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Co-production of public parks in the Johannesburg inner city. The cases of End Street South, End Street North, Ekhaya and Pullinger Kop parks

Mokgere, Tlholohelo

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Co-production of public parks in the Johannesburg inner city. The cases of End Street South, End Street North, Ekhaya and Pullinger Kop parks

Tlholohelo Mokgere (721930)

End Street North Park on a Monday morning (March 2018, ©Mokgere)



A research report submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning in the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Urban Studies.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own. It is submitted for a Master of Urban studies degree to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Tlholohelo Mokgere Signed at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg on 16 October 2018

Abstract

Parks are particularly important public goods in the inner city where there are high density residential living, poverty, homelessness and crime. Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo experiences considerable difficulty in providing and maintaining this public good due to its resource constraints. Consequently, there is a need for private and public investment into the inner city. 'Co-production' is used as an exploratory approach to analyse the collaborative production and management of inner city parks by the state, private and community based organisations. The research findings illustrate specific challenges to co-production in the inner city can be attributed in part to the under-resourced and fragmented citizenry, and the difficulty to establish and maintain successful partnerships with private organisations. Formalised and legal agreements are useful instruments that help frame partnerships and expand the disposal resources available to respond to inner city challenges. However even these instruments are problematic and need to be monitored and regulated, actions that do not always take place.

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Thank you to my supervisor, Professor Claire Benit-Gbaffou, for your continued guidance and support throughout my journey of exploring parks and nature reserves in Johannesburg (and for being there for everything else in between). You are a force to be reckoned with and it has been a blessing to be able to work with you.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFHCO	African Housing Company
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CID	City Improvement District
CoF	Corridors of Freedom
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CRUM	Citizen Relationship and Urban Management
DSD	Department of Social Development
EPWP	Extended Public Works Programme
GROW	God Restores Our World
JCPZ	Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JMPD	Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department
MES	Mould Empower Serve
MoA	Memorandum of Agreement
MoE	Municipal Owned Entity
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NBD	New Business Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
PSUG	Practices of the State in Urban Governance
SAPS	South African Police Services

Chapter 1
Introduction to the Research

1.1 Introduction

Public spaces are often seen as the responsibility of the state to provide and to maintain. This is becoming increasingly difficult in an era where states and in particular, local government are faced with resource constraints. These include funding, skilled labour and effective institutional structures (Ewalt, 2011). Concurrent to the fiscal challenges faced by local government, development of public spaces across much of the globe has taken the form of malls, theme parks or privatised parks in efforts to revitalise declining parts of cities (Murray, 2010). The decline of public investment in public parks in particular, can in part be said to be a consequence of parks not being seen as priorities in relation to the provision of other public goods and services (Daneshpour and Mahmoodpour, 2009 and Baloyi et al, 2015).

The Johannesburg inner city has experienced considerable decline since the late 1970s, when investment in corporate and commercial properties was redirected from the inner city to suburbs such as Sandton. This was in reaction to increased suburbanisation facilitated by housing subsidies afforded to new white home owners from the 1960s. This provided access to more secure residential properties away from the increasing crime in the inner city (Beavon, 2000). This was also in response to restrictive planning regulations in the inner city imposed on developers (Bethlehem, 2013). These, in conjunction with the abolition of the Group Areas Act of 1986 – which had barred black South Africans from most areas in the country – resulted in an influx of black people into the city. Many of these citizens had historically travelled from their designated neighbourhoods into the city for work and education (Beavon, 2000 and PARI, 2013).

There have been considerable efforts to revive the inner city since the mid-1990s. Many of these initiatives have been directed more specifically towards the commercialisation of property into either residential rental units or office space, rather than more specifically to the development of public space (Bremner, 2000). The upgrade or development of streets, sidewalks, major transport links such as Mandela Bridge in Newtown, and historical buildings such as Chancellor House[1] have substantially renewed parts of the city, promoting economic development and improving public amenities (Ntshona, 2013 and JDA, undated). Direct state investment towards inner city parks has gradually increased over the years however, many of these spaces have proven difficult to maintain, leading to rapid deterioration. The lack of sufficient or safe open green spaces is of particular importance in neighbourhoods characterised by

[1] Offices of the first black run legal practice in South Africa, established by apartheid activists Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo (JDA, undated)

high rise, high density commercial and residential development. Moreover, such spaces are of importance in the context of unequal distribution of green spaces between suburbs in the northern parts of the Johannesburg, predominantly populated by middle to upper income earners, and townships and the inner city where many of the poor reside.

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), an implementation agency within the City of Johannesburg, together with Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (hereafter referred to as City Parks) are the main contributors to the (re)development and management of public parks in the inner city. For the former, it is part of its strategic directive to improving the inner city broadly, ranging from commercial and transportation links to restoring heritage and cultural facilities, for instance. In the case of the latter, City Parks is the official custodian of open green spaces and is responsible for the management and (re)development of such spaces (JCPZ, 2013).

In existing and periodically upgraded public parks, consistent community involvement has proven difficult to attain and maintain in the Johannesburg inner city. This is not only in the protection or maintenance of public spaces but more generally within urban governance (attending of IDP meetings, participation in ward meetings and activities, for instance). This is attributed in part to the transient nature of the population in the inner city - a mixture of tertiary students, job seekers, non South African citizens, as well as the socio-economic issues that impact all inner city residents such as poverty, unemployment, substance abuse and homelessness (Dinath, 2014).

1.2 Problem Statement

The Johannesburg Development Agency and Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo constitute the key stakeholders in the development of parks in the inner city. However, due to resource constraints neither organisation has the capacity required to sustainably manage these spaces given the myriad of challenges that are specific to the inner city context (i.e. high densities combined with mass poverty, homelessness, crime, vandalism of parks and drug use). Moreover, citizen interest in parks located in poorer or less resourced neighbourhoods is fragmented and often informal, if present at all, as opposed to that in middle class northern suburbs of Johannesburg where there are often specialist Friends of the Parks (FoPs) and conservancy groups that are well resourced (Hadebe, 2015 and Mokgere, 2016). Given the limited resources in the state, developing partnerships with community and private organisations is of importance in order to increase the resources available to better manage and to keep parks active, thus reducing the likelihood of dormancy and crime (Jacobs, 1961). Community investment is a challenge due to the fragmented and often disempowered populations that reside in the inner city (Landau, 2006). Furthermore, City Parks does not have established frameworks in place that can guide, manage or monitor partnerships formed for parks in the inner city more specifically, or other similar contexts.

1.3 Rationale

Through the *Practices of the State in Urban Governance* (PSUG) research programme under the Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment (CUBES) in the School of Architecture and Planning at Wits University, there has been a lot of research conducted on the management of parks and related green spaces in Johannesburg as an interstice of the state and society in urban settings. These projects contributed to the limited work in parks specifically as dynamic public spaces and functional elements of urban and local politics (Bosaka, 2015; Baloyi, et al, 2015; Hadebe, 2015; Hanyane et al, 2015; Hopa et al, 2015; Mavuso, 2015 and Mokgere, 2016).

Much of these works were focused on established spaces in the northern, white middle class suburbs where community interests are often consolidated and resources are available to invest in parks, botanical gardens and nature reserves (Mokgere, 2016 and Benit-Gbaffou, forthcoming). Mavuso (2015) began an exploration of the management of parks in the inner city where there are significantly less resources at the disposal of residents and where the overall character of the green spaces seems to be the antithesis of those in the northern suburbs.

This research continues Mavuso's (2015) exploration into inner city public parks and reflects on the different contexts and stakeholders in park spaces. It uses the concept of co-production as a lens with which to analyse the production of parks by state, private and civil society groups. The hypothesis is that approaches and instruments used in co-productive partnerships need to be vastly adapted for the inner city where community interest is particularly weak and unorganised. Here, unlike in resourced contexts, City Parks needs to play a bigger role than it does in its standard formal partnerships (Mokgere 2016).

1.4 Research Aims

Taking into consideration the above background, the research seeks:

- To understand how less consolidated community groups can be constructed into collaborating partners in the production and management of inner city parks.
- To understand to what extent state-public-private partnerships in public park management and development can result in better maintained and used spaces.

The extent to which community interests are consolidated is of significance as it directly speaks to the use or misuse of recreational green spaces. More significantly it speaks to class composition of the community around parks and the myriad of challenges that they deal with as inner city residents that might render park development and management of lesser importance in comparison to unemployment, affordable accommodation, adequate water and sanitation services and safety from crime. The above-mentioned issues have direct implications on whether or not inner city

communities can become long-term partners with City Parks and how or what they can contribute.

1.5 Research Questions and Sub-questions

The research question and sub-questions are anchored by the aims and read as follows:

- How can existing frameworks for partnerships between City Parks and community or private organizations be adapted for sustainable development and management of public parks in the Johannesburg inner city?

1. What are the characteristics of existing frameworks for partnerships to manage existing inner city parks?
2. What are the processes involved in the construction and in the operation of such partnerships?
3. In what ways does the extent of consolidation of community interests influence the development of partnerships? And conversely, how are these processes constructing (or not) local communities?
4. What important dimensions of park management does the framework not respond to, and how could this be addressed?

1.6 Chapter Outline

The next chapter in the report contextualises the research, presenting the background of each case study. It follows by describing the two state agents that are directly involved in the case studies.

Chapter three discusses three literature themes beginning with co-production as the leading theme of the research and an investigation of the coming together of multiple actors towards a common goal. The second theme explores the concept of policy instruments as they pertain to contractual or formal agreements for partnership development. The last theme discusses the ideas of community development and place making in African cities, focusing specifically on Johannesburg.

Chapter four is a description of the research process outlining the strategies use to collect and analyse data.

Chapters five and six present the research findings. Chapter five presents the practical implications and actions of collaborative park management.

Chapter six presents the contractual agreements as policy instruments, and their relation to co-production. The last chapter concludes the paper, tying the findings to the research aims and questions toward giving recommendations.

Chapter 2
Contextualising the case studies

2.1 Introduction

Inner city renewal is regarded as a priority by the City Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (CoJ). The 2030 Vision strategic document emphasises stimulating economic development and competitiveness (Winkler, 2009). The city's implementation, the JDA, through the maintenance and upgrade of urban infrastructure especially in decaying parts of the city has sought to facilitate this process (CoJ, 2007). The JDA, which was initially framed to work in the inner city, has since been involved in development initiatives to upgrade public spaces in the City at large, including the development and upgrade of public parks. The agency has played a critical role in improving parks in Hillbrow, Berea and Jeppestown, some of the most notably decayed parts of the inner city.

This contextual chapter begins by presenting the four case studies, highlighting their physical and socio-spatial attributes. The second part of the chapter follows by describing the two state agents referred to in the research in terms of their functions and connection to the sites o study.

2.2 The four case studies

The four case studies are located along the same street, Nugget Street in the inner city suburb of Hillbrow. Initially the research was intended to focus on three parks, End Street South, End Street North and Ekhaya parks. These three parks were at that time varyingly developed, managed differently but were all substantially used. The fourth case study, Pullinger Kop Park was added because it seemed curious that a park in the inner city was not open to the public following its renovation more than twelve months prior. Another interesting aspect was that three of the parks had overlapping stakeholders (residents, users and a notable stakeholder engagement organisation that worked in numerous public spaces in the inner city) and similar discourses (the need for community based management and how to deal with crime and homelessness). The methodological justifications for the selection of these study sites are further discussed in the research design chapter.

The four parks are categorised according to their size, and type – ranging from a neighbourhood playground to a regional park. This information, the location of the parks and their level of use affect how often the parks are maintained by city parks.

Figure 2.1: Map of the parks and surrounds (Google Maps)
A - Ekhaya Park; B - Pullinger Kop Park; C - End Street North Park; D - End Street South Park

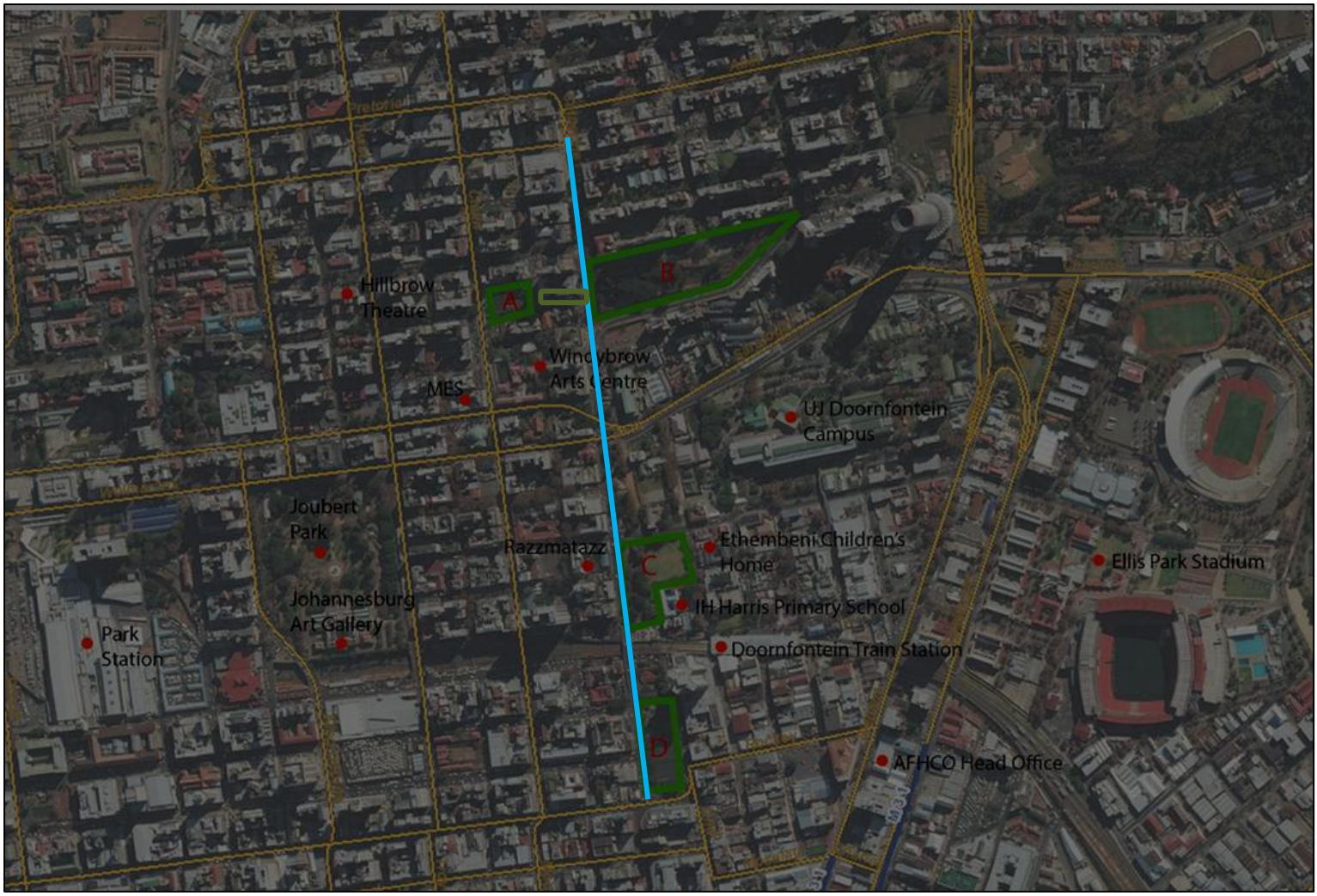


Figure 2.2: Classification of inner city parks (CoJ, 2017: 14)

Category of park	Minimum extent of individual park	Maximum extent of individual park	Number of parks in the Inner City	Number of parks in Mayfair
1. Pocket space	0ha	0,04ha	0	0
2. Neighbourhood park – play/pocket park	0,04ha	0,4ha	29	0
3. Neighbourhood park – playground	0,4ha	0,8ha	10	1
4. Neighbourhood park – local/neighbourhood	0,8ha	1,5ha	13	3
5. Community park	1,5ha	2ha	0	0
6. District/regional park	2ha	5ha	5	2
7. Strategic park	>5ha		1	1

2.2.1 End Street North Park

End Street North Park (periodically referred to as ESN Park) is located at the corners of Bok and Hancock Street, along Nugget Street. It is surrounded by residential buildings, businesses such as Razzmataz, a brothel and night club, and a few educational institutions, most notably IH Harris Primary School and the University of Johannesburg's Doornfontein campus. It is estimated to be 0.5ha, categorised as a neighbourhood playground. It was earmarked for a physical upgrade by the JDA in 2015. It was still under construction at the time of the research.

This park was selected as the site of a pilot project focused on developing a strategy for park safety through design and management, facilitated by integrated community engagement as well as intra-and inter-governmental collaboration from the conceptual stage. City Parks worked with the following organisations during the pilot (JCPZ, 2016b):

- JDA
- Department of Public Safety which directs a safety programme for the City of Johannesburg
- Citizen Relationship and Urban Management (CRUM) which coordinates area based service delivery in Region F of CoJ
- Department of Social Development and Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD)
- Sticky Situations who facilitated stakeholder and community engagement
- Deutsche Gesellschaft fürInternational Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), which provided project management services during the design engagements
- UN-Habitat, which selected CoJ as one of the cities to support in its Public Space Programme using a Minecraft, a video game that allows players to input design elements into a space
- Tshimologong Precinct at the University of Witwatersrand which provided training and facilitation in the Minecraft workshop (JCPZ, 2016b).

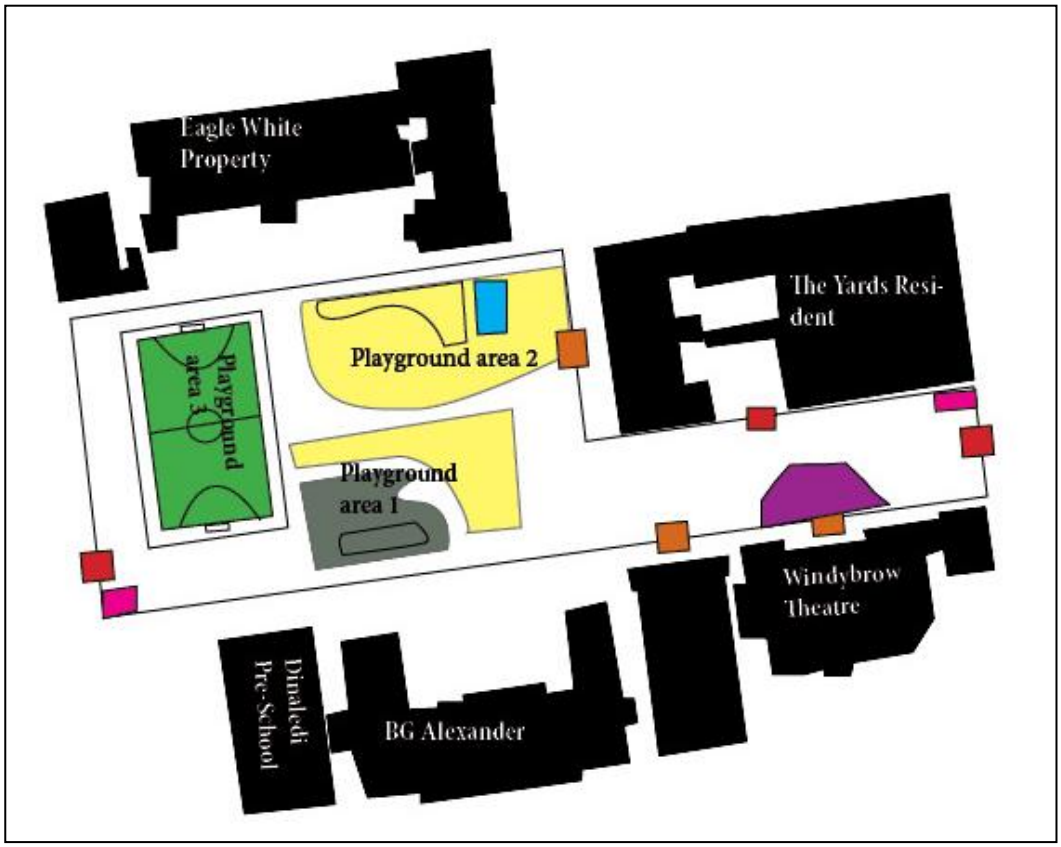
The pilot began in November 2015 lead by Sticky Situations, stakeholder facilitation and community development focused organisation which had been awarded a 10 month contract. It used an inclusionary approach, inviting all members of the community including local businesses, educational institutions, local community based organisations, residents, and users of the park (which included homeless people and waste recyclers). The organisation made use of focus groups aimed at finding out what park users considered priorities in park development and in the community at large; interviews and events aptly termed 'Share What You Think' and 'Meet Your Neighbour' to identify the community's challenges and desires for the park. Community inputs emphasised issues such as safety, the need for ablution facilities, appropriate and sufficient equipment. In the process, it managed to facilitate inclusion and recognition

of the homeless as people and users of public spaces. The abovementioned methodologies culminated in residents' participation in a workshop where they used the video game Minecraft to map what they wanted in the park (Sticky Situations, 2015). The project ended in late 2016 but the organisation has remained involved in facilitating engagement between residents and City Parks and the JDA throughout construction of the park.

2.2.2 Ekhaya Park

Ekhaya Park is located between Claim and Banket Streets, ensconced between properties in all directions except its west. This includes Eagle White residential flats to the north, The Yard student residence owned by University of Johannesburg to its north east, the Windybrow Arts Centre, to its south east and BG Alexander residential flats to the south west. Ekhaya Park was originally an undeveloped space in-between hijacked buildings, characterised by drug use, drug dealing and homelessness until the JDA in conjunction with Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project redeveloped the park in 2007 (Kruger, 2012). The park was upgraded in 2017. It is a small park of 0.48ha and is categorised as a neighbourhood playground. It has play facilities for young children, particularly pre-schoolers and primary school pupils, and an Astroturf soccer pitch catering to young teenagers (JCPZ, 2017 and Matubatuba et al, 2017).

Figure 2.3: Ekhaya Park facilities, access points and surrounds (Matubatuba, et al, 2018)



The Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project is a registered Not for Profit Organisation (NPO) based on the City Improvement District (CID) model. However, it was never a legislated CID in keeping with the Gauteng Improvement Districts Bill of 1997 as some buildings have flats held by sectional title where some owners are not locatable (Gewer, 2013). The CID collects levies from property owners within a certain geographic boundary in the south of Hillbrow.

Figure 2.4: Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project members as of August 2017 (Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project representative, 2017)



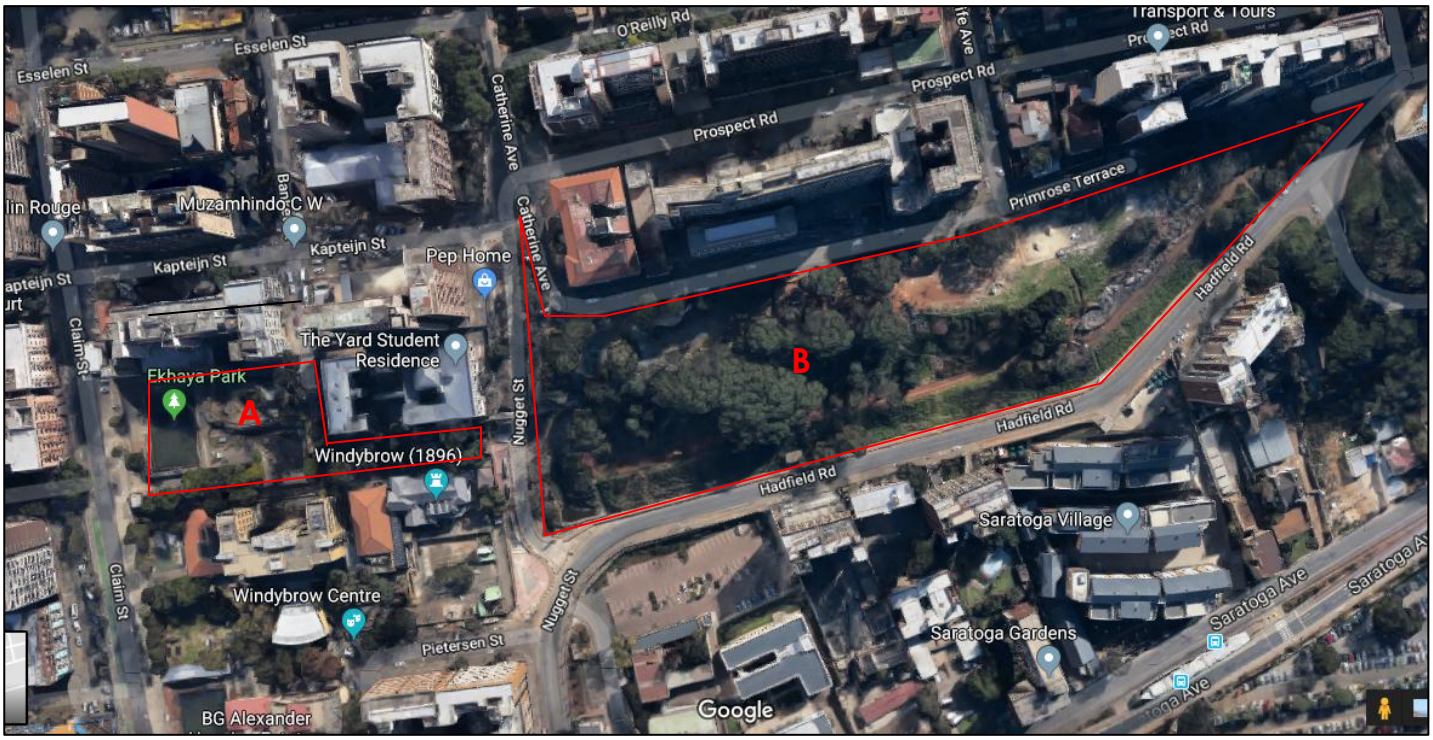
Ekhaya Neighbourhood was established in 2004 and has since contributed to the urban renewal of Hillbrow through the improvement of public amenities such as pavements, street lighting, and security under the guidance of its former coordinator Hillbrow native and activist Josie Adler (Kruger, 2012and Mkhize, 2013). A notable member of the association is MES (Mould Empower Serve) an organisation that provides shelter and food for the homeless, and runs a rehabilitation programme GROW (God Restores Our World). GROW provides life coaching to the homeless and those previously involved in

criminal activity and substance abuse, helping to reintegrate them into society by providing employment opportunities including but not limited to cleaning services in Ekhaya Park (Matubatuba et al, 2018).

2.2.3 Pullinger Kop Park

Pullinger Kop Park was opened in the 1950s and named after prominent mining magnate Edward Pullinger, who had built a house at the top of the kop - a hill (Clayton, 1983). It is a large space of 2.2ha and is classified as a district/regional park. Topographically, the park is part of a ridge system which gives it ecological importance (JDA Project Manager, interview 2018).

Figure 2.5: Ekhaya (A) and Pullinger Kop (B) parks on the north of Nugget Street (outline parks)



Pullinger Kop Park was a vibrant space during the mining and apartheid periods, popularised by Hillbrow and Berea residents (Harrison and Phasha, 2014). It remained well used following 'white flight' from the 1970s and the rapid influx of Black South Africans into the area in the 1980s. Pullinger Kop Park, similar to many other open spaces with hilly and green landscapes in the city was frequently used by faith-based groups for religious and ritualistic practices (Winkler, 2014 and Mokgere, 2016). In recent history, Pullinger Kop Park has been blighted by drugs and crime (Omar, 2012).

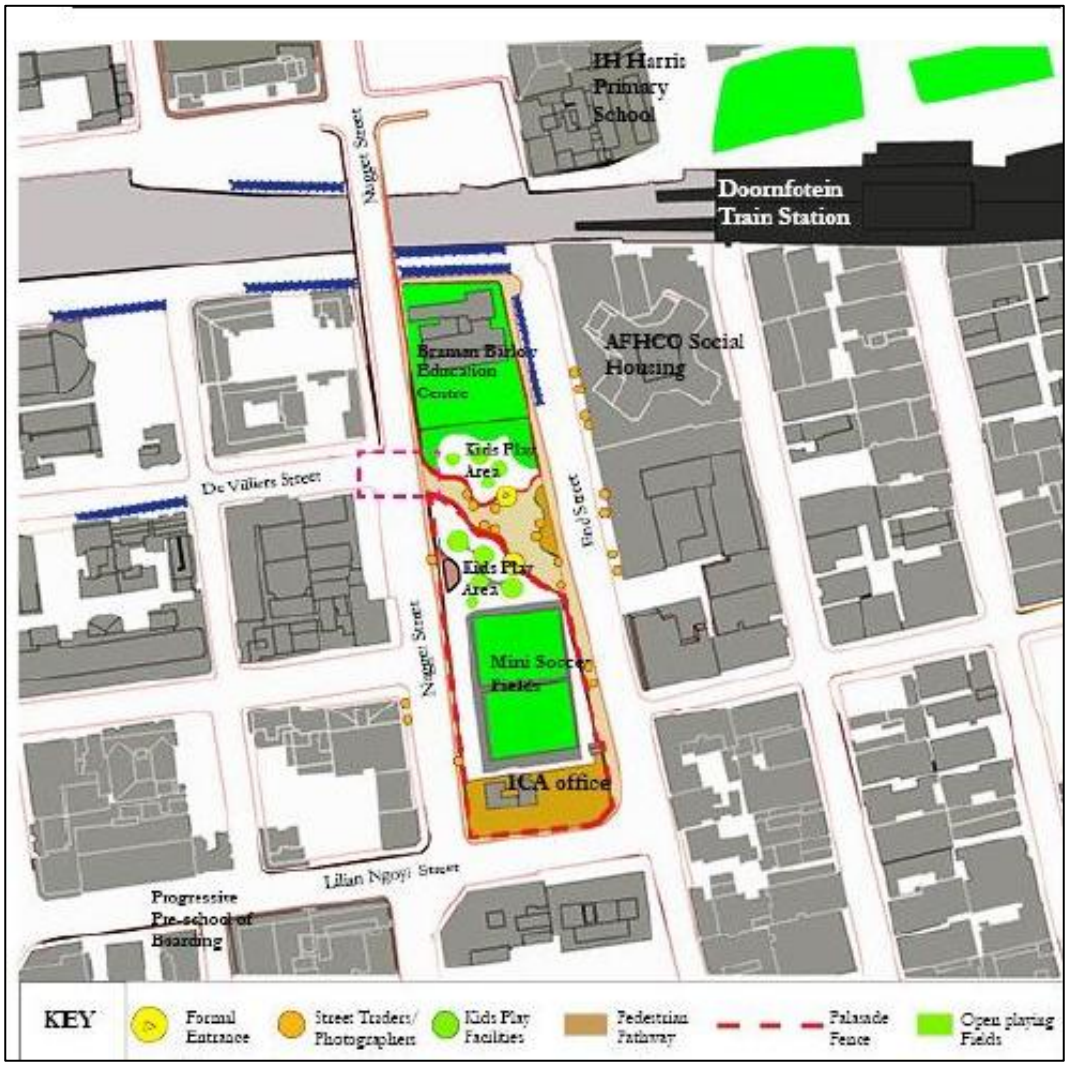
A natural waterfall located in the park was restored in 2007 and mosaicked as part of a public art programme commissioned by the JDA but was soon vandalised (Harrison and Phasha, 2014). It was upgraded in 2008 but again fell into disrepair. The park was

upgraded by the JDA in 2015 but has since not been opened for public use. It is currently undergoing assessment by a number of state and community parties including City Parks, Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD), the South African Police Services (SAPS), Department of Social Development (DSD), and ward 65 and ward 123 committee members to develop a safety strategy to combat its previous post-upgrade trends and to reintroduce recreational use. Sticky Situations was contracted to facilitate the assessment process and activate the park as it had established a rapport of the context during the End Street North Pilot project.

2.2.4 End Street South Park

End Street South Park (periodically referred to as ESS Park) is located at the south end of Nugget and End streets and on the corner of Lillian Ngoyi Street before the train station in Doornfontein, Johannesburg. The park is 1.17ha and is categorised as a local park. It is surrounded by businesses and has a thoroughfare that connects the Doornfontein train station to Noord taxi rank.

Figure 2.6: End Street South Park facilities and surrounding uses (Mavuso, 2015)



The park underwent a major infrastructural upgrade in 2008 commissioned by the JDA, which approached the Africa Housing Company (AFHCO), a property development and management company owning numerous buildings in the inner city, about managing the park (Mavuso, 2015). It signed a Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) with City Parks to manage the park in 2009 and has invested over R 1 million into the management and general maintenance of the space to date (AFHCO, undated). The park's location in close proximity to a school, AFHCO's residential and commercial properties, the train station and Noord Taxi Rank make it a vibrant space used by school kids, residents, passers-by and street traders. In addition to this, AFHCO runs a number of community based programmes that encourage use of the park by community members such as the Inner City Ambassadors (ICA) Football Club (an NGO that works to deter kids from engaging in criminal or unsafe activities through its football based programme). The ICA offices are located at the southern end of the park.

2.3 State agencies directly involved the case studies

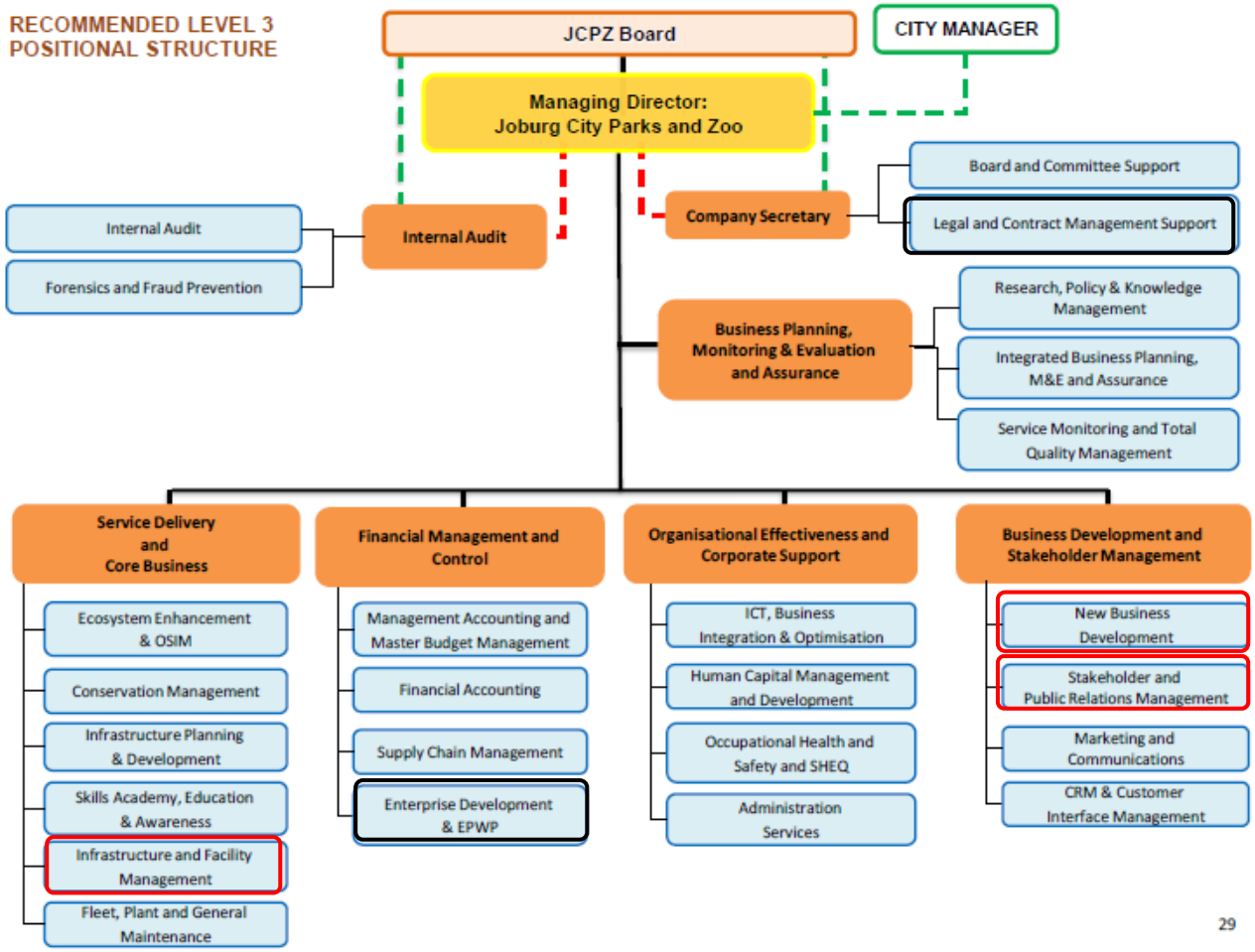
This section provides descriptions of City Parks and the JDA, outlining their functions and in the case of the former, the structure of the state body (which will become relevant throughout the research).

2.3.1 Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo

Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo is a municipal owned entity (MoE) under the CoJ. It is the official custodian of approximately 222 public open green spaces, including parks, nature reserves, bird sanctuaries, cemeteries and public greenery (trees, roadside pockets of foliage etc.). It is a registered NPO that has, since the merging of the separate entities Johannesburg City Parks and Johannesburg Zoo into one entity in 2013, undergone considerable restructuring and downsizing (JCPZ, 2013).

City Parks functions based on its capital (also referred to as capex) and operational (also referred to as opex) expenditure budgets, each of which have specifically delineated uses and are limited to only those uses. Capex is used for capital infrastructural projects including (re)developing new open green spaces, while the opex is used for operational issues such as daily maintenance of public open green spaces for instance basic horticultural services like grass cutting and pruning; alien vegetation removal and the general cleaning of park facilities. (JCPZ, 2016 and CoJ, 2017). The figure below illustrates the structure of the organisation and highlights the key departments and units that are relevant to this study. The table that follows provides a brief description of the different departments.

Figure 2.7: Organogram of City Parks (JCPZ, 2013:83)



Units engaged

Units relevant but not engaged

Figure 2.8: Roles of the City Parks departments in the research

Department	Main Function
Infrastructure and Facility Management	Management of all the public open green facilities ranging from development and maintenance to usage in order to ensure the efficient delivery of services (City Parks official, interview, 2017 and JCPZ, 2013)
Stakeholder and Public Relations Management	Lead, direct and manage identified stakeholders. Mediate and maintain stakeholder relationships and build networks (City Parks Stakeholder Liaison Officer, interview 2016)
Research, Policy and Knowledge Management	"Contribute to knowledge, policy and strategy, both nationally and globally. Conducting research studies to develop a body of

	knowledge to guide and inform business planning and service delivery" (JCPZ, 2013: 85)
New Business Development	Facilitating partnerships between City Parks and businesses or formal civil society groups such as churches that result in some financial benefit to the organisation i.e. cost cutting in maintenance or revenue generation such as facility hires (City Parks New Business Development General Manager, personal conversation 2018).
Enterprise Development and EPWP	"Capacitating EPWP Contractors • Coordination of the of EPWP job opportunities within JCPZ • Establishment of EPWP coops • Ensure viable EPWP programmes • Capacitate and support EPWP SMME's" (JCPZ, 2013: 86).
Legal and Contract Management Support	Provide legal guidance for all departments and units in the organisation – this includes drawing up legal documentation for internal purposes and for external partnerships for instance with corporate bodies or Not for profit civil society organisations (City Parks Legal Unit Representative, personal conversation, 2018).

2.3.2 Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)

The JDA is an implementation agency in the CoJ that facilitates and manages developments in line with the city's strategic and economic visions as set out in the CoJ's Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) and the Corridors of Freedom (CoF). The GDS is the overall vision for the city, with social, economic, spatial and political aspirations (CoJ, 2017). The CoF is a spatial plan anchored by urban planning and design principles around compact city development, integrated public transport including non-motorised transportation and high volume and speed transportation (Molema, 2016). The JDA carries out capital projects in the public realm, such as the development of parks, sidewalks and the development of the Bus Rapid Transit system, Rea Vaya (Molema, 2016 and PARI, 2013). It receives its strategic directive from the Development Planning unit in the CoJ, which focuses on, among other things developing partnerships with the private sector for the sustainable regeneration of the city (PARI, 2013 and JDA official, 2018). The agency was directly involved in the upgrade of all four parks in the research. However, the agency's functions do not extend to maintenance and operational management of infrastructure. Following completion, the developments are handed over to the relevant state body.

The JDA played significant roles in two regeneration projects for the inner city specifically, the Hillbrow Tower Upgrade Project and the Eleven Parks Project. The Hillbrow Tower project had phased upgrades in the suburb towards roads, pavements

and public spaces such as (JDA Development Facilitation manager, 2018). The Eleven Parks Project was a focused initiative on (re)developing and managing eleven parks in the inner city (Matubatuba et al, 2018).

2.4 Conclusion

The chapter introduced the case studies and state subjects of the research. Though there is no visual stakeholder mapping, the descriptions show the important role played by Sticky Situations and Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project collectively across three of the parks, excluding End Street South Park, which is both more spatially isolated but also has an independent more prominent private investment.

Chapter 3

Co-production, Policy Instruments and place making in governing the city

3.1 Introduction

The literature review is divided into three thematic areas, which have been found to be significant individually as concepts to understanding how public/ community groups, the state and private bodies engage each other and the public space that brings them together. These themes are collectively significant to developing a useful model of public space management as well as understanding community interests in under resourced areas. The themes are co-production, policy instruments, and community development and place making in African cities.

A link can be made between co-production and policy instruments, although these concepts are developed by different literatures and disciplines. In this instance, there are methods, measures and tools or lack thereof that impact the development and the trajectory of collaborative partnerships between different stakeholders. In other cases, public policy develops and is adapted through engagements between parties. The selection of literature below looks at co-production and policy instruments individually as exploratory conceptions, and collectively in an effort to understand how states do and can work. More importantly, this literature discusses the relevance of parks as public space and therefore public goods, and how the quality of this public good is impacted by co-production processes and the institution of governing policy instruments.

3.2 Policy instruments as frameworks and ad-hoc tools in the management of public open spaces

The theme 'Policy instruments' helps us unpack the idea of governance, and more specifically the approaches used to govern. Le Gales (2010) puts forth an intriguing interrogation of policy instruments, drawing a correlation between them and a change in the type of governance and government institutions, broadly termed the 'operationalisation of governance'. This is useful to note even prior to establishing what policy instruments really are and what forms they can take because it instigates an idea of causality between approaches used in the functioning of the state and the reason for the functions. To further unpack this, the section will begin by describing what a policy instrument is and the different forms that instruments can assume. The second part of the section discusses more closely the value of these instruments in terms of how they are used and for what outcomes.

3.2.1 Defining policy instruments and the form they can assume

Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) state that policy instruments are technical and social institutions that manifest the existing relationship between the state and citizens,

moreover, inherent in every instrument is knowledge about social control and ho to exercise it (ibid.:3). Elsewhere, Lascoumes and Le Gales reiterate that instruments are not neutral but carry with them intentions, motivations and effects (Le Gales, 2010 and Lascoumes and Simard, 2011).

Policy instruments are indicative of changes in public policies, trends and therefore in modes of governance. Le Gales (2010) warns against some typical errors, which he argues are commonly made by functionalists. These include in the first place, the priori supposition of instruments as developed and immediately at the disposal of the government. However, later on Le Gales, in collaboration with Halpern (2011) in their more empirical discussion of public policy and instruments argue that there are instruments that exist and have existed in their form for a long term. As a result they are seen as the norm, or as given. On the other hand, they argue that there isn't necessary one instrument that is available for operationalisation by the government. Instead, a number of ad-hoc instruments need to be developed and used simultaneous in the making of public policy.

Another common mistake is the preoccupation with the effectiveness of a policy instrument. Peters (2000) proposes a marginally normative interrogation of instruments, with three main criteria in close relation to one another namely: "the instrument, the policy problem and the managerial technique" (ibid.: 37). He makes an argument that the intent of a policy can be related to the policy problem; and that the positionality and commitment of the implementer also matters. In other words, an instrument and its operator are directly in flux. They do not operate in a vacuum and have implications on each other. Neither are independent, nor are they stable variables.

This is particularly relevant in how instruments are framed for the management of public parks. The intentions for many policies, strategies and contracts in the management of green spaces says a lot about the positionality of actors.

3.2.2 Instrumentation and Operationalisation of Policy Instruments

Le Gales (2010) draws differentiates between the instrumentation and the institutionalisation of policy instruments. My understanding of the two concepts is that instrumentation is use of an instrument, and institutionalisation as combinations of instruments that become a way of analysing instrumentation itself.

Looking into the instrumentation of instruments allows for a deeper of appreciation of public policy instruments and an approach of them as normative and affected by choices, as inherently resulting in power inequalities. This emphasis relates to the operationalisation of instruments and to the technical and pragmatic employ of specific interventions that function to regulate and control the relationship between who governs and the governed le Gales, 2010).

Instruments can take on a life of their, producing outcomes different from the intents. This echoes Peters (2000) argument that instruments do not operate in a vacuum. Instruments directly affect the way in which actors behave, and a result can be said to instruments themselves.

Lascoumes and Le Gales (2007) suggest a typology of policy instruments to illustrate how they relate to state governance. The table is useful in that it characterises the political relations that can be expected. Analytically, in the case of this research, it's easier to group instruments and tools used by City Parks and to begin to assess what their outcomes are in relation to their intentions. However, it has limitations with regards to the uncertainty of instruments. Le Gales (2010) as aforementioned above surmises that instruments are not a priori but neither there nor in his work with Lascoumes where they presented this typology, provides the tools to unpack the uncertain existence or formulation of an instrument.

Figure 3.1: Typology of policy instruments (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2007: 12)

TABLE 1
Typology of Policy Instrument

Type of Instrument	Type of Political Relations	Type of Legitimacy
Legislative and Regulatory	Social Guardian State	Imposition of a General Interest by Mandated Elected Representatives
Economic and Fiscal	Wealth Producer State, and Redistributive State	Seeks Benefit to the Community Social and Economic Efficiency
Agreement-Based and Incentive-Based	Mobilizing State	Seeks Direct Involvement
Information-Based and Communication-Based	Audience Democracy	Explanation of Decisions and Accountability of Actors
De Facto and De Jure Standards Best Practices	Adjustments within Civil Society Competitive Mechanisms	Mixed: Scientific/ Technical, Democratically Negotiated and/or Competition, Pressure of Market Mechanisms

Baudot (2013) is far more helpful in this regard. The author asserts that instruments are not always certain, not only in their effects but also in their configuration or if they can be called instruments at all. Instruments can be anything that can tell us about relationship between the state and its subjects. It does not have to as defined as a tax reform. Instead it could be an event such as a meeting, or any other activity that has implications on governance. For this research, I will therefore call instruments

contractual agreements and the engagements that functionally contribute to the development of these agreements.

3.3 Co-production – an exploratory concept for collaborative governance

The foundational understanding of the term 'co-production' can be traced to Elinor Ostrom (1996) who describes it as a process where two or more different parties invest towards the provision of goods and services. In this process, citizens and private organisations can actively participate in the delivery of goods and services that are generally known to be the State's responsibility. Ostrom (1996) in one of her seminal works makes use of two different cases studies, one about water and sanitation infrastructure development in Brazil and another about primary education support and policy reform in Nigeria to illustrate some of the key elements of co-production. These include 1) co-production can be difficult without the active participation of the recipients (e.g. citizens reporting suspicious activities to help police departments reduce crime (ibid.: 1079); 2) City officials at the local level (teachers, police officers, park managers, nurses etc.) do not always act within the confines of their mandates but can influence distribution of goods and services based on their commitment to their jobs and their judgements; 3) co-production entails a transformation of all parties included (compromises, power sharing, negotiating) to complement each source's inputs; 4) co-production may not be advantageous in many situations - in other words, the opportunity cost to transform may not be as worthwhile to one party as it is to another.

Ostrom's (1996) notion of co-production has since been complemented and contested both as a concept of public or community engagement and as a resourcing strategy. In the case of the former, co-production can often be seen as an intrinsic part of deepening democracy, of bringing the state closer to the people and empowering them to a play a more active role as citizens. The latter is likely to be seen as a neoliberal approach for the state to increase financial resources in response to its own constraints as well as responding to development agendas such as 'World Class' cityscapes (Németh, 2009 and van der Krabben and van Melik, 2016). Conversely, co-production can be seen as the departure of the state, and the shirking of its responsibilities to its constituents (Bovaird et al, 2017).

The provision of public space has historically been known to be the responsibility of the state, but van der Krabben and van Melik (2016) argue that this is not practical, and that in order to maintain the quality of public spaces, private beneficiaries should be involved. Joshi and Moore (2004) in concurrence further, development Ostrom's (1996) ideas of civil and state collaboration, arguing more specifically for institutionalised co-production. This is defined as regulated and organised long term provision of public goods and services by the state, civil and/or private organisations. According to the authors, co-production often already exists in many countries with weak formal governance where citizens take initiatives to source basic services for themselves;

where private groups provide more affordable or sometimes monetarily expensive but geographically more accessible pubic goods and services to the poor; or where these public goods and services have been officially subcontracted by the state. Institutionalised co-production is based on organisational agreements that enforce the regular provision of public goods by the various parties involved. Joshi and Moore (2004) point out that power or control may not necessarily be equally shared by all stakeholders, nor would that be necessary, however the institutional arrangements in place can provide clear boundaries to hold parties accountable.

More (2005) concurs that private investment into public spaces has become necessary. He suggests a number of models wherein this can be seen. The first is a fully public model, under state control. The second model is one in which public spaces such as parks operate like public utilities, such as electricity. Income would be generated through a user-pays system. The third model entails outsourcing of the production rights to private bodies. In this scenario, the state would provide funding and private groups would compete to produce the space cost-effectively. Private ownership of parks by non-profit organisations is the fourth model. Specialist and interest groups such as conservancy bodies are able to generate income through their networks and relationships with like-minded people, and do not have the burden of taxation. The last model entails full privatisation of parks by developers for interest (Németh, 2009).

This fully public model has been largely inefficient thus far; however More (2005) argues that it is a better alternative to the outsourcing and full privatisation models, which would exclude those who cannot afford to pay. Moreover, full privatisation model nullifies the publicness of space (Németh, 2009).

Alford (2014) on the other hand, argues that co-production is multi-faceted and far more complex than Ostrom's (1996) presentation. Alford (2014) looks more closely at the varying collective values of co-production. For instance in the provision of high density public housing - individual tenants benefit from having their own private properties, citizens benefit from the realisation of their housing needs which then enables them to realise other socio-economic parts of life, and group benefits emerge when tenants co-produce to taking care of shared facilities such as elevators, access points etc. Some parties may do more or less than others. The argument here is that values may converge, diverge or just be different. This is important to understanding of the costs and benefits of the co-production process, and why there conflicting priorities (Alford, 2014: 306).

Watson (2014) employs co-production as an exploratory concept of understanding the state-society relationship as it relates to urban and spatial planning in rapidly urbanising where States have been ineffective 'accomplishing the ideals democratic politics' (ibid.: 63). Watson (2014) provides useful critiques to first to Ostrom's (1996) argument of complementary inputs between citizens and states first by highlighting its assumptions

that all citizens would receive equal access to goods and services regardless of their race, class, ethnicity, gender, etc., which ignores the implications of power. A second critique is based on Ostrom (1996), and layer Joshi and Moore's (2004) assumption on community development in that neither specify community engagement and development as clear goals and outputs within the co-production process. The focus is more on service delivery. In terms of social movement led co-production, Watson

3.4 Community Development and Place Making in African City

Community organising is an important element of creating strong and sustained citizen interest in issues that affect them. Dreier (1996) argues that it is important to mobilise community members on common issues, build capacity with information, amongst other things and develop leadership skills in order to develop communities. Community development is particularly important in low income areas where public services are limited or fragmented in that it contributes to place making. When people actively participate in the production of their physical environment, they begin to take ownership of their places protect them (Strydom and Puren, 2013). Dreier (1996) posits that the lack of funding significantly affects how communities organise and what changes they effect, but also concurs that capacity building is more about leadership skills - sometimes provided by external groups such as NGO's - and the will of the masses to fight for what they want. Keeping the idea of place making in mind, the first section will discuss common debates related more specifically to fragmented, multi-cultural African cities in general and Johannesburg in particular.

3.4.1 Fragmentation and Identity in African cities

Simone is arguably one of the most prolific writers on African cities and the lived experiences of African people. In one of his works, Simone (2004) argues that that in many African cities characterised by high populations, poverty and unemployment, there is a significant state focus on development. However, this is constrained in the large by illegibility, which affects the way in which the state functions. This is interesting in its direct relation to the issue of undocumented residents, but more so in it implication of a continuously negotiated and negotiating citizenry. Constrained populations are always in a state emergency, tethered in most cases by social relations and the networks in the spaces they occupy that help define them. Landau (2006) agrees with the significance of networks to some extent, but asserts rather, that cities, and in particular Johannesburg are 'a frontier zone', a community of strangers – some foreign, some citizens living in a place that is no one's "home"' (2006: 130). Both discourses are manifest in the Johannesburg inner city. In the first place, many people (often not native to the city) come in search for opportunities to improve their livelihoods and eventually never return to their prior city. Relationships and networks are built as social endeavours, but most commonly for economic survival. This is especially the case for foreign migrants, who are forced develop ethnic or nationality based enclaves as a

result of exclusionary and largely xenophobic practices (Simone, 2004a and Landau, 2006).

Xenophobia in Johannesburg is a particularly common phenomenon, even in the inner city where there arguably few natives to the area. Foreigners are often criminalised, blamed for many social ills such as criminal activity, homelessness and the spread of diseases too (Landau, 2006). A large part of the problem is the lack of institutional measures or practices by the state to recognise foreigners, first in the strict laws and conditions, and forms of documentation that asylum seekers come across; secondly it is in the implications related to the lack of recognition as it related to access to social services such as healthcare (Amit and Kriger, 2014).

Composition of the population along nationality and ethnicity, crime as well as socio-economic problems like and poverty contribute to the character of neighbourhoods and the manner in which people view they're space. There are indeed divisions between those who have comparatively better services than others, in an overall grimy suburb that can translate to fragmentation (Bremner, 2000). Conversely, the increased protection of public spaces in the form of high securitisation and user exclusion is counterproductive to the intent of unifying residents and users and building a strong sense of collective ownership. State police, and non-state parties can engender feelings of insecurity borne from increased surveillance and militant restrictions on activities. These raise questions around the publicness of public spaces, making spaces uninviting (Mitchell, 1995).

3.4.2 Parks as Public Space and Place

There are different types of public spaces. For instance places of functional communal use such as sidewalks; public spaces for leisure, such as parks and political public spaces such as community halls where meetings are held and issues debated – although all spaces can be politicised (Amin, 2006). Cities today are predominantly composed of the built environment – parks and nature reserves have become valuable spaces that provide reprieve (Daneshpour and Mahmoodpour (2009). In rural and under resourced areas, parks can play an important role in maintaining the social fabric. The use of public parks as spaces of interaction and recreation encourage place attachment and the development of social capital (Carpenter, 2013). And in fact, the joint development and maintenance of public spaces can be a source of collective achievement, expressing civic culture and collective we-being (Amin, 2008).

Parks as public space are rendered special due to the fact unlike other types of public spaces such museums, monuments and stadiums; are often the exception to privatisation or outright commercialisation (Banerjee, 2001).

The collaboration on a park in particular, in additional to providing a necessary public space, is a journey in beautifying public space and in fighting stereotypes and

assumptions conferred on inner city dwellers that they are desensitised to urban decay. The reality is that people in poor, non-formal or legal high density areas are often victims of limited state interventions public services such water and sanitation, and refuse removal as well as in the distribution of public amenities such as parks, which have the potential to significantly improve social and public hygiene in communities by virtue of their presence, their design and their level of use (Amin, 2008 and Banerjee, 2001).

Use and user diversity have the affect warding off dormancy and thus the vulnerability of a park to crime (Jacobs, 1961), moreover, an active citizenry can help keep the space alive through civic formations like singing or dancing groups and sports teams (Jacobs, 1961 and Banerjee, 2001).

Parks in many ways are equally as important as commercial spaces. As spaces of leisure, they are public commodities that give meaning to people's spatial pursuits. Parks are not just good for building or anchoring the community they are located in, they benefit even the passer-by and the citizen who works nearby. Parks are destinations. They have processual meaning to users and to those who govern them (Glover and Johnson, 2013).

3.5 Conclusion

The literature defined instruments as tools that can either be established or ad-hoc that be operationalised towards certain governance outcomes. In this research, instruments guide actions and interventions and regulate partnerships. The instruments can be associated thus with Joshi and Moore's (2004) presentation of institutionalised co-production because they serve as organisational agreements that delineate role and responsibilities. Understanding place making within a context of multiple socio-economic challenges helps us begin unpacking why empowering communities is so difficult and why it is important to relate specific public interventions to the intended users and recipients.

Chapter 4
Research Design and Process

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the approach to conducting the research and the process of putting this report together. It begins by discussing how the particular research topic came about and how the scope of the research was defined. This is followed by a discussion of the case study research methodology that was employed, and the various methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation.

A qualitative design was chosen for the research because the research was driven by the need to understand how particular groups of people worked together towards developing and managing open green spaces. As such, this research required an exploratory approach to understanding complex human behaviour, driven by no specific or defined theory (Mouton, 2001). An inductive mode of reasoning was employed, and loosely guided by what Creswell (2009) describes as philosophical worldviews that influence why a researcher selects a particular research design. According to this, there are four main philosophical worldviews, namely postpositive, social construction, advocacy or participatory, and pragmatic. The postpositive worldview is based on empirical and scientific thought; social construction and advocacy/participatory worldviews are interested in people and are commonly seen as approaches of qualitative research. The pragmatic worldview is seen as a mixed method research design approach, focusing equally on empiricism as well as actions and circumstances that that affect empirical data.

From these above descriptions, it was decided that a participatory worldview best fit the research given that the research topic itself was underpinned by a collaboration of various social groups ranging in size, recognition and resources; but more importantly as a result of existing research and relationships built through CUBES, where interacting with participants is often used as a research tool. The following section details how this research topic came about and how the scope of the research was ultimately defined.

4.2 Defining the Research

Co-production as an area of academic exploration came about following discussions with my long-term research supervisor - inspired by my previous research on the co-management of nature reserves as spaces of debate around conservation and development for economic sustainability (amongst others), and my interest in stakeholder engagement around public spaces. My honours research looked at partnerships and relationships between City Parks and voluntary users groups for nature reserves located in middle to upper middle class suburbs. The main finding, to my chagrin was that these relationships were dysfunctional, despite the shared interest to protect and maintain the nature reserves. The lesson here was that partnerships are

complex and difficult to maintain as a result of differing values, intentions, and professional and social interests. These partnerships were made more volatile by the lack of accountability and transparency between stakeholders and most notably, the difficulties to share power. Going into my masters, I was still interested in understanding collaborative partnerships around open green spaces, and hopefully learning how they can be functional. My supervisor suggested an investigation of the concept and literature on co-production and its particular role in public service delivery and promoting state and civil society collaboration through case studies that had evidence of functional or potentially constructive partnerships.

Initially, the research topic focused on co-production within a neoliberal context, comparing two or more case studies. The first case identified was an organised and resourced civil society group around Delta Park, a park located in a middle to upper-middle class suburb in Johannesburg. A partnership was being developed in the form of establishing private funding for biking lanes around the park. End Street North Park was added as a dynamic space that was at the time undergoing development, and where a fellow student under the PSUG research programme had recently completed an investigation of participatory park design (Mavuso, 2015). End Street North Park would offer contrast to Delta Park because it was the polar opposite in terms of location in Johannesburg and the demographics (specifically that it is in an impoverished area). The areas of focus for the research included the neoliberalisation of public spaces, looking particularly at privatisation and securitisation; conflicting rationalities and interests, specifically tensions between economic and environmental sustainability of public parks; and lastly in the case Delta Park, investigating the existing management model. Upon further developing the design process, it became clear that access to Delta Park was limited. In terms of the location, the park would be hard to reach by public transport. Furthermore, it was discovered that there were various stakeholders, some of which were not formerly organised or had established relationships with City Parks, which would affect access for data collection. Later on, Delta Park was abandoned altogether and three other parks were selected. The four case studies now included End Street South Park, Ekhaya Park and Pullinger Kop Park. The case studies are all located on the same street in the inner city making them physically accessible by public transport, have similar demographics and the interested and affected stakeholders were easier to identify. End Street South and Ekhaya parks had existing partnerships with ongoing management initiatives which allowed me to explore co-production in practice, while Pullinger Kop Park at the time was the site community based experiments around activating the park and ensuring safety. Moreover, the different case studies had the conditions that allowed me to explore the neoliberal aspects of securitisation and privatisation; investigate and compare the models of management in use; and understand the conflicting rationalities relevant to these particular contexts.

The thematic interest in securitisation and privatisation was influenced by Mavuso's (2015) findings around the safety of inner city parks; however it is also a significant part of the need for focused collaborative efforts by the state, residents and businesses around safety in the in the inner city. Following discussions with my supervisor, and a number of other stakeholders (to be discussed further in the chapter), it became clear that there were attempts at collaboration, although these were diverse as result of different management forms. These were not only geared towards improving safety, but also to sustainable management of parks in a context that seemed to lack that. The case studies presented an opportunity to study co-production as a process of continuous engagement and knowledge exchange where research on public spaces in the inner city was limited. Concurrently, co-production could be seen as the means to ends. It could be studied in terms of its outcomes, which are more tangible in inner city parks than they are suburban parks. These outcomes are in the types of users in parks, their safety, the presence or level of vandalism of park facilities etc. These particular case studies provided me an opportunity to look at relationships that did (at least on the surface) work; spaces that did have direct impacts on the residents in the community.

4.3 The Case Study Strategy of Inquiry and Research Methods

A case study method was determined as the main tool for providing an in-depth description of the focus of the research (Mouton, 2001). Case studies allow the researcher to perform a holistic and in-depth investigation of a certain phenomena or event (Zainal, 2007). Yin (1989) suggests that there are three conditions for case studies. The first condition is the form of research questions asked – for instance, *why* or *how* questions, or in the case of exploratory case studies, *what* questions with 'the goal being to develop pertinent hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry' (ibid.:17). The second and third conditions are whether or not the researcher can control the events and as such, if these are contemporary events. Since case studies involve direct observations, they happen in the contemporary, oftentimes where not all variables can be manipulated (ibid.19).

As mentioned earlier, the research methodology used here is of multiple case studies. The case studies are comparatively analysed to explore the concept of co-production. However, comparative analysis of the case studies has an explanatory function; seeking to explain why similar approaches have widely different outcomes and why generalisations can, or cannot be made. Comparisons help us become more aware of different systems, cultures and patterns of thinking and acting (Esser and Vliegenthart, 2017); however, they require open mindedness and for researchers not to use case studies specifically to confirm preconceived notions (Yin, 1989).

End Street North Park was the first case study selected. At the time, it was undergoing development which was the outcome of extensive stakeholder engagement from

November 2015 until late 2016, led by Sticky Situations (renowned for stakeholder engagement and public space activation initiatives) at the behest of City Parks and the JDA, who are the main initiators of the development project. The intention for City Parks through this process was to build a park that responded to users' and community members needs, as well as to establish community based management of the park. This case was selected as it represented an uncommon process in inner city park development by various state and non-state parties, making it possibly a unique example of co-production in Johannesburg and in the delivery of public spaces as public goods.

End Street South Park was then selected as a possible yardstick for park use and design following Mavuso's (2015) comparative study of park design between End Street South and North parks. While Mavuso's (2015) research identified AFHCO as the manager, it did not delve deeper into its role in the space. This gap provided an opportunity to investigate this type of partnership.

Ekhaya Park was later selected following preliminary investigations of the character of the neighbourhood that End Street South and End Street North parks were located in. It became clear that Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project played a significant urban management role in the neighbourhood and in the Hillbrow suburb at large. Moreover, it was presented as an example of sustainable and efficient park management by City Parks. The voluntary CID manages Ekhaya Park and has been partners with Bad Boyz Security since the CID's inception. The security company provides security guards in and patrols outside the park, as it does with many other spaces under the Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project's jurisdiction. As a result, the CID has substantial control over access into the park. This case study speaks directly to the securitisation and privatisation, which were mentioned earlier.

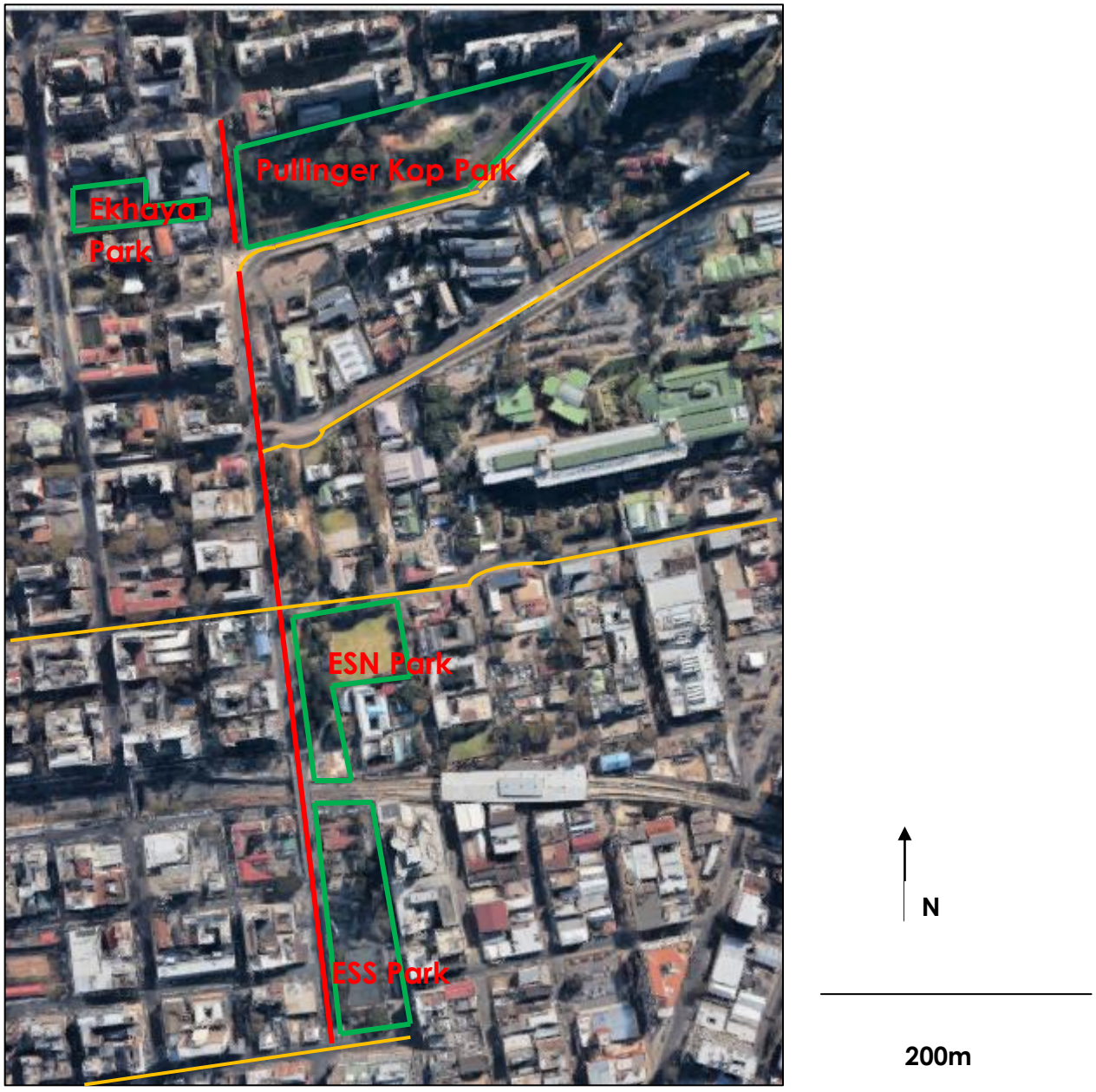
Pullinger Kop Park was selected because Sticky Situations (who had generously offered to support me through sharing information and their network of community members in the area) had been contracted for six months from mid 2017 to facilitate community involvement for active use of the park, and to facilitate multi-stakeholder co-production for safety and security in and around the park. At the time of the research, the park was permanently closed to the public and described in media sources as the epitome of urban ills due to drug related criminal activities.

The cases are located on the same street, spanning less than 1km from the southern-most park to the northern-most park but there were many differences between them such as the forms of management, designs of the parks, levels of access and thus the different volumes and types of users. The observed similarity of the cases at the beginning of the research was that a lot of money was being invested into refurbishing these spaces (with varying levels of success) and that due to the location, there was indeed a broad user base. Moreover, with the exception of Pullinger Kop Park, the parks were the official responsibility of Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo.

Figure 4.1: Summary of park superficies

	End Street South Park	End Street North Park	Ekhaya Park	Pullinger Kop Park
Size (ha)	1.17	0.5	0.48	2.2
Last Date Refurbishment	2008	In progress	2017	2016
Design (Facilities)	Lavatories Seating Children's Play Equipment Sports Fields Dustbins	Under-Construction	Lavatories Seating Children's Play Equipment Sports Fields Dustbins	Seating Children's Play Equipment Sports Fields Dustbins Outdoor Gym
Access (not time related)	Open	N/A	Controlled (registers/logbooks)	Controlled/Closed
Users (age)	Unrestricted	Unrestricted (during construction)	<15yrs	None
Non- state Maintenance	AFHCO	N/A	Ekhaya CID	Unofficially – JDA
Activations and Community Development	AFHCO	Sticky Situations	Ekhaya CID	Sticky Situations/ Ward Committee
Type of Agreement	MoA	N/A	MoA (undocumented)	Draft 55MoA

Figure 4.2: Close physical relation of case studies along Nugget Street (Google maps)

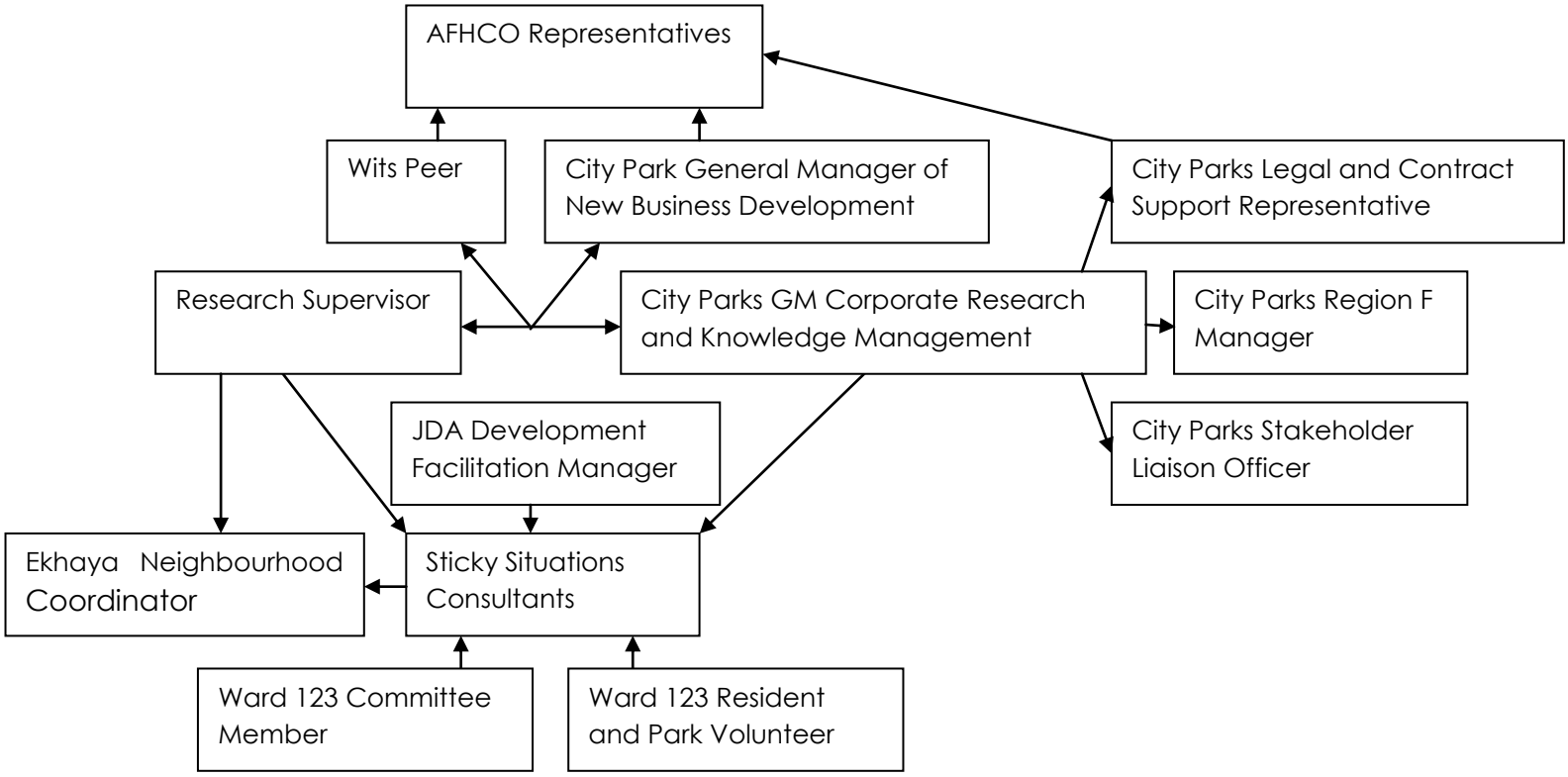


4.3.1 Data Collection

The case study selection and data collection processes took place with significant guidance from my research supervisor and the City Parks general manager of Corporate Research and Knowledge Management, whom my supervisor introduced me to in 2016. City Parks was still in the process of piloting a co-development process for the park, with the help of Sticky Situations and the JDA. My research supervisor and the general manager of Corporate Research and Knowledge Management shared their networks of contacts, which overlapped due ongoing joint research on parks between

the Corporate Research and Knowledge Management department and CUBES, and the participant selection snowballed from there. The diagram below illustrates how the participants were identified. The types of data collected are discussed further below the diagram.

Figure 4.3: Diagram illustrating how participants were found



a. Semi- structured Interviews

Semi- structured interviews are useful to get information that is not easily observed (Yin, 1989). In the case of this research, the interviews provided useful contextual and historical information that was necessary to understand the physical character of the case studies and the neighbourhood they are located in. An interview guideline (see appendices) was designed with themes around the participants' backgrounds they related to the case study and/or the nature of their organisation; involvement in park operations (cleaning, repairs, security, park activation events); and insights on socio-economic or political issues related to the case study (crime, homelessness, unemployment, community development). These interviews were audio-recorded, with consent. Semi-structured interview respondents included:

- City Parks Region F Manager
- JDA Development Facilitation Manager
- Ekhaya Neighbourhood Coordinator
- Ward 123 Community Resident and Park Volunteer

b. Personal communications

Personal communications are conversations that were not audio-recorded, were often casual, some were preliminary meetings with respondents to ascertain whether a more formalised discussion was necessary and others were conversations at research related events. These were useful in soliciting documents related to the case studies. Personal communications took place face to face and electronically (e-mail and telephone texting). The research was explained to all participants and they were aware that record of the discussions would take place. Information collected through this method was hand-written. Participants were:

- Wits Peer
- City Parks Director of Knowledge, Research and Management
- City Parks Stakeholder Liaison Officer
- City Parks General Manager of New Business Development
- City Parks official in the Contracts and Legal Department
- 2 AFHCO representatives (Operations Officer, Property Development Manager)
- 2 Sticky Situations Consultants
- Ward 123 Committee Member

c. Participatory Observations – public meetings and site visits

Cresswell (2009) notes that observations can illuminate useful information that was not initially considered. Moreover, it can provide the researcher with firsthand experience of the phenomena being investigated.

Seven community meetings were attended between July 2017 and March 2018. Five of these meetings were related to End Street North Park. The other two meetings were related to Pullinger Kop Park. Meetings were not regular occurrences but arose instead in response to specific issues. In the case of End Street North Park, meetings discussed progress in the park's (re)development (design modifications, access, labour and safety in the neighbourhood), and how the park could be sustainably managed following its completion. The meetings attended for Pullinger Kop Park focused on how the park could be activated.

In addition to attending meetings, the case studies were randomly visited at different times of the week and at different times of the day. The morning visits were before 10h00, while daytime visits were between 12h00 to 18h00. Three of the case studies were visited a total of ten times, while Pullinger Kop Park, was only visited six times due to safety issues.

Figure 4.4: Site visits by day of the week and time of the day

	Weekdays before 10h00	Weekdays 12h00-18:00	Weekends before 10h00	Weekends 12h00-18h00	Total Visits
End Street South Park	2	2	2	4	10
End Street North Park	2	2	2	4	10
Ekhaya Park	2	2	2	4	10
Pullinger Kop Park	1	1	1	3	6

The intention of the random site visits was to observe uses, user groups and how each park is maintained. Four out of the six times Pullinger Kop Park was visited, a male escort was present for safety reasons. Geographically, all the sites of study were accessible as they were located less than 2.5km away from Noord Taxi Rank, and were within a 5 km radius from the University of the Witwatersrand.

d. Document and Media Review

Documents and media resources such as newspaper articles and videos were gathered to complement other data gathering methods used in the research. These sources provided historical and contextual information which was particularly useful because academic research on the case studies was limited and disproportionate. Bowen (2009) asserts that document and media analysis is useful in corroborating information and establishing patterns throughout the different data collection methods. According to Yin (1989) the usefulness of this method of data collection is not based on the accuracy or impartiality of the information it presents. Rather, documents and media sources help make inferences and raise further questions that may be relevant to the research inquiry.

Documents and media sources used in the study include:

- City of Johannesburg Inner City Regeneration Charter and Inner City Regeneration Status Quo Report on Inner City Parks - these assisted in providing some context of the physical and infrastructural investments into the inner city at large and to inner city parks specifically. It should be noted that there was little access to archival documents published by the City that could substantiate what was in these documents. As a result, various academic documents were used to complement and contrast the information provided here.

- Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo management plans, strategic reports, maintenance schedules and contracts - these provided information about the entity's operational structure, functions and plans. This was of significance in understanding the role that City Parks plays in relation to its stated mandate and capacity. Moreover, this provided information on the process of partnering with civil society groups, particularly how functions and power are shared. Some of these documents were analysed in an earlier research report (Mokgere, 2016), however the change in contexts provided a new perspective to unpacking the complexity of collaborative relationships for sustainable green space management.
- Minutes from closed and public meetings - assisted in understanding public concerns and parks' characters in relation to plans and initiatives for activation and management. Only two of the case studies were allowed for this data collection method, which resulted in an unbalanced amount of information regarding dynamic and current occurrences across the case studies.
- Sticky Situations reports on the End Street North Park Pilot Project - these detailed the participatory strategies used in the development of the park, and were useful in trying to understand the unique character of Johannesburg inner city communities. From 2018, my research supervisor and I became involved in reviewing the organisation's reports, sharing insights and observation on the End Street North Park pilot project.
- Past and current research reports – Mavuso's (2015) research report on End Street South and North park is of great significance in providing context and identifying the gaps. At the time of my research, third year politics students in the School of Architecture and Planning at Wits University were working on parks projects, one of which was on Ekhaya Park. This research intersected with mine, providing me with better access to the CID coordinator as a research participant. The research reports have been useful in reflecting on forms of management and actively participating in co-production processes for the parks.
- Websites - these were the starting point for research on the case studies and provided information about participant organisations' public identity and what they do. However, not all organisations included in the research had websites, furthermore, some had not been updated. As a result, this method could not be used for all case studies.
- Newspaper articles and blog posts – this source of data painted a picture about how other members of the public, external to those immediately involved, perceived and experienced events and actions. Newspaper articles were useful because they dated as far back as a decade and as such could be used to trace changes in specific neighbourhoods in the inner city and where available, changes in a particular case study. Blog posts provided records that were more

accessible for lay people in terms of the language and the graphics used. Blog posts were seemingly less censored (although this cannot be verified), which became useful to contrast with what was said by participants.

4.3.2 Data Analysis

No specific analytic strategy was established at the beginning of the research design and planning process. As a result, this stage of the research was considerably stalled, with months spent with data that I did not know what to do with. Yin (1989) and Basit (2003) state that analysis of qualitative data is indeed a difficult endeavour. Basit (2003) argues that the difficulty in analysing qualitative data is because essentially, it is not a technical or mechanical exercise. As a result, researchers are left to draw on their own experiences and are required to continuously reflect and refine their interpretations. Creswell (2009) in accordance with this argument further asserts that data analysis occurs in concurrence with data collection. For instance, while conducting an interview, one may reflect on an earlier interview in order to refine questions and observations for the final report.

The approach finally employed to analyse the data gathered was a loose adoption of the coding approach. Coding is the process of recognising salient and summative meanings of information to identify links and patterns (Basit, 2003; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006 and Saldaña, 2013). Saldaña (2013) elaborates that patterns are not only the likeness or similarities in information, but include similarities in variations themselves. The commonality may be in the differences.

Basit's (2003) approach to analysing interviews through coding includes several analyses: some preliminary to data collection, some during data collection and some at the completion of data collection. This involves processes of coding and recoding depending on the type of study. The general process of Basit's (2003) coding analysis entails: 1) transcribing the interviews 2) reviewing and summarising each interview 3) reviewing again to identify issues 3) grouping issues into categories 4) reviewing again and refining categories into broad themes 5) finding links between the data throughout the coding process. This is an iterative process that requires continuous refinement of the codes and categories towards building themes, concepts or theories.

All data collected in the research was manually analysed using the coding approach. However, the interviews were the initial priorities. The codes developed thereof were used as a template for analysing data collected through other methods. The existing codes were refined from other data sources and new codes were developed and added to the template. Themes used in the interview guidelines were used for preliminary analysis but changed based on the responses.

The coding analysis process entailed:

- Transcribing and translating – English was the primary language used to conduct the interviews with Sesotho and Zulu helping participants better articulate some points, particularly moments of emphasis, exasperation and frustration.
- Summarizing transcripts – the transcripts were read to get an overall sense of the information, and then summarised. This was a difficult task in that while the themes used to guide the interview questions attempted to guide the discussion, responses were not always ordered. Participants did deviate from the questions, expressed more than required and introduced unanticipated, critical information. The transcripts were read repeatedly in order to organise the data into effective summaries.
- Identifying issues or codes – this step entailed cutting up interview data into passages and identifying issues or codes that help describe, summarise or distil what was said (Saldaña, 2013). For instance in the following passage by one of the interviewees:

"You need to see that the control measures that you put into place [are] managing the most important resources - human beings. So you need to see that things are done, there's meetings held." The code here is 'Monitoring'.

- Recoding and linking – this included reviewing the transcripts and the summaries with cognisance of my positioning as the researcher. This step was inspired by Saldaña's (2013) 'coding filters' which refer to a researcher's training, individual experiences and personal involvement in the research as a participant observer as these have implications on how the data is perceived, documented and coded (ibid.: 7). Following this, linkages are identified between the codes to build categories e.g. the simple codes cleaning, repairs, landscaping can be categorised as 'Maintenance'.
- Finding themes – this last step entailed going through the coded data and building themes from the categories. This last step was particularly frustrating as codes often repeated themselves and could fall into different categories. As a result, the categories were similar, making it hard to develop distinct themes. However, I soon realised that this convergence was important because it showed the overlap and interrelation between the issues that were identified throughout the research. Moreover, this last part of the analysis was helpful in developing useful recommendations.

4.4 Research Limitations

This part of the research reflects on the data collection and analysis processes, detailing the technical challenges as well my personal experiences as a researcher.

4.4.1 Data Collection Challenges

The first challenge was securing interviews with City Parks officials. The approach became to request a meeting in an effort to explain the research and determine

whether the official would be willing to participate. It was difficult to pry information out of certain officials; as a result some of the engagements were short, with very little information gathered.
In some instances, when meeting at events or meetings, the identified officials seemed more at ease engaging and allowed me to take notes of the discussion. It was clear in these cases that the issue was with being recorded, and perhaps also the interrogatory nature of a structured interview.

A second challenge was the difficulty in gaining entry to meetings, events or activities, particularly those that were not hosted by City Parks. The three developed parks had various events that could have been useful to observe, this included activation events and public meetings around specific issues of management. However, it was difficult to know of these without communication from participants. Oftentimes, I would be told after the meeting and events had taken place. An example is the multi-stakeholder meetings for security improvement and activation of Pullinger Kop Park. My point contact was from Sticky Situations as the organisation was employed specifically to facilitate said process. The representative had agreed to alert about meeting times, venues etc, however this did not always happen timeously. I understood of course that the organisation was involved in other projects besides the park. Not long after that, it had seemed the meetings had collapsed. I had to rely on the official minutes from the meetings and my contacts insights and thoughts on the process. Unfortunately, the meetings were not open to the broader public so it was not possible to get a resident's opinion about actions related to the park.

Safety and security issues became a significant deciding factor in when I went to the case study sites and who accompanied me specifically with Pullinger Kop Park due to its reputation of crime. In general, I often felt uneasy taking pictures when I was visiting sites. Prior experience in research had been in securitised spaces that were tourist attractions. As a result, visitors taking pictures was common. The inner- city parks were smaller; comparatively less secured and were everyday spaces for locals. In addition to the safety concern, I learned that the difficulties I had in taking pictures was because I was uncomfortable with taking pictures of residents and passers-by in a space that they normally used freely, without worry of obvious surveillance.

The last data collection challenge relates to the document and media. In the case of documents, it was difficult to locate archival documents about inner city development, let alone specific neighbourhoods. Online websites were not up to date, and the City of Johannesburg website was often 'under construction'. This resulted in an overreliance on academic texts to get a report of the municipality's actions in the inner city from the post-apartheid period to the present. Many of these were research reports looking at housing delivery, CID's more broadly or street trading as lenses of urban governance in

Johannesburg, and were thus not related to public open spaces in specific neighbourhoods.

A significant challenge regarding documents was access to contracts. AFHCO and Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project representatives stated categorically that there were indeed formal agreement in place to legitimise their presence in their specific spaces, but none of them could produce these agreements. Email and telephone requests for proof of a formal agreement went unanswered even though the AFHCO development manager engaged with had agreed to share the document. The Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project case as even more challenging, with the coordinator initially resisting to even meet with me about my research. Following my supervisor's intervention, it became easier to engage her; however access to the contract was not possible. The coordinator initially said she needed to discuss the matter of contracts with her superiors first, then later said her predecessor and mentor was the key access to the contract but that she had moved back to her home country and was therefore unavailable...it was unclear why the document could not be shared. The City Parks regional manager did not provide assistance either, although she had also agreed to share contracts for both spaces since they were under her jurisdiction. A last attempt was made for the contracts through a City Parks official who worked in the contracts department. She made no promises to share the contract and also made it clear that as a legal representative, she could not acquiesce to a formal interview without written consent from her superiors. While interviewing the JDA Development Facilitation manager (who's agency has been involved in the upgrade of all the case studies), I asked for her thoughts on the formalisation of partnerships, sharing my challenges acquiring documents. Understanding the analytical importance of the contracts for my research, she shared those for End Street South Park and Pullinger Kop Park, which were the only ones she had access to – to my immense gratitude.

In general, the data collection process was difficult, and often had me feeling frustrated and uninspired. I did not understand the reason for all the secrecy around what roles that were played and the resultant claims they had to the parks in question; I did not understand why many of the respondents were eager to complain about the state of partnerships in the inner city but resist to actually engaging and sharing insights about what could make these partnerships more functional. In the end, I decided to make the most of what information I was able to get.

4.4.2 Data Analysis Limits

A common criticism of qualitative research is its dependence on the researcher's interpretation. This is influenced by the personal involvement, values, training etc., all of which pose ethical concerns (Creswell, 2009). The way in which data is collected, how the data was coded or analysed all speak to my academic training, interests and

values the inquirer. These cannot be ignored and a conscious effort was made to reflect on these influences throughout the research.

The first limit of the research relates to the selection of the case study strategy of inquiry. Case studies are criticised for lacking rigor and formalisation in the material, resulting in limited scientific reliability (Yin, 1989). Rihoux (2006) argues that case studies allow for complexities to be considered, which are neutralised in more scientific studies. Furthermore, comparative case study analysis makes use of quantitative strengths, forcing the inquirer to replicated strategies across all cases, thus providing an opportunity to make generalisations (ibid.). To this point, Yin (1989) highlighted that the comparative case study analysis may also produce questions of rigor, specifically on equal rigor across all case studies. Admittedly, this was a limitation in this research. Due to varied access to documents, meetings and interviews, the types of data coded and analysed was not the same across the case studies. This showed the complexity and uniqueness of each site, but required that in each case, the types of data available be deeply interrogated and cross referenced against each other.

A second limitation and significant challenge to the analysis of the research was due to what I felt was insufficient data. As mentioned in the previous section, access to documents and responded was limited. When it was time to analyse and interpret the data in preparation for the writing, I felt stuck and frustrated, not knowing what I as missing and how to make sense of what was actually available.

Lastly, the interpretation of the data collected and the writing of this research report have been significantly affected by the relationships that I have with stakeholders, many of which have grown since I first began my research on parks in 2015. I now have a deeper and broader understanding of how City Parks works as a MoE and the pressures that officials are under. This has made it difficult to find a balance between impartiality and empathy for the officials (and other participants in the research) as human beings. I have endeavoured to be constructively critical and to remember that the goal of this research is to understand practices of the state in localised settings, and where possible, provide recommendations on how the state can improve its functions while still upholding democratic principles.

4.5 Ethical Concerns

The research did not present any significant ethical concerns as it did not include investigating any vulnerable groups. All protocols were followed in terms of acquiring permission to take notes in all closed meetings, interviews and personal conversations. Moreover, the research report makes no direct mention of the names of the participants in an effort to protect their identities.

The main ethical concern relates to funding of the research. City Parks and the JDA provided the financial support which made it possible to conduct field work and find

the various sources that enabled the writing of the report. There were no expectations from either party to provide favourable analyses and conclusions; however the financial aid presented restrictions to my intellectual freedom as a researcher forcing me continuously reflect on this relationship, debating whether I was being overly-critical, or not objective enough.

Chapter 5

Co-management in practice – What does park management in entail?

5.1 Introduction

All four parks in this research (with the exception of Pullinger Kop Park, as it was closed at the time of the research) are vibrant spaces. Hillbrow, like many other parts of the inner city is characterised by high density, high rise residential units, with little personal or recreational spaces in the form of backyards or gardens. Resultantly, the parks that do exist are often very well used. However, there is a lack of investment in the inner city where it is arguably more needed for everyday cleaning, maintenance and repairs of the public facilities and for by-law enforcement to ward off criminal activities.

Regeneration initiatives such as street upgrades by the JDA and partnerships with private organisations, in this case, AFHCO and Ekhaya Neighbourhood have made significant improvements to the safety and to the overall aesthetics in the Hillbrow neighbourhood. Direct security measures in the forms of increased visibility of security guards and CCTV specifically, have reduced insecurity for inner city residents and workers, and have increased protection of park equipment from vandalism and theft (Mkhize, 2013 and Ntshona, 2013).

This chapter presents the uses and users in the parks, what and who is involved in everyday maintenance of the parks, issues of safety in the neighbourhoods and how all of these challenges are managed by the different stakeholders involved.

5.2 Built environment and uses

The four parks on Nugget Street are surrounded by commercial properties such as hotels, shebeens, spaza shops and a few spaces used as offices, particularly towards the south of the street, near the train station and the taxi rank. There are a few educational institutions, IH Primary School, UJ Doornfontein Campus and a number of crèches dispersed throughout the neighbourhood. The parks are predominantly surrounded by residential flats, which in addition to the other diverse uses in the area, provide good anchorage (in terms of surveillance) for neighbourhood parks and reduce the probability of dormancy (Jacobs, 1961).

All four parks along Nugget Street are outfitted with children's play facilities. End Street South, End Street North and Pullinger Kop parks have facilities that can be used by adult users such as basketball courts and outdoor gym equipment.

End Street South Park has two different sections, separated by a thoroughfare (figure 2.6, chapter 2). To the south are basket ball courts and benches which are almost always occupied. In the few times I visited the park, I did not see anyone playing basket ball in the courts. This might be an issue of timing, or a lack of equipment to do so. However, there were always people sitting in or around the courts and some just casually loitering. The park has a diversity of user groups – adults resting on benches and young people chatting or playing cards in the basket ball courts. The northern part of the park has play facilities which are used by children, especially those from the local primary school.

Similar to End Street South Park, End Street North Park is also used by different age groups. Almost immediately after benches and the play equipment were installed, people began using the space.

Pullinger Kop Park in contrast to the other parks is outfitted with play equipment for younger children, possibly toddlers and those less than eight years of age. Pullinger Kop Park has outdoor gym equipment for adults to the east of the park, benches as well as a basket ball court.

Ekhaya Park is the only park among all the case studies that is designated specifically for children. It has play equipment designed for pre and primary school aged kids, and an Astroturf soccer field used by young teenagers. Ekhaya Neighborhood Project, the main manager of the park, has arrangements with a number of schools in the neighbourhood to allow them exclusive use of the facilities during certain times of the week for their pupils. According to the organisation's coordinator(interview, 2017):

> It's a public park. Anyone can come in but the park register is just a way [to] control them [school groups]. We did not want them to clash with activities because the park is quite small, the playground is one.

Conversations with research participants revealed that a notable challenge in the inner city is less the lack of use, and more a problem of the type of uses and the kind of users that frequent the parks. This part of the city, and in particular Hillbrow where the parks are located experiences high levels of crime ranging from muggings, drugs dealing and using, rape incidents and murders. In addition to this, there is a high level of homelessness (Mavuso, 2015).

Figure 5.1: User diversity End Street South Park





Figure 5.2: Active use of End Street North Park even before its completion





Figure: 5.3: Exercise and play equipment in Pullinger Kop Park





Figure 5.4: Busy Bee Primary school kids in Ekhaya Park ©Ndlela, 2017



Figure 5.5: Neighborhoods children playing soccer on the Astroturf pitch in Ekhaya Park



Source: Author, 2017 (except where another source is specified)

5.3 Everyday management - cleaning and maintenance

This section of the report focuses on the practice of managing the parks on a daily basis, showing what City Parks does, and how non-state groups contribute to the upkeep of the parks.

According to the City Parks maintenance schedules, all four case studies are listed on the horticultural job cards, which are work orders given to service providers with scheduling and details of the work to be done, in this case basic horticultural services such as basic grass cutting and pruning (JCPZ, 2017b).

In the past, City Parks has made use of labour from the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and Jozi@Work for basic horticultural services around the city. These programmes are designed to create employment opportunities through local co-operatives and the skilling of young people on temporary bases (Department of Public Works, no date and City of Johannesburg, no date). Capital projects by either City Parks or the JDA make use of Jozi@Work. The construction of End Street North Park specifically has absorbed many local residents around Hillbrow through the programme. However, it was not possible to ascertain whether or not City Parks made use of either or both programmes in the maintenance of the case studies as the regional manager could not provide accurate figures and details. The manager did speak about her personal responsibilities regarding maintenance of the parks, stating:

> I'm responsible for the entire region. Management of all the public open spaces, that involves from development, maintenance and usage. It's not basically inner city but you'll find that most - 90% of our time, the energy is in the inner city (interview 2017).

According to the maintenance schedules found of the City Parks website for the period June 2017 to December 2017, all four parks receive weekly horticultural services.

Figure 5.6: Example of a maintenance schedule (JCPZ, 2017)

HORTICULTURE & TREE MAINTEANANCE WEEKLY FOCUSED PEAK SEASON PLAN
DATE: 20-24 NOVEMBER 2017
AREA: REGION F

NAME OF FACILITY	FACILITY CATEGORY	SUBURB / AREA	WARD	ACTIVITY	PLANNED START DATE	PLANNED COMPLETION DATE	RESPONSIBLE DEPOT
Settlers Park	Flagship	Johannesburg	60	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Rhodes Park	Flagship	Newtown	66	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Phineas Macintosk Park	Flagship	Parktown	58	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Metro and Surrounds	Flagship	Braamfontein	60	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Joubert Park	Flagship	Hillbrow	59	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Station Street Park	Developed	Johannesburg	60	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Henley Chivvers Gardens	Developed	Newtown	60	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Newtown Park	Developed	Johannesburg	60	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Mary Fitgerald Square	Developed	Johannesburg	60	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Ernest Oppenheimer Park	Developed	Johannesburg	60	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Queen Elizabeth Park	Developed	Jeppestown	65	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Troyville Park	Developed	Berea	64	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Murry Park	Developed	Berea	64	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park
Ekhaya Park	Developed	Berea	64	Horticultural Maintenance	20/11/2017	24/11/2017	Rhodes Park

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... REGION E REGION F REGION G Cemeteries Conservation Areas JBG & The Wilds Ecosystem & Open SpaceMngt

The daily operationalisation of parks falls under Infrastructure and Facilities Management unit under the Service Delivery and Core Business department in City Parks (see figure2.7in chapter of the structure of the MoE). There are approximately 65 identifiable parks in the inner city, including parks under construction that were scheduled to be completed before the next financial year (CoJ, 2017). Outside of basic horticultural actions in parks as per the maintenance schedules, the organisation also runs 'blitz' cleaning programme in identified parks. According to its website "The Mega Blitz programme enlists the participation of local communities in tackling service delivery issues - such as grass cutting, tree trimming, rubbish removal, storm water drain repairs and man hole cover replacements - in targeted areas" (JCPZ, 2014). The organisation also manages all issues related to the usage of parks including repairs to park facilities.

Operational functions are reliant on the opex budget assigned to units and MoE's in general (JCPZ, 2016). Respondents have argued that this is often not sufficient, resulting in poorly maintained spaces.

> So it's also like the weird capex/opex thing in the City. We have a lot of capex and so we're [going] implement a really nice park but then there's no opex to match that. We have zero opex. And in fact we've had discussions with City Parks where City Parks have said why does JDA get our budgets to implement parks in the inner city? I think that's a fair comment. They're saying give us the money, because they get far less capital (JDA Development Facilitation manager, interview 2018).
>
> I think the City does not value green spaces. Budget reductions [and] decreases show that there is little value for outdoor life. We should be a lifestyle creating company, not just a grass-cutting company (City Parks New Business Development manager, interview 2017).
>
> [There are] people [who] do not even value the environment, who would take the funds away because it's not important, it was never important to them. Our job - there's so much. I'm so... it saddens me because you end up losing your touch because of the environment because you'll always be stressed (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).

From these above statements, it is clear that officials are themselves frustrated by the institutional structures and bureaucracy within the City at large, and in their particular entities. This speaks to broad challenges of institutional organisation and to an extent, the inadequacy of the systems and instruments in place for officials to fulfil their mandates, including for instance the level of agency or leeway that officials have to adapt instruments (budgets, schedules, volunteer policies) that are at their disposal for improved functionality (Peters, 2000).

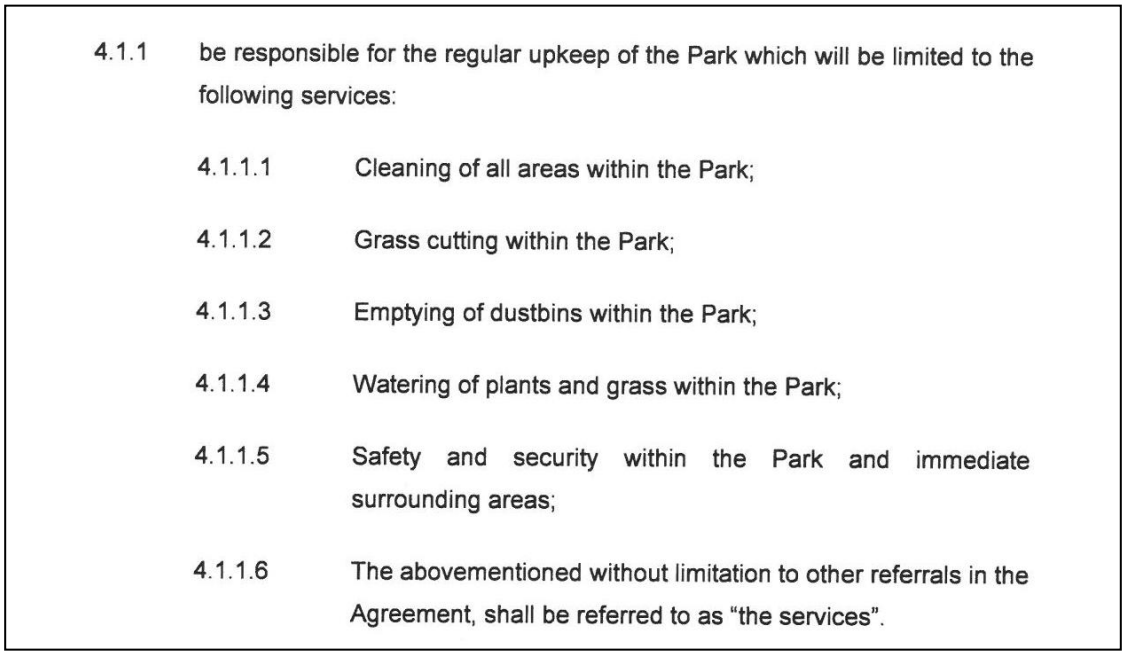
Currently, City Parks provides no additional services in terms of maintenance, particularly with regards to cleaning. In parks where there is a partnership with a formalised corporate or civil society organisation, daily management such as cleaning and security is provided by the private or civil society organisation. These partnerships - in this case AFHCO in End Street South and the Ekhaya Neighbourhood in Ekhaya Park - are brokered by the New Business Development (NBD) unit in City Parks.

A discussion with an AFHCO representative working in the company's operations department in September 2017, shared that the property management company had awarded Fear Free Life Organisation a contract to provide cleaning services. This is an NGO that was established for the rehabilitation and integration of former prisoners. It has since also expanded to providing educational programmes in schools for crime prevention (Johannesburg CID Forum, undated). It is also a service provider, most notably partnering with property companies such as Trafalgar and Jozi Housing in the Maboneng precinct of Johannesburg to provide safety patrols in areas with high crime against pedestrians (Sigauqwe, 2017).

End Street South Park is cleaned seven days a week by one of three cleaners assigned to the park by Fear Free Life Organisation (AFHCO operations representative, personal conversation 2017).

As mentioned, the maintenance schedules state that the parks receive weekly basic horticultural services. However according to the Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) formalising the partnership between City Parks and AFHCO, these services, are the responsibility of AFHCO (JCPZ, 2016c)

Figure 5.7: AFHCO's responsibilities in End Street South Park (JCPZ, 2016c: 6)



4.1.1 be responsible for the regular upkeep of the Park which will be limited to the following services:

- 4.1.1.1 Cleaning of all areas within the Park;
- 4.1.1.2 Grass cutting within the Park;
- 4.1.1.3 Emptying of dustbins within the Park;
- 4.1.1.4 Watering of plants and grass within the Park;
- 4.1.1.5 Safety and security within the Park and immediate surrounding areas;
- 4.1.1.6 The abovementioned without limitation to other referrals in the Agreement, shall be referred to as "the services".

It was not possible to clarify with a City Parks official who handled grass cutting; basic landscaping etc. The excerpt above outlines that daily maintenance as a whole is AFHCO's responsibility, which does not correlate with City Parks maintenance schedules. This led to questions about the overall division or sharing of responsibilities in the parks management. The responses to this question and others relating to the success of the partnership and stakeholders commitment to upholding the MoA's terms, was mixed.

> End Street South [is] fortunately adopted by AFHCO, they do everything. They provide security, cleaning - we just go there if there are infrastructure issues that need repairs (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).
>
> We have a small maintenance budget that is done three years in advance and reviewed annually. It is not for anything serious. We have site meetings to talk about issues like bins or plumbing etc. That's the agreement we have legally. We have tried to get them to do better work in infrastructure management. City Parks does nothing in the

park, even following the new agreement (AFHCO development manager, personal conversation 2017).

The MoA states that facilities management such as repairs for toilets, lighting, fences and play equipment is the responsibility of City Parks.

Figure 5.8: Extract of City Parks' responsibilities in ESS Park (JCPZ, 2016c: 7-8)

4.2 JCPZ shall: -

4.2.4 be solely responsible for the maintenance of the Park in all respects which will include maintenance; fixing; repairing and upgrading of all playing

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equipment and surfaces and any other structures located to the Park which obligation includes but is not limited to the maintenance; fixing; repairing and upgrading of the following;

4.2.4.1 Toilets;

4.2.4.2 Basins;

4.2.4.3 Light Bulbs;

4.2.4.4 Rubber Matting;

4.2.4.5 Fencing;

4.2.4.6 Painting

4.2.4.7 Paving;

4.2.4.8 Water Taps.

However, in relation to a fence that was run into by a taxi along Nugget Street, an AFHCO representative argued that the matter was reported to City Parks but a year later nothing had been done.

> When they eventually came to fix it, they never brought it back. We fix things that the municipality doesn't fix. From a liability point of view, it is actually their responsibility, no swing nor is the whole property our asset so we can't indemnify or cover anyone into our insurance (AFHCO development manager, personal conversation 2017).

The above comments regarding City Parks' competency in addressing maintenance issues are not uncommon. Past research on parks and nature reserves shows that lack

of funding and in particular, delayed response to calls to repair damaged facilities is not only limited to inner city parks and is a source of contention between the state and non-state groups (Hanyane *et al*, 2015 and Mokgere, 2016). It is necessary to note that this is damaging to partnerships. It is not a hidden fact that City Parks is under resourced; however frustration non-state partners can be expected and is understandable when the MoE does not fully adhere to contracts designed by and arguably in favour of their organisation.

The agreement between Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project and City Parks, similarly to that with AFHCO, provides that infrastructural maintenance is the responsibility of City Parks. Here too, there were delayed responses to the complaint. However, Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project as able to attend to the matter.

> It was City Parks that was supposed to fix the drain toilet but they were taking too long. Because that park is our community tool, we can't let it [be] closed for a long time [and] because we are partners we look at the damage requirement during that time and see if our members can do it, or we wait for City Parks. So that toilet we ended up doing it ourselves (Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project coordinator, interview 2017).

The above quote shows recognition of the importance of parks particularly in volatile contexts in the inner city, illustrating commitment on Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project's part to ensure that the park is usable. This action embodies the key principles of co-production which include a willingness to adjust and take initiative (Bovaird, 2007). However, it is must be noted that Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project, unlike AFHCO is an organisation rooted to the neighbourhood. Its members live in the area and are more personally affected by problems occurring in the space. The focus for Ekhaya is not solely on management limited to property values, it relates to a sense of community and home. This is not to say this partnership is not without its challenges. Even more so, this does not mean AFHCO is not committed to the partnership. The AFHCO representative's responses were exasperated, as if City Parks' lack of action to the fencing problem was not the first difficulty between the parties.

In the other two parks, it is even harder to ascertain what City Parks is doing towards maintenance, even though all parks supposedly get basic horticultural services.
In Pullinger Kop in particular, it was not possible to ascertain whether or not it provides these services given the different states of the park over the year this research was conducted, as well as the fact that the park has not been officially handed over to City Parks since its refurbishment by the JDA. The JDA following the parks upgrade, arranged to provide security and cleaning services in a 24 month contract which ends at the end of June 2018, when the park is intended to officially be under City Parks' custodianship (JDA Development Facilitation manager, interview 2018). Though the park has not been used since its refurbishment, the equipment has experienced some damage, possibly due to lack of use, exposure to the natural elements and vandalism.

Figure 5.9: Pullinger Kop Park state of its green area in June 2017 (left) and March 2018 (right)





Figure 5.10: Damaged signage, gym and play equipment, and fencing









Source: Author, 2018

In the case of End Street North Park, it is even more puzzling that the park is listed in the maintenance schedules. The park has been in construction since July 2017, and at the time this research report was submitted, it was near completion. In February 2017 the park was not yet fenced, as per the community's requests throughout the engagement process. As a result people had already been making use of the space and its facilities – locals and passers-by sitting on benches to eat or to rest, children using the play equipment and waste recyclers having already commandeered a part of the park for their activities.

Figure 5.11: Signs of park use





In March 2018 the park was near completion, missing only the ablution facilities. Low fencing had been installed around the perimeter of the park but not at the access points. There is no security in the park to regulate use or control access.

Figure 5.12: Ablution facilities under construction

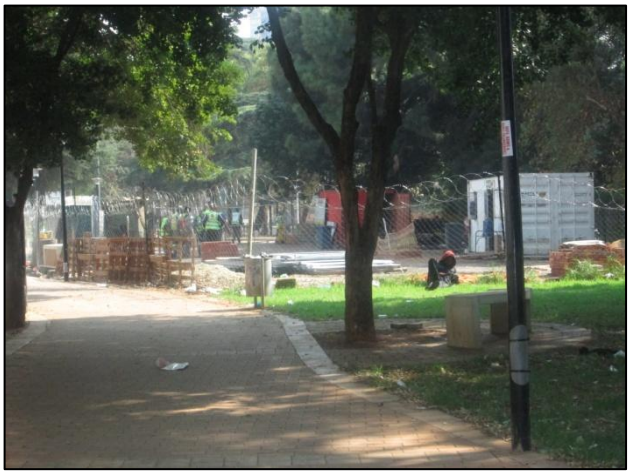
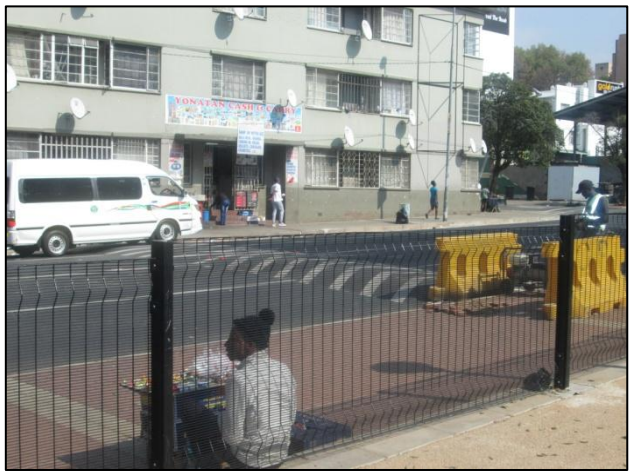


Figure 5.13: Low fencing at parks perimeter



Source: Author, 2018

The park is unsurprisingly dirty since it is already in use. It has been listed in City Parks' maintenance schedules since July 2017. At a feedback meeting held on the 9th of December 2017, construction workers who also live in the community commented:

> We have been cleaning the park but because of the homeless, it remains dirty.
>
> There are JCPZ boards that say no sleeping, drinking and other things we need to have security to control that.

In response to this, an official asserted:

> We've got maintenance on the actual equipment but we don't have enough. We don't have a funding allocation for security and cleaning. Well technically, right now no one should be able to use the site because it's still under the main contractor but that is hard to manage (JDA Development Facilitation manager, interview 2018).

5.4 Security

City Parks makes no provisions for security in any of the parks. Although this is a prevalent problem in Hillbrow, the two parks where there is formalised management are comparatively safer than those without formalised management.

In End Street South Park, AFHCO contracts Ithuba Security Company. There is no access control in the form of registers, but the area is patrolled by security guards with dogs.

> Ithuba Security provides security guards and dogs onsite. We have a guardhouse and four cameras around the park that are monitored in a control room at 120 End Street (AFHCO operations representative, personal conversation 2017).

Figure 5.14: Guard house and security cameras at End Street South Park (Source: Author, 2017)





Ekhaya Park is arguably the most secure of all four of the parks, with security guards at all of its active access points during the parks operation hours. There is a casually used register to record visitors except for children, and an occurrence register used specifically by the security company to record notable incidents.
Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project has been partners with Bad Boyz Security since the voluntary organisation's inception. The security company is in charge of security services around properties that registered with Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project (Kruger, 2012). Bad Boyz security provides a permanent guard at the gate on Claim Street on the west side of the park. Log books are used for access control, as well as user schedules for school groups. The gate on the north eastern boundary of the park is secured by CAM Security, which is contracted by the University of Johannesburg to protect its students living at The Yard (Benit-Gbaffou *et al*, 2018).

As a result of its long-standing partnership with Ekhaya Neighbourhood Bad Boyz Security was contracted by the JDA to provide security in Pullinger Kop Park. Given the safety issues around the park, Bad Boyz provides 24/7 security inside the park, and patrols outside.

> Bad Boyz is also in the [Pullinger Kop] park. They ended up being the preferred contractor for security there. We've got like four security guards in there day and night (JDA Development Facilitation manager interview, 2018).

> You can't go to Pullinger Kop, putting cakes and say you opening it when outside it's not safe. You're risking people's lives. So Ekhaya has made it safe with the 24/7 Bad Boyz Security [and] around 9 cameras (Ekhaya Neighbourhood coordinator, interview, 2017).

Figure 5.15: Bad Boyz mobile shelter in security guards in Pullinger Kop Park (Source: Author, 2017)





5.5 The treatment of broader social issues: substance abuse and homelessness

On Monday morning, the 19th of March 2018 I decided to have a walk through Pullinger Kop Park. I had not been to the park in a few months because it was hard to find someone to accompany me. This visit marked my fourth time in the park, whereas I have been to each of the other parks about twice as much. The park was closed and had a few security guards inside. The outside however, had a few clusters of about five men dispersed just at the park's boundary, on Primrose Street. These men seemed on high alert, suspiciously looking at me and my escort, much like they have stared at me and whoever else was entering the park during past visits. None of them seemed like street traders as they did not have any visible merchandise, at least nothing that street traders normally sell (fruits, vegetables, snacks), none of them looked to be having a casual get-together. They were just standing in groups, looking on. This made me feel very uneasy. What was more bizarre to me was that in the fifteen minutes that I was inside the park, taking pictures and conversing with my escort, about four different police cars drove up and down the street. One of the patrol cars even stopped and conversed with one of the loitering men. A police car slowed down when my escort and I were leaving the park, struggling to put back the padlock a community member had left open at my request so that I could enter the park. Although no one approached us, I was very surprised by the wary look we received from the official in the vehicle. 'Out of everyone, you are eyeballing *us*?' is what I was thinking. How peculiar.

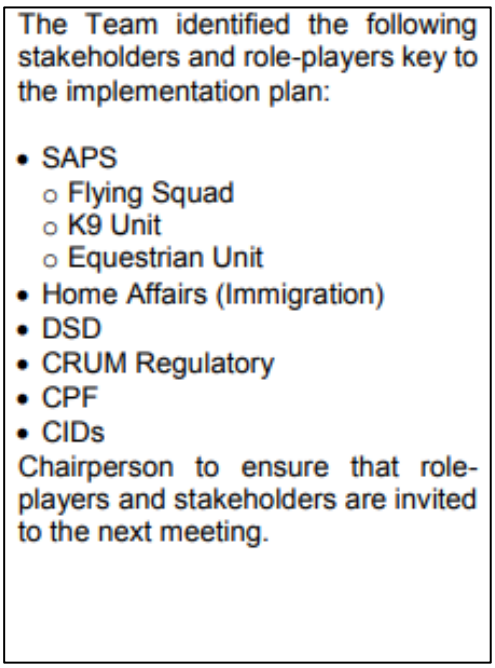
Figure 5.16: thoughts on insecurity at Pullinger Kop Park from personal diary

> Pullinger Kop has so many challenges and it's not park management challenges, its social challenges. Its illegal trading, its drug abuse, drug peddling. Its crime at its best (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017)
>
> We can't activate the park until you remove the drugs. JMPD can't arrest drug dealers; it's out of their mandate. It has to be SAPS (JDA Development Facilitation, interview 2018).
>
> SAPS must sort their issues out because they are a problem. That's a fact. They are friends with everyone, that's not wanted in the inner city. We don't understand why a SAPS car [would] be there every three minutes and sit with the Nigerians whom we know are selling drugs to our kids and nothing is happening. You can even see a policeman high (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).

Drugs are a long standing challenge at Pullinger Kop Park and are the main reason the park has remained closed until a management structure can be established. An activation task team was established in the middle of 2017 in an effort to address this challenge. Team participants included City Parks, CRUM, JDA, SAPS, DSD, Home Affairs, Sticky Situations, voluntary CID's such Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project and Legae la

Rona, local policing forums and ward council representatives. The task team's first order of business was to increase visible security around the park.

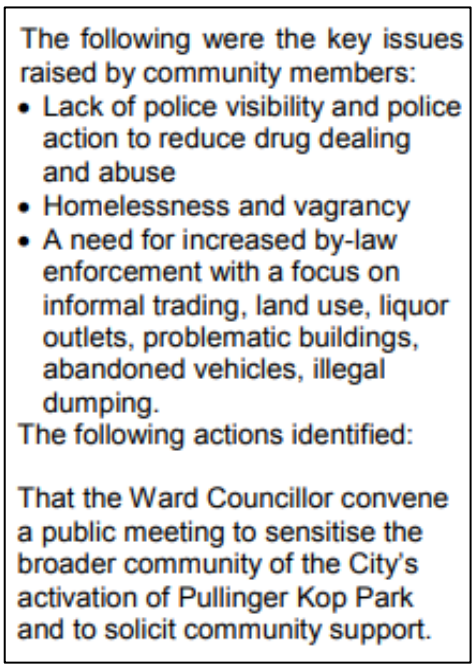
Figure 5.17: Extracts from Pullinger Kop Park activation meeting held on the 18 August 2017



The Team identified the following stakeholders and role-players key to the implementation plan:

- SAPS
  - Flying Squad
  - K9 Unit
  - Equestrian Unit
- Home Affairs (Immigration)
- DSD
- CRUM Regulatory
- CPF
- CIDs

Chairperson to ensure that role-players and stakeholders are invited to the next meeting.



The following were the key issues raised by community members:

- Lack of police visibility and police action to reduce drug dealing and abuse
- Homelessness and vagrancy
- A need for increased by-law enforcement with a focus on informal trading, land use, liquor outlets, problematic buildings, abandoned vehicles, illegal dumping.

The following actions identified:

That the Ward Councillor convene a public meeting to sensitise the broader community of the City's activation of Pullinger Kop Park and to solicit community support.

The police patrols observed on my visit were a response to the community's request for more police presence. The comments from the officials interviewed emphasise the need for institutional coordination and the collaboration of multiple City departments. The recognition of the need to get the necessary parties on board is indeed a step in the positive direction. The corollary to this is ensuring internal coordination and efficiency. From the quotes above, this is not the case in SAPS. However from the meeting minutes, illegal behaviour by SAPS officials is the huge elephant in the room. The focus in the meetings has been on removing traders and the homeless, the drug-related police corruption is an ignored reality. Carter (1990) on the topic of illegal police behaviour asserts that there is a lack of adequate organisational controls, which are largely the result of organisational denial. To combat this, the state needs the right organisational policies, not only in law enforcement, but across the different departments in the City.

Three of the parks in the research are used by the homeless. There are no homeless people or waster recyclers in Ekhaya Park due to its strict user regulations and controlled access.

Figure 5.18: Recyclers and rough sleepers at End Street North and South Parks respectively (Source: Author, 2018)





> We have got MES. When one comes [and says] 'I don't have a place to go can I just come to sleep in the park?' The security will come and just escort out (Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project coordinator, interview 2017).

> We said we need inclusiveness [and] all of this but we need facts. We need to deal with issues that can be manageable. It's not just that element of homelessness, its homelessness of young ones who are addicts and when you're an addict, addiction is related to crime because to feed your situation you have to get some money and you're not working so you'll steal and do things that you are not supposed to do (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).

At a meeting with the residents to update them on the progress of End Street North Park's construction (held on 9 December 2017), residents remarked to City Parks and JDA officials that:

> The problem is the homeless and the drug users. They have also damaged Joubert Park.

> We understand that it is a sensitive issue but government must step in and do something. We have been pleading with the rest of the community to not chase away the homeless at least until construction [of End Street North Park] is finished but to have the homeless and kids especially with the primary school next door is not possible.

> Homeless people need to go first and activation activities can be worried about after.

From the quotes above, it is clear that residents and City officials alike opine against the use of parks as places for shelter. In the inner city in particular, many of the homeless are waste recyclers who often make use of parks as workstations to sort out their materials. Such activities, together with substance abuse challenges in the neighbourhood have contributed to perceptions of shelter seekers as criminals. What is also alarming is the xenophobic behaviour conveyed in these discourses, the assumptions that shelter seekers, and drug dealers are foreign nationals. In the Pullinger

Kop Park activation meetings in particular, drug related police corruption is ignored. The focus is more on removing the homeless, street traders and more importantly, getting Department of Home Affairs (DHA) to intervene, possibly to deport non-South Africans who do not have legal documentation to remain in the country.

Figure 5.19: Pullinger Kop Park activation team meeting minutes on homelessness from 24 January 2018

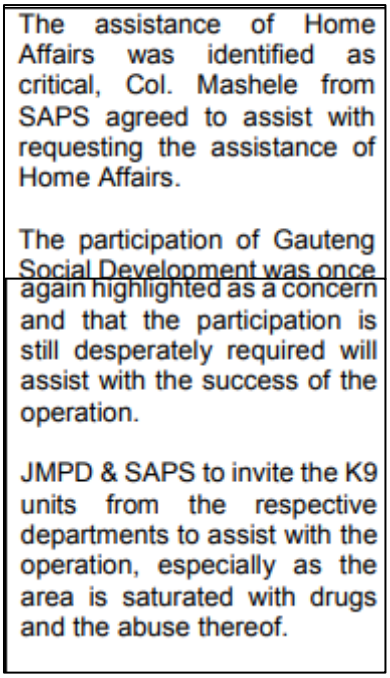
Earl says Tudhope Street is apparently a no trading street, All the people who are selling drugs on the Street are disguised as people selling Fruit and Veggie or Sweets and Chips should be moved.

Earl to get clarity about loitering from Senior Prosecutor(Dephne Naidoo). Earl wants to use the by laws around loitering to try and shake up the homeless people and their activities around the park.

Figure 5.20: Pullinger Kop Park activation meeting minutes on homelessness from 5 October 2017

2) **Homeless/Displaced people**
There has been no significant change in the situation with homelessness. This is particularly because there is no one from Home Affairs or Social Services in attendance both in meeting and on the ground. Law enforcement units are working together but there is no political will on part of the other entities.

Figure 5.21: Pullinger Kop Park activation meeting minutes on homelessness from 15 September 2017

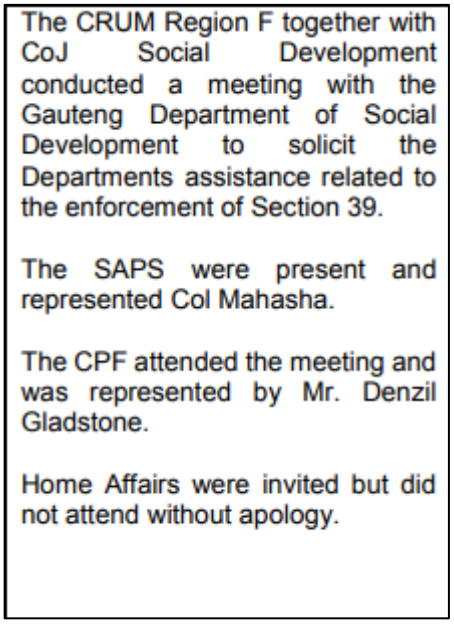


The assistance of Home Affairs was identified as critical, Col. Mashele from SAPS agreed to assist with requesting the assistance of Home Affairs.

The participation of Gauteng Social Development was once again highlighted as a concern and that the participation is still desperately required will assist with the success of the operation.

JMPD & SAPS to invite the K9 units from the respective departments to assist with the operation, especially as the area is saturated with drugs and the abuse thereof.

Figure 5.22: Pullinger Kop Park activation meeting minutes on homelessness from 8 August 2017



The CRUM Region F together with CoJ Social Development conducted a meeting with the Gauteng Department of Social Development to solicit the Departments assistance related to the enforcement of Section 39.

The SAPS were present and represented Col Mahasha.

The CPF attended the meeting and was represented by Mr. Denzil Gladstone.

Home Affairs were invited but did not attend without apology.

> We cannot accommodate homelessness by saying they have to be in the park. We cannot say we're trying to be inclusive. No, then we don't need [Department of] Social Development in the City. We cannot incorporate that. We cannot encourage people to live in the street. I don't want us to conform to wrong things (City Park regional manager, interview 2017).

There is indeed a high possibility that some homeless people are a safety issue and introduce or engage in illegal activities. However, homelessness relates to broader socio-economic issues that cannot be dismissed – issues of poverty, unemployment, apartheid reverberations as well as the difficulty for asylum seekers to acquire documentation from the DHA, which has strict laws to ward off exploitation by economic asylums (Amit and Kriger, 2014).

5.6 Conclusion

The chapter shows that non-state groups play important roles in everyday management. This everyday management entails addressing social challenges such as criminal activities in parks and occupation by shelter seekers. It is also clear that homeless people are often stereotyped and criminalized, with very little critical input into the causes and solutions to this socio-economic challenge. What is salient in the empirical data is the need for intra-departmental and cross entity coordination within

the state, to address urban governance issues that cannot be tackled by property companies or civil society organisations.

Chapter 6

Interrogating existing partnership models – contracts as policy instruments in the management of parks

5.1 Introduction

An intrinsic part of the institutional restructuring of City Parks between 2011 and 2013, as stated in its Corporate Strategic Plan for the periods 2013/2014 to 2017/2018 was to adopt a strategic directive to build partnerships with the public (businesses, residential, religious and other civil society groups) in order to improve its capacity to fulfil its functions, as well as to entrench a deeper sense of transparency and democracy (JCPZ, 2013)

In some affluent suburbs in the northern parts of Johannesburg, partnerships have been in place here resourced communities have taken it upon themselves to manage parks and nature reserves in their neighbourhoods in the absence of City Parks. These partnerships were not always formalised (Hanyane et al, 2015 and Mokgere, 2016).

Partnerships between City Parks and non-state parties are generally formalised through a volunteerism agreement based on the institution's Volunteer Policy, a memorandum of agreement/understanding (MoA/MoU) or an adoption letter. The volunteer policy is designed to provide a guiding framework to attract and regulate volunteerism in City Parks' facilities (JCPZ, 2015). The policy is developed and managed by the Stakeholders Liaison Unit in the institution and is applied to individual volunteers and groups not generating revenue from or in the MoE's facilities. Those that do generate revenue are managed by the New Business Development (NBD) department (ibid.).

Park adoptions are usually done by a resident's association in the same neighbourhood as the space. According to a City Parks official from the NBD department:

> This is done with resident's associations who do this because it helps increase the value of their properties. It is just a letter, not a MoU because they are not making any money directly from the park and are not really involved in the maintenance. They have no contractual obligation to park (City Parks NBD manager, personal conversation, 2018).

A memorandum of agreement (MoA) and a memorandum of understanding (MoU) are differentiated by the fact that a memorandum of agreement is legally enforceable. They are not interchangeable. These contracts are used to formalise partnerships with corporate or civil society organisations that provide specific services in the management of parks. These services may include cleaning, security, removing invasive vegetation and running social/community development programmes such environmental educational tours, sports and other recreational events that keep the spaces active (Mokgere, 2016 and Benit-Gbaffou, forthcoming). This kind of formalisation of partnership is the main model used to manage the three parks in this

research, with the exception of End Street North Park, which is still under construction. This chapter interrogates the intended purposes and contributions of parties towards collaborative production and management as stipulated in contracts and official documentation such as strategic plans and operational reports, against what happens on the ground and how these contracts as instruments can be modified or improved in order to develop an adaptable framework for partnerships in different inner city parks.

The chapter begins by presenting the different contracts across three parks, illustrating how they are interpreted by the stakeholders. The second part looks at how institutional challenges affect how the state approaches agreements and more empirically how communities are developed and can also influence the framing of agreements through their interactions with the state. The last section looks more closely at End Street North Park to show that there discourse in place to establish a framework for partnering with under resourced communities.

5.2 The different adaptations of a MoA

The memorandum of agreement is currently the only model of park management contract used to formalise partnerships for the developed parks in this research. Ekhaya and End Street South parks have formalised agreements (MoAs) with City Parks that were put in place following structural upgrades to the spaces, and there is a draft agreement for the management of Pullinger Kop Park.

The stipulations in the MoA's are carried out differently by each stakeholder, for instance the approach to securitisation by Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project differs from that that employed by AFHCO, as illustrated in the previous chapter. Secondly, the degree to which the non-state party adheres to the contract is monitored differently. This has implications on the relationships between City Parks and the stakeholders it is in partnership with; and the long-term efficiency of the contracts as policy instruments for the management of inner city spaces.

This section provides analyses of the different interpretations of the contracts by City Parks officials and the non-state parties themselves; the approaches to formalisation, and the practical implications of implementing formalisation instruments.

6.2.1 AFHCO in End Street South Park – power and responsibility

> The park underwent a six million rand upgrade in 2008...after the upgrade; the JDA approached AFHCO Property Management seeking assistance with the management and maintenance of the park, because of AFHCO's experience and presence in the area. Since 2009, AFHCO Property Management has been managing the park with all expenditure being funded by AFHCO, which to date has cost in excess of R 1 million (AFHCO website, undated).
>
> AFHCO approached council about the park. At the time, the JDA had a legacy project under Lyle [former chairperson of the JDA] and we tapped into it. We were involved in

> the design and project management of the park as well as choosing the play equipment. JDA was reluctant to invest unless there would be management. We would manage it on behalf of the city, not City Parks. We entered into agreement with City Parks because they are the custodians of parks. AFCHO doesn't develop in isolation. Looking after the park is part of our long-term property vision (AFHCO development manager, personal communication 2017).

AFHCO's MoA with City Parks was signed in 2009 and renewed in July 2016 for a five year period following long attempts at renegotiation (AFHCO development manager, 2017). It was not possible to access any prior agreement (s), as such it could not be deduced if any amendments had taken place. Neither City Parks nor AFHCO representatives were responsive to requests for contracts. The current contract was acquired from a JDA official.

In essence, the contract stipulated AFHCO would handle all operational issues (cleaning, security, grass cutting and cosmetic repairs such as taps and City Parks would be responsible for infrastructural issues such as fencing, plumbing and equipment maintenance. AFHCO is to submit reports on their actions regarding its responsibilities, and endeavour to maintain City Park's brand. This entails seeking formal permission for any public statement, signage etc. Any party that fails to adhere will be legally accountable. Furthermore, these stipulations will not be renegotiated, but AFHCO is can decide whether to renew at the end of the duration date.

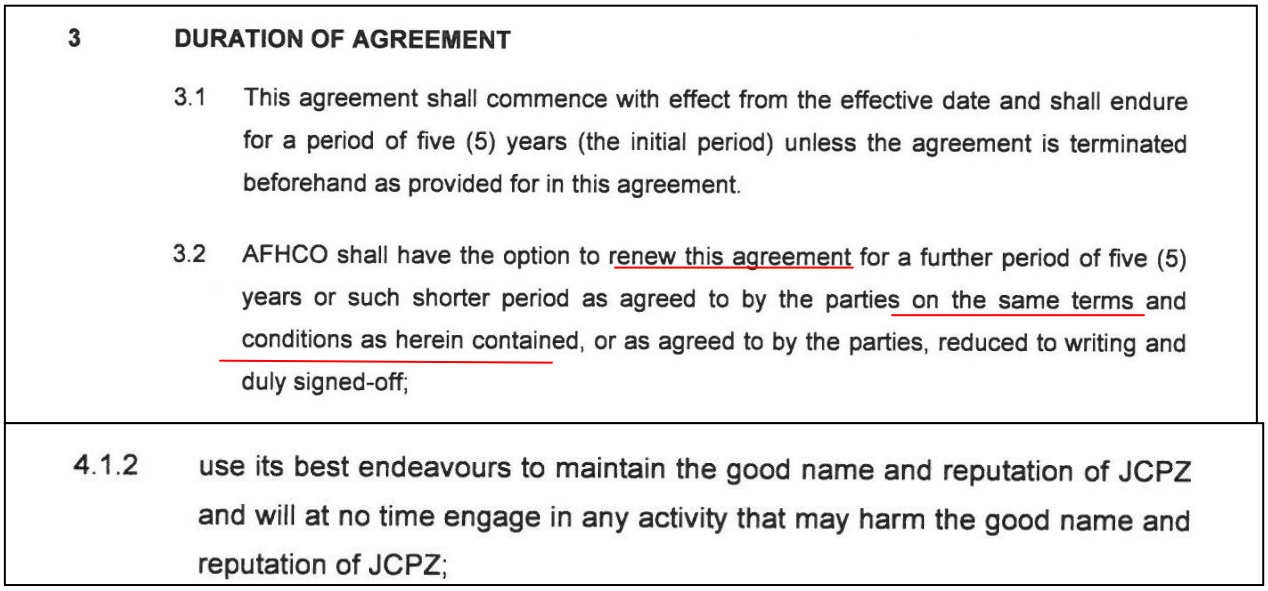
The AFHCO development manager engaged with expressed dissatisfaction with the partnership, especially with regards to City Parks' adherence to the contract. When asked about whether there were renegotiations prior to the contract's last renewal he stated:

> It has the same fundamentals [principles] because City Parks has never really been partners. What do they do? They pay rent and utilities to the City and that's about it, but that's essentially an internal issue.

There is a strong sense of frustration with the manner in which the City is institutionally setup and the (limited) recourse a corporate organisation volunteering to assist the is given – AFHCO was approached by the JDA, the City's implementing agent to manage a park which is under direct custodianship of City Parks, an altogether separate department in CoJ.

It is not clear whether renegotiations have been unsuccessful due conflicting interests, and/or the inability of each party to compromise. Lack of compromise is in direct contradiction to the idea of co-production for the provision of goods and services that should ideally be delivered by the state.

Figure 6.1: Extracts of the conditions of the JCPZ/AFHCO MoA (JCPZ, 2016c: 5-6)



3 **DURATION OF AGREEMENT**

3.1 This agreement shall commence with effect from the effective date and shall endure for a period of five (5) years (the initial period) unless the agreement is terminated beforehand as provided for in this agreement.

3.2 AFHCO shall have the option to renew this agreement for a further period of five (5) years or such shorter period as agreed to by the parties on the same terms and conditions as herein contained, or as agreed to by the parties, reduced to writing and duly signed-off;

4.1.2 use its best endeavours to maintain the good name and reputation of JCPZ and will at no time engage in any activity that may harm the good name and reputation of JCPZ;

Co-production implies a change of nature for all parties involved, but more importantly that state institutions should evolve to facilitate such partnerships. In other words, processes such as monitoring and enforcement modes should be restructured to allow for co-production to happen (Ostrom, 1996 and Johnson et al, 2016). The failure to amend the MoA and change it as the partnership changes, together with restrictions to communication ignores that there is financial and reputational risk for AFHCO too. Moreover, the conditions of this standardised agreement do not, as also argued in Bosaka (2015) on her analysis of Johannesburg City Parks officials approaches to community participation and co-management, illustrate a sharing of power. AFHCO is arguably one of the leading property companies in the inner city; it has publicly committed itself to provide affordable housing and has also contributed to the improvement of the public space (Cokayne, 2014). Furthermore, it has invested in a variety of community development initiatives for instance; it sponsors the Inner City Ambassadors Football Club that AFHCO gifted with a housing structure adjacent to the park for its headquarters. These attest to their significant contributions in the area, as argued below:

> It cost about R 1 million to renovate the house. We entered into this management agreement to ensure that sporting activities would always happen. To date, AFHCO social initiatives for community development and benefit are more than R 5 million (AFHCO development manager, personal communication2017).

On the one hand, power imbalances in favour of the state are not unusual in co-productive partnerships, nor are they necessarily undesirable. It is important for the state to retain a level of authority as it is accountable to the broader public. In particular, a

lack of power and authority of the state can lead (and has led) to the privatisation of parks and other public open spaces (Mitchell, 1995).

> When I first came to this region, nobody knew what the partnership was for. It was like AFHCO - they have a park, it's their park. If the relationship is not managed, is this park our park or their park? Remember should there be any incident it's not going to be [that it happened at an AFCHO park. The City is liable and it happened in a public place so we cannot partner with you and you do as you please (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).

On the other hand, a lack of effective power and distinct lack of recognition of the contributions made by private and community groups can disincentive investment, which is already limited in inner city parks (Johnson *et al*, 2016).

As a regulatory instrument, the MoA is useful in providing the legal restrictions that protect the state from damage and misuse of its property. However, as agreement and incentive based instruments, MoAs can function better if they are subject to review (Halpern and Le Gales, 2011).

6.2.2 Ekhaya Neighbourhood Association in Ekhaya Park – how is this partnership formalised and monitored?

> It took me a while to get to these memorandums of agreement to know what is happening with Ekhaya Park, to know how far they can go. Is this park our park or their park? When I came in they were already existing. They [City Parks] had lost some of them [contracts] but fortunately, even though we didn't have anything in writing we had a relationship with AFHCO [and] with Ekhaya. Even ourselves, management was changing and there were a lot of changes within the organisation so things fell apart but now when we renewed the MOU last year everything was put together (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).

> With Ekhaya? I don't think we have an agreement. Contracts are a legal issue. I need permission before I allow a third party to read a contract. I can't divulge anything or bring the organisation to disrepute (City Parks Contracts representative, personal conversation 2018).

According to the regional manager in the first quote, there is indeed a contract formalising the partnership between City Parks and Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project. Numerous requests have been made to both organisations; however neither party has been able to produce the contract. Furthermore, the official in the second statement (who works in the legal and contract department) seemed aversive to discussing the matter, or even consenting to a formal interview.

The lack of proof of the partnership has a number of implications. Analytically (for the purpose of this research, and for City Parks itself) it is difficult to determine the nature of this partnership – its characteristics and what could be used in other parks, and its

implications on power as it relates to City Parks' goal of 'building partnerships with society and strengthening democratic institutions' (JCPZ, 2013: 11). Indeed, the partnership and management style seems to be effective. Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project has endeavoured, and as some argue, succeeded in providing safety and cleanliness in all spaces under its protection (Mkhize, 2013). The park itself is exceptionally well maintained and has become a safe haven for young children in the Hillbrow neighbourhood. Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project hosts a number of events that keep the park active throughout the year:

> We've got a social budget for the whole year that we use the park for our soccer tournaments, tea and cake for the pensioners in the area and Impumelelo, they're sowing group. Sometimes they have exhibitions in the in the ground there. In other words, Ekhaya just sets the ground for anyone to just come do business within the area because we said we want to make it safe, friendly, liveable (Ekhaya Neighbourhood coordinator, interview 2017).

The model, while commended by many City officials can be critiqued for its heavy securitisation and exclusivity (organised play times for specific schools, which restrict access for groups that have not booked to use the park at those specific times).

> People talk a lot about inner city in this company, you know? But they don't know anything about the inner city. They have lots of comments. A public open space should be a space that you and me can just walk through and utilise without asking questions but with the way things are, parks are becoming an enclosure. People think that is what is working, and it's not necessarily what is working (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).

> There's a lot of criticism around Ekhaya, and I think some of it is very, very fair criticism but it has been to date one of JDAs most sustainable initiatives where we've implemented (JDA project manager, interview 2018).

> Parks are supposed to be safe, inclusive accessible public spaces. We need to empower community groups and find a way of co-managing without formalising or creating exclusive spaces (Sticky Situations member, 2017)

> You give the community control of a single park you could end up having like a school that operating in the park without anyone knowing or a church, and like with good intentions but then it stops being an open park (JDA Development Facilitation manager, interview 2018).

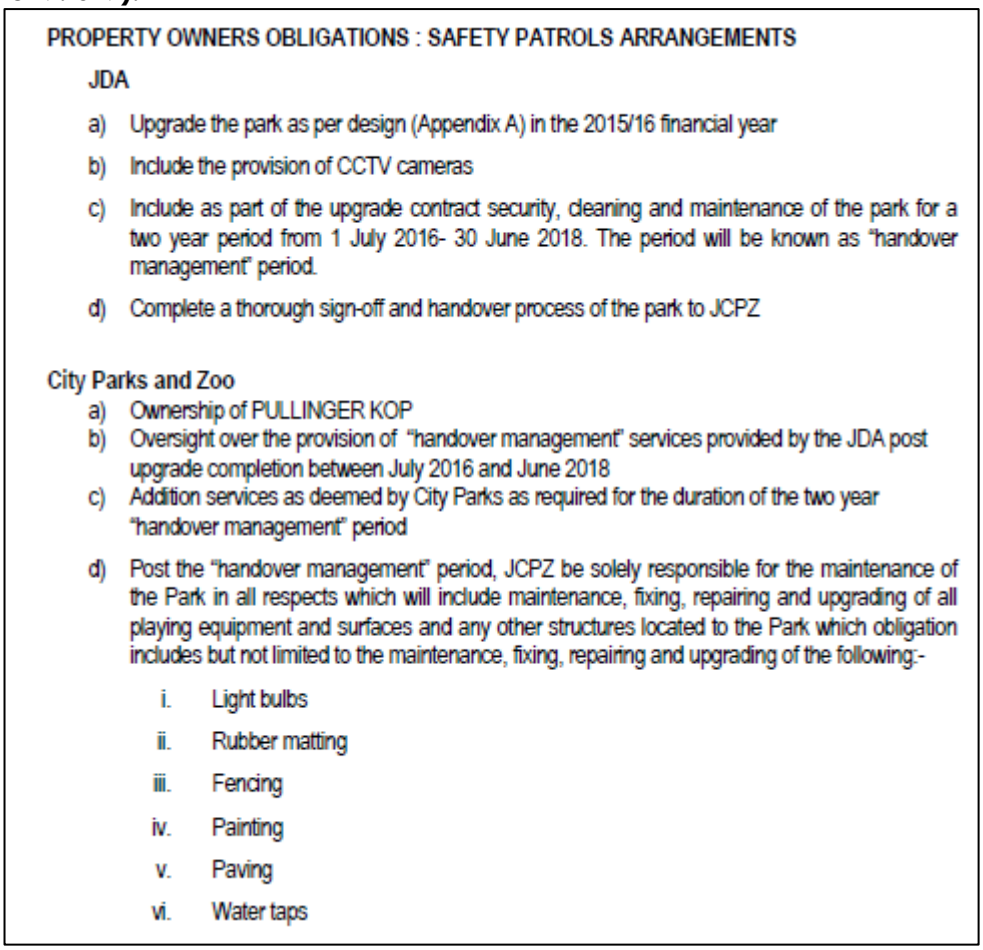
Ensuring that parks and public spaces are not appropriated by users' or management groups is comparatively difficult in cases where there is no contractual framework to refer to, and where that particular group does the bulk of the maintenance in the space (Mokgere, 2016). The roles and responsibilities of all parties are clearly stipulated in the case of End Street South Park, which is necessary for accountability and monitoring. A clear contract makes it easier to manage the relationship. In Ekhaya Park,

it is difficult to monitor the effectiveness of the partnership on other accounts outside of security and cleaning, and cost-cutting for City Parks

6.2.3 Pullinger Kop Park – a multi-party approach to management

As stated throughout the report, there is currently no management structure in place for Pullinger Kop Park. However, a multiparty memorandum of agreement was drafted in January 2017 between City Parks, the JDA, Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project and Legae La Rona - a formal residential CID found in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville. The MoA is driven by the need to have management in place when the current measures of management by the JDA come to an end in June 2018. As mentioned in chapter 5, a task team was established firstly to find ways of effectively responding to substance abuse and homelessness by implementing safety measures, and secondly to begin encouraging use of the park by the community through activation events in preparation of its official launch. Safety and activations are key imperatives in the draft MoA, a responsibility that will belong solely to the residential CIDs.

Figure 6.2: Responsibilities of stakeholders in the co-management of Pullinger Kop Park (JCPZ et al, 2017: 6-7).



PROPERTY OWNERS OBLIGATIONS : SAFETY PATROLS ARRANGEMENTS

JDA

a) Upgrade the park as per design (Appendix A) in the 2015/16 financial year

b) Include the provision of CCTV cameras

c) Include as part of the upgrade contract security, cleaning and maintenance of the park for a two year period from 1 July 2016- 30 June 2018. The period will be known as "handover management" period.

d) Complete a thorough sign-off and handover process of the park to JCPZ

City Parks and Zoo

a) Ownership of PULLINGER KOP

b) Oversight over the provision of "handover management" services provided by the JDA post upgrade completion between July 2016 and June 2018

c) Addition services as deemed by City Parks as required for the duration of the two year "handover management" period

d) Post the "handover management" period, JCPZ be solely responsible for the maintenance of the Park in all respects which will include maintenance, fixing, repairing and upgrading of all playing equipment and surfaces and any other structures located to the Park which obligation includes but not limited to the maintenance, fixing, repairing and upgrading of the following:-

i. Light bulbs

ii. Rubber matting

iii. Fencing

iv. Painting

v. Paving

vi. Water taps

Ekhaya and Legae La Rona

Legae La Rona and Ekhaya will represent both local stakeholders and private property owners and will play key roles in the sustainability of the park.
The commitment of the Property Owners to the provision of security guards in **PULLINGER KOP** will be as follows:

a) Safety and Security:

b) Legae La Rona and Ekhaya will be responsible for the regular upkeep of the Park which will be limited to the following services;

   i. Cleaning of all areas within the park

   ii. Emptying of dustbins within the park

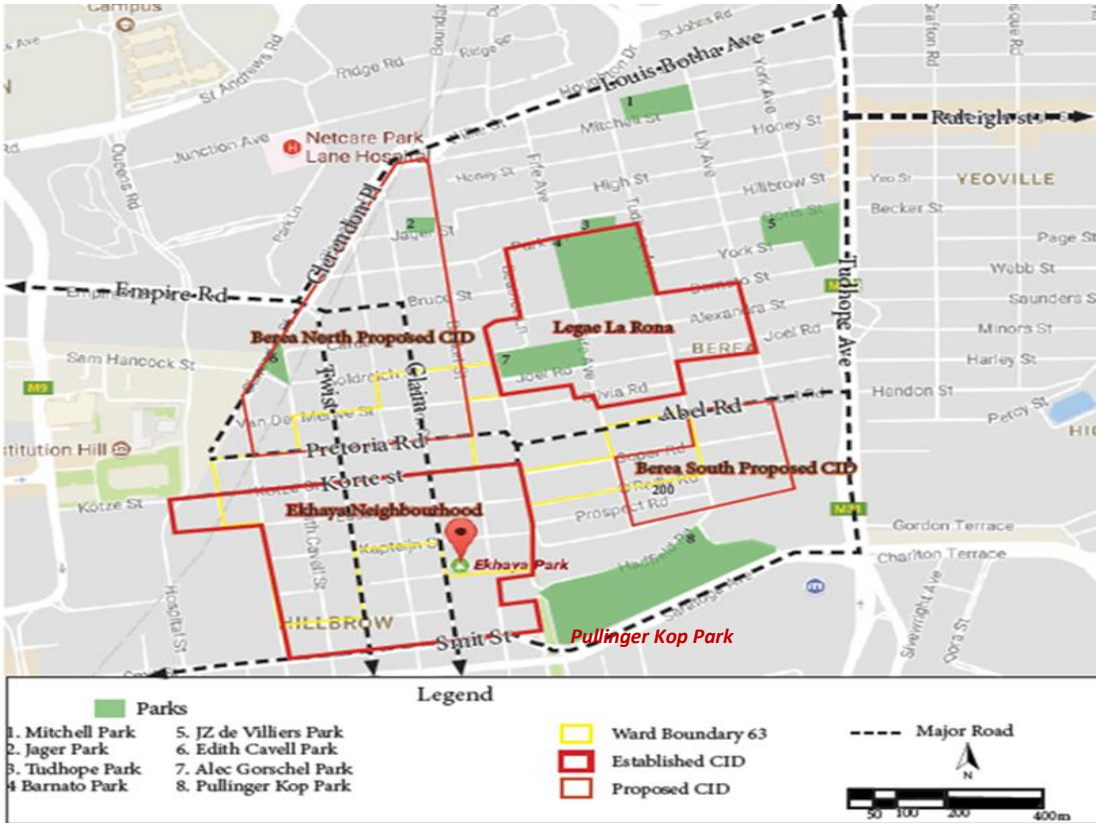
   iii. Grass cutting within the park

c) Park Activation:

   i. Ekhaya and Legae Le Rona will be responsible for working with local residents on activation of the park post the "handover period. This includes utilising the park for meetings, events, sporting activities. All activation activities should be in line with the re-imagination of the use of the park to promote community use, so should exclude activities where substance abuse is linked.

A multi-stakeholder approach can on the one hand potentially result in more equitable responsibility distribution and help with accountability. The parties above have clear institutional identities – the JDA as infrastructure (re)development based, City Parks focusing on maintenance repairs in parks (lighting, fencing etc.) as is common in their MoA's (see Hanyane *et al*, 2015 and Mokgere, 2016) and the residential CIDs as providing security, cleaning and building the community through events. However, the most notable flaw in the contract is the lack of clear delineation between the two CIDs. These associations are different and do not currently share territory as illustrated below

Figure 6.3: CIDs in Hillbrow (Benit-Gbaffou et al, 2018)



On the other hand, the lack of clarity in the stipulations for the CIDs leaves them vulnerable firstly, to the same fate as AFHCO. Daily management of parks is resource consuming (time, labour, funds). Infrastructural upgrades are less regularised and subject to available resources within the state, as a result it is harder to ascertain that issues related to this will be addressed on time, if at all as evidenced in the issue of damaged fencing around End Street South Park.

The second vulnerability relates to power. However, unlike in AFHCO where the power imbalances are only between the private entity and City Parks, here the imbalances may exist between the CIDs themselves – who between the two handles security, who handles cleaning? How do they share activation responsibilities? How can they ensure that there is overall equal financial contribution to the operationalisation of the park? Whose task is it to decide on these separations, is it City Parks and the JDA's or are the CIDs to hammer it amongst themselves? This is possibly part of the reason why the contract has not been signed.

> It [MoA] hasn't been signed. Ekhaya are working on another proposal that they're submitting with their board. Basically they're saying we can take on Pullinger Kop if they get a grant from the inner city partnership - who I don't know has any resources. So I'm really worried about what happens to Pullinger Kop in the long run (JDA Development Facilitation manager, interview 2018).

> We can't partner because contacts are hoarded. [The Ekhaya CID coordinator] wants to be the conduit for everything (Sticky Situations representative, personal communication 2018).

Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project since its inception has been the main residential association in the southern parts of Hillbrow, and more significantly has been praised for its significant efforts to reduce crime and grime in the worst parts of the suburb (Mkhize, 2013). As discussed earlier, Ekhaya Park itself is strictly controlled by the association with little to no regulation by City Parks. It would seem that the association is accustomed and perhaps prefers to be the sole manager in areas under its jurisdiction. Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project's network includes MES and Bad Boyz Security, long-time members of the community around Pullinger Kop Park. Legae la Rona is also a prominent residential CID in the inner city, but it is not as networked as Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project is in this community.

Members from Sticky Situations have expressed disagreement with Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project's strategies of management, arguing more for a less divisive and more inclusionary approach to park management for Pullinger Kop Park. Sticky Situations had intended to test a few activation events as part of the Pullinger Kop Park feasibility investigations (community meetings and weekly events for children and women in the park to encourage use and to get feedback on their feelings and perception of the park) in 2017 but was not able to. A Sticky Situations member quoted above further contended that:

> [The Ekhaya CID coordinator], Legae la Rona and the councillor are focused on the homeless and ignoring the actual problems. There was a meeting called by wards 63, 64 and 123 to discuss the issue of crime by the homelessness and a plan of action. The councillors decided that there should be a march this Saturday from Pullinger to Hillbrow police station. The park's activations and community engagement has been put to a stop for safety purposes until JMPD can officially be stationed at Pullinger Kop. The councillor decided to intervene and stop discussions altogether and now the community is hesitant to engage with Sticky Situations.

It is important to underscore the difference between Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project and Sticky Situations. The former has been in area longer carrying out an overall vision for public space management on behalf of property owners and relationally, for residents. The CID is centralised, the coordinator has oversight on many issues in Hillbrow more broadly. The latter has been contracted by JDA, and prior to that was contracted by City Parks in the End Street North pilot project. Sticky Situations uses more bottom-up approaches to management, less centralised and often in collaboration with many other stakeholders. There is evidence of both approaches working. The problem in this case is not the use of one approach over the other.

The discourses around drugs and homelessness are conflated, but homelessness is framed as a bigger issue. A possible rationalisation could be that, the illegality of drugs makes them conceivably less difficult to resolve – militant security can help identify criminals and drug addicts and legally hold them accountable. Homelessness is a far more sensitive matter, harder to address as it requires multiple stakeholders in addition to the DSD. Removing the homeless unlike removing drug dealers is a human rights matter.

In any case, it would seem that Pullinger Kop Park requires a different type of strategy than that intended by Sticky Situations. The facilitators advocate for bottom up ways of engaging the community and activating parks. It is possible that their repertoire does not extend to working in drug and crime blighted spaces.

At the time that this report was submitted, a ward committee member was running activation programmes in the park on Saturday mornings, similar to those initially proposed by Sticky Situations – sanctioned by the ward councillor.

6.3 Framing agreements: the process of instituting management structures – challenges and opportunities

MoAs and MoUs are a relatively recently approach to formalising partnerships between City Parks and non-state actors. For the most part, these agreements are ad-hoc, without an established template. However, these instruments are gaining some traction, particularly with users groups in the northern suburbs who have assumed control in parks and nature reserves where City Parks has was not present (Mokgere, 2016 and Benit-Gbaffou, forthcoming). Whether this strategy works across the board – in other parts of the city like in less resourced communities in townships in the south of Johannesburg and in the inner city, is not clear (Hadebe, 2015; Mokgere, 2016 and Benit-Gbaffou et al, 2018). This section looks at how agreements and partnerships are framed. What are the institutional issues that affect the framing of partnerships and moreover, what other instruments, in addition to agreements are used to frame and formalise partnerships? Are MoAs or MoUs the best approach to building co-productive partnerships in the inner city? This section begins by presenting some discussions around capacity and institutional organisation in City Parks. The next part looks at activation events as instruments of framing agreements and the last section looks more closely at the End Street North Park pilot project and how debates around community mobilisation and volunteerism contribute to the framing of co-productive partnerships.

6.3.1 Capacity and fragmentation in City Parks

An important element of City Parks' lack of resources is its lack of officials on the ground. CIDs, FoP's, property companies etc. are useful in supplementing operational resources (cleaning and security) but City Parks still needs to be present in those spaces to monitor, regulate and maintain partnerships with these groups. Officials from the

necessary departments need to be available to engage with partners and with users. But this is not always the case.

> I don't want to lie I haven't seen AFCHO in five months. The CID [Ekhaya] is also supposed to provide a quarterly report. I think it's stated in the MoA (City Parks regional Manager, interview 2017).

> We have to tell the councillor about issues in the park because City Parks doesn't respond. [City Parks Regional Manager] is stifled because she can't do anything. She doesn't have budgets; she is not the authoritarian over the maintenance guys. The way it's actually structured at City Parks isn't working. People on the ground can't get things done (AFHCO development manager, interview 2017).

> Unfortunately, my office does everything. There are times when I feel like 'oh, you're running everything'. It's a one man business. It's not just service delivery. Its meetings, its partnerships, its relationship management, its customer relations, it's sitting in political forums like your councillors forums; we have inner city cluster forums...So many meetings. That is now excluding my internal meetings with my superiors. So you find that one is hopping from one meeting to another [and] you still have to manage depots and make sure that managers at the depots are doing what they're supposed to do. You cannot just take a word from managers that everything is done. Let me tell you, more than 50% of the time you'll go there and find that it's not done. It's not nice when you hear it from Tlholohelo because she's complaining in her email (City Parks regional manager, interview 2017).

> There was a lot of downsizing in the institution between 2010 and 2013. There are two people in my department so I admit there are a lot of gaps. Even where there is labour in parks, it might be grass cutter staff so there is no effective monitoring. I think we should stop making new parks and focus on managing the ones we have (City Parks NBD manager, 2018).

> There is little intra and interdepartmental coordination. People on the ground – the JDA, CRUM and City Parks don't have the capacity to change the city. They're dealing with the political and the professional (Sticky Situations member, personal communication 2018).

The New Business Development (NBD) unit is responsible for facilitating park management partnerships for the whole city, engaging with a range of groups including conservancies, religious groups, and property developers and mangers. The regional manager has oversight of all parks and open green spaces in the region, the inner city accounting for less than 30% of these spaces. It is clear that the lack of staff not only has implications on the direct management of parks themselves, but also on the responsibilities that officials are faced with.

It is important underscore that respondents from AFHCO and Sticky Situations are aware of the structural and organisational challenges in the institution, and in the City at large.

They have stated that they understand. However more often than not, they demonstrated significant frustration and displeasure with City Parks' actions or lack thereof in the co-management of parks. The Sticky Situations representatives comment is ironic because the organisation has been brought in precisely to assist in some of City Parks' challenges, particularly in mobilising community groups and facilitating relationships with them and the state.

6.3.2 Community mobilisation as an instrument of framing agreements – a closer look at the End Street North Pilot Project during construction

The End Street North Park pilot project illustrates the benefit of engaging park users from the conceptual or design stage as it informs City officials of what the needs and priorities are for community in question (Mavuso, 2015). The fight for traffic humps along Nugget Street demonstrates how the engagements that took place became functional tools for community and partnership development.

Figure 6.4: Field notes from my first public meeting for ESN Park

On the 8th of June 2017, a meeting was held with the Nugget Street community to address residents' complaints regarding the high level of accidents that occurred on Nugget Street and the lack of appropriate measures to control vehicle speeds. This was my first public meeting related to the park. About thirty residents sat in the parking lot of Tashkent flats across the park on Nugget Street, the biggest attendance I would ever witness at a public meeting related to End Street North Park during my field work. On the way to the meeting, a City official I was with had nervously admitted that the meeting was demanded by residents who threatened to halt construction of the park if traffic humps were not built to slow down vehicles coming down the bridge past across Bok street.

In the meeting, officials from the JDA and City Parks (the main drivers of the park's development) communicated the difficulties of building speed humps, the first of which was that all issues to do with roads were the responsibility of the Johannesburg Road Agency (JRA). The second problem was that neither City Parks nor the JDA had the resources to install traffic control measures as part of the project, or the capacity required to conduct a traffic impact study (which was crucial to determining the necessity of humps on Nugget Street).

Figure 6.5: Aerial view of End Street North pre-construction, and Tashkent Flats where the meeting was held (Google Maps)



Figure 6.6: View of the bridge going south, End Street North Park on the left, pre-construction and Tashkent flats directly opposite on the right (Google Street View)



Attendees of the meeting commented:

I am talking as someone who has been knocked by a car before. How do you build a park for kids, if they cannot get to it because the road is not safe?

There is a lack of reporting problems in general, of road accidents and muggings in the area. This park will be a place of corpses because of the deaths of Nugget Street.

[JRA, JDA and City Park]They are all the government. We are not against the park, but why is it difficult to put in a hump. We must close the street.

If we let them finish the park, they might forget about the humps. Going to the mayor won't help us because he will send us to the councillor, who's not even here.

I was expecting the councillor to be here, that's why I came. We must write a petition about the humps. Getting the media involved will put pressure on councillors but we need to do this as a collective, as one voice.

The community has been involved in the design of the park. These things have been noted before. Why do we still have to write petitions? We have been writing petitions since 2012 and we have weekly deaths. Fighting for the humps won't be easy. We must remember that most of the victims on Nugget don't live around here and they don't know the street so how will we know who and how any people? There's no use in writing a petition. We must just close the street!

The meeting was concluded with the JDA official committing to finding funding for speed humps, and the community stating that they would stage a 'sit in' at the JRA offices to force them to acknowledge their complaints and provide the necessary support to enable the JDA to install the humps. The sit in was a success. Attendance at the following community meeting, held on 12th of June 2017 was equally as high. Those that attended the sit in were given the platform to give feedback to the rest of the community and the City departments involved. The account was brief and not particularly detailed. What was more notable, was the community's renewed excitement about the park, and their eagerness to play bigger roles in managing the space.

If ward committees are dysfunction, we must disband. Because we don't have block committees, it's hard to work with community. We must take initiative and fight harder as the community to eradicate drugs.

We need to be able to look after this park ourselves without the government. In Soweto, people are able to take care of their parks because they understand that it is for the families.

The park can become our multipurpose space. We can use it for future meetings, music classes and sports.

Since then, morale has dwindled considerably as a result of firstly because the labour involved in the construction of humps was not from local co-operatives, and secondly due to the delays their installation.

Figure 6.7: Email communication by resident who has been involved in the pilot project from its inception, requesting the labour for the humps be sourced from the immediate community

From: miso7lase <miso7lase@gmail.com>
Subject: RE: End Street North and Nugget Str Parks- Final Community Input
Date: 20 June 2017 at 6:16:00 AM SAST
To: lesley@mametlelelo.co.za, 'Nicolette Pingo' <NPingo@jda.org.za>, 'Peta Almon' <peta@jhb.gapp.net>, 'Andrew Luke' <andrewluke@jhb.gapp.net>, 'Anele Mnyaka' <anele@jhb.gapp.net>, 'Cynthia Hlungwani' <CHlungwani@jda.org.za>, 'Jennifer van den Bussche' <jennifer@stickysituations.org>, idube@jhbcityparks.com, andriesj.mkhatshwa@gmail.com, 'Seipati More' <SMore@jda.org.za>

Hi all

We as Nugget residence held a meeting on the 08/06/17,looking for a solution of the Nugget str problem since it affect us direct,we visited JRA on the 12/06 finding out their reason of not approving the hump,
So we were promised that they will allocate funds for the Nugget problem on July

So our request now is, let it be the smme from Nugget residence that is going to do the job,we are tired of fighting this issues and other people come and benefit

As it's happening in the existing project we held meetings as the Nugget community signed petitions,designed our park with the help of stickysituations guyz to achieve our goals,but none of our people or smmes are working there

Personal I adviced the CLO with the recruitment and smmes but no,he didn't bother to take my advice,so now we saying not again
We are an existing community here at Nugget str.

Regards
Miso (Nugget residence)
0719712676

The inner city is characterised by high levels of unemployment and poverty. It is therefore not surprising that the community would request residents be involved in the project, nor is it invalid.

> The humps were never put in because the same people who lobbied for them threatened to sabotage the project if they were not directly involved. Some leading figures are spearheading these interventions in order to get jobs. They want to start a cooperative and function as an SMME. The JDA stopped the initiative altogether. The community is now divided and the rest of them marched on Monday, 27 August 2017 (Sticky Situations member, personal communication 2017).

> On our general public investment projects we have to get 30% SMMEs as well as local labour. So how that works is we go to public meeting once the design has been completed and we also present the design to the community. It involves things like brick laying, excavation or site security or site marshals and then we advertise and the local - you have to be in that ward. There's a whole registration process so there's a day when people come and register and they submit their CVs. Then we do a whole review process and the main contractor interviews the SMMEs and they appoint them. It's kind of a weird process because we're [JDA, the project manager] involved in the appointment but the appointment is by the main contractor so they don't actually have a contract with the City (JDA Development Facilitation manager, interview 2018).

These above struggles with traffic humps, in addition to a motor vehicle accident involving a child who had been to the park in January 2018 seemed to frustrate the community further, contributing to their overall dissatisfaction with the park's construction and design. In a meeting held on the 3rd of February 2018. Attendees shared:

> That child was knocked over because there is equipment and the park is still not fenced (community member).
>
> We ask the [project manager] for a meeting but he has not responded. The community was promised that we would be consulted about where to put the humps but that never happened (community member).
>
> [Project manager] keeps making promises but he never keeps them (community member).
>
> The community has the right to make their frustrations and concerns known. It could be an issue of prioritisation of different things in the project (City Parks official).
>
> Even the equipment in the park is not what the community agreed on. We have spoken to the [project manager] and he keeps telling us that everything depends on the budget (community member).
>
> Parents need to take responsibility of their kids because they know the park is not open yet (Sticky Situations representative).
>
> This is why it is important that there is a park structure as eyes on the park and to help enforce some rules (City Parks official).

The delayed construction of humps and ad hoc changes in park design based on funding reiterate the limitation of resources - monetary as well as bureaucratic practices and possible internal departmental politics that impede officials from fulfilling all of the community's requirements (Mokgere, 2016). Furthermore, residents did not fully understand the process of employment. Upon further investigation, it was revealed that local labour was indeed sourced; however some of them were from a neighbouring ward (Sticky Situations member, personal communication 2017).

Conversely, a lack of communication of these difficulties to the community and limited information on budgets and what is feasible within project funding damages the partnership that is being constructed between users and the City departments. Continuous community involvement through regularised feedback and consultation meetings are important for developing neighbourliness and developing the community itself, creating a sense of ownership and protection of the space, and giving recognition to the community members (Puren and Strydom, 2013).

At the same time, interest in the project as a whole has declined after the initial processes at the start of the pilot project. At the time of this research, there were discussions between City Parks, the JDA and Sticky Situations on how to resuscitate community investment, and how to empower the residents to function as a consolidated group and hopefully assume the role of managers for the park when it is completed. A strategic planning meeting was held on 1 February 2018 to discuss these issues. City Parks officials from different units were invited, as well as officials from the JDA, DSD, CRUM, and officials from the CoJ municipality, representatives from Sticky Situations, GIZ and CUBES at Wits University. Attendance consisted of only two people out of the seven invited from City Parks, with at least one attendant from all other listed organisations with the exception of CoJ. Below are the some remarks around establishing community based management for End Street North Park.

> Who should be there - stakeholder liaison, a park manager? Who can engage with the community?
>
> A park committee can work in the inner city but it still requires a lot of initial involvement from the city – people need to be trained and empowered to champion
>
> What about developing a park ambassador, pilot that at the park and then in a cluster of parks?
>
> Should we develop cooperatives that aren't just cleaning and security? YouthDesk[2] is volunteer group linked with SAPS but it will still need a community person who is remunerated to handle organising activations in the park.

The initial debates as seen above were around the type of management structure that could be put in place. The lack of consolidation of community interests into one body, such as an NGO or community based organisation make it hard to first identify who in the community would be interested. Secondly, consolidating a new group requires time and effort on the part of the city and Sticky Situations.

The following quotes were part of the discussion on how a community based management structure would be institutionalised. It is particularly important for a champion from a low income neighbourhood, who might be unemployed to have both institutional support in terms of training, but also be remunerated so that they can survive.

> Do we formalise them with a MoA or MoU or do we leave the park as a fluid space?
>
> Do we give them stipends? Remember people in the inner city aren't as resourced.

[2] "The Gauteng Youth Crime Prevention Desks are volunteer-based structures based at police stations within the province. The desks encourage and enable young people to participate actively in identifying the causes of youth violence and crime, and to collaborate in creating social crime prevention strategies for their communities" (Safer Spaces, undated).

> Make use of existing uses or the multi usage of parks. The stokvel meetings, soccer players, children, even the homeless and formalise these structures to give them responsibility in that space because they use it.
>
> But how would we institutionalise this? How do we get the regional manager involved? She was invited to this meeting but she's not here.
>
> Is there a formal structure for local employment in ongoing management, something similar to Jozi@work if not a formalised park committee? What vehicle can be used to employ local people in order to create buy in without councillors getting involved in order to maintain unbiased empowerment?
>
> But if they are doing maintenance, we still need to factor EPWP into this that is also not here.
>
> The JDA's has some funding from contract with the UN-Habitat. It ends in December this year so whoever is hired will stop then.
>
> Okay so we will have an ambassador who can recruit other people as times goes on. This person will be under stakeholder unit – or whichever works with the regional manager. Sticky situations will facilitate this process.
>
> But how will we manage the funds or pay them? Do we train them once-off and empower them to handle activities or do we support them from our respective departments? We might only have enough money for one person. How do we justify not paying the people who are recruited?

It is clear that developing a management structure for the park is tedious and difficult process. Socio-economic difficulties translate to a user base that is not resourced and understandably might not be able to sustain consistent investment or commitment into the park without a form of remuneration. The issue of hiring local labour to build the humps emphasises this.

What is worrying is the uncertainty of how this group would relate to City Parks and the level of resources that are necessary, at least initially to get it started. This worry is shared by the regional manager (interview 2017) who after explaining her numerous responsibilities and why she could not attend every meeting, explained that:

> [The Head of Knowledge Management] is a researcher and we get excited. We get excited as we're talking about things, but there are things that need somebody. We need a champion. In this neighbourhood, we have people that are willing but it's not people that can take us two steps. Its people [who are carried] by sticky situations, who's paid to do what she's doing, you understand my point? Immediately when it falls off and [The Head of Knowledge Management] goes back to her office, it's left with who? Me!

At the time this report was being finalised, no management structure was established for End Street North Park. The park is almost completed, save for the ablution facilities. It remains to be seen what will happen following its launch.

6.4 Conclusion

A continuum of power and responsibility can be used in analysing the agreements in place. End Street South Park would be at one end of the extreme - the MoA illustrates relatively large responsibilities with regards to the size of the park and the contingency measures needed for when City Parks cannot uphold address issues (on time). There is also little room for manoeuvre for AFHCO. For Ekhaya Park even though it is not certain that there is indeed an agreement, there is considerably less regulation and restriction than in the former park. This park would be on the opposite end of the spectrum. The draft MoA Pullinger Kop Park is somewhere between the two. It demonstrates an appreciation for the socio-economic challenges in and around park, but relatively less appreciation for stakeholder dynamics. From these contracts it is clear that it difficult to formalise, regulate and monitor partnerships. Furthermore, it is possibly more challenging in a space like End Street North Park where there might not be a consolidated stakeholder to work with.

Chapter 7
Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The research findings have underscored the limitation of state resources in the management and development in parks. More specifically, it has shown that these limitations have unique implications in the inner city. Partnerships are hard and require concerted effort, but whatever state they are in, it is clear that they have been of significant benefit - positively impacting not only the parks themselves, but the other public amenities in the area. This chapter consolidates the findings and links them to the premises of the research, which are the research aims and the question; and where possible, relate the findings to the literature explored. The conclusions are organised in terms of the key themes from the literature review, as well as more nuanced aspects of the case studies.

7.2 Co-production in the case studies

One of the research aims was to understand the extent to which collaborations between the state, private and civil society organisations could effectively improve management of the parks in the research. The research findings elucidate that there is indeed co-production in the sense that there are partnerships, against all difficulties and differences, towards providing a public good. In all four parks there is clear direction by all stakeholders to address issues of safety, which are prevalent in Hillbrow. Safety measures vary in degrees, ranging from surveillance to ensure the safe and undisturbed use of the End Street Park by children and adults alike; to the comparative high securitisation against specific uses and users groups in the case of Ekhaya Park, in order to provide a "safe space" for school children and students.

Further evidence of co-production is in the eradication of grime and decay with regards to public sanitation and the improvement of the surrounding public sphere. Both Ekhaya Neighbourhood and AFHCO, as property based organisations have contributed to the reduction of grime in and around parks which have had positive on other public amenities such as streets and paving. In both Pullinger Kop and End Street North parks there are collaborative efforts by various stakeholders to the same or similar results as those in the former two parks. It exists in the task force meetings at the Pullinger Kop Park, and in the engagements at End Street North Park on traffic humps, park construction and the park's future management. Co-production exists in the process itself, in the means and not only the ends (Bovaird, 2007).

7.3 Contractual agreements as the main instruments of framing partnerships

The findings have shown the importance of case-specific contractual agreements. In the three parks with MoAs, it is clear that the requirements of and relaxations given to the non-state parties are different. In one extreme, the End Street South Park MoA has been used to delineate responsibilities and at the same time, regulate what AFHCO can and cannot do on City Parks property. This does not fully exemplify the main ideas of co-production – which are power sharing and compromise or mutual transformation (Ostrom, 1996). In another extreme, at Ekhaya Park, there is more relaxation and room for manoeuvre given to Ekhaya Neighbourhood Project due to the lack of a contract. City Parks has not made any proclamation in concurrence, nor has it actively disputed the organisation's access control, or forced more inclusiveness which can be characterised as a delegation of power, rather than collaboration (Benit-Gbaffou et al, 2018). The other two parks might fall somewhere in the middle of this continuum. In Pullinger Kop Park, the volatile surroundings might call for more ad-hoc instruments that might be adapted in response to the environment (Baudot, 2013). The current terms of agreement have not led to solutions nor have they been successful in framing partnerships. The co-production process is blocked by safety issues that require either clear delineation of safety service provision in the draft MoA between the two CIDs, City Parks and the JDA or various inputs by other parties that can be held accountable. In End Street North Park, community based-management of the park will be part of the pilot, requiring experimentation and room for error.

It is important to regularly reviewing and renegotiates the terms of agreement in order to adapt to the change in resource levels or capacities, changes in uses and users in the parks and changing surrounding environments. This helps strengthen relationships, which in turn incentivises further investment by non-state parties.

7.4 Institutional challenges

This part can be related to question on characteristics of existing partnerships and how these partnerships are framed. Institutional cultures have a direct impact on these two elements. The current frameworks and agreements reflect both the limited capacity at City Parks, but also that there is not enough state transformation especially with regards to communicating with its partners and honouring legal stipulations in contracts that its own legal team has framed. The process has largely not changed. It is the same in the inner city partnerships as it is in those in the northern suburbs. AFHCO's complaints about the term and responsibilities in the MoA, and Ekhaya Neighbourhoods intention to assume sole control of Pullinger Kop Park reflect what has been seen in other works on parks and nature reserves – mainly unequal power distribution and the opacity of the state (Mokgere, 2016 and Bosaka, 2015).

These frustrations are shared by officials themselves. The End Street North Park pilot project symbolises this need for changes, illustrates that officials, especially those on the ground want to improve the management of parks and perhaps in the process alleviate pressures on the MoE and their units or departments more directly. As far as inter-departmental coordination goes, the pilot project shows that there is value in collectively addressing the multiple challenges that present themselves (homelessness, insecurity, road safety, public space sanitation, community development etc.).

The claims of police involvement in drug peddling around Pullinger Kop park require an investigation of police services by the City, which is obviously outside the scope of this research. More importantly, other departments need to speak on the rumours of police involvement in crime. The minutes from the task force meeting show that either no party vocalised this concern, or perhaps that it was suppressed in the minutes.
It seems to be a paradox that this park is continuously upgraded given its history, as opposed to being converted to some other kind of use, potentially property. It is indeed, not ideal to convert a public park to other forms of property, given the limited number of parks in the inner city in relation to the density, and in relation to accessible parks in Johannesburg generally but it is curious that City Parks has not taken official custodianship of it and included in its portfolio.

7.5 Community development and community-based park management

The research has shown that a community-based park management in the inner city is a difficult endeavour. Community interest in the End Street North Park pilot project has been difficult to sustain. Engagement on different issues in and around the park has provided period investment possibly not only due to park related issues but also personal and day to day lives of the residents. The project has empowered many of these residents. It has to some level from the design phase to construction, educated residents on the different state agents and what their functions. Residents now know that the state is not a singular entity – engaging the different departments on issues of urban management, (re)development, safety etc. has shown this.

Chapter six shows the increased difficulty in framing a partnership with a community, as opposed to an established and consolidated group. The discourses amongst stakeholders have begun to explore different ways of doing this. What is not fully acknowledged and should be underscored is that in End Street North Park possibly more than the other parks, there will be more demands on City Parks, at least initially. Whether the choice is to have a park committee, a ranger, and ambassador etc., regular state presence will be required to educate, guide, monitor and regulate the community.

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Appendix: Generic Interview Guideline

1. Introducing the Research Project to interviewee
   To understand how less consolidated community groups can be formulated into collaborating partners in the production and management of inner city parks.

2. Explaining the research project to interviewee
   The research is a comparative study of four public parks in Johannesburg inner-city. Findings from the research will be compiled into an academic report. It will include what was gathered through interviews, observations at meetings and visits to the parks, and media and official recorded findings.

3. Interview themes and guiding questions
   I. Role of the individual and of the organisation?
      - What is it that you do? (official capacity)
      - Which spaces are under your jurisdiction?
      - What is a typical work day like?
      - Is there any collaboration with other state or civil society groups towards this mandate?
      - If so which, and what do they specifically do?
      - What challenges do you come across in fulfilling your responsibilities or mandate? (funding, structural, community)

   II. Public utilization and operation
      - What does the day-to-day management of the parks entail?
      - What direct role do you play in this, if any?
      - What additional arrangements are in place for activation, security, cleaning, repairs etc., if any?
      - What activities or events, if any has the organisation promoted in the park? (specifically, and how have they guided the type of users group?)
      - Are there socio-economic issues that affect use of the parks under your management e.g. homelessness, drug use, that plague the inner-city and possibly other low income communities?
      - How are these being addressed?

   III. Nature of relationships
      - Is there a significant amount of community investment in the parks?
      - How do you engage with the state and the users of the space (Regular meetings, only limited to ward meetings –councillors' influence on community engagement?) Essentially how to you engage with users?
      - What time of agreement, if any, exist between you and the state/civil /corporate group?

- Is it formalised? How long has it been in place?
- Do you think the existing frameworks/ relationships are working to ensure long-term sustainable management? Explain why?
- How do you think community engagement and management can be improved or resolved? What do you think would need to change institutionally in your organisation?