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How genealogy reveals the changing relationship between people and their use of recreational public space

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How genealogy reveals the changing relationship between people and their use of recreational public space.

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.

Johannesburg, 2010

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own original, unaided work. This research report has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning at the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Nandipha Mdzeke

_____ day of _____

Abstract

The public space is and has been an integral part of communities for centuries. It serves as a convenient setting for a broad variety of leisure and recreational activities, as well as enhancing the image and perceived value of a community. Recreational public spaces provide a location for people to meet, relax, and exchange ideas. They can serve the needs and interests of all kinds of people, young and old irrespective of their cultural backgrounds. This report seeks to trace the genealogy of people and their use of recreational public space. Thus it uncovers the history of how space is perceived, interpreted and understood by people who live in Yeoville. It focuses on the understanding of space as an agglomeration of people, objects and events.The report also seeks to conceptualize people's perception on the use of recreational public space and explore the changing relationship between people and their use of space in Yeoville. Through the process of perception we create a sense of place, i.e. a relationship within a specific context. If a place is memorable, it is because it carries perceptual attributes such as clarity, differentiation, uniqueness, structure and form.

Planning practice seems to overlook the importance of incorporating genealogy into planning for diversified cultural communities. The use of narratives or storytelling can have a great significance for planners when planning for these communities. Identifying the core components of a Good City Form and the production of space, the paper goes on to connect these elements based Lynch's theory of 'Good City Form' which was propounded in 1981 and also Lebfebvre's theory on 'The Production of Space' (1991), translated from La production de l'espace(1974). Lynch's Good City Form (1981) form the theoretical base for this report as his five performance dimensions are used to measure whether Yeoville does meet the criteria.

Dedicated

To my late grandmother, Dibashe.

Inspiration she has given me in my early years of education. If it was not for her encouragement, prayers, guidance and instilling the right principles in me, I would not be the woman I am today.

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List of Acronyms

Coj -	City of Johannesburg
YCP-	Yeoville Community Park
YSF-	Yeoville Stakeholders Forum
JDA-	Johannesburg Development Agency
CID-	City Improvement District
YDF-	Yeoville Development Forum
YCDF-	Yeoville Community Development Forum
YRC-	Yeoville Recreation Centre
YCPF-	Yeoville Community Policing Forum
YEO-	Yeoville Environmental Organisation
EDU-	Economic Development Unit
IDP-	Integrated Development Plan
SAPS-	South African Police Services



CHAPTER ONE: Establishing the Research Direction

1. Introduction

The public space is an integral part of communities. Recreational public spaces provide a location for people to meet, relax, and exchange ideas. They can serve the needs and interests of all kinds of people, young and old, irrespective of their cultural backgrounds. As such, public space requires recognition as an asset that needs careful management, and to be afforded particular care by all citizens in order to create continued and productive usage. As well, public space enhances the image and perceived value of a community (Carmona, 2003). Through perception communities create a sense of place, i.e. a relationship within the specific context. As such, the character of the cityscape along with the design of its buildings in many ways 'creates' a human experience (source?). Through those experiences and perceptions generated by communities an image of the urban environment is created. That image is the mental essence of people, landscape, buildings and open spaces (Appleyard, 1981). Therefore, if a place is memorable, it is because it carries perceptual attributes such as clarity, differentiation, uniqueness, structure and form (Appleyard, 1981).

As case in point is the Yeoville Community Park. This park is viewed as a dynamic space where people come and mingle for various reasons (Yeovue news, 2008). Since the start of the regeneration process by the City of the Johannesburg in the area, the *Yeoville Community Forum* (YCF) has been looking at ways in which Yeoville's unique history can be utilized to inform the regeneration process during the upgrading the public environment. The planners are searching for the institutional memory of the Yeoville's past in order to suggest ways in which these memories and experiences could serve as the basis for future policy making regarding the use of public space in Yeoville. The untold stories about this place can help in the future development of Yeoville. They are looking for memories of the space that is buried in the genealogy/history of the areas that can sustain their desire to remain in this dynamic neighbourhood. As Farouk (2007: page 10) points out, the primary aim of the development is to attract new investment into the area and to restore Rockey Street to its former glory and even better as "the symbolic heart and soul of Yeoville". This desire to understand the past in order to plan for the future raise a formidable question of unearthing the past so that the future can be informed by the mix of historical events, symbols, meanings and visions of the past.

This arises from the specific historical experiences of this suburb over the years. Since 1994, Yeoville has been confronted with associative inner city trends such as high unemployment, poverty, rapid urbanisation, overcrowding and crime (Harrison, 2002). The heightened expectations and uncertainty that characterized the first democratic elections in 1994 have confirmed how social and political change can be neither accurately predicted nor fully controlled. The area has been under pressure for

years due to urban sprawl, which has led to the physical degradation of the public environment, inappropriate land use, and illegal activities associated with crime and grime. The corollary of these developments was that Yeoville became an unattractive environment for many, yet some remained rooted in this place and new inhabitants moved in and continue to move in(Harrison, 2002; Morris, 1996).Movement out of Yeoville can be attributed to various reasons such as insecurity, urban degeneration and better opportunities elsewhere. Some remained behind because of age, red-taping by the banks[1] and other reasons. Some chose to remain because of their sense of attachment to the place. However, the burning sense for revitalising the area can still be felt. As Maurice Smithers/yeoville stakeholder forum states, "the community needs to participate constructively regarding town planning as well as trying to solve the main problems that affect the area".

1.2 The Research Question on Recalling the Past.

The research question that arises in this study therefore is: How can one use genealogy to reveal the past of Yeoville in order to inform the current regeneration programme? This report takes an exploratory look at the historical events that shaped the present conditions in Yeoville, a place that presents an interesting case study because of its highly diverse population. The purpose of the study is to understand how genealogy can be used as a tool to understand the changing relationship between people and their use of recreational public space. The sub-questions are:

- Why genealogy is used as a tool for this research?
- How can the relationship between people and their use of recreational public space be defined?
- What is the planner's role in improving and maintaining this relationship?
- How does genealogy facilitate understanding of this relationship?
- What are the lessons the Yeoville community has to teach us as development planners about public spaces?

The aim of the study is to use genealogy as an approach to understand the history and spatial changes that occurred in Yeoville between the 1980s and 2008. The operational objective is to employ genealogy in order to inform development planners on how to enhance the living conditions and the morphological pattern of the area. Thus the research will explore people's perceptions and how they relate to public space as it constantly changes over time. In order to capture the narrative essence of Yeoville, the researcher identified some people who have lived long enough in this area and conducted interviews with them. These interviews elicited institutional memory of the past as and implicitly suggest how these memories and experiences could serve as the basis for future policy making regarding the use of public space in Yeoville.

[1]Banks refused to give 100% bonds to people who wanted to buy houses in the area.(Yeovue news,Vol. 1 No.3)

The report seeks to trace the evolution of the cultural past in Yeoville based on people's perceptions and experiences and to ascertain what certain elements are more likely to prevail. Perhaps at this point, it may be imperative to re-emphasise the significance of genealogy in this research. The use of genealogy helps to reveal people's experiences over time as it involves both telling or narrating a story from past events and writing about them in a convincing and interesting manner. Genealogy also defines those instances where history, events and other related factors are absent, the moment when events remained unrealized. Revelations from interviews can be used as a point of reference in future from which to learn about how to plan for a diversified cultural society.

The use of genealogy helps to reveal certain information about the past in order to understand the present (political, social and economic) conditions. Thus the researcher uses genealogy as a framework for representation of the past, present and for future planning. Therefore, the use of genealogy posses a question to planners: what does the past mean to us as planners and what can we learn from it? As mentioned earlier, the City of Johannesburg is trying to regenerate Yeoville in order to capture the essence of this once bohemian suburb. The kind of architecture to be used needs to complement the unique cultural diversity of this suburb. It is now the responsibility of the local government to create conditions that reverse decline and set a path to urban regeneration which can be driven by the local community in conjunction with the private sector.

The research is informed by Lynch's (1981) theory of a Good City Form and its performance dimensions in conjunction with Henri Lefebvre's theory on The Production of Space (1991). The focus on these two theories is a deliberate choice as they focus sharply on the understanding of space as a representational system that incorporates human activities. Yeoville is a place used for the application of these two theories of space. Public space is essential in all human endeavours as it represents a special cultural meaning. It lays a basic principle for improved design and management.

The research reveals some insightful stories about Yeoville and why there seems to an ambiguous sense of pride infused with uncertainty about living in this place. The City of Johannesburg, through its implementation agent the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), is upgrading the public environment in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville as part of the regeneration of the inner city. The project is part of the City's 2007 / 2008 budget cycle set to be completed by the end of June 2008 (Mafu, 2005). The post apartheid regeneration efforts by the city of Johannesburg through JDA, CJP and Blue IQ are part of the initiatives to reverse urban decay so as to attract businesses, residents and vibrancy back to the Inner City. Efforts towards this drive include urban management, economic development and public environment upgrade.

1.3 Rationale of the Research and Problem Statement.

There are various reasons which motivated the researcher to choose this topic and locate the study in Yeoville, an inner city suburb of Johannesburg. The research was prompted by personal interest in the area. Much as Yeoville has the same cultural attributes as Berea and Hillbrow, I chose to focus on Yeoville because I once stayed in this area for a couple of months. During my stay, I was intrigued by the cultural diversity and interaction of the people living in this area and how the individual cultures coalesced into melting pot. This was clearly evident as I walked down Rockey Street to the market or when I took children to the park. Be that as it may, one cannot ignore the fact that the demography shifted from mainly whites to blacks making the inner-city a black-residential neighbourhood (Morris, 1999). The transient nature of this community makes it impossible for the inhabitants to commit themselves to any kind of development. Besides that, the generation gap caused by the influx of youth into the area retards progress as the youth do not invest much into the area. As Harrison (2002) points out, diversified as the Yeoville community is, the residents tend to lack a unity of purpose. Some residents regard Yeoville as a temporary entrance point to their destination that lies elsewhere.

Another problem is that there is no research that looks at how the historical and cultural events can help to inform further developments in Yeoville. Therefore, the use of genealogy as part of the history of Yeoville is going to help urban planning of the area. A deeper understanding of the resident's perceptions about Yeoville can help to inform the urban renewal projects that are being implemented by the City of Johannesburg (CoJ). As the CoJ embarked on a regeneration project, various aspects need to be considered for this type of project to be effective, such as the kind of art that needs to be used when decorating the space in the articulation of visions, desires, conflicts and their solemn concerns.

A livable space is one which through its various elements holds some degree of meaning to its users (source?). This meaning can be portrayed through the physical characteristics of the urban fabric. For example, most South African artists once lived in Yeoville, how can that be expressed on Yeoville space? Yeoville residents did have an idea of how to improve the physical appearance of the area, as they believed that if the City of Johannesburg could start the renewal process at Rockey Raleigh St. first, then people would be motivated to maintain the same standard throughout Yeoville.

Recreational public space can become an important tool in the formation of a vibrant urban environment; provided that such spaces are used efficiently (source?). Yeoville prides itself with its unique history; it presents an interesting case study for examination with its highly diverse, and in

many instances, its transient population. I believe the restoration process must cater for everyone, including the pensioners, the young professionals and also the poor. By focusing on Yeoville, I hope the case study will yield insightful stories about Yeoville residents' perceptions of space and their desire to remain in this dynamic neighbourhood.

Using genealogy as a tool to understand the area will enable the researcher to uncover the experiences of different generations that have lived in this space. The researcher will also be informed of how people utilized the recreational public space that was provided them. Yeoville Community Park is the largest, most popular and patronized park as it provides the diverse Yeoville residents with a range of social facilities, from church and community gatherings to social and cultural functions (source?). As a planner, I am interested in tracing how the historical background of Yeoville has influenced the spatial layout of this area, in particular, the different perspectives that people have on Yeoville Community Park. It is the intention of this research to capture the Yeoville residents' perceptions of how their recreational space has evolved over time as it holds many clues for planners in terms of understanding space in a diversified cultural society.

1.4 Geographic Location of the area of study.

Yeoville is a typical inner city suburb located on the Eastern edge of Johannesburg in the Gauteng province, South Africa. Gauteng is the smallest province in South Africa in terms of land area. However, it is highly urbanised and the density within the province is 5.2 persons per hectare (Statistics SA, 2001). The province is divided into 12 municipalities and is composed of three metropolitan municipalities: the City of Johannesburg, the City of Tshwane (previously known as Pretoria) and the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality on the East Rand.
The city of Johannesburg led by Executive Mayor Amos Masondo, covers an area of 1,644km^2 with a total population of 3,2million people. Yeoville is located to the North East of region F which was previously known as Region 8. The area is bounded by Berea to the West, Houghton to the North, Observatory to the East and Highlands to the South. It was named after its first inhabitant, surveyor and chief owner, Mr. Thomas Yeo Sherwell.[2]

[2] Story of Mr T.Y. Sherwell, The Star 12 August 1935

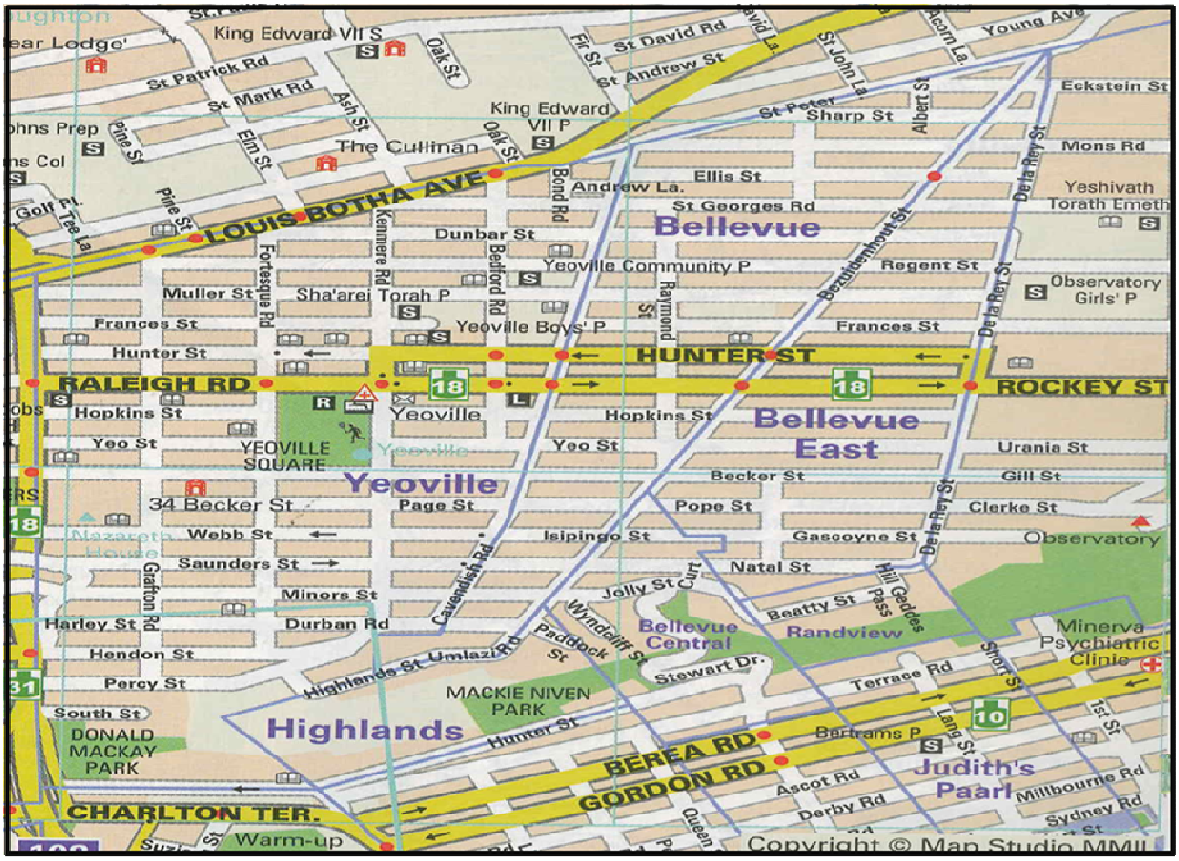


Figure 1 Map showing Yeoville and its surrounding neighbourhoods[3]

Yeoville's original houses were built from the early 1900s to the early 1940s. Various racial segregation laws were implemented such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, a fundamental piece of legislation which shaped the model of the apartheid city. The Act forcibly moved Blacks, Coloureds and Indians/Asians into peripheral zones. During the 1980s there was a gradual movement of Blacks into the inner city suburbs and Yeoville attracted a heterogeneous set of residents into these areas (Harrison, 2002). When the new democratic government came to power, the character of the area changed to become a regional centre for leisure and entertainment. It also became a preferred destination for a highly mobile, predominantly black lower middle class and working population. It is during this period that the City of Johannesburg, particularly the inner city, went through a transition period of economic decline, social disadvantage and physical degradation. The demography also shifted from mainly whites to blacks making the inner city a black-residential neighbourhood (Morris, 1999). For the most part, the population is often a mobile one and mostly tenant-based. Harrison (2002) holds the view that this type of population displays differentiated sets of income earners ranging from wealthy homeowners to poor and unemployed tenants. By the late 1990s urban land-use management went into decline and Yeoville entered a period of rapid decay. This deteriorating

[3] Source: Map Studio

situation created negative perceptions and contributed to serious disinvestment in the inner city (Wessels, 2006).

However, Yeoville's geographical location still appealed to most of its residents due to its close proximity to the city centre and higher education institutions. Further appeals included its nightlife and cosmopolitan nature (Simon, 1992).The people of Yeoville regard their environment as a transient space hence they do not invest in the community as most people hope to move on as soon as they are financially stable. This contributes to the creation of multiple, dynamic, diverse, hybrid and fragmented spaces and identities which pose challenges for decision making and maintenance of a good sustainable environment. Yeoville Community Park is an ideal place because of its dynamic character, with which to demonstrate how Lynch's five performance dimensions can be used to assess how effective and responsive projects and plans for this place were. Yeoville prides itself with its vibrant and colourful history and its park is an interesting example of an existing space used for different activities.

1.5 Research Methodology.

1.5.1 Desk-top studies

Various methods were employed in the investigation including an archival research of published sources on the social and cultural history of Yeoville. However, there is not much research produced that investigates the historical evolution of space in Yeoville and hence every available information about this place is crucial to the research. The literature review provides an understanding of the fundamental principles on the production of space. People's perceptions of space form an integral part of the research. Accessing numerous documents, books, journals and other material on planning in the inner city is imperative for this research. Use of photographs also plays a major role as they record historic changes and contextual use of space. They offer additional information about Yeoville and how the space evolved overtime. Hence I have used a variety of libraries such as the Architecture, Main and Earth libraries of the University of the Witwatersrand and the Johannesburg Central Library. These libraries were very handy in accessing numerous key documents.

The dissertation investigates the significance of space and its meaning to people's lives. This is achieved through the exploration of key principles of space as propounded by prominent scholars of space, *especially* those who have produced literature on space in relation to cities such as Henri Lefebvre and Kevin Lynch. Lefebvre's theory '*The Production of Space*" (1991), provides an understanding of space as a representational system that integrates a multidisciplinary view of space with human activity. Lynch's theory of "*Good City Form*" (1981) presents useful guidelines on city form.

He believes that “the quality of a place is due to the joint effect of the place and the society which occupies it” (1981: 111). He also maintains that situations and values differ but it is possible to analyse any city’s spatial form and its performance by using certain identifiable characteristics. These performance dimensions should be important qualities for most cultures and can be used to judge the quality of a place. More detailed description of these performance dimensions will be dealt with in Chapter Two.

The theoretical studies of Lynch (1981), Madanipour (1996), Francis (1998) and others contributed much to the understanding of space and how a good city form must look like. The study aims to interrogate the theories of the scholars mentioned above, especially the ideas of Lynch, in relation to the selected case study, Yeoville. This research is very interactive as it seeks to find out how people utilize space and give meaning to it, as well as their experiences of this particular space. It explores social issues that tend to affect people’s relationship with space. For this reason, the study can be seen as an exploratory or interpretive research seeking to identify subjective perceptions of the insiders/residents (Neuman, 2000). The research therefore captures a research style that emphasizes encountering different worlds from people’s perceptions and making sense of them and is normally referred to as ethnography or ‘folk description’ (Agar, 1986).

Ethnography is a type of writing that uses fieldwork to provide a good historical background, in this case, on how people perceive space from different cultural backgrounds. Basically, ethnography as used in this study, is descriptive and aimed at capturing people’s perceptions on recreational public space. It is very interactive as it seeks to uncover meaning and gain insight about their lived space. This can be achieved by listening to what is said, asking questions and collecting whatever data is available, thereby allowing the researcher to see things from the participants’ points of view. It is ethnography of everyday life which aims to unearth certain elements which people tend to experience in their lives, thus helping to have a more nuanced understanding of historical events.

1.5.2 The Selection of the Study of Yeoville Community Park Case Study.

The reason why I chose Yeoville as compared to any other inner city suburb is because of its diversified cultural background and it lends itself to investigation through genealogy of place. Yeoville has always been considered as ‘cosmopolitan and bohemian’ by its residents because it attracted many international and African immigrants especially in the late 1980s (*Tribune*, 1999). This unique demographic composition meets the characteristics of South Africa’s ‘rainbow nation’. The study deals with the perceptions of space and identity, whereby the respondents provided their personal experiences with space.

One of the methodologies often used by social scientists to strengthen their understanding of complex issues, examine real life situations and problems is the use of case studies. A case study is an ideal research tool for understanding complex issues such as perceptions of space, culture, memory and history. It allows for flexibility, non-verbal observations and in-depth interviews with residents. Not only does case study research have a more realistic component that will allow the researcher to gain knowledge on what is happening on the ground, it also contributes to the learning process (Flyvbjerg, 2004).

1.5.3 Research approach

Understanding the nature of the case study of Yeoville demands a specific methodological approach that is more qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is ideal for this study in that it is a tool that enables the researcher to gather an in-depth understanding of people's perceptions on how past experiences can influence the present. Secondly, the method looks at the historical aspects and culture that shape the dynamic space of Yeoville Recreational Park. The study seeks to uncover how people relate to space as it changes over time. It begins by investigating the physical history and socio-economic conditions that shaped up this vibrant suburb of Yeoville. As the report traces the changes that occurred between the late 1980s to the present, it examines how people relate to these changes. Lastly, spatial analysis was used to look at how Yeoville has changed over time in terms of land use and management. This was achieved by conducting five interviews – three members of the community and two professionals who were involved in the upgrading of the area under study to guide my research outcomes.

1.5.4 Interviews of generations in Yeoville

The number of interviews is relatively small because I adopted qualitative research. This can be ascribed to the fact that history can be passed from one generation to another by participants in an historical activity through narratives. In preliterate societies, for example, there was no recorded history but an elder from the community could pass knowledge and experiences to the next generation in a narrative form. If one version is more accepted than the others, it does not mean that the respondent accurately described or recalled the events, but rather, it speaks volumes about how the events were narrated. Therefore, it was not necessary to conduct a lot of interviews as I preferred the quality of the information rather than the quantity of the interviewees/respondents. These interviews were conducted with special interest stakeholders who know the history of the area under study and have insight into recreation programs and facilities. These interviews were compensated by grey literature such as the *Mail and Guardian*,*The Tribune* (Yeoville Community Newspaper) and *Sunday Times*. Grey literature plays a central role in the research because it

helped to verify some of the events that were narrated by the respondents. Moreover, grey literature is readily available, informative and affordable.

The questions asked Yeoville residents were as follows:

- Tell me about yourself?
- How long have you been staying here?
- What do you like most about this area?
- Have you ever been to the park? (Raleigh and Fortesque St.)
- Do you have any particular reason for visiting the park?
- How safe do you feel when visiting the park?
- As a member of this community, do you feel that you belong to this park?

The researcher personally administered the interviews with Yeoville residents who narrated their personal encounters and experiences about the place. The interviewees were mostly those who had been living in the area for two decades or more. Open-ended and semi-structured questions encouraged an open discussion between the participants and the researcher. The interviews were recorded on audio-tape aided by note-taking, with the full consent of the participants. The venues for the interviews were negotiated beforehand over the telephone with emphasis on the interviewees' convenience. Each interview session took one to two hours.

The participants were assured that they had a right to withdraw from the study anytime during the interview should they feel uncomfortable with the questions. Research participants were not deceived, for instance, that the study was going to change their current living conditions. Moreover, the researcher offered no payment or reward to the participants. Research participants were not forced to participate and they agreed to use their real names for the entire interview.

The profile of the interviewees is presented in the following table.

Table 1: Profile of interviews

Respondent	Year of arrival	Details
Maurice	1981	Yeoville resident and chairperson of Yeoville Stakeholder Forum
Joseph	1991	Yeoville resident and an environmental activist
Rishi	1993	Yeoville resident from Durban (KZN).
Nonzwakazi	2002	Yeoville resident from Kokstad
Seipati	_	JDA- Area Development Planner
Martin	_	ASM ARCHITECTS, for Urban Design

I also conducted interviews with two professionals, i.e., a development planner from Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and an architect who was responsible for designing the new upgrade of Yeoville Community Park. Their interviews were based on the following questions.

- What form of control have you implemented when designing the park?
- Do you think it is accessible?
- How was your working experience with Yeoville community, any lessons learnt?

1.6 Structure of the report

Chapter 1 of this report provides an explanation behind the choice of the research topic and seeks to explain the intentions of the report. It also offers a brief overview of the research area and unpacks some terminology used in the report. In order to justify the need for the study, a brief geographic location of Yeoville is given. It serves as an introduction to the research as it unfolds some of the important concepts used in this study.

Chapter 2 discusses theories of space across the globe. It helps to develop an understanding of space as defined by various theorists and to differentiate between public and private places. The use of relevant academic texts will be reviewed in this chapter.

Chapter 3 (Case Study) traces the evolution of space as it unfolds a historical account of events in Yeoville. The main objective is to establish how the researched space (Yeoville) has changed over time as people interact with it.

Chapter 4 is the presentation of research findings and the application of theories. It draws on the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2. The last chapter (Five) of this research focuses on recommendations for future planning and concludes the research.

CHAPTER TWO: Theoretical Perspectives of Space in Planning

"A good place is one in which, in some way appropriate to the person and her culture, makes her aware of her community, her past, the web of life and the universe of time and space in which these are contained"
(Lynch, 1981:142).

2.1 Introduction to Theories of Space

This chapter aims to establish a theoretical base for the research report. It will also analyse some of the concept of space used in relation to (public) space in the study. The chapter will present various approaches and theories of space. On the significance of theory, Alexander (1986:2) aptly comments that "Theory is not only a basis for understanding the world around us; it serves as a foundation for developing skills and tools needed for application". An approach is a method that is used for the application of skills or theory. It gives a clear indication of how space can be developed and used effectively. More importantly, the analysis will show that space is a contested area and a multidisciplinary concept.

Social reformers, environmental activists and other practically minded people in the nineteenth century formulated simple theories about how visits to parks would yield restorative benefits (Relph,1981). This research draws on two fields of theory for its conceptual base; normative theory, which deals with the relationship between human values and perceptual theories, which relate to how people perceive space. Debates and theories of space amongst developmental planners and other stakeholders seem to take a different approach on how social processes operate at and between different levels. That being the case, it is essential to take cognisance of the various theories on space. Lastly, the work of Lynch (1981) and Lefebvre (1991) will be reviewed in order to understand the concept of space. The theories propounded by these scholars will be applied as a lens through which to view and analyze Yeoville, the inner-city suburb of Johannesburg.

2.2 Conceptualization of Space

2.2.1 Space

Space can be defined as an area sufficient enough to serve a certain purpose. By looking at the physical and social space of the inner-city suburb of Johannesburg, clear demarcation needs to be drawn between the administrative and the perceived suburb boundaries with greater interest on social and physical transformation. While space is often associated with freedom, allowing

movement to occur, place also provides a pause (Madanipour, 1996).Space is a term that is frequently used in a range of contexts, and has multiple meanings. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2002:2935) defines space in various ways as "specific area sufficient for some purpose", "capacity to accommodate a person or thing," "continuous expanse in which things exist or move", "an interval between two or more points". People's interaction with space gives it a distinct character that makes it different from any other area. Madanipour (1996:10) in his explanation of physical and social space cites Colquhoun (1989) who defines urban space as "The built space, focuses on the physical space, its morphology, the way it affects our perceptions, the way it is used and the meaning it can elicit which is the concern of the architects."

2.2.2 Public space

The term open space refers to public open space in the form of parks, or the areas in the city which are not dominated by any other built form. Storytelling is a social phenomenon, and as such publicness and public space are very important issues relating to storytelling. "Public space is a stage upon which storytelling unfolds" (Carr, 1992: 4). Carr highlights the fact that in all communal life, there is a dynamic balance between public and private activities. Within this balance, different cultures place differing emphasis on public space. Open spaces extend the individual's range of choice and allow him/her to pursue his/her satisfactions directly. Open spaces must be free and yet controlled; increase the general tolerance towards free use and yet have to reflect the complexities of the social life in an area.

Uytenbogaardt (1991) in his work; *South African Cities: A Manifesto for change* defines public spaces within the context of an urban environment. He defines them as places where most social experiences are played out. He adds that public spaces act, operatively, as extensions to the private dwelling unit. A dwelling unit whether it is a house or a flat does not provide enough freedom of movement due to many factors such as overcrowding or insufficient space for leisure activities. Another cause can be that people need public places for interaction and social gatherings. Public places are places where people meet, children play, lovers court, teenagers read and study when the house is overcrowded (Uytenbogaardt, 1991). *Public* connotes the idea that these settings are accessible and can be used by everyone, in a community regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, physical handicap or any other characteristics.

Following these definitions, a recreational public space belongs to the people and concerns them as a whole. It is open and exists openly to its inhabitants. A public space is where the general public has access by right e.g. public open space, roads and footpaths.

Public environments are places that profoundly affect public life and are:

- Used for the common good
- Accessible to and shared by a diversity of people and
- An arena for a social life that can be apart from friends and family

(Brill in Altman&Zube, 1989)

2.3 Other Concepts of Space

Different disciplines such as architecture, geography, psychology, physical science, sociology, planning and others adopt contrasting lenses to view and analyse the concept “space” (Madanipour, 1996). This interdisciplinary fragmentation might be seen as the source of the long standing debate about what constitutes ‘science’, between the natural and social scientists (Sack, 1980). For instance, in the case of space, the former paradigm sees space as an observable fact, cognitive state, whereas the latter perceives space as a result of the internalization process or assimilation of social aspects (Madanipour, 1996). Nonetheless, of paramount importance about the above mentioned contrasting views of space, is that the discourse itself has crucial implications for our understanding, *inter alia*, of the city space and form as planners. How we understand space very often defines how we use and perceive it.

Due to various meanings attached to space, this in itself seems to warn and encourage those who plan for the city to comprehend it in its totality beforehand so as to conduct a context-relevant development (Madanipour, 1996).With the advent of a democratic government in the 1990s, the character of Yeoville changed to become a regional centre for leisure and entertainment as it quickly became a preferred destination for the black middle class due to its stronger links to the city centre. As a result, Yeoville’s demographic character changed drastically to become a 90% black area. This demographic change suggests a move away from conventional methods of planning, to allowing people to decide how they would like to see their space being transformed through their own understanding.

Butz and Eyles (1996-97) maintain that a sense of place or the term place is used to cover both pleasant and unpleasant experiences. A sense of place encompasses sentimental experiences that are constructed in our memories through personal experiences. Even if we are not physically there, that place still remains in our minds. Place is important for identity of individuals as it provides a grounding for existence, hence it is a profound centre for human existence (Relph, 1976 in Butz and Eyles, 1996).

When a sense of place is experienced, a feeling of attachment may develop to provide stability. A sense of attachment to a place encourages the development of a society given that a sense of attachment holds a vital grounding source for one's identity and sense of belonging. Agnew's (1987) three dimensions of place as cited in Butz and Eyles (1997:3) are crucial in understanding the multi-faceted dimensions of place. Firstly is the location, meaning the spatial distribution of activities. Secondly is place as a scene or locale of the community, where social relations are developed. Lastly, a place can invoke a sense of place, with regard to personal or sentimental feelings to a place. As is the case in Yeoville, some would like to restore it back to its original appearance. I believe these dimensions of place bore the same resemblance to the people of Yeoville as reflected in the findings in Chapter Four.

2.4. Theories and Approaches to Space

It is relevant to acknowledge the contribution made by various theorists to the subject of space. Relational space theory holds that space should be seen as the relation between the external object and the non-tangible factors or occurrences perceived of in the mind (Madanipour, 1996). Emmanuel Kant, cited in (Madanipour, 1996) regards space as a concept belonging to the individual's mind. Therefore, under this tradition, space could be seen as a subjective view of a person, because without people, the physical space has no meaning. It is the meaning that is attached to space that drew people to Yeoville with its Bohemian character, with some people seeing it as the Manhattan of South Africa (*Tribune*,1999). Another perspective on space could be deduced from the modernist approach. The 'modernists', as informed by the rational, grand or universal theory hope to deliver an orderly city space (Harrison, 1995). Like natural scientists, 'modernists' believe by developing laws, people's behaviour could be controlled within the city. In contrast, post-modernism defies the above-mentioned approach of the city space by the modernists. Post-modernism instead, argues that we should view the city space as made up of diverse cultures (Harrison, 1995). As such, people should celebrate this diversity and most importantly, reflect it in the process of planning for the city (Harrison, 1995).

2.5 Significance of Recreational Public Space

Different cultures place differing emphasis on public space. It is in recreational public space that people can choose to experience their diversity in an environment that encourages a relaxed exchange. Successful cultural diversity adds to the richness of the city as a learning environment. When developing parks, there is a need to consider things such as environmental enhancement, visual enhancements and public welfare. The latter has always been a primary drive for development of recreational public space (Carr, 1992).The question is how space can be utilized to serve human needs, from simple relaxation to active engagement with others.

Carr et al. (1992) believe that space should be "*responsive, democratic and meaningful"* (1992:19). They point out that responsive spaces are those that are designed and managed to serve the needs of other users. These involve primary needs such as comfort, relaxation, active and passive engagement. Recreational public space has to provide a setting for physically and mentally rewarding activity. People can be engaged in various sport activities such as basket ball, tennis, jogging and cycling. Democratic spaces should be accessible to all groups irrespective of age and protect the rights of user groups.

A deeper understanding of how people relate to space is crucial for any future planning process. Such an understanding could set a precedent on how local government may begin responding to local community needs in a more efficient and effective manner. In a place like Yeoville, one needs to take into consideration what makes this place so dynamic and different from any other space. Perhaps it is time to plan with the members of the community in order to incorporate their needs and interests into planning. New methods of planning should incorporate diversified cultural backgrounds through community participation. In that regard, planning should be perceived as an inclusive process.

2.6 What constitutes a Good City Form?

The concept 'Good City Form' is relative and shaped by various factors (historical, political, economic and social). Normative theories could be defined as theories which prescribe what an appropriate city form is, and the underlying rationale of these forms (Lynch, 1981). Regarding what constitutes a Good City Form, Lynch (1981) argues that there is no single but many approaches to the Good City Form. In essence, the debate over normative theory is not new in the field of architecture and planning, and it is epitomized in the argument between modernists and post-modernists (Harrison, 1995). The former group imposes a grand theory or universal theory about what is normal in relation to the city form whereas the latter holds that universal theory should give way to post-modern theory which celebrates diversity (Harrison, 1995). Likewise, Watson (2002) questions the usefulness of normative theories (i.e. Communicative Rationality, Just City Approach, and New Urbanism) in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, where the city fabric is made up of diverse values and cultural backgrounds.

The focus on these contemporary theories of planning is because people believe in the value of truth and goodness. Healey (1997) believes in communicative planning whereby civil societies are seen as those organisations outside the state whilst Sandercock (1998) advocates the recognition of diversity and cultural diversity and advances the view that the current normative theories are still relevant and still offer a resource on which planners and managers can draw.

She holds the view that civil society is an autonomous site of resistance and social change. This is clearly portrayed in Soweto when civil societies emerged as a result of disagreements over the provision of basic services. In short, these debates reveal a direct relationship with the fundamental tenets of Lynch's (1981) Good City Form. Thus in answering the question of what is a Good City Form, one should be aware that there are many definitions of what constitutes a Good City Form (Lynch, 1981).

2.7 Perceptual theory

Perceptual theory refers to a group of theories which try to describe the way in which people perceive space (Lynch, 1981; Rapoport, 1982; Appleyard, 1972). Kevin Lynch (1960) describes five elements which make up the physical image of a place. Lynch conducted a study of what people mentally extract from the physical reality of a city in order to establish an approach for analyzing physical urban form. He viewed a good city as the image of the environment that every citizen had long associations with some part of the city. In his concept of place and legibility, Lynch (1981) highlights talks about familiarity with one's surroundings deriving from distinct features which give people a sense of comfort with a place. This concept contains unique elements which he defines as a network of paths which are channeled by people; while edges are all other lines not included in the path group and include walls and seashores; districts are the sections of the city; nodes are points or strategic spots where there is an extra focus, and landmarks are unmovable characters that include mountain, shop and school and are used for orientation when finding one's way. For instance the House of Tandoor is used as a strategic point of confluence, the Mandela Bridge which connects Braamfontein and Newtown in Johannesburg can be used for orientation of place.

These urban elements when placed in good form increase human ability to see and remember patterns and they determine an urban form. In areas lacking landmarks, paths take on a greater importance and in areas with poorly defined paths, landmarks are essential. Imageability, like coherence should enhance perception quality by helping people make sense of their surroundings (Kaplan& Kaplan, 1989). The quality of imageable elements may vary, for instance Yeoville Water Tower might be used as a landmark. Similarly, the Mandela Bridge in Braamfontein can be used for a similar purpose. Lynch's (1981) five elements provide a useful framework, to which one can add some other elements as identified by Rapoport (1982); elements such as non-verbal cues which tell one how to behave in certain areas. In other words, these factors specify how public or private an area is. A warning sign may be used to safeguard against littering or noise pollution if it is a private area. The use of fixed and semi-fixed elements hardly changes, for example, landmarks and building structures such as the Constitutional Hill and the Mandela Bridge in Braamfontein help observers to orientate themselves.

Semi-fixed cues can be replaced or changed and these include street furniture. Rapoport (1982) maintains that these features allow people to have control over their environment.

2.8 Kevin Lynch's Approach

The work of Lynch (1981), one of the more significant theorists of public space, was selected to form the foundation of this research's theoretical framework. The study is guided primarily by Lynch's theory of Good City Form. This theory in particular has been chosen specifically because it will guide the researcher in exploring how this scholar's performance dimensions can be used as a relevant tool to assess Yeoville Community Park. The fundamental good is the continuous development of the individual or the small group and their culture (Lynch, 1981). This scholar is one of the more significant theorists of public space. Lynch's approach was based on normative explanatory ideas and descriptive proportions. He developed a set of general criteria which he believed should be a useful guide to policy implementation:

- They should refer mainly to the spatial form of the city. The effects of different culture and value system should affect the form but method of analysis should remain unchanged.
- Characteristics should be as general as possible.
- Be able to connect to the important goals and values of any culture, at least through a chain of reasonable assumptions.
- These characteristics should relate to any relevant form of settlement.
- These characteristics should be in the form dimensions of performance, along which various groups in various situations will be free to choose optimum points.
- Measurements on these dimensions should be able to deal with qualities which change over time. (Lynch 1981:112-113).

Lynch (1981) maintains that previous theories have always broken at least some of these rules by being very general, going beyond settlement form and attempting to include informal features. These theories often mix spatial and non-spatial elements. He views a good city as the image of the environment that every citizen has associated himself/herself with and whose images are soaked in memories and meanings. As a result his ideas about a good city are still used in planning theory and practice. Lynch (1981) identifies five basic performance dimensions (Vitality, Sense, Fit, Access and Control) which are flexible enough to suit all cultures. They form a framework to evaluate the characteristics of recreational public space systems in the researched area of Yeoville.

It is essential for the planner to integrate this range of criteria into planning as the criteria will help towards a successful end result. These performance dimensions will help to judge the relative form

of the place and provide necessary clues on how to maintain and improve livability within any environment. It is the role of the planner to try and merge them (Vitality, Sense, Fit, Access and Control) within the given space in order to encourage people to own the space and have access to it. These performance dimensions will be discussed in terms of their relevance to recreational public space quality. The purpose is to first explore whether these performance dimensions are relevant in creating good recreational public spaces, then use them as a tool to analyse Yeoville Community Park. Performance dimensions can be utilized by planners as a framework within which to work. In order to be a useful guide to policy, the following analysis will explain the importance of each element of a Good City Form as propounded by Lynch (1981).

(i) Vitality

Under the broader aspect of vitality, safety is recognized as one pivotal component of a Good City Form. This component holds that a better living environment is one which ensures that people's protection or safety needs are recognized. For instance, such an environment is a good habitat if it supports vital functions such as health and biological well-functioning of an individual. The Johannesburg city centre has many old and dilapidated buildings which pose a threat to human lives. Such buildings need to be upgraded and the city council must provide alternative accommodation to the city dwellers. A good settlement area has to provide safety measures and a physically secure environment for its inhabitants. Moreover, the availability of systems or institutions to care and treat those who are infected by diseases is an important factor that constitutes a Good City Form (Lynch, 1981). Lack of proper institutions to monitor and control access into the country, made South Africa vulnerable to deadly diseases such cholera and swine flu in 2009.

Lynch (1981) identified three principal features of the environment that makes it a vital place and an adequate life ground:

- Sustenance – provision of sufficient supply of food, energy, water and a throughput which must be efficient to sustain life.
- Safety – attainment of safety involves the reduction of accidents. Controlled environmental hazards promote efficient settlements.
- Consonance – the degree of fit between the environment and human functions such as natural rhythms (the need to sleep, see and hear well).

Accomplishment of safety may relate to the reduction of physical accidents and defences against violent attacks in parks. Safety should be considered along with the degree of fit between the environment and human requirements. Hence there is a need for sensitive handling of the design

and design features such as park furniture. Recreational public space covers an almost bewildering range of activities; from quiet meditation to cultural and theatre events and to vigorously active sports. With reference to South African cities, public spaces that have been provided have fulfilled a recreational function for inner-city dwellers but there is a lack of personal security as people constantly live in fear.

What makes a neighbourhood space vital are the necessary characteristics of neighbourhood spaces that draw people from their homes, encourage them to linger together outdoors, and engage with neighbors in a way that supports and builds community. Public spaces are popularly used for public gatherings, as is the case in Newtown, particularly the Mary Fitzgerald Square which is used for public gatherings whether it is a cultural event or for entertainment purposes. Recent research suggests that green spaces may be one of the key components of vital neighbourhood spaces. Greenery may be a special component in creating vital spaces in inner-city neighborhoods (Sullivan et al., 2004). Lack of diversity and vitality in public space in the modern city has served to restrict the range of choices which are conveniently available to residents. The neglect of the public realm has restricted the potential for a significant social interaction (Carr *et al.,* 1992). The design of new developments and alterations to existing developments should promote community safety taking into account the principles and objectives of 'Secured by Design' (Moore, 1992). These principles include designing public spaces and access ways so that they are overlooked by development, provided with good lighting, and clear sight lines to ensure good visibility.

(ii) Sense

Sense of a place signifies clarity with which it can be perceived and identified. It depends on spatial form and quality as well as one's individual culture. Newtown prides itself with its history; it is an epitome of cultural quarters around South Africa. It is a home to Market Theatre and various African-themed restaurants. Lynch (1981) opines that the sense of a particular place will vary for different observers, just as the ability of a person to perceive form varies for different places. Sense of a place encourages the development of a feeling of place, home or identity within a city. Sense relates to links with other events and places in time and space. The simplest form of sense is identity, which is the extent to which a person can recognise or recall a place as being different from other places. The unique features of a place or setting are likely to encourage the inhabitants to like the place and identify with it. Likewise, the promotion of unique activities or staging of cultural events within a place are likely to make people favor that place, therefore internalizing it and making it part of their self concept.

Yeoville is different from any other place because of its character and the memories people still hold close to their hearts. Those who once lived in Sophiatown before they were relocated to townships,

still treasure the time they had in that place. This example illustrates the idea of a relevant cultural context and continuity as described by Crane (1960). From this view point, sense must have an exclusive character of its own. Lynch (1981:132) comments that "It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world". Yet there is an unsettled relationship between what we see and what we know. Sense of a place depends on spatial form and quality. Sensory experiences of sight, touch and smell are also considered, with regard to how the senses provide cues in the space for children and people with inabilities (Moore *et al.,* 1992). On the other hand, another element of sense is the 'structure' which promotes the sense of 'orientation' (Lynch, 1981:132).

The sense 'orientation' encourages inhabitants to recognize how their place is linked with other parts of the city (ibid). Furthermore, these special cues play a crucial role in assisting a special group of people such as the physically impaired, deaf, and retarded to understand their locality. It is also worth mentioning that the use of water features such as waterfalls, pools and fountains can both be appreciated through hearing or just by looking. The sound of rushing water can be a real delight in any public space. More recently, environmental meaning or one's connectedness to a place has been advanced as an important dimension of good public spaces (Carr *et al.,* 1992; Francis, 1988; Rapoport, 1982). Sensibility can be induced by improving the human ability to perceive the environment. This can be done through environmental awareness campaigns, educating people about the benefits of looking after their environment and learning more in order to appreciate it. Towards this end the City of Johannesburg embarked on various environmental programs and clean up campaigns in which celebrities were encouraged to participate.

(iii) Access

Access refers to access in relation to parks, the ability to reach other persons, activities, resources and services, information or places including the quantity and diversity of the elements which can be reached (Lynch, 1981). Access to information, a pivotal need in the contemporary world, has to be equitably accessible to all people. In essence, the concept of access holds that a Good City Form allows people to access a variety of resources and opportunities. For a place to be well utilised, it must be accessible. Access may be categorised into features to which access is given and to what it is afforded. Access to information is a prerequisite for an easy access to the opportunities that exist. Legibility is a special aspect of this access to information. The use of information boards, community newspapers and even radio is important so that every member of a community can have access to information The most underlying factor is access to open spaces, including symbolic places. The use of signs and symbols increases the level of available information and makes the setting more intelligible. According to Lynch (1981) what is most applicable to recreational public space is quantity and diversity of elements which can be reached. Successfully designed parks should be

able to allow access to all social backgrounds and promote a peaceful and harmonious co-existence given that access is a primary reason for the existence of cities.

Moore, Goltsman and Lacofano (1992) believe that accessibility plays a major role, whether this is for children or people who might need to maintain the space. They discuss a series of design criteria for play sites in the external environment. The list of criteria is too long to fully discuss here but a number of issues will be highlighted such as *accessibility*, whether this be for the children or people who might need to maintain the space. Social access is important, meaning that a space is open to different classes. One may find that some places are poorly designed for females and adults. Moore et al. (1992) suggest the importance of providing opportunities for what they refer to as 'safe *challenge*' (1992: 509). They suggest that *diversity and clarity* are required in play settings in order to meet children's wide-ranging and ever changing needs in a manner that provides new experiences on different visits while continuing to provide comfort in the way that a 'familiar friend' can.

According to the Community Open Space Policy (2000), quality open spaces should be:

Equitable/Accessible:

Every neighbourhood should have open spaces that are:

- inviting and accommodating
- located throughout a community for all residents to access
- able to meet local or regional needs
- suitable for use by multiple generations and differing cultures.

Good places with accessibility are those that are clearly identifiable from a distance, easy to enter when you get closer and simple to use. A space that is not accessible will end up empty, rejected and often dilapidated. Good places are inspired by people who live in them. Carr et al. (1992) believe that access is essential if people are to attach meaning to a public place. They propose a simple way of conceptualising access to public spaces using three major components which they regard as crucial. They look at the direct *physical access* to a park to determine whether the space is physically available to the public. This is followed by *visual access* in which Carr et al. (1992) maintain that visibility is central for easy access to a space. Visual access must be viewed against people's needs for privacy, security and their desire for places that provide a retreat. Visual access is crucial for people to feel safe and secure in a public place. The final component is *symbolic access,* which involves the presence of cues, in the form of people or design elements suggesting who is and is not welcome in the space.

(iv) Control

Lynch (1981) offers a useful starting point for defining the importance of control in quality of space. He holds the view that spatial control or its absence may contribute to feelings of anxiety, satisfaction or pride. This element of a Good City Form holds that the space and actions or behaviour connected with it ought to be regulated. The control element involves the following three dimensions: *certainty, congruency, and responsibility.* The first dimension of control, *certainty,* is concerned with the extent to which inhabitants comprehend the mechanisms of control, and appreciate those mechanisms. The second dimension, *congruency,* is concerned with the extent of harmony between people's use of space and their sense of ownership of this space. The *responsibility* dimension focuses on the plans and commitment of those in charge of urban space in relation to the advancement of all living things contained in this space (Lynch, 1981:205).

Lynch (1981) then proposes five forms of spatial control such as *Presence, Use and action, Appropriation, Modification and Disposition.* A brief review of these rights is useful to understand how control can be provided for public recreational space.

- Presence is the right of access to a place and without it, use and action cannot be achieved.
- Use and action involve one's ability to use space and its facilities freely without appropriating them.
- Appropriation is allowing park users to claim ownership and monopolize the benefits of a place. This directly or indirectly affects other park users as they are being deprived of utilising the same resources that are made available to all of them.
- Regarding modification, people have a right to change public space by introducing public art in order to facilitate its use. They can directly personalise public places by changing the location of furniture to suit their individual needs. The erection of the statue in honour of the late Brenda Fassie in Newtown's cultural precinct, for example, was meant to accelerate its use.
- Disposition is whereby one is able to transfer one's use and ownership of a public space to someone else. Lynch (1981) believes that use and control should be complementary.

The rights mentioned above imply that people who benefit from space should have some form of control over it. In essence, control can be defined as "the ability of an individual or group to gain access to utilize, influence, gain ownership over and attach meaning to a public place" (Francis, 1989:158). Control relates to territoriality and the extent to which people perceive urban elements of the urban form as their own. Francis advocates the importance of control in an environment to be adaptable to human needs. She also highlights the importance of community participation in

controlling and maintaining the conditions of parks. When a city incorporates these characteristics, it allows people to be in control; to enhance public participation and citizenship. This was evident at the opening of the new revamped Yeoville Community Park as residents were urged to report all those who ruined the park. Although control is a controversial issue and often misunderstood, Francis suggests some form of authority whereby control may be maintained by both transient and regular visitors. Lynch (1992) opines that there should be some form of external authority so that all potential users are considered and control is maintained

Safety is another aspect of control. Public spaces and access should be designed in so that they are overlooked by development buildings, provided with good lighting, and clear sight lines to ensure good visibility. The City of Toronto for instance has begun to produce empirically derived safety assessments of urban parks. Preliminary findings in the literature indicate that the spatial design of parks, levels of use, communication, lighting and surveillance contribute to the safety of urban parks (Egan, 1991).Chapin's (1991) studies in Central Park, New York, indicate that park design is one of four factors contributing to safer parks, the others being citizen involvement, programming and maintenance, and enforcement. Table 2 below shows some conceptual differences between a Community-Controlled Community Garden and a City-Controlled Public Park. Community gardening becomes part of human activity; it must invite presence and be accessible. Control therefore is a mechanism by which people come and attach meaning to a place either negative or positive.

Public park	Community garden
Passive	Active
Quiet/relax	Activity/work
Be alone	Get together
Clean/neat	Messy but cared for
To look at	To participate in
Publicly controlled/managed	User-controlled/managed
Permanent	Temporary
Green attracts people	People attract people
Liked	Loved

Table 2: Community-Controlled Garden vs. City-Controlled Public Park
Source: Francis (1987)

(v) Fit

Fit indicates the degree to which spatial form matches the customary behaviour of its inhabitants. Fit of a place relates mainly to its physical form and design. Lynch (1981) emphasizes the importance of the creation of environments that are flexible and adaptable to the varying needs of individuals. Places can be modified to fit certain behaviour, but where this is different or undesirable, behaviour must adopt to fit the place. An example of fit in recreational public space could be the need for different types of environments for active sport and quiet places for meditation or reading.

Fit with regard to Yeoville Park could be the need for different types of environments, whereby people can be engaged in various activities such as a provision of a wellness centre irrespective of age group and outdoor activities. This is crucial for the planners to consider when planning for a diversified cultural group and activities. Good places tend to promote sociability and they are comfortable and attractive too. These are spots where you meet people you know, where you take friends and family when you want to show them the neighbourhood. These places become the heart and soul of the neighbourhood because they offer people many different reasons to patronise them (Carr, *et al.,*1992).

Fit also deals with place and actual behaviour; the environment and its objects are used in a way that had never occurred to their developers before. Places that people love most are those in which they can pursue a variety of activities. Without opportunities to do something more than sit and look around, the experience one has in that place is ‘thin’ and there is nothing to keep one there for any length of time. The last two factors are what Lynch (1992:118) refers to as ‘meta-criteria’. He maintains that they are always incorporated in any list of good things.

(vi) Efficiency

Efficiency in terms of opportunity cost, not necessarily monetary, has a great effect on inner city parks where valuable land is found for creating and maintaining the city in relation to any of the above mentioned dimensions. It is about justifying the cost of maintaining parks and it is crucial that the community becomes part of the decision making process. Lynch (1981) however, suggests that costs be assessed in terms of valued things as well as the creation and maintenance of the environment. Nevertheless, when there is a clash between access and control, he proposes that justice must be applied to determine the ways in which cost and benefits are distributed. He recommends that ‘rules of justice’ be applied in a clear manner so that everyone can understand them (Lynch 1981).The re-enforcement of by-laws is important to safeguard the interest of every citizen.

(vii) Justice

Justice in relation to costs and benefits means that people have to decide who should pay for the parks and who should be allowed to use them. This idea is very applicable to park maintenance and control because the fee that is charged for accessing the park facilities has to be determined by the community. Justice is the way in which the environmental cost and benefits are distributed among people. What may be considered as just in one culture may have different connotations in another. It can be deduced therefore that these performance dimensions and meta-criteria can be adapted in order to analyse development of recreational public space. These performance dimensions give the planning profession a constructive mechanism to assess the physical elements of urban form pertaining to how they relate to social environment. Therefore the challenge of the model is to achieve a balance between the above-mentioned two contrasting views. However, what complicates things also is the fact that the definition of just distribution is relative across different societies.

Appleyard and Jacobs (1987) tackle issues such as the fragmentation of the city and the erosion of its public realm. Their work is a response to the problems which they believe have perpetuated the modern urban design of the city (Appleyard and Jacobs, 1987). These two scholars concur with Lynch (1981) when they identify a number of goals which they believe are necessary for a good urban environment.

(a) The need for liveability. They maintain that good city environments should also exhibit some degree of identity and control so that its inhabitants can feel a sense of belonging.
(b) They believe in an environment for all where there is equal access to the functions and activities of the city.
(c) Urban environments should also offer access to opportunities. People's understanding of the city would make them more aware of the opportunities that are made available to them.

Access to opportunities entails being allowed to use the public space with no restrictions. Looking at the South African context, this view of difference helps to formulate identity of space. Yeoville community has access to the park for social and entertainment opportunities. It is the duty of the planner therefore to understand the social and political forces which influence the way space is used.

2.9 Henri Lefebvre's Three Perspectives of Space

Lefebvre (1991) is the leading theorist of urban space. He has developed a conceptual framework on how space is produced. He considers space as one of the forces of production alongside others recognised by Marxist theory. He holds the view that space has the same natural existence in the

mode of production as capital or labour. Secondly, space is not only part of the forces and means of production; it is also a product of these very same relations. He also notes that space itself is an object of consumption. Thirdly, Lefebvre argues that "space has become for the state a political instrument of primary importance. The state uses space in such a way that it ensures its control of places; it is thus an administratively controlled and even policed space" (1991:126). Lastly, he sees class conflict as being deployed in space, that is, as being a spatial conflict as well as a struggle between economic interests.

Lefebvre (1991) argues that the three perspectives mentioned above must be adapted or kept in mind in order to understand the process of the production of space. According to him, the effect of space rests on the relations between those in the process of production of this space. He differentiates between what he regards as perceived, conceived and lived space which in spatial terms are: spatial practice, representation of space and spaces of representation.

2.9.1 Spatial Practice (Perceived Space)

Lefebvre (1991) holds the view that this perception on spatial practice of how space is produced, focuses on the processes and forces that shape space physically and materially. These processes and forces comprise land use management such as policies and structures, lack of land, housing backlog and urbanisation that affect the usage and distribution of land. According to Lefebvre (1991) the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the interpretation of its space.

2.9.2 Representations of Space (Conceived Space)

This is the dominant space in any society and it constitutes the space of scientists, planners, technocratic sub dividers and social engineers who identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived (Lefebvre, 1991). It is a mental abstract view of space rather than a physical space. The differing 'mental' ideologies of various planners have produced very definite spatial patterns according to their ideology (Frick, 2002). Planning of segregated cities was influenced by apartheid ideology to separate blacks from the white minority. This is clearly reflected in the morphology and development of South African cities. In East London on the Eastern Cape for example, blacks were separated from whites by the use of railway lines and rivers.

(i) Meaning and legibility

Space is dynamic; it constantly changes over time due to the impact of man or his interaction with the environment. Any space or building structure has a wide range of possible meanings which are never fixed as they may vary from one individual to the other. Legibility of the meaning depends on the norms and values of the people interpreting the meaning. Legibility can be more difficult in a

multicultural society as there is no common language, in which case values and beliefs help to create a common "language". People may interpret one symbol differently according to their own understanding. Short (1996) opines that illegibility is encouraged by the fact that spaces and buildings are designed from only one perspective (one language) rather than the use of shared languages.

2.9.3 Representational Space (Lived space)

It is a space used for active and passive living. Many spaces in South Africa are given meaning through their names and renaming of spaces. A road that was once called Harrow Road in Yeoville has been renamed Joe Slovo[4]. Similarly, places like Walter Sisulu National Botanical Garden (in honour of the freedom fighter) and Hector Peterson Memorial Park share their names with places of meaning to the community. Their names give symbolic meaning to the space and the people who use it. Harrison maintains that for Lefebvre "space is a lived, subjective experience that has much to do with imagination, perception, social meaning and representation as it has to do with material reality" (1998:191). As for Lefebvre (1991) the revolutionary transformation of society requires the appropriation of space and a freedom to be able to utilise it. For him, it is the meaning given to space that is essential. The three perspectives of space permit one to interpret the relationships and linkages between the social, physical and mental space in each instance. It is of necessity for the planner to view space in terms of all three perspectives of space and merge these perspectives in order to understand the production of space.

The traditional method of planning (whereby agents of the state would allocate resources) is shifting to a more innovative method of planning in order to meet the needs of specific communities. Friedman (1973) sees the planner as fulfilling two main roles, namely that of allocative planner and secondly as an innovative planner. He sees the planner and the community working together to combine their knowledge in a process of mutual learning. For this process he developed a concept known as *Transactive* planning, which looks at the relationship between the planner and community participation. Transactive planning promotes the inclusion of all citizens affected by planning in the decision making process. The approach helps to assist the community to have increased control over the social processes that govern their welfare. However, it puts more emphasis on communication between the planner and community. It is therefore more concerned with bridging the gap between the two. This type of planning corresponds best with Arnstien's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, whereby a planner and client engage in partnership through a learning process. The city belongs to all the people who reside in it, according to the Just City approach (Fainstein,

[4] An anti-apartheid activist who once lived in Yeoville

2000). Therefore it is very important that all the citizens are collaboratively involved in the formal process which governs the city (Healey, 1992).

Many pieces of contemporary South African legislations and policy emphasise the importance of participatory governance (Constitution of South Africa, 1996; White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management of 2001; MSA, 2000). At the local sphere, the MSA (2000) made it an obligation that the municipalities in South Africa ensure that all citizens within the city take part in the matters affecting the city. Communicative rationality or planning is driven by the desire to achieve consensus amongst different groups within the city (Healey, 1992). Planning is not only concerned with initiations of programmes of action, but the construction of forums within which public deliberations can take place. The approach is relevant to the South African context as it realizes the importance of engaging various stakeholders in city governance (MSA, 2000). It is therefore expected that all those who reside in the city will be equitably included in the formal participatory process as required by the MSA and Collaborative Planning (Healey, 1992; and MSA, 2000).

Another theory of physical and social space is that of Steel (1981:9) in which she argues that "people and their environment form what are called "transactional systems" with each giving and receiving something from the other. She maintains that the environment is made up of a combination of physical and social features; a physical space is an experience created by the setting combined with what a person brings to it. Steel (1981) holds the view that "Place" has two aspects: the sense of place which is the particular experience of a person in a particular setting, (feeling stimulated and excited) and the spirit of place which is the combination of characteristics that give some locations a special "feel" or personality. Secondly, she talks about "Setting": a person's immediate surroundings which include both physical and social elements. These can be experienced in our everyday environment and are considered as real life mapping.

Madanipour (1996) highlights an important point pertaining to everyday life in the city that gives us a better understanding of patterns of behaviour in relation to a place and social interactions of individuals with one another and their use of public place. For us to arrive at this understanding it is necessary to draw insight from people of Yeoville on how they use their socio-spatial environment. In fact, Sandercock (2003) believes that by generating a deeper understanding of the everyday life, we may be able to acknowledge and appreciate the diversity within a multicultural society. This may guide us towards planning for recreational spaces that are more viable and accessible.

2.10 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has illustrated the importance of the meaning of space through various theories. The chapter began by looking at normative theory of Good City Form, developed by Lynch (1981) and it

provided a framework in which characteristics of public recreational space can be evaluated. Normative theory provides a tool for linking the norms and values of a society with the physical forms it produces. Lynch's five performance dimensions and the two meta-criteria can be applied at any number of different scales. Lefebvre's (1991) three theoretical layers which analyse space are applicable to the past, the present and the future on evaluation of space. Public control has a long history of importance in civic improvement and will always shape the urban environment in future. It affects how the urban environment is perceived and valued as people come to attach meaning whether negative or positive to public places. The planner's responsibility lies not only in understanding the urban elements of space, but the social and political forces that influence the way in which space is used. It is now up to the government to institute strong policies for spatial design, the public to take part in shaping its surroundings and the designer to understand principles underlying planning for successful recreational public space.

CHAPTER THREE: A CASE STUDY OF YEOVILLE.

3.1 Introduction to the inner-city suburb of Johannesburg.

City Johannesburg
This way I salute you:
My hand pulses to my back trouser pocket
Or into my inner jacket pocket
For my pass, my life,
Jo'burg City…

Don't you know?
Job'burg City, I salute you;
When I run out, or roar in a bus to you,
I leave behind me, my love –
My comic houses and people, my donga and my ever whirling dust,
Mongane Wally Serote (1972)

This chapter outlines the growth of the inner-city suburb of Johannesburg, paying particular attention to the historical background that has influenced the morphological structure of Yeoville. This will be followed by a brief character analysis of Yeoville, expounding on the reasons why the area has been chosen for this research report. It blends well with the above poem as it projects a stark and realistic picture of Johannesburg as it reveals an ambiguity about urban identity during the apartheid era. During that period blacks were not allowed to stay in urban areas but things changed as more African migrants are pulled into these predominantly white suburbs.The main aim of this chapter is to trace how the development and transformation of space during and post-apartheid has influenced people's perception of space. Tracing the history of Yeoville is crucial for this research as it depicts the changing relationship between people and their use of recreational public space. At this point it may be crucial to re-emphasize the use of genealogy as I believe it can be used as a good instrument in planning and helps us to understand spatial changes that occur on space over time. This chapter also engages the social, economic and political configurations of the area. In order to move forward one needs to learn from the past in order to plan for the future. The traditional method of planning is no longer effective; it is now replaced by a more innovative method of planning.

3.2. Historical background

The form of South African cities has been rooted in three primary influences. The first is the colonial town in the Cape with its gridiron pattern. This pattern developed around market squares. The second influence was due to the discovery of gold from which resulted mining towns. The last influence was apartheid as both a political and social concept. The model of the apartheid city existed as a geo-political ideal for a racist and separatist regime. The racial separation and segregation were enacted legally from 1950 to 1991. The prime motive was to ensure the separation of "races" in urban spaces (Meyer, 2002). South African cities typically portray the evils of apartheid policies. They emerged as spatial separation of residential areas based on ethnic or racial groups. The policy of 'separate development' was meant to reserve cities as a "white" living and economic space, with a cheap labour pool within a reachable distance (Thompson, 1990). The segregation of race and ethnic groups has historically been a central characteristic of social, economic and spatial organization in the South African city. It is a function of society that no South African can escape and that pervades all facets of urban living.

South African cities and towns entered the 1990s with an apartheid urban planning and development legacy. As a result, urban planners and managers, and politicians responsible for urban development were faced with the task of reconstructing the impression of a spatially segregated, highly fragmented and dispersed urban society. The victory over the apartheid state in 1994, set policy makers in all spheres of public life the mammoth task of overhauling the social, political, economic and cultural institutions of South Africa to bring them in line with the imperatives of a new democratic order (Asmal, 2001).

3.2.1 The Founding of Yeoville

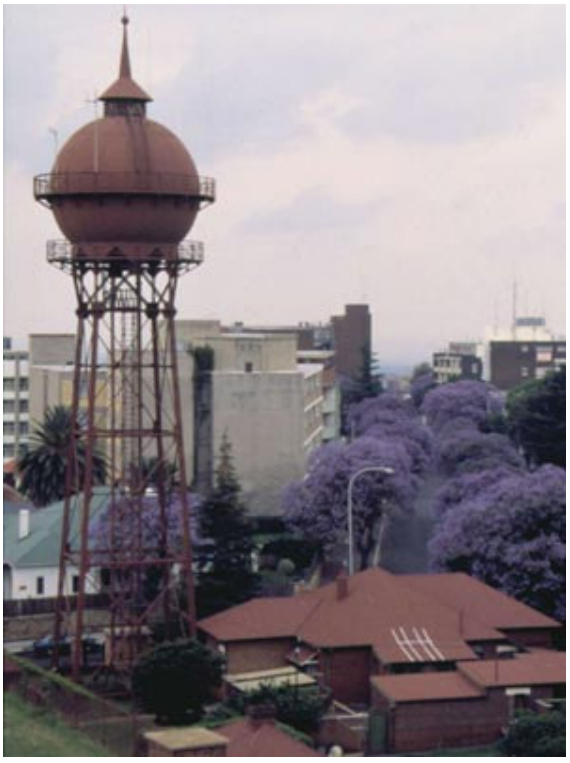


Figure 3.1 Yeoville water tower
Source: Davie L. Johannesburg Landmarks

Yeoville was first proclaimed a suburb in 1890 by Thomas Yeo Sherwell, who came from Yeovil in the United Kingdom[5].Yeoville is positioned on the rise to the north-east of Johannesburg hospital, and commands a really magnificent view of the whole of Johannesburg and the latter's suburbs such as Berea and Hilbrow on the one side and the Magaliesburg Mountains with valleys and undulating slopes on the other. Commanding the highest altitude compared to the surrounding areas, people always felt the urge to come and visit Yeoville for clean fresh air hence it was regarded as the 'sanatorium' of the city with fresh air free from the pollution odours which prevail in the city.

Situated on a hill, it was originally marketed as an area for the rich who could avoid the smoky air of Johannesburg's mines. Yeovilles's built fabric is mainly residential with the exception of Rockey/ Raleigh Street, which is mostly commercial retail. The residential area is of low to medium density. The buildings in Yeoville are a mixture that ranges from single storey residential dwellings with corrugated sheet metal, concrete tile roofing, to double storey arcaded structures with retail on the ground, office, and retail or residential space on the upper floor. The township was laid around Yeoville Square where the recreation centre, clinic and public park are found. The Square was one of the earliest planned open spaces in the area. Nazareth House was the first major building laid out in 1895[6]. Figure 3.1 above shows the Yeoville Water Tower which was built around 1817 to provide drinking water for Yeoville residents and miners.

One feature of the inner city that has not changed is the relatively high composition of foreign immigrants. In the 1960s and 1970s, about one-third of all residents in the high rise areas were foreign born. Most of these foreign-born residents were from Europe. History of urban reform

[5] The Star 12 August 1935: Story of Mr. T.Y. Sherwell
[6] Tribune community news paper, 1999

emphasizes planning as the management of a product, the physical shape and form, the morphology and spatial organization of the urban region. Yeoville has a long history and is full of wonderful stories from the past. The late Joe Slovo, leader of the South African Communist Party once lived in this area when he was young on the site now occupied by House of Tandoor. He later returned to this area in the late 1990s when he came back from exile.

Yeoville is a middle-low income neighborhood that was one of the first 'gray' areas in Johannesburg during the 1980s and has always attracted a diverse set of residents. It is during this period that Yeoville was internationally renowned as a cultural precinct overflowing with restaurants, jazz bars and fashionable clothing stores. It became one of the first integrated spaces despite the apartheid laws. As the city grew, the area became a popular place for artists, musicians and activists. As such, it became something of a liberated zone as black and white met and ate and listened to music together in defiance of prevailing apartheid laws[7]. In fact, Yeoville became a zone of tolerance, where blacks and whites mixed socially in defiance of the prevailing apartheid laws. Some blacks even lived in the area in flats rented for them by white nominees. The Yeoville Rockey/Raleigh Street precinct has historically been an important residential, retail and entertainment centre in Johannesburg. It is also a vital connection between the Inner City and the northern and eastern suburbs of Johannesburg (Wessels 2006). The most common type of businesses along this node are now Internet cafes, hairdressers and laundries.

3.2.2 The Character of Yeoville in post-apartheid South Africa

Yeoville 'Dicey but Nice'

(Kit Peel: *Mail and Guardian*, 24 March 2000)

This is just one of the many quotes that begin to describe the character of Yeoville and its current socio-economic make-up. Yeoville is a representation of what change can do to cities and what lessons can be learnt from such a process. When apartheid fell and the new democratic government came to power in 1994, Yeoville became one of the first integrated communities in the country. In the early 1990s, Rockey Street remained a hotbed of radicals, activists, artists and musicians. Journalists from around the world lived and worked there during the transition, and places like the Harbour Cafe, Coffee Society, Tandoor and many others attracted large numbers of visitors.

[7] Group Areas Act of 1950 actually prohibited blacks from staying in white minority areas.

Many residents settled in Yeoville because of its cosmopolitan and bohemian nature. It was during this period that Yeoville witnessed a dramatic demographic shift, with the population of Yeoville – Bellevue changing from 85 per cent white in 1990 to 90 per cent black in 1998. The end of apartheid had a profound impact on Yeoville, as it witnessed a great demographic shift since Johannesburg began to pull economic immigrants from underdeveloped neighbouring countries as well as rural reserves of South Africa. According to Nwandiko[8], Yeoville's the pull can be attributed to its proximity to the CBD, shopping malls and offices in Eastgate and Killarney, hence people working in these areas are finding it cheaper to live in Yeoville than travelling from townships.



Figure 3.2: Rockey/ Raleigh Street and the House of Tandoor on the right. Most of the activities in Yeoville are concentrated around this node.

The Yeoville node has a lot of mixed land uses within it with a lot of business and retail areas. Most of the land uses in the node are for retail and residential purposes. The street has transformed over the years to a mixed land-use spine. For example, apartments that were only used for residential purposes are now of mixed land use and some houses have been converted into offices. The main movement through the precinct runs East/West through Raleigh Road/Rockey Street (see figure3.2). The area has a number of community facilities, most notably the Yeoville Square and the Yeoville Market.

[8] Sunday Times 14 May 2006



Figure 3.3 Yeoville Market

Rocky/Raleigh Street could therefore be categorized as a local high street, which serves a localized function. Pedestrian movement system can be observed along this route due to the location of the community facilities. Diversified movements that can be seen in this space make it difficult for the observer to distinguish between the beginning and end of the performance. The routine starts in the early hours of the morning from occasional minibus taxis accelerating down Rockey Street. The only people who dominate the scene in the morning are the working class rushing to their places of work. When the first light breaks, streets become more populated with school children, hawkers busy arranging their stalls and the traffic quickly becomes chaotic. It seems as if there is someone who is responsible for directing the performance of conversation, construction, street trade, traffic, and social interaction. These diverse "rhythms in the concrete are made up of subjects and objects where opposites find and recognize each other in a unity both more real and more ideal, more complex than its elements. Rhythms are the music of the city, a picture that listens to itself" (Lefebvre, 1991: 235)). The park seems to be the main centre of attraction as it is where most of the social activities are carried out.

Today, however, most foreigners are from African countries. It is during this period that this cosmopolitan suburb, with residents from Congo, Nigeria, Kenya and Pakistan living alongside South Africans have seen Yeoville change from a Bohemian suburb with a strong European character to a Pan-African Yeoville. Some refer to it as the rainbow suburb of South Africa. This Pan-African shift has to a large extent been associated with negativity (Beall, 2001). It is in this period that others view Yeoville as a ghetto for blacks whilst others acknowledge the transformation and celebrate a vibrant colorful and dynamic Yeoville. It is here that men and women in their

colourful West African outfits walk down the busy Rockey-Raleigh Streets. They have made Yeoville their home, modifying its personality by adding to its diversity.

Over weekends, Yeoville is buzzing with entertainment and those feeling bored and lonely go to *Ekhaya Pub and Restaurant*. One would find it difficult to resist the aroma of South African cuisine. The food is excellent with *mogudu* (tripe), *pap* and *vleis* on the menu. Jazz lovers were once entertained by Hugh Masekela and Sipho Gumede. Yeoville serves as an interface between the inner-city and the suburbs; between various cultures and ethnicities and an interface between the public and the private. There is a strong network that exists at the House of Tandoor; a rooftop club located between Bezuidenhout and Raymond Street, a Rastafarian-style construction where the young and old looking for a night of quality reggae beats can sit in the open air on the rooftop. It is a place where creative people meet to socialize and exchange ideas. In trying to restore to life Yeoville's bohemian past, Monday nights at *The One Drop* were dedicated to poetry sessions. Some of the artists are part of the community that once gave Yeoville its cultural heart beat in the 1990's.

Eric Miyeni (media personality) used to host poetry sessions at *Time Square Bar* (See Figure 3.4) for local artists[9]. The bar was a popular socializing place for the well known before they moved to new suburbs in Melville and Rosebank in the late 1990's. Now the new regulars of Time Square bar are mostly youths in their 20's. With the demise of apartheid, Yeoville was faced with poor land use management and increasing levels of crime. Organisations and individuals came together in order to address the problem and influence the socio-economic future of the area. Yeoville Stakeholders Forum (YSF) was formed. It consists of individuals who want to promote change, development and quality of life in the Greater Yeoville area. Community organizations are working to rebuild the area and drive new investment and capital into the once popular suburb.



Figure 3.4 Popular Time Square Bar

[9] Sunday Times 14 May 2006

The physical appearance of the inner city of Johannesburg needed an immediate and proper response from the CoJ. The response emerged from the 2000-2005 term mayoral priorities (City of Johannesburg, 2006). The Executive Mayor defined six priorities during his term of office, of which inner city regeneration was the fifth priority. It is through this fifth priority that the City of Johannesburg is committed to restoring a vibrant life to the inner-city. The intention is to save the inner city from decay so that it can play a significant role in economic, social and cultural regeneration of Johannesburg as well as of the country (City of Johannesburg, 2006). The formal global city strategic plan aims to increase Gauteng's economic growth by 8% by 2014 (2030 Vision). At a precinct level, it is envisaged that the regeneration of Rockey/Raleigh Street precinct will achieve 'A revitalized High Street attractive to all age groups sustained by a high quality, vibrant and viable mixed use area comprising amongst other opportunities retail convenience shopping and well maintained family entertainment and recreation facilities and services, which will have as its patrons a multicultural local and subregional community.'[10]

3.3 Socio-economic assessment of Yeoville

For purposes of this report, it becomes befitting to also consider those social aspects that are relevant in the interaction of people and space. For a long time South Africa's social, political and economic history has been a clear indication of government failure. This was perfectly captured by De Kiewiet (1994) who argued that South Africa was progressing within a state of political disasters and economic downfall, so when the political climate changed in 1994, the new government specifically aimed at breaking this dismal pattern. The Apartheid pattern of racial segregation and exploitation may be long gone but now Johannesburg exhibits a new pattern of inequality.
In the words of Seeking and Nattrass as cited in Beal et al,

> In post apartheid South Africa, inequality is driven by two income gaps: between an increasing multiracial middle class and the rest; and between the African urban working class and the African unemployed and marginalized poor. (2002:29)

Between the mid 1970's to the present, South Africa has witnessed a period of slow economic growth. Yeoville's economic life in particular has seen a transformation. Table 3 shows data base information for Yeoville. In the last decade, inequality has had more to do with issues of access to basic services.

[10] JDA's Urban Design Framework and Development Feasibility Study (2003)

Gender composition	**52.2% Males** **47.8% Females**
Total population	**14710**
Level of employment	**44.6 %**

Table 3. Database for Yeoville[11]

Yeoville is experiencing an influx of both township residents and African immigrants. Other obvious groups of residents include pensioners who have lived here for decades, young professionals and students who live in Yeoville because of its close proximity to tertiary institutions around the city. The current tenant-based population remains diverse and increasingly transient (Harrison, 2002).

Within the boundaries of Yeoville itself, there appears to be a great deal of mobility, with people moving to different accommodation in different areas within the neighbourhood. This is determined by one's changing economic status and preferred living conditions. The social fabric displays differentiated sets of income earners ranging from wealthy homeowners and businessmen to poor unemployed tenants and refugees. The diversity of Yeoville's resident base is delicately poised in a culture of mistrust, with high levels of social exclusion and lack of a meaningful institutional presence (Harrison, 2002).Yeoville emerges as an interesting space, as it has historically been shaped by the people who use and interact with it. The unemployment rate in Yeoville is relatively low compared to the rest of Gauteng, which is at 35%. Despite the relatively low unemployment rate compared with the rest of Gauteng. In general, households located within Yeoville are relatively poor. Seven percent of households earn an average household income of R2 400 or less, i.e. R200 or less a month.[12]

The once bohemian life style has decline into lower living standards. The migration of the Jewish community from the area brought about distinct socio-economic changes mainly in terms of a loss of disposable income. A household survey conducted by Urban-Econ: Development Economists in Yeoville (2003) affirmed that Yeoville has a disparate population, with a number of culturally diverse households residing within the area. This, in some instances, has resulted in a number of socio-economic problems such as illiteracy, high unemployment rate and overcrowding occurring within the area.

[11] Census 2001 GIS Extracted from Regional Spatial Development Framework 2008
[12] A household survey conducted by Urban-Econ: Development Economists in Yeoville (2003)

3.3.1 The Retail Composition of Yeoville

The majority of businesses along Rocky/Raleigh Street is retail (54%) and consists mainly of convenience stores selling for example, general groceries, meat, liquor, fast foods, clothing and a limited number of furniture shops. Yeoville, however, is a space characterized by an interweaving of social organization, economic practice and governance generally seen as informal, but which can "institutionalize a constant state of flux, often spawning networks and circuits of movement that reach far and wide" (Mzumara, 2004:15). As poverty deepens, the residents hatch survival plans. People invent new ways of earning a living, of helping others out, of creating practical livelihoods. The economic dimension of the response of the CoJ is the regulation of the informal economies operated in this area in particular by immigrants. These immigrants contribute to the local market with their indigenous products. These products are imported from African countries like West Africa, Botswana, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi and Zimbabwe (Peberdy and Rogerson, 2003; Rogerson, 2004).

There is a wide range of goods and services on offer from the informal trading sector in this area. It is the most dominant activity and as such it needs to be carefully considered. The majority of businesses that were once owned by Whites are now run by African entrepreneurs with their different targeted markets. Yeoville community can benefit from a more structured management of these traders. In order to accommodate these activities, the CoJ embarked on the task of upgrading the area and creating new spaces for informal trading (JDA, 2004; Gotz and Simone, 2003). Since the late 1990s, Johannesburg city has embarked on a plan to establish markets for informal traders in order to remove them from the streets. There are two kinds of the traders operating along the high street; those that are trading from a designated trading area, the market that the Johannesburg City Council has set up and manages through the Metropolitan Trading Company, and those that trade illegally on street pavements and backyards[13]. The newly developed markets have been described as one tool of ensuring that informal traders have access to environments that are well established and better equipped. Rockey Street Market (see Fig.3.3) was established along those lines in order to create a sustainable environment for the market. The reality is that informal trade makes a viable contribution to the country's economy and in many cases it is the only available source of income generating activity available to the urban poor.

People of Yeoville do not invest in the community as some of them hope to move on as soon as is financially possible i.e. can be able to buy their own permanent residence. The physical appearance

[13] Kagiso Urban Management

and high crime rate of the area does not appeal to everyone's eyes but because of its close proximity to the city centre, people prefer to stay here as their choice of destination. This contributes to the creation of multiple, dynamic, diverse, hybrid and fragmented spaces and identities. Yeoville is a space that has started to fall apart because it has little to offer global economies and has become a place of poverty. Simone (2000) points out that in the context of shrinking economies, competition becomes intensified, promoting both the need to draw on a wide range of networks and to continually maneuver, negotiate and protect the space of opportunity that has been created. Dewar et al. *(*1996) base their study on rapidly increasing urban growth and how it can best be managed in order to create a conducive environment for everyone. They observe that most of the time, especially in South Africa, development only meant the physical layout, a disregard of socio-political and economic issues. They then suggest that the design process is not a linear but cyclical one, with understanding gained at one stage feeding back to the others. The structure of the city, they hold, greatly affects the spatial distribution of people in terms of poverty, high rate of unemployment and social opportunities.

3.3.2 Perceptions of Crime

Yeoville has always been admired for its civic, economic, social and entertainment node that it provides for the local community and the city. However, this has contributed to a high crime rate and inappropriate land use management. According to the South African Police Service (SAPS) report for 2005, there had been a steady increase in crimes reported as compared to the previous year. Although the crime statistics show that there are high levels of violent and inter-personal crime in Yeoville, the SAPS are working very hard to make the area safer. Crime is rife in these overcrowded flats because most of the tenants are unemployed. These negative crime sentiments are confirmed by the increase in actual crime reported to the SAPS especially with regard to assault and residential burglary. There is a lack of proper security and the area is neglected and decaying hence there are negative perceptions about the area, leading to the reluctance of many to invest in the area.

Table 4 below is adopted from the SAPS crime statistics. I have chosen only the few categories that were pertinent to my research. Figure 3.5 is a graph representing crime in Yeoville. Robbery at residential premises touches the essence of human security. People are living in fear in their own backyards as pensioners tend to comprise most of the victims. This has a bad impact on perceptions of safety as people feel more insecure in their own homes. There is a significant decrease on murder and drug related crime, this presents a major improvement as compared to the situation that was recorded during 2006 to 2007. Robbery with aggravating circumstances has decreased tremendously between 2007 and 2008. This may be attributed to the fact that the police

are more visible in the area and the community is working in conjunction with the police to combat crime.

Crime Category	Apr 2001 to Mar 2002	Apr 2002 to Mar 2003	Apr 2003 to Mar 2004	Apr 2004 to Mar 2005	Apr 2005 to Mar 2006	Apr 2006 to Mar 2007	Apr2007 to Mar 2008
Murder	35	30	19	20	15	25	20
Attempted murder	35	90	55	49	47	41	36
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	1,003	1,131	944	912	616	652	416
Robbery at residential premises	_	192	170	138	59	68	53
Drug-related crime	49	38	34	46	92	44	96
Public violence	0	0	2	1	1	3	0
Neglect and ill-treatment of children	3	11	25	20	27	20	9

Table 4: Crime Statistics for the period 2001 - 2008 for the Yeoville Area[14].

The table shows that robbery, murder and attempted murder are the most prevalent crimes reported in the Yeoville area. These are formal statistics and they might possibly not reflect the complete picture of criminal activity within the area. However, the statistics suggest a prevalence of serious crime and this clearly signifies a worrying trend for the SAPS and JMPD.

[14] Source: South African Police Service

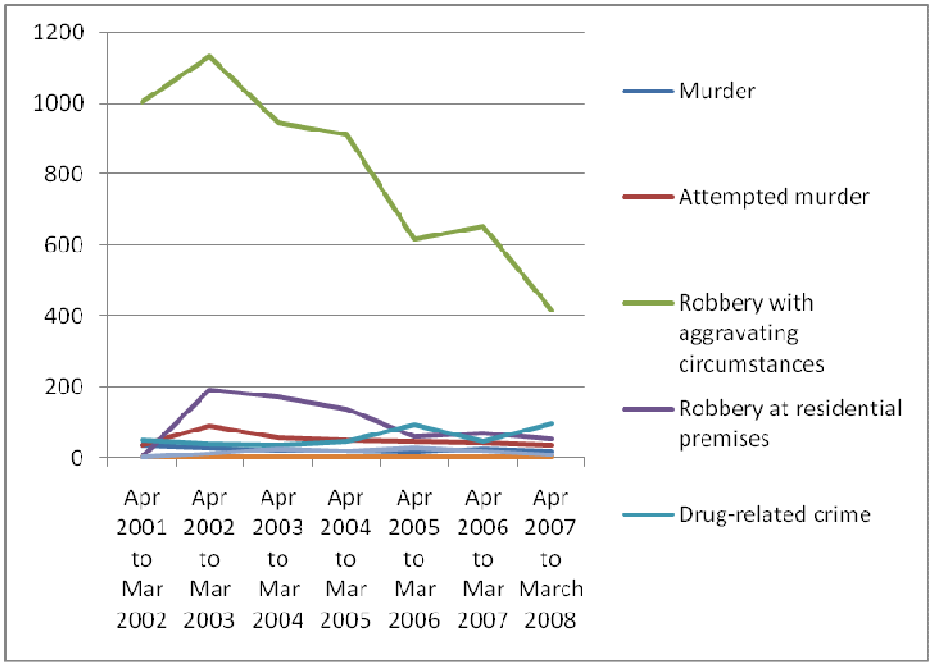


Figure 3.5 Graphic representation of crime

In 2007, the City of Johannesburg, property owners, business people and community organizations signed an Inner City Regeneration Charter, committing themselves to improved urban management and by-law enforcement (JDA, 2003). However, the Yeoville precinct has been under pressure for some years due to its deterioration, which has led to the physical degradation of the public environment, inappropriate land uses, and illegal activities associated with crime and grime. Some residents are optimistic that things are beginning to change for the better in Yeoville. The City bureaucracy has restructured itself to be more responsive to the needs of communities, especially in the inner city, of which Yeoville and Bellevue are considered to be a part. The City of Johannesburg approved the Inner City Regeneration Charter, a strategic document outlining how the City will address issues of urban regeneration and economic development in the Inner City. One of the ways identified for achieving this is to create high quality public spaces.

The JDA is upgrading Rockey-Raleigh Street, to make it once again an attractive, well-maintained and safe street offering a vibrant, mixed-use economy, according to the city. Through the implementation of a programme called City Improvement District, it is hoped that business will be drawn into Yeoville. Also in the works are upgrades and renovations of the recreation center, clinic, sport courts and relocation of the library to a new, larger space (see Figure 3.4 & 4.1).
The JDA and the inner-city forum are two entities of the CoJ in charge of the inner-city regeneration programme. They implement urban regeneration according to the vision of and under the auspices of the City council. The inner-city forum is responsible of the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of the programme whereas the JDA is in charge of the upgrading or the physical regeneration.

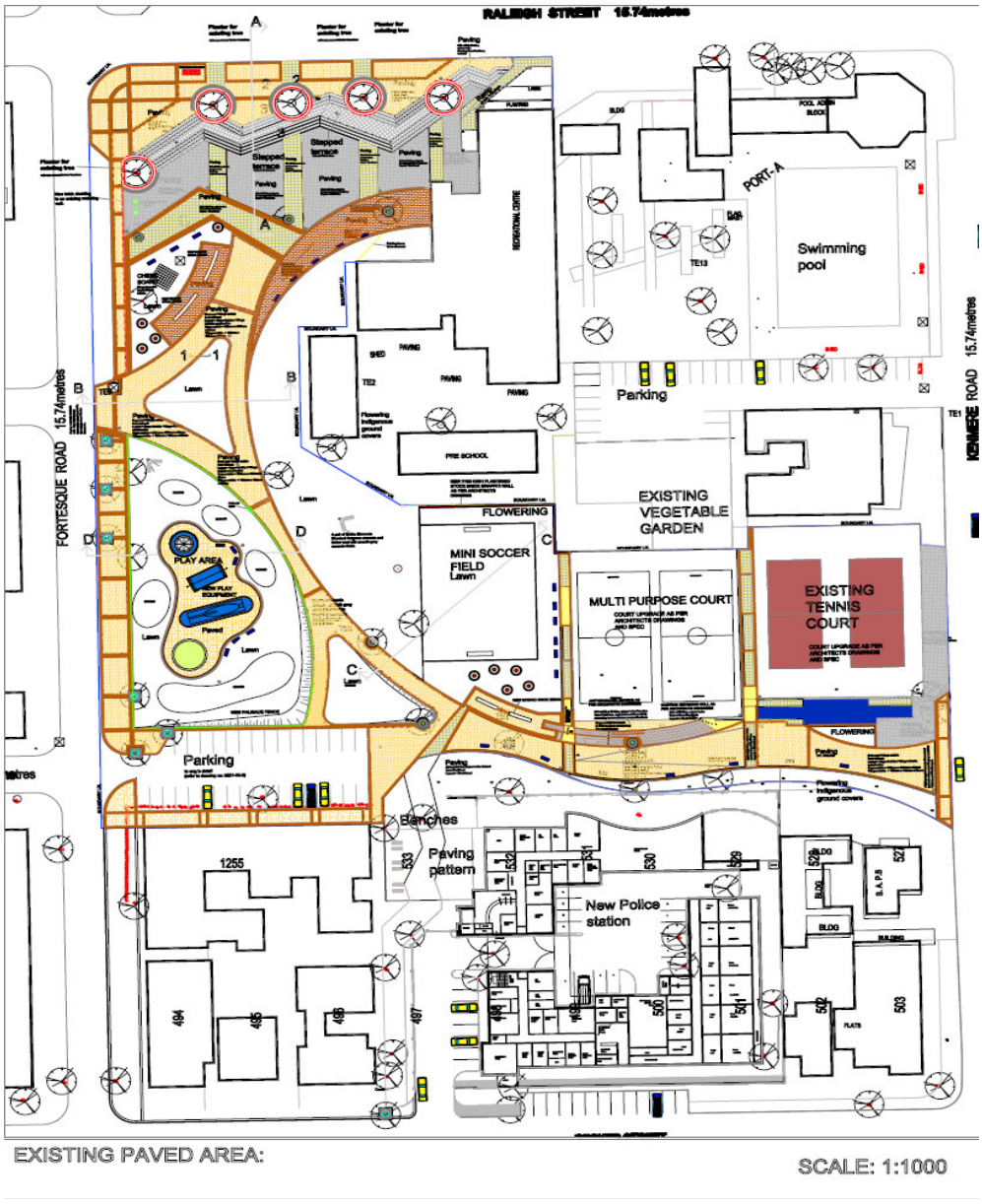


Figure 3.6: Yeoville Community Center showing the proposed upgrading of the area[15].

The restoration of the Yeoville Community Park as an amenity that welcomes the communities of Yeoville and Bellevue, involves putting down paving in and around the park, setting up a children's playground, planting grass and trees, installing lights, and demarcating the area for live events and performances. The primary aim of the development is to attract new investment into the area and to restore Rockey Street to its former glory and even better as "the symbolic heart and soul of Yeoville" (Farouk, 2007). As buildings are being upgraded, property owners are now apprehensive about leasing retail space. They are setting new standards for their tenants because of the particular visibility of retailing and the consequent deleterious effect that a bad tenant may have on the

[15] Graphic courtesy of ASM Architects (2004)

building. A number of new businesses in Rockey Raleigh Street including Romans Pizza, Nando's, Chicken Republic and "Old Fashioned" Fish and Chips have been opened.

3.3.2 Yeoville Community

The city belongs to all the people who reside in it, therefore it is crucial that all the citizens are collaboratively involved in the formal process which governs the city (Healey,1992).The introduction of community forums serves as a key vehicle in ensuring the participation of all local people (MSA,2000; Dlamini and Moodley, 2002; Mohamed,2006). In essence, contemporary participatory processes at the city level are trying to actualize local democracy by transforming power relations to bring the previously excluded into the decision-making process (Fainstein, 2000). In trying to understand Yeoville, there is a need to examine the interweaving of potentials and constraints that activate and restrict the specific initiatives of local communities to maintain a sense of social unity. Healey (1992) maintains that planning is not only concerned with initiations of programmes of action, but the construction of forums within which public deliberations can take place.

The scrapping of Group Areas Act in 1991 meant that those who had been deprived the opportunity and right by apartheid laws to live in the city, could make Yeoville their home either on a permanent or temporary basis. Unfortunately, this development created a problem for Yeoville. Community is about belonging, sharing common interests, knowing your rights and respecting others. It involves working together towards a common goal. If these are not met, social problems may arise. In April 1995 the *Yeoville Development Forum* (YDF) was initiated as a community representative body when the regeneration plans for the area were put in place. The most encouraging signal for Yeoville was the emergence of a community organisation which aimed at engaging the community in discussions of future plans in view of the implementation process (JDA, 2004). The name was later changed from YDF to *Yeoville Community Forum* (YCF). The main purpose of the YCF was to participate constructively regarding town planning as well as trying to solve the main problems of the area. Not much discussion took place and as a result the organization failed shortly after its inception (JDA). In June 1998, the citizens' action group *Yeoville Community Development Forum* was initiated. YCDF is an umbrella organization of all different citizens' action groups who want to serve the community.

Despite the lack of meaningful consultation, the initial business plan for the redevelopment of Yeoville was passed in July 2004. The Report on Public/Stakeholder Participation for Yeoville Urban Design Project (2004) confirms the authenticity of the procedure followed by the YDF in the passing of development plans whilst recognizing the lack of meaningful consultation. An interview that was conducted with the chief planner[16] for the Yeoville redevelopment revealed that:

[16] Mzumara,M. ASM Architects and Urban Designers. Interviewed 28 August 2008

> "The time allowed for the preparation of the Business Plan (one month) was not adequate to allow for meaningful participation of key stakeholders in the Yeoville High Street Development. This was mainly because of the nature of the community that we were dealing with, very heterogeneous and multi-cultural, with a wide variety of needs of the various groups. It was therefore necessary to allow for adequate time to get the entire key stakeholders on board, with the understanding that there was a need to ensure that the pace of bringing them on board was going to be slower than anticipated."

In 2005, the Yeoville *Stakeholder Forum* (YSF) was initiated as the new participatory body for the implementation stage for Yeoville development.

3.3.3 Yeoville Community Policing Forum

Community Policing Forum (CPF) was initiated nationally during the transition period in South Africa. The motive was to encourage communities to work with the South African Police Services (SAPS) and assist them in the fight against crime. The forum promotes communication and cooperation in fulfilling the needs of the community regarding policing. Its responsibilities include advising the SAPS on local policing priorities, and to facilitate in resolving concerns and complaints from community members and to harmonize the relationships between the police and the community (Yeovue News,2009). Since its initiation, the Yeoville Bellevue community has played a pivotal role in trying to work with the SAPS to combat crime and create a safer environment.

According to Captein Ndlebe, Yeoville Bellevue in particular faces many challenges. With a history of poor urban management, a constantly changing population and an inadequate police station, it is not easy for the SAPS to control the crime situation in Yeoville Bellevue, nor is it easy for the CPF to play an effective role in this regard. Nevertheless, the members of the CPF continue to work for a crime-free area and Chairperson Humphrey Mogashoa is proud of their efforts. According to Dr Mogashoa, the purpose of the CPF is 'to assist the police to effectively fight crime, while at the same time, ensure that the community has a say in the policing services provide by the SAPS" (Yeovue News 2009). Yeoville community has worked jointly with the SAPS in trying to fight crime and create a safer environment. Since the inception of this forum there is consensus throughout the community that the levels of crime have dropped considerably as a direct result of the Yeoville Community Policing Forum (YCPF).

3.3.4 Environmental Awareness campaigns

Yeoville Environmental Organisation (YEO) was established in 2005 in order to address major environmental problems faced by this community. This organization welcomes and encourages everyone interested in environmental issues, especially the youth. Since its inception, organisers are encouraging youth to be involved in environmental awareness campaigns. In 2006, YEO members worked with Pikitup (a refuse collection company) as block prefects on environmental awareness campaigns amongst community members (*Yeovue news*, 2009). Street traders were encouraged not to litter around their stalls but to use the available garbage bins instead. YEO also played a major role in the creation of the vegetable garden on the corner of Hendon Road and Joe Slovo Drive. The organisation was working closely with a Canadian intern Sara Brunelle, who came to South Africa to develop urban agriculture.[17]

3.5 Summary of the chapter

Chapter three provided the historical background of Yeoville. It illustrated how history has shaped this dynamic space, the demographic profile and the factors which motivated people of Yeoville to choose this area. I have also looked at the socio-economic problems that this area is currently facing. Currently, the majority of businesses that were once owned by Whites are now run by African entrepreneurs with their different targeted markets. The most visible change in Yeoville is the growth of new communities drawn from diverse cultural groups that were previously disadvantaged. The increasingly multicultural community and high unemployment rate in Yeoville are accompanied by alarming high levels of crime. Inclusiveness is not only socially just, but is good for growth as it promotes social equity. Participatory planning and decision-making are at the heart of the Inclusive City. Findings of the study will be presented in the next chapter.

[17] Source: Yeovue news January 2009

CHAPTER FOUR: Presentation of the Yeoville Community Space

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the recreational facilities that are provided within the Yeoville Community Park. In the new democratic South Africa, there is a need to understand how park development has evolved over time in this space. The park provides this community with a range of social amenities and provides children with access to play equipment and a swimming pool. The discussion of the recreational amenities in Yeoville Community Park will be followed by the analysis of this space. This will be done by adopting Lynch's *Theory of Good City Form* (1981) as explored in the second chapter. His work was selected to form the basic foundation for this research. He provides a set of criteria such as vitality, sense, fit, access and control which form a framework to evaluate the characteristics of recreational public space systems that exist in Yeoville Community Park. Lynch's set of criteria will help to understand recreational public space and to evaluate whether his approach is an applicable tool in Yeoville Community Park. It is of necessity for the planner to incorporate Lynch's (1981) criteria within the given space in order to encourage people to own the space and feel that they belong to it. This helps to enhance livability within any given environment.

Lefebvre (1991) highlights the importance of space. He looks beyond what space means symbolically in everyday life and why some spaces are perceived differently to others. The circumstances surrounding the park, allow for an interesting examination of how this space can be understood. Space is perceived in a specific manner in relation to the context and culture of the person perceiving the space. Lefebvre maintains that the notion of culture as a means of production is very crucial because culture does not only produce space but how space viewed by those who order it can be transformed into reality and become a lived space. Ultimately all three perspectives of space influence the way in which a space is produced and lived (Frick, 2002).

Yeoville Map

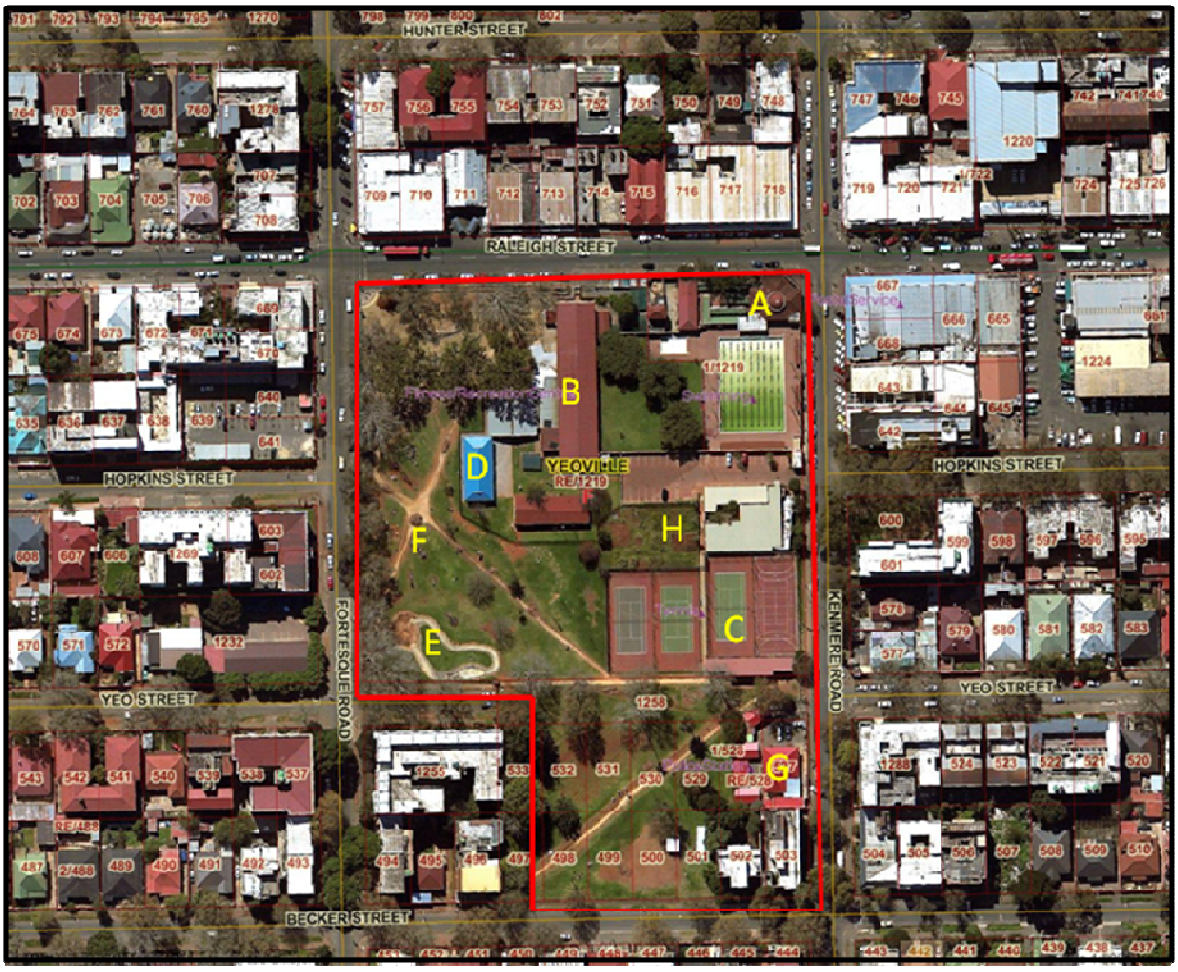


Figure 4.1: Yeoville Community Park which is in the corner of Raleigh Street and Fortesque Road is demarcated in red. The community facilities provided are highlighted in yellow.

Key

A Swimming pool

B Yeoville Recreation Centre

C Tennis Courts

D Day- Care Centre

E Non-functioning water feature

F Children's playground

G Police Station

H New Library

4.2 Presentation of Findings

Interviews were conducted between August of 2008 and April 2009 to understand current attitudes of Yeoville residents about parks and recreation. Respondents were asked on their perception of space as well as for their opinions about safety, accessibility and control in the park. The findings of the research report and interviews with various stakeholders are organised and presented in the following manner: First is the presentation of the nature of facilities that are found within the park. This will be done in conjunction with the residents' perception on spatial patterns.

4.3 The Yeoville Community Park

A place has a meaning that is characterized by human beliefs. Perceptual space has a clearly developed structure; it is a space of action focusing on direct needs and practices. Yeoville's open space was one of the green spaces when the suburb was developed in 1890. This park, initially known as Yeoville Square was the centre of the suburb and one of the first green spaces (Meyer, 2002). Over time, the name was changed to Yeoville Community Centre in the 1980's and now is called Yeoville Community Park and in 2010 is celebrating 120 years of existence. It used to attract Yeovillites[18] of every kind irrespective of age and race. It was a great leveler, where domestic workers as well as madams from the surrounding neighbourhoods could come and stroll or take leisurely walks. It used to provide a swimming pool, tennis courts and a community hall but only whites were allowed to swim. This is captured by Joseph[19] who was then young:

> "I would come to the park, but I could not swim. I did not see anything wrong then because I was still a kid."

As the park developed, a new hall and health clinic were added. The park is used as a thoroughfare and movement is channeled along various routes (see Fig.4.2b). It is the most popular community park in this area. It is the centerpiece of Yeoville Bellevue area. Yeoville Community Park is surrounded by a mix of uses such as African cuisine restaurants, retail and residences. It successfully integrates into the city fabric. Due to its central location, there are a large number of community events held in this park throughout the year. Sunday afternoons are a time for leisure activities throughout Yeoville and Rockey Street. The attractions available on Rockey-Raleigh Street are what draw people to the area, giving the park a steady flow of users. Due to urban decline, during the late 1990s to early 2000s, the only regular users used to be homeless people and children.

[18] A term used to describe those who live in Yeoville
[19] Yeoville resident, interviewed 28 January 2009

These facts created a dangerous image and instead of being a central park, it was avoided by residents. The upgrading of Yeoville Community Park into a Civic Node focuses more on the development of a new social infrastructure. According to the JDA, in June 2006, the contractor that was tasked with the completion of the park upgrade dumped the project after receiving an advance payment. This had a great impact on Yeoville community as they could not have access to other facilities that were provided in the recreation centre.



A.showing an old and neglected children's playground.



B. the park is used as a thoroughfare from Fortesque to Rockey-Raleigh Street

Figure 4.2 Sources: Mzumara, M (2004) ASM Architects

The CoJ did acknowledge the fact that the existing parks and playgrounds are over-utilized due to the current lack of public spaces in Yeoville. The first step was to redesign the park, open it up to the community and to create a new children's playground. Parks that were originally designed for passive recreation now cater for active recreational usage. As a result, most of the greenery has been substituted by stone paving in order to cater for various activities that are carried out in this space. Now the park has been prioritized by the city as the site of initial capital investment.

4.3.1 The Significance of the Recreation Centre in Yeoville Community

Yeoville Recreation Centre (YRC) is located in Rockey- Raleigh Street. The centre was established in 1961 and further extensions were completed in 1962. From 1994, the Yeoville Recreation Centre became a multi-facility centre. It is used as a meeting place, a voting station, a centre for learning whereby people from all over Africa learn how to speak English, a music hall and a forum for debate and discussions. The collected rental revenue does not benefit the centre as it is used by Region F

for other social services. According to the caretaker of the park, all the lights at the Recreation Centre Park were recently stolen and the public toilets are poorly managed. He voiced his frustrations that it is very difficult to bring order into the space as people tend to be ignorant and ask all sorts of questions like “who are you to tell us what not to do here?” According to Miss Mohlala,[20] City Power is responsible for the Park’s adequate lighting whilst City Water is responsible for its water and sewage needs. City Parks is accountable for the daily maintenance of park equipment and gardening needs including grass cutting. Region 8 Social Services is responsible for the Recreation Centre and its related facilities. Current management of the Recreation Centre lacks innovation and interest in the community.



Figure 4.3: **Yeoville Recreation Centre and information board during upgrade.**

Sunday afternoon in the park forms an important node in the cultural network of Yeoville (Mzumara, 2004). ‘Open- Mic[21] Sessions’ were often held in the park and multitudes of people were drawn into the area as these sessions took place in Yeoville Park. It was a free community-driven initiative that encompassed numerous cultures and provided a platform for expression. Shortage of open space resulted in the unexpected closure of this social event. Sunday afternoons are also a time for leisure activities throughout Yeoville. They form an important intersection between the artists’ community of Yeoville and the society at large.

The set-up of cultural activities in Yeoville exists without state support. Most operate on a reduced capacity but continue to make a valuable contribution to the social network of Yeoville despite the many challenges faced. There is a wealth of social capital based on creative activities in Yeoville. The use of the Recreation for social upliftment cannot be ignored. The introduction of various activities and programmes which are pertinent to Yeoville community has the potential to promote a

[20] Ward 67 councilor, interviewed 11December 2008
[21] A talent show whereby people come and imitate their favorite artists

sense of belonging. This is most evident in the use of mosaic art in displaying African Flags (see Fig.4.4). Asked about the significance of these African flags as shown below, Seipati[22] had this to say: "We wanted people of Yeoville to have a sense of belonging, to feel that they all belong and own the park".



Figure 4.4: African flags that are displayed in YCP representing countries such as Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique, Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia

Yeoville Recreation Centre is the latest space to benefit from the JDA. It was closed towards the end of 2009 for a major upgrade. The JDA is working with architectural consultants in conjunction with the Department of Community Development in the City of Johannesburg (*Yeovue news*, 2008). Due to the lack of funds, renovations will happen in phases. Residents of Yeoville do believe that the Recreation Centre will be more accessible to the community.

4.3.2 Children's Playground and Day Care Centre

Broken swings and merry-go-rounds used to pose a dangerous threat in the children's playground as they were not properly maintained. Many damaged rides in the park continue to be used despite the apparent danger. Ever since the revamp of the park by JDA three new rides have replaced the old ones. The non-functioning water feature on the southern end of the park attracted my attention

[22] JDA Area Developmental Manager interviewed 19 September 2008

(see Fig.4.1 E). According to Seipati[23], there were several reasons which contributed to the closing down of the pond. The water feature presents an environmental hazard because it was polluted and the taxi drivers were using the water to wash their cars hence it had to be removed.



Figure 4.5 Upgraded children's playground with new park rides.

Recreational public space plays a vital role in children's development and for society as a whole. The places that people love most are the ones where they can pursue a variety of activities for children's development (Wooley, 2003). The park provides only three rides for the whole community of Yeoville (see Figure 4.5), thus creating a strain when on demand. There is a lack of variety on this playground and children had to take turns in order to play on the swings. Without opportunities to do something, there is nothing to keep children there for any length of time without them getting bored. Whilst taking the photographs (figure4.5) some children were waiting for their turn in order to play, so one child complained that he wanted to go and do something else. That was most unfortunate because there was nothing else except those three park rides. It has been suggested that four elements are required for the creation of a child's play environment. It is a place to play, a time to play, friends to play with and what the child actually does (Senda cited in Wooley, 2008). Without these elements, the exercise is futile as playing with other children provides opportunities for the development of social skills.

With regard to the available tennis court, the net has been removed. One of the respondents when asked about access to the tennis court said, "Since the tennis court is no longer functioning, I had to go to Wits University to do my practices."[24] According to JDA area manager, the tennis courts

[23] Interviewed 19September 2008
[24] Nonzwakazi interviewed 16 September 2008

within the park will be turned into a multi-purpose sports area with tennis, basketball, volleyball and netball courts. The building structure marked D on figure 6 used to be Yeoville clinic before it was relocated to the corner of Kenmere and Hopkins Street. Then the building was rented by the Disney Development Pre-School. According to the report pertaining to the closure of this pre-school, it was closed due to financial constraints as pupil numbers continually dropped, beginning 1996 because most of the affluent people were moving out of the area. The old building is now used by the Siyabathanda Day Care Centre which initially started with only 20 children using the premises of St Mark's Presbyterian Church. Currently the enrolment is close to 100 children. As the centre grew, there was a need for a bigger facility hence they applied to use the premises at the Yeoville Recreation Centre. The Day Care Centre is under the Gauteng Department of Education.[25]It is a non-profit community-based facility which benefits by receiving donations from the department and other community members.

4.3.3. Yeoville Swimming Pool

Yeoville Swimming Pool is located on the busy corner of Raleigh St. and Kenmere Road. The entrance to the swimming pool is sparkling with multi-toned blue mosaic. The mosaic artwork was completed by Aura[26] who wanted to improve the public image of the pool. She is a community member who is passionate about life in Yeoville and thrives on the multicultural dynamic of Yeoville. She is a volunteer who has committed the last two years of her life to the Yeoville Recreation Centre.





A. Entrance to the swimming pool with some few children swimming on the right.

Fig 4.6: Yeoville Swimming Pool decorated in mosaic art

[25] Source: Yeoville Recreation Files
[26] A local artist and a prominent actor in a number of networks

"An important spin-off of the mosaic project was that 10 people were employed during the project" (Farouk, 2007). All of those who were involved acquired new skills which have led to some of the trainees developing self-empowering businesses. The above two photos show a transformed entrance to the swimming pool and children in their swimming corner. The primary users of the pool are children who visit the pool during summer. They are happy to come here and enjoy swimming. They posed for the camera jumping around in smiles. This pool remained closed for some time, after renovations were done. JDA found that the big pool had serious structural problems. It was leaking and there was no money left to do the repairs. In 2008, the JDA allocated more funds to repair the pool in time for summer holidays and now it is officially open. It is an important public facility, which provides *Learn to Swim* classes for children in the afternoon. Yeoville swimming pool is open daily from 10am to 6pm until end of April for the reason that the pool is not heated which means it is not usable during the winter months.

4.3.4 Yeoville Library as a source of Knowledge for the community

The existing Yeoville library is very small but well utilised by the children of Yeoville. The library is struggling to cope with the demands of an ever increasing membership base especially during examination time. A bigger and spacious library was suggested. Secondly, the community felt that all community related activities were located in one area except for the library which was two blocks away from other community facilities. According to Seipati[27] a civic node was then planned and the City Power Substation building which was very huge and old was identified as an ideal site for the relocation of the library.

The JDA is developing a brand new library facility for Yeoville residents across the road. This is a relief for parents as the children had to cross the busy Rockey/Raleigh Street in order to get to the existing library. Parents were also concerned about the safety of their children whilst the latter waited to be picked up from the library. An old tram shed which was built in 1924 which used to be a City Power substation is to be converted into a place of reading and learning. According to City Power, the building was a redundant Yeoville traction power station and very old. It supplied power to the businesses in the Yeoville and Bellevue East area.

According to Seipati, JDA had to stick to the building's original design because of its heritage status. The old library building will be used as a craft centre. "The aim of relocating the library is to bring it into the suburb's civic node and to increase the awareness on and interest for library services among school children," Seipati said.

[27] Development manager, interviewed 19 September 2008



A. North East view



B. North West view from Rockey-Raleigh St



The children's corner in the new Library



Old Tram Shed converted into a new library

Figure 4.7 Yeoville Library: A&B are impressions of the new library facilities.[28]

The new library is almost three times bigger than the existing one and consists of three sections; for adults, youth and a separate children's corner with lovely office furniture.

4.3.5 Yeoville Police Station as a service provider

Yeoville used to have a police station which was located on the corner of Kenmere and Hunter Street. When it was closed down, Yeoville and Bellvue fell under the Hillbrow Police Station for many years until 1985. A community member offered a house in Kenmere Street to be used as a satellite station reporting to Hillbrow. Nonetheless, during the 1990s it was clear that the area

[28] ASM Architects and Urban Designers (2006).

needed its own station covering the entire Yeoville Bellvue area and Observatory[29].The Detective branch was not accommodated within the premises but located in Young Avenue in Observatory and as a result, it was not easy to monitor the management of policing in the area. According to the station commander in chief, even the uniformed branch cannot be accommodated in the current station. He is using a container as an office which is positioned at the backyard of the building. The parking space is very limited and some police vehicles are parked on the street across the police station.

According to the police report since 2005, the police station was under a new management team. It was meant to concentrate on identifying those areas in Yeoville which both attract and generate crime, and alcohol was identified as a major contributing factor to the serious and violent crime in the area. Ever since the late 1990s there has always been an urgent appeal to erect a new police station in Yeoville as the old one is neglected and poorly resourced. The erection of a new police station is expected to improve the lives of Yeoville community as an increased police visibility can help to reduce crime. In an interview which was conducted with the area developer from JDA, it was stated that a brand new station was going to be built in the park behind the existing offices. Until the time of writing this project, this promise had not been carried out.

4.3.6 Deterrents to Park Usage

There is a steady invasion of the park by the homeless who are sleeping in the backyard of the day care centre. This may be due to the shortage of housing or any other reason. Other contributing factors might be displacement through disaster of one kind or another. Some of these people were rendered homeless due to socio-economic factors hence they have resorted to sleeping in this available open space. During the day, most homeless people spend time in this park and they also sleep here at night. When I had a conversation with the caretaker he responded by saying that the homeless are confrontational and it is difficult to control them. They start asking questions such as, “Who are you? Is this your park?” Inadequate control of access to the park may erode the vitality of the space. This was most evident when I asked Nonzwakazi[30] about the decline in her patronage of the park. She responded by saying “I would normally go to the tennis court. I no longer use the park that much because of lack of safety.” These negative crime sentiments are verified by the increase in actual crime reported to the SAPS especially assault and residential burglary.

[29] Source Tribune 1999
[30] Yeoville resident, interviewed 16 September 2008

CHAPTER 5: THE POWER OF LISTENING AND STORYTELLING IN PLANNING

5.1 Introduction to the narratives by Yeoville residents

Sandercock (2003:12) makes a salient point that "Stories can provide a far richer understanding of the human condition, and thus urban condition, than traditional social science, and for that reason alone, they deserve more attention." She believes that "Stories of the past have a power and bestow power" (Sandercock, 1998:195). By listening to stories being narrated by those who once lived them, it gives more understanding to the culture of a particular society. Narrative stories are important in planning practice; hence it is of significant importance to engage in storytelling methods with members of the community. Interviews were deliberately informal in order to elicit responses that would encourage the respondents to share information and real life experiences. The stories or experiences are presented as direct narrative form but I will at times explain what my interviewees said using my own words. The last part is the analysis of the findings.

My journey in exploring people's perception of space, started by interviewing one of the old Yeoville residents, Maurice Smithers[31] who has been living in this area for more than two decades. He was kind enough to meet me at Rockey Street and took me to his home. On arrival, I was ushered to his study-room where the interview was conducted. As part of answering my research question, I asked him to tell me about himself. His grandparents came from Britain and his father was born in Engcobo.[32]

Maurice was born in Graaf Reinet in the Eastern Cape. His family came to Johannesburg and lived in Berea in the 1960s. He became a political activist and that was when he was actually connected to the area. By the late 1970s he witnessed the area changing into a well known space, a new culture developed and Yeoville became a desirable place to be. Then he settled in Yeoville in 1989. When I asked him about the park his response was: "It was a dynamic space and well managed, I would go and relax with a book to read but I enjoyed swimming."[33] He believes that the way space is managed has a great impact on its use. Genealogy of this space changed from a quiet village into a popular space. Maurice's eyes lit up when he narrated the culture of Yeoville. Yeoville has become his permanent home as he has a sense of belonging to this place. He also narrated how people openly challenged apartheid laws that forbade black and white people to socialize. The Rockey-Raleigh Street looked like a 'liberated zone' whereby everyone would come and meet at the Time Square. This is what Maurice had in mind when he said, "It was this liberal and cosmopolitan flavor that paved way for the influx of African immigrants." He pointed out that Rockey remained a hotbed

[31] A political activist who is also the chairperson of the YSF
[32] A rural village in Trankei
[33] Smithers interviewed 5 November 2008

for radicals, activists and musicians. Journalists from all over the world came and lived in this place and would mingle around Harbour Café and the House of Tandoor (see Fig. 3.2).

The 1990s witnessed the return of the exiles. Yeoville became home to a number of political activists such as the late Joe Slovo; leader of the South African Communist Party, Sanki Mahanyele, Thoko Didiza and many others. The jazz legend Dorothy Masuku, decided to live in Yeoville when she came back from exile in 1993. Dorothy Masuku, who lives in the corner of Webb and Fortesque Street is not pleased with how the neighbourhood has turned out[34]. She said people like her were attracted to the area because of its vitality and accessibility compared to other areas. It is during this period, that Yeoville went through a transformation as more blacks moved into the area. Yeoville observed a great shift from an 85% white population to 90% black by 1998. Maurice recalled a time when the Jewish community moved out of the area. Some were forced to abandon their properties as Yeoville was 'red-lined[35] by the banks. This led to the emergence of 'reluctant landlords' who could not sell their houses but resorted instead, to renting them out. At the same time, there was a great influx of people from all over South Africa and the neighbouring countries who wanted to be closer to the city centre. Unfortunately, a combination of social and economic factors and political transition resulted in an economic downturn and a very negative image of the area in the late 1990s. In 2002 Maurice decided to take action as a resident of Yeoville and visited the Economic Development Unit (EDU) of the city of Johannesburg with an idea to improve the public image of Rockey Raleigh Street. He believed that if EDU made an initiative, then people could be motivated to maintain their environment. For him there was and still is a need for social responsibility by the state in order to create sustainable environments.

It is clear that when tracing the genealogy of Yeoville area that different people have different perceptions about space and place. Following this line of thought, I needed to find out more about this area. Then I met Rishi who invited me to his home one Sunday afternoon. Rishi was born 43 years ago in Durban in KwaZulu-Natal province. He grew up there with his mother, brother and two sisters. When he matriculated in 1986 at Mount View Secondary, he enrolled with the Sultan Technikon to study for a diploma in cost accounting. After completion in 1989, he came to Johannesburg and joined the Berzack Bros (Pty) Ltd and worked as a credit controller. During that time, he lived in Pritchard Street in the city centre for two years. In 1993 Rishi moved to Yeoville in Hunter Street. He chose to stay here as compared to any other place because he liked the area as he points out that "Yeoville was a very vibrant place and the Rockey-Raleigh Street had a great night life"[36]. He recollects some thoughts on how difficult it was when he first applied for the flat. According to him the Jewish owners refused him because he was an Indian and all their tenants

[34] Sunday Times,15 May 2006
[35] Banks refused to grant 100% mortgage to prospective home buyers.
[36] Rishi interviewed 10 January 2010

were Jewish. It was only after intervention from his Jewish employers that they granted him permission to stay. This was in the backdrop of apartheid whereby there were many restrictive laws against movement into the towns and cities. It was only after the Racial Segregation Act was reprieved that people managed to gain access into previously white suburbs. At some stage Yeoville had a strong Jewish community, this is most evident when he narrates how every Friday and Saturday he would stand on his balcony and watch the Jewish families going to the Shul[37].Yeoville's distinctive character is deep rooted in its cultural diversity. Rishi carries the same sentiments when he describe Mama's Italian Restaurant,

> "They made the best pasta ever, such that many famous people from all over the world would come and dine there including former president of South Africa Nelson Mandela".[38]

He boastfully mentions that the owner used to take photos of famous people and hung them on the wall of fame in the restaurant. There is a sign of sadness when he said that the restaurant eventually closed down because of high crime rate during that time. It cannot be ignored that people still hold strongly to their sense of belonging and a sense of pride to this place. Rishi took me down memory lane on the vibrant Rockey- Raleigh Street where he and his friends would go to the Time Square (see figure 3.4) to meet various artists such that some of them would even perform for free.
It is true that nothing stays the same which is the reason that triggered my research as I took the journey to understand people's perception about Yeoville. When I asked him about the park this is what he had to say:

> "You know funny enough I never visited the park that much. It was relatively quiet and I would go on Sunday afternoons for picnics. But now you can't do that as there is too much going on there"[39]

In 1999 he moved out of the flat and bought a home in Regent Street where he is currently staying with his family. He is not far away from the market. Rishi correctly points out that the market used to be a bus depot and many homeless people would come and sleep there at night. The open space was also used as a Flea Market over the weekends. Rishi believes that it is up to Yeoville residents to change their behavior and make Yeoville a safe, healthy, clean and comfortable environment in which to live and be able to bring up their children. He is also concerned about the noise coming from the shebeens especially over the weekends as he said it makes it difficult to sleep at night. This is a difficult situation because the problem is that there is not enough legislation to prosecute

[37] A temple or synagogue where the Jewish community used for worship and pray.
[38] Rishi interviewed 10 January 2010
[39] Rishi interviewed 10 January 2010

shebeen owners. As long as shebeen operators have a trading license very little can be done to prosecute them. In small communities throughout the world, there is normally an understanding between people to differentiate between right and wrong. The system of by-laws[40] is to get people respect each other's rights and behave responsibly. It can help to maintain order and stability in this area. Unfortunately, the transient nature of the community of Yeoville makes it very difficult for each individual to respect their neighbours and the environment they live on. As I was preparing to go, he mentioned that Yeoville always had a good reliable bus service as he works in Auckland Park.

On my quest for the historical changes that occurred in this dynamic suburb, I met another Yeoville resident Joseph, a 34year old male born in 1975 at Matatiela, a rural village in the former Transkei. Joseph relocated to Johannesburg when he was two years old because his mother was a domestic worker in Yeoville. According to his mother, during that time, domestic workers were only allowed to occupy the rooftops of flats or else stay in the backyard of their employer's house.

As for Joseph, he would come and visit his mother during school holidays but when he was eleven years old, he came and lived permanently in Yeoville. He enjoyed visiting the park with his friends. According to him, he observed Yeoville going through a transition period from the clean streets of 'Manhattan' to an area full of dirt and grime. He remembers how people used to respect each other and their surrounding environment. Joseph is the founder of the Yeoville-Bellevue Environmental Organisation (YEO).The main aim of this organisation is to work for a change in people's behavior as Joseph believed that it was the only way to achieve a clean and safe environment. When asked to describe the park then (1990s), this is what he had to say:

> "I would go to the park and enjoy the beauty and the greenness of the space but couldn't swim; it was reserved for whites only. I could not question the reason why as I was still young".[41]

During 1991 he came and stayed permanently in his mother's backyard room in Minor Street and has watched Yeoville change over the years. When asked about access and control of the park, he responded:

> "I think if police can be more visible in the park; high crime rate can be reduced. You know people come with different agendas"

[40] City of Johannesburg By-Laws: www.joburg.org.za
[41] Joseph, interviewed 28 January 2009

Joseph is now engaged in environmental awareness campaigns. He wants the community to be actively involved in improving their living conditions. His main mission is to let people appreciate the environment and keep their neighbourhood clean.

One Tuesday afternoon, whilst observing the rhythms and rhymes that are carried out in this park, the caretaker of the park introduced me to Nonzwakazi,[42] who claimed to be returning from Canada. She was kind enough to spare me some time out of her busy schedule in order to have an interview with her. As a standard procedure for the interview, I asked her to tell me about herself and her origins.

Nonzwakazi was born in 1978 in Kokstad. After completing her studies in 2002, she decided to come to Johannesburg and was able to secure a place to stay in Yeoville. When I asked her why she chose to stay in Yeoville, this is what she said:

> "The main reason that encouraged me to come and stay in Yeoville is that it is centrally located and I will not have to spend so much money on transport. Therefore I believed the chances of getting a job in this area are high as compared to where I come from"[43].

She is an active community member, who is engaged in various community activities, one of them is to teach young children how to play tennis. Ever since the upgrade of the park she claims that she was unable to gain to use the tennis court because the net was removed. There is a tone of frustration as she explained how inconvenient it was to do her practices.

> "Since the tennis court is no longer functioning I had to go to Braamfontein at Wits University to do my practices"[44]

Nonzwakazi is one of the few people who have a bright vision of Yeoville and the park itself.
Given that Yeoville Community Park is targeted as one of the fun parks beyond 2010 (IDP: 2008),Nonzwakazi believes that a lot can be done to encourage tourism into the area because the area has a rich history. She boastfully mentions the fact that Yeoville once housed various political activist in particular the late Joe Slovo who grew up in this area makes it more popular. Nonetheless, she is not pleased about high crime and poor personal safety around this area especially the park, as she points out:

[42] Interviewed 16 September 2008
[43] ibid
[44] Nonzwakazi ,interviewed 16 September 2008

"There is too much access and lack of control in this park
and children get lost. I would like to see a lot of improvement
in this area especially in the park."

5.2 Analysis of findings.

This section analyses case study findings against Lynch's (1981) Performance Dimensions and Lefebvre's theory on the production of space to determine whether or not their theories are applicable to Yeoville Community Park. In Yeoville setting, the planner could attempt to encourage the incorporation of the first four criteria which are vitality, sense, access and control. Moreover, planning for diversity needs one to incorporate flexibility in order to encourage people to feel in control. When they are in control of their environment they will protect it.

5.2.1 Vitality in the park

Vitality is central to the development of community parks in order to provide health and biological functioning of an individual. Parks are often regarded as breathers to the busy life of the city because they tend to reduce pollution and increase the well being of the population. However, if parks are poorly maintained they can become dangerous areas which encourage undesirable behavior. As is the case with Yeoville Community Park, it is used by drug dealers and identity fraudsters due to poor maintenance and control of the place. This was verified by Joseph from his interview when he said:

"There is high crime rate; people being robbed at daylight
and high rate of substance abuse"[45].

What make a public space so vital are the necessary characteristics of neighbourhood spaces that draw people from their homes, encourage them to linger together outdoors, and engage with neighbours in a way that supports and builds community. This is verified by Rishi[46] when he portrays the night life in Yeoville when he said:

"We used to go out to these night clubs without fear of being
robbed. We view Yeoville as the Manhattan of South Africa.
There was this vibe that draws people into this place.

[45] Joseph interviewed 28 January 2009
[46] Rishi interviewed 10 January 2010

This was endorsed by an article I came across from the internet, "Down Memory Lane", whereby people share their memories about Yeoville. One gentleman had this to say:

> "Yeoville was once an incredibly vibrant place and the late night hangouts were unbelievable. I have fond memories about this place"[47].

Parks with necessary characteristics of neighborhood space will attract people to come and visit. They must be able to provide activities which are not usually available in other areas in order for the patrons to keep coming back. Residents would be more likely to use spaces with trees and grass. Excessive paving of the Yeoville Community Park has drastically depleted the greenery. According to Seipati[48] from JDA, the grass was removed because people needed more space for cultural activities. What was overlooked was the beauty and tranquility grass brought to the area. This was more evident when Joseph said:

> "Now if I want to ride my bicycle or just a breather,
> I prefer to go to Pieter Roos Park .Then I will get a peace of mind."[49]

The presence of trees and grass attracts people to outdoor common spaces. As is the case in Zoo Lake, it is full of vitality; with a coronation fountain, beautiful trees and green lawn for picnics and leisurely walks. It is also worth noting that The Wilds Park in Houghton with its beautiful scenery and an abundance of indigenous shrubs is also attractive. The presence of trees and grass in neighborhood spaces increases the use of those spaces and the number of individuals involved in social interactions.

The Greening Soweto initiative is one of the most exciting projects leading up to the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup. Greening Soweto is about planting trees to offset pollution and improve the environment of Soweto for citizens and visitors alike. Its vision is to transform the dry, dusty streets of Soweto, the site of events that changed the course of South Africa's apartheid history, to one of vibrant green, in a way that enhances the lives of all community residents and those who visit Soweto[50].The same sentimental values were supposed to be kept in mind when most of the greenery was removed from Yeoville Park. The site is barren with no trees to offer shade in summer. The environmental awareness programmes that are carried out in Yeoville can get more flair if they can be coupled with the greening programme initiative. The Mayor of Johannesburg identified Yeoville Community Park as one of the legacy projects (IDP: 2008). However,it seems unlikely that it can attract people to spend their leisurely time there without trees and lawn.

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[47] The Death of Johannesburg: blogspot.com/ A Visit to Yeoville. INTRENET: cited 10 December 2009
[48] Area Development Manager , interviewed 19 September 2008
[49] Joseph interviewed 28 January 2009
[50] Johannesburg City Parks retrieved 20 May 2009

The creation of a new water feature and other activities on this site can help boost the local real estate market, sparking the renovation of nearby buildings. The Wemmer Pan in Rosettenville and Zoo Lake with its coronation fountain in Parktown has a calming effect especially after a long day. It must be emphasized, however, that although the focus is on Yeoville Community Park, the maintenance of public space positively impacts on both the social and economic features of the environment.

As for Lynch, the quantity and diversity of elements that can be reached play a crucial role in park development. A poorly maintained park encourages undesirable behavior and people get discouraged from participating in any form of activity. He notes that a park must be able to allow access to all social groups irrespective of age and gender. He further stressed the importance of mental and physical development to increase the health of users. Contact and playing with the elements of earth and water is a great attraction for children. The closing down of the water feature (see Figure 6E) deprived the children the enjoyment of playing with water. Not only children benefit from the sound of water but adults too. Water also provides a calming effect when people are depressed and serves as a pleasing sight.

5.2.2 Sense of belonging to the park

Sense has to reflect the character of a society as it entails how people relate to their environment which "must have an exclusive character of its own" (Lynch, 1981:132). When Joseph[51] recalls his childhood memories in the park, how he would go and play with his friends, it is an illustration of how sense tends to remind people of good times. Sense encourages the development of a place and identity. It is most evident when people treasured the time and memories they have with Yeoville.

> "When I look into the park, it's just a memory of what it used to be,
> Kids don't know how we used to treasure the beauty of this park."[52]

It cannot be ignored that the park lacks the cultural fabric that brings people together. Lynch (1981) upholds the view that, there must be a sense of orientation both for children and people with inabilities. Although the park does not have any visible orientation signs, it is worth noting that one police officer I came across commented that the park helped the force to relocate children when they get lost. He said they normally ask the child what he/she was doing or going before she/he got lost. The park is one spot children are aware of and once taken there, they tend to get their bearings

[51] Yeoville resident,interviewed 28 January 2009
[52] Joseph interviewed 28 January 2009

right and find their way home. Nevertheless for physically impaired people, there is no easy access to the park since there are no legible signs or cues to help them.

Special events have a way of attaching meaning and value to a place. People visit the park for various reasons – for entertainment or social services such as the national registration and social grant claims. Zoo Lake is known for its annual Jazz festival. Sense has to be relevant to the social history of a place. Now that Yeoville is going through a transformation period, this space has to cater for a multicultural society. The display of symbolic features such as African flags in the rockery gardens (Figure 4.4) is a representation of multiculturalism, initially meant to encourage a sense of belonging. It is imperative therefore, that a public space should act as a medium of communication. However, some people have no understanding of what these flags stand for. Some felt that the money could have been used on something more beneficial.

According to the ward councilor, Miss Mohlala, very few people attended the meetings and ironically these happened to be the ones who were directly involved in the designing of this space. Harrison (2002) points out that the reason could be due to the fact that there are three categories of residents in Yeoville. The first one are those residents who are relatively stable, more involved in civil society organisations and are willing to be actively involved with the state. Secondly, there are those involved in organisations initiated by African immigrant populations as a response to the challenges they experience in their communities. The remaining majority of residents are not engaged in any form of civic life because they do not regard themselves as permanent residents of Yeoville. This creates unnecessary backlogs when it comes to development. A survey that was conducted on population dynamics of this area did prove Harrison's assumption correct. The survey claims that almost 40% of Yeoville residents have lived in the area for fewer than three years. Only 37% of the residents had lived in the area for more than five years, with 10% resident in Yeoville for over 10 years[53]. The transient nature of Yeoville community is important in that it impacts on the levels of social capital as well as sense of ownership. Lynch opines that sense encourages the development of a feeling of a place, home or identity since it needs to be encouraged throughout communities.

5.2.3 Accessibility and Public Safety in the Park

Good and accessible places are clearly identifiable from a distance, easy to enter when you get closer, and it is simple to understand how you use them. A space that is not accessible will end up empty, forlorn and often dilapidated. Good places are inspired by people who live in them. Scholars such as Hart (1993), Stine (1997), Moore (1986) and Frost (2004) are concerned with the issue of safety in urban parks, and in particular with women's perceptions of safety. There is a distinct

[53] Population survey conducted by Kagiso Urban Management

difference in the ways men and women perceive and use urban open space. A general response on perceptions of safety and security in Yeoville reveals that women only feel safe to walk alone during the day as compared to men. People are so terrified of their own neighbourhoods that they do not leave their premises after dark.

The graph below reveals a survey that was conducted by Kagiso Urban Management in 2005.

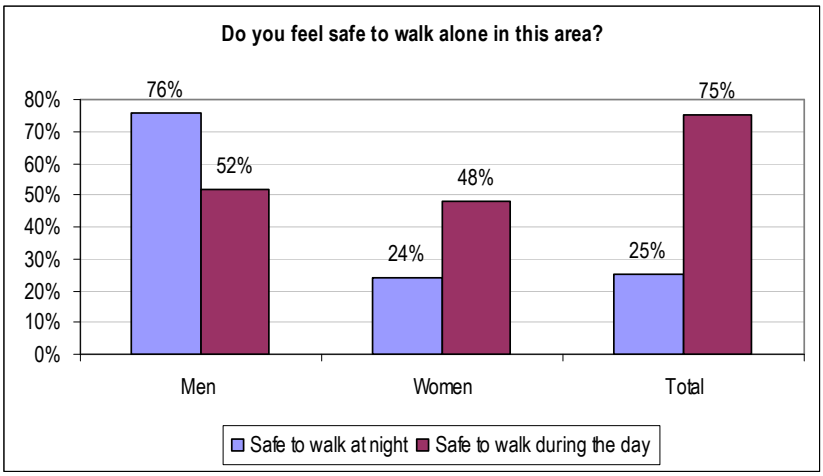


Figure 5.1 The table illustrates the people's perception of crime and safety in the Yeoville area. Only 25% of respondents said that they felt safe to walk alone in the area at night, and of these 76% were men[54].

The vision of the Public Safety Sector (PSS) is "to build a city where life, property and lifestyles are safe and secure, so that residents and businesses can live and operate free from crime, threats to public safety, personal emergencies and disasters" (IDP 2008/9). Despite the affirmation of a decrease in crime from SAPS, perceptions of the crime rate and fear of crime remain unchanged. When both Nonzwakazi[55]and Joseph[56]complained about the high rate of crime in the park, it clearly showed that safety in the park needs to be looked at as people visit the park less often or completely stay away from it. Lynch (1981) is also of the opinion that lack of security increases vulnerability. He maintains that safety can be accomplished through the reduction of physical accidents such as violent attacks.

People feel safer only during the day as poor visibility at night makes them vulnerable to muggings and attacks. Yeoville once a home for Jewish community witnessed a great demographic shift over the years. The main reason for the rapid drift of Jewish community can be attributed to an alarming crime rate and insecurity around this area (Yeovue News, 2009). This was also verified by Rishi[57]when he said:

[54] Survey conducted by KUM on safety and crime
[55] Interviewed 16 September
[56] Interviewed 28 January 2009
[57] Yeoville resident interviewed 10 January 2010

> "Jewish community were not allowed to drive or do anything on Fridays and Saturdays; so when they walk down to the Shul, they became easy targets as these crime syndicates were enticed by their beautiful jewellery".

People who are most familiar with Yeoville Community Park (YCP) tend to avoid certain areas as they are regarded as no-go areas especially at night. The fact that police visibility is limited contributes to a sense of fear and lawlessness. Higher police presence or visibility can help to reduce the high levels of crime. YCP used to provide safer environments for children to play and a quiet zone for adults to relax. This was confirmed by Maurice when he said:

> "I would go to the park with a book to read and enjoy the tranquility of the space."[58]

Parks and recreational public space should offer a number of benefits. They are supposed to help and strengthen communities and make neighbourhoods and cities more attractive places to live and work. Public spaces should not only be planned for physical safety, but be seen as a refuge for people of all backgrounds and abilities and discourage all criminal activity. When there is a lack of control, Lynch (1981) believes that people's safety in a place is compromised and they are also denied the right of access to a place. In order to create the good places that every neighbourhood longs for, city authorities should encourage people to be involved and decide on what needs to be done to improve the park. Parks should give access to a wide range of facilities which are not normally found in the city such as outdoor games. Yeoville Recreation Centre does provide a variety of indoor activities although most of them are only meant for the youth.

The physical form and design of a place can be modified to fit ways of behaving in particular areas with certain population densities and life styles. For example, a township and a suburban space may require different amenities as well as a different lay-out of such amenities. As for Lynch (1981) fit may be improved by changing behavior to fit place but he maintains that the best way of improving the fit of our environment is to put its control in the hands of its users. An example in Yeoville is that the Community Forums determine the use of the Recreation Centre and the Park itself for different functions throughout the year. Although the area seems to overlook the use of graffiti art, this form of art can be incorporated into the park theme to improve legibility of the area. The upgrading of the Recreation Centre is hoped to bring about social upliftment and skills development for the community.

[58] Interviewed 5 November 2008

The existing library is an essential resource in the social network of Yeoville. Its significance to the children of Yeoville cannot be ignored but there is limited access to it after school. Of particular concern is that the library closes at 1pm on Wednesdays meaning that there is no access to information or library facilities for the students. Another aspect on accessibility is the use of Yeoville swimming pool which was included as part of the park upgrade for Yeoville Community Centre. Part of the upgrade was the heating of the pool for winter months and the building of a new roof for all weather swimming. But it seems that did not happen as the swimming pool still remains closed for winter months. Accessibility is crucial, whether this is for the children or the people who might need to maintain the space.

5.2.4 The Form of Control that is needed in the Park

Control is an important performance dimension as it links to all other four criteria, for instance the park may have all other criteria but if there is low level of control, people may not visit the park as they fear for their safety. Too much access leads to loss of control but the degree of control relies on the community's preference. According to Francis (1989) different trends in control levels are visible in different societies. Control may change over time as people may feel it is safe for their children to visit the park during the day but would not allow them for late night activities. Although Yeoville Community Park is open to the public 24 hours a day to be used as a passage way from Fortesque to Rockey Street, this creates a problem as some children get lost and its openness makes it difficult to maintain complete control over the area. If there is excessive access into the park, it may also lead to vandalism.

Lynch (1981) identifies five forms of special control which are most applicable to YCP such as:

- *Presence* whereby one has a right of access to a place. Some people are denied access into the area because of lack of control and lack of information.
- *Use and action* entails one's ability to use space. Open-mic sessions that were carried out on Sunday afternoons and other cultural events that are still performed do allow community members to utilize their space effectively. Unfortunately, this type of activity does not occur as often as possible.
- *Appropriation* of space does allow users to claim ownership. In other words one may monopolize the benefits of the place. Environmental awareness campaigns do encourage people to keep their park clean and feel that they have a sense of belonging. The formation of YEO in 2005 was steered in the right direction to work for a change in people's behavior.

- *Modification* refers to the right to change the space in order to facilitate its use. This is most evident on the changing of tennis courts into a multi-facility sports area and the revamping of the recreation centre. It is imperative for the planners to encourage people to feel that they can modify and have impact on their environment through community participation. But when conflicts arise between groups or individuals on how changes should occur, control can be used to resolve those clashes. Lynch (1981) maintains that when these conflicts occur there has to be some form of external authority representing the potential users and this authority should determine how people may have access to a place.

- The last one is *disposition*. This involves the transfer of ownership, when communities reclaim ownership, in this case an example is the formation of Yeoville Stakeholder Forum and their involvement in decision making to influence and gain ownership over the space.

Public parks have become permanent homes for homeless people. This can be attributed to various reasons behind homelessness such as poverty and forced migration. Another issue of concern to public space users, designers and managers is the steady intrusion of hairdressers into the park. The by-law states that it is illegal to do hairdressing in public spaces. According tor Lynch (1981) cities are too complicated and far beyond our control. However, one can identify some elements of control in Yeoville Community Park which speak of the failure or success in the handling of the park. Thus, community control can be seen as the most valuable aspect of participation. Changing dynamics in Yeoville can often be handled if the community has a sense of control. Lynch maintains that control over budget and implementation needs to be gained if the community is entrusted with the total control of the projects.

The table on the appendix illustrates Lynch's Five Performance Dimensions. They are used as a tool to evaluate whether Yeoville Community Park does conform to these criteria. The table also shows that not all of these performance dimensions are applicable to this park.

5.3 Lefebvre's Theory of Space in Yeoville

According to Lefebvre (1991) understanding of space, space and time are not purely material factors. They should be understood as being integral aspects of social practice. This entails that space can be produced. He further argues that space and time do not exist universally, since they are socially produced, they can only be understood in the context of a specific society. With regards to space, Lefebvre presents a three dimensional interconnected process of production of space. These processes are also referred to as moments of production of space. The following diagram

presents these triad moments of production of space. They are also used to evaluate whether Yeoville does conform to these rules.

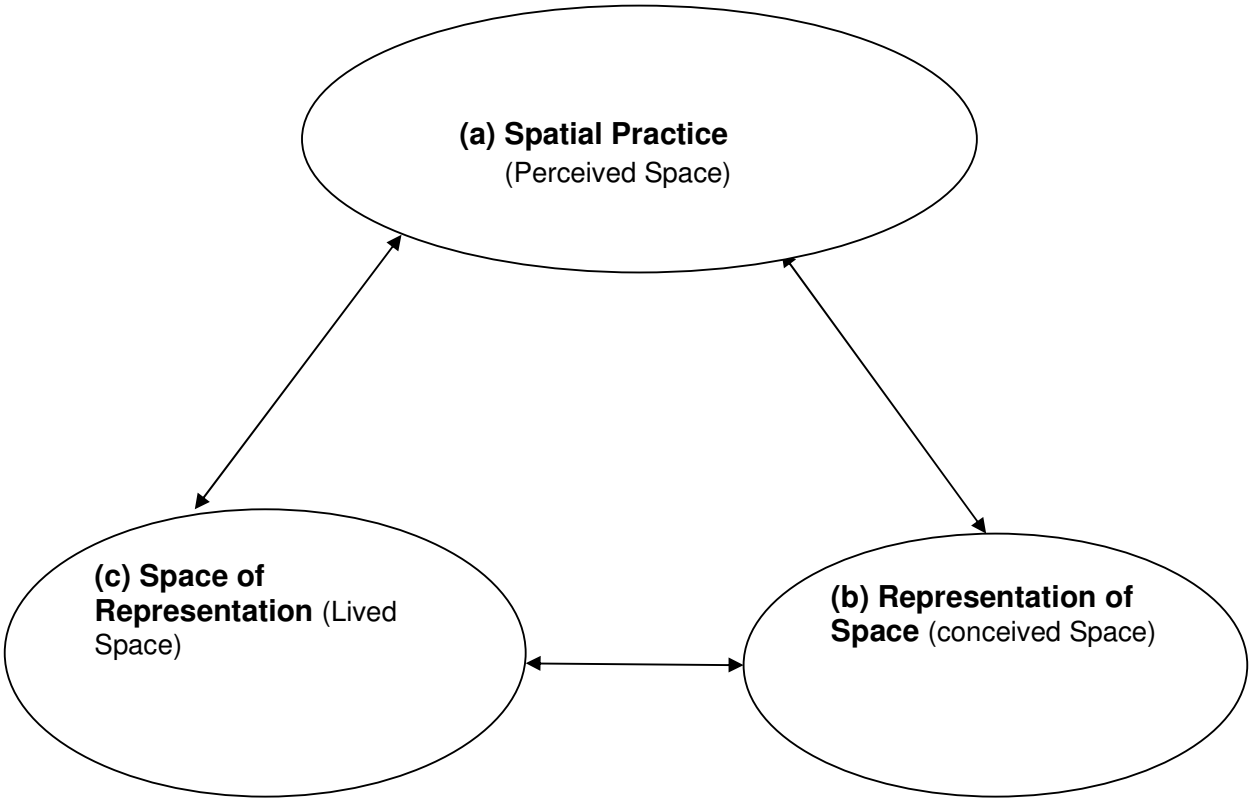


Table 7 Lefebvre's Production of Space

Legibility can be used to communicate accurately through the use of symbolic physical features such as the use of graffiti and mosaic art. Lefebvre recognized three moments of social space, which are perceived, conceived and lived space – all of which have a dialectical interrelationship (1991). He looked at the way space is used and given meaning by those who use it. Meaning and legibility depends on people's values and beliefs, which may lead to a common understanding. In YCP there is a misinterpretation of meaning between the designer and audience.

African flags (see Figure 4.4) that are displayed in the park were meant to encourage all cultures to have a sense of belonging but they lack legibility as people do not understand the meaning behind them. One respondent when asked about the meaning behind the flags had no idea. Instead, he felt that the money could have been used on something more effective. This depicts power imbalance regarding financial expenditure and administration in general, in which ideas are forced on people in an undemocratic top to bottom approach The legislative process clearly illustrates the intention of creating an equitable city by ensuring that people at grass-roots level are able to voice their concerns and influence important processes governing the city (MSA, 2000; Mohamed, 2006). But

the central challenge is to what extent can the people at grass-roots level influence the legislative participatory processes?

5.4 Implications for Development Planners

The 1990s have produced many approaches to planning, and there seems to be a number of contradictory tendencies at play. On the one hand, some areas of planning have been under continued pressure but, on the other, there is a "rebirth of planning spearheaded by the concern for the environment" (Thornley cited in Taylor, 1998:228). Environmentalism has brought renewed purpose and moral drive to the town planning profession, and has restored some notion of the public interest in the planning enterprise. Nonetheless there developed with time the view that the town planner's role is one of identifying and mediating between different interest groups involved in land development. Planning aims to ensure that the values people hold for the place where they live are protected and reflected in the way government plans, approves and provides infrastructure and services. Planning intervention implies using genealogy for urban regeneration.

Drawing from my planning experience, communicative planning can help to reach a consensus between the officials and the people on the ground, to reorient, reformulate and readjust for a better planning process. Ordinary citizens of Yeoville through their perceptions can add value to the debate on the urban process. To this end, the City of Johannesburg made the initiative to meet with various stakeholders and the community at large on 3 December 2008. However, as it was reported by the ward councilor, people are passive and do not attend meetings. Although the responsibility has to be shared, there is a need for the CoJ to look for an alternative with regard to planning processes that will include different cultural groups. Promoting inclusiveness is not only socially just, but is good for growth and central to sustainable urban development. It allows everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity or religion to be empowered in order to fully participate in the social, economic and political opportunities that the city offers.

Thus planning for culture suggests the shaping of the built environment in a manner that is informed by the ways of life of its inhabitants, i.e. by the culture of the people. It enables an integrated team of planners to closely consider the critical importance of culture, especially given our collective history and how, through apartheid planning, a separatist culture was facilitated and supported by using and manipulating the built environment. Development Planners have a task to perform, equity and justice are seen as key values in improving people's lives and therefore, improving city form should contribute towards development. The cultural identity of a community comprises who the people are, their backgrounds, tastes, rituals, experiences, diversity, talents and aspirations for the future. The cultural richness of a place is also governed by local heritage attributes and the natural and built qualities that attracted residents to the area.

Taylor (1998) holds the view that there are two broad observations about the nature of town planning. Firstly, town planning is a form of social action or social practice. It is about intervening in the world to protect or change it in some way and make it other than it would otherwise have been without planning. Because it is a practice, it requires sound judgment about what best to do. In this respect, theory about practical reasoning and judgment is absolutely central to town planning and, seen thus, town planning is neither an art nor a science in the strict sense of the terms. Secondly, town planning involves making judgments about what best to do and how best to plan the environments we inhabit. As town planning is fundamentally about making value-judgments about the kind of environments we want to protect or create. At the heart of town planning there should be "rigorous analysis of, and theories about, environmental quality: what constitutes it; what sorts of qualities make up quality environment and what possible tensions can arise between these different components of environmental quality; and how good-quality environments have been created in the past and how they are most likely to be created in the conditions in which we now find ourselves" (1998:167).

Planning for a diversified cultural society entails the shaping of the built environment in a manner that is informed by the ways of life of its inhabitants, i.e. by the culture of the people and their rooted past. This forward planning enables an integrated team of planners to closely consider that the significance of sense of place is of critical importance, especially given the collective history on how people relate to space as it changes over time. This can be useful in understanding Lynch's ideas about a Good City Form. In true sense, planners need to shift focus from a traditional method of planning which was spearheaded by apartheid planning and engage themselves in innovative planning whereby the community is allowed to participate. The underlying purpose of planning for diversified cultural backgrounds is to create livable humane settlements which, in addition to housing for shelter, prioritize facilities for the enjoyment, celebration and development of cultural expression. Planning therefore, poses a challenge to Development Planners in South Africa today. One of the important tasks is to develop a better theory about sustainable neighbourhoods and improved environmental qualities which planning practice should help to bring into being.

5.4 Summary of the Chapter

The combined findings of the study, gathered from the people's perceptions and observations point at the importance to recognize and understand the character of Yeoville with all the systemic nature of the problems affecting this area. It is also important to acknowledge the fact that Yeoville is an environment which constantly changes over time and thus needs interventions that are able to

respond to the constantly changing context and needs. The local municipality has a responsibility to provide more efficient services so that , a sense of order can be restored into the area, which will in turn make people feel safer and better able to use the public space.

Based on the observations in this area, it is worth noting that all community residents and visitors should be able to access spaces that support a variety of uses and purposes. The fact that Yeoville Community Park is the only neighbourhood park in the area, however, means that some residents walk for more than a kilometer to get to the park. At the same time, the park and all the facilities in it cannot adequately serve the total population of this area. The provision of a planned open space is essential because it enhances the overall quality of life. This becomes increasingly important as densities increase, hence the need for quality recreational public spaces.

Yeoville needs to accommodate diverse user groups and create designs that are adaptable over time to meet changing local needs, without destroying the experience of a lived space. Although some are still longing for Yeoville to be transformed into its former glory as it was in the 1980s and early 1990s, now is the time for a new Yeoville to emerge, one whose character is more reflective of the demographic changes and cultural diversity of the area. That historical moment has passed and maybe now it is time to bring about change.

It is clear though that there is more that still needs to be done. There is a need to change people's attitudes towards park management, so that they can be actively involved in maintaining the park and keep it in order. It is important that they have a sense of belonging to the space. Understanding of space from a historical point of view is important for the case study as people relate to their own life experiences. That aspect was followed by an analysis of the findings against Lynch's (1981) Five Performance Dimensions. His performance dimensions are not all applicable to Yeoville as this place consists of a diversified cultural background. This makes it difficult to incorporate some of his criteria. The analysis pointed out the implications of the findings in planning practice and theory. Safety and crime have become a concern to Yeoville residents. There is a need for innovation in recreation programs to meet changing needs of its society. In addition to reaching out to the community, monitoring the demographic characteristic of the population will provide important insights, and early warning of changing conditions that may affect programs and facilities that need to be implemented.

CHAPTER SIX: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main conclusions and recommendations of the study. The conclusions and recommendations will primarily be based on the key components of *Good City Form* in providing vital neighbourhoods for future recreation on public space. The recommendation part of this chapter will suggest various policy measures to the government and development planners on how to enhance the livability of recreational public spaces.

6.2 Summary of the Research

Chapter one provides a general overview of the whole research report. This chapter links the research question with the theoretical framework. Chapter two outlines the theoretical framework in detail using Lynch's (1981) *Theory of Good City Form* and Lefebvre's (1991) *Production of Space.* Both theories provide a background which can be used to asses and evaluate the development of space. When applied they can be utilised for a variety of uses and also provide a safe and healthy environment for all. Lynch's *Performance Dimensions* can be used in any place to judge the fundamental good of the area.

Chapter three looked at the case study, Yeoville, an inner city suburb located on the eastern edge of Johannesburg. The study area is a mixed-use area with a population of 14710. The population composition of Yeoville changed dramatically over the years. What was traditionally a Jewish suburb in the 1970's is now predominantly African with a distinct French-North African flavor. This brought about distinct socio-economic changes to the area, mainly in terms of a loss of disposable income. Although Yeoville is a predominantly residential suburb renowned for its nightlife, shopping and entertainment currently dominate the land use in High Street. The area is experiencing uncontrolled negative changes such as overcrowding, high rate of unemployment, crime and grime which led to dreadful living conditions and a sense of loss for those who remember the place's days of glory.

Chapter four presents the findings in the park and is followed analysis of the findings in chapter five. This allows the researcher to observe, listen and understand people's perception of space. It also unfolds how Yeoville Community Park transformed from what it used to be in the 1980's to what it is at present. This was achieved through people's narratives in chapter five and the use of available data. The findings revealed that there are very limited recreational facilities and most of them are located within the Yeoville Community Park which is at the corner of Kenmere Road and Fortesque Street. The YCP is no longer a place for relaxation but it was transformed into a multifunctional space providing the Yeoville community with various amenities. Some may view this as totally

inappropriate because the quiet space they used to enjoy outside their homes is taken away from them.
Chapter six is the last chapter. It presents the recommendations for development planning and conclusion.

6.3 Recommendations to the City of Johannesburg

In order to provide a guiding principle for the development of Yeoville Community Park, one needs to adhere to the land use management policy so as to incorporate the people's needs for this area. With regard to making the space more accessible, these are my recommendations. They provide some guidelines on how to further develop the area and improve the relationship between the user and space:

An ongoing programme needs to be initiated that will involve local government and the community in order to create stability. A localized plan for recreational public space needs to be developed by the communities themselves and be implemented by their properly elected members. Let the community members participate in deciding on design and maintenance options for the facilities. This would allow each local community to discuss its needs with the Community Development Forum who will then forward the request to the municipality.
Municipalities can show interest and commitment towards the development and management of the park by employing full time coordinators whose main mandate is to provide direct support to the communities.

Environmental awareness campaigns need to be encouraged by engaging people through workshops and providing information outlets whereby people can easily access information. A special task team from the community members can be selected for the spatial development and environmental management of the area.

To meet the needs of its changing demographics, city parks will need to make adjustments to their recreational programming. Yeoville Community Park is the suburb's most popular park. It serves as the 'Central Park' and draws people from the surrounding areas. This park is heavily used as some events are programmed in the park throughout the year. There is a need for Comprehensive Recreation Centers to meet a variety of indoor recreation needs. The development of comprehensive, multi-use recreation centers is a growing phenomenon which cannot be ignored. Creating a new, comprehensive recreation center will not only appeal to the broad spectrum of Yeoville residents, but will also relieve the current pressures on the existing park and free portions of them for other needed uses. For example, additional youth programmes and facilities may be

required. Skills and capacity building need to be initiated for the training of the community in various skills. This can be done through the use of NGOs.

There is a general belief within society that children should play in playgrounds and not anywhere else. This attitude towards children's use of public open spaces is considered to be, in part, enforced by planners and built environment designers who are accused of believing that all of children's environmental needs can be accommodated in the playground. Children's playgrounds should provide standardized, controlled and uniform spaces, which are governed by regulations. There is a need to provide adventure opportunities for children which offer specific outdoor play. These should include swinging ropes, climbing surfaces, and horizontal ladders. The combination of water play recreation and climbing walls, all in attractive, open settings can greatly increase the appeal and use of recreation centers by all ages.

There is a need to provide playgrounds that have loose parts (this may involve larger sections of wood or sand) in them to provide more opportunities for creative and imaginative play. To accommodate football games, a portion of grass can be substituted by river sand. The Attwell Gardens in the corner of Plein and Joubert Street in the city centre serve as a good example for this. The combination of water play recreation and climbing walls, all in attractive, open settings can greatly increase the appeal and use of the park by all ages. The Brightwater Commons in Randburg are significant attractions for teenagers. The use of mosaic signage can be incorporated as educational and historical notes at relevant places in the park. Graffiti walls can be used as backdrops to activity and create a changing billboard.

The design and layout of buildings and surrounding spaces affect the way people behave, and can either encourage, or discourage crime. The levels of crime and anti-social behaviour can be directly influenced by the degree of control people have over their 'territory'. Pedestrian access should concentrate on pedestrian traffic to increase passive surveillance and maximise informal policing. Clearly defined boundaries have to be created in order to reduce criminal and anti-social behavior. Park design that supports community interaction will help to deny criminals anonymity.

Necessary security measures for the area need to be implemented. The park must be well lit during all hours of darkness, taking care, however, not to disturb homes or other sensitive areas. In general, lighting should be of a standard that prevents the creation of dark, shadowed areas and allow the positive recognition of a person's facial features at a distance. This can ease people's fears when they visit the park. Visiting hours can help to manage and control the park. Spaces that are unclear as to utilization time limits as well as boundaries, ownership and responsibility, are more likely to be prone to criminal activity and vandalism. Use of community forums has to be encouraged in order to determine the level of public control because this will help in ensuring that the level of

control fits the culture of that society. There is a need to provide an opportunity for the communities to be actively involved in deciding on design and maintenance options for the facilities. It has to be acknowledged that communities are unlikely to invest their time and money in a project if it is not going to benefit them.

Concerning socio-economic problems within the area, certain issues need to be addressed. For as long as people are unemployed crime and poverty would still remain high.

- Plans need to be made on how to eliminate poverty by attracting more business into the area so as to create more job opportunities.
- Improved standard of education through the use of Services Sector for Education and Training Authority (SETA). This can allow people to be financially independent.
- Refuse collectors and those managing the park to be on contractual basis and be reviewed annually.

In addition to reaching out to the community, monitoring the demographic characteristics of the population in Yeoville or any other place will provide important insights, and early warning of changing conditions that may affect programs and facilities. All new developments should provide finished neighborhood parks to meet the needs of their residents where appropriate or feasible. New developments and refurbishments must be designed in such a way that they enhance safety and security in the environment. Most importantly, environmental awareness campaigns need to be encouraged within the park.

Realistically, however, some of the above recommendations may not be feasible, may be construed as being idealistic but my role as a researcher is to shed light on the complexities and dynamics of the area.

6.4 Conclusion

Public space has a long history of importance in civic improvement and will continue to shape the urban environment. The process of making and changing recreational public spaces needs to be an open democratic process engaging all the interest groups. Based on the findings presented in the Chapter Four and on the discussion that followed in chapter five, this study finds that there is a need for a complete understanding of space which can allow for better planning.

Spatial practice helps in gaining more understanding on various elements and influences that are involved in the formation of physical space. This was established through resource material and the use of interviews as the respondents narrated their experiences about Yeoville. The area was once

a viable node during the apartheid era and development was well managed: business, security, safety, sustainable neighbourhood were ensured. It is recognised as one of the first of Johannesburg's residential areas where different racial groups integrated. Nevertheless the political transformation which occurred in the country with the end of apartheid regime heavily impacted on the livelihood of the area. With the advent of a democratic government, the character of Yeoville gradually changed and became a preferred destination for many as it provides easy access to basic amenities. The study shows that there are three main reasons for people to come and reside in Yeoville. One is for accommodation, secondly for employment opportunities and the third one is mostly for entertainment purposes. Yeoville which was one of best areas populated by the city's rich and famous is now a receptive zone for the hopeful youth and young couples. Irrespective of the population's transient nature, population density of this area still remains high and causes a strain on basic services.

Housing shortage is a serious issue for human settlements in South Africa and needs serious policy adjustment in order to suit the rapidly growing population. In relation to Yeoville, the area has many blocks of flats and lends itself to high density living. One of the biggest problems around this area is slum lords. As Burton (1996) observed "walking into the dinghy entrance with its ramshackle staircase the stench is nose hitting"[59] Most of the buildings are not well managed because the landlords have deserted them and this allows for flats to be sublet or subdivided. The level of unemployment, poverty and overcrowding is central to the strain on municipal services. This contributes to the sense of disorder and lawlessness that exists in Yeoville. The problem of overcrowding generally and of dilapidated buildings in particular needs to be addressed in order to encourage people to come and reinvest into the area. A more sensible approach is required to address the urban poor.

For any effective development of space, community control is crucial, if it is going to be a success. The community that is using the park is most likely to see the space as a fundamental everyday space, meeting their everyday functional needs. Spatial policies not only affect space but people as well and so with these policies maybe the environment and living conditions of Yeoville community can be improved. Yeoville public space provides elements such as livability and quality of life which encourage people to remain in the area. People are optimistic about Yeoville that these problems can be resolved although the pace is very slow. Yeoville is a reflection of a diversified cultural community of South Africa and with an active involvement by community members; this place can overcome any challenges. In all, Yeoville does not need to become an expensive residential area as it provides a place for marginalized people, of all communities. As such, people of Yeoville need to gain a foothold in the evolution of their personal aspirations. This is most evident in the interviews

[59] Northeastern Tribune, November 1996

that were conducted that people have their aspirations about the place and would like to work towards them. With a good transformation through a regeneration process and service delivery, Yeoville can continue to serve this unique community.

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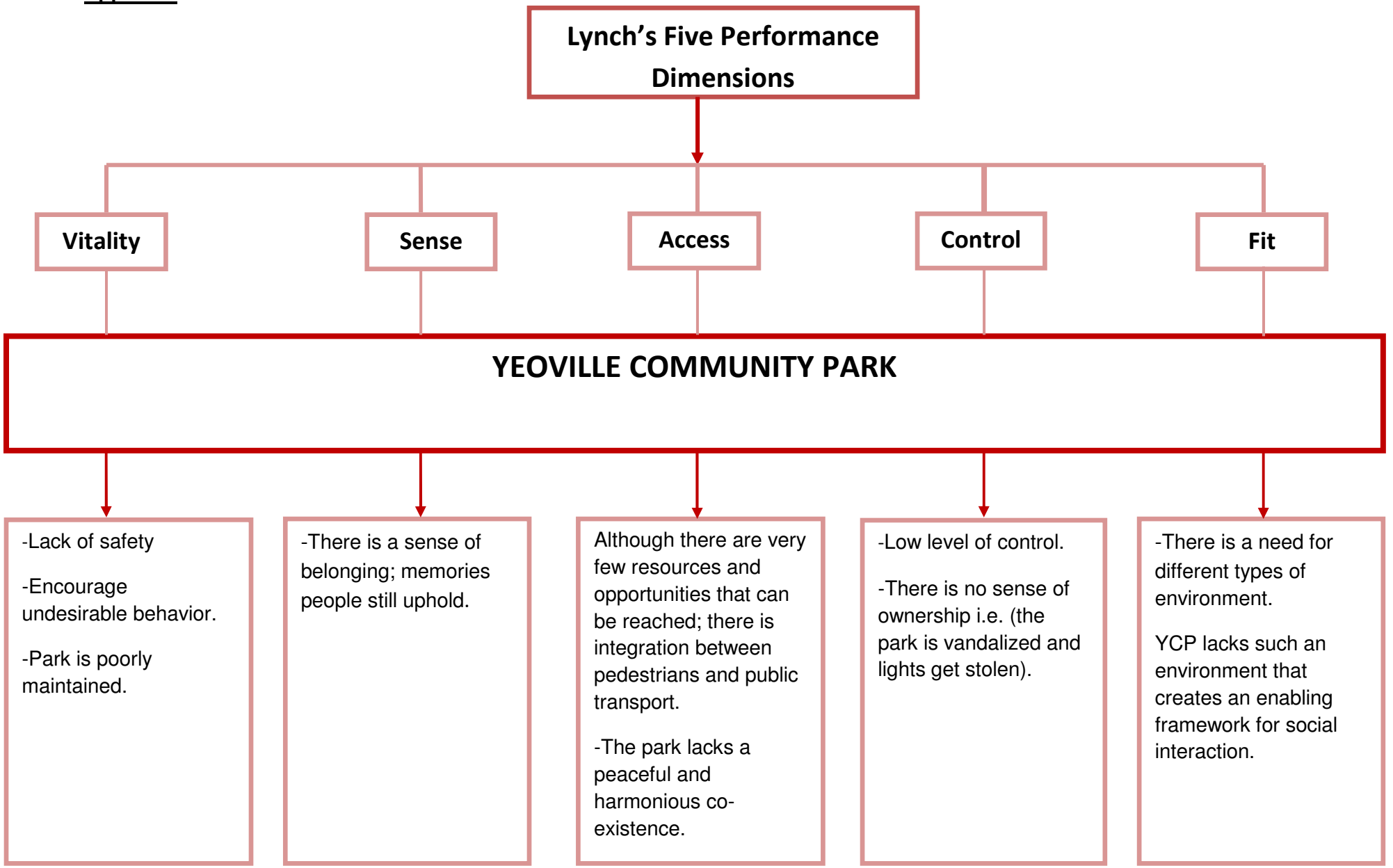
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Appendix


Lynch's Five Performance Dimensions
Vitality
Sense
Access
Control
Fit
YEOVILLE COMMUNITY PARK
-Lack of safety
-Encourage undesirable behavior.
-Park is poorly maintained.
-There is a sense of belonging; memories people still uphold.
Although there are very few resources and opportunities that can be reached; there is integration between pedestrians and public transport.
-The park lacks a peaceful and harmonious co-existence.
-Low level of control.
-There is no sense of ownership i.e. (the park is vandalized and lights get stolen).
-There is a need for different types of environment.
YCP lacks such an environment that creates an enabling framework for social interaction.