Socio-Spatial Transformations: Johannesburg and Cape Town Public Spaces

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the experience of public space users and analyse the perceived socio-spatial transformations of South African cities. Studies on South African spatial and social transformation focus on macro-policy approaches and negate the micro-perspectives of public space users. Additionally, there is a lack of understanding in the academic discourses of the user experience and the way post-apartheid public spaces are navigated. To address these gaps, I ask how socio-spatial transformations are perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy? I am also concerned with how addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributes towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation? This thesis takes a social constructivist stance and uses a qualitative comparative case study approach. Between 2017 and 2018, 26 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 38 participants in six public spaces. The study shows that there is a disconnect between displaying uncomfortable apartheid spatial reminders and a willingness to share personal experiences or memories related to the public spaces. Many of the participants expressed caution when entering discussions of apartheid. This suggests that apartheid discussions relating to memories and experiences remain a sensitive topic. My analysis also shows that accessibility and economic affordability result in some public space users being excluded from public spaces. This exclusion results in new forms of inequality based on socio-economic status. The significance of this study contributes to the gap in understanding the micro-perspective experiences of public space users in South African cities. Empirically, the research also improves our understanding of the social function, use and perceptions of socio-spatial transformation.

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Author's Declaration

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Definitions/Abbreviations

AA	Affirmative Action
Afhco	Affordable Housing Company
ANC	African National Congress
B-BBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBD	Central Business District
CDS	City Development Strategies
CIDs	City Improvement Districts
CJP	Central Johannesburg Partnership
CoJ	City of Johannesburg metropolitan municipality
CPT	City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
DA	Democratic Alliance
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GCRO	Gauteng City Regional Observatory
GDS	Growth and Development Strategy
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
ICUDIP	Inner City Urban Design Implementation Plan
IDPs	Integrated Development Plans
KUM	Kagiso Urban Management
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MSDF	Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NP	National Party
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSDF	Regional Spatial Development Framework
SDFs	Spatial Development Frameworks
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
SRAs	Special Rate Areas
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
TOD	Transit-Oriented Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

1 Introduction

As a South African, professional planner and researcher, I became curious about the impact of the legacy of social segregation and spatial fragmentation in South African cities. Based on my planning experience, the strategies used to develop regional and national plans often included the views of politicians, built environment professionals and community representatives. The opinions of everyday public space users were rarely sought-after during consultations. My interest is on the present perceptions and experiences of public space users. User experiences related to South African cities are missing from academic studies (Turok, 2013; Ballard, 2016). This curiosity has inspired my thesis on the socio-spatial transformation of South African cities from the perspective of public space users. As a researcher, I subscribed to the social constructivist stance that reality is socially constructed. Individual views and realities are created and should be investigated in the field (Bunge, 2001; Krippendorf, 2004; Adams, 2006; Detel, 2015).

South Africa is my selected research context because of my interest in understanding present user experiences reflecting on the apartheid legacy. Historically, the apartheid government implemented racial segregation in South Africa through spatial policies, which affected the social interaction within public spaces (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Christopher, 1997; Deegan, 2011; Chapman, 2015). The apartheid system succeeded in establishing a city of social, racial and spatial divisions. Public and private employers allocated employment opportunities according to the population groups assigned to South African residents. The apartheid government introduced Coloured, Indian/Asian, Black and White population groups, which impacted on the post-apartheid city, reflecting the same socio-economic inequalities (Durrheim, 2005; Seekings, 2008). The apartheid system enforced racial segregation and spatial fragmentation in all South African cities. Apartheid was a political ideology that promoted White dominance and was implemented by the National Party (NP) in 1948. The NP came into power after the British imposed the system of colonialism. The ideology not only impacted on the social interaction within cities but also influenced the spatial development of cities (Christopher, 2001; Deegan, 2011).

In post-apartheid, South African cities remain fragmented, affecting the spatial development and impacting on the social encounters in places of employment, residence and leisure (see Christopher, 2001; Seekings, 2008; SACN, 2014; Chapman, 2015; Abrahams et al., 2018). The fragmented legacy affects the level of social integration of historically segregated population groups (Steinbrink et al., 2011; Turok, 2013; United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). Morris (2004) calls into question the possibility of establishing a "socially just city" (p.6), as South African cities continue to reflect the spatial fragmentation encouraged through apartheid planning. Nuttall (2004) states that the "new South African city is still a space where nightmarish divisions may be witnessed and where the fear of crime delimits dreams of truly public space" (p.741). The South African city is a reminder of racial segregation and spatial fragmentation influenced by the legacy of the apartheid political ideologies (Donaldson, 2001; Nicks, 2003; Morris, 2004; Vanderschuren and Galaria, 2008). According to Donaldson (2006), the "South African city remains an interesting laboratory to explore how society is grappling with its segregated past" (p.351). The persistent reminders of the apartheid social engineering are not easily overcome because of the development of spatially separated residential areas and the long commuting distances (Donaldson, 2001).

Several authors suggested that transformation in South African cities has occurred but has slowed down. There are opportunities to increase the rate of transformation through the improvement of transportation infrastructure and facilities, city management and public-private partnerships (Mini, 2012; SACN, 2014; Harrison and Todes, 2015). Bremner (2000), Christopher (2001) and Winkler (2009) agree that there have been attempted transformations which have continuously altered the social connections between citizens in both space and time. It is 26 years into democracy, and the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation continues to be addressed through either spatial or social transformation initiatives (Donaldson, 2001; SACN, 2014; Abrahams et al., 2018).

My thesis begins by reflecting on the impact of the apartheid period because apartheid was an extreme form of social and spatial fragmentation and is also more recent. In light of this, my focus is on the present post-apartheid perceptions and experiences of public space users, as discussed in the following chapter.

According to Madanipour (1999), spatial behaviour "is an integral part of our social existence" (p.879). Madanipour (1999), Ho and Douglass (2008) and Steinbrink, Haferburg and Ley, (2011) point out the need to consider the various ways that different social groups navigate public spaces. Some post-apartheid spatial transformation initiatives included liveability, densification and transit-oriented development concepts. Another focus has been on social transformation initiatives introduced at national and city levels which include sustainability and the right to the city.

The racial segregation and spatial fragmentation of the apartheid government was a period of intense social turmoil in South African history. The legacy continues to plague the experience of post-apartheid spaces (Nicks, 2003; Simone, 2005; Turok, 2015). During the apartheid era, there was a limited right of choice which restricted access to opportunities, mobility, social inclusion and social cohesion. Purcell (2002) describes "the right to revolve around the production of space" (p.102), not only by decision-makers but also to the citizens that use the city. Simone (2005) suggests the right to be maintained includes affordable housing and the availability of resources.

Due to my interest in both social and spatial transformation, selecting either a social or spatial analytical framework would potentially only focus on one aspect of transformation. My thesis reviews relevant theoretical perspectives, namely: social sustainability, liveability and the right to the city to develop a socio-spatial analytical framework. This framework is based on the amalgamation of key principles, analytical themes and analytical criteria for investigating socio-spatial transformations and is further discussed in chapter 3.

1.1 Research Questions, Aims and Objectives

My research aims to investigate the experience of public space users and analyse the perceived socio-spatial transformations of South African cities. Thus, my research is guided by two-interrelated questions, namely: (i) how are socio-spatial transformations perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy? And (ii) how has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation?

In line with the research aims and research questions, the following three objectives guide my research:

- Analyse the perceptions and experiences of everyday public space users through semi-structured interviews.

- Conduct observations of the social encounters and patterns of use in Johannesburg and Cape Town public spaces.

- Use multisensory walking to evaluate the present experiences in post-apartheid public spaces in light of the segregated history associated with public spaces.

1.2 Core Arguments

The core arguments central to my research include:

Firstly, to develop policies or strategies for the street level, it is necessary to undertake research of the everyday user experiences. This will provide further understanding of the user perceptions. Public space enables that research, as it targets diverse groups. It is also an essential way to obtain in-depth understanding of the experiences and perceptions that produce research that focuses on micro-perspectives which can inform city policies and strategies.

Secondly, the reminder of the apartheid legacy in public space and the social impact on post-apartheid public spaces is unclear. Understanding the social impact requires engaging with public space users to obtain their perceptions and experiences of present socio-spatial transformation. We need to understand whether or not the apartheid legacy has had any impact on the way public space users experience the public spaces that they navigate within the city centre.

Lastly, post-apartheid spaces are still associated with dividing an inherently fragmented society. Although apartheid is over, the socio-spatial divisions remain, which present a challenge for developing integrated public spaces.

1.3 Research Findings

There are several key findings that have emerged as a result of this research, which are based on urban connectivity, planned opportunities for social encounters and underutilised public space themes:

There are distinct similarities and differences between the urban connectivity in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The main difference being that Johannesburg's urban connectivity is growing and linked to the development of social activities and investment. Whereas in Cape Town urban connectivity is already established due to existing city centre investment. However, there exists a disconnect between social and spatial approaches.

In both cities there is a shift in planned opportunities for social encounters specifically after 5pm and over weekends. This most commonly points towards the temporary use of public space according to the activity undertaken, such as work, shopping or exploring the city.

Finally, the underutilisation of public space has been addressed through the securitisation of public space. This increases the trust participants have in participating in social activities, however in Johannesburg this has been a consequence of individual businesses implementing security measures. Although, in Cape Town, this is a more deliberative approach due to the combined security measures implemented throughout the public spaces.

1.4 Contribution to Knowledge

Investigating the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation enables an in-depth understanding of the "extended spatial patterns characteristic of the apartheid city" (Ballard, 2016, p.2). "The detailed spatial configuration of individual cities differs markedly and is also under-researched" (Turok, 2013, p.172), which is a gap that the research addresses by using Johannesburg and Cape Town as comparative case studies. The legacy of apartheid influenced the urban development structure of Johannesburg and Cape Town (Nicks, 2003; Morris, 2004; Chipkin and Meny-Gibert, 2013). However, research has tended to study the spatial transformation of the city as a consequence of the implementation of

spatial policies at a macro scale (Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2012; Sihlongonyane, 2016). Furthermore, Turok (2013) declares that "little is known about how people negotiate the fragmented structure of cities to access different kinds of opportunities" (p.171). Fewer studies analyse the social impact of the legacy of fragmentation in public spaces on a micro-scale (Nevin, 2014; Nkooe, 2018).

My research contributes towards the understanding of everyday user perceptions and experiences of South African cities, considering the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation. This includes highlighting the relationship between the spatial environment of cities and the influence on social interaction.

An in-depth understanding of the spatial configuration of the two main cities in South Africa, begins to address a gap in academic research that is under researched. Not only does this contribute to discussions related to these major South African cities, but also provides an empirical understanding of the micro-perspectives and experiences on a street level.

Redressing the imbalances created by the apartheid legacy requires an understanding of the everyday public space users. This research can be used by policy makers, practitioners and researchers to develop socio-spatial development plans and strategies in-line with improving the everyday user experience in public spaces.

1.5 Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to social segregation, spatial fragmentation and socio-spatial transformation in the South African context. The chapter includes a discussion on the development of the history of South African cities and post-apartheid urban development initiatives. This chapter expands on discussions of post-apartheid planning frameworks and the impact of actual policy frameworks and legislation. This is followed by a more focused debate on Johannesburg and Cape Town. The chapter summarises the current literature gaps that inform my thesis.

Chapter 3 explores the key theoretical perspectives identified in the literature review chapter. The chapter presents key debates regarding relevant socio-

spatial perspectives which predominantly focus on social or spatial principles or a combination of both. The chapter reviews critical arguments and theoretical perspectives related to social sustainability, liveability and the right to the city. The second part of the chapter mobilises the theoretical perspectives to develop an analytical framework. The socio-spatial analytical framework amalgamates key theoretical principles, analytical themes and analytical criteria. The chapter summarises the benefits and limitations of applying an analytical framework used to guide my thesis.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approach of my research. The first part of this chapter presents the philosophical assumption underpinning my research. My research is guided by the social constructivism standpoint and acknowledges that different perspectives of reality exist. The social constructivist viewpoint is discussed in relation to the case study approach that I applied to my research. I explain why I selected a comparative case study approach and the criteria that I used to choose the study sites in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The following section discusses the qualitative data collection methods used during field research, the ethical considerations, researcher reflexivity and data analysis methods used and explains the research limitations. The chapter ends with a summary of the critical methodological discussions.

Chapters 5 and 6 each presents a thematic analysis and discussion of the research findings of Johannesburg and Cape Town case study sites, respectively. The Johannesburg case study sites are located in Fox Street and include Maboneng, Gandhi Square and the Mining District and 1 Fox Street. In Cape Town, the public spaces include Greenmarket Square, St Georges Mall and The Company's Garden, which are located along several streets. The themes used for the analysis and discussion includes urban connectivity, planned opportunities for social encounters and underutilised public spaces. Prior to the discussion section is a section on city plans and policies to contextualise the thematic discussions. The chapter summarises the essential findings and critical insights for each case study.

Chapter 7 addresses the research questions by providing comparative analysis and discussion of the Johannesburg and Cape Town case studies. The first research question is addressed by examining firstly the lack of spatial displays

and spoken accounts of apartheid and secondly the representation of a preferred socio-spatial history. The second question comprises of two components firstly the inaccessibility of public space due to monitoring and control and secondly spaces of exclusion based on socio-economic status. The chapter summarises the key findings and insights of the research questions.

The final chapter, **Chapter 8,** concludes the research undertaken by providing an overarching summary. This includes a review of the research questions and objectives outlined. The chapter ties together the key findings and summarises the case studies by highlighting the similarities and differences discussed. The chapter discusses the gaps addressed and the contribution to knowledge that my thesis makes. The chapter ends with an outline of the research limitations and future research recommendations.

2 Socio-Spatial Fragmentation Discourses within the African Context

Research on the transformation of cities within the African context has studied the implementation of spatial policies at a macro scale (e.g. Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2012; Sihlongonyane, 2016). Fewer studies have analysed the social impact of the legacy of fragmentation in public spaces on a micro-scale (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Nevin, 2014; Nkooe, 2018). This literature review chapter aims to review socio-spatial fragmentation discourses within the African context and in South African cities. Overall, my research is guided by two-interrelated questions: (i) how are socio-spatial transformations perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy? And (ii) how has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation?

This chapter comprises five main sections. Following the introduction, the first section reviews fragmentation discourses within the African context. The African continent has been narrated as being riddled with more examples of challenges, which has a narrow focus on examples of successful socio-spatial transformation. Historically, colonial rule intentionally fragmented the development of African cities (Wilkinson, 2000; Van der Merwe, 2004; Lemanski, 2007). Cities have continuously developed and grown over the years, and African cities are no different. Existing literature has referred to the continent needing to implement sustainable practices in the urban context, to address current social and spatial inequality issues (Kabir, 2006; Dave, 2011; UN Habitat, 2014). Visser and Kotze (2008) point out that there is a lack of consideration for the local context when interpreting the impact of socio-spatial initiatives.

The second section reviews the institutionalised socio-spatial legacy in South Africa and the macro-level socio-spatial transformation policies and strategies. In South Africa, the earliest traces of socio-spatial fragmentation practices, date back to the establishment of one of the oldest cities, Cape Town, in 1652. For 338 years, socio-economic status and race spatially divided citizens (Scott, 1955; Worden, 1992; Bickford-Smith, 1995; Lemanski, 2004; Miraftab, 2012; Sihlongonyane, 2016). The most notable form of social, racial segregation and spatial fragmentation for 46 years, was the implementation of the apartheid

policy. Apartheid was an institutionalised form of fragmentation that dictated the level of social interaction permitted within public spaces (Marks and Bezzoli, no date; Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2007). The post-apartheid South African government adopted neoliberal development strategies to redress the social and spatial divisions of apartheid (Marks and Bezzoli, no date; Visser and Kotze, 2008; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009). This section also includes discussions on post-apartheid planning frameworks and the impact of actual policy frameworks and legislation. The macro-economic policy strategies adopted by the post-apartheid government are discussed further in this chapter.

The third section reviews the literature on Johannesburg and considers the influence of segregation on the city level, the role of race in public space and the transformation initiatives implemented. The fourth section applies a similar literature review for Johannesburg, except the contextual focus is the city of Cape Town. The last section summarises the key debates, discussions and identifies gaps in the literature that my research addresses.

2.1 Fragmentation Discourses within the African Context

Most African cities developed according to the vision of those in power and political influences. According to O'Connor (1983), African cities can be categorised according to European, colonial, indigenous, dual and apartheid ideologies. O'Connor (1983) distinguishes the European city as newly developed cities intended for Europeans, whereas the colonial city was developed in existing areas and included in colonial territories. The development of European and colonial cities focused on the manufacturing sector and creating an urban lifestyle, similar to Western cities. Minimal attention focused on developing the trade sector.

In comparison, the Indigenous city existed before European and colonial development and was ruled by the indigenous people and tribes. The dual city combines both the ancient aspects of the city, such as with new built-up areas such as ancient city walls with new high-rise buildings. However, implementing the apartheid city was restricted to South Africa and Namibia (O'Connor, 1983). The typical effect of most of these types of cities, aside from the indigenous city, contributed to ethnic, racial, residential and social segregation.

Segregation was implemented for "polarising social groups into distinct universes" (Spinks, 2001, p.14). Segregation aimed to divide groups of people based on various categories. The most common throughout the African continent was ethnic segregation, the separation of people according to culture, language and traditions (UN Habitat, 2014). Racial and residential segregation is associated with the apartheid city that developed racialised residential areas to prevent the accessibility and integration of population groups (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Spinks, 2001), I discuss this in more detail in section 2.2.1. Hamnet (1998) further adds that segregation discourse has been used to explain "the growing division in society between the haves and have-nots; the socially included and excluded" (cited in Lima, 2001, p.494). This explanation suggests that various forms of segregation such as ethnic, racial, and residential segregation result in dividing social groups by benefitting one over the other.

The apartheid government implemented social segregation in a physical setting which limited accessibility and interracial social interactions. Fragmentation applies to the physical structure or form of the city and the unequal social conditions that have been developed (Lima, 2001). Therefore, for my research, social segregation refers to the division of population and ethnic groups. Similarly, spatial fragmentation refers to the unequal development, management and provision of services in the built environment. Both social segregation and spatial fragmentation relate to the spatial distribution of social groups. The combination of these divisions results in the socio-spatial fragmentation of African cities that occur irrespective of context.

Parnell and Oldfield (2010), African Development Bank (2014), UN Habitat (2014) and Cartwright (2015) debated the improvement of the urban spatial distribution within African cities. Arku (2009) argues that "deliberate planning has been lacking for years and urban areas have been allowed to grow without control in all directions, causing many economic and social problems" (p.267).

The absence of planning may be true of most African cities, but not all cities share the same characteristics. The African continent comprises several sub-regions, northern, western, eastern, central and southern, with various urban challenges as outlined in the State of African Cities Report 2014. Map 1 shows the sub-regions and lists the African countries within each region. The northern

sub-region experiences challenges related to water scarcity on a regional scale, while the western sub-region has uncontrolled city growth. Challenges in the eastern sub-region are associated with population growth, the provision of affordable housing and the availability of economic opportunities. The central sub-region is challenged by rising unemployment in urban areas. Challenges identified in the southern sub-region are more climate-driven and health-related issues (UN Habitat, 2014).

THE SIX REGIONS OF THE AFRICAN UNION

North (7 countries): Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic and Tunisia

South (10 countries): Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe

West (15 countries): Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo

East (14 countries): Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda

Central (9 countries): Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and São Tomé-and-Príncipe

Diaspora (~ 170 million people): "People of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union", Definition of the African Union.

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Map 1: African continental sub-regional map (Source: Secretariat, 2017)

However, there are common spatial and urban challenges that are associated with many African cities. According to Boyer et al. (2012, p.51) "African cities are in a permanent state of crisis which is largely marked by almost unfathomable levels of deprivation, cruelty, routine dispossession, and the marginal possibility of slight improvement". Research conducted by African Development Bank (2014), UN Habitat (2014) and Cartwright (2015) are less focused on the state of crisis as described above and more about understanding

the common key urban challenges amongst sub-regions of segregation, informal settlements, provision of services and infrastructure. The rapid population growth and unsustainable planning within the African continent contributed towards uncontrolled urban sprawl, increased poverty, social problems and lack of attracting economic investment (Mosha, 2001; Van der Merwe, 2004; Arku, 2009; Duminy, Watson and Odendaal, 2013).

These challenges also coincide with the need to provide services that can sustain a growing urban population and enable equal access that does not contribute to continued divisions of social groups. The State of African Cities Report 2014 concludes that the "greatest challenge to urban politics in Africa is the inequality that characterises the 'urban divide', with the urban dwellers highly segregated by class and ethnicity" (UN Habitat, 2014, p.44). This reinforces the impact of social segregation, inequality and spatial fragmentation and the management of structures used to address urban challenges at local, city and regional level.

The African Development Bank (2014) acknowledges that urban areas are critical drivers for economic growth because of the population concentration; however, the mismanagement is a challenge for the government. To overcome these challenges, Arku (2009) suggests that political will is required to "pass growth management legislation that protects environmentally sensitive areas, reduce urban sprawl and improve the quality of life" (p.264). Strong political vision and direction from the government could have avoided the lack of progressive planning in African cities. However, Parnell and Oldfield (2010) point out that discussions highlighting urban development challenges often neglect to acknowledge the limited resources governments have at their disposal.

On the other hand, the African continent is "a unique case for studying urban forms due to the variety of city structure influences" (Van der Merwe, 2004, p.45). According to O'Connor (1983), this suggests that "in physical terms, the inherited structures generally include sharper contrasts between functional and residential zones than in the cities of indigenous origin" (p.33). These urban forms contributed towards the negative factors, specifically the rate of urban development and population growth, the mismanagement of cities in addressing

poverty, social disorders and reducing the dependency on exports of primary products (Boyer et al., 2012).

Lima (2001) emphasises the importance of urban form in developing countries as the "spatial characteristics of urban form have an important role in the functioning of an urban economy" (p.494). A thriving urban economy encourages planning strategies, global and local integration such as reducing poverty through the creation of employment opportunities and the provision of education and training (Miraftab, 2007; Scott and Storper, 2015).

Implemented planning strategies have often been adopted from Western cities to address the unequal spatial distribution and spatial fragmentation of cities. The Western models of compaction, densification and integration have been integral in the spatial planning strategies adopted, and have often been guided by quantitative measures and monitoring processes (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Du Plessis and Boonzaaier, 2015).

Transformation strategies used to address urban sprawl include compact and corridor development (Donaldson, 2001; United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). Compact development efficiently utilises public infrastructure by strategically guiding the expansion of the city. The continued social segregation and spatial fragmentation are addressed through socio-spatial transformation. The theoretical aspects of compact development are discussed in chapter 3, section 3.1.1. Similarly, the corridor development encourages population growth from within the central business district (CBD) towards existing radial links, like the development of transit-oriented development (TOD) strategies.

According to Jenks and Burgess (2000), TOD combines the development of mass transit routes with densification, and mixed land uses integrated with transport planning. The purpose of the restructuring is to reduce the reliance on private vehicles and reduce the need to travel by combining social, economic and residential facilities (Burton, 2000; Salingaros, 2006; Dave, 2011; Massyn et al., 2015).

TOD promotes linear development that efficiently uses public transport infrastructure and an increased vibrant cultural life through the utilisation of mixed social, residential and business facilities along development corridors (SACN, 2014; Chapman, 2015). The advantage is the contribution towards community diversification, vibrancy and the efficient use of public infrastructure through the promotion of TOD. However, the disadvantage is the negative impact it has on the well-being of citizens in terms of health benefits, the increased noise pollution, reduced accessibility to opportunities due to increased intellectual competitiveness and the lack of living space (Jenks and Burgess, 2000; SACN, 2014).

The State of African Cities Report 2014 highlights that, "development corridors are promoted to geographically disperse both economic activity and populations" (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014, p.7). This indicates that TOD is recommended as a strategic tool for African nations due to the plethora of urban challenges influenced by the legacy of segregation. The benefits of using TOD in the context of developing countries is challenging, "as very little is known about the social impact of sustainability in relation to urban densities and form" (Dave, 2011, p.189).

Some literature on transformation has referred to urban and spatial transformation. Landman (2006) argues that urban transformation "cannot only be concerned with physical space and form" but "also needs to incorporate social and mental space" (p.5). This approach is in line with the argument by Schensul and Heller (2011) that urban transformation literature tends to consider the role of macro forces and draw broad generalisations. However, Landman (2006) advocates for a city level and street-level approach to urban transformation as it relates to the physical space and link to mental spaces within urban areas. The author further explains that these needs should inform the spatial transformation of particular social groups. The South African Cities Network, a research network, further adds that a collaborative approach must be adopted to achieve the spatial transformation of cities (SACN, 2014). That includes public and private investment, shared responsibility and increased trust between stakeholders. The transformation of cities requires a combined approach to achieving socio-spatial transformation that reverses the effects of

the social and spatial division of social groups to encourage equality and integration (James Williams, 2000; Landman, 2006; SACN, 2014).

Landman (2006) asserts that the global networking and transformation of cities is linked to the improvement and management of existing services and infrastructure. O'Connor (1983) contends that "cities form critical links in every country between the population as a whole and the outside world" (p.16). Thus, for the African continent to develop more global cities, these links need to integrate the population by addressing challenges of poverty, inequality and crime. However, if the investment is concentrated in existing wealthy areas, this further entrenches existing socio-spatial fragmentation.

Globalisation consists of interrelated economic, political and cultural networks on a global scale. It is defined by the "growing integration of the world" (Van der Merwe, 2004, p.36) and "the emergence of a world society" (Sihlongonyane, 2016, p.1613). Globalisation has been implemented to develop better links between cities and create more global cities. Van der Merwe (2004) states that globalisation serves a greater purpose that "enriches the integration of socio-cultural, political and economic life in a post-modern world" (p.36), which promotes inclusivity and the distribution of equal rights to previously inaccessible cities. However, globalisation research has been criticised for focusing on achieving global city status rather than on achieving global connectivity.

Consequently, the possibility of deepening polarisation in the local labour market is increased due to the focus on importing higher-skilled labour and services (Gibb, 2007; Mini, 2012) specifically, as it relates to the increased division of cities globally. Simone (2005) suggests that the global trend is based on profitability aspirations rather than integrating society.

Non-western cities are at a disadvantage when conducting globalisation studies because Western examples of 'world cities' are favoured. World cities are a by-product of globalisation and are characterised according to financial, manufacturing, transport and cultural centred roles. Boyer et al. (2012) point out that, "most cities in the Global South fall into the trap whereby they define their priorities in terms of what they need to do to become 'world-class' and

'competitive'" (p.58), rather than addressing historical racial, social and spatial fragmentation. This label is flawed as it is based on a Western ideology which is inflexible to cities of the South. Yet, there is an acceptance among African cities of the global city status criteria as a gold standard to achieve global competitiveness (Lemanski, 2007).

The temptation to do this directly relates to the marketing of global cities to compete in the global economy. According to Van der Merwe (2004), the African continent has the fewest world cities, namely Johannesburg, Cape Town, Cairo, Casablanca, Lagos and Nairobi. The South African cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town are regularly referred to as global African cities. When compared to Johannesburg, Cape Town is a secondary world city. Both cities focus on marketing cultural heritage that favours European heritage over African heritage, even though African images are used as a commercial tool (Sihlongonyane, 2016). On a local scale, cultural commercialisation is used to bridge the interests between addressing local challenges of inequality and achieving global connectivity. South African studies have drawn attention to the abolishment of institutionalised social segregation and spatial fragmentation by implementing globalisation discourse to guide urban planning strategies (Van der Merwe, 2004; Gibb, 2007; Lemanski, 2007; Mini, 2012; Sihlongonyane, 2016).

2.2 South African Cities

South Africa is the most urbanised and developed country in sub-Saharan Africa and has an estimated population of 51.8 million people (Statistics South Africa, 2016a). South Africa has a three-tier government, namely: national, provincial and local. The national government oversees all macro aspects of the country such as legislation, policies and strategies. The provincial government oversee each of the nine provinces, namely: Limpopo, North West, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Free State, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Western Cape, that the country is divided into, as shown in map 2. Each province has a local government that comprises of municipalities, also known as local authorities (South African Government, 2020). South Africa has three capital cities, namely: Pretoria the administrative capital, Cape Town, the legislative capital and Bloemfontein the judicial capital (Nations Online Project, 2019).

Map 2: South Africa provincial map (Source: Nations Online Project, 2019)

The South African population comprises of four groups, namely: Black African, Coloured, White and Indian/Asian people. These categories were introduced and enforced during apartheid. Racial data is used to understand the growth of the population groups and the socio-economic growth amongst the groups (Statistics South Africa, 2017). Since apartheid practices were abolished, the continued use of population grouping is problematic because individual needs are not considered. Racial segregation widened the socio-economic inequality of individuals and communities.

However, Christopher (2002) and Lefko-Everett (2012) have argued that the continued categorisation of population groups serves multiple purposes. The most common purpose is to monitor progress on redressing the inequalities caused by apartheid. There have been attempts to refrain from using the term racial groups by Statistics South Africa, who use the term population groups. The Community Survey 2016, Victims of Crime Survey 2016 and Crime Statistics Series Volume III Reports produced by Statistics South Africa use population groups to distinguish between Black African, Coloured, White and Indian/Asian groups (Statistics South Africa, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). National policies such as

the Employment Equity Act, 1998, the White Paper on Affirmative Action Act, 1998 and the Broad-Based Black Economic Employment Act, 2004 specified in the definitions section that the 'generic term' black people are used to refer to African, Coloured and Indian people. However, these are referred to as race groups further in the policies (Department of Public Service and Administration, 1998; Republic of South Africa, 1998, 2004).

Furthermore, the National Development Plan Vision 2030 produced by the National Planning Commission and the Quality of Life Survey 2015 produced by the GCRO research institution use the term race groups instead of population groups. It is clear that there is no consistency when referring to the four population groups in South Africa and discussions related to race are far more complex than the simplistic discussion provided (see Christopher, 2002; Lefko-Everett, 2012; Isaacs-Martin, 2015; Rassool, 2019). I do acknowledge that the use of the four population/race groups in South Africa is not accepted within the international discourse. However, within the South African context and due to the relevance of the current use of population groups in policies, statistical reports, national plans and research reports my thesis will use the term population groups as well.

Figure 1 compares the population groups over 15 years, between 2002 and 2017 (Statistics South Africa, 2017). The 15-year period shows an increase in the Black African population, with Coloured and White populations reducing and the Indian/Asian population remaining the same. The reduction could be a result of several factors, including migration to other countries and continents.

15-Year South African Population Groups
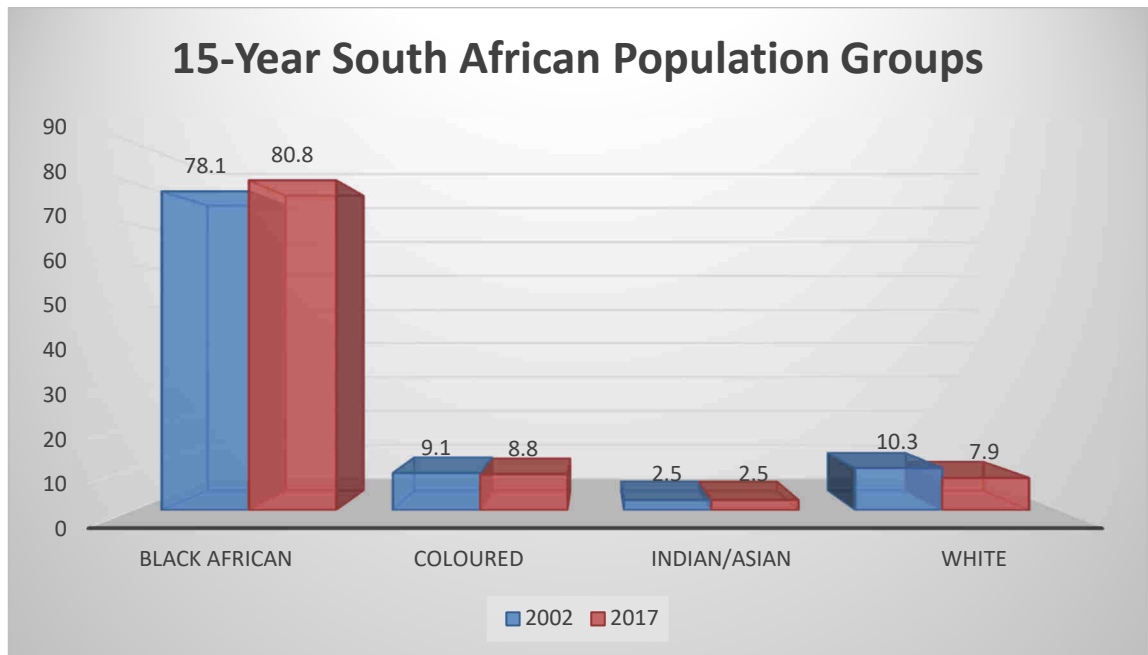
Figure 1: 15-Year South African population groups (Source: Statistics South Africa, 2017)

The reclassification of the African population designated only for the Black population groups, risks excluding the remaining Coloured, Indian/Asian and White populations as African too. The use of these population groups is an indication that many South Africans still identify within particular population groups in post-apartheid.

Aside from understanding the socio-economic growth amongst the four population groups, it is vital to investigate the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation to understand the "extended spatial patterns characteristic of the apartheid city" (Ballard, 2016, p.2). According to Visser and Kotze (2008), the focus of post-apartheid South African cities has neglected inclusive studies of all social groups in cities and instead have focused on the poor in rural areas, partially due to research and the government.

The democratic government embraced a less controlled planning approach to differentiate the spatial practices from that of the apartheid government. This approach was in retaliation of the inflexible and racial planning approach of the apartheid government (Sinclair-Smith and Turok, 2012; Harrison and Todes, 2015). However, the leadership of the democratic government has been criticised for retreating from state-required duties by allocating state responsibilities to the private sector (Bénit-Gbaffou et al., 2008; Visser and Kotze, 2008). Primarily, through the appointment of external bodies, both

private and public fulfilling government duties. Marks and Bezzoli (no date) describe this type of leadership as 'shadow government', common in the South African context.

Part of the democratic government's approach was encouraging integration and socio-economic mixing in city centres. The socio-economic mix in city centres, became a strong selling point of the democratic government to encourage nation-building and overcome the apartheid legacy (Lemanski, 2007; Sihlongonyane, 2016). The nation-building strategy extended to interconnectivity and the attainment of globalisation. A commercially driven approach to transformation comes at the cost of social integration. Furthermore, the adverse effects of globalisation and desegregation inadvertently contributed to new forms of segregation (Mini, 2012). A focus on profitability and economic success over inclusivity and social cohesion is a consequence of globalisation attempts (Lemanski, 2007). Donaldson (2001) uses the term 'resegregation' to describe the new forms of segregation based on the skill level and economic profitability of the labour market.

The United States, Latin America and South African cities share the same trait of increased socio-economic divisions of social groups. This includes securitised developments, increased divisions and isolation of employment opportunities, social facilities and housing options. The development tendencies of the post-apartheid city contribute towards increased urban poverty because planning policies do not adequately address distorted spatial patterns and social equality worsening inequality and furthering urban fragmentation (Du Plessis and Boonzaaier, 2015).

South Africa is characterised by an increasing gap between the wealthy and extremely poor (Steinbrink et al., 2011; Darlington et al., 2018). This gap was influenced by the apartheid ideology, which contributed to the socio-spatial fragmentation of South African cities. The difference in incomes between various groups is a limiting factor to change, especially in the context of South Africa. Moreover, studies on race and class in South Africa have focused on the growing Black African middle-class (Seekings, 2008; Donaldson et al., 2013; Walsh, 2013; Hoogendoorn and Gregory, 2016) with fewer studies focusing on the working class (Parnell, 2003).

Bremner (2000) and Winkler (2009) argue that there have been attempted transformations which have continuously altered the social connections between citizens in both space and time. The policy formulation phases enhanced the transformations during the 1990s. These include i) policy formulation in line with global trends, ii) reconciliation which resulted in the desegregation of society in all spheres and iii) reconstruction through the development and upliftment of underdeveloped and disadvantaged areas.

Christopher (2001), Lemanski (2004), Abrahams et al. (2018) and Nkooe (2018) describe these social and political transformations as either 'radical' or 'rapid'. The authors agree that the implementation of post-apartheid legislation and policies were central to addressing the segregation and inequality enforced by the apartheid government. Thus, the abolishment of apartheid laws resulted in a lift of oppressive restrictions and a renewed sense of freedom to choose where to travel, work and live. Christopher (2001) suggests that residential integration is one of the ways to achieve social transformation. Specifically, in wealthy white suburbs which were not available to non-white people during apartheid. The democratic government implemented post-apartheid legislation almost overnight. However, the financial support and economic status of some non-white people were preventing them from purchasing property due to previous segregated practices.

Additionally, Donaldson (2001), argues that there have been attempts to recreate the place and space of South African city identities. Planners, department managers and politicians responsible for urban development initiatives have been tasked with "reconstructing the impression of a spatially segregated urban society" (Donaldson, 2001, p.1). Transformation has taken place, in the political and social spheres since, the abolishment of apartheid. However, several authors challenge these views and argue that spatial transformation is either lacking or has been too slow (Morris, 2004; Donaldson, 2006; SACN, 2014; Harrison and Todes, 2015).

However, Harrison and Todes (2015) suggest that more should be done to "shape spatial transformations" (p.160), especially with the devolution of state power and responsibility to the private sector. Other authors have asserted that there has been a lack of spatial transformation, which has contributed to the

continued fragmented structure of South African cities (Morris, 2004; Donaldson, 2006). According to the SACN (2014), even though legislation and policies were implemented to achieve spatial transformation "these measures have been far too slow in changing the apartheid city form" (p.68).

While most scholars have focused on social transformation, Sihlongonyane (2016) suggested that the cultural transformation of South African cities remains uncertain when claiming an authentic city identity. Cultural transformation suggests a combination of historical influences which comprise of both native influences and Western influences that shaped the development of the cities. While cultural transformation is an important area of study to consider, it is not within the scope of this research undertaken to study this aspect of transformation. However, it is within the scope of the research to focus on the combination of social and spatial transformation. The SACN (2014) propose studying examples of spatial transformation in non-South African contexts and adopting lessons that can be applied to the South African urban context. The use of non-South African contextual research to address spatial transformation in South Africa lacks understanding the contextual socio-spatial fragmentation.

In summary, the urban areas of South Africa have been influenced by political ideologies from colonialism to apartheid and finally, democracy (Bremner, 2000). The South African city is an example of racial segregation and spatial fragmentation influenced by the legacy of the apartheid political ideologies (Donaldson, 2001; Nicks, 2003; Vanderschuren and Galaria, 2003; Morris, 2004).

2.2.1 Socio-Spatial Development History

The origins of segregation in South Africa, dates back to the nineteenth century, during the British colonial administration (Morris, 1998; Parnell, 2003; Deegan, 2011). One of the most notable policies implemented by the colonial administration was the Natives Land Act, Act No. 27 of 1913, because it provided guidelines for the purchasing and ownership of land to the Native population (Union of South Africa, 1913).

In 1914, a formal political policy of segregation was implemented at the national level by the Labour Party. The Labour Party comprised of mainly skilled British

mineworkers and no Afrikaners, even though the Afrikaners supported the British administration. The Afrikaners are descendants of the first Dutch settlers (Deegan, 2011). Shortly after, the British administration approved the Native Urban Areas Act, Act No 21 of 1923.

The Native Urban Areas Act, 1923, prevented non-white residents from purchasing or leasing property in areas declared 'white-only' including in affluent White suburbs. The Act empowered the local authorities to establish separate townships for non-white residents, controlled the management of services and purchasing powers of natives (Union of South Africa, 1923; Morris, 1998). Earlier forms of socio-spatial fragmentation were influenced by racialised policies implemented during the British colonial administration, which formed the foundation for the apartheid administration.

Similarities between the British colonial era and post-apartheid neoliberal era have been outlined as responsible for two critical movements in urban and real estate development (Miraftab, 2012). The Public Health Office was instructed to promote selective urban inclusion and exclusion by the colonial administration. The British used the urban setting as a tool to maintain White privilege and dominance over perceived underprivileged population groups. Miraftab (2012) argues that there is a need to "explore the colonial legacies of neoliberal urban development and governance strategies" (p.283), to understand the continuities and changes apartheid procedures.

In 1924, General Hertzog of the National Party claimed that Afrikaners were the "pioneers of South African civilisation" (Deegan, 2011, p.11). He was insinuating that the native population were not considered civilised. Chapman (2015) states that "spatial apartheid only really gained significant momentum sometime after the National Party won its first election in 1948" (p.95). South Africa's historically segregated policies should be analysed to determine how "strictly apartheid principles of segregation and separation were applied" (Turok, 2013, p.172). During the 46 years of the apartheid administration, several laws were approved to achieve nation-wide segregation. Only essential social segregation and spatial fragmentation policies will be reviewed, as indicated in the summary table 1.

Table 1: Summary of key apartheid legislation

Legislation	Approved	Purpose	Reference
Population Registration Act, Act No. 30 of 1950	1950	Classification of the population according to population/racial groups.	Union of South Africa (1950)
Group Areas Act, Act No. 41 of 1950	1950	Spatial separation between population/ racial groups and the development of racialised areas.	Union of South Africa (1950)
Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination Documents) Act, Act No. 67 of 1952	1952	Control of the movement of the native population within cities and access to employment opportunities.	Union of South Africa (1952)
Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No. 49 of 1953	1953	Separation or exclusively used of public premises by persons belonging to a particular race or class.	Parow (1953)

These Acts marked the beginning of institutionalised socio-spatial fragmentation that gave control to the apartheid administration. The Population Registration Act, Act No. 30 of 1950, was central to the racial divisions enforced on a national, city and neighbourhood level. The racial engineering of apartheid was based on the Act because the population was classified according to racial categories. Initially, three racial groups were approved in the policy, namely: Coloured, Native and White. As outlined in the Population Registration Act, Coloured persons meant "a person who is not a White person or a native". Native persons meant "a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe in Africa" and White person meant "a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a White person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person" (Union of South Africa, 1950, p.277). The fourth group was defined in later amendments of the Population Registration Act which characterised Indian persons "as people of South Asian and Asian descent" (Seekings, 2008, p.3), and Asians "people who could trace their ancestry back to immigrants from the continent of Asia" (Christopher, 2001, p.450). Further amendments to the Act also replaced the 'Native' label to 'Bantu' and later to 'Black' (Seekings, 2008).

The Group Areas Act, Act No 41 of 1950, enforced control over the physical development of urban areas through racial land uses but also through the forced removals of mixed neighbourhoods. Non-white residents were forcibly removed from designated 'white' areas and relocated to racially classified areas (Miraftab, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008). There was a physical separation implemented by town planning officials to divide the population racially. The enforced spatial divisions resulted in social divisions of population groups. The Act resulted in the development of racial neighbourhoods and social exclusion through racialised spaces, social facilities, shops and transportation. Hoogendoorn and Gregory (2016) agree that the "introduction of the Group Areas Act, 1950 and its amendments had far-reaching effects on the socio-economic development of South Africa's cities" (p.403). Mainly due to the concentration of wealth in the city centre and 'white' suburbs and the prevention of equal access to opportunities for all population groups.

This resulted in the inflexible urban planning of a spatially fragmented city based on race and social divisions, as illustrated in figure 2. The apartheid city structure enforced strict control measures of racial segregation. Racial laws prevented non-white residents from living and socialising in the city but were permitted to travel to the city for work.
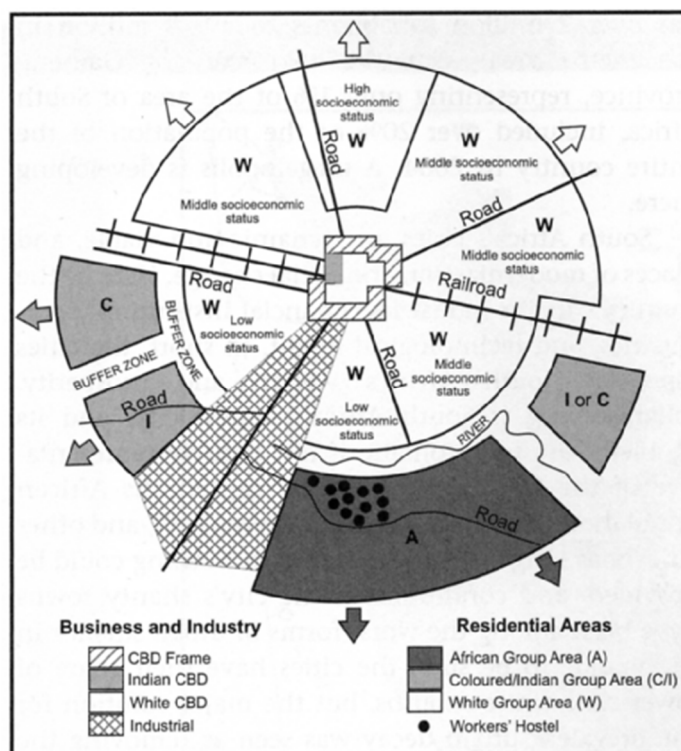
Figure 2: Apartheid spatial city model (Source: Satplan, 2017)

Additionally, under the Group Areas Act, families were forcibly removed from racially mixed areas. Examples of forced relocations include Sophiatown in Johannesburg and District Six in Cape Town, which was considered racially tolerant areas before the implementation of the Act. Apartheid forced an economical mix in areas zoned non-white specifically Coloured, Black African and Indian/Asian townships (Morris, 1998; Wilkinson, 2000; Deegan, 2011; Turok, 2011; Sinclair-Smith and Turok, 2012).

Another policy was the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination Documents) Act, Act No. 67 of 1952, also referred to as the Pass Laws. The purpose of the Pass Laws was to control the movement of Natives within cities and monitor access to employment opportunities. Native persons were required to carry around a 'Reference Book' which stipulated whether they were permitted to work and live within the city centre (Union of South Africa, 1952).

Town planning frameworks and policies were used as a tool to shape the socio-spatial development of cities. The implementation of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No. 49 of 1953, entrenched further physical divisions in society. This Act prohibited the mixing of 'European' and 'non-European' groups on public premises. The Act further defined public premises as "any land, enclosure, building, structure, hall, room, office or convenience to which the public has access, whether on the payment of an admission fee or not but does not include a public road or street" (Parow, 1953, p.328).

The apartheid administration first considered the implementation of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) in 1987 in Johannesburg and Cape Town to aid in the socio-spatial fragmentation ideology. The apartheid administration attempted to implement CIDs as a form of racial control in city spaces and public premises. The CIDs model was based on the model implemented across many American cities. The difference in the racial control enforced in American cities segregated Black minority groups, while the apartheid administration segregated a large portion of the population (Miraftab, 2007).

Boyer et al. (2012) state that the buildings designed during apartheid "often had an awkward fit with their sites, in part because of the distancing between the act of design and the context of the building" (p.142). The physical divisions

within public space buildings were designed to prevent social mixing. The institutionalised social segregation and spatial fragmentation by the apartheid administration succeeded in dividing an entire society. The end of apartheid, an institutionalised approach was used to reverse the effects of socio-spatial fragmentation, which is discussed in the following section.

2.2.2 Post-Apartheid Urban Development

The abolishment of apartheid laws, policies and practices towards 1990 and the democratic elections in 1994, resulted in the promotion of desegregation and transformation initiatives (Christopher, 1997; Watson, 2001; SACN, 2014).

In 1994, the first democratic elections were held, and this marked the beginning of post-apartheid. Democracy signified the start of racial and social mixing to address the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation. Steyn and Foster (2008) describe the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid as "a time of profound social and psychological adjustment for all South Africans" (p.25). Studying the post-apartheid transformation, often referred to as desegregation makes the South African city "an interesting laboratory to explore how society is grappling with its segregated past" (Donaldson 2006, p.351). It is evident from this initial analysis that race pre-1994 and post-1994 remains a central dynamic to the socio-spatial transformation of cities (Bodino, 2016; Sihlongonyane, 2016).

According to Morris (1998, p.764), "as the black middle class grows, the deracialisation of the suburbs begins intensifying". This signifies the deracialisation of previously inaccessible 'white' residential areas to the non-white population. The author suggests that this is a positive indication of racial mixing in a physical setting and also that the economic growth of the Black middle class that was unimaginable during apartheid. Despite the residential integration of population groups, fewer White people are moving to non-white areas, and the majority of the non-white population remain in apartheid developed racialised areas (Durrheim, 2005). Morris (1998) further adds that "most people will continue to live in uni-racial neighbourhoods that are in line with their apartheid racial category for the foreseeable future" (p.770). Possibly due to the level of comfort and familiarity with the neighbourhood and the affordability of property prices.

As Nuttall (2004) states, "apartheid social engineering did and still does work to fix spaces that are difficult to break down in the present" (p.732). Thus, socio-spatial transformation regarding urban form, social interactions and development strategies is central in South Africa.

In the case of South Africa, the "pattern of inequality is to some extent a legacy of the apartheid era, with aspects of the country's current neoliberal economic policies and rapid urbanisation sustaining it" (Steinbrink et al., 2011, p.20). The neoliberal development strategy focused on globalisation which shifted the state's urban transformation power to local authorities and foreign investors. The globalisation discourse was adopted by Johannesburg and Cape Town local authorities to market both cities as global African cities. Cape Town focused on tourism marketing and Johannesburg on promoting a cultural capital city (Gibb, 2007; Graham, 2007; Abrahams et al., 2018). Adopting a globalised approach influenced the practice of adopting Western concepts to achieve targets that meet a global vision.

The implementation of macroeconomic policies to address aspects of inequality through economic growth has not always been successful. According to Steinbrink et al. (2011), the implementation of economic development strategies and global sporting events such as the FIFA World Cup, inadvertently contribute towards new forms of fragmentation. Rather than including the informal economy, South African FIFA organisers banned street vendors without permits from selling branded memorabilia at soccer events. Instead of creating upward mobility in the informal economy, informal traders were marginalised and excluded.

The post-apartheid era marked the introduction of integrated planning approaches linking place-making and urban design to redress the legacy of spatial fragmentation (Cameron, Odendaal and Todes, 2004; Lemanski, 2007; Sinclair-Smith and Turok, 2012).

Post-Apartheid Planning System

A number of planning frameworks have been implemented with different intentions. The implementation of these frameworks require reflection on the

planning systems and goals. Binns and Nel (2002), Watson (2002), Coetzee (2005), Harrison, Todes and Watson (2008) and Viviers and Cilliers (2017) are some of the authors that have debated the post-apartheid planning systems.

This era of post-modern planning implemented a system motivated by democratic representation. The focus was on achieving a 'developmental local government' which was central to the democratic and strategic approach. Post-apartheid transformations were not only based on a policy level but also required the transformation of local authorities in terms of developmental aspects. This meant allocating more responsibility to local governments to enable a democratic representation of the needs of the people at grassroots level (Binns and Nel, 2002; Coetzee, 2005). Binns and Nel (2002) argue that the downside to a developmental local government is the added responsibilities placed on smaller local authorities with limited capacity and financial resources.

However, Watson (2002) points out that this "maximizes social development and economic growth of communities, and for planning and managing development in a spatially and socially integrated and sustainable way" (p.73). While Binns and Nel (2002) agree that "local municipalities thus have a crucial role to play as policy makers, and as institutions of local democracy, and they are urged to become more strategic, visionary and ultimately influential in the way they operate" (p.922). Coetzee (2005) contends that "local authorities were not doing enough to promote and establish the basic principles of urban democracy, and to develop experience-based guidelines" (p.14). This suggestion potentially only applies to larger local authorities that have the skills and capacity to develop experienced-based guidelines. While this is useful in facilitating effective community participation, it requires more flexibility through trial and error which may be time consuming. This kind of flexibility has thus far not been discussed in relation to the post-modern planning approach adopted, which remains structured in the hierarchal approach to planning decision making.

While the Development and Facilitation Act (DFA) was not a comprehensive framework, Harrison, Todes and Watson (2008) acknowledge the significant contribution because it was "the first piece of post-apartheid planning legislation" (p.62). Harrison, Todes and Watson (2008) further point out that the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was not being fully

supported by all because it was more of an economic and development policy intended for global investors by "creating globally competitive…spatial initiatives" (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008, p.63). Both the DFA and GEAR were developed nationally, to inform the planning systems at provincial and local levels. According to Viviers and Cilliers (2017) the general opinion is that spatially South African cities have not fully achieved spatial integration. Therefore, a number of legislations mandated by local government are used to address the spatially segregated urban form. Binns and Nel (2002) claim that further consideration is required regarding the implementation and planning of integrated development planning (IDPs) at local, provincial and national levels. This is due to the varied approaches by resourced and under resourced local authorities. Under resourced authorities may not have capacity, expertise and need to outsource IDPs which results in inconsistent plans that may lack in-depth local knowledge. Coetzee (2005) further argues that most IDPs and SDFs are unsuccessful due to the lack of implementation strategies and poor leadership. However, this also extends to institutional structures and the decision making that reinforces poor-quality plans and disproportionate allocation of funds.

Post-Apartheid Planning Goals

The most common planning goals include achieving integration, focusing on development, economic growth and promoting densification (Todes, 2004; Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008; Chakwizira et al., 2017).

Harrison, Todes and Watson (2008) state that post-apartheid planning was used "as a form of generating development strategies…cast far more broadly, to include economic and social development and a range of interlinked policy thrusts beyond a purely spatial focus" (p.53). The developmental local government focused on promoting integrated planning. Binns and Nel (2002) highlight that IDPs are not unique to South Africa and was popular internationally due to the focus on environmental planning. However, the application within South Africa is useful to achieve the new planning vision in response to apartheid resulted in two approaches. One focused on social justice and the other on developing "an alternative spatial vision of the city" (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008, p.39). Central to the two approaches is integration

which is one of the terms used in the South African context to promote the "new urban vision" (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008, p.11).

Todes (2004) emphasises that the restructuring of cities was intended to move away from apartheid city forms by focusing on social and spatial integration. Todes (2004) further adds that this "has meant that the location and form of housing for low-income households is a key concern" (p.110). Due to the limitation of being in inaccessible locations prevents easy access to growth opportunities, places of education and social facilities. Chakwizira et al. (2017) add that the goal of spatial planning promotes "investments, strengthen economic growth and inculcate social coherence while guiding policies for promoting more efficient use of resources and protecting the environment" (p.146).

Coetzee (2005) highlights that the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and DFA, planning policies, was to focus on social issues. Harrison, Todes and Watson (2008) describe the RDP as a radical and a "progressive agenda for the new government" (p.58). Differences in the RDP base document and the RDP White Paper is linked to the radical aspect missing from the policy White Paper. The radical part being the ideology of the base document to address inequalities by providing basic services, infrastructure and housing. Whereas the White Paper implemented a more economic approach. The DFA facilitated in increasing property development in South Africa and was developed to improve accessibility of low-income households (Dlamini and Musakwa, 2014). However, the flaws of the DFA were identified in the developments that were approved at local level, which according to Dlamini and Musakwa (2014) were predominantly commercial and luxury residential. These developments took focus away from the target communities which the authors state are rural areas.

Early debates regarding densification and compact developments as a new spatial strategy did not include support for transformation of non-spatial aspects (Watson, 2002). There are differences in the ideals and reality of implementing urban compaction. While it may be possible to develop residential development close to city centres, there still seems to be challenges related to the proximity

of residential developments to transportation, work opportunities and urban facilities (Todes, 2004).

The outcome of development strategies indicated two main challenges. The first clarifying "the role of external technical advisors and donors in shaping strategic choices" and second the political conflict caused by the electoral cycle (Parnell and Robinson, 2006, p.340). These challenges suggest that achieving a consistent city-wide planning goal will result in inconsistent city visions affecting long-term and sustainable development. This is not enough to redress the apartheid legacy which was strategically implemented over a consistent period with one vision in mind, to racially divide society through the implementation of spatial policies. Therefore, the same approach is required to implement the new vision of a spatially integrated city (Parnell and Robinson, 2006).

During the first 20 years, the democratic government implemented several social, spatial and economic legislation and policies. Several policies intended to redress the inherited socio-spatial legacy include the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2000, Breaking New Ground (BNG), National Development Plan (NDP) 2030 and Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (SPLUMA) Act 16 of 2013, which are summarised in table 2.

Table 2: Summary of post-apartheid legislation and policies

Legislation/Policy	Approved	Purpose	Reference
White Paper on Reconstruction and Development	1994	Transformation policy framework intended to address socio-economic and racial inequality.	RSA (1994)
Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR): A Macroeconomic Strategy	1996	Support the RDP framework by prioritising basic needs, job creation and international trade.	Republic of South Africa (1996)
Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2000	2000	Assign national government powers to local authorities to enable equal access to services, public administration and development planning.	Republic of South Africa (2000)

Breaking New Ground (BNG)	2004	The provision of sustainable human settlements development in underserviced and underdeveloped areas.	Department of Human Settlements (2004)
National Development Plan (NDP) 2030	2012	Eliminate income poverty. Reduce inequality, provide quality education, public infrastructure investment, spatial development, reduce crime.	National Planning Commission (2012)
Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA)	2013	Address spatial planning and land use management at a national and local level, and redress apartheid spatial planning.	South African Government (2013)

The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development was an ambitious policy framework that was intended to address all aspects of inequality. The objectives outlined included to improve the standard of living and quality of life for all South Africans, the provision of affordable housing, achieve equitable economic growth, achieve sustainable integration and nation-building. The framework was implemented as a guideline to be used by the national and local government. The policy established the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which aimed to provide affordable housing in well-located areas to all South Africans by 2003 (Republic of South Africa, 1994).

The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy was a macroeconomic policy implemented to support the RDP framework at a national and local level. The policy was also intended to globalise South Africa by developing export trade, investment and infrastructure development (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

The Local Government Municipal Systems Act, 2000 was implemented as a guideline for local authorities, to reverse the racial, spatial planning implemented by the apartheid town planning department. The Act allowed for the combining of local authorities to form metropolitan, district and local municipalities. The main priority was to consider the needs of the poor and

provide service delivery and infrastructure development equal to the service provided to wealthy urban areas. Individual local authorities were responsible for the entire management, infrastructure development and development vision for municipal areas (Republic of South Africa, 2000).

Ten years after the Reconstruction and Development policy framework was implemented, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy was implemented. The policy was intended to address the housing shortage as a result of the demand for housing in the previously 'white' areas and the lack of housing provision in poor areas (Department of Human Settlements, 2004).

The National Development Plan (NDP) developed around the 2030 Vision at a national level. The vision was developed around the concepts of economic, social and spatial aspects. Aside from the common aims outlined in the above policies, the NDP highlights the need to densify cities, reduce work and residential travel distances, upgrade informal settlements and improve community environments through an improved criminal justice system (National Planning Commission, 2012).

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) was intended to counteract the effects of the Group Areas Act by developing spatially inclusive areas. The Act provided a "framework for policies, principles, norms and standards for spatial development planning and land use management" (South African Government, 2013, p.2), including the sustainable use of land.

Evolution of Post-Apartheid Planning

The above legislations and policies are only a few of the national documents that have been used to inform spatial planning and concepts of socio-spatial transformation, integration and public participation.

The early planning movement in post-apartheid was "seen as a development practice contributing to urban social transformation, and to altering the position of the poor" (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008, p.40). Watson (2002) conducted research at a very pivotal transitional period in South Africa, from apartheid to post-apartheid. Behind closed doors planning committees were debating on

implementing a regional spatial strategy as a strategic tool to integrate cities, focus on spatial and non-spatial issues and implementing public participation, specifically in Cape Town. This also came at a time when the planning profession was vilified for being an instrument to implementing apartheid policies such as the forced removals (Watson, 2002).

As spatial planning has evolved the introduction of a variety of plans, policies and strategies has been challenged by intergovernmental alignment. According to Du Plessis (2014), coordination and alignment across municipal departments, provincial spatial strategies and national development visions are critical aspects of spatial development. Early developments were informed by the RDP which influenced provincial and local spatial planning. While the RDP is no longer used the development, focus was supported by GEAR. The RDP also informed the development of the BNG policy, summarized in table 2 and previously discussed.

GEAR prioritised developing road and corridor links at national and local levels through spatial development initiatives (SDIs) and industrial development zones (IDZs) which apply to port and industrial estates (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008). This macroeconomic strategy was used to inform planning objectives focused on growth and economic development.

SPLUMA is a framework focused on addressing the spatial dimensions of planning by addressing social exclusion and inequality (Chakwizira et al., 2017). The DFA enabled the fast tracking of planning applications to increase the delivery of developments. Even though the DFA was repealed, the principles of addressing the unequal spatial patterns are continued in SPLUMA, among other development objectives. The purpose of SPLUMA is to assign more spatial decision making and land use management to municipalities/local authorities (Dlamini and Musakwa, 2014). To achieve this the objectives focus on redressing spatial inequalities resulting from spatial planning and development that marginalises or excludes the poor (Chakwizira et al., 2017).

How the aims of spatial integration are reflected

Following the above discussion of the evolution of post-apartheid planning the following provides a discussion of how the aims of spatial integration are reflected in South African planning policy frameworks.

There is focus on developing a link between city integration and access to urban opportunities for low-income earners. This has largely taken the form of restructuring and providing housing in "well-located areas" (Todes, 2004, p.110). Watson (2002) argues that achieving integrated cities through spatial and development plans and policies requires interdepartmental and intergovernmental co-operation. Succeeding at achieving this co-operation ensures that integration is implemented consistently across local levels. Integration is integral to post-apartheid transformation however, the term is 'elusive' in policy language (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008).

The RDP White Paper identified numerous presidential lead and special integrated presidential projects. The projects were funded through the RDP office but were contested at local level due to confusion about the management and implementation responsibilities of government departments. The urban renewal programme was one of the presidential RDP projects used to integrate area-based approaches as was supported by the DFA and GEAR (Republic of South Africa, 1994b; Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008).

The DFA encouraged integration by promoting land development objectives which required municipalities to "develop a framework" which included "producing a vision statement on possible land use developments" in relevant municipal areas (Binns and Nel, 2002, p.925). Compact city development has been supported by the principles of the DFA, however, due to uneven implementation and prioritisation across provincial and local government, effective change is slow. It should also be noted that SDFs do not necessarily implement the DFA principles in locational decisions (Todes, 2004; Harrison, Todes and Watson, 2008). This also extends to SPLUMA, which theoretically by-passes the restrictive development controls implemented in SDFs. However, in practice the implementation of SPLUMA is difficult according to the Dlamini and Musakwa (2014). Location specific decisions are implemented by individual local

authorities and departments which may interpret the guidance provided differently. This will be reflected in the implementation of regional spatial development frameworks (RSDFs), local density plans or local development strategies. These localised plans are discussed further in chapter 5 section 5.3 and chapter 6 section 6.3.

The NDP outlines objectives which are informed by actions. The broad aims focus on eliminating poverty and reducing inequality. This is achieved by focusing on several challenges one being the spatial divides and encouraging inclusive development (National Planning Commission, 2012). Viviers and Cilliers (2017) point out the multi-purpose use of corridors should also be considered, specifically the integration of segregated settlements with surrounding areas. Urban densification functions best at what Viviers and Cilliers (2017) consider essential levels, namely: the "walkability of neighbourhoods and use of urban transportation systems" (p.5).

The democratic government approached transformation initiatives with a similar mindset to that of the apartheid administration in terms of institutionalising transformation initiatives. Boyer et al. (2012) propose the following preconditions needed to achieve sustainable transformation:

- effective democratic local state commitment to a vibrant public sphere,

- effective Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) give expression to development objectives of states and cities,

- the plural dense and active civil society engages state and business sectors, and

- (nominal) normative commitment to the right to the city, pluralism, social justice and poverty reduction. (p.54)

Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) implemented at the city level will be further discussed in sections 2.3.3 and 2.4.3 to assess the approach of transformation initiatives.

At a national level, none of the policies or legislation prioritised urban regeneration as part of the objectives. On the one hand, regeneration enables

the redevelopment of existing infrastructure and addresses the housing gap. However, redeveloping low-income residential areas results in gentrification. The poor are not afforded the same access to opportunities as the middle- and upper-class community members. Furthermore, the spatial effect of gentrification is not limited to city centres. Still, it includes "rural locations, infill housing, brownfield developments and the construction of newly built luxury housing development" (Visser and Kotze, 2008, p.2567).

The consequence of implementing gentrification is one-sided because the outcome benefits "current residents versus their redevelopment to attract higher-class residents" (Gough, 2015, p.147). This implies that a lower-income group is replaced with a higher-income group due to an increase in economic accessibility. In South Africa, the components of urban policy promoted public administration, city growth management and redressing socio-spatial fragmentation. Rodríguez et al. (2001) describe the primary component of urban policy in Spain, as urban regeneration. For example, in the city of Bilbao, Spain, the spatial pattern of the Central Business District (CBD) was altered because of the decline of the manufacturing sector. In this case, urban regeneration was implemented to focus on coping with the consequences of restructuring, rather than managing city growth. While lessons can be learnt from non-South African contexts, an understanding of the local context and challenges are required, such as the distance between residential areas to employment opportunities.

Nicks (2003) suggests that limited attention is given to the "implications of distance and time, particularly for low-income groups" (p.184). Radial city links can, however, be affected by property prices which have implications of increased travel times and distance to more affordable residential areas. This challenge is based on the economic feasibility of property. The proximity of affordable land located close to the city centre may not accommodate previously disadvantaged communities, the homeless and low-income earners. This correlates with the spatial fragmentation discourse, which indicates two types of city centres (Williams, 2000). The first an urban centre for the rich and the low-income earners are typically left to travel long distances and a city centre for the poor that the rich avoid, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

"Financial priorities of urban management also need to be understood to understand spatial aspects of segregation" (Lima, 2001, p.506). An increase in property prices characterises South African cities according to the distance from the city centre (Turok, 2011). Statistics for city property prices in South Africa are provided by major banking institutions such as ABSA Bank, and First National Bank (FNB) has compiled a property price index per province. The average housing price in the Western Cape was R1.4 million (approximately £68 222.50) in the second quarter of 2017. However, even though Cape Town is the most expensive city the housing price growth has declined from 6.9% in the first quarter of 2017 to 5.7% in the second quarter of 2017 (Polity, 2018).

According to Massyn et al. (2015, p.422) "unlike Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria have been able to accommodate a certain level of affordable housing in their central cities". The provision of essential services, necessary infrastructure, access to quality education and employment opportunities have been highlighted as key priorities. However, a process of societal reintegration after enforced spatial and racial segregation is required to unite the different population groups.

One of the ways to assess societal reintegration is by investigating a person's 'quality of life' because of the "years in which education, life chances and resources were allocated based on race" (Deegan, 2011, p.260). The well-being and welfare of individuals are central to the assessment of the quality of life and are essential in addressing the physical needs with psychological needs (Knight, 2011; Åhman, 2013). Given this, the quality of life can be assessed according to economic status, racial mixing, liveability and life satisfaction responses. On a local level, public spaces can be used to understand the quality of life

Another way is through the research of South African public spaces which were used to socially and racially separate society; however, post-apartheid public spaces continue to be controlled through security measures. These controls contribute towards the development of exclusive, unequal and inequitable public spaces which are only accessible to a few (Marks and Bezzoli, no date; Lemanski, 2004; Sihlongonyane, 2016). The effects of these differ across cities, which will be further in this chapter in the Johannesburg and Cape Town sections.

The most visible areas to analyse socio-spatial transformation is in the public spaces of cities. Public spaces are considered "primary sites of public culture, windows into the city's soul" (Marks and Bezzoli, no date, p.42). Public spaces comprise of multidimensional infrastructure that enables "places to gather, meet and interact, where people affirm their shared rights to the city" (Bodino, 2016, p.339), specifically in a democratic society. "A vibrant public space is a manifestation of the strength of democracy, most notable through civil society and participatory citizenship" (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009, p.353), which is the socio-spatial transformation goal needed to redress the legacy of fragmentation.

Public spaces such as public buildings, open spaces and streets were targeted during apartheid to impose socio-spatial fragmentation and prevented the shared use of spaces (Visser and Kotze, 2008; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009). According to Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009), the transformation of public spaces "does not necessarily signify the death of public spaces" (p.358). The scarcity of open spaces in old cities has contributed towards the demand for privatised developments on the outskirts of the city (Tonnelat, 2004; Lemanski, 2007).

2.3 Johannesburg: The City of Gold

Geographically Johannesburg is situated north-east of the country in the Gauteng Province. For several years, the African National Congress (ANC) has been the elected provincial government for the City of Johannesburg metropolitan municipality (CoJ). The ANC political vision has influenced the vision and priority areas of the CoJ policies and strategies (Morris, 2004; Bénit-Gbaffou, Didier and Morange, 2008; Sihlongonyane, 2016). The 2016 community survey provides an overview of the population for each municipality including macro-economic aspects of education, income and service provision. However, the 2016 community survey does not provide a breakdown of the population groups within each municipality, only the census does. Census data is collected every ten years detailing the population groups within each municipality. According to the most recent community census data collected in 2016, the Province has an estimated population of 13.4 million, of which 4.9 million people reside in Johannesburg (Statistics South Africa, 2018a).
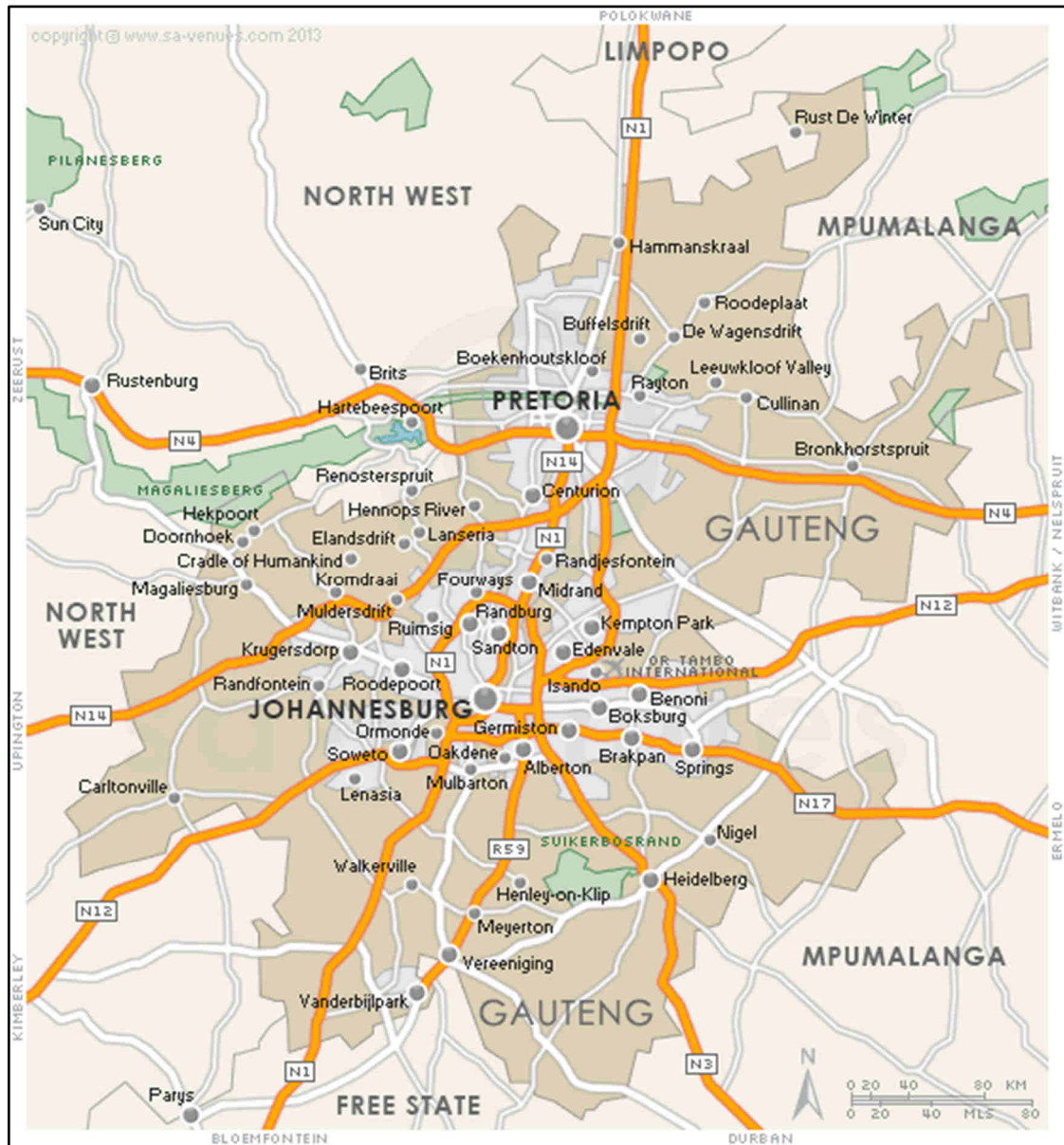
Map 3: Gauteng provincial map (Source: SA-Venues, 2020)

According to the 2011 census the population groups within CoJ consists of a Black African majority of 76.4%, Coloured 5.6%, Indian/Asian 4.9% and White 12.3% (Statistics South Africa, no date). Most South African cities also reflect similar population group percentages.

Tomlinson et al. (2013) describe Johannesburg as a city of 'uitlanders' or foreigners, a term introduced by the Afrikaners to describe the British occupants in the city. This was remarkable as they were also not natives of the area. Johannesburg residents were all foreigners that either immigrated from outside the country or emigrated from other parts within the country. The city developed and became the central location for economic institutions in the country and resulted in an economic boom (Bremner, 2000). The success of the

city was due to the location of the gold mines. Harrison and Zack (2012) indicate that within ten years Johannesburg achieved the status of "the largest urban centre in Africa south of the equator" (p.557) and from 1948 the city became the "economic hub of South Africa" (p.562), during a time when the mining industry was new. Johannesburg developed as a global city in sub-Saharan Africa due to economic growth and investment. The identity of the city was linked to the mining industry and economic success.

The spatial development of the city followed the traditional development of separate land uses with emphasis on commercial, retail, and business with limited social spaces. Johannesburg was developed around a ring road and divided by a road network that reflects the apartheid spatial layout, see figure 2. The northern suburbs were for White elite and wealthy residents. Areas to the north and north-east of the city centre were established to promote economic growth and global connections including the location of the OR Tambo international airport. The areas to the south and south-east of the city centre were developed rapidly to accommodate low-income earners and provide poorly serviced informal settlements (Tomlinson, 1999).

Residents from the south and south-east contributed towards the economic success of the city because of the reliance on migrant non-white labour from outlying areas (Bremner, 2000; Christopher, 2001; Lemanski, 2007). Economically, the city relied on cheap non-white labour which was profit and racially driven by apartheid policies. The inequality in income levels across racial lines was enforced through positions of power, access to employment opportunities, places of residence and education levels. This contributed towards white dominance and the divisions in employment opportunities and income levels. Black immigrants travelled from the homelands, rural areas outside of Johannesburg, to work in the mining town. According to Deegan (2011), this relocation marked the beginning of low-cost labour, which was integral in sustaining high profits. The inward migration sustained the economic hub.

2.3.1 The Root of Socio-Spatial Fragmentation at City Level

Johannesburg was initially a group of farms known as the Witwatersrand. It was a mining town that developed into a CBD. Johannesburg was founded by Dutch settlers as a gold mining town, due to the discovery of gold in 1886 and was nicknamed The City of Gold (Harrison and Zack, 2012; Chapman, 2015; Sihlongonyane, 2016). This discovery came nearly three centuries after the establishment of Cape Town as a way station. As Nevin (2014) indicates, the history of the city is linked to the industrial pursuits of the colonial administration. This includes the exploitation of resources linked to the gold mining town. Parnell (2003) adds that the success of the city was owed to the mining sector, domestic services and the manufacturing sector located in the city centre. Johannesburg experienced both a building boom and economic expansion (Tomlinson et al., 2013).

The various architectural styles represent critical eras in the building development of the city centre between 1889 to 1936. The Johannesburg city centre landscape underwent several architectural identity evolutions, according to Bremner (2000), these ranged from Western Modernity, Fin de Siècle European style, the Boer War monumental imperial buildings and finally British Edwardianism. The colonial administration recognised the value of the economic growth and potential to promote Johannesburg as 'A New York of Africa' (Sihlongonyane, 2016). Tomlinson et al. (2013) suggest that this was primarily due to the foreign investment resulting from the mining industry and development transformation characteristic of American cities, namely: New York, Chicago, or Saint Louis.

For Johannesburg to succeed economically, the [1]Local Authority accommodated a racially diverse population. Rather than implementing the national apartheid policy at a local scale, impoverished non-white workers were housed in the city centre to maximise production efficiency. This resulted in the Local Authority providing "housing for a multi-racial working class" (Parnell, 2003, p.616), during the first decades of the twentieth century. The provision of housing for

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[1] The term local authority was replaced by municipality when the Local Municipal Systems Act was implemented in 2000 (Republic of South Africa, 2000).

the working-class benefitted the mine owners because they ensured that workers had a short commute to prospective mining sites to carry out work (Parnell, 2003). Growth of employment opportunities for Coloured people was provided at the cost of restricting employment opportunities to Black African people (Morris, 1994). The demand for housing located near places of employment increased due to the economic growth of the city centre.

Institutionalised racial and spatial segregation began in 1929 when it was declared illegal for Black Africans to rent or purchase property in 'white' areas. Like many South African cities, in 1933, the Johannesburg city centre was declared a 'whites-only' area which restricted the movement and prohibited social mixing amongst all population groups. In 1938, the City Council relocated the majority of the Black African population to racial residential areas. The colonial administration racially and spatially segregated Black African residents through the development of 'black' residential areas. Black residents were singled out and removed from mixed-race city centre residential areas and relocated to outlying areas (Harrison and Zack, 2012; Tomlinson et al., 2013).

By 1948, the City Council encouraged sprawled development of Johannesburg outward. City Officials allocated the south of Johannesburg for the development of non-white residential areas. This was strategic because of the lack of access to commercial and industrial sectors, including the deliberate complex layout planning. This contrasted with the 'whites-only' areas concentrated to the north and the city centre, which were developed to be within easy access and close to employment opportunities (Tomlinson et al., 2013). The spatial distance between the northern residential areas and the southern residential areas can be seen on map 3.

The history of race, class and spatial divisions in Johannesburg has been described as "one of gradual and more rigid segregation" (Tomlinson et al., 2013, p.5). Simone (2004) adds that "particular spaces are linked to specific identities, functions, lifestyles and properties" (p.407). In Johannesburg, this may have adverse effects, as there were diverse ways in which the city was occupied in the psyche of non-white residents. Consequently, there are different ways the city was experienced, i) in terms of the history of opportunities and employment, ii) the representation of the city as a place of oppression and iii)

the segregated laws that made the city a forbidden place (Tomlinson et al., 2013).

2.3.2 Race and Public Space

Peyroux (2007) states that the 1970s marked the start of 'white flight' due to the "decentralisation of offices and shopping centres" (p.5) to the northern suburbs. Tomlinson (1999) further adds that the 1980s marked an increase in the movement of non-white residents into areas designated 'white-only'. However, both authors agree that 'white flight' resulted from the illegal in-migration of non-white residents into the city centre. This inward migration resulted in the out-migration of middle and upper-class white residents to the northern suburbs (Morris, 2004; Mini, 2012; Turok, 2015). The decline of the city centre until 1991, resulted in many business headquarters relocating to the northern suburbs. Peyroux (2007) describes this period as a slow decline of the city centre due to the "declining manufacturing sector" and a decrease in formal employment resulting in a "general shabbiness and decay" (p.5), of the city centre.

Dixon et al. (2015) suggest that the outcomes of 'white flight' have been the retreat "into fortified enclaves and security villages and to the safety of shopping malls and other semi-privatised spaces" (p.225). Sandton became the new CBD and replaced Johannesburg as the primary CBD due to the relocation of financial headquarters, commercial services and retail facilities. This resulted in the newly developed shopping malls and commercial spaces which are mostly located in wealthy areas (Tomlinson, 1999; Hoogendoorn and Gregory, 2016). These privatised public spaces resulted in fewer people frequenting the city centre for social activities.

The consequences of the economic decline of the Johannesburg city centre resulted in limited employment opportunities, absence of investment and the instability of a new government (Sihlongonyane, 2016). During apartheid, Hillbrow was a popular White European area and post-apartheid it became an area for Black African migrants. This altered the racial and economic demographics and utilisation of the city centre in areas such as Hillbrow and Yeoville (Morris, 1994; Hoogendoorn and Gregory, 2016). The inward migration

of job seekers and the decline of the formal business sector has altered the functioning and daily use of the city centre. By 1997, many of the city's retail businesses were relocated to the northern suburbs. Even though economic development initiatives were implemented, investors remained minimal, and tourism within the city centre was negligible (Tomlinson et al., 2005; Winkler, 2009). According to Winkler (2009), a large majority of existing city centre residents are poor due to the lack of employment opportunities. The city centre became known for mismanagement and accommodating poor migrant jobseekers that rely on the informal sector to meet basic needs (Tomlinson, 1999; Bremner, 2000; Purcell, 2002). The emergence of a central African ghetto in Johannesburg scared tourists away from the city centre for fear of crime and safety. Ghettos are defined as "racialised areas as a product of social exclusion and are economically disarticulated" (Schensul and Heller, 2011, p.92).

The public spaces within the city centre are described as a delicate topic because social and racial mixing remains one of the main challenges (Peyroux, 2007). One of these challenges relates to the territorial stigma associated with no-go city centre areas. Frenzel (2014) used the term 'slum tourism' to describe the tours conducted by the apartheid government and the post-apartheid tours conducted in no-go city centre areas. The history of slum tourism dates to the apartheid era when government officials, were escorted through non-white residential areas to sign off on mandatory site inspections. This was a deliberate attempt to be socially removed from segregated non-white areas. The author further suggests that city centre tourism can help address the negative perception of the city as a no-go area by attracting diverse racial and socio-economic groups. This view begins to challenge the assertion by King and Flynn (2012) that state, "Johannesburg lacks the traditional attractions; its tourism appeal emerges from the urban fabric and targets people who would be in the city for reasons other than sightseeing" (p.74). The authors stress that there are tourist attractions in Johannesburg; however, there are minimal attractions in the city centre. This suggests that there is a gap in utilising political heritage sites to attract tourists to explore the city and alter the everyday use of the city centre.

2.3.3 Socio-Spatial Transformation

Parnell (2003) indicates that there was a "complicated process by which the practice of urban segregation evolved in South Africa" (p.636). At a city-level transformation is another process that will take time. Thus, the process of desegregation is complicated because of spatial development challenges still present 26 years post-apartheid. Research conducted by Ballard (2016) found that the impact of apartheid planning is still visibly present, particularly in Johannesburg. The desegregation in American cities has often been discussed with the desegregation of South African cities, specifically Johannesburg. Simone (2004) states that "many of the economic and political mechanisms that produced American city centre ghettos have been at work in Johannesburg and these are only reinforced by the strong influence of the United States urban policy on South Africa" (p.424).

The driving force behind the Local Authority's desegregation approach was the implementation of economic development initiatives. These initiatives were intended to transform the city image through the marketing of a 'World Class African City'. The intention was to rebrand the city centre as a 'cultural capital' competing against other global cities (Bremner, 2000; City of Johannesburg, 2011; City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2016; Sihlongonyane, 2016). The act of establishing Johannesburg as an African city signifies "inclusion for all, but in particular for blacks in the city" (Sihlongonyane, 2016, p.1612).

While a minority only experienced what Simone (2004) terms a "cosmopolitan, European city in Africa" (p.411), the post-apartheid city represents a melting pot of cultures. Bremner (2000), Tomlinson et al. (2005) and Winkler (2009) describe the city centre as a melting pot of urban forms, cultural backgrounds and diversity. The cultural precincts are intended to attract locals back into the city centre by integrating historically segregated population and socio-economic groups in public spaces (Bremner, 2000; Herbert and Murray, 2015). However, neither Hillbrow nor Yeoville were included in these strategies. The areas included were the Newton Cultural Precinct, Maboneng Precinct and Braamfontein. These areas were redeveloped to be safe nodes and emerged as popular areas located near the city centre (Peyroux, 2007; Nevin, 2014; Hoogendoorn and Gregory, 2016). The Maboneng Precinct previously catered to

lower-income groups due to the industrial use of the area. However, it now caters to middle- and higher-income groups and is "one of the first bourgeois private development projects" (Nevin, 2014, p.188), since the end of an oppressive era.

According to Tomlinson et al. (2013), the city must be "reimagined in ways that both remember the past and resist the modernist logics of states and capitalist markets" (p.12). During 1990, the Johannesburg Local Authority implemented economic development initiatives to "reinvent, re-imagine and reformulate" (Bremner, 2000, p.185), the city centre. The transformation of Johannesburg has centred on maintaining a global city image through the global marketing of the city. However, emphasising the desire to globalise the city to attract foreign investment, only makes the city "socially and commercially available to the middle class" (Nevin, 2014, p.192). This risks re-establishing segregation along economic lines by replacing marginalised poor groups with middle-to-upper income social groups. However, Sihlongonyane (2016) has stated that the city "remains fragmented along ethnic, class, race, gender and political lines" (p.1621). This may be a consequence of the Local Authority's focus on economic strategies rather than social policies. The alteration of the socio-spatial environment contributed towards the perception of the city centre for potential visitors and residents and contributed to the freedom experienced.

The "City of Johannesburg's current regeneration practices and policies stand to benefit only the new urban elite while prolonging the global age of gentrification" (Winkler, 2009, p.377). Areas affected by regeneration policies are primarily located within the identified cultural precincts. While regeneration policies are implemented to overcome the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation, these may result in the displacement of residents by relocating the poor to the periphery of the city. Over several years various strategies were implemented to redevelop and transform the city such as CIDs, iGoli development strategy and the Corridors of Freedom (Peyroux, 2007; Chapman, 2015; Sihlongonyane, 2016).

The Johannesburg Local Authority adopted CIDs in 1997 as a source of revenue for the management of the Local Authority (Miraftab, 2007). CIDs was managed by the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) which was established by business and property owners in the city centre. The City of Johannesburg Local Authority

has not directly been involved in the partnership but have appointed Kagiso Urban Management (KUM) to represent the CoJ. The CJP established several precincts, namely Gandhi Square, Main Street and Yeoville. These precincts were implemented to regenerate the city centre through a clean-up project, "address issues such as homeless people, street children, petty crime" (Peyroux, 2007, p.11). The Local Authority implemented a three-year transformation strategy named iGoli in 1998, primarily focusing on political institutions and the decentralisation of essential services. More recently, the Corridors of Freedom has been described as a "spatial transformation vision" (SACN, 2014, p.35), by the South African Cities Network, intended to restructure the post-apartheid city spatially. The Corridors of Freedom aims to spatially connect segregated neighbourhoods by developing housing along public transport routes and development opportunities.

2.4 Cape Town: The Mother City

Geographically Cape Town is a coastal city, located at the south-western tip of South Africa, in the Western Cape Province as shown on map 4 (Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008). Cape Town is considered the oldest settlement in the southern hemisphere and has been described as "South Africa's oldest Western city" (Visser and Kotze, 2008, p.2574). Politically, for several years the Democratic Alliance (DA) led the Cape Town metropolitan municipality from 2000 to 2018. However, for one term, between 2002 to 2006, the municipality was led by the ANC (Lemanski, 2007). According to the 2016 community census, the Western Cape has an estimated population of 6.3 million, of which 4 million people reside in Cape Town (Statistics South Africa, 2018b).

Map 4: Western Cape provincial map (Source: SA-Venues, 2020b)

The earliest recorded population census of Cape Town in 1951 was 632 987 of which 42.21% were European, 39.35% Cape Coloured, 9.46% African (from various African countries), 7.67% Cape Malay and 1.3% were Indian/Asian (Scott, 1955). The Statistics South Africa website (http://www.statssa.gov.za) indicates that the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality (CPT) had a majority Coloured population of 42.4%, Black African 38.6%, Indian/Asian 1.4% and White 15.7% (Statistics South Africa, no date). The population group ratios in Cape Town is unique because it is the only city in South Africa that has a majority Coloured population. Figure 3 graphically represents the population groups over 65 years between apartheid and post-apartheid.
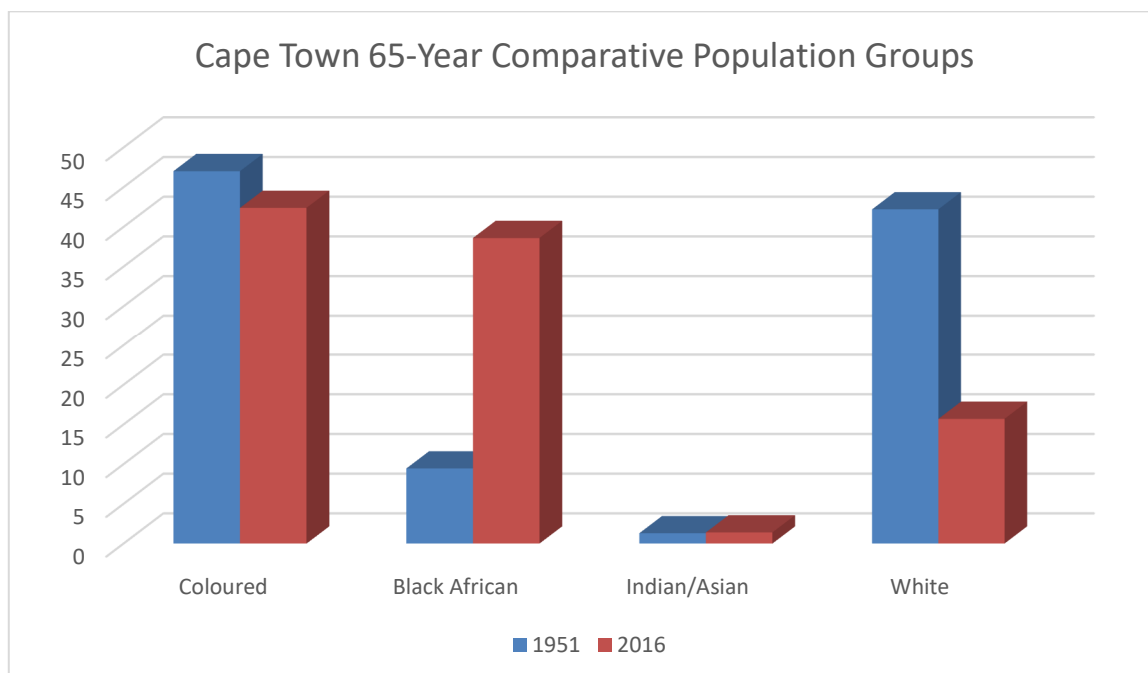
Figure 3: Cape Town 65-year comparative population groups (Source: Scott, 1955; Statistics South Africa, 2018)

The success of the city centre manufacturing sector declined in the mid-1980s, due to competition from the local manufacturing sector in other South African cities. This differs from Johannesburg's city centre that declined much earlier in the 1960s (Lemanski, 2007). Although businesses and residents were fleeing the city centre for suburban living, and marginalised groups of the homeless and informal traders were migrating into the city, there were several attempts by the CPT to transform the city centre (Lemanski, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008). The CPT implemented integration and regeneration urban initiatives to attract foreign investment, businesses and residents back into the city centre. This was mainly in the form of the provision of the state acquired land, incentivised development for investors and targeting specific household preferences to achieve a global image.

Several studies conducted by Van der Merwe (2004), Lemanski (2007) and Cape Town (2018) discuss the emergence of Cape Town as a secondary global city. Both Van der Merwe (2004) and Gibb (2007) argue that the connectivity level that global cities operate on are far more significant than the global city ranking assigned. Connectivity enables global networks which are essential for the success of global cities. Additionally, CPT's pursuit of global city status is driven by financial investment and developing the service sector to compete globally (Abrahams et al., 2018).

Lemanski (2007) and Miraftab (2007) disagree with this approach, as it has been linked to studies of globalisation and gentrification of local populations and low-income groups. Marks and Bezzoli (no date) state that transformation that is profit-driven or intended to achieve globalisation only contributes towards "existing inequitable urban conditions, consolidating our cities into evermore divided and segregated spaces" (p.29). Suggesting that this motivation promotes a division amongst socio-economic groups instead of along racial lines, which is ineffective in redressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation. The long-term effects of gentrification are the result of displacement and homelessness of residents that have lived in areas for a long time. This includes the displacement of previously disadvantaged groups due to the apartheid administration.

2.4.1 The Root of Socio-Spatial Fragmentation at City Level

Cape Town is the oldest established European city in South Africa, making it the oldest South African city. Cape Town, often referred to as 'the Mother City' by locals, was founded in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company. Jan van Riebeck, of the Dutch East India Company, discovered Cape Town and was pivotal in the provision of fresh produce to merchant ships (Gibb, 2007). Unlike Johannesburg, which was established as a mining town, Cape Town was identified as a maritime town. Consequently, this resulted in Cape Town becoming the 'gateway to Africa', due to the docking of ships, offloading cargo and fresh produce purchases at the main harbour (Worden, 1992).

The development of the city was influenced by the ideological development image of the early European settlers, that prioritised wealth over social equity. Thus, Cape Town is an example of the earliest forms of elitist colonial segregation in South Africa (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Wilkinson, 2000; Miraftab, 2012). During Dutch occupancy and rule in the early and late 1700s, there were significant periods of growth in the city centre. The first half of the 1700s signified the slow growth and steady decline of the Dutch East India Company. The Company was declared bankrupt in 1794, despite this there was still steady growth in the city. According to Scott (1954), the late 1700s and early 1800s resulted in inward investment into the city and architectural heritage development that was left behind by the Dutch.

Along with architectural history, 1822 marked the beginning of Adderley Street as the most popular residential area in the city centre. In 1862, Adderley Street was redeveloped into the main shopping area. During the same time, the city developed radially to accommodate the development of "the new railways radiating out from the centre" (Scott, 1954, p.351). Plein Street was also developed into a popular shopping area centuries later. In 1865, there was an expansion of key shopping areas that extended to Long Street, Waterkant Street and St Georges Mall.

During the 1840s and 1880s, there were massive investments made into the city centre which "shaped not only the city's physical infrastructure but also its class interests, ethnic and racial identities, urban politics and municipal governance" (Miraftab, 2012, p.285). The municipal governance decision making was influenced by a few urban elites, based on voting rights reserved only for property owners. Miraftab (2012) points out that the first divisions of socio-economic groups were based on wealth status. Rights were allocated based on property values. One vote for properties valued between £100 to £400, two votes for properties valued between £401 to £800 and three votes for properties valued above £801.

Race has always been part of the development history in Cape Town, from the exploitation of slave labour to the official relocation of non-white populations in 1901 and nationally in 1948 (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009). Unlike with apartheid, where the sole intention was to achieve racial segregation, colonialism sought to create spatial zones of exclusion based on maintaining European privilege and wealth:

> Although the central government was instituted under the Union, regional variations continued to exist. The Cape, for example, retained the right to have a non-racial franchise based on property rights, whereas in other regions black political rights were upheld. (Deegan, 2011, p.3)

According to Bickford-Smith (1995), Cape Town had a "reputation of having a history of racial tolerance before apartheid" (p.63). However, this view has been challenged by Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) and Bodino (2016). They

emphasise the long-standing history of inequality practices in Cape Town from the slave trade to racial segregation during colonial times.

The redevelopment of the main harbour during 1980, marked the beginning of the privatisation of public space in Cape Town. The waterfront was renamed the Victoria and Alfred Basin (V&A) when the area was cut off from the city centre. In the mid-1980s, the Local Authority prioritised tourism development strategies that would attract foreign investment and tourists to the city. The V&A Waterfront became "Cape Town's prime tourist venue" and one of the most publicised private investment developments. This form of privatised public space was criticised for alienating "restauranteurs, small scale tourist enterprises and fisherman" (Worden, 1992, p.8). Worden's (1992) study into the heritage representation of the waterfront development depicted the British occupancy "as a more fitting element of Capetonian history" (p.13). The late 1980s signified the redevelopment of the Waterfront and city centre. The redevelopment of Cape Town marked a shift in the spatial polarisation caused by institutionalised apartheid. The historical account of the harbour excluded the role of the "sailors, soldiers, slaves, Khoi, political exiles and fishermen" (Worden, 1992, p.13) who contributed towards the development. The exclusionary nature of the heritage development "perpetuates the myth of the apartheid tradition that Africans formed no part of the Western Cape" (Worden, 1992, p.17). Worden (1992) states that the Cape Town Waterfront "is predominantly patronised by the middle classes" (p.24), further demonstrating the exclusion of the lower classes from what was developed as a tourist venue. The development of the V&A Waterfront is an example of state-led gentrification, and the forced removals of non-white populations is another example.

St Georges Mall underwent four development phases to pedestrianise the street, between 1986 and 1991 (Visser and Kotze, 2008). The use of regeneration is considered a failed attempt to redress spatial segregation in Cape Town and has been linked to gentrification, which is the displacement and exclusion of lower-income groups. The spatial redevelopment of the city will be further discussed in the following section 2.4.2, as it is closely related to race and public space (Visser and Kotze, 2008; Donaldson et al., 2013).

The strict zoning of racial neighbourhoods guided the spatial development of the city and residential neighbourhoods. The continued separate land use developments forced residents to commute for long distances to places of employment (Wilkinson, 2000; Western, 2002). The enforced spatial segregation contributed towards social exclusion; this cause and effect are referred to as socio-spatial fragmentation. Employment, income and class are different social exclusion elements that are used to measure the division amongst Capetonian residents (Lemanski, 2007).

2.4.2 Race and Public Space

One of the critical elements of the enforcement of race in Cape Town's public spaces was to achieve social oppression. The colonialist era considered wealth a contributing factor for attaining social status, whereas during apartheid race was used as a controlling measure (Lemanski, 2004; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2017). The implementation of racial segregation within public spaces resulted in the development of contested public spaces. Often represented by white supremacy, social exclusion and restrictions on the right to the city were controlled through segregated ideologies (Miraftab, 2007; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009). According to Donaldson et al. (2013, p.181) "a deep and long-standing sense of injustice also informs public reactions to historical sites in Cape Town". Most historical spaces represent sites of exclusion and social disorder. The clustering of historical spaces is spatially visible when observed from Table Mountain, as the city layout is evident.

Rights movements were attracted to the city centre in protest of oppressive apartheid control measures, and attempts were made to disrupt this control. The most notable was the anti-apartheid protests, where mass demonstrators tried to reclaim their rights to the city and non-racial social public spaces. The protests were examples of how race was used in public space to reclaim previously segregated public spaces, mainly due to racial segregation. According to Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009), the 1989 Purple Rain Protests and the 1990 anti-pass demonstration were iconic demonstrations in the city centre because of the thousands of protestors that joined. The former marked by the "purple dye sprayed by the police cannons onto protestors led to a city-wide graffiti proclaiming 'the purple shall govern'" (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo,

2009, p.356) and the latter was a stand against the 'passbook' that Black Africans were forced to carry.

Several attempts have been made to use public spaces to reconnect population groups spatially. The first attempt was made in 1991 when the Group Areas Act was rescinded, and public spaces were available to all population groups. This included previously exclusive racial benches, parks and beaches, which are classified as 'social infrastructure' (Bodino, 2016). Simone (2004) recommends the use of social infrastructure because it "is capable of facilitating the intersection of socialites so that expanded spaces of economic and cultural operation become available to residents of limited means" (p.407). Thus, public space plays a vital role in bridging the divide between historically segregated population groups in post-apartheid public spaces.

However, Lemanski (2004) draws attention to the alteration of social infrastructure through the fortification and privatisation of public spaces because of the fear of crime. Crime statistics drive the fear and perception of crime. Lemanski (2004) conducted a study on the fear of crime in Cape Town and the link to socio-spatial fear. The study highlighted that the perception of fear was based on historical influences of apartheid but was exasperated by an increase in crime statistics for the Western Cape. The study only considers the perceptions of locals and does not include the perspectives of tourists that frequent the city.

Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) suggest that "criminal violence has replaced political violence" (p.358) which deters people from using public spaces as a means of social interaction. To the extent where the city centre is avoided at night. This avoidance is linked to the increased perception of fear which has become the norm in Cape Town (Lemanski, 2004). Precautionary risk management, such as the privatisation of public space, only increased socio-spatial fragmentation. While safety is considered a motivating factor for increased security, these measures are also linked to fear of the unknown, not necessarily crime (Lemanski, 2004). Bodino (2016) suggests that "the drastic spatial injustice visible in Cape Town reveals the need to define new ways of looking at urban spaces" (p.346).

Authors such as Ansell (2004), Steyn and Foster (2008) and Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) have used whiteness theory to explore the effect of white dominance in South African spaces and cities. Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) state that whiteness theory is vital in analysing societal behavioural norms set within colonial countries. Further stating that the V&A Waterfront is a prime example of "not only its colonial architecture…spatial fantasies and simulacrums, but also the very history of the place as White" (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009, p.362). The study of the V&A Waterfront and public space mall and the democratised use of the public space. The study is focused on the privately-owned space and the practical use by racially and socially diverse groups of people. Despite the majority non-white population, the behaviour of the White population was influential in the development of societal norms during apartheid. Yet another public space that does not reflect the African heritage of the native population.

2.4.3 Socio-Spatial Transformation

The Cape Town MSDF outlines the strategic urban development vision for the city and encourages development that promotes densification along corridors and nodes (City of Cape Town, 2018b). The promotion of densification is motivated by "lower resource consumption, viable public transport, more equitable access to opportunities, greater economic efficiency, improved housing choices and more liveable and safer places" (Turok, 2011, p.473).

One of the more remarkable transformations of Cape Town public space has been through the implementation of CIDs, which aims at globally integrating the city into the global economy rather than achieving local socio-spatial integration (Miraftab, 2007; Peyroux, 2007; Bénit-Gbaffou, Didier and Morange, 2008; Didier, Peyroux and Morange, 2012). Cape Town Local Authority made several attempts to transform the decentralised city centre from the mid-1980s, through the implementation of City Improvement Districts (CIDs). CIDs aim to select "zones or districts within the city where property owners pay additional fees to access additional services from the municipality for policing, cleaning and marketing" (Miraftab, 2012, p.293). CIDs are implemented based on a 50% vote from property owners in an area, in addition to the support of one of the property owners whose property is valued one of the most expensive in the area.

This excludes the 50% of property owners that do not support the strategy and those that do not own property.

The failure of earlier attempts was accredited to lack of motivation, insufficient funding and the "ineptitude of the new government ANC" (Visser and Kotze, 2008, p.2574). The newly elected ANC government led the local authority in 1996 were considered unqualified to address the city centre decline. The Democratic Alliance (DA) led the Local Authority CIDs were successfully implemented in 2000. The implementation of CIDs in the city centre has developed a city centre attractive to the middle and higher-income groups while the lower-income earners are forced to the outskirts (Tonnelat, 2004; Miraftab, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008; Scott and Storper, 2015; Bodino, 2016). The CPT and the Cape Town Partnership (CTP) play an essential role in improving the economic and environmental aspects of the city centre.

Although CIDs resulted in massive private economic and spatial transformation of the city centre, the heavy focus on security and control measures as a driving force is counterproductive to social inclusion. Miraftab (2012) proposes that "by making public hygiene and public safety interchangeable, urban strategies such as CIDs achieve a social cleansing of urban public spaces" (p.297). This creates the perception that without CIDs, crime is inevitable. This is reflected in the crime statistics in the Western Cape, which indicates an increase in the perception of crime to 47.1%. In comparison, 38.8% of the populations' perception of crime has remained the same (Statistics South Africa, 2016c). Consequently, safety and cleanliness are linked to the perception and experience of the city centre attractive to tourists. The danger with large scale redevelopment is the gentrification effect resulting from altering the socio-economic profile of the city centre.

In Miraftab's (2007) study about the implementation of CIDs in Cape Town, informal traders presented opposing objectives. The objectives cited include the development of the city and the marginalisation of groups that do not conform to the global city image marketed by the CTP. The management and regulation of marginalised groups enforced through city by-laws target these groups. By-laws enforced by municipal officials regulate informal car guards, street children, homeless and informal traders from CID zones. Informal traders are

demarcated spaces to trade that do not overshadow formal business properties and take up walking space on pavements. This similarity highlights the elitist nature of CIDs, which is controlled by only a few.

CTP's mandate was to focus on areas of global city marketing, attract foreign investment, global businesses, tourists and develop a top leisure destination which opposes informal and uncontrolled activities (Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2007). This aligned with Cape Town's aspiration for global competitiveness has been driven by people in positions of power, such as business owners and political leaders, that can shape the city development agenda (Wilkinson, 2000; Gibb, 2007; Didier et al., 2012). Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) point out there are competing interests primarily, between local interests of democratisation in post-apartheid and global aspirations of marketing the city as globally competitive.

There are opposing viewpoints about when the goal for global city status began. Some authors trace it back to the establishment of Cape Town, which attracted nationals from across the world. Momentum towards global status increased as a result of the decline of the city centre from the mid-1980s (Lemanski, 2007). Others agree that democratisation marked the beginning of planning policies targeted the development of Cape Town as a global city (Marks and Bezzoli, no date; Miraftab, 2007; Bodino, 2016). However, there is consensus that globalisation is an obstacle in transforming the city into an inclusive space even though there has been evidence of implementing pro-poor policies, these policies have not been prioritised.

This stems from the government's desire to allocate investment into commercial development informed by the international market to attract foreign investment. Most of this redevelopment investment has been concentrated in the city centre, while the areas that require investment are located outside of the city centre (Lemanski, 2007; Bodino, 2016). This contributes towards the further entrenchment of socio-spatial fragmentation caused by the legacy of colonialism and apartheid. This added to the cities racial and now class-related socio-spatial fragmentation.

The massive investment into the city centre also included the redevelopment of residential units for lease. In part, this was a response to eradicating vacant buildings within the city centre, while creating a 24-hour city (Marks and Bezzoli, no date; Gibb, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008). This created a demand for central residential housing which contributed towards the increase in property prices. There are fewer affordable residential units in the city centre due to global demand for expensive city-centre development (Lemanski, 2007; Massyn et al., 2015). A potential solution to this could be the development of vertical high-rise residential units that accommodate higher densities and is linked to the compact city model approach discussed in the following chapter.

2.5 Summary

As reviewed in this chapter, most South African academic discourses applied preselected strategies to inform contextual research (Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2007; Du Plessis and Boonzaaier, 2015; Sihlongonyane, 2016; Nkooe, 2018). The most common strategies included globalisation, CIDs, the compact city and densification. Globalisation goals were influenced by privatising municipal services and allocating more responsibilities to local authorities. Furthermore, Bremner (2000), Gibb (2007), Graham (2007) and Lemanski (2007) suggest that the central focus has been profit-driven and not on addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation. CIDs is not the only imported Western development strategy; the compact city and densification development strategies were also Western adopted strategies from American and European contexts. These strategies were flawed as they did not take into consideration the socio-spatial fragmentation legacy (Miraftab, 2007; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009). The compact city and densification concepts are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

The contextual approach used for the literature review analysed the root of socio-spatial fragmentation in the South African context. South African public spaces have always been contested sites and used for political demonstrations against apartheid and democratic leadership (Nkooe, 2018). The discussion focused on the socio-spatial transformation of Johannesburg and Cape Town cities, with a reflection on the apartheid legacy and identified gaps in the literature reviewed. Both Johannesburg and Cape Town experienced different

development trajectories guided by different political visions. Cape Town a tourist destination with a thriving city centre but concerns that it is exclusionary and Johannesburg an economic hub with a less than the thriving city centre. Table 3 summarises the key characteristics of both city profiles, discussed earlier in this chapter.

Table 3: Comparative city profiles

Characteristics	City of Johannesburg	City of Cape Town
Development History	Mining Town – Economic Capital – Economic Decline	Harbour Town – A tourist destination
Established	1886 discovery of gold.	1600s trading location for ships.
Geographical Location	Gauteng Province	Western Cape Province
Topography	Inland City	Coast City
Population Size	4.4 million in 2016	3.7 million in 2016
Population Groups	Coloured – 5.6% Indian/Asian – 4.9% Black African – 76.4% White – 12.3%	Coloured – 42.4% Indian/Asian – 1.4% Black African – 38.6% White – 15.7%
Main Political Structure (2000 to 2018)	ANC lead municipality	*DA lead municipality
Economic Designation	Declining economic hub	Popular tourist destination

NB: statistics based on the municipal city area.

*ANC led the Cape Town metropolitan municipality from 2002 to 2006 (Lemanski, 2007).

The gaps in the literature consist of the lack of South African public space studies concerned with user perceptions, the lack of understanding of everyday experiences, the use of macro-scale instead of the micro-scale and adopting Western development strategies. The perceptions and experiences are shaped by both locals and visitors to city public spaces. Therefore, my research considers the perceptions and experiences of local and international public space users in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Many studies investigated the spatial transformation of urban South Africa on a macro scale and negated the importance of understanding the social user experience on a micro-scale (Lemanski, 2007; Du Plessis and Boonzaaier, 2015;

Bodino, 2016). My research bridges this gap by investigating the present social and spatial transformation of public spaces. The socio-spatial effect of apartheid cannot be understood unless an approach encompasses both the social and spatial transformations of post-apartheid public spaces.

The socio-spatial transformation implemented was influenced by the adoption of macroeconomic strategies which stemmed from the government's desire to compete globally but were also informed by international trade and global market policies. The adoption of Western strategies of globalisation and CIDs have been argued as increasing the division between socio-economic groups (Marks and Bezzoli, no date). These primarily emphasised the democratic governments focus on neoliberal economic policies such as CIDs and competing with global markets through the attainment of Global City status. Those that participate in the development that attracts the middle- and upper-income classes, while lower classes continue to be affected by the inequalities imposed by the apartheid government (Lemanski, 2004; Sihlongonyane, 2016).

3 Developing a Socio-Spatial Perspective

The previous chapter reviewed socio-spatial transformation literature in the South African context and summarised the emergent literature gaps. The foundation of my thesis addresses the gaps identified in the previous chapter by investigating the user perceptions and experiences in Johannesburg and Cape Town public spaces.

This chapter begins with a review of relevant social and spatial theories to develop an analytical socio-spatial framework. The analytical framework is guided by the research aim to investigate the experience of public space users and analyse the perceived socio-spatial transformations of South African cities.

Following the introduction, the chapter is divided into three sections. The first section analyses the relevant socio-spatial theoretical debates and associated concepts. This includes social sustainability (Becker, Jahn and Stieb, 1999), liveability (Ley, 1980) and the right to the city (Lefèbvre, 1996). The second section mobilises the overlapping concepts to develop an analytical framework that can be used to investigate present socio-spatial transformations in the South African context. The final section summarises the theoretical perspectives reviewed and the relevance of the analytical framework as it relates to the overall research aims and questions.

3.1 Analysing Theoretical Socio-Spatial Perspectives

3.1.1 Social Sustainability Theory

Theoretical discussions of sustainability occurred in the 1980s and were developed out of concern for environmental degradation (William and Munn, 1986). One of the earliest and perhaps key global policies to drive sustainability was the United Nations Brundtland Report (Pezzoli, 1997; Mebratu, 1998; Joss, 2015). The Brundtland Report introduced a broad definition suggesting that sustainability is concerned with "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability for future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.16). As highlighted in the Brundtland Report sustainability is not a blueprint and should not be treated that way because each government should develop its

policy. However, it should be developed with sustainable development as a global objective (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Due to the broad meaning of the definition, it can be adapted according to the context and applied meaning to various interest groups such as research institutions, governments and academics (Pezzoli, 1997; Mebratu, 1998; Jenks and Burgess, 2000; Joss, 2015). A reconfigured definition proposed by Onishi (1993) states that "the basic idea of sustainability is to support all the people in society, now and in the future, at a sufficient standard of living within the environmental limits" (p.40). This definition highlights the relationship between critical concepts needed to achieve sustainability. Another variation of the sustainability definition proposes that the intention should be "about increasing the liveability of urban areas with improved quality of life and place, as well as a resilience towards foreseen and unforeseen external pressures" (Goonetilleke *et al.*, 2011, p.154). This definition recommends the importance of the spatial development linked to sustainability, liveability and the quality of place concepts.

However, the widely recognized definition provided by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) has been critiqued on the effectiveness and the macro-level approach. Seghezzo (2009) criticised the universally accepted definition and stated that it is limited based on usefulness and focus on all aspects of development. The limitation of the definition is linked to the universal application, which does not adequately discuss issues of development. Primarily due to the emphasis placed on economic power while undermining the other aspects of development. Therefore, the author suggests that "sustainability is seen as the conceptual framework within the territorial, temporal, and personal aspects of development can be openly discussed" (Seghezzo, 2009, p.547).

Additionally, Gough's (2015) criticism suggests that the definition proposes a "macro-level or global geographic application" (p.147). Drakakis-Smith (1995) acknowledges that sustainability naturally has a macro-dimension linked to policy and management and argues that this has been the dominated approach, even at the cost of the micro-dimension. Applying a global approach to sustainability always risks a geographical bias because comparisons are inevitable when trying to understand how various global institutions have

interpreted the broad definition. To overcome this bias, comparisons should therefore be with similar contexts and with similar challenges and development priorities (Arcadis, 2016).

Sustainability has been widely used in academic literature related to politics, urban planning and policy frameworks (Jenks and Burgess, 2000; Griebler and Littig, 2005; Lin and Yang, 2006). More than 30 years later, sustainability has developed and become a global objective reflected in urban policies (Williams, 2010; Jeekel, 2017).

Sustainability Pillars

Sustainability comprises of three pillars, introduced during the 1992 United Nations Rio Conference, as a combination of economic, environmental and social pillars. Both the definition and the pillars were developed at a global scale in response to international environmental concerns (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987; Mebratu, 1998; Hassan and Lee, 2014; Jeekel, 2017). Even though the pillars are widely accepted, there is no agreed universal definition of each pillar, which prevents decision-makers and planners from reviewing their strategies in line with the goals of the pillars (Doughty and Hammond, 2004; Dempsey et al., 2012; Gough, 2015).

For this reason, Seghezzo (2009) proposes a new set of sustainability pillars that the author has justified as being more appropriate to address sustainable development. The pillars include place, permanence and persons. Firstly, place refers to the physical geographical space where interactions take place, and people live. Secondly, permanence refers to the long-term effects of actions and behaviours carried out in the environment. The final pillar, persons, refers to distinguishing individuals from collective members in society. These proposed pillars cannot be dealt with separately and must be considered in tandem. Theoretically, the same consideration applies to the environmental, economic and social sustainability pillars; however, some pillars are prioritised above others.

According to Lin and Yang (2006), economic sustainability prioritises the improvement of "productivity, personal finances, and public finances" (p.367).

It also includes "the maintenance of economic capital" (Goodland, 1995, cited in Baldwin and King, 2017, p.9). The economic pillar directly relates to the standard of living and the provision of a necessary minimum for the long-term (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). However, a sole focus on economic indicators requires multidimensional considerations that reflect social, cultural and spatial experiences.

To enhance environmental amenities, attention to the improvement of the environment is needed. This ranges from more attention to environmentally friendly development of green spaces such as parks and green buildings. This includes implementing carbon tax zones to create a healthy environment and reduce pollution (Lin and Yang, 2006). Environmental sustainability is considered a requirement for the protection and preservation of natural resources, according to the South African National Development Plan Vision 2030 (National Planning Commission, 2012). Hassan and Lee (2014) conclude that the environment alone cannot result in sustainable development as the primary focus is not on the city inhabitants but instead on the environment.

The social sustainability pillar has often been discussed with economic and environmental sustainability. Thus, during the early years, social sustainability lagged behind economic and environmental sustainability pillars (Jeekel, 2017). More recently there has been an increased focus on the social sustainability pillar (Becker, Jahn and Stieb, 1999; Porta, 2001; Robinson, 2004; Griebler and Littig, 2005; Bramley et al., 2006; Du Toit, 2007; Dempsey et al., 2011; Åhman, 2013; Ghahramanpouri, Lamit and Sedaghatnia, 2013; Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017). It has further been suggested that social and economic sustainability are "well defined in literature" (de Magalhaes, 2015, p.924); however, the incorporation of these pillars into policy is problematic. Due to the research focus only, social sustainability will be further discussed.

Social Sustainability

Research conducted by Sachs (1999), Chiu (2002, 2003) and Godschalk (2004), highlight the desired effect of social sustainability on the environment as maintaining "traditions, practices, preferences and places people would like to see sustained or improved" (Vallance et al., 2011, p.344). This suggests that

there is a direct relationship between individuals in society and their behaviour in their immediate environment.

According to Wan Nurul Mardiah (2015, p.823), "a socially sustainable society is one that is just, equitable, inclusive and democratic, and provides a decent quality of life for current and future generations". Jeekel (2017) further adds that social sustainability "is seen as creating circumstances of social justice, fairness, equity and cohesion, facilitating that working and thriving communities can be created and sustained" (p.4300). Additionally, social sustainability is defined as an ideal related to the "viability, health and functioning of 'society' itself as a collective entity, or at a local level, a 'community'" (Baldwin and King, 2017, p.19). All the definitions emphasise the community and highlight the micro-application of social sustainability on a neighbourhood scale.

Numerous authors such as Sachs (1999), Chiu (2002, 2003), Godschalk (2004) and Vallance et al. (2011) developed a criterion with specific social indicators. Vallance et al. (2011) in particular, outline seven indicators according to "meeting basic needs and addressing under-development, changing the harmful behaviour of the affluent and promotion of stronger environmental ethics, maintaining or preserving preferred ways of living and protecting particular socio-cultural traditions" (p.342). Sustainability is characterised as a social paradigm by Mallach (2013) and directly relates to the social pillar. The author further explains that:

> whether the city is one that fosters-that is, does more than merely accommodate-diversity, and does so in an equitable fashion, in which public resources and opportunities are equitably shared and available to all (Mallach, 2013, p.141)

This suggests that the micro-dimension of sustainability is essential but needs to be implemented in an integrative way to ensure that a city and the community are sustainable (Drakakis-Smith, 1995). This long-term goal can inform policy and development frameworks at various levels.

Sustainable Urban Development

Hassan and Lee (2014) distinguish between urban sustainability and sustainable urban development. The authors explain that both terms are used interchangeably; however, urban sustainability refers to sustainable goals for urban areas. In contrast, sustainable urban development refers to strategies and plans to achieve a global sustainability objective. The WCED in 1987, organised numerous international summits to propose initiatives and strategies to address unsustainable cities (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987; Dempsey et al., 2011). Doughty and Hammond (2004) recommend sustainability as a guideline to be used for urban form and development.

Kenworthy (2006) ascertains that changing the "present unsustainable forms and patterns is a very challenging process" (p.67). Changing unsustainable patterns entails effective planning, management and contextual understanding of the urban environment. The unsustainable nature of cities has been partly linked to problems associated with urban sprawl such as the outward expansion of residential areas, reduction of land and increased travel distances. The development of sustainable cities is achieved through a process of sustainable urban development (Williams, 2010; Hassan and Lee, 2014). The South African National Development Plan Vision 2030 describes sustainable development as retrofitting "non-sustainable human settlements" (National Planning Commission, 2012, p.285) with public infrastructure and service delivery.

Hassan and Lee (2014) and Arcadis (2016) ascertain that for a city to be sustainable, it needs to achieve a balance between all three sustainability pillars. However, "societal aspects [are] often overlooked in [the] fast-paced life of contemporary society" (Hassan and Lee, 2014, p.1270). The implementation of all three sustainability dimensions are not as simple as expected, and despite the ongoing sustainability summits, there is still an obstacle in achieving sustainable urban development. Sustainability presents the opportunity to change "mind-sets in ways that profoundly influence social development" (United Nations, 2017, p.6) and encourage inquiry into the development practices of countries in the Global South. People residing in cities influence the degree of sustainability, such as either accelerating or contributing to the decline of climate change problems (Hassan and Lee, 2014). The city itself

cannot be sustainable; therefore, social sustainability should be prioritised when developing sustainable urban plans and strategies. According to Arcadis (2016, p.6) "to improve their sustainability, city leaders are encouraged to put people at the heart of their sustainability plans". Public space users are considered an extension of the city and a representation of the varying types of urban life that exist.

Consequently, the socio-cultural traditions and practices within cities reflect the individuals that occupy the city space (Doughty and Hammond, 2004). Therefore, "public spaces are an essential ingredient to the sustainability of cities for political, social, economic, public health and biodiversity reasons" (Banerjee, 2001 cited in Tonnelat, 2004, p.1). The link and relevance of the socio-spatial connection to public spaces are discussed in section 3.2.2 of this chapter.

Numerous authors have highlighted the apparent Global North bias in sustainable urban development academic research (Doughty and Hammond, 2004; Van Assche, Block and Reynaert, 2010; Dempsey, Brown and Bramley, 2012; Gough, 2015). Several research reports have been published highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of cities which are predominantly Global North case studies (UN Habitat, 2014; Arcadis, 2016; South Africa Cities Network, 2016). Li (2013) emphasises the need for planners to "deliver both sustainable development and liveable communities" (p.27).

Krizek and Power (1996) state that, while sustainability is a global vision "the United States and other developed countries" (cited in Godschalk, 2017, p.6), have implemented sustainable urban development. Whereas, developing countries, particularly within the African continent, are yet to implement sustainability measures in urban development planning (South African Cities Network, 2014, 2016; United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2014). However, the urban development of African cities is a complicated process that is deeply influenced by the legacy of segregated planning systems (O'Connor, 1983; Van der Merwe, 2004; Arku, 2009; UN Habitat, 2014).

The 2014 State of African Cities Report alludes to the necessity of sustainable urban planning being necessary "to eliminate the causes of segregation and exclusion" (UN Habitat, 2014, p.39). This suggests an acceptance of the ideal

sustainability objective to address the influences of historical and present unsustainable development in the African context. This report also reflects a more ideological perspective of the sustainable urban development required to address the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation. However, redeveloping the spatial environment through design and reconstruction does not guarantee socially sustainable urban development (Christmann, 2014; Bodino, 2016). In sub-Saharan Africa, there is a lack of literature that explores the relationship between social sustainability, urban densities and urban form (African Development Bank, 2014; UN Habitat, 2014; South Africa Cities Network, 2016).

The city and neighbourhood application and monitoring of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are implemented to ensure holistic integration of the sustainability pillars. There are 17 SDGs developed, ranging from infrastructure development, climate change to partnerships. The most relevant SDG to this thesis is SDG 11, which proposes monitoring the development of people-centred cities. This SDG indicates that cities and human settlements should strive to be inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (UN Habitat, 2016). The objective of the SDG 11 is to "enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation" with a specific focus on communities in cities (United Nations, 2017, p.10). The SDGs propose a long-term sustainable vision intended for both developed and developing countries, to enhance urban life experiences.

Arcadis (2016) produced a Sustainable Cities Index Report, which ranked 100 global cities, known as the world's leading cities, indicated that the majority were in the Global North. The African continent is represented by four cities of which, two were South African cities, namely: Johannesburg and Cape Town. The report indicated that most European cities achieved higher scores generated by 32 generic indicators when compared to cities on other continents. The use of generic indicators does not objectively represent the unique characteristics of cities and assumes a normative urban development trajectory (Arcadis, 2016). The 2016 Sustainable Cities Index Report outlined the social dimension according to people index. The index measured aspects of social performance, including the quality of life which ranked Johannesburg 99th and Cape Town 100th. Specific measures for this dimension included health, education, income inequality and work-life balance. The rankings do not reflect these South African cities as highly competitive global cities. Johannesburg and Cape Town ranked 90th and

95th, respectively. South Africa has a legacy of racial segregation and socio-spatial fragmentation that enforced social divisions, which this index does not take into consideration. As cities are fundamentally about people, very few cities ranked high in this category except for Seoul, which ranked number one, as it is a people-centred city (Arcadis, 2016).

Sustainable Urban Development and the Compact City

Sustainable development is long overdue in South African cities and should "combine the corridor approach and the compact city approach" (Vanderschuren and Galaria, 2003, p.275). The intended purpose of these approaches is to resolve socio-spatial challenges; however, a contextual analysis is needed. Combining efficient and reliable transportation infrastructure that embraces rail and road public systems can assist with redressing socio-spatial challenges (Tonnelat, 2004). Du Toit (2007) argues that spatial integration in the South African context strongly correlates with social sustainability as it relates to addressing the spatial fragmentation legacy and racial-and income divides. A significant obstacle of city living is the time spent in congested streets that reduce the availability of time left to socialise and work (Albanese, 2013).

Some compact city policies are linked to the emergence of the sustainability theory introduced in the 1980s (Jenks and Burgess, 2000). This viewpoint is supported by Howley (2009) who states that sustainability and the compact city relate to an increase in the travel demand, because of higher residential densities to reduce negative environmental impacts (Burton, 2001). The compact city model was implemented in the Global North, at a time when there was a severe need to repopulate the city, during the 1980s and 1990s post-war planning period (Lin and Yang, 2006). Hassan and Lee (2014) consider the compact city to be a global theory as it is applied to both the developed and developing countries.

The compaction strategy was developed on the premise that increased population densities within a given space, will ensure the efficient use of infrastructure and public services. This contributes to the development of a walkable city, which is beneficial to an economic development strategy (Burton, 2000; 2001). The purpose of compact urban planning is to prevent sprawl by

revitalising "urban communities, repopulation of central cities, redevelopment of brownfield areas, housing affordability, more social equity and less racial and socio-economic segregation" (Dieleman and Wegener, 2004, p.317). The implementation of compact city development "mixes shared civic spaces" (Salingaros, 2006, p.109) based on a planned city structure.

Compact development is perceived to have benefits of greater accessibility and better social life opportunities. These include social inclusiveness, economic vitality, cultural attractiveness and environmental wellbeing, which are all beneficial to the upliftment of poor, marginalised communities (Dieleman and Wegener, 2004; Lin and Yang, 2006). The compact urban form encourages a walkable city and the sustainability of communities through increased density and the prevention of urban sprawl (Rodríguez et al., 2001; Dempsey et al., 2012). This is further evident by the indicators of urban form and urban compactness. Urban form indicators include spatial layout, land uses, housing typologies, transportation infrastructure and density (Massyn et al., 2015; Eizenberg and Jabareen, 2017). The compact city is an urban planning strategy used to attract residents back into the city centre. It requires the improvement of the public realm and the encouragement of liveability by utilising existing infrastructure effectively (Wan Nurul Mardiah, 2012).

Hassan and Lee (2014) suggest that "using the compact pattern without a solution to the problem of dependence on private vehicles may result in a claustrophobic city that may be more unsustainable than previous cities" (p.1281). This statement stresses that the root of any problem needs to be addressed before a suitable solution can be found. South African cities represent a dependence on private vehicles as walkability is a challenge and the urban form represents a legacy of spatial fragmentation. There is a clear division between travel distances to work, home and places of socialising (Donaldson, 2006). This could be related to reducing automobile dependencies in cities by developing a more sustainable urban form and creating more liveable spaces (Kenworthy, 2006; Miraftab, 2007; Vallance et al., 2011).

Burton (2001) argues that the compact city model's claim of social equity is the "least explored and the most ambiguous" (p.2). The core element of compact cities is the required increase of population densities, and the equitable

distribution of resources is similar to social sustainability. Social equity simply refers to fairness and equitable distribution of resources in the city. It relates directly to the aims of social justice, which overlaps with liveability and the right to the city (Burton, 2000). Compact development lacks inclusivity of all dimensions of sustainability due to the spatial focus. The promotion of developing liveable communities is contradictory to the aim of increasing population densities.

Consequently, the shortages of green space are not prioritised, nor is addressing the lack of privacy and thus is not readily adaptable (Burton, 2000; Bramley et al., 2006; Donaldson, 2006; Turok, 2013). Doughty and Hammond (2004) disagree with the sustainability of the compact city because it places severe constraints on economic development due to the range of social and environmental problems. Also, concerns about the social sustainability of these compact cities have been raised by Lennard (2012), specifically on the social development of younger generations.

Post-apartheid urban policies predominately centred around compaction and densification of urban development since 1994 (Visser and Kotze, 2008; Du Plessis and Boonzaaier, 2015). Lemanski (2007) cautions against implementing Western concepts in non-Western contexts. South Africa is no exception to this as both Johannesburg and Cape Town local authorities have fallen into this trap too. The relationship between urban form and social interaction relates to the design, layout and mixed land uses, which are influenced by urban planning strategies such as densification, compaction and TOD (Dempsey et al., 2011). These urban planning strategies do not form a critical part of the research being undertaken; however, it has been promoted in South African urban development and is essential to consider the micro applications of compaction and densification.

3.1.1.1 Social Sustainability Concepts

In general, social sustainability has more of a social focus rather than a spatial focus. The overlapping associated social sustainability concepts, such as social equity, sustainable communities and safety have been discussed by numerous

authors (Lin and Yang, 2006; Dempsey et al., 2011; Mallach, 2013; Hassan and Lee, 2014; Wan Nurul Mardiah, 2015; Baldwin and King, 2017; Jeekel, 2017).

The attachment defines sustainable communities that individuals have to the community and the opportunity for chance encounters of "social interaction and safety within the neighbourhood, the perceived quality of the local environment, the satisfaction with home, stability and collective civic activities" (Dave, 2011, p.190; Wan Nurul Mardiah, 2015). Jeekel (2017) describes the sustainability of community according to the "functioning city networks on all geographical levels" (p.4302). Vallance et al. (2011) state that cities are places for people and that is determined by the "quality of life, social networks" and "living spaces and leisure opportunities" (p.344), available to them. It has been argued by Baldwin and King (2017) that community networks depend primarily on social cohesion because trust is central to maintaining city networks. The most common overlapping indicators from the various sustainable communities' definitions include social interaction, safety, social equity and social infrastructure. These indicators are further discussed below because they directly relate to the everyday user experiences, which is the focus of this thesis.

According to Baldwin and King (2017), social interaction forms the basis of "relationships between residents, and the emergence of social capital and cohesion" (p.32). Social interaction is dependent on the level of trust of communities and influences participation in public gatherings. Social interaction encourages the intermingling of people from diverse backgrounds, incomes, ages and racial/ethnic groups to contribute towards diverse communities (Dempsey et al., 2011; Baldwin and King, 2017). However, this is conditional on achieving social cohesion of communities (Hassan and Lee, 2014). Dave (2011), Vallance et al. (2011) and Mallach (2014) have used these terms interchangeably as indicators to assess the degree of interaction and level of activity.

Social equity correlates with the equal distribution of services and resources to meet the basic needs of all community members, which is central to social justice (Dempsey et al., 2011). This extends to "job opportunities, the level of education, access to transportation, quality of health, or available housing" (Hassan and Lee, 2014, p.1270). Social exclusion and inclusion help to identify

those individuals that are marginalised based on the abovementioned services and resources (Lin and Yang, 2006; Mallach, 2013). Exclusionary practices and traditions include restricting the use of public space through forms of control.

The safety of communities and individuals has been linked to a psychological dimension by Baldwin and King (2017) because it directly relates to feelings of safety and use of space. Safety of communities is primarily discussed in terms of urban form because of the micro-level aspect. Securitised areas "spatially segregate social difference by physical separation" (Lemanski, 2004, p.108), which contribute towards existing socio-spatial fragmentation of cities, specifically South African cities. Wan Nurul Mardiah (2015) asserts that there exists a direct relationship between feelings of safety and fear of individuals. Fear influences individuals' behaviour and inclination to participate in space (Lin and Yang, 2006; Jeekel, 2017). The safety directly impacts on the quality of life of a city which overlaps with the liveability theory discussed in the following section.

Most authors have discussed social equity, social cohesion, social interaction and safety (Griebler and Littig, 2005; Dempsey et al., 2011; Vallance, Perkins and Dixon, 2011; Mallach, 2013). In contrast, fewer authors focus on social infrastructure, which is described as a combination of social goals to connect people, places and spaces (Baldwin and King, 2017). Simone (2004) defines social infrastructure as "facilitating the intersection of socialities so that expanded spaces of economic and cultural operation become available to residents of limited means" (p.407). The degree of social interaction is influenced by the provision of social infrastructure that enables streets to form a critical part of urban form as they act as avenues of connectivity for development and social relations. The micro-scale of streets represent a shared space of spontaneous encounters (Tonnelat, 2004). Both streets and public spaces enable "public congregation, encounter and community-making" (Hubbard and Lyon, 2018, p.938).

Social sustainability combines long term social objectives at both a macro and micro level. The following liveability theory explores both social and spatial micro-level experiences of communities and overlaps with social sustainability.

3.1.2 Liveability Theory

Ley (1980) theorised the liveability concept in the early 1980s and traced the first use of the concept as a policy strategy. The earliest implementation of the theory was criticised for being elitist and counterproductive to social justice. The Amsterdam urban government were amongst the first to drive the liveability policy on the neighbourhood scale in the 1960s. The central focus was to redevelop, improve and provide short-term maintenance of the inner city (Ley, 1980; Kaal, 2011). In the 1970s, the strategy was adopted by the city of Vancouver to "challenge the dominant, growth-centred approach which was to be replaced by a more 'humane, socially progressive, and aesthetic' policy" (Kaal, 2011, p.534). Similar to the sustainability theory, policy objectives drove liveability to improve communities. Policies and legislation continually "repeat the objective to restructure and connect the fragmented urban landscape in order to create more liveable, functional and productive cities and towns" (Turok, 2013, p.169). According to Godschalk (2004), the liveability concept adapts the sustainability definition by including aspects that can alter the urban environment over a short-term period and can be implemented at the micro street and building level and a macro city and regional level. However, liveability predates the establishment of the sustainability theory. Despite this, over the years, the liveability theory has been discussed in relation to sustainability by numerous authors (see Godschalk, 2004; Chivot, 2011; Wheeler, 2013; Gough, 2015; Lloyd et al., 2016).

Gough (2015) asserts that there is "growing literature on what defines a liveable community and a sustainable community" (p.150), and recommends formulating "strategies for implementing liveable and sustainable land use policies" (p.146). However, there are competing goals between liveability and sustainability the former is based on community well-being and the latter on the preservation of present and future generational needs. While redevelopment is the intended outcome of liveability, several authors agree that the theory is difficult to define (Ling et al., 2006; Kaal, 2011; Lloyd et al., 2016). The most cited reason by Kaal (2011) and Lloyd et al. (2016) for the lack of an agreed definition is based on the varied visions of liveability. Additionally, Ling et al. (2006) state that the diverse prioritisation of physical amenities such as public spaces, cultural and economic

opportunities are altered according to the context. Central to liveability is the improvement of communities. The following definition proposes that:

> Community livability is constructed by the sum of the physical and social characteristics experienced in places—including the natural environment and a walkable and mixed-use built environment, economic potential near diverse housing options, and access to a broad range of services, facilities, and amenities—that add up to a community's quality of life. (Gough, 2015, p.147)

An alternative definition concedes that liveability is a community ideal influenced by policy objectives (Lloyd et al., 2016). Lloyd et al. (2016) state that to develop healthy communities' social interaction is needed to create opportunities for meaningful connections and social cohesion. This definition stresses the importance of meaningful interactions, that go beyond chance encounters and random passing conversations. Aspects of community, social interaction and social cohesion indicate the overlap between liveability and social sustainability dimensions discussed in the previous section.

However, criticisms of the liveability concept include it being geared towards addressing infrastructure goals rather than encouraging participatory and inclusive planning. This has been emphasised by Jenks and Burgess (2000), Ling et al. (2006) and United Nations Human Settlements Programme (2014), who have all written about liveability in terms of infrastructure development.

Liveable Cities

Sorensen (2006) describes liveable cities as a combination of strategies implemented to achieve "greater urban vitality, sustainability, liveability and quality of life" (p.228). Therefore, cities that demonstrate environmental degradation, high levels of poverty, inflated health costs, and socio-economic polarization are considered the opposite of liveable (Sorensen, 2006). Liveable cities address both the spatial needs and the social needs of city communities by adopting a people-centred approach. The former addresses where people live, how they commute to places of employment and the latter encourages interactions with individuals and the environment (Kabir, 2006; Wheeler, 2013; Gough, 2015). Lennard (2012) argues that "no city can overvalue the standard of

living and undervalue the quality of life if they want to be socially sustainable"
(p.4).

Kabir (2006), Sorensen (2006), Chivot (2011), Kaal (2011) and Gough (2015) have
all written about the development of liveable cities across the world. These
authors identified cities in the following countries: America, Netherlands,
Nigeria, and Japan and assessed challenges associated with the implementation
of the liveability agenda in line with local preferences. For example, in Nigeria,
challenges include the provision of essential services, drinking water, equitable
access to education and health services and a safe environment (Kabir, 2006). In
Japan, challenges range from an ageing population to the lack of city public
spaces (Sorensen, 2006). Due to these preferences, it is understandable why the
liveability agenda differs according to contexts, and no universal definition
exists.

The cities of Vancouver, Canada and Melbourne, Australia, have been cited by
Kaal (2011) and Holden and Scerri (2013) as 'good' examples of liveable cities.
Holden and Scerri (2013) argue that the vision of a liveable city influenced the
liveability agenda for both cities. The 1976 liveability agenda implemented by
Vancouver integrated the downtown and promoted infill development. The
liveability agenda was guided by several components, namely: environmental
protection, diverse economy, provision of residential and business services,
housing options and citizen participation (Ling et al., 2006). However, the City
Council were criticised for not providing equal access to opportunities and not
addressing homelessness (Ling et al., 2006; Holden and Scerri, 2013).

On the other hand, Melbourne's City Council approach focused more on class.
The application of liveability promoted an exclusive area with similarities to
gated developments, that cater to a niche market. Holden and Scerri (2013)
argue that Melbourne's city centre lacks focus on whom city living is intended to
attract. The city makes provision for university students, the elderly, foreigners
and professionals that enjoy the nightlife. However, the city does not encourage
long-term residency because of the lack of primary schools that excludes
families. These empirical examples of liveable cities demonstrate both strengths
and weaknesses of the approach. These examples contradict Sorensen's (2006)

notion of liveable cities because of the targeted social groups that benefitted from the liveability agendas.

Liveability and Densification

The State of African Cities Report (2014) highlights that "urban planning faces challenges of urban sprawl, housing backlogs, poverty and inequality, segregation and slum and informal settlement with the city centre" (p.13). However, despite the disadvantages, African countries have adopted various urban planning strategies to redress the socio-spatial legacy. Development corridors have been used as an implementation strategy for developing increased densities along with multi-nodal points. South Africa, in particular, only started to focus on social justice and equity after 1994, when the country was declared a democratic state. Since the South African democratic election in 1994, urban integration and densification were identified as government objectives. These were implemented in SDFs at the city level (Christopher, 2001; Winkler, 2009; Wray, 2014; Chapman, 2015).

The broader academic debates encourage higher urban densities because of increased economic productivity and more vibrant inclusive communities (Salingaros, 2006; Howley, 2009; Turok, 2011; Dempsey et al., 2012; Lennard, 2012). Turok (2011) argues that a "density strategy should provide the means to shift the growth trajectory of a city in a more efficient, equitable and or sustainable direction" (p.471). According to Salingaro (2006), there is nothing wrong with either higher or lower densities as long as it is well integrated. The focal point is to integrate low, middle- and high-income households. The redevelopment of more impoverished neighbourhoods to accommodate middle-income groups is not conducive to socio-economic mixing because it risks isolating low-income households (Godschalk, 2004; Visser and Kotze, 2008).

Turok (2011) suggests justifying the intended purpose of using density because it is crucial to set priorities. Critical considerations in setting priorities include i) determining who the city is for and ii) to what extent are public bodies willing to invest and regulate. To alleviate problems within the city such as crime, congestion and pollution, effective urban planning strategies include densification, and mixed land uses as proposed by Howley (2009).

Gordon and Richardson (2007), propose a multiple densification criterion based on macro, micro and spatial structural scales. The macro-scale promotes high average densities at a citywide and metropolitan level. In contrast, the micro-scale encourages developing high densities at the neighbourhood or community level. The spatial structure scale aims at developing a pattern orientated to the downtown or the central city rather than a polycentric spatial pattern. These varying criteria are mostly dependent on the spatial geographies of cities.

A densification strategy should address the lack of infrastructure investment which disintegrated public transport. This is critical in achieving sustainable infrastructure and providing alternative transport options in areas with higher densities. Vanderschuren and Galaria (2003) suggest the separation of transport and settlement planning has resulted in the lack of accessibility in cities which is not compatible with the compact city model.

Density has both positive and negative impacts on achieving social sustainability. However, most negative associations related to density are based on perceptions. Physical density affects the urban form and implies higher building ratios to maximise existing resources and infrastructure. However, perceived density implies the perception residents have of living close to a large number of people. Consequently, perceived density affects the "mental health, behaviour and social relationships" (Dave, 2011, p.192). The perceived density is based on the views of the community, whereas the physical density is based on actual calculations and ratios. There is a limitation in terms of the cost of living, lack of living space, transport-related issues such as noise and pollution. Burton (2001) criticised densification for contributing to congestion and overcrowding due to the added number of people within a small space.

However, Turok (2011) advocates for residential densification in South Africa to redress the colonial and apartheid legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation. Densification prevents sprawl and further fragmentation of historically divided cities. Higher urban densities encourage compact, vibrant, liveable and inclusive communities provided that the densification strategy considers diverse social groups. Presently, there are conflicting views regarding the benefits of the densification mechanism (Burton, 2001; Simone, 2005; Salingaros, 2006; Howley, 2009). These views, do not adequately address concerns of social justice,

instead seem to worsen the effects of social inequality. The broad range of social justice issues remains unaddressed, as the relationship between densification and social justice is under-researched, according to Burton (2001). Densification, as a primary implementation mechanism, risks worsening social challenges related to the quality of life of residents. The displacement of existing residents is increased due to the alteration of class populations occupying city spaces in terms of social and economic accessibility (Visser and Kotze, 2008). Densification is often discussed with compactness and the development of the compact city (Salingaros, 2006; Howley, 2009; Dave, 2011; Lennard, 2012).

3.1.2.1 Liveability Concepts

Liveability concepts have often been discussed in terms of the standard of living and the quality of life. These criteria differ according to the primary focus and specific indicators.

Economic growth is the leading indicator of the standard of living, and the sense of wellbeing is an indicator of the quality of life (Ling et al., 2006; Kaal, 2011). Lloyd et al. (2016) further add that diverse social groups and activities contribute towards the vibrancy of cities through cultural offerings and a diverse economy. A diverse economy accommodates various skill sets, provides career opportunities and cater to diverse individuals and enables the growth of an economy. People that live, work and socialise in the city with more choices are more likely to benefit from a range of amenities (Gough, 2015). Several liveability concepts overlap with social sustainability include social interaction, social equity and safety have been discussed in section 3.1.1.1 and will not be repeated (Kabir, 2006; Wheeler, 2013; Lloyd et al., 2016).

The sense of well-being is strengthened through increased community engagement and participation in decision-making processes that directly influence city dwellers (Ellery and Ellery, 2019). The devolution of decision-making powers and inclusivity of community members is linked to positive psychological and behavioural benefits of belonging (Gough, 2015).

Improving the quality of life depends on addressing issues of environmental degradation, access to essential services and social amenities by providing quality open space, improving air quality and making services and amenities affordable (Kabir, 2006). As suggested by Doughty and Hammond (2004), the improvement of the quality of life is directly linked to justice, and the fair distribution of resources needed to address social challenges. One aspect that remains a constant is that social exclusion cannot be eradicated. Exclusion in cities is a combination of spatio-temporal factors as well as socio-economic and cultural development. It is a by-product of city living, that not all city dwellers and visitors will be included or have access to equal opportunities. Doughty and Hammond (2004), Kabir (2006) and Holden and Scerri (2013) suggest that exclusion is addressed by focusing on social justice and cohesion as previously discussed.

Liveability theory is useful for analysing the street-level experiences in the city. However, the theory provides a limited discussion on the city user perceptions and everyday experiences, which is better understood using the right to the city theory, discussed in the following section.

3.1.3 The Right to the City Theory

Henri Lefèbvre, a Marxist philosopher, is considered one of the foremost theorists in studying everyday experiences of city dwellers. Lefèbvre introduced the right to the city theory in 1968, as a desire to encourage the empowerment of city dwellers who were usually reliant on those in power (Lefèbvre, 1996; He, 2015; Hubbard and Lyon, 2018; Morange and Spire, 2019). The right to the city is defined as "a cry and a demand. This right slowly meanders through the surprising detours of nostalgia and tourism, the return to the heart of the traditional city, and the call of existent or recently developed centralities. The claim to nature, and the desire to enjoy it displace the right to the city" (Lefèbvre, 1996, p.158). According to Marcuse (2009), the 'cry' and 'demand' in Lefèbvre's definition applies to two distinct groups of people that occupy the city. One group that demands a better life which applies to the deprived, marginalised and illegal and the second group that is motivated by self-improvement, growth and creativity. Two principles are guiding the groups, namely: participation and appropriation. The former refers to city dwellers

having equitable access to space and determine their use of space. The latter is the provision of opportunities that empower city dwellers and "transform urban space" (He, 2015, p.674). These principles are based on adopting an inclusive approach that fosters social cohesion and togetherness through the equal distribution of power.

Several authors have adopted the original definition proposed by Lefèbvre (1996) to explore equality and power struggles of city dwellers (Purcell, 2002; Tonnelat, 2004; Marcuse, 2009; Morange and Spire, 2019). Purcell (2002) suggests that "the right to the city revolves around the production of urban space, it is those who live in the city – who contribute to the body of urban lived experience and lived space – who can legitimately claim the right to the city" (p.102). The right is expressed through all social groups having physical access to public spaces without restrictions (Tonnelat, 2004). Marcuse (2009) further expands on the rights by stating:

> Rather, it is multiple rights that are incorporated here: not just one, not just a right to public space, or a right to information and transparency in government, or a right to access the center, or a right to this service or that, but the right to a totality, a complexity, in which each of the parts is part of a single whole to which the right is demanded. (pp.192–193)

These multiple rights encourage civil society participation in the decision making process used to influence urban development (Bodino, 2016). The distribution of power in cities has often excluded city dwellers from the design and decision-making of urban space. Morange and Spire (2019) state that there are fewer studies on the "socio-spatial exclusion and inequalities in cities of the South" (p.4), that have mobilised the right to the city theory. However, there is growing literature on cities in the South increasingly focused on "the right to urban life" which adapted the theory to focus on "the idea of a right to informality" (Morange and Spire, 2019, p.7). The right of informality emphasises the growth of the informal sector, a growing sector that many poor and low-income city dwellers rely on in cities of the South. The informal sector relies on spatial processes that either empower or forbid city dwellers in their everyday experiences; this influences how they claim space and which space they claim. Morange and Spire (2019) refer to this as the 'actual right to the city' not just

the right to the city because it differs from the concept more frequently used to discuss cities in the North.

In the context of the South African city, Morange and Spire (2019) discuss the right in terms of State Power versus poor city dwellers and empowering, the poor that were previously excluded from power structures. However, my focus is concerned more with all city dwellers and visitors irrespective of duration spent in the city. An individual's right to space was prohibited due to the racial apartheid ideology. There was enforced social divisions in South African city public spaces by the apartheid government due to the social engineering of the urban landscape (Lemanski, 2004; Morange and Spire, 2019).

Marcuse (2009) argues that the focus of the right to the city is not on those that have existing rights based on positions of power, influence or status. Simone (2005) suggests that the right to the city serves multiple purposes and can apply to diverse groups. On the one hand, it is the provision of basic needs, and on the other hand, it is about selecting the city as a place to pursue aspirations. The right to the city suggests the inclusion of the rights of city inhabitants rather than only including citizens which are nationals of the country (Purcell, 2002). The underlying assumption is that "consumers should have a right to both 'liveable' and 'sustainable' communities, which raises questions for planners and decision-makers about how to satisfy the needs and desires of current and future residents" (Gough, 2015, p.146).

Marxist School of Thought

The classical Marxist school of thought highlights the inequalities of a profit-driven capitalist society. Profit margins determined by those in positions of power are criticised for exploiting the urban poor and increasing inequality. Scholars that prescribe to this school of thought consider power structures exploitative and are corrected by the equitable distribution of power to city dwellers (Lefèbvre, 1996; Purcell, 2002; Kabir, 2006; Marcuse, 2009). Marxist school of thought at the centre of several mentioned social turmoils due to capitalism and a power struggle (Marcuse, 2009).

The social movements that stem from periods of crisis that have guided discussion on the right to the city (He, 2015). The theory applies to various global social turmoil's that can be traced to 1917 World War I, 1968 civil rights movements, 1968 student protests and 2008 financial crisis. The implementation of racial and social segregation of apartheid policies from 1948 to 1994 in South Africa also forms part of deeply rooted social turmoil. The commonality of these experiences in the promotion of socio-spatial transformation of city spaces (Simone, 2005; Marcuse, 2009; Morange and Spire, 2019). Central to this is the proposed devolution of government power to private companies and adopting citizen participatory approaches to development at local levels. This ensures that government structures do not entirely control the aspirations of citizens.

The two possible outcomes of the right to the city approach are based on capitalism and liberal-democracy, according to Purcell (2002). Governments are faced with a predicament about which aspirations should be pursued to connect residents. Simone (2005) argues that governments attempt to plan the integration of residents, prevents the possibility of attracting diverse residents that pursue their right to the city. Notably "urban policy, infrastructure and economic development" (Simone, 2005, p.323) are key to connecting residents. Both Lefèbvre (1996) and Purcell (2002) suggest that there is an increased focus on the "idea of the right to the city as a way to respond to neoliberal urbanism and better empower urban dwellers" (Purcell, 2002, p.99).

Right to the City and Globalisation

Urban development and globalisation are based on the attainment of capitalism and economic growth. Morange and Spire (2019) point out that the rise in inequality is dependent on the context and contributing factors. Globalisation is linked to the attainment of global city status, which entails resilient telecommunications and transport infrastructure and a thriving and stable economic hub (Ho and Douglass, 2008).

Purcell (2002) considers globalisation a contributing factor of urban fragmentation because of the desire to compete globally and economically, which neglects to address local concerns of socio-economic inequality. The tendency to emphasise the need for global integration, shifting the focus away

from the local context to an international platform. The pressure on cities to perform efficiently on a global scale due to an increase in global competitiveness results in the further entrenchment of socio-spatial inequality. This is evident in the social division of labour, as the expanding financial sector is influenced by globalisation. Lemanski (2007) and Bodino (2016) suggest that those transformation initiatives of globalisation and capitalism conflict with the goals of the right to the city theory.

3.1.3.1 The Right to the City Concepts

The various definitions of the right to the city theory indicated equal rights, physical accessibility, socio-spatial polarisation and urban connectivity as key concepts (Lemanski, 2004; Tonnelat, 2004; Simone, 2005; Hubbard and Lyon, 2018).

Initiatives without a social component negatively impact on the urban population as "life in cities can reduce the wellbeing of some people" (Kabir, 2006, p.40). It also negatively impacts on social cohesion as "the existence of different social and territorial groups are present in the city" (Cassiers and Kesteloot, 2012, p.1910). Mallach (2014) discusses social cohesion and social equity as a dimension of an accessible city, which should reflect a degree of diversity amongst populations particularly, social, economic and racial classification. The overlap between social equity and social cohesion has been discussed in section 3.1.1.1.

This may result in the physical control of their accessibility and freedom of occupancy in city spaces which hinders diversity (Tonnelat, 2004; Simone, 2005). The restrictive access to urban space may result in preventing freedom of movement, which is required for social groups to be able to occupy city space and use the city according to their preferred use.

Addressing socio-spatial polarisation spans across both developed and developing cities but "the drive for global status further encourages (and certainly ignores) segregation, this impeding and contradicting pro-poor strategies of integration" (Lemanski, 2007, p.450). This marginalises vulnerable groups such as the homeless and unemployed.

Mallach (2014) further explains that economic, social or demographic, physical and political aspects are categories of socio-spatial functions. The economic function is based on the economic success and availability of resources in the city. In comparison, the social or demographic category place emphasises on the people who live in the city and assesses their specific connections and relationships. This category also accounts for the people who occupy the city less frequently, such as commuters and tourists. The social category influences social cohesion by bringing diverse social groups together through events; however, this does not guarantee integration even though diversity may be more visible (Hubbard and Lyon, 2018). The physical category includes the geographical spatial pattern, neighbourhood vitality and the environmental quality. Lastly, the political category encompasses the defined boundaries and local council.

Simone (2005) refers to these categories as diverse infrastructure as urban connectivity used to connect diverse social groups. Urban connectivity is dependent on the types of connections based on "infrastructures, spaces, populations, institutions, and economic activities of the city" (Simone, 2005, p.323). These infrastructures need to be accessible and not controlled to provide opportunities for users to dictate the preferred use of space irrespective of the planned and designed elements. The control of space limits the true diversity of social groups and risks limiting unexpected encounters and the development of social distancing of social groups considered outcasts (Tonnelat, 2004). The right to the city theory is discussed with urban space and the use of space to integrate city dwellers physically and socially through equitable participation.

Each theoretical perspective reviewed and associated concepts overlap with more than one perspective, such as social interaction sharing common traits with both social sustainability and liveability. The table below lists the relevant theoretical perspectives and key concepts used to inform the socio-spatial analytical framework.

Table 4: Relevant theoretical perspectives and key concepts

Theoretical Perspectives	Key Concepts	Key Literature
Social Sustainability	Safety and Security, Social Interaction, Social Infrastructure and Social Equity, Social and Economic Activities	Lin and Yang (2006); Dempsey et al. (2011); Wan Nurul Mardiah (2015); Baldwin and King (2017)
Liveability	Standard of Living, Quality of Life, Diverse Social Groups and Activities, Shared Civic Spaces	Ling et al. (2006); Kaal (2011); Lloyd et al. (2016); Ellery and Ellery (2019)
The Right to the City	Urban Connectivity, Physical and Social Accessibility and Socio-Spatial Polarisation	Lemanski (2004); Tonnelat (2004); Simone (2005); Mallach (2013); Hubbard and Lyon (2018)

3.2 Socio-Spatial Analytical Framework

The combination of key concepts from social sustainability, liveability, and the right to the city theoretical perspectives form the foundation of the socio-spatial analytical framework. The purpose of this analytical framework is to analyse the perceptions and experiences of public space users as it relates to socio-spatial transformation. In addition to the socio-spatial theoretical perspectives are fragmentation and public space concepts used to inform the socio-spatial analytical framework. The reviewed socio-spatial perspectives touched on the various socio-spatial characteristics of fragmentation. Characteristics included the use of space, lack of social integration, access to residential facilities, economic opportunities and addressing inequalities. The previous chapter discussed context specific fragmentation discourses and the following section discusses the theoretical characteristics of fragmentation. Additionally, the social and spatial impact of public spaces was introduced in social sustainability and liveability and is further discussed in section 3.2.2. Public spaces are relevant for the discussion of micro-perspectives and relates to the perceptions and experiences of public space users.

3.2.1 Fragmentation

Fragmentation is a spatial phenomenon rooted in the development of segregated functions and division of classes. As the spatial configuration differs, it is vital to consider the extent of fragmentation, based on the physical topographies, major transport routes, economic structures and population growth rates. These are influenced by the development of separate residential, business and social locations, including gated communities (Rodríguez et al., 2001). The definition provided by Allen (1999, p.249) states that:

> The term 'fragmentation' is a spatial metaphor that implies, without necessarily saying so, that there once existed or will exist a 'whole', or as in this case, that there existed or should exist a totalised 'we'. Critical geohistorical narratives tell us that this 'we' did not exist in past societies, nor does it currently exist.

This definition implies that we should not presume a unified or 'whole' space as a baseline. It may be that predominant sections of society uncritically assume that their 'we' stands for the entirety of society when it may only refer to a part of society. Bodino (2016) further adds that fragmentation remains a challenge for cities, particularly South African cities. South Africa has a legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation that was based on the racial separation of different population groups. According to Cassiers and Kesteloot (2012, p.1912), "segregation should not be reduced to the spatial separation of different ethnic groups" but "be characterised as spatial separateness". In other words, it should be considered in terms of fragmentation.

South Africa and Brazil are referred to as examples "where fragmentation is not necessarily seen as a problem" (Michelutti, no date, p.342). However, Christopher (1997), Donaldson (2001; 2006), Nicks (2003) and Morris (2004) refer to the increased inequality influenced by the legacy of fragmentation in South Africa, counterproductive to social integrating and transformation. Michelutti (no date) explains that fragmentation in Brazil and South Africa does not contribute to further entrenched social divisions. However, this is questionable when racial and economic accessibility have not addressed the gap between the rich and the poor (Steinbrink et al., 2011). Lima (2001) proposes that "Financial priorities of urban management also need to be understood in order to understand spatial aspects of segregation" (p.506) because efficient resource

allocation contributes towards social equity. Without social equity, the inequality in urban space is visible in the inequitable treatment of social groups such as informal traders (Lemanski, 2007; Miraftab, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008; Sihlongonyane, 2016).

Steinbrink et al. (2011), argue that there is no difference between post-apartheid South Africa and apartheid South Africa. Due to the divide between affluent and poor urban areas remaining identical. This claim has been supported by several authors, namely: Lemanski (2007), Sihlongonyane (2016) and Abrahams et al. (2018). The inherited legacy of apartheid continues to be rooted in the urban development of South African cities. "South Africa has yet to find an appropriate model for effectively harnessing the potential of its cities" (Treasury, 2011, cited in Turok, 2013, p.168). However, the differences between apartheid and post-apartheid are the democratic political structure. Theoretically, democracy encourages freedom of movement, expression and equal access to all people, which is the opposite of the apartheid government. These differences may result in a different approach to social and spatial inequalities. They may result in a slow process to redress the divide between poor and affluent areas due to several reasons. These include overall economic restructuring, access to education and training opportunities and the equitable redistribution of resources (Abrahams et al., 2018).

Socio-spatial fragmentation is used to inform the analytical framework to investigate socio-spatial transformation. The analytical framework is applied to shared space and spontaneous encounters at a street-level, particularly as it relates to public space and the micro-perspectives of public space users.

3.2.2 Public Space

The analysis of public spaces is linked to the socio-spatial perceptions and experiences of public space users.

Allen (1999) described public space as social and constructed by the interpretation of 'cultural and historical knowledge'. This enables the assessment of "lived realms of 'social space'" (Allen, 1999, p.249). This socio-spatial perspective facilitates spontaneous and planned encounters, social

mixing and freedom of expression of shared rights. This implies that social spaces exist as a memory and an experience, which is influenced by development histories.

Traditionally, the accepted definition of public space was proposed in urban planning as any space that is open and accessible to everyone (Nkooe, 2018). This includes streets, shopping mall, train station, cafés, squares and parks (Tonnelat, 2004; Kabir, 2006; Heffernan et al., 2014). Bodino (2016) suggested a further dimension to public spaces as being used for social infrastructure, which has been discussed with the social sustainability theory.

Public spaces serve multiple functions that enable the expression of social, cultural, economic and political freedom of expression. These spaces may also be described as contested political sites depending on the context (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Nkooe, 2018). Public spaces represent sites of public debate and are strengthened through "democracy, most notably through civil society and participatory citizenship" (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009, p.353; Heffernan et al., 2014). An investigation of public spaces in the city enables an analysis of the diversity of social groups because public spaces are supposed to be accessible to everyone. Inclusive public space is considered a solution to segregation and issues associated with sustainable development and social justice (Kabir, 2006; Ling, Hamilton and Thomas, 2006; Van Assche, Block and Reynaert, 2010; Lennard, 2012).

Madanipour (1999), Ho and Douglass (2008) and Steinbrink et al. (2011) all look at the influence of different socio-spatial structures, namely the varied use of public spaces and degree of social interaction. Mainly how different social groups interact with each other and the spatial environment. As highlighted by Madanipour (1999), there is an emerging divide between social groups in cities because cities perform multiple functions and serve multiple interests. However, this inadvertently results in the control of marginalised social groups in public space. The control of public space may not always discriminate against any particular race, gender, class or ethnicity; there are possible areas of exclusion (Ho and Douglass, 2008).

Regulation has often been used as a tool to exert control over public spaces both historically and presently - the apartheid government controlled public space through racial regulations. At the same time, the post-apartheid government has controlled public spaces through strategies such as CIDs. These present strategies implement deliberate forms of excessive control through visible and invisible surveillance (Miraftab, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009).

While public spaces encourage social interaction, public safety may be a concern for individuals who desire increased security. Security measures can lead to exclusion due to the protection from either real or perceived fears. These fears are not always motivated by crime but perceived fear of the other which is not based on facts (Lemanski, 2004). Realistically, the security of public space challenges this description and enforces certain forms of exclusion, which is counterproductive to social mixing. The regulation of land that encourages the securitisation and privatisation of public space through increased security measures restricts accessibility. These adverse effects lead to the exclusion of the marginalised and abandonment of unsecured public spaces (Lemanski, 2004; Hubbard and Lyon, 2018).

Concerns were raised about the public spaces in suburbs and commercial centres by Tonnelat (2004). Suburbs undergo privatisation of the public realm, which result in gated public space. At the same time, commercial centres such as shopping malls hinder encounters of social interaction due to surveillance which controls and monitors behaviour. The development of privatised public space and gated communities leads to the control of free movement. Similarly, by providing services specific to income brackets, marginalised groups are inadvertently excluded such as the homeless, drunken persons and beggars through monitored and controlled movement.

Transformation can be assessed at national, regional, and city levels; however, the neighbourhood level, specifically public spaces enable the assessment of everyday socio-spatial transformation as it relates to public space user experiences.

3.2.3 Chicago School of Sociology

The relevance of adopting the Chicago School of Sociology for my research is based on social interaction and case study focus. Theoretically, the University of Chicago, Department of Sociology, developed the school of thought between 1918 and 1965. This period signified a shift from country living to city living because of people relocating. Chicago was one of the cities experiencing massive growth and became an industrial metropolis (Lutters and Ackerman, 1996; Mills et al., 2012). The main emphasis of the Chicago School of Sociology is the focus on conducting qualitative field research. The school of thought emphasises a qualitative approach to studying the city. However, Lutters and Ackerman (1996) have criticised this approach as a weakness because of the lack of quantitative research. The role of sociology in studying everyday experiences needs to take into consideration the history of city development (Lefèbvre, 1996), including the influences of fragmentation.

According to Madanipour (1999), spatial behaviour "is an integral part of our social existence" (p.879) and an important consideration when studying the city. Spatial behaviour is determined by the social relations and spaces that we use. This implies that meeting friends in a public space will inform our behaviour and experience of that space which can be relaxed and trusting of the space. Consequently, the opposite spatial behaviour can be determined if revisiting sites that evoke negative feelings resulting in feelings of fear and insecurity in space (Madanipour, 1999).

3.2.4 Analytical Concepts

The socio-spatial analytical concepts have been combined from the socio-spatial theoretical perspectives reviewed. The three selected concepts are applied at a street-level and are used to investigate the present everyday perceptions and experiences of public space users. The essential aspects of the theoretical perspectives derived analytical themes and analytical criteria are summarised in table 5.

Table 5: Socio-spatial analytical framework informed by theoretical perspectives

	Social Sustainability	Liveability	The Right to the City
Essential Aspects from Theories	Tripartite approach to a thriving society involving social equity, social networks and sustaining varying types of urban community life.	Quality of lived experiences and perceptions of frequent and infrequent urban dwellers and visitors in urban spaces.	Equitable shared social spaces that are occupied by all social groups, enhancing socio-spatial functions of urban space users.
Derived Analytical Themes	Planned Opportunities for Social Encounters	Underutilised Public Space	Urban Connectivity
Analytical Criteria	• Activity Programming: types of pre-planned activities, organisations / individuals involved, social functions of activities. • Social Activities: taking place in shared social spaces or private spaces, the vibrancy of activity, diversity of social groups. • Markets: the role of markets, types of marketplaces, fixed or temporary features.	• Lack of Visible Social Activity: impact on public space users, areas of improvement, reasons for lack of activity, long-term impact. • Maintenance: strategies used to maintain public spaces, perception of maintenance, responsible bodies. • Safety and Security: types of security measures, perceptions of safety, preventative measures by public space users, areas of exclusion	• Economic Activities: types of economic activities, the attractiveness of activities, economic opportunities, affordability. • Spatial Behaviour: Access to facilities, free movement of people, experiences of public space users. • Social Infrastructure: types of social infrastructure, free or paid, inclusivity of infrastructure.

The essential aspects adopted from the social sustainability theoretical perspective is the tripartite approach to sustaining society. The theory emphasises a focus on addressing the basic needs of urban dwellers and visitors

by ensuring access to spatial facilities and amenities. This also includes accommodating varying types of urban lifestyles to ensure that the city appeals to a variety of community needs and desires. The derived analytical theory is planned opportunities for social encounters which are concerned with increasing community-level social interaction and social equality of previously disadvantaged groups. Social encounters in public spaces encourage the diversity of social activities and contribute towards the vibrancy of social interactions in shared civic spaces (Lloyd et al., 2016). Shared space supports the diversity of social groups and is critical in assessing the equality of previously disadvantaged groups in the built environment. Thus, the primary focus is to enrich public space user experiences and perceptions through various social functions (Kalekin-Fishman, 2013). Civic organisations can plan these social functions, businesses to attract consumers and visitors to the city and include activity programming, markets and social activities that are either planned by visitors or are spontaneous encounters.

The quality of lived experiences and perceptions is an essential aspect adopted from the liveability theory. Central to the theory is the improvement of the standard of living and the quality of life for people that occupy urban spaces. However, the analytical theme of underutilised public space is more concerned with the impact of the lack of visible social activity, maintenance, safety and security on public space users. "Public space is measured according to its accessibility, both physical and psychological" (Joseph, 1998 cited in Tonnelat, 2004, p.2). The maintenance and control of public space results in the provision of security measures. Security guards, surveillance and law enforcement can either be proactive in ensuring perceptions of safety or preventative to ensure the monitoring and control of criminal elements (Dempsey et al., 2011; Németh et al., 2011).

Consequently, public spaces that implement these measures risk marginalising social groups often excluded, such as the homeless, addicts and beggars. These exclusionary practices in public space affect the behaviour and psychological mindset of public space users. Lemanski (2004) recommends challenging the mindset that encourages the development of enclaves and privatised public spaces as this may lead to a lack of visible social activity.

Finally, the essential aspect of the right to the city is the focus on striving for equitable social spaces occupied by diverse social groups. The freedom to occupy space, access opportunities and develop social connections are central to this theme. The derived analytical theme from this theory is urban connectivity which is concerned with the impact of the built environment and the ability to uses facilities and amenities to connect diverse urban social groups. Through the development of physical and social infrastructure, accessibility to facilities is increased by connecting people, spaces and places (Simone, 2005; Baldwin and King, 2017). This concept overlaps with the aims of social equity and accessibility. Social equity is concerned with the equitable redistribution of resources and accessibility encourages the free movement of people and goods without placing restrictions that would marginalise social groups (Tonnelat, 2004; Baldwin and King, 2017). Both equity and accessibility influence the spatial behaviour of public space users and enable access to economic opportunities that cater to most income groups. One of the influencing factors of spatial behaviour is the organisation of space through the physical distinction of both public and private spaces. Whether spaces are considered public or private, determines who has access and whose movement and behaviour is monitored (Madanipour, 1999).

The benefits of a socio-spatial analytical framework are the consolidation of existing socio-spatial theoretical perspectives. The theoretical debates are embedded within existing academic literature and are applied to both macro- and micro-scales. The analytical framework is tailored according to the specific context being researched and informs the methods of investigation. This points to the relevance of investigating the constructed views of social spaces based on Johannesburg and Cape Town user perceptions and experiences. The primary purpose of the framework is the focus of a qualitative study.

The drawbacks of an analytical framework are that the combination of concepts has not been used in the same way. This implies that any study that replicates the framework will not yield the same results because the framework was adapted for the context. This is not necessarily a disadvantage because the everyday experiences and perceptions of public space users will differ across contexts. Another drawback associated with an analytical framework is the non-

existent debates about the rigour of an analytical framework; however, the framework is grounded on existing theoretical perspectives.

3.3 Summary

This chapter aimed to consider relevant theoretical perspectives on socio-spatial transformation to develop an analytical framework for the two case studies. The theoretical perspectives reviewed included social sustainability, liveability and the right to the city.

On the one hand, social sustainability and liveability theories were driven by influential macro and micro policies in response to societal development (Ley, 1980; William and Munn, 1986; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987; Becker, Jahn and Stieb, 1999; Robinson, 2004). Furthermore, both theories were developed in response to global and local concerns related to global issues of environmental degradation and the preservation of urban living. The community aspect involves the study of communities with cities and neighbourhoods, including individuals that form those communities (Ho and Douglass, 2008; Gough, 2015; Newman, 2015; Arcadis, 2016). However, differences between these theories include the predominant social focus of social sustainability and the more spatial focus of liveability. Social sustainability relates more to the relationships formed within communities and the influence of individuals on developing cohesive, inclusive and equitable communities. In contrast, liveability relates to the improvement and maintenance of the city centre to enhance urban community living.

On the other hand, the right to the city was developed to understand the population growth and associated urban issues such as poverty, crime and deprivation (Lefèbvre, 1996; Marcuse, 2009; He, 2015). The social focus of the right to the city is on the equitable redistribution of power and an improvement of city living. This increases the opportunity to connect society by reducing the distance between community members. The right to the city relates to the interconnectivity of infrastructure, economic activities, social activities and the influence on everyday experiences and perceptions.

The analytical framework was developed from a combination of theoretical perspectives used to derive analytical themes and analytical criteria. The socio-spatial analytical framework is used to guide the investigation of present socio-spatial experiences and perceptions of public space users. The analytical framework expands on fragmentation and public space debates due to the spatial impact on the everyday user experience. Fragmentation is concerned with the spatial divisions of communities according to physical development, access to social and economic facilities and the development of inclusive communities (Allen, 1999; Rodríguez et al., 2001; Cassiers and Kesteloot, 2012). The development and management of public spaces can either address aspects of fragmentation or further entrench aspects of fragmentation through the marginalisation of public space users (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Heffernan et al., 2014; Nkooe, 2018). The varied functions of public space can encourage social interaction, promote shared spaces and represent spaces of political freedom, making it relevant to investigate user experiences and perceptions. The school of thought guiding the framework is the Chicago School of Sociology because of the focus on urban social interaction and the qualitative case study approach (Lutters and Ackerman, 1996; Mills et al., 2012). The framework forms the foundation of the methodology adopted for my thesis; the link is further discussed in the following chapter.

The benefits of an analytical framework enable the amalgamation of relevant theories applied to a specific context. These concepts include planned opportunities for social encounters, underutilised public spaces and urban connectivity. Another benefit of the framework is that the concepts can be reconfigured and applied to other contexts to compare the results of micro-level studies across various contexts. However, I acknowledge that the analytical framework has not been rigorously debated as the reviewed theoretical perspectives have been debated over several years.

4 Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology used to guide my thesis and is divided into nine sections.

The first section outlines the philosophical perspective that I have adopted. As a researcher, I subscribe to the social constructivist view that different perspectives of reality exist and are socially constructed (Bunge, 2001; Krippendorf, 2004; Detel, 2015). The link between the philosophical perspective and the social constructivist approach is discussed in section two. The applicability of the social constructivist approach to the study of everyday public space user experiences and perceptions is discussed in this section. Section three discusses the case study research design, including the use of a pilot study in 2017 and the main study in 2018. As highlighted in the literature review chapter 2, "little is known about how people negotiate the fragmented structure of cities in order to access different kinds of opportunities" (Turok, 2013, p.171). This is a gap that the research addresses by using Johannesburg and Cape Town as comparative case studies. The data collection methods used during the case study field research includes interviews, multisensory walking and observation are discussed in this section.

The analytical data analysis used to guide the analysis of textual data is discussed in section five. This includes the use of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to guide the interpretation of data. Following this is section six, which outlines the ethical considerations relating to obtaining approval from the ethics committee, participant recruitment and data protection. Section seven outlines the researcher reflexivity, which is an integral part of the methodology and includes a discussion on my position, research choices and the research experience. Section eight discussed research strengths and limitations. The final section provides a summary of the chapter.

4.1 Philosophical Perspective

The philosophical perspectives reviewed in this section include both epistemology and ontology because these perspectives are considered

simultaneously (Bunge, 2001; Kim, 2001; Hammersley, 2006; Mason and Davies, 2009; Detel, 2015).

Kim (2001) states that epistemology is "a set of beliefs about knowing" and ontology "a set of beliefs about what exists or what is real" (p.6). This implies that epistemology is about our understanding of knowledge and how knowledge is generated. Thus, people's experiences are different, and no individual will experience the same reality because beliefs are socially constructed. Essentially accessing knowledge of public space user perceptions and experiences is an investigation into local knowledge. Ontology compliments this by considering what local knowledge exists. According to Mason and Davies (2009), epistemology and ontology philosophies should be combined in a sensory methodology because senses are part of the human experience and within a spatial environment.

Another definition proposes that epistemology as "the modern field of inquiry" has "adopted the notion that the status of space is that of a 'mental thing' or 'mental place'" (Lefèbvre, 1991, p.3). The core principles of epistemology provided by Maffesoli (1987) and summarised by Kalekin-Fishman (2013) highlight elements of everyday life as involving solidarity, communication and present experiences. The purpose of adopting an epistemological philosophy is for "the production of geographical knowledge" (Dyck, 2015, p.682). It is intended to expand on the social relations between people, places, society and space.

A study conducted by Fyfe (1998) on public spaces applied epistemology to "the specific form of urban space influences, the degree of tactical innovation and empowerment mobilised by pedestrians" (p.230). The author explains that regulated spaces impact on the social relations that pedestrians have in regulated and non-regulated spaces. However, it should not be assumed that the text interpretations will be the same for all researchers; therefore, the categories/analysis should be explained (Krippendorff, 2004). Adopting an epistemological view requires reviewing the assumptions related to various social groups and tries to challenge these (Loubere, 2017). Both Skukauskaite (2012) and Loubere (2017) argue that by clearly outlining the adopted philosophical perspective and methodological approaches the data collection methods and research will be transparent to academic scholars.

Ontological philosophy states that the environment exists on its own, i.e. that cities and public spaces continue to exist without consumers, visitors and residents (Bunge, 2001). Miles (2015) uses case study research as an example of researching "something that is both pre-existing…investigating [what] exists whether or not it is research" (p.313). Ontology has been applied to the study of the built environment to gain an "understanding of the existence" (Vis, 2018, p.55) and physical development of the space. Ontology has also been applied to the study of public space and communication studies (Keaton and Bodie, 2011; Houssay-Holzschuch and Thébault, 2017).

For my research, a combination of both ontological and epistemological stance is adopted. The combination of these perspectives seeks to understand the existence of public space and the different perspectives of public space user realities. Ontologically and epistemologically, my research studies socio-spatial transformation through the experience and perception of various public space users, and that these may differ given the diversity of users. Social facts and physical facts are considered equally essential components of epistemology, according to Bunge (2001). According to this, the functions and existence that public spaces perform should be considered. Still, it should also be taken into consideration the experience and perceptions of public space users about the functions of public spaces.

4.2 Social Constructivism Approach

The origins of the social constructivism approach can be traced back to the Marxist sociology of science and were guided by three main ideas, namely: "the development of scientific knowledge is (1) determined by social forces, (2) essentially contingent and independent of rational methods and (3) should be analyzed in terms of causal processes of belief formation" (Detel, 2015, p.229). However, according to Detel (2015), not all three ideas are needed to guide social constructivism approaches. The author further notes that the Edinburg sociologists of science have criticised the guidelines proposed by the Marxist sociology of science. The criticism is based on the exclusion of mathematics and natural sciences as subjects of the sociology of science (Detel, 2015). The methods of analysis used by social scientists will not produce the same results because the analysis was subjective to each researcher. In contrast, the results

of the analysis used by natural scientists could be replicated because results are scientifically produced.

In the social sciences, social constructivism is linked to sociology and communication theory. It is the social actions of humans that produce and constructs meaning; these are the core values attributed to social constructivism. Meanings are assigned to a variety of areas such as artefacts, emotions and literature (Amineh and Asl, 2015; Detel, 2015). In the field of education, social constructivism is used to teach students about "social exchanges...cognitive growth and [the] role of culture and history in theory learning" (Amineh and Asl, 2015, p.12).

Central to social constructivism is understanding the culture of societies within a given context and how knowledge is constructed (Kim, 2001). Kim (2001) further explains that the core values or assumptions associated with this approach include reality, knowledge and learning. Reality refers to the construction "through human activity" (Kim, 2001, p.3) which implies that meaning is constructed through the interactions of social groups. In contrast, knowledge refers to the social interactions of individuals that contribute to the development of social and cultural meanings. Finally, learning refers to the meaning assigned during individual and group social activities.

Central to social constructivism is the interpretation of meanings constructed by participants to develop themes. The basis of social constructivism is about assigning meaning to "an individual's sensory perception...eventually embody meaning" (Keaton and Bodie, 2011, p.192). Constructivists claim "that truth is relative and that it is dependent on one's perspective" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p.545). This links constructivism to the purpose of epistemology which is based on the construction of human experiences and perceptions. The principles of social constructivism are "meaning and our perceptions of 'reality' [that] are socially constructed; our ideas about the real, in turn, influence our behaviour, including how we communicate with others" (Keaton and Bodie, 2011, p.195).

Another approach discussed concerning epistemology is interpretivism. Hyett et al. (2014) argue that the interpretive or social constructivist approach applies to case study research because of the researcher's involvement in the case.

According to Bunge (2001), interpretivists are only able to explain behaviour but not the intention behind it. This implies that the behaviour is interpreted and subjective because individual researchers will interpret behaviour differently. Interpretivists need to take into consideration the external influences on individuals within their respective social groups. That is while individual colleagues have their own experiences and perceptions, a group of colleagues may influence individuals reactions to experiences (Bunge, 2001; Hyett et al., 2014). Possible limitations of conducting interpretive research in the South African context is based on two factors, firstly understanding the meaning and use of urban space and lastly the need to prioritise economic survival (Du Toit, 2007).

However, I have selected the social constructivism approach because my research is focused on investigating the everyday experiences and perceptions of public space users.

4.3 Case Study

Several authors have argued that case study research can either be treated as a method or methodology (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Miles, 2015; Ylikoski, 2019). According to Ylikoski (2019), the case study research design is interlinked with the methodology and uses multiple data collection methods to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon. As Baxter and Jack (2008) point out, the purpose of using the case study methodology can be lost during the analysis phase if the researcher analyses the data as separate parts. This is referred to as the convergence of data "to understand the overall case" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p.555).

Conducting case study research can be used to analyse a single case or multiple cases to understand the focus of the context being studied (Hyett, Kenny and Dickson-Swift, 2014). Yin (2009) further adds that the case study should be used when "examining contemporary events, but when the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated" (p.11). The case study uses multiple methods that enable the observation of everyday activities and behaviours and conducting interviews with research participants to obtain their opinions. The selection of a research strategy conducted in a natural setting is based on an "interest in

human agency, the inclusion of people's intentionality, focus on lived experience, and the quest of understanding how meanings were produced in the context of interacting social and geographical worlds" (Dyck, 2015, p.682).

Interest in people overlaps with ethnography which, according to Hammersley (2006) is the first-hand account and study of people within a particular context, precisely what is said and how it is said. This is a simplistic explanation of ethnography. However, it is acknowledged that ethnographic fieldwork is more complex and varied due to the qualitative and quantitative applications as well as the variety of methods used by social scientists (Hammersley, 2006). Yin (2009) suggests that when conducting case study research with human participants, consideration should be taken by the researcher to accommodate research participants. This includes tailoring interview schedules in line with interviewees availability and may involve making special arrangements to be an observer in the field.

According to Ruiz Ruiz (2009), the intended purpose of conducting qualitative research is "important for our knowledge and understanding of social reality" (p.4). Baxter and Jack (2008) state that multiple-case studies can be used to explore the differences within and between cases through comparative research. The intended purpose of comparative case studies is to either predict similar or contrasting results across case studies. Miles (2015) argues that the generalisability criticism of case studies is not a weakness because context-dependent inquiries are complex, and other researchers can learn from these complexities. Hyett, Kenny and Dickson-Swift (2014) further add that the objective of case study research is not about generalising contextual findings, nor is it about only conducting statistical research.

Credibility and quality have been cited as concerns related to case study methodology according to Hyett, Kenny and Dickson-Swift (2014). The authors suggest that the case study methodology or research design be explained fully, mainly the rational, focus and methods used. Drawbacks related to the research design include adopting a research question that is too broad and adopting too many research objectives (Baxter and Jack, 2008). The lack of rigour in case study research is another concern cited by Yin (2009) because the systematic

procedures are not always clear or highlighted. This is a concern because of the potential to present biased research findings and conclusions.

However, the benefit of using multiple case studies results in "robust and reliable" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p.550), data and produces rich textual data. According to Baxter and Jack (2008) pursuing multiple case studies in various contexts is that they are "extremely time-consuming and expensive to conduct" (p.550) because the researcher needs to familiarise themselves with the context and initiate contact with participants and key informants. By selecting Johannesburg and Cape Town as comparative case study contexts, the distance, travel and time spent conducting qualitative field research required more time and resources. Geographically, Johannesburg and Cape Town are in different provinces as shown in chapter 2 map 2, the former inland north-west and the latter along the south-west coastline. The cost of travelling between both cities is determined by the mode of transport such as driving which takes eight hours or by plane takes two hours.

Baxter and Jack (2008) and Yin (2009) point out that the selection of a case study research design is intended to answer 'how' and 'why' questions that enable a contextual understanding of the phenomena under study. My research focuses on the 'how' because by answering the 'how' we will understand the 'why'. For instance, as indicated in previous chapters, my overall research questions include (i) how are socio-spatial transformations perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy; and (ii) how has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation? I argue that by investigating the perceptions and experiences, I will understand what the significance of these experiences are and how it has led to socio-spatial transformation.

Application of Case Study

The application of case study research involves exploration, contextualisation and theorising to understand the phenomena under study. Miles (2015) claims that an "important aspect of the insight that case study provides to practice is the opportunity to explore accounts of practice differently given the diversity of everyday experiences, knowledge and activities of participants in places"

(p.312). Case studies have been used to conduct qualitative, quantitative and mixed research in various fields such as urban studies, organisational studies, education, law, medical and psychological studies (see Kohlbacher, 2006; Wunderlich, 2008; Heffernan, Heffernan and Pan, 2014; Hartman, 2015; Miles, 2015).

Basit (2003) explains that case studies can be applied to the study of "a pupil, a class, a group, a community or a profession, to illuminate the wider population to which it belongs" (p.146). Numerous authors have applied case study research to the investigation of the South African context such as the development of cities, spatial practices, the functionality of public spaces and policies related to the spatial development of urban areas (Lemanski, 2007; Walsh, 2013; Nevin, 2014; Nkooe, 2018). These studies adopted a macro international and global approach which analysed the implementation of various policy and spatial developments.

4.3.1 Pilot Study

Yin (2009) recommends using a pilot study when the researcher is interested in refining data collection methods and interview questions. The pilot case study serves as formative research that is used to inform in-depth case studies and is most likely used during the early stages of research development. However, Yin (2009) states that it is not always necessary to conduct a pilot case study before the main case study. Some of the selection criteria used for pilot case studies include "convenience, access, and geographical proximity" (Yin, 2009, p.93), this enables more comfortable access. The researcher can spend extended periods observing the context. I used this selection criterion to select Johannesburg as the single pilot case study in 2017 during the early stages of my research to narrow my research design. Access to the study sites and research participants was arranged prior to conducting interviews with participants.

The pilot study conducted in Johannesburg was used to achieve two aims. Firstly, to narrow the focus of my case study by visiting the site, conducting observations, and conducting interviews with participants that worked in the city across research organisations, social and development housing agency and the travel industry. The initial focus of the case study was the Johannesburg city

centre, specifically the historic city centre. Secondly, I intended to include everyday user experiences and narrowing the focus of my study site. Initially, I identified the Carlton Centre, Braamfontein and Maboneng from the literature review in chapter 2. Through the walking exploration of these areas, there was an overlap with Fox Street from each walking route starting in these areas. This grounded approach resulted in the narrowing of my selection of Fox Street as my study site.

Through the grounded approach, the following criterion was used to identify study sites during planned walking and driving tours of the city centre.

- Sites that were considered public spaces were not limited to parks or markets because the areas selected in the city did not have these typical public spaces as referred to in the literature review chapter. My identification of public spaces was based on whether spaces were accessible to frequent and infrequent public space users.

- Sites that implemented urban design elements such as outdoor seating centrally located, providing social activities that could be enjoyed alone or in groups, and would enable chance and planned social encounters through social interaction.

- Sites were centrally located within the city centre and had a direct link to the historical city centre.

- Sites needed to be located within walking distance from each other so that public space users could navigate between various public spaces on foot.

The use of boundaries in qualitative research is essential to "indicate the breadth and depth of the study and not simply the sample to be included" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p.547). The above criterion enabled a narrowing of the possible sites, which resulted in three sites being selected within the city centre. The descriptions and characteristics of Fox Street public spaces are discussed in the following section. Furthermore, I developed my interview questions around the initial literature review themes of social sustainability,

liveability, spatial fragmentation, and the compact city. The interviews were prearranged with participants to develop the research focus. Further discussions on the data collection methods used during the pilot study are discussed in detail in section 4.4 of this chapter.

4.3.2 Main Study

The main study compared two case studies, namely: Johannesburg and Cape Town. The main study was conducted in 2018, using field research to narrow the approach to case studies. The comparison between both cases was based on the selection of three public spaces located in the city centre using the previously discussed criterion. Sections 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.2.2 discuss the public spaces in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The data collection methods used in both studies include interviews, multisensory walking and observation and is discussed in detail in section 4.4.

4.3.2.1 Fox Street, Johannesburg

Three areas were selected along Fox Street, located on either end of the street and in the city centre. The three public spaces along Fox Street represent different types of public spaces and different levels of activity. Map 5 shows the location of the selected study sites. The map of Fox Street, along with selected walking routes, is provided in the next chapter.
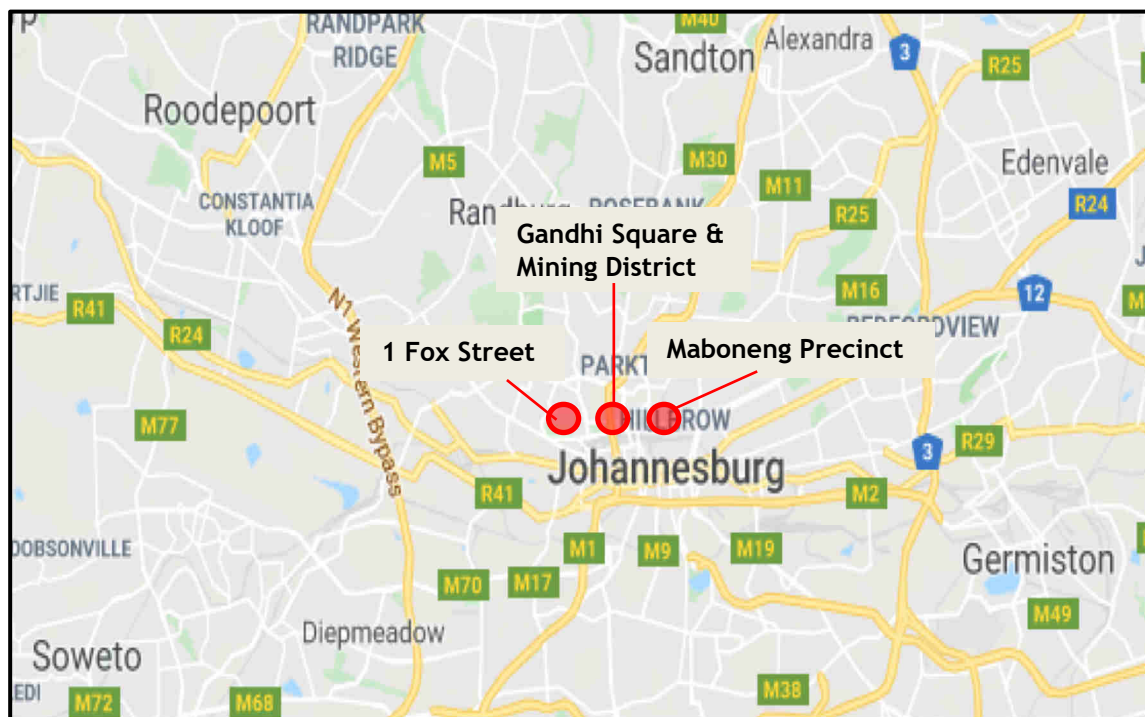
Map 5: Location of study sites in Johannesburg (Source: (AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd Google, 2018)

The selected public spaces include Maboneng, Gandhi Square and the Mining District, and 1 Fox Street. Maboneng, located east of the city centre, is a controversial development which has often been referred to as exclusionary, even though it occupies an open linear street (Walsh, 2013; Nevin, 2014). The Mining District and Gandhi Square are located in the centre of Fox Street; both are similar in the corporate nature of buildings. However, Gandhi Square is the main bus terminus and is surrounded by higher education institutions, formal and informal restaurants, cafes, grocery and clothing stores. The Mining District historically was a gold mining site and the location of mining companies. The space is occupied by a variety of businesses including several cafes. The final site is 1 Fox Street, located west of the city centre, is a redeveloped factory site, that has controlled access through security gates, high walls and security guards. It currently has a market, brewery and several restaurants, events venue and an outdoor seating area. The parking area is located opposite the site and is in a formal business area which is quiet outside of regular working hours. Typical characteristics for all study sites are the private investment and redevelopment by private developers and are all monitored through a variety of security measures. However, Maboneng and Gandhi Square and the Mining District are

open to the public while 1 Fox Street has closed controlled access. Table 6 summarises the selected Fox Street study sites.

Table 6: Summary of selected Fox Street, Johannesburg study sites

Site Name	Location	Description
Maboneng	295 - 260 Fox Street	A privately redeveloped mixed-use precinct. Generally, open to the public but is securitised. Restaurants, cafes, weekly arts, crafts and food markets, residential and office spaces.
Gandhi Square and The Mining District	121 - 64 Fox Street	Gandhi Square is the main bus terminus that was redeveloped to include mixed uses. Office space, restaurants and educational institutions. The Mining District is a redeveloped historical mining location that is primarily commercial, outdoor museum displays of mining history, office buildings, cafes and restaurants.
1 Fox Street	1 Fox Street	Redeveloped factory site that is closed off and controlled, constant monitoring of the public, entertainment space with a market and variety of drinking and eating establishments.

4.3.2.2 Queen Victoria, Burg and Longmarket Streets, Cape Town

The three sites selected in Cape Town are within walking distance and are interconnected. Due to the layout of the city centre; a common street does not link the study sites. The study sites indicated on map 6 include The Company's Garden, Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall.
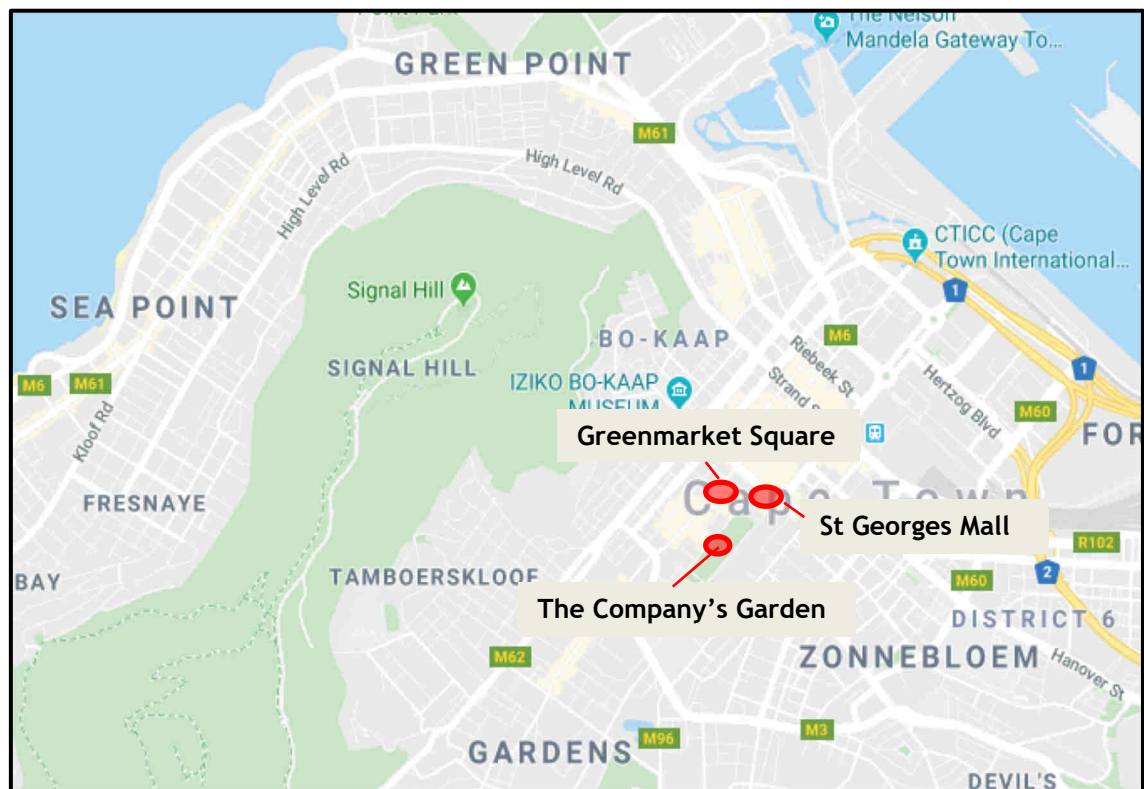
Map 6: Location of study sites in Cape Town (Source: (AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd Google, 2018)

The Company's Garden is located along Queen Victoria Street and is a park. The Dutch East India Company initially developed it as a public vegetable garden and park (Worden, 1992; Wilkinson, 2000). Presently, the park includes the development of a coffee shop. The park is controlled through locked gates and monitored through security guards. Greenmarket Square is located along Burg and Longmarket Streets; historically, the square was a slave market when the slave trade was legal (Dyers and Wankah, 2012). Presently, it is a market used to sell African inspired arts and crafts and includes traders from all over the African continent (Dyers and Wankah, 2012). The Square is surrounded by businesses, restaurants, a financial institution, hotels and the starting point for free walking tours. The final site selected was St Georges Mall, which is a linear pedestrianised street in St Georges Mall. The area is mixed-use with multiple arts and crafts market stalls, restaurants, hotels, retail stores and businesses including free walking tours.

All the study sites are monitored; however, only Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall have open access. Table 7 summarises the descriptions of the selected study sites in Cape Town.

Table 7: Summary of selected Cape Town study sites

Site Name	Location	Description
The Company's Garden	Queen Victoria Street	A historic public park that dates to the colonial era, with a garden and cafe.
Greenmarket Square	Burg and Longmarket Street	Arts and craft market surrounded by cafes, restaurants, hotels, walking tour starting location and businesses.
St Georges Mall	St Georges Mall	Linear daily market with informal traders, cafes, restaurants, hotels and walking tours.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

The socio-spatial analytical framework, a blend of key theories related to social sustainability, liveability and the right to the city, discussed in chapter 3, was developed for the following purpose:

- to investigate the present socio-spatial transformation in South African public spaces,

- to understand the everyday perceptions and experiences of public space users.

The socio-spatial analytical framework was used as a guide to inform the collection of primary data in the field. As outlined by Bailey (1996), field research is the "systematic study, primarily through long-term interactions and observations, of everyday life" (p.2). A limited number of studies have adopted a micro-perspective that investigates the experiences and perceptions of public space users (see Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Harber et al., 2018). Christmann (2017) advocates for a "micro-perspective" (p.236) when investigating spatial transformations and "social reconstruction" (p.235), which is an approach that is under-researched. At the micro-level analysing city public spaces can be observed through the behaviours, actions and use by urban dwellers. Understanding the perceptions and experiences of public space users requires a micro-perspective that produces in-depth qualitative data that may not be obtained using a macro-level study. This knowledge and social reality can contribute towards a better understanding of policymakers and researchers

focussed on addressing issues related to the socio-spatial transformation of
South African cities.

Table 8: Summary of data collection conducted during 2017 and 2018

Period	Methods	Objective
2017 (Pilot Study)		
mid-April to mid-May (1 Month)	Semi-Structure Interviews	Gain insight into the transformation and representation of the city centre through perceptions of professionals such as private developers, urban policy researcher experts, business owners and tour guides.
	Multisensory Walking	Using the senses to become more aware of how the city is experienced, how senses influence perceptions of the different spaces represented in the city.
	Observation	Observe the everyday use of public space and use these observations to narrow the selection of study sites.
2018 (Main Study)		
June to August (3 Months)	Semi-Structure Interviews	Investigate the experiences and perceptions of public space users regarding the socio-spatial transformation of public spaces.
	Multisensory Walking	To capture experiences that may not be discussed during interviews and simultaneously conduct observations.
	Observation	Observe the patterns of use in public space and behaviours of public space users.

Table 8 summarises the data collection conducted over two years and the
objective of using interviews, multisensory walking and observation. The data
collected during mid-April to mid-May 2017, as previously stated, was in the

Johannesburg city centre. The pilot study was used to conduct exploratory research and narrow the research design by "[examining] a phenomenon to more fully define it" (Dane, 1990, p.5).

The main study was conducted from June 2018 to August 2018 in Johannesburg and Cape Town city centres. Public spaces in the former include Maboneng, Gandhi Square and the Mining District, and 1 Fox Street. The latter public spaces include Greenmarket Square, St Georges Mall and The Company's Garden. Two months were spent in Johannesburg and two weeks were spent in Cape Town.

By selecting the case study research design, Baxter and Jack (2008) and Miles (2015) suggest that multiple data collection methods such as interviews, observation and photographic evidence can be used. The study of present public spaces and users primarily implemented multiple data collection methods of investigation such as questionnaires, urban design analysis, interviews and observation techniques (Tonnelat, 2004; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Ellery and Ellery, 2019). Other authors have used multisensory walking and other photographic evidence to research everyday user experiences (see Pink, 2008; Middleton, 2010; Low, 2015). Interviews, multisensory walking and observation methods were selected due to the complementary nature of each method and are discussed in sections 4.4.1 to 4.4.3.

Baxter and Jack (2008) and Miles (2015) claim that the use of multiple methods is beneficial in obtaining in-depth data to provide a holistic understanding of the context and phenomenon under study. Tellis (1997) explains that triangulation is needed "to confirm the validity of the processes" (p.4), used in case study research during the data collection process. According to Bunge (2001) for social studies "the reliability of a social indicator can be increased either by grounding it in a theory or by using it jointly with other indicators" (p.14572). This implies that there are two ways to ensure the reliability of social research. I have selected a blended approach which grounds the study in the socio-spatial analytical framework and uses the themes and analytical criteria as guiding indicators. Rather than treating the data separately, the researcher treats the data as complementary parts of a whole. The triangulation of data sources is a common strategy used in case study research (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

4.4.1 Interviews

According to Tellis (1997), interviews are "one of the most important sources of case study information" (p.11), because first-hand information is obtained directly from research participants. The purpose of using interviews is to understand where and know how social reality is structured (Loubere, 2017). Basit (2003) further points out the interviews used to understand the everyday experiences of participants is equated with research methods used by ethnographers. The use of semi-structured interviews was selected to obtain meaningful narratives and gather information related to participants experiences. According to Mahat-Shamir, Neimeyer and Pitcho-Prelorentzos (2019), semi-structured interviews enable the flexibility of exploring emergent questions during interviews by asking follow up questions. A total of 26 semi-structured interviews were conducted over two years, with 38 participants. Some participants agreed to be interviewed in pairs and groups of three, which resulted in 18 audiotaped interviews. Additionally, eight informal interviews were conducted and recorded using handwritten notes. Table 9 provides a breakdown of the interviews conducted between 2017 and 2018.

Table 9: Breakdown of interviews conducted

Year	Location	Site	Interviewees	Audiotaped Interviews	Informal Interviews
2017	Johannesburg	Johannesburg City Centre	8	4	4
2018	Johannesburg	Maboneng	6	4	2
		Gandhi Square and the Mining District	6	4	-
		1 Fox Street	7	2	-
2018	Cape Town	Greenmarket Square	3	1	1
		St Georges Mall	3	1	-
		The Company's Garden	5	2	1
TOTAL			**38**	**18**	**8**

Various types of interviews can be used in case study research. In-depth interviews are more flexible and enable the interviewee to provide their opinions about facts and events. Open-ended questions may be conducted over an extended period or during one interview to obtain the interviewee's opinions about facts and events (Tellis, 1997; Hammersley, 2006; Yin, 2009). The interviews conducted during 2017 were used to gain insight into the experiences and opinions of participants that worked in the Johannesburg city centre. This type of interview also enables interviewees to recommend other research participants and additional sources of information (Kohlbacher, 2006; Yin, 2009). Eight interviews were conducted; however, four were prearranged interviews, and the remaining four were informal discussions. The former was prearranged before entering the field, and participants were recruited using a variety of methods, namely professional connections, email requests and recommendations from interviewees. Interviews with these participants took place at their places of work and ranged between 30 minutes to an hour. The latter were unplanned and random discussions that occurred during walking tours that I joined, as part of the multisensory walking method, further discussed in the following section. The tour participants were informed of my role as a researcher and my interest in the city centre. Participants volunteered to discuss their walking experience and perceptions after the tour; interviews were no longer than 15 minutes.

Another type of interview, according to Tellis (1997) and Yin (2009), is the focused interview where the participants are interviewed for a short time. Focused interview questions can be open-ended; however, a set of questions are followed and can be more conversational. This is the reason that I selected a conversational approach to investigate the present everyday user experiences and perceptions of public space users during my field research in 2018. The interviews were intended to address the objective to understand the socio-spatial relationship between participants and the public spaces selected.

A total of 30 interviewees participated in the main study from June to August 2018. In Johannesburg, 19 interviewees participated and in Cape Town, eleven interviewees. More time was spent in Johannesburg, and that accounts for the increased number of interviews conducted in the city. Similar to the informal interviews conducted during 2017, two informal interviews were each conducted in both Johannesburg and Cape Town. Interviews took place in the study site

during lunchtime, smoke breaks or while participants were sitting in public spaces. Due to the unplanned nature of interviews and the willingness of participants to be interviewed, interviews were no longer than 15 minutes. Participants were recruited through face-to-face interactions and recruited in each public space. Participants that were recruited were selected based on the following selection criteria:

- Research participants that either worked in or were visiting the study site because my research focused on the present experiences and perceptions of public space users.

- Participants ranged from 20 to above 60 years old. This excluded people from vulnerable groups because ethical approval was not requested for members part of a vulnerable group; this is further discussed in section 4.6.

- Both male and female participants.

- Various nationalities and population groups, i.e. recognised population groups in South Africa, namely: Coloured, Indian/Asian, African Black and White.

Annexure C provides the research participant profiles, which indicates the date and location of interviews, age-range and participant background. Due to ethical reasons, the participants' real names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

Table 10 lists the interview questions used during 2017 and 2018. The pre-planned questions are referred to as semi-structured because they are used to guide the interviewee during the interview process (Bailey, 1996; Yin, 2009). Open-ended questions were selected to enable the interviewees to provide in-depth responses to interview questions. The questions were intended to understand participant routines, the everyday experiences, choices, preferences and perceptions resulting from the apartheid legacy in post-apartheid public spaces.

Table 10: Interview questions used during 2017 and 2018

2017 Interview Questions	2018 Interview Questions
1) What is your understanding of social sustainability and liveability or compact city and spatial fragmentation?	1) What is your name, where you currently live and how you travelled into the city?
2) What role does your organisation play in contributing to social inclusion in the context of Johannesburg?	2) What is the reason for you being in the city today?
3) How important is integration in achieving city building?	3) Please describe your most-used walking/driving route when you are in the city.
4) What is the impact of regeneration initiatives on the public realm, in the city of Johannesburg?	4) Describe your most typical day in the city centre. (e.g. How do you use the city? Where are you most likely to be found?)
5) How has public space in Johannesburg changed over time?	5) Let us discuss why you have selected this particular route? Is this a pleasant experience?
6) What are your thoughts about the recent protests that took place on 7 April 2017 in the city?	6) Think about the first time that you were in Fox Street, please describe your memory.
7) What type of effect did this have on you conducting your business, if any?	7) Thinking about Fox Street, which areas have changed? How have these areas changed?
8) Did you participate in the march?	8) What are three keywords that you would use to describe your impressions, thoughts or experiences of the study site?
Additional Questions Asked During Informal Interviews	
• How often do you enter the city? (for what purpose)	
• Was fear a factor in your decision to participate in a walking tour?	
• What is your impression of the city and public spaces after the walk?	

Interviews can be audiotaped should the researcher wish to, but this is not a requirement. There are exceptions when recording devices should not be used. Yin (2009) summarises these according to four conditions, (1) if the interviewee does not grant permission, (2) the researcher does not intend to transcribe interviews due to it being a time-consuming process, (3) if the researcher is not comfortable with operating recording devices and (4) if the interview risks becoming too dependent on the recording instead of actively listening during the interview (Yin, 2009). None of these conditions existed, and 18 interviews were

recorded, and all participants were made aware that interviews were being audiotaped. Also, handwritten notes were taken for all interviews, including for the eight informal discussions.

All participants were informed of their rights, privacy protection and the use of the data collected; a detailed discussion is included in the ethical considerations section 4.6.

While the interview method provides insight into the interviewee's experiences and opinions, it does not provide insight into aspects of the environment that go unnoticed. Multisensory walking and observation methods are used to observe and explore the city.

4.4.2 Multisensory Walking

Psycho-geography also referred to as multisensory walking is defined as "engaging with and often attempting to map, the ambience and 'softer' dimensions of the city" (Middleton, 2010, p.583). Coverley (2006) recommends the use of psycho-geography as a combined study of psychology and geography which investigates the spatial nature of cities.

Multisensory walking as a method is concerned with the intersect between human experience and the spatial environment. Primarily because researchers using this method are concerned with "sites of human experience that comprise social relationships, memories, emotions, and how they are negotiated on an everyday basis" (Low, 2015, p.296). The purpose of using sensory methods such as multisensory walking was to investigate the everyday user experiences within cities that "comprise of social relationships, memories, emotions…" (Low, 2015, p.296).

The method of walking is used to explore and "study the city's everyday rituals and habits, or to emphasise the sensory and sensual dimensions of urban life" (Middleton, 2010, p.578) from a user perspective. Middleton (2010) argues that "the everyday walking experiences of those that navigate, negotiate, and traverse the city streets in their day-to-day lives" (p.579) has been under-researched in academic writings. However, Pink (2008) points out that there is

an increase in research focusing on the multisensory walking experience in the social sciences and humanities disciplines. Some studies have investigated the perceptions of public spaces using sensory methods such as multisensory walking (see Pink, 2008; Heffernan, Heffernan and Pan, 2014; Hubbard and Lyon, 2018).

According to Degen and Rose (2012), there are "two ways that sensory encounters are shifted and altered: by particular practices of spatial mobility; and by memories of previous visits to the same or similar places" (p.3273). These sensory encounters involve two principles, namely: vision and images. Both principles are about more than just the visual but about how "we interpret the total environment in which we exist" (Pink, 2011, p.605). This essentially involves the experience of being in the environment, what was seen, heard, felt and smelt by the researcher or participant using this method.

The walking experience according to Pink (2008) is both a conscious activity where people are aware of their purpose of walking and also as a subconscious activity where people use walking to get from one place to another. Pink (2008) explains how the former may be associated with walking tours, which are slow and encourage the participant to be attentive to the environment and explore how spaces are experienced. Walking in groups is a shared experience in a shared space.

In Johannesburg, walking tours are relatively new and take many forms from slum tours, city centre experiences to social media led tours (Frenzel, 2014; Hoogendoorn and Gregory, 2016). According to Frenzel (2014), slum tours were implemented to promote areas that were considered less desirable, such as racially segregated townships, the most famous being Soweto. Post-apartheid slum tours have been extended to city centre areas, that were considered 'no-go' tourist areas such as Hillbrow and Yeoville. These areas were once considered elite 'white-only' areas in the city centre, during the apartheid era. Attracting people back into the city centre using "walking tours aim at opening up South Africans to the beauty of inner-city life" (Frenzel, 2014, p.440) and can promote changing perceptions and experiences. However, the tours attract more international visitors than South Africans. Instagram tours or instawalks are walks in different urban and rural spaces. These walks are organised by key role players in the Instagram community and have been used to explore the

movements, behaviours and perceptions of participants (Hoogendoorn and Gregory, 2016).

Alternatively, Graham and James (2007) suggest that driving through the city can also be as beneficial as walking through the city. Yet, this aspect is often overlooked and not considered an essential part of social and cultural experience in Johannesburg. The City Sightseeing tour combines both aspects of driving and walking experiences in various public spaces. I joined the City Sightseeing bus tour because it is the only open double deck bus tour operating in both Johannesburg and Cape Town. I recorded my own sensory experience of viewing the city through the motion of driving and through walking in a field journal. I spent one day on each bus tour as the driving route within the city remained the same.

This differed from the walking routes designed for self-guided and tour guided walking routes. The implementation of walking tours by local businesses provides an experience of city life and contributes towards social infrastructure used to link the everyday experience of public space users directly. In Johannesburg, one of the tours was selected because of the advertising of free walking tours. I thought this tour would be more appealing to locals due to there being no charge for tours. The other tour I was invited on by one of my interviewees. In Cape Town, City Sightseeing bus tours included free walking tours, and I used this to join two walking tours in the city. Joining the tours was less about recruiting research participants and more about studying the experiences of public spaces and was conducted during the daytime on weekdays and weekends.

A field journal describing the familiar and unfamiliar sounds of a city, what I immediately noticed, what I did not notice, my comfort levels walking between spaces and whether a slow pace or fast pace felt more natural on a guided walk. At the end of each site visit, detailed notes were typed from my field journal to expand on the handwritten notes taken in my field journal. Additionally, maps were used to record the walking routes and photographs to capture the visual aspects of the city.

The challenge of this method was not reverting to a simple walking exercise but to pay attention to the navigation of public spaces. While multisensory walking was used as a researcher only experience to engage with the environment, an observation was used to observe public space users. The final data collection method used was the observation of the city centre, which was complementary to the multisensory walking, discussed in the next section.

4.4.3 Observation

The use of observation is not only to notice differences but to understand the social norms and socially acceptable behaviour which, according to the author are the unwritten rules of various social contexts (Gillham, 2008). The purpose of observation is "to see things, events and the connections between them that would either be overlooked or not recognised as significant" (Gillham, 2008, p.5).

Tellis (1997) explains that direct observation is used to gather data in the field, which requires the researcher to conduct site visits. Whereas with participant observation, the researcher participates in the events being observed. In my research, I used both direct and participant observation to gather contextual information and observe the patterns of use by public space users. According to Yin (2009), direct observations are categorised according to formal and informal observations. The formal observations are conducted during "meetings, side-walk activities, factory work and classrooms" (Yin, 2009, p.109). Informal observations are "made throughout a field visit, including those occasions during which other evidence, such as that from interviews, is being collected" (Yin, 2009, p.109) I would extend this to the use of multisensory walking as well.

On the other hand, participant observation involves the researcher participating in activities in the context being studied (Yin, 2009). In my research, participant observation was conducted in parallel to the multisensory walking, which was conducted during the daytime. The walking tours and drive through the city was an opportunity to observe the natural environment and the everyday use of the city, which also complemented the interviews. I was able to observe the everyday activities and the level of engagement by participants. This was useful in observing the perceived reality of public spaces from a tourist operator

perspective through the selection of information provided and descriptions of public spaces. This extended to the questions asked, the attitudes expressed and the behaviour of public space users.

One of the strategies used to manage observations includes limiting frequencies by "narrowing your category(ies), so you are observing only one or two types of behaviour" (Gillham, 2008, p.13). I used a checklist to guide my observations. The guideline was designed to assist with the specific areas of observation to enable a focused approach and was influenced by academic observational studies such as Bailey (1996) and Gillham (2008). Part of the checklist was also developed from the pilot study conducted during 2017, namely: urban development and surveillance practices.

The observations were categorised according to social activities, demographic details, social groups, physical surroundings, urban development and surveillance practices as outlined in table 11. The purpose of participant and direct observations was used to observe the patterns of use of everyday public spaces. The intention was to descriptively record commonalities and unexpected characteristics of the selected public spaces.

The drawback of conducting observations is the possibility of a broad focus and the strain that comes from increased observation frequencies (Gillham, 2008). This is overcome, by limiting observations to five-minute intervals at the start of entering the study site and five minutes before leaving the site, this was conducted in tandem to multisensory walking. Another challenge is accurately recording observations, which is overcome by using a field journal similar to the one used for the multisensory walking, to record observations. This included taking photographs and writing keywords during site visits and typing detailed notes after site visits.

Table 11: Observation guideline used during field research

Observation	Category	Guideline	Description
Participant	Social Activities	- Cafes - Markets (food and crafts) - Festivals - Restaurants - Walking Tours	Spaces conducive to social encounters either frequently or infrequently used.
	Demographic Details	- Population Group - Age Range - Gender	Generic details can be deduced through observation.
	Social Groups	- People who received a lot of attention from others. - People who were ignored. - Appearance	Anything that might indicate membership in groups of interest to the study, such as profession, social status, socioeconomic class, religion, or ethnicity.
Direct	Physical Surroundings	- Seating Arrangements - Protection from Elements - Restrictive Signs	Observation of how the physical surroundings support/hinders social encounters.
	Urban Development	- Variety of Retail Services - Types of Public Spaces - Maintenance of Surroundings	Assessment of the urban development that has contributed to the spatial transformation.
	Surveillance Practices	- CCTV Surveillance - Security Guards, Police Patrolling - Community Policing - Perimeter Security	The forms of surveillance implemented to securitise, monitor and control public spaces.

4.5 Data analysis

The data collected was analysed using a social constructivist approach to determine the social meanings of everyday public space user experiences. The

analysis method drew inspiration from qualitative content analysis, although, thematic analysis was the preferred method to interpret the data. According to Vaismoradi et al. (2019), "the description and interpretation of participants' perspectives are features of all qualitative approaches" (p.101). Data collected is meaningless unless the researcher can identify the meaning of text through the analytical process, specifically by assigning "subjective meanings and social reality" (Vaismoradi et al., 2019, p.101). As further suggested by Vaismoradi et al. (2019) "meanings are conveyed in terms of themes and their related subdivisions as sub-themes" (p.101).

Content analysis is defined as a "systematic coding and categorising approach used for exploring large amounts of textual information unobtrusively to determine trends and patterns of words used, their frequency, their relationship and the structures" (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013, p.400). According to Downe-Wamboldt (1992) the decision about the selection of the unit of analysis is a fundamental element and can include "words, sentences, phrases, paragraphs or whole text such as interviews, diaries, or books; themes (entire ideas or thoughts)" (p.315). Krippendorf (2004) points out that the purpose of content analysis is to "answer questions concerning events that are not accessible at the time, actions that have not yet been taken" and "not to study observable behaviour or common interpretations" (p.179). An essential characteristic of both qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis is the "systematic process of coding, examining of meaning and provision of a description of the social reality" (Vaismoradi et al., 2019, p.100) through the development of themes. While part of the purpose of qualitative content analysis was suitable for analysing textual data, this analytical method alone does not align with the purpose of my thesis which is to understand the present socio-spatial transformations in public space.

Thematic content analysis "involves describing content based on themes" (Oliveira et al., 2016, p.74). According to Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas (2013), thematic analysis is a popular method of analysis. However, there is limited agreement about the definition of thematic analysis and the process of analysis that should be followed. The authors criticised the purely qualitative nature of thematic analysis as presenting a challenge for peer review and assessing intercoder reliability. One of the suggestions to mitigate this is by

training other researchers to think as the lead researcher when analysing the textual data (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013). However, this is challenging because each researcher has their perspective, which influences their interpretation and social constructs of textual data. The stages of data analysis for both methods can be tailored according to the preferences of the researcher.

The stages of data analysis used for my research comprised of four stages, namely: textual analysis, emergent categories, inductive and deductive main and sub-themes and selecting original textual information.

Stage one was the initial stage of analysis and involved the analysis of textual data in the form of interview transcripts, multisensory field notes and observation field notes. The stage consisted of transcribing interview transcripts, analysing textual data using a guideline and highlighting key insights and writing notes.

I transcribed the 18 audiotaped interviews verbatim to ensure that the textual data reflected the nuances of the interviewees' speech, attitudes and opinions expressed about the present socio-spatial transformation of public spaces. The transcripts were read once to check for errors. A guideline was then created to analyse all the textual data collected and was influenced by elements of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas, 2013; Oliveira et al., 2016; Vaismoradi et al., 2016). The guideline incorporated aspects of language analysis, namely: emphasis on words, expression of perceptions, relationships to social institutions and metaphors used to describe experiences as indicated in table 12. Textual data for each study site were combined into a word document and printed. Six colours were selected for each criterion, and texts were read for paragraphs and phrases that closely matched the description of each criterion. Once each criterion was highlighted or underlined, handwritten notes of my key insights were included in the margins.

Table 12: Guideline used for analysing textual data

Analysis Criteria	Description
1) Emphasis on certain words or phrases.	What is being said versus not being said?
2) What are the dominant ways of talking, doing and being, and how does this perpetuate inequalities and power hierarchies?	The text/discourse is interpreted for relationships to the social institution, particularly to broader social and cultural institutions and its social norms and values.
3) Whose interests are represented in the discourse?	Social practices are particular ways of acting, speaking, writing, valuing, and socially interacting in a particular physical environment.
4) How does the text represent our understanding of experiences, the content of the world?	Content of message, words or phrases which represent a hidden meaning or have a double barrel meaning. METAPHORS
5) How does the text enact power relations such as social status and social distance?	The text is analysed for words and phrases that may influence the behaviour of others and suggest the role of participants. Some ways we influence are by *issuing a command* (e.g. Stay out.), *making a request* (e.g. May I use your pencil, please?), *making a suggestion* (e.g. What about trying a different brand of coffee?), and *offering to perform a service* (e.g. Can I assist you?)
6) What values, beliefs, normative stance, and degree of commitment are being communicated by participants in the text?	Attitudes and feelings words such as *probably, maybe, may, must, surely, unfortunately, thankfully, wisely, I think* and *sort of*. Commitment words *belief in* versus *as an obligation* and *uncertainty* versus *certainty*.

Stage two comprised of assimilating all the key insights, reading through the insights and noting emergent categories. The handwritten notes for each area and analysis criteria were typed into a word document. To show the social constructs and meanings of data, the original highlighted and underlined textual data was included in the typed notes. The typed notes were re-read and emergent categories were written at the end of each document.

One of the challenges associated with the use of thematic analysis is differentiating between categories and themes. Categories are used at the beginning of the analysis process, and the meanings described. The meanings are attributed according to the content of the text and describe the participants'

views. Themes are differentiated from categories because of the creation of themes and require in-depth analysis and abstraction (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

The emerging themes were created from the empirical data collected from research participant perspectives, observations and field notes. Then narrowed and grouped according to similarities. The emergent categories were vast for each study site. The total number of emergent categories for Johannesburg was 60 and for Cape Town 34 emergent categories. These emergent categories were further analysed during stage three.

Stage three comprised of using the inductive and deductive analysis to create main themes and sub-themes. According to Kohlbacher (2006), the deductive method of analysis is guided by criteria developed from the analytical framework and research questions. The criteria are used for textual data and through the step by step analysis categories, and sub-categories are derived. The themes and analytical criteria developed for the socio-spatial analytical framework were used to narrow the emergent categories into main and sub-themes.

Urban Connectivity

- **Existing social and spatial links encouraging the use of public spaces**
- *Economic Activities* - Formal and informal activities and opportunities.
- *Spatial Behaviour* - The behaviour, perceptions and experiences of public space users.
- *Social Infrastructure* - Forms of social and physical connectivity visible in the city.

Planned Opportunities for Social Encounters

- **Events planning and social activities that encourage social interactions**
- *Activity Programming* - Activities planned that encourage co-mingling, shopping and exploration.
- *Social Activities* - Entertainment that can be enjoyed alone or within a group.
- *Markets* - Commercial availability of arts and crafts, food markets and vintage products.

Underutilised Public Space

- **The level of activity, types of activities and the location of public spaces**
- *Lack of Visible Social Activity* - Business activities, spaces with no activity.
- *Maintenance* - Physical appearance of spaces, infrastructure development and areas of improvement.
- *Safety and Security* - Spatial safety concerns and the safety precautions implemented.

Figure 4: Description of main themes and sub-themes from the socio-spatial analytical framework

The inductive analysis involves deriving categorises directly from textual data and coding the categories similar to a grounded approach (Kohlbacher, 2006; Charmaz, 2015). The themes emergent directly from direct and participant observations and during semi-structured interviews. The key issues most frequently highlighted in the textual data and not identified in previous literature include the following inductive themes:

- The lack of spatial displays and spoken accounts of apartheid.

- The representation of a preferred socio-spatial history.

- Inaccessibility of public space due to monitoring and control.

- Spaces of exclusion based on socio-economic status.

The final stage of analysis is stage four and comprised of re-reading textual data, re-reading the key insights documents for each study site and selecting original textual data related to each main and sub-theme. A table was created with the themes, sub-themes and textual data to ensure the management of data analysis to be presented in the empirical findings' chapters, namely: chapters five, six and seven. Table 13 shows an extract of the table used to manage textual data. More textual data was included in the table than was used in empirical findings' chapters.

Table 13: Extract table of urban connectivity theme, sub-themes and supporting textual data

Main Theme	Sub-Themes	Textual Data
Urban Connectivity	Economic Activities	**Alder:** "I think, structures that make accessibility to housing even better, you know. And obviously, I guess, incubate some models for small businesses for start-ups are quite important" (Alder, Maboneng Tour Guide) **ZL:** *"What brings you to the Maboneng are today?"* **Aster:** "When I am in Maboneng, what comes to my head? For me it is a place where I work first of all, and it is where I make my own money, my own living." (Aster, Waitress)
	Spatial Behaviour	**Alder:** "…fox street has become a main street, and it's interesting how like this refurbing of space how people react differently. Even from a criminal point of view. Criminals even start to think that it is a bit neat and decide to move elsewhere." (Alder, Maboneng Tour Guide) **Flora:** "I was here two years ago with my previous employer. We did a photo walk with the customers because we had a new product launch and that is how I saw a walkthrough Joburg was so nice, and then I like brought everyone here." (Flora, Office Manager)
	Social Infrastructure	**Basil:** "…by 2007, the private sector started buying up a lot of these empty buildings and converting them into residential. So that brought a major change into the city, so for the first-time inner-city Jo'burg started being regarded as a place to live not a place to work and shop like it was designed in the town planning philosophy of the apartheid era" (Basil, Joburg Tours Owner) **Cedar:** "…obviously, it doesn't stop at accommodation. So, one needs to look at all the social amenities, schooling, the need for service delivery from the council, safety and security is a very big key factor." (Cedar, Housing Development Agency Director)

Chapters five and six present the deductive analytical themes and discussion of Johannesburg and Cape Town case studies, respectively. Chapter seven presents the inductive themes from the textual data are used to answer the research questions. The findings and discussion of the research questions provide a comparison between both cities.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

Before conducting research, the researcher has the responsibility to ensure the ethical acceptability of the research design and focus by submitting a research brief to an ethics committee. The role of the committee is to ensure that the research risks are outlined and mitigated, that informed consent procedures are outlined, participant selection criteria are realistic and exceptional considerations are taken for vulnerable participants (Yuko and Fisher, 2015).

My research was designed to gather primary qualitative data from human participants, which required ethical approval. My field research was conducted during the first two years of my PhD when I was based at the University of Westminster. Therefore, an ethics application was submitted to the University of Westminster Ethics Committee for field research conducted during 2017 and 2018 in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The research design was not invasive nor targeted vulnerable groups and was approved by the Ethics Committee with no concerns raised. Part of my ethical approval was obtaining travel insurance before leaving the UK. The University of Westminster issued travel insurance for both the field trips.

Once in the field, ethical procedures were followed when recruiting participants. Appelbaum (2015) points out that "subject recruitment can be both difficult and time-consuming" (p.114). For instance, recruitment should be conducted ethically, and participants need to be fully informed about how their input will be used. The time-consuming process is related to the preplanning that goes into finding and approaching research participants.

After recruiting participants Boruch and Donnelly (2015) suggest outlining the purpose of the research, provide assurances that their personal information will remain confidential, and their information will not be disclosed. According to

Appelbaum (2015), consent is only considered informed when "the person has received disclosure of the information that a reasonable person would consider material to the decision at hand" (p.110). Appelbaum (2015) further adds that consent is essential when human subjects form part of the research, regardless of whether sensitive topics are being researched.

Additionally, Marshall (2015) suggests that conducting fieldwork has its own set of ethical dilemmas because the natural environment is uncontrolled and engaging with participants brings about unexpected issues. This extends to the influence of the researcher's presence in the field, biases that the researcher may bring or the possibility of developing personal relationships with research participants. This is the reason for obtaining informed consent from participants, whether verbal or written, to ensure participant agreement in the study.

For my research, informed consent was obtained from interviewees in the form of written and verbal consent. Participants were provided with information sheets which provided contact information, privacy policy, confidentiality agreement and data management. Participants were informed that interviews would be recorded for transcription purposes. Refer to Annexure A for the information sheet and Annexure B for the consent form, which both include updates made in 2018 indicated in text boxes.

To protect the identity of research participants, pseudonyms are recommended instead of using participants' real names. However, there is a possibility that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed because data may still contain identifiable features related to participants (Marshall, 2015). Although participants provided their real names, to ensure that responses were anonymous research participants were assigned pseudonyms, refer to Annexure C.

Marshall (2015) points out that informed consent during observations can take two forms. When direct observations are conducted to study group activities such as in classrooms, informed consent is required because of the researcher's presence during routine activities. However, where observations are conducted during informal gatherings or where "individuals interact informally, it would be intrusive for the fieldworker to explain the study to everyone present" (Marshall,

2015, p.154). This includes walking tours of the city, where the researcher and participants are in the space for a short time.

4.7 Researcher Reflexivity

Research that lacks reflexivity risks limiting the robustness of the research conducted according to Skukauskaite (2012). Reflexivity provides an understanding of the researcher's positionality, research choices and research experience. Dyck (2015) suggests using reflexivity to reflect on the relationship between the researcher and the researched. The relationship is subjective because the data being interpreted is based on the researcher's positionality of the context under study (Dyck, 2015).

Skukauskaite (2012) states that "in studying the phenomena of people's lives, transcribing, as an analytic and interpretative process, must be undertaken in theoretically informed ways with a reflexive stance" (p.25). The selection of case study research involved data collection methods involving human participants, which required researcher reflexivity.

Initially, focus groups were planned for the main study in 2018, but the recruitment of a representative sample of public space users was a significant source of anxiety. I encountered several challenges during the use of this method which included recruitment, managing multiple interviewees and timeframes. Initially, the focus group method was selected instead of the interviews, using the same participant selection criteria discussed in section 4.4.1. This method was piloted in Maboneng, Johannesburg over two days. There were 20 participants recruited on the same day two hours before the focus group meeting to ensure that the participants were available. However, due to the temporary nature of interactions within the selected public spaces, participants were often not available to participate in the focus group. While most participants agreed to attend the focus group, only two participants showed up to the group discussion.

Once in the field, I learned that approaching and recruiting public space users for a focus group was not the right fit to research present everyday experiences and adapted to the use of focused interviews. Even though the research design

process was continually refined, I had anxiety about not having a clear understanding of the field research expectations. These areas of anxiety were overcome after completing field research in Johannesburg, and I was a lot calmer when conducting field research in Cape Town. Approaching the public spaces more focused enabled a noteworthy learning experience throughout my navigation of the public spaces.

My research choices were influenced by my fears and perceptions that influenced data collection methods. One of the biggest fears was my safety exploring the city centre due to news reports, crime statistics and safety reporting on the Foreign and Commonwealth Office website. This fear motivated me to take precautionary measures such as joining walking tours that ensured I was not alone in the field.

One of these fears were amplified while conducting field research on a Saturday afternoon in Cape Town. I witnessed a man pointing a gun at two other men while walking up Strand Street. I was shocked and confused because the man holding the gun appeared to be known to the two men as he called them from afar, and they appeared to recognise him. At first, I thought it was a toy gun but continued to walk quickly as the man with the gun caught me looking at him and immediately lowered the gun. I was surprised that the incident took place a few metres from a portable public safety trailer which had a security guard been present, they would have witnessed this incident. This incident startled me and instilled fear and anxiety of quiet streets, especially in the Cape Town city centre.

Being aware of this fear, I also reflected on my biases which were influenced by my positionality as a South African resident. My personal biases limited my exploration of the city centre in social encounters due to assumptions of crime occurrence, isolation and the availability of social activities. This included favouring enclosed securitised spaces such as suburban shopping malls over public spaces in the city centre. During the field research, the realisation of navigating numerous contexts became a big part of the approach that I used to collect data, specifically during the main case study.

Having completed field research, it was a very insightful experience into the link between perceptions and experiences of public space users. I learnt the importance of knowing when to be flexible in the field, when to alter the research design, accepting the confusion that comes with data collection as it was a continuous learning process and being aware of external influences.

4.8 Research Strengths and Limitations

The strengths of the research design include the micro-perspective qualitative approach adopted to investigating the present socio-spatial transformations in South African public spaces. The research design addresses a current gap in academic literature focused on post-apartheid South African public spaces. While three data collection methods were used during field research, during the analysis, the data from these methods were not treated separately. The purpose was to present all data related to the case studies and not to report on the individual methods. The micro-perspective approach produced insight into the perceptions and experiences in each site and provided an understanding of the local social meanings of public spaces. The qualitative research methods ensured the collection of rich contextual data needed to explain both present spatial transformations and social transformations.

However, several limitations were identified that include the time-consuming data collection methods, the micro-scale of the research and the generalisability of research findings. As a single researcher conducting field research in two cities and six study sites, navigating public spaces, recruiting and interviewing participants during site visits was a task that required multi-tasking. I managed the data collection using a schedule of field activities and visiting each study site on three separate occasions. Another challenge is the scale of the study, which is based more on the context than institutions or policy; as such, the findings cannot be generalised in a different setting. However, the research design can be replicated in a different setting and the findings compared. However, I acknowledge that there cannot be an accurate comparison across contexts because the participant backgrounds and cultural differences influence the social meanings and constructs.

4.9 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the methodology, specifically the ontological and epistemological perspectives and the social constructivist approach used to construct the social meanings associated with the everyday socio-spatial experiences. The case study research design enabled the analysis of two cities with a similar cultural context and socio-spatial development history.

Furthermore, the selection of multiple data collection methods, namely: interviews, multisensory walking and observation were used to investigate the phenomena using a micro-perspective. The selection of a qualitative approach was used to collect detailed empirical data to understand how the present socio-spatial transformation of South African public spaces are experienced and perceived by everyday users. Before conducting field research, ethical approval was informed by official endorsement received from the University of Westminster Ethics Committee, as the field research commenced before transferring to the University of Glasgow. Ethics conducted in the field ensured that participants were well informed of their rights, my responsibility as the researcher, data protection and data management. Informed consent was also received from all participants and information sheets provided with my contact information.

The data analysis method outlined the guideline, and systematic approach followed to ensure the reliability of themes produced from the interpretation of textual data. As the interpretation of data was subjective and based on my discretion, I outlined my fears, biases and perceptions in the researcher reflexivity section. The final section acknowledged the strengths and limitations of the research. Following the chapter, chapter five and six will present the thematic findings of each case study and chapter seven will present the comparative analysis of the case studies in response to the research questions.

5   Thematic Analysis of Fox Street, Johannesburg

This chapter presents the thematic analysis of the three case study sites along Fox Street, Johannesburg, namely: Maboneng, Gandhi Square and the Mining District and 1 Fox Street. The first part of the analysis presents the geographical location of case study sites and spatially orientates the reader using photographic evidence, observation and multisensory experiences.

The second part presents a thematic analysis guided by the main themes and associated sub-themes of urban connectivity, planned opportunities for social encounters and underutilised public spaces. As discussed in the previous chapter, these themes were deduced from theory and informed the socio-spatial analytical framework discussed in chapter 3. The analysis combines the data collected using interviews, multisensory walking and observations. It is presented using photographs, field notes and quotations from participants to provide a deeper understanding of the perceptions and experiences of public space users. The third part provides a discussion of the city plans and policies. The fourth part discusses the main themes and situates my thesis within broader literature debates. The final part presents a summary of the key findings and discussions on the case of Fox Street, Johannesburg.

5.1 Geographical Location and Spatial Orientation

The micro-level study of public space user perceptions and experiences was conducted along Fox Street. Map 7 highlights the study sites of Maboneng, Gandhi Square and the Mining District and 1 Fox Street, located on Fox Street, Johannesburg.
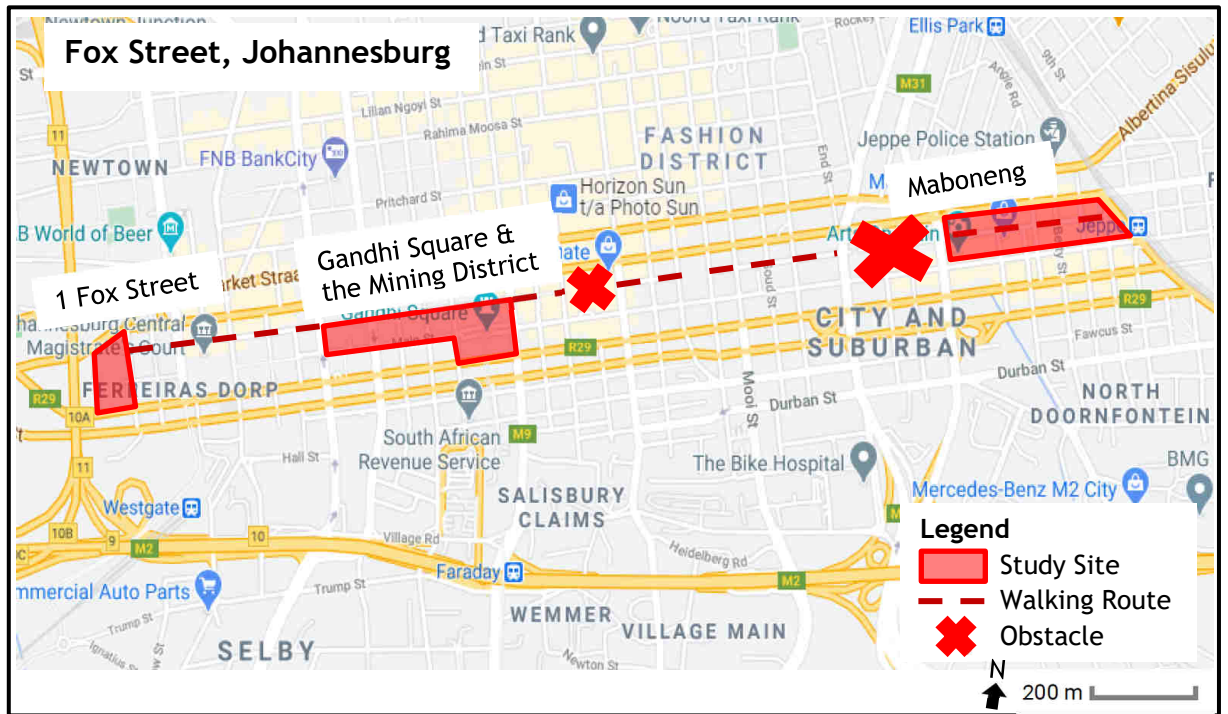
Map 7: Study sites in Fox Street (Source: (AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd Google, 2018)

The selected public spaces are located along a linear stretch of Fox Street with Gandhi Square and the Mining District located in the centre. To the east of Gandhi Square is Maboneng and to the west of Gandhi Square is 1 Fox Street. The total distance between the study sites measures 2.85 km, from 1 Fox Street to Gandhi Square and the Mining District is 0.62 km. Gandhi Square and the Mining District to Maboneng are 1.58 km. The dashed line on map 7 indicates the walking route along Fox Street. Although from Gandhi Square and the Mining District there is no direct walking route along Fox Street to Maboneng due to obstacles, indicated by a red cross on map 7, such as a building and road closure.

Figures 5, 6 and 7 are used to orientate the reader by describing the spatial environment and presenting a vantage point.

Figure 5: Observation view in Maboneng facing west towards Fox Street (Source: Author's own)

Figure 5 orientates an observer standing in the eastern part of Fox Street facing west. From this position, most of the buildings on either side are single storeys, converted warehouses, except for multi-storey buildings converted to multipurpose spaces, for eateries, entertainment, residential and office use. Street parking is widespread because there are no parkades. It is also common for pedestrians to walk in the street even though sidewalks are provided. Looking directly ahead, the tall building in the distance is the Carlton Centre and beyond that is Gandhi Square. Several security guards, as seen on the right in the red vest and hat, are positioned throughout Maboneng as the observer walks further along the street. Walking past the multi-storey building on the right leads to Arts on Main a multipurpose art and food market space, is located at the end of the street. Big gates and a wall prevent further access of Fox Street. This dead-end street is used for additional parking and is located under a motorway used to travel north or south of the city.

Figure 6: Observation view from Gandhi Square facing west towards Main Street (Source: Author's own)

Multi-storey buildings in all directions immediately surround an observer standing in the centre of Gandhi Square. The surrounding buildings are multi-purpose use with the ground floor predominantly used for grocery stores, several eateries, bank branches, shopping centre, the Metrobus ticketing office, various small businesses, and an ANC merchandise store. As shown in figure 6, several bus stop rows can be seen, with no indication of the bus number or location. The width of the square enables the movement of buses and restricts access to private vehicles. The multi-storey buildings are used for an educational institution such as Unisa and businesses offices. From this viewpoint, an observer looking west faces Main Street, a one-way street for vehicles travelling east. The parallel street to the right of Main Street, is Fox Street, a one-way street for vehicles travelling west. Walking from Gandhi Square to the Mining District, the surrounding buildings are predominantly multi-storey, used by numerous government departments. Proceeding from the Mining District, the Johannesburg Central Magistrates Court will be passed. From this point buildings along Fox Street comprise of the court to the left, Chancellor House heritage site and

coffee shop to the right and three private car park sites and four public car parks, including on-street parking bays along both sides of Fox Street.

Figure 7: Observation view from 1 Fox Street facing west towards Fox Street. (Source: Author's own)

An observer looking west directly faces the entrance of 1 Fox Street, as shown in figure 7, which is located at a dead-end. The site is enclosed through high brick walls and massive gates. Only pedestrians are permitted to enter the site, and private vehicles must be parked outside the entrance. All social activities are contained within the site. The site is located at the end of Fox Street and has a clear view of another motorway used to travel north, east and south of the city centre.

5.2 Thematic Analysis

The following sections provide a thematic analysis of the deductive main themes and sub-themes presented in chapter 4, figure 4. The literature supporting the deductive themes were previously discussed in chapters 3; however, a summary will be discussed before presenting the thematic analysis.

5.2.1 Urban Connectivity

Urban connectivity is analysed according to the existing social and spatial links encouraging the use of public spaces. The sub-themes associated with this main theme include economic activities, spatial behaviour and social infrastructure.

5.2.1.1 Economic Activities

Economic activities are categorised according to the type of financial exchanges, type of sectors within public spaces and the perceived employment opportunities identified by participants.

The Mining District and Gandhi Square predominantly display formal economic activities. Spatially, the streetscape is dominated by the service industry such as government departments, a range of banks, places of entertainment, retail and transportation. However, hospitality services, such as hotels are not included in the dominated service industry. To a lesser extent, information services are provided in the form of an educational institution. Figure 8 shows multi-storey business offices surrounding public squares and used by street artists to display artwork.
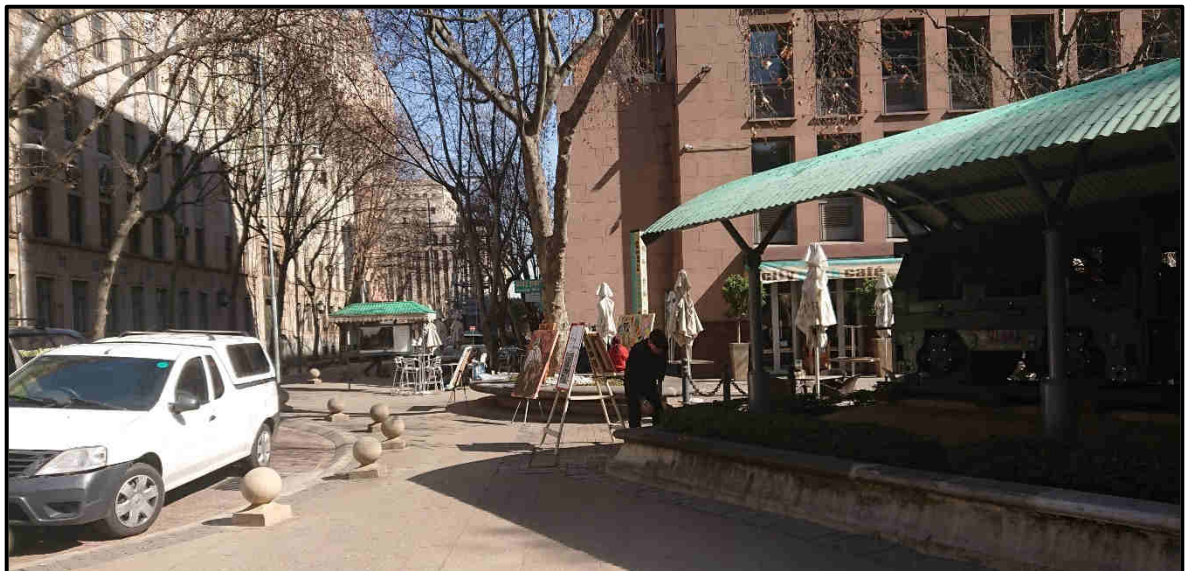
Figure 8: Multi-storey business offices surrounding the Mining District square used by street artists displaying artwork. (Source: Author's own)
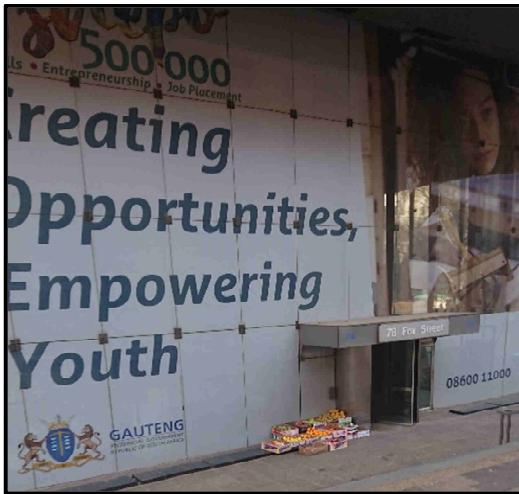
Figure 9: Informal trading selling fruit outside a vacant government building promoting empowerment opportunities. (Source: Author's own)

Figure 10: Council by-law signage restricting informal trading. (Source: Author's own)

The informal activities in the Mining District temporarily transform the use of space; however, these activities are restricted, as shown in figure 10. A few of these signs are spread through the city centre including along Fox Street and the Mining District. Some traders continued with this activity but were hidden, as seen in figure 9 and others continued to trade freely, as seen in figure 8 and during regular work hours. In both instances, there was a disregard for by-law restrictions in the form of signage. Moss, a street artist, regularly displays artwork in the Mining District Square. He confirmed that displaying his artwork in the Square attracts many clients from the surrounding businesses and works alongside another street artist. This behaviour indicates that Moss prioritised commercial gain over legal restrictions.

Figure 11: Street traders displaying African Cultural products and advertising entertainment options. (Source: Author's own)

However, in Maboneng and 1 Fox, a mix of formal and informal economic activities operated during and outside of regular working hours. The informal trade in Maboneng was attractive to casual observers and used by many traders to attract potential customers, such as the poster advertising cultural entertainment services for hire, as shown in figure 11. The flexibility of informal services in Maboneng enables informal traders to advertise products and services without being restricted by regulations or by-laws.

Alder, a Maboneng tour guide, explains the contribution his business makes towards sustaining the symbiotic relationship between the formal and informal sector, specifically through the financial exchange of products and services:

> the aspect of the sites that we visit, where we are able to purchase items. Already there is that contribution to the informal sectors be it your Mai Mai Traditional Healers Market or even elements that have been here since the 70s (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

However, some informal activities in Maboneng function independently and do not require the support of the formal sector. For Alyssa, a street performer, Maboneng represents an opportunity to be self-employed. As a self-proclaimed street singer, Alyssa promotes her music by performing live to customers willing to listen to her sing. Her strategy is to sell the CDs that she produces to customers that showed an interest in her performance. This provides the freedom to select your working hours and provides an income, which enables Alyssa to meet her basic needs:

> the street singing is like a salary on its own because singing on the streets of Maboneng every weekend; it pays for rent, groceries when your kids need transport, it's like a salary, it really helps a lot. (Interview with Alyssa - Maboneng Street Performer, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

Aster, a waitress at a coffee shop in Maboneng, was attracted by the mix of service industry employment opportunities. Her humble beginnings as a foreign national and former informal trader in the city centre meant that she often had to flee from police that was confiscating products sold illegally and without a trading permit. When asked her reason for being in the area, her response was to improve her current status:

> Well, because in search of a better life and great experiences. It's not about money, but it is about gaining an [sic] experience for yourself. And through that, it is going to grow you. In life, you will be someone. (Interview with Aster – Maboneng Waitress, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

In summary, the key findings and key insights of this section indicate that multi-use spaces attract more economic activities. Formal activities dominate Fox Street and the business operating times determine whether a symbiotic or independent relationship exists between the formal and informal sector.

5.2.1.2 Spatial Behaviour

Spatial behaviour is categorised according to the behaviour, perceptions and experiences of public space users. This behaviour informs users attitudes towards the changes or lack of changes in public spaces.

As seen in figure 12, informal traders' behaviour towards the environment is influenced by the need to promote and sell products. Informal traders observed in Maboneng treated the street and sidewalk as a place of business. The stretched-out use of walls and pavements to market products increased trader visibility.
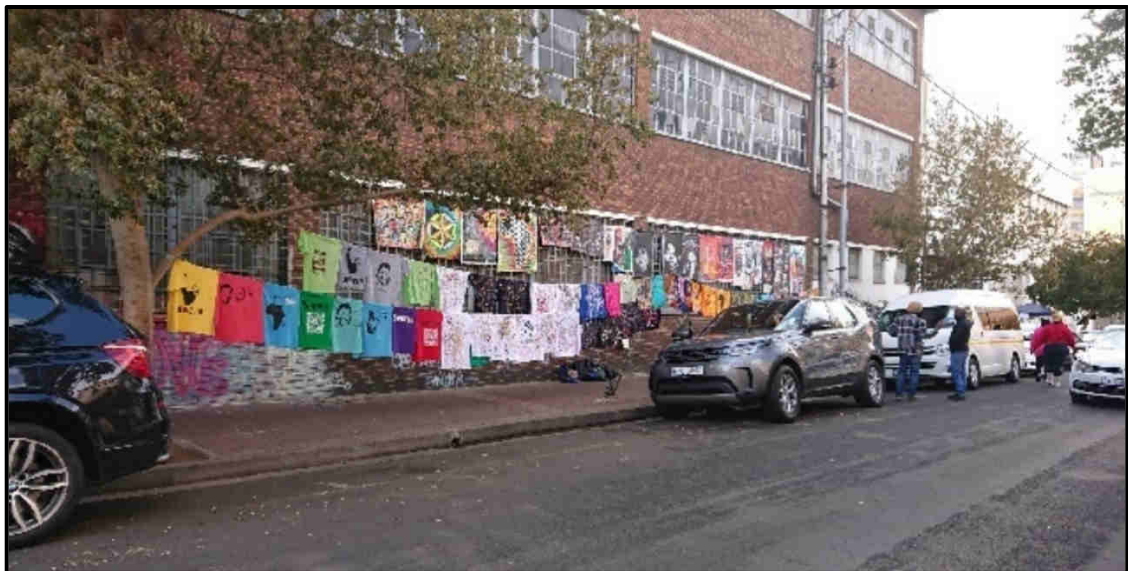
Figure 12: Street traders claiming the walls of business structures to market products by increasing their visibility. (Source: Author's own)

Public space users adapt their use of public space, based on their needs and interest in the area. The behaviour of visitors is different from that of traders

because visitor's behaviour was based on an active interest to explore spatial environments.

Alder, a tour guide, recalled his experience of growing up in an area with diverse socio-economic groups. Engaging with people from diverse backgrounds influenced Alder's spatial behaviour and perceptions:

> we dealing with a city that is not integrated, which in the late 80s and 90s uhm, became left just for the poor. So, you need middle and upper-income earners to come back into the inner city… what you start realising there [sic] is that the poor are now able to stay parallel or in integrated spaces with the middle and upper-income earners. What that does though, which I think is not a visible mark and I've seen it happen to me, is that as a kid growing up in this area, I was exposed to people from different demographics, be it internationals, locals, artists Uhm, from money-making artists to starving artists, rebels of great consciousness and the best minds of Joburg. What that does, is that it alters your dreams and how you dream (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

Alder recollected a discussion with a client that previously used walking tours to explore the city:

> when she got here, she was like 'what tour are we doing? If it is just Fox Street, we might as well not do it because I already know it.' I was like no, I'm showing you new spaces and as we were walking, she says to me 'well the last time that I was here, this place looked differently'. All that was done was that there was [sic] new murals under the bridge, and obviously, it was a lot cleaner (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017).

He further added that he observed a difference in criminal behaviour as it relates to the improvement of public space:

> Fox Street has become a [sic] main street, and it's interesting how, like this refurbing of space how people react differently. Even from a criminal point of view. Criminals even start to think that it is a bit neat and decide to move elsewhere. (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

Another participant, Hazel, explained how a work activity that required her to explore the city on foot altered her attitude towards the social use of city public spaces. The experience of walking and observing Fox Street changed her

perception of the area. This included sharing her experience and encouraging others to visit and socialise in the city:

> I was here two years ago with my previous employer. We did a photo walk with the customers because we had a new product launch and that is how I saw a walkthrough Joburg was so nice, and then I like brought everyone here. (Interview with Hazel - Officer Manager Visitor, 1 Fox Street, 21 July 2018)

However, Dahlia and Elm that work in the city expressed disinterest in the area and the research being conducted. The participants' behaviour and engagement were more removed. This was expressed through the short, direct answers that the participants provided:

> **ZL:** Okay, and what is the primary reason for you being in the city today?
>
> **Dahlia:** Work
>
> **Elm:** Work
>
> **ZL:** Do you come here for any other reason?
>
> **Dahlia:** No.
>
> **Elm:** No. (Interviews with Dahlia - Manager and Elm – Advocate, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

Overall, spatial behaviour is influenced by three areas, namely: user perception, design of the spatial environment, specifically if spaces have been renovated. Lastly, engaging with diverse social groups increases the possibility of positively influencing user attitudes towards public space.

5.2.1.3 Social Infrastructure

Social infrastructure is categorised according to the infrastructure that is useful in socially integrating public space users. The infrastructure is available to diverse groups of people that use public spaces, utilising travel options and transport networks facilities that accommodate users.

Gandhi Square mainly attracted working people and school children waiting for their buses travelling to other parts of the city. The seating and shelter provide

comfort and protection from the elements for bus users and is a complementary amenity of public transportation. As shown in figure 13, Gandhi Square on a weekday afternoon is widely used by passengers waiting for buses travelling to different destinations throughout Johannesburg, even though the Square is reserved for buses private vehicles are seen claiming the space.

Figure 13: Main bus terminal with passengers waiting for buses. (Source: Author's own)

Multiple observations of the area indicated that the City Sightseeing Joburg bus tour, in figure 14, made regular stops. However, the area was not a popular destination for tourists because only a few were seen departing the tour bus.

Figure 14: Tourists getting back on City Sightseeing Joburg bus after exploring the area. (Source: Author's own)

Basil, a tour guide, operating a Joburg tour business in the city centre, recalls from his own experience of studying the area when infrastructure development began. According to Basil, the private sector played a significant role in transforming the historical function of the city:

> by 2007 the private sector started buying up a lot of these empty buildings and converting them into residential. So that brought a major change into the city, so for the first-time inner-city Joburg started being regarded as a place to live not a place to work and shop like it was designed in the town planning philosophy of the apartheid era (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Basil further proclaimed that the benefit of private sector investment not only improved physical and social infrastructure but also attracted the middle class to the city centre. However, his perception is that a young demographic is more attracted to the idea of city living:

> I think the one thing to understand is that Joburg does something great by focussing on affordable rental rather than fancy penthouses for sale. It brought the emerging middle class to live in town, young people with their first or second job (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Another participant, Cedar pointed out that residential infrastructure should be expanded to include complementary social services and facilities. Cedar is the director at a housing development agency focused on redeveloping the city centre:

> it doesn't stop at accommodation. So, one needs to look at all the social amenities, schooling, the need for service delivery from council, safety and security is a very big key factor. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

Throughout the public spaces, Maboneng was the only area to provide the option to hire a bicycle. However, I had not seen anyone riding bicycles, nor was there dedicated infrastructure in the form of bicycle lanes along Fox Street. As seen in figure 15, the bicycle rack was full. The provision of this facility is an affordable and easy way to explore the city.

Figure 15: Available bicycles for hire for visitors to the area. (Source: Author's own)

To summarise, the key findings comprise of three key insights all directly related to bridging social divides and connecting urban dwellers and public space users. Firstly, transportation and complementary facilities are the predominant social infrastructure along Fox Street. This includes both public and private facilities. The former relates to the provision of Metro bus used to connect spatially divided communities. The latter includes bicycles for hire, which is a social activity used to explore the city, although this was limited to Maboneng, and city bus tours used to explore parts of the city. Secondly, limited facilities encouraged the efficient use of everyday infrastructure, such as placing bicycle stands throughout the city. Lastly, social spaces were not well integrated with the Metro bus routes, apart from Gandhi Square, and the Mining District, Maboneng and 1 Fox Street were not located along bus routes, limiting accessibility and visibility of potential public space users.

5.2.2 Planned Opportunities for Social Encounters

Planned opportunities for social encounters are characterised as planned events to market the different spaces in the city by various institutions such as business owners or civic organisations. It also includes the planning of events by public space users and participation in social activities that encourage social interactions. The sub-themes associated with the main theme include activity programming, social activities and markets.

5.2.2.1 Activity Programming

Activity programming is categorised according to the activities planned in public spaces, that encourage co-mingling, shopping and the exploration of public spaces. These programmes are used as a business strategy to market the city to attract locals and international visitors.
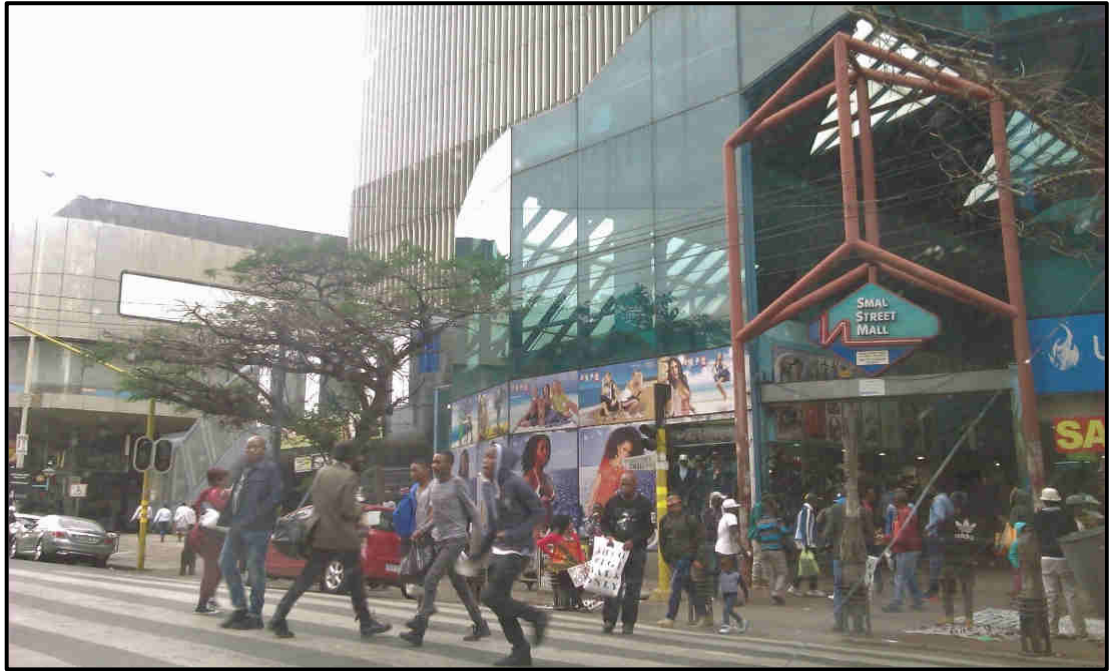
Figure 16: Patrons walking out from a shopping mall in Fox Street. (Source: Author's own)

Figure 16 is an image taken of patrons shopping at Small Street Mall located opposite the Carlton Centre. Shopping appeared to be more about the activity of shopping for leisure rather than out of necessity. Shopping as a leisure activity can encourage co-mingling amongst shoppers, primarily through the marketing of sales.

When asked to give her impression of the area, Camellia, a participant that uses the city for work and leisure, delighted in describing the social aspects from retail shopping, entertainment, and eateries:

> Gandhi that is where you find everything concerning food, uhm clubs, uhm so it's fun and games there, and then Carlton Centre, shopping centre, latest trends are there. Uhm so whatever you need, you'll get there. Whether Louis Vuitton [participant giggles because the items sold are fake] you will get it, Gucci. Whether it is fake or not
> (Interview with Camellia - Corporate Manager, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

Figure 17: Backpackers accommodation and the starting point for Maboneng walking tours. (Source: Author's own)

Small tourism business such as the one in figure 17 promote backpacker accommodation and offer walking tours to various areas in the city centre. The pre-planned walking tour routes form part of the activity programming by tour guides to explore different parts of the city. This type of activity usually attracts people from diverse backgrounds who share one goal to explore and learn more about public spaces.

The success of activities such as walking tours has been highlighted, including the success of public spaces to accommodate locals and tourists. Alder operates a tour business from Maboneng and believes that the walking tours are a sustainable activity that contributes towards the livelihood and vibrancy of the city centre:

> let's say your Mai Mai Traditional Healers Market, and we haven't done a case study on it but with Main Street Walks starting tours from here and Curiocity being from here, I am sure that they have improved from the people that are spending there, uhm, the number of visitors going into the area, every day we have a tour taking people there. (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

An informal discussion with Sorrel, one of the tour guides that I met, revealed that his interest in the city was motivated by the recent transformation. He explained that there was so much happening in the city. Many changes were taking place that encouraged people to return to the city centre, and he did not want to be left behind. Basil also expressed enthusiasm about the growth in activity programming by differentiating between the various public spaces:

> Maboneng is incredibly successful and also busy today [Saturday] especially tomorrow, which is Sunday. People can walk around easily; there is tourist accommodation, it's very successful. It has grown from something that was quite isolated to something that is becoming part of the city. Uhm, 1 Fox, that side, that was my previous project before taking on this one [1 Eloff Street]. That belongs to Johannesburg Land Company, but there is [sic] breweries and bars and beautiful things as well. None of those things were [sic] here, you know, a couple of years ago. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

However, a counterpoint made by Basil suggested that activity programming in central areas of the city developed spontaneously rather than through operational planning from the private sector. Basil seemed opposed to relying on the influence of developers to effect change and plan activities in city spaces:

> I can also tell you that organically a lot of good things are happening despite the public space. If you walk up Pritchard Street, Eloff Street near the high court, that area has sort of organically taken off in the last six months. Buildings have popped up everywhere uhm actually, the streets feel safer, the streets are cleaner, and I find it interesting because it is not a case of a Maboneng or Braamfontein where specific property developers are pushing it. It is far more organically happening; there is no-one in charge of the precinct. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

However, Basil did not mention the limited activities for younger social groups. Observation of 1 Fox Street revealed that the space was very limited in the options that it provided. While there were many families with young children and teenagers, there were no activities that catered to them.

Overall, activity programming encouraged a mixture of public space users through various planned activities. Deliberate planning is not always necessary to achieve the purpose of activity programming. However, activities lacked focus and inclusivity of younger groups.

5.2.2.2 Social Activities

Social activities are categorised according to entertainment that can be enjoyed alone or within a group setting. The forms of entertainment are a fixed feature within the urban environment, and the success may depend on the frequent social use by visitors. Social activities can either be spontaneous or planned.

Figure 18: Joburg free walking tours joined by myself, international and local visitors to the city. (Source: Joburg free walking tours, 2017)

Figure 18 is an image taken at the beginning of the free guided walking tours starting at Park Station in Braamfontein. The tour operates two walking routes, namely: Braamfontein and the city centre with mid-morning and afternoon timeslots. The mid-morning slot seemed not to be popular with locals and only had five participants. Two of the tour participants were my parents who planned their visit, while the other two international participants confirmed that it was an unplanned activity before returning home to America.

I joined several guided walking tours starting at various locations throughout the city during the week and over the weekend. The walking routes that I was interested in incorporated Fox Street and included at least one study site. Most tour participants expressed eagerness and excitement to explore the city, but there were a few that were reluctant.

An informal discussion with Yarrow, a tour participant, confirmed that the only reason he was exploring the city was because of his partner:

> it was not my idea to take a walking tour of the inner city; it's only because my partner and I received visitors from Amsterdam and wanted to show them Johannesburg. (Informal Discussion with Yarrow, Tour Participant on the Joburg Tours, Fox Street, 17 April 2017)

Figure 19: A quiet Saturday afternoon at 1 Fox Street. (Source: Author's own)

Figure 20: Busy Saturday afternoon in Maboneng. (Source: Author's own)

Most participants visiting the area suggested that they planned social activities in the city. A group of participants, Flora, Hazel and Holly described the

activities that they planned for a girls social meeting. However, these participants did make it clear that Fox Street was not their first choice:

> **Flora:** We actually, didn't start here. We started at Neighbourgoods Market. It was too busy, and then we came this side. Uhm, no, we don't have any intention of going anywhere else.
>
> **Hazel:** Ja, we like the quiet. (Interviews with Flora - Corporate Manager Visitor and Hazel – Office Manager Visitor, 1 Fox Street, 21 July 2018)

Flora, Hazel and Holly confirmed that they generally do not socialise in the city because they prefer to socialise in areas that they are familiar with such as Pretoria, a city north-east of Johannesburg. However, because they wanted a change, they selected the city based on Hazel's positive walking experience in the city. The lack of social activity reflected in figure 19 is an indication of 1 Fox Street not being as popular as the other study sites.

Compared to figure 20, the opposite was reflected because Maboneng was busy in terms of the presence of private parked vehicles and people walking in both directions. Corey, an international visitor, recalled being told about Maboneng from a South African traveller on an international flight. Flora and Hazel associated the busy environments with younger generations and quieter areas with slightly older and family environments. According to Flora, their planned activities would not have been as relaxing in a busy area:

> We get a drink. Something to eat. We have a smoke, and we start with the recent events and then move backwards [sic] to the last month, yes. (Interview with Flora – Corporate Manager Visitor, 1 Fox Street, 27 July 2018)

When asked the reason for her visit to 1 Fox Street, Iris, another participant responded that it was a spontaneous birthday celebration. Her friends saw 1 Fox Street while driving on the motorway and decided that it would be an excellent place to relax:

> Okay, so it is my birthday, and I just wanted to get out. These ladies are taking me out for the day. (Interview with Iris - Assistant Visitor, 1 Fox Street, 21 July 2018)

Jacinta also commented that:

> A lot of people go to the other ones, which is [sic] Maboneng and Neighbourgoods Market. Coz even when we came, the last time it was quite quiet. So, I think there is a lot of them around, so people go to the ones that are more… that they advertise more. I don't think that they advertise Market Shed that often (Interview with Jacinta – Scrum Master, 1 Fox Street, 21 July 2018)

Fern works in the area as a bus driver and admits to engaging in everyday social activities to pass the time during her lunch break:

> During my break time I go around in [sic] the city, go to the shops and come back to Gandhi to buy food. (Interview with Fern – Metro Bus Driver, Gandhi Square, 19 July 2018)
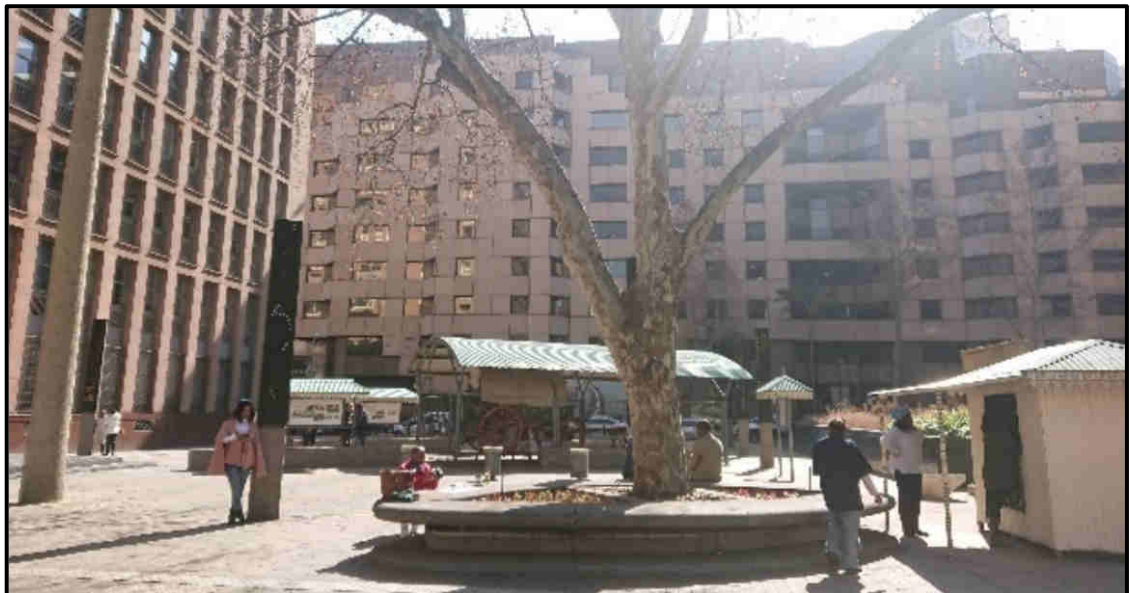
Figure 21: Casual use of the Mining District square on a weekday morning. (Source: Author's own)

Figure 21 shows the dual use of the Mining District square to accommodate social activities such as an outdoor museum, square for people to congregate and café seating area. More activity was observed in the space during a weekday morning compared to the weekend and public holiday. Part of the outdoor museum display in the square pays tribute to the early Dutch settlers and mining heritage of the area. Although, outside of business hours, this area is quiet.

The tertiary sector dominates Fox Street, the Mining District, in particular, was relatively busy during weekdays between 8 am and 5 pm. During these times many people were observed walking around, going to the bank, going to the

corner café and waiting for public transport at Gandhi Square. In contrast, an observation of Maboneng, over the weekend, the area was busy, as shown in figure 20, and quieter during the week.

For street performers, busy areas are always preferred over quiet areas; this means providing easy access to entertainment, which increases the reach of their performance. Alyssa describes singing as a regular activity to entertain patrons if permitted by establishment owners or managers:

> So, it has been close to two years, going on five, so I can't say that there is no one that doesn't [sic] know me. Every building, every owner, every manager, basically everyone, the owners of Maboneng know me. Because I have been signing here for a very long time, entertaining people on the street (Interview with Alyssa – Maboneng Street Performer, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

Aster, Alyssa, Daffodil and Moss all worked in Fox Street and commented on the likelihood of meeting different people. Moss, a street artist, described how social activities lead to chance encounters and social interactions:

> Ja, it's busy and interactive, uhm it's interesting. You get to meet a lot of different people, get to interact with a lot of different people, so ja [sic]. (Interview with Moss – street artist, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

Basil operates a tour company based in the Johannesburg city centre, speculated the reason behind the recent increase in the vibrancy of the city centre. According to Basil, the development of social activities is a consequence of the addition of a residential component:

> it's those people who live in the city that actually brought life to the streets, that's why you see retail and shopping and entertainment, restaurants and bars are returning to town because there are people living in town that need those places. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

The key findings and insights include the limited use of public space, the correlation between social activity and business hours and lack of implementation of temporary activities. Social activities were found to be limited because they did not attract younger and older social groups. Additionally, the link between business hours and activity determined the

degree of social activities, particularly in Gandhi Square and the Mining District. Lastly, public holidays such as Heritage Day or Youth Day, are not being utilised to implement temporary activities to increase the efficient use of public space.

5.2.2.3 Markets

Markets are categorised according to the variety of commercial activities made available such as arts and crafts, food markets and the sale of vintage products. Markets are also places where people from different backgrounds gather for a common interest in purchasing or exploring market merchandise.

Figure 22: Market on Main converted warehouse food and design market. (Source: Author's own)

Figure 22, is an image of Arts on Main, a site with a blue heritage plaque. It is the site of a former liquor warehouse founded in 1911 and the offices of a construction company in 1931. The site was converted to accommodate Market on Main, an indoor food and designer market. Market on Main is a Sunday market that operates from 10 am until 3 pm and the first Thursday night of every month. On a Sunday morning, many visitors were observed walking around the market and others were seen sitting at tables.

Maboneng marketplaces created shared social spaces, and this seemed to be the main attraction in the area from my observations. The area promoted two types of markets, one indoor and the other outdoor along the street. Market on Main food market was in a converted warehouse, and traders sold food, desserts,

clothing and jewellery. Along Fox Street set up on the pavement were various traders selling handmade African crafts, artwork, clothing, books, and refreshments, as shown in figure 11. The outdoor markets acted as a reclamation of public space that removes boundaries or divisions amongst public space users by encouraging social mixing and integration.

Corey, an international visitor was brought to the area by his South African girlfriend, was amazed by the activity in Maboneng. Corey emphasised that he considered the Market on Main as the main attraction in the area:

> I am amazed at the variety of traders, and street performers and that was the highlight of my visit. (Interview with Corey – International Student Visitor, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

However, he admitted feeling guilty for not purchasing from all market traders. Marketplaces seem to be a major attraction to multiple visitors, who noticed the lack of activity in markets. Ivy, another participant, casually described a prior visit to 1 Fox Street and seemed disappointed that the market was not available and speculated the reason for this:

> Going with the flow. I remember there was a market here before that you could see stuff in. I don't think it is here anymore; they must be renovating it. Coz when we came the last time, we walked through the market, sat down and had something to drink, then went in here and looked at the different foods and tried the different foods. So, basically, that is how it works. (Interview with Ivy – Office Manager Visitor, 1 Fox Street, 21 July 2018)

To conclude, when markets are promoted as the main focus, there is an increased level of activity and attendance such as in Maboneng that has dedicated market days, i.e. Saturday the rooftop market and Sunday the Market on Main. Furthermore, the diversity of market stalls, products and services are central to attracting diverse social groups. Finally, markets that were only part of the facilities and not widely advertised according to participants reflected a lack of activity as observed in 1 Fox Street. This market seemed left to grow organically, which did not increase the popularity of the food market in the study site.

5.2.3 Underutilised Public Spaces

Underutilised public space is analysed according to the level of activity during the daytime when the observation was conducted. This includes the types of activities and the location of public spaces. The sub-themes discussed include lack of visible social activity, maintenance and safety and security.

5.2.3.1 Lack of Visible Social Activity

Lack of visible social activity is categorised according to the underutilisation of public space that does not encourage active social use, spaces with limited activity and instances where the public space is used as a walking route and not a destination. The lack of visible social activity is the opposite of social activity analysed in section 5.2.2.2.

Basil recalled nine years ago that very few people engaged in social activity in the city. This gap in the market motivated Basil to contribute to the development of social activity through the provision of walking tours:

> in the runup, to the 2010 World Cup, I started realising there is a real gap in terms of information about Joburg. If you travel here and somebody asks what do you do? (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Basil did not comment on the present lack of visible social activity in the city. However, Holly, Iris and Ivy expressed surprise at the quiet nature of 1 Fox Street and the lack of social activity.

Daffodil and Elm worked in the Mining District and speculated that the lack of activity is more visible after work hours. Camellia added that the dangers that can be expected after 5 pm are directed towards pedestrians. Drug addicts have been considered perpetrators of crime and the reason that certain areas are abandoned:

> after five o clock, this area is very dangerous. That is what we have been told. That after five o clock, the Nyope guys already know that not everyone is around here, so they start attacking the pedestrians (Interview with Camellia - Corporate Manager, Mining District, 19 July 2018)
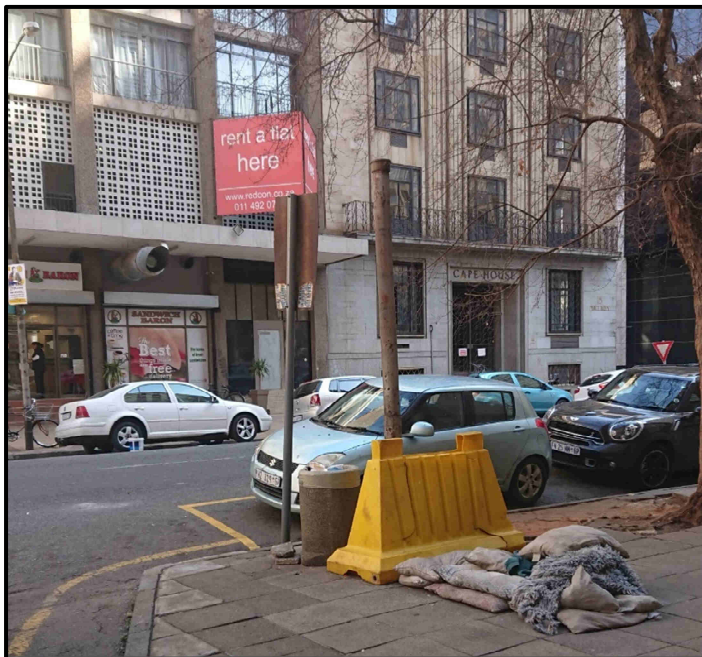
Figure 23: The bed of a homeless person opposite rental flats in the Mining District (Source: Authors own)

As shown in figure 23, spaces of relaxation accommodating marginalised groups such as the homeless are not seen. The pavement space has been reclaimed by a homeless person, although no-one was seen around or near the bedding. The location of this makeshift bed is not only uncomfortable but isolated.

Areas considered no-go are attractive to private developers that seek to convert these spaces into attractive sites for potential residents and become known for developing vibrant areas through housing development with social activities. An interview with Cedar provided insight into the approach used to attract residents into the city and encourage a broader use:

> over the years we have concentrated on going into really bad areas because we need to buy the property for cheap to be able to supply rent at affordable housing prices. So, we go into really bad areas, like this area [Doornfontein] use to be a no-go area. We buy most of the bulk and focus on turning the precinct around. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

Sections of the city that were dominated by formal business activities had more social activity during the week. Consequently, these areas were quiet with minimal social activity over the weekend and during public holidays such as the Easter weekend, as shown in figure 24. The time of day in this instance did not matter because the mid-morning and late afternoon levels of activity remained low.

Figure 24: Quiet corporate setting along Fox Street (Source: Authors own)

1 Fox Street past Gandhi Square, the area was a lot quieter. This could be that the area is predominantly corporate with no sign of residential. This gives a different feel to the area, one that is abandoned.

Overall, the lack of social activity along Fox Street fluctuated throughout the day of the week and time of the day, which is typical for public spaces. However, where public spaces could have benefitted from spaces dedicated to enjoyment, relations and shared use of communal space, the central study site lacked deliberate, planned social activities outside of working hours. There were suggestions that marketing strategies should be improved to attract more people, which is a form of investment in public spaces.

5.2.3.2 Maintenance

Maintenance is categorised according to the physical appearance of spaces, infrastructure development and the perceived areas of improvement identified by public space users.

When asked about any changes observed, Basil suggested that the lack of responsibility taken by the council was unsustainable for public spaces:

> I do think that the City Council in the last five years have [sic]
> dropped the ball in terms of infrastructure management and
> maintenance. So, the general city is gritty, a little bit grimy;
> infrastructure is badly maintained, you know there are holes in the
> pavement. It is not a place that uhm, overall lived up to what the
> people living in the city deserve. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours
> Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

The statement by Basil about the general state of the city was confirmed during observations made during my walking experience in the city. Figures 25 and 26 show isolated areas along Fox Street in disrepair where essential maintenance has been delayed and reflects areas affected by a lack of maintenance. The sections were affected by dug up pavements, rubble and garbage left on the sidewalks. These sections along Fox Street were not adjoining corporate buildings, which appeared to be better maintained. My observations of the maintenance were similar to the complaints raised by Alder, Clem, Cedar and Elm.

Figure 25: Dug up the pavement in Gandhi Square (Source: Authors own)
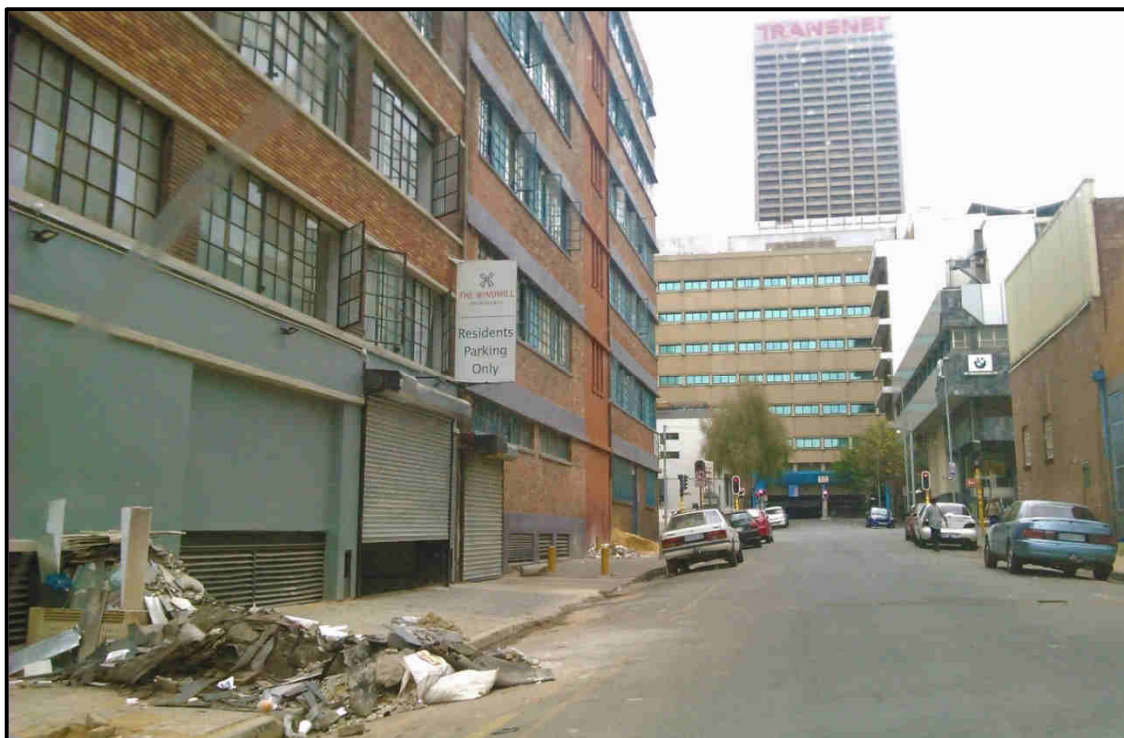
Figure 26: Rubble and garbage left on the sidewalk of buildings not facing on Fox Street (Source: Authors own)

Service delivery has been flagged as a concern for participants that engage with the public space regularly. Alder and Clem commented that private initiatives were implemented to address the maintenance of public spaces. Alder, a Maboneng Tour guide remarked:

> The private sector can only do so much. We have tried activating public spaces, we have tried placing shipping containers on the street level, and the City Council come and say 'nope' you can't have this going on, move it out. So, we have had those elements… funny it goes back to this whole policy-making thing where you like need stakeholders and not only bureaucrats to come in and play a part (Interview with Alder – Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

The Local Authority / City Council are viewed as resistant to change and considered the main culprits for lack of maintenance in the city. Clem echoed this by stating:

> We [the private sector] are doing all of this because it is social infrastructure investment, pedestrianizing, making it look good, making it cleanly [sic] and safe. We are going to put in our own [sic] security guard, our own [sic] cleaners that will be cleaning the street (Interview with Clem – Housing Development Agency Manager, Doornfontein, 2 May 2017)

Cedar described the various areas of service delivery that have not been managed well by the council:

> issues around safety and security are fundamental, service delivery from City Council, collection of garbage, unblocking the sewerage lines, streetlights not working, traffic and other by-law enforcement, parks… we [the private sector] do a fair amount of maintenance fixing potholes, fixing broken pavements, we paint so, it's all part of trying to keep that community functioning. Unfortunately, a lot of what we do is coming as a result of poor service delivery from [the] council (Interview with Cedar – Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

For some participants, the perception of the area guides their overall experience. Elm expressed disinterest in engaging in social activities outside of work obligations because of his perception of the area:

> Uhm, dangerous, dirty and not maintained. Lack of maintenance. (Interview with Elm – Advocate, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

In summary, the key findings and insights include the maintenance of infrastructure, the responsibility of maintaining public spaces and the role of preconceived perceptions. Observations supported comments related to the maintenance of the city. A few of the participants alluded to the Local Authority needing to take responsibility for the maintenance of the city specifically as it pertains to aesthetics. Finally, a few of the participants presented preconceived perceptions of the lack of maintenance of public spaces even though the surrounding area appeared maintained.

5.2.3.3 Safety and Security

Safety and security are categorised according to safety concerns voiced by public space users and the safety precautions such as visible security measures implemented.

Basil often begins tours by recalling the historical events of the city. One of the events was the business flight from the centre in response to perceived safety and security concerns. He suggested that the city became a contested space and assumed that safety and security influenced business decisions. However, some

businesses such as government and mining remained in the city and implemented private security measures and surveillance, as seen in figure 27:

> 1990 where Nelson Mandela was released, we had four years of political negotiations. Lots of political marches and violence and turmoil that caused the local businesses to flee the city, the ones that were still in town. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Figure 27: Private security guard stationed outside public space and business buildings outside of work hours (Source: Authors own)

Security measures were implemented by businesses in the city, probably due to safety concerns which were also raised by participants. Figure 27 shows the private security employed by the Chamber of Mines. The security guard is seated alongside a guard station and mounted on the walls are surveillance cameras. This is one of the examples of the security measures implemented in the Mining District, whereas in Gandhi Square, this level of security was not seen.

While most participants admitted to taking precautions when walking in public spaces, there were mixed feelings about the safety of quiet and busy streets. Camellia explained that her walking routes are based on safety and warns against busy streets:

> It's mostly based on safety. Ja, because you know Joburg. Joburg is very busy, and it can't be safe, all the streets of Joburg. (Interview with Camellia – Corporate Manager, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

Whereas Blossom, who resides in Maboneng, mentioned selecting her walking route based on the area with the most activity because quiet areas make her feel uneasy. Blossom's comfort while walking was determined by blending in with other public space users and not standing out or being targeted.

Some subtle verbal and written warnings were observed while I was conducting multisensory walking and observation in city public spaces. Figure 28, an A4 size warning sign about cellphone snatches operating in Maboneng, was pasted on the window of a residential building and weekend rooftop food market. This was the only location that the sign was found. Many public space users observed seemed unaware of the warning and were walking around freely with their cellphones in their hands and displayed on tables. However, there were a few public space users observed clutching their bags in front of their chests, while others were seen walking without bags.

Figure 28: A4 size warning sign posted on the window of the Saturday rooftop market about cellphone snatches operating in the area (Source: Authors own)

The City Sightseeing Joburg bus tour advised that the Carlton Centre Mall stop was very confusing and that tourists that get off to go to the sky viewing deck should wait for staff to direct them.

Aster commented on the presence of visible security and related this to the safety of the area. Aster specifically mentioned the lack of security in the evening, which may impact on the level of social activity:

> We use to have better securities and securities were everywhere, and they were doing their job. You find here, you find there, there were securities everywhere. But now, I don't see securities at night, not really, which is still in the morning. Long ago, there was [sic] really good securities. (Interview with Aster – Maboneng Waitress, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

At various locations, there were different private security firms employed to monitor and control the behaviour of public space users. I had an encounter with a security guard in Maboneng that advised me that he was employed to keep me safe while I was in the public space and to enjoy exploring the area.
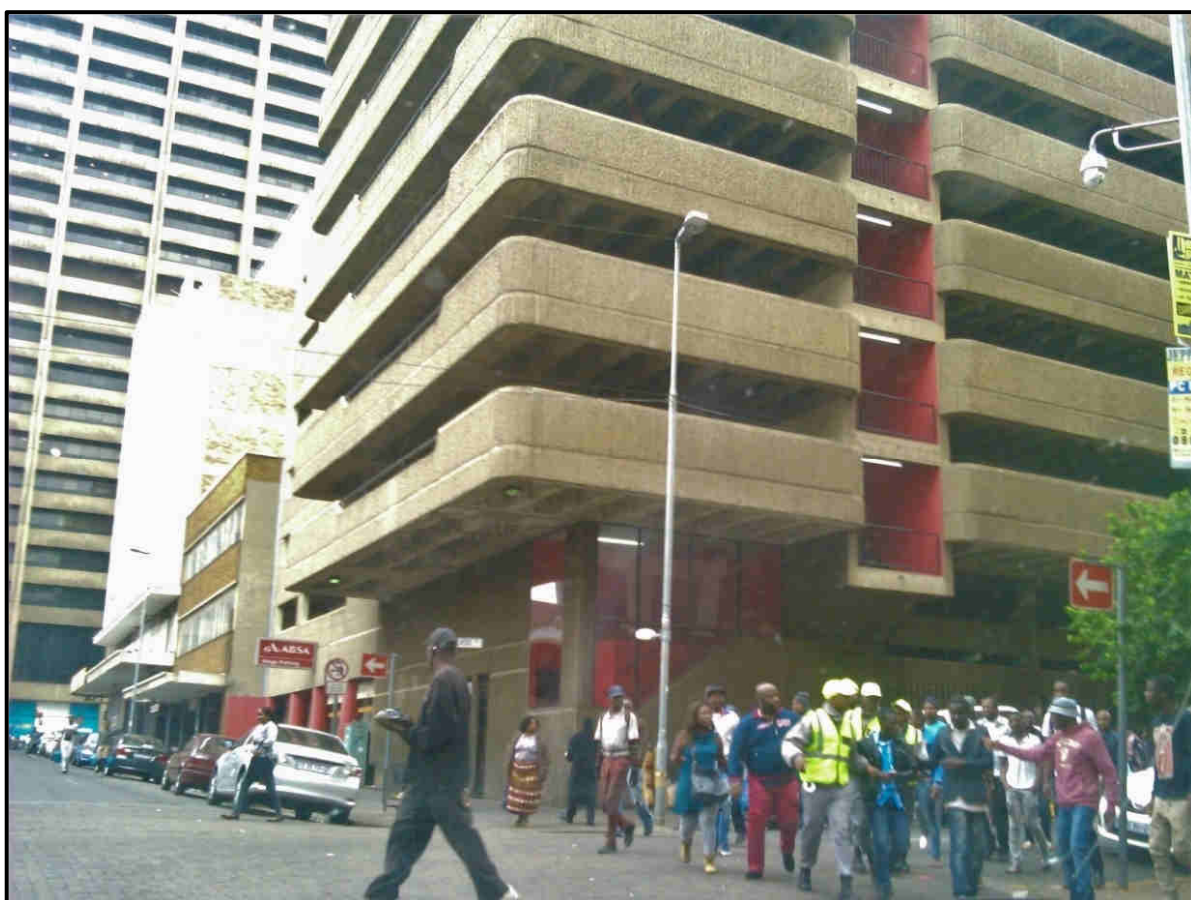
Figure 29: Active involvement of security and other public space users in the apprehension of another public space user (Source: Authors own)

Figure 29 is an image taken while travelling from Maboneng to Gandhi Square along Fox Street. I observed a private security guard in a yellow reflector vest holding the arm of a young man. He was followed by a mass of public space users shouting and pointing at the young man. This caught the attention of other public space users who stopped to look at the crowd. This was the only activity seen in the street. Other security measures included a mounted surveillance camera on a light pole.

To summarise, the key findings include three aspects. Firstly, the link of social activities to business hours and weekdays results in the unsustainable use of public spaces outside of work hours which rarely attract visitors to the city. Secondly, security is not common throughout the central part of the city. Lastly, 1 Fox Street operating days are Thursday to Sunday; however, this is tailored according to the business operating in 1 Fox Street. The most popular days are over the weekend; however, this level of activity and security is not comparative to that of Maboneng.

5.3 City Plans and Policies

Chapter 2, section 2.2.2, presented a discussion of the social, spatial and economic legislation at a national level. These policies were implemented to redress the spatial and social impact of apartheid and form the foundation of many regional and local plans and policies. Prior to the research findings discussion, a reflection on the city plans and policies used to guide the development of the Johannesburg city centre, this will better contextualise section 5.3. The most relevant local plans and policies include the Joburg Inner City Urban Design Implementation Plan (ICUDIP), Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) Region F 2010/2011, Joburg 2040: Growth and Development Strategy and the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework 2040, which are summarised in the table 14.

Table 14: Summary of Johannesburg city plans and

Plan/Policy	Approved	Purpose	Reference
Joburg Inner City Urban Design Implementation Plan	2009	The urban design plan identifies several areas in the city including the city centre by outlining the key characteristics, challenges and opportunities and proposes upgrade interventions.	Johannesburg Development Agency (2009)
Regional Spatial Development Framework Region F 2010/2011	2010	This is a Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) Region F is a local spatial policy that incorporates the city centre. The policy proposes a number of implementations used to address localised challenges.	City of Johannesburg (2010)
Joburg 2040: Growth and Development Strategy	2011	A long-term city-wide strategy that addresses aspects of human development, integrated transportation and city safety by highlighting the city's future development path.	City of Johannesburg (2011)
Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework 2040	2016	City-wide spatial policy seeking to address spatial and social issues. The SDF sets out strategic spatial interventions that inform capital investment priorities.	City of Johannesburg (2016)

Since the implementation of post-apartheid spatial planning policies and legislation, local plans have been implemented to address challenges specific to each city. Over the past two decades, the city plans and policies have been reviewed and adapted, to continuously develop new planning strategies. While all cities are guided by the same national policies, the local policies developed may differ based on provincial priorities, the purpose and the spatial vision.

The Joburg Inner City Urban Design Implementation Plan (ICUDIP) was developed to address the limitations of the individual precinct plans approved from 2001 onwards. These plans only focused on individual areas and excluded surrounding areas. This resulted in development gaps of the surrounding areas which excluded an integrated development approach. The ICUDIP was approved in 2009

and identifies several areas in the city centre for redevelopment. The plan is intended to cover the entire city centre, integrate different areas and prioritise implementation plans. The spaces are guided by precinct plans which are developed to address specific challenges and identify design opportunities (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2009).

The Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) divides the Johannesburg municipal area into seven areas, namely Regions A to G. Region F applies to the inner city which identifies spatial objectives related to accelerating economic vitality, providing housing for the urban poor, investing in the streetscape and improving social infrastructure. The RSDF needs to be read alongside the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF). The Johannesburg SDF "provides a city-wide perspective of challenges and interventions within the City and the RSDF's are primarily regional and implementation tools" (City of Johannesburg, 2010, p.9). The RSDF has specific spatial strategies that guide the development of the region. The specific development guidance for the city centre includes the Inner-City Regeneration Charter, Urban Development Zone Tax Incentives, the Informal Trading Policy and the ICUDIP, 2009. One of the development objectives listed in the RSDF relate to the city centre is "to make special places and experiences, promote social integration and inclusion and improve accessibility to the area by both pedestrians and motorists through investment in the public realm" (City of Johannesburg, 2010, p.115). The key streets identified for public environment upgrades include Biccard, Queen Elizabeth Bridge, Simmonds, Rissik, Joubert, Eloff, Wanderers, Hoek and Smal Streets. However, Fox Street the focus of this research has not been identified as a key street.

The Joburg Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) 2040 "is a prerequisite for medium-term, strategic, spatially-oriented plans for the infrastructure, housing and transportation sectors" (City of Johannesburg, 2011, p.9). This distinguishes the GDS from the SDF as it is not a spatial plan. The GDS mission is driven by economic growth, environmental sustainability, societal development and governance, in the form of plans, programmes and services.

The Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2040 was developed to guide "new regional and/or local spatial policy frameworks" (City of

Johannesburg, 2016, p.23). The SDF is guided by the objective "to create a spatially just world class African city" which is guided by spatial transformation, particularly "principles of equity, justice, resilience, sustainability and urban efficiency" (City of Johannesburg, 2016, p.12). The SDF is informed by the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) Act, Act 32 of 2000 and the development objectives of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA), Act 16 of 2013 (City of Johannesburg, 2016). There have been three versions of the SDF, the first approved in 2001, the second in 2010 and the current one in 2016. The strengths and successes of the previous SDFs informed the development of new SDFs. The central focus is on promoting the compact city model due to the concentration of growth in urban areas and along key transport routes.

5.4 Discussion

Several key findings and insights emerged from the thematic analysis, namely: the impact of formal and informal activities on the social use of public space, pre-planned activities by participants directly affect the level of social activity. Lastly, underutilised public space is linked to the perception of unmaintained city areas and safety and security concerns.

The urban connectivity of Fox Street indicates an improvement in the connection of public space users, specifically in the mix of formal and informal activities and the positive perceptions expressed by public space users.

Economic activities in the area are predominantly formal, which shows the preservation of the historical business nature of the Johannesburg city centre. From observation, the public spaces catered towards the middle- and higher-income groups in terms of service and product affordability. Simone (2004) asserts that the Johannesburg city centre is "characterised by relative economic strength" (p.411), which my research does not dispute. My research shows that a functioning economic sector, dominated by the tertiary sector is not an issue. The issue is that the city remains predominantly an economic centre and not one that has focused on further developing social infrastructure that accommodates diverse social groups such as the youth and elderly.

A surprising finding is that most public space users commented on economic opportunities available to them but not about the economic and social accessibility of public spaces. For informal traders, accessibility to trade freely is controlled. Informal traders are forced to conform to the formal nature of the area, by remaining in areas, approved for trade displayed through by-law restricting informal trading. However, not all traders obeyed the restrictions imposed on them. This could be due to the livelihood aspect the city represents and the possibilities of earning an income from trading.

The unfair treatment and control of informal traders have been emphasised by Harber et al. (2018) as being haphazardly enforced. While by-law restriction signs are placed on sidewalks and in public spaces, there is no guarantee that the by-law restricting informal trading would be enforced by police, as in the Mining District square. The uncertainty of the control over space and the informal trade sector does little to ensure an environment that embraces informal economic activities.

Most of the participants accepted that informal trade displayed cultural activities and the promotion of African entertainment. Most of the informal activities seemed to rely on commercialising cultural activities such as the City Sightseeing Joburg bus tour, African Artwork displays, cultural instruments and entertainment. Pugalis (2009) claims that cultural activity referred to as use value and economic activity referred to as exchange value are mutually inclusive. The social value of public space is directly interconnected with the diversity of economic exchange activities. For instance, public spaces that have diverse retail, entertainment, tourist and business economic activities increase the social use of the public spaces surrounding these economic activities. However, if one is mutually exclusive, then this may result in unconnected and socially exclusive spaces.

The predominant activity surrounding public spaces determines the level of social use and activity. Many participants expressed an interest in the social use of the city and linked the routine use of public space to the reason for being in the city. This concurs with the findings of research conducted by Pugalis (2009) who suggests that "underutilised public spaces are not fulfilling all possibilities open to them" (p.228) because the social use is not being prioritised.

Another finding is that participants mostly expressed positive perceptions of the area, which is surprising because of the negative perceptions associated with the Johannesburg city centre in academic literature (Tomlinson, 1999; Bremner, 2000; Simone, 2004; Sihlongonyane, 2016). The positive perceptions are linked to the redevelopment of the area and are influenced by the refurbishment of public spaces such as street art, fixed paving, street furniture and greenery.

Aguila et al. (2019) agree that the experience of public space users influences their perceptions but can change. This was evident in the case of Hazel that conducted a photo walk of around Fox Street and discovered that she enjoyed the walking experience. This led to her socialising in the city outside of work hours with friends and family. This informs the sense of comfort and interest expressed by public space users that contribute towards the vibrancy of the area by socialising in the city and is in line with studies conducted by Wunderlich (2008), Pugalis (2009) and Heffernan et al. (2014).

On the other hand, the vibrancy of the area can be hindered by the negative perceptions and disinterest of public space users. Dahlia and Elm were participants that expressed no interest in socialising in the city centre. These participants were interviewed on a weekday morning and were taking a smoke break. Their attitude was more out of a work obligation and restricted to a temporal relationship, one which was restricted to working hours and a desire to spend their time in areas away from the city centre.

None of the participants raised concerns about the distance between public spaces. As shown in map 7, the public spaces are not within a direct walking distance. Spatially, the link between public spaces is unconnected and appear developed in isolation. This demonstrates that the spatial layout of the city has not been transformed, which would require significant infrastructure investment. This requires more attention to the development of the walkability of the city to eliminate the isolated nature of present public spaces. Low (2015) and Harber et al. (2018) suggest that social infrastructure is vital in the development of enhancing the urban connectivity of streets and creating meaningful social places.

Social infrastructure such as encouraging cycling, the use of a bus tour and walking tours should be used to understand and explore public spaces. This infrastructure serves a dual purpose in attracting tourists, visitors and potential residents to see the value in the everyday use of the city. Alder, Basil, Cedar and Clem emphasised the impact of private investment on the transformation of the area, this included residential and increased social activity experiences, to revitalise 'dead spaces' (Williams, 2000; Pugalis, 2009). This contrasts with the research conducted by Tonnelat (2004) that concluded that accessibility and communication are measures of public space success. Not all public spaces along Fox Street are socially accessible as gates and security guards monitor and have the right of admission. Thus, accessibility is indeed vital for the success of public spaces.

The study conducted by Pugalis (2009) on perceptions of the culture and economics of urban public space design found that professional-bureaucratic actors were concerned with the lack of private investment into the public space and not about the probability of privatising public space. My research complements this finding, as public space users were concerned about the lack of public investment into public space. Participants in my research focused on the benefits of public investment and developing thriving city spaces. This is because the study sites have developed due to private investment and not due to public investment or management. Additionally, attitudes towards the public sector have been expressed as unfavourable.

Alder, Basil, Cedar and Clem claimed that private developers were more successful in achieving local upliftment and improving activity in public spaces than the public-sector. This is because the private sector invests in the development and creation of walkable public spaces. A combination of public and private investment is an opportunity to develop public-private partnerships to revitalise public space. The identification of areas in need of refurbishment provides opportunities for investment by the private sector, as highlighted by Cedar, a participant working at a housing development agency.

However, none of the research participants discussed the limited nature of private development activities. Outdoor activities and spaces did not cater to youth and children. This was evident in the activity programming visible, which

did not include public spaces desirable to all groups. Bremner (2000) found that although Johannesburg seeks to achieve global city status, the focus of development adopted a local upliftment approach which is "livable, safe, well managed and welcoming... a city for residents, workers, tourists, entrepreneurs and learners" (p.189) rather than a focus on attracting foreign investment. This goal has not necessarily translated into the everyday use of space. For space to be liveable, it requires more than just the economic sector, it requires residential accommodation, increased utilisation of public space outside of working hours and multi-use space that integrates all groups.

Despite the economic activity, diversity of social groups and social infrastructure, the use of Gandhi Square and the Mining District, and 1 Fox Street remains low. To improve the symbiotic relationship between the economic use and social use of the city, particularly on the central and west part of Fox Street built environment professionals need to understand the everyday public space user needs (Harber et al., 2018). This results in areas that are busy weekdays and deserted over weekends and vice versa. Public space in the city plays a significant role in connecting and integrating previously divided public space user. The city centre and Fox Street are centrally located to travel between the northern, southern, eastern and western residential areas of Johannesburg.

The degree of planned opportunities directly affects the level of social activity and social encounters in public spaces. As Nkooe (2018) points out, South African public spaces are not the traditional public spaces defined in the literature. There is an expansion of the role of the street as public space because streets are generally accessible to all. Streets provide spaces for planned and spontaneous encounters and can, at times, be contested public spaces of riots or protests (Hubbard and Lyon, 2018). The combination of spatial activities with optional activities contributes towards the vitality and quality of public space (Pugalis, 2009; Aguila et al., 2019).

Activity programming was found to benefit the surrounding area by upgrading the visual aspects of spaces such as sidewalks, seating, and maintenance. Clem, Cedar, Basil and Alder commented that the variety of activities has positively transformed the city into a social space, something that would not have been

possible a decade ago. Pugalis (2009) argues that the perspectives of public space users are undervalued by policymakers and investors in the study of underutilised spaces. Public space users provide insight into their preferences and perceptions of public spaces and determine the extent of social activity, whether these are based on facts. Addressing the concerns whether through long-term or short-term investment can alter the use of space and increase the efficient use.

Spontaneous encounters are more common amongst people working in the area than those visiting. Informal traders reported more chance encounters, and a few people formally employed in the area agreed. This suggests that visitors to public spaces socialise within those groups that they have planned events with and do not mix with other groups outside of economic activities. Corey's encounter resulted in preconceived expectations regarding social activity and the area of the space. Corey expected Maboneng to be more significant and not only fill a section of a street. This may be a by-product of how public spaces are perceived in an international context and the reality of public spaces in South Africa.

This finding echoes the earlier quantitative research findings conducted by Heffernan et al. (2014) regarding the impact of busy streets on public space user perceptions. Most of the participants that I interviewed confirmed that they planned social activities in the city based on their preference for socialising, shopping or exploring.

Having a variety of public spaces that are not all busy, is attractive to participants that prefer quieter areas. Flora and Hazel also associated quiet areas with relaxation, convenience, and accessibility that can be enjoyed in groups or alone. Relaxed because participants could enjoy the environment at a slow pace, no long queues to access social and essential facilities, and the music was not loud, which made the area enjoyable. This indicates that marketing plays a significant role in influencing the spaces public space users gravitate towards based on perception and preference.

The reference to the popularity of areas and the marketing may result in unrealistic expectations of the actual use of the space. From observation and

the descriptions given by participants, the social activities in the public spaces were differentiated according to enclosed spaces, an outdoor museum and mixed open spaces. It also supports the above finding of the direct relationship between activity planning and the urban vitality of public spaces. These encounters alter the perceptions and experiences of participants about the public spaces used and how other public space users view these spaces.

Markets have been used as a popular commercial social activity and have been implemented at various scales. Commercialising a variety of market activities are useful in generating interest and enhance the user experience, which is not seen in 1 Fox Street, which is quiet. However, there are adverse effects that result in the opposite user experience. Corey's guilt about not purchasing from informal market traders reflects the mixed feelings of some public space users. This can influence whether public space users are likely to revisit the area. While observing the movement and accessibility of market visitors, there was a difference in control between indoor and outdoor markets. Maboneng was the only public space to have indoor, outdoor and rooftop markets. Building security monitored access to the rooftop food market and escorted visitors to elevators and out of the building.

Simone (2004) asserts that "residents invest heavily in opportunities to become socially visible" (p.427) and provides an example of night markets where people can be a casual observer or participate in the social activity, which may only apply to specific spaces. For residents to 'invest socially' there needs to be a combination of factors starting with a willingness from residents, marketing of the attraction, comfort and extended trading hours. For this reason, it cannot be generalised across the entirety of the city. According to this logic, markets are an attraction for people to engage in the space socially; however, this was not the finding of the analysis of Maboneng and 1 Fox Street markets. The differences in the markets are that they are located at opposite ends of Fox Street, Maboneng has three types of markets, and 1 Fox Street has one indoor market located inside an enclosed space. Yet the levels of activity are different, the market at 1 Fox Street appeared underutilised, and according to participants, they made the same observation on several separate occasions. The findings suggest that planned opportunities do attract public space users;

however, the co-mingling of different groups visiting public spaces is yet to be proven.

Public spaces largely remain underutilised, particularly during times where the public space can be used more efficiently during public holidays. Two main reasons for the underutilisation of public space is linked to safety and the perceived lack of maintenance by the council.

The focus of my study differed from the study conducted by Heffernan, Heffernan and Pan (2014) in terms of the former focusing on socio-spatial transformation and the latter on active frontages. The shared focus between both studies is on the perception of everyday public space users. My research is in line with the finding that there exists a "relationship between the quality of an active frontage and respondents' perceptions of a space" (Heffernan, Heffernan and Pan, 2014, p.101). Additionally, enclosed spaces such as 1 Fox Street prevent the development of the active use of the space and surrounding spaces because it does not integrate external and internal activities. Although 1 Fox Street is part of Fox Street, it is not integrated within the social use of Fox Street. The number of parking lots from the Johannesburg Central Magistrates Court leading to 1 Fox Street prevents the active use by public space users. Vacant car lots and parked cars are not a sign of social activity; however, should vacant lots be converted for temporary use, then this could address the lack of social use in 1 Fox Street.

A common trend for most public spaces is the temporary nature of planned opportunities for social encounters, specifically during working hours. Maboneng relies heavily on a variety of planned events from markets, entertainment, and eateries to attract visitors, especially over weekends. The busiest times are between 9 am to 5 pm; however, during the week, Maboneng is less busy. Whereas the outdoor museum in the Mining District square is accessible to all but the underutilised space does not enhance social encounters. From observations, public space users walked past museum displays, and very few were seen spending time in front of displays.

Perceptions about the city were based on concerns about maintenance and safety. The temporary use of public spaces was inconsequential to the attitudes

expressed towards the Local Authority. Although, there were several statements made by participants that suggest that the private sector are innovators of transformation, whereas the council are an obstacle towards achieving transformation.

In the past, crime and grime have been used as justifications for the decline of the Johannesburg city centre. Presently these justifications are used for the underutilisation of public space, specifically the maintenance of the city (Tomlinson, 1999). These are by no means the only reasons but have been expressed by public space users as their perceptions. However, the findings of my observations and multisensory walking of the city indicated that there were isolated areas showing the lack of maintenance of public spaces. This does not suggest that there are no areas with major maintenance concerns; however, for the areas observed, these were minor maintenance issues.

The final finding is related to the safety of public space users and the implementation of security measures. Warnings issued by other public space users were also a factor in the precautions taken by participants and the degree of alertness while exploring the city (Simone, 2005). Participants that discussed safety as an influencing factor in their use of public spaces based this on perceived comfort levels, the level of activity and the time of day.

Safety concerns do not only affect public space users but businesses operating in the city as well. From a business perspective, the implementation of security measures serves two purposes, namely: to ensure the safety of employees during working hours and ensure the protection of business premises from criminal activities such as theft or vandalism. Consequently, the surrounding public spaces benefit from the security measures implemented. The public space between Gandhi Square and the Mining District were observed as active during working hours and quiet outside of working hours. However, these public spaces benefit from the implemented security measures such as security guards stationed outside several multi-storey business buildings and surveillance cameras mounted on numerous buildings.

These privatisation measures contribute towards the securitisation of public space which shows a lack of cohesive planning because there is no consistency of

the measures implemented throughout public spaces. However, this securitisation does attempt to contribute towards the development of social trust in the immediate environment. This trust will enable the changing of negative perceptions related to the safety and security of exploring the city.

5.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to present the thematic findings of Fox Street, Johannesburg case study as it related to the main themes of urban connectivity, planned opportunities for social encounters and underutilised public spaces.

The overall findings of the thematic analysis suggest that social transformation has taken place, but the spatial transformation is slow. From observations, the spatial transformations of public spaces were limited to selected public spaces only. However, the social transformations were commented on by public space users. This was primarily due to the private sector influence, and those social initiatives are more affordable than spatial infrastructure development. The main findings suggest that firstly, there has been an improvement in the connection of public space users. Secondly, social activities within the studied public spaces do not cater to all groups and cannot be considered inclusive. Lastly, the underutilisation of public space is linked to the following:

- Areas with a predominantly corporate nature were found to be quieter outside of working hours and thus suffer from a low level of social activity. Consequently, areas that combined residential, business and leisure activities showed an increase in social activities outside of working hours. There are missed opportunities to develop social activities around public holidays, such as Heritage Day or Youth Day.

- The private sector is seen as stewards of transformation in the city. However, public space users do not have walkable paths connecting public spaces to allow for the ease of movement and exploration between public spaces. Many users travel within the city using private vehicles.

- The main concerns directly impacting on social activity included the perceived safety and comfort of users in public spaces. Securitisation of

public space by different businesses leads to the privatisation of public space and results in inconsistent security measures because of a lack of cohesive planning.

The next chapter presents the thematic analysis of the Cape Town case study sites. The same themes and sub-themes will be discussed.

6 Thematic Analysis of Cape Town

The previous chapter presented the thematic analysis and discussion of the Johannesburg case study. This chapter presents the thematic analysis of the three Cape Town sites, namely: Greenmarket Square, St Georges Mall and The Company's Garden. Like the previous chapter, the field research conducted in Cape Town was guided by the study of micro-level experiences and the perceptions of socio-spatial transformations of post-apartheid public spaces. The first part provides a geographical description and spatial orientation of each public space.

The second part presents an analysis of the themes discussed in the previous chapter are also selected to discuss the findings of Cape Town to contextualise the findings. The findings are arranged according to a thematic analysis of the socio-spatial transformations. They include the main themes of urban connectivity, planned opportunities for social encounters and underutilised public spaces. To not repeat the previous chapter, figure 4 in chapter 4 describes the main and sub-themes discussed in this chapter.

The third part presents a discussion of the city plans and policies. The fourth part presents the findings to provide a deeper understanding of the perceptions and experiences in Cape Town public spaces. The final part presents a summary of the key findings and insights of the thematic analysis.

6.1 Geographical Location and Spatial Orientation

The study of public space user perceptions and experiences was conducted in three public spaces in Cape Town.

Map 8 highlights the study sites of Greenmarket Square, St Georges Mall and The Company's Garden, located along Queen Victoria, Burg and Longmarket Streets Cape Town.
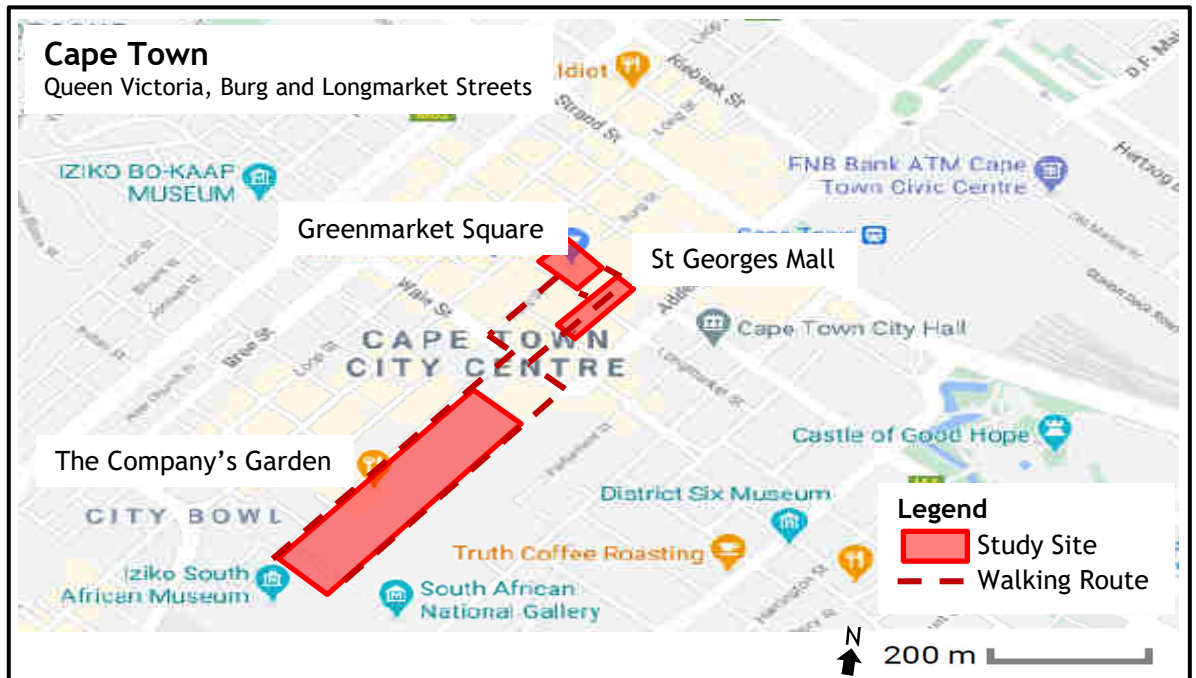
Map 8: Study sites in Cape Town (Source: AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd Google, 2018)

The selected public spaces in Cape Town are located along different streets but are all within walking distance from each other, as indicated on map 8. The walking distance between The Company's Garden to Greenmarket Square is 0.44 km. The distance from Greenmarket Square to St Georges Mall is 0.04 km. The distance from St Georges Mall to The Company's Garden is 0.23 km. The dashed line represents possible walking routes, and The Company's Garden has two possible walking routes which were both used and shown on map 8.

Figures 30, 31 and 32 present the reader with a vantage point in which to orientate themselves within the spatial environment.

Figure 30: Observation view in Greenmarket Square facing south towards Burg Street (Source: Author's own)

Figure 30 provides a vantage point of the activity in Greenmarket Square, which is a cobbled street designed for pedestrians and closed to vehicles. While multi-storey and mixed-use buildings surround the Square, all buildings have entrances facing toward the Square. Many of the eateries set up outdoor café style seating which brings the indoor activity of having a meal or drinks outdoors. The uses include retail, eateries, tourist facilities, banking and hotels. The set up of trader stalls occupies spaces between large trees and metal benches. The merchandise displayed had an array of colours and African themed souvenirs. The Square is accessible from six directions which enable increased foot traffic. Walking through the Square in any direction were several security guards with green vests seen patrolling the Square.
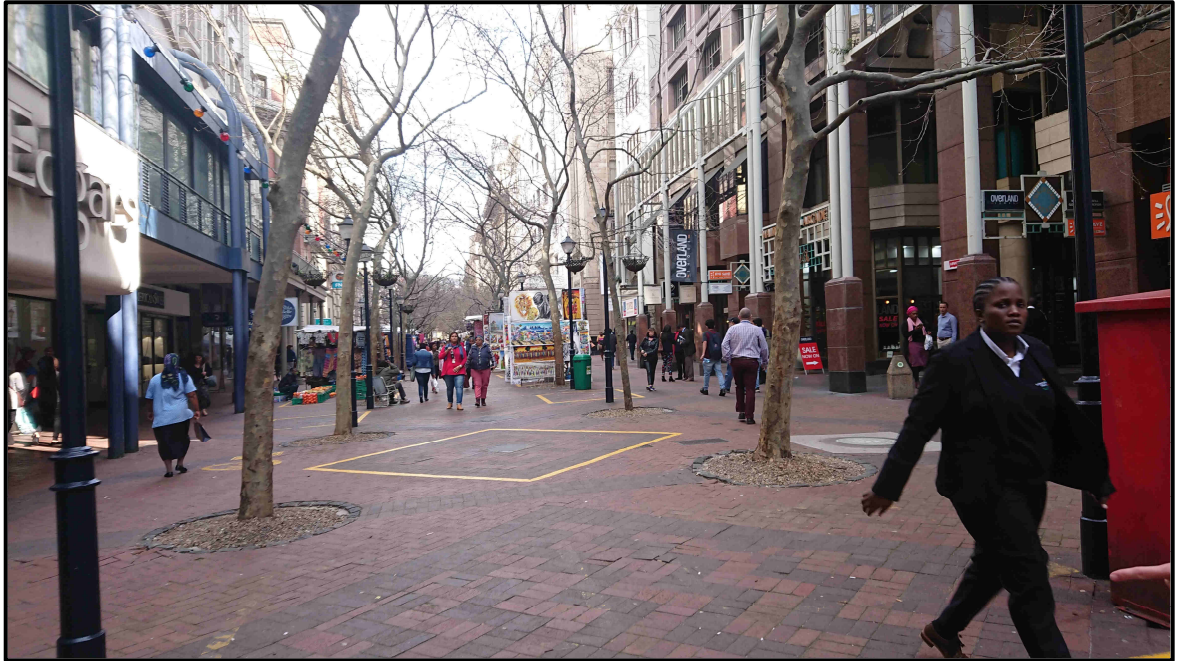
Figure 31: Observation view in St Georges Mall facing north towards St Georges Mall (Source: Author's own)

An observer located at the centre of St Georges Mall, facing north towards Strand Street, immediately sees informal trader stalls similar to Greenmarket Square except these are arranged linear and in yellow squares, as shown in figure 31. St Georges Mall is a pedestrianised linear street and, on either side, has multi-storey buildings. Buildings are related to the service industry such as retail, banks and the provision of information services such as educational institutions and information and communication technology. Wooden benches fixed around trees are spread throughout. If the observer were to turn around and walk south, you would walk towards St George's Cathedral and The Company's Garden.

Figure 32: Observation view in The Company's Garden facing east (Source: Author's own)

Figure 32 shows an observer positioned at one of the entrances along Queen Victoria Street. The Garden has many areas to sit and lay on the grass or sit on the wooden benches provided throughout the Garden. Facing south-east are two monuments and ponds. In the distance Table Mountain can be seen and to the south of the Iziko South African Museum and the planetarium. Walking east and immediately turning right is a pathway that leads further into the Gardens where several brick pathways can be followed. Each pathway leads to a different part of the Garden such as the vegetable garden, restaurant, birds display, central pond, several other entrances with gate access and several wooden benches along each path. As you proceed east, one of the entrances/exits leads onto Government Avenue and leads towards St Georges Mall.

6.2 Thematic Analysis

6.2.1 Urban Connectivity

The main theme of urban connectivity comprises of economic activities, spatial behaviour, and social infrastructure sub-themes.

6.2.1.1 Economic Activities

The economic activities throughout the study sites comprise of the formal and the informal sector. The former has regulated procedures, standard business

hours and are in buildings and the latter has unregulated hours and include markets and informal traders. Within both sectors are activities that include handmade products, the provision of services and the provision of tangible and intangible goods. The economic activities surrounding the public spaces were geared towards attracting tourists. The sectors within the city centre provide opportunities for formal and informal employment and attract job seekers from different parts of the Western Cape and throughout South Africa.

Marigold, who works in the hospitality industry in St Georges Mall, recalled her experience as a job seeker looking for opportunities in Cape Town. She migrated from the Eastern Cape, which is in a different province from the Western Cape where Cape Town is located. Her first attempt to migrate in 2006 was unsuccessful, and she was forced to move back to the Eastern Cape. However, she was able to find employment in 2009:

> Mine was bad because I came here [Cape Town]. I think it was 2006. I came to look for a job, but I had to go back without finding anything. So, I have to [sic] come again. That was 2009. It was the only time that I was here [St Georges Mall]. (Interview with Marigold - Hotel Administrator, St Georges Mall, 31 July 2018)

To a lesser extent employment opportunities within the city centre also exist for the informal sector; however, formal economic activities are predominant in the city centre. Sage, an informal parking attendant, working in Queen Victoria Street, revealed that he was less optimistic about the formal employment opportunities in the city. He further added that since the implementation of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) and Affirmative Action (AA) policies, economic inequality between the population groups in South Africa has increased. The B-BBEE policy was intended to reverse the impact of racial employment practices during apartheid, by prioritising economic opportunities for Black African, Coloured and Indian/Asian population groups. Additionally, the AA economic policy was intended to provide equal opportunities to previously disadvantaged non-white groups, women and people with disabilities from white and non-white groups. According to Sage, who identifies as Coloured, these are post-apartheid racial policies that have not improved unemployment and homelessness in Cape Town. Even the jobs advertised, he argued, are based on

race, not on experience. He did not add whether he applied for other jobs and was not able to find one.

Informal market stall traders in public spaces mostly sold African inspired artefacts, clothing and souvenirs, as seen in figures 30 and 31. Even though informal activities were mostly controlled and designated in certain areas of the city, there were a few informal traders positioned outside of these areas.

For the most part, informal traders within the informal sector can be divided into three groups according to my observation. Firstly, those with designated spaces in selected parts of the city which are controlled. This specifically relates to informal market traders in designated planned areas and consequently controlled, see figure 31. Secondly, those that select trading locations isolated from other traders such as the informal street artist, directly outside the Garden, as seen in figure 33. Lastly, those without a fixed location that approach customers directly as they navigate different spaces. Two traders were observed walking through The Company's Garden, a woman selling candyfloss and a man selling packets of peanuts. Both informal traders were traversing through the public space and not stationed anywhere.
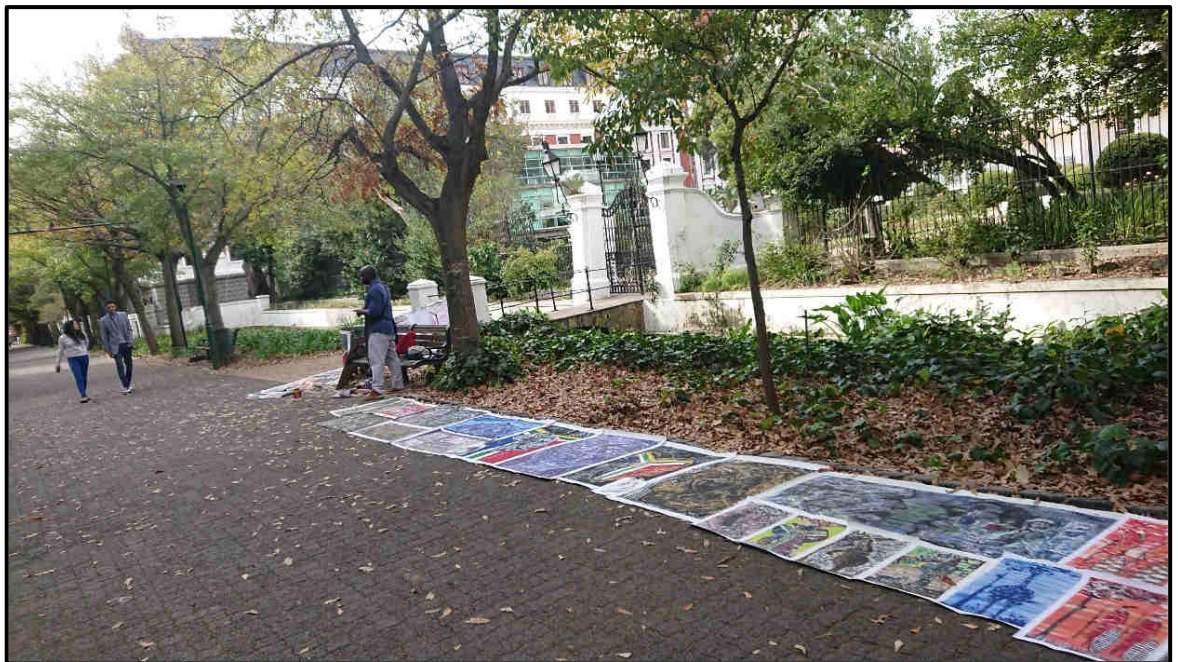
Figure 33: Informal trader selling African themed artwork opposite The Company's Garden (Source: Author's Own)

According to Quill, a pensioner, economic activities in the city centre are preferred due to convenience. Quill further explained that he travels to the city centre weekly for both business and leisure purposes:

> We live out in Steenberg and to come here, I had to come out and do some uhm, business. So, we took the train from Steenberg to Cape Town Station. (Interview with Quill – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

To summarise, the key findings and insights include the deliberate separation of formal and informal activities observed in the spatial layout of most public spaces such as in Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall. Additionally, economic activities are a driving force behind the activities and patterns of use by public space users. Lastly, informal traders fall into three categories, namely: controlled through designated space, those seeking spaces further from competitors and those that travel on foot throughout the city.

6.2.1.2 Spatial Behaviour

Most participants expressed enthusiasm towards the city and public spaces. Some of the participants' attitudes were based on experience and others on perceptions. The spatial behaviour observed indicated multifunctional patterns of use such as identifying opportunities, leisure spaces, reclamation of space and transit spaces, although some patterns of use dominated others.

For Poppy, an informal trader, her experience of Greenmarket Square was based on her social use of the Square and a shared experience with her cousin. Her enthusiasm was directed towards the economic opportunities and social use of similar spaces in the city. According to Poppy, her experience as a teenager over 20 years ago sparked the beginning of her trading career ambition:

> Uh, I came here with my cousin. She came to Greenmarket Square. We were walking around the Square, and I said oh I would like to trade here one day [Giggle]. That was the first thing that came to my mind. I remember that was that. (Interview with Poppy - Informal Trader, Greenmarket Square, 31 July 2018)

Quill confirmed that he and his wife value the leisure opportunities that the city centre provides. Although he prefers quiet and relaxed city spaces to have lunch:

> Bought some fish and chips and I said the best place to have a nice quiet chat ne [sic], and I normally, when I do come to Cape Town. Myself and my wife we normally bring the little ones with, our grandchildren. (Interview with Quill – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

The sleeping spaces set up by the homeless, was not noticeable when exiting the Company's Garden. It was only when Rosemary, a tour guide, informed tourists that the homeless often use the water canal to wash and leave their belongings to claim the space as their own. Closer inspection of the water canals, as shown in figure 34, there is barely any privacy and is partially hidden from the direct line of sight from public space users walking past or sitting on the benches. The use of the water canal as a sleeping area resembles a perceived space of refuge only selected based on necessity. This behaviour reflects marginalised groups seeking privacy that is not afforded in open space, and it is also an indication of trying to fade into the background. This area was less maintained with more dirt spread along the pavement and next to the dustbin.
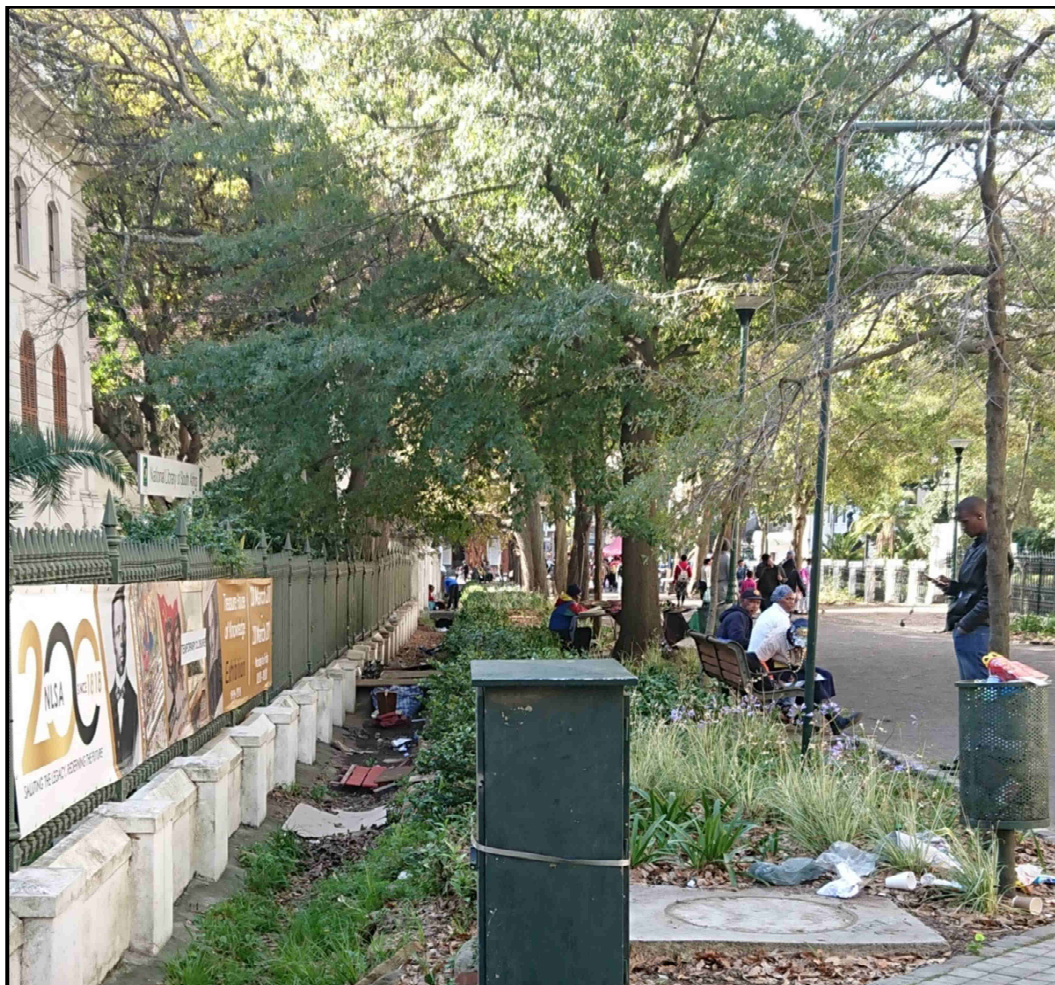
Figure 34: Belongings of homeless people that sleep in the water canal along Government Avenue (Source: Author's Own)

The predominant patterns of use observed throughout spaces was the use of transiting through public spaces by many public space users. More public space users treated the public spaces as walking routes rather than destinations for co-mingling, shopping or socially interacting with each other. However, the constant movement throughout spaces during working hours, particularly between noon to 2 pm, contributed towards the vibrancy of spaces.

Overall, the key findings suggest that spatial behaviour is determined according to necessity and choice. Necessity often associated with satisfying basic needs related to livelihoods and shelter, while choice relates to leisure activities and convenience. The spatial behaviour of the homeless has not gone unnoticed by public space users that frequent the city, such as tour guides. Lastly, public spaces provide levels of comfort and relaxation but not for everyone.

6.2.1.3 Social Infrastructure

The city has a variety of social infrastructure that comprises mainly public transportation, public garden, educational institutions, museums, galleries and libraries, see figures 35 and 37. The variety of social infrastructure enables the connectivity of public space users from different backgrounds to share social space.
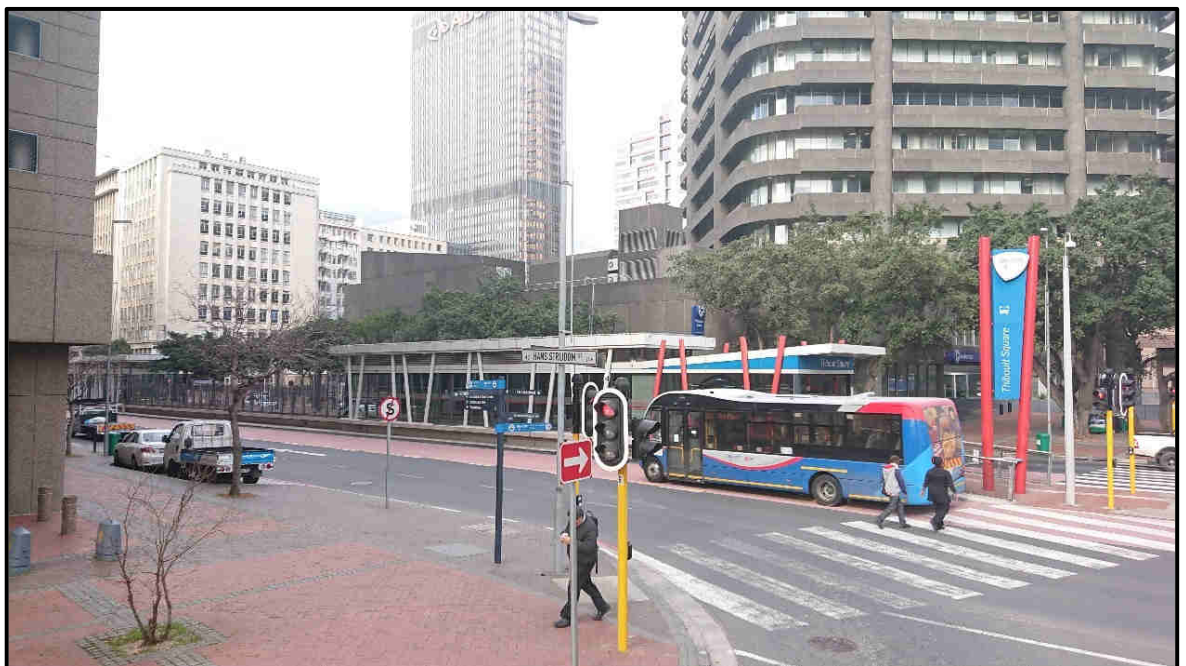
Figure 35: Public bus transport and station (Source: Author's Own)

Social infrastructure is available to frequent and infrequent public space users and enable visitors to learn and explore more about the social, cultural and spatial development of the city. Lily and Magnolia, both work in the city centre, recalled being amazed by the structure of the city and the diversity of public space users and cultures when they first visited:

> **Lily:** Ja, it was. It is much bigger than I am use [sic] to [Giggling]. But ja, it was a good experience. Cause of different culture [sic] and people and stuff, so ja [sic].
>
> **ZL:** The first memory that you can remember.
>
> **Magnolia:** Just a while, big buildings, a lot of people, a lot of stuff to see, a lot of stuff to do. It was okay. (Interviews with Lily - Office Co-ordinator and Magnolia - Hotel Administrator, St Georges Mall, 31 July 2018)

Quill and Lavender specifically mentioned the provision of free public transport available to pensioners, which attracts them to the city. These participants travel from Steenberg to the Cape Town city centre which takes between 45 minutes to an hour by public transport:

> **Lavender:** We usually just come for… look we are pensioners, so we just take that opportunity to come to Cape Town because we have free rides on the train.
>
> **Quill:** Exactly free rides on the trains. (Interviews with Lavender – Pensioner and Quill – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

From observations, once in the city centre public space users can make use of the pedestrian network. Figure 36 shows a pavement plaque commemorating the pedestrian network that was established in 1994 when South Africa became a democratic country. This indicates that there was an early recognition that a pedestrian network could be used to encourage the mixing of public space users. Symbolically, 1994 coincides with the first democratic elections held where the focus was on unity, encouraging diversity and nation-building.

Figure 36: Pavement plaque commemorating the 5th phase of the pedestrian network (Source: Author's Own)

The pedestrian network prioritises the movement of public space users throughout public space and not only vehicles so that both can occupy the same space without one being forced out.

International visitors that seek accommodation closer to the city centre have easy access to pedestrian networks that are within walking distance to social and cultural facilities. Tourist information signage is provided, directing public space users to social and cultural activities throughout the city centre, as shown in figure 37.

Figure 37: Signage directing public space users to social and cultural facilities (Source: Author's Own)

Leilani, who travelled to the city for professional reasons, admitted to taking the opportunity to make use of the social infrastructure available in the city centre. Leilani recalled, using walking tours to see more of the city and identify social and cultural facilities to revisit:

> Yesterday, we had taken a free guided walking tour and walked around here [The Company's Garden]. We made notes of places that we wanted to come back to. (Interview with Leilani – Professor, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

However, Lily and Magnolia admitted to not being interested in participating in cultural activities that were available in the city centre.

From my multisensory walking and observations, there were areas of exclusion in terms of the provision of social infrastructure. Throughout the public spaces and surrounding areas, multiple signs restricted cycling and skateboarding were made visible. Figure 38 shows signage displayed in St Georges Mall, showing restrictions geared towards the prevention of cycling and skateboarding in this public space. This potentially excludes social groups that are interested in these activities. Bicycle facilities were also not provided at any point in the city.

Figure 38: Signs restricting cycling and skateboarding (Source: Author's Own)

To summarise, the key findings include three critical insights related to social infrastructure. Firstly, there is a diverse provision of social infrastructure that appeal to various groups; however, the cultural facilities seem to be more attractive to tourists than locals. Secondly, the pedestrian network was one of the earliest social infrastructures developed in the city by the post-apartheid government. Lastly, the restriction of cyclists and skateboarders is reflected in the lack of social infrastructure provided for these activities.

6.2.2 Planned Opportunities for Social Encounters

The main theme of planned opportunities for social encounters comprises of the following sub-themes: activity programming, social activities and markets.

6.2.2.1 Activity Programming

The activity programming in public spaces includes the initiatives implemented by media organisations, businesses and the tourism industry that encourage co-mingling, exploration of the city and recreational shopping.

Figure 39: Informal use of Queen Victoria street for filming (Source: Author's Own)

The multi-purpose use of public spaces such as streets is shown in figure 39. Queen Victoria Street was converted and used for filming purposes and was not closed off to vehicles or pedestrians on the weekend from 10 am to 3 pm. The signage served the purpose of informing pedestrians and road users about the activity taking place. Public space users were not prevented from standing around and watching the film crew. This activity encouraged co-mingling and spontaneous conversations with other by-standers, although none of these encounters was observed during the time that I spent in the space.

According to Poppy essential shopping and a lesser extent leisure shopping formed part of the early morning activity engaged in by public space users. Poppy specifically mentions Shoprite, an affordable supermarket which is a popular store in the city centre:

> when I get here [Greenmarket Square], it is really hectic cause I get here eight o'clock in the morning. So, it is already hectic, and everybody is uhm, walking around already, the shops are open. Some people are shopping at that time of the morning, like at Shoprite, there is a long queue already of people waiting there. (Interview with Poppy - Informal Trader, Greenmarket Square, 31 July 2018)

This account differed from my observation conducted during the week and over the weekend between 10 am and 4 pm. I did not observe any long queues outside retail stores surrounding Greenmarket Square or St Georges Mall. I found that Greenmarket Square was quieter early morning with many people observed travelling through the space and walking to work. The patterns of use increased between noon due to the lunchtime crowd and 4 pm because people were leaving work, as seen in figure 40.
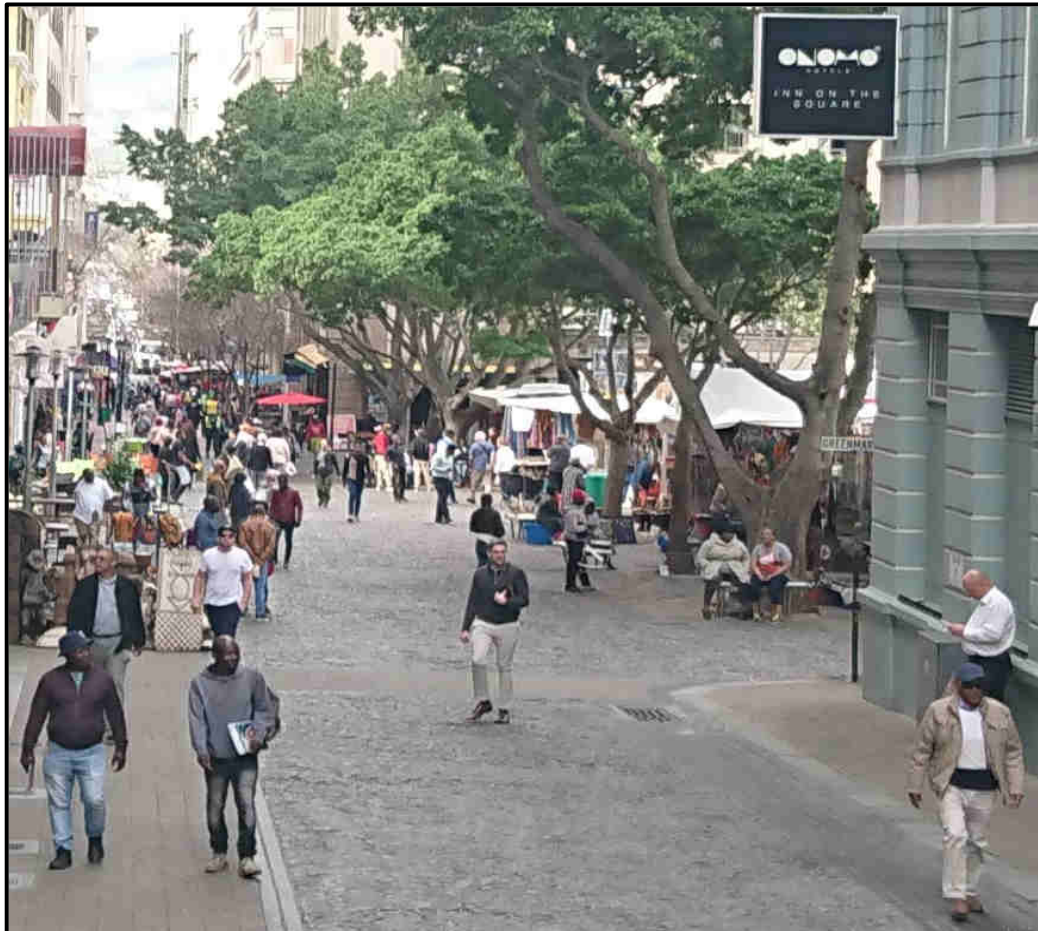
Figure 40: Increased use of Greenmarket Square during lunchtime (Source: Author's Own)

Quill commented that tourism-focused activity programming had changed the nature of the city and the interactions that take place. The focus is on attracting visitors and tourists to the city centre by providing activities such as walking tours and markets that are centrally located. As seen in figure 41, visitor accommodation such as hotels has been developed directly overlooking public spaces. The ease and convenience afforded to city visitors have resulted in the city being overcrowded, according to Quill:

I would say, nowadays it's more crowded because of the influx of tourists and so. So, you see lots of tourists (Interview with Quill – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)
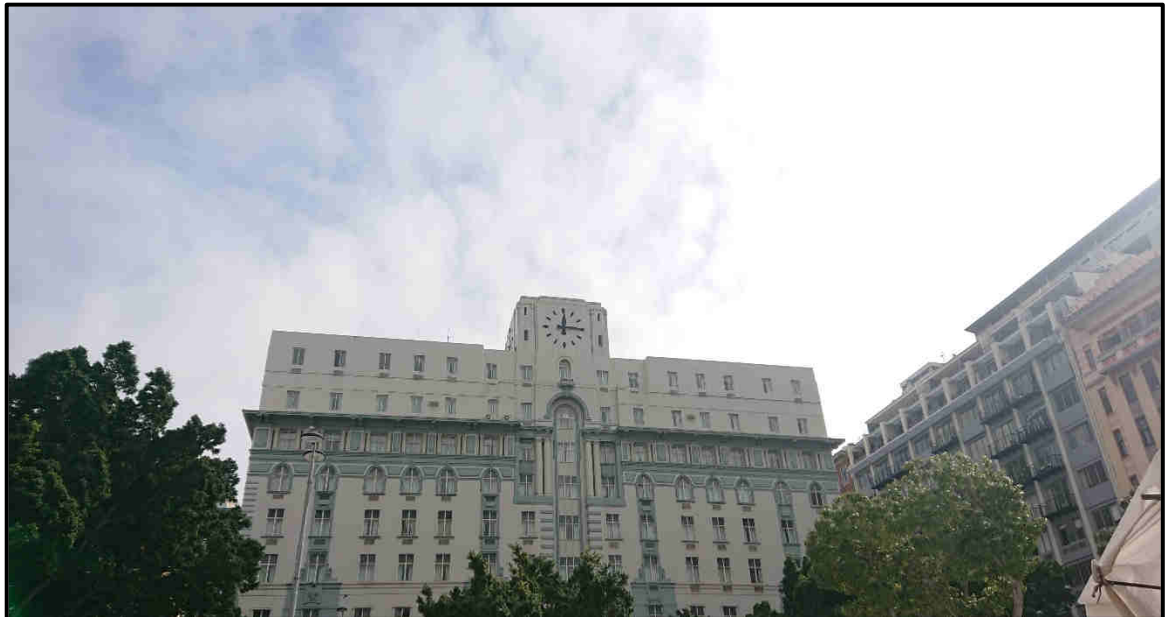
Figure 41: ONOMO Hotels Cape Town Inn on the Square (Source: Author's Own)

To sum up, the key insights relate to activity programming being influenced by businesses, stores and the tourism industry to attract consumers. The tourism industry plays a significant role in attracting visitors to outdoor activities such as walking tours, excursion activities throughout Cape Town and activities such as the wine route tours. Lastly, the influx of visitors and tourists are not embraced by local public space users due to the perceived impact on the comfort levels and the potential overcrowding in public spaces.

6.2.2.2 Social Activities

Areas, where there was more activity, seemed to be around Greenmarket Square, Long Street and St Georges Mall. The social activity resulted from the active involvement of visitors and tourists rather than public space users employed in the city.

Ren and Leilani, who were international visitors, had mentioned that they searched for tourist information before travelling to Cape Town. The research enabled them to plan social activities that would enable them to explore the city and learn about the history. One of the activities was a free guided walking

tour in the city centre that was used to identify places of interest that could be revisited later:

> So, it's really only about not even 48 hours we've been exploring a little bit. So, yesterday we took a walking tour, we came by here [The Company's Garden] for example, and we saw some of the historical monuments, the Parliament building, District Six, District Six museum uhm. Uhm a lot of other things but I don't remember exactly.
> (Interview with Ren – Teacher, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

There were two free guided walking tours operating in the city centre, one from Greenmarket Square and one from St Georges Mall. Figure 42 shows the Greenmarket Square walking tours, which at the time of my field research were only available through the purchase of a two- or three-day Cape Town bus tour ticket. Without proof of these tickets' participants were prevented from joining the free walking tours. Therefore, these free walking tours were not free. Red umbrellas identified the free walking tour guides.

I joined both the historical city centre walk and the Bo-Kaap walk, which had both international and local tourists. The historical city centre walk seemed more popular and preferred amongst international tourists. Before starting the tour, I asked Rosemary, the tour guide, if she regularly received locals on the tours. She replied that it was predominantly international tourists that joined. She added that as locals we take for granted what we have because we think that we know it all.

Walking tours as a social activity is multifunctional. For tourists, it is the spatial and social experience of the everyday public spaces and an opportunity to learn about the history, monuments, public spaces and places of interest. A guided tour leads to the self-exploration of places seen or recommended during the tour once the tour is over. For researchers like myself, walking tours are an opportunity to conduct direct observation and multisensory walking to observe the everyday use of public space, learn how the city and history are presented, and observe aspects of the city that may go unnoticed.

Figure 42: City Sightseeing Cape Town free walking tours joined by tour guides and tourists (Source: City Sightseeing Cape Town Tours, 2018)

Walking tours from St Georges Mall advertised as free were identified by green umbrellas held up by tour guides. These tours emphasise on brochures and the website that the tour guides are volunteers and rely on tips as a form of payment. Walking past a tour group, I overheard a tour guide telling one of the tourists that they rely on tips because they do not get paid for the tours. This sets an expectation that tourists must tip when joining these free walking tours.

Not all participants that explore the city centre participate in the free guided walking tours. The freedom to explore the city freely and without restriction has been one of the main attractions for Quill and Lavender that travel to the city weekly and enjoy engaging in spontaneous social activities:

> It's not the same thing every Tuesday. Today we just decide, I would say let's take a walk from here [The Company's Garden] to Salt River. That is what I am all about; I love walking. (Interview with Lavender – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

Walking tours require planning to be sustainable, whereas eateries can thrive from spontaneous arrangements. These establishments seem to be more attractive to participants that work in the city. When asking Lily, Magnolia and

Marigold if they travel to the city centre for reasons other than work, all participants confirmed that they do. Social activities revolve around sharing a meal with family or friends:

> **Lily:** Sometimes.
>
> **ZL:** Ja, for?
>
> **Lily:** To come eat out or do something fun with the [sic] friends or family.
>
> **Magnolia:** Ja, also for the same reason.
>
> **Marigold:** To come out and spend time with the family. (Interviews with Lily – Office Co-Ordinator, Magnolia - Hotel Administrator and Marigold - Hotel Administrator, St Georges Mall, 31 July 2018)

From my observations, The Company's Garden was quieter mid-afternoon during the week with very few people sitting in the park, compared to over the weekend when the Garden was busier with larger groups gathered. The most common activities included group picnics, children running around, people reading in the park, people sitting at the coffee shop and walking tours. A few big groups were socialising and tourists taking photographs. A tour guide was overheard, providing a brief historical account of The Company's Garden to a group of tourists.

Regular visitors to the city, Quill and Lavender, frequently relax in the Garden and enjoy sitting on one of the many benches to have a conversation:

> So, that is what we do every Tuesday. So, we take that opportunity to come and relax here in the Gardens. (Interview with Lavender – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

Lavender recalled pleasant family social activities in the Garden that was just as much about the family as it was about the atmosphere:

> It really brought back memories, you know. And just walking around with the pigeons, they were little [her children], and the squirrels here. Oh, my word, they are awesome. Look at that; they are already coming here. (Interview with Lavender – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

While the Garden was predominantly busy over the weekend, Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall were quieter with limited foot traffic through these spaces over the weekend. Even though street performers provided live entertainment, the outdoor seating was empty, and people were observed walking past without stopping, as seen in figure 43. Eateries throughout these public spaces embraced the outdoor café style seating and outdoor lounge seating to attract public space users. Establishments in public spaces embrace eyes on the street as a way of bringing activity onto the street by contributing to urban vitality.

Figure 43: Live Entertainment from street performers (Source: Author's Own)

Weather conditions were discussed as a potential limitation of engaging in outdoor social activities. I was approached to pay for parking by a city employed parking attendant; the attendant mentioned in passing that she perceived the overcast weather condition to be bad for business because people would remain indoors. This was mentioned more out of concern for the economic implication rather than the social implication. This was echoed by Leilani, who commented that she and her son deliberately planned their social activities indoors to avoid the rain:

> we thought it was going to rain today, so we deliberately picked places that were inside. As it turns out, it has not rained, at least not yet. (Interview with Leilani – Professor, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

Other possible reasons for the reduction in a social activity outside of work hours could be the limited free access to cultural amenities and social activities. Free access makes these activities more accessible to public space users that cannot afford to pay entrance fees. Poppy and Orchid are a few of the participants that confirmed that they do not travel to the city for reasons other than work because it is expensive. These participants are informal traders and treat the city centre only as a place of business and a source of livelihood.

In summary, the key findings of this section relate to walking tours, leisure walking, shared social spaces and tourist facilities and activities. Free walking tours are attractive for a variety of reasons whether to attract tourists or researchers; however, these remain consumer priced activities because of the expectation to tip tour guides. Leisure walking seems to be the preferred activity by a few participants because of the spontaneity of selecting walking routes. Another critical insight relates to the social activities centred around sharing a meal in a shared social space. Finally, there is a variety of social and cultural facilities such as activities, museums and galleries; however, there are limited free indoor cultural facilities.

6.2.2.3 Markets

The city centre has substantially commercialised marketplaces through promoting a variety of market types such as cultural, vintage, flora, toys, and fresh produce.

Most participants did not comment on the presence and variety of markets as there seemed to be an acceptance that the markets were a fixed feature of the city centre. Greenmarket Square had more traders set up near each other, while St Georges Mall traders were set up along parallel formations. The proximity of informal traders selling similar products in both spaces resulted in a repetition of the same items being seen and sold, thus increasing competitiveness.

These areas projected an African cultural image of products being marketed, whereas other non-cultural markets were located away from these cultural market stalls. Market stall merchandise predominantly ranged from African inspired jewellery, clothing, bags, and souvenirs. Amongst the many African

inspired merchandises, there were not many consumers seen purchasing items in either space during the week.

From observations of market spaces, many traders were seen sitting around and chatting to other traders. While others, as seen in figure 44, were starting to set up. The flexibility of trading times enabled traders to set their working times. However, this may impact on the possibility of attracting potential customers and impacts on profits.

Figure 44: Greenmarket Square market stall set up (Source: Author's Own)

Poppy perceived the profitability of trading to have declined. She suggested that the decline in profitability was not due to a lack of consumer support but due to the drought and the changing political landscape. This directly relates to Poppy's experience of trading in Greenmarket Square:

> If you asked me this question a year ago, I would have told you it's a positive, but I would have given you a positive answer. But this year, okay things have just gone landslide, you know. With the trading has just gone… reached bottom. (Interview with Poppy - Informal Trader, Greenmarket Square, 31 July 2018)

Figure 45: Informal traders selling toys, clothing and fresh produce away from the selected public spaces (Source: Author's Own)
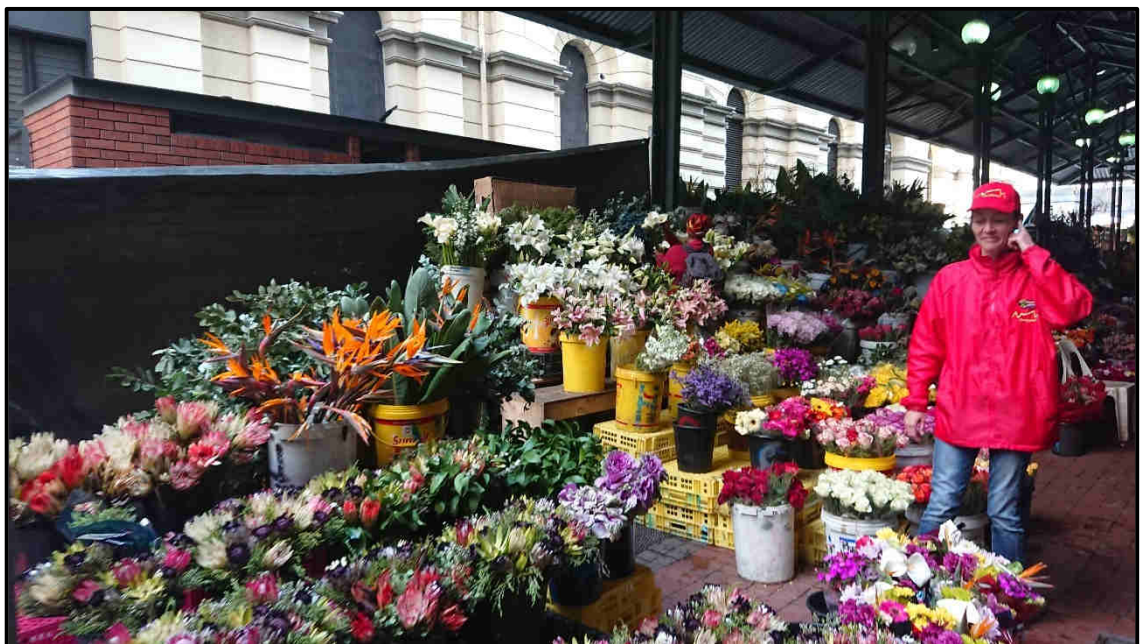
Figure 46: Trafalgar Place flower market in Adderley Street (Source: Author's Own)

Figure 47: Antique market set up along Church Street (Source: Author's Own)

Figures 45, 46 and 47 show the diversity of markets that the city has to offer. However, these stalls were located away from the public spaces and may suffer from a lack of foot traffic. This excludes the diversity of market types that the city has on offer, resulting in a lack of representation of the diversity amongst informal traders. However, there was no food market which could be a big attraction.

Overall, the key findings and insights suggest that while most traders set up early, a few set up late. This could indicate that these traders have stalls or businesses elsewhere. Secondly, African inspired merchandise and souvenirs dominate trader stalls, and these are concentrated in allocated spaces which increase competitiveness amongst traders. Lastly, the perceived profitability of informal trading has been affected by political instability and the impact of drought.

6.2.3 Underutilised Public Spaces

The main theme underutilised public spaces comprise of lack of visible social activity, maintenance and safety and security sub-themes.

6.2.3.1 Lack of Visible Social Activity

There were many occasions throughout my observations and multisensory walking, where public spaces felt more like pathways than destination areas. This observation was less about the fluctuation of activity throughout different times of the day and more about the patterns of use of the public space.

Several places of entertainment and eateries surrounding public space were seen yet these seemed empty not surprising if only looking from the outside. However, this was based on the observation of outdoor café style seating that was empty.

Very few participants commented on the lack of social activity in the city outside of 5 pm, except Rosemary. Rosemary specifically mentioned that the city is empty after five because: *"People tend to leave the city from 4* [pm]". This suggests that the lack of presence of public space users affects comfort and social activity levels. Quiet areas, as shown in figure 48 and the lack of people seen in public space are contributing factors.

She further mentioned that many homeless people tend to come out around that time, alluding to the homeless being responsible for the perception of crime. Cape Town has many homeless people who are socially excluded. They are seen walking around and, their presence is always noticed and commented on by participants. Their lack of participation in social activities contributes towards the lack of visible social activity in public space outside of regular working hours.
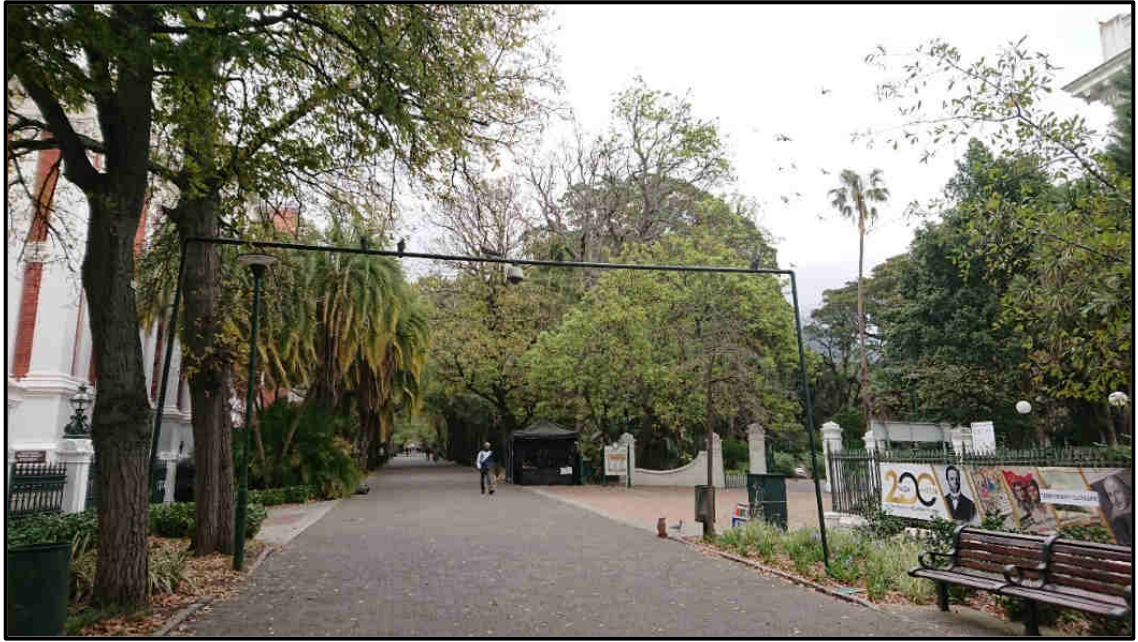
Figure 48: Quiet space with very limited activity (Source: Author's Own)
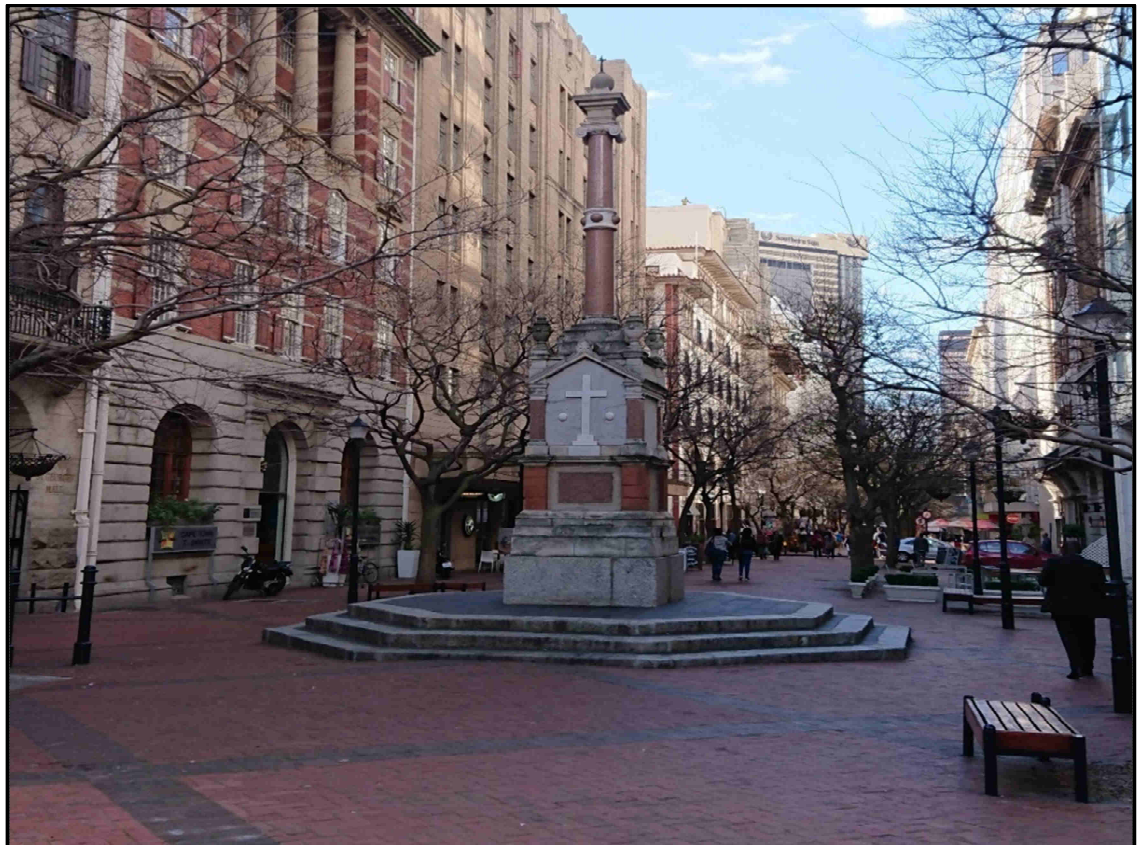
Figure 49: St Georges Mall being treated as a pathway and not a destination for social activity (Source: Author's Own)

Over the weekend, from 10 am to 3 pm; the city centre was quiet, as shown in figure 49. Exceptions were around informal trader market stalls along St Georges Mall and Greenmarket Square where there was more activity. These were around the popular tourist walking routes because walking tours are conducted in these spaces over the weekend.

Most of the activity was concentrated in The Company's Garden, which resulted in many empty spaces that made the city seem more like a business area than a multifunctional area.

In summary, the key insights relate to the lack of social activity after 5 pm presents a gap in the market to introduce activities to attract diverse social groups. Secondly, the lack of social activity is linked to predominantly business and economic activities surrounding public spaces. Finally, outdoor style seating is not enough to attract customers or encourage increased social activity outside work hours.

6.2.3.2 Maintenance

The maintenance of public spaces was displayed according to the image projected, control of informal traders and control of public spaces.

At first glance, it was a clean and well-kept city centre with spaces that were maintained as would be expected of any tourist city. Upon closer inspection, the areas that are not well maintained became noticeable. The spaces neglected were the ones claimed by the homeless and spaces that visitors and tourists were less likely to see or focus on because their attention would be on historic sites and monuments. The area along the water canal where the homeless sleep, was dirty and appeared unmaintained, see figure 34.

Spaces seemed to be maintained through several forms of control - the first directed towards controlling the spread of informal traders. The yellow boxes in figure 50 restricted the sporadic arrangement of informal traders and limited the area of each stall. This was found in Greenmarket Square, St Georges Mall and several other areas throughout the city.

Figure 50: Yellow squares demarcating spaces for trader stalls (Source: Author's Own)

The second form of control was the regulation of public space by enforcing operating times. The Company's Garden had several signs displaying the daily operating times from 7 am until 7 pm.

Even though the Garden was open daily, it was only accessible during the daytime to the early evening, which provided extended use of the public space. For the Garden to be used during these extended times, it requires public space users to intentionally remain in the space when most people have already left.

Lastly, projecting a particular city image was linked to the maintenance of the city and at the cost of locals' comfort. According to Sage, the present and past maintenance of the city served only to present a one-sided city image. His opinion was that the racial categories and the racializing of the city according to zones during apartheid was all based on the government's realisation that the city centre was profitable. He further added that it was also the picture-perfect image of a sophisticated South Africa.

Leilani echoed this sentiment and added that there were contrasting images of the city, which related to the way the city was maintained:

> Uhm, it's very beautiful. It is a beautiful city, uhm it is a very diverse city and uhm it seems to have some very prosperous areas and some not so prosperous. (Interview with Leilani – Professor, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

Although the responsibility of maintaining the city is with the Local Authority, some individuals take responsibility for maintaining the city centre as well. From my observations of the city, some individuals that recycled waste material were found in the city. Walking along Queen Victoria Street, there was an elderly man and a young boy carrying recycled plastic bottles, cans and cardboard boxes. These individuals are referred to as informal waste pickers in South Africa. From their appearance, they were not formally employed by the city nor a private company and were self-employed.

In summary, the key findings include three insights. Firstly, maintenance is linked to presenting a tourist and global city image. Secondly, spaces occupied and claimed by the homeless are not treated the same way and are not well maintained. Lastly, maintenance is linked to the spatial control of informal traders.

6.2.3.3 Safety and Security

Security measures were evident throughout the navigation of the city. There was a mix of subtle and overt security measures implemented by the private and public sector. These comprise of patrolling security guards and inconspicuous security measures such as surveillance cameras.

I found it interesting the police presence observed in Greenmarket Square during the week. There were several police vehicles and over six police officers, some standing around and others patrolling the Square in search of something, as seen in figure 51. Their presence in the Square seemed to go unnoticed by most public space users as no-one stopped to look at them or pay any attention to them.
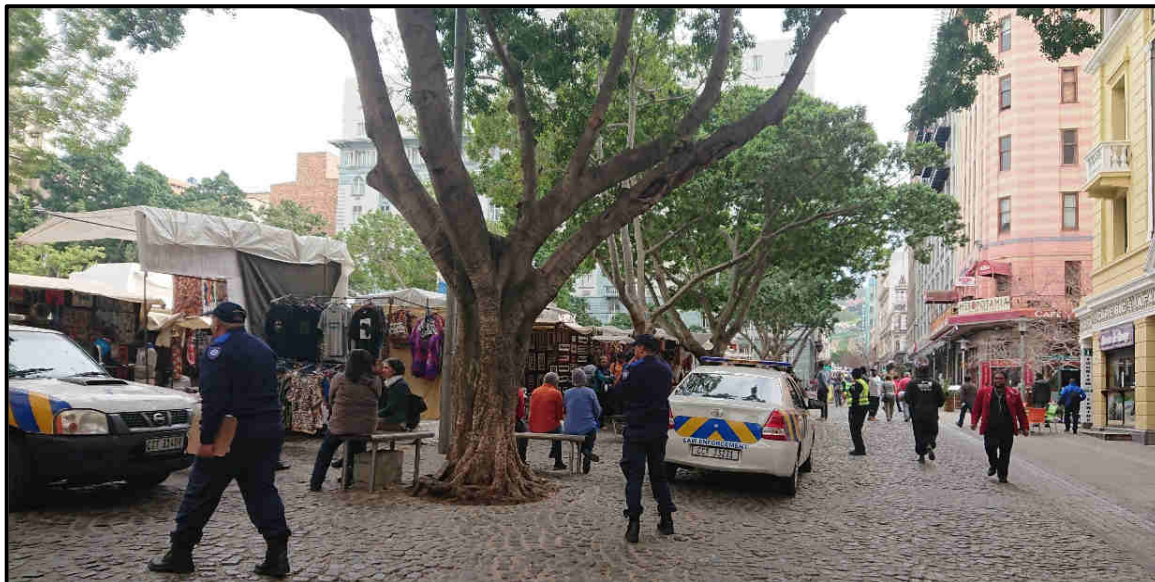
Figure 51: Metro Police patrolling in Greenmarket Square (Source: Author's Own)

Rosemary did not mention the regular presence of the private security guards patrolling in the city, as seen in figure 30. The presence of private security seemed familiar, and something that public space users were accustomed to; therefore, none of the participants commented on this.

Private security measures included portable security trailers and surveillance cameras. Figure 52 is one of the many portable security guard trailers stationed throughout the city, which encourages public space users to report any type of crime. Some of these trailers were closed during the day, and no security guards were seen around the trailer, this defeats the purpose of being able to report a crime seamlessly. I observed many hidden surveillance cameras throughout the city; however, there were no warning signs for public space users to be vigilant of their surroundings or any crime hot spots to avoid.
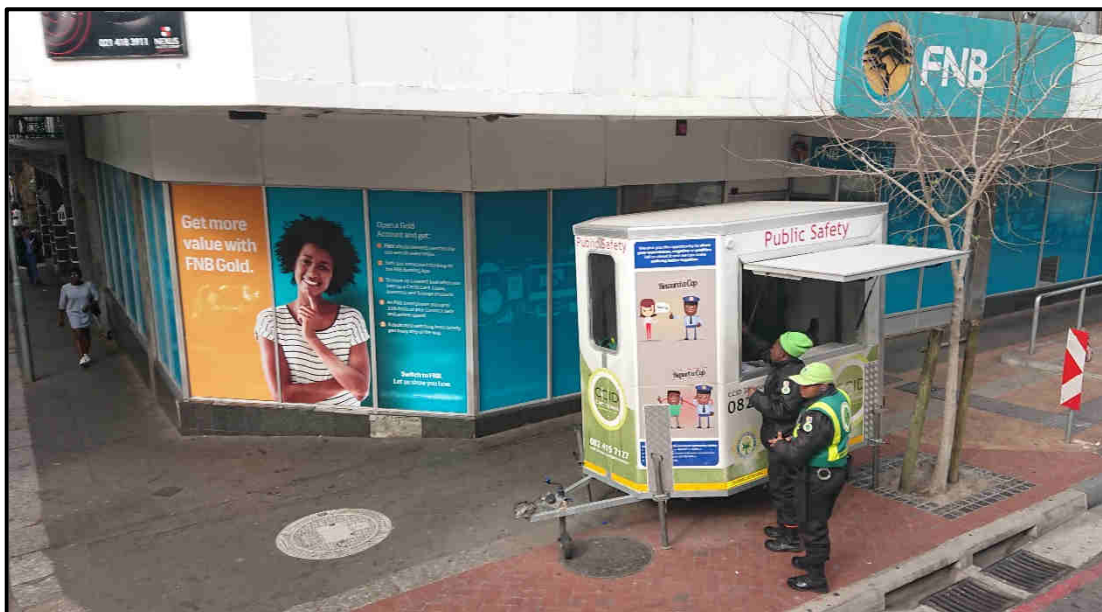
Figure 52: Portable public safety trailer for public space users and city securities (Source: Author's Own)

Ren, an international visitor, recalled being unaware that there were safety concerns before he arrived in Cape Town. Him and his mother were repeatedly warned to take safety precautions by hotel staff and not to explore the city on foot. However, warnings issued did not deter him from exploring the city on foot, nor did it influence his experience and perception of the city:

> from the time we got here [Cape Town], the kind of security have been an issue. Wherever we have gone, people have told us be careful of your stuff, uh, you know your phone, and that made a big impression on me. Coz when I was looking uh, about coming here I didn't see much about that, now that I am here everyone says be careful. At the hotel they want us to take a taxi everywhere we going [sic] not to walk. (Interview with Ren – Teacher, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

During the historical walking tour of the city centre, one of the tourists asked if the area was safe. Rosemary responded that as an international city, people need to be vigilant, that is why she advised us to keep our bags in front of our chests and not on our backs because of petty crime. This was not explained at the beginning of the tour and only made sense when questions about safety were raised. Although this made the tour participants stand out more because public space users were not wearing their bags in front of their chests. An informal discussion with Rosemary about the activity levels throughout the week revealed that she regarded the city as unsafe. Safety was directly related to the presence of public space users visible from 4 pm.

She also added that quiet areas should be avoided at night, such as the Garden because homeless people tend to sleep there and bathe in the stream. Rosemary was not the only participant to associate homelessness with criminal behaviour. Magnolia, works in the area, described some of the homeless people that walk in the city as dangerous. This was not based on previous experience or encounters and seemed more like a generalisation:

> There is a lot of street people in this area, and they are very violent, some of them. But other than that, it's okay cause I am normally inside so, I am not outside a lot. It is just to come out to smoke or if I want to go somewhere. (Interview with Magnolia - Hotel Administrator, St Georges Mall, 31 July 2018)

To sum up, the key findings include three main insights. Firstly, the presence of private and public security is a familiar sight for frequent public space users because their presence goes unnoticed. Secondly, the emphasis on security measures is emphasised when international and local visitors try to explore the city on foot. Lastly, several participants associate homelessness with crime or the perception of crime.

6.3 City Plans and Policies

Similar to chapter 5, this section focuses further on the discussions of chapter 2, section 2.2.2 by reflecting on the most relevant Cape Town city plans and policies informed by national legislation and policies. The purpose of this discussion is to better contextualise the discussion in section 6.3. The city plans and policies include the City of Cape Town City Development Strategy (CDS), Cape Town Densification Policy, Urban Design Policy and the Cape Town Municipal Spatial Development Framework, which are summarised in the table 15.

Table 15: Summary of Cape Town city plans and policies

Plan/Policy	Approved	Purpose	Reference
City of Cape Town City Development Strategy	2012	The Cape Town City Development Strategy (CDS) is a long-term development strategy used to guide six key areas and includes action plans to promote and manage growth with 2040 as the target year.	City of Cape Town (2012)
Cape Town Densification Policy	2012	The purpose of the densification policy was to address development challenges affecting long-term sustainability. The density policy is used to guide density-related applications, inform land use densities if spatial frameworks and guide precinct plans.	City of Cape Town (2012a)
Urban Design Policy	2013	Outlines urban design objectives and statements intended to guide development proposals and provide an assessment of development proposal applications.	City of Cape Town (2013)
Cape Town Municipal Spatial Development Framework	2018	The Cape Town Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) is designed to be a city level long-term strategic document, that identifies development priorities to manage urban growth.	TDA Cape Town (2018)

The City of Cape Town City Development Strategy (CDS) has been developed in line with the Western Cape long-term vision, known as OneCape2040. The mission guiding the CDS is to develop "a highly skilled, innovative-driven, resource-efficient, connected, high-opportunity and collaborative society" (City of Cape Town, 2012, p.8). The CDS forms the foundation of planning frameworks to follow one vision across multiple spatial documents. Emphasise is placed on adopting a long-term vision to address challenges such as urbanisation, job and education inequality and disintegration across city areas. The CDS serves several key purposes, namely: to function as an action plan developed through public

participation, improving the quality of life, managing growth and proposing initiatives that are achievable within a specified timeframe (City of Cape Town, 2012).

The purpose of the Densification Policy is to guide densification across the city and inform local area density plans used by decision makers (City of Cape Town, 2012a). The goal of the policy is "to improve the city's sustainability and to enhance the quality of the built environment" (City of Cape Town, 2012a, p.10). There are several objectives guiding the policy such as providing guidelines to assess development proposals, ensuring efficient use of transport, enhancing the built environment and providing different density levels. The density policy is intended to provide detailed densification guidelines proposed in the Cape Town MSDF which promotes a compact city.

The purpose of the Design Policy is to redress the apartheid spatial legacy by providing guidance for urban design and development proposals (City of Cape Town, 2013). This policy is applied at the local level which enables focus on varying scales at neighbourhood, precinct and site-specific levels. The policy provides principles that should be used as a guide only and applied with flexibility and discretion. This will ensure that each site is assessed based on the specific characteristics of the site and avoid a one-size fits all approach (City of Cape Town, 2013).

The Cape Town Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) "sets out the spatial vision and development priorities to achieve a reconfigured, inclusive spatial form for Cape Town" (TDA Cape Town, 2018, p.x). The MSDF is guided by SPLUMA, Act 16 of 2014, the Western Cape Land Use Planning Act, Act 3 of 2014 and the City of Cape Town's Municipal Planning By-law, 2015. The framework is revised every five years and improves on the previous MSDF drafted in 2012. The previous MSDF was guided by the DFA, Act 67 of 1995 and the Land Use Planning Ordinance, 15 of 1986 but due to both been repealed, the current MSDF is not guided by those legislative documents. The spatial vision highlights several focus areas, namely: job creation to sustain economic growth, improving urban connectivity to address inefficient urban form, diversification of space and densification both vertically and horizontally (TDA Cape Town, 2018). Similar to

the Johannesburg SDF, the Cape Town SDF also prioritises urban form by focusing on achieving densification along corridors, nodes and TOD.

6.4 Discussion

The key findings that emerged from the Cape Town thematic analysis include three main insights. Firstly, most participants expressed positive perceptions regarding the use of the city, although economic activities were not all-inclusive. Secondly, for a city that prioritises tourism city spaces are used more as temporal spaces. Lastly, perceptions of crime and the securitisation of public space impacts on the use of public space.

Urban connectivity includes the orderly separation of formal and informal economic activities, the comfort and relaxation afforded to most public space users, and social infrastructure is predominantly geared towards attracting tourists.

The general city centre is well-connected, and study sites are accessible by walking without the need to rely on transportation, thus encouraging more exploration of public spaces. The pedestrian network was developed in the same year that the first democratic elections were held. As a short-term strategy the network was used to unite South Africans, as a long-term strategy, it is used to develop a walkable city to enable public space users to connect to various parts of the city centre.

My research is in line with the finding by Sinclair-Smith and Turok (2012) that formal economic activities dominate Cape Town city centre and has not changed. Additionally, the combination of formal and informal activities within shared public spaces contributes towards the diversity of economic activities. However, these are controlled, and informal and formal activities are separated in the spatial layout of city spaces.

The city combines business, residential and leisure activities; however, business activities seem to be prioritised over other activities. Most participants remarked on the value of economic activities within the city centre, and no one commented on the mix of formal and informal activities. From observations, the

formal economy in the city centre is predominantly driven by public space users that are employed in the city centre. This concurs with findings of Sinclair-Smith and Turok (2012) that the range of local economic activities in the city represents an opportunity for skilled and non-skilled job seekers to find opportunities in the city.

Majority of informal trader stalls along Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall predominantly sold similar African inspired souvenirs. These traders were concentrated within designated spaces and in close proximity which increased the competition between traders. These economic activities may not cater to all socio-economic groups in terms of the affordability of economic activities. Miraftab (2007) found that informal traders were not regarded as equal to formal business operators, as such, the Cape Town Partnership determines their movement, areas of trade, and choices. This was evident in the control of most places occupied by informal traders (Marks and Bezzoli, no date; Lemanski, 2007).

The emphasis on commercialisation of marketplaces around African cultural themes contributed towards developing an African city image. According to Marks and Bezzoli (no date) and Miraftab (2007), the commercialising of African culture is used to present a controlled and monitored city that is attractive to foreign investment. This comes at the cost of separating other types of markets that do not showcase African cultural themes such as flora, toys, fresh produce and vintage items.

Marketplaces have been commercialised, and most informal traders were clustered around each other. The commercialising of African market themes was predominantly located around Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall. The market stalls benefitted from increased foot traffic due to the walking tours that started from these public spaces. The experience for participants around these areas is not as diverse because similar souvenirs, arts and crafts are displayed throughout the same space. This not only affects the user experience but also forces increased levels of competitiveness amongst traders. This reduces the economic profitability of traders selling similar items and also threatens the livelihoods of traders relying on an income to survive. While observing the movements of public space users, many were seen walking past informal trader

stalls. Some were seen glancing as they walked past, and only a few stopped at individual stalls.

The Local Authority should make use of promoting diversity amongst informal traders by increasing the diversity of trader stalls. Poppy perceived the success of trading on Greenmarket Square to be declining. However, there was no mention of whether having competing traders so close to each other was a possible cause.

The attitudes towards the city centre were mainly expressed as positive by many participants. This is not surprising as Cape Town has often been preferred to other South African cities and several authors have written about its tourist appeal (Worden, 1992; Bickford-Smith, 1995; Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Bodino, 2016).

However, this positive outlook of the Cape Town city centre overshadows the areas of exclusion that are still visible. The divide between formal and informal employment, the control over informal traders and the isolation of the homeless. There were subtle forms of control, such as the limitation of space and informal traders appeared to accept these within the spaces that they occupied. There were no by-law signs seen restricting spaces where informal trading was prohibited. However, a few traders who set up in areas where there were minimal competitors.

Informal traders were controlled through the demarcation of yellow squares outlining the maximum area that each stall was permitted to occupy. It was not clear what the consequences were if traders ignored these perimeters, but stalls that were set up seemed to abide by these. Another form of control was the accessibility to public spaces through enforcing operating times for the social use of The Company's Garden.

Rosemary, a tour guide and frequent public space user, drew attention to the increase in homelessness in the city centre over the past few years. Even though homeless people are a group of public space users, they were treated differently by other groups of public space users. Many homeless people walking throughout public spaces were either ignored or stared at by public space users.

This showed the efforts employed to continue presenting a picture-perfect city image that does not include the homeless. The focus of presenting a particular image to the world has been discussed as presenting an attractive image by Marks and Bezzoli (no date). All this contributes towards the development of an orderly city; however, this seems to be more of an economic focus rather than a social focus (Marks and Bezzoli, no date; Miraftab, 2007). The projection of a city on display rather than an everyday city seems more strategic and for the benefit of foreign investors. Very often the image projected does not correlate with the everyday reality of the image described by frequent and infrequent public space users.

The treatment of the homeless polarises shared social spaces by encouraging a division between different social groups which affects the behaviour and attitudes of public space users. Lemanski (2004) described "this as reinforcing fear by excluding difference and limiting social mixing" (p.108) which is counterproductive to encouraging an inclusive city.

This may have resulted in the homeless resorting to adopting behaviour that blends them into the environment even if it is partial. The use of water canals as a place of shelter provides limited privacy and no comfort. This was used as a space for survival that was claimed by the homeless. Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) remark that the reclamation of space by marginalised groups such as "the working class, women and people of colour" (p.372) is discussed throughout history. Furthermore, the authors subscribe to the thought that public spaces are socially produced because meaning is only assigned through social construction. The historical significance of these discussions continues to be observed in the present public spaces in the Cape Town city centre, where the homeless and informal traders are claiming public space against the growth of controlled public spaces.

The provision of social infrastructure surrounding public spaces was diverse and included public, private and tourist transportation, educational institutions, and cultural facilities. All these infrastructures were developed to attract public space users, tourists and visitors from different areas of the city. The added benefit of using public transportation was the free train rides available to pensioners. Quill and Lavender who specifically mentioned the appeal of

accessing this free service. Lily, Magnolia and Marigold also mentioned that they have access to reliable staff transport that is a convenient alternative to using public transport. However, these three participants did not make it clear whether this was a free service or not.

The pedestrian network was used by many public space users observed walking in various directions. This resulted in more foot traffic and movement throughout public spaces which limited opportunities for social interactions. For those working in the city, public spaces were used for short lunch and smoke breaks and to observe other public space users before returning to work.

There was a range of tourist social infrastructure and facilities in the form of the City Sightseeing Cape Town bus tour, museums, galleries and several walking tours that were advised as free. Orchid, Poppy and Lily were several participants that expressed no interest in using tourist social infrastructure, which does not ensure the sustainability of these facilities and amenities. This is one of the aspects that differentiates Cape Town from other South African cities but is not inclusive in terms of affordability and accessibility to all social groups (Bodino, 2016).

From the three public spaces, The Company's Garden is more accessible in terms of access and affordability. All social groups have access and are not restricted from using the Garden. The tourist infrastructure includes activities that are intended for middle- and upper-income visitors and tourists rather than locals. This indicates that despite the diversity of social infrastructure, there is a lack of social vibrancy of public space users because activities are not economically accessible.

The exclusion of cyclists and skateboarders from Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall was made clear through restrictive signs. However, dedicated cyclists' lanes are provided along Adderley Street. Still, not all infrastructure has been provided to accommodate skateboarders. This predominantly excludes a younger generation from many public spaces in the city centre.

The theme planned opportunities for social encounters suggests that the city is treated as a temporal space, and many public spaces are used as pathways

rather than destinations. This is a surprising finding for a city that prioritises tourism and encourages visitors to spend time in the city. Yet, the increased use of social activities within the city centre is dependent on economic activities.

The activity programming in the city centre appeared to be very minimal because social groups were rarely seen co-mingling. Pugalis (2009) describes activity programming as the development of "culturally vibrant and economically sustainable spaces" (p.223). These spaces require planning events that diversify the standard features of public space. Pugalis (2009) suggests that activity programming relates to the temporary and alternative use of public space such as market days that encourage diverse groups to co-mingle rather than the retreat of groups into "private social spaces" (p.223). However, in the case of Greenmarket Square and St Georges Mall, where market stalls are set up daily, the spontaneity of co-mingling and use by groups is reduced because the markets are a fixed feature. These public spaces rely heavily on the daily attraction of international and local tourists.

Converting the street into a temporary film set for the day qualifies as activity programming. However, it may not be as big an attraction as an event that may be centrally located, such as introducing a weekly food market or weekly dance sessions in the Garden. This provides an opportunity to encourage the multi-use of public spaces that include activities that appeal to all visitors.

One of my research findings is a reflection of Miraftab's (2007) study that the development model of Cape Town city centre is based on the "interests of formal business, foreign investors, global tourism and the national elite" (p.620). The focus is on promoting and maintaining the tourist city image which prioritises consumer interests over local people's interests. The predominant tourist activities within the city centre reflected a lack of interest from locals to participate in these activities. One of the participants commented that the city was inundated with tourists.

An observation of Greenmarket Square and the surrounding businesses were based on the tourism industry. The Square is located close to the office of the City Sightseeing Cape Town bus tours, there are hotels and several tourism businesses and was busier than St Georges Mall. However, visitors to the city

seemed to socialise within their social groups and were not seen co-mingling with other social groups which limit social vibrancy.

Despite the limited social activity observed, many eateries were surrounding the public spaces that attempted to bring indoor activity outdoors through the provision of outdoor seating. Many of the outdoor seating areas had a few people sitting outside during the week and over the weekend. This did not change during lunchtime between noon and 2 pm, even though many people were seen in public spaces.

From my observations, many cultural activities such as museums and guided walking tours were treated as tourist attractions according to participants. Most activities required some form of payment, including the walking tours advertised as 'free'. The free guided walking tours were a main attraction for participants unfamiliar with the city and wanting to learn more about the city through exploration. These activities encourage spontaneous visits as participants can sign up minutes before the tour begins. Guided walking tours seemed to be more prevalent during the week when there was more activity observed throughout the city. This also reflects my observation that overall activity between public space was reduced over the weekend.

Poppy, Orchid, Marigold and Magnolia admitted to having no interest in paying for activities perceived to be for tourists. These types of activities are more conducive to unplanned encounters than planned encounters.

Marigold and Magnolia remarked that they prefer social activities centred around sharing a meal with friends and family and leisurely exploring various city spaces. There is also a significant shift in social activity and use of the city throughout different times of the day. Many available social activities intertwined with cultural attractions except for The Company's Garden, a public garden.

The Company's Garden was busier over the weekend with many public space users observed having conversations, picnicking and seated on benches. Approaching the Garden from Greenmarket Square, the area seemed to be quiet because the conversations and laughter seemed to be contained within the

Garden walls. However, the Garden displayed the most social activity over the weekend when the city centre was mainly quiet.

Very few participants mentioned travelling to the city for leisure shopping. Marks and Bezzoli (no date) suggested that the fractured nature of South African public spaces has resulted in the development of new public spaces such as shopping malls. Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) propose that the shopping mall provides a shared space which is a "rare occurrence in post-apartheid South Africa" (p. 373). I argue that shared space that prevents the freedom of access to everyone is selective and cannot be considered shared space. Shopping malls are often privately managed sites with the right of admission reserved, which inevitably excludes the homeless from entering.

In contrast, public space in the city centre and throughout the city enables the freedom of access in shared spaces without preventing access. However, securitised spaces monitor the movement of individuals but does not prevent them from walking down the street.

Along St Georges Mall there are several retail clothing stores and eateries, similar to stores found in shopping malls. This points to the multifunctional use of public space and the possibility of high street shopping popular in European cities. However, there was limited activity observed from these stores over the weekend. This is in line with research conducted by Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) that found that the level of activity was determined by the social groups present and the perception of crime in the Cape Town city centre. Fear appears to be a factor in the optional use of public space, although, none of the participants admitted this.

The time of day and day of the week determined the level of social activity. Low levels of activity cannot be sustained and require more deliberate planning to encourage different social groups to occupy the city over the weekend. There is also an opportunity to introduce weekend food markets and farmers markets, to encourage more diversity and use of the city.

The lack of social activity has indicated that public spaces are underutilised after 5 pm and over the weekend. This suggests that social activity in public

spaces are dependent on the predominant economic activity is not sustainable without this activity. Even though there have been attempts to develop a multifunctional city that embraces the work, live and leisure concept, the practical use remains one dimensional. Many of the public space users observed used the public space out of necessity for livelihoods and survival more than for leisure purposes.

While the city has been established as a tourist destination, the city centre lacks attracting local interest, and visitors outside of work hours. The exclusion of the homeless and youth groups such as skaters and cyclists are a missed opportunity to maximise the efficient use of public space outside of work hours. Engaging the homeless through social activities is an opportunity to include a group that is often stereotyped and marginalised.

Lemanski (2004) remarks that the implementation of security measures in Cape Town was implemented for 'purifying' public space from perceived crimes by unknown perpetrators. In my research, several participants related their fear of crime in the city to the homeless people roaming public spaces. Homelessness is a global issue and not unique to Cape Town, and the generalisation that homeless people commit crimes further marginalises a group that is socially excluded.

Lemanski (2004) also suggests understanding the need between ensuring safety and measures of exclusion, otherwise a business strategy based on security measures risks excluding certain social groups. This was found in Cape Town city centre, that excluded the homeless through controlling their movement and providing no space in the city for them. Several public space users blamed the perception of crime on the homeless without any facts to support this. One of the main perceptions expressed by Rosemary, Lily and Magnolia was the presence of homeless in public spaces, especially after 5 pm. This negative perception of crime being as a result of the presence of the homeless in public space contributes towards a stereotype and generalisation of a social group often marginalised by society (Miraftab, 2007; 2012).

From observations and multisensory walking, the city centre and public spaces were well maintained. The areas around public spaces and tourist hotspots also

appeared well maintained, with the provision of seating, surveillance, developed pedestrian pathways and sufficient walking space. None of the participants commented on the maintenance of the city or the perceived lack of maintenance.

Ren admitted being unaware of the safety and security concerns before arriving in Cape Town. This seems to have been deliberately excluded from marketing the city as it does not provide travel safety tips to tourists. For a city that reportedly has a high crime rate, as was discussed in chapter 2, this information is critical to public space users.

Through my exploration and observation of various public spaces, the most common features were the multiple forms of implemented security measures. These ranged from private security guards patrolling public spaces, mobile security guard trailers, surveillance cameras, and police patrolling in vehicles and on foot. Miraftab (2007) argues that the post-apartheid Cape Town city centre reflects the privatisation of public urban space which extends beyond ownership but instead relates to the "logic of what should - and should not - be done in public space" (p.617). I argue though that with the absence of outright ownership of public space, it remains - in principle - accessible to everyone and therefore reflects more securitised public spaces which are controlled through a combination of public and private security measures. On the one hand, these spaces benefit from the constant presence of monitoring measures which contributes to the comfort levels of public space users and impacts on the levels of social activity. On the other hand, adverse effects may be experienced in spaces that do not benefit from this same degree of securitisation.

Walking throughout the city, there were distinct differences between securitised and non-securitised areas due to the level of control and monitoring. Lemanski (2004) suggests increased control and surveillance of public spaces would inadvertently contribute towards an abandoning of some public spaces, which is reminiscent of many South African cities. However, both the securitised and non-securitised spaces displayed a lack of social activity after 5 pm.

The lack of social activity, use between public spaces and the perception of crime after work hours, has affected the actual use, comfort levels and

relaxation of public space users. However, the weather was also mentioned as a determining factor by public space users. Leilani and Ren commented that weather conditions determined their preference for indoor and outdoor activities throughout the city. This reduces the level of spontaneous encounters as there are fewer people in public spaces. However, this seems to be preferential because public spaces still had limited activity when weather conditions were favourable.

6.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to present the thematic analysis of the Cape Town study sites, relating to the main themes of urban connectivity, planned opportunities for social encounters and underutilised public spaces.

The overall findings of the thematic analysis suggest that established social transformation initiatives are exclusionary, which indicates access to these initiatives are reserved for middle- and higher-income earners. Primarily due to the tourism industry and the economic, social and cultural activities available in the city. Activities within public spaces primarily require financial exchanges to be enjoyed and those activities advertised as free have an expectation that a financial contribution will be made. Furthermore, the spatial transformation of the city centre seems to be slow because the current spatial development appears to be preserved for tourist appeal.

The main findings suggest that firstly, the urban connectivity between public spaces is well established and pedestrians are prioritised equally as much as motorists. However, not all social groups are equally prioritised, such as cyclists and skateboarders. Secondly, the levels of social activity vary throughout the day and are dependent on whether spaces are occupied by visitors, the homeless or people employed in the area. There is a substantially low level of social activity outside of work hours with minimal activities focused on changing this. Although public spaces are accessible by walking, there is limited evidence that new initiatives focused on improving the walkability between public spaces. Lastly, the highly securitised nature of the city and controlled public spaces suggest a city that benefits an urban elite that is accepted in these spaces. This

results in a city that perpetuates social inequality through the implementation of security measures.

The following chapter will discuss comparatively the findings of both case studies in response to the research questions. The first research question is, how are socio-spatial transformations perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy? The second research question is, how has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation?

7 Comparative Analysis: Johannesburg and Cape Town Case Studies

Following the previous two chapters, thematic analysis of Johannesburg and Cape Town case study sites were presented. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of each research question through a comparative discussion of the case studies. The discussions are guided by the inductive themes derived from the textual field data, as outlined in chapter 4, section 4.5. The analysis is based on Maboneng, Gandhi Square and the Mining District and 1 Fox Street in Johannesburg and Greenmarket Square, St Georges Mall and The Company's Garden in Cape Town.

The following section presents a discussion of the first research question. A comparative discussion analyses about how socio-spatial transformations are perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy? The third section provides a discussion of the second question, namely: how has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation? The final section presents a summary of the overall research findings.

7.1 Research Question 1: How are socio-spatial transformations perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy?

The findings of the first research question are discussed according to the comparative analysis of Johannesburg and Cape Town. The question is addressed through the analysis of (1) the lack of spatial displays and spoken accounts of apartheid and (2) the representation of a preferred socio-spatial history.

7.1.1 The lack of spatial displays and spoken accounts of apartheid

The spatial displays are characterised according to monuments, placards and information displays included throughout public spaces, specifically in the selected sites. The location of Johannesburg and Cape Town sites in the historical centre of the city was central to discussions about the impact and experiences during apartheid.

From my observations and multisensory walking of both city centres, there was a lack of spatial displays representing the legacy of physical apartheid restrictions. The main ways these displays were analysed was according to two components. The first encouraging present public space users to reflect on the experience of apartheid public space users. The second relates to the memory and experiences participants associated with the space they occupied.

In Johannesburg, the only reminder of apartheid was a hidden bilingual, English and Afrikaans, sign displaying an example of institutionalised apartheid. The 1959 ordinance sign indicates a non-white shop, see figure 53. The sign was placed above a shop under a covered sidewalk and was not visible from the street. The sign was one of the final attractions along the walking route for the historical city centre tour offered by Joburg free walking tours. Jasmine, the tour guide, pointed out the sign which was only noticeable when looking above the shop doorway. It was unclear whether the owner has changed because the shop was closed, and Jasmine was unaware of the history. The sign was in Diagonal Street, which is 1.9 km from Fox Street. It is a 13-minute walk to view the sign from Gandhi Square. The sign was a startling representation of spatial control measures implemented by the apartheid government in the city centre. It provided insight into the extent of land use control in the city. Even though the sign memorialised a painful history, it was not included as a tourist attraction in other historical city centre walking tours nor mentioned in the narrated history by the City Sightseeing Joburg bus tour.

Figure 53: Hidden apartheid shop sign in Diagonal Street, Johannesburg (Source: Author's Own)

In Cape Town, there was also only one spatial display of the spatial segregation in the form of racial benches implemented during apartheid. The benches represented the everyday divisions of public space users and were displayed to be interactive. The benches were marked as either 'white-only' and 'non-white only' and located outside The High Court Civil Annex opposite The Company's Garden, see figure 54.
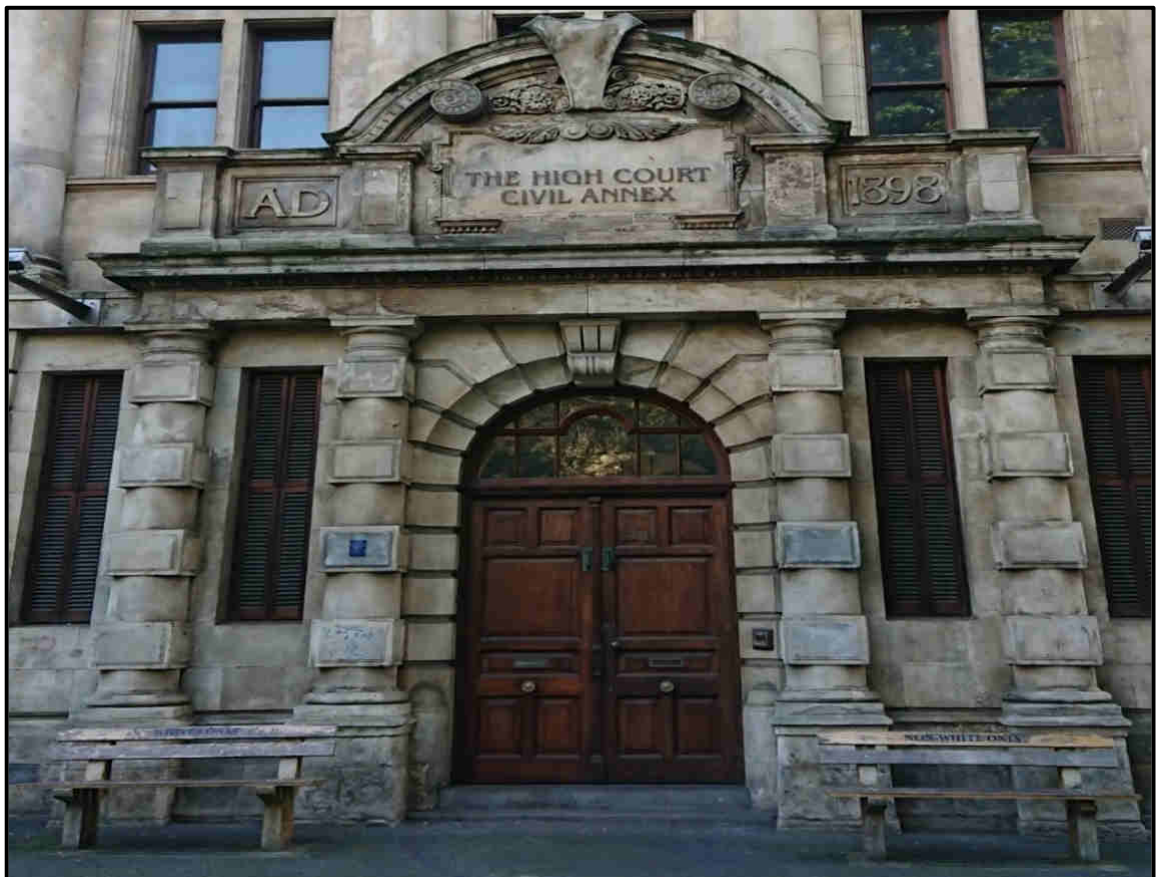
Figure 54: High court with 'white' and 'non-white' benches implemented during apartheid in Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town (Source: Author's Own)

The Court approved racial laws and implemented the division of the four population groups in South Africa, namely: Black, White, Coloured, Asian/Indian. The Court was guided by the Population Registration Act, 1950 discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2.1.

The benches were one of the first tourist attractions forming part of the historical walking tours offered by both the City Sightseeing Cape Town Tours and Cape Town free walking tours. Rosemary confirmed that the benches were once placed all over the country; however, these were the only displays retained post-apartheid. There was some sign that the benches were maintained perhaps for tourist appeal or preservation of history. It has been 26 years since apartheid

ended and some of the bench blanks seemed newer than others which over two decades would have signs of weathering.

The benches served two purposes, the first as a reminder of the segregated past and enforced spatial control. The second, as a bench where all population groups could sit in defiance of the past and take photographs on, something that was unthinkable during apartheid. During the walking tour, I observed a Coloured homeless man sitting on the 'non-white' bench; this could be because the tour group was standing in front of the 'white-only' bench or it was subconscious. When another tour group approached the benches, the man walked away as if he conceded that the dominant purpose of the bench was for tourist appeal. On another occasion, I observed an informal parking attendant sitting on a ledge where his backpack was rather than sitting on the empty benches. This seemed to be an avoidance to sit on the benches that were empty and more comfortable than a ledge. The street was quiet, and no tour groups were seen walking in the area.

Sage, an informal parking attendant, remarked that he felt there was no problem with sitting on the benches. However, he recalled that historically public space users were required to sit on the bench applicable to their population group. In this case, it was either 'white-only' or 'non-white only' and if you were caught sitting on the wrong bench, then you were immediately arrested.

While the shop ordinance and racial benches were the only two spatial displays directly related to apartheid, there were other displays. This includes statues, heritage display boards and memorial walls that represented an indirect link to the apartheid history.

In Johannesburg, spatial displays were representative of specific individuals or development milestones. The son of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer donated the impala statue shown in figure 55. Oppenheimer was one of the leading diamond and gold mining founders that contributed to the economic success of Johannesburg during the colonial era and the beginning of apartheid. According to Sorrel, a tour guide with another Joburg tours company, the statue was donated in 1960 during apartheid. The impalas were beheaded due to turmoil over the mining

industry by civilians. The statues were refurbished in 2002 with new heads attached and relocated to the Mining District. Sorrel likened the reattachment of the impala heads to the rebirth of Johannesburg by stating "*the old body with a new head*".

Figure 55: Refurbished impala statutes, Johannesburg (Source: Author's Own)

My observation of monuments in Johannesburg were predominantly heritage display boards, as seen in figures 56 and 57. The significance of the Magistrate's Courts and the role it played in prosecuting people in defiance of apartheid laws was overlooked and not mentioned. Similarly, the contribution of the Chinese community and the development of China town during colonial and apartheid rule was overlooked.

These monuments were found along the walking tour routes but were not included in the narrated spatial history by Jasmine or Sorrel. Instead, tour participants were left to read or take a photograph of the content displayed. The tour guides did not explain these monuments. None of the tour participants seemed to notice these displays or ask the tour guide for further information.
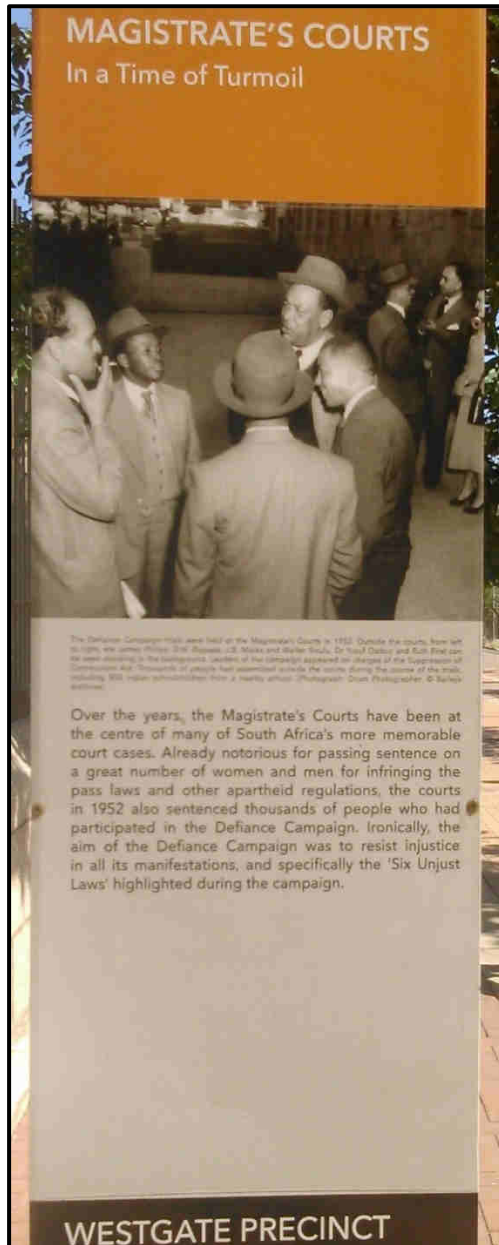
Figure 56: Magistrate's Courts role in prosecuting apartheid cases, Johannesburg (Source: Author's Own)
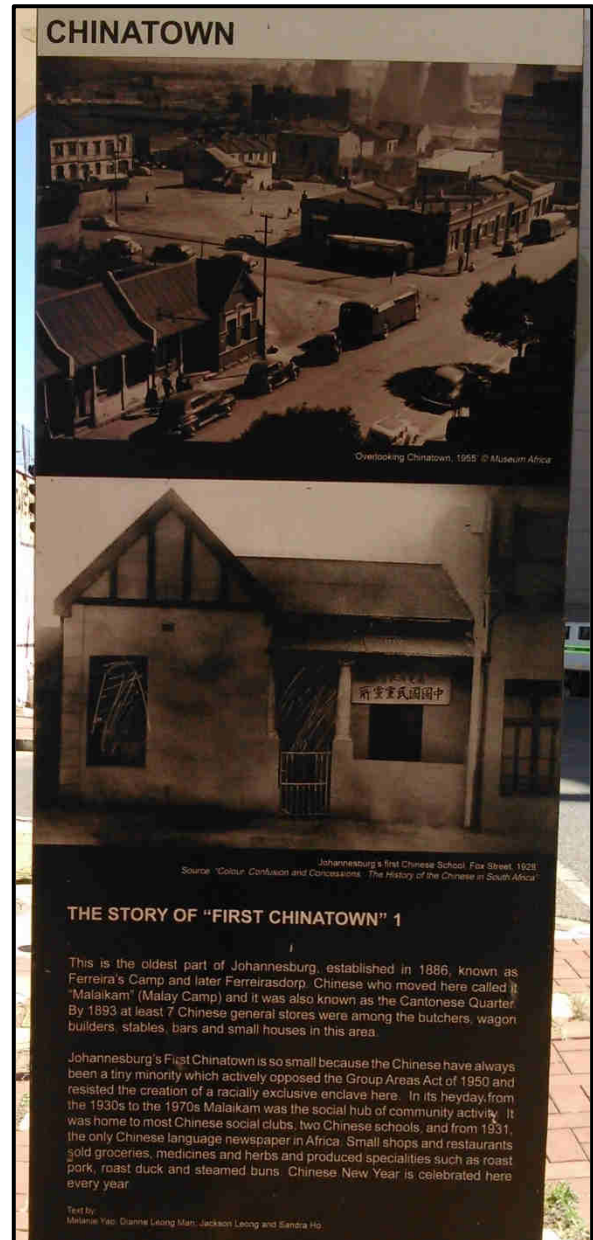
Figure 57: Chinatown history in Johannesburg (Source: Author's Own)

In Cape Town, the controversial figure of Cecil John Rhodes was on prominent display in The Company's Garden, as shown in figure 58. Cecil Rhodes was responsible for the development of the Glen Grey Act, which was the masterplan to apartheid. Similar to Ernest Oppenheimer, Cecil Rhodes represented the colonial rule and British influence on the spatial development of Cape Town. However, Cecil Rhodes directly contributed towards the implementation of apartheid because the Glen Grey Act laid the foundation for institutionalised apartheid.

Figure 58: Cecil Rhodes statue in The Company's Garden (Source: Author's Own)

Further in the Gardens was a memorial of fallen 'English' and 'Afrikaans' White soldiers that died during WW2 in Germany. The memorial excluded any acknowledgement of non-white soldiers that may have died during the war.

The High Court Civil Annex housed the racial classification board between 1959 to 1991, see figure 59. The board was responsible for implementing tests that were used to determine an individual's racial/population group. The appeal board assigned people to racial groups based on skin tone or hair texture which dictated citizenship rights.

Figure 59: Race Classification Board purpose and practices implemented during apartheid, Cape Town (Source: Author's Own)

Cape Town differs in its approach to promoting historical monuments which are intended for tourist appeal. Ren, an international visitor, spent a limited number of days exploring the city and learning about the history. He remarked that the walking tour included a variety of monuments along the walking route:

> So, yesterday we took a walking tour, we came by here for example, and we saw some of the historical monuments, the Parliament building, District Six, District Six museum uhm, uhm a lot of other things but I don't remember exactly. (Interview with Ren – Teacher, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

Research participants mainly expressed spoken accounts of apartheid as removed experiences. Participants described how apartheid was implemented rather than how they were affected by apartheid. These opinions were expressed as characteristics of the apartheid city, divisions reflected in the city, and the measures needed to address the segregated legacy.

Alder, Basil and Cedar work in Johannesburg and only commented on the characteristics of apartheid without discussing how it impacted their experience in the city centre. Basil admitted that discussions about the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) could not ignore the economic success achieved by the apartheid government:

> we cannot talk about Joburg without talking about apartheid and the impact of that. Uhm, so, if you look at that Joburg was very much in the apartheid years the 60s and 70s a boomtown. It was a business and shopping city with limited residential (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff, 15 April 2017)

Basil remarked that the main areas of spatial fragmentation achieved during apartheid were based on the development of separate residential, business and retail use of the city centre. The underutilisation of the city centre specifically at night has always been a common characteristic of the city:

> Joburg got through the apartheid era even more fragmented because then there were new industrial zones on borders of townships, where they [apartheid government] kept black people there and kept them [non-white people] out of the city. All the nonsense, you know, it came with that so. But basically, the city was incredibly fragmented by the late 80s early 90s. Uhm, and was always a city that was only alive in the day and dead at night. Uhm, apartheid sort of prescribed that. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

For Basil, the decline of the economic success of the city towards the end of apartheid also affected the privilege White people enjoyed in the city. The city was perceived as no longer safe because the racial laws were abolished, and non-white residents were moving to the city centre. Consequently, White residents and businesses relocated to the northern suburbs:

> There was this sense that White people were no longer safe in the city, so they moved to the outskirts into the suburbs. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Cedar further added that the segregated development of the city centre resulted in a lack of cohesive social mixing of generations of South African residents. He implied that the legacy and lack of racial mixing has resulted in generations of non-white residents that have rarely encountered and lived among other population groups. This has contributed to the lack of societal integration and social mixing:

> I think the impact of that [apartheid] is that we have developed a number of generations that haven't had the opportunity to, I think to largely develop socially. To develop a number of the social norms that we look at, uhm, to be able to live in, I wouldn't say in density because they already live in dense areas, high rise, urbanised high-rise

environments. Then that of course on its own would've stifled development, stifled growth, stifled thinking (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

During my multisensory walking and observation of the Johannesburg city centre, there was a contrast between redeveloped and underdeveloped areas. Redeveloped areas were concentrated around formal economic activities. Whereas areas occupied by low-income earners and marginalised groups such as the homeless were underdeveloped. It reflected the lives of people that struggled, from the homeless taking refuge in Attwell Park to the poor being housing in dilapidated buildings. There was evidence of illegal buildings only accessible from the second floor onwards and had no direct access from the ground floor. According to Jasmine, Attwell park was a public space that the Local Authority has not maintained due to the derelict appearance.

Clem, works and lives in the city centre, commented that there are social and development changes being made although these were very slow. Although there is an increase in the residential component in the city centre, he observed that there is limited racial mixing because Black African groups are the predominant residents:

> The changes are very slow but sporadic. The community particularly now is very different now from a few years ago. Although the resident population is majority Black. (Interview with Clem - Housing Development Agency Manager, Doornfontein, 2 May 2017)

According to Alder, Basil, Sorrel and Cedar, the long-term effects of apartheid planning in Johannesburg seemed to be the focal point for improving both the social and spatial aspects of the city centre. For Alder, the present post-apartheid city is linked to the inclusive transformation of society to overcome the social and racial segregation. Basil highlighted that there is a need to overcome the mental and socio-spatial impediment to unite the South African society:

> it needs to cater for [sic] all kinds of people from all walks of life who are wealthy and young and old, and you know, it must be a real society. Uhm, because that is how South Africa will overcome its issues. You know, if you live in a mixed society and you deal with real people from all walks of life you realise that all people are people. You know, if you are kept purposefully separated where you are still

> living in that mental space you know of the apartheid era which sometimes when you read twitter you think we are still in [giggle]. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Sorrel further emphasised the importance of altering mentalities about the negative perceptions of the Johannesburg city centre. This discussion was related more to the growth and development than the negative associations of an abandoned and dangerous city:

> a conscious change needs to take place in the mindsets of South Africans about the Johannesburg inner city. (Interview with Sorrel - Joburg Places Tour Guide, Fox Street, 17 April 2017)

On the other hand, Cedar stated that the lack of social amenities and facilities needs to be addressed so that society can develop cohesively. He further commented that the resilience of disadvantaged communities is evident in the development trajectory of society:

> I think the lack of social amenities whether it's education facilities etc., yeah, of course, lead to a society that has had to mould itself out where they were. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

The fragmented nature of the city centre was emphasised more in Johannesburg than Cape Town. Sage was the only participant in Cape Town to comment on the characteristics of the apartheid city. Sage remarked that the Cape flats, a Coloured township, was an area regarded as not part of the picturesque Cape Town during apartheid. His opinion was based on his experience of growing up in the Cape Flats.

Sage further expressed his dissatisfaction with the democratic government and remarked that democracy did not mean that apartheid is over. According to him *"we just have apartheid in reverse"*, especially in terms of employment opportunities. As previously discussed in chapter 6, the B-BBEE and AA post-apartheid policies were in practice counterproductive to addressing the legacy of unemployment amongst non-white groups and homelessness. Sage added that the implementation of the B-BBEE and AA policies resulted in the marginalisation of Coloured people. His perception is that during apartheid, *"Coloureds were not White enough, and post-apartheid Coloureds are not Black African enough"*.

Sage was the only participant to discuss his perception of the impact of post-apartheid in Cape Town. This view suggests that the city centre is still perceived as an exclusive space that does not accommodate some minority groups. However, this remained only one perspective and was not reflected in my observations throughout the city spaces.

A few of the participants from both cities discussed their personal experiences and memories of apartheid. Most South African residents seemed to be less willing to discuss the unpleasant social and spatial memories of apartheid and more willing to focus on the positive experiences of the public spaces.

In Johannesburg, Elm, a South African Coloured male, recalled his early childhood memory of Fox Street when he was four or five years old. He was within the 50 to 59 age range and would have been five years old in 1959, during the apartheid era. Elm emphasised the 'wonderful' facilities and social use of the city centre during that era:

> Ja, we would come to Fox Street to see the Christmas lights many, many years ago when we were children, 4 or 5 years old. And the shops they had wonderful shops here. Big departmental stores and uhm wonderful shopping facilities. (Interview with Elm – Advocate, Mining District, 17 July 2018)

The same reflection was made by participants in Cape Town when asked about their earliest memories of the public spaces.

Quill and Lavender, South African citizens, were married and in the 60 above age range. Quill recalled an earlier conversation with Lavender where she was reminiscing about previous family trips with their daughters to The Company's Garden. These participants did not mention the exact age of their daughters; it could have been between 1985 to 1990 towards the end of the apartheid area:

> **Quill:** She just brought something to my attention now.

> **Lavender:** My eldest daughter, she's 33 years old. So, I was just telling him, oh this [sic] steps here at the back.

> **Quill:** When she was young.

> **Lavender:** We have photos of the first time, then when they were little.
>
> **Quill:** Now they have little ones.
>
> **Lavender:** So, they are married now. So, I told him, oh it reminded me so of that two little girls. (Interview with Quill – Pensioner and Lavender – Pensioner, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

During the historical city centre walking tour, Rosemary commented that apartheid divided the country along racial, social and spatial lines. She recalled her experience as a White female during apartheid was different from that of non-white South Africans. Rosemary recalled at the age of 13 her school became one of the first multi-racial schools that accepted non-white students. However, there was an exam that non-white students had first to pass, which White students were not required to write:

> they [non-white students] of course, had to write an entrance exam to show that they were good enough to be accepted to transfer to the school. (Informal Discussion with Rosemary - Cape Town Tour Guide, Greenmarket Square, 24 July 2018)

This account of accessibility to multi-racial education institutions was not without obstacles and is an example of inaccessible public space. Leilani, an international visitor, in Cape Town, reflected on her experience of segregation as a young White girl. Leilani was in the 60 above age range and described her childhood experience of segregation in America. She was unaware that the same segregated practices were implemented in South Africa. Leilani drew comparisons between her experience and the historical monuments visited during the free walking tours in the city:

> We went this morning to the District Six museum. I had never heard of it before, but my son had done a little research before coming, and he read about it and uhm, it was absolutely fascinating. And uhm, I was raised in 68', I was raised in the Southern part of the United States, and I was a child. I would see signs saying 'whites-only' uhm, on park benches, on water fountains, in stores and I … you know just observed, how as a White person I was treated so much better than Black people were treated. So, you know, 50 years later to be once again in a completely different country and going back to the 60s and seeing the exact same things but this time in Afrikaner [sic], you know it made me think very deeply about my own country and about uhm, about human nature. Why do people, what is this need to keep

> categorising, making fake hierarchies among people. Some humans
> have done forever, cause so much pain, why do we do this? (Interview
> with Leilani – Professor, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

However, when asking participants about their earliest memories of the public
spaces in both cities, most participants reverted to memories within the past ten
to 20 years or more recently. Some participants shared very vague descriptions,
while others shared terrible experiences.

In Johannesburg, Basil claimed that before starting walking tours in the city, the
city centre was predominantly used for economic activities with minimal social
activities. According to Basil, his earliest memory is that walking tours were
unheard of because the city was 'abandoned' after the people working in the
city left:

> I have seen the public realm change enormously if you think ten years
> ago it was unthinkable to do walking tours in the inner city. Because
> there was no life (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff
> Street, 15 April 2017)

Jacinta recalled a negative experience when she was robbed in Braamfontein.
This memory was associated with the experience of reporting the crime at the
Johannesburg Central police station adjacent to 1 Fox Street. Jacinta was
pessimistic about the possibility of positive experiences being shared by other
public space users:

> **Jacinta:** Well, I have been to the police station. That is my memory. I
> was just robbed in Braamfontein, and I had to come and do the police
> report here [Johannesburg Central police station].
>
> **Ivy:** Oh, when your phone was
>
> **Jacinta:** Ja, the phone. That is my memory. You are not going to have
> good experiences, unfortunately (Interviews with Jacinta – Scrum
> Master and Ivy – Office Manager, 1 Fox Street, 21 July 2018)

When asking Orchid, an informal trader in Cape Town about her earliest
memories, she recalled arriving in the area 20 years ago. However, she chose
not to provide further details about her memories of her experience whether
good or bad:

> **Orchid:** Uhm, I came here [Greenmarket Square] 20 years ago.
>
> **ZL:** 20 Years ago? Okay, and what was the reason for you coming to this area?
>
> **Orchid:** I was coming for trading. (Interview with Orchid - Informal Trader, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

Magnolia, another participant, working in Cape Town, recalled her experience and memory as a student. She remembered travelling from an area outside of Cape Town into the city centre. Similar to Magnolia, Lily, who also works in the city, seemed uninterested in providing any further details about her first memory:

> I studied uhm at the College of Cape Town. So that was my first time, I use to live in Strand, use to travel out to Strand to come and study here. So that was the first time that I actually got to Cape Town and saw things. (Interview with Lily - Hotel Administrator, St Georges Mall, 31 July 2018)

Alyssa, a street performer in Fox Street, was reluctant to share her first memory and instead shared her first impressions of Maboneng. She expressed her delight and attitude towards professional growth for performers and informal traders:

> Exciting, vibey, and it is a good market. It is a very good place to market and promote your businesses; if you do it the right way through all the right channels, you can go a long way. (Interview with Alyssa - Street Performer, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

Daffodil who works in Johannesburg expressed her impression of different sections of Fox Street as she was new to the area:

> Okay, this area of 75 Fox it's more professional, it's more corporate but after hours don't play around here. Gandhi Square, where we chill, where we have drinks, where we relax, we have fun, Carlton Centre you go there to do shopping, see so many things. I mean fashion is there, I think everybody goes there to see fashion, to buy, to relax as well cause [sic] we find places where we can sit and relax (Interview with Daffodil - Change Specialist, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

From an international visitor perspective, Ren's first impression of Cape Town was not expressed as the perfect tourist destination but as a postcard picture. Ren conceded that beyond the perfect image, there are contrasts to the city

that show two extremes, including the security warnings continuously being issued:

> Uhm, my impression has been, yes uh, I'd say that it's quite nice, it kind of looks like a postcard for post-colonialism. That's how I would describe it. And uhm the architecture that I see have these sharp contrasts between very nice places and not so nice place. And that the, you know, from the time we got here, the kind of security have been an issue. (Interview with Ren – Teacher, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

7.1.2 The representation of a preferred socio-spatial history

The representation of a preferred socio-spatial history was assessed during multisensory walking and observations of public spaces. The focus was on both written and verbal accounts of the historical representation of various population groups in public spaces. The former relates to the information displays such as blue heritage plaques and information displays. The latter relates to participants sharing information about apartheid history by relating it to the context in which it is narrated.

Some of the heritage plaques found in Fox Street commemorated development milestones during the colonial era more than apartheid. Figure 60 memorialised the Cullinan Building named after the founder of a diamond mining company in 1901 and was a prominent location for retail arcades and speciality shops. These shops are no longer available, and the building was demolished in 1966. A remnant of the lintel was erected in front of a vacant multi-storey building in the Mining District square. Figure 61 memorialises the current site of Arts on Main that was built in 1911 for a liquor warehouse. This was the only blue heritage plaque found in Maboneng. There was no discussion from participants or tour guides on whether these sites were significant during apartheid.
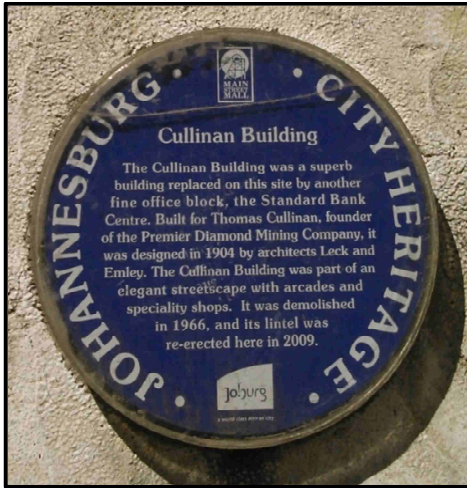
Figure 60: Johannesburg City Heritage Cullinan Building (Source: Author's Own)
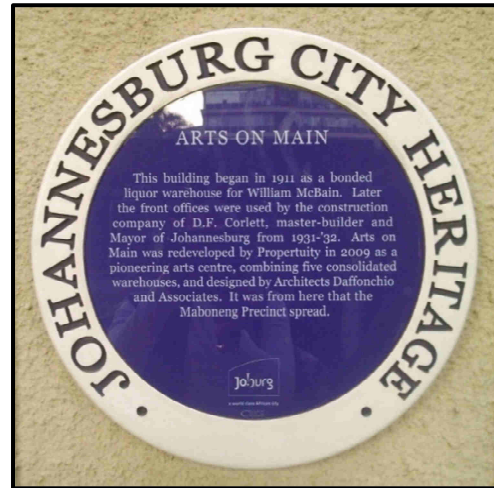
Figure 61: Johannesburg City Heritage Arts on Main (Source: Author's Own)

The stories told by tour guides and the pre-recorded audio played during the bus tour presented an incomplete account of the racial dynamics and complexities of the impact of apartheid.

During both walking tours and the City Sightseeing Joburg bus tour, the history that was presented suggested inequality between Black Africans and White South Africans. This did not account for the Coloured and Indian/Asian population groups that make up the minority population of South Africa.

Figures 62 and 63 show monuments that commemorate the mining history of the city. According to Jasmine, the life-size mine shaft was in remembrance of the Black African miners. In her opinion, the lack of information provided to miner's wives resulted in many families, not knowing what happened to the male family members working in the mines. Basil provided a similar historical account; however, he added that Chinese workers were employed in the mines in Johannesburg. These varying accounts are an indicator that partial historical accounts were presented to tourists interested in learning about the history of the city and public spaces. It further suggests that there are potential aspects of the history that are not being represented.

Figure 62: Actual size mine shaft, Johannesburg (Source: Author's Own)
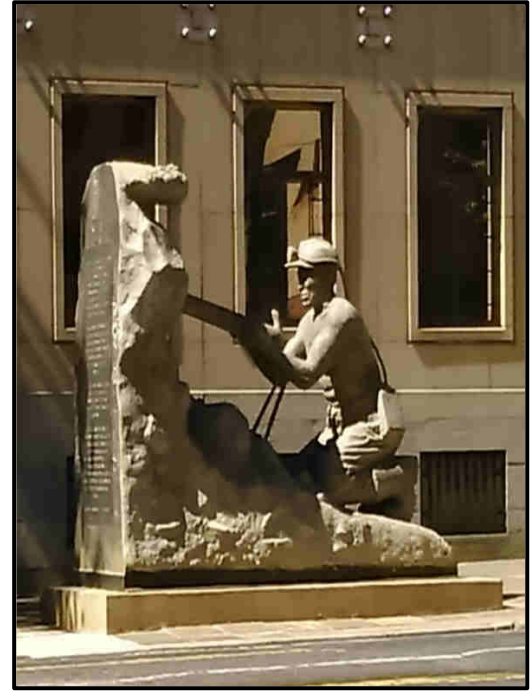
Figure 63: Statue of a miner, Johannesburg (Source: Author's Own)

When walking through the sites in Johannesburg, there was a dominant focus on the mining history and a lack of representation commemorating the political protests and demonstrations against apartheid. This presents an incomplete history of the city, even though it is nicknamed the City of Gold. Clem commented that the Local Authority are still struggling to address the effects of the mining industry rather than the socio-spatial divisions resulting from apartheid:

> I think from a city perspective; they are still grappling with this. Knowing the history of Johannesburg as an old mining town with currently being a mining dump as well as acid mine drainage. How to deal with those? (Interview with Clem - Housing Development Agency Manager, Doornfontein, 2 May 2017)

Basil pointed out that the political history and role of the city in advocating for the abolishment of apartheid has not been acknowledged. His statement suggests that if the city's political history is not acknowledged, it could be forgotten:

> Joburg has always been a city of struggle. This is where the struggle against apartheid was really fought and overcome. If you think about it, it has a political history yet Joburg has never been a political city. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Cedar briefly mentioned the impact of apartheid spatial fragmentation practices; however, the focus was on what should be done post-apartheid rather than discussing apartheid. Cedar suggested improving the environment for previously disadvantaged communities has become central to social inclusion. He was not specific about what he meant by disadvantaged communities; however, during apartheid disadvantaged communities were developed through the allocation of racial townships. Population groups were kept separate socially and spatially and were allocated inadequate facilities:

> what you are trying to do is create an environment where you know previous [sic] significant disadvantaged community has an opportunity to establish themselves within an urban environment… (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

The representation of spatial history has not been widely discussed or expressed by participants that are not employed as tour guides.

There is a significant number of participants that commented on the current use of public spaces in Johannesburg. Daffodil, Camellia and Fern mentioned the transportation links and eateries surrounding Gandhi Square without discussing the historical significance of the Square. The statue of Mahatma Gandhi in Gandhi Square, in figure 64, is on display and has not been acknowledged by any participants. This suggested a focus on the current use rather than the oppressive legacy that it once represented.
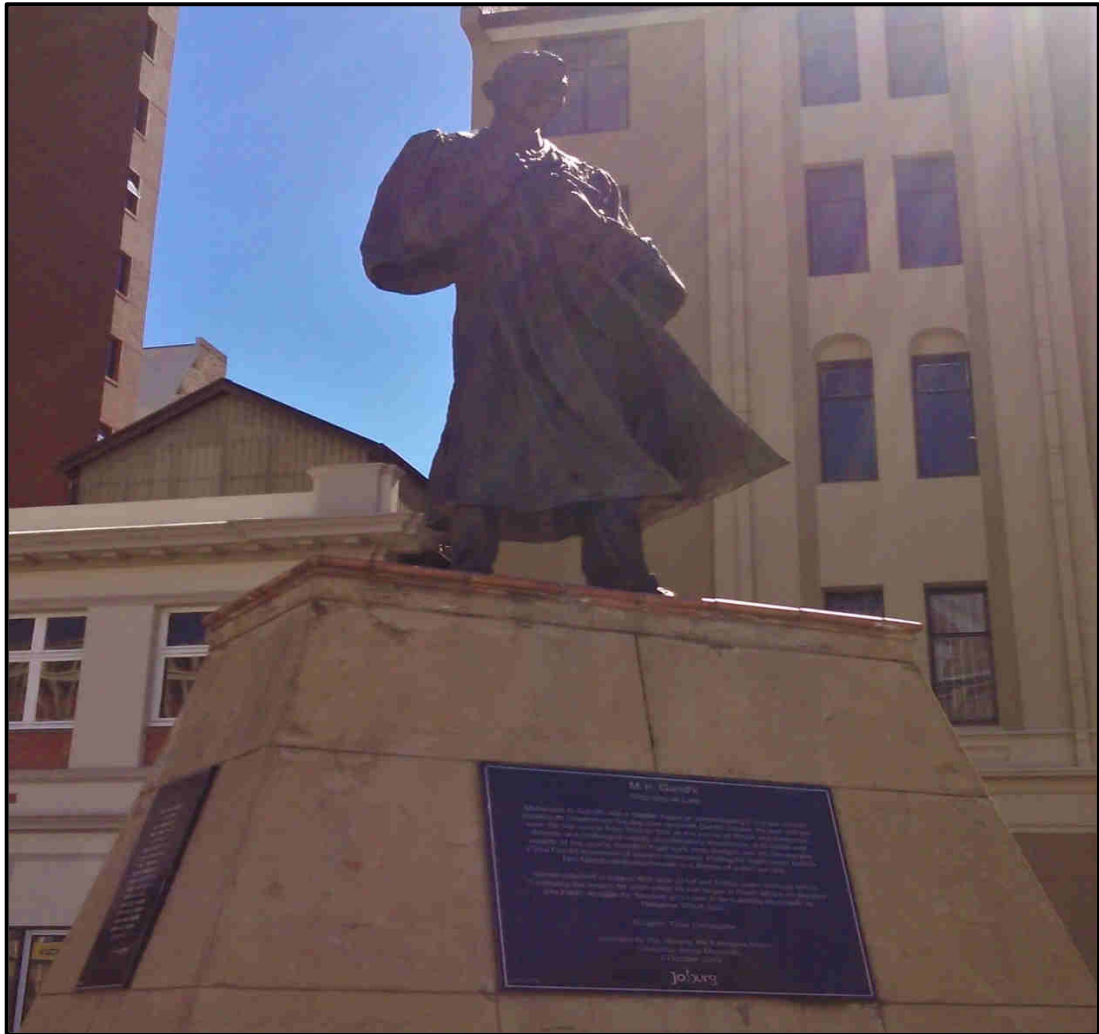
Figure 64: Statue of Mahatma Gandhi, Johannesburg (Source: Author's Own)

Another instance of the mention of the use of public space was the reference made to the historical significance of 1 Fox Street. Holly mentioned that the public space does not have a massive history. Yet, it is situated across from the infamous John Voster police station that was notorious for throwing detainees off the top floor, during apartheid. At the end of apartheid, the police station was renamed the Johannesburg Central police station:

> I think it [1 Fox Street] is historic in a way but not like a massive history but it's character. It's modern now, the venue and there is a lot of creativity. Ja that is what I was getting to with like very modern and fun. It's hip, ja. (Interview with Holly – Personal Assistant, 1 Fox Street, 21 July 2018)

Walking around the public spaces in Cape Town, I observed a mix of monuments and information displays related to the Dutch, British and apartheid era. The varied histories represented throughout public spaces were used as tourist attractions. However, not all displays are included in the tourist attractions

advertised throughout the city centre such as figure 65. Figure 65 commemorates the first private trading site in Cape Town in 1664 when the Dutch East India Company discovered the city. This indicates one of the first trading sites established in the city centre.
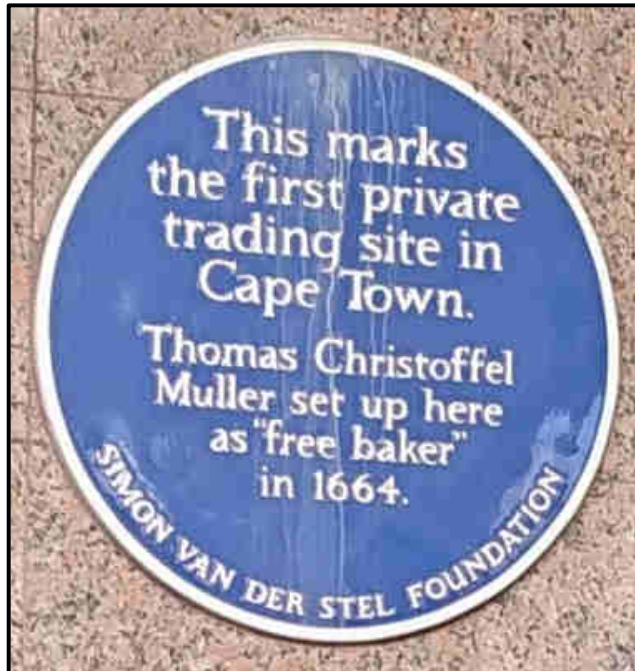
Figure 65: Cape Town Trading Heritage Plaque (Source: Author's Own)

A notable monument on display in St Georges Mall is a piece of the Berlin Wall, as shown in figure 66. The Wall is a thought-provoking display because of the correlation with apartheid. Both residents of Berlin and Cape Town were affected by social segregation and spatial fragmentation practices. During apartheid, the Cape Town city centre was declared a 'whites-only' area which marginalised a large section of the population. The symbolic significance of the monument and the placement of it in the city centre was not discussed. The Wall was briefly mentioned during the historical city centre walking tour by Rosemary.

Figure 66: Piece of the Berlin wall displayed in St Georges Mall (Source: Author's Own)

A similar observation about an incomplete history was made when I joined the historical city centre walking tour in Cape Town. Rosemary presented a historical account that primarily focused on the history of Cape Town from the time that it was discovered by the Dutch East India Company, the role of the Dutch, the slave trade in Cape Town, the British rule and apartheid. I found the account of apartheid to be once again incomplete and did not convey the racial dynamics of the society. The discussion focused on White versus Black African oppression rather than a holistic approach that included all population groups. With Cape Town having the largest Coloured population in South Africa, this population group would have had a more prominent role to play than was presented during the tour.

None of the participants in Cape Town made any reference to the history of the public spaces that they occupied in the city centre.

7.1.3 Question 1 Discussion

I found that contemporary transformation indicates a disconnect between the aims of social and spatial transformation. In Johannesburg, the social transformation was intended to bring people back into the city centre. In contrast, in Cape Town, the social transformation was about maintaining an attractiveness to tourists and investors by maintaining foot traffic. Spatial transformation in Johannesburg related to residential accommodation; however, in Cape Town, this was not discussed.

In both cities, the social and spatial transformation was implemented separately instead of connected. The social transformation occurred in different locations to spatial transformation, particularly in Johannesburg. The public space of 1 Fox Street is an enclosed space and described as 'modern and hip' by one of the participants. Yet, residential development was not located within proximity to the site. On the other hand, spatial transformation focused more on a macro-scale. This focus related to the development of transport routes to connect previously disadvantaged communities to the city centre. However, the micro-scale development of connecting public space users through walking routes linking public spaces in Johannesburg was limited. Whereas in Cape Town, the micro-level connections between public spaces were already established, and little was being done to improve it. An important aspect of transformation that emerged from the discussions was the need for mental transformation, explicitly changing the psychological mindsets of South Africans. The mental transformation affects socio-spatial experiences by encouraging a mental shift. This requires confronting painful histories related to apartheid through written and verbal accounts of history. Another aspect of this transformation relates to presenting complete histories about the racial dynamics during apartheid and post-apartheid.

Public spaces "are an important means of framing a vision of social life in the city, a vision both for those who live there, and for those who visit" (Marks and Bezzoli, no date, p.42). The degree of social transformation visible in Johannesburg and Cape Town public spaces has differed according to the level of use, and social mixing observed. The public spaces in Cape Town had a higher level of social use than the public spaces in Johannesburg, which was expected

due to Cape Town being a tourist city. Diverse social groups were present throughout public spaces; however, co-mingling and integration between different social groups was not observed in the public space. In this sense, the social transformation as it relates to the integration of social groups appears to be slow. This is in line with the research of Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) that found that there remains a separation of social interaction between various social groups according to population groups.

Williams (2000) argues that racialised space continues to affect the locations where South Africans reside, socialise, and seek employment opportunities even though apartheid laws and practices were abolished. Race remains a visible factor in the exploration of public spaces and the dominance of one population group over others contributes towards the lack of racial integration in public spaces. Nevin (2014) recalled her experience of walking in Maboneng, where she felt as though she blended in because the precinct attracted mixed middle-class patrons. This experience differed when walking along parallel streets as she stood out as the only White person walking in the street.

Democracy signified the beginning of a focus on spatial transformation in South Africa. Spatial displays in the form of monuments, statues and information displays were observed throughout public spaces commemorated various eras of control and oppression. Fewer displays of apartheid spatial controls were seen, which suggests that many were removed. Apartheid control lasted 46 years in South Africa. During apartheid, the city centre was declared a 'whites-only' area which influenced the social interactions of public space users through spatial controls.

One of the few reminders seen were the racial benches and restrictive ordinance signs displayed in Johannesburg and Cape Town city centres. The displays throughout the public spaces serve two purposes, namely: to memorialise heritage sites and create awareness about the historical significance of public spaces. Heritage sites present an opportunity to equally represent heritage through spatial displays and encourage dialogue of the significance of the sites (Low, 2015). The removal of apartheid spatial controls such as 'white-only' and 'non-white' signs on facilities, signify the transformation attempts to unite a socially and spatially divided society through integration.

However, the same approach was not adopted when memorialising the colonial period, even though social inequality, slavery and oppression were the implemented ideologies. Colonialism was influenced by Dutch and British rule in Cape Town for 283 years and Johannesburg for 64 years. The prioritisation of European historical influences over African influences indicates an inequality of the representation of cultural heritage. This was more the case in Cape Town than Johannesburg because all three public spaces represented colonialist heritage. This finding is in line with the assertion that there exists inequality with the presentation of cultural heritage (Sihlongonyane, 2016).

On the one hand, colonialism was implemented for an extended period when compared to apartheid which may be the reason that prioritisation was given to colonial reminders. Miraftab's (2012) study on the impact of the colonial period highlight debates about the "management of urban privilege in Cape Town" (p.284) implemented during colonialism. Throughout the city centre, public spaces were used for protests and demonstrations against the inequitable practices in the city. These protests in contested spaces were also "site[s] of fierce historical struggles" (Miraftab, 2012, p.284). Public spaces in the city have always been spaces where public space users claimed their right to the city from oppressive practices (Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo, 2009; Nkooe, 2018). A controversial statue of Cecil Rhodes that contributed towards both British and apartheid oppression is a cause for tension. On the other hand, this negates the significance of the spatial transformations of historically segregated spaces. Marks and Bezzoli (no date) and Sihlongonyane (2016) point out that tensions exist between addressing the fragmented legacy and developing and the city centre over neighbouring residential areas.

Some of the informal activities such as free walking tours pay tribute to the history of the city centre and commemorate heritage sites. This was more applicable to the Cape Town city centre, which has been developed through inward investment into formal and informal commercialised activities. There are signs that Johannesburg has attempted to develop the city centre through the commercialisation of heritage sites such as walking and bus tours. Heritage sites are important to contextualise narrated histories during tours and contrast with the post-apartheid development during the past 26 years.

In general, there are two levels of transformations perceived and experienced by public space users. Firstly, from the leisure aspect, the historical significance of public spaces was of little consequence because very few public space users presented awareness of the site history. Secondly, several participants that work in Johannesburg shared their perceptions of the improvement, multipurpose and inclusive development of the city as it relates to housing. Although the city centre and sites connecting public spaces have several vacant buildings, the transformation of these spaces is slow. Public space users did not share the same perceptions.

The apartheid legacy has influenced the socio-spatial transformation of the selected public spaces through the everyday use and perceptions of users. Most of the participants expressed caution when entering discussions about apartheid, whether this related to their memories or displays of apartheid. When asked about the earliest memories of selected public spaces, the participants reverted to memories in the past ten to 20 years. A few participants commented on their perceptions of the modernisation and development of public spaces but did not mention when they noticed that public spaces were transformed.

Leilani and Rosemary were the only participants discuss their experiences about socio-spatial segregation in public spaces; however, Leilani was American and Rosemary South African. A study conducted by Houssay-Holzschuch and Teppo (2009) found that South Africans were careful about "voicing the opinions [about] such a charged issue as race" (p.366). The apartheid legacy of racial divisions in public spaces and society remains a sensitive topic.

Interviews were conducted in public spaces with a clear heritage display. Most displays were not discussed by participants when they were asked about their impressions of the public space. From the interviews conducted, it was clear that heritage sites are not significant for the everyday user experience. Most participants did not select social spaces based on history but rather on convenience, access to essential and leisure facilities. However, in Cape Town and to a lesser extent Johannesburg, visitors selected heritage sites as part of the tourism appeal.

7.2 Research Question 2: How has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation?

The findings of the second research question are discussed according to two components. The first component is the inaccessibility of public space due to monitoring and control, and the second relates to spaces of exclusion based on socio-economic status.

7.2.1 Inaccessibility of public space due to monitoring and control

The public spaces from both cities displayed different levels of accessibility. The areas of inaccessibility centre around monitoring and control measures implemented to regulate social behaviour and create a sense of safety.

In Johannesburg, a few participants commented on feeling safe in monitored public spaces and seeing security guards patrolling. Cedar, the director of a housing development agency, stated that creating safe, liveable areas where people feel safe should be a top priority:

> You have to develop an environment where people feel comfortable to live, safety, of course, is one of the biggest factors in it. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

Many participants that worked or were visiting Johannesburg echoed this sentiment about needing to feel safe. Corey, an international visitor, to Maboneng described feeling free in the area because of the security presence. Aster often works long hours as a waitress commented on the reduced presence of security guards patrolling over one year. She implied that the present security guards were not patrolling or performing their duties. This might have been acceptable if the public space was considered safer, but she alluded to a concern for the reduced number of security guards employed at night:

> Yes. We used to have better securities and securities were everywhere, and they were doing their job. You find here, you find there, there were securities everywhere. But now, I don't see securities at night, not really, which is still in the morning. Long ago,

there was really good securities. (Interview with Aster – Maboneng Waitress, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

Alder remarked that monitoring of public spaces goes beyond implementing security monitoring measures such as policing and surveillance cameras. Monitoring also requires cleaning the environment and deterring anti-social behaviour. This temporarily deters unlawful activities from one area and suggests that these activities are moved to areas that are not monitored:

> I think really what happened was, you implement something of this nature, you go a few streets down a place where people at some point would be burning tyres, uhm, breaking bottles. What happens is because now that you have a cleaning company cleaning [sic] there is a few ways. Either you say that listen you can't do this here, you shouldn't be doing this here coz the city is now monitoring that, or something subconsciously will happen where they realise that it's being cleaned here and we should move on. (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

Sorrel, another tour guide, admitted that the area around Fox Street was cleaner, increased economic activity, better maintained, and the overall environment felt safer. The private sector initiated the maintenance of specific areas. These contributions are made in the form of levies in areas identified as improvement districts. The monitoring of public spaces not only changes the perceptions of areas that were considered no-go but also influence the attitudes of public space users. Colleagues warned Daffodil not to feel comfortable in the city centre because of safety issues. She was advised to be more cautious and aware of the people and surroundings in Johannesburg. This altered her perception and level of comfort in public spaces:

> My colleagues because I made the comment that 'oh this place is cool, this place has people', they said don't be too free, don't relax too much because this place has same [sic] people that you think they are friendly, they can attack you. So Johannesburg, you just have to watch your back. It is a nice place, it is a cool place, but you just need to be very careful. (Interview with Daffodil - Change Specialist, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

Even though Daffodil was initially relaxed when walking in public spaces, other participants such as Blossom adopted a more cautious approach. Blossom remarked that her selected walking route was influenced by the increase in crime and the decrease of patrolling security guards:

> My strategy is to escape to a quiet place and enjoy the atmosphere from afar. My selected walking route tends to be in areas that are busy, have security presence and are not known as crime hotspots. (Interview with Blossom – Resident, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

Camellia often drove to the city centre for work but changed her routine to use public transportation. Her decision was influenced by concerns over the security of her vehicle. Camellia did not admit that her decision was influenced by an act of vandalism and was reluctant to risk any further vandalism:

> I am working here in Johannesburg CBD, one of the government departments, and I normally drive to this side [the Mining District], but for some reason, I decided to take public transport. Due to traffic, due to parking as well, uhm because last week or two weeks back I had a problem with my car. They took my wheel caps so because of that; I couldn't drive anymore. (Interview with Camellia - Corporate Manager, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

Camellia perceived the Mining District as dangerous for motorists during the day and linked this to her own experience. She did not mention whether some of her colleagues also shared the same experience:

> From my view, even this side is quite dangerous, especially to the drivers. Because during the day the Nyaope [Drug used by addicts] guys don't attack pedestrians, but they work on the vehicles, and if you can look around, most vehicles around here don't have badges [badge on the vehicle rim, for instance, BMW], they don't have wheel caps. (Interview with Camellia - Corporate Manager, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

From a tourist perspective, safety has been brought up by tour guides. Before beginning the historical Johannesburg walking tour, Jasmine instructed participants not to take photographs until it was safe to do so. Another alarming note from her was that the company does not permit participants to carry bags on the walking tour. None of the participants seemed to be concerned with her statement. This influenced my perception and experience of the city centre, and I was immediately cautious about my surroundings. The walk ended by Jasmine stating that precautionary measures were taken by selecting a walking route that ensured participants safety and that no-one was robbed. Alder, another tour guide, commented that he was reluctant to provide walking tours of the city during political marches because safety is a concern; however, according to him the international tour participants did not share the same view:

> I had a few groups that went out for a run, and they were like there was a march, and we were wondering what was going on. Like it is normal. And obviously, 'touch wood' nothing happened (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

However, Clem that works and lives in Johannesburg disagrees with these perceptions of crime in the city. He claims that perception and reality are very different:

> According to me, perception versus reality is very different. The crime in the inner-city is over-exaggerated. The most that you see is [sic] petty crimes. (Interview with Clem - Housing Development Agency Manager, Doornfontein, 2 May 2017)

Only one participant in Cape Town suggested that his decision to travel abroad was based on two reasons. The first because he had never been to Cape Town or South Africa and the other because he volunteered to be his mother's travel companion. The second reason suggests a strategy of travelling in numbers due to safety:

> I am from Florida originally, but I live in France right now. And I came here because my mother is attending a work conference and she wanted someone to travel with so; I said I'll go. (Interview with Ren – Teacher, The Company's Garden, 31 July 2018)

Throughout the public spaces in Johannesburg and Cape Town, monitoring systems such as surveillance cameras and policing were implemented. Most of the public spaces in Johannesburg and Cape Town had security guard stations spread throughout public spaces. Figure 67 depicts a security guard stationed outside of a residential building in Maboneng, who was also observed patrolling the street.
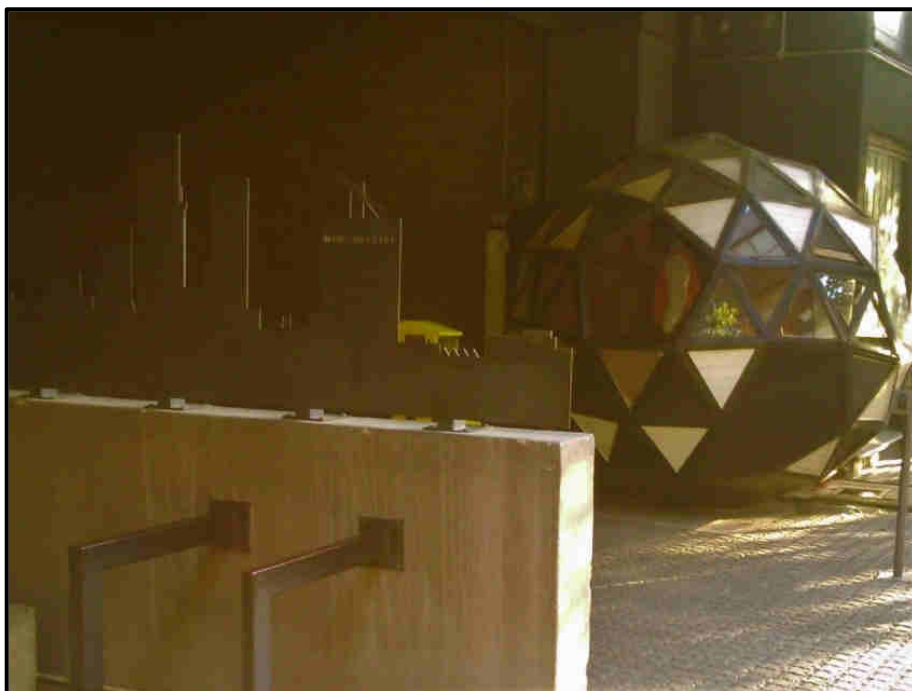
Figure 67: Security guard station outside a residential building in Maboneng (Source: Author's Own)

During the observations of Johannesburg public spaces, none of the security guards was observed controlling the behaviour or movement of marginalised groups such as the homeless. In several parts of the city, there were a few homeless people seen walking or sleeping in public spaces on separate occasions. A homeless woman was sleeping on the pavement and a homeless man sitting on the pavement with black plastics instead of clothing opposite 1 Fox Street. On another occasion, opposite 1 Fox Street, a teenage boy was asking for money and another teenage boy digging in the dustbin in Gandhi Square. In a developing city, these are the people that are very often hidden and excluded.

However, in Cape Town, a homeless man was approached by a security guard who appeared to have told him that he cannot sit beside a building. The security guard provoked the sudden departure of the homeless man from the side of the building. He then moved to sit on the wall of a flower bed a few feet away. The security guard started walking closer to him, and he stood up and walked across the road to get away from the security guard. People did not seem to notice that anything was happening. This encounter is not unique to Cape Town; however, in comparison to Johannesburg, the same form of control was not observed. Cape Town appears to be less considerate and tolerant of the presence of the homeless throughout public spaces. Perhaps a deliberate attempt to keep up the appearance of a maintained and controlled city attractive to tourists.

Participants often brought up the lack of integration of public spaces with the surrounding neighbourhoods. In Johannesburg, some participants often referred to the isolation of Maboneng from the surrounding streets and areas. Calla often travelled to Maboneng for work and leisure purposes; she commented that there exists this cocoon of safety from areas that are unsavoury and have an unpleasant feel. Blossom, resides and works in Maboneng, highlighted that the area is excellent for encouraging entrepreneurship. However, the area is a place unto itself and does not fit within its surroundings. Maboneng was the only public space in Johannesburg, where participants expressed the lack of integration with the surrounding areas. However, from my multisensory walking, 1 Fox Street felt isolated from the surrounding area due to the location and high walls. This area is both privatised and securitised because of the private ownership and monitoring of public space users. The strategic placement of two security guards at the entrance and two patrolling the space indicated that the movement and presence of all public space users were monitored continuously.

Another form of security is the provision of free securitised parking to 1 Fox Street patrons; however, patrons were required to provide receipts from Urbanologi or Mad Giant to be eligible for free parking.
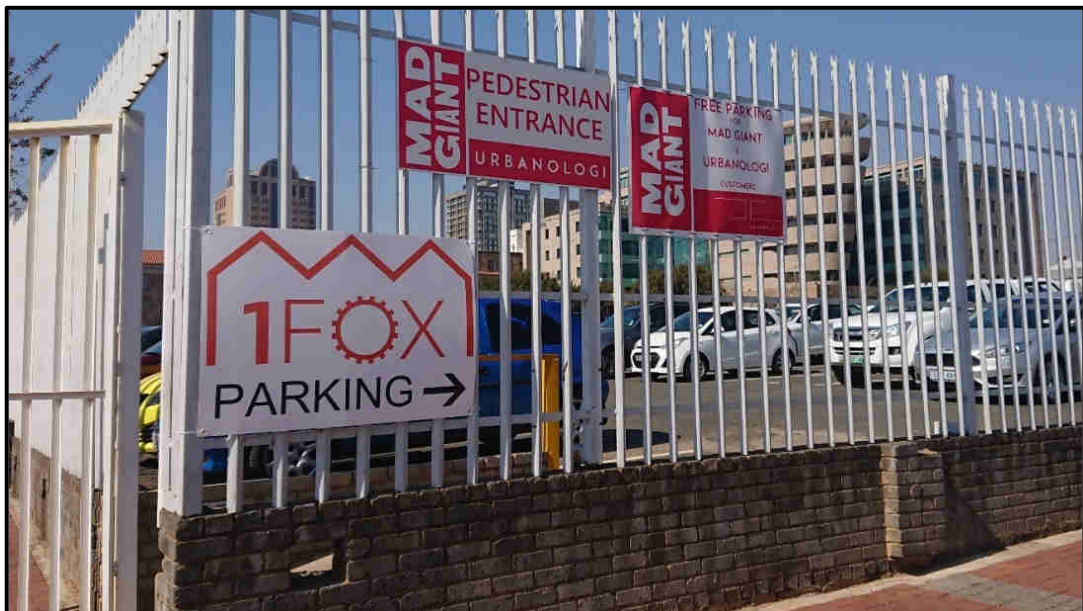
Figure 68: Secure free parking provided for 1 Fox Street patrons (Source: Author's Own)

Another aspect that indicates the lack of integration of public spaces includes the unequal securitisation of some public spaces over others. Figures 69 and 70 are examples of surveillance cameras and the warning of CCTV monitoring in

Maboneng and the Mining District to deter criminal activity and monitor ant-social behaviour.

Figure 69: CCTV warning on the perimeter of Arts on Main, Fox Street (Source: Author's Own)

Figure 70: Surveillance camera fixed on the side of a corporate building, Fox Street (Source: Author's Own)

None of the participants in Cape Town mentioned whether public spaces were isolated, although, from observations, public spaces were well connected. Figures 71 and 72 show some of the surveillance cameras facing onto public spaces. However, there were no warning signs, as seen in Johannesburg public spaces. In both cities, surveillance cameras were strategically mounted on private buildings except figure 71, which is mounted on a pole above the walkway in Government Avenue.
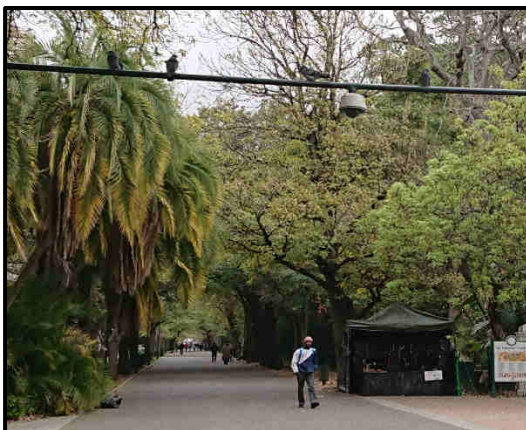
Figure 71: Surveillance camera fixed on a pole outside of The Company's Garden (Source: Author's Own)
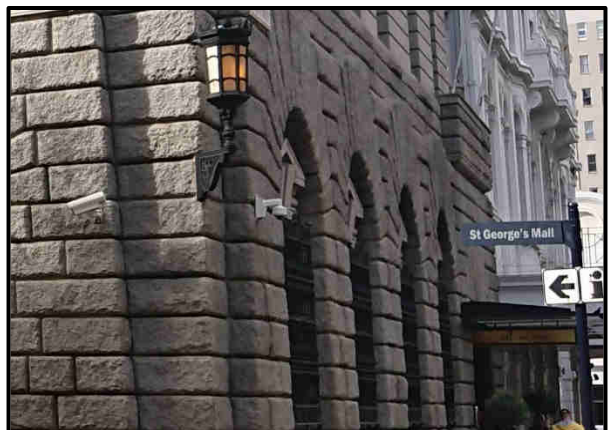
Figure 72: Surveillance camera fixed on hotel buildings along Wales Street and St Georges Mall (Source: Author's Own)

From a tourist perspective, safety and security in Cape Town were treated as a preventative method to deter crime. However, this was mainly observed during the day and mostly on weekdays. There were several security guards and police officers observed in and out of the City Sightseeing Cape Town tours main office

in Long Street. Arriving in Greenmarket Square on a weekday morning, I observed several Metro police patrolling, and I asked Rosemary whether this was standard practice to which she responded no. She unexpectedly added that tour participants should be prepared to run 'if things start happening'. This implied that participants should be aware of their surroundings and the movement of police in the space. Although, none of the tour participants seemed concerned by Rosemary's remark.

Inaccessibility of public spaces can also be influenced by the lack of investment into the spatial environment or focusing on investment opportunities that target specific socio-economic groups. In Johannesburg, a common discussion was the lack of property investment in the city centre because of the number of vacant buildings. Figure 73 shows a vacant building in Fox Street that does not indicate plans for future development.

Figure 73: Vacant building along Fox Street (Source: Author's Own)

Basil mentioned that the number of vacant buildings scattered through the Johannesburg city centre is a sign of reluctance by property owners to invest in the city. Although, the infrastructure exists and there are opportunities for

economic, social, tourism and residential growth; there is limited interest in inward investment:

> Number two there are lots of private owners of property in the city. Which still either number one don't believe in the city enough to invest or number two are conveniently just sitting on property waiting for it to increase in value to the point where they are one day worth selling. So, they are purposefully not investing in the city. (Interview with Basil - Joburg Tours Owner, Eloff Street, 15 April 2017)

Investment of properties within the city can contribute towards changing negative perceptions of the city centre through the development of social spaces. Yarrow, a tour participant, indicated that he was reluctant to explore the city centre. He feared walking in the city centre because of the dilapidated buildings and the overall appearance of the streets. He also admitted to not feeling safe; however, due to the development changes of the public spaces, his perception has changed. Clem commented that the development changes had been initiated by the private sector, which is more reliable than the public sector:

> The levies are paid for by a collective of property owners because the Local Authority is slow and ineffective. The private sector protects the public sector realm. (Interview with Clem - Housing Development Agency Manager, Doornfontein, 2 May 2017)

However, Cedar further added that the spatial environment is unmaintained and affected by a plethora of spatial and safety issues. However, this claim was based on perception and not substantiated by any factual evidence:

> at the moment, the urban environment is pretty chaotic. By-law enforcement is virtually non-existent, erratic crime at the moment in the city is a huge problem. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

Observations of the spatial and social development of the city centre in Cape Town indicates a city that has benefitted from property development investment. The development of the city centre created an attractive city catering to tourists and formal and informal commercial profits.

7.2.2 Spaces of exclusion based on socio-economic status

Spaces of exclusion that were visible in both cities were identified in discussions of social group distinctions and affordability. Social group distinctions were made by most participants in both cities that resulted in participants distancing themselves from marginalised groups such as drug addicts and the homeless.

In Johannesburg, distinctions between acceptable social groups were determined by public space users and indicate which social groups were not accepted. This was used as a strategy to determine which groups were accepted in public space. Cedar admitted that the improvement of the public space has two components. Firstly, identify which groups require monitoring to deter criminal behaviour through security measures and secondly, develop areas that are walkable and safe:

> You can create the most beautiful apartments for people to live in, but if they are too scared to walk out on the street because the drug dealers are there and the prostitutes are standing there, and the kids are getting molested, the only people that you can attract are tenants with the same criminals standing on the pavement. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

Cedar also added that the monitoring and control of informal trader groups should be better managed in public spaces and not eliminated:

> I'm not suggesting take all the traders and chuck them out, I believe there is a key role for them, and they give a vibe to the city. We are creating empowerment, we are creating entrepreneurship, it's wonderful, but it needs to be managed and located correctly. Public open spaces are still public open spaces. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

Camellia remarked that the Mining District was unsafe and blamed drug users for criminal activities in the area. She specifically mentioned addicts that use nyaope, a common street drug found in South Africa. This distinguishes these addicts from addicts that use other drugs and criminalises one subset of drug users. Camellia further stated that the general area is not considered safe because motorists and public space users are targeted:

> So, I think the target during this time of the day, which is from 8 am - 3 pm the nyaope guys are targeting the vehicles, not people per se. But after five o clock, this area is very dangerous. That is what we have been told. That after five o clock, the nyaope guys already know that not everyone is around here, so they start attacking the pedestrians but during the day is vehicles and after hours. (Interview with Camellia - Corporate Manager, Mining District, 19 July 2018)

This was not the first instance where a participant blamed a marginalised group for the negative perceptions of the city centre. Before starting the Joburg walking tour, the city's history was narrated by Basil. Basil insinuated that the dilapidated state of Gandhi Square, the condition of facilities and buildings was due to the illegal occupancy of the homeless. He added that Gandhi Square was a no-go area ten years ago due to the number of homeless people residing in the Square. The redevelopment of the Square resulted in the eviction of homeless occupants.

A separate conversation with Fern, a city employed bus driver, suggested that the areas she considered unpleasant were frequented by the homeless. This was based on negative perceptions about this marginalised social group and not related to a personal experience:

> **Fern:** Ja. Like Nugget Street, it is not safe to go there. There is a lot of this [long pause]. There is a lot of what do you call these beggars people?
>
> **ZL:** Homeless people?
>
> **Fern:** Homeless people that [sic] are dangerous.
>
> **ZL:** Have you had a bad experience with any of them?
>
> **Fern:** No, I haven't had a bad experience. I just saw that someone was being attacked and his cellphone was stolen there [Recalled this nonchalantly]. (Interview with Fern - Metro Bus Driver, Gandhi Square, 19 July 2018)

Several participants in Cape Town also shared similar views about the presence of the homeless in public spaces. Lily recalled weekly encounters with the homeless on St Georges Mall. She remembered being disturbed by the homeless asking for money every week in the area:

> There is a lot of street people in this area… I am normally inside so; I am not outside a lot. It is just to come out to smoke or if I want to go somewhere. But it is okay; here there is - they have like a little soup kitchen here on like tonight, Tuesdays ne. From 5 till 6, I think. Then you come out so - it's not lekker to come out that time cause when you come smoke, they come bother you. But other than that, it is okay; it's just here there is a lot of street people walking around. (Interview with Lily - Office Co-ordinator, St Georges Mall, 31 July 2018)

Magnolia echoed this sentiment about being approached by the homeless in the city and the unpleasant atmosphere created:

> Uhm, sometimes they do, but I think the good thing is there are so many of them it gets a bit… Where you get bombarded all the time. By people begging and people walking on the street and bothering you for stuff so, sometimes that is not a nice experience. (Interview with Magnolia - Hotel Administrator, St Georges Mall, 31 July 2018)

I also observed tensions between two informal parking attendants in Cape Town, which appeared to be based on claiming territory. During a discussion about the apartheid benches with Sage, another informal parking attendant approached and indicated that he would be watching cars and asked Sage for a cigarette lighter. Sage aggressively instructed the other informal parking attendant to move away and stop interrupting because he was busy. He persisted and again was instructed to leave and not return by Sage. This unfriendly exchange between Sage and the other informal parking attendant was over territory that none of them was formally employed to patrol or check on parked vehicles.

Spaces of exclusion can also be influenced by affordability in terms of attractiveness to local and international visitors, accessibility, and pricing. Alyssa, a street performer in Johannesburg, commented that most of her merchandise was purchased by international visitors and rarely locals. The increased purchases by international visitors could suggest that costs are less attractive to local visitors:

> I can understand why the orders are not that much maybe because of [sic] genre. Majority races, tourists, people that you find visiting the area. Majority is not local; it's international. (Interview with Alyssa - Street Performer, Maboneng, 15 July 2018)

A few participants in Johannesburg referred to the gap between the rich and the poor worsening. Alder that has remained in the city centre commented that the economic divide was a countrywide issue not only affecting Johannesburg:

> I think firstly in the context of Joburg; there are all sorts of things that have not really been achieved, it's a worldwide country thing where you are poor or you are rich (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

Cedar admitted that as a high-income earner, he was aware of the wealth gap and had no problem contributing financially to reduce the gap. However, he was doubtful in the ability of the ANC led the national government to address the wealth gap adequately:

> if government came along and said to us [His group of friends] they are going to increase our tax for three years by 3%; it would pull billions into the fiscus. What would your reaction be, and they used it to address the poor? I addressed it to the people at the table. They said it would be a great idea if only they knew that the money would be used properly. We were all 'whities' sitting at the table but what they were saying is that they are happy to believe in the country, they are happy to contribute because they want to be part of it, but they don't believe that the current leadership is going to do the right thing. (Interview with Cedar - Housing Development Agency Director, Doornfontein, 27 April 2017)

Presently, public spaces are promoted as accessible to all, but 1 Fox Street and The Company's Garden are public spaces that are not entirely accessible. The physical barriers of high walls, security gates and patrolling security guards make equitable access difficult. The less noticeable barriers included mobility and freedom of movement.

Accessing the housing market has also been exclusionary because access to low-income housing and the level of integration of various social groups is disproportionate:

> I would argue that 85% of housing in the inner city is low-cost income housing, right. Which is also very questionable, because if you are earning, let's say R2000 and your rent is R1500 is that really low cost? So we dealing with a city that is not integrated, which in the late 80s and 90s uhm, became left just for the poor. (Interview with Alder - Maboneng Tour Guide, Maboneng, 11 April 2017)

Figure 74 shows full on-street parking in Maboneng over the weekend when the area is the busiest. This is an indication that the patrons in Maboneng are very mobile and travel from different areas of Johannesburg. Street parking in the surrounding streets was not as full as in Maboneng during the week and over the weekend. Maboneng was the only public space in both cities that was busy and actively used over the weekend.
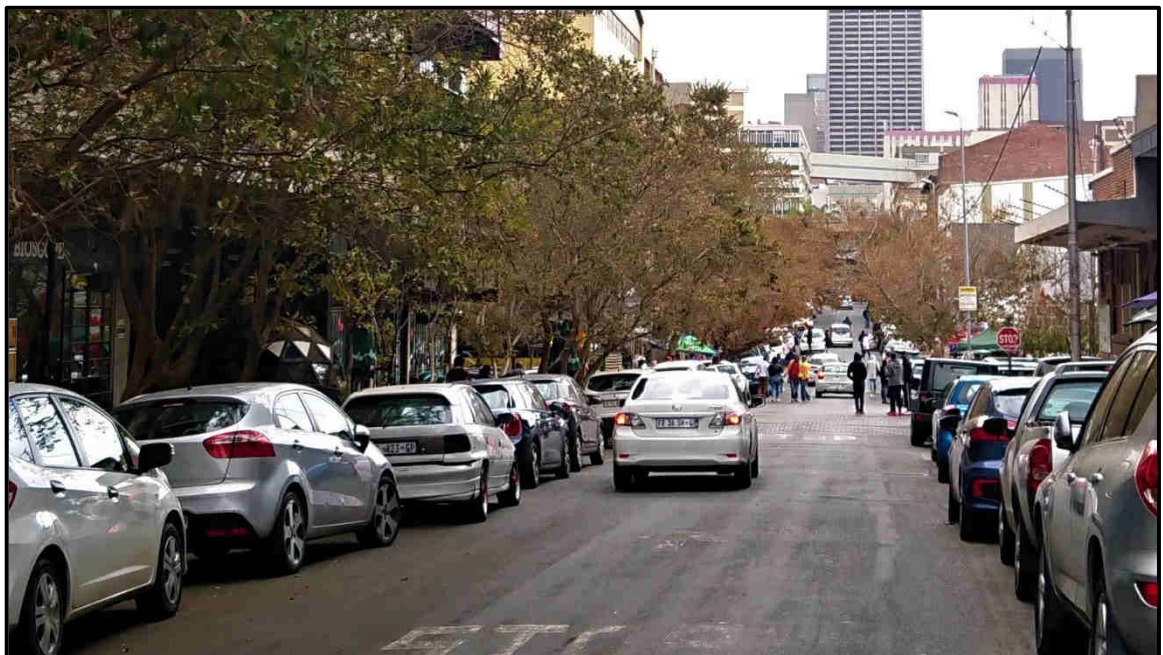
Figure 74: Full on-street parking of Maboneng patrons (Source: Author's Own)

In terms of affordability, activities that are advertised as free in public spaces, such as walking tours, rely on tips. This excludes low-income earners that are interested in these activities but cannot afford to pay. Additionally, market souvenirs and pricing at eateries cater to an international clientele and middle-to-upper-income earners in both cities.

1 Fox Street was a great converted space, quiet and located close to the motorway. From observations, the space was used as a destination for social gatherings with limited facilities to enable exploration. The variety of social facilities and amenities are minimal, with a range of food stalls in the food hall that was under renovation. In terms of pricing, the stalls and surrounding eateries did not seem to cater to a student's budget or low-income earners.

Economic accessibility has not always been observed as a hurdle for marginalised groups such as the homeless. From observations, during lunchtime the McDonalds

in Gandhi Square, Johannesburg was very busy, and within 15 minutes, several young and old homeless males were asking for money. None of the staff or patrons appeared annoyed or chased them away. A few patrons were seen giving money and food to the homeless.

In Cape Town, giving the homeless money was strongly advised against by tour guides. Rosemary stressed not giving money or buying products for them as many try to exchange it or resell it for cash. She added that the best way to help is to donate money to a registered charity:

> homelessness is a big problem in Cape Town, and that has even added to the increase in crime. (Interview with Rosemary - Cape Town Tour Guide, Greenmarket Square, 24 July 2018)

There were many homeless people throughout the city centre and concentrated around the Cape Town train station.

7.2.3 Question 2 Discussion

The investigation into the new forms of fragmentation resulted in several key insights, namely: most public space users sought securitised areas, there were different approaches to public space monitoring, some marginalised groups are treated differently in both cities, and lastly, affordability determines the degree of accessibility.

I found that safety and security were more of a concern for participants in Johannesburg than in Cape Town. However, this could be because of the established security measures implemented in Cape Town. Monitoring public spaces were common in both cities, although in Johannesburg monitoring goes beyond policing and surveillance cameras. It is extended to street cleaning and maintenance to deter anti-social behaviour. These practices provide the appearance of a controlled and maintained city. However, in Cape Town, there was less tolerance for the homeless because they were one of the groups controlled in public spaces.

Apartheid was implemented on the premise of racially and socially dividing public space users through the legislated control of spatial movement.

Democracy signified the end of legislated forms of control of social and spatial behaviour. However, the securitisation of public spaces has restricted the freedom of movement through security measures. The adverse effects of implementing security measures are the restrictive movement of social groups that contributes towards the exclusion of diverse socio-economic groups (Lemanski, 2007). Lemanski (2004) argues that the securitisation of public spaces in Cape Town is a consequence of the increase in criminal activity. This approach in Cape Town public spaces was found to be more reactive in terms of the increase in crime rather than proactive in preventing criminal activity. However, the level of securitisation during the week was directly proportional to the level of social activity within public spaces. Thus, the reduced level of activity over the weekend was also reflected in the reduced presence of security guards patrolling.

The degree of monitoring in Johannesburg public spaces varied according to the level of activity, apart from the Mining District and Gandhi Square. There were more surveillance cameras around the Mining District than security guards stationed outside business premises. These security measures appeared to be more of a business strategy to monitor and ensure the safety of employees. It was not based on a city or collective strategy to monitor the movement of public space users and control the movement of groups considered undesirable. In this respect, Johannesburg and Cape Town securitisation strategies differ because the former is implemented according to individual interests.

In contrast, the latter is a collective strategy by the public and private sector. In Cape Town, the homeless and informal traders were more commonly monitored, and their movement controlled. The level of monitoring and control is more established around the selected public spaces and throughout the city centre than in Johannesburg. From discussions and observations, there was no objection by public space users about the of monitoring their movement.

A consequence of the securitisation strategy in Johannesburg is the development of abandoned public spaces that do not benefit from a collective strategy. This further contributes to pockets of social activity in public spaces that are disconnected from surrounding areas. The location of public spaces is isolated from the surrounding areas in terms of security, social activity, and spatial

movement. It resulted in the continued spatial separation and fragmentation of social activities. In Johannesburg, this was more welcomed because it contributed towards perceptions of safety and comfort. However, Tonnelat (2004) warns against the flaws of implementing security measures to control the free circulation of people and goods in public spaces. This affects the accessibility and movement of groups that have been identified by participants as undesirable. In both cities, the homeless were monitored using various forms of security.

The acceptance of public space users excluded certain social groups, as suggested by participants. The reasons for exclusion were generalised and based on the association of criminal behaviour with the homeless and drug addicts. The affordability of public spaces related to accessibility, pricing, mobility and the convenience of travelling. In Johannesburg, this focused on economic divides, and in Cape Town, accessibility focused on racial divisions. Both focussed on interrelated areas of economic inequality which was enforced through racial divisions during apartheid.

By trying to develop attractive city centres, this inadvertently created spaces that cater to middle-and-higher income earners to generate interest and investment in the city centre. As pointed out by Lemanski (2004) prioritising certain social groups over others only contributes towards social polarisation and creates distinctly exclusive spaces. Spatially most public spaces were open and accessible; however, the economic affordability of public spaces was not inclusive. In both cities, most of the leisure and residential facilities cater to middle-and-upper income social groups. The economic inaccessibility for lower-income earners and students to interact in these spaces hinders achieving all-inclusive public spaces. Even though the development of both cities has been different, both resemble exclusive public spaces.

Investment and development into the city also impact on the economic affordability and accessibility of public spaces. Maboneng has been criticised for perpetuating the legacy of social divisions through the residential and commercial development that caters to middle-and-higher income earners (Nevin, 2014). The studies by Miraftab (2007), Nevin (2014) and Sihlongonyane (2016) found that the Johannesburg and Cape Town city centre were divided

along economic lines and no longer racial lines. Williams (2000) also asserts that "planning measures are not being promoted and applied uniformly throughout urban South Africa. Consequently, their impact upon racially-embedded space is equally unequal" (p.177). The conflicting development visions and approaches in addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation has resulted in the development of economically exclusive socio-spatial facilities, which is in line with these studies. However, my research further extends this finding to include the spatial environment. Most public spaces were exclusionary due to the lack of integration with surrounding areas even though not all had controlled access. The development focus and diversity of public space users in Maboneng is not reflected in the surrounding areas. Public space users limit their activity to the commercial developments in Maboneng and 1 Fox Street and negate other developments in the surrounding areas.

Additionally, Lemanski (2007) found that Cape Town was divided along racial, class and spatial lines because development was concentrated in the city centre and affluent areas. However, my findings were that Cape Town was not racially divided in public spaces because the spaces were integrated with the surrounding areas and diverse population groups were observed. However, Cape Town continues to be divided along class lines because of the focus on maintaining the tourist city image. This resulted in tourist and visitor interests being prioritised over local interests in terms of the provision of affordable services.

The result of socio-economic divisions is due to adopting a commercial approach to the socio-spatial transformation, which prioritises economic gains over equitable social integration and in some cases, spatial integration.

7.3 Summary

This chapter presented the findings of each research question through a comparative discussion of the case studies. The first research question addressed how socio-spatial transformations were perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy. The overall key insights related to research question 1 included two parts. The first part found that there was a lack of spatial displays of apartheid in Johannesburg, yet participants were open

and willing to discuss the impact of apartheid on the city and residents. Whereas, in Cape Town, a city with various monuments on display throughout the public spaces, most participants felt less inclined to share their views, experiences and opinions on the impact of apartheid. The second part found that the transformation of both cities has been about telling the story of the city, even if it was an incomplete story, in light of progress. There is a willingness to display some uncomfortable aspects of history, such as the racial ordinance sign and benches. However, there is less willingness to discuss or share personal stories that are uncomfortable, and which possibly impede mental transformation associated with apartheid.

The second research question related to how addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation. Overall, addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation has contributed towards new forms of fragmentation through control of movement and economic affordability. Apartheid dictated that public spaces throughout South Africa were inaccessible due to racial segregation. In theory, addressing the legacy was intended to unite and reconnect previously disadvantaged communities; however, the spatial practice was counterproductive. The implementation of security measures and monitoring includes maintenance that deters anti-social behaviour. This act of control in public spaces, particularly in Johannesburg, has resulted in the lack of integration with surrounding areas. Most public space users gravitated towards public spaces that were considered well-maintained and avoided abandoned areas that were unmaintained and had no security presence. Most of the public spaces were identified as spaces of exclusion based on the views of participants and the economic affordability of public spaces. Affordability was often discussed concerning housing, leisure and social spaces and distinguished based on whether all social groups were accommodated. Most of the public spaces were found to be exclusionary based on economic accessibility because it predominantly catered to middle-and-higher income groups.

The following chapter concludes the research conducted by reviewing the overall research questions and objectives, highlighting the overall key findings and outlining the limitations and future research recommendations.

8 Conclusion

The overall aim of this thesis was to investigate the experience of public space users and analyse the perceived socio-spatial transformations of South African cities. In this final chapter, I provide a summary of the socio-spatial transformations of Johannesburg and Cape Town public spaces. The first section provides a review of the research objectives and questions. The second section summarises the overall key findings and insights from the thematic analysis. The contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes is highlighted in the third section. The chapter ends by highlighting the limitation of the research and outlines recommendations for future research.

8.1 Review of Research Objectives and Questions

The research objectives informed the methodological approach adopted. This section ties together the research objectives, methodological approach and a summary of the research questions, namely: (i) how are socio-spatial transformations perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy? And (ii) how has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation?

8.1.1 Research Objectives

The methodological approach and stance adopted for this research was a social constructivist viewpoint. This was adopted to understand the social meanings constructed by everyday public space users. There were three research objectives used to inform the case study research that included qualitative data collection methods such as interviews, multisensory walking and observation.

The first objective was to analyse the perceptions and experiences of public space users in post-apartheid public spaces through qualitative interviews. Between 2017 and 2018, a total of 26 semi-structured interviews were conducted, with 38 participants across six public spaces in Johannesburg and Cape Town. I collected in-depth qualitative data from public space users that either worked, lived, or socialised in the city centre. Interviews were audiotape

recorded and transcribed verbatim to analyse the perceptions and experiences
of public space users.

The second objective was to observe the social encounters and patterns of use in
Johannesburg and Cape Town public spaces. I conducted observations of
interactions and behaviours of public space users, during walking tours and self-
guided explorations of the study sites. The purpose of the observations was to
understand the social behaviour of public space users that were unlikely to be
spoken about during interviews. This method enabled observations of expected
and unexpected spatial uses of study sites, identify dominant social groups,
social activities and overlooked social groups. Observations were complimentary
to interviews because perceptions could be investigated in the context and
specific social conditions analysed.

The final objective was to evaluate post-apartheid public spaces using
multisensory walking to record the experience of navigating public spaces. The
multisensory method was a way to assess the social and spatial experience of the
city. I explored public spaces in Johannesburg, and Cape Town using
multisensory walking during guided and self-guided walking tours. A field
journal, maps and photographs were used to record the experience, and detailed
notes typed at the end of each day. The multisensory method often overlapped
with the observation method in terms of observations. However, the inclusion of
the other senses enabled an approach that combined a geographical and
psychological study of public spaces linking memories, experiences and
perceptions.

8.1.2 How are socio-spatial transformations perceived and experienced by public space users in light of the apartheid legacy?

The socio-spatial apartheid legacy has affected the present socio-spatial
transformation of South African cities through the everyday use and perceptions
of public space users.

Social and spatial transformations in Johannesburg were found to be
disconnected. Part of the transformation strategy in Johannesburg was to attract
residents and visitors to the city centre. Public spaces were not linked by a

pedestrian walking network, which resulted in the need for vehicles to travel between public spaces. In comparison, in Cape Town, the strategy was to maintain inward investment and attract tourists. The established pedestrian network in Cape Town resulted in connected public spaces and more foot traffic between public spaces. Despite the socio-spatial transformations, the apartheid legacy influenced both experiences and perceptions in two ways, namely: the displays of spatial reminders and the narratives by participants and tours guides.

Spatially the democratic government removed the apartheid reminders in both cities, yet there were more colonialist reminders such as statues, monuments and spatial displays. Although both cities had apartheid reminders, Cape Town used the reminder of racial benches as a tourist attraction. In contrast, in Johannesburg, the hidden racial ordinance sign was not used as a tourist attraction nor acknowledged in stories told about the city by the tourism industry. Participants' attitudes towards discussing personal apartheid experiences were different in both cities. In Johannesburg, South African participants were more willing to discuss the impact of apartheid on spatial development. Whereas, in Cape Town, this was not the case. In both cities, most participants were less willing to discuss personal experiences related to apartheid. The behaviour of public space users suggested that race and apartheid remain sensitive topics.

Both cities showed steps towards transforming the socio-spatial legacy of the city centre. However, the narratives told during walking and bus tours presented an incomplete history that negated the complexities of the racial dynamics represented by the South African society. Additionally, these discussions occurred in public spaces, yet participants rarely commented on the historical significance of the public spaces. It was evident from observations that heritage sites do not determine the level of social activity in public space. However, heritage sites are essential for representing the history of social spaces and the transformation of historically segregated spaces.

8.1.3 How has addressing the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation contributed towards new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation?

By addressing the socio-spatial fragmentation legacy, new forms of socio-spatial fragmentation were inadvertently developed. The control of movement and economic affordability are aspects that separate public space users by differentiating who has access, the type of access and the affordability to engage socially within the spatial environment. Apartheid policies and spatial development dictated the movement of public space users through control of movement and surveillance measures. Post-apartheid security measures were implemented to monitor and control the movement and behaviour of public space users. Many participants preferred securitised spaces due to the comfort and sense of safety. In Johannesburg, participants sought to socialise in securitised spaces. Some public spaces are not integrated with the surrounding areas as a consequence of securitisation. In comparison, in Cape Town, there was already an existing and established securitised monitoring system throughout the city and public spaces.

The homeless and informal traders were commonly monitored more than other groups, from observations and discussions with participants. These groups do not have equal access, even though they are free to move around. In Cape Town, informal traders were restricted to trading in certain areas. Yellow painted squares indicated the allocated perimeter for each trader stall. The grouping of traders in both cities increased competitiveness and reduced profitability for traders, even though the merchandise sold was African inspired. The focus on selling African inspired merchandise suggested a focus on attracting international tourists more so than locals. Additionally, the homeless were more restricted in Cape Town in terms of the spaces that they can occupy.

In Cape Town, more international visitors than local visitors were interested in paying for social activities in public spaces. The Gardens were restricted by opening times and monitored throughout the day. Activities advertised as free were not free and not available to low-income earners. Consequently, the redevelopment and investment in the city centre contributed to the development of middle-to-higher income groups. Catering to specific socio-

economic groups divides public space users along class lines rather than the historical racial lines.

8.2 Overall Key Findings

The overall key findings were based on the thematic analysis of Johannesburg and Cape Town case studies. The themes included urban connectivity, planned opportunities for social encounters and underutilised public space.

The spatial layout and social behaviour of public space users contributed to differences in urban connectivity between the cities. In Johannesburg, there was an increase in the urban connectivity of public spaces through social activities and investment. However, Johannesburg public spaces were spatially isolated, even though there was evidence of increased social transformation. The location of the public spaces and the surrounding business uses reflected the historical treatment of the city centre. The private sector was identified as pioneers of transformation, whereas public sector officials were seen as inhibitors of progressive transformation. However, more can be done in terms of spatial connections which will require more investment. The broader implications of this finding suggest that more progress has been made on the social transformation of cities. Even though spatial transformation has been the focus of development initiatives and academic discourse since 1994, progress has been slow. Consequently, by treating social and spatial transformation as separate issues, initiatives reflect disconnected social and spatial approaches.

In contrast, urban connectivity in Cape Town were more established due to the level of investment in the city centre. Cape Town public spaces were spatially integrated and easily accessible yet socially segregated. Due to the pedestrian network, pedestrians and motorists were equally prioritised. However, some public space users, such as skateboarders and cyclists, were restricted from public spaces. The social implication of this is that certain social groups were not accommodated due to the prohibited signage and no provision of facilities in public spaces.

The common finding of the planned opportunities for social encounters in both cities was the shift in activity and use of the city. In both cities was the

temporary use of public space. During the week, most of the public spaces displayed a shift in social activity as many people used the city primarily for business purposes during working hours. Many participants commented that the city centre was undesirable, dangerous, and abandoned after 5 pm. The deserted nature of the public spaces and city centres continued to reflect cities with predominant business uses. While most spaces reflected public space users shopping, exploring the city, working in the area and walking through public spaces during lunchtime. The implication of this is that the level of activity was not sustained over weekends and after 5 pm. This is significant because it presents the opportunity to attract visitors to the city to improve the low levels of activity by introducing diverse social activities. Even though in Cape Town, there was a lot more tourist appeal in the form of walking tours, historical sites and museums reflected a lack of social vibrancy in the city. The same lack of social vibrancy was reflected in Johannesburg public spaces.

A common finding for the underutilisation of public space was the increased securitisation of public space. The securitisation of public space contributed to trust in the environment to participate in social activities and navigate public spaces. In Johannesburg, most of the security measures have been implemented by individual businesses to ensure the safety of their employees and patrons. Whereas in Cape Town, security measures implemented combined surveillance cameras, community security, private security and city police were patrolling throughout public spaces. The security measures were increased during the week and were reduced over the weekend and after 5 pm. A few participants in both cities commented that safety is required because they perceive the homeless as dangerous, which was a generalisation not based on experience. The underutilisation of public space in Johannesburg was due to safety concerns and the perceived lack of maintenance. Two of the public spaces were often quiet and isolated from the surrounding area. This was due to the preference of public space users to socialise in areas that they were familiar with or based on their socialising preferences. Notably, many of these spaces need to be revitalised to attract tourists and visitors to the city centre. Cape Town differs in terms of the variety of social spaces available in the city. However, there was a limitation on the multifunctional use of public spaces. Trading areas and parks remained the

same throughout and were not converted to accommodate other uses such as yoga in the park or outdoor movie theatres.

8.3 Contribution to Knowledge

The contribution to knowledge that my research makes is related to the literature gaps and socio-spatial analytical framework, discussed in chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

The gaps identified during the literature review found that the research conducted on South African public spaces have tended to consider the spatial development from a macro policy perspective. Many of the previous studies conducted, assessed the spatial transformations of South African cities on a macro policy level which does not engage with the user perception and rarely utilised a qualitative study approach (Lemanski, 2004; 2007; Du Plessis and Boonzaaier, 2015; Bodino, 2016). The policy approach does not provide insight into the everyday user experience from the public space user perspective.

This thesis included an in-depth analysis of the spatial development of South African cities, the approach to studying the transformation of South African public spaces, and the experiences of everyday public space users. The influence of the apartheid legacy on the transformations of South African cities has been identified as an area of research that requires in-depth analysis (Nicks, 2003; Morris, 2004; Chipkin and Meny-Gibert, 2013). Madanipour (1999), Ho and Douglass (2008), Steinbrink et al. (2011) and Turok (2013) suggest that research conducted has neglected to focus on how public space users navigate fragmented city spaces. As pointed out by Turok (2013), the spatial structure of post-apartheid South African cities is under-researched.

My thesis investigated how the present socio-spatial transformation of South African public spaces are experienced and perceived by everyday users. A comparative case study of six public spaces in Johannesburg and Cape Town city centres provided a deeper understanding of the contemporary socio-spatial transformations. This contributes towards our empirical understanding of the lack of knowledge of micro-perspectives and experiences on a street level, which has not been widely researched (Donaldson et al., 2013; Walsh, 2013;

Nevin, 2014). The fragmented spatial development of both Johannesburg and Cape Town was influenced over 46 years by the apartheid government. The selection of social groups provided a qualitative understanding of the user experiences and perceptions in light of the apartheid legacy. Ellery and Ellery (2019) suggest including opinions and ideas from everyday public space users on how the public space should function to achieve maximum optimisation of city spaces. My research has laid the foundation for urban policy-makers and practitioners to develop socio-spatial development strategies in line with improving the user experience. A contextualised understanding of socio-spatial initiatives and how public space users navigate post-apartheid cities can be used to inform the implementation of spatial policies.

In terms of theory, as highlighted in chapter 2, most studies related to social and spatial transformation in South African cities have tended to adopt Western theoretical frameworks to understand the influence of the apartheid legacy. The SACN (2014) suggested studying examples of spatial transformation in non-South African contexts and adapt lessons to the South African urban context. The use of non-South African contextual research to address spatial transformation in South Africa is problematic in understanding the extent of socio-spatial fragmentation. My thesis mobilised key theoretical perspectives to develop an analytical framework. The analytical framework combines key concepts from social and spatial theoretical perspectives such as social sustainability, liveability and the right to the city. The purpose of the analytical framework was to investigate the socio-spatial transformations of South African cities. The framework was applied to the investigation of the relationship between the spatial behaviour and social interactions of public space users.

8.4 Limitations

After discussing the contribution to knowledge, some of the limitations of the research can be drawn. Two limitations included the chosen sample size and generalisability.

Due to logistical issues and time constraints, a smaller sample of research participants was selected in Cape Town. Although the sample size produced rich contextual data, a larger sample size would have provided a wider variety of

perceptions and experiences of Cape Town public space users. Initially, I wanted to obtain the views of residents as well as visitors and people working in the city centre. However, due to the limited time spent in Cape Town and none of the participants recruited resided in the city centre. This would have given me a better understanding of the perceptions and experiences of residents and how this compares to other public space user views.

Another limitation of the research study was the generalisability of the research findings. The study was developed around the socio-spatial transformations of South African cities influenced by the legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation. The findings reflected the individual user experience and perception of public space users. Thus, the generalisability was limited to micro-perspective samples and cannot be applied over larger regional or national areas. This context-specific approach is not intended to be generalised; however, the research methodology can be transferred to other contexts to analyse socio-spatial transformations of other cities.

8.5 Recommendations for Future Research

The recommendations for future research emerged from the research findings and the limitations identified in section 8.4.

One aspect that emerged from the research was the need for a study on the mental transformation of public space users. The legacy of socio-spatial fragmentation had an impact on the mindsets of South Africans in terms of the spaces they were permitted to occupy, and the restrictions imposed on them. A study of the psychological mindsets of public space users can be compared to the socio-spatial transformation findings of this thesis. The combination of social, spatial and mental aspects contributes towards a three-dimensional discussion of transformation.

Another aspect was the integration of public spaces with the surrounding areas in terms of the patterns of use. This type of study addresses the limits of the generalisability of a micro-perspective study. The macro-level study can include a larger sample size that focuses on the related social activities and securitisation of public spaces in city centres. A larger sample size of how public

spaces and surrounding areas are used by different social groups can be used to further investigate the socio-spatial transformation of public spaces. This can be used to conduct a comparative study of multiple cities on a larger scale.

With the recent effect of COVID-19 and implementation of social distancing, future research can assess the impact of COVID-19 on socio-spatial interactions. Not only will the legacy of apartheid have an impact on the socio-spatial transformations of cities, but COVID-19 will impact on the current and future development of socio-spatial transformations. The socio-spatial transformations of South African cities will be affected by the current lack of use and engagement in the city centre. This can also be extended to a comparative study of how different cities are experienced and perceived in the aftermath of the pandemic. This is a global issue affecting all aspects of urban lifestyles and public space user experiences.

Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER⌗

Addressing the Legacy of Spatial and Social Fragmentation: a Comparative Case Study of Johannesburg and Cape Town

- Researcher: Zubeida Lowton (University of Westminster)
- Supervisors: Simon Joss (Westminster), Daniel Conway (Westminster)

Invitation and description

You are being invited to take part in this doctoral research project, investigating the social sustainability and liveability of compact Africa cities. It looks at the ways in which South African cities negotiate the compact city and spatial transformation choices required to improve social sustainability and liveability. It will do this by investigating the relationship between urban form and spatial integration in addressing a segregated past. It will also develop a conceptual model to achieve social sustainability and liveability in the context of South Africa due to the complex socio-spatial nexus.

> **Updated: 2018**
>
> You are being invited to take part in this doctoral research project, investigating the everyday experience of people in the city. It looks at the ways in which South African city spaces are being used daily and the spatial transformation choices required to improve social sustainability and liveability of the inner city. It will do this by investigating the relationship between urban form and spatial integration in addressing a segregated past.

What this study will involve

- Participating in an exploratory interview with me, about your role in contributing towards achieving social transformation. This will take about 30 minutes and will be tape-recorded. The recording will be transcribed and the audio recording retained as part of the research archive for a period of 4 years.

> **Updated: 2018**
>
> Participating in a focus group with me, about your personal experience and perceptions of being in the inner city. This will take about 1 hour and will be recorded. The recording will be transcribed and retained as part of the research archive for a period of 4 years.

Basic information

- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary.
- Participating in the research is not intended to cause anyone involved any disadvantages or discomfort.
- You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
- You do not have to answer particular questions either on questionnaires or in interviews if you do not wish to do so.
- Should the research stop earlier than planned and your organisation is affected in any way we will tell you and explain why.
- This project is funded by the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission and forms part of the Eco-Cities Initiative at the University of Westminster.
- Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity

- No individuals will be identifiable by name from any written report of the research, or any publications arising from it, except where consent to use their name is provided.
- Any transcripts of the interviews will be available for comment by interviewees.

Data management, security and protection

- All computer data files will be password protected. The researcher will keep files in a secure place and will comply with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.
- All hard copy documents, e.g. consent forms, researcher notes, etc. will be kept securely and in a locked room. Documents may be scanned and stored electronically. This may be done to enable secure transmission of data to the university's secure computer systems.
- Interview data and researcher notes may be securely retained in digital format, purely for the researcher's own use as a research archive.

Results

- Results of the research may be published on a website or in a journal. If you would like to receive a copy of any publication please indicate this in the consent form.

Contacts, queries and complaints

- If you have any questions you can contact Zubeida Lowton. Concerns or complaints can be addressed to either Zubeida Lowton, her Director of Studies and Supervisor at the University of Westminster, or the University of Westminster Research Quality and Standards Officer (details below).

Contact	*Email / phone*
Zubeida Lowton (Doctoral Researcher)	zubeidabeiling@gmail.com/ +27835777998 www.westminster.ac.uk/eco-cities/people/doctoral-researchers/zubeida-lowton
Professor Simon Joss (Director Of Studies For Project)	josss@westminster.ac.uk / available on request
Dr Daniel Conway (Supervisor)	D.Conway@westminster.ac.uk / available on request
Huzma Kelly (University of Westminster Research Quality and Standards Officer – responsible for ethics)	research-ethics@westminster.ac.uk / +442079115051

Appendix B: Consent Form

Title of Study: The Social Sustainability and Liveability of African Cities: the Case of Johannesburg

<div style="border: 2px solid red; padding: 8px;">

Updated: 2018
Title of Study: Addressing the Legacy of Spatial and Social Fragmentation: a Comparative Case Study of Johannesburg and Cape Town

</div>

Lead researcher: Zubeida Lowton
Please tick the appropriate box

Consent Statements	Yes	No
I confirm I am willing to be a participant in the above research study.		
I have been given the Participation Information Sheet and/or had its contents explained to me.		
I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and I am satisfied with the answers given.		
I understand I have a right to withdraw from the research at any time and I do not have to provide a reason.		
I understand that if I withdraw from the research any interview data can be removed if requested, and not included in future publications.		
I would like to receive information relating to the results from this study.		
I wish to receive a copy of this Consent form.		
I note that data obtained, such as interview recordings and transcripts, may be retained in an archive for the researcher's own future reference.		

Participant's Name: _____
Role: _____
Organisation: _____

<div style="border: 2px solid red; padding: 8px;">

Updated: 2018

Participant's Name: _____

Job Title: _____ **Organisation:** _____

Age Group: 18 – 29 ___ 30 – 39 ___ 40 – 49 ___ 50 - 59 ___ 60+ ___

</div>

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____
This consent form will be stored separately from any data you provide so that your responses remain anonymous.

I confirm I have provided a copy of the Participant Information Sheet approved by the Research Ethics Committee to the participant and fully explained its contents. I have given the participant an opportunity to ask questions, which have been answered.
Researcher's Name: Zubeida Lowton
Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix C: Research Participant Profiles

Joburg Participants Pseudonym	Interview	Age Range	Participant Background
Alder	11 April 2017 (Maboneng)	18 - 29	Tour guide and local resident based in Maboneng.
Basil	15 April 2017 (Eloff Street)	40 - 49	Tour guide with tailored walking tours focused on the Johannesburg city centre and lives in the city centre.
Cedar	27 April 2017 (Doornfontein)	50 - 59	Director of a social housing development agency with many projects in the city centre.
Clem	2 May 2017 (Doornfontein)	18 - 29	Urban development manager based at a social housing development agency and resident in the city centre.
Alyssa	15 July 2018 (Maboneng)	18 - 29	A street performer that has been working in Maboneng for five years, commutes by public transport and lives in Noordgesig.
Aster	15 July 2018 (Maboneng)	18 - 29	Waitress at a coffee shop based in Maboneng, a former informal trader and lives in Kensington.
Corey	15 July 2018 (Maboneng)	18 - 29	International student visiting his girlfriend and first-time visitor to South Africa.
Blossom	15 July 2018 (Maboneng)	18 - 29	Maboneng resident and freelancer working in Maboneng.
Calla	15 July 2018 (Maboneng)	18 - 29	A frequent visitor to Maboneng and occasionally works from temporary workspaces provided in Maboneng, and lives in Parkhurst.
Camellia	19 July 2018 (Mining District)	30 - 39	Works for the government, drives to work regularly into the city, is a frequent visitor to the visitor and lives in Boksburg.
Daffodil	19 July 2018 (Mining District)	18 - 29	Recently moved to Johannesburg, works for the government, travels by public transport, is a frequent visitor to the city and lives in Boksburg.
Elm	19 July 2018 (Mining District)	50 - 59	An advocate working at a law firm in the city, drives to the work regularly and lives in Hyde Park.
Dahlia	19 July 2018 (Mining District)	30 - 39	A manager at a law firm in the city, drives and lives in Eden Glen.
Moss	19 July 2018 (Mining District)	30 - 39	A street artist that uses artwork displays to attract clients travels by public transport and lives in Mulbarton.
Fern	19 July 2018 (Gandhi Square)	40 - 49	A bus driver employed by Metro Bus and travels to the city for both leisure, work purposes and lives in Katlehong.
Flora	21 July 2018 (1 Fox Street)	30 - 39	Conducted a photographic walking experience with work clients in Fox Street, arranged social gatherings with friends and lives in Kempton Park.

Hazel	21 July 2018 (1 Fox Street)	30 - 39	Works as an office manager and a first-time visitor to 1 Fox Street but has visited other areas in the city and lives in Midrand.
Holly	21 July 2018 (1 Fox Street)	30 - 39	Works as a personal assistant and first-time visitor to 1 Fox Street but has visited other areas in the city and lives in Benoni.
Iris	21 July 2018 (1 Fox Street)	30 - 39	Works as an assistant, first-time visitor to the study site and lives in the south of Johannesburg.
Ivy	21 July 2018 (1 Fox Street)	30 - 39	A frequent visitor to the site, lives in the South of Johannesburg and is an office manager.
Jacinta	21 July 2018 (1 Fox Street)	30 - 39	A frequent visitor to the site, lives in the south of Johannesburg and is a scrum master.
Watson – Informal Discussion	11 April 2017 (Braamfontein)	30 - 39	Works as a researcher at a research institution based in the city centre.
Jasmine – Informal Discussion	16 April 2017 (Fox Street)	18 - 29	A tour guide part of a company that provides free walking tours of the city centre.
Yarrow – Informal Discussion	17 April 2017 (Fox Street)	40 - 49	Tour participant that joined the Joburg tours, moved to South Africa with his partner from Amsterdam and lives in Hyde Park.
Sorrel – Informal Discussion	17 April 2017 (Fox Street)	18 - 29	Trained as a show and became a freelance tour guide working part-time in the city and lives in Soweto.
Saffron – Informal Discussion	14 July 2018 (Maboneng)	30 – 39	Informal art trader Based in Maboneng and has a studio elsewhere in the city and lives in Troyville.
Kalina – Informal Discussion	21 July 2018 (1 Fox Street)	60+	A frequent visitor to study site because her son works at one of the businesses, retired and lives in Bassonia.

CAPE TOWN PARTICIPANT PROFILES

Cape Town Participants Pseudonym	Interview	Age Range	Participant Background
Quill	31 July 2018 (The Company's Garden)	60+	Retired from a career at sea, now a pensioner and lives in Steenberg.
Lavender	31 July 2018 (The Company's Garden)	60+	Pensioner, frequent visitor to the study site and lives in Steenberg with her husband.
Leilani	31 July 2018 (The Company's Garden)	60+	A professor based in the USA, travelled to the area for a work conference, first-time visitor to the area and based in the city centre hotel.
Ren	31 July 2018 (The Company's Garden)	30 - 39	A teacher based in France, his mother's travel companion, first-time visitor and based in a city centre hotel.
Lily	31 July 2018 (St Georges Mall)	30 - 39	Works in a hotel in the city as an office co-ordinator, uses company transport and lives in Ravensmead.
Magnolia	31 July 2018 (St Georges Mall)	30 - 39	Works in a hotel in the city as an administrator, uses company transport and lives in Bellville.
Marigold	31 July 2018 (St Georges Mall)	30 - 39	Works in a hotel in the city as an administrator, uses company transport and lives in Khayelitsha.
Orchid	31 July 2018 (Greenmarket Square)	60+	An informal trader working in Greenmarket Square with her daughter uses public transport and lives in Philippi.
Poppy	31 July 2018 (Greenmarket Square)	40 - 49	An informal trader working in Greenmarket Square, uses public transport and lives in Philippi.
Rosemary - Informal Discussion	24 July 2018 (Greenmarket Square)	30 - 39	A tour guide contracted to provide free walking tours of the city centre and lives in Green Point.
Sage - Informal Discussion	4 August 2018 (Queen Victoria Street)	40 - 49	An informal parking attendant that was working alongside The Company's Garden and lives in the Cape Flats.

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