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Public Value Analysis of Urban Park Development

Case Study of Thokoza Park (Soweto) and Tsutsumani Park (Alexandra)

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management)

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Abstract

This research focuses on establishing an explorative understanding of the efficacy of public value and social capital in the development of a community facility. The approach taken is comparative as it provides a basis for exploring the relationship communities have with a public facility and the significance of public value and social capital in the development and upkeep of the facility. The two facilities that are looked at are Thokoza Park in Soweto and Tsutsumani Park in Alexandra. Community parks vary in size and design but they all play a significant role. However, the community will only gain the benefits derived from the park if certain social attitudes are adhered to. Furthermore, communities need to be invested in their parks, have a shared sense of value for their parks, and a certain level of social capital and horizontal engagement with local government. One of the main findings is that abject poverty will halt any form of development and there is a need to constantly educate and motivate in order to get buy-in from communities.

Keywords: Public Value, Social Capital, Networks, Trust, Reciprocity, and Recreational Space.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management). I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others. I am aware of the correct method of referencing and discussion on what plagiarism is as explained in the P&DM Study Guide.

I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong. I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to correctly acknowledge the source of the ideas.

Signatures: _____Date: _____

(Assumed to be signed if submitted electronically)

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Chapter One

Introduction

This research focuses on establishing an explorative understanding of the efficacy of public value and social capital in the development of a community facility. The approach taken is comparative as it provides a basis for exploring the relationship communities have with a public facility and the significance of public value and social capital in the development and upkeep of the facility. The two facilities that are looked at are Thokoza Park in Soweto and Tsutsumani Park in Alexandra.

Community parks vary in size and design but they all play a significant role (Dwayne & Robert, 2006). The benefits of parks in communities go beyond the recreational space. According to research done at the Human-Environment Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois – more trees, wildflowers, and other greenery in neighborhoods promote multitude of community and individual benefits such as lower crime rates, stronger social bonds, positive effects on health, and higher test scores in children (Sprajcar, 2007, p.1).

Despite the evident benefits, some communities tend to be oblivious to them and contribute to the park's desecration by treating it as a dump zone. In other cases, due to its minimal to no security, gangs infiltrate the open space consequently becoming a hub for criminal activities (Groff & McCord, 2011). Both local government and the community need to demonstrate their sense of value through collective action in order to restore the integrity of the park.

There is a need for consistent alignment of people's needs and the services provided. The alignment of needs referred to, which the citizens are the arbiters of, is public value. Essentially the citizens determine what they value and the government's role is to provide these services within the boundaries of consultation and resource allocation.

In the context of recreational spaces, some communities are invested in comparison to others. Some of these invested interests are derived from the park's facilities allowing for social networking, better health prospects, spacious designs that allow for outdoor activities, and other factors that community members appreciate (Bennington, 2009).

Although parks have an intrinsic value, offering activities such as children's playground, training space, and a platform for social gatherings, the community's level of social capital and public value plays a significant role in the parks' sustainability.

There are other causal factors that affect parks' sustainability such as financial investments, socio-economic and political externalities. However, as expressed in the sections below, the community's attitude towards the recreational space plays a fundamental role. Given the historical similarities regarding policies and surrounding communities of both Thokoza and Tsutsumani Park, the study is able to comparatively analyse and uncover the nuances and efficacy of social capital and public value in parks' development.

Background

This research studied parks in order to assess the efficacy of public value and social capital in a public facility's development. It did so due to the public nature of parks and their provision of non-privatized services to community members. This allows for a richer analysis of the prescribed theories given that the population and location being analyzed are not exclusive with the exception of respondents availability.

The ideological framework requires social engagement thus the humanistic nature of social capital and public value are fitting. If it were anything other than a public facility, different rules may apply. Private spaces are exclusive thus to some degree, the elements of public value and social capital (trust, reciprocity and network) may not have the same reach as opposed to a public entity.

Furthermore, parks are an ideal research topic for social capital and public value given that the park itself has inherent values over and above additional facilities in it. A public mall or other public entities may have been alternative research topics. However, in the case of a mall there are external factors that contribute to the usage of it, for instance – the need of financial capital to gain optimum value from it such as purchasing snacks, watching movies, and all other retail facilities. Thus parks allow for its community members to gain the most at only the cost of time and transportation that is if the nearest park is a considerable distance away.

This research focuses on two parks, Thokoza in Soweto and Tsutsumani in Alexandra. Thokoza Park is found in region D, Zone 3, Ntuli Street, Moroka, Soweto. It incorporates the Moroka Dam thus asserting its prestigious status as a prime attraction in Rockville Soweto.

The park covers 4.5 hectares, proudly showing off Soweto's first fountain, neatly trimmed lawns, paved footpaths, and streams that graciously pour into the Moroka Dam (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, n.d.-a). The park provides various services such as facilities for family picnics or braais, events such as exhibitions and jazz concerts, and a children's playground.

Tsutsumani on the other hand has gone through various renovations particularly after the 2010 FIFA World Cup that was hosted by South Africa. One of the renovations was over a hundred trees being planted in the park by employees from Johannesburg City Parks with assistance from a private company called Novozymes (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, 2010). City Parks was instituted in November 2000 with the purpose of managing the city's parks, open green areas, cemeteries, conserved spaces and street trees (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, n.d.-b).

During this time the Tsutsumani Park community in Alexandra witnessed the development project and may have arguably restored their faith in local government. Although both parks were given media and developmental attention, Thokoza Park is still in fine conditions and remains as a tourist hub. Tsutsumani Park on the other hand has reverted back to conditions pre-2010 with no-more than five trees rooted up, rusting jungle gyms, and patches of uncut grass.

Problem Statement

Anecdotal evidence suggests that parks in Soweto tend to be more sustainable than those in Alexandra. This may be triggered by an array of societal causes such as inequality, poverty, unemployment, lack of park funding, social capital and public value. In the case of Soweto, parts have integrated communities and a relatively sustained communication line with local government as opposed to Alexandra. Local government is able to implement ongoing developments and maintenance of public facilities in an integrated participatory community that maintains the communication line.

A significant amount of research has been conducted in the exploration of community parks; however, little has been written on South Africa, particularly in the Alexandra and Soweto context. South African literature focuses on quantitative data such as the availability of parks in rural communities and a comparative analysis of rural and urban community parks' upkeep. However, a comparative qualitative study of two townships and their parks with similar historical narratives has yet to be researched.

Parks are an essential resource to communities due to the benefits they provide. Furthermore, they assist in achieving government objectives in neighborhoods such as building safe, healthy, and motivated communities. Therefore there is a need to fill the research gap, particularly in the qualitative arena. The research seeks to uncover the impact that social capital and public value have in a park's sustainability, and towards the end of the research draw out solutions based on the findings.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this research is to explore the relationship between the Thokoza and Tsutsumani Park communities and their recreational space. The research hypothesizes that the development and sustainability of a public facility is contingent on the level of social capital and public value within a community. The ideological framework of social capital and public value will help in deducing possible reasons as to why some parks are treated differently by certain communities.

Research Question

The central question in this study is: does a park's sustainability depend on the community's social capital and public value? In exploring the main research question the following guiding questions will frame the research:

- What are the levels of social network, trust, and reciprocity among community members?
- What factors influence the availability of social capital?
- Is there cooperation among community members and local government in sustaining the developments?

Chapter Two

Public Value and Social Capital

This section of the paper engages the literature on several key issues, namely public value, social capital, recreational space and its relationship with the community. It then provides a synthesis of social capital and public value in the context of parks, and a dialogue inferring that social capital and public value are the solutions to a sustainable park. Lastly, it discusses the analytical framework.

There is significant amount of research on these subsections, particularly on recreation/leisure and its effects on wellbeing, however, literature on community's perception of their park and their active participation in sustaining it is limited. This paper aims to bridge the gap and provide a new enquiry, at least in the South African context.

A General Understanding of Public Value

The term 'public value' at first glance seems to be vague and most likely a loosely used term that partly describes the vertical relationship between governments and their people. For centuries power wielding governments dictated public value through propaganda such as the need for security and the extreme implications in being without. Thus governments were the producer of value in the public sphere (Benington & Moore, 2011).

Those who prescribed to the neo-liberal paradigm perceived governments as obstacles to economic and social progress. Ronald Reagan famously alleged that "government is not the solution; government is the problem" (Benington et al, 2011, p.7). Therefore the task was to create public value institutions where individuals governed their own interests. Thus reconstructing the understanding of public value to 'what the public values or what adds value to the public sphere' (Bennington, 2009).

Having established that the individuals were the arbiters of value, the issue then became how government could consolidate the values of the people. A possible way forward would be through a democratic hearing that enables all individuals to put forth their perceptions of what they value; however, this is impractical and tedious.

An alternative approach is letting the market reveal public value (Benington et al, 2011). The process of creating value would be through citizens debating the involvement of government, tasking it with certain needs and services that it would be required to offer such as access to healthcare and other services that the market decides.

In conclusion, public value is determined primarily by the society; therefore the society is the arbiter. However, society alone is not involved in creating public value, the private sector, voluntary sector and informal community organizations, including government - jointly contribute (Bennington, 2009).

In the context of parks, the process of transcending certain values into implementable ideas such as the need for recreational spaces, the kind of design that will cater to the needs of the community and any other structural needs necessitates a working and reliable relationship between the local government and the community, and intra-community relationships.

Applied Understanding of Public Value in the Context of Recreational Spaces

From time immemorial recreational spaces have always been valued entities of life, however, their historical purpose up to date have somewhat transcended from the individual botanical scenery experience to both individual and communal health and social integration space. Their necessities have become more evident in the post-modern world.

In the current era there has been a growing association of quality of life with recreational spaces and positive approaches to the well-being of the individual and community (Lloyd & Auld, 2002). However, recreational spaces have as well been associated with criminal activities and crime-infested neighborhoods. This is further expressed in the following subsection that discusses social-capital and lack thereof resulting in destitute parks and security threatened communities.

Dating back to the times of Aristotle in his work of contemporary scholars and arguably the biblical account of creation of man in the Garden of Eden, leisure and recreational space have always been virtues that many writers have dedicated significant amount of literature to (Dwayne & Robert, 2006).

A large amount of these writings have consistent links between leisure and recreational space with quality of life, arguing a need for a balance between work and leisure or the need of recreational space in the context of a health motif. The 21st century has seen an increase in the study of quality of life provoked by an interest in the study of positive human emotions (Fredrickson, 2000).

The term 'quality of life' is utilized in an array of disciplines such as medicine, health management, town planning, economic and community development (Dwayne & Robert, 2006). For example, Aristotle's concept of *Eudaimonia*[1], individuals were called on to realize their full potentialities in order to achieve a "good life". In contrast eastern philosophers focused on the fulfillment of individual desires. Emmanuel Kant argued for a more moralistic code of conduct that will culminate in a better quality of life (Diener & Suh, 1997).

Essentially 'quality of life' is a subjective matter; one's perception may be that a good quality of life is attained through realizing your own potential whereas another may weigh it more on extrovert activities and tangible gains. For the purpose of this research, the perception of quality of life by communities is analyzed in the context of recreational space.

In the United States (US), the persisting argument for municipalities to create local parks has been based on their positive contribution to quality of life (Godbey, 1999). Various studies show that there is a positive relationship between leisure/recreation participation and quality of life (Lloyd & Auld, 2002). However, there are dissenting views, some outdated, and that argued that parks solely create a platform for social integration rather than the view of health enrichment.

For instance "the President's Commission on Americans Outdoors reviewed the nation's policies on outdoor recreation in 1985, the social, economic, and environmental benefits of recreation were recognized, but little attention was paid to human health benefits" (Godbey, 2009). However, since then research has proven a relationship between physical activities taken place outdoors with positive health gains (Walker, 2004, p.1).

[1] *Eudaimonia a Greek word commonly translated as happiness, welfare or "human flourishing".*

In the South African context, there has been a growing sense of appreciation and understanding towards the benefits of urban city parks. In 2013 Johannesburg City Parks embarked on a "Healthy Lifestyles Campaign", which is a campaign to fulfill the city's vision of a green future (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, 2013a). They have as well planted trees in various recreational parks such as Tsutsumani Park and continue to grow a greener environment through urban city parks planning.

Environmentalists have argued for recreational space pointing out their social and health related benefits. This has invoked policy debates on the necessity for recreational space as not only a social and economic communal initiative, as well spearing health initiatives. According to Hancock (1999) significant health determinants may not be an issue of the healthcare system, instead focus needs to be shifted towards the environmental and social aspects of health. Thus publicly owned natural spaces are an ideal resource to support health needs and various policy objectives related to societal health and social well-being (Godbey, 2009).

As addressed in the abovementioned, a new perspective of parks has taken shape from ideological carvings of attitudes. The perspective focuses on how policy makers, municipalities and the public may reestablish a new sense of value by perceiving parks as valuable contributors to youth development, community building, job opportunities, and public health (Walker, 2004).

Despite the evident need for parks, the surrounding communities tend to differ in responding to this need. There are those who appreciate its virtues whereas others, although conscious of the good, are either unwilling to play the part in developing and sustaining the park or find themselves in a prisoner's dilemma[2]. They choose to not participate in the sustaining of the park due to uncertainties of equal participation by their neighbors. David Hume's parable sets the tone of what commonly transpires in communities:

> *"Your corn is ripe today; mine will be so tomorrow. 'Tis profitable for us both, that I should labour with you today, and that you should aid me tomorrow. I have no kindness for you, and know you have as little*

[2] *Strategy game in social science that helps understand what governs the balance between cooperation and competition in business, politics, and social settings. An analysis used in game theory. David Hume's parable in the above quote depicts the characterization of the prisoner's dilemma.*

> *for me. I will not, therefore, take any pains upon your account; and should I labour with you upon my own account, in expectation of a return, I know I should be disappointed, and that I should in vain depend upon your gratitude. Here then I leave you to labour alone; you treat me in the same manner. The seasons change; and both of us lose our harvests for want of mutual confidence and security."* (David Hume cited in Putnam, 1994, pp.5-6)

David Hume's parable suggests a common occurrence in communities and nations worldwide whereby societies seem to have invested interests in recreational spaces, education, and alleviation of social, political and economic ills yet there is no collaborative effort in addressing their plight (Putnam, 1994).

The following section addresses the concept of social capital. It then synthesizes the understanding of public value discussed thus far and the realities of a community with weakened social capital. It furthers the discussion of social capital arguing that the lack thereof results in a failing society partly caused by the prisoner's dilemma and governors who are unmotivated to provide adequate public services.

Various Perspectives of Social Capital

There are various forms of capital; economic, human, physical and social, each playing a significant role in their concerned fields. Many have attributed social ills or inequality to economic capital or lack thereof, however, key theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1986), Robert D. Putnam (1994) and more recent contributors to social capital such as Francis Fukuyama (2000) have argued for a different perspective which looks at social capital and its role in affecting society's trajectory (Feldman & Assaf, 1999).

The commonalities between these theorists is the integration aspect of social capital, positing that the gains from social networks favors an individual in one's economic, political, or social endeavor. However, there are differing views of certain elements of social capital. Pierre Bourdieu, who is hailed as one of the key theorists in the inception and understanding of social capital interprets social capital as;

> "*…the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition"* (Bourdieu cited in Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007, p.24)

Thus Bourdieu shares the notion of network as an essential component of social capital but differs with other theorists like Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1994) by viewing social capital as a negative construct. He argues that the cold reality of social capital, whereby this system that produces individuals and the individuals reproduce it is based on unequal class distinctions and consequently unequal living conditions (Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007).

Contrary to Bourdieu, James Coleman has a more optimistic approach to social capital. He argues that parents need to play a fundamental role that ensures the transmitting of human capital through social capital means within the family. He furthers his argument by postulating that if this is done, the next generation will have a secure sense of self-identity, confidence in expressing their-own opinions, and will be emotionally intelligent (Coleman, 1988).

The American advocate of social capital Robert D. Putnam shares similar sentiments, however, he is far more optimistic than Bourdieu and rather more perceptive when analyzing the possible benefits that an individual may gain from the society, so long as it observes and maintains certain norms and values:

> "*Social capital refers to features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits of investment in physical and human capital"* (Putnam, 1994, pp.6-7).

The society in essence becomes a life form like the system that Bourdieu speaks of whereby the elites regenerate. However, this system is expressed by Putnam as social organizations with networks that can foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity. They become more efficient, facilitate communication resulting in trustworthiness, and subsequently embody post success at collaboration consequently forming a cultural template for the future (Putnam, 1994).

Francis Fukuyama (2000) builds on Putnam's and Coleman's notion of trust and networks. He does so by providing an analysis of smaller family dominated

industries in China, Hong Kong, France, Italy and Taiwan versus larger corporate organizations in Japan, Germany, and United States. He argues that the differences between success and failure in reaching high levels of industrial assembly have more to do with cultural characteristics, components of human capital that allow members of a given society to trust one another and cooperate (Fukuyama, 2000).

Thus social capital is an important factor in social and industrial development. Social relations and associations in an industrial environment are dependent on levels of social capital. Given the understanding of social capital, the question still stands, how is it relevant to the plight of communal parks and their sustainability? How can the link be made between public value and social capital in the context of recreational space? The subsequent section addresses these questions by synthesizing the above theory and literature and contextualizing it to address the purpose of this research.

Synthesis of Public Value and Social Capital

David Hume's parable of the farmer is a telling story of many communities who equally value a thing yet are unwilling to contribute due to suspicions of being only in the giving end. This applies to recreational space, with community members under similar uncertainties. However, their importance is undeniable as expressed by Godbey (1999); municipalities in the U.S have seen a need for parks as they contribute positively to the quality of life.

Similar sentiments are shared in the case of Johannesburg City Parks in South Africa, which was established in 2000 (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, 2013a). Their work is testament to the importance of recreational spaces. Hancock (1999) argues for the need to focus on the environment and spaces provided – positing that they would cater to health needs.

Thus parks have an inherent good that can be appreciated by all, whether one's perspective is in the direction of health or recreational activities. In the case of both communities in Alexandra and Soweto, their parks provide families with a space to socially interact, engage in health related activities, and for children to enjoy the playgrounds. Given Hume's parable, communities tend to still treat parks differently.

Evidence shows that some parks are left destitute due to an array of reasons, some attributed to local governments' inability to fund developments. However, communities need to be held responsible as well. They determine its condition. They as well regenerate the systems that Bourdieu speaks of, which may be one of gangsterism produced by lawless community members.

In other circumstances it may be Coleman's (1988) theory whereby human capital is not transmitted from parent to child thus impeding on their growth in social intelligence and sense of self identity. The perpetuation of this creates a dysfunctional society that has little care for its public facilities.

Putnam (1994) and Fukuyama's (2000) perspective of value may be viewed in the sense of trust whereby there is a strong presence of distrust among neighbors resulting in the prisoner's dilemma. The prisoner's dilemma depletes social capital in a community and this results in the park's diminishing levels of security.

The above synthesis argues that ill treatment of parks is due to the lack of social capital despite the evident positive value that communities have for their parks. The following subsection provides more of an in-depth analysis and theoretical debate between the theorists' notions of social capital and synergizing this with the realities of societies. A conceptual framework will then follow, which proposes various ways in measuring these concepts.

Perspectives of Social Network and Its Role in Integrating a Community

Networks are one of the key components of social capital. Putnam (1994) in his narrative of Italy argued that some of its regions such as Emila Romagna and Tuscany have more active community organizations. Citizens participate in public affairs not by patronage or the vertical (hierarchical) relationship as he calls it, whereby the people are servants of the government. Rather, they participate in a horizontal relationship whereby they are truly citizens of the government and engage in communal affairs. He posits that this kind of society values solidarity, civic participation, and integrity.

Bourdieu argues that "the formation of an association can create a sense of solidarity among a mass of persons, it gives a name, institutionalizes the capital

that is being accumulated" (Siisiainen, 2000, p.12). Both Putnam (1993) and Bourdieu (1986) argue that networks have the potential to create solidarity within communities. A sense of identity that Coleman (1988) speaks of is achieved through the community members' commitment to a cause and adopting certain values and objectives.

Putnam (1993) further argues that networks with cultured reciprocity and civil solidarity, active associations, religious groups, and neighborhood relations culminate to strong institutional performance. Thus Putnam emphasizes on the kinds of networks, ones that are conducive to the plight of the community.

Given Bourdieu (1986) and Putnam's (1993) appreciation of networks as a form of an integration mechanism allowing for the accumulation of social capital, Bourdieu, as discussed above, views networks as negative structures that exacerbate class distinctions (Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007). Bourdieu argues "the volume of social capital possessed by a given agent ... depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize" (Bourdieu 1986, p.249).

There is a certain demeanour that the above statement carries, one that alludes to power politics or societal hierarchy. The reality of the matter is that in some disharmonic societies, social capital is gained in such a way that it privileges the few. Syndicates or individuals rise in the social system while disenfranchising the rest in the process. Consequently those affiliated to the dominating networks "profit" without working for it (Bourdieu, 1986).

In the South African context there is an array of networks and affiliations based on race, gender, religion, ethical and work orientation among many other categories. Thus many find themselves in pre-existing social systems, in most cases unable to change it without the communal aid and substantial networks to do so. Granovetter (1985, p.487) best captured this scenario by stating that:

> "*Individuals do not act or make decisions isolated from a social context, nor do they necessarily concur to a script written for them by the particular intersection of social categories that they happen to occupy. Their attempts at purposive action are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations*"

Given Bourdieu's (1986) "profit" description, many of those who find themselves in a fragmented society with a clear social hierarchical system based on networks will most likely join that particular association in the hope of survival or at least benefit from their makings. In the case of Alexandra, many of the youth seemingly gravitated to petty criminal activities as unemployment was and still is rife. When they get older they are coopted into more established hardened criminal syndicates such as the case with the Msomi[3] gang in the 1950s (Institute of Security Studies, 1998).

The implication of powerful gangs running the communities is that they are the very networks that Bourdieu speaks of that pose as negative structures in the community. Influenced by living conditions they have resulted to looting from their very own as a source of income. The social network of gangsterism and lawlessness becomes the fabric of their social construct. Members of the community are unable to enjoy their recreational space as they fear for their possessions and lives.

Although networks are important, it's the kind of network that determines the usage space of parks and the societal system as a whole. Religious and communal networks and those similar that are based on reciprocity and trust are the essential kinds of social building blocks needed in communities. They facilitate social engagement, unity and harmony in the community.

Perspectives of Social Trust and Its Role in Mitigating Dysfunctional Communities

Trust is an essential component in all communities as it facilitates relationships and induces positive perceptions of security. Various authors including Putnam (1994), Fukuyama (2000), and Coleman (1988) discuss trust in the perspective of it being an essential proponent to social cohesion. Castelfranchi and Falcone (2008, pp.67-68) argue that "trust is conceived as an expectation sustained by the repeated direct interactions with other agents under the assumption that iterated experiences of success strengthen the trustier's confidence."

[3] *The Msomi gang, which operated in Alexandra, was responsible for an organized reign of terror involving numerous armed robberies, murders, protection rackets and the fleecing of ordinary township residents. They were influenced by the American gang world; Wealthy gang leaders and hardcore thuggish lifestyle*

This conceptualization of trust was testable in the Alexandra and Soweto case studies. The researcher asked community members how often they interacted with other members and visitors of the park on a social level. Respondents answered, stating the frequency of interaction. The frequent interaction may not necessarily result in trust, however, will establish certain norms, and as Putnam (1994) and Coleman (1988) have stated, these consistent social behaviors evolving into norms in communities are among the building blocks of social capital.

A society with only norms as a driving force of cohesion is not suggestive of a safe communal space. Even if there are levels of interaction within the society, certain values adhered to and a societal system upheld by community members. Without trust the community will likely face social dysfunctionality resulting in community members feeling secluded from one other. The works of Andre Standing (2003; 2006) describes the cruel realities of Cape Flats in Cape Town, South Africa. He describes the overcrowded, poor living conditions and the increasingly crime infested area where gangsterism and social disturbance is the norm.

The society is dysfunctional; there is a lack of security and poor living conditions. The community members are made to conform to the thuggish conduct, the acceptance of gang violence, streets governed by local gangs rather than the state's laws, and a hierarchical system. This system governs the territory, and socially and physically victimizes and disenfranchises the individuals. However, there are members of the community who wish not to be subjected to these perverted constructs.

The dysfunctionality affects mothers and children who wish to have a recreational sanctuary; where their children may utilize the open space to play, and families who wish to retreat from their busy lives for some greenery and open space. They are unable to do so due to the vigilantes who have converted the park into gang turf. Fisher (2012) wrote a reflective piece on The New Age website reflecting on his youth days at Hanover Park primary and high school, which situated in a township by the Cape Flats.

Fisher (2012) provides a brief recollection of the state of gangsterism that has plagued Hanover Park since his early days in primary, yet the park is still

escalating in lawlessness. He argues that despite the violence that takes place, community members are still hopeful that the situation will change. They are willing for change. He and various others have taken initiative to rebuild the community through community organizations. However, in order for the entire community to participate it will necessitate a level of trust amongst them and a shared sense of value.

Fisher (2012) alongside other determined and socially conscious individuals who take the initiative may be fighting in vain. Small pockets of socially active community members may not have the desired influence in changing the social system. Gambetta (1988) argues that it is rational for communities to desire cooperation, and that there should be cooperation, however, in some cases it does not exist. From lessons of game theory and the prisoners dilemma, Gambetta (1988, p.216) argues that even if cooperative behavior will benefit every cooperation "people still need to know about each other's motives and to trust each other, or at least the effectiveness of their motives".

This addresses the earlier discussion of there being norms and certain social systems. Welch (2001) furthers the notion of trust stating that it is a necessary element of social change and sustained social capital in communities, and posits that communities cannot exist without at least some required level of trust among its members. Fukuyama (1995) utilizes trust as a measure of social capital arguing that the level of trust is a critical determinant of a society's success and level of democracy, and ultimately its ability to compete in the international arena.

Key commonalities may be captured from the works of Castelfranchi and Falcone (2008) who argue that trust is conceived as an expectation sustained by the repeated direct interactions with other agents, and that of Fukuyama (1995) who argues that trust is accumulated through norms of reciprocity and successful cooperation. In reflection, trust becomes evident when communities share continuous moral values, creating expectations of regular and honest behavior (Fukuyama, 1995). Therefore trust is an action that needs to be repetitive in order to gain validity.

Concluding the topic of trust, it is evident through the works of the abovementioned authors that it is an essential component to social capital and a

driving force to cooperation. Furthermore, a key realization that Gambetta (1988) brought forth is that even if there is cooperation, members of the community need to know each other enough to trust one another or else the act will be fruitless given the prisoner's dilemma.

Application of Social Capital in Communities

Networks such as religious institutions, friendships, family, and community organizations may assist the community's plight for an integrated society that shares certain ideals, norms, and values. On the other hand, trust and reciprocity are as well key components that can play a critical role in solidifying the community. This kind of solidarity, as Coleman argues, needs to be involuntary, not the Portes (1998, p.10) kind of positive social capital whereby it is "rule enforcement", "bounded solidarity" and "enforceable trust".

Given the conceptual understanding of social capital and public value in light of communities' perceptions of their recreational space, the following task is to provide a measuring framework in order to operationalize these concepts. The works of Fukuyama (1995), Spellerberg (2001) and Harper (2002) were reference points in creating these measurements. This paper proposes two levels of measuring social capital; networks, and a combination of trust and reciprocity.

Putnam (1995) argues that networks are platforms that provide necessary societal engagements, affording members of the society the opportunity to have a sense of belonging, shared purpose and ultimately the gaining of trust. Networks were measured in several ways. The research analysed the count of respondents' who partake in networks and their frequency of attendance. Capturing data of how many nuclear and extended families is as well a telling point of social capital, as Fukuyama (1995) expresses this point in his narrative of China and the level of societal trust.

Even if findings reflect that the communities consists of nuclear and extended families and members of the community know their neighbours, it is not telling of the kind of relationship they have. Thus frequency of seeing and speaking to relatives, friends and neighbours was measured (Harper, 2002). As Coleman (1988) argued that it is not enough for a parent to sit by a table with his child while reading the newspaper, he needs to actively engage him in order to create

human capital. Likewise, it is not enough that neighbours know each other; they need to actively engage each other so to gain the level of social capital desired.

Further probing measures that were utilized in the context of networks were finding out respondents' perceptions of their community networks and their role in it (Harper, 2002). These may be communal, political, social or recreational organisations such as sports teams. In the case of a community member not being affiliated to any, their reasons were informative and suggestive of the kind of networks present.

Trust is an essential building block of a society. Fukuyama (1995) maintains that it is the level of trust that determines a society's prosperity. In order to measure trust, behaviour and attitudes were analysed. The first was community members' perceptions of their safety. How they respond to strangers; do they greet, are they passive or are they regressive when given the opportunity to interact with them; what kind of relationship do they have with their local government; are they trusting of the decisions taken by government; do they feel assured that government engages their needs and do they feel empowered.

Another aspect of trust is their propensity to lend and borrow money. Community members' inclination to share their problems with family and friends as well shows a crucial level of trust. Their willingness to discuss issues in various platforms such as churches, sports teams, old age homes, community councils and various other networks was measured. In the reversal, community members' willingness to point out who is rejecting these trust measures such as "theft, cheating, vandalism, abuse, neglect, violence, road rage, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, and self-inflicting harm such as suicide" was reflected upon (Spellerberg, 2001, p.22).

Lastly, reciprocity, which has been linked with trust, is as well a crucial aspect of social capital. When Putnam (1993) cited Hume's parable of the farmer, he was expressing the social decapitalization of trust and reciprocity. Reciprocity is an act done without the 'expectation' of directly benefiting from the exchange at that moment. In the context of the farmer, the one should help the other without expecting any gains while trusting that in the following season if he is in need the other will help as a gesture of mutual exchange.

Fukuyama (1995, p.12) discusses the philosophy of Confucianism[4] relating it with social capital. He argued that humans are susceptible to change and the progressive kind is one whereby the society observes certain humanistic codes such as altruism. He linked this discussion with reciprocity arguing that to achieve collective societal progress and development, society members need to maintain the spirit of doing well.

This was measured by finding out peoples' attitudes towards others. Are good things done according to class, race, or any other categorical distinctions? Are members of the community helpful towards one another; financially or emotionally? Are they willing to help strangers in need? Who takes on any communal responsibilities (Spellerberg, 2001, p.22)?

In conclusion, communities' social systems determine the outcome of how recreational space is utilized; however, it does not necessarily alter the public's perception of its value. This is where the paradox lies. Community members may be aware of the benefits that recreational spaces offer, even wish to utilize them but circumstances produced by the social system prohibit them from enjoying them fully.

In order to understand the reasons as to why the paradox exists, this paper proposed two levels of social capital measurements, namely networks and a joint category of trust and reciprocity. The findings will support the hypothesis that argues in the notion of social capital being a critical influence to how recreational space is utilized.

[4] *Chinese philosophical doctrine with ethical teachings of humanism*

Analytical Framework

Table 1

MEASURES OF PUBLIC VALUE AND SOCIAL CAPITAL	
PUBLIC VALUE	• Value and perceptions of recreational space • Usage of recreational space
NETWORK (Integrating a community)	• Nuclear and extended families • Frequency of attendance in networks/organizations • Perception of their community

TRUST AND RECIPROCITY
(Mitigating dysfunctionality in communities and setting the environment)
	• Analysis of behaviour and attitudes
	• Community members; perceptions of their safety
	• Their responses to strangers
	  ○ Do they greet
	  ○ Passive
	  ○ Regressive
	• Willingness to have conversations with community members and visitors
	• Willing to help strangers in need
	• Propensity to lend or borrow money
	• Community members willingness to point out who is rejecting these trust measures
	  ○ Theft, cheating, vandalism, abuse, neglect, violence, road rage, alcohol, drug abuse, self-inflicting harm (suicide)
	• People's attitudes towards others
	  ○ Good things done according to class, race, other categorical distinctions
	• Who takes communal responsibilities
	• Kinds of relationships they have with local government
	  ○ Trusting of their decisions
	  ○ Feel assured
	  ○ Feel empowered

The above table that describes the measurements of social capital should not be appreciated as absolute measurements, rather as guiding principles to measuring social capital, particularly in the context of this research. The values speak to a circumstantial case study, namely parks and how community members relate with each other and with the park. There are certain measurements omitted that speak more to the social cohesion of families, the relationships with authority, and

among other aspects relationships based on categorical differences such as class, race, age and so forth.

The logic of prescribing social capital and public value as determinants of communities' treatment of their parks is based on the above cases of crime ridden recreational spaces. These cases present social attitudes in the community that have consequences on the usage of recreational spaces. If the community is trusting and integrated, then public amenities such as parks would be utilized and sustained, given their public value. However, if the community is neither trusting nor integrated, then dysfunctionality may be the outcome leading to negligent acts on these facilities.

It is essential to note the term "may" as reference to these deviant acts and any other transgressions manifested through social decapitalization. There is a possibility that not all communities will react in the same manner when its social fiber is strained, more so in new communities whose norms and values are not yet entrenched. However, members of that community are well accustomed to certain norms and values acquired from their previous communities or structures. The structure-agency debate is predicated on the works of the French philosopher and arguably the father of sociology, Emile Durkheim. This very research which seeks to express the relationship between a community and its park uses the fundamental principles that Durkheim (1951) and those after him have put forth.

The tapestries of a society are norms and values. These social phenomena or "social facts" are distinctive social characteristics which are external to the individual, such as language, accents, barter system, professional conduct; these are internalized by socialization (Coser, 2003). These social facts are engineered in our system through institutions like Churches, schools, sports teams, family and work places among other social influences. These influences are then reflected in our behavior, how we socially interact with others and how we conduct ourselves (Johnson, 1986).

Deviant behavior is thus transferred through a society or structure. The structure encompasses any institution or forum that transfers certain values to a recipient. Either the integrated society conditions the individual to behave in a certain way or the lack of a societal bond creates certain alienating characteristics and

psychological traits. The outcome of a total breakdown in a society creates egoistic behaviorisms.

Egoism is when an individual may have social control functions, but the relationship between the individual and group is weak thus rendering norms and values ineffective in controlling their behavior (Durkheim, 1951). The extreme case that Durkheim expresses links egoism with suicide. For the purpose of this research, egoism is understood as the alienation of an individual by a dysfunctional society resulting in individuals deviating from the norms.

Public value as expressed above is the relationship that the community has with its local government in providing certain basic needs. This is easier to measure in comparison to social capital as it is measured according to service delivery whereas social capital clings on perceptive analysis. The literature discusses how communities express their public value through a societal consensus on certain needs and electing officials to champion these interests.

Public value is not detached from the aesthetics of social capital. Whether it is an irrigation system, sewage system, electricity, education, healthcare, and various amenities, communities need to have a united stand and a sense of solidarity in pushing forward these necessary needs. A community that is disjointed, without internal structures where sharing of opinions and needs may be tabulated and consolidated, resulting in a resolute community with certain demands, will fall short in service delivery.

Both social capital and public value are testable theories. Furthermore they work hand in hand in the case of recreational space so much so that one cannot work without the other. Government can meet its constitutional obligation to provide communities with amenities, fulfilling its public value mandate. However, as is in the case of Hanover Park, it becomes futile for the government to provide public services for communities whose social capital is limited.

Although communities may appreciate the space, the prevailing social system incubates alienation and those who pervert the social system, in the extreme case, turn the recreational space into gang turf, dumpsites, or steal from it. As implied in the public value case, a dysfunctional society that has gangsters and vigilantes

plaguing the park, or a disintegrated society that is indifferent about disorder, are providing a disservice to the park and the community as a whole.

The following chapter discusses the methodology of the research, its methodological approaches and justification. It will then discuss the paradigm approach narrating its appreciation of the method given the type of research it conducted. It will conclude with a discussion on reliability, validity, and ethics, paving the way for the subsequent chapter that presents a historical narrative of the communities and description of the parks.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

This research engaged a comparative analysis of two communities while utilizing public value and social capital as analytical tools to determine their relationships with their parks. It sought to understand the differences between the two communities looking at their level of social capital while observing their parks and determining whether communal participation and mutual appreciation of the park have significance in its upkeep.

The formation of a research paradigm was informed by the research topic. The research paradigm has been described by Foley (2010) as a set of propositions that explain how the world is perceived; it contains a worldview, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world.

Paradigm Approach

Due to its descriptive nature, attempting to understand public value and social capital in the context of parks, the research employed an interpretive approach rather than a positivist paradigm. The principal reason for adopting this paradigm is that the research attempted to qualitatively interpret a complex social structure. It attempted to make the obscurity of parks' sustainability plain. It contextualized the subject matters, which are community members and parks, utilizing the conceptual framework to present a relationship and explain why communities treat their recreational spaces the way they do (Neuman, 2011, p.101).

The general assumption of the Interpretive Social Science (ISS) approach is that it takes a qualitative method since most interpretive research use participant observation and field research. This research employed ISS elements by pursuing an understanding of how communities perceive their recreational space. It furthered the parameter of analysis from the onlooker role to an interactive role with the community members.

Although there were engagements with community members, uncovering embedded issues, the engagements were not extensive enough to be considered an ethnographic study. Given that an ethnographic study requires a researcher to immerse themselves in the unit sample, understand their cultural ways and even

play a role in their day to day activities for a period of time, this research did not extend itself to such lengths and requirements for it to uncover such a communal experience that an ethnographic study offers.

In light of the paradigm approach adopted in this research, it applied the qualitative methodological approach that engages soft data such as words and symbolic gestures contrary to scientific data, which can be numbers that quantitative research employs. The data collection process encompassed an interactive practice seeking to acquire intimate, firsthand knowledge of the research setting (Neuman, 2011).

This thematic methodology enabled the research to extrapolate intimate perceptions shared by residents of the community on their value of parks and level of social capital rather than numerical interpretation that will leave the research lacking in depth and understanding of what may be the cause of unsustainability beyond budgetary constraints.

Research Methods

Whereas quantitative methods have their usefulness in the construction of logic and linear results with the purpose of making generalizations of complex social constructs, it would not achieve similar goals in explaining why and uncovering hidden values that may only be excavated through extensive probing. This paved the way for non-linear methods in the qualitative methodology, which appreciates complexities that cannot be scientifically simplified or generalized (Foley, 2010).

Qualitative methods allow for the evaluation of individual outcomes in order to have a deeper understanding that goes beyond science (Foley, 2010). The exploration of public value and social capital in communities justified a qualitative method. City Parks conducted a quantitative study in various parks including Thokoza Park and excluding Tsutsumani Park. These findings provided a general user satisfaction on various aspects such as safety and services in the park. However, the quantitative study has difficulty in uncovering detail perceptions of its respondents.

This qualitative research zones in on what is lacking, namely community's perceptions and suggestions in resolving issues raised. Furthermore, it uncovers

the relationship between City Parks and the community. This can be taken further in a policy drive to make communication between the two efficient and effective.

The research was carried out on "primarily individuals" or members of the communities who Elsie et al (2007) identifies as the "real subjects". The primary reason for interviewing solely members of the community is due to the nature of the research. It focused on the differences between communities not the differences between individuals who appreciate various kinds of parks. Such individuals may come from different communities thus may influence a different a kind of social capital in the analysis.

As such a non-random convenience sample from residents of the Thokoza and Tsutsumani Park communities was drawn as per their availability and the researcher interviewed four respondents from each community. Two females from each, two of them older than 40 and two younger respondents between 18 and 24; 2 males from each – both above their 30s, however, in Thokoza one of the 2 men was a security guard. This provided a different perspective regarding perceptions of community member's security and public administration.

The researcher as well interviewed the regional manager of region E, which includes Alexandra parks. This contributed to the understanding of public participation and funding. Upon the regional manager's suggestion, the researcher visited the Jukskei Park, which is as well located in Alexandra.

Jukskei Park, an attempted flagship project of City Parks, presented a contrasting perspective from Tsutsumani Park regarding City Parks' initiative in public participation and investment. Furthermore, the researcher interviewed two security guards from different entrances of the park for security and usage perspectives of the park.

The face-to-face engagement afforded the study a more introspective analysis of social capital and public value. The researcher displayed rational and sympathetic qualities in order to gain trust of the respondents. This as well required the researcher to explain to each respondent that the study is purely for academic purposes and their identity will be made confidential, however, the findings will be published and made available to them upon request.

The researcher was guided by semi structured interview questions and his knowledge of the literature while conducting interviews. Neuman (2011) notes that interviews that are semi-structured allows for greater involvement of the subject(s) under study as they empower them to answer what they want to say and leave what they do not want. Hence the semi-structured interview questions are open ended as opposed to closed ended.

Semi-structured interviews are paramount to the research as the conceptual tools (public value and social capital) consists wide discussion scopes that structured interview questions may not reach. For instance, a community member may have no interest in the park due to their perceived value of government services or the lack of trust. Thus the lack of trust, which is one of the fundamental components to social capital, will diminish their perceptions of security, leading to the respondent hardly using the park out of fear of vigilantes.

This is only one of many sides that may influence how often communities use their parks. The literature may lead to certain notions and themes; however, it was crucial that the researcher engaged the interviews with a clear mind as different historical backgrounds may alter the context.

Ideally the samples should be drawn randomly from a list of residents in both communities. This would award them the same opportunity of being picked as potential subjects of the study (Foley, 2010). However, the research dealt with informal settlements thus getting the information or list of all residents from the two communities would have been challenging. Thus the paper settled for the non-random sampling method drawn from availability (convenience) sampling. Subjects were afforded the opportunity to decide for themselves whether they wanted to be interviewed.

The face-to-face campaigns allowed the researcher to explain the purpose of the interview. The researcher attempted to immerse himself in the communities, in a way adopting the ethnographic method; however, due to time constraints the immersion and observation was limited. The researcher pursued a participant observation method, not only observing community members in the parks and detailing their accounts, as well as engaging them and finding out what they gain from the experience.

The researcher requested to record the interview with each respondent. The use of recorders was essential in ensuring that the voices of the respondents were not distorted and concise information was retrieved. In the first stage of analyzing the data the interviewer transcribed the recordings on paper in the form of raw direct speech. Subsequently the coding process went underway where the interviewer extracted words that can be compounded into themes.

With the codes at hand, the following step was to cluster those that were similar from each respondent in order to derive themes. Conclusions made in this research are therefore based on these clustered codes that came out from interviews that are ultimately put up against the hypothesis.

The research focused on Tsutsumani Park in Alexandra and Thokoza Park in Soweto for several reasons. The parks needed to be in Johannesburg due to the researcher's mobility thus Alexandra and Soweto fit that requirement. Furthermore, and conveniently so, Alexandra and Soweto have similar historical narratives; protests against the apartheid regime, leaders of various liberal and democratic movements who originate from both townships, and both demarcated as "Bantu homelands"[5].

Alexandra and Soweto were arguably the defining townships in the struggle of the then oppressed with significant events occurring in both townships resulting in the change of South Africa's policy trajectory. Both townships have, to some degree, notable developments although one significantly more than the other.

As noted above in the table, the research relied heavily on social capital and public value publications to inform the literature review and conceptual framework from which the interviews and observations was analyzed by. It as well engaged the townships' historical context so to get an understanding of the communities and what kind of prospects they had.

The core, historical, and structural information on the parks were irretrievable with the exception of city parks website containing a brief on Thokoza Park detailing only few observable features; the mention of a redeveloped Moroka Dam, and park marketeering.

[5] *Bantu homeland or Bantustan was a territory demarcated for South African black inhabitants as part of the segregation policy of apartheid.*

Johannesburg City Parks and its employees who manage all parks and cemeteries in Johannesburg were not as accessible as expected. Historical documentation of both parks was irretrievable thus information was drawn from their recollection. The interview with the manager of Johannesburg City Parks zone E proved to be quite informative; however, the research relied heavily on observations and community members' perceptions to understand the ground level issues.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability means dependability or consistency. It suggests that the same thing is repeated or recurs under identical or very similar conditions. Validity suggest truthfulness, it refers to how well an idea "fits" with actual reliability (Neuman, 2011). This paper ensures a valid and reliable study by applying a mixture of data collection such as face-to-face interviews, recordings, Johannesburg City Parks' reports and engagements, and various researches on parks around the world.

Triangulation was as well a key tool in order to ensure consistency; this was done through monitoring the four respondents from each community. The various interviews conducted on residents of the communities gave multiple sources of data collection that enabled a consistency check. Observations were detailed in order to describe the scenery and check the validity of the recorded interviews. The literature used in this research is of real-life experiences by individuals and communities across the world thus provide a good cause for validity.

In qualitative studies, a range of data sources and multiple measurement methods are considered. This research does not lock itself into the quantitative-positivist ideas of replication, equivalence, and subpopulation reliability. Given the nature of this research, which is a case study, replication was used in a different context. Replication is understood in the sense of the study being repeated in the same setting however no presumptions are made that the findings can be claims to the general population.

In the context of this research, our thematic claims gain validity when supported by numerous pieces of diverse thematic data (Neuman, 2011). The thematic data used in this regard were the accounts of dysfunctional communities and conditions of their parks such as the case in Hanover Park in Cape Town, and case

studies presented in America wherein it presents the values of a park and how an integrated community treats their recreational space.

Validity of a measuring instrument may be defined as the analysis of differences in scores recorded among individuals on the characteristics that we seek to measure rather than constant or random errors (Bailey, 1994, p.67). The measuring instruments in question are the concepts, namely, public value and social capital. Validity was achieved by ensuring that the defined concepts in this research were consistent with the broader literature, and these concepts are accurately translated in the research. The results gained from the interview were consistent with the understanding of the concepts.

Ethics

Respondents' identities from both the Alexandra and Soweto communities are treated as confidential. The data collected on public value and social capital will be disclosed solely for the purpose of the research while considering ethical obligations. The interviewer sought permission to engage the respondents, explaining the context of the research, and proposed to make the findings available upon request.

Chapter Four

Brief Narrative of South Africa's History Which Shaped Many of its Communities

The social, political, economic and geographical context of South Africa has been largely shaped by apartheid legislation and institutional mechanisms that sort to disenfranchise a significant portion of the population. Over many years of adherence to apartheid legislation, it has managed to erode the fabric of equal economic development, interracial cohesion, political maturity, and geographical disposition.

The apartheid regime institutionalized various policies to such an extent that they operated at three levels (Bhorat, Leibbrandt, Maziya, Van Der Berg, & Woolard, 2001). At the macro level, apartheid created 'homelands' which were black settlements – segregating races according to location. Some of the homelands were scattered according to industrial decentralization. At the intermediate level, apartheid further deepened separation of race groups through influx control, urban settlement patterns, population removals, separate school, etc. (Bhorat et al, 2001, p.3).

At a micro level, apartheid deepened societal cleavage by separating between individuals of different race groups through separate amenities (e.g. parks, sports fields, etc.), prohibition of interracial marriages and sexual relations, etc. Although the macro-level apartheid had significant costs in fiscal terms, on the intermediate and micro-level the apartheid legislation had unforeseen detrimental social impact through their effects on social relations and kinds of services offered to many black South Africans.

The three defining legislations that affected the blacks were passed between the periods 1910-1948, which addressed mine labour, migratory labour system and the land question (Schoor, 1986). The first legislation, Mines and Works Act of 1911, prohibited the skilling of black labour, the second and quite crucial to this research is the Labour Regulation Act of 1911, which having unskilled the black miner, the worker who was previously rendered landless, was furthermore, prevented from being a settled worker in town (Schoor, 1986). The purpose of this act was to instil a constant flow of movement of black workers. Lastly, the third

act, migratory labour system, bound the black workers in a system of low wages (Schoor, 1986).

The Land Act passed in 1913 perpetuated this ill by prohibiting blacks from purchasing land, renting land, nor squatting in return for money rent (Schoor, 1986). The subsequent social and political acts consolidated all tiers of the system, disenfranchising them from various civil rights such as congregating and voicing their opinions under judicial protection. In the perspective of amenities, the Separate Amenities Act (Act No 49 of 1953) enforced the segregation of public facilities.

The Act included segregation of toilets, transportation, buildings, parks and even park benches (South End Museum, n.d.). The outcome of these Acts were, among other socio-political and economic injustices, subpar developments and infrastructure built where black people were concerned and the constant migration, particularly in the context of Alexandra, given its historical predisposition and to some extent Soweto. However, there are significant differences between the two.

Soweto and Alexandra are significantly shaped by South Africa's historical context. The reason for their existence and outcome is through old legislation as partly expressed above; hence their over populated features with transient community members and tense relationship with local government, even to this day. What separate the townships are their communities, their social capital, public value and relationship with local government. This is visible in the levels of community cooperation and shared ideals and motives to better their livelihood.

The section below will discuss Alexandra and Soweto's history, mindful of apartheid legislation influences on townships and a reflection of current issues. This will serve as the backdrop of the community's analysis, understanding the physical composition of the communities and through interviews understanding their mind-set.

Soweto's Socio-Political Narrative

Former President Nelson Mandela once said, "Soweto – the only home I ever knew – and Alexandra Township – both will always have a treasured place in my heart. In a way, both were a heaven" (Gold Reef Guide, 2003). Both townships hold treasured histories. Their histories resonate well with residents given that they were homelands that housed a population who shared common struggles. Stalwarts of the African National Congress (ANC) and its militant youth league (ANC YL) members, critical youth demonstrations and significant turning points in South Africa's history, originated from these townships.

The name Soweto is derived from the name South Western Township, given its location southwest of the Johannesburg. It is the largest black residential area in South Africa. Soweto consisted of 34 suburbs and covered an area estimated at 9,640 hectares (Farrow, 1997). Soweto has become denser and greatly populated with a population of 1,271,628 and 355,331 households (Stats SA Census, 2011).

Many South Africans including non-citizens residing in impoverished settlements in and around South Africa migrate to Johannesburg seeking better prospects. Soweto among other townships and areas are their preferred location as it is near the business hub and accommodation is affordable in comparison to the inner city and pricey suburban surroundings. Soweto is predominantly known for its youth activism; one of such historic turning points was the 1976 youth uprising. On the 16th June 1976 learners gathered together in what was an outcome of a sustained protest against compulsory instruction in Afrikaans (Mafeje, 1978).

The Afrikaans language was deemed as the language of the oppressor rather than tribal assertion. The 15,000 students who marched in solidarity against the oppressive language marched to Orlando stadium where they encountered full armed police. The first casualty upon the police men opening fire was the 13 year old martyr Hector Petersen.

Sithole was a student from Thesele Junior Secondary School; she recalled the events of the June 16 march:

> *"They said to us, we are going to march against Afrikaans and on our way we will be picking up other schools on route. They explained that*

> *Naledi will go that way, with Sekano Ntoane and Pimville; Musi High will follow with these other schools, just like that you know. You could see that it was well arranged"* (Hlongwane, 2007).

The struggle of the students did not reside solely in Soweto; it was wide spread to near regions of Benoni, Germiston, Boksburg, Pretoria, and Nelspruit, thus demonstrating the significance of the uprising. During which schools were burnt down in demonstration and subsequently and perhaps critically the establishment of the Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) (Mafeje, 1978). Although the uprising and those involved precipitated throughout large regions of the country, its central command was in Soweto. The main function of this council was to coordinate strategic student action amidst the increasing police brutality (Mafeje, 1978).

Students gradually gained workers support, not from the onset and not through a shared ideology at first. The support came from consequences that prevented workers mobility as policemen had increased scepticism over the concerned parents and workers of what was transpiring at the time. The detention of people's leaders such as members of the Soweto Black Parents' Association and various other adult suspects who resisted police intolerance heightened the cause of the student uprising by the gaining of working class support (Mafeje, 1978).

The students uprising and coordinated attacks were met with difficulties, one of which was the tension and violence in certain areas between workers and students as the purpose was not shared at the time. However, the students' campaign was an incomparable success. Schools throughout the Rand were forced to shut down, more than 300,000 students were drawn to the massive boycott against Bantu Education, hundreds of teachers resigned, Urban Bantu Councils were obliged to be disbanded, and the workers saw a new prospect through students (Mafeje, 1978).

Soweto's history is synonymous with youth activism, in some cases the youth solidarity was formed under unpatriotic premises. The youth solidarity referred to were youth gangs, which according to Glaser (1998) were present as early as the mid-1930s. Glaser describes the plurality of gangs in Soweto being formed by gender driven men flexing their masculinity.

Glaser (1998) argues that contrary to common understanding of gangs being a group of vigilantes terrorising the community, they are in many cases a group of civilians or community members with shared ideals that are made possible through a communal environment. This communal environment is born from long existing communities. In a way these gangs provided a sense of belonging and purpose. In the case of Soweto some of these gangs were those who protested against the language of instruction, those who valued the democratic ideals.

Soweto has as well seen administrative transitions pre and post-1994. The disbanding of the apartheid institutions/departments and replaced with a democratically elected administration should have paved a relatively ideal society and an inclusive community; however, these unfettered ideals were far from actualised. Frankel (1979) argued that there lied contradictions between intention and results, between what the more developed mind would have envisioned for townships and what has subsequently occurred.

Frankel (1979) further argued that it is not the overloading of the administrative system by accelerated black urbanization that many local officials would like to believe, rather the policies of the council and those of its successor since 1972. The West Rand Bantu Administration Board (WRAB) was an unprogressive institution among others creating constraints on the administrative effectiveness. Spoils politics was and still is very much a reality; the lack of political maturity, sound mind in the value of financial gains and purpose driven administrations had dire consequences that are still apparent till this very day.

Despite the politics of administration and reliability, what has kept Soweto a beacon of hope is their belief in civic associations and inherited history of solidarity through various social and political initiatives and institutions. Botha (1992) argues that civic associations are organs of grassroots participation. They create a platform for engagement and allow for the people or proletariats to govern through shared policy directives. In the case of Soweto, the Johannesburg/Soweto Metropolitan Chamber represents an agreement between, the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), the Johannesburg City Council (JCC), the Soweto Black Local Authorities (BLA), and the Soweto People's Delegation (SPD).

These collectives among others in Soweto are accountable to their constituencies, although turnaround and service delivery - depending on the kind of institutions, leave a lot to be desired, they however serve a fundamental purpose which is to maintain conversation between local authorities and civilians.

Visual Description of Thokoza Park

The park sits proud in front view of the Rea Vaya bus system that has a stop a walk away from the ample parking space designated for visitors of Thokoza Park and those who wish to park their car and catch a ride to town. The spacious park is situated near the Regina Mundi Church; a nostalgic stronghold which can accommodate 2000-5000 people. It once sheltered the youth of June 16 1976 who fled to the Church from Orlando Stadium in the bid to escape police brutality (Regina Mundi, 2012). The park integrates with Moroka Dam thus extending its picturesque scene illusively extending the park as well to 4.5 hectares and bosting Soweto's first fountain.

On a sunny day one is immediately welcomed by the vibrancy of the park, in sight of students in uniform either playing soccer or huddled in a group enjoying their free time. However, there are those who have managed to slip out of class to loiter around the park and in some cases consume recreational drugs. It is a well maintained park with satisfactorily trimmed grass and beautiful trees with branches and leaves protruding enough to umbrella students and adults. Crossing over to the side of the jungle gym there are crevices with running water from a drain and children sliding down to drink. This is a major health risk that has been seemingly left unattended.

The jungle gym is filled with children playing in and around the well coloured and maintained jungle gym. Some of the parents sit by the side guarding their children. Young and old adults are scattered around the park. There are sitting areas a few yards away from the big TV that all adults enjoy. It plays music videos and during national sporting events they play them live – notching up the speakers for all to hear. There were a few young adults gathered in a group drinking alcohol with friends, in a vain attempt to conceal it the security guards dressed in bright orange and silver tops walked up to them to intervene. Some female security guards were chatting away at the near periphery of the park and

other male security guards sitting by a brick layered bench under a tree watching the TV.

Amidst the hustle and bustle of the long Chris Hani main road that connects the rest of Soweto to town, the park maintains a tranquil atmosphere on some days and on others a festive and jovial environment given that it hosts weddings and other seasonal events. It as well contains facilities such as toilets, picnic spots, pathways, concert areas, heritage sites and birdlife. It is truly a gem of Soweto that has inspired eco-park developments in and around Soweto and further inspired the community in treating its surroundings and their homes with a certain standard such as the growing of flowers and trimmed yards.

With the well-deserved accolades there are however, structural concerns. As mentioned above, there are crevices in the park with big drains that children can squeeze or fall into. Some have water coming out of it – consequently, as the below picture captures the case, children drink from them. This poses a high risk given that the water that comes out of these drains may not be sanitized and may in the near future cause an outbreak in the community.

These water drains need to be stopped or redirected away from public access. Furthermore, lighting is an issue and this will be referred to again in Chapter Five of interviews. Perhaps the intention is for the park to be only used during the day, if this is so then there should be signs informing visitors and communities. Given that there are no signs addressing such, these pictures capture the lack of lighting infrastructure in the park.





Alexandra's Socio-Political Narrative

Alexandra was established in 1905 thus making it the oldest township in the Gauteng province. It is as well one of the poorest in the region, over populated, lack of infrastructure, and high crime rates (Richards, O'learly, & Mutsonziwa, 2007). Alexandra's estimated population size is indefinite, the dwelling sizes are extremely small and as much as the South African census attempts to provide accurate recordings, household count and its occupants has proven to be an extremely difficult task given the continuous influx and emerging and existing squatter camps. However, the estimate thus far is that it has a population between 320,000 and 340,000 (Stats SA Census, 2011).

Alexandra being the poorest town in the province is ironically a highway across from one of the richest areas in Africa, Sandton. This contrast of geographical location depicts the shattering reality of inequality in South Africa. Alexandra has gone through historic upheavals, having to fight for its existence. The tussle of creating a white township ended in 1912 when Alexandra was declared a black freehold township (Vogel, 1996). The township grew in population from 1916 onwards. In the 1920s it grew exponential as migrant workers sought better opportunities in Johannesburg and Alexandra was able to accommodate workers in various forms of accommodation such as backyard shacks.

Even during such expansion there lacked amenities, infrastructure and basic services such as lighting, water supply and water borne sewage (Vogel, 1996). In the early 1960s the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board attempted to thin out the population by ending unlawful influx and purchase properties (Marks, 1990). A large number of residents were removed by 1960, an estimated 25,000 people, and in 1961 the state decided to accommodate single workers. This was another strategy to control influx and ideally design Alexandra as solely workers' residential location (Marks, 1990).

This had grave consequences for the Alexandra community and particularly for the new residents. They would need to part ways with their families. This clearly did not sit well with them as seen in the 1970s protest against the state's plan which drove the state to reprieve Alexandra and consider an alternate plan in 1980, which was to rebuild the township into a high-density black urban area;

sewage system, electricity, and new housing among other benefits (Mark, 1990; Van Dijk, 1980).

Given these entitlements and a seemingly prosperous township that it was to become, there were considerable limitations. The redevelopment process would allow for certain houses to be left, however, majority would need to be demolished. The consequences thereof would be temporary displacement and furthermore property rights would be a concern as it would no longer be in the hands of the community but in the hands of the state. Even if the community had complied with the master plan, not all residents would have been offered a home as the population exceeded the household target.

Thus what has become of Alexandra is consequently and unfortunately given South Africa's liberation and political paradigm shift – unsatisfactory contributions to better livelihoods of its residents. There are small pockets of reconstruction and development; however, majority remains overly populated, major health risks and rodent infestation, and all in all inhabitable conditions. Despite its impoverished characteristics, it housed formidable leaders who contributed significantly to the politics of the nation and its liberation. These leaders were as well responsible for creating a sense of belonging in the community by leading interest groups in attaining socio-economic objectives. One such leader is Schreiner Baduza, chairman of the Alexandra Tenants' Association (Stadler, 1979).

In 1946 Baduza attempted to establish a squatter camp on private land at Lombardy East, which is about a mile to the east of Alexandra, however, he was met with unsympathetic policemen who demolished the shacks and arrested Baduza and his lieutenant (Stadler, 1979). He was advised to relocate to Orlando in Soweto where the first squatter camp 'Sofasonke' led by James Mpanza had a strong and recognisable presence. Baduza's camp was then sent back to Alexandra and was given a small portion of the land to root their camp (Stadler, 1979).

Alexandra like Soweto became a ground of political expression, as much as the squatter camp organisations were intended to provide placement of migrant workers and their families, it was highly political as they alongside various

political groups shared interests. One of such interests was entitlement of property in Alexandra, which the state had full control of. During the master plan of redeveloping Alexandra, the state would arbitrarily decide on the plan of action without consulting the Alexandra community.

Activists such as trade unionist and Alexandra Action Committee leader, Moses Mayekiso, in 1986, boldly "announced to the press that his organisation had established control of Alexandra and that leaders from various community organisations would assist in running the township" (Carter, 1992). This came with full support from the president of the Alexandra Youth Congress Paul Mashatile. The political climate heated as the state attempted to resist the liberalist ideals of the oppressed.

Needless to say the 1994 democratic elections resulted through a national campaign inclusive of various political structures in various townships, particularly those of Alexandra and Soweto, and pressures from nearer states. Thus Alexandra is a township that 'once' had a people who shared similar ideals and led by stalwarts of not only political organisations but stalwarts of a liberal democratic ideal.

Visual Description of Tsutsumani Park

Tsutsumani Park is located a short drive from London road nearby the N12 highway. The park is surrounded by residential areas, essentially a large circle roughly one acre whereby a car can drive around the park and be seen from all ends of the park. The park is fenced with a large board on the main entrance with withered writings. Both the grass outside on the periphery of the park and the inside are unevenly cut There are patches of growing and dead grass.

On one side of the park there lied routed a rusted jungle gym that had patches of old paint. All the children were playing in and around this construction, running around seemingly enjoying their time. In 2010 as a memorabilia of the FIFA World Cup, the Johannesburg City Parks and Novozymes planted 130 white Karee trees that are known to withstand drought yet show a certain elegance and beauty. Currently no more than five trees are seen; teenagers had to huddle

together under two trees for shade. There was one lady who braved the sun, lying down on the grass while facing down.

Majority of the houses with the exception of three were locked, only sign of anyone present was either a car parked by a small passage or pavement, or windows open and an audible TV heard from outside. One of the respondents was seated by a house adjacent to the park playing loud music. In a more urban and conservative community this would have been considered as noise pollution, however, everyone in and around the park went on with their lives. Across the house was another community member hosting a small gathering. Next to this house were three men cleaning a car and chatting away. The park seemed relatively clean, despite its rusting jungle gym and uneven and lack of manicured grass the community seemed to have use of it directly and indirectly.

The picture below is of the Tsutsumani Park. The park is spacious enough for real development to take place, the kind of development that will cater to both young and old. There are areas of the park that are clean, however, as captured in this picture there are those filled with litter. As described in the historical narrative, the scene of litter, old jungle gyms and small houses, while in the distance in full view are high-rise buildings in Africa's richest city, Sandton.





Comparative of Soweto and Alexandra's Development

Soweto is significantly larger than Alexandra and houses a considerable population in comparison to Alexandra. However, Alexandra is proportionally far denser than Soweto and far poorer. The South African census provides alarming

revelations, forty percent of households in South Africa (4, 6 million) live in townships and many of them have experienced minimal developments post the democratization of South Africa in 1994 (Statistics South Africa, 2006). This is evident in the appearances and services provided to townships.

There are however pockets of inspirational communities in Soweto with housing, electricity, sewage systems and tar roads. There are likewise regions such as Zola, Kliptown and other informal settlements that are in abject poverty. Thokoza and its surrounding areas such as Dlamini are monumentally developed in comparison to Zola, Kliptown and Alexandra. Some of these homes are well kept, gated, and with a growing middle class.

Alexandra on the other hand is very much in abject poverty with imminent health risks. Paradoxically up the road situated in full view is a middle class Lombardy East with few mansions. There are however new housing developments nearby the London road off ramp from the highway, these are standardized housing. These new developments are part of a 2001 announcement by former president Thabo Mbeki of the Alexandra Renewal Project which is a total R9.1 billion township renewal project (Davie, 2012).

The past 11 years has seen notable changes through the project; it is claimed that 14,500 housing units have been erected of an estimated 45 000, three hostels have been remodelled, major electricity remodelling, and water and sewage upgrade have gone underway thus supplying 70,000 Alexandra households with services (Davie, 2012). The project has cascaded to not only job creation, new schools, and a police station established in 2001, it has similarly created a sense of social awareness and appreciation within the community.

Adding on to these developments is the Pan Africa shopping centre that was opened in May 2009 by the Pan Africa Development Company. The 16,000 m^2 shopping centre created more than 1000 jobs and consists of major national retailers such as Pick n Pay and various fast food restaurants such as MC Donald's (Dlamini, 2009).

Soweto on the other hand is considerably ahead of Alexandra regarding infrastructure. The impact of the urban renewal projects is evident and visible

such as the rebuilt calabash-shaped FNB Stadium, and the road infrastructure linking various roads to the stadium. There have been upgrades in and around Vilakazi Street, which is famous for being homes to Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu (City of Johannesburg, 2014)

The Rea Vaya bus system is a valued transportation development in Soweto, including the refurbishment of Bara Taxi rank opposite Chris Hani hospital, the Soweto Empowerment Zone, the R1billion Orlando Ekhaya project, and the Kliptown Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication (City of Johannesburg, 2014). Soweto fairly recently had a shopping centre development, the 65 000m^2 Maponya Mall officially opened in September 2007. It has attracted both top national and international retailers, providing Sowetan residents an alternative shopping and entertainment experience.

What sets apart Alexandra and Soweto, aside from their population density, is their communities. Alexandra is disadvantaged by exodus, as much as migrants flocked in the township in search of better opportunities, those who were fortunate enough to advance in their careers, including politicians and various community leaders and notable residents such as; Nelson Mandela, Kgalema Motlanthe, Zanele Mbeki, Samora Machel, Hugh Masekela, and Paul Mashatile among others not only left their communities, they no longer have the relationship they used to have with the Alexandra community and furthermore left nothing tangible behind.

Soweto presents a slightly different case; notable residents were Irvin Khoza, Hector Pieterson, Desmond Tutu, Kaizer Motaung, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Tokyo Sexwale among others. Irvin Khoza is the chairman of Orlando Pirates football club and Kaizer Motaung is the founder of Kaizer Chiefs football club, both clubs are products of Soweto and their home grounds remain in Soweto. Frank Chikane who was an anti-apartheid activist is as well a lifelong resident of Soweto.

Alexandra in comparison seemed like one's bus stop in life, where migrants came with the intent to find opportunities while temporarily living in the harsh and dark conditions. Those fortunate enough left whereas others who were not as fortune had to make peace with the cruel realities of inequality and historical predisposition that persist to disenfranchised them. Alexandra only lives in

narratives of leaders who once led its communities and sadly its identity is one of a handicapped township whose community members are left destitute.

Soweto on the other hand boasts few historical sites such as; the Mandela house located in Orlando, the Hector Pieterson Museum by Khumalo street which serves as a memorial site of the youth uprising, the Orlando Towers where all sorts of entertainment activities take place, the Regina Mundi church containing historical artefacts, the Vilakazi street where all sorts of cultural restaurants may be found – it is nearby Desmond Tutu's house, the Credo Mutwa cultural village, and the Oppenheimer Gardens among many other heritage sites.

These heritage sites not only serve as tourist attractions, they as well serve as critical endorsements of communal and South African identity and inspiration; a sense of belonging and communal appreciation, and a reminder of what the community has gone through and what it shares. Furthermore, the giving back to the community whether through business ventures or philanthropy plays a vital role, in other cases such as Frank Chikane, still being part of the community after many years, enables one to transfer social capital to offspring and other community members.

Wealth, Poverty, Education and Social Capital

Reflecting on the case study of McConnachie and Shackleton (2010), which focuses on the distribution of public green spaces across nine small towns in South Africa, zoning in on three types of suburbs in each town, it reveals that the more affluent suburbs that are inhabited predominantly by whites, not only have the lowest density of housing – they as well have the highest area of green spaces in comparison to their township counterparts that are mainly occupied by black people in extremely dense areas and subsequently poorly endowed with public green spaces.

The structural planning of this categorical divide was underpinned by the above historical narrative of South Africa whereby Bantustans were neglected. Real development seized and the primary concern of the apartheid government was solely to create, in this regard, transient homelands where workers mobility would be restricted between work and their shelters. McConnachie and Shackleton

(2010) reference the work of Barbosa, Tratalos, Armsworh, Davies, Fuller, Johnson *et al.* (2007) whose article focused on who benefits from access to green space. They hypothesized with causal evidence, in the European context, that both private and public green space is significantly influenced by wealth.

Barbosa *et al* (2007) argued that the wealthy were able to move to areas with a better environmental offering as opposed to those who rely on the reconstruction of their dwelling areas to create it. This argument still stands, even in the context of this research given that it argues what should happen given that the poor remain with recreational spaces that need development. Furthermore, it does not seek to negate the arguments made about wealth versus poverty and their circumstances, rather posit a new enquiry, that wealth or money may not be the only impasse to a sustainable recreational space.

The discussion above of Soweto and Alexandra are fundamental to the hypothesis that this research seeks to uncover. Both communities are formerly neglected homelands that were subjected by similar regulatory policies, however, one community's recreational space or public green space, namely Thokoza Park, seems to farewell in comparison to the other, in this case Tsutsumani Park. Martin, Warren and Kingzig (2003) sought to prove that a neighbourhood socioeconomic status should offer some capacity for predicting landscape vegetation richness and abundance in both residential neighbourhoods and embedded small city parks.

Martin *et al.* (2003) aggregated the percentages of neighbourhoods' socioeconomic statuses and correlated findings with amount of graduates found in those neighbourhoods. Their findings were that those neighbourhoods with perennial vegetated landscapes were populated with more graduates in comparison to those with dissolute landscapes. The findings corroborate with the Barbosa *et al* (2007) argument on the wealthy affording to relocate to environmentally conducive areas whereas those poorer settle in dense and environmentally unconducive areas.

The discussion of education should not be limited to the realities that more educated people tend to find better paying jobs and subsequently relocate to areas that are fitting to their life style. Rather, the discussion of education should as well

be considered as a distinction between those who are enlightened of the value that recreational spaces provide as opposed to those who are unaware. Furthermore, through social capital and public value, create a system that will enlighten members of communities in the benefits of recreational spaces.

Although the educational process will be beneficial, it is not a determining factor of recreational spaces' sustainability given that there are exogenous forces such as the abovementioned socio-economic factor, which may result in certain community members expropriating certain facilities of a developing park such as benches and trees. The remedy proposed needs to be a merged strategic plan that embraces the need for education, social capital, and public value. This will be expressed further in the analysis and conclusion sections; the subsequent section addresses findings, it lays out community members' perceptions under categorical themes of public value and social capital.

Chapter Five

Community Members' Value and Perceptions of their Recreational Space's Structure (Public Value)

In the research methodology section, the paper described the processes in which data was captured. A recording device was used to record respondents while questions about the park and their involvement with the community were asked. Then these recordings were transcribed and coupled together to present consistent themes that came out from the findings. This chapter aims to present these themes in the finding and analysis subsections.

The process of gathering data through interviews was surprisingly easier than anticipated. Respondents were willing to engage questions asked, however, some were slightly reluctant at first, mainly asking not to appear on television or any media platform that will disclose their identity. One of the respondents in Alexandra went as far as asking to be anonymous in the recordings. Interviews were conducted with respondents who have been part of the community for three to twenty years thus showing great insight and variation of how they feel integrated and the kinds of changes in and around the park.

Although some of the community members recorded were part of the community for a considerable time, none of the interviewed community members have been there before the existence of the park. Thus crucial information from the community regarding pre and post refurbishment was unattainable; consequently the research had to rely on the accounts of City Parks, which proved to be a difficult task. The first hurdle was retrieving any information from City Parks.

The City Parks' researcher was already in process of gathering community perceptions of their park. This research began in 2011 leading to its completion in late 2012 and made available in January 2013. The more problematic information to retrieve was evidence of public participation and engagement with local government pre and post development of the parks.

Four community members from both Thokoza and Tsutsumani Park were interviewed, as discussed in the methodology section; they were selected by non-random convenience sampling. The subheadings are themes of the questions

asked and their responses are tallied up in table format under each theme so to get a summative understanding.

Respondents' Value and Usage of their Recreational Space

The first question the researcher asked respondents of Thokoza and Tsutsumani Park was how often they used the park and if rarely, why. With the assistance of probing questions and topical engagement, the question enabled the researcher to gain insights of respondents' value of their park. This theme cascaded throughout subsequent questions, however, this question served a purpose, which is to find out how often and if applicable the causes of the respondents not utilizing the park. The causes precipitated down the interview line of questions where a link can be made with their recommendations to develop the park.

Thokoza Park

In the case of Thokoza Park the first observable trait of the respondents is that adults tend to use the park more often than young adults interviewed. Adults tend to factor the park in their daily, weekly or monthly routines whereas the young adults tend to use the park on occasion. During the site visit the researcher noticed that the park was populated in almost all corners of the park, men were gathered together by the rocks, learners were huddled together on the trimmed grass chatting away and others playing soccer, children were playing in the gymnasium, and adults seated on park chairs by the large TV.

The overall impression of the community's usage of their recreational space is positive, both men and women, and young and old utilize the park for varying reasons. The children use the jungle gym, the learners play soccer with other friends, adults watch the big T.V and enjoy its spacious features. The respondents seem to have a common value of the park and this is seen in their utilization of the space and its facilities.

Observation

The first respondent was a grandmother taking care of her three-year-old niece and nine year old nephew. Unlike the young adults she uses the park almost every day. Her home is a walk away and this is convenient for her as she can spend her day at the park for the greenery and breeze.

The second respondent was a young man who works at the nearby clinic. He uses the park when he has a social gathering with friends. He seemed to be relaxed with his girlfriend sitting on camp chairs while watching the large TV. He had remarks about the safety of the park; however, it was not the defining reason for his limited usage of the park.

The third respondent was a security guard who like the second respondent was seated nearby the large TV. He gave us an account of his day-to-day work at the park. He expressed that majority of his communal work around the park is voluntary. He regularly patrols the park from early mornings to sunset, however, did not highlight security issues upon prompting his usage of the park.

Prior to his interview we noticed that there were other security guards socializing, particularly the female guards, whereas the male guards were watching TV. This seemingly sets a very different image of the park from the young lady in her twenties who immediately remarked on safety issues.

The fourth respondent was a young female in her twenties who pointed out that her usage of the park is limited by how safe she feels. She has heard stories of people having their belongings stolen by gangs of teenagers under the influence of alcohol and drugs. She further argued that females tend to be victimised.

Tsutsumani Park

A distinct younger age group, predominantly learners and children tend to use Tsutsumani Park far more than those older. The older community residents enjoy its space offering. Homes in Alexandra are extremely dense and populated, thus being afforded an opportunity of an open ground for recreational purposes is invaluable or should be.

What surfaced regarding the Tsutsumani community's usage of their recreational space is that it was predominantly used by children and learners, whereas adults appreciated the idea of a recreational space; however, did not take advantage of it due to its lack of facilities. The younger generation was more critical of the park arguing that there are no basic facilities such as chairs and shade. Given the common sentiments of a lacking park, parents seemed to appreciate its space for their children to play in, considering that the park is in full sight and close proximity to their homes.

Observation

The first respondent was a 30-year-old male who has been part of the community for the past three years. He was seated by the periphery of the park with his friends drinking alcohol. The house that they were sitting nearby was a friend's, with doors open and loud music that could be heard across the far side of the park. When we approached him he seemed to be puzzled, seemingly not used to strangers approaching him in that area. After explaining the purpose of the research and how we needed his assistance, he wanted to be assured that his anonymity would be kept.

Throughout the interview he asked certain clarity seeking questions and at the end asked when the research will be available. We began the interview asking him how often he uses the park. While glancing at the park he said he does not frequent the park; he would rather sit by the house in view of the park. He values drinking with his friends while relaxing outside, given that the park was populated with children and learners during the visit, it seemed like it was a shared moral consensus at least with his friends that they don't drink in the park.

The second respondent was a car washer with the establishment across the street from the park. He was more open to engage with us though slightly shy at first. His many years of living in the community could be the reason for his ease in answering compared to the previous slightly skeptical respondent who has lived in the community for a considerably short period of time. The car washer has been a resident since 1999 thus knows and understands the norms of the community; when we probed the question he said he uses the park almost every day; walking across and/or lying down during his breaks.

Contrary to the car washer, the third respondent, a mother in her 40s who has been part of the community for 13 years hardly uses the park. She was across the street by her house catering for her small family function. She was cradling her niece in her arms when we approached her. During the interview she would greet friends walking past and joke with them. When we probed the question she said she hardly uses the park because there is nothing to do in the park. She pointed at the park while making her argument that for people her age the park has not much to offer accept the space and grass to perhaps sit on.

The fourth respondent an 18-year-old female shared similar sentiments as the previous respondent. The teen has lived in the community for eight years and does not use the park, mainly because there are no chairs, shade and lack of activities. She would rather relax at home than having to go to the park; she however argued that the park is valuable and would utilize it if there were appropriate activities and the aforementioned structures available for usage.

Respondents' Value and Usage of Their Recreational Space	
Thokoza Park	**Tsutsumani Park**
P1. Regularly	**P1.** Rarely
P2. Occasionally	**P2.** Regularly
P3. Regularly	**P3.** Rarely
P4. Occasionally	**P4.** Rarely

Respondents' Perception of their Recreational Space's Structure

The following question asked was to gain insight on respondents' perceptions of the design of their recreational space. A satisfaction rate may be extrapolated from the responses. The design of the park plays a significant role on how many visitors it attracts and its usage by community residents among other aspects. Furthermore, its design is telling of a community's public value and their relationship with local government.

Thokoza Park

Thokoza Park is spacious with enough playing ground for learners to kick around a football, family dates, and a children's playground with a gymnasium. The park's large TV caters to teenagers and above, including the elderly. The respondents' perception of the park are similar, they acknowledge its spacious size, well-trimmed grass, and various activities catering to different age groups.

Observation

Respondent one believes that the park is well built with jungle gyms for children, spacious, and well-kept regarding the grass being cut and cleaning up of litter. However, lack of lighting at night is a safety hazard. When probed about the matter she stated that the councilor has tabulated the issue at one of the

community meetings but since then it has not been resolved. She argues that City Parks generally do their job but the issue seemingly lies with Eskom.

Respondent two believes the park is great, "99% close to perfect". He furthermore commented on the jungle gyms for children and the big TV for "us guys". He believes that the park is kept in good conditions with the exception of security; however, unlike respondent one he does not attend community meetings to bring forth this issue.

Respondent three feels like the park has enough activities for learners and space for many of its regulars and visitors apart from maintenance, which is not regular. "Three days can pass without cleaners coming to remove litter." City Parks tries to maintain the park; however, there are days whereby they slack. So far he has not reached out to City Parks because he has seniors at the police station that he reports to and there are procedures that he needs to follow.

Respondent four argued that in terms of development City Parks has done a great job. Security is visible yet still needs beefing up and in general there is a significant difference from the way the park was before. However, she pointed out that there are hazards and lack of basic needs such as no taps and big drains where children can disappear in.

Tsutsumani Park

The Tsutsumani Park is an urban communal park that went through development pre-2010 FIFA World Cup; this entailed planting over one hundred trees. The park has an unmaintained gymnasium that has rusted, uneven grass levels that are losing color, unnourished small trees and no plants. Many of the respondents had similar sentiments such as appreciating the recreational space, however, being unsatisfied with the limited things to do in the park for grownups and park chairs.

Observation

Respondent one feels like the park is built appropriately for kids but lacks certain elements for young adults, which is why he hardly uses it. The park is relatively neat and there are minimal complaints about its state. He does not know if City Parks' has been approached regarding any matter for the reason that he is not part of any community organization or platform to raise communal issues.

Respondent two appreciates the space, arguing that there is enough recreational space to accommodate regular usage; however, there are not enough activities. He pointed out that there is no toilet or water, however, he is fairly happy with the maintenance and that Johannesburg City Parks come regularly. No complaints according to him have been brought up with City Parks; this is due to the non-participatory system that the community abides to.

Respondent three feels that the park is built appropriately and has enough activities for the kids. She argued that City Parks takes care of the park very well. However, she feels that if someone plants a tree, next day it will be gone due to someone stealing it. In as much as development is desired, she argues that it will all be in vain.

Respondent four on the other hand feels like the surrounding area is not safe because cars speed around the park. Furthermore, she argues that it no longer has appropriate activities because people have stolen property of the park throughout the years such as chairs. She feels like City Parks maintains it well, and that City Parks comes on Wednesdays but the youth trash the field nearer to the cleaning up date the park tends to have litter again.

Respondents' Perception of their Recreational Space's Structure	
Thokoza Park	**Tsutsumani Park**
P1. Well structured	**P1.** Satisfactory for children
P2. Well structured	**P2.** Lacking
P3. Well structured	**P3.** Satisfactory for children
P4. Well structured	**P4.** Lacking

Community Members' Involvement in Systems and Existence of Nuclear or Extended Families (Networks)

Respondents' Participation in Networks

Social integration and participation in networks is a crucial factor of communal solidarity and provides platforms for societal engagement. In respect to recreational spaces, social capital determines a societal system in the community. The communities that exhibit this capital tend to have a safer and more integrated

environment. Networks create associations, whether it is religious, sporting, or political. These form part of the necessary platforms and bonds to keep a society together.

Thokoza Park

The Thokoza community has various social networks ranging from Church networks, sporting teams, and community meetings among other networks. Community residents tend to have varying levels of social integration some of which are attributed to networks. Others share a common appreciation of the recreational space and activities.

All of the Thokoza Park respondents belong to a network that is situated in and around the Park. However, the female student is not as active in her network in comparison to the other respondents. The active participation in networks allows for social inclusion and belonging, which sometimes motivates the respondent to be more critical on issues.

Observation

The grandmother babysitting her nephew and niece feels like she is part of the community. Given that she has lived in the community since the 1950s she has built many friendships within the community and family friends. She argues that it is very easy for her to make friends, especially in church and the park. She is a member of the church and community council. The community council is the platform whereby issues pertaining to the park may be raised such as security and lighting.

The second respondent feels like he is part of the community even though he does not participate in a lot of community activities. He has friends; however, they are not necessarily in the community, mainly around Soweto. It is easy for him to make friends and socialize with his age group. Majority of his friends are childhood friends, and those he plays soccer with. He is part of a network of guys who stay around the area and play soccer, majority of which he attended school with.

The third respondent feels like he is part of the community as he participates in all security related activities within the community. He has a lot of friends in the

community and is part of various forums. He finds it easy making friends for the reason that he has been absorbed by the community and has been active in community forums for a very long time. He belongs to SANCO (South African National Civic Organization), which deals with family problems. He has friends there as well. He volunteers in patrolling from 3:30am until 7am with other community volunteers, collectively they are known as Mavuvuzela.

The fourth respondent has been part of the community for most of her life and has increased her extended family throughout the years. She has a lot of friends and does not struggle making friends. She makes friends at school, church, community and malls. She is part of the ANC youth league political party; however, she is not an active member.

Tsutsumani Park

The community members of Tsutsumani live in isolation from the available networks. The elderly tend to be more connected through Church and in certain cases are well integrated in the community. The younger generation is less involved in networks for various reasons, the results thereof is limited social integration and few networks.

The Tsutsumani Park community members seem to be divided in responses. Some feel like they are part of the community due to invested interests such as friends and years spent in the community, whereas others feel like they are not part of the community due to their absence in community activities. Others partake in network activities whereas others do not have the time. The dominant network is Church; this is an institutionalized activity that may establish certain relationships and bonds within the community, providing that there is a high level of socialization in Church and majority of community members attend.

Observation

Some of the respondents feel like they are part of the community, however do not take part in communal activities. Respondent one argues that he feels some form of devotion to the community thus would not like to see wrong doings in and around the park; however, he is not part of any organization or network that exists in and around the Park. He as well has friends in close proximity to the park. He

was among friends during the interview. He finds that he makes friends with specific individuals, those who share similar interests.

The second respondent likewise feels he is part of the community and has friends in the community. He finds it quite hard to make friends with people in the park, partly because there are limited activities thus everyone remains in their corners of the park or at their homes. He pointed out that residents do not do things as a community such as any developmental work. He, unlike the previous respondent, is part of a church and soccer team thus has the opportunity to build an extended family.

The third respondent is not sure if she is part of the community for the reason that she spends most of her time working. However, if anything had to happen in the community, she would like to get involved. She has friends in and around the community and finds it easy to make friends. She too belongs to a church network and frequents when she can, however, her work requires a lot of her.

The fourth respondent is not part of any networks, however, feels like he is part of the community. She has made friends in the park and argues that it is easy to make friends. She is part of a Church network similar to the previous respondent.

Respondents' Participation in Networks	
Thokoza Park	**Tsutsumani Park**
P1. Socially integrated and part of a network	**P1.** Socially integrated but not part of a network
P2. Socially integrated and part of a network	**P2.** Socially integrated but not active in networks
P3. Socially integrated and part of a network	**P3.** Uncertain of her social integration and not active in networks
P4. Socially integrated and not active in networks	**P4.** Socially integrated, not active in community networks but Church

Respondents' Engagement with Visitors

The following question asked was based on visitors of the park and how community residents relate to them. This was very telling of social trust and reciprocity. Their response to strangers such as greeting them; offering money

when a visitor is in need or toilet and water considering that there are no such public facilities in Tsutsumani Park. There are many influences as to why visitors consistently use a certain park such as location, security and activities. Given that Soweto and Alexandra are both townships with different social systems, this question will provide insight into residents' level of trust and willingness to explore networks.

Thokoza Park

In the case of Thokoza Park, there were a lot of old and young, male and female visitors and residents enjoying the park. It truly came across as Soweto's landmark and prized possession. There were family dates with parents in view of their children playing in the gymnasium and groups of friends enjoying a picnic.

The general feel in the Thokoza Park is that they are willing to engage visitors in the park, some community members more so than others. Furthermore, they are willing to help if it was requested, financially as well so long as the amount and the manner that in which is asked are within reason.

Observation

Respondent one pointed out that there are plenty of visitors; many of them bring their families along. She speaks to some of them, going the extra mile to find out where they are from, some from Sebokeng and various other places. She enjoys socializing with them and they really like Thokoza Park. Majority of them are friendly and in most cases they just talk about life, however, they hardly ask for help.

Respondent two always sees different faces. He hardly interacts with them, as he tends to see mainly learners. Only under certain circumstances does he interact with visitors. He argued that normally everyone minds his or her own business but if a stranger asks for money it will depend on what the money is intended for. He argued that it depends on how the person approaches and asks. Some come throwing themselves not approaching in an appropriate manner. He would respond positively if the person approaches with good manners, greets and then asks for that two Rands.

Majority of the respondents see new visitors all the time. The third respondent argued that he normally does not interact with them on a social level because he is busy maintaining safety. There is a group or two who are courteous to him. There are many instances where he is required help. He recounted a time when a young girl of 14 years - grade 10 wearing a school uniform surrounded by 15-16 boys who were around the ages of 20 years old. They were all under the influence of alcohol but the girl more so. Fortunately her mother found her at the park, directed by some of her classmates.

Respondent four was quite skeptical; she similarly sees new faces when she walks across the park. She has not had the chance to interact with visitors but if a visitor had to approach her she would start a conversation and help if assistance was required.

Tsutsumani Park

During the Tsutsumani Park site visit we noticed that there were no family dates, and there was only one adult lying on the grass. She so happened to be a visitor and it was her first time at the park. Majority of occupants of the park were children playing in the rusted gymnasium and no more than four teenagers sitting under a tree. The usage composition of the park affirmed respondents' sentiments, arguing that young adults and above do not find the park as useful as children.

Tsutsumani Park has very few visitors, given the community members' reluctance towards visitors, some will help and others will inspect before helping. Majority of the respondents argued that they would not approach visitors and interact with them. This is very telling of the trust factor of social capital and reluctance to create networks.

Observation

In the case of Tsutsumani Park, the community residents shared similar sentiments of being cautious towards visitors and reluctant to help. Respondent one sees familiar faces once in a while. He hardly interacts with the new visitors because he enjoys being around familiar people. This feeling cascaded throughout all other respondents, arguing that trust is critical and a fragile factor in the community.

The subsequent respondent as well sees different people at the park once in a while but hardly interacts with them. He mainly interacts with customers of the car wash. He argued that it is hard for him to make new friends with visitors of the park. However, he is willing to help people in general who ask for certain facilities such as a toilet and water.

The third respondent sees unfamiliar faces once in a while at the park but does not get the chance to interact with them because she is always busy with work. However, if the visitors had to ask for help she would be willing to assist. She would first scrutinize the visitor and if he or she does not pose any harm, she will then be willing to assist.

The fourth respondent similarly sees unfamiliar faces once in a while, she does not interact with them because majority of the visitors come on holidays during which she is "too preoccupied with other things."

Respondents' Engagement with Visitors	
Thokoza Park	**Tsutsumani Park**
P1. Regularly and interacts with visitors	**P1.** Occasionally and hardly interacts with visitors
P2. Regularly but hardly interacts with visitors	**P2.** Occasionally and hardly interacts with visitors
P3. Regularly but hardly interacts on a social level	**P3.** Occasionally but never has the chance to interact with them
P4. Regularly but never has the chance to interact with them	**P4.** Occasionally but is too occupied to interact with them

Community Members' Perception of their Safety and Accessibility (Trust and Reciprocity)

Respondents' Perception of Safety in their Recreational Space

Safety is a crucial aspect of any communal and private space. In the case of recreational space, safety partly and at times significantly determines the usage of the parks. Referring the above-mentioned discussion of gangsterism plaguing the Hanover Park by the Cape Flats, when a recreational space is governed by unruly

individuals they tend to monopolize and determine the usage of the territory, consequently subjecting community residents to a limited usage.

Thokoza Park

In the case of Thokoza Park there is security visibility, mainly volunteers patrolling the park and intervening when there is suspicious activities. Adults as well serve as security, they share common moralistic values and this transcends throughout the park. The level of security can be determined by its inhabitants, in the case of Thokoza Park, a variety of young and old, female and male use the park. This provides an assuring sense of security.

What is evident regarding security in the context of Thokoza Park is its inhabitants' ability to not only use the park, as well as be taken by 'the moment' where they can enjoy its offerings without being consumed by the thoughts of safety. However, security becomes an issue when the sun sets, as expressed below by various respondents; there is no security and very few people at night.

Observation

Respondent one expressed a safe and secure environment of the park during the day allowing her to have regular family dates with her nephew and niece. She was seated under a tree for shade while holding her four-year-old niece and her nine-year-old nephew playing nearby. During the interview she greeted an elderly resident walking by and enthusiastically said "they are interviewing me friend, I will see you later". This is indicative of her existence and integration in the community, and her perception of her nephew and niece's safety in the park.

The second respondent watching T.V expressed concerns about the safety of the park at night. He argued that during the day there is enough visibility to deter mischief, however, due to the lack of decent lighting at night – the park becomes unsafe. He as well pointed at the only light working and gave suggestions as to where the municipality can root in light poles. Contrary to the previous respondent, he seldom uses the park, when he does it is dates with either his girlfriend or with friends. The female student respondent on the other hand has never had family dates at the park. She feels only safe during the day, which she never uses for its recreational purposes but to only walk across.

The third respondent's viewpoint of the park's safety corroborates with the other respondents' views. Their visibility seemingly deters criminal activities and the populated park creates a sense of communal security. Despite this sense of security, he argues that once in a while there are hiccups. However, these hiccups are isolated and easily spotted due to the identifiable perpetrators. These are the Nyaope boys, a youth gang of vigilantes who steal cell phones and any valuables from students in the park in order to feed their drug addictions. They then hide in darker crevices of the park consuming drug substances.

Respondent four stated that she only feels relatively safe during the day but definitely not at night. She does not have family dates, however attends certain functions such as her mother's end year function. She still feels that the park is not protected enough and that things happened regardless of time, however, maintains that nighttime is the worst due to lesser presence of people and no security to intervene and help when an incident occurs.

Tsutsumani Park

Tsutsumani Park on the other hand has no security, no civilians volunteering to patrol the park aside from the fence surrounding the park and the elderly who uphold certain moral values thus would likely react to deviance under certain circumstances. However, park visitors cannot solely rely on the moral values of the elderly for security thus there is a strong reluctance of using the park and consequently very few visitors.

The general feel of the respondents is similar to the Thokoza Park community, in that they feel safe during the day and even allow their children to play in the park unsupervised. However, at night they stay clear from the park, nor walk it, there are unruly individuals at night, like the case in Thokoza Park, who use the park to consume drug substances and terrorize. The difference between the two communities in this regard is one's awareness and wishes to alter their circumstances whereas the other takes a nonchalant approach to the matter.

Observation

Majority of the respondents feel safe during the day, stating that they are comfortable walking in the park during such times. However, majority of the respondents do not have family dates at the park, the first respondent argued that

he is single and many of his relatives live in Pretoria thus he has never been afforded the chance to. Similarly the respondent two felt safe walking in the park during the day because at night there are no lights. However, he has family dates at the park once in a long while.

The third respondent gave a slightly different perspective of her perception of security; she argued that not only does she feel safe walking in the park; she finds security as not a big issue during the day. She, however, hardly uses the park for family dates; she posited that residents find it more convenient to be at home while their children use the park. However, she does not walk in the park or let her kids play in the park when it gets dark due to the mischief behavior that occurs then.

The fourth respondent echoed similar sentiments as the aforementioned, she argued that she feels safe walking around the park during the day, however, she does not have family dates due to lack of activities. A lot of homes surround the park thus its location inherently creates a sense of security, with that being said the park is still plagued with unruly behavior at night. None of the respondents had a sense of urgency to rectify this issue, instead they had an aloof approach to community issues and took things as is and not consider other prospects.

Respondents' Perception of Their Safety in the Recreational Space	
Thokoza Park	**Tsutsumani Park**
P1. Safe	**P1.** Partially safe
P2. Partially safe	**P2.** Partially safe
P3. Safe	**P3.** Partially safe
P4. Partially Safe	**P4.** Partially safe

Respondents' Additional Comments on their Recreational Space

<u>Thokoza Park</u>

The first respondent pointed out that sometimes when schools are closed, learners who do not behave, who like making noise and causing mischief might try to steal from people in and around the park. She argues that this does not happen all the time because grownups and security are all around the park. This reinforces the

perception that not only the visibility of a security guard would deter criminal activities, as well as the presence of grownups.

The following respondent highlighted security as a potential issue. He pointed out two "rounded" security ladies in their forties and argued that they are meant to protect us "but they can't run. If someone snatches a phone, who will chase after them?" Another issue he noted was having a police container for security so that more than a baton is accessible if the security risk is heightened.

He further pointed out that during the day its safe; however, at night it becomes problematic because of these groups "boys" who call themselves the Nyaope boys. They plague the park at night, smoking their concoction of drugs. He claims that they come out during the day asking for money to fund their bad habits. He similarly pointed out the lighting issues at night and that there needs to be several lights around the park, partly to discourage the Nyaope boys.

Furthermore, it was pointed out that the park needs maintenance and it needs more security. The security guards started working from the 1st December 2012 and ended on the 31st January 2013, working in intervals, therefore during the year when they are not patrolling the park, safety issues are heightened, and the litter around needs to be dealt with.

The fourth respondent provided a differing yet critical perspective to her perception of the park; she argued that the park is mainly designed for men and children, and that there is a need for more women related activities. She further pointed out that tightening up of security is a necessity and "the park should have educational events such as drug awareness and the likes."

Tsutsumani Park

In terms of the overall satisfaction of the park, community members differed. The first respondent was satisfied with the park whereas the others felt that there is a need for security, they pointed out that at night young adults abusing drugs roam around the park, hiding in the jungle gym or certain corners of the park. What further troubles one of the respondents is the Nyaope boys that come "smoking" their drugs in the late afternoon. They then become mischievous causing a security issue.

The third respondent further argued in union with previous respondents that these Nyaope boys influence learners through peer pressure to take up on this bad habit. Unlike the other respondents, the eighteen year old female respondent was more concerned about the design of the park; she would like more activities and chairs that are routed to the ground so that community members and visitors won't steal them. She is similarly aware of the Nyaope boys but she claims that they do not bother anyone.

Johannesburg City Parks' Regional Manager's Perspective

The region E manager of Johannesburg City Parks, which includes Alexandra and Sandton, attempted to retrieve documents on consultative and design processes of Tsutsumani Park prior to the interview, however, he was unable to find any. He explained that the park existed prior to Johannesburg City Parks' existence in 2000 and their initial approach was to seek any space that had potential and build on to it. These lands were predominantly dump sites and City Parks had to clean, restore and develop them.

When questioned about any consultative processes in developing the parks he began to explain the role of a council representative. He pointed out that they play a fundamental role in representing the community's interests. City Parks' engage with the representative on development and design plans of their park. The representative then presents the designs to the community and provides feedback to City Parks regarding the outcome of the discussion. Once all parties agree and sign off, the consultation processes would be concluded and construction proceeds. The manager as well pointed out that post the developments, community members are advised to provide ongoing feedback regarding their recreational space. This is done through a questionnaire on the City Parks' website.

The regional manager argued that prior to the usage of the website they adopted the "co-ops model". Community members were given monetary incentive to participate; this in turn would empower them to develop their community. However, this model had challenges due to the level of poverty in Alexandra. Members of other communities started attending these meetings arguing that they have been neglected. He further stressed on the socio-economic issues that plague

Alexandra, arguing that many of the youth in Alexandra are not working, have no mode of transportation and money.

During the site visit, we noticed that there was a large board by the entrance of the park with withered writings that read “Community Park, funded by the Alexandra Renewal Project”. When asked about the level of investment in the community park, he argued that the park was currently not receiving any funding; however there was a potential investor. They were a Portuguese family from Orange Grove who wanted to purchase land in Glenhazel, on the other side of Alexandra, for 600 million Rands. The terms of the agreement, one of which was to hand over the green open space, were not met due to South Africa’s bylaws of public recreational spaces. However, he argued that Tsutsamni Park is still earmarked for development plans.

The regional manager then pointed out Jukskei Park, which is as well found in Alexandra. It too has gone through developments and they have tried making it a Flagship Park, however, they have encountered several difficulties. In 2006 Johannesburg City Parks embarked on an upgrade of the Jukskei Park. They revamped it with jungle gyms, multi-purpose sports court that was built in 2008 through the sponsorship of the Department of Sport and Recreation in conjunction with Sports Trust, and a big screen TV similar to that of Thokoza Park. However, two weeks later they stole parts of the TV and other developments. Currently there are no nets on the basketball rims and no soccer panels. They attempted to engage the community through public participation with the aim to make them conscious of the communal benefits of the redevelopment. This once again became a fruitless exercise as the community persisted to steal the equipment.





The above pictures are of Jukskei Park. It too has litter, more so on the jungle gym side. There is a community swimming pool which during the site visit was green with dirt hovering above and below. Lastly, next to the park there is a community clinic. The regional manager then in closing maintained that they were developing a long term strategy that will see lasting renovations of the park; the kind of development that will be hard for community members to root out and sell at a scrap dealer in return for currency. There were other features of the park such as a water system, which as well had parts stolen. Budget requirements for developing and sustaining the park will be difficult, as he points out; the community needs to play their role.





Security Guards' Perspective of Jukskei Park

There was a security guard by one of the entrances of Jukskei Park. It was a section of the park that had a small derelict looking office. He seemed to be cautious while responding to questions. The area in which we were in was not open to the public, he pointed at the other side of the park where the main

entrance to the park was. When asked about the office, he spoke little of it without explaining its function in the park.

The park seemed to be quite territorial despite the efforts of rebuilding it to cater to more than one age group. We sought clarity regarding who utilizes the park. The security guard responded with hand gestures, pointing out that it differs. There are children who come to play as well as teenagers and those older. It gets packed later during the day. When questioned about security, he first brought it to our attention that he was contracted mid last year and his response would be solely based on his employment date to present. He argued that the park is relatively safe; however, the Nyaope boys tend to cause trouble.

He then pointed at the main entrance and suggested we engage another security from that side for more information on the security level of the park. On our arrival, we took note of the shared entrance by park visitors and clinic patients. The security guard referred to us was in fact a security guard contracted by the clinic. When we asked her about the safety of the park she argued that it is not safe. We can walk past, she pointed out, but to feel safe in this park would be incorrect. She then narrated several incidences; they were primarily caused by the Nyaope addicts. They tend to fight a lot in the park, escalating to such a point that the security guard would be forced to call the police.

When asked about the maintenance, she argued that she does not take note of when there is any, “it just happens”. The park has the potential to be a flagship project of Johannesburg City Parks, however, there are deep socio-economic issues embedded in the community that they need to tackle before or while concurrently running developments.

Johannesburg City Parks' Quantitative Findings

Table 2

	Innesfree-2011/12	Thokoza-2011/12	Innesfree-2012/13	Thokoza-2012/13
Grass cutting	9.0	8.2	8.8	8.4
Cleanliness	8.6	7.6	8.5	8.0
Playground areas	0.0	8.7	0.0	8.2
Security	6.9	6.1	7.2	5.7
Fence	8.6	0.0	8.0	0.0
Paving	8.6	7.7	7.4	7.5
Rubbish bins	8.4	8.9	8.8	8.1
Vegetation	9.1	8.7	9.2	8.7
Water fountain	*	*	4.6	0.0
Furniture	*	*	7.3	6.8
Note * the variables were not measured for 2011/12 survey				

(Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, 2013b)

The above graph is a quantitative study taken by Johannesburg City Parks. They conducted interviews in various parks. Thokoza Park was one of the parks they conducted a user satisfaction research project on. Innesfree Park is situated between Sandton and Alexandra, however, more on the Sandton side of town. User satisfactions were not conducted in Tsutsumani Park, however Innesfree Park falls in the same region as Tsutsumani Park thus in City Parks' analysis of regions this sufficed. Furthermore, Jukskei Park as well was left out. This in itself is an admission to a vertical relationship of public value that is lacking of communal engagement.

Thokoza to a greater degree has maintained its dignity as observed in the analysis. Grass cutting and cleanliness have increased according to the user satisfaction, and vegetation has remained the same. This is a testament to the observation of the park and interviews conducted. In our site visit the grass was well cut in comparison to Tsutsumani Park, and respondents felt that Thokoza Park was well taken care of. Playground, security, paving and rubbish bins have decreases in user satisfaction. Once again this reaffirms the responses from interviews who pointed out that security is an issue. However, majority were quite content with the playground arguing that there were enough activities for all. They pointed out that rubbish can become problematic, the cleaning is regular; however, the days in-between at times become an issue given that learners tend to litter.

Chapter Six

Synthesis of Respondents' Perceptions with the Literature

This chapter aims to provide an analysis of the interviews, contrasting the findings with the literature, zoning in on key arguments of authors. Given that the study focused primarily on a qualitative study; observing the efficacy of public value and social capital in the development of a community facility, one of its limitations is the inability to make a generalised analysis of parks. Although the quantitative study conducted by Johannesburg City Parks correlates with significant parts of the qualitative study, there are still considerable inferences made.

Community Members' Value and Perceptions of their Recreational Space's Structure (Public Value)

The first question asked to both communities was their usage of the parks. The purpose of this question was to find out if the community was aware of the park's inherent benefits as well as through perceptive analysis understand why they were not using it. In the case of Thokoza Park two out of the four respondents use the park regularly and the other two occasionally. Whereas in Tsutsumani Park three respondents rarely use it and only one respondent uses it. The differing levels of usage between the parks are visible in the park's population and architecture, which was observed during the site visit.

Thokoza Park as expressed above is a gem of the community whereas Tsutsumani Park is less enchanted. This matter partly resides in the public value relationship with local government. As Putnam (1994) pointed out in his narrative of Italy that in some regions its citizens participate in public affairs not by patronage or the vertical (hierarchical) relationship, which entails people serving the government, rather by horizontal participation which entails engaging with government and engaging in communal affairs.

As much as the residents of Tsutsumani may appreciate the inherited benefits of their park, they need to take an active role in realising these benefits. What substantiated the point of a lack of a horizontal public value were the engagements we had with City Parks. When we asked about Tsutsumani Park, seeking historical and architectural documentation of the park from the regional

office located in Sandton, some employees were not aware of Tsutsumani Park's existence. Fortunately, the regional manager provided some historical insight although not comprehensive nor documented.

Perhaps it is fair to point out that there are many parks in Johannesburg, some of which are clearly unaccounted for or at least not commonly known among City Parks' employers and employees. However, that is a public service issue which government is responsible for and needs to take necessary measures to know its parks and constitutional mandate in offering paralleled services to all communities. The community's responsibility on the other hand resides in a public value matter, which can only be addressed through communal interest and active participation with local government to fast track these services.

Community members were then asked about the structure of their park. The purpose of this question was to gain insight into respondents' perceptions. Given that no information was provided regarding pre and post community engagement with the developers of the park and possibly never existed in the public domain, a comparative analysis of pre-design consultation could not be made as intended. The research thus focused on community members' perceptions of the design and facilities of their park.

All four respondents of Thokoza Park were pleased with the structure of the park; this meant the plentiful and well-structured jungle gym, well-kept and trimmed grass, the big TV that caters to the older community members, and various other elements of the park such as the fountain and its accessibility. On the other hand two of the respondents argued that the structure of Tsutsumani Park was satisfactory for children and the other two argued that it was lacking. The jungle gym is discolouring, the grass is uneven, there is limited shade provided by less than five trees, and there is no activity that may be enjoyed by the older members of the community.

As much as the structure may be an issue in Tsutsumani Park, reanalysis of the essence of a park needs to be made. One needs to understand the purpose of the park, what it was or is intended for. The issue with addressing this is the probable polarized outcomes of the discussion. There are those who will take an objective perspective whereas others who will take a more subjective stand point. For

instance, the subjective perspective is how the park can entertain the individual. Materialistic objects such as the big TV in the park would be the kind of desired facility.

If one looks at a more objective perspective of what a park should be, we revert back to Aristotle's *Eudaimonia*, the realization of full potentialities in order to achieve a good life, and a good life that not only inculcates a moralistic code of conduct as Emmanuel Kant refers to, as well as a good life in terms of a health perspective. A good life, according to Godbey (1999) is partly achievable through recreational spaces. As discussed above there are studies showing that there is a positive relationship between leisure/recreation and quality of life.

These virtues will never be explored unless a mass enlightenment of community members in the benefits of an open space park is implemented. They will then know and appreciate its qualities such as reduction of alienation and egoism by providing a platform for social engagement, and the useable space for sporting or exercise to increase life span and quality of life. This would necessitate a policy drive to establish a new sense of value in recreational spaces; youth development, community building, and public health. This will deter a subjective and materialistic value attachment to parks whereby community members in Tsutsumani Park would be reluctant to use the park due to the lack of tangible enhancements.

Lastly, the structure of the park or at least its facilities should be driven by community members' opinions. These opinions are formed through collective engagement. Furthermore, park developers or municipality/City Parks have the responsibility to ensure onward engagements with community members, however, when they are unable or unwilling or unmotivated to do so then the community needs to exercise its public value. Only through collective bargaining will they see fruition in their desires for the park.

With the above mentioned, City Parks should not make excuses for creating subpar recreational spaces. From a community members' perspective, they should appreciate the virtues of an open space and use it for their desires so long as they do not impede on anyone's rights to the park. Furthermore they should be collectively engaging when in need of certain facilities in the park. Likewise, the

municipality or government should take pride in all recreational spaces and should invest in their maintenance and development rather than being aloof.

Community Members' Involvement in Systems and Existence of Nuclear or Extended Families (Social Network)

The following question we asked respondents was about their social integration and participation in networks. The purpose of this question was to understand the kind of social integration and their networks. These social facts create an enabling platform for trust and communal solidarity through engagements with each other. This will nurture the required bonds to further enable discussions and collective action in acquiring certain needs, wants and constitutional rights.

In Thokoza Park, three of the four respondents feel like they are socially integrated and belong to a network. The one respondent feels socially integrated, however, is not active in networks. Tsutsumani Park respondents on the other hand had differing views. Three of the respondents feel that they are socially integrated, however, one is not active in community networks nonetheless attends Church. The other is not part of a network, and the other is not active in their network. The other respondent is uncertain of her social integration and not active in networks.

The Tsutsumani Park community members present a very disjointed community whereby only a few feel socially integrated. However, majority are not active in any networks and may not be aware of any existing networks. Bourdieu (1986) has expressed the necessities of an association; he posited that the formation of one can create a sense of solidarity. Putnam (1994) as well argued that networks have the potential to create solidarity within a community. This discussion leads back to Durkheim's (1951) egoism and the feel of solitude when excluded from social integration.

Without the prospects of being socially integrated in one's community such as the case in Tsutsumani Park, and without the necessary social systems such as networks to enable integration, community members will operate in silos and only be concerned about their existence. As discussed in Alexandra's historical narrative, many of its residents are recent occupants seeking job opportunities.

Their immediate home or place of dependency is far away from their current dwelling. In an embracing and integrated society their community should provide a sense of dependency, in the very least emotional dependency. However, Tsutsumani Park community members have limited structures that allow for this.

With the above mentioned, in the absence of a socially integrated community resides a lack of communal engagement about matters concerning public services. As much as there is an appreciation of recreational spaces and perhaps a glimpse of its inherent benefits, these will never be realised unless a collective emerges to uncover these interests and safeguard them through necessary engagements with the relevant authorities.

Community Members' Perception of their Safety and Accessibility (Social Trust and Reciprocity)

The subsequent question asked was about the safety of the park. As discussed above, safety is a crucial aspect for any community. This largely determines the usage of public space. In the case of Thokoza Park, the four respondents answered evenly between feeling safe and partially safe, whereas in Tsutsumani Park all four respondents felt partially safe. All respondents argued that day time was a preferred time to visit the park, however, at night particularly for Thokoza Park the lack of lighting deters community members from walking through or alongside the park. Unlike Tsutsumani Park, Thokoza Park has security volunteers who patrol the park in the early morning to sunset.

It was pointed out by a Thokoza Park respondent that more fit security guards are needed. However, in Tsutsumani Park the respondents were not as forthcoming on how to increase security in and around the park. This is telling of the kind of community that Thokoza Park and Tsutsumani Park are or have become. One may diagnose that the level of horizontal public engagement is absent in the Tsutsumani Park community, that any suggestions would be made in vain. Or perhaps the community has imploded into an egoistic existence that members of the park are incapable or unwilling to think for anyone else but themselves.

Not to say that Thokoza Park is a utilitarian community that meets the ideal white picket fence with beautiful gardens and hospitable members of the community,

however, in comparison to Tsutsumani and given its historical background it does resemble a community that cares a little bit more for others. This fundamentally impacts the safety of community members or at the very least their perception of safety. With or without fences and chains to lock the gates of the park, or the orange and silver striped bibs that volunteers walk around in, or the patrolling of a police van once in a while; if the communities have no inclination towards safety or the selfless virtues to care for another, then safety will become an ideal never realised. A society that embraces utilitarian characteristics will certainly feel safer.

The subsequent question that community members were asked was about their engagements with visitors. The purpose of this question was to gain insight in to the level of trust and reciprocity community members had. Their openness to chat with visitors was telling of the kind of community they have become. Not all communities can do so. A level of trust is needed to speak to a stranger. This as well relates to the feeling of safety. If the community is the violent kind like Hanover Park then such levels of trust and openness is rare. Furthermore, reciprocity is a key element of social capital, such as a community member's ability to assist a stranger in need.

The responses to this question were critical as they zoned in on fundamental ideologies of social capital. They spoke to the tapestry of social capital and suggested ways to create a functional and utilitarian community. In the case of Thokoza Park all four of the respondents regularly see visitors and interact with them. The four Tsutsumani Park community members on the other hand all occasionally see visitors and hardly interact with them for several reasons such as not having time to or not having the chance to.

Putnam (1993; 1994), Fukuyama (1995; 2000), and Coleman (1998) are among those whose literatures on social capital articulate the necessity of social trust in communities. They argue that social trust is an essential proponent to social cohesion. Given that Thokoza Park community members are more approachable or at least willing to engage visitors does not necessarily mean that they are trusting. Putnam (1994) and Coleman (1998) express that the frequent interaction, in this case with visitors, does not necessarily result in trust, however, it creates the environment where norms and values may permeate in the community

resulting in the evolution of these behaviours to be concretized and form the necessary building block of social capital.

Tsutsumani Park community members need to be more integrated through social engagement, not only with visitors as well as community members. The consequences of not would be alienation from communal amenities and a socially dysfunctional community. At the current everyone seems to keep to themselves. Perhaps the size of the park enables the community to have an eye on all corners of the park thus preventing it from turning into the Cape Flats' Hanover Park. Even so, there is no security in the park, there is no lighting, and the Nyaope boys are taking advantage of this during the night. This will persist until such a time where the community express their interest to one another through social integration and trust, and reach out to visitors so that they get a sense of who is visiting their park.

Assessment of Jukskei Park

The Jukskei Park on the other hand presents a contrasting dilemma. As much as Tsutsumani Park is neglected, the same degree of neglect cannot be applied to Jukskei Park; however, both are in similar communal environments. Johannesburg City Parks attempted to turn the park into a flagship project. They invested financially and attempted to bring about consciousness of recreational spaces through public participation. This was, however, futile given that the concerns of the communities were entrenched in their socio-economic circumstances. The level of neglect and poverty discouraged the community to see the value of their park.

City Parks may have arguably fulfilled their role as an engaging entity. They may have even gone the extra mile to financially invest in the community park. This immediately negates any hypothesis that the sustenance and usage of a park is solely dependent on financial investment. The community's buy-in is paramount to the project's success. This leads the research to a finding that is still consistent to the presented context. It is not necessarily a comparison between parks, rather a comparison between communities. Parks are subjected to the socio-economic and political circumstances of the community. Abject poverty may even supersede the

efficacy of social capital. On the other hand social capital may be the saving grace of a neglected community.

In Barbosa et al (2007) study, they express the ability of those who can afford to relocate, consequently the surroundings and recreational space of those who have relocated become far better in comparison to those trapped in impoverished surroundings. The reactions of communities trapped in impoverished locations are explained in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1954). The instinct of survival may outweigh any moral inclination. This is why the Jukskei community members were able to steal parts of the new facilities. If it were thieves from another community, a well-integrated and trusting Jukskei community would have implemented means to make their community a safer place. The Thokoza community did so through its members volunteering as security patrol men and women.

The adverse argument may be made again, that in an impoverished community, a well-integrated and trusting community can help each other during trying times. Maslow's hierarchy of needs would still be in play; however, the community can work together instead of its members stealing from public facilities and from each other. The concept of Ubuntu[6] which once lived in South Africa is the philosophy that the Alexandra community may live by. This would necessitate strong leadership and visionaries who will transcend the community to social emancipation.

Conclusion

Soweto is a community that has managed to sustain some level of social capital, particularly the Thokoza Park region. They have managed to do so for various reasons, one of which is the generational settling of family members in Soweto communities. Not to say that those who were brought up in Soweto never leave, many find dwelling elsewhere, some closer to their work and others in search of better suburban environments. Another aspect that allows for communal appreciation is the on-going developments and the success stories of those who have made it out of abject poverty, ploughing back into the community.

[6] *The belief in a universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity*

These and other virtues of communities allow for sustained or cultivated social phenomena to be perennial social facts in societies. The Tsutsumani Park community on the other hand are bankrupt of such social facts due to the lack of social instruments (Churches, sports teams, councils etc.). The consequences are evident in the way they treat public facilities. Apathy in the park's sustenance is an act in itself thus should be discouraged for the good of the community.

City Parks has ventured in key initiatives in creating some form of awareness. There are three centers run by City Park's environmental education unit that have been set up to reach out to local communities and school children; Dorothy Nyembe Environmental Education Centre in Soweto, the Johannesburg Botanical Gardens Environmental Education Centre in Emmarentia and the Rietfontein Environmental Education Centre in Paulshof (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, n.d.-c). A similar center needs to be erected in Alexandra. Furthermore, an ongoing initiative between the Alexandra community and Johannesburg City Parks need to materialize, one which will look at not only the amenities as-well as the social tapestry.

Chapter Seven

What are the Levels and Factors of Social Network, Trust, and Reciprocity among Community Members?

The purpose of this research was to explore the Thokoza and Tsutsumani communities' relationship with their parks, factoring their social norms and values. The central question asked was on the efficacy of social capital and public value in parks' development and sustainability. Public value and social capital were the tools of analysis. Communities' social behaviour or social facts, and their engagement with relevant authorities (City Parks) were analysed and a trajectory was mapped between these societal elements and their park's conditions.

Social capital encompasses networks, trust and reciprocity. These elements are key ingredients in creating a trusting and integrated community. They have the ability to prevent alienation and egoism. These outcomes are heightened by extreme levels of dysfunctional communities. Other similar alienation outcomes are as Bourdieu expresses; the perpetuation of class based systems that hinge on the exploitation or the desensitizing of individuals in a society. In the case of recreational spaces this creates the gangsterism system that plagues Hanover Park.

The lesser drastic outcome, in the sense of societal decay, would be the community's uncooperative attitude towards their park's development. This is the case in Tsutsumani Park. As much as some level of social capital exists due to religious institutions and sporting networks, and some level of trust in these networks and extended relationships, the level of social capital is not as pronounced as in the Thokoza Park community.

The networks should create a sense of belonging and identity. This is achieved through a shared purpose. Furthermore, there should be a credible level of trust and reciprocity in the community, which will provide an enabling environment for visitor interaction and for community members to feel free and safe in their recreational space. The level of trust referred to is not measurable in units, rather measurable in individual's perception of their safety. Thus the "credible" level of safety is subjective to the community as a whole.

Thokoza Park does not have the ideal community whereby they open their doors to everyone. Neither are they all trusting and willing to help anyone in need. This is expected given the country's security issues of high crime levels. However, they are a community showing great strides. There are those who are reluctant to approach strangers, however, when approached they are willing to listen and if the stranger genuinely is without and in need of small change they are willing to assist. There are community members who like speaking to strangers, finding out where they are from and chatting away about life. Lastly, there are those who are involved in the community through various networks such as sports, Churches, and community councils among others.

These social behaviours have a significant impact on public amenities. As pointed out in the aforementioned, the municipality will be participating in fruitless expenditure if the community is unaware of the park's virtues and contribute to its degradation. If the community is dysfunctional, and have an uncooperative and a laissez faire approach to their recreational space, the necessary engagement with authorities regarding the park's development will be thwarted. That is if they have networks and platforms to engage in.

The Tsutsumani Park community members need to establish new sets of social facts. They need to institutionalise these social behaviours, enabling social facts to govern to such a point that those who act contrary to the norms will be identifiable and proper measures taken to either rectify their misconduct or alienate them so to protect the community's integrity. Once these necessary social principles have been applied, other aspects will fall in place.

Integration will follow suit given the community's sense of trust, networks will mushroom and blossom based on community members' interests, and a sense of value will intensify. The public value referred to will enable them to have a shared interest in public amenities. They will be able to champion certain public interests to relevant authorities in appropriate communal platforms, thus practicing their constitutional right to express their public value and have a say regarding public services.

With the above being said, the appropriate local structures and authorities need to have an invested interest in public facilities. They need to be fully aware of their added value to communities and take pride in developing and maintaining them.

In cases where communities lack the ability to congregate, whose societies are socially and morally bankrupt, these local structures need to install certain values in communities.

The first step is to promote public participation and engagement. They should advocate the horizontal spectrum of governance whereby citizens may engage with them and voice out their concerns. This will enable a platform where community members feel that they are a part of a network that shares similar interests. The results of a community integration initiative and safe guarding of their interest may be the yielding of communal identity, caring of their surroundings, and good public service. However, this is not a quick solution and there is none. Social facts are driven by structure, thus national government, provincial government, municipalities, and state organs need to see the urgency in nurturing virtuous social norms and values in communities so to generate enabling environments.

Is there Cooperation among Community Members and Local Government?

The research began with a comparative analysis of Tsutsumani Park and Thokoza Park. It as well sought to understand the level of cooperation among communities and the authority in charge of maintaining their parks. Cooperation is one of the results emanating from social capital. Networking and trust, as Fukuyama pointed out, builds the required environment for entities such as companies to cooperate. In the case of Thokoza Park, the level of cooperation is seen through the maintenance and developments of the park. City Parks' ability to turn Thokoza Park into a flagship project is through a concerted effort with the community to uphold the park's integrity.

In the case of Tsutsumani Park, it becomes evident that the park has been neglected by the large board fixed above the entrance. The writings were withered away. The grass was unevenly cut and jungle gyms unmaintained. There are several plausible responses to the park's outcome, the first being a lack of funding and development in the park. Any form of maintenance requires some level of interest. City Parks, which is held responsible for all open green spaces, needs to exhibit this. Given the nature of parks, it requires financial support in order to

maintain the grass and jungle gym, and develop the park in consultation with the community.

Another plausible response is the need for social capital and public value. This research hypothesized this, arguing that in order for any sustainable developments to occur in the recreational space, the community's buy-in made possible by trust, networks and reciprocity, which will foster an enabling community that voices out its shared interest and value is required. However, the field research and interviews uncovered findings that negate the first hypothesis.

The Jukskei Park in Alexandra had considerable developments. With the creation of a multi-purpose court, public swimming pool, large TV screen, trimmed grass and other facilities in the park, it most certainly received the more than required level of investment and interest from City Parks. However, its current state is indicative of a lack of community buy-in. Not all can be attributed to the lack of social capital and public value, this is partly the case. What outweigh the virtues that these social facts may instil in the community are the level of poverty and the requirement of survival.

Alexandra's abject poverty prevents community members from enjoying the benefits of a recreational space. Where there is development, parts of these facilities are stolen for survival. Alexandra is not an isolated case, there are many communities living in poverty whose social tapestry is weak. However, no claim can be made that impoverished communities do not have social capital. As well, no claim can be made that all well off communities have the required levels of social capital.

This research thus posits that for any meaningful development in recreational spaces there needs to be a level of cooperation between communities and City Parks. This is achieved through the community's shared value in the public facility. Furthermore, this requires City Parks and relevant state organs to play their part in providing paralleled services. The researcher posits that social capital contain critical social facts that provide an enabling environment.

It as well takes note of socio-economic externalities and that isolated financial aid in a public facility will not suffice in getting the community's buy-in. Thus strategies going forward, particularly in communities such as Alexandra, need to

focus in a holistic communal development plan rather than isolated infrastructural developments. These developments need to take place concurrently with the resurgence of social capital and awareness of public value.

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