through environmental design, ensuring surveillance and visibility in all areas of the market, assisting to bring down incidents of crime in the area (Ibid., 2007).

2.6.3 The Greening Soweto Project: City of Johannesburg, South Africa

Two complementary initiatives, the Greening Soweto Project and the rehabilitation of the Kliprivier - Klipspruit (KK Project) form part of the larger Greening of Johannesburg Project.

The Greening Soweto Project, was launched in 2006 by Johannesburg Mayor Amos Masondo with the planting of 6000 trees in 10 minutes, followed by the planting of 200 000 trees within South Africa's biggest township, Soweto, before the start of the FIFA World Cup in 2010 (City of Johannesburg, 2011). Johannesburg's "green divide", a legacy of inequality which separated the wealthy north from the dusty south-west, is being transformed following this award-winning green initiative championed by Johannesburg City Parks (Mail and Guardian, 2012). The project, dubbed Joburg's "biggest greening revolution", had the objective of turning Soweto into an urban forest with the ultimate goal of planting half a million trees within five years. The project has been endorsed by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry as well as by the World Conservation Union. Various international as well as local partners have been working with the City to implement Greening Soweto and the project was a two time winner at the prestigious Liveable Communities Awards, organised by the United Nations, in 2007 and 2010. The programme also received a merit gold award in the natural built project category together with the Regional Ivory Park and the Thokoza Park / Moroko Dam rehabilitation project (City of Johannesburg, Joburg.org.za). A subsequent study on the value of carbon stocks projected from the planting of 200 000 trees as part of the Greening Soweto Project forecasts the sequestration of 729 271 tonnes of CO₂ with a value of R94 805 230.00 over a period of 30 years. The scientific proof of the monetary value

of the urban forest, provides evidence to secure funding for the sustainable maintenance of the forest as well as motivate for the further planting of additional trees (van Staden, 2018).



Figure 2.12 The Moroko Park Precinct, a part of the Greening Soweto Initiative

Source: Newtown Landscape Architects http://newla.co.za/projects/moroko_park_precinct.php

The second initiative which formed part of the Greening Johannesburg Project is the Klipsrivier - Klipspruit project which consists of 36 interlinked park nodes along the corridors of the above two rivers. The project was launched as a multi-stage project in August 2008 and by June 2012, eight sights had been completed to create a green corridor. The project encompassed a wide range of interventions including river rehabilitation, bank stabilisation, weirs, pollution mitigation as well as the development of eco-parks and eco-recreation amenities, greening and landscaping with a total budget of R600-million over a number of years (Mail and Guardian, 2012). The greening initiative which involved local schools and communities resulted in the creation of jobs as well as training of local communities. A City Parks Training and Development Academy was set up to source job seekers through the City of Johannesburg's unemployment database. "Over 100 learners have gone through the academy and many of them are now part of the City Park's permanent workforce. This award-winning initiative is funded by savings from the salary bill" (Cllr Vondo, cited in Mail and Guardian, 2012). The project has achieved numerous educational and awareness outcomes with about 28 000 learners per year being taken on nature tours through the City Park's conservation facilities. As highlighted by Cllr Vondo in the above article, apart from addressing greening disparities, the projects have contributed to the transformation of targeted areas into vibrant and sustainable landscapes.

Some of the key experiences highlighted through the project include the importance of having a framework and environmental assessment in place in order to cost both the implementation

of the project as well as factor the cost to manage and maintain the projects into the future. Also highlighted is the importance of having planning, monitoring and maintenance programmes in place which are aligned with the capital development process, the absence of which may lead to the disappearance of the programmes which can be viewed in the long term as wasteful expenditure. Being open to learning and sharing of best practices was encouraged through the hosting of many delegations and local authorities from different parts of the world. The importance of consulting with communities and community based organisations including NGO's, schools, including teachers and learners, ward councillors and ward committees, local businesses, youth, women and religious groups as well as other government departments is highlighted as critical in building ownership and commitment from communities. The project resulted in the formation of the Friends of Thokoza Park Committee which assists in the care and security of the park as well as playing a role in reporting on the service shortfalls and by-law transgressions. Another key lesson highlighted is the importance of surveying the users of the parks as a means of determining the levels of satisfaction on completion of the project. "The KK project demonstrated that in order for the project to be a success, it is important to address community behaviour towards conservation and biodiversity management in general. It is crucial to have institutional partnerships in place and to keep the communication channels open with all partners before, during and post the development of the project – they have been shown to have fast-tracked the implementation of the nodes" (Cllr Vondo, Mail and Guardian, 2012).

2.7 INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS AND COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE

Mitlin (2004), cited in Blanco, Lowndes and Salazar (2021: 3) define governance as "institutions and processes, both formal and informal which provide for the interaction of the state with a range of other agents or stakeholders affected by the activities of government". The role of participatory and collaborative governance approaches in enabling practices of placemaking and greening within public space is seen as a common thread which runs through the literature review. From a public sector governance perspective, Blanco et al. (2021: 1) state that participatory practices can be said to be institutionalised "to the extent that it shapes the behaviour of decision-makers and citizens". The authors highlight the significance of 'rules', 'practices' and 'narratives' in combining to enable innovation and change within an institutional context. Blanco et al. (2021: 4) state that 'rules' are recorded in writing and tell actors what behaviours are "officially required, permitted or prohibited with a particular setting". 'Practices' signal to actors what behaviours are "approved or disapproved of in the particular setting" and constitute routinised patterns of behaviour. 'Narratives' provide actors with "persuasive accounts about why particular behaviours should

characterise a particular setting”. Citing Mahoney and Thelen (2010), Blanco et al. (2021: 5) point out that:

Dynamic tensions and pressures for change are built into institutions, transformation can occur through more gradual processes, including layering (adding new elements without explicitly discarding the old) or conversion (maintaining existing elements but giving them new purposes).

The authors argue that rules, practices and narratives “provide a source of dynamic tensions and pressures within institutional arrangements for participatory governance” (Blanco et al., 2021: 6) The authors highlight that while existing structures may be hard to change, “investing in the crafting of new discourses and the nurturing of innovative practices is vital” (Ibid.,18). From a South African planning perspective, the lack of adequate coordination within and across different governmental organisations is highlighted by Merrifield, Oranje and Fourie (2008). They emphasise the significance of a ‘dialogic model’ to foster greater coordination in governance. The authors define dialogue as the process by which shared understandings can be reached from which shared action can result. The authors note that though final decisions will be sanctioned by those authorised to do so, the role of dialogue amongst stakeholders in leading up to such decisions is critical. They state that an inclusive dialogue involving all those who could influence outcomes, ensures that all people involved will continue to contribute actively towards achieving those desired outcomes.

Relevant to the integration of placemaking and greening practices within public space, the ‘mindset and culture gap’ and the ‘organisational set-up gap’ highlighted by Coetzee (2012: 61) with regard to the transformation of municipal development planning in South Africa post democratic dispensation in 1994, holds significance. The mindset and culture gap highlights the need for municipal officials to “acquire a more entrepreneurial and developmental mindset, as well as a more innovative and creative approach to solving problems” in terms of addressing developmental challenges. In relation to the organisational set-up gap, Coetzee (2012: 61), citing Ling (2002) and McGuire (2006) refers to the system of collaborative public management which promotes a cross-sectional approach towards working across and between organisational boundaries in contrast to the conventional vertically configured silo operations. “Collaborative public management also implies an embedded government system where government sectors work hand-in-glove with civil society and communities to address issues collectively – to achieve collaborative advantage through synergy” Coetzee (2012: 61) citing McGuire (2006), Agranoff & McGuire (2003), Mhone & Edigheji (2003) and Coetzee (2010). Coetzee (2012) argues that the time has come to move away from piecemeal government systems and processes towards new, innovative, developmental and symphonic ways to deal with different sectors and strategies.

2.8 CONCLUSION

The literature review has sought to provide a narrative of the conceptual underpinnings of the concepts of placemaking and greening within public space both from a Global North and a Global South perspective. Placemaking practice is seen as one which brings together diverse role players, resources and processes towards the making and ongoing management and maintenance of public space. Greening approaches for public space highlight the significance of ecosystem services provided by green spaces as well as the significance of concepts of environmental justice and biocultural diversity especially as it has relevance for Global South contexts. The inherent challenges of governance, management and maintenance when dealing with urban greening, and the various strategies and policies which assist in promoting placemaking and greening practices were highlighted. A demonstration of successful strategies of placemaking and greening intervention from Africa were presented through three selected projects and experiences. The many dimensions and considerations which inform placemaking and greening practice particularly from a Global South, African and South African perspective have been brought to the fore in order to provide a holistic understanding of these approaches for these contexts. From a municipal governance perspective, the role of institutional dynamics, rules, practices and narratives as well as the significance of cross-sectoral dialogue and collaborative public management and governance have been highlighted.

The growing theoretical and applied literature on the two approaches provide insight on how they have relevance for the conceptualisation of public space and how they play a role in addressing the unique challenges facing cities today including those of ongoing urbanisation coupled with high levels of unemployment and poverty especially within Global South contexts. The relationship of these vulnerabilities to the impacts of climate change is also significant as will be highlighted in Chapter 5 of the thesis. The literature review has drawn together some key insights from a variety of authors, projects, studies as well as municipal policies and guidelines from South Africa, in doing so enabling the clarification of the research gap which exists in relation to and of significance for placemaking and greening especially for cities of the Global South. The review has revealed the limited literature that exists in relation to place-conceptualisation and place governance especially from an African and South African municipal perspective. The mainstream literature on placemaking, place conceptualisation and place governance are based on experiences from the Global North which highlight the need for further research and representation of these practices from a Global South viewpoint. Similarly, there is limited literature which translates the conceptual interrelationships between placemaking and greening approaches within public space into a framework which could guide practice particularly in a municipal context and from a municipal

governance perspective. As highlighted through the literature review, this is particularly significant for the South African context where greening practices within public space are often neglected or are not sufficiently embedded contributing to the deepening of existing inequities. Towards addressing this gap, the following chapter seeks to define a conceptual framework which could guide the integration of practices of placemaking and greening within public space as it has relevance for governance in a South African municipal context.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Drawing from the literature review, this chapter brings together the various dimensions of placemaking, greening and their conceptual and governance interrelationships towards an integrated framework which seeks to embed practices of placemaking and greening within the processes of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management. Section 3.1 highlights the relationship between the physical product of urban design and the processes which underpin its creation providing an overview of the proposed conceptual framework. Section 3.2 unpacks the product of public space and the tangible and intangible dimensions and considerations which enable the design and creation of meaningful places. Section 3.3 highlights various dimensions of the processes of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management which enable the embedding of practices of placemaking and greening within public space. Section 3.4 concludes the section by drawing together the key aspects of the proposed conceptual framework highlighting its relevance for a local government municipal context.

3.1 CONCEPTUALISATION OF PUBLIC SPACE AS BOTH A PRODUCT AND A PROCESS

The literature review has revealed that the notion of placemaking comprises more than the design of the 'product' of public space but integrally encompasses dimensions of a 'process' which influence the functionality and inherent qualities of the product. Design processes and the governance thereof are therefore seen to have a significant impact on the nature of the end product that is designed. The literature has shown how concepts of placemaking and place-based greening are underpinned by socio-spatial and socio-environmental dimensions. The framework therefore outlines how these dimensions of placemaking, and greening could be encompassed within practices of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management. In this way, the conceptual framework provides an analytical framework to direct leaders and practitioners towards important considerations which underpin practices of placemaking and greening within public space.

The notion of design as comprising both a product and a process has been highlighted by Madanipour (1996) who discusses the various paradigms within which design is viewed. He refers to urban design as both a product and a process, wherein the product is concerned with the physical environment that is produced and the process is concerned with the conscious act of shaping the environment over time. As such he states that urban design "is interested in both the process of this shaping as well as the spaces it helps to shape" (Madanipour, 1996:105). This broad conception of the physical environment as the outcome of a process forms the overarching frame which structures the conceptual framework and

the research. The conceptual framework therefore directs the investigation towards an observation of qualities of public space seen as both a ‘product’ as well as the outcome of a ‘process’. The one area of focus of the study is therefore concerned with the product of public space and how it assimilates qualities of ‘place’ more meaningful than merely a ‘space’. The second area of focus is concerned with understanding the dimensions which influence the processes of public space delivery and governance in relation to placemaking and greening in order to understand how this ultimately influences the outcomes and impact of public spaces in the city. Apart from identifying the dimensions which encompass aspects of the product and the process, the conceptual framework also seeks to build the interrelationships between these various dimensions thereby serving as a tool to guide the empirical research which comprised the concurrent investigation of the above two dimensions. The diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework is found in Figure 3.1 below. The central dotted line in Figure 3.1 separates the dimensions related to the product of public space from the dimensions related to the processes which shape the product.

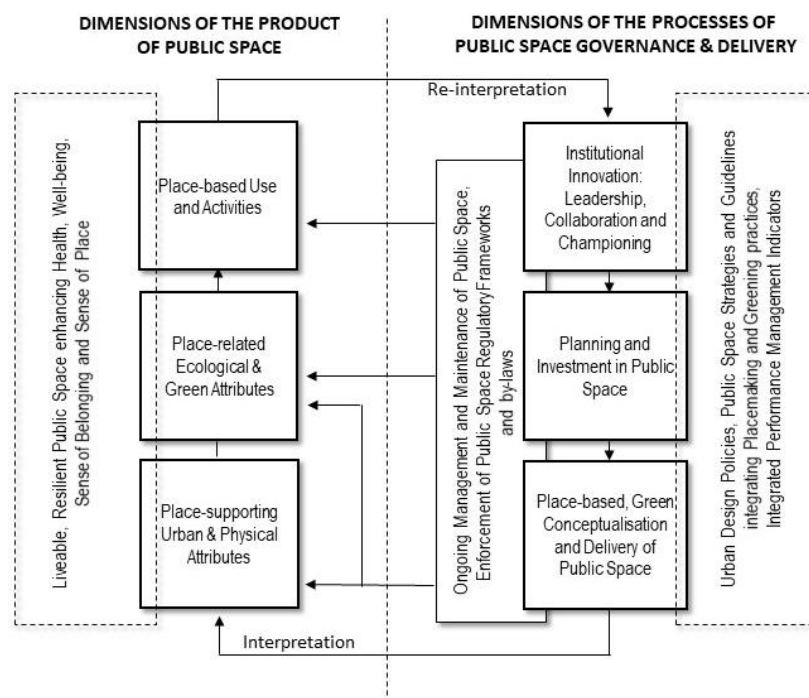


Figure 3.1: A framework to integrate practices of placemaking and greening into the conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space. Source: Author (2021)

3.2 DIMENSIONS OF THE PRODUCT OF PUBLIC SPACE

The role of placemaking and greening in impacting on the way in which a place is experienced and perceived is evident in the physical manifestation of a place. Qualities of a ‘sense of place’, health and well-being and a ‘sense of belonging’ within public space are

deeply associated with practices of placemaking and greening. It is held that the intersection of practices of placemaking and greening within urban public space holds value at many levels addressing functional, social, economic, ecological and symbolic needs of communities. The manner in which placemaking and greening practices are consciously embedded in the design, delivery and management of public space, impacts on the resulting quality of public places and spaces within the city at a very tangible level as well as an intangible level. At an intangible level, as highlighted above it promotes the liveability, sense of health and well-being, sense of place and sense of belonging of the place as well as building urban resilience in the face of growing urbanisation, disasters and disturbances associated with global environmental change. In addition, these practices also contribute to improved city image and competitiveness as a result of the reinforcing of unique features of place.

The left of the dotted line in Figure 3.1 describes the various dimensions that encompass the product of public space. The solid frames in the diagram represent the various tangible dimensions of the product and the dotted frame represents the intangible dimensions discussed above and which result from integrated practices of placemaking and greening within public space. The tangible dimensions within public space are visible through the urban and physical attributes of a place as well as through the ecological and greening / green infrastructure attributes of the place. The above two dimensions in turn shape the use and activities which take place within and around the public space. The literature has highlighted the significance of place-based green and urban attributes as well as the impacts thereof on use and activities. The considerations which inform these dimensions are discussed further in sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Place-supporting urban and physical attributes

Theorists such as Canter (1977), Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998) have given definition to the strong interrelationships between the physical form of settings, activities within space and the related impact on how we perceive place and attach meaning to place, evoking the quality of a 'sense of place'. The practice of placemaking has at its heart a people-centred and place-based approach to the making of place. Therefore, the qualities which make a place relevant, safe, people-friendly and attractive are important considerations in designing the product of public space. Good planning and urban design also play an important role in contributing to the quality of public spaces. Streets, squares and parks need to have good access to public transport, should have wide sidewalks in good repair, have good visibility, be well-lit and safe as well as have well-marked pedestrian crossings and be located in slow moving traffic areas. Urban and physical attributes that enhance pedestrian movement and accessibility; enhance urban quality, safety and comfort;

promote attractive, creative and aesthetic environments; as well as encourage density, amenity and vitality all contribute to the creation of safe and vibrant public spaces. Ensuring that public spaces respond to local needs for income generation as well as respect and enhance the local character, unique identity and heritage of each place become significant dimensions for consideration in the design of place-supporting public spaces.

As stated by Cilliers et al., (2014), public spaces are an extension of the community and when cities have thriving civic spaces, residents have a strong sense of community. Public spaces which are inviting, social and inclusive attract a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income. Such spaces are characterised by an abundance of comfortable and shaded places to sit. The quality of street furniture is creative and functional and consists of a ‘family’ of elements including seating, signage, pedestrian street lights, litterbins, planters, flower baskets and bus / taxi shelters. As highlighted above, inclusive social public spaces also give importance to promoting public art and sculpture that foster a sense of belonging and well-being. Physical features should further engage the mind, ears, eyes and humour (MSI, 2015). Kaymaz, Oguz and Cengiz-Hergul (2019), aver that promoting physical activity and outdoor leisure through effective public green space design are key to ensuring healthy future generations with access to active life-styles. Carmona (2019: 50) highlights the importance of catering to a diversity of public spaces recognising diverse preferences amongst urban populations ensuring that “there is the opportunity for urban areas to offer something for everyone in the right locations although not necessarily everything for all everywhere”. Table 3.1 below outlines key physical attributes of urban systems, streets, squares and parks which foster qualities of ‘place’ within public space.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES				
	City-wide	Streets	Squares	Parks
<u>Movement</u> Accessible, Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible	Permeable urban fabric. Good public transport.	Pedestrian oriented, wide sidewalks in good repair, well-marked pedestrian crossings and slow traffic.	Close to public transport, pedestrian oriented.	Close to public transport or within walking distance of place of residence. No physical barriers such as walls, fences / gates. Good visibility, good visual and physical connections.
<u>Quality and relevance</u> Multi-functional, Safe, Comfortable,	Clustering of community facilities and public institutions. Public realm that caters to pedestrian,	Attractive, scaled to the pedestrian, well lit, safe, clean. Attracts a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income.	Flexible and multi-functional design accommodating seasonal uses: Live music and performances, street performers, passive and active recreation	Adaptable spaces with seasonal uses: Live music and performances, art shows, farm markets, passive and active recreation, attractive

Social	economic and social needs.	Accommodates well managed economic activities. Wide variety of regular programmed activities such as parades, sidewalk sales, festivals, musicians, street performers	Abundance of comfortable places to sit. Attracts a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income.	for unscheduled entertainment. Abundance of comfortable seating. Larger park sizes which promote physical activity and outdoor leisure e.g. tracks, trails, gym / play equipment, drinking water points.
Attractiveness Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional	Public realm that fosters a unique identity.	Robust and high quality street furniture including benches / seating, signage, litterbins, planters, flower baskets, bus / taxi shelters. Provision for recycling of waste. Creative use of light and sound.	Public art and sculpture are featured. Risers of different sizes and locations as seating Provision for outdoor performances / commercial markets. Provision for recycling of waste.	Provision of a diversity of recreational amenities - giant game boards / labyrinths / interactive water features to engage mind, ears, eyes and humour. Provision for recycling of waste.
Vitality Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses	Promotion of urban qualities such as higher density, mixed use development, and transit oriented development.	Attractive and activated street frontages. Attractive signage in front of businesses. Respect for historic structures.	Close to activities such as retail, shopping, entertainment, sports amenities, civic centres, municipal halls, museums, aquariums and libraries.	Restaurants, food outlets, stalls or vendors nearby. Range of surrounding housing options.

Table 3.1: Physical attributes of urban systems, streets, squares and parks which foster qualities of ‘place’ within public space. Adapted and compiled from UN-Habitat (2020), Land Policy Institute, MSU (2015) and Montgomery (1998)

3.2.2 Place-related ecological and green attributes

The ecological, greening and green infrastructure attributes of public spaces have a direct bearing on the health and well-being as well as sense of belonging of residents in cities as well as impacting on the sustainability and resilience of cities. “An ecologically informed approach changes the way that people design and manage the environment, including the urban environment...the new approach means thinking and acting at all scales and recognising interconnections within and between ecosystems” (Grant, 2012, 59). As highlighted by Harrison et al. (2014: 54), “The functioning of green assets has assumed an infrastructural role through the idea that ecosystem services can serve similar purposes to traditional grey infrastructure. The rationale behind this approach is that green assets and

green infrastructure deliver ecosystem services which can provide more sustainable infrastructure alternatives for cities in the future (the URBES project, 2013a)". At a city-wide scale as emphasised by Ahern (2011), natural systems are often fragmented leading to vulnerability of urban landscape elements negatively impacting on ecological processes. "Connected natural systems networks are thus critical for building resilience capacity as this maintains functional connectivity despite disturbances to the network" (Harrison et al., 2014). While at a city-wide scale multi-scale connectivity of green systems and spaces, as well as the protection and promotion of nature-in-city assets such as wetlands, riparian areas, urban forests and urban grasslands is significant, perhaps the most pertinent to the conceptualisation of public space are the strategies for building urban resilience in cities which embrace options for the provision of green infrastructure which feature alongside conventional / grey infrastructure provision. Promotion of multi-functional ecological and green assets such as a park or cemetery simultaneously provides a suite of services such as flood alleviation, cooling heat islands, carbon capture, water filtration, local food production and provision of spaces for people and nature to interact (Roe & Mell, 2012). Similarly, trees are urban green assets which provide ecosystem services including air filtering, micro-climate regulation, noise reduction, rainwater drainage and provide recreational value (Harrison et al., 2014). Promotion of bio-cultural diversity within urban green spaces, as advocated by Cocks et al., (2020) similarly plays an important role in enhancing the inclusivity and sense of belonging of urban residents especially within marginalised areas of the city which accommodate the majority of newly urbanised communities who seek economic and cultural benefits from public and green spaces.

Strategies of redundancy and modularisation are attributes of urban green infrastructure which allow for the spreading of risks across time, across geographical areas and across multiple systems through the provision of backup functions (Ahern, 2011). Combining natural and engineered green infrastructure within parks and open spaces provide both recreation and flood attenuation services. Vegetated bioswales, shrubbery, planter boxes as well as surfaced areas which incorporate landscaping in the form of green grass, flower beds and natural waterbodies contribute to identity and aesthetics as well as retaining and infiltrating stormwater run-off. The role of productive green spaces which accommodate urban agriculture which is significant in Global South contexts could also potentially contribute to stormwater management processes. Respectfulness to natural landscape, protection of greenspace biodiversity, and reflection of local character and local ecology in the selection and use of trees and plants all contribute to the building of a unique sense of place. The various ecological and green infrastructure attributes in relation to public space are outlined further in the Table 3.2 below.

ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE ATTRIBUTES

	City-wide	Streets / boulevards	Squares	Parks
<p><u>Landscape Quality</u> Deference to natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity, Bio-cultural diversity</p>	<p>Respectful of the unique natural landscape and features of a place.</p> <p>Protection and retention of high biodiversity and bio-cultural diversity nature areas, hotspots and networks.</p>	<p>Reflective of the character of local landscape and flora; use of indigenous trees and plants appropriate to local ecology.</p>	<p>Reflective of the character of local landscape and flora; use of indigenous trees and plants appropriate to local ecology and local culture.</p>	<p>Conservation of fauna and flora diversity, promotion of indigenous trees and plants, promotion of habitat diversity and bio-cultural diversity through the accommodation of different habitat types and cultural activities and uses alongside horticultural and landscape design.</p>
<p><u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity</p>	<p>Extension and maintenance of multi-scale interconnected and networked green infrastructure.</p>	<p>Incorporating interconnected green corridors as part of street systems.</p> <p>Continuous street tree-planting along street corridors, use of vegetated curb extensions.</p> <p>Integrating green gutters and roofs and green walls where there are space limitations for the planting of trees.</p> <p>Integrating blue-green networks that support biodiversity, hydrological processes, neighbourhood identity and aesthetics.</p>	<p>A hierarchy and network of green streets and squares ranging from community squares to civic squares and ceremonial and / memorial spaces.</p>	<p>A hierarchy and network of parks and green facilities ranging from small urban pocket parks to neighbourhood and community parks, to district parks connected through a green / blue-green network.</p>
<p><u>Multi-functional green assets</u> providing multiple ecosystem services</p>	<p>Urban systems which combine grey and green infrastructure as well as social and green functions contributing to multiple ecosystem services.</p>	<p>Street trees forming urban tree canopy –provides improved air quality, provides sun and shade, reduces heat island effect, increases rainfall interception.</p> <p>Bioswales, planter boxes, productive green uses / seasonal flowering trees, shrubbery contributing to identity and aesthetics as well as retaining and infiltrating stormwater run-off.</p>	<p>Surfaced areas which incorporate landscaping, green – grass, trees, flowerbeds, natural waterbodies, fountains.</p> <p>Stacking: Vertical integration of functions e.g. sub-surface detention systems underneath civic squares, crossings for wildlife underneath or above roads.</p>	<p>Park design and use of topography combining recreational functions with productive functions as well as regulating functions such as stormwater infiltration reducing the urban heat island effect.</p> <p>Rain gardens that collect and absorb run-off.</p> <p>Abundance of green – grass, trees,</p>

				productive planting beds, water- natural waterbodies.
<u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u>	Retention of green areas in the catchment such as wetlands, riparian areas, urban forests and urban grasslands which assist in water provision and purification.	Use of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems.	Use of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems.	Combining natural and engineered green infrastructure solutions within parks providing both recreation and flood attenuation services through use of vegetated swales, stormwater planters and rain gardens.

Table 3.2: Ecological and green infrastructure attributes of urban systems, streets, squares and parks which contribute to greening within public space. Adapted and developed from the South African Cities Network (2016) citing Ahern (2007), Ahern et al. (2011, 2014), Carmin et al. (2012), Cobbinah & Darkwah (2016), Harrison et. al. (2011) and Pauleit et al. (2010); and Cocks et al. (2020).

3.2.3 Place-based use and activities

Use and activities in public space are a direct outcome of the urban and physical attributes as well as the ecological and green attributes unique to the place. When planning and conceptualisation follows a place-based approach the above attributes gain relevance to local communities thereby resulting in uses and activities that are responsive to local needs. The aligning of these conditions at the various scales of planning, leads to emerging uses and activities which contribute to a unique sense of place. This leads to enhanced economic, social, cultural and ecological value within public space raising the significance of these spaces for people using and experiencing the place. As important as people-centred and nature-based designs are conducive to greater use and activities within public space, so are the procedural dimensions of managing public space. For example, the cleanliness and safety of a place as well as the events and creative activities that are programmed within a space affect the use and activities within public space. The Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper (LQC) placemaking approach is a strategy that introduces new activities within existing places “to infuse them with more life and activity...the primary purpose of LQC activities involves activating space and encouraging people to engage in various activities. Attracting people to sites that offer multiple interesting activities also helps to enhance sense of place within the community and is good for the local economy” (MSU: 2019). Active stewardship of public space through multi-stakeholder collaboration allows for the re-interpretation and regeneration of spaces and uses over time allowing for adaptation in response to changing dynamics and needs. The various procedural dimensions in public space conceptualisation, delivery and management are discussed further in Section 3.3 below.

3.3 DIMENSIONS OF THE PROCESSES OF PUBLIC SPACE GOVERNANCE AND DELIVERY

As highlighted through this section, the manner in which placemaking and greening imperatives are consciously embedded in the procedural and governance dimensions which facilitate the planning, conceptualisation, design, delivery and management of public space, impacts on the resulting quality of public places and spaces in the city. The right side of the central dotted line in the conceptual framework highlighted in Figure 3.1 describes the various dimensions that encompass the processes of public space governance and delivery. The solid frames in the diagram represent the various governance roles and stages of this process and the dotted frame represents the governance tools which support and enable these processes. The considerations which inform these dimensions are discussed further in sections 3.3.1 to 3.3.5 below.

3.3.1 Institutional innovation, leadership, collaboration and championing

As argued through this thesis, given that sound urban design and the delivery of public space at a city-wide scale is a core function of local government, the task of leading and integrating practices of placemaking and greening into the planning, conceptualisation and delivery of public space lies primarily with municipalities. The literature review has revealed that successful interventions in placemaking and greening within public space are a result of a number of collaborative processes that shape outcomes which are meaningful to users and beneficiaries of public space. Governance roles, responsibilities and capabilities in fostering and leading these processes bear significance for the outcomes of public space. The UN-Habitat (2020) in its Guidebook for City Leaders on public space strategy emphasises the role of the public sector in generating political support, building partnerships, engaging stakeholders as well as in communicating and implementing public space strategies. For conceptualisation at a strategy level, the guidebook recommends the establishment of a working group of different stakeholders and donors who would contribute to the generation of a common vision and defined roles and responsibilities. Zamanifard et al. (2018) refer to the role of 'institutional creativity' (Adams & Tiesdell, 2013) in generating economically viable and quality public spaces as shown through their case study research on the South Bank Parklands, in Brisbane. They argue that governance is affected by both the culture and perceptions of stakeholders which affect the various development and management tasks in relation to public space development and delivery. The multi-dimensional scope of public space makes effective transversal governance in a municipal context a critical aspect of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management. As stated by Kaw et al. (2020: 75), when implementing public space projects, institutional coordination should be considered between government agencies as well as across governmental agencies,

communities and private stakeholders and these arrangements may be implemented at a city-wide level, or at a project-level.

Even within a single project, the same public space is often managed by several separate government departments that have very different mandates, usually resulting in less-than-optimal design solutions and management arrangements. In contrast when government departments come together to plan, fund, design and manage public spaces, they open possibilities of creating more innovative solutions and of better managing public spaces as an integrated space.

This highlights the significance of institutional innovation and leadership which play an important role in fostering transversal planning and budgeting in order to ensure collaboration and coordination in the implementation process. These play a role in addressing the mindset and culture gap as well as the organisational set-up gap highlighted by Coetzee (2012), discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis.

Outside the institutional context, Carmona (2014) and Zamanifard et al. (2018) consider public space shaping as an act of multiple actors and stakeholders with varying motivations, attitudes, and interests, and whose roles are transient and changeable. The literature identifies three main groups of stakeholders with distinctive interests. These include citizens or individuals, the public sector and the private sector (Healey, 2010, Tiesdell & Adams, 2011). In addition to institutional coordination and collaboration, placemaking approaches are driven by collaborative efforts between public and private stakeholders often where resources are integrated and the involvement and initiation by local communities and businesses is significant, leading to shared responsibilities in the management and maintenance of spaces created. Although leadership for placemaking approaches may often be led from a bottom-up approach, the need for top-down administrative and political championing and prioritisation of public space programmes and investment is crucial. This is covered further in the section below.

3.3.2 Planning and Investment in Public Space

A multidimensional study of urban prosperity conducted by the UN-Habitat, found that the 60 most prosperous cities around the world had on average 30% of their land dedicated to streets, footpaths, pavements and sidewalks (UN-Habitat, 2013). In standardising a desirable norm for the quantity of public space in cities, the UN-Habitat have taken this a step further to recommend that 45% of total urban areas to be dedicated to public space with 30% allocated for streets and sidewalks/pavements and 15% for public open spaces, whether green or not (UN-Habitat, 2020). Although various international norms exist on the standards for provision of public space, the literature from a Global South perspective introduces the

concept of “sufficient” provision based on locally relevant criteria and concepts (Cocks et al., 2020). Addressing the well-intentioned guidelines which are set predominantly from a Global North perspective, the authors highlight the need in a Global South context to rather focus on aspects of quality, heritage and attached values and uses rather than striving to meet the amount or ratio of such provision. At the same time, the importance of ensuring equitable distribution and access to public spaces is especially significant in a South African context.

As highlighted by Kaw et al. (2020), the planning and creation of public space should include a plan for future operations and maintenance especially when funded from a municipal budget. Planning for public space in this context should be linked to the multi-year municipal budgeting process. Asset management which the authors define as “a process of making and implementing decisions about acquiring or developing these assets and then operating, maintaining, refurbishing, and eventually replacing them cost-effectively” (Kaganova and Kopanyi 2014, cited in Kaw et al., 2020: 55), is based on the principles of asset life-cycle planning. This approach provides tools for planning and implementing long-lasting as well as financially and organisationally sustainable public spaces. “This contrasts with non-asset management practices, whereby public spaces are created without (or any) stipulations on who will manage these places or on the sources of operational and maintenance funding” (Kaw et al., 2020: 56). The approach also recommends that where a citywide inventory of public spaces is not in existence, an ad hoc approach may be used where conceptualisation and planning of spaces may proceed while inventory records are being designed and populated. A key challenge in relation to asset management practices in urban greening as stated by Sykes (2019: 125) is that “until green assets are included in asset maintenance plans, it will be difficult if not impossible to secure budget to ensure that existing assets continue to perform at the required levels and standards of service.” In aid of developing a ‘green asset registry’ to guide green infrastructure planning, Sykes (2019: 125) states that incorporating green infrastructure (GI) into government asset registries has the potential to support GI as a component of the urban infrastructure network. Sykes recommends a number of steps in relation to incorporating green assets into traditional asset registries. These include defining green asset classes in terms of ownership, benefits and value; identifying assets in terms of location and controlling entity; and deciding what additional information needs to be tracked and recorded in order to allow green assets (by asset class) to be managed successfully. Kaw et al. (2020) recommend the preparation of cost estimations for each potential public space with the forecasting of operational and maintenance costs being estimated as a simple percentage of the capital cost depending on quality of materials used, climate, intensity of use and safety standards. These could range from 2 to 15% of capital costs for sports fields and tennis courts with general park facilities including landscaping and irrigation facilities elevating the costs to 15 to 35% depending of

the extent of ancillary facilities catered for, such as rest rooms, picnic tables, braai facilities, playground equipment and drinking fountains.

As outlined by Kaw et al. (2020), four potential funding sources are commonly used to finance projects viz. government (municipality), private companies, private donations and international donors. Government funding for public space is often challenging to secure depending on relative costs of these projects in relation to other departmental projects as well as depending on where public space stands on the list of city priorities. “Governments are less likely to be sole funders given the clear trend of public spaces becoming joint undertakings between government, the private sector and the community” Kaw et al. (2020: 77). “As is the case internationally, urban development in South Africa has shifted to the private sector to some extent, with the public sector playing a more enabling role through the development of visions, development policies and spatial plans” Landman (2019: 149). When public spaces are created within special land development zones, land-based financing instruments which result from increased land value from resultant projects may be used to fund infrastructure and public spaces. The second possibility is for the outsourcing of public space management to private companies for a period long enough for the investor to recoup capital expenditure and turn a profit. The above option combines capital expenditure with operations and maintenance in the form of a public-private-partnership (PPP) (Kaw et al., 2020). Private donors may take the form of philanthropy or community in-kind contributions, here ‘community’ including both individuals and businesses. As highlighted by Kaw et al., donor funding may also be an option for cities, but most often funding may come from a combination of all four sources depending on the unique circumstances of a project.

3.3.3 Place-based, green conceptualisation and delivery of public space: Promoting multi-dimensional, multi-stakeholder and multi-disciplinary processes

A conceptualisation of public space that captures the various physical, ecological and place-based attributes of a place is by nature a multi-disciplinary, multi-dimensional exercise. The outcome should strive towards a place-based and green conceptualisation. Design of public space should be a multi-disciplinary exercise, by virtue of the number of functions fulfilled by these spaces. As outlined by Kaw et al. (2020) from an engineering infrastructure perspective public spaces serve as pathways for public transport, water supply, electricity, drainage, and street lighting. Further from an economic perspective they serve as venues for informal trade and commerce, from a social and cultural perspective they serve as centres of cultural exchange and from a recreational perspective they form extended sites of various household activities. In addition to the above, from an ecological and greening perspective public spaces importantly include nature areas which provide various ecosystem services at a city-wide

scale as well as providing the settings for the promotion of greening through tree-planting, vegetation and shrubbery.

From a functionality and local relevance perspective it becomes apparent that multi-dimensional outcomes of public space become possible only when public spaces are conceived through a multi-disciplinary, place-based lens. This is not without challenges as stated by Relph (1987), Whitehand (1991) and Chapman (2011) cited in Chapman (2012: 239)

While examples of distinctive and enjoyable historic and contemporary places can be found internationally but the exemplars are the exception and in many places the qualities appear to be progressively diminishing. This is not caused by the absence of shared perceptions of what qualities are desirable, but more from the difficulty of actually producing them in practice.

From a municipal governance perspective, it becomes important to recognise that an in-depth understanding of the procedural dimensions that enable a multi-dimensional conceptualisation are key to successful project implementation. This requires multi-disciplinary inputs into the definition of terms of references and scope of works for integrated public space projects incorporating the skills of urban designers and landscape architects, transportation planning and infrastructure engineers as well as horticulturalists and stakeholder facilitation experts who provide further specialist expertise in embedding the design to place-based understandings. Integrated approaches are therefore more time consuming by virtue of the added collaborative efforts necessary. As stated by Collier et al. (1991, 5-7) ‘...that attempting to upskill professionals in isolation will not produce the outcomes we are seeking. Instead success will lie in changing the behaviour, attitudes and knowledge of everyone involved’. The role of placemaking processes in empowering community members with skills in negotiating and participating in the design process towards inclusive design outcomes is similarly highlighted by Strydom and Puren (2016). The definition of placemaking as “a process to increase the capacity and capability of people to invest a place with meaning” is equally relevant here (The Place Agency, <https://studios.placeagency.org.au/what-is-placemaking/>).

As highlighted by the UN-Habitat, 2020: 70, “Public space is the embodiment of democratic values and facilitates debate sometimes required to test those values”. At a project level, it becomes critical to engage the involvement of local communities through formalised processes and engagements. Participatory planning processes whether these take the form of workshops, team building activities, public hearings, polls and surveys, or community meetings provide a platform for democratic decision-making through the negotiation of

conflicting values. Kaw et al., (2020) as well as the Urban Maestro Project (2019) suggest various complementary instruments and informal governance tools for soliciting public participation. These include government-led exhibitions to solicit feedback from stakeholders, use of collaborative charettes or citizen dialogue to help cocreate public spaces and tactical urbanism and placemaking approaches that use reiterative interventions to shape public spaces and which allow for more permanent interventions based on how well the initial level of services and interventions are received. In addition to the above covered dimensions, the conceptualisation process includes the process of design of public space where the dimensions of the product as covered in Section 3.2 need to inform the design process. It is however highlighted that this process follows a multi-dimensional, multi-stakeholder, multi-disciplinary conceptualisation process which shapes the brief for the design.

3.3.4 Ongoing Management and Maintenance: Multi-stakeholder partnerships, roles and responsibilities

Over and above positive physical and ecological attributes of a place, the systems in place to support the ongoing stewardship, management and maintenance of public space over time, ultimately define the quality of peoples' experiences of public spaces and places in the city. The process also ensures that needs are interpreted and re-interpreted over time to ensure ongoing relevance to local communities as well as allowing for the layering of history and values within public space. Landman (2019) contextualising the broadly defined approaches by Carmona et al. (2008), to a South African perspective outlines four different scenarios to the management and maintenance of public space. The first is the incorporation and / or devolution through state centred-approaches. In this instance, the government / municipality coordinates the maintenance, management and regulation of public space through the provision of funds to manage this process. In some cases, this responsibility is delegated to a state-owned agency or alternatively to a private entity through the vehicle of a public-private-partnership. These arrangements include aspects such as cleaning and collection of waste, grass cutting, watering of plants, maintenance of equipment and parks, as well as developing new parks or carrying out tree-planting and maintaining city trees as well as preserving the environment and green assets. In the second instance this function is privatised through market-centred approaches. Here, the responsibilities are transferred to private entities through service-delivery contracts or development agreements (De Magalhães & Carmona, 2009). These may be either for the management and maintenance of publicly owned public spaces or for the management and maintenance of publicly accessible but privately owned public spaces or pseudo-public spaces. "This trend is unfortunately encouraged due to the fact that the public authorities are unable or unwilling to

bear the costs of developing public spaces (Madanipour 1999).” Landman (2019: 154). The third is the community-centred approach where the maintenance, management and regulation roles are taken up by voluntary bodies or community-sector entities based on local needs and formalised through lease agreements with the municipality. The last scenario consists of a combination of the various approaches. This approach is characterised by co-maintenance where the crime-prevention responsibilities, waste-management and cleaning responsibilities and upkeep, care and maintenance as well as sustainable use of the parks and public spaces are shared by different entities in a synergistic manner.

Ambrose-Oji et al., (2017) as described in Section 2.3.8 of the literature review refer to the green barter system where businesses develop or maintain green space in exchange for advertising rights or rights to use the space for business-purposes and / profits. The authors also refer to non-government led models which include grass root initiatives which rely on innovation in governance related to ‘use, functions and activity’, ‘organisational structure, relationships and legal arrangements’, ‘problem solving, maintenance and management’ and ‘resource allocation, funding and staffing’.

Of significance for the state-centred or government led approaches to management and maintenance of public space are the formal tools or hard governance tools as highlighted in the literature. The role of regulatory frameworks and by-laws and the enforcement thereof towards maintain lawful use of public spaces and places gains importance.

3.3.5 Urban Design policies, public space strategies and guidelines integrating placemaking and greening practices

The last dimension in relation to the governance and procedural aspects of public space conceptualisation and delivery speaks to the role of design governance tools as highlighted by Carmona (2016). These tools play an important role in contributing to the creation of people-centred and nature-centred solutions within public space. As highlighted in the literature review and particularly Section 2.4, municipal policies which aid in place quality and place relevance such as public space strategies and policies, street tree and tree management policies, policies for urban agriculture, informal trade and markets, policies for community safety, community-based management and maintenance all have significance for quality of public spaces and particularly for practices of placemaking and greening within public space.

From a design based and place quality perspective, an overarching urban design policy which guides better practices in urban planning and development plays an important role in creating positive settlement and built environment contexts for the generation of positive public spaces. As highlighted by Landman (2021: 31), “it is important to transform the image

of urban design in the country from one that is only related to the creation of aesthetically pleasing environments to an important process where-in soft-power tools can play a critical role in moving from the right words in policy documents to high quality places in practice”. Here reference is also made to various other soft governance tools, including evidence gathering tools, knowledge dissemination tools, proactive promotion tools, structure evaluation tools as well as direct assistance tools (Urban Maestro Project, 2019). In addition, the importance of tools such as administrative performance management indicators to measure departmental public space projects in terms of integrated outcomes is highlighted.

3.4 CONCLUSION

It is proposed that integrating concepts of placemaking and greening into a single framework and a way of thinking about public space conceptualisation may assist city leaders, municipal officials as well as other key built environment professionals such as planners, urban designers, engineers, landscape architects and architects to better integrate these practices into their realms of work.

The conceptual framework positions public space as a product which is an outcome of a series of processes which impacts on the quality, value and use of public space. In relation to the product of public space, it is proposed that i) place-supporting urban and physical attributes, ii) place-related ecological and green attributes and iii) place-based use and activities contribute to outcomes of liveability, resilience, health and well-being as well as sense of place and sense of belonging within public space. The chapter provides a narrative of how each of these relate to and contribute to practices of placemaking and greening. In relation to the processes of public space governance and delivery, it is proposed that, i) institutional innovation encompassing leadership, collaboration and championing, ii) planning and investment in public space, iii) place-based and green conceptualisation and delivery encompassing multi-dimensional, multi-stakeholder and multi-disciplinary processes, iv) ongoing management and maintenance involving multi-stakeholder partnerships, roles and responsibilities as well as iii) urban design policies, public space strategies and guidelines integrating placemaking and greening practices, contribute to design conceptualisation that embeds practices of placemaking and greening within public space.

As highlighted in Chapter 2, issues that confront Global South cities are distinct from those confronted by Global North cities. The conceptual delineation between the product of public space and the processes of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management is seen as important in drawing out inter-relationships and issues that are unique to each case study context. It is held that though universal in its application for the exploration of both

Global South and Global North contexts, the various dimensions elicited through the conceptual framework may unfold different issues and challenges for different world-making contexts. The proposed conceptual framework is therefore seen as useful in revealing unique issues relevant to each unique case study context. The manner in which the conceptual framework has been used to guide the research process and methodology is discussed further in Chapter 4 of the thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an understanding of the research approach and design followed in the research process. The empirical research aims to reveal the processes that unfold in the conceptualisation, delivery and management of public spaces in the city, the extent of placemaking and greening within public space as well as the conditions which would enable the institutionalisation of these practices within the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality. The research methodology provides an overview of how the literature review and conceptual framework have structured the empirical evidence gathering process. It further outlines the research methods, tactics and tools which were employed in carrying out the research.

4.1 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN

4.1.1 Research approach: Qualitative

The nature of the research followed a qualitative enquiry due to the need to explore, understand, interpret and build a holistic picture of placemaking and greening practices which occur in the conceptualisation, delivery and management of public spaces within the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality. In the view of Denzin and Lincoln (1994, 2000, 2005, 2011) the qualitative research approach seeks to locate the observer in the world being studied, making it visible through a “series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self” (Creswell and Poth, 2018, p7). Baker and McGuirk (2017: 434), refer to a pragmatic approach to qualitative data gathering processes which entails the use of various techniques such as field observations, interviews and policy document reviews, drawing from traditional ethnographic approaches but using an assemblage thinking methodology which is not as immersive but equally effective in “constituting detailed and defamiliarised accounts of practice”. Roy (2012), cited in Baker and McGuirk (2017), sees ‘defamiliarisation’ as part of ethnographic sensibility but one that “grapples with the situated articulation of multiple interacting processes and labours that produce socio-spatial phenomena”. Korah, Matthews and Osborne (2020: 106) citing McGuirk, Mee and Ruming (2016), affirm that assemblage thinking as a methodology helps to explain the urban via the “mapping of encounters and practices” in which diverse components that form the city are brought together. As will be revealed through the thesis, the nature of the complex inter-relationships which influence practices of placemaking and greening in the city make the assemblage thinking methodology suitable for the evidence gathering process which was carried out. In addressing the meanings that individuals and groups ascribe to a problem, the researcher has endeavoured to create “a complex

description and interpretation of the problem”, thereby contributing to the literature through a call for change (Creswell, 2013: 44).

In order to arrive at the research approach and design which structured this study it was necessary to concurrently work through existing literature to review relevant theories in order to clarify the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. Through the above process it was possible to refine the research sub-questions which would assist in answering the main research question. These are recounted here:

The main research question that guides this research is therefore as follows:

What is the relevance of an integrated placemaking and greening approach for the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management public space in in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality and how do these processes unfold in the institutional context ?

Embedded in the main research question are a number of sub-research questions which are as follows:

1. *How are public spaces currently planned, conceptualised, delivered and managed in the city?*
2. *How well are placemaking and greening practices embedded, resourced and institutionalised in terms of the conceptualisation of public spaces?*
3. *How well do public spaces in the city reflect placemaking and greening objectives?*
4. *Why are placemaking and greening objectives potentially minimised in public space interventions in the city and what are the issues that influence the uptake of these practices within public space?*
5. *How can the insights generated through this case study contribute to a deeper understanding of the processes of public space planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management in a Global South municipal context?*

4.1.2 Research design: Case study

The main research question highlights the necessity for an in-depth description and understanding of the phenomenon being studied within its real-world context. The real-world context which is the focus of this research can be understood as a case study. In the definitions of Merriam-Webster (2009), a case study constitutes “an intensive analysis of an individual unit”. Stake (2008:119 -120) describes the above “individual unit” as a “functioning specific” or a “bounded system” (Flyvbjerg, 2011). The individual unit as a real-world context

in this research has reference to the institutionally and spatially defined context of the BCMM. In terms of Gerring's (2004) classification of case studies, the observation and description of the BCMM case at a particular point in time may further be classified as a synchronic study where the bounded phenomenon is observed at a single point in time. As Flyvbjerg (2011: 301) explains, the choice by a researcher to do a case study is more a choice of "what is to be studied" rather than a purely methodological choice. The research strategy as defined by Flyvbjerg (2011: 307) falls within an "information-oriented case study selection" the purpose of which is to "maximise the utility of information from small samples and single cases" based on "expectations about their information content". The rationale for selecting the BCMM - one of eight metropolitan areas in South Africa, as a single case study, is supported on a number of counts. The BCMM had the highest Gini Coefficient in in the Eastern Cape Province and South Africa as a whole in 2018 making it the most unequal city in the country (IDP, 2020/21 and Cogta, 2020). The study therefore bears relevance for other cities which experience inequality in distribution of income and wealth and the impacts thereof on both the role of public space as well as its conceptualisation, delivery and management from a local government perspective. The BCMM is also highly dependent on the private sector and tourism (being a coastal city) for its local economic development. The investigation of the role of public space in balancing these varied complexities would also offer lessons for similar cases within a South African municipal context as well as within the broader Global South municipal governance context. Gerring's (2004: 342) definition of a case study as "an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units" further highlights the significance of this research design in elucidating features which may be relevant and applicable to similar contexts. The case study as a research design has many advantages as stated by Flyvbjerg (2006: 235) one of which is that "it can 'close-in' on real life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice". This assists in understanding the interaction between a specific context and the phenomenon being studied (Jacobsen, 2002). As stated by Krusenvik (2016: 5), "the case study research provides great strength in investigating units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance (Reis, n.d.) and it allows investigators to retain a holistic view of real-life events, such as individual life cycles, small group behaviour, organizational and managerial processes (Yin, 2009)." As argued by Merriam (1994) and Sammut-Bonnici & McGhee (2015), it allows the investigator to get as close as possible to an area of interest, both through direct observation in the natural environment as well as through access to the unique subjective factors which contribute to distinctive outcomes.

The BCMM case study could further be described as falling into Flyvbjerg's (2011) example of a "paradigmatic case" type, where the defined purpose is to "develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain that the case concerns". Flyvbjerg however cautions that

the outcome of such a case type, may not consistently and frequently be pre-determined as it is also influenced by the manner in which the case study is executed as well as how the research community, the organization being studied, or the broader public reacts to the study. With the positive feedback that has been received from officials throughout the institutional information gathering process, it is hoped that the outcome of the study may contribute and provide further insight on how the potential for institutionalisation of placemaking and greening practices may be enhanced and unlocked particularly within the Buffalo City municipal governance context.

4.1.3 Spatial and institutional context of the BCMM case

Yin (2018) describes two variants of the single case study design viz. that of a holistic - single unit of analysis case; and the embedded – multiple units of analysis case. In the case of the BCMM, even though the research is framed within a single case study context, the main research question encompasses the realm of public space in the city as a unit of analysis, which is in turn also a composite of the various public spaces which form a part of it. The introductory chapter of this thesis narrows the focus of the study down to three types of public space viz. that of streets / boulevards, squares / plazas and parks. In addition, the focus of the study further zooms into public spaces which fall within the confines of the urban area of the municipality. The research design therefore looked at the analysis of the above types of public spaces as 'embedded units' of analysis within the single case study. Just as the embedded units of analysis are relevant from a spatial perspective, the spatial classification of types of public space also assisted in narrowing down the exploration of the institutional context to those departments which have an active role to play in the delivery and management of the above-mentioned types of public spaces. Through Yin's conceptualisation outlined above, the research followed that of a single case study design with multiple embedded spatial and programmatic units of analysis which allowed insights into the overarching, single case, through the detailed exploration of the above embedded institutional and spatial sub-units of analysis. Figure 4.1 below shows the geographic location of the BCMM within South Africa and the Eastern Cape Province. Figure 4.2 which follows shows the extent of the urban edge within the municipality which forms a further spatial area of focus for the identification of embedded sites for analysis and observation. The institutional units of analysis are highlighted in red dotted frames in the organogram represented in Figure 4.3. The spatial location of the embedded units of analysis are found in Figure 4.4 which follows. The social, political and economic contexts of the case study are described in Chapter 5 of the thesis.

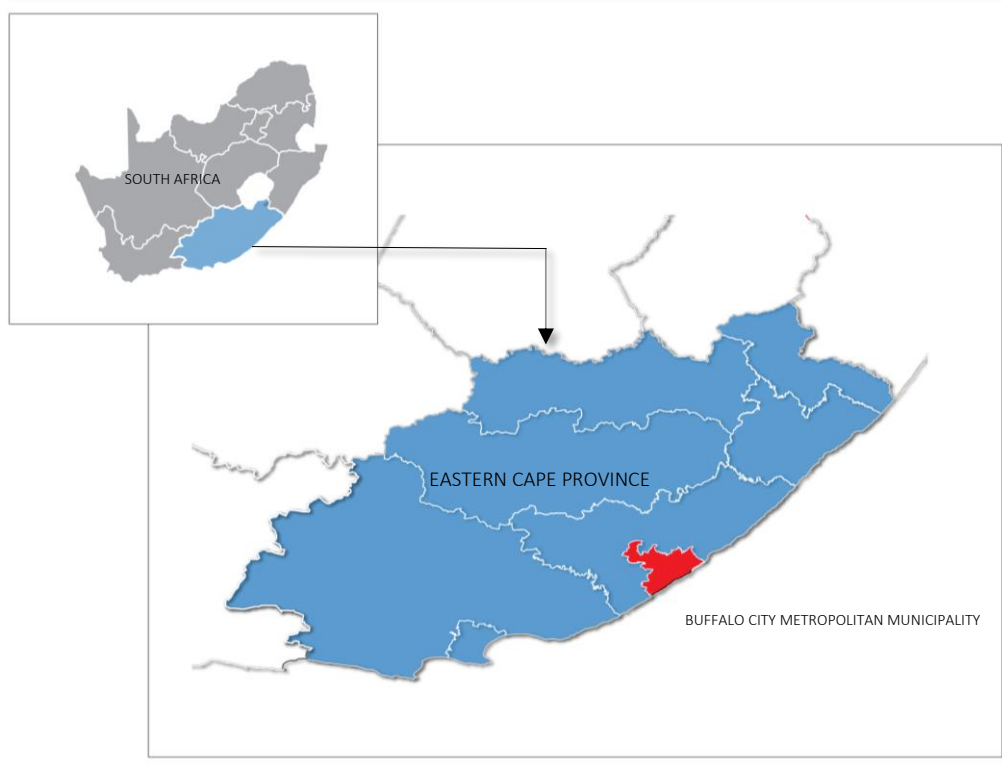


Figure 4.1: The location of Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality within South Africa and the Eastern Cape Province. Source: National Demarcations Board, redrawn by author from original source.

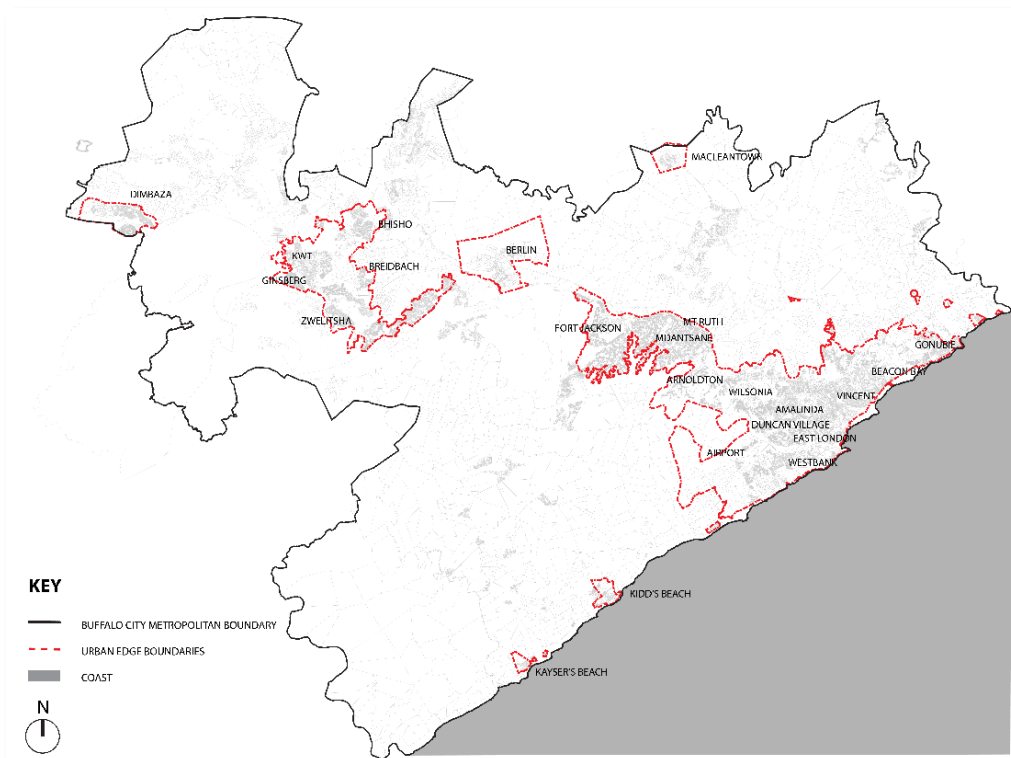


Figure 4.2: The case study context: The Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality. Source: BCMM GIS Department, GIS Data (2019), redrawn by author from original source.

4.2 RESEARCH METHOD

4.2.1 The evidence-gathering process

The envisaged method for the collection of the primary data for this research has been informed by the institutional knowledge gained by the researcher in having worked in the city for over two years prior to the commencement of the evidence gathering process. An overview of the administrative structure of the municipality in terms of the functions of the various directorates and departments of the municipality reveals that the delivery and management of public space as it relates to placemaking and greening cuts across a number of departments in the municipality. An overview of the directorates and departments of the municipality is shown in Figure 4.2 below. Each department drives a number of programmes / sub-departments as relevant to the functions of the directorate. Departments which have significance to the research include: 'Development Planning'; 'Transport Planning and Operations', under the Development and Spatial Planning Directorate, 'Roads and Construction' under the Infrastructure Services Directorate, 'Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria' under the Municipal Services Directorate, 'Integrated Environmental Management and Sustainable Development' under the Executive Support Services Directorate, and 'Trade and Industry'; 'Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage' under the Economic Development and Agency Directorate. The Development Agency of the municipality also plays a significant role in the planning and implementation of flagship public space projects of the city which have placemaking and greening impacts.

The Enterprise Project Management Office, based in the Directorate of the City Manager and where the researcher is based, forms a strategic transversal and technical advisory and support unit to the various directorates of the city, thereby playing an important role of relevance to the research. It is further important to highlight that during the time of completion of this research, the municipal organogram underwent a change wherein the Council approved the disestablishment of the Directorate of Municipal Services with the consequent establishment of two new Directorates including the Directorate of Solid Waste & Environmental Management and the Directorate of Sport, Recreation & Community Development (Final IDP Review, 2020/21). The Department of Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria of relevance to this study which earlier fell under the Municipal Services Directorate now falls under the new Directorate of Sport, Recreation & Community Development.

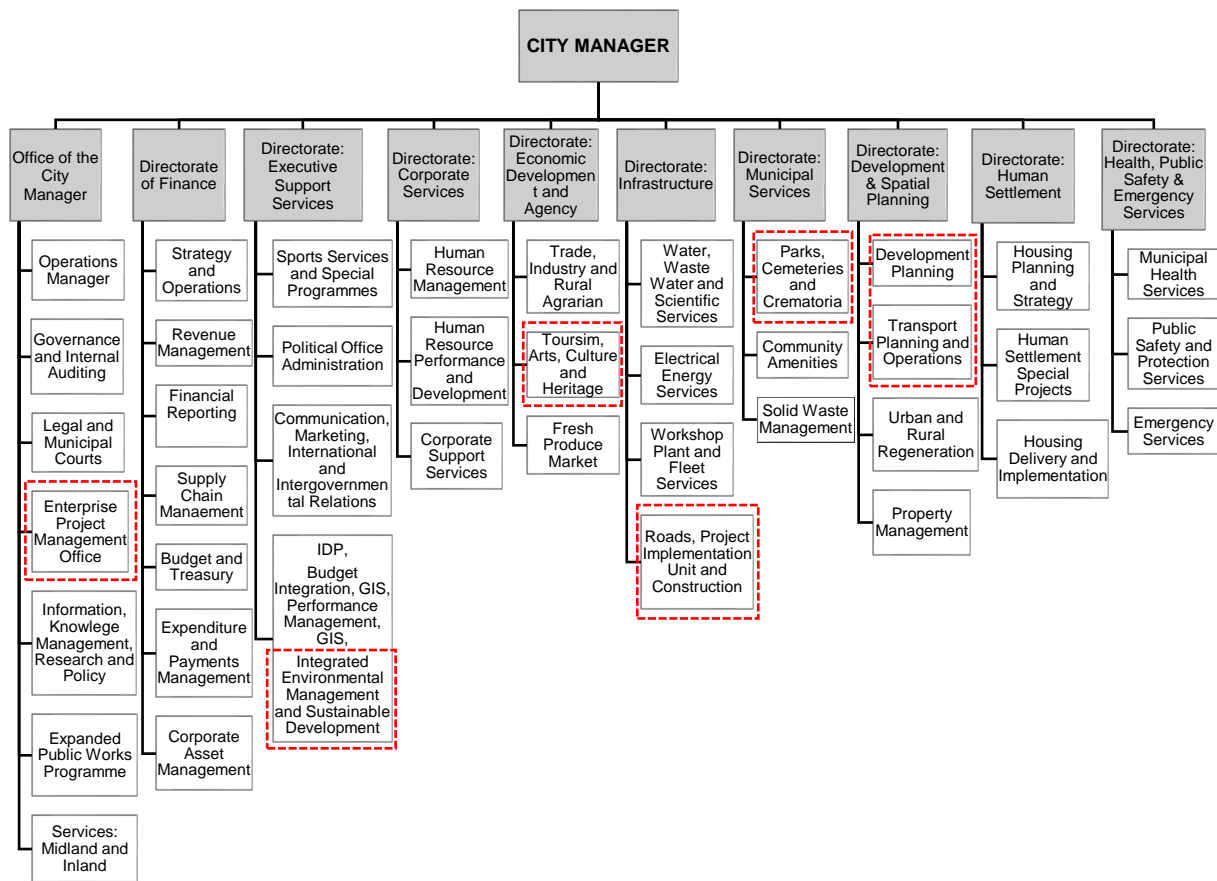


Figure 4.3: Administrative structure of the municipality. Source: IDP Review (2019/20), compiled and redrawn by author from original source.

The primary data collection process focussed on the development of an in-depth and detailed account of the viewpoints and activities of municipal officials from the above departments and entities both at a strategic and / operational level. Interviews were also undertaken with officials of the Buffalo City Development Agency (BCMDA) which is a fully owned entity of the Municipality constituted in terms of in terms of S76 of the Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000, as amended. The Agency contributes to project implementation aligned to flagship projects which are aimed at growing tourism, economic and social development in the city. The gathering of information from multiple sources assisted in the corroboration of evidence, as proposed by Creswell and Poth (2018). The above institutional interviews were conducted during the period from November 2020 to May 2021. The institutional interviews were mostly conducted virtually through the institution's MS Teams platform, due to the national lockdowns that were imposed from 26 March 2020 following the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic in the country. The voice recordings from the interviews were used to create written transcripts which were saved for detailed thematic analysis. The interview processes followed the granting of permission to conduct interviews authorised by the City Manager in June 2019. As elaborated, the focus and nature of the study favoured a purposive sampling method for the institutional interviews where interview respondents were determined and

selected based on the objective and relevance to the study. The first part of the primary evidence gathering process included interviews with officials that are directly involved in the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space covering the governance dimensions of the research. The interviewees included officials from the municipality from the above mentioned Departments, officials from the Buffalo City Development Agency as well as a few key representatives from the business and planning sectors involved in cleaning and greening initiatives in the city. A total of 21 interviewees including 18 officials occupying both senior management and / key operational / programme management positions and a further 3 representatives in the business and planning sectors directly involved in flagship cleaning and greening initiatives in the city were interviewed as will be detailed further in Section 4.3. Table 4.1 below indicates the list of officials / representatives interviewed as well as the departments / sectors represented.

DIRECTORATE	DEPARTMENT / REPRESENTATION	POSITION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
Spatial Planning and Development	Development Planning	Manager: City and Regional Planning	19/11/2020
	Development Planning	Settlement Planner	17/12/2020
	Development Planning	General Manager: Land Use Management	09/12/2020
	Transportation Planning	Manager: Public Transport	25/01/2021
	Transportation Planning	Manager: Transportation Planning	17/12/2020
Community Services	Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria (PCC)	Acting General Manager: PCC	09/12/2020
	Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria	Senior Manager: Coastal Parks	15/12/2020
	Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria	District Officer: Inland Parks	30/11/2020
	Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria	Chief Nursery Officer	18/11/2020 25/11/2020
	Grass cutting and Vegetation Control	Vegetation Control Officer	01/02/2021
City Manager's Office	Enterprise Project Management Office	Civil Engineer	16/12/2020
Executive Support Services	Integrated Environmental Management Planning (IEMP) Unit	Manager: IEMP & Sustainable Development	2020/12/02
Infrastructure Services	Roads and Stormwater	Manager: Roads and Stormwater	05/02/2021
Economic Development and Agencies	Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage	General Manager: Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage	04/02/2021

Buffalo City Development Agency	BCMDA Departments include: Investment and Tourism, Development Facilitation, Economic and Social Development	Chief Executive Officer: BCMDA	13/03/2021
Buffalo City Development Agency	Development Facilitation	Executive Manager: Development Facilitation	23/03/2021
Buffalo City Development Agency	Investment Promotion and Tourism	Programme Manager: Investment Promotion and Tourism	22/03/2021
Buffalo City Development Agency	Investment Promotion and Tourism	Manager: Tourism and Heritage	22/03/2021
Buffalo City Development Agency	Board Member BCMDA	Project Development Investment Committee	04/05/2021
Private Sector: Business Consulting	Planning Representatives x 2	Planning Consultants	07/05/2021

Table 4.1: List of officials interviewed

The second part of the primary data collection and research included site observation and documentation of public spaces within the BCMM which form the examples which demonstrate placemaking and greening in the city. From an operations perspective, the municipality is divided into three service delivery or operational regions; the Coastal Region, the Midland Region and the Inland Region (see Figure 4.4 below). The Coastal Region comprises the central East London area including areas such as Duncan Village to the north, Beacon Bay and Gonubie to the East and West Bank and Cove Rock to the West. The Midland Region includes areas of the former township of Mdantsane, surrounding newer areas of Potsdam and Reeston and the old settlement of Berlin. The Inland Region comprises the historic town of Qonce (previously KWT) which has since been renamed to Qonce in February 2021 as part of a government programme to transform South Africa's heritage landscape (Minister of Arts and Culture, 2021). The region also includes areas of Ginsberg, Zwelitsha, Phakamisa and Breidbach to name a few of the surrounding settlements. The selected public spaces fall within each of three regions described above and are representative of the various types of public spaces that fall within the focus of this research namely; streets, inclusive of public transport routes; squares or civic, urban spaces; and parks, inclusive of a regional park, neighbourhood parks and a wetland park.

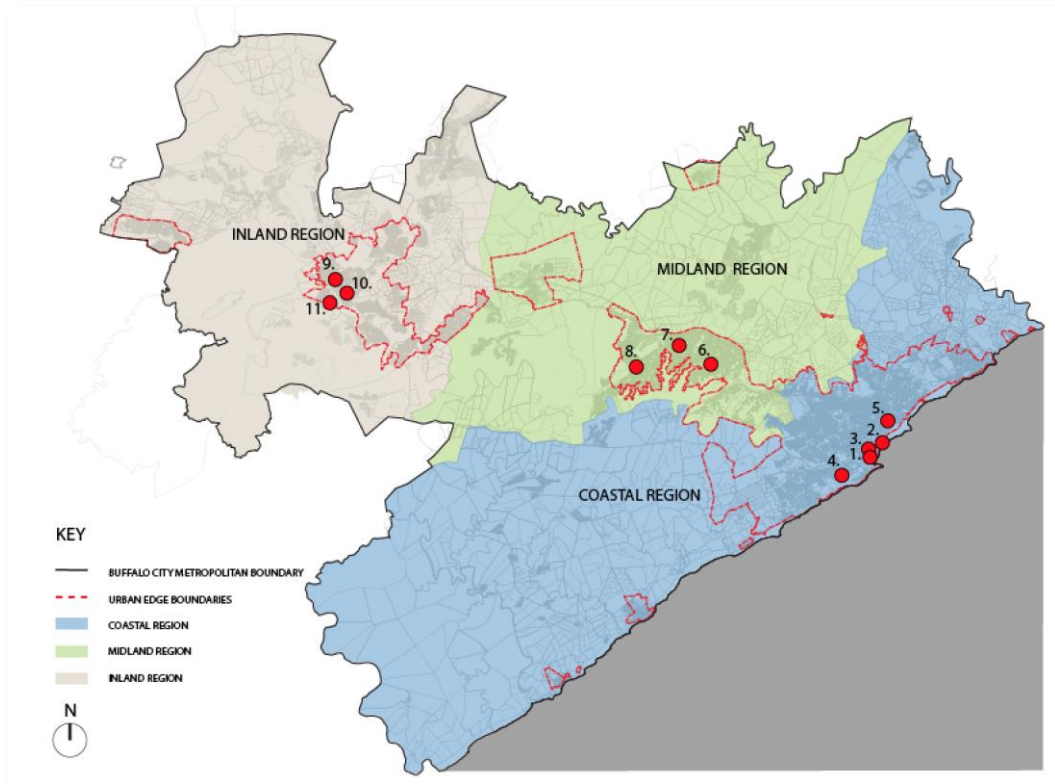


Figure 4.4: BCMM Operational regions and location of public space projects observed. Source: Base map and operational regions from BCMM GIS Department, adapted by author to include the location of sites observed.

REGION	PUBLIC SPACE NAME AND TYPE		SETTLEMENT CONTEXT
Coastal	1.	Square at City Hall, East London	Historic CBD
	2.	Esplanade Street	Beachfront area
	3.	Settler's Way Public Transport Corridor	Mixed-use Industrial area
	4.	St George's Park	Inner city neighbourhood
	5.	James Pearce Park	Suburban neighbourhood
Midland	6.	Qumza Highway Public Transport Corridor	Township / RDP neighbourhood
	7.	Park in NU 17 Mdantsane	Township neighbourhood
	8.	Mdantsane Eco-Park	Township CBD
Inland	9.	Bram Fischer Square	Historic CBD
	10.	Mbeka Street, Ginsberg	Township neighbourhood
	11.	Camilla Square Inner City Park	Inner city neighbourhood

Table 4.2: List of public spaces observed

A total of 11 public spaces were observed within the three regions of the city (see Table 4.2 above). In order to form a holistic view of public spaces across the city and the nature of

placemaking and greening within these, examples are taken from the various characteristic settlement types within the city, which have also been influenced by historic formation. The socio-political contexts of these settlement types are described further in Chapter 5 of the thesis. The contexts observed include public spaces located within; CBD and inner-city neighbourhoods, suburban neighbourhoods as well as township / RDP neighbourhoods. As a part of the observation of the examples, semi-structured interviews were carried out with users of public spaces. A total of 29 respondents were interviewed within the various public spaces during the period from March 2021 to May 2021, following the easing of Covid-19 lockdown restrictions during this time. The details of this will be further discussed in Section 4.3. As with the institutional interviews, the voice recordings from the site interviews were used to create written transcripts which were saved for detailed thematic analysis. The qualitative observation of the public spaces was further supported through the analysis of the broader settlement context of each space in terms of placemaking and greening. The conceptual framework developed for the study was used to develop field observation guides to assess each space in terms of placemaking and greening impact. This is described further in Section 4.3.2 below.

Secondary data collection included the analysis and review of documentation situating and contextualising the study. This included the reading and interpretation of documents from varied sources including newspaper articles, books, reports, archival data, newsletters, websites and other media sources as well as strategies, policies and guideline documents of the municipality. This also included looking at the legislative parameters from a National, Provincial and Municipal government perspective drawing out sections that have relevance for placemaking and urban greening within municipalities.

4.2.2 Summary of the theoretical framework

Creswell's (2013) emphasis on the role of theoretical frameworks which inform the study and the research problem in any qualitative research is echoed by Grant & Osanloo (2016) who describe a theoretical framework as the 'blueprint' to guide research. According to Adom, Hussein & Adu-Agyem, (2018), it assists to situate a study within existing theories or fields of enquiry which form the knowledge base of the investigation or research. The literature review has highlighted the following themes which have guided the development of the conceptual framework as well as the research tools.

FOCAL CONCEPTS	THEMES
Public Space	Urban space as socio-spatial process Public space governance Public space: Global South contexts

	Evolving public space Policies, strategies and tools for public space governance Asset life-cycle planning and budgeting
Placemaking	Place theories Place quality Place governance Place-based design conceptualisation
Urban Greening	Resilience Thinking Ecosystem Services Green space as socio-environmental process Human well-being Environmental Justice Urban green infrastructure Green asset management

Table 4.3: Focal concepts and themes from the literature review

The literature review has assisted in conceptually lifting out and clarifying the focal concepts and themes underpinning this research viz. that of placemaking and urban greening in relation to public space. Whereas public space encompasses the continuum of space which one encounters on stepping out of space within the private realm, 'placemaking' refers to a collective and collaborative practice which leads to a place-based conceptualisation of public space giving meaning to spaces and places through the building of unique characteristics of a place as well as through the supporting of relevant uses and activities - existing, assigned and appropriated over time. The significance and meaning of public space within differing global contexts, the notion of conflicting rationalities and the adaptation and evolution of public space to meet changing needs are key theoretical conceptions that affect public space meaning in a Global South context. Theories related to urban greening such as the notion of ecological and urban resilience, ecosystem services, urban green infrastructure and environmental justice become important considerations which serve public space and assist in enhancing both ecological as well as human health and well-being. The governance dimensions of public space play an important role in both placemaking and greening practices. These dimensions highlight the significance of transversal practices, leadership and championing, management as well as institutional strategies, policies and tools which play a role in promoting and enabling placemaking and greening within public space. The inter-relationships between the various themes from the literature review are clarified further through the conceptual framework developed for the study.

4.2.3 Summary of the conceptual framework guiding the research methodology

The conceptual framework as described in Chapter 3, aims to bring together the various theoretical conceptions of space, place and placemaking and its intersection with urban greening through a mapping of inter-relationships which link the product of public space to how it is conceptualised, managed and maintained on an ongoing basis. Practices of placemaking and urban greening are defined through paradigms of urban design which refer to design as a socio-spatial process; the outcome which is both a 'product' and the result of a 'process', where the product is concerned with the physical environment that is produced and the process is concerned with the conscious act of shaping the environment over time (Madanipour, 1996). A key aspect of the study is therefore concerned with the product of public space and how it differentiates itself as a 'place' and not merely a 'space'. The role of processes of placemaking and greening in impacting on the way in which meaning is attached to everyday spaces becomes significant. The ideas of theorists such as Canter (1977), Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998) are drawn on, wherein the activities in a space, its physical attributes, the conceptions and meanings attached to the spaces together define the nature and quality of a place and the extent to which it evokes a 'sense of place'. Physical attributes that enhance place quality therefore play an important role in peoples' experience and connection to a place. The ecological and greening attributes of a place also bear a strong relationship to place quality as increased amounts of greenery and green space within public spaces of the city, directly enhance the health and well-being of people living in it as well as playing an important role in building the urban and ecological resilience of a place. The integration of practices of placemaking and greening within urban public space therefore holds value at many levels with both spatial and non-spatial outcomes, addressing both functional and symbolic needs of communities. The manner in which both these practices are consciously embedded in the design, delivery and management of public space impacts on the resulting quality of public spaces and places within the city with outcomes of liveability, resilience, health, well-being, sense of belonging and sense of place.

The second key aspect of the study is concerned with understanding the processes of placemaking and greening in the city. The governance roles and responsibilities, as well as governance tools frame these dimensions. The leadership and decision-making around this, the collaboration and extent to which public and private stakeholders and resources are integrated as well as the extent of involvement of local communities become significant. The manner in which public spaces are designed and conceptualised through the involvement of multi-stakeholder and multi-disciplinary design teams inclusive of often overlooked community and stakeholders' views and inputs as well as inputs from disciplines such as urban design and landscape architecture play critical roles in the defining the quality of the

product of public space. In a municipal context, the extent to which transversal governance and coordination takes place, the availability of dedicated finance and investment as well as institutional strategies, policies and tools which support placemaking and greening all play a role in promoting and enabling these practices within public space. Ongoing stewardship, management and maintenance of public space ultimately defines the quality of peoples' experiences of public spaces and places in the city. The various dimensions of the product, processes and key inter-relationships as developed in Chapter 3 are presented once again in order to illustrate how these have influenced the development of the research tools outlined further in Section 4.3 below.

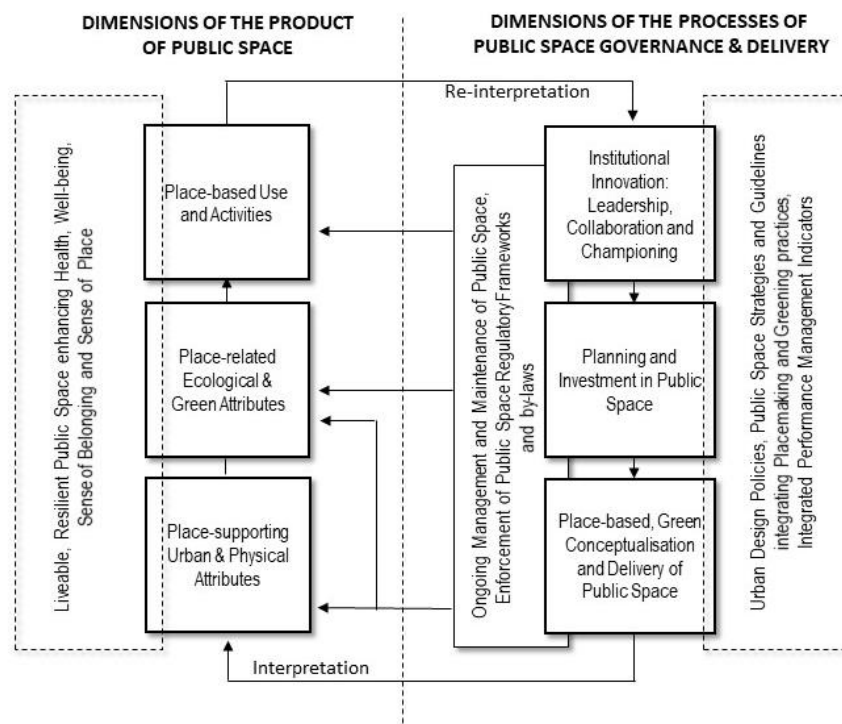


Figure 4.5: Conceptual framework guiding the research methodology. Source: Author (2021)

4.3 RESEARCH TOOLS

4.3.1 Understanding dimensions of the process

The application of the above conceptual framework to the evidence gathering process assisted in sharpening the research tools in relation to the main and sub-research questions. The first and second sub-research questions are concerned with understanding the dimensions of the process which inform the creation and management of public space in the city as well as the extent to which placemaking and greening practices feature in the activities related to the planning, conceptualisation and delivery of public space in the city. The institutional context of the BCMM and the understanding of processes within the relevant service delivery departments as highlighted in Figure 4.5 inform the answers to these

questions. Here, insight is gained primarily through interviews with officials from the relevant departments as well as through personal insight gained as a result of researcher's role as strategic urban designer within a transversal, technical support unit of the city, the Enterprise Project Management Office (EPMO). The interview questions asked of officials within the BCMM and the Development Agency are included in the section below. The fourth sub-research question is aimed at understanding the enablers which would enhance the potential for institutionalisation of integrated placemaking and greening approaches within public spaces in the city. Here the views of both municipal and Agency officials as well a key stakeholder outside of the main municipal context were sought. The research participants outside the municipality included business representatives involved with the city in various initiatives to champion cleaning and greening in the city.

Interview questions developed for the BCMM officials

1. What activities in your work relate to the planning, design, development and management or use of public spaces such as streets / boulevards, squares and parks in the city?
2. Which other departments are actively involved or provide you with support in these processes and activities?
3. What are the strategies, policies and legislative considerations that inform your work?
4. What do you feel are the key priorities in making public spaces and what needs do you think should be met in making these places functional and meaningful?
5. What is your understanding of the term 'placemaking' and how does it relate to your work?
6. How is 'placemaking' championed in the municipality? With your experience in the municipality are there any changes in relation to your work / priorities that have taken place over the years?
7. How well are finances made available for placemaking within public space projects?
8. What is your understanding of the term 'greening' and 'green infrastructure' and how does it relate to your work?
9. How is 'greening' championed in the municipality? With your experience in the municipality are there any changes to your work / priorities that have taken place over the years in relation to greening?
10. How well are finances made available for greening projects / for greening within public space?
11. At a strategic level, how is the municipality incorporating placemaking and greening interventions into its planning and implementation practices?

12. Who is involved in the design processes of these places? Are they created purely by professionals or are there other stakeholders involved in design decision-making?
13. Which disciplines are involved in the design processes and design teams appointed to do the work?
14. How and when is public participation undertaken and how are people given the opportunity to take part? Are there formalised processes through which these engagements occur?
15. Do you believe that public concerns are addressed in the making of final design decisions?
16. Does the design and decision-making process involve any public-private partnerships in relation to placemaking and greening?
17. What are the regulations around public use and activities within public space?
18. How are the needs of users managed and addressed on an ongoing basis?
19. How well do you think are placemaking and greening practices embedded, resourced and institutionalised in terms of the making of public spaces?
20. What are the impediments to achieving this and how could these be overcome, what are the potentials for institutionalisation?

Interview questions developed for the BCMDA officials and private sector planning representatives

1. How do you understand the terms 'placemaking' and 'greening'?
2. What is your vision for 'placemaking' and 'greening' in the city and how do you think this vision could be realised?
3. What role do you think could be played / is played by yourselves (as private sector / agency / professional)?
4. What do you feel should be the key priorities in making public spaces and what needs do you think should be met?
5. How do you ensure that public and stakeholder concerns are addressed in the making of final design decisions in relation to public space design?
6. Does the design and decision-making process involve any public-private partnerships in relation to placemaking and greening?
7. How would you envisage the management of needs of users on an ongoing basis / what sort of funding and management model would be followed?
8. How could 'placemaking' and 'greening' practices in the city be enhanced and who would be the key role players in this process?
9. What are the barriers that need to be overcome?

10. What planning and governance mechanisms do you feel could support and promote collaborative placemaking and greening within public spaces of the city?

4.3.2 Understanding dimensions of the product

The third sub-research question focuses on the product of public space and the extent to which objectives of placemaking and greening are reflected in these spaces as well as experienced by users of the spaces / places. In terms of the research methodology, the product of public space is examined both through site observation of selected public spaces as well as through interviews with users within these public spaces. Gehl and Svarre (2013:3) describe 'direct observation' as a primary tool to understand life and activities that take place within public space. As highlighted by the authors, direct observation assists in documenting, analysing and interpreting people's behaviour within public space and helps to understand why some spaces are more actively used than others. Tools including 'photographing', 'looking for traces' and 'test walks' as outlined by Gehl and Svarre (2013: 24) aided in the direct observation process. The taking of photographs assisted in documenting interactions and uses within public space, as well as in capturing interactions and uses at a particular moment in time. Similarly, taking a walk within the spaces observed helped to notice difficulties and opportunities faced by users as well as assisted in 'looking for traces' such as litter and other evidence which assisted in formulating a view of current conditions within the public space. It was also important to choose the days for observation for each public space observed in terms of likelihood of capturing the essence of the nature of activities within each space. Therefore, all the parks and recreational spaces observed were visited on weekends or during school holidays and on days on which the weather was good. The streets and squares within inner-city contexts were observed on weekdays and on various occasions in order to identify consistent patterns of use and activity. The observation of 'who' are the users of each space, 'what' are activities being engaged in and 'where' within these spaces are the activities taking place were some of the important aspects of the observation. As highlighted by Gehl and Svarre (2013: 11) the above questions assisted with the systematic observation of activities and people "in order to get specific and useful knowledge about the complex interaction of life and form in public space".

In addition to the direct observation of spaces, interviews with users were also used as tools to gain an understanding of user perspectives. As highlighted by PPS & the Chicago Metropolitan Planning Council (2008: 54) "it is important to measure people's attitudes, perceptions and motivations that cannot be obtained by observing their behaviour". A 'guided interview' technique was used in order that information obtained from each person interviewed could be comparable (ibid., 2008). This technique provided the flexibility to "explore further the interviewee's thoughts about a particular topic"

(<http://www.placemakingchicago.com/>). The following questions were used in conducting the guided interview.

Interview questions developed for users of public space

1. Do you use this space often and why?
2. Do you travel far to get here? Is this space easily accessible to you?
3. What activities do you engage with here?
4. Is this space attractive to you and does it contribute to a sense of health and well-being?
5. Do you think the space is inclusive and safe for all community members?
6. What do you think is the most important use that could be fulfilled by this space, in terms of benefit to the community: recreational / educational, cultural or provisional (providing food security)?
7. What in your view can be done to enhance the recreational / educational, cultural and provisional value of this space?
8. Are there areas of conflict or difficulties you face in using this space and what in your view can be done to ease these difficulties?
9. Do you think there are enough usable green public open spaces / spaces within the city as well as within the area where you live?

In addition to the interviewing of users of public space, the following performance based field observation guides; Table 4.4 and 4.5 below, developed and adapted from the literature as well as elaborated earlier in the conceptual framework chapter, assisted in the qualitative evaluation of selected public spaces in terms of placemaking and greening impact. As suggested by Landman, Matsebe and Mmonwa (2009: 25), a performance based measurement tool to rate the characteristics of the built environment has the benefit of allowing a “descriptive and objective assessment that is comprehensive and practical”. The measurement of the urban and physical attributes of a space done concurrently with the assessment of ecological and green attributes allowed for the determination of successes and challenges of the space in terms of the observed impact and contribution to use and activities. This performance based assessment also allowed for the identification of common patterns and trends which shape the characteristics of public space within a particular region or context. The tool looks at both the site scale as well as the immediate context of each space. Each space was analysed in terms of a $\pm 400\text{m}$ radius of the surrounding context in order to identify the broader contextual factors which affect and impact on the performance of the space. In the case of streets and corridors, a $\pm 800\text{m}$ representative stretch of the street was observed and analysed.

TOOL FOR MEASURING URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Measure	Context	Street / Boulevard	Square	Park
<u>Movement</u> Accessible, Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible	Permeable urban fabric	Pedestrian oriented, wide sidewalks in good repair, well-marked pedestrian crossings and slow traffic.	Close to public transport, pedestrian oriented.	Close to public transport or within walking distance of place of residence.
	Good public transport.			No physical barriers such as walls, fences / gates.
				Good visibility, good visual and physical connections.
	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes
<u>Quality and Relevance</u> Multi-functional, Safe, Comfortable, Social	Clustering of community facilities and public institutions.	Attractive, scaled to the pedestrian, well lit, safe, clean. Attracts a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income. Accommodates well managed economic activities. Wide variety of regular programmed activities such as parades, sidewalk sales, festivals, musicians, street performers	Flexible and multi-functional design accommodating seasonal uses: Live music and performances, street performers, passive and active recreation Abundance of comfortable places to sit. Attracts a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income.	Adaptable spaces with seasonal uses: Live music and performances, art shows, farm markets, passive and active recreation, attractive for unscheduled entertainment.
	Public realm that caters to pedestrian, economic and social needs.			Abundance of comfortable seating.
				Larger park sizes which promote physical activity and outdoor leisure e.g. tracks, trails, gym / play equipment, drinking water points.
	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes
<u>Attractiveness</u> Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional	Public realm that fosters a unique identity.	Robust and high quality street furniture including benches / seating, signage, litterbins, planters, flower baskets, bus / taxi shelters. Provision for recycling of waste. Creative use of light and sound.	Public art and sculpture are featured. Risers of different sizes and locations. Provision for outdoor performances / commercial markets. Provision for recycling of waste.	Provision of recreational amenities - game areas like giant chess boards and labyrinths to engage mind, ears, eyes and humour.
				Provision for recycling of waste.
				Provision for recycling of waste.
	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes

<u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses	Promotion of urban qualities such as higher density, mixed use development, and transit oriented development.	Attractive and activated street frontages. Attractive signage in front of businesses. Respect for historic structures.	Close to activities such as retail, shopping, entertainment, sports amenities, civic centres, municipal halls, museums, aquariums and libraries.	Restaurants, food outlets, stalls or vendors nearby. Range of surrounding housing options.
	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes

Table 4.4: Physical and urban attributes: Site observation tool. Adapted and compiled from UN-Habitat (2020), Land Policy Institute, MSU (2015) and Montgomery (1998)

TOOL FOR MEASURING ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE ATTRIBUTES				
Measure	Context	Street / boulevard	Square	Park
<u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity Bio-cultural diversity	Respectful of the unique natural landscape and features of a place. Protects and retains high biodiversity nature areas, hotspots and networks.	Reflective of the character of local landscape and flora; use of indigenous trees and plants appropriate to local ecology.	Reflective of the character of local landscape and flora; use of indigenous trees and plants appropriate to local ecology. Use of natural topography to define spaces and places within a square.	Conservation of fauna and flora diversity, promotion of indigenous trees and plants, habitat diversity and bio-cultural diversity through the accommodation of different habitat types alongside horticultural and landscape design.
	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes
<u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity	Presence of multi-scale interconnected and networked green infrastructure.	Incorporates interconnected green corridors as part of street systems.		
		Continuous street tree-planting along street corridors, use of vegetated curb extensions. Presence of green gutters and roofs and / green walls where there are space limitations for the planting of trees.	A hierarchy and network of green streets and squares ranging from community squares to civic squares and ceremonial and / memorial spaces.	A hierarchy and network of parks and green facilities ranging from small urban pocket parks to neighbourhood and community parks, to district parks connected through a green / blue-green network.
		Integrates blue-green networks that support biodiversity, hydrological processes, neighbourhood identity and aesthetics.		
Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No

	Description	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes
<u>Multi-functional green assets</u> providing multiple ecosystem services	Presence of systems which combine grey and green infrastructure as well as social and green functions contributing to multiple ecosystem services.	Street trees forming urban tree canopy – provides improved air quality, provides sun and shade, reduces heat island effect, increases rainfall interception. Bioswales, planter boxes, seasonal flowering trees, shrubbery contributing to identity and aesthetics as well as retaining and infiltrating stormwater run-off.	Surfaced areas which incorporate landscaping, green – grass, indigenous trees, flowerbeds, natural waterbodies, fountains. Stacking: Vertical integration of functions e.g. sub-surface detention systems underneath civic squares, crossings for wildlife underneath or above roads.	Park design and use of topography combining recreational functions with productive functions as well as regulating functions such as stormwater infiltration reducing the urban heat island effect. Rain gardens that collect and absorb run-off. Abundance of green – grass, indigenous trees, flowerbeds, water- natural waterbodies.
	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes
<u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u>	Retention of green areas in the catchment such as wetlands, riparian areas, urban forests and urban grasslands assist in water provision and purification - critical services provided by grey infrastructure.	Use of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems.	Use of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems.	Combining natural and engineered green infrastructure solutions within parks providing both recreation and flood attenuation services through use of vegetated swales, stormwater planters and rain gardens.
	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes	Description / Notes

Table 4.4 Ecological and green infrastructure attributes: Site observation tool: Adapted and developed from the South African Cities Network (2016), citing Ahern (2007), Ahern et al. (2011,2014), Carmin et al. (2012), Cobbinah & Darkwah (2016), Harrison et. al. (2011) and Pauleit et al. (2010); and Cocks et al. (2020).

The data and evidence gathered through the interviews internal to the institution as well as with users of public space were analysed through a thematic analysis making use of the storyboarding technique as outlined by Kamler and Thomson (2014). The spatial analysis of the public spaces observed was enabled through the use of the site observation tools described above, which assisted in systematically analysing and documenting information

pertaining to each of the spaces observed. The above tools and methods assisted in structuring the empirical chapters of the thesis.

4.4 QUALITY CRITERIA AS AN INSIDER RESEARCHER

As alluded to earlier, the researcher is an employee of the BCMM since February 2018. Maintaining objectivity, overcoming role-duality, averting from assumed viewpoints and assumptions, and keeping in mind the bigger picture (Unluer, 2012) have been key in conducting the research. As stated by Smyth & Holian (2008) cited in Unluer (2012:2),

To conduct credible insider research, insider-researchers must constitute an explicit awareness of the possible effects of perceived-bias on data collection and analysis, respect the ethical issues related to the anonymity of the organization and individual participants and consider and address the issues about the influencing researcher's insider role on coercion, compliance and access to privileged information at each and every stage of the research.

The researcher's appointment is in the capacity of Strategic Urban Designer, currently tasked to conceptualise, coordinate and compile the BCMM's Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP). The transversal nature of this role is aided by the fact that the post is located within the Enterprise Project Management Office, which is located within the Directorate of the City Manager, and outside a line function of the municipality. In addition, with the onset of this research, the role of the researcher in providing strategic technical assistance and support to the Municipal Services Directorate, particularly the Parks Department has been enhanced. In conducting this research within the institutional realm, it was therefore likely that the researcher was viewed predominantly as an insider. Though the researcher had an understanding of the general flow of social interaction (Bonner and Tolhurst, 2002), the in-depth knowledge of how things "really work" in relation to the area of study was gained as the research unfolded. The researcher has further sought to ensure objectivity through the seeking and combining of three different viewpoints as outlined in Section 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 above. The interviews with BCMM officials, BCMDA officials and private sector planning professionals as well as interviews with users of public space within the 11 spaces observed assisted in the triangulation and corroboration of evidence gathered. This objective view has enabled the researcher to balance viewpoints through the combining of both outsider and insider views in relation to the study.

4.5 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

In the view of Creswell and Poth (2018: 259), research validity in qualitative research is an attempt “to assess the ‘accuracy’ of findings, as best described by the researcher, the participants and the readers”. The authors recommend ‘validation strategies’ as a means to translate ideas into practice. The following nine strategies are recommended in terms of the three key lenses through which research is viewed, viz. the researcher’s lens, the participant’s lens and the reader’s or reviewer’s lens. It is recommended by the authors that all qualitative research address at least two of the strategies within each lens in order to achieve validation of data and interpretations. These are outlined in Table 4.6 below as a framework to measure the degree of validity through each of the three lenses. In relation to the researcher’s lens it is held that corroboration of “evidence through triangulation” was achieved by means of engaging four key groups of interviewees as sources of information viz. the BCMM respondents, respondents from the Development Agency as well external respondents involved in the city processes in relation to cleaning and greening in the city. The evidence gathered was further corroborated through the interviewing of users of public space on the ground who were able to contribute their own views in relation to placemaking and greening in the city.

The interviewing of officials from different departments in the city and the further engagements with users on the ground in some instances provided differing views or “disconfirming evidence” allowing for the refinement of initial hypotheses. In view of the second lens or the participant lens “prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field was achieved” as a result of being an insider researcher having engaged in various projects and initiatives where the researcher had first-hand experience in observing the processes that unfold in relation to public space projects in the city. This allowed for in-depth familiarisation with the case study context as well as the engagement and familiarisation with the participants involved in public space initiatives in the city. The research also allowed for a degree of “collaboration with participants” in the research process where certain site visits were arranged with officials from the area attending the visits together with the researcher, thereby allowing them to be a part of the interview processes with users thereby also assisting in the discussion of findings thereafter. In terms of the last lens or the reader’s lens the researcher has endeavoured to generate a “rich, thick description” of both the processes involved in public space delivery as well as the description of the research setting. This includes both the institutional as well as spatial context where the observation and description of 11 sites in the city was enriched by the researcher’s pre-existing knowledge of the area having lived and worked in the case study context for over 7 years. This is in addition to the researcher’s involvement in a few precinct planning projects in some of the settlement

contexts observed in the capacity of lead urban designer whilst in private consulting practice prior to joining the city. Although the final thesis document could not be peer reviewed or audited, the researcher has endeavoured to have as many informal discussions as possible both with participants as well as colleagues, on the progress of the research as well as the findings through various stages. These discussions have assisted in assessing and testing the accuracy of the findings at each stage in the research.

	VALIDATION STRATEGY	INTERVENTION METHODS
RESEARCHER'S LENS	Corroborating evidence through Triangulation.	Use of multiple and different sources, methods, investigators and theories to provide corroborating evidence.
	Discovering negative case analysis or disconfirming evidence.	Refinement of working hypotheses as negative or rival evidence emerges.
	Clarifying researcher bias or engaging in reflexivity.	Disclosure on researcher understandings about the biases, values and experiences that he or she brings to the research.
PARTICIPANT'S LENS	Seeking Participant Feedback.	Soliciting the participants' views on the of the credibility of the findings and interpretations.
	Prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field.	Spending as much time in the field as is feasible during the study, including familiarization with the site and participants.
	Collaborating with Participants.	Involving the participants in the study as co-researchers where the degree of involvement can vary along a continuum from minimal to extensive.
READER'S LENS	Enabling External Audits.	Facilitating the auditing by and external consultant to examine both process and product of the account, to assess accuracy.
	Generating a rich, thick description.	Allowing readers to make decisions regarding transferability through the creation of a rich description of the participants or setting enabling readers to transfer information to other settings.
	Having a peer review or debriefing of the data and research process.	The researcher seeks and external check by "someone who is familiar with the research or phenomenon explored" (Creswell and Miller, 2000: 129)

Table 4.5: Validation strategies in qualitative research. Source: Creswell and Poth (2018: 260-263).

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The ethical considerations set down in the University of Pretoria's code of ethics for scholarly activities include upholding certain keys values and practices in relation to conducting

research. Although the research included human subjects, the research was at the level of information gathering on the research topic mainly from professionals and knowledge workers as well as users of the public spaces which were chosen as cases. The research did not seek personal data of participants nor any information of a confidential nature.

The key ethical considerations at stake were to practice fairness and justice in interactions with interview participants as well as to observe beneficence, respect for personal autonomy, dignity and diversity. The benefits of knowledge generated would always need to outweigh the cost of personal, social and cultural values (University of Pretoria, Code of Ethics). Informed consent has been sought from all participants by way of a signed consent form whereby each participant was given an opportunity to choose to partake in the research voluntarily as well as to choose the level of privacy or confidentiality permissible to the participant. The above consent, Annexure A, was read out and explained to the participant prior to conducting the interview in order that prospective research participants were fully informed about the nature and purpose of the research. Signed and emailed consent forms from the institutional interviewees were filed and saved on the researcher's personal laptop, these were later transferred to a hard drive. The hard copies of the signed consent forms for the site interviews have been filed as well as scanned and saved in soft copy format. As per the requirements in the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics document, the researcher has endeavoured to ensure that "there is a favourable balance between the participant's right to privacy and confidentiality and the researcher's pursuit of knowledge and beneficial research" (University of Pretoria, Code of Ethics).

Responses to interview questions were recorded in the majority of instances where participant permission was provided as part of the signed consent from each interviewee. Apart from the institutional interviews which were mostly conducted virtually through the institution's MS Teams platform as highlighted earlier, the interviewer has retained a file dedicated to data collection for the site interviews which is kept safely with the researcher. The voice recordings from the interviews were used to create written transcripts of each interview, both institutional and site based. These were initially saved on the researcher's personal laptop and later transferred to the researcher's personal hard drive for safe-keeping.

As indicated in Section 4.2.1, a permission letter from the BCMM, duly authorized by the City manager was also obtained allowing the researcher to perform the research within the municipality. This is included in Annexure B of the thesis. Ethical Clearance to proceed with the research on condition that participant observation may not include any minors, was granted by the University of Pretoria on 23 April 2020, see Annexure C attached.

4.7 LIMITATIONS

As with any research, this study has some limitations pertaining to certain aspects of the research process. Although a lot of time and effort was spent gathering evidence for the research from specific departments, the more departments that were covered, the more inter-linkages were seen with further departments than initially envisaged. These include inter-linkages of the research area with the Fresh Produce Market Department, the Trade and Investment Department, the Solid Waste Department as well as the Public Health and Safety Department. However, in light of the vast evidence that was already available within the departments engaged, the researcher has endeavoured to focus on the key areas that were most pertinent to the study.

The second limitation is with regard to challenges experienced with accessibility of data for the study. The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in early 2020 and the national lockdowns which ensued from March 2020 meant that following an initial period of uncertainty and delay, the decision to proceed with institutional interviews in a virtual format was resorted to. Although this method was hugely successful in the majority of instances, a couple of officials could not be reached following repeated efforts to engage. This resulted in a struggle to obtain specific information especially pertaining to the Midland Region of the city. Therefore, the city-wide departments were relied on to fill in the information gaps for this region. Efforts to engage with the Trade and Investment Department were also not successful, however in light of the linkages between this department with the Fresh Produce Market Department, this could perhaps be the subject of a further study as outlined in the recommendations at the end of the thesis.

Lastly, as this is the first study of an urban design nature and focus for the case study context it is by no means comprehensive but offers an opportunity to apply a well-studied literature to an under-studied context thereby contributing to the broadening of the literature. The generating of new insights for the case study context could contribute to a deepening of the understanding of placemaking and greening practices for similar Global South contexts.

4.8 CONCLUSION

As stated at the outset of this chapter, the nature of the research questions led to the selection of a qualitative enquiry which was contextualised through a case study research design. The Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality as the single case study being researched was defined in terms of its institutional and geographic boundaries and context. The focus of the embedded cases both institutional pertaining to the departments being engaged, as well as spatial in terms of the sites selected for observation were elaborated. The chapter

described the methods and tools used for the gathering of evidence including the use of interviews as the observation of selected public spaces within the BCMM. The Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Frameworks guiding the research were summarised in order to link the research tools to the research questions. As an insider researcher, aspects relating to the quality, validity and reliability of information were clarified. The chapter ended with a discussion on the ethical considerations which guided the research process as well as the limitations of the research in light of some of the challenges which were encountered during the research process.

CHAPTER FIVE: AN OVERVIEW OF THE BUFFALO CITY
METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

5. AN OVERVIEW OF THE BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the case study context of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, situating it in terms of its governance, socio-political, built-environment and socio-spatial as well as legislative and strategic planning context. The argument thus far has brought together the key theoretical considerations underpinning the research into a conceptual framework which guided the research process and methodology. The role of practices of placemaking and greening within public space has been brought to the forefront to highlight its potential to enhance the liveability and resilience of these spaces ultimately impacting on health and well-being of residents as well as sense of belonging and sense of place. The literature review has brought to light the significance of people-centred, nature-centred and place-based design conceptualisation and approaches within public space. However, the appetite for local government in integrating such practices within public streets, formal / civic urban spaces and parks, particularly in the Eastern Cape remains largely undocumented partly because of the immediate focus of local government on addressing pressing basic needs such as housing and infrastructure delivery inclusive of water, sanitation and electricity services. There is however an urgent need to include previously excluded and marginalised communities into dialogues on place quality and place experience in order to enhance quality of life of residents in these areas as well as to redress the social and environmental injustices that resulted from historic legacies.

The study of the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, located in the Eastern Cape offers an opportunity to explore this further in terms of deriving lessons which could enable a better understanding of the unique challenges, prospects and potential for institutionalisation of integrated placemaking and greening practices within public space. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to both introduce and provide an overview and background of the municipality in view of its broader South African governance context and path to democratic service delivery. The chapter also presents the current local administrative and governance context, as well as the prevailing built environment, socio-economic and socio-spatial conditions. The chapter also looks at the legislative and strategic planning context of the municipality in order to examine governance priorities in relation to placemaking and greening as well as to observe the extent to which these translate into municipal interventions and budgets.

5.1. BACKGROUND: THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNANCE CONTEXT

Local government in South Africa underwent a foundational change involving political restructuring and transformation following the new democratic dispensation in the country in 1994. In 1996, a new Constitution allocated executive and legislative authority and powers to three spheres of government and subsequently in 2000, the current local government system came into being. Previously racially based municipalities were transformed into “wall to wall”, non-racial democratic local governments (SACN, 2016). All apartheid structures and regimes were replaced by new non-racial and democratic structures, a key consideration of which was to create more viable municipalities through the incorporation of previously disadvantaged areas into well-resourced areas, so that the former could benefit in terms of the development and services available (Sikhakane and Reddy, 2009).

The Constitution provides for three categories of municipality; Category A being a municipality that has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area, Category B being a municipality that shares municipal executive and legislative authority in its area with a category C municipality within whose area it falls, and Category C being a municipality that has municipal executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Act No. 108 of 1996). The main purpose of this differentiation as defined in section 153 of the Constitution was to “structure and manage their administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community, and participate in national and provincial development programmes” (Bahl & Smoke, 2003; Smoke, 2000, cited in Monkam, 2014). The White Paper on Local Government (1998), introduced the notion of metropolitan municipalities by describing such areas as “large urban settlements with high population densities, complex and diversified economies, and a high degree of functional integration across a larger geographic area than the normal jurisdiction of a municipality”. The intentions of the White Paper were carried forward in the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act (MSA) (Act 117 of 1998), which established municipalities based on categories and type, with Category A, B and C municipalities referring to metropolitan, district and local municipalities respectively (SALGA, 2015). Category A metropolitan municipalities would therefore exclusively cover large urban areas, Category B local municipalities would cover smaller and medium-sized jurisdictions located primarily in urban areas and Category C district municipalities would geographically cover several local municipalities (Monkan, 2014).

Municipalities were categorised as Category A (metropolitan) municipalities if that area could reasonably be regarded as a:

- *“a conurbation featuring - i. areas of high population density; ii. an intense movement of people, goods, and services; iii. extensive development; and iv. multiple business districts and industrial areas.*
- *a centre of economic activity with a complex and diverse economy.*
- *a single area for which integrated development planning is desirable.*
- *having strong interdependent social and economic linkages between its constituent units” (MSA, 1998).*

In 1998, in terms of the Constitution, an independent institution called the Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) was established to undertake the categorisation and demarcation of municipalities (SALGA, 2015). The first six metropolitan municipalities in the country were established in 2000 based on the above mentioned characteristics. The metropolitan areas included the City of Cape Town (CoCT), the City of Johannesburg (CoJ), the City of Tshwane (Pretoria), Ekurhuleni (East Rand), eThekweni (Durban) and Nelson Mandela Bay (NMB-Port Elizabeth) which included the six biggest cities in the country. Since 2000, the Municipal Demarcation Board was faced with increasing pressure and requests to consider the establishment of additional “metropolitan” municipalities (SALGA, 2015). Subsequently, cities with similar populations demanded inclusion into the metropolitan category creating a “distinct, but informal, municipal category called ‘aspiring metros’, which included city-regions like Mangaung (Bloemfontein), Buffalo City (East London) and Msunduzi (Pietermaritzburg) that had some characteristics of metropolitan areas but did not meet the prevailing legislative criteria for a metropolitan (Category A) municipality” (Subramanyam & Marais, 2022 citing Cameron, 2006). Subsequently out of the three aspiring metros, two more metros were established following the local government elections in 2011. These included the BCMM and the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality. The eight municipalities in the country have significant variations in size with the City of Cape Town, City of Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni being the largest of the eight, City of Tshwane and Nelson Mandela Bay Metros being mid-sized municipalities and the BCMM and Mangaung being the smallest of the eight metros (SALGA, 2015). Notwithstanding the differences, declared metropolitan areas derive considerable benefits. “Being single-tier governments, these metros have not only political autonomy from the district but also access to a separate stream of infrastructure development funds from the National Treasury that does not require Provincial approval” (Subramanyam & Marais, 2022).

In addition to the eight metros, there are 44 district municipalities and 226 local municipalities making up the total of 278 municipalities in the country. As stated in the State of South African Cities Report (SSACR) (2016), the new restructuring of municipalities in the face of historic legacies has meant that the largest cities have had pressures to deal with the past at the

same time evolving towards a better future. Dealing with the past has meant having to redress historical imbalances and backlogs through provision of new infrastructure with the consequence of gradually decaying older infrastructure with operations and maintenance trade-offs having to be made, due to limited resources and capacity. Re-imagining the future on the other hand has required cities to become viable, competitive places with the challenge of having to deal with inadequate legacy systems as well as shifts in demographic, technological and natural resource considerations (SACN, 2016). Despite the challenges, South African Cities have taken major strides in the provision of basic services over the first two decades since democracy (Stats SA, 2012; Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2014). However, 25 years into democracy, some of the key messages of relevance to this study and highlighted in the SSACR (2016: 126, 162, 202) are that i) cities still largely benefit those who can afford to 'buy' their rights and freedoms to the city. ii) the majority of urban dwellers are still socially, spatially, culturally and economically excluded. iii) cities need to have programmes aimed at achieving social justice through inclusion and at empowering citizens to participate in planning, developing and managing their city. iv) the current silo approach to planning and delivery is inefficient and increases risks of exclusion. v) cities should pursue spatial transformation, which encourages compact cities and sustainable neighbourhoods that value natural and open spaces. vi) cities do not adequately mobilise and involve all city stakeholders, including civil society and the private sector in building a long term vision of and commitment to spatial transformation. vii) cities should improve collective leadership, operational capability and stakeholder relations and participation.

As described in the introductory chapters of this thesis, at an international level, South Africa is a signatory to various goals, agreements and treaties such as the SDGs (2015) and the Paris Agreement (2015) however the institutionalisation of these outcomes at the municipal level remains a challenge especially in the smaller metros of the country. As suggested by Lennon (2009:18) even though government has elaborated progressive policies since the beginning of democratic governance, "it is operational strategy and implementation that is missing. The nitty gritty organisational process and institutional policies that get things done are often side-lined in favour of more visible policy statements and projects". In the case study context, it will be shown that many of the above challenges hold true and that service delivery is seen predominantly as a purely technical process focussed on single-dimensional products of delivery and timely expenditure of budgets and not necessarily one which is seen as interdependent on and impacted by multiple dimensions involving a wide range of stakeholders that can play a role towards enriching the nature and impact of the product. As will be revealed in the empirical chapters, in the face of limited resources and the demand for and the focus on the delivery of basic services such as housing, water and electricity;

public space and public space amenities often remain neglected or inadequately conceived impacting on the quality of public space especially in the most marginalised areas of the city.

5.2 THE BCMM SOCIO-ECONOMIC, SOCIO-POLITICAL AND SOCIO-SPATIAL CONTEXT

5.2.1 Socio-economic and socio-political context: BCMM's municipal restructuring

Located on the banks of the Buffalo River, the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality as highlighted in the above narrative, was established as a Category A - Metropolitan Municipality in May 2011. With a population of 884 000, the BCMM spans across an area of 2 750km² and accounts for 12.2% of the 7.22 million total residents in the Province and 1.52% of the 58.5 million total residents in the country (IHS Markit, 2018). The government is Buffalo City's main employer, while the City's main industrial sectors are 25% Community Services, 24% Finance, 24% Manufacturing, 12% Trade and 12%Transportation (BCMM website). Economically the motor industry sector plays an integral part in the Buffalo City Metro with the global automotive giant Mercedes-Benz being located in the city since 1958 (Bank, 2019). The city's location on the only river port in the country, positions East London well for exports of goods and services. Similarly, the coastal city status and beautiful beaches offer much for tourism in the region. With a population density of 298 people / km², as compared to that of 2696 people / km² in the CoJ in 2011, (SSACR, 2016) as highlighted earlier, it is amongst the smallest of the eight metros in the country following Mangaung at 119 people / km². Despite its many locational advantages, the BCMM experiences an unemployment rate of 35.1% with 40.8% of people living below the poverty line. As highlighted earlier in the thesis, with a Gini Coefficient of 0.635 recorded in 2018, the BCMM is the most unequal city in the country (IDP, 2020/21). As stated by Bank (2019: VII), "the promise of inclusive development after apartheid has failed to materialise; this is plainly evident in the very high unemployment rates and extensive de-industrialisation that has occurred over the past two decades". With an influx of rural-urban migration and a population growth rate of 1.11% between 2008 and 2018, 24.9% of people live in informal dwellings (shacks) (IDP, 2020/21). The city therefore faces numerous challenges that are homogeneous with cities of the Global South.

The city was initially established as a supply port to the British military headquarters at King William's Town (KWT), between 1835 and 1848 (Watson: 1989). Prior to the transformation process, East London, including the small town of Berlin was a white municipality. Duncan Village was a black local authority and nearby towns of Beacon Bay and Gonubie were separate white municipalities. Mdanstane, was a township under the former Ciskei government. Following South Africa's first democratic elections in 1995, the initial amalgamation process incorporated all of the above mentioned local authorities to form the

East London Transitional Local Council (TLC). This included surrounding rural and peri-urban areas of Newlands, Needs Camp, Kwelera, Ncera and Mooiplaas (Sikhakane & Reddy, 2009). As stated by Sikhakane & Reddy, while East London was undergoing transformational processes and changes, the nearby King William's Town Municipality was also undergoing similar changes. Following the 1995 local government elections, former black townships that bordered on the King William's Town including Leightonville, Ginsberg, Zwelitsha, Dimbaza, Bisho, Ttyutyu, Phakamisa, Sweetwaters and Llitha were integrated into the town. Coloured townships of Schornville and former German Settler Village of Breidbach were also included into the King William's Town TLC. The incorporation of former townships into the small tax base of the earlier municipalities placed a considerable burden in terms of sustaining larger areas with little or no tax base (Sikhakane & Reddy, 2009).

Following the second municipal elections held in December 2000, the two cities of East London and King William's Town were amalgamated to form a single local municipality. The boundaries of the newly established municipality therefore included a large area characterised by very different features. The amalgamation resulted in two former municipalities, Transitional Local Councils, viz. that of East London and King William's Town with their respective hinterlands being merged into one. The newly formed municipality further included other rural areas that were previously not included in either of them (BCMM website). The amalgamation resulted in various processes including aspects such as staff integration of previous councils and municipal areas, transfer of assets, liabilities and records and establishing of a new structure of governance as well as development of capacity to participate in the restructuring and transformation processes (Sikhakane & Reddy: 2009). These processes were guided by legislation such as the Local Government Municipal Structures Act (1998) as well as the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000). Ten years after the formation of the amalgamated Buffalo City Local Municipality in 2000, it was separated from the Amathole District Municipality and converted into a Category A Metropolitan Municipality with exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority.

The above narrative demonstrates how the post-apartheid government implemented various strategies and policies to transform previously disadvantaged areas and communities from the undesirable effects of apartheid. The populace residing in these areas, though hidden away from the main cities during apartheid, remained a contributing factor to the economic development of the main cores (Nel,1990). Apartheid townships are thus also referred to as 'displaced towns / cities' and 'hidden urbanities' (Siyongwana and Chanza: 2017 citing Nel,1990; Christopher,1994 and Bekker,1991).

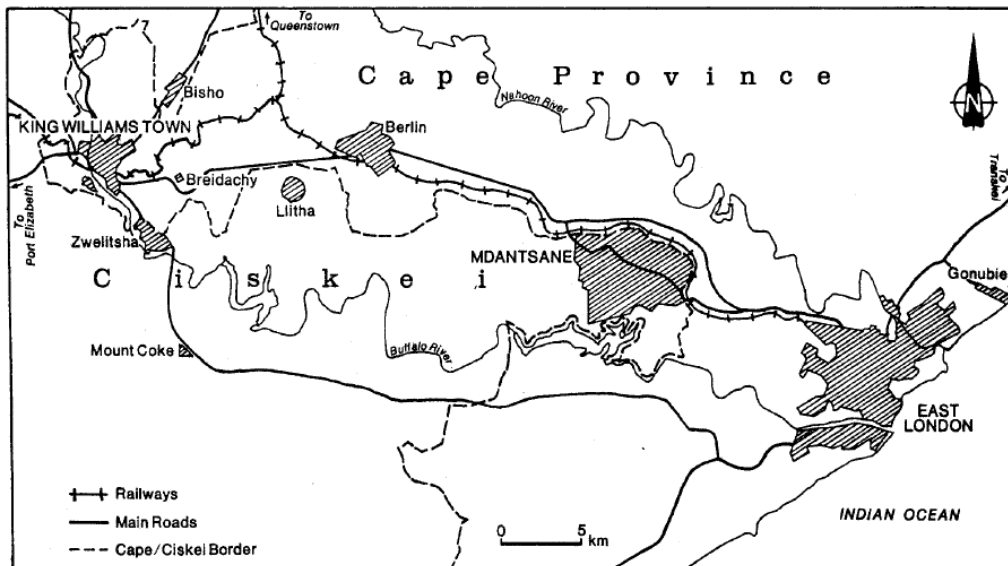


Figure 5.1: Historic map of East London, Mdantsane and Environs 1978 (Source: Gordon, 1978: 12; in Nel & Louis, 1990: 306)

As pointed out by Siyongwana and Chanza (2017: 748), the amalgamation of Mdantsane, the second largest township in the country, with East London had many positive impacts: i) it swapped raced-based planning and spatial development with integrated planning systems ii) it integrated an area that was poor and underdeveloped with an area that was reasonably well developed resulting in sharing of wealth that could be integrated for planning purposes iii) it improved the distribution of resources and sharing of facilities such as schools and beaches with Mdantsane iv) it resulted in the ruling party, the ANC, becoming the dominant political party in East London resulting in the ANC veterans using their political power to develop East London. Despite the above, the study indicates a mismatch between the high expectations of the people, against the reality of a largely unemployed population trapped within cycles of poverty and dependence on social grants. Siyongwana and Chanza (2017: 748) state that “in rolling out the transformation policy packages the need to continuously evaluate if the people of Mdantsane are indeed enjoying the benefits deserves emphasis...thus the area has not lost its dominant apartheid inherited structure and the spatial disparities may not be easily eradicated”.

5.2.2 The built environment and socio-spatial context

Urban growth and settlement types

Buffalo City’s overall built-up area grew between 1985 and 2015 from 100 to 160 square kilometres (World Bank City Scan, 2020). During this period, the built-up area has extended both within the East London and King William’s Town regions and has included significant informal infill development especially within the township of Mdantsane. In Mdantsane, most

of the formal built-up area was developed before 1988, however newer developments such as Potsdam and Reeston to the west and to the South East of Mdantsane respectively, took place as a result of a number of policy instruments following the demise of apartheid regime. “As part of the investment in improving living conditions in the townships, the post-apartheid government built millions of low-cost housing units in and around the country...of uniform size and appearance, which colloquially are referred to as RDP houses (named after the Reconstruction and Development Programme)” (Shackleton, Blair, De Lacy, Kaoma, Mugwagwa, Dalu and Walton, 2018: 274).

Shackleton et al. (2018: 275), describe four spatially discrete and visually distinctive residential areas visible in most South African towns. The first being the relatively new RDP housing areas occupied predominantly by poor, black South Africans; the second being townships with a mix of old and new housing occupied by poor and less poor, black South Africans and third being suburbs ranging from middle to high income areas, occupied mostly by white South Africans, but with an increasing presence of other racial groups. The fourth form of housing evident in many towns, especially the bigger cities and metropolitan areas are the informal housing areas, typically occupied by new migrants to these areas who arrive in the hope of being allocated an RDP house. All the above types of settlement are visible within the BCMM context. Much expansion of the urban extent has taken place around the Ginsberg, Zwelitsha, and Phakamisa areas which changed dramatically between the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, bringing the built-up areas of these towns closer to one another (World Bank City Scan, 2020).

The projected population growth shifts and development trajectories over the next three decades project a medium growth scenario for the BCMM (CSIR, 2019). Based on both relative and actual population changes between 2011 and 2050, the projection indicates that the overall population of Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality is expected to increase by 275,000 people (37%). Areas within the Coastal and Midlands Region including areas such as Duncan Village and surrounds as well as Mdantsane will experience medium to high growth pressure, while the rest of the urban area will experience slightly lower growth pressure. The Inland Region areas of King William’s Town are also seen to experience some growth pressure especially along the urban edge (CSIR, 2019). See Figure 5.2 below.

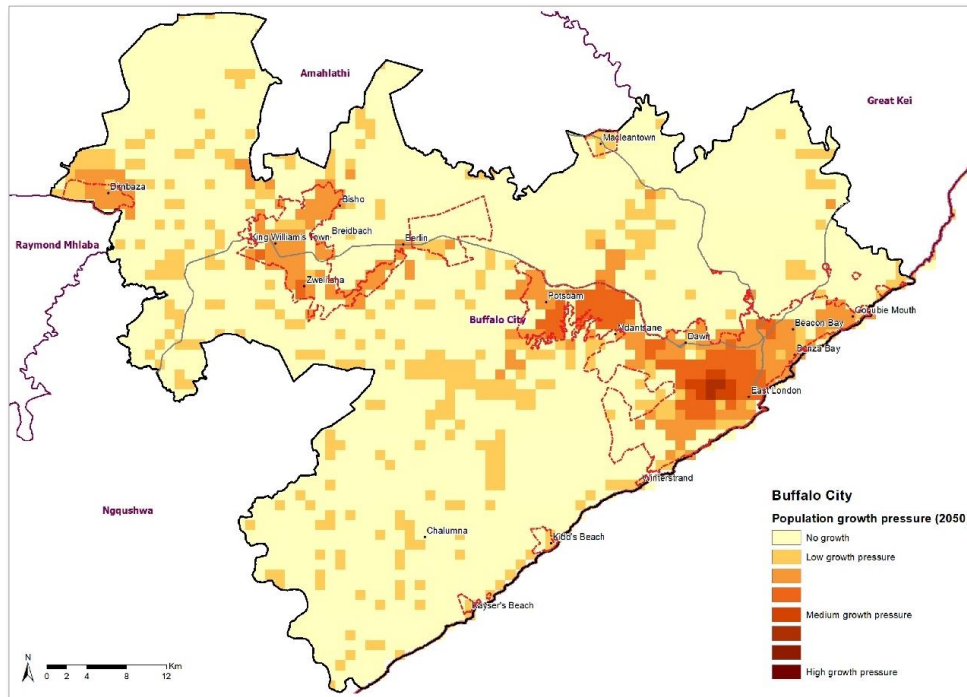


Figure 5.2: BCMM: Population Growth Pressure (Source: CSIR GIS data 2020, overlaid with the urban edge boundaries)

Socio-economic vulnerability

As stated in the CSIR Green Book (2019), the importance of profiling vulnerability and proactively strengthening the resilience of cities and human settlements has been highlighted as an international priority (Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Management 2015–2030, the New Urban Agenda, and the Sustainable Development Goals) and a national priority (South African Disaster Management Amendment Act, Act No. 16 of 2015, and the National Climate Change Response Policy of 2011). Social inequalities shape the coping mechanisms of communities to deal with natural hazards as well as respond to and recover from these impacts. People living in poverty face economic vulnerability as they are inevitably more vulnerable to disasters and climate-related hazards often because of the lack of the necessary resources to build (and re-build) safe and secure homes, or to access financing and insurance to deal with disasters. People living in informality are further susceptible to the physical dimensions of vulnerability in terms of the lack of adequate protection from the occurrence of a natural hazard (CSIR, 2019). The socio-economic vulnerability indicator developed in the Green Book (CSIR, 2019) looks at the household's composition inclusive of household size and age dependency; the income composition of the household combining poverty levels and unemployment; education levels combining literacy rates and level of education as well as health status which combines child mortality and HIV infection rates; to produce an understanding of vulnerable communities within the city. Figure

5.3 below highlights that greatest areas of socio-economic vulnerability within the BCMM. These areas coincide with marginalised communities within township areas and informal settlements.

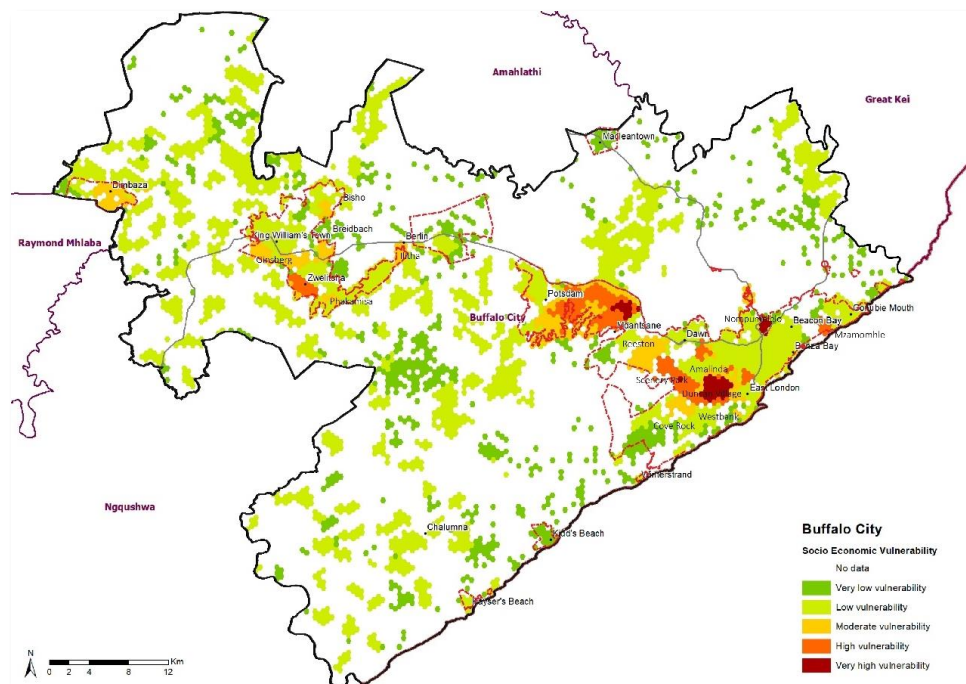


Figure 5.3: BCMM: Socio-economic vulnerability (Source: CSIR GIS data 2020, overlaid with urban edge boundaries)

Climate change and vulnerability

The Draft Climate Risk and Vulnerability Assessment for BCMM (2020) projects climate exposure in terms of a baseline of variables such as precipitation, drought potential, rainfall intensity, heat waves and extreme temperatures for the timeframes of 2030 and 2050. Some of the climatic changes expected for the BCMM based on the various sources of climate modelling research indicate that the city is expected to have a 1.5-2.0 °C increase on average temperature and a 100-200mm increase in rainfall by 2050. Whereas temperatures in the metro are currently moderate, in terms of the change in the number of very hot days which include days above 35°C, and the number of heat wave days which include consecutive days above the seasonal average, it is predicted that Buffalo City can expect up to 10 more days above 35°C than the current average of less than 10 days per year. As stated in the CSIR Green Book (2019), drastically increasing heatwave events pose an unprecedented health risk for the poor, particularly for elderly people living in informal settlements or rural areas. It is recommended that through place-based adaptation, the impact of heat stress can be reduced within these areas. The risk of increased heat is highest in the Inland Region with the Coastal and Midland Regions having a lesser impact due to the proximity to the coast as well as due to the presence of riverine estuaries which have a cooling effect.

5.3 LEGISLATIVE AND STRATEGIC PLANNING CONTEXT

5.3.1 Overarching legislative parameters and intergovernmental roles

The intergovernmental system that developed in post-apartheid South Africa is prescribed in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996: s40). The cooperative system of government as described in the Constitution is made up of three spheres of government namely the National, Provincial and Local Government. In terms of Section 152 of the Constitution the objectives of Local Government are as follows:

- a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- b) to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- c) to promote social and economic development;
- d) to promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- e) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matter of local government

Further, promulgations of Schedules 4 and 5 of the Constitution sets out how various powers and functions would be distributed in the intergovernmental system across the three spheres of government. Schedule 4 covers areas of concurrent national and provincial legislative competence and Schedule 5 covers functional areas of exclusive provincial legislative competence. Within these, Schedules 4B and 5B referenced in Section 155 (6) (a) and (7)) describe the relevant local government matters that municipalities have authority to make and administer by-laws for in terms of effective administration. Of these, areas which overlap with and have an impact on placemaking and greening within public space include: Municipal Planning; Municipal Public Transport; Stormwater Management Systems and Local Tourism (under Schedule 4B), and Local Amenities; Municipal Parks and Recreation; Public Spaces; Street trading; Street lighting; Traffic and Parking, Cleansing and Refuse Removal (under Schedule 5B) (South African Constitution, 1996).

As described in Section 2.3.4 of the literature review, the overarching framework for environmental justice in South Africa is found in Section 24 of the Constitution, which includes a Bill of Rights that grants all South Africans the right to an “environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being” and the right to “ecologically sustainable development” (South African Constitution, 1996). The work of key national departments such as the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) has a bearing on the environmental sector at the municipal level, by way of various local government support programmes which enable municipalities to carry out their constitutionally designated mandate within the environmental sector (DEA: 2015). The National Department of Environmental Affairs through its Environmental Protection and Infrastructure Programmes (EPIP) create employment and skills development opportunities

through the implementation of programmes such as: greening and open space management; people and parks; youth environmental services; working for land; working for the coast; working on waste and wildlife economy. The first three programmes in particular hold potential with regard to enhancing placemaking and greening within public space at the municipal level and are therefore described further in Table 5.1 below.

PROGRAMME	SUB-PROGRAMMES	PROJECT SCOPE
Greening and Open Space Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and management of environmentally friendly recreational parks. • Establishment of nurseries. • Construction of environmental education centres. • Planting of indigenous trees. • Alternative / greener technology sources. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Greening and Open Space Management intends to address the poorly managed areas such as unmanaged open spaces, illegal dump sites, eroded areas and areas overgrown with vegetation. These areas attract poor waste management, criminal activities and health hazards due to vermin. The transformation of these areas into recreational areas for the communities to relax and enjoy the natural environment. This will also improve the well-being and the aesthetics of the communities.
People and Parks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development and upgrading of infrastructure in and around protected areas. • Development of commercial assets for communities living around parks and protected areas. • Supporting of ancillary industries and BEE/SMME development initiatives complimentary to the protected areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The People and Parks focus area seeks to ensure a sustained infrastructure in order to improve environmental health and well-being of general public visiting and people staying around protected areas whilst creating and augmenting destinations for nature based tourism and contributing to cultural, spiritual and economic development.
Youth Environmental Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration of youth on the YES programmes. • Training Person Days. • Exit opportunities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Youth Environmental Service entails the involvement of unemployed young people in activities which provide environmental service that benefits the community whilst they are also provided with opportunities for personal development, accredited training and exit opportunities. • The environmental service involves bringing about solutions to environmental problems inclusive but not limited to erosion, waste, deforestation, biodiversity management, education and awareness.

Table 5.1: Programmes of the National Department of Environmental Affairs which relate to placemaking and greening. Information compiled from the Department of Environmental Affairs (2015)

The provincial government functions in the Eastern Cape with respect to the environment are administered by the Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEDEA). These functions cover thematic areas of air quality management, biodiversity and conservation, climate change, coastal management, environmental

compliance and enforcement, waste management and environmental impact management and local government planning and environmental sustainability. Provincial support for the local government planning and environmental sustainability thematic area is provided by means of the reviewing of the municipal IDP as well as through the implementing of programmes as highlighted in Table 5.1 above. Details of current initiatives of the DEA in the BCMM are narrated further in Section 6.1.2 of the thesis.

A further legislative framework for municipal operations to ensure effective local government is the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) No. 32 of 2000 (2000). The central duty of Local Government in terms of the Act is to “give effect to the provisions of the Constitution” and to ensure that Municipal Services are “equitable and accessible;...environmentally sustainable; and be regularly reviewed with a view to upgrading, extension and improvement” (MSA: 2000: s73 (1) and (2a,d & e)). In terms of Section 23 (1a & c) of the Act, it is further prescribed that a municipality must undertake developmentally-oriented planning so as to ensure that it “strives to achieve the objects of local government set out in section 152 of the Constitution” and “together with other organs of state contribute to the realisation of the fundamental rights contained in sections 24... of the Constitution”. Sections 16 and 17 of the Act further prescribe the “development of culture of community participation” and the establishment of “appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures for community participation” (MSA:2000). The extent to which these processes are effective in terms of placemaking and greening within the BCMM are explored further in Chapter 6 of the thesis which examines the governance aspects of the practices of placemaking and greening within public space. The following section examines how the narrative within overarching strategies and policies of the municipality play a role in supporting practices of placemaking and greening in the city.

5.3.2 Overarching municipal strategies and frameworks

The Metropolitan Growth and Development Strategy

The Metropolitan Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS) Vision 2030 (2016) forms the overarching strategy that guides and structures the planning and governance narrative of the city. The strategy outlines the cities’ economic growth and development path up to 2030, to become “a well-governed, green, connected, spatially transformed and innovative and productive city.” Taking cue from the 2006 National Framework of Local Economic Development (DPLG, 2006), the document seeks to clarify opportunities within BCMM to maximise competitive advantage and promote a business friendly environment for private sector investment. The document proposes a number of overarching objectives of which those aligned to the research are highlighted here. These include i) to promote a clean and environmentally sustainable city and ii) to enhance quality of life. These are aligned to the

National Development Plan 2030 objectives to i) build environmental sustainability and resilience and to ii) transform society and unite country. In addition to the above, the two strategic outcomes of relevance to this study are i) the productive and innovative city ii) the green city strategic outcomes. Under each strategic indicator, the document identifies sub-outcomes, key interventions and proposed indicators for each intervention.

The interventions under the productive and innovative city; and connected city strategic outcomes outlined in Table 5.2 below, align most closely with public space, placemaking and greening interventions. The green city strategic outcome interventions highlighted in the document encompass aspects relating to waste reduction, reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, reduction of air pollution, enhanced disaster management, enhanced land productivity and enhanced management of biodiversity. It is noted that aspects related to the urban forest and carbon sequestration are not specifically addressed in either of the strategic outcome indicators although reference to a landscape and streetscape strategy is made in the well-maintained, vibrant and liveable city intervention outlined below.

STRATEGIC OUTCOME	VISION	INTERVENTION	INDICATORS
A productive and innovative city	To enhance quality of life of the BCMM community (MGDS, 2016: 33). "By 2020, a place thriving with robust civic spirit. This will be completed through a comprehensive social cohesion plan, which encourages diverse communities to work together to address the common challenges, whilst appreciating cosmopolitanism and preservation of a sense of place".	To promote arts and culture and to promote heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social cohesion policy, • No. of arts centres built, • No. of projects completed for liberation heritage routes.
		To promote participation in sports and recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased opportunities for participation in physical activity and promotion of sharing of common space, • Adequate, appropriate sports and recreation facilities, • Enhanced talent development and targeted sports sponsorship programmes.
		To promote well maintained, vibrant and liveable city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No. of additional parks developed per ward, • Percentage enforcement of the landscape and streetscape strategy, • No. of functional open spaces developed and • The clean city award.

		Improve community safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Percentage implementation of community safety plan.
A connected city	To extensively enhance investments in the infrastructure network, to support the City's medium and long-term inclusive economic growth needs, universal access to social services and to promote an efficient and equitable urban form.	Promote integrated transport connectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development and implementation of the complete streets policy, to encourage the safe and efficient mobility accommodating range of transport modes. Development of green infrastructure implementation to support the green energy in the operations. The integration between the existing bus and minibus taxi operations and the rail networks to reduce transfer times and costs and to improve the quality of commuter journeys.

Table 5.2: Strategic outcomes and indicators in the BCMM Metropolitan Growth and Development Strategy (2016) which relate to placemaking and greening. Information extracted and compiled from the BCMM MGDS (2016)

Municipal Spatial Development Framework

The Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) Review (2020), is the new 5-Year SDF Review of the city undertaken in line with the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA). The key focus of the Municipal SDF Review is to “promote spatial transformation so that a more spatially just, efficient, resilient and sustainable spatial pattern of development can be achieved to underpin economic growth and social progress over time” (MSDF, 2020: 18). The MSDF sets out detailed proposals, arranged under key thematic areas which address proposed directive principles and related policy statements which seek to direct spatial planning and land use management activities in the BCMM. The directive principles and policy implementation action which relate to the focus of this research are found under the economic development thematic area as well as the environment thematic area in the document. These are summarised and set out in Table 5.3 below.

THEMATIC AREA	DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLE	POLICY STATEMENT	IMPLEMENTATION ACTION
Economic Development	Facilitate the diversification of the primary employment base of the City.	Create a positive business climate in the city and promote the city as a desirable place to live, work, and visit.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> City image: Promote a positive image of the city to visitors by creating an attractive, well-maintained and safe public realm through enhanced streetscapes,

			particularly along the gateways and corridors identified in the SDF.
	Revitalise the inner city areas and townships economies.	Revitalise all the Inner City areas through the identified Catalytic Programmes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Upgrade parks and streets within Inner City areas to improve the quality of life of daily users and to attract Knowledge Workers.
Environment	Support the conservation and rehabilitation of critical biodiversity areas (CBAs) and ecological support areas (ESAs).	Enhance natural watershed processes and promote efficient water use.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stormwater Infrastructure Management: Explore opportunities for a comprehensive green streets program and the benefits associated with replacing detention pond standards with standards for green streets. Minimized Urban Runoff: Encourage aggressive use of “green infrastructure” that maximizes stormwater retention on-site and land development designs for urban runoff that minimize flooding and the need for additional or expanded flood control and conveyance.
	Promote active living and healthy lifestyles amongst its broader community.	Plan, develop and maintain a robust metropolitan open space system (MOSS) in order to enhance the city’s environment, air quality (carbon absorption) and appearance.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review and implement the BCMM MOSS Plan Tree Planting Programme: Complete a citywide tree canopy analysis to identify where significant gaps exist and trees are most needed to shade streets, parks, parking lots and public spaces etc. Based on the analysis: Develop a strategy for the city’s tree canopy to increase shade in public pedestrian routes and public spaces; Focus tree planting efforts in areas demonstrated to have the greatest need; and Develop educational materials on the benefits of maintaining tree canopy on private property by using indigenous trees.

Table 5.3: Directive principles, policies and implementation actions in the BCMM Spatial Development Framework Review (2020) which relate to placemaking and greening. Information extracted and compiled from the BCMM SDF Review (2020)

Integrated Environmental Management Plan

The BCMM Integrated Environmental Management Plan (IEMP) (2015), is a strategic document that translates national, regional and local environmental policies and priorities into a series of actions to achieve environmental protection and management in order to support the municipality's sustainable development objectives. The document is intended to guide and inform the BCMM in meeting its environmental legal obligations, as well as in pursuing its sustainable development agenda. The IEMP is structured around a number of strategic integrated environmental management goals, related objectives and key performance indicators. The environmental goals that directly impact on activities of placemaking and greening within public space are highlighted in Table 5.4 below.

ENVIRONMENTAL GOAL	OBJECTIVES	KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATORS
Protect ecological infrastructure	Undertake a detailed assessment and mapping of the ecological infrastructure and associated ecosystem services in the BCMM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Undertake and complete a detailed assessment and mapping of ecological infrastructure in the municipal area. Update the Open Space System map (or ecological infrastructure map) for incorporation into the municipal SDF.
Green Economy	Implement an urban greening and food security programme.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban Greening and Food Security Programme Plan prepared. Partnerships established for the implementation of the Programme. Funding is secured for the implementation of the Programme. Programme achievements in terms of job creation. Programme achievements in terms of local food security. Programme achievements in respect of areas greened.
	Establish an Ecological Infrastructure Management Programme. (Amongst other imperatives, the programme is aimed at generating improved supplies of ecosystem services, restoration of forests for carbon sequestration and restoration of degraded ecosystems to improve recreational and visual amenity).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ecological Infrastructure Management Programme Plan developed that identifies priority project sites for restoration and management. Partnerships established for the implementation of the Programme. Funding is secured for the implementation of the Programme. Programme achievements in terms of job creation. Programme achievements in terms of areas restored and managed and cleared of invasive alien plants.

Table 5.4: Environmental goals, objectives and key performance indicators in the Integrated Environmental Management Plan (2015) which relate to placemaking and greening. Information extracted and compiled from the IEMP (2015)

Integrated Development Plan

The BCMM Integrated Development Plan (IDP) Review 2020/21 is prepared in compliance with Section 34 of the South African Local Government Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 and sets out the objectives, strategies, key performance indicators and targets aligned to the long-term Metro Growth and Development Strategy adopted by Council. The annual review reflects on the progress of the 5-year IDP strategy (2016-2021) and determines annual targets and activities for the financial year towards informing the municipality's financial and institutional planning and drafting of the budget. Section B of the document which covers the situational analysis in terms of the strategic outcomes identified in the MGDS also provides a summary of community developmental issues as raised by communities in each of the three operational regions of the city. Issues of housing and infrastructure service delivery, unemployment and lack of adequate waste management are raised in all three regions as areas requiring support and intervention. In addition, and of relevance to this thesis is the need for sports fields is highlighted in the Inland Region as well as requests for Good Green Deeds Programmes in the Midland Region. The Good Green Deeds Programme, an initiative of the Department of Environmental Affairs, seeks to enhance knowledge and awareness of good waste management principles by taking a firm position against littering and illegal dumping, encouraging socio-economic opportunities in waste management as well as raising awareness amongst citizens on wider environmental issues (DEA, 2019). Section D of the IDP highlights the key strategies, objectives, indicators and targets of the municipality. It also includes the Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) of the municipality which links the IDP with the Medium Term Revenue and Expenditure Framework (MTREF) which serves as a mechanism to monitor different responsibilities and targets that each Directorate must fulfil in its service delivery commitments to the community. It therefore "serves as a contract between administration, council and community expressing the goals and objectives as set by council as quantifiable outcomes that can be implemented by the administration over the next twelve months" (IDP, 2020/21: 355). The key focus areas (KFAs) aligned to strategic outcomes, the respective indicators and targets which have a bearing on placemaking and greening within public space are highlighted in Table 5.5 below.

STRATEGIC OUTCOME	STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE	KEY FOCUS AREAS (KFA)	INDICATORS MEASURED
A productive and innovative city	Enhance the quality of life of the BCMM community with rapid and inclusive economic growth and falling unemployment.	KFA 9: Sports and Recreational Facilities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of sports facilities, beach facilities, zoo, swimming pools upgraded.
		KFA 4: Tourism and marketing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of initiatives implemented to market and promote Buffalo City

			as a tourist destination of choice.
A green city	Promote an environmentally friendly city.	KFA 15: Parks and Open Spaces.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of BCMM entrances beautified. • Number of community parks upgraded.
		KFA 18: Solid Waste Management.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of waste management facilities upgraded.
A connected city	Develop and maintain world class logistics infrastructure	KFA 21: Non-motorised Transport (NMT).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Length of NMT built.

Table 5.5: Strategic outcomes, objectives, key focus areas and indicators which relate to placemaking and greening in the BCMM Integrated Development Plan (2020/21). Information extracted and compiled from the BCMM IDP (2020/21)

Some of the common internal challenges identified in the document in relation to the above KFAs include lack of adequate staff / human resources as well as lack of interdepartmental assistance. Vandalism, theft and increasing levels of illegal dumping are also highlighted. Other challenges highlighted of relation to quality of life and economic growth include: i) the need to develop “must-see attractions” ii) the need for urban design and cleansing around attractions iii) the need for re-development of key precincts for sports tourism & signature events iv) the need to enhance safety at beaches v) the need to develop offerings around particular local interests such as Xhosa history, military history, industrial manufacturing and the automotive sector v) and the need to reinforce city branding and marketing to improve year round activity.

The clear strategic alignment that exists between the various municipal strategies and frameworks is noteworthy although the reflection of policy intentions to corresponding detailed programme preparation activities, budgets and performance indicators is seen as lacking.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The chapter sought to introduce the case study context of the BCMM from a national and local governance perspective tracing the processes and impacts of municipal restructuring which took place nation-wide as well as in the BCMM region following the new national democratic dispensation in 1994. The chapter also provided an overview of the built environment context describing urban growth pressures across the municipality as well as settlement typologies which characterise the different areas of the city. The relationships between settlement typologies, socio-economic and climate-change vulnerabilities were

highlighted bringing to focus the different sets of challenges that face different communities in the city, having relevance as background for Chapter 8 which analyses the findings from the Chapter 6 and 7 which reveal the empirical findings.

The third part of the chapter outlines the legislative parameters as well as the intergovernmental roles in relation to outcomes of placemaking and greening in the city. The section further examines the key municipal strategies and frameworks highlighting the relevance of the research for multiple strategic outcomes including those of the innovative and productive city, the green city as well as the connected city. The review of municipal documentation from the strategic level to the IDP which reflects the municipality's budgeted projects and programmes, highlights that there is not enough translation of high-level goals and objectives into corresponding detailed programme and project preparation activities, budgets and performance indicators. The above confirms findings of the State of the South Africa Cities Report (2016) highlighted in the earlier part of the chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: THE PROCESSES OF PUBLIC SPACE DELIVERY AND GOVERNANCE IN THE BCMM

6. THE PROCESSES OF PUBLIC SPACE DELIVERY AND GOVERNANCE IN THE BCMM: AN INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter examines the processes of public space delivery and governance in the BCMM. The findings are structured to demonstrate the complex inter-relationships and activities that contribute to practices of placemaking, place-keeping and greening in the municipality. Section 6.1 provides the context of the BCMM departments involved in public space delivery as well as their role in terms of the various programmes and initiatives which contribute to the championing of placemaking and greening in the city. Sections 6.2 to 6.4 unpack the processes and governance dimensions of public space delivery in terms of the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space. The chapter concludes with Section 6.5 which highlights the key findings from an institutional governance perspective.

6.1 THE CHAMPIONING OF PLACEMAKING AND GREENING WITHIN PUBLIC SPACE

6.1.1 The BCMM departments involved in public space delivery and management

A number of departments play a role in developing or contributing to the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space in the BCMM. The departments that play a lead role in the conceptualisation and creation of public space include the planning departments which fall under the Directorate of Spatial Planning and Development (SPD). These include the departments of Forward Planning, Settlement Planning, Transportation Planning and Operations (TPO) and Land Use Management. The Departments of Integrated Environmental Management Planning (IEMP) and Grass Cutting & Vegetation Control fall within the Directorate of Solid Waste and Environmental Management and play a lead role in relation to environmental planning and management of the primary open space network which includes the metropolitan open space system (MOSS).

The Department of Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria (henceforth referred to as the Parks Department due to the focus of the research on the functions undertaken by the Parks section of the department), located within the Directorate of Sport, Recreation and Community Development plays a lead role in the implementation of parks and public space amenities in the city. Mandated areas of focus include the maintained public open spaces of the city which fall within the category of zoned public open space and road reserves. These may conceptually be termed as the secondary open space network which supports the primary open space network which is managed by the IEMP unit in partnership with the Provincial Department of Environmental Affairs. The Roads and Stormwater Department located within the Directorate of Infrastructure Services plays an integral role in the conceptualisation and

delivery of public space which encompasses the street network and road reserves which also contribute to greening in the city. Similarly, the Transport Planning and Operations Department which is located within the Spatial Planning and Development Directorate focuses on strategic transport corridors and public transport operations in the city. They play a lead role in the conceptualisation, design and implementation of public transport corridors in the city.

In addition to the above lead departments, a number of departments play a supporting role in contributing to the enriching of public space through heritage, arts and culture. The Department of Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage located within the Directorate of Economic Development and Agencies (ED&A) promotes arts and culture as well as heritage identity within public spaces in the municipality. They play a role in protecting and promoting local heritage resources in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999. The Buffalo City Development Agency which is an entity of the ED&A, also plays a championing role in relation to placemaking within strategic sites and public spaces in the city. This is aligned to the mandate of the Agency to “attract investments to the Metro, thereby increasing growth in tourism, economic and social development” (<https://bcmda.org.za/>, 2021). The Enterprise Project Management Office (EPMO), located in the Directorate of the City Manager, where the researcher is based, has the mandate to provide an independent technical advisory support function to the City Manager in order to enhance service delivery and expenditure performance of BCMM.

As outlined in Chapter 4, municipal administration is carried out through the three regions; the Coastal, Midland and Inland Regions. The strategic units including the departments of SPD, IEMP Unit, ED&A and the EPMO are city-wide and cut-across all three regions. The implementation units including the Parks Department and the Roads Department are managed through Regional Offices. Each region is comprised of a number of districts managed by District Officers who engage with local communities and Ward Councillors in terms of addressing local needs and issues. The district offices of each region therefore play an important role in terms of processes of public space management within the respective regions. Interviews were held with officials in each of the above departments as well as within the three regions in order to gain insights on the championing of placemaking and greening in the city as well as on the current processes of public space delivery and governance from the planning to the design conceptualisation and delivery stages. The following section outlines the various initiatives and programmes that contribute to placemaking and greening in the city.

6.1.2 Greening and placemaking initiatives and interventions in the city

Greening initiatives and interventions in the city are championed largely through the Parks and the IEMP Departments in the city. As described above, both these departments have different areas of focus. The IEMP Department functions as a cross cutting unit which guides strategic environmental management and planning, working closely with the nature reserves, beaches, coastal management and municipal health units. The department forms a part of various working groups with the Provincial Government in relation to air quality management, climate change, solid waste management, wetlands management and environmental compliance. The BCMM Integrated Environmental Management Plan (2015) sets out the framework which guides the environmental management processes in the city and the BCMM Conservation Plan and Metropolitan Open Space System (MOSS) (2008), coordinated by the department provides the framework for open space management at a city-wide scale.

The Parks Department covers many of the operational functions related to the implementation of greening within maintained public open spaces and road reserves in the city. The focus of the department tends to be at the operations and maintenance level although the periodic implementation of new play parks as well as undertaking of minor upgrades within existing parks were highlighted. Through the interviews conducted, it is evident that dedicated placemaking interventions other than in relation to tree-planting and greening, are few and far between in the municipality and many of these where they exist are largely private sector driven. The interviews also highlighted that perceptions of the term greening amongst officials outside of environmental management and horticultural professions focussed on dimensions of energy efficiency, reduced carbon emissions, and reduced water consumption and pollution. The dimensions of green engineering to reduce stormwater flows was touched upon by roads and stormwater professionals however the inclination and focus on standard grey infrastructure solutions was seen to be prevalent. Dimensions of street tree-planting and biodiversity conservation were seen as significant only by officials in the planning, IEMP and parks department, with the officials from the ED&A and the Development Agency conveying a keen understanding of the impacts of placemaking and greening on creating lasting value within public space. Officials from the Roads and Stormwater Department as well as the Transport Planning Department did not view tree planting and greening as an integral part of the street and public transport network, although the role of the research in influencing these perceptions was highlighted by one of the respondents.

The initiatives outlined below give an overview of the various programmes the city is currently involved in or embarking on relation to placemaking and greening within public space. Some

of these programmes especially in relation to greening and tree-planting are well established and have been in place in the city for many years. Others, especially in relation to placemaking are fairly new and in the early stages of conceptualisation or implementation and therefore hold the potential to integrate practices of placemaking and greening into programmes and projects.

a. National Arbor Week

The main greening initiative highlighted by all the park officials interviewed, is the National Arbor Week campaign held in the first week of September each year, championed by the National Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DALRRD) as the custodian of forestry in South Africa. The campaign calls on “all South Africans to plant indigenous trees as a practical and symbolic gesture of sustainable environmental management” affording government, private sector, non-governmental and community based organisations as well as the public an opportunity to “green” their communities through the planting of trees (<https://www.gov.za/ArborWeek2021>). The vegetation control officer and street tree manager in the Coastal Region Parks Department highlighted the focus of this programme on planting within churches, creches and schools as well as other interested members due to issues of vandalism as well as damage due to stray animals experienced in planting within public spaces. The official highlighted the significance of partnerships which ensured the sustained care and custodianship needed for the survival of the newly planted trees. The Chief Nursery Officer also emphasised that:

what we provide is dependent on what we can maintain. The district will plant trees and will also have to maintain them and there is a limitation to what can be maintained, especially since the first maintenance period is quite intensive, for the first two years. For example, we cannot go out and plant 3000 trees as we couldn't maintain them (18 November, 2020).

Therefore, a concerted planning and budgeting effort would be required in order to effect impactful changes within areas which are lacking in trees and vegetation.

b. The Adopt a Spot Programme

The Adopt-a-Spot Programme is an initiative that was developed in 2010 to combat illegal dumping within communities where volunteers adopt vacant plots in the community to turn them into vegetable gardens.

The city supports the programme as it assists with reducing illegal dumps and improves the level of cleanliness in some areas. Anyone can adopt a spot where

there is uncontrollable illegal dumping activity in their neighbourhood...the main aim of the Adopt-a-Spot programme is to reduce illegal dumps by greening (<https://www.dispatchlive.co.za/news/2017-11-23-becoming-part-of-the-solution/>).

The above article in the Daily Dispatch (2017) highlights an 83 year old, Keke Ntozini whose vegetable garden growing maize, spinach, beetroot, pumpkin, tomatoes and carrots sustains her family and helps the community. As highlighted by the Chief Nursery Officer at the BCMM,

It is a purely voluntary programme, and there are people who are doing amazing things all over the city...sometimes it will happen through the Solid Waste Department requesting us to supply some trees and shrubs for the community, which we then donate to them through the District Officer who will go and discuss with the community and decide what to do...other times the public approaches the Parks Department directly through the District Officer of the region who then approaches us for plant (18 November 2020).

A further successful example of this initiative in the BCMM is highlighted in Section 6.4.3 which presents examples of innovative public space management models in the city (see Figure 6.5). The official highlighted that though this programme has worked well in some communities, the longevity tends to be questionable as there are circumstances “when a champion in a particular situation changes, and they are no longer able to commit to that situation, then it’s not necessarily as sustainable...there has been a suggestion for monetary incentive in terms of rates that might assist, but at the moment it is all voluntary”. This is an important insight which highlights that the formalisation of such programmes through the provision of financial incentives, could lead to greater uptake of these practices within the community making them more sustainable into the future.

c. The Youth Community Outreach Programme

The Youth Community Outreach Programme (YCOP) is a flagship programme introduced underneath the umbrella of the Good Green Deeds Programme which was launched by the President in 2019 as an initiative to change people’s attitudes and behaviours towards keeping their neighbourhoods clean, green and safe. As outlined by the Manager of the IEMP Unit, the programme consists of a partnership and signed Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the National Department of Environmental Affairs and the BCMM. Outreach programmes have a specific emphasis on Ward and School based environmental education and awareness as well as providing support to the environmental management unit of the municipality in terms of its management functions and exposing officials to environment functions and programmes to attain work experience.

The programme is driven through the secondment of a Youth Environmental Coordinator to the BCMM through the Department of Forestry Fisheries and the Environment (DFFE). The coordinator has been responsible for a number of environmental interventions within the metro, including the training and supervision of participants as part of the Good Green Deeds programme, the Green School Profiling initiative, the Environmental Library Support Programme as well as the Environmental and Education Awareness Programme, the Informal Waste Picker's Support Programme and the BCMM Cleaning and Greening Programme. From a strategic perspective the coordinator has assisted the BCMM by reviewing the city's environmental education and public awareness strategy. The strategy gives guidance on actions to be taken towards raising awareness across different communities within the city. All of the above programmes are funded by the DFFE through the BCMM. The highlights of the programme specifically in relation to greening in the city includes the planting of fruit trees within 11 schools in the city in partnership with a local Environmental Assessment and Consulting Agency as well as the BCMM Parks Department.

d. The Call-2-Action Programme

The Call-2-Action Programme is championed by a diverse group of companies and associations who work together to ensure that certain identified pilot areas in the city are green and clean. The project is intended as a partnership between the regional Chamber of Business, the Buffalo City Municipality and the Development Agency (BCMDA). The primary aspect of this programme is aimed at cleaning and greening with a focus on recycling and waste minimisation (<https://call2actionweb.wordpress.com/2020/09/15/love-your-city/>). As cited on the Call-2-Action website, the programme "is a business response to the challenge of living in a dirty city". Financed solely through donations from businesses, the programme seeks to establish a common vision between the city and business in order to ensure the sustainability of the project. The programme has experienced both successes and challenges, which are described further in Section 6.4 of this chapter.

e. Catalytic Land Development Programmes (CLDP)

The Enterprise Project Management Office has since its inception been a key point of coordination of the municipality's Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP) which provides a strategic framework for spatial transformation through spatially targeted investment within catalytic land development areas. The Urban Network Strategy (UNS) developed by the City Support Programme (CSP) of National Treasury is a spatial strategy which seeks to align public spending and unlock private investment through catalytic interventions which integrate residential, social, commercial and public facilities along primary public transport networks. The BCMM BEPP (2020/21) identifies five CLDPs within

the municipality; the East London CBD and Inner City Programme, the Mdantsane East London (MELD) Corridor Programme, the Mdantsane Urban Hub (MUH) Programme, the West bank Logistics Hub Programme and the Bhisho - Qonce – Zwelitsha Corridor Programme. As part of targeted urban management within these programme precincts, the EPMO has developed a precinct plan for the MUH in 2016 which includes proposals for public realm upgrades within the hub. This initiative was funded by the Neighbourhood Partnership Development Grant (NDPG) of National Treasury. Although a couple projects have been implemented in the MUH through this grant, the focus of interventions by the implementing departments have thus far been on hard infrastructure components such as sidewalks and street lighting with limited provision of soft infrastructure such as trees, greening or interventions of a placemaking nature. Although a suite of projects were identified for implementation through the precinct plan, the uptake of these projects for implementation by the various departments has been slow if not non-existent. As will be revealed in Chapter 8, the uptake of these projects for implementation by the implementing departments in the BCMM is a challenge and will be dependent on various underlying issues being addressed at an institutional level.

Despite the challenges in implementation, processes are currently underway for the development of similar precinct plans for the East London CBD as well as the Qonce CBD. Integrated design frameworks for public realm upgrades within these precincts are aimed at expanding and improving pedestrian areas and informal trading areas within the CLDPs, creating better pedestrian crossings which will improve connectivity and linkage between public facilities and buildings, and create better lighting and landscaping through a network of well-defined pedestrian routes and spaces. The identification of projects for implementation will therefore seek to promote an agenda for placemaking and greening within these precincts. The precinct plans and urban design frameworks developed through the EPMO will also seek to guide and integrate the work of various role-players currently involved in placemaking and greening interventions in the city, including the initiatives of the Buffalo City Development Agency outlined below. The strong presence of the BCMDA within flagship areas of the city has resulted in the implementation of a couple of public space upgrade projects by the Agency which currently underway. These are highlighted in the section below.

f. The Business Improvement District Strategy (BIDS)

Championed by the Development Facilitation arm of Development Agency (BCMDA), the BIDS aims to improve and revive the East London CBD, through a number of programmes and targeted interventions. These include; the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, Property Development Program, the Social Infrastructure Improvement Program, the Skills

Development Program and the Enterprise Development Program. The Neighbourhood Improvement Programmes include the beautification of streets through hard and soft landscaping as well as basic upgrades of infrastructure such as street lighting and street furniture. The Agency is also involved in the Inner City Safety programme, which ensures the appointment of security companies working together with the South African Police Service (SAPS) and law enforcement agencies to patrol targeted areas such as the East London Esplanade. The program is intended to be expanded to further identified hotspot areas in the Inner City. Other flagship projects that the agency is involved in and which contribute to placemaking in the city include the Court Crescent Upgrade (See Figure 6.1 below) which is located at the eastern entrance to the Esplanade Street. The public realm upgrade project of an estimated value of R50 million will include an information centre and ablutions, hawker stalls, an amphitheatre, seating areas, water features, retaining walls, walkways, kids play areas, local art and an outdoor gym.



Figure 6.1 The upgrade of the Court Crescent at Eastern Beach on the Esplanade. Source: Andre Oosthuizen Photography (2021).

The researcher was involved in a lead urban design capacity in the above project, prior to joining the city in 2018. The project has since been detailed and taken further by a number of consultants appointed by the Development Agency. The Agency is involved in a similar flagship project at a coastal node and tidal pool in the West Bank area of the city known as the Water World Development. The BCMDA works closely with the EPMD in terms of planning and coordinating public realm upgrades in the city. It is of interest to note that similar initiatives at the beachfront in Gqeberha (previously Port Elizabeth) by the Mandela Bay Development Agency (MBDA) have resulted in the spatial transformation of the esplanade contributing to enhanced value and investor confidence in the area.

g. The Investment Promotion and Tourism Programme

The above programme of the Development Agency supports a number of initiatives that work to align with a placemaking agenda for the city. The Agency has recently in partnership with the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), developed a Tourism Infrastructure Masterplan for the city and is currently in the process of developing a Public Art Policy and Strategy. The Strategy is aligned to five spatial areas in terms of the Spatial Development Framework (SDF) of the city and is conceptualised as a hub and spoke model where the beachfront area on the Esplanade Street is regarded as the hub of tourism activity in the city. The five spokes focus on historic settlements of Mdantsane, Duncan Village, West Bank, KWT / Qonce and Berlin with the aim of developing heritage and tourism routes within these areas.

Part of our process also includes the development of storylines for interpretive boards, which will also be a part of these hubs. So, for instance in the Esplanade, we have a list of interesting stories that speak to the history of East London; jazz, hotels, the racing and so, public art will borrow from these stories (Senior Official, BCMDA, 22 March, 2021).

The official described placemaking as “the reinforcing of an identity of a certain locality with a view to tapping into its authentic elements in terms of history, culture, the past, the present and the future in order to develop and promote it’s tourism potential”. In describing their role as the agency in contributing to placemaking, the official highlighted that “we see ourselves as an implementer of placemaking projects, so from strategy to designing and implementing...also building an ecosystem of entrepreneurs and practitioners, artists, and architects in the placemaking space”. The Development Agency plays an important role in the city in terms of mobilising external stakeholders, partners and funders. It is anticipated that these initiatives will be pursued further through championing by the Agency. This will be further discussed in Chapter 8 of the research.

h. The City Public Employment Programme (PEP)

The City PEP is a recently introduced programme from National Treasury aimed at positioning cities for post-Covid economic recovery through the use of public employment to mitigate the impacts of high unemployment and job losses experienced as a result of the current economic crisis. The six key focus areas of the programme include precinct management, community safety, placemaking, greening, integrated waste management and digitisation (National Treasury, 2021). Spatially targeted areas for intervention include informal settlements, informal trader markets, townships, industrial areas, business districts, neighbourhoods, streets and public spaces and parks. The programme is underpinned by a

partnership approach between Municipalities, Civil Society and National Treasury. It is envisaged that the programme will assist to address priority urban development challenges such as degrading city precincts and places, community safety, urban resilience and integrated waste management.

The intention is to demonstrate the value of PEP as a city economic and social development instrument and to integrate the approach within the core business of metros and encourage the spawning of SMMEs in identified market gaps (National Treasury presentation, 2021, s.2).

The BCMM has been allocated a budget of R20 580 919,58 within the current financial year and has been required to develop business plans within the six key focus areas of the programme. The duration of the programme spans from September 2021 to June 2022 and presents the city a unique opportunity to create employment aligned to areas of placemaking and greening. The Department of ED&A is spearheading this programme and have enlisted the support of the EPMO to develop this programme further.

Section 6.1 has contextualised the various departments, their roles and current initiatives and programmes linked to activities of placemaking and greening in the city. The various programmes hold synergies especially in relation to the programmes of the BCMDA as well as the EPMO. Programmes of the IEMP unit and the ED&A have a different area of focus spatially however they hold potential for greater synergies to be established with other city initiatives where these may be relevant. Section 6.2 proceeds to provide a background of the key narratives and perspectives which inform and influence the planning of public space in the city.

6.2 THE PLANNING OF PUBLIC SPACE

The planning of public space in the city can be understood through the different activities that influence and impact on the creation of public space within the built environment. The Forward Planning Department is responsible for the development of the Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) and the Local Spatial Development Frameworks (LSDF) which set out the vision and development priorities for the municipality as well as the various local areas in terms of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA). The Settlement Planning Department focuses on addressing the growing needs of the city in terms of planning of new settlement layouts for public housing. The Land Use Management Department plays a role in coordinating and approving all new developments in terms of the Zoning Scheme of the municipality. The following sub-sections provide an overview of some of the key narratives and challenges highlighted by senior officials

interviewed in the above departments, focussing on the role of planning on public space in the city.

6.2.1 Present conditions and needs outweighing consideration of future needs

As advocates of sustainable development, planners are continuously challenged with ensuring the balancing of present needs of communities in view of meeting future needs. A senior manager in the Forward Planning Department spoke about the “the unplanning of parks” in relation to current trends which are taking place in the municipality.

We make decisions on do we keep a park, or do we use it for something else? Generally, people want the parks gone because they don't use them anymore, and Parks (department) doesn't maintain them anymore. And instead of being a positive thing, which is what public spaces should be, they actually become a negative thing, and people just say you know, they are dangerous. So, from that point of view, I might get involved in making a decision about a park that is often based on public input at meetings that say, this park is a liability – nobody looks after it, what can we do with it? In other words, it's really the unplanning of a park and not the planning of it, that is really unfortunate. It's kind of what we are doing...the Settlement Planning Department may leave a space for parks in their planning, but parks get shackled on, so they are not a priority at all in any community, which is sad (Manager, Forward Planning Department, 19 November 2020).

It is important to note that the above observation did not correlate with views of users of public space in the city who were interviewed as part of the research process. The majority of respondents expressed that they did not feel that there were sufficient public spaces in the city especially in areas where they lived. However, the issue of lack of management and maintenance of public spaces by the city was equally highlighted by all the respondents who felt that the city was not doing enough in terms of management and maintenance. These issues are discussed further in Chapter 8 of the thesis.

Another senior official highlighted:

As a planner there is so much pressure on us...previously we used to have the backing from Province, because the old LUPO (Land Use Planning Ordinance) regulation said that you could not rezone an open space without the approval of Province or the Administrator, or later the Premier. Now with SPLUMA, that has fallen away, and it is solely a municipal function to make that decision...so there is tremendous pressure on our open spaces, and it becomes difficult to defend these

spaces when they are not used as an open space but rather as a dumping ground” (General Manager, Land Use Management Department, 9 December, 2020).

On speaking of challenges in dealing with private developers and developments, the Manager highlighted that in the older LUPO legislation, there was a planning requirement for the provision of public open space at a standard of 1.8ha for 1000 people in any new development. This has however also fallen away in the newer planning legislation like SPLUMA which doesn't have such a prescript.

And I think with my experience through years here, your developers are reluctant to give up developable land for open space, because I am sorry to say they know the municipality doesn't have the funds or the inclination to look after it. And so, they will rather try and develop that land than set it aside and give it over to the municipality for open space services” (GM, Land Use Management Department, 9 December, 2020).

The above has consequences that result in the provision for open space often being “land left over after planning” which is of limited or no value to communities with a constant battle with developers to ensure that new developments have adequate open space provisions other than that of “left over spaces after planning”. The need for the municipality to develop its own Council approved guidelines and standards which can fill in the gaps in terms of transitioning from the old order LUPO legislation to the new SPLUMA legislation is brought to the fore here.

However, the role played by active citizenry, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), environmental agents and rate payers associations in playing a watch-dog role concerning development applications that negatively affect the environment was commended. “I think there I must put a feather in our own cap, on the public participation side in terms of rezoning applications, I think this is one of the functions that is working very well” (GM, Land Use Management). The IEMP unit plays a supporting role in engaging with the DEA when objections to a layout are received on environmental grounds. The processes of objections and appeals in the rezoning process ensure that everyone's rights are covered in terms of the law.

The issue of balancing public space provision with management and maintenance was stressed as a huge challenge. The official from Settlement Planning emphasised the priority focus of the unit on the eradication of informal settlements and the challenges this comes with in terms of working with communities whose priorities are clearly for housing and shelter with public space a secondary consideration. The official also highlighted the high demand for the provision of sports fields within informal settlement upgrade projects. Especially due

to their multifaceted use not only as a soccer pitch but also as a make shift athletics track or netball court or even a meeting place. However, in terms of greening and parks the official expressed that “there are other more urgent and more important things that people require”. An incidence was shared where a few years ago in the development of a settlement at Vergenoeg, there was a champion tree that was identified for protection in terms of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) processes of the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA). The space around the tree was therefore planned to be developed as a public open space. However furious residents stepped in and chopped down the more than a hundred year old tree without permission demanding that houses be built on the space. At the same time, another official pointed out that;

You often hear the complaint, especially from ward structures, there is no place for the kids to play, especially when something goes wrong, and when a kid gets run over in the street, the very same community is very quick to say, oh, the Council hasn't provided open space for the kids to play. And yet when those open spaces are provided, the very same community complains that it's used as a rubbish dump, it's a gathering place for vagrants and drug dealers and so on. But the local authority is also guilty for not maintaining those open spaces. So, there has got to be that balance. Public space has got to be there for your community. But then your local authority has to also look after it (GM, Land Use Management Department, 9 December, 2020).

As brought to light by another official “a green park is not a priority if you don't have shelter and food on the table first”. Whereas affluent communities may step up to fight for the protection of open spaces, the same may not happen in a less affluent community where there are a different set of needs and priorities at play. Similarly, the types of green spaces that may be of value in one community may be different to the needs and values in another community. The contrasting narratives that are in effect from a planning perspective highlight that the context of the interested and affected parties is of great significance in interpreting and understanding public space needs. The need to enhance knowledge around the monetary value of ecosystem services is also highlighted. Two of the officials from the planning department narrated how the previous Head of the IEMP unit had initiated such an exercise as part of the development of the MOSS. The official has however since then left the municipality and this work is not known to the current members of staff in the IEMP unit.

6.2.2 The disconnect between settlement plans and implementing agents

One of the concerns highlighted by the Forward Planning Department was the apparent disconnect between open space provision through new settlement layouts and

implementation of parks and amenities thereon. It was mentioned that when layouts get circulated to the various internal departments for comment there is very limited comment received in terms of new public open spaces planned and created. There are limited interactions between departments at the planning stage with one official expressing that “that level of integrated planning isn’t happening” (Manager, Forward Planning Department). The outcomes are worsened by the abundance of “space left over after planning” which undermines the value of actual designated public space within settlement layouts. As clarified by a senior official from the Transport Planning and Operations Department, there is a lack of understanding amongst communities on the purpose of various public spaces. The lack of signage and amenities which make known the designated use of various vacant land parcels or open spaces leads to the misuse of these spaces. This also highlights the lack of ownership by implementing agents of newly zoned public open spaces that arise as a result of the development of new human settlements within a rapidly urbanising context.

As highlighted by the Land Use Planning Manager, the settlement planning and land use planning challenge is that there is no one who monitors the implementation of social amenities alongside housing development. Equally, there is no one who monitors adherence to layout plans or checks that conditions imposed are being honoured. This becomes applicable both in terms of public sector developments as well as private sector developments. Whereas strategic land parcels and sites hold greater potential to demonstrate integrated planning and implementation, this is far less monitored and observed in the ordinary and routine service delivery projects.

6.2.3 The lack of institutional strategies and life-cycle plans in relation to public space

The Acting General Manager for the Parks Department clarified that the department currently doesn’t have a guiding document or sector plan that guides planning and budgeting for parks and greening in the city. As the manager for the Coastal Region Parks highlighted “Up to now, we have mainly focussed on existing high priority thoroughfares, that is your main entrances into the city and maybe your busy intersections in terms of our landscaping”. This was also actively championed by the previous Portfolio Head or Member of the Municipal Council (MMC) for the Municipal Services Directorate who had a hands on approach to greening and beautification in the city. There is however a gap in the sector based vision which impacts on outcomes of greening and placemaking within community and neighbourhood contexts. The support official and civil engineer from the EPMO dedicated to the Parks Department highlighted that he would like to work towards establishing a 20 year life-cycle plan for parks in the municipality. “Not so much that it has to be implemented tomorrow, but so that there is a baseline from which to get a critical momentum in place”. This would also assist with evidence to quantify new facilities needed versus the

management of old facilities. The same official has been instrumental in coordinating the drawing up of a list of existing parks in each of the three regions in the city. The list seeks to unpack the current state and use of each park, the management plan for the park in terms of the frequency of grass cutting and requirements for refurbishment etc. This work is still incomplete, and the same official having reached retirement age, has sadly left the employment of the city. It is yet to be determined where the capacity to carry on with this important work will come from.

As highlighted by a senior official from the Spatial Planning Department:

where are the qualified staff members of the department at the top management level who can manage and coordinate the development of a sector plan? ...because if they have to come to the EPMO to plan and prepare the sector plan, then it's an institutional problem. This is the elephant in the room (19 November, 2020).

Adding to the above challenges, the loss of institutional memory due to highly skilled staff leaving the institution or retiring with no official hand over or capacity building plans in place is a reality experienced first-hand by the researcher having been appointed in a similar circumstance and having faced challenges of filling the gaps for other staff members who have left or are leaving the department. Being an insider for three years the researcher is able to see a similar pattern happening throughout the organisation. Some of the consequences are that policies which were previously gaining momentum or were in place are not passed on, resulting in valuable work being lost and work being redone with the overall impact of slowing down institutional progress. With the declining financial sustainability experienced in many South African municipalities, institutional capacity that is lost is not easily nor often replaced or prioritised.

6.3 THE CONCEPTUALISATION AND DELIVERY OF PUBLIC SPACE

Having contextualised the various arguments that influence the planning and preservation of public space in the city, the following section examines the processes of public space conceptualisation and delivery and how these affect practices of placemaking and greening within public space. Design conceptualisation and delivery of public space falls mainly within the ambit of the implementing departments, therefore the factors and narratives that influence the outcomes of placemaking and greening in relation to these departments are further examined.

6.3.1 Impacts of an organogram in flux

At the time of initiation of this research in 2019, the current Parks Department formed part of what was previously the Municipal Services Directorate. The Municipal Services Directorate comprised three departments; the Department of Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria, the Department of Community Amenities and the Department of Solid Waste Management. The above Directorate had been without a permanent Head of Directorate for the past ten years owing to unresolved court battles and ensuing leadership crises which have led to a lack of stability and performance in the service delivery functions of the department. The Draft Diagnostic Assessment of the BCMM carried out in 2017 identified systemic challenges in key areas of service delivery foregrounding solid waste management, and the management of key city facilities and amenities as areas needing support and intervention from the Government Technical Advisory Centre of National Treasury (GTAC, 2017). A restructuring process, which was finalised in 2021, saw the directorate being split into two separate directorates namely the Solid Waste and Environmental Management Directorate and the Directorate of Sport, Recreation and Community Development. As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, the Department of Parks, Cemeteries and Crematoria, now falls under the Directorate of Sport, Recreation and Community Development and the activities of Vegetation Control which formerly formed part of the Parks Department now fall under the Directorate dealing with functions of Solid Waste and Environmental Management. A new permanent HOD has been appointed for the Directorate of Solid Waste and Environmental Management, however the Directorate of Sport, Recreation and Community Development is still headed by an acting HOD.

At the time of many of the interviews conducted in early 2021, the restructuring had only taken place on paper with many of the respondents expressing concerns on some of the issues pertaining to the split of the Vegetation Control Department from the Parks Department. The impact of splitting vegetation control from the Parks Department in terms of the new organogram affects all regions however more severely the Inland and Midland regions where the posts on the organogram are presently not adequately filled. The District Officers for Parks in these regions therefore also cover the functions of vegetation control officers within parks and open spaces. The respondents therefore felt that there was not enough consultation on how vegetation control would work once split from the Parks Department and integrated with the Solid Waste and Environmental Management Department. However, the split may address the concerns of some officials in the Parks Department who felt that their role was watered down to that of being “grass cutters” as opposed to horticulturalists who could play a more proactive role in cultivation and greening in the city. Similarly, the integration of the Parks Department and the Sport and Recreation

Department into a single directorate could offer greater opportunities for the integration of sports programmes and facilities within recreational amenities in order to enhance multifunctional use and activities within these spaces. However, the need to retain the integrity and role of the Parks Department as a specialised area of focus in the city was highlighted by a senior official who felt that the role and impact of the department was not adequately understood by city leadership.

6.3.2 Project initiation processes and challenges for placemaking and greening

As evidenced from the various initiatives and interventions that are happening within the different departments of the city it can be surmised that at the present time, there are a number of activities and interventions centred around placemaking and greening taking place within different types of spaces within the city some of which also occur within private properties and spaces. These activities can be seen as ad-hoc in nature and in relation to public spaces defined in terms of streets, parks and squares, there is no clear city-wide vision, goals or objectives which ensure the integration of placemaking and greening activities into the processes of public space delivery. Departments are therefore not in a position to defend budgets related to placemaking and greening within these types of spaces as there is no city-wide strategic plan in place. The District Officer for the Coastal Region highlighted that during the growing season, the trees are planted along the street verges, open spaces and parks. However, a number of officials in the Parks Department highlighted the difficulties experienced especially in terms of removal of trees by other departments, without consent from the Parks Department. Various examples of road widening construction projects were cited where existing well established trees of more than 50 years of age were cut down or rooted out without consent of the department. Examples of the Bonza Bay Road widening project and the upgrade of the N2 from Bhisho to King William's Town were cited. "There was a very long stretch of Jacaranda trees when entering King William's Town, but we lost it – they (the Roads Department) didn't replace any of them. They committed to replace them but to this day, nothing has happened". The official in charge of street trees for the coastal region spoke of the need to set up a street tree policy and by-law in relation to the protection, management and maintenance of street trees.

As highlighted by the Chief Nursery Officer,

Often we drive past a project and see machinery and equipment being set up and then we see our islands being dredged and the grass taken off and trees being pushed over and the District Officer would start jumping up and down and call the Senior Manager and the Senior Manager will call the Roads Department to ask what

is going on. It's often not the Roads Department itself but the contractors who make an effort to come and ask us about that (18 November, 2020).

A further concern raised by the Nursery Officer was that,

Often there is opposition to tree-planting because in certain areas, there is a public perception that it's going to cause more hassle for them. So often the public is in opposition to environmental enhancement. Because they don't want tree-planting as it's going to block their view or allow vagrants to sit underneath and attract crime to the area. Safety is a big concern for people. At the same time, we have a mandate to plant a certain number of trees, so we try and take that into account, but it's a bit of a balance, and we try and shift our tree-planting to another area. So, it's a mix – when the community approaches us we try our best to address their concerns” (18 November, 2020).

Due to the above challenges the focus of tree-planting and greening has been within areas where there is a high demand for greening. “Community involvement is often influenced by the income level of the community and the literacy level, (wealthier areas) have more resources to participate and it's not about the basics of life” (Chief Nursery Officer). In these instances, communities request Ward Councillors directly for particular greening interventions. The consequence of this is that affluent communities that are well versed in expressing their needs for well managed and maintained green open spaces, access resources more easily as compared to communities that may not express the same needs due to basic need priorities not being met, as highlighted in Section 6.2.1.

In relation to play parks, interventions relate mainly only to the installation of play equipment within parks. As highlighted by an official, budgets normally get apportioned to different regions based on the needs that the District Officer defines for the area. “The District Officer knows for example which communities are going to look after their park and equipment”. If the equipment gets stolen, or vandalised or is torn down then that community is not considered for installation of new equipment for at least a year. However as mentioned in Section 6.2.3, there is no clear process plan or asset management plan in place in terms of a systematic method for the identification of new projects or projects for upgrade or renewal. These are identified on an ad hoc basis informed by communities requesting for a facility for example through the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) processes.

The lack of an institutional strategy and policy also means that there is a lack of adequate planning and consultation between departments while conceptualising individual projects. It was highlighted by various officials that communication between departments seldom happens at the project planning stage, but rather after the project is complete. As stated by

the Chief Nursery Officer, requests for greening always come after the completion of a project. A senior official from the ED&A Department highlighted that there is often a lack of broader awareness at the senior management level of the interdependencies required to make placemaking and greening impactful. The official observed that consultation is mainly within departments and that there is very little across the board consultation especially when it comes to individual projects. On the challenges in initiating and championing placemaking and greening within public space the official remarked,

For the period I have been here, I have noticed how the state of our open public spaces have deteriorated from being the best to the worst. So, we have not as the municipality championed anything that relates to placemaking. I don't know maybe we are yet to start with developments being proposed where we prioritize it to say whatever development we undertake, let's make sure that it is centred around placemaking. When whatever spaces we create, we still leave space for people to enjoy. To be quite honest we have not been big in championing it as a municipality. Maybe your involvement will assist us in terms of changing our viewpoint (General Manager, Tourism, Heritage, Arts and Culture, 4 February, 2021).

In relation to resourcing towards projects of this nature the GM emphasised,

I think it all starts with the entire institution having a vision, because if there is a vision for something, you can then allocate resources. If you don't have a vision, you can't allocate resources, because you don't foresee, or you don't think it is important. So yes, resources have been an issue over time. But equally with the resources that we have, I think we could have done better. Because there are minimum resources that are allocated and if we don't prioritize placemaking then it's a problem (4 February, 2021).

The GM felt strongly about the role of placemaking and greening in the city highlighting its role in ensuring that the city becomes safe and attractive for tourism and investment. "The maintenance, cleanliness, the development of all open spaces so that they fit within a broader picture becomes of interest to us". On speaking about greening in the city, the GM commented that "we have not championed it the way we are supposed to. If you compare us to many other cities who are along the coast, we have tried to keep our space as natural as possible, in protecting our sand dunes, our coastal areas...but the minute you move away from the coastal belt and you move inland, we have not really championed it as it should be". The opportunities for pursuing this are significant, as highlighted by an official from the Parks Department, some intensively used parks in the city hold great potential in terms of placemaking and greening, citing the example of the St George's Park in the inner city, which

was foregrounded as being in need of a design overhaul. But also stating that such initiatives are not championed well enough in the city and therefore there are no budgets nor resources allocated to undertake this work. The private sector has however come to the fore in some ways through the Call-2-Action Programme and the interventions in the St George's Park are highlighted in Section 6.4.4.

6.3.3 The scope of project briefs, design teams and design processes

The projects led by the Parks Departments are all conceptualised and designed in-house depending on the size and nature of a park. Whereas larger projects involving external agencies such as the DEA have a team of consultants appointed to carry out the design process, most implementation currently taking place is in relation to servicing of pocket parks where in-house horticulturalists or contractors cover the design and implementation. The Architecture Department provides architectural services where needed from time to time. As emphasised by the Chief Nursery Officer, one of the challenges is that there are no landscape architects employed in the municipality and very limited or no Landscape Architects based in the wider region or province. The lack of landscape design consultants often means that there is a missing design conceptualisation stage with projects mainly driven by contractors. The link between functionality, performance and aesthetics which is often optimised through the collaboration between landscape architects, landscapers and contractors is lost in the design of these parks. As highlighted by an official, "detailed design of park equipment provision is often 'knee-jerk' as designs are taken from elsewhere and is therefore not often fit for purpose...there are no clearly defined goals on what could be achieved and therefore the current focus is on 'dollyng up' public space". As highlighted by the official, a critical factor in the structuring of project briefs and TORs is the need to ensure a very clear element under social facilitation in order to ensure project conceptualisation which is relevant and responsive to the needs of direct stakeholders.

Interviews with officials from the Transport Planning and Operations Department reveal that Terms of References (TORs) for strategic transport corridor projects from a placemaking perspective emphasise the requirements for universal access catering to needs of the disabled, elderly, the very young and partially sighted individuals. However, in terms of greening on strategic projects it was raised that only environmental engineers are appointed on consultant design teams to ensure that environmental legislation and requirements are met. "They are there to check that the project is not blocking watercourses or taking away protected trees or affecting fauna and flora. They're not really there to discuss greening per se. A landscape architect or urban designer would be a better discipline to have in that process" (Programme Manager, Strategic Transport Planning). The official highlighted the role of research of this nature in influencing and making changes in the organisation to

enhance practices of placemaking and greening within public space and particularly within streets and transport corridors.

The official in charge of Public Transport Operations conveyed scepticism on the significance and value of trees, highlighting the problems associated with planting trees along streets and public transport corridors,

Those trees create shade and people hide in them and people climb trees to jump onto those that are walking on the sidewalks...that's why you find that where there is a sidewalk next to the road, most of the trees are cut off. Because now it gets to be a risk element because all sorts of thugs will climb onto the trees and then jump people off and it gets to be an issue...So that's why on most of the areas we really do not plant those trees...if you plant those trees there's an issue of maintenance when those trees get to overhang onto the road and the slow lane trucks cannot drive on the slow lane because of those trees. So, it gets to be an issue of who is going to be responsible for the maintenance of the trees? For the department that cuts trees it gets to be an issue. In the end it gets to be a challenge as the capacity of the road is reduced as the slow moving trucks move onto the fast lane (Programme Manager, Public Transport, 25 January, 2021).

The official however conceded that low maintenance planting could be considered on boulevards and in strategic areas where people come to relax and enjoy, such as in the case of streets which are close to the beachfronts and beaches. Perhaps all of the above challenges and institutional gaps in terms of placemaking and greening have led to most of the high profile placemaking and greening projects being led by the Development Agency (BCMDA). Projects of this nature have been initiated largely through the Agency's own intervention and processes. Recently more potential projects have been brought to the fore through engagements between the researcher and officials based at the Agency. As highlighted by the Tourism Development Project Manager at the Agency "The role that we see ourselves playing is to lobby the city to integrate placemaking in(to) its broader plans and show that there are spaces available for public art, greening and placemaking in order to attract both public and private sector investors". Leveraging large infrastructure projects to incorporate elements of placemaking and greening therefore is seen to hold potential. The Programme Manager for Investment Promotion and Tourism at the Agency spoke of the role of developing a policy to look at percentage allocations within the large infrastructure projects to address aspects related to placemaking and greening.

6.3.4 Design conceptualisation processes and perspectives on designing to meet peoples' needs

Due to the current lack of focus on landscaping and greening from the Transport Planning and Operations as well as the Road Departments' perspectives, the focus of the Parks Department is mainly on managing existing trees within road reserves and zoned public open spaces. Current approaches to provision of amenities within parks is also confined to provision of play equipment, and in rare instances provision of footpaths, toilet facilities or fencing. The official in the Inland Region emphasised their focus on securing a site with fencing due to land invasions and challenges of informal settlements encroaching on open spaces. This is followed by tender processes to appoint contractors for the installation of play equipment in the park. As highlighted in Section 6.3.3 there are no dedicated design consultants involved in the design conceptualisation processes. Addressing fundamental needs of providing drinking water, ablutions, seating and other street furniture and amenities is often overlooked. As highlighted by the official from the ED&A Department "If we are doing integrated planning when it comes to public spaces, irrespective of what the intended use of the public space your water and sanitation, security measures...should be prioritised".

As highlighted by the support official to the Parks Department from the EPMO, the municipality should endeavour to "design spaces to make sure people's needs get satisfied and not to meet trends in other parts of the world". The lack of adequate engagement with communities was acknowledged by officials in the Coastal and the Inland Region Parks Department. Officials in the Midland Region could not be reached for an interview despite many efforts to engage or meet. Engaging with officials on processes of design conceptualisation which relate back to practices of placemaking and greening, brought forth many discussions and ideas which are captured in the sub-section below. These approaches are not operationalised nor executed due to the way things are currently done in the municipality. Insights gathered from the planning process interviews gave evidence that a meaningful intervention may mean different things to different communities. Each of the conceptualisations outlined below would therefore be underpinned by responding to the needs that emerge from each community and depending on each local circumstance. Involving communities and building trust with communities to determine what their needs are therefore becomes paramount in placemaking processes.

a. Public space as spaces of integration and protectors of community

The Chief Executive Officer (CEO) for the Development Agency spoke about public spaces and parks as spaces of integration and protectors of community. "The municipality must view public open spaces as spaces of integration and not solely as spaces for community

services". Using principles of participatory design, various social categories of children, youth, women, and sporting bodies can be engaged to contribute ideas on what kind of theme a specific park or public space should have as well as what preferences a community may have for the choice of sporting code or activity to be incorporated. This also creates an opportunity to define an identity to each residential space through the character of the public space created. Citing from his experience as ex-Director of the City Parks Department in the City of Johannesburg he emphasised that each stakeholder group should decide,

Should it be a sports oriented park? Should it be a games oriented park? What kind of area for children do you have? Do you want to introduce things such as public transport use etiquette? What you will find in all these exercises is that various social spaces would use the park as a protector of the community. So, the things that pressured them for instance, if there was a high incidence of drug abuse in that community or children are abused at home, they would want to use the park as a place to protect the children. So they would want us to design it in such a way that there is space for doing homework, they would design it in such a way that the houses around the park have got access and eye view (of the park) to make sure that there are no drug peddlers in the park or there would be panic buttons in the park to call police immediately (CEO, BCMMDA, 13 March 2021).

Integrating access to smart technology within the park design, integration of sporting activities and smaller sports facilities with park projects or allowing sports trainers the use of outdoor gyms to carry out training for example are all areas that offer potential to enliven and activate parks and public spaces. The idea of integrating Parkrun events within city public spaces was also raised by an official from the EPMO. The need for liaison and joint planning between regional parks managers and regional sporting managers is brought to light here. The idea of integrating sporting activities and events within public open space would be easier to implement and operationalise by forging greater collaboration between the above two departments which now form part of a single and more focussed directorate following the recent restructuring process. The conceptualisation of streets and public spaces as spaces of integration is underpinned by the assumption that the municipality will ensure that these spaces are safe, clean and well-maintained making them conducive to multiple activities. As emphasised by the CEO of the Development Agency, a vision needs to be cultivated which encourages parks and public spaces to become aggregation points for various cultural and social interactions across social and racial groupings of the city so that they become attractive as places for pausing, interacting, sharing and engaging.

b. Public spaces as places of food security

The official from the Settlement Planning Department spoke of greening in terms of promoting food security within parks and open spaces. Goal 6 in the BCMM Integrated Environmental Management Plan (2015) speaks to addressing poverty alleviation and economic growth through proactively promoting and supporting the growth of the green economy in the BCMM. One of the programmes under this Goal involves establishing and implementing an urban greening and food security programme. The programme describes urban greening as involving the improving of the “urban landscape quality through implementation of high quality but functional landscaping, promoting good ground cover, planting fruit trees and food gardens, and removing alien invasive plants”. Importantly it states that,

Urban greening is a process which should involve the active participation of communities in terms of growing the plants for the programme, planting and maintaining these. Key priority areas for the urban greening programme include low income housing areas where the landscape quality may currently be poor and food security and / or storm water management are a problem. Sustainable food production approaches should be used which involve the harvesting and use of rainwater, grey water for irrigation, use of mulch to reduce soil moisture loss and protecting plants from frost, natural composts and fertilisers. The municipality should aim to create green jobs and upskilling opportunities from its urban greening programme and should aim to partner with other government departments, business, NGO's and donor agencies in funding and implementing the programme (IEMP, 2015: 81).

The above programme aligns very closely with the Adopt-a-Spot initiative of the city as well as the recently introduced City PEP intervention from National Treasury as described in Section 6.1.2 (See Figure 6.5) and could be run as a partnership between the IEMP, the ED&A and the Parks Department. Such a partnership could prevent illegal dumping activities and could be integrated with activities of the BCMM Fresh Produce Market linking urban agriculture to a wholesale market linked to the informal trade sector. Various models could be looked at to support small-scale enterprise development where the municipality pays an individual or a group of people to run a park as an urban garden.

c. Public spaces as promoters of heritage and tourism

There are various role players in the heritage sector who share a keen interest in the promotion of arts, culture and heritage in the city. The researcher as a newly elected council member of the Eastern Cape Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (ECPHRA) has been

working towards forging collaboration and integration between the activities of the Development Agency, the Parks Department of the city and the ECPHRA. As per the 2020/21 Business plan of the ECPHRA, it “is an institution bestowed with the responsibility to conserve, preserve, protect and promote the rich cultural heritage landscape resources of the Eastern Cape Province”. At a local level, this aligns fully with the mandate of the Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage Department of the Directorate of ED&A of the city.

Referring to a project that the Development Agency has recently embarked on in the KWT / Qonce CBD aimed at upgrades within the Bram Fischer Square, the Acting Manager of the ECPHRA expressed an interest in establishing sound relations with the metro on matters of common interest. “A quest for cordial and mutual relations between the two institutions will yield to win-win outcomes on matters of heritage identification, conservation, preservation and promotion in the Metro. This engage(ment) will be a precursor for more positive engagements to unfold from now henceforth”. The identification of the opportunity to upgrade and make relevant the heritage aspects of the square arose out of discussions between the researcher and the Development Agency as a result of the engagements pertaining to the research.

The Investment and Tourism Promotion Programme of the Development Agency outlined in Section 6.1.2 aligns closely with the above mandates and outcomes envisaged at a provincial and local level. The use of storyboards, public art and murals within public spaces on identified heritage routes holds great potential for the promotion of heritage and culture within public spaces of the city. These spaces however need to be identified, defined and developed through collaboration and partnerships between the above departments and with the support of the Planning and Parks Departments of the city as well as the EPMO in a support role so that interventions are spatially integrated and contribute to enhancing placemaking and greening within public spaces of the city.

d. Public spaces and parks as event ready venues

The idea of conceptualising parks as “event ready” venues was proposed by the CEO of the Development Agency. This conceptualisation is aligned to the opportunity to commercialise use of certain parts of parks and other public spaces through the introduction of bandstands, amphitheatres, outdoor screens or advertising boards within these spaces which can contribute to revenue generation for the city. Similarly, installing games for teenagers and young adults such as fun parks could equally enhance inward tourism well as support local businesses (CEO, BCMDA). The funds generated can in turn be used for the maintenance and management of these spaces. In order to operationalise this concept, the programming of events and activities within public space assumes a greater significance than is currently

afforded in the city. The District Officer for the Coastal Region indicated that this is an area where they would need assistance as a department as parks and public spaces have seldom been viewed as areas for the formal hosting of private events and programmes as a means of revenue generation. The idea of working with NGO's, NPO's and sporting organisations or small businesses to allow for the short term or temporary lease or use of a park or public space is a new concept and as highlighted by the official, one where there would need to be a policy developed with the support of other city directorates such as the ED&A or the Property Management Department, to advise as well as facilitate and manage such activity. The need to integrate marketing and advertising by-laws with parks by-laws would also be required. The larger parks such as the Botanical Garden in the Inland Region currently lease use of the park for weddings and events. The garden is not open to the public for general use at other times due to the challenges of crime and vandalism experienced in the area as well as due to the lack of adequate resources to retain its upkeep on a daily basis.

The CEO for the Development Agency proposed that the Agency would be in a position to do pilots and demonstration projects which mobilise multiple stakeholders in the operation and upkeep of public spaces, however emphasised that the city would need to roll out the initiatives at a city-wide scale. Third party operators could be enlisted to develop lists of activities and events that could bring in money so that the dependence on the city could be reduced. An intermediary such as the Development Agency would within legislative frameworks be better placed to ring fence funds which could be secured for future management and maintenance. The idea of a 'one plus one' contract was mooted where a contract of one year with a third party service provider could be extended if the conditions of cleanliness, safety, activities and programmes are successfully met. The Development Agency would in this instance act as an intermediary to implement the operations through the third party.

Keeping up with changing needs of communities requires constant innovation which needs to be fostered. The city should look into running competitions, accessing local, national and international platforms about the nature of the design of parks and public spaces as well as how it should be managed and maintained. As emphasised by the CEO, there are many avenues for incentivising design and maintenance and these need to be actively pursued by the city. This highlights the role of urban design governance in the city and the need to develop urban design and public space policies, strategies and guidelines which could guide practitioners towards the development of better quality built environments and public spaces.

6.3.5 Enhancing processes of community visioning, engagement and ownership

As stated by the Programme Manager for Investment Promotion and Tourism at the Development Agency, “placemaking processes should be very inclusive and should act as a stimulus to get people to take ownership of what the metro is”. He referred to the need to capture the multiple identities of a place, linked to his definition of placemaking as “the creating and reinforcing of an identity of a certain locality, with a view to tapping into its authentic elements in terms of history, culture, the past, the present and the future”. He stressed the need to engage widely in terms of public participation for example through the soliciting of views through the newspaper as well as through targeted groups such as tour operators, universities and so forth. He spoke of making the circle bigger by getting to the broader public as well as by building an ecosystem of entrepreneurs, practitioners, artists and architects in the placemaking space.

From a bottom-up perspective, the role of the mayoral committee, portfolio heads, councillors and ward committees become significant in terms of their capacity to engage and assess the needs of communities by looking at the different age groups and interests that exist in each community during the project and design conceptualisation phase. As highlighted by an official, there is a need for political champions to come up with design ideas independent of the municipality. “Once communities get involved, you also release social energy that you otherwise didn’t have access to” (CEO, BCMDA). The support official at the EPMO with his experience in past projects highlighted how the chances of success of any project are higher when partnering with community-based organizations and activists who can mobilise and build trust by engaging communities and understanding their needs.

The weaker on the ground engagements that currently exist in terms of processes of community engagement especially in the delivery of parks was acknowledged by officials in the department. Larger and more strategic projects are also observed to follow public engagements more as part of compliance requirements linked to EIA processes or IDP hearings. In the latter case this is mainly during the ward-based IDP engagements where project requests are made by the communities from each ward. Depending on further prioritisation and budget availability some of the requests get allocated funding for implementation. As described by the Inland Parks official, the processes of consultation and conceptualisation for the development of a community park follows a simple process which includes putting up a fence to secure the site, going out to tender for the installation of play equipment and thereafter undertaking one on one engagements with the councillor or members of the ward committee to appoint a project steering committee to monitor the project. As described by the official from ED&A, the steering committee is appointed both to

solicit inputs from the community as well as to monitor progress on the implementation. As highlighted by the official this process has its challenges,

There are issues of public consultation or public participation, they are not easy at all, because when you establish a steering committee, you will find that there are only five or six people or ten people in that committee and yet the community in that particular area is over a thousand people. Whether they get the feedback from the members of the steering committee, we don't know. As you are progressing all is well until at some point when you want to launch the project, the community will be up in arms and say, but we know nothing about the project...when do you say you have conducted or... had sufficient public participation in a particular project? One cannot have the answer for it because the reality is that you cannot go door to door once you implement the project. You have to establish a structure that will be the voice for that particular community (GM, Tourism, Arts and Culture, 4 February, 2021).

As highlighted by the official, an effective public participation methodology is yet to be designed. The role of technology and social media should be further explored in seeking community inputs on projects working within the framework of the institution's communication protocols. In relation to the Parks Department's projects, the need for a policy and a guideline on park design which could be used by project managers and social facilitators was brought to the fore. Such a guideline could provide methodologies on how to engage various stakeholders in the park design process.

6.4 THE MANAGEMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC SPACE

The narratives, processes and challenges highlighted in relation to planning, design conceptualisation and delivery of public space have foregrounded the issues of vandalism, crime and illegal dumping within public spaces as disincentives for the investment and creation of value within public space. The causes of these challenges as well as the institutional interdependencies in relation to management and maintenance are examined further below.

6.4.1 Vandalism and crime related management and maintenance challenges

Vandalism within public spaces was alluded to by most respondents interviewed. Instances of wilful destruction of property, stolen fencing or times where saplings planted on one day are stolen on the next day were highlighted by parks officials. Although pointing to deep rooted issues of unemployment and poverty, the need for greater civic and ecological

awareness and developmental programmes for youth are brought to the fore. As an immediate response however, it also highlights the need for greater public ownership of collective public spaces as well as commitment to crime prevention within public space. As highlighted by an official, crime is an opportunistic activity and it thrives on isolated and unnoticed activities as well as vulnerable individuals so that no one sees that the crime is being committed. The more active and vibrant a park is, the safer and less it susceptible it becomes to crime. The need to develop a safety management plan for each park and a safety strategy for parks and public spaces in general was highlighted. Adequate street lighting, panic buttons, community WhatsApp groups and regular patrols by policing officers managed by operation centres that could effectively dispatch safety officers were identified as possible means of addressing the problem. The use of technology and access to wi-fi within parks and public spaces could also contribute to enhancing safety within these spaces, for instance by raising an alarm within a community safety forum WhatsApp group. This would require partnerships between the metro police and community safety forums working together with publicly or privately run integrated operation centres for safety. The GM from the ED&A highlighted the role that a ward based public open space management committee could play, “where that committee would be responsible for the management of the open spaces within its ward, so take it back to the ward based planning, so if you have five spaces, how can we make sure that all of those spaces are maintained...and secure”.

The need for greater regulation of activities within public spaces and parks was also highlighted by officials. The need for active monitoring of these activities and consequence management where people are fined or held accountable for lawless behaviour was emphasised. The need to link the monitoring of by-laws with performance indicators was also highlighted. The status of the parks by-law could not be confirmed by the officials interviewed and some frustration was expressed in terms of non-responsiveness of the legal division of the city with regard to attempts to engage them. The need to integrate safety by-laws with park management strategies was also emphasised. The lack of adequate integration between interlinked by-laws which could enhance placemaking initiatives within public spaces and parks was highlighted. The example of integrating the advertising by-law with the by-law for parks is one such example.

6.4.2 Institutional performance related management and maintenance challenges

In addition to the challenges of a changing organogram as well as lack of stability in leadership in the previously Community Services Directorate as highlighted in Section 6.3.1, this section reveals further the issues of staffing, resourcing, planning and performance management in the municipality. The lack of adequate municipal solid waste management

as well as lack of planned management and maintenance of public spaces was emphasised by officials from the Planning Department as highlighted in Section 6.2. Issues of illegal dumping are exacerbated by when the grass is not cut regularly as unmaintained open spaces are perceived as no-man's land. The need to recruit staff members to deal with community education against illegal dumping akin to how the Health Department has Health Education Officials was also underscored. As highlighted by the Chief Nursery Officer, littering and illegal dumping has a ripple effect on the management and maintenance of public spaces and parks as time is spent on clean-up activities instead of focusing on horticultural operations. Planned and scheduled grass-cutting and vegetation control is also lagging and as highlighted by the official "the Parks Department officials have become grass cutters". This watered down role of the department as grass cutters was cited as a frustration especially while comparing with other metros in the country where the grass cutting, and vegetation control functions have been outsourced to private entities. The GM for the Parks Department highlighted that while some of the metros have gone the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) route, the similar outsourcing of this function in the Metro is currently not on the table as politicians are not seen to support this due to the issues with labour unions. Though the operational efficiencies of contracting versus staffing is clearly apparent, political priorities make it unlikely to be implemented. The recent restructuring of the organogram has separated Vegetation Control from the Parks Department and moved it to the Solid Waste Management Directorate. The effects of this separation are yet to be seen as it also takes away the responsibility of a managed and maintained park from the Parks Department which weakens accountability for keeping up well maintained spaces.

The need for operations and maintenance plans and schedules for vegetation control and grass cutting was highlighted by the support official to the Parks Department from the EPMO, who stated that such plans were currently not in place. He also stated that existing parks especially in the Inland and Midland Region had not been quantified nor mapped on GIS (geographic information systems). The official has however mobilised the preparation of a list of parks in all three administrative regions of the city. As emphasised by the Chief Nursery Officer, "if you don't quantify something or measure it, you can't manage it". The officer also mentioned that the city doesn't have a green asset register.

In terms of carbon sequestration, we should have a record of all our trees on our city pavement. We know we haven't, we've tried to start in the department, Rod (Coastal Region Street Trees Manager) here started manually doing it himself. But it's a huge undertaking. It's not something that you can do when you're trying to do 20 other things. So, it's started but in order to make meaningful progress, we need to actually assign resources to it in a bigger way (25 November, 2020).

The lack of standard life-cycle management plans which cover operations management plans, maintenance management plans and renewals management plans implies that budgeting of projects is not adequately informed by strategic goals. As highlighted by a parks official, “finance is made available for the initial establishment or planting of trees, and the setup, but there isn't finance for the maintenance afterwards. So, it's not necessarily sustainable finance”. The training and capacitation of officials to carry out project life-cycle planning processes will influence the delivery and performance the city's public space assets.

An interview with the Business Strategic Consultant to Mercedes Benz South Africa (MBSA) who is also a Board Member of the Development Agency provided further insights on the challenges that exist in relation to outcomes of cleaning and greening in the city. MBSA is currently the biggest private investor in the city and the continued commitment and investment by MBSA in the city contributes to the economic well-being and sustenance of the automotive industry in the region. The consultant expressed concerns of the Board of MBSA with respect to continuing investment in the city beyond the manufacturing of the current motor vehicle model despite the fact that the company has been based in the city for over six decades.

...the image of the Mercedes Benz as a premium brand motor manufacturer in a city that's actually decaying is a concern for them. So, I have been very much involved with the mayor and with the city manager, to see how we can try our best to improve the image of the city by looking at greening, improving the various areas to make it look better. In the sense that when people do arrive here, they say, okay, this is not too bad, you know. We know that it's going to take a lot of effort. Unfortunately, BCM are not coming to the party as we know. The problem we're seeing is that their parks division / parks I don't know how they call it anymore, but their grass cutting and the bush clearing or the general waste department, solid waste department don't seem to be on top of things. And they haven't been on top of things for a number of years (4 May, 2021).

As described by the Consultant, the Call-2-Action Programme was initiated as a result of the decay that was taking place,

with respect to waste lying around, litter, grass not being cut, curbs full of weeds, that was just a disaster...Mercedes Benz put funding into it and other corporates did as well Coca Cola...It ran for two years very well. And then there was an agreement that Buffalo City would actually also fund some of the initiatives, but it never really happened either. So, corporates obviously got very concerned to say...while doing all this and BCM don't even engage or take the initiative and push it further...and the

project came to a halt, due to lack of funding in about 2019. And then, of course, it just went back to square one, dirty streets, grass overgrown, weeds (4 May, 2021).

The Call-2-Action Programme is administered through the Border Kei Chamber of Business (BKCOB) which forms a trusted intermediary for the managing and administering of funds received for the programme. As highlighted by the Consultant, “at the end of the day, the corporates are very concerned about corruption, so they don't want to go into a public partnership with a municipality which entity has a reputation of having corruption behind it”. The BKCOB engages with the BCM on the corporate's behalf to develop strategy, improvements and implement projects. The lack of adequate waste management from the side of the city prompted a second initiative from MBSA and the BKCOB, which looks to support the BCMM in enhancing performance management in the city. A Relationship by Objectives (RBO) process was initiated where employees work together with the facilitating consultant team to identify and evaluate issues pertaining to performance management. The RBO process aimed to reach a consensus with the stakeholders as to what action should be taken to resolve the issues at hand. The process resulted in the creation of an action plan and process plan for the Waste Department officials and the Vegetation Control units as well as their supervision teams to keep the city green and clean. As highlighted by the Consultant, when it came to actual implementation, the process didn't proceed. The MBSA proposed that the BKCOB appoint external experts to manage the process, however this was not supported by the BCMM management as such an appointment would need to align with and follow BCMM's procurement processes. This implied that the city had to source funding to appoint consultants to start the process, however this activity never gained momentum. The initiatives by the private sector have therefore hit stumbling blocks due to the failure by the City to action the plans and processes that were jointly developed. The frustration from a corporate perspective is evident and as highlighted by the Consultant “it's not rocket science, just management control, performance management and budget management”. The Call-2-Action initiative has however persisted despite setbacks and continues to undertake voluntary upgrades within public spaces in the city.

The three key areas of focus identified and highlighted as playing a role in enhancing public private partnership discussions from the perspective of the Consultant involved in the MBSA processes include firstly, the need to manage the four hundred odd municipal staff that are responsible for waste management and vegetation control in the city described as a serious management crisis. The desire of the Parks Department officials to outsource this function as done in other Metros is therefore a valid consideration despite the challenge to get political support. The second issue highlighted was the need to toughen up the metro policing system to enforce implementation of by-laws. The third issue raised was the need to manage

institutional accountability and performance management linked to timeframes and targets. The role of institutional competence was highlighted “competent people like to be held accountable...(there are) too many incompetent people employed over and above what their capacity is, and they duck and dive...the head of department needs to be held accountable”. The need for upskilling and capacitation of staff in order to improve institutional performance is highlighted here.

6.4.3 Towards innovative management models involving both the public and private sector

As emphasised by the CEO of the Development Agency, “The barriers to management are our management models, we don’t see ourselves integrated in service delivery and that is a challenge and stumbling block in the realisation of the full potential of public open space. We need a model for engaging the private sector so they can leverage corporate social responsibility”. This emphasises the need for management and maintenance governance frameworks to not be limited internally to a department but to include sectoral participation as well as oversight and participation by external role players, partners, associations and professional bodies in public space. The need to operationalise interdepartmental synergy and collaboration in relation to management and maintenance is highlighted. The formation of a resource network where the Parks Department is merely a custodian and various other role players such as the Roads Department, Building Maintenance, Supply Chain Management (SCM), operations, fleet and equipment management all playing a role in effecting outcomes is magnified.

The potential role of the private sector is also huge. The contributions of the private sector in the BCMM cannot be undermined. The need for the city to demonstrate commitment to corporates who do come forward with initiatives and funding is brought to the fore. Various opportunities and management models were highlighted. The Tourism and Investment Programme Manager at the Development Agency spoke of their intention to explore the development of management committees responsible for each tourism route identified for development. The intention of these management committees would be to ensure actions to address issues of waste management, signage development etc pertaining to public space. The proposition is that these committees will include ward councillors as well as local social transformation groups such as NGO’s and NPO’s and private businesses located along the route. These committees could also seek donations from local and adjacent business owners through the setting up of a trust fund as well as by hosting of events and programmes that generate revenue for management and maintenance. As highlighted by the CEO, “Government is strained by many others interests and commitments, therefore partner with

businesses, donors and event organisers” to supplement management and maintenance of public spaces.

Commercialising of murals through a small store advert or use of store brands or colours in a sponsored wall mural contribute to placemaking within public space. An example of this is seen in a small pocket park in the suburb of Vincent in the Coastal Region (see Figure 6.2 below). The idea of interpretive digital signboards which the Development Agency is working on for installation within its tourism routes project also offers the potential for commercial advertising as a means of revenue generation. These partnerships make public spaces attractive and interesting as well as provide benefits to the city, the users of public space and the private sector who gains from the goodwill and publicity (see Figure 6.3 below). The right levels of commercialisation combined with the shifting of the mindset of the private sector that public open spaces be seen as private property once they get involved are directives that will ensure that the character and use of these public spaces are not undermined.



Figure 6.2 A privately sponsored mural painting on a wall adjoining a pocket park in Vincent in the Coastal Region. Source: Author (2019)



Figure 6.3 A privately sponsored craft market in the Vincent Park highlighted in 6.1 above.

Source: Vincent Community WhatsApp Group

Numerous examples of private sector and community initiative in management and maintenance of public space were highlighted by the Chief Nursery Officer and the Vegetation Control Officer in the Coastal Region. Examples cited include the Friends of Ihlanza Group, where residents in Roslin Road Nahoon look after the green space next to Ihlanza River overlooking their properties (see Figure 6.4 below); a resident's group that maintains the Kenyon Crescent Play Park in Nahoon; a gentleman in Haven Hills who arranged for an overgrown and dumped public open space within the community to be cleared of refuse and planted up with fruits and vegetables and traditional medicinal herbs for the benefit of the community (see Figure 6.5 below); initiatives of the Councillor, community and Rotarians who have contributed to securing funding for the installing of perimeter fencing and security guards at the James Pearce Park (see Figure 6.6 below); a gentleman who landscaped an overgrown sewer servitude in Dorchester Heights and included an outdoor landscape sculpture and themes of community interest and participation (see Figure 6.7 below); the Satya Sai group who have partnered with the Street Trees Unit to assist with tree planting in the community; a Beacons Drive Group in Beacon Bay that picks up litter and dumped rubbish on a scheduled basis; the Call-2-Action Group involved in cleaning and greening initiatives within targeted business areas (see Figure 6.8); and the Land of the Living Group, a group of dynamic local business who undertake voluntary clean-ups and recycling in impoverished communities, parks and environmental areas in the city (see Figure 6.9 below); Privately installed and maintained mosaic sculptures on Ocean View Drive in Gonubie (see Figure 6.10 below); Environmental rehabilitation where MBSA has created a park surrounding the stream alongside their property (see Figure 6.11 below).



Figure 6.4 Open space maintained by the Friends of the Ihlanza River Group, Nahoon in the Coastal Region
Source: Friends of the Ihlanza River Facebook Page



Figure 6.5 Open space adopted by Mr Magama for a community food garden, Haven Hills in the Coastal Region. Source: Author (2022)



Figure 6.6 New fencing and security at the James Pearce Park in the Coastal Region

Source: <https://showme.co.za/east-london/tourism/james-pearce-park-a-safe-family-green-space-once-again/>



Figure 6.7 Open space adopted by Mr Fraser, Dorchester Heights in the Coastal Region

Source: Author (2022)



Figure 6.8 The waste recycling buy-back centre in the St George's Park in the inner city, Coastal Region.
Source: Author (2021)



Figure 6.9 Clean-up of the recreational park under Batting Bridge in the Coastal Region undertaken by the Land of the Living Group. Source: Land of the Living Facebook Page



Figure 6.10 Privately sponsored mosaic sculptures on Ocean View Drive, Gonubie in the Coastal Region
Source: Author (2022)



Figure 6.11 Open space rehabilitated and maintained by MBSA, Gately in the Coastal Region
Source: Author (2022)

6.5 CONCLUSION

The chapter explored the processes of public space delivery and governance in the city with a view to understanding the various initiatives that exist in relation to practices of placemaking and greening. The championing of these initiatives and the challenges experienced were brought to the fore by unpacking the processes affecting the planning of public space, its conceptualisation and delivery as well as issues pertaining to management and maintenance. The exploration of the BCMM case has revealed various successes and failures in terms of public space delivery and management at a city-wide scale. The state centred or traditional model of delivery and management (De Magalhães and Carmona, 2009; Zamanifard et al., 2018) which is prevalent in the provision of city-wide streets, squares and parks reveals many shortcomings in terms of placemaking and greening. Despite the various initiatives that exist in terms of placemaking and greening within the city, many of the officials interviewed felt that these practices were not well enough embedded nor resourced in the municipality. It was felt that projects in relation to public space were not conceived in an interdisciplinary manner and that there was not enough engagement and awareness at a senior management level of the interdependencies between various sectors which could enhance practices of placemaking and greening within public space.

The potential for public spaces to be conceived as spaces of integration, as protectors of community, as places of food security, promoters of heritage and tourism, and as spaces that accommodate events and activities was highlighted through some of the interviews. The lack of strategies and policies which integrate these ideas in relation to public space imply that there is no vision that could direct the planning, resourcing and budgeting of such projects. Perhaps the greatest challenge faced by the city at the present time is its failure to manage and maintain its public spaces serving as a great deterrent and disincentive for further investment in public space. The perceived challenges of management and maintenance in the face of widespread acts of vandalism and illegal dumping prevent officials from being champions of public space. To an extent the above challenges are representative of the broader developmental challenges faced by the post-Apartheid state and the inadequate progress made by government in relation to addressing past legacies as highlighted in Chapter 5 of the thesis. These point to the deeper institutional and governance issues which are highlighted by Merrifield et al. (2008) in Section 2.7 of the literature review.

In the presence of this gap, the Development Agency of the city and in various instances the community and individuals have taken a leadership role in championing placemaking interventions in the city. These are representative of the 'managerial governance model' as well as the 'governance through networks model' of public space management as proposed

by Zamanifard et al. (2018). These models of governance are largely predominant in the wealthier and more central areas of the city though various instances of innovation are observed in relation to the use of public space to meet basic needs in other parts of the city. These are revealed in the food gardening initiatives and informal trading and waste recycling activities that take place within public space. The lack of widespread uptake and formalisation of these practices reiterates the primary role of the city in leading and envisioning these interventions in order that it can be rolled out at a citywide scale. The imperative role of the city to mobilise stakeholders, the private sector and community groups to work together to plan and conceptualise placemaking and greening interventions at a much larger scale within public space is emphasised. Although the private sector has stepped up on various fronts to enhance efforts of placemaking and greening in the city, these are often not sustained due to the lack of equal support and commitment from the city to participate in and contribute to enhancing these efforts.

In relation to the conceptual framework that has guided this research, the findings in this chapter reveal the key issues which affect the processes of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management in the city. The case study highlights the unique circumstances of the Global South context, through the stark realities that face the city in terms of competing social priorities, declining fiscal resources and declining human capital due to brain drain and the lack of adequate replacement of scarce skills that are lost. The case study context also reveals some of the failures of the state in relation to placemaking and greening the role of non-state mobilisations in filling the gaps arising from inadequate state-led action. The varying perceptions, priorities and levels of awareness on the significance of integrated placemaking and greening practices within public space is highlighted. The significance of awareness, leadership, innovation and investment in public space is therefore seen as fundamental to institutionalisation from a Global South perspective. Similarly, the need for greater emphasis on the benefits of a green and place-based conceptualisation of public space is highlighted through this case. As in the case of the BCMM, the absence of and need for governance tools which emphasise place quality may be a consideration for Global South contexts which experience similar challenges.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE PRODUCT OF PUBLIC SPACE IN THE BCMM

7. THE PRODUCT OF PUBLIC SPACE IN THE BCMM: AN OBSERVATION OF KEY ATTRIBUTES, USE AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN PUBLIC SPACE

Having explored the institutional and governance dimensions that influence processes of placemaking and greening in public space, Chapter 7 examines the ‘product’ of public space in the BCMM looking at examples of various types of public space within each of the three administrative regions of the city. The field observation guides developed in Chapter 4 which synthesised key qualities of placemaking and greening as drawn from the Literature Review were used to observe and document each space. Themes of focus included the a) urban and physical attributes of each place influence the success of people-place interactions, b) ecological and green attributes which influence resilience as well as human health and well-being, and c) use and activities within each space which give evidence of the nature, quality and success of the public space. Section 7.1 focuses on a study of spaces in the Coastal Region of the city highlighting the key themes that emerge in terms of placemaking and greening in this region. Section 7.2 similarly focuses on the spaces in the Midland Region of the city, followed by Section 7.3 which examines spaces in the Inland Region of the city. Section 7.4 concludes the chapter by drawing out the central themes which characterise the nature of the product of public space in the BCMM.

7.1 PLACEMAKING AND GREENING WITHIN PUBLIC SPACES IN THE COASTAL REGION

The coastal region of the metro aligns most closely with the original East London Municipality as outlined in Chapter 5 on municipal restructuring. The observed public spaces included a square, a street and a public park which were examined in terms of its quality and impact from a placemaking and greening perspective. A recently compiled list of parks in the Coastal Region was used to shortlist the public spaces for observation. By virtue of the history of this region, a greater diversity and hierarchy of public space types are seen here especially in the category of parks, with the list including fifty four parks in the region. Five spaces were selected for observation within the region each within a unique settlement context: a square, located within the historic central CBD of the city; two linear spaces, a street located within a flagship area on the beachfront, a public transport corridor traversing a mixed use industrial area and gateway into the city; as well as two parks, a regional park and a neighbourhood park within a suburban settlement context and an inner-city neighbourhood context respectively. Table 7.1 below provides a summary of the key spaces observed in the coastal region. Tables 7.2 to 7.6 summarise the key features of each space observed in the coastal region and Section 7.1.1 which follows provides an overview of the key themes which emerge in terms of the public spaces observed in this region. User perspectives gained through site

interviews were also used to gain deeper insights into the nature of each space. The location of the observed public spaces in the metropolitan context is found in Figure 4.4 in Chapter 4 of the thesis.

COASTAL REGION PUBLIC SPACES

1. SQUARE AT CITY HALL



Settlement Context: Historic CBD
Source: Esri South Africa



View of the Square at City Hall on Oxford Street
Source: Author(2021)

2. ESPLANADE STREET



Settlement Context: Beachfront Area
Source: Esri South Africa



View of the Esplanade at the Orient Theatre
Source: Author (2021)

3. SETTLER'S WAY



Settlement Context: Mixed-use Industrial
Source: Esri South Africa



View of Settler's Way at the Mercedes Benz Plant
Source: Author (2021)

4. ST GEORGE'S PARK



Settlement Context: Inner City Neighbourhood
Source: Esri South Africa



View of St George's Park from Garden Street
Source: Author (2021)

5. JAMES PEARCE PARK



Settlement Context: Suburban Neighbourhood
Source: Esri South Africa



View of outdoor gym area at James Pearce Park
Source: Author (2021)

Table 7.1 Public Spaces observed in the Coastal Region

1. SQUARE AT CITY HALL, ORIGINALLY KNOWN AS WATERLOO SQUARE

USE AND ACTIVITIES

This is the primary civic space within the East London CBD. It is a ceremonial space by virtue of historic as well as more recent memorials celebrating its layered history. It is also a central place to meet-up, to wait for public transport, to spend with a friend, to take pictures, to campaign for work related opportunities, to gather during celebration.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u> Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>The settlement context comprises a permeable, walkable urban fabric.</p> <p>It has good public transport access by road and rail.</p>	<p>A public transport route runs alongside the space. The square is pedestrian oriented, though a lack of parking management and adequate parking facilities impact on visibility and pedestrian ease of movement along the square. Vehicles are seen parked illegally on the edges of the space.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u> Multi-functional, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>The space adjoins the City Hall which is a National Heritage Monument. The seat of the Council, City Hall provides civic services to the public. Various public facilities such as a post office and municipal offices are found within walkable distance.</p>	<p>The space attracts a wide variety of users and forms a central point of attraction and resting / meeting place in the CBD. The space also meets economic needs by providing a meeting place for work related activities. Recent attempts to control and manage the use of the space has precluded the use of low walls for seating. Lawn areas have been barricaded to prevent access. This has limited the widespread use of the space. Users highlighted that CCTV cameras ensure that the place is safe. The space is clean and well maintained.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u> Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The square fosters a unique identity by virtue of its heritage significance. The public realm of the broader context offers potential for improved aesthetics, functionality as well as creative identity.</p>	<p>The space celebrates and reflects a multi-cultural heritage. A centrally located memorial to fallen war heroes erected in 1908, is flanked by more recent statues of apartheid struggle heroes. An older feature such a water fountain has been replaced to accommodate the newer memorial statues keeping the space relevant through innovative re-interpretation. The square design is robust in use of materials. The lack of adequate regulation results in posters and stickers being pasted on street furniture detracting from the attractiveness of the space.</p>

<p><u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses</p>	<p>The surrounding urban fabric is of higher density, mixed uses including student accommodation. The space is close to activities such as retail, shopping, municipal amenities and two university campuses.</p>	<p>The vitality of the surrounding fabric contributes to the active use of the square. As stated by a user “This space is like the centre of East London”.</p>
ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES		
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity</p>	<p>The surrounding context is largely built-up with limited intermittent green open spaces. There is very limited greening in the form of trees and shrubs in the surrounding context.</p>	<p>The space is not reflective of the character of local landscape and flora; use of plants and shrubs are seasonal and depending on availability within the BCMM plant nursery.</p>
<p><u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity</p>	<p>Continuous connectivity between existing green open spaces by means of tree canopies is limited.</p>	<p>There is a lack of green streets or tree-planted avenues leading up to the square for continuity, cooling, shade and amenity.</p>
<p><u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services</p>	<p>There is no evidence of conscious greening which may contribute to multiple ecosystem services in the CBD. The presence of a zoo in the larger precinct as well as pockets of undeveloped land provide for cultural, supporting and regulating services respectively.</p>	<p>The square incorporates landscaping in the form of grass, palm trees and flowerbeds on a seasonal basis. Vegetated planter boxes around the base of memorial statues provide a colourful attraction during the spring and summer seasons.</p>
<p><u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u></p>	<p>There is no evidence of planned systems of combined grey and green infrastructure use to attenuate flooding and improve stormwater management.</p>	<p>Use of systems of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems is not evident.</p>

Table 7.2 Square at City Hall

1. ESPLANADE STREET

USE AND ACTIVITIES

The Esplanade is a key attraction of East London and links two popular beaches at either end of the street. As highlighted by users, it is a place to relax and destress, to watch the sea, to jog and to exercise. It is an attraction to visitors who come to the beaches, the aquarium, restaurants or to attend seasonal / annual sporting events and festivals for which East London is famous.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u></p> <p>Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>The surrounding urban fabric is permeable and walkable.</p>	<p>Priority movement is afforded to vehicles. There is a lack of adequate marked pedestrian crossings and traffic calming. Sidewalks are in good repair though not wide enough to afford multifunctional recreational use. There is a lack of dedicated public transport facilities / bus and taxi shelters.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u></p> <p>Multi-functional, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>The broader public realm offers choice in terms of recreation, entertainment, arts and culture.</p>	<p>The scenic coastline makes and enhances the quality of this space. Cleanliness is a problem and the place is often not safe as highlighted by users interviewed.</p> <p>It attracts a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income.</p> <p>The space accommodates minimal economic activities other than informal car washes and occasional arts and crafts traders.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u></p> <p>Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The public realm fosters a unique identity by virtue of its location. The Esplanade offers many points of interest including multi-cultural memorials, and continuous low wall seating along the promenade.</p>	<p>Annual programmed activities such as marathons, festivals and lighting decorations make this one of East London's most sought after public spaces. There is a lack of high quality street furniture including signage, litterbins and planters.</p> <p>There is no provision for recycling of waste.</p>

<u>Vitality</u>	Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses	The surrounding fabric offers higher density, mixed uses, hotels, conferencing facilities and restaurants.	Businesses adjoining the space have declined over the past two decades. A major public space upgrade project is underway at eastern entrance to the Esplanade.
ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES			
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space	
<u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity	The settlement fabric is respectful of the unique natural landscape and features of the place. The area retains a variety of multi-functional green open spaces.	The space is reflective of the character of local landscape and flora; use of indigenous trees and plants appropriate to local ecology is seen.	
<u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity	Continuous connectivity between green spaces in the surrounding settlement fabric is limited.	There is no conscious street tree-planting along the Esplanade, however vegetated centre medians, clusters of trees and grassed verges are present. The blue-green network alongside the coast supports biodiversity and hydrological processes as well as neighbourhood identity and aesthetics.	
<u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services	A number of undeveloped open spaces along the Esplanade contribute to regulating and cultural ecosystem services.	There are no street trees which form an urban tree canopy – however the water's edge improves air quality and reduces heat island effect. Greening and shrubbery along centre medians and curb sides contribute to identity and aesthetics as well as retaining and infiltrating stormwater run-off.	
<u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u>	There is no evidence of planned systems of combined grey and green infrastructure use to attenuate flooding and improve stormwater management in the area.	Use of systems such as high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems is not evident.	

Table 7.3 Esplanade Street

2. SETTLER'S WAY

USE AND ACTIVITIES

Settler's Way is predominantly a vehicular movement corridor with a number of private sector led greening initiatives. There is a prevalence of informal public transport dropping and picking activities taking place along the route.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u> Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>The surrounding settlement context is not conducive to walking especially in closer proximity to Settler's Way.</p> <p>The route carries a public transport function however there are not sufficient public transport facilities.</p>	<p>The route fosters an abundance of pedestrian movement however there are no facilities for pedestrian use of public transport. There are limited or no pedestrian crossings or wide sidewalks. As highlighted by a user, the lack of a regulated system for public transport means that "the taxis will stop for you anywhere, that is why there are so many accidents". A parallel service road on parts of Settler's Way caters more to pedestrian movement and safety.</p> <p>A major upgrade and road widening project is currently underway.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u> Multi-functionality, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>The route traverses industrial / economic land use zones and is a centre for employment in the city.</p> <p>The public realm does not cater to pedestrian needs and therefore not comfortable nor social.</p>	<p>The visual quality of the route is enhanced in certain sections where there are noticeable greening interventions taking place.</p> <p>Frequent pedestrian accidents are reported by users of the space who were interviewed. Users raised that there are not enough robots, no shelter from the rain and no pavements for ease and comfort.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u> Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The route is attractive by virtue of natural features such as views of the river harbour at southern end of Settler's Way. The remainder of the public realm offers very little in the form of consistent landscaping and design intervention.</p>	<p>There is minimal street furniture in the form of bus / taxi shelters, signage, litterbins, planters, flower baskets.</p> <p>There is a private sector led project addressing the recycling of waste. However, the facility is currently abandoned and vandalised.</p>

<p><u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses</p>	<p>Currently there is limited amenity, density and diversity alongside Settler's Way apart from points along the route where there are concentrated commercial activities taking place. The historic settlement of West Bank is located in proximity to Settler's Way however there is very little signage or significance afforded to it.</p>	<p>Activated street frontages are seen on the commercial points along the route. Forming the western gateway into the city, the Settlers Way holds potential for enhanced amenity and vitality.</p>
<p>ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES</p>		
<p><u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity</p>	<p>Settler's Way traverses an area of unique natural landscape and features of place; including the Buffalo River corridor and the harbour precinct.</p> <p>The riverine areas are well protected and retain high biodiversity.</p>	<p>Greening interventions where present are reflective of the character of local landscape and flora; use of indigenous trees and plants appropriate to local ecology are prioritised.</p>
<p><u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity</p>	<p>The broader context fosters multi-scale interconnected and networked green infrastructure due to the green corridors along the coast as well as riverine corridors which traverse the area.</p>	<p>Mercedes Benz South Africa (MBSA), a prominent land owner in the area has undertaken various initiatives to connect and improve the quality of green corridors surrounding their properties.</p> <p>Intermittent street tree-planting and vegetated curb extensions are seen along parts of the corridor adjoining MBSA.</p>
<p><u>Multi-functional</u> greening providing multiple ecosystem services</p>	<p>Retention of green areas in the catchment alongside river corridors as well as along the coast provide critical cultural and regulating ecosystem services.</p>	<p>There are limited street trees forming a continuous urban tree canopy which could provide for improved air quality, shade and reduced heat island effect.</p> <p>Private sector greening initiatives through the use of shrubbery and planter boxes contribute to the identity and aesthetics along certain parts of the route.</p>
<p><u>Combined grey and</u> <u>green infrastructure</u></p>	<p>Presence of consciously designed systems which combine grey and green infrastructure are not evident, however large tracts of undeveloped land in the broader context contributes to urban green infrastructure.</p>	<p>Due to limited sidewalk facilities, there is limited use of paving. Green road verges assist in the recharging of ground water.</p>

Table 7.4 Settler's Way

3. ST GEORGE'S PARK

USE AND ACTIVITIES

A place to sit and talk with friends or visit with friends. A place to relax, to take pictures and for kids to play. In the evenings a place for exercise groups to meet or students to play basketball. On occasion the park hosts soup kitchens feeding the homeless. This is also a place for university students to picnic as well as engage in incompatible activities of drinking and smoking.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u> Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>Located within an inner city neighbourhood, the park is surrounded by a permeable, walkable urban fabric.</p> <p>The park is located close to good public transport.</p>	<p>Located within a predominantly residential area, the park is easily accessible and close to public transport.</p> <p>The park has no physical barriers such as walls, fences or gates.</p> <p>Situated on a level ground and surrounded by streets on three sides, the park is overlooked by residential flats affording good visibility and good physical connections to surroundings.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u> Multi-functional, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>The public realm of the surrounding context caters to pedestrian, economic and social and recreational needs.</p>	<p>It is an adaptable space suited to passive and active recreation. It is attractive for unscheduled entertainment and accommodates a wide range of activities.</p> <p>The park has play equipment, footpaths, a basketball court as well as ablution facilities. A food and braai outlet operates from the park. The park is poorly maintained and is often littered. There are not enough formal places to sit.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u> Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The park is an attraction to surrounding locals as well as for people who travel further to use the space.</p>	<p>There are various recreational amenities in the park as outlined above.</p> <p>A waste recycling buy-back centre has recently been established on the park.</p> <p>The park is creative and functional in use though lacking in terms of cleanliness, and aesthetic design.</p>

<p><u>Vitality</u></p> <p>Amenity,</p> <p>Density, Diversity,</p> <p>Mix of surrounding land uses</p>	<p>The surrounding settlement fabric is of higher density, with a mix of land uses affording the park vitality and diversity.</p>	<p>There is a food outlet and vendor on the northern end of the park.</p> <p>The park is surrounded by a range of housing types.</p>
<p>ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES</p>		
<p>Performance Quality</p>	<p>Observation of the Settlement Context</p>	<p>Observation of the Public Space</p>
<p><u>Landscape Quality</u></p> <p>Respectful of natural landscape,</p> <p>Greenspace biodiversity</p>	<p>The surrounding settlement is respectful of natural landscape features such as river corridors.</p> <p>The predominantly built up nature of the inner city precludes retention of high biodiversity hotspots and networks.</p>	<p>The park accommodates a number of tree species. There are no planted areas or shrubbery and the green area of the park is dedicated to a lawn.</p>
<p><u>Multi-scale networks</u></p> <p>Hierarchy,</p> <p>Connectivity</p>	<p>Continuous connectivity between green spaces in the surrounding settlement fabric is limited. There is a hierarchy of different types of parks in the area including a park within an art gallery, a zoo with a botanical garden as well as open spaces alongside natural river corridors.</p>	<p>There are historic treed avenues within the inner city neighbourhood however no new conscious street tree-planting efforts are visible which could enhance connectivity between existing green open spaces.</p>
<p><u>Multi-functional greening</u></p> <p>providing multiple ecosystem services</p>	<p>Retention of green areas mentioned above provide critical cultural and regulating ecosystem services.</p>	<p>The park has a large green area with a number of well-established trees that provide shade and shelter. The park design combines recreational functions with regulating functions such as stormwater infiltration reducing the urban heat island effect.</p>
<p><u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u></p>	<p>The green surface area of parks in the broader context contributes to the attenuation of flooding and improved stormwater management in the area.</p>	<p>There are no planned green infrastructure solutions such as vegetated swales or rain gardens within the park which assist with flood attenuation and stormwater management.</p>

Table 7.5 St. George's Park

4. JAMES PEARCE PARK

USE AND ACTIVITIES

A park of regional recreational significance, it offers wide open spaces for families to picnic, jog, exercise, ride bicycles and walk dogs. It is a peaceful place to relax and spend time with family and loved ones. It is a place of choice to hold outdoor picnics / parties and have photographic shoots. An outdoor gym, play equipment for children and tennis courts are some of the amenities available.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u> Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>The surrounding suburban residential fabric is walkable with good pedestrian facilities.</p> <p>There is limited public transport in the area.</p>	<p>The park has been recently fenced with palisade fencing however frequent pedestrian openings are provided. Cars are therefore now prevented from entering the space making it safer for users especially children.</p> <p>The park has good visibility and good physical connections to the surroundings.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u> Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social, Multi-functional</p>	<p>A number of facilities are clustered around the park including a tennis club, a dog training centre and the central BCMM plant nursery.</p> <p>The surrounding public realm offers a choice of recreational amenities including a golf course, a badminton hall and the beach.</p>	<p>The park attracts a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income. The park offers both passive and active recreation and is attractive for unscheduled entertainment. The large park size promotes physical activity and outdoor leisure with a jogging track, outdoor gym and play equipment. The park offers ablution facilities.</p> <p>There is very little seating provision in the park and most people bring their own portable furniture to use. The park is clean and comfortable. Safety has been an issue and has improved since the appointment of security guards who monitor and regulate any unruly activity in the park.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u> Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>Public realm in this sought after suburb fosters a unique identity due to the recreational and natural amenities in the area.</p>	<p>The presence of various recreational amenities and large tree lined avenues make the park extremely aesthetic and attractive contributing to a sense of health and well-being.</p> <p>There is no provision for recycling of waste.</p>

Vitality**Amenity,****Density, Diversity,****Mix of surrounding
land uses**

The amenity of this area is a result of the beautiful natural landscape and recreational features present, located in close proximity to the sea and beach.

A wide range of recreational amenities are present within and in close proximity to the park.

ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES**Performance Quality****Observation of the Settlement Context****Observation of the Public Space****Landscape Quality****Respectful of natural
landscape,****Greenspace
biodiversity**

The surrounding settlement is respectful of the unique natural landscape and features of the place.

The area protects and retains high biodiversity nature areas, hotspots and networks being close to the Nahoon River and Beach.

The park promotes habitat diversity through the accommodation of different habitat types alongside horticultural and landscape design.

Natural topography and trees are used to define spaces and places within the park.

Multi-scale networks**Hierarchy,****Connectivity**

The surroundings promote an interconnected and green network of open spaces, with an abundance of trees and well maintained green spaces.

The large extent of the park and varied habitats contribute to the green network in the area.

**Multi-functional
greening****providing multiple
ecosystem services**

Presence of systems which combine social and green functions contribute to regulating, cultural and supporting ecosystem services.

The park design and use of topography combines recreational functions with regulating functions such as stormwater infiltration reducing the urban heat island effect.

There is an abundance of green – grass, trees, flowerbeds and shrubs contributing to multiple ecosystem services.

**Combined grey and
green infrastructure**

The green surface area of open spaces in the broader context contributes to the attenuation of flooding and improved stormwater management in the area.

The natural green spaces within the park provide for both recreation and flood attenuation assisting with stormwater management.

Table 7.6 James Pearce Park

7.1.1 An overview of Placemaking and Greening in the Coastal Region

The public spaces observed in the region form the face of the city and play a significant role in contributing to the overall image of the city. A summary of the key findings which impact on outcomes of placemaking and greening in the coastal region are described below.

a. Lack of management and maintenance impacting on the quality and image of the city

Users and stakeholders of the public spaces in the region expressed extreme dissatisfaction at the lack of adequate management and maintenance as well as waste management in many of the spaces observed. The observed effects of these were particularly stronger in instances where there is no dedicated precinct management or where there are no custodians taking responsibility for the management and upkeep of the space. In the case of the Square at City Hall, the dedicated management of the square by the management entity of the City Hall premises ensures that the space is on most occasions well looked after, clean and safe. There are exceptions in instances of riots or strikes where youth and protestors intentionally engage in spreading waste throughout the area especially within and around the City Hall. Although there are benefits to the specific management arrangement in the case of the City Hall, the arrangement also partially compromises the space due to limitations imposed by management on the use of seating and lawns in order to minimise maintenance burdens.

Management and maintenance in the other spaces observed in the region is sporadic with users expressing the need for a greater effort to be made towards cleanliness, management and maintenance. Where one user at St. George's Park said "cleanliness, unfortunately our municipality is not doing an adequate job", another user on the Esplanade Street commented on the attractiveness of the space to say "yes, it is attractive, but we can't leave out the fact that we are making it unattractive. You can see that there are lots of papers, lots of bottles. This is not the municipality, it is us. We are not taking care of the place" (see Figure 7.1 below). Another key stakeholder at the MBSA said "Where is the budget that BCM has for cleaning and keeping the city in good state? We don't see any if it...there is no doubt that the city can become an attractive city. But it has been neglected to a point where you say, is any greening going to help because it's so far gone". Safety of users is also a pressing issue highlighted within three of the five spaces observed. A number of users on the Esplanade Street highlighted incidences of mugging, bullying and harassment that take place on the street especially under vulnerable situations and circumstances. Contrastingly, the dedicated security presence at the James Pearce Park on most days affords users safe and comfortable use of the park (see Figure 6.6 in the previous Section).



Figure 7.1 Illegal dumping in the Esplanade area. Source: Land of the Living Facebook Page

b. Surrounding settlement characteristics impacting on public space vitality

The observation of the spaces demonstrate how the urban quality of the surrounding settlement context impacts on the vitality and attractiveness of each space. The Coastal Region is high in natural amenities as well as socio-cultural attractions which give the city its popular lifestyle city image. The vitality and amenity of the parks in the region are influenced by the above factors. The St George's Park in the inner city is a vibrant space mainly due to the characteristics of the settlement context; namely the densities of people living in the immediate surroundings as well as due to the space being overlooked by multi-story mixed and residential uses. Similarly, at the Esplanade Street, the multi-story hotels and residential uses along with the attraction of ground floor mixed uses and restaurants contribute to the amenity and vitality of the street. This is further enhanced through the public art and memorials interspersed at points along the street together with prominent attractions such as the aquarium and the two beaches on either end of the street. Figure 7.2 below is the Symbol of Multi-culturalism, one of five around the world, erected next to the German Memorial on the Esplanade Street as a symbol of East London's commitment to multi-culturalism. The Esplanade is also a place of attraction during the festive season with Christmas lights creating a spectacular display for tourists and residents every year contributing to East London's sense of place (See Figure 7.3 below). The lighting is sponsored by a private company as a way of giving back to the city and the people of East London. Although different in character, the vibrance and activities within the square at City Hall is also attributed to the higher densities, multi-functional uses and central location and accessibility of the space. The degree of urban or natural amenities surrounding each space is seen to impact on the vitality of each space.



Figure 7.2 Symbol of Multi-culturalism on the Esplanade Street. Source: Border History – in the Eastern Cape Facebook Page



Figure 7.3 Festive lights and the Santa Express on the Esplanade Street. Source: Andre Oosthuizen Photography (2021).

c. Vehicular oriented focus and inadequate pedestrian amenities impacting on attractiveness and people-place interactions within urban street contexts

A common characteristic of the two streets observed in the region is the priority of space afforded to vehicular movement and functionality over space allocated for comfortable pedestrian movement, activity and crossing. The Esplanade Street has points of intervention along the street where placemaking activities and pedestrian movement have been incorporated (see Figure 7.3 above). Space dedicated to the accommodation of informal trade and markets is however limited within all spaces observed. There are also no dedicated pedestrian priority areas or pedestrian markets observed within or in proximity to any of the spaces observed. A user on the Esplanade street noted that “there are no facilities for people to come and sell things...when outsiders come for work, they can be encouraged to stay longer if there are such places”. It is also observed that in order to dedicate more spaces for pedestrian use, there needs to be a greater focus on managing vehicular movements and parking, especially in the CBD and inner city area. Vehicles seem to dominate the surrounding context limiting the attractiveness of the space for pedestrian oriented activities. The primary attraction of the two parks observed in the region is attributed to the pedestrian and green amenities present within each space. The streets in the region have however not been conceptualised as places for people. These urban spaces offer great potential for improved aesthetics, greening, pedestrian functionality and creative identity.



Figure 7.4 Lack of pedestrian facilities on the Settler's Way. Source: Settlers Way LSDF Final Draft (2020)

d. Involvement of the private sector contributing to placemaking and job creation within public space

The waste buy back centre recently established on St. George's Park in the inner city is an example of private sector initiative through the Call-2-Action program encouraging recycling in the city. The program not only addresses waste management enhancing the image of the city, but it also ensures livelihoods through the creation of job opportunities for unemployed youth in the area. The program is linked to the Call-2-Action street bin project which involves the placement of recycling bins made of recycled plastic on strategic routes in the inner city. A bicycle brigade then picks recyclables out of the bins and transports them to the buy-back centre. The unsorted waste is sorted, weighed and stored and thereafter sold to the recycler. As described in Section 6.4.4, the project is a partnership between the BCMM, the Border Kei Chamber of Businesses (BKCOB) in collaboration with Mercedes Benz South Africa and other businesses based in the City.



Figure 7.5 The waste buy-back centre on St George's Park, showing a recycling bin installed on Garden Street and a youth on a bicycle leaving the centre after dropping off recycled waste collected from the recycling bins in the area. Source: Author (2021)

e. Strong primary green networks and multi-functional green amenities contributing to place quality

The coastal region as a whole is high in natural and green amenities predominantly contributing towards the leisure and lifestyle city image of East London. The region is well resourced with numerous high quality green open spaces and amenities including beaches and riverine corridors contributing to the sense of health and well-being of people living in

the region. The public spaces observed highlight settlement contexts which are respectful of the unique natural landscape and features of place. Green space networks protect and assist in retaining high biodiversity nature areas and hotspots close to the rivers and beaches. The different settlement contexts in this region highlight the presence of systems which combine social and green functions contributing to regulating, cultural and supporting ecosystem services.

The wide open spaces of James Pearce Park promote habitat diversity and accommodate different habitat types. The users of this park highlighted that the park afforded a sense of health and well-being (see Figure 7.6 below). The users of the Esplanade Street also experienced a sense of health and well-being on account of the fresh air and calming effect of being next to the ocean. Users of the St. George's Park and the square at City Hall did not feel that the spaces specially contributed to a sense of health and well-being, notably the former space experienced lack of adequate waste management and the latter has limited greening in the form of tree-planting which provides for shade, improved air quality and reduced heat island effect.



Figure 7.6 Multi-functional green amenity contributing to place quality at the James Pearce Park.

Source: Author (2021)

f. Lack of secondary networks of green space impacting on green space connectivity

The urban settlement contexts observed such as the CBD and the inner city highlight a lack of green connectivity between the smaller public spaces and parks to larger green amenities and open space networks that form part of the primary open space network. Space limitations in fully developed urban areas mean that the only means of achieving connectivity of green elements contributing to functional biodiversity networks would be through tree-planting, urban canopies as well as through initiatives of greening at the building scale. These include the development of vegetated green walls and roofs as well as green gutters which could contribute to cooling, enhanced hydrological and ecological processes as well as place identity and aesthetics.

g. Lack of prevalence of combined systems of grey and green infrastructure in the CBD context influencing greening outcomes

The primary open space networks in the broader context in the vicinity of observed spaces contribute to the attenuation of flooding and improved stormwater management in these areas. It is however observed that there is a lack of designed and differentiated green stormwater systems within the built up urban fabric of the CBD. The observed squares and hard surfaces do not incorporate features such as permeable paving or vertical integration of functions e.g. through use of sub-surface detention systems. The square at City Hall however incorporates small pocket lawns and a vegetated planter box around the base of a memorial statue providing visual amenity as well as assisting to reduce the stormwater runoff during heavy rainfalls.

7.2 PLACEMAKING AND GREENING WITHIN PUBLIC SPACES IN THE MIDLAND REGION

The Midland Region of the metro includes the areas of Berlin, Reeston, Potsdam, Sandisiwe, Macleantown and Mdantsane which is the second largest township in the country. These are areas that were amalgamated into the original East London Municipality following democratic dispensation post 1994, as outlined in Chapter 5. A recently compiled list of parks in the Midland Region lists six parks within the entire region. No formal squares are seen in this region therefore a public transport corridor, a neighbourhood park and a wetland park were looked at in terms different types of public spaces. As in the Coastal Region, each space was looked at in terms of quality and impact from a placemaking and greening perspective. Table 7.7 below provides a summary of the key spaces observed in the region. The location of the observed public spaces in metropolitan context is found in Figure 4.4 in Chapter 4. Tables 7.8 to 7.10 which follow summarise the key features of each space observed in the Midland Region in terms of use and activities as well as urban and physical attributes which

contribute to placemaking; and ecological and green attributes which contribute to ecosystem services and greening. Section 7.2.1 highlights the key themes which emerge in terms of the public spaces in this region.

MIDLAND REGION PUBLIC SPACES

QUMZA HIGHWAY: A PUBLIC TRANSPORT CORRIDOR



Settlement Context: Township Neighbourhood
Source: Esri South Africa



View of Qumza Highway
Source: DispatchLive 18-10-2019

PARK IN NU 17 MDANTSANE



Settlement Context: Township Neighbourhood
Source: Esri South Africa



View of the Park in Zone 17
Source: Author (2021)

MDANTSANE ECO-PARK: A WETLAND PARK



Settlement Context: Township CBD
Source: Esri South Africa



View of the Park in Zone 17
Source: Author (2021)

Table 7.7 Public Spaces observed in the Midland Region

1. QUMZA HIGHWAY – PUBLIC TRANSPORT CORRIDOR

USE AND ACTIVITIES

A public transport corridor with intermittent informal trading activity. Adjoining uses include residential and mixed uses.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u></p> <p>Accessible, Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>Street intersections onto Qumza Highway are on average 200 to 400m apart reducing walkable permeability onto the route.</p> <p>There is good public transport access on Qumza Highway.</p>	<p>The design of the corridor is pedestrian friendly with newly constructed sidewalks and well-marked pedestrian crossings with good visibility.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u></p> <p>Multi-functionality, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>A number of important commercial / retail / cultural nodes and health facilities straddle the route.</p> <p>The public realm caters to pedestrian, economic and social needs.</p>	<p>The newly constructed corridor is attractive, well lit, safe and clean though does not provide trees for shade nor taxi / bus shelters.</p> <p>The route accommodates well managed economic activities.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u></p> <p>Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The public realm in the broader context offers limited urban design or landscaping interventions.</p>	<p>The corridor provides for very little street furniture other than lighting and litter bins.</p> <p>There is no provision for recycling of waste.</p>

<p><u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses</p>	<p>Currently there are no higher density developments along the route as this area of work is yet to be pursued by the city. Mixed use nodal developments such as the Mdanstane Urban Hub, and Mdantsane City Mall contribute to the vitality of the area.</p>	<p>Activated street frontages are found along the nodal zones. There is limited signage and celebration of arts and culture along the route.</p>
ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES		
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity</p>	<p>The settlement context is respectful of the unique natural landscape and features of the area. Greenspace biodiversity is protected through the open spaces retained along water courses and rivers.</p>	<p>There are no tree-planting or greening interventions incorporated into the design or implementation of this recently completed infrastructure project. The corridor follows the natural undulating topography of the area.</p>
<p><u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity</p>	<p>The planning of the settlement incorporates multi-scale interconnected and networked green open spaces. Green open spaces surrounding the corridor are mostly a part of the riverine system or land forming part of community facilities. There are very few dedicated and maintained public spaces in the form of parks or recreational areas.</p>	<p>A well-established tree-line and tree canopy is observed in the older section of the route providing for shade and reduced heat island effect. There is limited presence of indigenous trees and plants along the newer sections of Qumza Highway.</p>
<p><u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services</p>	<p>Retention of green areas in the catchment follow water courses and these provide for regulating, supporting and provisional ecosystem services in the settlement.</p>	<p>Green open spaces straddle the route where it traverses existing river corridors.</p>
<p><u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u></p>	<p>Presence of consciously designed systems which combine grey and green infrastructure are not evident however large open spaces surrounding the water courses contribute to urban green infrastructure in the area.</p>	<p>There is no evidence of use of high albedo permeable paving which could assist in recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems.</p>

Table 7.8 Qumza Highway

2. PARK IN NU17 MDANTSANE

USE AND ACTIVITIES

A place for recreation, children come to play on the play equipment while waiting for parents visiting the adjoining clinic / rent office. Adults also use the space to drive and park cars onto the space and use the park as a place to relax including engaging in incompatible activities such as drinking and smoking.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u></p> <p>Accessible,</p> <p>Well connected,</p> <p>Easily walkable,</p> <p>Visible</p>	<p>Street intersections are on average 200 to 400m apart onto main routes reducing walkable permeability on these routes.</p> <p>Public transport access in the surrounding settlement is intermittent.</p>	<p>The park is located within a predominantly residential area and on the main route through the settlement making it very accessible to users.</p> <p>Currently there are no physical barriers around the park however there was previously a palisade fence which has since been stolen.</p> <p>Overgrown grass close to knee height prevents good visibility and ease of access across the park.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u></p> <p>Multi-functional,</p> <p>Safe, Clean,</p> <p>Comfortable,</p> <p>Social</p>	<p>The park is situated adjacent to a community clinic as well as a rent office. The premises also caters to the Community Work Programme (CWP) workers who do community work in the area.</p> <p>Public realm of this precinct caters to meeting economic and social needs of the community.</p>	<p>The park is currently over grown and the play equipment and fencing has been stolen / vandalised. The park is safe during working hours however users interviewed mentioned that it is not safe in the evenings or night when people come there to drink and smoke.</p> <p>The is no seating available in the park making people drive their cars onto the space to gather around and play music whilst spending time there.</p> <p>The park only provides play equipment such as swings and climbing bars. There are no ablutions or drinking water points available.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u></p> <p>Aesthetic,</p> <p>Robust,</p> <p>Innovative,</p> <p>Creative and Functional</p>	<p>Public realm offers very little to contribute to a unique identity.</p>	<p>There no street furniture in the park in the form of dedicated lighting, signage, seating or litterbins.</p> <p>There is no provision for recycling of waste. The lack of regular maintenance detracts from the attractiveness and safety of the park.</p>

<u>Vitality</u>		
Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses	Low density development and vast tracts of underutilised land in the surroundings detract from the vitality of the space.	There is very little diversity in the types of housing in the vicinity of the park. The rent office and the clinic are the only facilities that contribute to activity in the area.

ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES		
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity	There is an abundance of open space in the form of large road reserves and underutilised land in the surroundings. In combination with the low development densities the quality of the landscape appears uncelebrated and bleak.	The park offers very little habitat diversity, with the tall grass the only visible vegetation in the park. Use of natural topography to define spaces and places within the park is not evident.
<u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity	Presence of multi-scale interconnected and networked green infrastructure is only at the settlement planning scale, there is no hierarchy or network of parks and green facilities that compliment and add to the local resilience of the area.	The road verge opposite the park has recently been planted with young African Palms. There are no trees planted within the park.
<u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services	Open spaces surrounding the rent office have been used for small scale urban agriculture undertaken by the workers of the CWP. The abundance of green open spaces provide regulating and provisional services. There is very little open space dedicated to provision of recreational and cultural ecosystem services.	There is no evidence of multi-functional greening within the park design, which may contribute to multiple ecosystem services.
<u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u>	Presence of consciously designed systems which combine grey and green infrastructure are not evident however the abundance of green surface area in the broader context contributes to natural drainage alleviating pressure on urban systems.	There are no local scale planned interventions such as vegetated swales or rain gardens within the park which can assist with flood attenuation and stormwater management.

Table 7.9 Park in NU 17

3. MDANTSANE WETLAND / ECO-PARK

USE AND ACTIVITIES

The park which was designed as an eco-park developed around a wetland. The park is currently vandalised and abandoned.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u> Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>The surrounding settlement consists of an urban business hub for the township of Mdantsane. The settlement fabric is not adequately permeable nor easily walkable in terms of pedestrian facilities.</p> <p>A bus and taxi rank in the urban hub makes the area accessible via public transport.</p>	<p>The eco-park constructed alongside a wetland area is within walking distance of the central taxi rank. However, it is embedded and not visually connected to the surrounding land uses.</p> <p>The park is surrounded by a palisade fence and a security post which was found abandoned at the time of the site visit.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u> Multi-functional, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>The surrounding land uses comprise mainly wholesale businesses and a petrol station. Large tracts of vacant and underutilised land exacerbates the problems of crime and lack of safety.</p> <p>The public realm does not cater to pedestrian needs of safety, sociability and comfort.</p>	<p>The park is in disrepair, is vandalised and subject to illegal dumping. The existing play equipment and seating are far from sight from the roads that run on the two narrow sides of the park.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u> Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The surrounding public realm is currently unattractive and offers no contribution to fostering a unique identity.</p>	<p>It is evident that the park offers no attraction to users.</p> <p>Facilities for the recycling of waste were provided when the park was first implemented in 2013. These facilities are no longer present.</p>

<u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses	Although the precinct accommodates commercial, retail and institutional uses, the lack of residential uses precludes the precinct from possessing qualities of vitality and amenity.	The park is surrounded by low density developments and incompatible land uses precluding the possibility of lively activity and custodianship of the space.
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ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES		
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity	Settlement planning has protected nature areas such as wetlands and water courses assisting to retain biodiversity in these areas.	The park promotes habitat diversity through the accommodation of different habitat types along its length following the wetland. However due to the lack of the necessary urban / physical attributes, the park is not of value to its users.
<u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity	Presence of multi-scale interconnected and networked green infrastructure is mainly at the settlement planning scale. There is no well-functioning network of parks and green facilities that compliment this system at the local scale.	The park forms part of a network of natural green spaces to the south of the area. The area to the north of the park is largely fully built up with no greening nor tree-planting that could form a continuous canopy or green verge that could connect to open space networks to the north.
<u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services	The vast green open space networks provide regulating, supporting and provisional services. Recreational / educational - cultural ecosystem services are limited.	Although the park design has aspired to combine recreational functions with regulating functions such as stormwater infiltration, the recreational component has not proven successful due to the lack of necessary qualitative urban attributes to the space.
<u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u>	Presence of consciously designed systems which combine grey and green infrastructure are not evident within the broader context.	Evidence of combined natural and engineered green infrastructure solutions providing both recreation and flood attenuation services through use of vegetated swales, stormwater planters and rain gardens was not seen.

Table 7.10 Mdantsane Eco-Park

7.2.1 An Overview of Placemaking and Greening in the Midland Region

A summary of the key findings which impact on outcomes of placemaking and greening in the Midland Region are described below.

a. Limited number and diversity of parks and open space amenities in the Midland Region

As highlighted in section 7.2 above, there are only six parks listed in the Midland Region park facilities register, serving a population of approximately 328 100 people residing in the areas of Mdantsane, Chalumna, Sandisiwe and Maclean Town (IHS Markit Survey, 2018). The above population statistics align closely with the boundaries of the BCMM Midland Region excluding Chalumna which falls within the coastal region. The identification of listed parks for site observation in the Midland Region proved challenging as officials from this region were not available to meet following a number of failed appointments set. The location of the parks therefore had to be obtained through informal discussions with people residing in the Mdantsane area. Residents highlighted the extreme lack of parks and recreational facilities in the township with people travelling to the coastal region to access high amenity parks and facilities. The available open space recreational facilities in the region are limited to sporting facilities such as stadia and sports / soccer fields. Both the wetland park and the play park observed in the region were lacking in management and maintenance as well as lacking in design and amenity offered. The park at NU17, had play equipment such as swings, and climbing bars with no other physical elements such as street furniture or greening contributing to park design and amenity. Fencing poles were observed around the park though the fence itself has been stolen. The lack of diversity in the types of public spaces available in this region has further negative consequences for the use of existing facilities. It was highlighted by users of the play park that activities of drinking and smoking are prevalent with unruly groups parking their vehicle in the park, partying and engaging in loud and incompatible activities alongside children who are playing on the play equipment in the park. Commenting on how the use of the park could be improved, one user observed “We need education on the wrongs of drug use and drinking. The events that are educational would be good in this park, even sporting activities, like a court for netball”.

b. Loss of value to public space due to presence of vast tracts of underutilised land

An observation of the broader township settlement context highlights the prevalence of large tracts of underutilised lands and wide road reserves within residential areas. Many of the land parcels are not secured and form part of the undefined and unmaintained public realm which become susceptible to illegal dumping and contributing to the overall loss of value in public space.

As underscored by one official:

I think with the issue of public space, we need to understand what is the purpose of it? You have a lot of them in the community and they don't even know what is that public space for? I think that's the critical issue...people don't understand what is that public space for, it must be clear what is this public space for...I think once we get to that, you're going to have an aspect of value (25 January 2021).

It is clear that whereas the wide open spaces within the settlement contribute to supporting and regulating ecosystem services, since they hold no cultural nor provisional value or purpose to communities, public spaces become places of danger, crime, dumping or illegal occupation contributing to 'placelessness' within the region.

c. Loss of value due to vandalism, dilapidation and abandonment

The Mdantsane Wetland Park was a collaborative initiative between the National Department of Forestry, Fisheries and Environment (DFFE) with the BCMM. Also referred to as an eco-park, the project is located within the Mdantsane Urban Hub (MUH) and was completed and handed over to the municipality in April 2013. As stated on the DFFE website, "the purpose of constructing eco-parks is to reverse environmental degradation, utilizing of open-space to prevent illegal dumping, creation of sports facilities and recreation for local communities" (DFFE, 2013). The statement continues to say that these projects generate much needed employment, training and skills transfer to local communities. One hundred and eighty six temporary jobs were created as part of the project which utilised government's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) which uses labour intensive methods in order to empower communities with employment. "The construction was focused on removing alien vegetation, rehabilitation of wetlands, construction of ablution facilities, construction of pedestrian walkways, installation of park benches, bins, park lights, fencing, tree planting, parking bays, and erection of sports facilities" (DFFE, 2013).

The current abandoned state of the above park highlights that without sustained funding and open-space management such initiatives are bound to fail especially as in the case of the Mdantsane Wetland Park, where there is no community or activity overlooking the space. The park though fenced is overgrown and covered with litter. As stated by a neighbouring petrol station owner, the park is barely used, and no one knows what goes on in the park. The layout of the park follows the linear path of the river course (see Table 7.7). However, the length of the park is surrounded by vacant land. Once overgrown, the park is embedded within other open space and is no longer functional or safe. Whilst the initiative has combined multi-functional use of green open space serving ecological and recreational functions, the lack of management and maintenance, the poor settlement layout and the absence of

overlooking development, activities, access and amenities have resulted in the dilapidation and abandonment observed in the space. No security presence, users or children were seen at the time of the site observation. The researcher has however previously visited the park in 2016 as part of preparing a precinct plan for the MUH. At the time it is recalled that the park was well managed and maintained and had dedicated security presence, who however denied the researcher access into the park as it was required that permission to access the park be obtained prior to entry. Midland Region parks manager could not be reached to understand the motivation behind this approach.

d. Observed changes in tree-planting traditions impacting on greening outcomes

In relation to street trees and greening alongside streets and public transport corridors, changing traditions and conflicting views on the significance of tree-planting were observed. The below two photographs show two stretches of the same corridor. Figure 7.7 shows the older section of the route known as Mdantsane Access Road which has well established Pine trees on one side of the street providing shade and amenity to this gateway into the township of Mdantsane. Figure 7.8 shows the recently constructed section of the route further down the corridor which has no trees planted within its road reserve or centre island.



Figure 7.7 View of historic tree line along Mdanstane Access Road. Source: Author (2021)



Figure 7.8 Lack of planted trees along the recently completed Qumza Public Transport Corridor.

Source: Author (2021)

Conflicting views were received from two different land owners living in the vicinity of the corridor. One owner stated that “I wouldn’t suggest trees here in the townships because of ‘tsotsies’ (thieves), this would be a big no-no, when we experience load shedding, we get scared. There is a high rate of crime here and we can’t walk freely if there could be ‘tsotsies’ hiding in the trees”.

Whereas another young home owner stated:

Crime should not win over trees. Crime is there but there are fuel emissions – you take down trees and build houses, but this is not reversible. So, we need more trees, we need to live in a healthier environment. For instance, the air that you breathe in Mdantsane is different to the air that you breathe when you are in Quigney – a typical example. It’s cleaner in Quigney as its closer to the water. Here you wake up in the morning and the first air you breathe is always hot air because of the cars moving around, so we need more trees (8 April, 2021).

This view was supported by an entrepreneur renting property alongside Qumza Highway:

Greening and trees would be attractive. What attracts the outsiders is the outlook of the space. What are the areas that can mesmerize our people and visitors? Green spaces are available on a minimal scale, we are looking for more. If we could have some campaigns for those projects so that on a short term and long term basis we would have one or two projects that are being run to uplift the society (8 April, 2021).

The above views by residents in the area show that there is a desire and need amongst residents to see more greening within the township. The role of the city to actively engage with citizens to initiate projects and programmes of this nature is highlighted.

7.3 PLACEMAKING AND GREENING WITHIN PUBLIC SPACES IN THE INLAND REGION

The inland region of the metro covers what was previously known as the King William's Town Transitional Local Council, a self-governing operational area which was later amalgamated with the East London municipality following nation-wide municipal restructuring as outlined in Chapter 5. Table 7.11 below provides a summary of the key spaces observed in the inland region. As with the previous regions, each type of public space in the form of a square, a street and a public park was looked at in terms of its quality and impact from a placemaking and greening perspective. The Inland Region parks register lists twenty five parks and one botanical garden serving a population of approximately 226 000 people residing in the areas of Qonce and Bhisho (IHS Markit Survey, 2018). Once again by virtue of the nature and history of the region, a greater diversity and hierarchy of public space types are seen here. Three spaces were selected for observation each characteristic of its unique settlement context. One square, located within the historic CBD of Qonce; a street located within a township area, and a neighbourhood park located within a township context, were looked at.

INLAND REGION PUBLIC SPACES

BRAM FISCHER SQUARE



Settlement Context: Historic CBD
Source: Esri South Africa



View of the Bram Fischer Square from Oxford Street
Source: Author (2021)

MBEKA STREET



Settlement Context: Township Neighbourhood
Source: Esri South Africa



View of Mbeka Street in front of the Steve Biko Centre
Source: Author (2021)

CAMILLA PARK



Settlement Context: Inner City Neighbourhood
Source: Esri South Africa



View of Camilla Square from Cambridge Road
Source: Author (2021)

Table 7.11 Public Spaces observed in the Inland Region

Tables 7.12 to 7.14 which follow summarise the key features of each space observed in the Midland Region in terms of use and activities as well as urban and physical attributes which contribute to placemaking; and ecological and green attributes which contribute to ecosystem services and greening. Section 7.3.1 highlights the key themes which emerge in terms of the analysis of public spaces in this region. The location of the observed public spaces in metropolitan context is found in Figure 4.4 in Chapter 4.

1. BRAM FISCHER SQUARE, ORIGINALLY KNOWN AS MACLEAN SQUARE

USE AND ACTIVITIES

The primary civic square in the CBD, on weekdays it forms a place to wait, to rest, to enjoy the lunch break. For the informal traders this is a place from which to sell their trade ranging from fruits and vegetables to clothing and electronics. Historically, it has been a place of attraction for school trips, a place which hosts live performances, and a place of interest to visit and take pictures. However, over time the space has deteriorated, and these activities are not witnessed anymore, especially with the advent of COVID-19.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u></p> <p>Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>The settlement context comprises a permeable, walkable urban fabric.</p> <p>It has good public transport access by taxi and bus.</p>	<p>Located within the central Qonce (previously KWT CBD), the space is easily accessible via public transport and well connected to the surrounding fabric. The square is pedestrian oriented however, parking bays line all sides of the square.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u></p> <p>Multi-functional, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>The space adjoins the Qonce Post Office, and various anchor retail outlets as well as the Regional Home Affairs Office which is found within walking distance.</p>	<p>The space attracts a wide variety of users as it forms a central resting point and meeting place in the CBD. The seating around the space is overcrowded and users highlighted that the space is unsafe and unhygienic, making the use of the space uncomfortable. It is noticed recently that temporary toilets have been erected on the lawn in front of the central statue which is a classified as a Grade A National Heritage Monument.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u></p> <p>Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The square and surroundings is poorly managed and maintained and the broader precinct calls for improved aesthetics, functionality as well as creative identity.</p>	<p>The space celebrates a statue of Queen Victoria which was installed in 1897. The space offers potential for the layering of cultural heritage to reflect a more multicultural history. The deterioration and uncoordinated interventions and activities in the square detract from its attractiveness.</p>

<p><u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses</p>	<p>The surrounding urban fabric is of higher density, mixed uses, close to activities such as retail, shopping, and municipal facilities.</p>	<p>The vitality of the surrounding urban fabric manifests as use and activities in the square. However, the amenity of the square is negatively impacted due to the lack of adequate management and maintenance.</p>
ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES		
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity</p>	<p>The immediate surrounding context is largely built-up however the CBD is respectful of the natural landscape. The Buffalo River wraps around the western edge of the CBD.</p> <p>There is an intermittent presence of greening in the form of trees and open spaces mostly as a result of historic tree-planting initiatives.</p>	<p>Greening within the space is limited to a lawn and a few struggling trees. There is evidence of trees that have been felled within the space. The space is not reflective of the character of local landscape and flora.</p>
<p><u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity</p>	<p>There is a presence of multi-scale green elements in the surrounding context however they are not fully interconnected and networked as system of green infrastructure.</p>	<p>There is a presence of intermittent trees and treed streets adjoining the square.</p>
<p><u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services</p>	<p>The existing green open spaces provide regulating and supporting and cultural ecosystem services.</p>	<p>The square incorporates landscaping in the form of a lawn and a number of intermittent trees.</p>
<p><u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u></p>	<p>There is no evidence of conscious combined grey and green infrastructure use in the surrounding context.</p>	<p>Use of systems of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems is not evident.</p>

Table 7.12 Bram Fischer Square

2. MBEKA STREET

USE AND ACTIVITIES

Mbekka Street is predominantly a public transport route passing through the township of Ginsberg. The Steve Biko Centre located on the street forms a heritage, cultural and developmental resource in the region and forms a significant source of activity on the street, alongside the taxi rank and community clinic.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality

Observation of the Settlement Context

Observation of the Public Space

Accessibility

**Well connected,
Easily walkable,
Visible**

The settlement context is walkable with good public transport access.

Users have expressed that the sidewalks are not wide enough and there is not enough well-marked pedestrian crossings. Users also complained about the traffic circle at the entrance into Ginsberg not being big enough causing congestion at this point.

Quality

**Multi-functional,
Safe, Clean,
Comfortable,
Social**

The clustering of community facilities such as the clinic and taxi rank next to the cultural facility enhances the quality of this street.

The street is attractive and scaled to the pedestrian in certain sections adjoining the facilities. By virtue of the Steve Biko Centre, the street attracts a wide diversity of users of all races, gender, age and income.

The centre also accommodates regular programmed activities such as festivals, musicians and theatre performances.

Attractiveness

**Aesthetic,
Robust,
Innovative,
Creative and
Functional**

The public realm fosters a unique identity by virtue of the Steve Biko Centre. The broader context offers potential for improved aesthetics, functionality as well as creative identity.

There is limited street furniture along this street and more needs to be done to enhance the attractiveness and functionality of the street.

There is no provision for recycling of waste.

<u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses	Surrounding residential uses, and densities enhance the vitality of the street.	The segment of the street adjoining the cluster of facilities promotes urban qualities such as mixed uses especially in the vicinity of the taxi rank.
ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES		
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity	The settlement of Ginsberg is flanked by two river corridors. Greenspace biodiversity is confined to the existing open spaces in the settlement. These are largely unkept and overgrown and there is limited tree planting within the settlement.	There is continuous tree planting and greening in the vicinity of the Steve Biko Centre. The remainder of the street has intermittent trees and planting. The trees and planting are reflective of the character of local landscape.
<u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity	The settlement planning has incorporated continuous green open spaces through its fabric. However, these are not interconnected and networked as system of green infrastructure.	Mbeka street connects to a central open space which is overgrown and unsafe.
<u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services	The existing green open spaces in the settlement provide regulating and supporting ecosystem services.	The street incorporates limited greening which could contribute to ecosystem services.
<u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u>	There is no evidence of conscious combined grey and green infrastructure use in the surrounding context.	Use of systems of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems is not evident.

Table 7.13 Mbeka Street

3. CAMILLA PARK

USE AND ACTIVITIES

Historically an amusement park site, the southern portion is currently used as a picnic area, and the northern part accommodates some informal trade activity. The remainder of the park is used infrequently. Play equipment has been vandalised and the area is perceived as unsafe. As highlighted by a user, an abandoned municipal building is used by young delinquents engaging in crime and drugs.

URBAN AND PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES

Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<p><u>Accessibility</u></p> <p>Well connected, Easily walkable, Visible</p>	<p>Located in an inner city context, the surrounding fabric is permeable and walkable with intermittent informal public transport.</p>	<p>The park is located on a public transport route and is in proximity to residential areas. There are no physical barriers such as walls, fences / gates around the park.</p> <p>Visibility and physical connections are hampered by overgrown grass.</p>
<p><u>Quality</u></p> <p>Multi-functional, Safe, Clean, Comfortable, Social</p>	<p>The surrounding settlement fabric is largely of mixed use residential.</p> <p>Public realm in the broader precinct is not clean, comfortable or safe.</p>	<p>Users observed that the park previously hosted circuses and amusement park rides. The park is not clean nor safe due to the delinquent activity taking place in the park.</p> <p>There is very limited seating mostly located at the end of the park which has tree planting and better parking access.</p> <p>There are no ablutions or water points on site.</p>
<p><u>Attractiveness</u></p> <p>Aesthetic, Robust, Innovative, Creative and Functional</p>	<p>The public realm holds no unique attraction.</p>	<p>The dilapidated state of the park hinders from its attractiveness.</p>

<u>Vitality</u> Amenity, Density, Diversity, Mix of surrounding land uses	Single story, mixed use residential uses are found in the immediate surroundings.	Residential uses and corner shops overlook the park on three sides. The one remaining side has some warehousing activity, limiting the amenity of the park on this length.
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ECOLOGICAL AND GREEN ATTRIBUTES		
Performance Quality	Observation of the Settlement Context	Observation of the Public Space
<u>Landscape Quality</u> Respectful of natural landscape, Greenspace biodiversity	There is an intermittent presence of greening in the form of trees and open spaces in the inner city.	The park accommodates a number of well-established trees and avenues on two sides of the park. There are no planted areas or shrubbery and the open area of the park is grassed.
<u>Multi-scale networks</u> Hierarchy, Connectivity	There is a presence of multi-scale green elements in the surrounding context however they are not fully interconnected and networked as system of green infrastructure.	There is limited connectivity of treed corridors or greening from the park to outlying green open spaces.
<u>Multi-functional greening</u> providing multiple ecosystem services	The existing green open spaces and treed avenues provide regulating, supporting and cultural ecosystem services.	The trees surrounding the park provide cultural ecosystem services.
<u>Combined grey and green infrastructure</u>	There is no evidence of conscious combined grey and green infrastructure use in the surrounding context.	Use of systems of high albedo permeable paving, recharging ground water and reducing heat island effect and stress on sewer systems is not evident.

Table 7.14 Camilla Park

7.3.1 An Overview of Placemaking and Greening in the Inland Region

A summary of the key findings which impact on outcomes of placemaking and greening in the Inland Region are described below.

a. Loss heritage value and relevance within public space

Bram Fischer Square is a historically celebrated public space within the town of Qonce. As described by a Parks official from the Inland Region, the original name of this park was Maclean Square, which after 1994 was re-named as Bram Fischer Square, named after a prominent Afrikaner attorney and anti-apartheid activist who represented Nelson Mandela and other activists at the treason trial from 1963 onwards.

The park follows a traditional formal English design in term of its layout and has a statue of Queen Victoria at its centre as the focal point. In the time I have lived in KWT which must be close on 30 years now we have stuck to its original design in terms of plant selection as the structural layout of the square around is limiting in terms of alternative design. Its original purpose was for it to serve as a rest area for office workers during lunch time or for residents to rest during a day's shopping. It is also of course a memorial to the British Empire. Over an extended period of time with the change in demographics in the area the park awkwardly serves the needs of younger generation with a very different set of priorities and needs. Maintenance is a challenge due to press of a densely populated rural area around the CBD (30 November, 2020).

Subsequent to the initial site visit by the researcher, a more recent image of the square, Figure 7.9 below, shows the installation of temporary public toilets on site close to the memorial statue of Queen Victoria. The statue is a declared National Monument and is protected in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999 (NHRA). It has since been established that these temporary ablution facilities have been installed by the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) to cater to pensioners who wait at the square while visiting the adjoining Post Office. Although addressing a pressing need for ablution facilities, the location of the toilets close to the memorial statue undermines the heritage value and significance of the space, as well as pointing to issues of lack of communication and coordination between different authorities who play a role in the management and maintenance of the space. Through processes of engagement between the researcher and the Development Agency, this space has recently been identified for upgrade and revitalisation and processes of engagement between the ECPHRA, the Development Agency and the city have been initiated.



Figure 7.9 Temporary public toilets installed in front of the Queen Victoria Memorial at the Bram Fischer Square
Source: Buffalo City Development Agency (2021)

b. Public space as a turf for vandalism and drugs

As in the Coastal and Midland Regions, the lack of waste management is severely impacting on public space amenity in the Inland Region. The below image Figure 7.10 shows the extensive illegal dumping that was found within a neighbourhood park in the Ginsberg Township close to Mbeka Street, one of the observed cases. Stolen fencing is also observed in this space. Figure 7.11 shows a vandalised municipal building located within the Camilla Park. As highlighted by a user:

There are boys and street children who do drugs here. If they had jobs it would be better. People park and drink and smoke. There used to be chairs and tables but now it's gone. The boys vandalise the space...if the place could be clean. It was nice before. The circus used to come. But now I don't know what's going on. Even merry-go-rounds used to be here once per year in the holidays. It's filthy now (30 April, 2021).

The lack of cleanliness, thugs and the poor condition of the park were highlighted as areas of difficulty for users interviewed at the park. Despite the difficulties, an elderly couple were seated on the grass in the park talking and observing the behaviour of the youngsters using the park. A passer-by at an informal stall selling oranges on the other end of the park on understanding that the researcher is a municipal employee remarked "is this a park? If this is a park, the municipality must make it look like a park".



Figure 7.10 Illegal dumping and stolen fencing outside a park in the Ginsberg Township. Source: Author (2021)



Figure 7.11 Vandalism of a municipal building located in the Camilla Park in the Qonce Inner City. Source: Author (2021)

c. Public facilities contributing to placemaking and greening

The Mbeka Street case highlights the role of public facilities in contributing to enlivening and greening streets and public spaces. Public art and trees are observed along the length of the Steve Biko Centre facility contributing to the attractiveness of the public realm in the vicinity of the centre. The celebrated and open to street main entrance of the facility forms a place for children to gather and interact adding to the sense of place of the street. The trees are cared for by the centre management enabling their survival and allowing them to become well established. The Ginsberg Clinic located across the Steve Biko Centre also provides

shade and amenity to Mbeka Street by virtue of the continuous tree-planting along the edge of the property (See figures 7.12 and 7.13 below).



Figure 7.12 Public art and trees contributing to the liveliness and attraction of Mbeka Street.

Source: Author (2021)



Figure 7.13 Continuous tree planting and use of visually permeable fencing along the Ginsberg Clinic contributing to shade and amenity on Mbeka Street. Source: Author (2021)

The role of urban design guidelines to promote positive interfaces onto streets and public spaces gains significance through the above examples. This is especially important in case of public buildings and facilities that naturally tend to attract more people and activities in proximity to them.

7.4 CONCLUSION

An overview of the product of public space within the three regions, observed in terms of its placemaking and greening impact highlights challenges unique to each region of the city as well as issues which are applicable across all the three regions. Some of the characteristics common to all three regions include; issues of inadequate management and maintenance within public space, vehicular oriented design focus within street contexts with limited pedestrian amenities impacting on overall attractiveness and people-place interactions within these spaces. The silo-based approach to project conceptualisation is not unique to public space and aligns closely with the institutional and governance challenges highlighted by Coetzee (2012) in relation to developmental planning in South Africa post-1994.

The presence of strong primary green space networks with a corresponding lack of secondary networks of green space connectivity is observed across all the regions. There is also a limited presence of combined systems of grey and green infrastructure especially within business district contexts in all the three regions. Observed changes in tree-planting traditions is seen in relation to new public roadways and public transport corridors which have been constructed without elements of tree-planting or greening implementation.

Combining recreational and resilience building uses within public space is seen to be successful in cases where the urban attributes of the surrounding context are equally conducive to positive use and value. The case of the Wetland / Eco-park in Mdantsane shows that investment within public spaces which have not been designed and planned in a way that fosters urban qualities results in wasted expenditure, exacerbated vandalism and ultimate abandonment. Further issues prevalent in the Midland and Inland Regions include; loss of value to public space due to presence of large tracts of unmanaged and underutilised land some of which may be termed as 'space left over after planning'. These areas have become sites of criminal activity and dumping. The limited number and diversity of designated parks and open spaces available in the Midland Region is also a stark reality, with all the users interviewed within both the Midland and Inland regions reflecting that there were not enough parks and green space amenities available in the places where they lived. Whereas the Coastal Region is well endowed both in terms of natural amenities and developed public space amenities, followed by the Inland Region which also has a fair distribution of public space facilities and amenities, the Midland Region has the least access to quality parks and public space amenities having the lowest number of park facilities per capita. Similarly, vandalism, dilapidation and abandonment are more prevalent in the Midland and Inland Region parks spaces, with public space serving as a turf for crime and drugs as in the case of the Camilla Park in the Inland Region. As highlighted by the SSACR (2016)

raised in Chapter 5 in relation to the planning and governance in South Africa as well as by Merrifield et al. (2008: 71), the findings support the notion that in some instances, post-apartheid planning “has not been able to allow the state to better address the legacies it seeks to overcome”.

The Coastal Region inadvertently benefits from greater private sector interest and collaboration in relation to placemaking and greening due to the presence and priorities of global brands such as Mercedes Benz South Africa to promote the image of the city as a destination of choice. Similarly, more recent initiatives from concerned businesses and citizens as highlighted in Section 6.4.3 demonstrate a wider commitment from the private sector to work in impoverished areas of the city.

The Inland Region case of the Bram Fischer Square highlights the loss of significance and relevance of heritage memorials evident in the lack of coordination, custodianship and care observed in terms of management and maintenance of heritage resources. Potential for greater coordination and collaboration is seen through recent initiatives of the Development Agency who have through the involvement of the city initiated engagements with the ECPHRA in relation to revitalising the above space. The Mbeka Street example highlights the potential of public facilities and buildings to contribute to placemaking and greening within public space. The development of design guidelines for public buildings in the city could further facilitate the promotion of greener and more people-friendly public spaces associated with public buildings in the city.

In relation to the conceptual framework that has guided this research, the findings in this chapter reveal the key issues which affect the product of public space in the city. Many of the issues highlighted may be universal for both Global South and Global North contexts such as silo-based thinking and technically focused design solutions which have also been highlighted in the Global North literature. However, the case study context is unique in terms of expectations of public space in terms of greening and placemaking both from a user and public official perspective. The perceptions and the levels of awareness on the significance of greening within cities is also varied amongst users and public officials. The need for a greater diversity in use and activities within public space is highlighted through the research in terms of different needs observed within different communities in the various regions of the city. Whereas recreational open space and amenity is seen as critical in all regions of the city the need for survivalist uses within public space such food gardens and informal trade is different in different parts of the city.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE 'UNSEEN SPACE'

8. THE 'UNSEEN SPACE': THE RELEVANCE AND PROSPECTS FOR A PLACE-BASED, GREEN CONCEPTUALISATION OF PUBLIC SPACE FOR THE BCMM

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the key findings of the research as developed through Chapter 6 and 7 of this thesis. The chapter examines the linkages between, and the impacts of current processes of public space planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management as described in Chapter 6 on the product of public space observed and analysed in Chapter 7. Viewed through the lens of placemaking and greening approaches as introduced through the literature review, the chapter seeks to draw insights about the key issues faced by the city in relation to public space and the relevance of integrated practices of placemaking and greening for re-envisioning, reclaiming and re-establishing the value of public space in the city. In view of the above, Section 8.1 reveals a set of alternate protocols for action to affect visible and meaningful change within public spaces of the municipality. Aligned to this framework, Section 8.2 links the follow through of these protocols to a set of necessary conditions, shifts and tools which will need to be assembled in order to enable institutional decision-making and practice towards place-based conceptualisations, delivery and management of public space.

8.1 KEY ISSUES WHICH INFLUENCE THE OUTCOMES OF PLACEMAKING AND GREENING WITHIN PUBLIC SPACE

The research traced the programmes and initiatives which currently exist in the city in relation to placemaking and greening linking these to the departmental champions, the role played by those involved and the interdependencies between various departments and external role-players. The above highlighted the levels of collaboration which currently exist in relation to the processes of planning, conceptualising, delivery and management of public space in the city. The examination of the processes of public space delivery and governance in the city highlighted both the gaps as well as the scope and potential for the integration of practices of placemaking and greening within public spaces of the city. The concurrent exploration of the product of public space was carried out through the observation of key typologies of public space within the realm of urban design, focussing on streets, parks and squares in the city. Outcomes which embody practices of placemaking and greening as developed in the literature review and conceptual framework were used as a lens to evaluate these spaces. A key observation was that whilst practices of placemaking and greening occasionally occurred within certain parks or streets in the city, this was not observed as a

norm within all the public spaces viewed. The majority of the newer parks and streets observed in the city were lacking in any dedicated efforts in placemaking or greening. The research reveals that many of the public spaces observed haven't transitioned from that of being a 'space' to becoming a 'place' in the sense that they are centres of "felt value" (Madanipour, 1996), that evoke "place meaning" and "place attachment" as positive emotional connections formed between people and the environment (Altman and Low, 1992). The essential mix of ingredients that contribute to a sense of place as described by Wyckoff (2014), including proper physical form, proper mix of land uses and functions and proper mix of social opportunities and quality activities are lacking in many of the spaces observed. In the case of parks, the provision of a standard set of play equipment and fencing suffices in the majority of interventions within parks in the city. In the case of streets, the provision for movement and accessibility of vehicles, basic sidewalks and litterbins encompass the greater scope of placemaking intervention. The Esplanade Street is the only street space observed which accommodates greater levels of seasonal activity and attractions which are multidimensional in nature and contribute to a sense of place. Placemaking and greening is observed within strategic routes and corridors within the Coastal Region as well as within wealthier suburbs in the city where local communities and the private sector play an important role in campaigning for or contributing to these initiatives. Initiatives such as Adopt-a-Spot and Arbor week are often implemented within other types of open spaces linked to educational and religious facilities, some also occurring within privately owned space due to the challenges experienced with ongoing care and upkeep in the case of trees planted within public areas. Although many initiatives are in the pipeline which could contribute to visible placemaking and greening within public space in the city e.g. through the programmes led by the Development Agency as well as those of the EPMO which are still in the planning stage, the lack of widespread presence of placemaking and greening efforts within publicly led departmental projects such as parks and streets or public transport corridors highlight that current activities of the departments are limited in terms of overall transformational impact affecting the perceived value of public spaces of the city.

In the case of the BCMM one of the great challenges for public space is that it is often the by-product of technical intervention by infrastructure departments presenting in many instances as the space left over following a project and what may be termed as 'unseen space', that space which is technically not seen or accounted for by any specific department of the municipality especially in the case of newer settlements and projects. The prioritisation and focus of planning intervention on the provision of housing and basic infrastructure services results in the corresponding neglect of its associated public spaces undermining the efforts of the municipality to foster visible transformation especially in the most marginalised and underprovided areas of the city. The empirical chapters reveal that there are various

challenges which serve as impediments to the integration of practices of placemaking and greening within the predominant typologies of public space such as streets, parks and squares. The following sub-section looks at these issues which are framed as a series of protocols to address and overcome the challenges faced by the city. The factors which affect the likelihood of success for the actioning of these protocols determine the prospects for the successful mainstreaming and institutionalisation, which are discussed further in Section 8.2 of the chapter.

8.1.1 Re-envisioning public space: The role of institutional innovation, leadership, collaboration and championing

As highlighted by Carmona and de Magalhães (2006), the crucial role of local authorities in delivering high quality public spaces as well as managing those spaces is where there is also the greatest room for improvement. The moment at which this research is undertaken is perhaps a point of transition for the city where many of the existing challenges in relation to public space hold the potential to be addressed and overcome through dedicated efforts which embrace practices of placemaking and greening in public space. As highlighted by Saliez in the Urban Maestro Project (2019: 4), “we should not underestimate the role of visions, narratives and images...creating a common imaginary is an effective way for promoting the alignment of a large number of stakeholders towards the same objective”. This is closely aligned to the argument by Blanco et al. (2021: 6) who highlight that while existing structures may be hard to change, “investing in the crafting of new discourses and the nurturing of innovative practices is vital”.

The lack of a shared vision for public space which is owned by both citizens and the municipality undermines its role as a valued resource which enhances health, well-being, belonging and sense of place. As stated by Madanipour (2006), the promotion of civic pride encourages local populations to nurture emotional links with their environment thereby enabling them to take custodianship towards its care and upkeep. Madanipour (2006:182) further emphasises the role of cities and local governments in creating visions in ensuring control of different forces allowing cities to function as viable enterprises rather than “bankrupt and dilapidated places”. It is held that this lack of a shared vision for public space remains the primary impediment to the realisation of outcomes of placemaking and greening within public space in the city. As highlighted in Chapter 6, despite ad hoc efforts which contribute to placemaking and greening in the city, many of the officials interviewed felt that these practices were not well enough embedded, resourced or adequately mainstreamed within existing projects of the municipality. It was observed that projects in relation to public space were not conceived in an interdisciplinary manner in any of the phases of development including the processes of planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management. It was

also highlighted that there was not enough engagement and awareness at a senior management level of the interdependencies between various sectors required to enhance the value of public space. From a private sector perspective, it was emphasised that the city leadership has not been able to action processes which could unlock equal participation by the city to bolster efforts by the private sector to improve the quality of public space in the city.

The literature review has revealed the relevance of placemaking and greening as tools to re-envision public space and re-create value within shared spaces. As highlighted by Carmona (2014) and Zamanifard et al. (2018) the shaping of public space is led by multiple actors and stakeholders with varying motivations, attitudes, and interests. Though leadership for placemaking and greening approaches are presently driven through ancillary activities in the case of the BCMM through initiatives of the Development Agency and the EPMO for example, the need for administrative prioritisation and funding commitment at a sector departmental level are required in order to mainstream and sustain these programmes at a city-wide level within various scales and typologies of public space. The Development Agency has the strong support of the Metropolitan Council which is the political and highest decision making body of the local authority. The EPMO is based in the Directorate of the City Manager, with the City Manager leading the administrative arm of the city. The EPMO plays a support role to the administration and provides a technical advisory service to the City Manager. The various directorates under the City Manager each have an appointed political head called the Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) who plays a role in influencing the prioritisation of projects in each directorate. The presence of many role-players also highlights the need for coordination and co-production arrangements in relation to re-envisioning public space.

The UN-Habitat (2020) in its *Guidebook for City Leaders* on public space strategy, emphasises the need to generate political support in order to build partnerships and engage stakeholders as well as to effectively communicate and implement strategies. The pathways from an 'unseen space' to a re-envisioned space, to action and implementation on the ground therefore depends on the ability of city leaders to mobilise stakeholders to collectively embrace a new vision for public space seeking qualities of 'place' with multiple outcomes and delivering multiple services to citizens. This is aligned to the collaborative public management system where government sectors work hand-in-glove with civil society and communities to address issues collectively and achieve collaborative advantage through synergy (Coetzee, 2012). As emphasised by the Place Agency, "placemaking is a process to increase the capacity and capability of people to invest a place with meaning". (<https://studios.placeagency.org.au/what-is-placemaking/>). Out of the three groups of

stakeholders with a distinctive interest in public space as suggested by Healey (2010), Tiesdell & Adams (2011) and Zamanifard et. al. (2018), the citizens, the public sector and the private sector, in the case of BCMM, citizens and the private sector have endeavoured to fill in the existing gaps in relation to unstable efforts by the public sector to keep the city clean and green. In the presence of this gap, the Development Agency of the city has stepped in and taken a leadership role in championing various strategic placemaking interventions in the city. However, officials from the agency reiterated the primary role of the city in leading and envisioning these interventions as well as in rolling it out and mainstreaming it at a citywide level down to the community and neighbourhood scales. The role of the city leadership to mobilise stakeholders, the private sector and community groups to work together to plan and conceptualise placemaking and greening interventions within public space is therefore emphasised. Madanipour (2006:181) argues that the role of the public authorities has changed over time “from those who produce the city to those who promote and regulate its production”. In this sense he emphasises the role of local authorities in shaping the future of cities through the development of a vision and local sense of distinction with places created that the local population could identify with.

The significance of context responsive solutions emphasised by Watson (2014), Beza et al. (2018) and Cocks et al. (2020) from a Global South lens also places the responsibility of leading, exploring and ensuring the means of arriving at a shared and locally relevant vision for city projects within the realm of local government. The empirical research reveals complexities and challenges in the BCMM especially with regard to institutional knowledge and performance, collaboration and transversal practice, capacity and resources as well as in terms of departmental drivers and champions in relation to incorporation of placemaking and greening imperatives within various stages of public space delivery and management. The prospects for institutionalisation of placemaking and greening practices within public space are therefore strongly influenced by the above internal factors which are discussed further in Section 8.2. The impact of external factors such as that of the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in early 2020 has caught the world and South Africa off guard and has its bearing on the financial sustainability of municipalities. In the case of South Africa, the impact on municipal budgets and forecasts for economic recovery in the medium to long term are bleak, further minimising expenditure on non-revenue generating projects and programmes. Nevertheless, it would be important to continue with efforts to re-envision public space and make it more relevant and meaningful to citizens not just as a means of improving quality of life, health and well-being and city competitiveness but also as a means of improving livelihoods, and as a means of enhancing the social and economic circumstances of the vast majority of people in the city.

8.1.2 Reclaiming the value of public space: The role of evidence-based planning and investment in public space, placemaking and greening

Chapter 6 followed the various phases of public space planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management highlighting challenges and impediments faced during each of these phases. A number of challenges with regard to the planning of public space were foregrounded in relation to placemaking and greening. The impact of present conditions of lack of management and maintenance of public spaces negatively affecting decision-making in relation to the future planning and preservation of public space is concerning. As argued by Relph (1976) cited in Seamon and Sowers (2008), without a thorough understanding of place as it has significance and meaning for people, it would be difficult to contribute to its ongoing maintenance or to the creation of new spaces. The above argument is relevant for the BCMM where the perceived lack of value for public space as cited by a few officials in the municipality has had negative consequences for planning decisions in relation to the retention of existing public spaces in the city. The research also revealed that the perceived lack of value from the point of view of officials was contrary to the views of users of public space on the ground who reflected in the interviews conducted that there were insufficient parks and public spaces available in the places where respondents lived. Many of the interviewed users within parks in the Coastal Region were people who had travelled from other suburbs and regions to use these spaces. Whereas the Coastal Region is well endowed both in terms of natural amenities and developed public space amenities, followed by the Inland Region which also has a fair distribution of public space facilities and amenities, the Midland Region has the least access to quality parks and public space amenities having the lowest number of park facilities per capita. The disparities in the number and diversity of designated parks and public amenities in Midland Region and the marginalised areas of the Inland Region are a reality which is a result of the socio-political history and development of these regions as described in Chapter 5. This calls for the need for greater planning within these areas to ensure access and environmentally just provision of amenities based on evidence-led planning as well as relevant and meaningful conceptualisation and intervention. As highlighted in various research findings (Kuruneri-Chitepo & Shackleton, 2011; Gwedla & Shackleton, 2017; Venter et al. 2020), new democratic dispensation in the country has not affected better access to green spaces within previously marginalised areas.

The absence of legislated standards at a National or Provincial level calls for the development of Council approved municipal standards which can guide and enforce the provision and preservation of public open space in the city. This could fill the gap in terms of transitioning from older legislation such as LUPO which contained standards for provision of public space to newer legislation such as SPLUMA which doesn't stipulate this provision.

Although various international standards for provision of public space exist in the literature, as highlighted by Cocks et al. (2020), many of these standards are generated from a Global North perspective. As highlighted by the authors, in a Global South context the need to look at aspects of quality, heritage, attached values and uses gains greater significance than a focus on the amount or ratios of public space provision. The concept of providing “sufficient” spaces as developed by Cocks et al. (2020) based on locally relevant criteria is seen as an opportunity for the BCMM to develop an alternate standard for the provision of public space derived from meaningful and respectful engagement with citizens about locally defined needs and views on nature and heritage.

A key observation by an official was that the municipality needs to clarify the use of undeveloped or vacant public land set aside for future use or alternatively implement amenities or facilities which create and clarify use and function within these spaces in order to counter activities of illegal dumping and crime. The above also highlights the disconnect that exists between settlement planning processes and layout plans developed, with the implementing agents or departments responsible for the budgeting and implementation of facilities such as parks and public spaces. The absence of a public space audit which is regularly updated and monitored in terms of keeping track of the number and location of newly zoned public spaces, existing facilities, their condition and needs for management and maintenance is a factor that hinders evidence-led planning and implementation. As highlighted by Shackleton, (2012: 3334),

Many municipalities do not know the extent or quality of public green spaces under their jurisdiction or the number, density, distribution and variety of street trees within the urban limits. Consequently, it is almost impossible to develop and interrogate arguments around their value and function. Inventory techniques are well established in the developed world, but there is a need to adapt them to developing world contexts, along with development of suitable data storage and monitoring systems.

The above correlates fully to the case of the BCMM and the lack of departmental systems to update and monitor the creation of newly planned spaces within new settlement areas is a challenge which is exacerbated by the lack of engagement and communication between these departments. The need for GIS specialists within each department and the need for discussion and integration at the planning stage were highlighted by officials from the planning departments who noted that officials from the implementing departments seldom commented on the nature or provision of planned open spaces in terms of suitability or practicality from a community perspective.

The researcher being based in the municipality for the past three years has also observed that there is no system in place to monitor the implementation of social amenities alongside infrastructure provision within newly developed settlements. The outcome of this gap manifests strongly in the Midland and Inland Regions where large tracts of unmanaged and underutilised land some of which may be termed as 'space left over after planning' results in the phenomenon of 'placelessness' and loss of value to public space. The inability of the municipality to effectively undertake evidence-based spatial planning, and asset management based life-cycle planning and budgeting in relation to public space amenities is evident in the lack of planning databases and inventories as well as in the ad-hoc nature of current interventions. The departmental silos and the lack of integrated planning through all stages of project conceptualisation and delivery are emphasised through the interviews held with officials.

The value of sound urban design principles in creating the context for successful placemaking is reinforced through the successful examples of public space and placemaking as seen in the cases of St George's Park in the inner city as well as Mbeka Street in Ginsberg where positive public building interfaces and tree-planting contribute to the creation of lively, green and attractive places. The absence of positive urban attributes at the settlement context and site scales alternatively highlights the reasons for failed interventions such as in the case of the Mdantsane Wetlands / Eco-Park where the embedded nature of the park, the lack of visibility and lack of overlooking uses have resulted in the park being unsafe and the target of vandalism and crime.

The combining of recreational and resilience building uses within public space are seen to be successful in cases where the urban attributes of the surrounding context are equally conducive to positive use and value as in the case of the James Pearce Park and St George's Park in the Coastal Region. Although the presence of strong primary green space networks are seen within all regions at the settlement planning scale, the corresponding lack of secondary networks of green space connectivity also observed across all the regions highlights the need for greater ecological awareness amongst officials in order to "close the gap between urban planning and urban ecology" (van Zyl et al., 2021: 131). As highlighted by van Zyl et al.,(2021:131) "ecological considerations should be better articulated in spatial planning policy and legislative frameworks that direct land-use zoning and development guidelines especially within the Global South where such aspects are applied to a more limited extent than in the Global North". The authors emphasise the need to strengthen the educational agenda of planning pedagogy in order to enable current and future practitioners to embed ecological considerations within broader planning approaches. This ecological knowledge will enable planners to better contribute to engaging and leading stakeholders

towards better decision-making in relation to the planning for public space and urban green infrastructure at the settlement planning scale through to site scales.

The mapping and documenting of elements such as existing and proposed continuous tree-lines, as well as the documenting of green heritage resources such as fifty and hundred year old champion trees within approved spatial development frameworks and precinct plans will promote the protection and implementation of these elements within new developments. As highlighted by Nagendra and Gopal, 2010 (cited in Shackleton, 2012: 3332), the high rates of urbanisation and growth of new settlements in Global South contexts give planners an opportunity to “be proactive in planning green areas and spaces for street trees in new suburbs (Jim and Liu, 2001) rather than retrospectively in old suburbs or narrow streets where space can be a constraint”. The research reveals the need for and the potential of placemaking and greening as tools to reclaim the value of public space as an incentive for improved planning and investment in the social, economic and environmental elements of public space.

8.1.3 Re-establishing the relevance of public space: The role of place-based and green conceptualisations of public space

A key determinant in re-envisioning public space as well as in re-claiming value within public space as outlined above lies in enhancing the relevance of public space in terms of its use and functionality. The chapter on processes of public space delivery and governance highlighted the potential for public spaces to be conceived of as spaces of integration, as protectors of community, as places of food security, promoters of heritage and tourism, as well as spaces that can accommodate events and activities. The above conceptualisations of public space are dependent on multidimensional processes of placemaking as outlined by Strydom and Puren (2016). These encompass spatial and psychological dimensions which are realised through the visual and intrinsic values present in properties of the end product as well as procedural dimensions which include the negotiations and discussions between relevant stakeholders which enable locally relevant conceptualisations of public space. As highlighted by Makakavhule (2021: 257), “there is a need to re-examine certain taken-for-granted practices, processes and representations of space, which have been normalised but are actually detrimental to democracy”. Placemaking practices should seek to enable the incorporation of place-specific social and economic dynamics in order to address the unique circumstances of each place thereby enhancing relevance. The observation of public spaces in the city highlighted the various challenges faced within these spaces in terms of relevance to surrounding communities and users. A key challenge observed included the absence of an overall multi-dimensional and unifying concept and vision for streets and parks with the dominance of uncoordinated and piecemeal interventions. The lack of coordination of various

entities involved in creating public space resulting in the loss of diversity in functions and uses fulfilled by public spaces. The lack of diversity in the functionality of existing public spaces further limits the use and value of these spaces especially in the Midland and Inland Regions. As observed by Carmona (2019: 50), “planning for a diversity of provision and not just for a greater quantum of public space, and certainly not for an over-simplified and potentially homogenised vision of one-size-fits-all” is relevant for the BCMM context where parks especially in the Midland Region are few and far between as well as conceptualised on a “one-size-fits-all” vision.

Further challenges observed include the lack of street vegetation concepts especially within central business district areas and the predominance of vehicular and transport oriented design solutions with a limited focus on pedestrian needs, functionality and amenity. The findings also revealed observed changes in tree-planting traditions in relation to new public roadways and public transport corridors which have been constructed without elements of tree-planting or greening implementation. The interviews with officials from these departments revealed that the concept of urban green infrastructure in relation to public space is not always fully understood nor embedded within the municipality, resulting in the lack of presence and use of combined systems of grey and green infrastructure within these projects. The focus of public space conceptualisation and delivery is predominantly on technical processes and sector-based visions and not necessarily informed by place-based and community-based visions limiting the overall multi-dimensional and integrated conceptualisation of public space. The effect of the nature of design briefs and Terms of References, as well as the nature of current processes with regard to community engagement and participation have all contributed to the lack of depth in the conceptualisation of integrated public space projects limiting their relevance to purely technical and sector specific outcomes as described in Chapter 6. These challenges impact on the significance of people-place interactions, experiences of health and well-being within public space as well as overall city resilience.

Drawing from Watson (2014: 8) on the significance of co-production and place-based solutions, citing Archer et al. (2012: 127) the role of built-environment professionals to “provide the right guidance without controlling all processes”, to “ask the right questions” without providing all the answers, and to bring together both physical and social aspects of the process is brought to the fore. Watson (2014: 12) citing Bovaird (2007: 858) calls for

A new type of public service professional: the coproduction development officer, who can help to overcome the reluctance of many professionals to share power with users and their communities and who can act internally and in organisations (and partnerships) to broker new roles for coproduction between traditional service

professionals, service managers and the political decision makers who shape the strategic direction of the service system.

For conceptualisation of public space at a strategy level, the UN-Habitat *Guidebook for City Leaders* (UN-Habitat, 2020) recommends the establishment of a working group of different stakeholders and donors who would contribute to the generation of a common vision for public space along with defined roles and responsibilities in relation to the vision. At a project level, it becomes critical to engage the involvement of local communities through formalised processes and engagements. “Public space is the embodiment of democratic values and facilitates debate sometimes required to test those values” (UN-Habitat, 2020: 70). Participatory planning processes whether these take the form of workshops, team building activities, public hearings, polls and surveys solicited through newspapers or community meetings provide a platform for democratic decision-making through the negotiation of conflicting values. Kaw et al. (2020) suggest various instruments such as government-led exhibitions to solicit feedback from stakeholders and the use of collaborative charettes or citizen dialogue to help cocreate public spaces. The approaches of tactical urbanism and placemaking are relevant where small and reiterative interventions are tried and tested with the public before they are made into more permanent interventions. Such approaches were echoed by the officials from the Development Agency of the city who stressed the need to arrive at an authentic vision for public spaces of the city. The interpretative storyboard initiative of the Agency seeks to compile and install interesting stories that speak to the history of East London reinforcing the identity of certain localities through stories that tap into the authentic elements of place. As argued by Cilliers et al., (2014) highlighting the ‘story behind a place’, influences the importance and value assigned by people to a place. Interventions of this nature by the Development Agency will enhance the relevance of public space in the city, deepening the value attached to these places by way of connecting to the history and stories of people who have contributed to the richness and identity of the city.

Drawing from Cocks et al., (2020) a similar opportunity lies in the incorporation of biocultural diversity within the city’s urban green spaces. As highlighted in the literature review, the authors propose that alternative ways of interacting with nature need to be unlocked through providing platforms for the sharing of stories, knowledge systems and experiences of residents so that communities can play a greater role in caring for nature as per their own closely held traditions and ways of being with nature. Williams (2014), Eggermont (2015) and Gulsrud et al., (2018), similarly advocate for the integration of socio-cultural underpinnings to the conceptualisation of place-based perspectives. As highlighted by Shackleton (2012), cultural and religious beliefs can provide a stronger basis for the care of urban trees and forests. Shackleton and Gwedla (2021) similarly emphasise the need for municipalities, local

authorities, community leaders and planners to campaign for the inclusion of urban trees, with a focus on indigenous species within settlement and development plans in a manner that is sensitive and inclusive of Afrocentric needs and preferences.

The role of public space in growing and providing consumptive food is highlighted by Shackleton (2012). Referring to the high rates of urbanisation “with high influxes of people many of whom have yet to establish an urban livelihood, there is potentially significant demand for consumptive food from green spaces and trees which differs from the largely recreational and psychological uses in the developed world” (Hunter, 2001 cited in Shackleton 2012: 3333). Other potential products such as edible fruits, bark and roots for medicine and construction purposes are highlighted as resources which are vital safety-nets for communities in times of stress (Paumparten 2005 cited in Shackleton 2012: 3333) The above highlights the potential contribution of urban forestry and place-based greening solutions towards poverty alleviation especially within contexts of economic stress caused by high unemployment.

8.1.4 Promotion of innovation in public space governance: The role of multi-stakeholder collaboration and partnerships in ongoing management and maintenance of public space

As highlighted in the empirical chapters the greatest challenge faced by the city at the present time in relation to public space, is its failure to adequately manage and maintain its existing public spaces. The city-wide lack of sustained management and maintenance within public spaces and the dire conditions within many of the existing and new parks and amenities observed especially in the Midland and Inland Regions have resulted in these becoming sites of vandalism and illegal activity. The long-term leadership instability in the previously Community Services Directorate which has now been split into two directorates following a change in the organogram, has resulted in the separation of the solid waste management, environmental management and vegetation control functions from the sports, recreation and community amenities functions. The appointment of new leadership in the Solid Waste and Environmental Management Directorate offers confidence and hope for improved performance management within the directorate in the face of challenges that have been highlighted by both senior officials as well as external private sector role-players who have been involved in offering support to address some of these challenges. The separation of the vegetation control function from the parks and amenities function however also raises a concern in terms of the coordination of activities in relation to management and maintenance especially within city parks. It is evident that dedicated planning and championing of these activities will need to be prioritised in order to revive and sustain the value and function of these spaces within the city.

The systems in place to support the ongoing stewardship, management and maintenance of public space over time, ultimately define the quality of peoples' experiences of public spaces and places in the city. As highlighted by De Magalhães and Carmona (2009: 112), this ensures that "public space can fulfil its legitimate roles, while managing the interactions among, and impacts of multiple functions in a way that is acceptable to all users". Of the three models of public space management highlighted by De Magalhães and Carmona (2009), comprising state-centred, market-centred and user-centred models, and further contextualised to a South African perspective by Landman (2019) to include a fourth approach characterised by co-maintenance, a combination of the state centred and co-maintenance approach is observed in the BCMM case. The fourth approach is also termed by Zamanifard et al., (2018: 159) as "governance through networks" where "stakeholders build their relationships on trust, voluntary collaboration, and self-organisations". As highlighted in the research by Ambrose-Oji et al., (2017) in Europe, planning styles across Europe are moving towards more flexible and networked governance arrangements where active citizens, civil society organisations and businesses are contributing to the objectives of municipalities in relation to both the creation of green space and its management. Innovation in governance in the above research was found to encompass four key areas which included innovation in 'use, functions and activity', innovation in 'organisational structures, relationships and legal arrangements', innovation in 'problem solving, maintenance and management' as well as innovation in 'resource allocation, funding and staffing'.

Although the state-centred approach is relied upon in the majority of instances of city-wide management and maintenance of public space in the BCMM, the fourth approach where the waste-management and cleaning responsibilities and upkeep, care and maintenance as well as sustainable use of the parks and public spaces are shared by different entities is also observed in instances, particularly in the Coastal Region of the city where communities are better resourced socio-economically to mobilise and initiate co-maintenance approaches. These approaches are however purely voluntary in nature and receive no government support in terms of funding, resourcing or other financial incentives.

The research has highlighted that one of the biggest barriers to management and maintenance of public space is the current state-centred, traditional governance model which is silo-based, and sector defined. As highlighted by Greuning (2001), cited in Zamanifard et al. (2018: 158), this traditional governance model "is often criticised for inefficiency, mediocre or low-quality outcomes, and under-management". Four areas for governance improvement and innovation and are highlighted through the research; integration within internal service delivery practices in relation to public space, integration with external role-players such as

private sector and businesses, integration with place-based communities and role-players such as NGO's and ward-based committees, well as integration with students, practitioners and professional bodies in public space. This emphasises the need for management and maintenance governance frameworks to not be limited internally to a single department but to include transversal participation from sector departments as well as participation from external role players such as businesses, citizens as well as professionals in the public space domain. The magnitude of this task highlights the need for dedicated municipal capacity to look into the development of an entire portfolio for public space management and maintenance that looks outside traditional municipal governance frameworks. This task also necessitates the integration and monitoring of regulatory frameworks and by-laws to ensure that various inter-related by-laws are aligned as well as enforced through appropriate place-based mechanisms such as ward-based safety and security forums linked to internal and external policing systems.

The integration in internal service delivery practices also highlights the need to operationalise interdepartmental synergy and collaboration in relation to management and maintenance. As highlighted in chapter 6, this requires the formation of a resource network where the Parks Department becomes a custodian and various other departments such as the Roads Department, Building Maintenance Department, Supply Chain Management (SCM) Department, Solid Waste Management, Fleet and Equipment Management departments all play a synergistic role in management and maintenance functions. The model for integration with external role-players such as private sector and businesses requires the development of frameworks for Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) which can overcome issues of procurement and issues pertaining to the ring-fencing of funding for the management and maintenance of public space. The tremendous role played by local businesses, voluntary organisations and individuals in the city is highlighted in Chapter 6, however it is also noted that such initiatives are offered no support or financial incentives from the municipality undermining their long term sustainability.

As highlighted by Cilliers and Timmerman (2014), the building of social capital during the project implementation phase is also key to engaging the sustained involvement of communities in the ongoing management and maintenance of public space. The development of models for public participation as well as systems to monitor and evaluate processes of public engagement and participation therefore become significant. The potential for the development of place-based management committees either ward-based or strategic programme or area-based is brought to the fore as also highlighted in the case of the Warwick Junction Project, described in the Section 2.5.2 of the literature review. As highlighted in Chapter 6, the intention of these management committees would be to ensure

actions to address issues of waste management, signage development as well as project or programme promotion. The proposition is that these committees could include ward councillors, local social transformation groups such as NGO's and NPO's and private businesses located in the area. The role of these committees to seek donations through the setting up of a trust fund as well as through the hosting of events and programmes that generate revenue for management and maintenance is significant. The role of an intermediary such as the Development Agency in enlisting third party operators who could develop lists of activities and events that could bring in money to contribute to and supplement the funds for management and maintenance of public space is emphasised.

Similarly, the role of design, heritage and built environment practitioners such as artists, architects, landscape architects, students and entrepreneurs in enriching the governance space is highlighted through the research. The potential to forge and sustain partnerships with professional bodies as well as local and provincial entities such as the ECPRHA, BKCOB, the South African Property Owners Association (SAPOA) and the Border Kei Institute of Architects (BKIA) as well as local tertiary institutions such as the Walter Sisulu University (WSU) and the University of Fort Hare (UFH) is brought to the fore. Monitoring and publicity in the form of peer reviews and competitions could attract attention and build momentum in enhancing the value of public space in the city. The above findings reinforce the power of soft governance tools highlighted in the literature review in promoting greater value and interest in the creation of meaningful public spaces. The European Survey on informal tools of urban design governance provide examples of the use of design awards to foster best practice as well as the use of media, events and networks to campaign for the creation of awareness among professionals and the general public about key issues which affect the quality of the built environment (Urban Maestro Project, 2019). The linkage between the different types of tools and their relevance for institutionalisation through soft-governance are described further in Section 8.2.

8.1.5 Developing of design governance tools: The role of urban design policies, public space strategies, placemaking and greening guidelines in enhancing place quality

One of the key impediments to the sound planning and delivery of public spaces and parks in the city as highlighted by officials is the lack of a public space strategy, policies and guidelines which could assist to plan, regulate, facilitate and fund placemaking and greening interventions in the city. The lack of this strategic guidance implies that there is currently no vision, that could direct the planning, resourcing and budgeting of public space, placemaking and greening projects in the city. This results in the ad-hoc patterns of investment and intervention as highlighted in Section 8.1.3 which are not necessarily assisting to address underlying issues fore-fronted through the discussions thus far. These include disparities in

distribution and quality of public spaces and greening across the three regions of the city, issues of crime and vandalism and the lack of a vision which aims to create value within public spaces, the lack of adequate conceptualisation of the types of facilities provided and uses served by public spaces, as well as dominant issues of lack of management and maintenance of public space. Park design guides incorporating principles of placemaking and greening derived from locally relevant conceptualisations as well as park management and maintenance guides that showcase innovative community and partnership models for governance of public spaces are seen as gaps that need to be addressed. The presence of such guides are especially relevant for use within parks and public spaces located with previously marginalised areas which do not often receive support through private sector interest and interventions. The observation of public space cases in the city also highlighted the influence of settlement context characteristics on the quality of public spaces. Both the successful and unsuccessful cases of public spaces are seen to have been directly affected by characteristics of the surrounding built environment, their urban and green qualities and attributes. This highlights the role and relevance of an urban design policy and guidelines in influencing planners, practitioners and developers in promoting developments which contribute to a more qualitative built environment and resulting public realm and public spaces. As highlighted by the Urban Maestro Project (2019: 7) “instead of waiting for organisations and individuals to seek out knowledge, these tools take the knowledge to them, seeking to package key messages in a manner that engages attention and wins hearts and minds about the importance of good design”.

The socio-economic challenges prevailing in the municipality also call for the need to explore and integrate opportunities for economic development within public space at a city-wide level. Initiatives such as ward-based food production and informal trading markets at various scales of the city were highlighted by the General Manager for the City’s Fresh Produce Market in a strategic session focussing on the theme of ‘productive cities’ (meeting held on 21 October 2021). As highlighted by Dobson (2007), the redesigning of public spaces to accommodate economic activities can be a powerful tool for local governments to advance livelihood generation through the promotion of the informal economy. It is held that the development of a strategy and policies for public space need to delve deeper into the above context specific issues as entry points which could be expanded and facilitated through a dedicated public space multi-stakeholder working group steered through the city. In addition to the sector departments engaged in this research, the need to involve the Public Safety and Protection Services Department, the Fresh Produce Market Department, the Trade, Industry and Investment Department as well as the Information, Knowledge Management (IKM) Department is seen as important in incorporating all the synergies and opportunities that exist around public space. The role of the IKM Department of the Municipality in collaboration

with local universities in undertaking research that can assist in developing locally relevant standards for public space provision linked to aspects of quality, heritage, attached values and uses is highlighted. The role of the Public Safety and Protection Services Department is equally significant in relation to the activation of ward-based community safety forums that could play a role in the monitoring of public spaces within each ward. Similarly, the Communications Department alongside the technical departments could play an equally significant role in promoting, education and awareness programmes and campaigns in relation to placemaking and greening within public space.

The document on the use of soft-power tools in urban governance in South Africa (Landman, 2020), prepared as part of the Urban Maestro Project (https://urbanmaestro.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/urban-maestro_-soft-urban-design-governance-tools-in-sa_k-landman.pdf) highlights various examples of partnerships at a local government level that foster advocacy towards better governance of public space. The example of the Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ) serves as an inspiring example of what a municipality can do to promote advocacy and action in public space. The JCPZ has forged partnerships with the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), the Johannesburg Safety Programme and the Special Projects Unit in the Office of the City Manager, as well as the Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention Programme (VCP), a joint programme between South Africa and Germany implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). The unit has also partnered with the UN-Habitat to develop practice guides for the city, partnering also with university students and professors from the WITS University. The JCPZ has also hosted several environmental campaigns and events to raise awareness and promote the active use of green spaces in the city (Landman, 2020:18).

The UN-Habitat Guidebook (2020) referred to through this research provides a process-based guide for city leaders towards developing city-wide public space strategies. The document emphasises the importance of establishing a working group as well as the need to generate political support to get projects off the ground. The document also outlines processes towards generating action plans as well as methods of monitoring and evaluating the strategy. The UN-Habitat offers support to municipalities in undertaking city-wide public space inventory assessments through its Global Public Space Programme as outlined by Mutai (2021), through the Urban Maestro Project (https://urbanmaestro.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/urban-maestro_-city-wide-public-space-inventory-and-assessment-tool_i-mutai.pdf). In the face of various constraints faced by the municipality covered further in 8.2 below, such partnerships could be hugely beneficial in enhancing public space advocacy within the institution.

8.2 ENABLERS FOR THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF PLACEMAKING AND GREENING PRACTICES WITHIN BCMM PUBLIC SPACE

Section 8.1 has sought to highlight the desired actions and protocols which could address the various issues and challenges which face the municipality in terms of its governance processes in relation to the planning, conceptualisation, delivery, management and maintenance of public space. It has further highlighted the role of both hard and soft design governance strategies in promoting the creation of developments and settlement contexts that respond better to the public realm and public space. The relevance of practices of placemaking and greening in enriching these processes towards more responsive, place-based and resilient public spaces has been highlighted through the discussions which sought to link the key literature to context specific solutions and actions. Given that sound urban design and the delivery of quality public spaces at a city-wide scale is a core function of local government, the decision to intervene in the quality of the built environment and public space is an important one. However, there may not be a magic wand to effect immediate outcomes, managing small changes and monitoring and highlighting the emergence of better quality projects and environments over time may enhance the uptake of new practices. As highlighted in Tyrell and Odbert (2013), in the application of a sound methodology, at some stage there is a tipping point where projects become valuable assets to the community. A number of key factors which can influence and shape decision-making towards better design, delivery and custodianship of public space are highlighted in the section below. The case study context highlights key issues that need to be addressed from an organisational perspective in order to enable the institutionalisation of placemaking and greening practices.

8.2.1 Institutional innovation, championing and leadership

As revealed through the research, the championing of strategic placemaking interventions takes place primarily through the Development Agency who is able to leverage the necessary budgets and resources to undertake flagship projects and interventions which aim to create better public spaces within the city. As an entity of the city, the Agency is less constrained by bureaucratic processes and regulations and is therefore able to mobilise small and dedicated teams to champion these efforts. The presence of practices of placemaking and greening interventions within city departmental projects are limited to projects of the Environmental Planning, Parks, and Tourism, Arts, Culture and Heritage Departments. These departmental initiatives are at the same time highlighted as being inadequately financed and resourced due to a lack of prioritisation especially in terms of a city-wide approach. As highlighted through the evidence on current practices of public space conceptualisation, public spaces such as streets and transport corridors are largely driven through purely technical processes

with outcomes which are not aligned to a shared vision which integrates social, economic and environmental benefits within public space. This brings to the fore the role of intermediaries or go-between actors as highlighted by Odendaal (2018), who negotiate, translate, coax and leverage in order to bring together various stakeholders and mediate between sectoral interests towards more holistic outcomes. As highlighted in Section 8.1.1, the EPMO in collaboration with the Development Agency to a certain extent performs this intermediary role. Although the researcher as an insider based at the EPMO seeks to advance and champion the role of public space in the city through project-based involvement, it is evident that greater internal advocacy on the significance and role of public space, as well as greater innovation, championing and leadership will be required at an executive and top management level in order to address a number of challenges and gaps that are observed which influence prospects for institutionalisation. As highlighted by the UN-Habitat and PPS (2012), city leadership can develop bold new consensus visions which are both 'top down' and 'bottom up' encompassing both organisation at the highest levels of the city as well as at the grassroots level.

8.2.2 Culture of transversal practice and collaboration

As highlighted through the research a number of key departments and support departments play a role in relation to the planning, design conceptualisation, delivery and management of public spaces in the city. The focus of the research involved the study of the technical departments involved in these processes including the four Planning Departments, the Parks Department, the Sports and Recreation Department, the Roads and Stormwater Department, the Department of Tourism, Heritage, Arts and Culture and the EPMO. However, as highlighted in Section 8.1.5 it has emerged that other key departments also play a part in contributing to the role of public space including that of the Fresh Produce Market Department, the Trade and Investments Department, and the Public Safety and Protection Services Department along with the Solid Waste Department. The role of the Information, Knowledge Management Department and the Communications Department are also highlighted in relation to the evidence from the literature on the power of soft-governance approaches in promoting better designed environments. The researcher being based internal to the organisation for the past three years has directly experienced and observed the effects of the currently entrenched organisational culture of working and reporting strictly within silos. The lack of voluntary collaboration and the absence of communities of practice outside the structures of top management, restricts communication and the sharing of knowledge beyond the reporting lines of the organogram. The EPMO in fulfilling a technical advisory and support function to the City Manager and various infrastructure directorates has in the past few years played a coordinating role in managing and leading transversal project

teams in relation to implementing planning, budgeting and reporting reforms emanating from the National Treasury. It is however held that the culture of transversal practice is not well enough embedded in the day to day practices of the municipality. Steady efforts have been made from the EPMO especially in terms of coordinating the preparation of the institutional Built Environment Performance Plan over the period from 2017/18 to 2020/21 where the department has striven to cultivate meaningful collaboration between city departments with positive outcomes in the coordination of institutional catalytic programmes and projects which now fall within the mandate of the department.

It is held that the success of integrating practices of placemaking and greening within public space will lie at two levels; firstly, at a city-wide institutional level through practices of collaborative conceptualisation, enabled through transversal structures focused around enhancing the value of public space. The identification of departmental drivers within all key departments who have role in relation to the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space is brought to the fore. The 'joint leader' model successful in the Warwick Junction Project discussed in Section 2.5.2 which highlighted the role of team work and communication in carrying out project implementation and ongoing management and maintenance is relevant here. Furthermore, institutionalisation will lie at a project level where practices of placemaking and greening are integrated into departmental programmes and projects. The monitoring of these practices through appropriate indicators which regulate performance management will also set in place the necessary internal mechanisms to rate projects in terms of meeting desired criteria.

8.2.3 Enhanced knowledge, skills and capability in relation to placemaking and greening practice

The pathways to the embedding of practices related to placemaking and greening within the mindset of officials and stakeholders who drive public space projects of the city will depend on the extent to which the value and benefits of these practices can be shared with this wider set of stakeholders. Carmona (2017) and the Urban Maestro Project offered useful insights in terms of power of soft or non-regulatory tools to shape the quality of the built environment. The project refers to various tools termed as informal tools of governance to enable and effect change in the quality of the built environment and public space. In addition to analysis tools, which seek to highlight the status quo in terms of issues and challenges, information tools or knowledge dissemination tools play a role in highlighting best practice, through practice-guides, case study examples and the offering of basic and specialist training amongst key stakeholders (Urban Maestro Project, 2020). In the case of the BCMM, issues of lack of leadership capacity and expertise to drive necessary actions in relation to the planning and delivery of impactful placemaking and greening projects were highlighted

through some of the interviews. The impact of experienced and skilled staff leaving the institution or retiring from service have had a further negative impact on the capacity of the institution to undertake and champion new initiatives. The challenges are compounded by the lack of stable leadership as well as the poor staff morale due to uncertainties of a changing organogram as highlighted by officials in the Parks Department as well as the Vegetation Control Department. The enhancing of knowledge and skills in relation to placemaking and greening amongst departmental leadership and officials will influence the advocacy and articulation of placemaking and greening concerns and outcomes within sectoral policies as well as programmes and projects. Engaging with national and international partners such as the UN-Habitat as well as the undertaking of peer learning exercises with municipalities who have achieved innovation in their practices in relation to public space could offer further opportunities to explore and strengthen knowledge and skills amongst officials.

8.2.4 Enhanced capability to mobilise networks and stakeholders

As highlighted in Section 8.1, the essence of placemaking practice is that it is driven through collaborative processes encompassing a wide range of stakeholders both within the public sector and the private sector as well as communities. The forging of collaboration with a wide stakeholder base will be key in fostering a culture of design quality and excellence in the public realm. As highlighted by the UN-Habitat and PPS (2012:16),

Effectively conceived and managed public spaces require the involvement of non-state partners, such as NGOs. But, while improving public space can meet the goals of NGOs and foundations, civil society itself needs ways to collaborate more effectively with government. In other words, government needs to mobilize to develop and implement bottom-up policies as well as top-down ones (UN-Habitat and PPS,2012: 16).

The Urban Maestro Project (2020), in its set of informal or soft governance tools makes reference to persuasion tools or proactive promotion tools such as campaigning through media, events and networks as well as pro-active cross-stakeholder advocacy and partnership. Persuasion tools also include the use of design awards to foster and awareness and culture of best practice. “Whilst it acts with, for and amongst other stakeholders, the public sector nevertheless has a special responsibility for creating the conditions within which a high quality built environment can flourish” (Urban Maestro Project, 2021: 32).

Within the current organisational culture, the mobilising of networks and stakeholders occurs largely at a political level through the office of the Mayor. Departmental interactions with external stakeholders occur mostly through quarterly and mid-yearly Inter-Governmental

Relations (IGR) sessions which cover issues pertaining to city-wide Integrated Development Planning (IDP) as well as planning in relation to the recently launched District Development Model (DDM) which aims to foster joint and collaborative planning between the three spheres of government including the national, provincial and local spheres of government. The Development Agency is proactive in the formulation of programme based stakeholder networks and has a wider network of connections with research organisations such as the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) as well as tertiary institutions such as the WSU and the UFH. The interviews with officials of the Agency also highlighted their intention to develop an ecosystem of entrepreneurs, practitioners, artists and architects who could play a role in enhancing placemaking efforts in the city. Mobilising networks at a community scale in relation to placemaking and greening however holds much more potential at the municipal level with the opportunity to work through existing ward-based structures and Ward Councillors who are active within their constituencies. Approaches which integrate involvement of NGO's and social movements in initiating processes of co-production as highlighted by Watson (2014) need to be embraced by practitioners and officials in the municipality.

As brought to the fore in Section 8.1.4, the magnitude of the task highlights the need for the development of an entire portfolio for public space management and maintenance that looks outside traditional municipal governance frameworks and works towards mobilising a wide range of networks and stakeholders who can contribute towards enriching and creating value within public space. The task also entails the important role of managing and resolving of clashes in public and private interests ensuring that the public good is always ensured. As highlighted by De Magalhães and Carmona (2009) citing Leach and Percy-Smith (2001), the fragmentation within “command and control” states calls for greater coordination and more enabling forms of urban governance. As highlighted by the Urban Maestro Project (2019: 9), this also recognises that:

“governments are severely limited in their ability to effect change when acting alone and consequently power is dispersed. Instead, public power acts through different tiers of government, through a wide range of government and pseudo-governmental agencies, and through the resources and activities of the private sector. Arguably, the most successful places come about through effective coordination between the many different actors involved in their production”.

This can counteract the criticisms against traditional governance models which highlight inefficiencies, under-management and mediocre or low-quality outcomes as highlighted by Greuning (2001) cited in Zamanifard et al. (2018). This capacity is seen as additional to engaging with current regulatory frameworks and by-laws in relation to public space. The

dedicated capacity would also need to ensure that various inter-related by-laws are aligned and enforced through appropriate place-based mechanisms. The availability of direct assistance and support from National Treasury through programmes such as the City Public Employment Programme and the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant as well as international support from agencies such as the UN-Habitat will further enhance the ability of the institution to champion these approaches. All of the above are underpinned by the commitment from municipal leadership to support, resource and fund projects, programmes and partnerships which impact on public space and activities of placemaking and greening in the city. The enablers for this are discussed further in Section 8.2.3 below.

8.2.5 Commitment to resourcing of public space, placemaking and greening programmes and projects

As the economy of the country struggles in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, municipalities have experienced extreme challenges impacting on financial sustainability in addition to the devastating impacts on health and well-being of citizens. The national lockdowns imposed from the period between March 2020 and the present have resulted in the loss of 32 987 jobs (3.2% of formal employment) in the BCMM with 8 198 households being financially affected by the pandemic. The pandemic has also resulted in an additional 724 households in the city becoming indigent (Inca Portfolio Managers, 2021). Post-Covid 19 recovery will therefore force municipalities to focus on the reprioritisation of resources towards projects which directly enhance revenue generation in the city. Structural reforms from National Treasury to promote economic recovery include; reducing electricity constraints through the generation of electricity, creating employment in the education, waste recycling, creative, cultural and business sectors, supporting industrial growth, infrastructure roll-out and the creation of an enabling business environment (National Treasury, 2021). Aligned with the above the City Public Employment Programme positioning cities for economic recovery makes specific reference to activities of placemaking and greening as entry points to job creation.

The global pandemic has impacted on the way people use cities and spaces. As people have remained largely home-bound through the various lockdowns, local spaces and places have gained greater significance. This has given practitioners in the built environment space an opportunity to re-consider public space as places that need to meet a wide range of needs which will enhance the economic, social and environmental well-being of people and place. The success of various private sector and community driven initiatives such as those of the Call-2-Action group, the Land of the Living Group as well as various other community based groups who undertake voluntary management and maintenance of public spaces in the city will also depend on support and commitment from city leadership in terms of long term

sustenance. Leadership commitment, acceptance and willingness to actively support activities relating to placemaking and greening through its appropriate funding, resourcing and incentivisation will therefore play a crucial role in enhancing and promoting these activities within the BCMM both internally within as well as with the private sector and communities. As highlighted through the Green Surge Project in Europe discussed in Section 2.3.8 of the literature review, in municipal led processes, the above was achieved through the mobilising of social capital through the use of strategic planning instruments where citizens were invited to participate in the place-making or place-keeping processes. In the co-governance models, municipalities enter into formal partnerships with citizens or citizen organizations with power being shared between those involved. The use of the green barter system was also seen as an incentive for private sector involvement where businesses who develop or maintain green space are given rights to use the space for business purposes and / or profits. The above examples highlight the importance of formalised partnerships which clarify roles, responsibilities and commitments as well as afford benefits to all parties as a means of sustaining joint initiatives.

In addition to the factors outlined in this sub-section, the need to address basic issues and challenges prevalent at the time of this research are highlighted. These include the need to address inadequate waste management in the city, the need to enhance law enforcement and adherence to regulations within public space as well as the need to elevate issues of performance management and accountability through measures that evaluate integrated outcomes of qualitative public space, placemaking and greening within city programmes and projects. Attention to the above governance actions will also ultimately impact on the nature and quality of public spaces in the city. Carmona (2017), highlights the hard governance tools in relation to the design of public space to include regulatory responsibilities of state viz. that of control, incentive and guidance. The case study context has revealed that in addition to the above hard governance tools which relate to design aspects of public space, governance in relation to the management and maintenance of public space, including that of performance management in relation to public space upkeep plays an equally important role in place quality. As proposed through the Urban Maestro Project (2021: 8) synergies between hard and soft governance tools “have the potential to make both approaches more effective in attaining their desired outcomes”.

8.3 CONCLUSION

The purpose of the chapter was twofold. The first part sought to highlight the issues which influence practices of placemaking and greening within public space from the perspective of current public space governance in the municipality as well as from the perspective of how

these affect outcomes on the ground. The second part sought to examine the necessary organisational enablers that would underpin the institutionalisation of processes of placemaking and greening within public space. The key issues in relation to public space were framed as a series of protocols for action encompassing five areas of focus including, i) re-envisioning public space and the role of institutional innovation, leadership, collaboration and championing, ii) reclaiming the value of public space and the role of evidence-based planning and investment in public space iii) re-establishing the relevance of public space and the role of place-based and green conceptualisations of public space iv) promotion of innovation in public space governance and the role of multi-stakeholder collaboration and partnerships in ongoing management and maintenance of public space and lastly v) developing of design governance tools such as urban design policies, public space strategies and placemaking and greening guidelines which will assist in enhancing place quality.

In light of the above issues, the second part of the chapter sought to link the proposed protocols to the necessary conditions which would underpin the institutional uptake of practices of placemaking and greening within the processes of planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space in the city. The enablers for institutionalisation are therefore dependent on a number of factors including, i) institutional innovation, championing and leadership ii) culture of transversal practice and collaboration iii) enhanced knowledge, skills and capability in relation to placemaking and greening practice iv) enhanced capability to mobilise networks and stakeholders and v) commitment to resourcing of public space, placemaking and greening programmes and projects. In addition, the need to address the basic aspects of governance including enhanced performance management and accountability, by-law enforcement and enforcement of regulations within public space are highlighted. The narrative developed emphasises the role of decisive leadership in committing to the creation of value within public space, embracing innovation in governance, collective actions and interventions which can impact positive change within public space and the built environment of the BCMM.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

9. CONCLUSION

When we dream alone it is only a dream, but when many dream together it is the beginning of a new reality (Hundertwasser, no date).

This thesis grew out of a desire to make a lasting contribution to public space in the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality having been a resident and consulting urban designer in the city from 2014 and thereafter being appointed in the capacity of Strategic Urban Designer in the EPMO, based in the Directorate of the City Manager since February 2018 to date. The mandate of the office as a technical advisory unit fulfilling a support function to the various city directorates highlighted the need from a strategic urban design perspective to advance the role of public space in the city through the systematic gathering of evidence which could help officials and city leadership understand “the problems and processes of design and development as they effect the built environment” (Urban Maestro, 2019: 4). The focus of the research on the integration of practices of placemaking and greening within public space gained timely significance and relevance in view of the commitment by the Government of South Africa to join the call to meet targets for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as set out in the Sustainable Development Goals. Of specific relevance to the research was Goal 11 which seeks to “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” (UN SDG, 2015). The above together with the commitment in the New Urban Agenda (2016: 13) to promote “safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces”, emphasised the need to seek solutions for the city which would be relevant, meaningful and achievable through practice. The study was therefore initiated in early 2019 and the process of carrying out the research has provided many valuable insights, the key findings of which are synthesised and presented through this concluding chapter.

9.1 ADDRESSING THE MAIN AND SUB-RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question sought to examine the relevance of integrated placemaking and greening practices for the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space in the city as well as to understand how these processes unfold in the municipal context. A number of sub-research questions assisted in contributing to a deeper understanding of the case study context in relation to the main research question. The sub-research questions examined the following: i) the nature of current practices of planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space in the city, ii) the extent to which placemaking and greening practices are embedded, resourced and institutionalised in terms of the conceptualisation of public space, iii) the extent to which public spaces in the city reflect placemaking and greening objectives and outcomes, iv) the challenges and issues that affect

placemaking and greening practice in the city. Lastly the research sought to examine the relevance of insights generated from the case study context for similar Global South municipal contexts.

The thesis argues that practices of placemaking and greening hold unique relevance for the case study context characterised by high unemployment and poverty and where public space holds the potential to make the city more liveable and resilient, enhancing health, well-being, sense of belonging and sense of place. The research highlights and confirms that current practices of planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space are silo-based and technically focused resulting in a lack of diversity in the functions and uses fulfilled by public space. The silo-based conceptualisation also results in a lack of collective accountability and ownership in the management and maintenance of public space. The lack of prioritisation and care for placemaking and greening outcomes at a city-wide scale together with the predominantly technical focus in public space conceptualisation and delivery processes implies that placemaking and greening practices are poorly embedded, resourced and institutionalised within the city. The analysis and observation of public spaces across the three regions in the city further highlights that many of the spaces observed haven't transitioned from that of being a 'space' to a 'place' in the sense of places being centres of "felt value" (Madanipour, 1996), which evoke "place meaning" and "place attachment" denoting the positive emotional significance and connection between people and the environment (Altman and Low, 1992).

The research reveals that unlike the wealthier areas and suburbs in the city where communities and the private sector play an active campaigning role for the care and upkeep of public space, communities in areas of high social and economic vulnerability tend to focus on meeting immediate and basic needs as a priority resulting in the neglect of public space in these areas. The extent to which placemaking and greening objectives and outcomes are observed within public space in the city corresponds with the above pattern and tends to be focused within the older, wealthier areas and suburbs as well as within the key tourism destinations areas of the city. It is observed that there is inadequate care, attention and resources being dedicated to the development, management and maintenance of public spaces in previously marginalised areas and communities in the city. Further, the level of poverty and unemployment in these areas leads to high incidences of crime, vandalism and delinquent activity within public space. The resultant lack of value in public space leads to a lack of care and illegal dumping within these spaces. These conditions are further exacerbated by the lack of adequate municipal management and maintenance of public space within all areas of the city during the period of this research. This was highlighted as a long standing issue by all of the respondents interviewed.

The greatest challenge that affects placemaking and greening practice in the city at the current time can be attributed to the lack of prioritisation and care for public space from an institutional perspective. The current prioritisation and focus by local government on the provision of shelter and basic infrastructure services results in the corresponding neglect of public space which in many instances becomes the 'unseen space' having consequences for the quality of life of citizens especially in the most marginalised areas of the city which experience severe disparities in access to well managed public social, recreational and green space amenities.

The above insights gained through the processes of engaging with and interviewing relevant municipal officials as well as through the observation of public spaces in the city alongside the interviewing of users of observed public spaces, surface the unique challenges as well as the underlying issues which prevail in the case study context. An understanding of the socio-political and socio-spatial development context of the municipality also assisted in identifying some of the root causes and challenges which exist in relation to public space in the city. In the face of above highlighted challenges, the prospects for the institutionalisation of placemaking and greening practice in the BCMM will be dependent on a number of necessary shifts within the organisational thinking and culture which will underpin and determine whether a change from the status quo may be affected. The nature of these shifts, as well as the relevance of insights from the case study for similar Global South municipal contexts will be described further in Section 9.3 of this chapter which highlights the implications of the research findings for urban design and planning in practice.

9.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN DESIGN THEORY

The further set of insights gained through this research relates to the role of placemaking and greening in establishing relevance and meaning in public space and the implications of this for urban design theory. The research draws together diverse literature and discourses on placemaking and greening towards a conceptual framework which brings together various dimensions which have relevance for the spatial realisation of these practices within a municipal governance context. The framework positions public space as a product which is an outcome of a series of processes which impacts on the quality, value and use of public space. As highlighted through the literature review, the practice of placemaking draws on the potential of place-based conceptualisations to enrich the relationship and interaction between people and places. Concurrently, greening practices in public space seek to enhance human health and well-being whilst contributing to harmonious relationships between nature and the built environment. The integration of theoretical discourses on placemaking and greening into a practical framework offers a common point of reference for

municipal leaders, officials and practitioners who play a role in the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space. From a process related perspective, the framework foregrounds five key dimensions in relation to successful public space delivery and governance. These include the role of i) institutional innovation, leadership, collaboration and championing in relation to public space in the city, ii) planning and investment in public space iii) place-based and green conceptualisation and delivery which encompasses multi-dimensional, multi-stakeholder and multi-disciplinary processes iv) ongoing management and maintenance involving multi-stakeholder partnerships, roles and responsibilities and lastly the role of v) urban design polices, public space strategies and placemaking and greening guidelines which clarify, provide detail and support the other four key areas identified. From the perspective of the product of public space, the framework foregrounds three key dimensions which impact on the nature of physical characteristics of public space. These include, i) place-supporting urban and physical attributes, ii) place-related ecological and green attributes and iii) place-based use and activities all of which contribute to the fourth dimension, which is the creation of more liveable, resilient public spaces that enhance health and well-being, sense of belonging and sense of place for residents in a city. The inter-relationships between the various dimensions in relation to the product and processes of public space delivery and governance are shown in Figure 9.1 below.

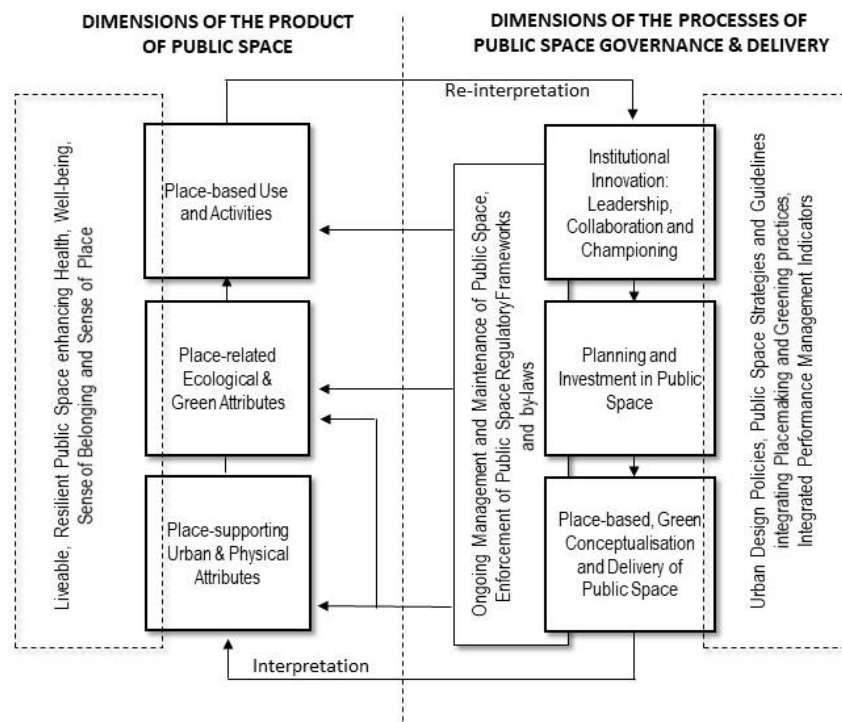


Figure 9.1: A framework to integrate practices of placemaking and greening into the conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space. Source: Author (2021)

The above conceptual framework served as a guide to structure the research as well as shape the evidence gathering process through a systematic analysis which sought to explore and understand existing placemaking and greening processes in the city as well as the impact of these within public space on the ground. The empirical research therefore entailed two concurrent activities. Firstly, the observation of current institutional practices in relation to the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space in the city and secondly the observation of the product of public space in relation to placemaking and greening impact. The research confirmed the value and significance of the conceptual framework foregrounding the fundamental impact of processes of governance and delivery on the product of public space. Building on foundational urban design theory in relation to the making of place by Madanipour (1996) and Carmona (2014), the framework finds relevance for a Global South context highlighting the role of governance, leadership, proper planning and resourcing as well as place-based and green conceptualisations for effective implementation which contributes to the creation of liveable, resilient and green public spaces which enhance health and well-being as well as a sense of belonging and sense of place.

9.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN DESIGN AND PLANNING IN PRACTICE

Given that the planning, conceptualisation, delivery and management of public space at a city-wide scale is a core function of local government, the task of leading and integrating practices of placemaking and greening within public space lies primarily with municipalities. The evidence gathering process structured through the conceptual framework described in Section 9.1 above assisted in foregrounding context specific issues in the BCMM in relation to public space, placemaking and greening in the city. The conceptual framework helped to identify the unique challenges and weaknesses in the case study context, assisting to develop a set of protocols for action, which could contribute to the reconceptualization of public space from that of the 'unseen space' to the collectively shared, seen and valued 'place'. These protocols which are specific for the BCMM context highlight key implications for urban design and planning in practice and include the following:

- i) Firstly, the need to re-envision public space through the development of a commonly shared vision amongst city officials, practitioners in the built environment, communities and the private sector which foregrounds the multi-functional and multi-dimensional role of public space. The role of an institutional shift towards innovation, leadership, collaboration and championing of public space is highlighted.
- ii) The second protocol addresses the need to reclaim the value of public space in the city through dedicated planning and investment in public space which will ensure that

all areas and communities in the city experience equal benefits from outcomes of placemaking and greening within public space. The development of a continuously updated inventory of public spaces such as parks as well as green infrastructure assets including trees in the city will aid in the better planning and budgeting of upgrades and interventions based on principles of asset life-cycle management which address elements of hard infrastructure as well as soft green infrastructure in the city. The documenting and analysis of the spatial and geographic location of these assets will further aid in the balancing of existing disparities in relation to public space provision in the city.

- iii) The third action calls for re-establishing the relevance of public space for people and communities through the championing of place-based and green conceptualisations. This is linked to alleviating the challenges of vandalism, crime and illegal use which currently prevail in many public spaces in the city. Place-based conceptualisation includes the promotion of uses and activities in public space which address context specific needs as well as values of the local community. The ideas of promoting bio-cultural diversity within public space and productive green spaces which contribute to food security as well as livelihood generation based on the needs of the local community in certain instances become more significant than the development of aesthetic gardens and parks which are derived from Eurocentric values and underpinnings (Cocks et al., 2020). Similarly, the need to incorporate income generating activities such as informal trading markets and stalls within public space gains significance for the BCMM context.
- iv) Related to the above and in a context of scarce resources and pressing needs as characterised by South African municipalities and cities of the Global South, the fourth protocol calls for the promotion of innovation in public space use and governance, through the promotion of multi-stakeholder and community collaboration and partnerships which contribute to the ongoing management and maintenance of public space. This is aligned to the 'governance through networks' management model (Zamanifard et al., 2018) which proactively seeks public, private and community involvement in the delivery and management of public space. The significance of enabling and incentivising public-private-partnerships within public space is seen as critical in addressing many of the underlying causes which contribute to the decay and dilapidation of public spaces in the city. The case study context highlights that the municipality has not achieved an adequate level of engagement and collaboration with stakeholders in relation to public space management and maintenance and the role of non-state mobilisations in filling the gaps are evident. However, in the absence

of defined state-led action the extent to which this is sustainable and replicable at a city-wide scale is questioned.

- v) The fifth action relates to the development of design governance tools such as urban design policies, public space strategies and guidelines which could play a role in influencing planners, practitioners and developers towards developments which contribute to a more qualitative built environment and associated public realm. This will further assist to enhance the scope and relevance of urban design in the city as well as over time lead to the generation of high quality places and spaces in the city. Similarly, guidelines which promote placemaking and greening within public space will assist in enhancing knowledge and awareness amongst officials leading to the mainstreaming of these practices within city programmes and projects.

The actioning of the above protocols is however dependent on a number of factors which will influence institutionalisation. The narrative highlights key issues in relation to current practices which would need to be addressed in order to influence the uptake and institutionalisation of practices of placemaking and greening within public space. The bringing together of stakeholders, partners and opportunities is often outside the scope of traditional, technical, silo-based conceptualisation processes and requires municipalities, municipal leaders and officials to recognise the gaps, innovate, work across silos and with partners in ways that challenge current approaches and methods of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management. The need to look at the development of an entire portfolio dedicated to public space management and maintenance is highlighted. The prospects for institutionalisation of placemaking and greening practices within public space are therefore underpinned by the ability of city leadership to first and foremost recognise the significant role of public space in the city and thereafter to foster the following necessary shifts which will influence institutionalisation: i) innovation and leadership in relation to the championing of public space, ii) cultivation of a culture of transversal practice and collaboration, iii) promotion of enhanced knowledge, skills and capabilities in relation to practices of placemaking and greening, iv) enhancing of capabilities to mobilise networks and stakeholders in relation to public space governance processes and last but not most significant, v) commitment to the resourcing of public space, placemaking and greening programmes and projects. Aspects of performance management, accountability of officials and measures to evaluate integrated outcomes of placemaking and greening within city programmes and projects will also play an important role in enabling a shift from current practices. The likelihood of success is therefore dependent on the above internal institutional shifts without which various ancillary and external efforts which currently exist in the city may be stifled or not sustained into the longer term.

The insight gained through this case study whilst contributing to a deeper understanding of the value and relevance of practices of placemaking and greening for public space in a Global South context, also highlights some of the key challenges that exist in relation to institutional governance processes of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management. The research therefore serves as evidence for decision-makers in a municipal context to examine and delve deeper into each of the above dimensions in order to identify the problems and actions which will result in the creation of better quality public spaces in the city.

9.4 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION

As highlighted in the introduction to this research, the central theme of this research has rested on the integration of practices of placemaking and greening within public space. The relevance of the above focus in “making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” (SDGs, 2015) and in promoting “safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces” (NUA) (UN-Habitat, 2016) served to further strengthen this impetus. The above central theme of exploration has been relevant in addressing a number of research gaps as highlighted by various authors in Section 1.4 of the thesis. These included the need for the following; a) a greater representation of public space in African cities as substantive input into the planning of cities (Odendaal, 2018), b) enhanced Global South representation towards generating place-specific knowledge that can address the incongruence between contextual realities and traditional planning thought and practice (Landman, 2019), c) planning theory perspectives that work within limitations of context and which address conflicting rationalities (Watson, 2014), d) placemaking conceptualisations from different worldmaking contexts of Asia, Africa and South America (Lew, 2017 citing Samadhi, 2001 and Friedman, 2010), e) research towards understanding structural processes that shape and maintain inequity in the distribution and access to urban green infrastructure within South African cities (Venter et al., 2020), and f) research on socio-cultural contexts that influence the success of nature-based solutions in urban environmental planning, management and governance (Kabisch et al., 2016). In seeking to enable the creation of resilient, green and quality public spaces in the city, the exploration and documentation of the case study context has generated place-specific knowledge contributing to planning theory from a Global South perspective. As postulated by Connell (2014: 210), in carrying out a research, the aim should be to draw from the contextual case as a means to “speak back” to current theoretical and best practice perspectives.

In working towards addressing the above identified research gaps, this research makes two key contributions to theoretical as well as best practice perspectives from a South African viewpoint. The first is the development of a conceptual framework as described earlier, which

reconsiders, assembles and inter-links the key variables which effect the integration of practices of placemaking and greening within public space. The framework presents a conceptualisation of “what should be”, in relation to both the product of public space as well as the processes of public space conceptualisation, delivery and management, drawn together from diverse and current literature on placemaking and greening within public space as it has relevance for a municipal governance context. Against the backdrop of this guiding framework, the second key contribution of this research relates to the reconceptualising of the institutionalisation of public space in a South African municipal context. The research provides new insight into understanding the work of municipalities in South Africa foregrounding the institutional and political challenges faced in relation to urban design and the making of public space. The research highlights the critical role of institutional dynamics and organisational culture (Merrifield et al., 2008; Coetzee, 2012 and Blanco et al., 2021) in influencing mindsets and practices which affect all areas of planning and governance within municipalities. The research reveals that despite the high level commitments made within policy documents in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals and the New Urban Agenda, the creation of resilient, green and quality public spaces within the case study context faces numerous governance related challenges which affect the realisation of these goals. The exploration and understanding of current institutional and governance practices which limit the outcomes of placemaking and greening within public space have highlighted the necessary preconditions which will underpin the successful institutionalisation thereof. It is held that the reconceptualising of governance practices as proposed through this research will assist in the institutionalisation of public space in similar Global South municipal contexts which face similar challenges to those experienced in the case study context.

9.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER WORK AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The research of the BCMM context has brought to focus key areas for future research and work which would add value to and support the development of practices of placemaking and greening within public space in the city. The areas for further work build on the notion that cities of the Global South need to reflect more deeply on the role and function of public space in cities and how these spaces can become more relevant and meaningful to meeting place-specific social, economic and bio-cultural needs. The inclination for planners and urban designers to intuitively follow norms and ideals for public space that are generated from Global North underpinnings need to be challenged through the production of place-specific knowledge and evidence which can inform locally relevant narratives, policies and practices. Three broad areas of focus are outlined below; i) enabling place-based conceptualisations, ii) enabling green conceptualisations; iii) enabling the institutionalisation of public space within the realm of municipal governance.

The areas for further work for the BCMM that would enable place-based approaches for public space conceptualisation and delivery include the following:

- a) The undertaking of further research on the notion of 'sufficient' provision of public space linked to aspects of quality, heritage, attached values and uses as advanced by Cocks et al. (2020) in terms of what this would entail for the BCMM.
- b) Linked to the above, the undertaking of further research on the incorporation of concepts of bio-cultural diversity and uses within public space as it has relevance for citizens of BCMM and in terms of what this would entail for incorporation into local planning practice.
- c) The development of a Public Space Asset Register and Inventory to inform the location, planning and budgeting for new / upgrade projects as well as the ongoing management and maintenance existing projects.

Similarly, the areas for further work that would enable green conceptualisations for public space and delivery would include:

- a) The development of an Urban Green Infrastructure Policy for the city along with the compilation of best practice guides on greening which focus on the delivery of combined grey and green infrastructure solutions at various scales of the city.
- b) The development of a Green Asset Register and record of street trees towards the promoting the urban forest as well as towards mapping and quantification of carbon sequestration and heat island effect which could inform the setting of indicators and targets which would improve greening outcomes.
- c) The finalisation and Council approval of the Draft BCMM Tree Management Policy (2004) and development of related by-laws.
- d) The development of an Urban Agriculture and Public Markets Strategy linked to public space and the central Fresh Produce Market in the city.

The areas for further work that would enable the institutionalisation of placemaking and greening within public space would include:

- a) The development of an Urban Design Policy and Public Space Strategy for the city which would assist in crafting a narrative as well as enhance awareness to promote practices which will enable the creation of more liveable, safe and qualitative public spaces and built environments.

- b) The setting up of a multi-sectoral stakeholder working group led by the city, which could drive the development of innovative strategies, policies, design and management guidelines in relation to public space.
- c) Fundamental to all of the above, is the organisational set-up and mindset which would need to be re-considered and adequately capacitated in terms of coordination and transversal management order to enable the formal institutionalisation of integrative practices within public space.

The above recommendations and areas for further work are fundamental to achieving the desired outcomes for public space in the BCMM. Though derived from the case study context, they also highlight the unique challenges that face cities of the Global South in view of the overwhelming developmental pressures and priorities which have been highlighted through this research and which are in contrast to the those faced by cities of the Global North. From a Global South lens, it is therefore hoped that the research serves to illuminate the specific issues and enablers of relevance for the conceptualisation, institutionalisation, delivery and management of public space within a municipal context.

At the local scale and of value to the case study context, it is hoped that the research serves to inspire the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, its leadership, municipal officials, built environment practitioners as well as stakeholders and citizens towards a new and compelling vision and role for public space which can lead to enhanced institutionalisation and ultimately impact the liveability, resilience, health, well-being, sense of belonging and sense of place of shared spaces in the city.

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Annexure A

2. Informed consent

2.1 I, _____ hereby voluntarily grant my permission for participation in the study as explained to me by Sopna Kumar-Nair.

2.2 I hereby voluntarily grant my permission to allow the voice recording of the interview which will be used for transcription purposes only.

Yes _____ No _____

2.3 The nature and objectives of the study have been explained to me and I understand the same.

2.4 I understand my right to choose whether to participate in the study and that the information furnished will be handled confidentially. I am aware that the results of the investigation may be used for the purposes of publication.


2.5 Upon signature of this form, the participant will be provided with a copy for personal records.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Witness: _____ Date: _____


Researcher: _____ Date: _____

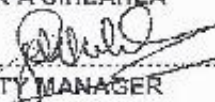
Annexure B

<p>Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality East London Usho King Willem's Town Province of the Eastern Cape South Africa Website: www.buffalocity.gov.za</p>	 <p>BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY</p>	<p>Office of the City Manager 10th Floor Trust Centre Cnr Oxford and North Street East London 6201 Tel: 048 705 1045 Email: Kholokas@buffalocity.gov.za</p>
<p>Date: 13 JUNE 2019</p>		
<p>TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN</p>		
<p>RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN BCMM: MS. SOPNA KUMAR-NAIR</p>		
<p>Dear Sir/Madam</p>		
<p>It is hereby acknowledged that Ms. Sopna Kumar-Nair, a student at University of Pretoria completing PhD in Town and Regional Planning, has met the prerequisites for conducting data collection at Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) for partial fulfilment of her degree. She has provided us with all the necessary documentation as per the BCMM Policy on External Students conducting research at the institution.</p>		
<p>With reference to the letter to the City Manager dated 12th June 2019, permission was requested to conduct research at BCMM for her Research Report, entitled "THE ROLE OF PUBLIC SPACE IN CONTRIBUTING TO PLACEMAKING AND URBAN GREENING WITHIN BCMM". This request was scrutinised by the Information and Knowledge Management, Research and Policy Unit for further assistance, and approved in accordance with national and international research ethics and legal norms, standards and guidelines. Ms. Kumar-Nair was asked to provide the Unit with the necessary documentation, which she subsequently did.</p>		
	<p>BUFFALO CITY METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY</p>	
<p><i>A city growing with you!</i></p>		

The relevant Officials to assist in the research were identified and will duly be informed about the research, and the fact that Ms. Kumar-Nair has met all the prerequisites. Their contact details will also be provided to Ms. Kumar-Nair and she will be informed to contact them directly for assistance.

We wish Ms. Kumar-Nair good luck in her studies.


MS. AMANDA QWEDE
.....
ACTING HEAD: IKM, RESEARCH AND POLICY

MR A SIHLAHLA

.....
CITY MANAGER

APPROVED	NOT APPROVED
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Annexure C



Faculty of Engineering, Built Environment and Information Technology

Fakulteit Ingenieurswese, Bou-omgewing en
Inligtingtegnologie / Lefapha la Boetsenere,
Tikologo ya Kago le Theknoloji ya Tshedimošo

Reference number: EBIT/8/2020

Mrs SG Kumar-Nair
Department: Town and Regional Planning
University of Pretoria
Pretoria
0083

Dear Mrs SG Kumar-Nair

FACULTY COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH ETHICS AND INTEGRITY

Your recent application to the EBIT Research Ethics Committee refers.

Conditional approval is granted.

This means that the research project entitled "The Role of Placemaking and Greening in the Delivery and Management of Public Space: Relevance and Prospects for Institutionalisation within the Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality, Eastern Cape, South Africa." is approved under the strict conditions indicated below. If these conditions are not met, approval is withdrawn automatically.

Conditions for approval

Participant observation cannot include any minors.

This approval does not imply that the researcher, student or lecturer is relieved of any accountability in terms of the Code of Ethics for Scholarly Activities of the University of Pretoria, or the Policy and Procedures for Responsible Research of the University of Pretoria. These documents are available on the website of the EBIT Ethics Committee.

If action is taken beyond the approved application, approval is withdrawn automatically.

According to the regulations, any relevant problem arising from the study or research methodology as well as any amendments or changes, must be brought to the attention of the EBIT Research Ethics Office.

The Committee must be notified on completion of the project.

The Committee wishes you every success with the research project.

Prof K.-Y. Chan

Chair: Faculty Committee for Research Ethics and Integrity
FACULTY OF ENGINEERING, BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY