



MANENBERG NEGOTIATED:

ANSWERING QUESTIONS COMMUNITIES ARE NOT ASKING

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MANENBERG NEGOTIATED:
ANSWERING QUESTIONS COMMUNITIES ARE NOT ASKING

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CONTENTS

	i. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	
PART 1	1. INTRODUCTION	08
	PUBLIC REALM AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY	08
	POLICY, PARTNERING AND PLANNING	10
	2. PROCESS OVER PRODUCT: METHODOLOGY	12
	APPROACH: ACTION RESEARCH	12
	PROCESS METHODOLOGY	13
	PARTICIPATORY DESIGN	14
	LIMITATIONS	17
	3. PROVOCATION: NEGOTIATED TERRITORIES	18
	COLONIAL DRIVERS: GROWTH AND DECLINE	18
THE ENDURING SPATIAL IMAGERY	18	
JOHANNESBURG: CITY OF NEGOTIATION	20	
SPATIAL CONSEQUENCES	20	
POSTCOLONIAL IMAGINATION	21	
SPATIAL DISLOCATION AND RECLAMATION	22	
PART 2	4. MANENBERG NEGOTIATED	24
	OF TERRITORIES	24
	NEGOTIATION OF THE PUBLIC REALM	36
	PRINCIPLES: ANSWERING QUESTIONS COMMUNITIES ARE NOT ASKING	38
	PEOPLE	40
	POWER	58
PLACE	78	
PART 3	5. THE STRATEGY	94
	STRATEGY PHASING	94
	TOWARDS A PLACE MAKING FRAMEWORK	104
	DESIGN GUIDELINES	114
	6. URBAN DESIGN AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY	120
	WHO IS IT FOR, AND WHO OWNS THE CITY?	120
	HOW DID WE GET HERE?	120
	WHY URBAN DESIGN IS NECESSARY: THE ROLE	121
	7. POLICY REVISITED	122
	8. CONCLUDING REFLECTION	124
9. REFERENCES	126	
10. LIST OF FIGURES	128	
11. APPENDIX	132	

i. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Within the global South, the public realm is often characterised as a territory of intense accessibility and spatial claims, equally enabling and constricting citizens to shape and reshape an inclusive place within the informal city. The contemporary African city has been central to the discourse around the rapidity of urban development and influx, producing a global narrative of the inability of a frail postcolonial metropolis to support this growth. What is emerging, however, is the resulting improvisation of the city's inhabitants to reimagine their contrasting, everyday environments for the city's negotiation and daily navigation. Often, the global discourse omits the finer, more nuanced informality of life that the African city's marginalised users employ in the everyday to innovatively sustain their livelihood.

Central to this imagination, is the Designer's role to spatially represent all citizens within the urban arena; achieving this through the People's City design approach. This participatory, incremental approach produces innovation outside the preconceived idea of a design product; rather, pursuing the process over the product. If more than half the city is marginal, the role facing practice should be framing solutions from the perspective and design of citizen/community majority. As Hamdi observes, the integrity of developing an inclusive approach in design, is through the collective voice and experience from within the community context itself; "practice, then, is about making the ordinary special and the special more widely accessible - expanding the boundaries of understanding and possibility with vision and common sense... It is about getting it right for now and at the same time being tactical and strategic about later" (Hamdi, 2004).

Manenberg, Cape Town, provides insight into the negotiation of community spaces; where form-making operates outside of the regular and explores how previous areas of exclusion contribute to an emergence of a more flexible and adaptable city. Rather than the static public realm, Manenberg demonstrates "a temporal articulation and occupation of space which not only creates a richer sensibility of spatial occupation, but also suggests how spatial limits are expanded to include formally unimagined uses in dense urban conditions" (Mehrotra, 2010). These unimagined, informal spatial nuances become the co-construction of choice and improvisation that composes daily life.

This collaboration and co-constructing of place formed the catalyst from which the research project pursues the process over the product, and was the key in developing an action research methodology to partnering and co-design with community members. The overarching thread that this research project attempts to explore in its approach, is: how can designers intervene in a manner which creatively alters the persistent dominance of exclusion in the public realm? And, in doing so, can the community be invited into the process? Throughout this iterative design, three principles emerged: People, power and place; through these the design process could be interrogated across multiple scales, with participants establishing outcomes, diagnosing spatial negotiations and dreaming proposed interventions.

The co-design process in the research project required active engagement, where the participants explored values, issues, threats and opportunities relating to the principles through a series of three process stages: Diagnosis, Dreaming and Designing. The intention was to allow the question of what the community wanted to emerge from within the groups. This process framework provides an opportunity for the group members to revisit their visioning iteratively during each process stage, testing and negotiating decisions of how interventions can be achieved. It allows the participants a space to comprehend urban solutions and explore alternatives, responding to on-the-ground issues from local and nuanced experience.

Answering questions communities are not asking: this subtitle becomes a commentary, or perhaps a statement, on how previous areas of exclusion, the marginalised and the informal city, often do not have a voice in the conversation of how their spaces are conceived and designed for them, without them. The research project concludes with strategies of intervention, with outcomes and solutions generated from the process of co-design. These strategies were then transposed into incremental interventions, testing the greatest impact to alter the accessibility of the public realm. The greatest tool to emerge from the community-led approach was the identification of potential partnerships which strengthened the dynamics in negotiating the public realm; illustrating that if communities are offered a seat at the table, the designs become all the richer, participating in the emergence of a more flexible, incremental and adaptable city.



"African cities are characterized by incessantly flexible, mobile, and provisional intersections of residents that operate without clearly delineated notions of how the city is to be inhabited and used".

- AbdouMaliq Simone

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The contemporary African city has been central to urban discourse around the rapidity of development, spatial and social claims to its unoccupied or liminal spaces; and the re-appropriation of the built landscape post colonial occupation or rule. The organisation of this urban development is seemingly without predetermined design; rather, it relies on the improvisation of the city's inhabitants and their everyday environments, to negotiate the reality of its daily navigation. The global narrative of the urban African situation is often portrayed as one of disorder: of governmental systems that are unable to cope with the unemployment rates, the under provision of basic services to communities, and of being unable to adapt to new urban process to aide in the influx of migrants. However, this global narrative omits the finer, more nuanced informality of life that the African city's marginalised users employ in the everyday to innovatively sustain their livelihood.

PUBLIC REALM & THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

The current challenge facing the public realm and the city's urban landscape is centred around accessibility and rights to space; the ability of citizens to shape and reshape an inclusive reality within the contemporary city - predominantly found in the global South. Central to this elusive inclusivity, is the urban design practice and its significance in its ability to conceive how the city ought to exist; and subsequently, carries the responsibility to attempt to spatially represent all stakeholders in the urban arena; within both formal and informal development.

The overarching thread that this research project attempts to explore in its approach, is: how can designers intervene in a manner which creatively alters the persistent dominance of exclusion in the public realm? In doing so, can the community be invited into the process? The contemporary city's trend is continuing to create spaces for marginalised communities which are oversimplified, providing clear lines of separation between uses and users; where the intervention, instead, needs a more complex argument in its spatial response to address the needs of all citizens. When spaces are reduced, and simplified, by nature it is still a form of exclusion and selection. The right balance between the creativity of the collective voice, and the stability and rigor of formal design, is the interpretative space in which the urban designer must operate.

"The Lefebvrian notion of the right to the city, and by extension the right to participation and inclusion, has critical salience here. Authors like David Harvey speak of the right to the city not merely as access, but as the ability to actively participate and create a different kind of sociality... The informal form and character of the settlement, therefore, facilitates spaces of highly networked, and flexible, business economies to be established" (Kotzen, 2015).

Part 1 of this research project seeks to outline and contextualise urban Africa firstly, through an analysis of historical and social systems that has contributed to its spatial organisation. Secondly, it examines these current conditions, introducing policy around public participation in place-making, and how this has developed in two particular African cities, Johannesburg and Cape Town. The intention is to explore the ways in which its present-day postcolonial urban landscape is being out-worked. "It reveals the ambiguities and contradictions that are a context for, rather than a barrier to, practice" (Hamdi, 2004, p. xxiii).

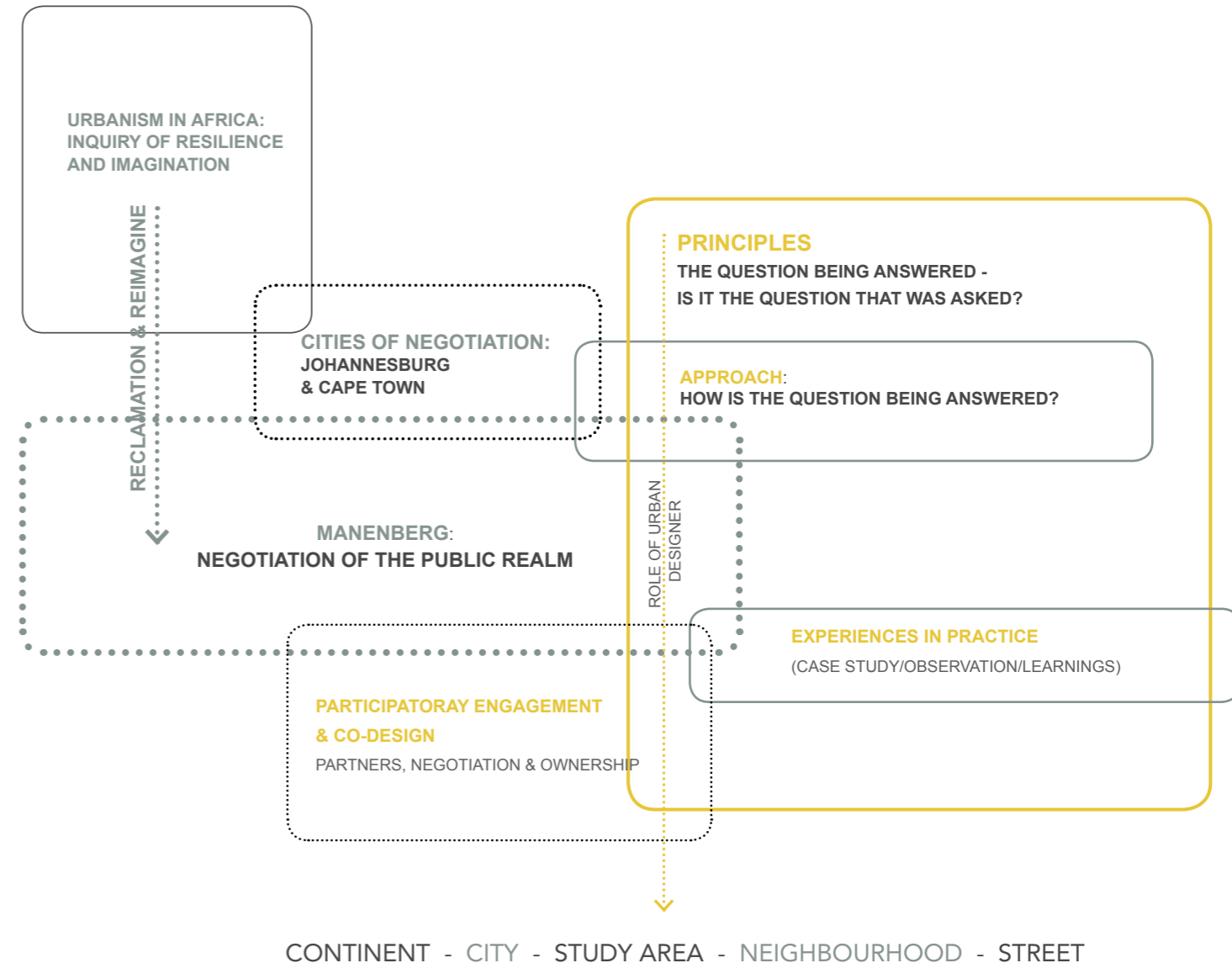
Part 2 of the research project locates itself in Manenberg, Cape Town; outlining how co-design and participatory focus groups were defined by participants, the retelling stories of community members, and documenting intelligence on marginalised and negotiated spaces. This section continues, establishing a set of principles and approaches upfront to guide the co-design processes, creating place for people, with people; using various action research methods and tools in structuring the focus groups and workshops. The section culminates with the identified principles interrogating an iterative design process across multiple scales, with participants establishing outcomes and proposed catalytic interventions. Part 2 explores how previous areas of exclusion, the informal city, can contribute and participate in the emergence of a more flexible, incremental and adaptable city.

The final section of the research project, Part 3, explores the role of the urban designer as an actor within the co-designing process; transposing the identified community needs and aspirations, with the responsibility to critically analyse and establish the missing links in order to design an incremental framework and strategy for intervention.

"This kind of knowing is less normative, less easy to standardize in its routines and procedures, less tolerant of data-hungry study, and less reliant on statistics or systems of analysis... Instead... precision is displaced in favour of informed improvisations, practical wisdom, integrated thinking and good judgement based on a shared sense of justice and equity, and on common sense".

- (Hamdi, 2004, p. xxii).

OUTLINE MIND MAP



“Engagement’ speaks of relationships that involve collaboration and the sharing of control over a project. There are different ways to engage and a spectrum which stretches from imposition, being ignored, consultation, participation, joint decision-making to community-driven initiatives. It is common cause that development works better when communities are effectively engaged from the outset. While this may be acknowledged in theory and even written into policy, meaningful engagement rarely happens in practice”.

- (Poulsen & Silverman, 2012, p. 150)

POLICY, PARTNERING AND PLANNING

In pursuit of a process-driven research project, the role of the state and local policies are central to the discussion regarding design, service delivery, participatory planning and the building and implementation of inclusive cities. As the largest stakeholder in relation to power and land ownership, the role of the state and local government - and its subsequent response to community engagement and development - is key to ensuring meaningful collaboration is prioritised.

The following is a high-level overview of the City of Cape Town’s MSDF and the adopted UN Habitat III New Urban Agenda; ascertaining the expressed positions and guidance provided by both works on the development visions and the role of communities in the shaping of the vision for the city.

CAPE TOWN:
MUNICIPAL SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK (MSDF)

The City of Cape Town’s Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) guides urban development in the city, establishing a number of policy and spatial directives. One of the key objectives is spatial transformation to provide “a more inclusive, integrated and vibrant city that addresses the legacies of apartheid, rectifies existing imbalances in the distribution of different types of residential development, and avoids the creation of new structural imbalances in the delivery of services. Key to achieving this spatial transformation is transit-oriented development (TOD) and the densification and diversification of land uses” (MSDF, 2017, p. 35).

The Municipal Spatial Development Framework for the City of Cape Town “sets out the spatial vision and development priorities to achieve a reconfigured, inclusive spatial form for Cape Town... [It] is a spatial interpretation of the City of Cape Town’s Integrated Development Plan” (MSDF, 2018, p. x). The Cape Town Integrated Development Plan contains three spatial strategies, which are as follows:

“Spatial strategy 1: Build an inclusive, integrated, vibrant city. Spatial strategy 2: Manage urban growth, and create a balance between urban development and environmental protection. Spatial strategy 3: Plan for employment, and improve access to economic opportunities” (MSDF, 2018, p. xiv). The three strategies provide direction to the spatial development of sector plans, supporting the transformation objectives to better serve all citizens.

The MSDF further underlines the need to focus resources inwardly in support of intensification and prioritise investment in favour of sustainable job-generating economic growth over the medium-term. This is promoted in order to support other spatial development goals such as poverty reduction and social mobility, improving spatial equity and accessibility. “The reversal of apartheid’s spatial legacy – a legacy which limits movement, access and integration within and around Cape Town – is a key principle of the City’s IDP and this MSDF” (MSDF, 2017, p. 13). This pursuit of dismantling the spatial injustices of the past is of particular interest to this research project; however, the challenge begins to arise in achieving this vision and the outworking of the transformation within the nuanced and specific community contexts which citizens find themselves. The assumption that in order to achieve spatial transformation it will require an intensification of land uses in areas supportive of Transit-Oriented Development (TOD, Figure 01) is a bold marker, as what one needs to be cognizant of it that engineers do not make cities, people do.

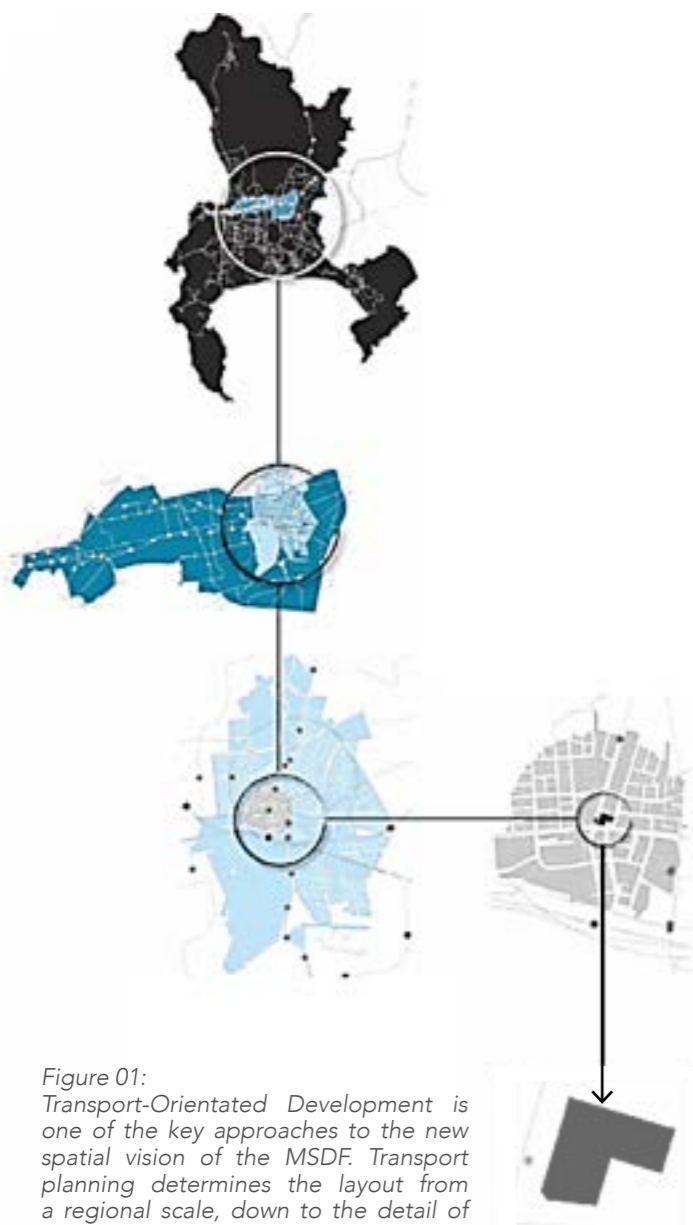


Figure 01:
Transport-Oriented Development is one of the key approaches to the new spatial vision of the MSDF. Transport planning determines the layout from a regional scale, down to the detail of project implementation.

What appears to be missing is the addressing of services and the physical needs of citizens - not merely the mobility routes that would afford access to them, at a personal cost.

NEW URBAN AGENDA (NUA)

The New Urban Agenda was adopted in 2016, and established a standard, globally, for urban development which is responsible and sustainable. In implementing governance structures and frameworks which support communities, the NUA target 86 states that the agenda will be anchored “in inclusive, implementable and participatory urban policies, as appropriate, to mainstream sustainable urban and territorial development as part of integrated development strategies” (NUA, 2016, p. 23).

In searching for the NUA for standards which are more focused on inclusive collaboration between stakeholders, target 147 calls for a promotion of “capacity development as a multifaceted approach that addresses the ability of multiple stakeholders and institutions at all levels of governance and combines the individual, societal and institutional capacity to formulate, implement, enhance, manage, monitor and evaluate public policies for sustainable urban development” (NUA, 2016, p. 37). This underpins the need in which capacity to engage all actors, and to do this well, should be addressed.

In both the global and the local policy scale mentioned above, reliance on state as active partners in implementing the strategies is important to the success of project implementation. However, these strategies and visions omit the processes of dialogue, the deliberation within the design and collaboration between role players and actors in the community space for which these strategies are developed. The context is key in the formation of policy planning, which will be revisited and expanded upon once more at the end of this research project; as the intention is to use the following research methodology as evidence as to why context is vital to collaborative planning in establishing policies.

“However, their focus on broad long-term institutional dynamics and transformations at the level of a country or city provide limited insights into how context influences specific collaborative planning processes, i.e. sequences of facilitated activities intended to enable deliberation between multiple stakeholders across differences towards consensual outcomes. This knowledge gap is problematic since it prevents a deeper understanding of how context influences the specific and situated processes that constitute the everyday practice of many planners” (Calderon & Westin, 2019, p.2). A more nuanced and active involvement of the state and local government is necessary in dismantling the surface and high-level knowledge, rather a deeper capacity for participatory collaboration is required; dedicating and establishing departments to liaise between state and community.



Figure 02:
Conceptual development corridors, including emerging nodes

"It argues in favour of clustering over segregation and isolation. It promotes a line of thinking that recognizes the importance of context and time in city-making. The new paradigm encourages the embracement of a broader time horizon, with openness to the past and the anticipation of an uncertain future. It embraces the concepts of flexibility and resilience, accommodating heterogeneity and change, in ways that allow people to re-appropriate spaces and places. Unlike the temporal and spatial certainties of past models, the emerging discourse on cities acknowledges experience, temporality and surprise as central to the choreography of city-making".

- (Clos et al., 2017, p. 12)

2.0 PROCESS OVER PRODUCT

The rapidly changing conditions and dynamics that are experienced in the urbanization of the global South often result in the delayed provision of infrastructure due to the rapid pace of growth. This serves as an indicator that the manner in which interventions are provided needs to adapt; flexible concepts need to be adopted in order to address uncertain conditions with each new context and community. These negotiated spaces encourage the adaptive thinking of the process over the final product, and questions: are communities "meaningfully involved in the upgrading process, as active agents for change; and not just the beneficiaries of top-down improvement projects" (Frediani, Nunez Ferrera & French, 2011, p. 18)?

The approach to process driven design provides an intervention and an invitation to produce incremental designers, that build upon one another; ensuring an adaptability within the community-led design. "It is about getting it right for now and at the same time being tactical and strategic about later. This is not about forecasting, nor about making decisions about the future. But it is about the long range, about making sure that one plus one equals two or even three, about being politically connected and grounded, and about disturbing the order of things in the interest of change" (Hamdi, 2004, p. xviii). The approach seeks to explore and test with the stakeholder, to diagnose the needs and constraints, to dream up possible actions, and to design interventions that are pursued together.

From the process over the product, the research question for this project emerged:

How can the negotiation and improvisation within the contested public realm in Manenberg, be used to develop and conceive a strategy for intervention through the process of inclusive design?

Given the impact of the imagination in the shaping spatial occupation; the resultant sub-question expands, testing the notions between community ownership and resultant intervention: The question being answered - is it the question that was asked?

The objectives of the research project are: to spatially unpack the intense territorial negotiation and spatial claims to the public realm in Manenberg; to review the prescriptive limits of the approach of engaging the informal city as "a problem to be solved" (Mbembe, & Nuttall, 2004); and to develop an integrated community-led upgrading method for active participation and to explore co-design solutions with residents - detailing process over the product.

2.1 APPROACH: ACTION RESEARCH

Action research is based on a premise of a need for public engagement and participation, to ensure that design development with a community informs the research and influences the outcomes of the proposal. Participation is necessary in the establishment of defining needs and interest of an area; participation provides accurate information and local knowledge, which aids in identifying potential areas of conflict within a community. The action research methodology is grounded in co-design, establishing opportunities to explore design alternatives providing continuity and ownership for the neighbourhood community.

This Urban Design Research Project pursued action research as a methodology, and facilitated co-design workshops and focus groups within Manenberg, in order to establish a research project which centres on the process over the product. These co-design workshops were lead by the student, who has experience in working in under-served communities and low income areas; and a personal association with an organisation in Manenberg. The intention is a connection to the social context of Manenberg's public realm negotiation and the intention of a people-centred approach to the design. The method includes 'research-for-design', incorporating desktop analysis, case studies, empirical fieldwork, observations and investigating everyday users of place. Additionally, the research method explored 'design-for-research'; developing locally applied and informed design, through co-design workshops and semi-structured interviews.

2.2 PROCESS METHODOLOGY

The title, Manenberg negotiated, captures and includes three vital principles that recur throughout the iterative process of designing:

'People' - *Who* are the centre of the collaboration, dialogue and actors within the realm in which identification of intervention takes place;

'Power' - *Why* there is a need within the community and its diagnosis; who owns power, accesses it, or holds onto it;

'Place' - *Where* the small, incremental interventions can begin to disturb the current territorial conditions for a better quality of place.

These three principles were central in the structuring of the research project and guided the sequence of the iterative design process.

In initiating the process of a community-led design approach to the Urban Design Research Project, the research was conducted using a combination of methods to plan with the community. Data was collected through multiple interviews, focus group stages, analysis of documents, site visits and observations, and workshop sessions. The interview sessions were conducted with community members, local authorities and professionals within the urban design public participation practice. The semi-structured interview questions explored topics related to participants values and visions for Manenberg, their perceptions of place and power within the community and analysis-related questions around triggering the occupation of space and how it is used within the community.

Three focus groups were established with the intention of exploring iterative design processes, with the research exploration structured around three different scales: the study area, neighbourhood and the street scale. Each focus group examined these scales in relation to one of the three above mentioned principles which they determined were relevant to their community. Each group explored values, issues, threats and opportunities relating to the principles through a series of three process stages: Diagnosis, Dreaming and Designing. The intention was to allow the question of what the community wanted to emerge from within the groups, rather than an external idea presented to the group to evaluate. This process framework provides an opportunity for the group members to revisit their visioning iteratively during each process stage, testing and negotiating decisions of how interventions can be achieved. It allows the participants a space to comprehend urban solutions and explore alternatives, responding to on-the-ground issues from local experience, "with a view to [challenge] the wider instruments of power... [in order to] contribute to meaningful change" (Frediani, 2018, p. 5).

The focus groups were addressed in three sessions per principle, with a total of nine focus groups held at various locations in Manenberg. These locations ranged from residents and participants homes, to a community centre, a church, soccer fields and on the street /out in the open on vehicle rooftops when space was unavailable. The first process stage that each one of the three focus group engaged in was the 'Diagnosis' stage. This stage explores the context of the community, dis-

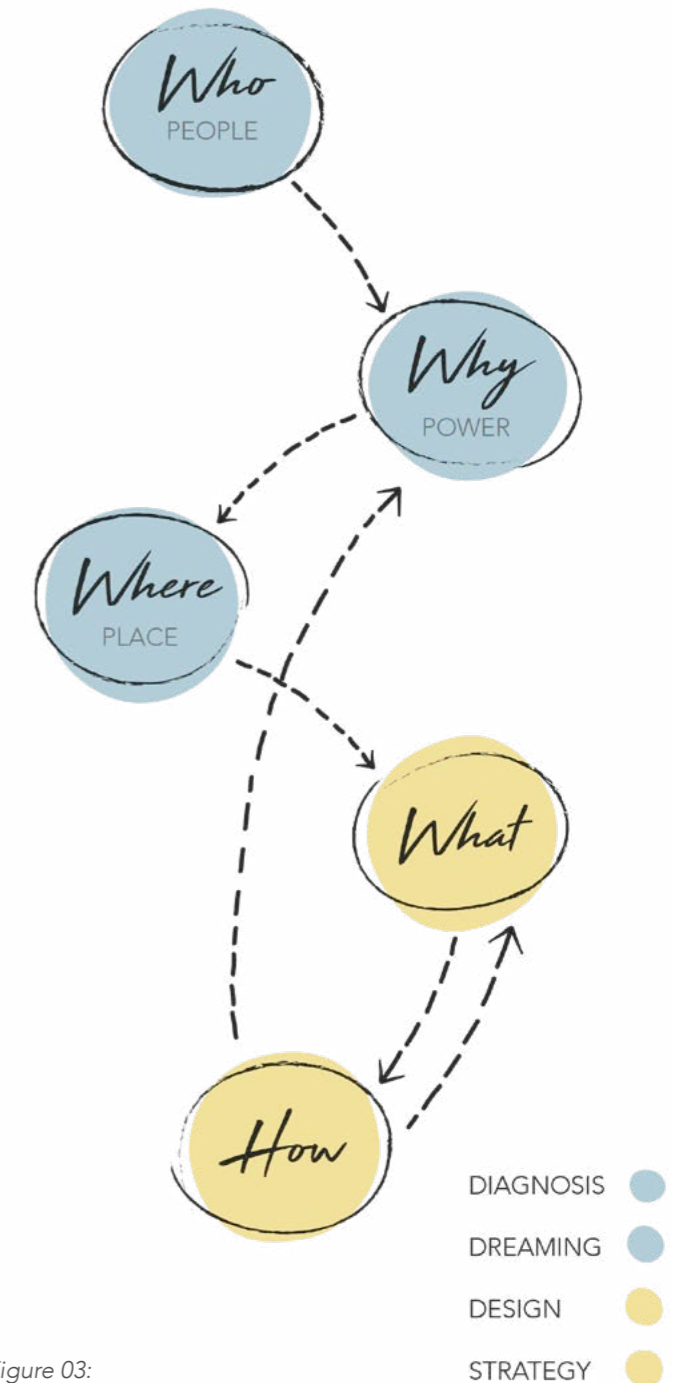


Figure 03: Diagram illustrating the process of iterative co-design.

ussing and establishing where challenges and opportunities exist within various scales, and delving into the cause of particular conditions not just addressing the symptoms. The aim is to have the participants establish the needs of the community with "the community as their main source of information" (Calderon, 2012, p. 3). The involvement is from the outset, ensuring that the community formulates the question that they want addressed, and that the community is the answer in finding the solution.

The 'Dreaming' stage of the focus groups the participants identified possibilities and key values for Manenberg, and the potential threats to these being realised. This stage provides a platform in which the collective vision for the community can be outworked. Group members use this stage to begin to prioritise their aspirations and the intervention types.

2.3 PARTICIPATORY DESIGN

The final stage is the 'Designing' stage, which begins to articulate the intervention opportunities and the potential locations for the proposals. The outcome of this stage is to address the issues and aspirations expressed in earlier stages and interviews, the options proposed may involve the identification of main partners and potential actors in the space; the physical interventions within space or the issues of land ownership and amenities; and developing the strategies and the time lines associated.

The focus groups comprised of a variety of community members, as illustrated in figure 08, from ex-gangsters, mothers, soccer coaches, to social workers and professionals. The groups varied in size from two to eight participant members per session, depending on availability and whether there was access through the community due to gang fights. Keeping this in mind, the action research approach allows for adaptability. In considering the context in which marginal communities are designed and thought about, much of the daily experience is that of navigation and negotiation; therefore design processes should begin to engage in a similar manner. The process over the product should too, be negotiated to develop strategies that are co-designed.

The People's City design approach centres around social equality, and how urban design has the ability to intervene in areas and communities of marginalised people, especially in the context of the global South. The People's City establishes participatory design, the process of inclusive design, for the creation of the public realm; specifically engaging voices of the communities most vulnerable users. In part the approach emerged as a response to the planning failures of institutions and government in the implementation of projects, where interventions did not address needs. The approach has the ability to transform "democratic urban life and the space of the city based on two simultaneous political premises: the ability to introduce new voices into existing public social and political discourse, and the increasing need to recognize and to value these voices and the social groups they represent. In other words, the productive practice of disagreement and the claim for social and moral recognition have increasingly had a strong impact on the way the city is used, imagined and produced" (Lima & Pallamin, 2010, p. 42).

As Hamdi observes, the strength of building an inclusive approach in design practice, is utilising the collective experience and understanding of communities and organisations who live and work in the context being designed, "those who think locally and act locally – which is then rationalized in ways that make a difference globally" (Hamdi, 2004, p. x). It is the small, incremental approaches that produce innovation outside of preconceived ideas of form. This research project intends to explore the ways in which participatory design could be negotiated, at a variety of scales with strategic intervention.

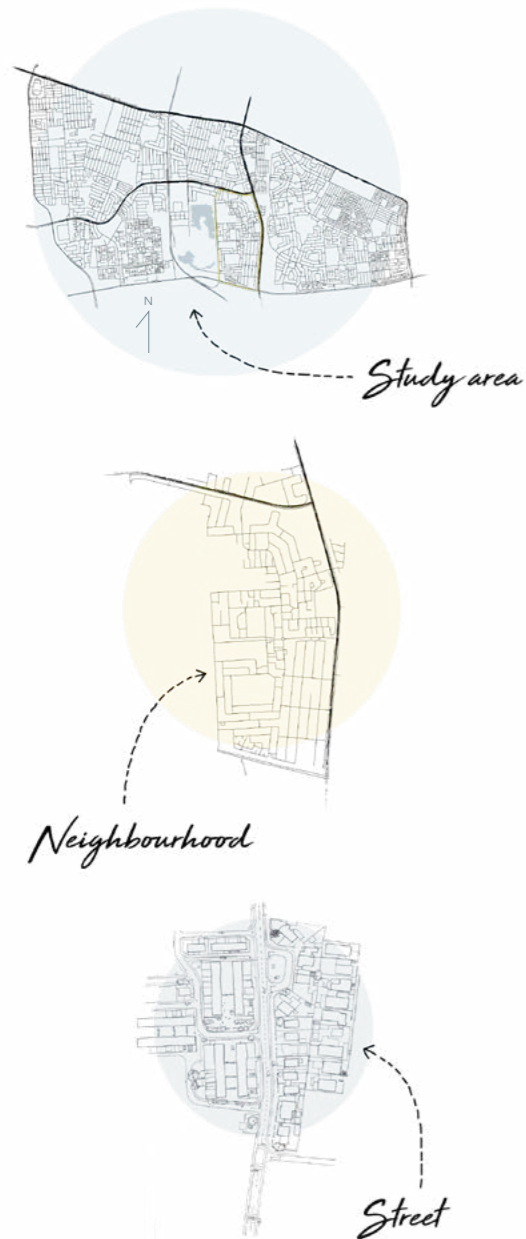


Figure 04: The research project explores the three principles of people, power and place; understanding their influence over three types of scales, namely: the street, the neighbourhood and the study area.

PROCESS METHODOLOGY TIME LINE

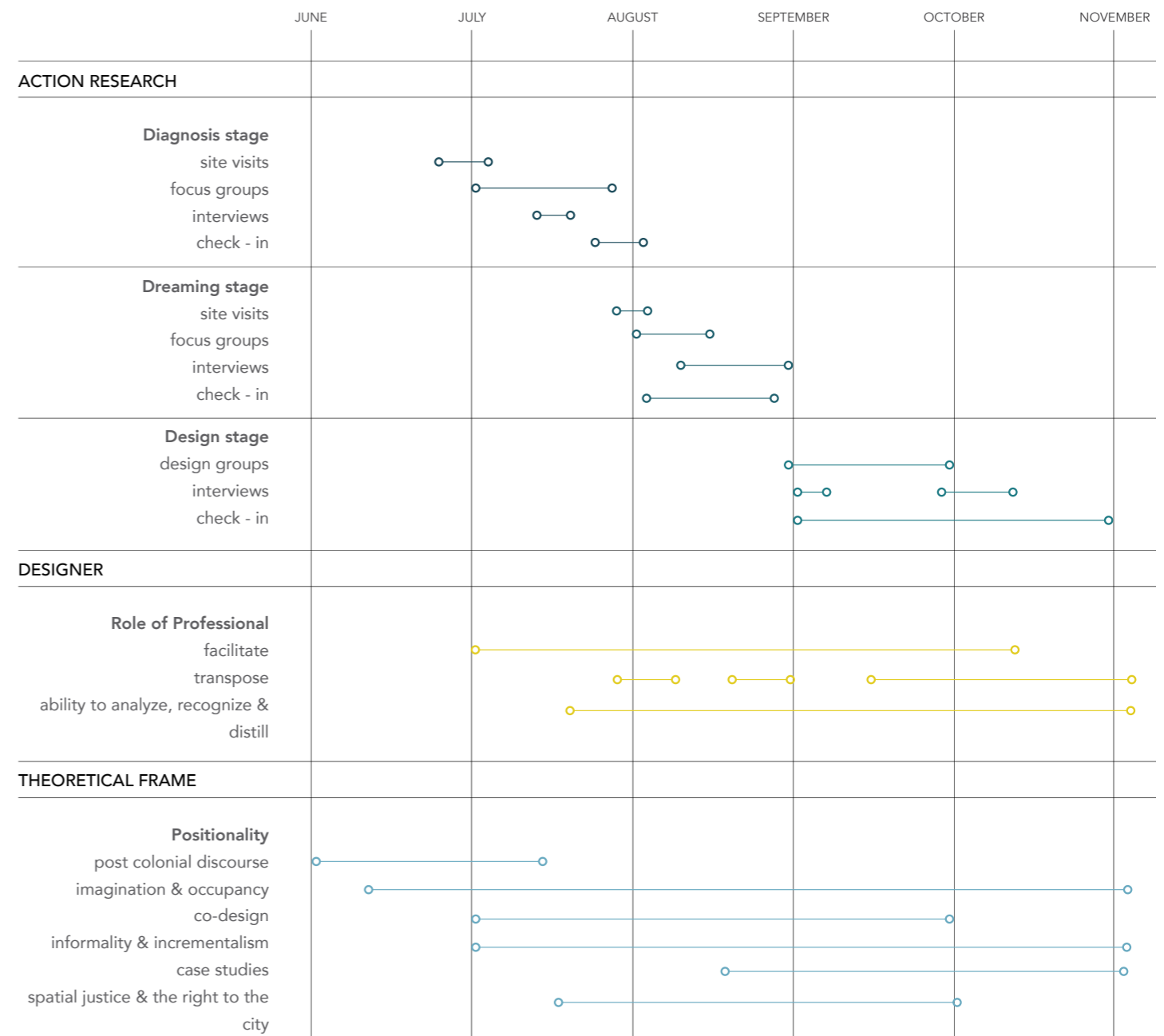


Figure 05: The figure overlays the research project programme with the various role players, stages of focus groups, the designer's role in transposing and representing, as well as the position of the theoretical framework within the process.

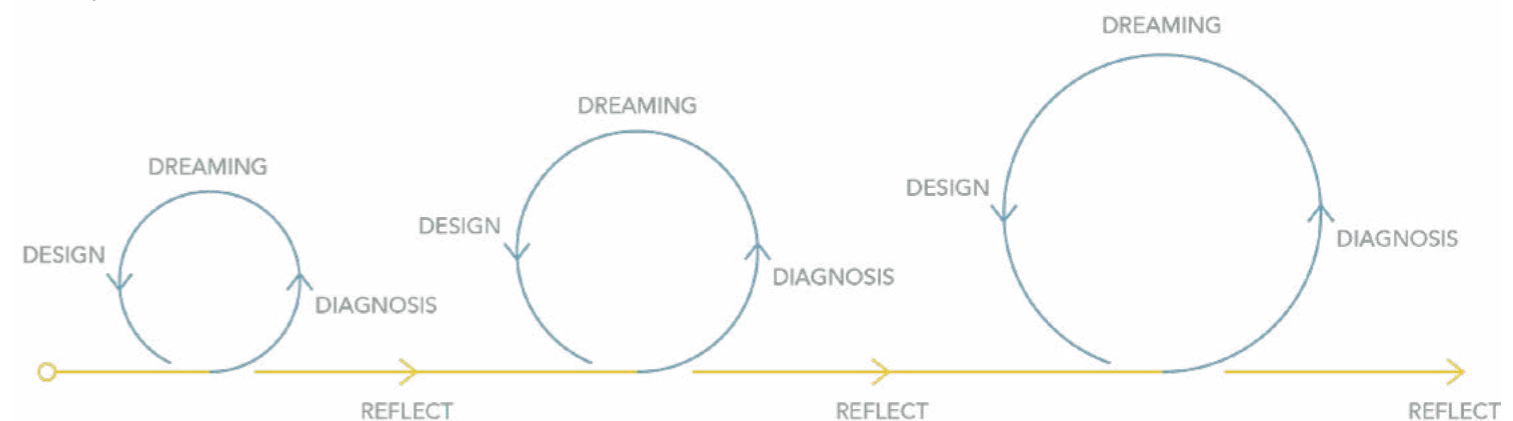


Figure 06: Illustrative diagram of the iterative process flow of the design, the progress reflects and reviews, testing the ideas within the co-design approach.

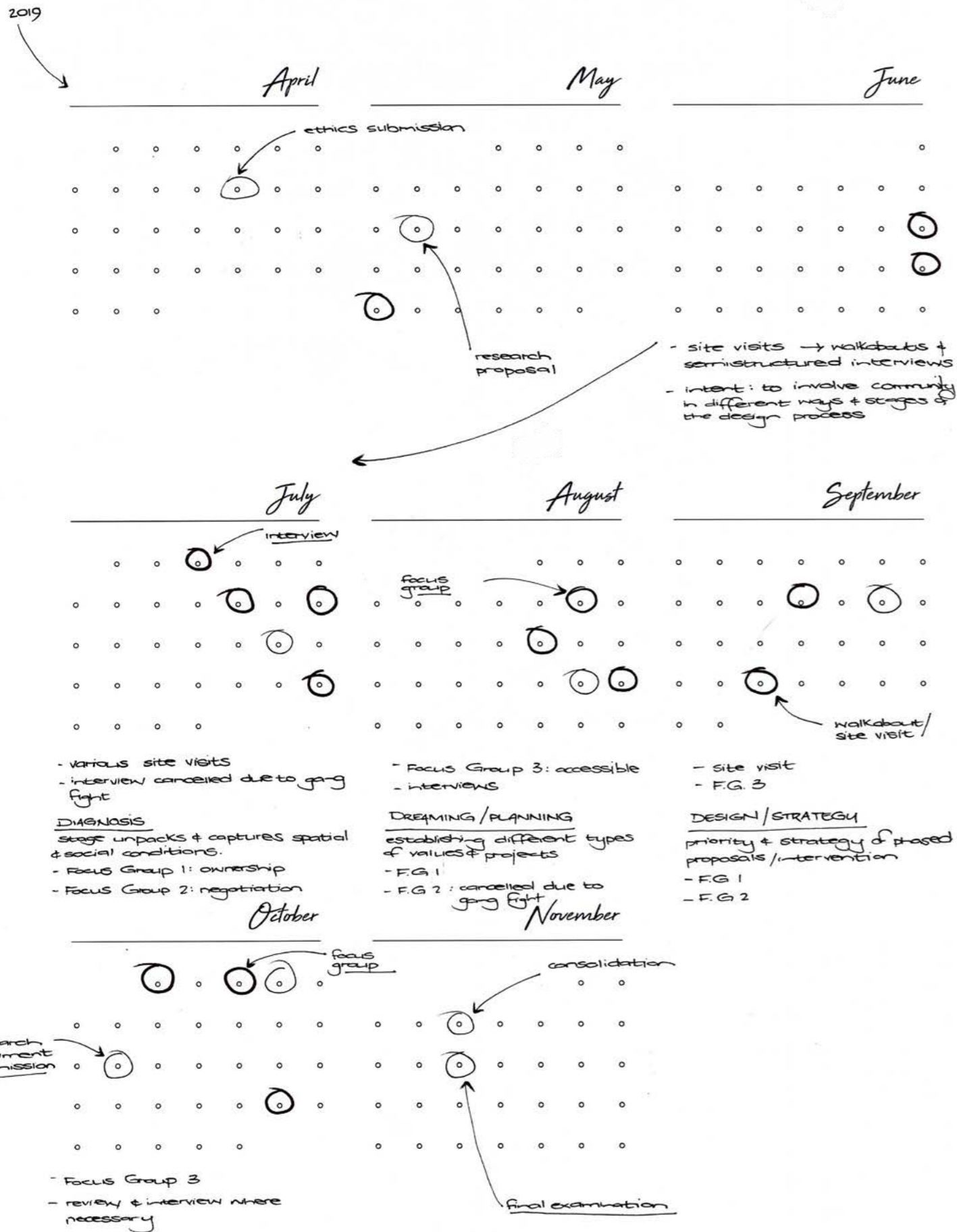


Figure 07: Focus group and interview dates, interspersed with site visits and walkabouts with community members. Included in the Urban Design Research Project calendar are the key dates of academic note, where deadlines and proposals needed to be submitted.

2.4 LIMITATIONS

In the approach of an action research methodology, there were various limitations and considerations to acknowledge within the co-design process.

One of the limitations to the participatory planning process was the number of community members engaged within the process as an entire community cannot be engaged within the research project, as one critique of public participation expresses that often there is a "lack of understanding of the power structures... argue the unfeasibility to involve "all" actors and interests" (Calderon, 2012, p.3).

One of the major opportunities of co-design is the ability to target specific needs with stakeholders and ensuring the 'ownership' of the design intervention. However, a limitation that the designer needs to take into account is their role within the process, that there is a responsibility in the manner in which information is captured and represented; and this may not represent the whole idea or unconsciously omit a portion that the participants deem central to the issue within the community. "Unconsciously, the participants and the process can be manipulated or guided towards certain topics or outcomes that are within the interests of the outsiders. Therefore, when designing a participatory process there is the need to reflect critically on these issues, so that the process' legitimacy is not undermined. It is important to reflect on what will the level of participation be and what will it be used for (Hamdi and Goethert, 1997)" (Calderon, 2012, p.4).

In reviewing the case study example of Medellin in Colombia, one of the conditions of success which is vital for a project is the level of partnership and programme development which accompanies an intervention. "It was conceived as an urban strategy that combined simultaneously physical transformations, social/institutional programs and participatory processes. 'In simple terms, its objective was that whenever there was an urban intervention, in parallel to the physical transformation, there were new social/institutional programs and activities that complemented the physical change (Echeverri, 2006)" (Calderon, 2012, p.5). In the case of this research project, the identification of existing partners and programmes was highly important outcome of the focus groups; however, due to time constraints the partners could not be formally interviewed within the project time line of this design research.

A final consideration is the sensitivity to gang related positions and information. As a large portion of the focus group participants were either at one time involved in gang activity or are still affiliated, therefore minimal photographs taken of the focus groups in order to protect the identity of some of the participants, and photographs that were taken, were done so with consent. This similarly led to constraints in the access to the community of Manenberg, as gang fights limited mobility of the participants and of the researcher. This, however, did serve to highlight the importance of the position on the negotiation of space and what the potential for disturbance of territorial occupancy could potentially become within the community.

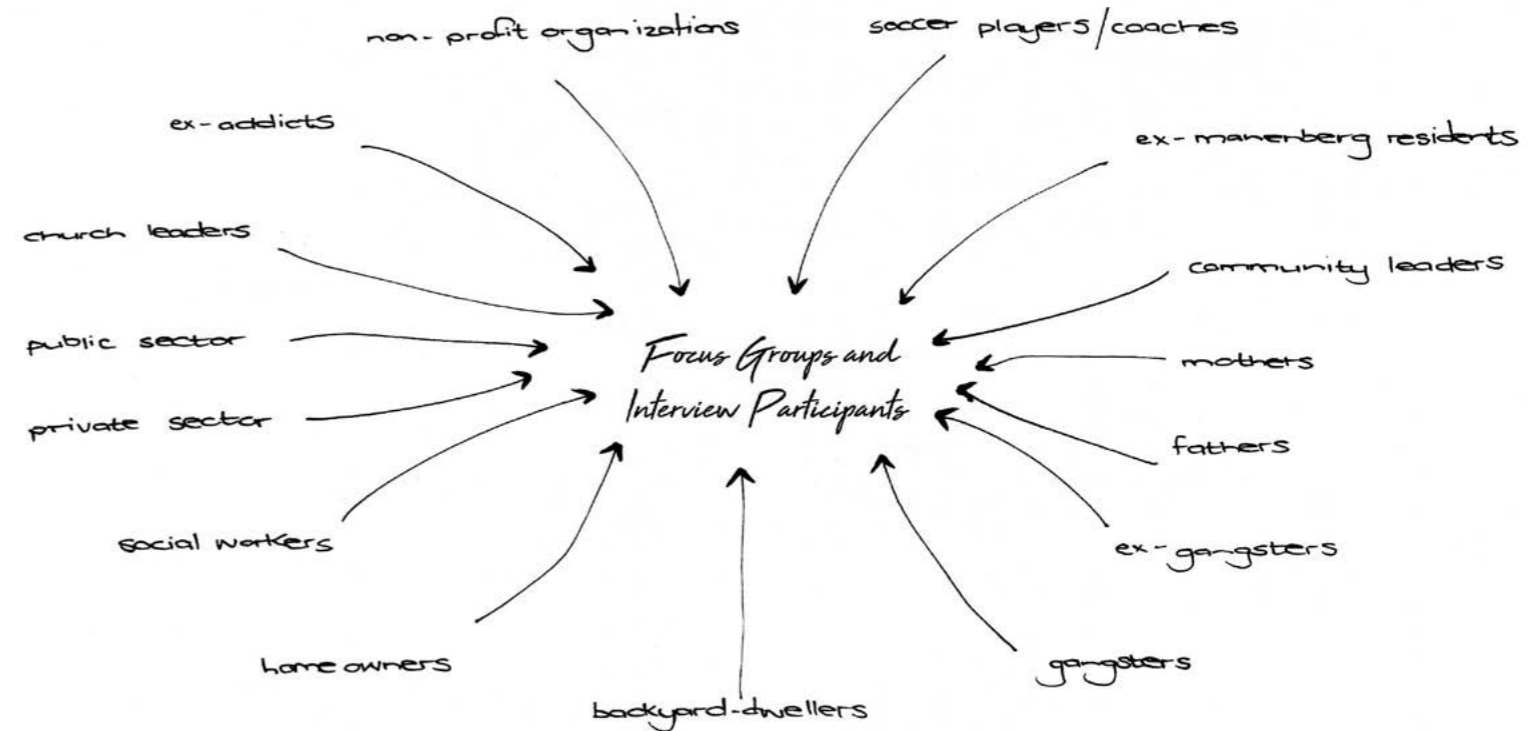


Figure 08: Composition of Focus Groups, interviewees and participants. Anonymity of identity requested by the majority of participants, due to past involvement with gang or drug-related activity. Names marked with an asterisk* have been changed.

"As Lefevbre indicated, colonization did not refer simply to a specific historical era of territorial expansion but as a process of arranging relations of production and control based on organising spatial arrangements in terms of core and periphery. This is a distinction that requires the predominance of arbitrary divides and distinctions, particularly as the 'urbanization' of relationships amongst things entails a speed and intensity of diverse positions and practices of inhabitation that are not, or at most weakly, channeled by clearly demarcated trajectories of operation, spatial use, resource appropriation and social interchange"

- (Simone, 2012, p.36).

3.0 PROVOCATION: NEGOTIATED TERRITORIES

"First is the fact that the ways in which societies compose and invent themselves in the present (the creativity of practice) is always ahead of the knowledge produced about them. In addition, these compositional acts always move in multiple and unforeseen directions... They have, thus, the capacity to continually produce something new and singular, as yet unthought, which cannot always be accommodated within established conceptual systems and languages... It is not simply that life changes rapidly and vast domains of human struggle and achievement are hardly the object of documentation, archiving, or empirical description—and even less so of satisfactory narrative or interpretive understanding. It is also that uncertainty and turbulence, instability and unpredictability, and rapid, chronic, and multidirectional shifts are the social forms taken, in many instances, by daily experience" (Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004, p. 348-349).

3.1 COLONIAL DRIVERS: URBAN GROWTH AND DECLINE

Colonial cities carry a similar thread, which can be seen running as a fissure throughout the cityscape: fragmentation. The separation of races and ethnic groups, splintering and enforcing the notion of 'otherness' in the urban layout was determined necessary by the dominating authority. The African continent has been conquered and divided by many European nations; with vast claims to her natural resources, and most notably her people as oppressed labour. Under the principles of Modernist ideals, the colonial imperialism interpreted segregation "as a necessary acknowledgment of cultural difference and individuality" (Gockede, 2012, p. 55). These acknowledgments, however, historically benefit the minority of the population and not those whose land is being occupied.

Rapid growth has been a dominant trend throughout major African cities for decades; due to the fact that the city is seen to hold opportunities that the 'rural' subsistence countryside does not. The spatial consequence of this urban migration and relocation results in extreme and unsustainable pressure on infrastructure and urban densities, while uncontrolled sprawl produces an outcome of environmental degradation. Developmental issues in African cities continue to flourish, and despite the overcoming of colonial rule; the spatial divisions caused by race-based partitioning has two primary consequences that are repeated almost everywhere: extreme poverty and unemployment; and the absence of sufficient urban spatial management.

"Seemingly the entirety of a nation's material resources is owed to foreign interests, and, in the process, becomes

owned by them as well" (Simone, 2002, p. 28). This was found to be true in the burgeoning city of Kigali, Rwanda, with its fast paced growth from a subsistence-based farming economy to a knowledge based economy. The rapid urban growth was attributed to the inundation of rural/urban transition, which required patterns of settlements to be established. Land use master plans set the tone, providing an enduring rule of a harmonious policy of grouped settlements based on economic activity; with this introduction of planned settlements to facilitate Western urban development. Relocation of people began to facilitate the delivery of infrastructure, resulting in the subsequent fight against local materials as it held an association with poverty. Many settlements within Kigali city have been bulldozed due to apparent unappealing aesthetic (Berlanda, 2018), an image that has endured, despite the absence of colonising rule.

In Western planning and urban development commentary, emerging African cities are often determined to be frail metropolis, "unable to provide even basic services. Whatever resourcefulness does exist is regarded as only temporary compensation for fundamental failure" (Simone, 2004, p. 410). This enduring image and impression that is fixed in the global imagination, and often in the African cities themselves, leaves little room for the inventiveness of the user.

3.2 ENDURING SPATIAL IMAGERY: RATIONAL VERSUS CHAOTIC

"The contemporary African city has often been characterized as a territory of intense social and spatial claims to post colonial citizenship and modernity. This characterization subtends a more enduring image - that of the African city as chaotic and disorderly, and therefore always outside the category of order of modern urban planning and procedures of rational spatial organisation." (Enwezor et al., 2002, p. 13)

What is development, and how should its aesthetic be determined? Spatial organisation is a contested notion, it is historically viewed and implemented through the lens of the West. Cities existed on the African continent before their representation on the European atlases and in cartographic regions. However, the existing and what was, was to be replaced with an ideology of a city and its predetermined appearance and functions.

The 'othering' of the continent, which is seen far too often in the portrayal of disorder, neglects the intricate detail and the complex identity with which its inhabitants negotiate the current climate of its cities. The treatment

of Africa as a notion or as an image of difference, as that which is non-West, is to lose the innovative significance and originality in its contribution it plays in the dynamic nature of space creation. Continuing "to describe Africa as an object apart from the world, or as a failed and incomplete example of something else" (Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004, p. 347), creates a dialogue that threatens to perpetuate an image which undermines the spatial, social discussions and realities that are currently occurring despite the disorganization, or rather, within it.

The initial mapping and representation of capital cities in Africa, see figure 09, only began to be documented once the colonising nation represented it through its European lens. In most cases, the beginning city structure, as seen in the earlier histories, follow the formalist urban spatial patterns of the grid. As these African countries began to gain their independence the traditional form begins to deteriorate into a more organic, chaotic and unregulated sprawl. Not without their known admin-

istrative challenges, these new spaces of breakdown in the old colonial urban structure, offer the potential of magic in the way public space is to be reimaged and negotiated.

Instead of examining the cause of the continent's apparent chaos, of which many scholars have elsewhere explored in length, the interest in the cause of African cities apparent unraveling from post colonial rule; and of its subsequent reformation and creativity result in far more innovative solutions which allow for citizens to command their own environment (often due to necessity). The task as urban designers is to determine and explore how to design cities that provide enough structure, and empower people to create, imagine and govern their own lives.

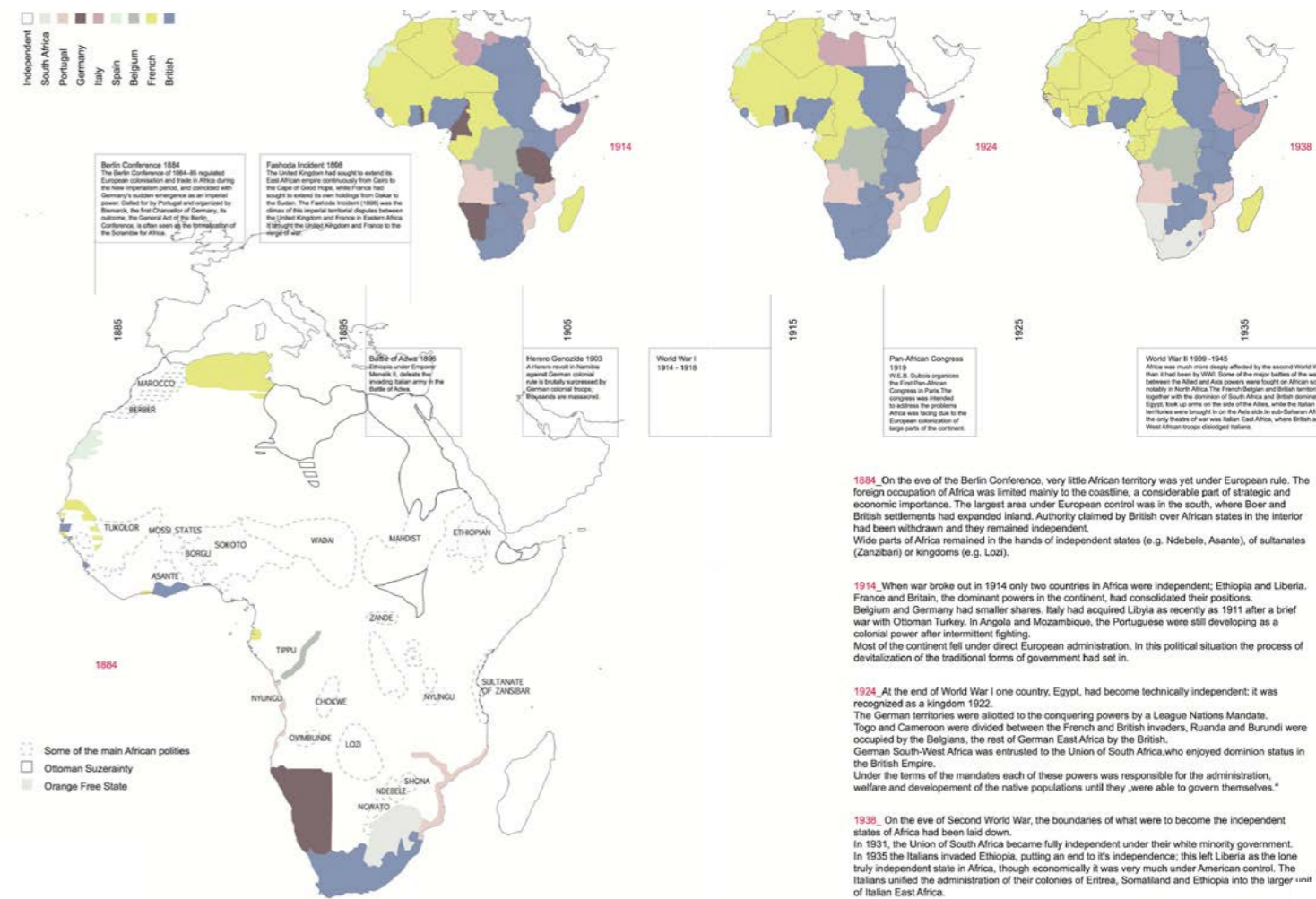


Figure 09: Historical development of colonial power throughout Africa

"This is the Johannesburg of today - a city retreating from itself into safe, sanitized encampments and corporate co-ops, or wrapping itself in the accoutrements of consumption. At the same time being remade informally and unpredictably by the myriad of small, everyday, often survivalist practices of ordinary people who claim space in between".

- (Bremner, 2003, p. 171)

JOHANNESBURG: CITY OF NEGOTIATION

The frontier of the veld, Johannesburg, or affectionately known as the 'City of Gold', was established during the 19th century as an exploration mining town following the discovery of gold in the region. Today, it has mushroomed to one of the largest metropolitan regions in Africa. As a city of striking contrasts, its most noticeable current characteristic is its shrinking city core, and its expanding exterior territory as businesses move out of the centre and relocate to the north, between Johannesburg and Pretoria. The rising consumer culture of the city is matched only by the rising poverty, a result and influence of the European industrial society and history, upon which it was founded.

The fabric of Johannesburg developed through trends and needs; and as it grew, the city held its own within the global economy. The major styles and trends of the West began to influence the spatial organisation and architecture of the city - albeit over the decades the assortment of Victorian architecture and the Modernist influences were detached from the sources in the Northern Hemisphere. These external powers and authorities determined what the city should be, without transforming it into what it could be as southern Africa's economic heart.

SPATIAL CONSEQUENCES

The rapidity and rate in which the burgeoning city grew was determined by a multitude of factors; immigrants drawn in by refuge and stability, an influx of rural labourers seeking the opportunity afforded by work and income in the mines, a city glinting with the promise of possibility for all who would arrive on its gilded urban scape. This, however, was not the case for those who the apartheid regime deemed as 'less'. Mining compounds teemed with poor black mine workers, forced into conditions and living situations not of their own choosing; as Enwezor et al. (2002) observes, the strain in which the urban fabric is subjected to due to the continuous flow of inhabitants creates poverty and urban degradation resulting in unimaginable living conditions.

In present day Johannesburg, as the powerful spatio-legal apparatus that kept apartheid in place lost its efficacy, and as familiar institutions of urban management and government were dissolved and replaced by poorly functioning transitional arrangements; people invented new ways to manage, sustain and govern themselves. "The walled enclosure became an effective means for restoring a sense of order and control, keeping the stranger out and preventing the overlapping of identities and the clashing of cultures" (Bremner, 2002, p. 160). With the mass exodus of the middle class from

the city to its gated communities in the north, and the townships forced to the periphery of the city edge (figure 10), it leaves little chance for unregulated meetings or encounters between the city's variety of inhabitants. People moving out perpetuated an urban pattern and culture within Johannesburg of consumption, one of uniformity of space and one of exclusion.

POSTCOLONIAL IMAGINATION

Johannesburg, despite its spatial organisation and layout which historically promotes and facilitated exclusion, is experiencing emerging urban renewal and innovation; where young, black South Africans are leaving the constrained and isolated spaces of the township to overcome the restrictive cultural reproduction which apartheid sought to contain (Simone, 2004). Due to the city's historic fracture of racial segregation, the multiple challenges in governing these post-apartheid spaces remain divorced from the dynamics found in the urban place. These fracture points become the spaces of collapse in the city, where the divides become closer and begin rubbing one another; between the established, traditional and that which is formulated in contemporary African development; "an opportunity for the symbolic production of postcolonial identities." (Enwezor et al. 2002, p.17).

The hybrid that is Johannesburg, is at once part of the global community and one which is distinctly African in its flux and attraction of inhabitants from around the continent. This feature positions the postcolonial imagination, in an expectant position at the precipice of change, as now it is without the previous and regulated controlling system of representation/delineation from a particular apartheid lens. Inner-city Johannesburg is beginning to take the unexpected and challenge it through the familiar, the imagination is situated in environments which we recognise, yet which have been adapted and repurposed by those who had been left on the margins and the liminal, forgotten spaces become places of trading and gathering spaces for the negotiation of communities. Systemic failures in regulation and addressing economic informality and social marginalisation, an unfortunate and common relationship with urban African cities; are being transformed through engagement at the public realm as "cities provide a platform for change's enactment. It is in public places that the transition to a new order is played out" (Murray et al. 2007).

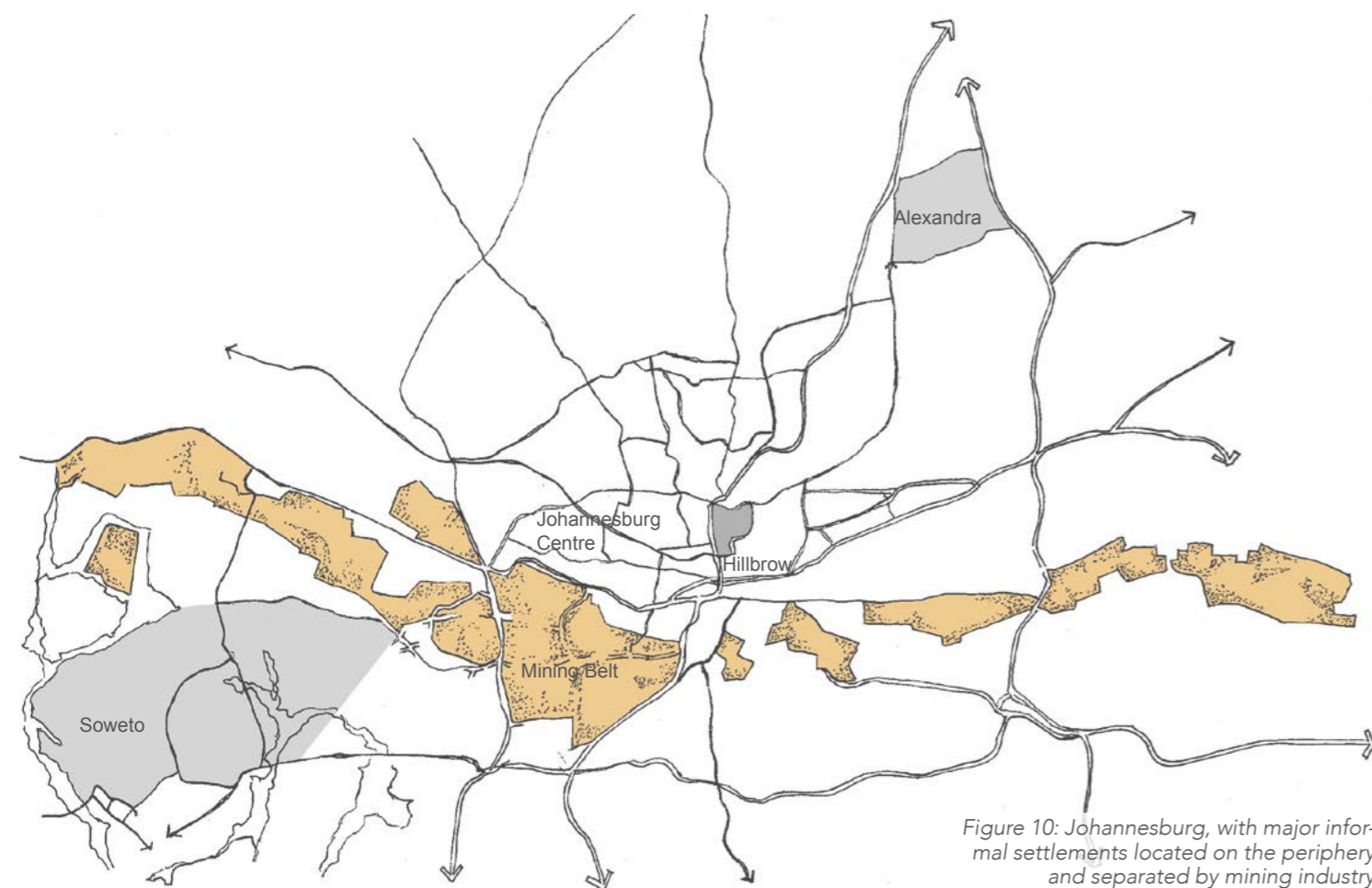


Figure 10: Johannesburg, with major informal settlements located on the periphery and separated by mining industry



Figure 11: Public life and mobility on the streets of Johannesburg. Traders and taxi's jostle and negotiate the pedestrian realm

"Johannesburg should be a city characterised as one that fosters and facilitates the dynamics that come from being an African city. Close to that is the movement around and within the city - movement means freedom; movement fosters and creates the look, feel and progress of a city. It is the collective energy that changes cities".

- Mpho Parks Tau

SPATIAL DISLOCATION AND RECLAMATION

One of the apartheid system successes within major South Africa cities was its ability to separate and isolate movement and freedom through space. These historic patterns of exclusion in the spatial realm were enforced in Johannesburg through barriers created by the mining industry or by locating black South Africans to the periphery. With the ending of apartheid a new marginalisation appeared through the migration from the city centre (Coggin, 2015, p. 114). The inner city has become a place of reclamation and imagining; an active public space within a city of high walls and mistrust.

Like its counterpart Johannesburg, Cape Town too poses similar complexities in its post apartheid identity; at once claiming both the imaginative and vibrant expression of freedom, and yet on the other hand failing to ad-

dress the ruptures of separation and dispossessed inhabitants who have no equal rights to engage with their city due to the long lasting effects of the past regimes. Freedom of movement has been the means of exclusion of the disenfranchised; "they are unable to travel even to seek out employment or to pursue the opportunities of the city; they are almost entirely excluded. In a very real sense, settlement structure and form are significantly aggravating the key societal problems of poverty, inequality, and unemployment, which underpin most developmental challenges facing the country" (Dewar, 2015, p. 232). This spatial consequence is experienced in the township community of Manenberg, located on the periphery of the city due to the previous creation of race-based divisions. The movement that this community experienced was one of removal and dislocation.

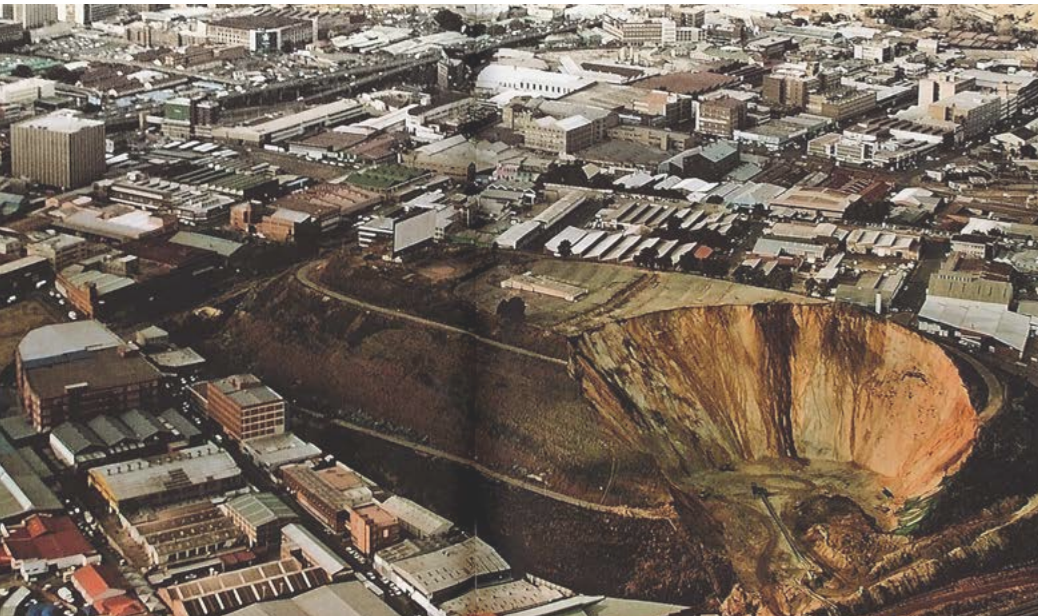
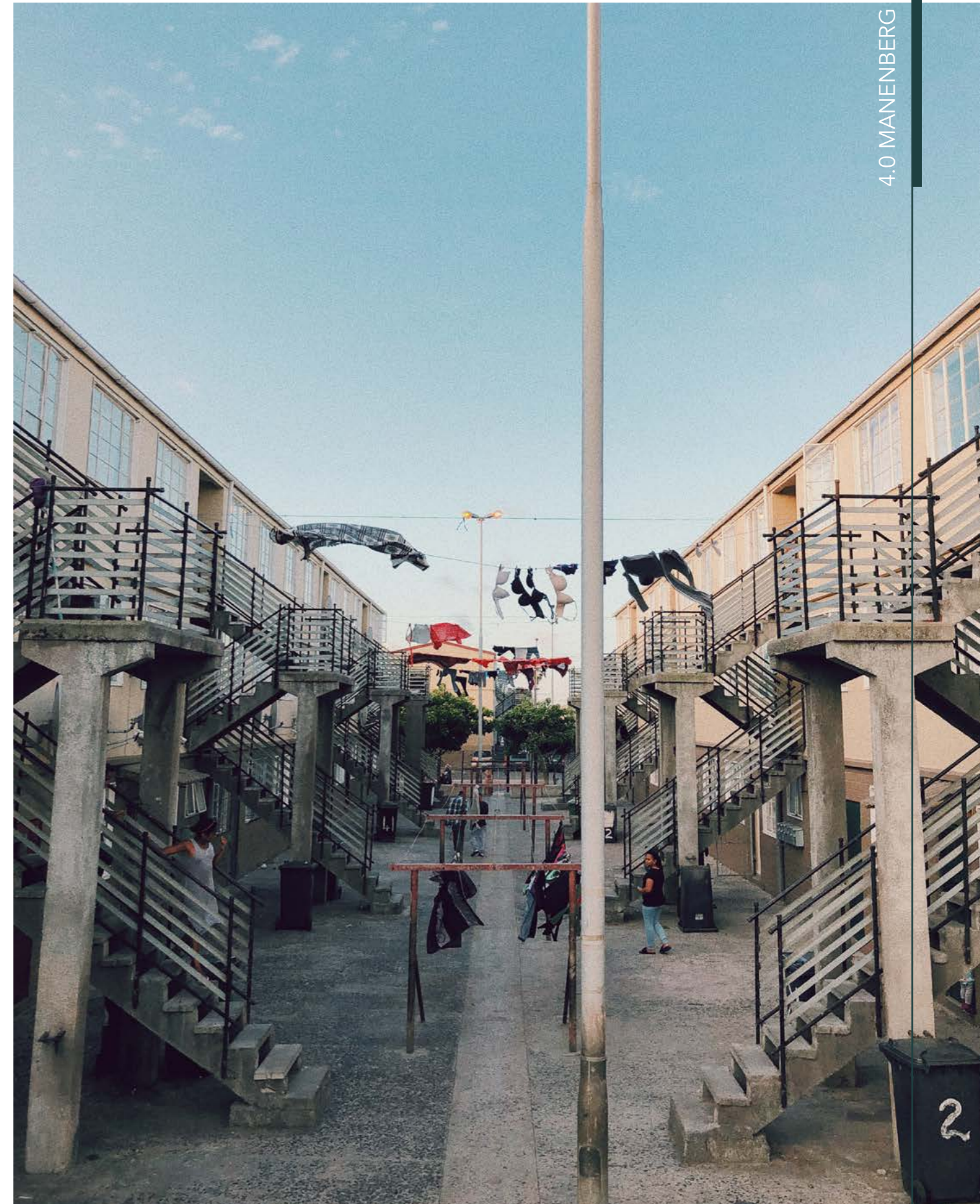


Figure 12: Mining and industry used as separation tools in apartheid planning, Johannesburg.



Figure 13: Large, wide road reserves and open space buffers serve as barriers of separation & isolation between communities and neighbourhoods. Manenberg, Cape Town

Figure 14: The dormitory courts were built with the separation of uses in mind, with large blocks established with no consideration given to the public/private interface.



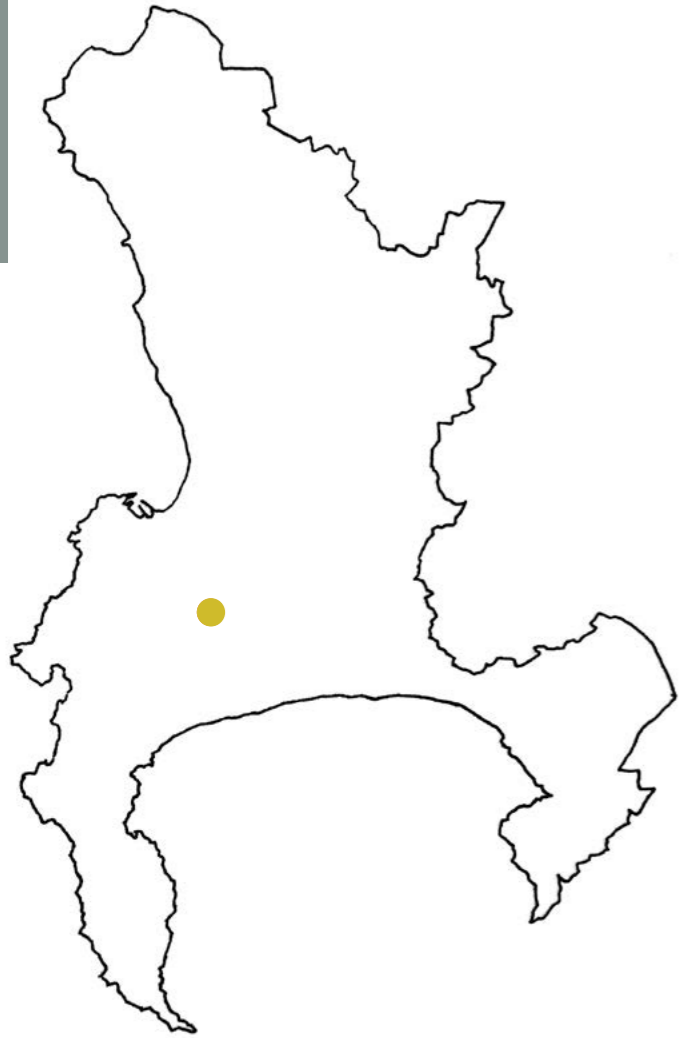


Figure 15:
Locality Map: Manenberg, Cape Town

4.0 MANENBERG NEGOTIATED

The negotiation of Manenberg began as a community that was “rendered precarious by acts of the state” (Perlman, 2016, p.40). The state, or local government, in its choice to displace a people group which rendered that very same community in a precarious position, attached stereotypes (mostly negative) and perceptions to a vulnerable group. The negotiation of people and identity, of power and ownership, of place and location, all determined by a marginality not of the community’s choosing. “In different ways, all of the categories in this typology demonstrate that precariousness erodes one’s sense of self, safety and security. Families and individuals are put under constant stress and distress insofar as their lives and the meaning they imbue in the place they live can be totally disrupted by political decisions made about them without including them” (Perlman, 2016, p.41).

The results of apartheid spatial planning, the eroding of security for marginal people groups, and the ensuing spatial injustice has left the two major challenges to overcome: sprawl, and separation or segregation. These embody two of the most noticeable characteristics of the spatial manifestation of the apartheid design. The realisation of which are seen prominently in the formation of Manenberg, located on the Cape Flats in Cape Town, and the traumatic past and forced removals give rise to its origin. Most notably, Manenberg is associated with gangsterism, claims to territories, drugs and extreme poverty; but in order “to understand how conditions became fertile for the widespread development of gangs, it’s necessary to trace these threads of conquest, organisation and disorganisation in the tapestry of the city’s development... is, therefore, a very particular history, not of a city entire but that part of it which gave rise to a specific situation.” (Pinnock, 2016).

This situation is one that resulted as a consequence of the apartheid legacy. Power determined that racial separation was paramount, as with most conquests the intent is to suppress and such suppression was achieved through forced removals from Cape Town’s city centre and people of colour were subsequently dispersed across the Cape Flats; “as a sacrifice to ‘order, cleanliness and progress’” (Pinnock, 2016, p. 28). The townships and layouts which were created as a settlement type, of which Manenberg was one, had three discernible characteristics. The first was the number of access roads, which had to be kept to a minimum, and would predominantly cross a green buffer zone. Secondly, the proposed township should be designed as an enclave to be separated and apart from the city. The third characteristic was established in the width of the streets. Despite modest car ownership within low income areas, the streets are wide, contributing to an additional buffer for spatial separation (Mills, 1989).

The township, under the tyrannical government, created a world where a class of people cannot be; and now simply they have no place to be, therefore a need of the negotiation of space and of place begins to emerge. As is all too often seen with Modernist planning, the community was built with regularly spaced two and three storey courts or dormitories, “separated by dead space and wide roads into rigid functional zones that define the instant cities” (Clos et. al, 2017, p. 10).

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OF TERRITORIES

Urban migration and rapid industrialisation is one of the universal causes of pressures and demands on a city and its resources. The same was true in 1945, when soldiers and the military came back from war it was to a country caught up in the industrial boom, almost unrecognisable in its unprecedented transformation. The state, in order to address the growing demands, made radical structural changes to the fabric of its South African cities; however, one of the most violent of these spatial changes occurred in the Cape. “The heart of the city was to be torn out... the families who had helped build it were to be scattered in disorder across the sands of the Cape Flats. So vast was the scale of the social engineering undertaken that it is difficult to grasp it in any coherent way” (Pinnock, 2016, p.28). The demolishing of the District 6 community, displaced people more than just locationally. Social support networks, neighbours, proximity to sources of income and of livelihoods rendered entire generations ‘precarious’; a socio-spatial condition that is still present decades later.

“Due to the city’s historic fracture of racial segregation, the multiple challenges in governing these post-apartheid spaces remain divorced from the dynamics found in the urban place. These fracture points become the spaces of collapse in the city, where the divides become closer and begin rubbing one another; between the established, traditional and that which is formulated in contemporary African development; “an opportunity for the symbolic production of post colonial identities”.

- (Enwezor et al. 2002, p. 17).

Different territories and gangs began to spring up after the war, a product of overcrowding and poverty. The gangs were originally formed through extended family and kin, as a catch-net of the migrations into Cape Town; where loyalty and strategy for survival could be established developing a sense of status and territory occupation. The situation was exacerbated after the forced removals, as the key objective of both gangs and criminals is to sell and procure things. The aim is the development and the expansion of the market and buyers; and the control, retention and occupancy of territories in which the market for illicit goods can operate (Pinnock, 2016).

In order to comprehend the highly complex structure of the controlling territories of gangs, “we also cannot understand them without considering the conditions which give rise to them, particularly because, as a society, we have created some neighbourhoods that make gang formations almost inevitable” (Pinnock, 2016, p.94).

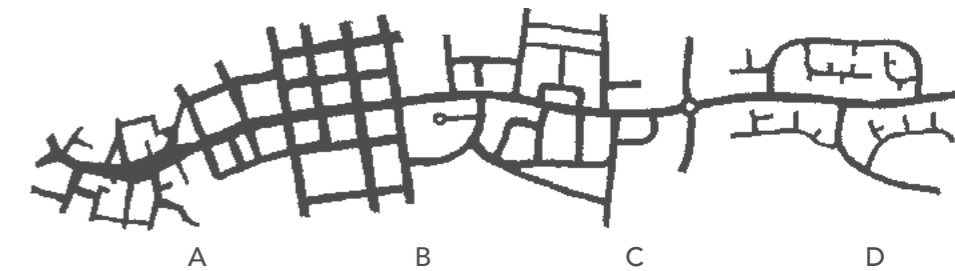


Figure 16: The ABCD typology is what Marshall (2005, p. 84) was developed to illustrate four typical street types. Manenberg’s street structure is that of ‘D’, found on the periphery outside of the core and developed for, ironically considering the high levels of poverty, the car.



Figure 17:
Rutger Street, District Six before the demolition and removals took place.



Figure 18:
The heart of the city, District Six, being removed. Deep changes to the structure of the state were as much spatial, as it was a violent social act.



Figure 19: 1862 - 1945 City of Cape Town's early spatial development extent

CAPE TOWN'S SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

The city of Cape Town's spatial structure has been dominated by two types of development; the first being of the transportation structuring system from the city centre southwards by road, and later the southern corridor was reinforced by rail. The second type of development structure was that of planned development; the forces of which were the result of population growth, and that of the emergence of the private vehicle (Dewar, Uitenbogaardt et al., 1976, p. 17).

Planned development grew to include the implementation of the Group Areas Act, separating racial groups. "By the 1950s, however, Cape Town's urban form was increasingly being shaped by apartheid. This notorious policy resulted in forced removals and the implementation of discriminatory laws. Increasingly black and coloured communities were forced to live in segregated dormitory townships on the fringes of the city. This contributed fundamentally to the sprawling urban form that has stubbornly persisted in the post-apartheid era... The burden of this persistent and unsustainable urban form is born primarily by the poor who are forced to travel at great cost to access employment and a range of the other public and private goods" (MSDF, 2017, p. xi). This sprawling form has given rise to many complex spatial concerns, one of which is that the majority of the population resides in the residentially dense southeast of the city, but the economic opportunities are located near the traditional city centre.



Figure 20: 1945 - 1988 City of Cape Town's urban form developed by apartheid with forced removals to the Cape Flats.



Figure 21: 1988 - 2002 City of Cape Town's urban form

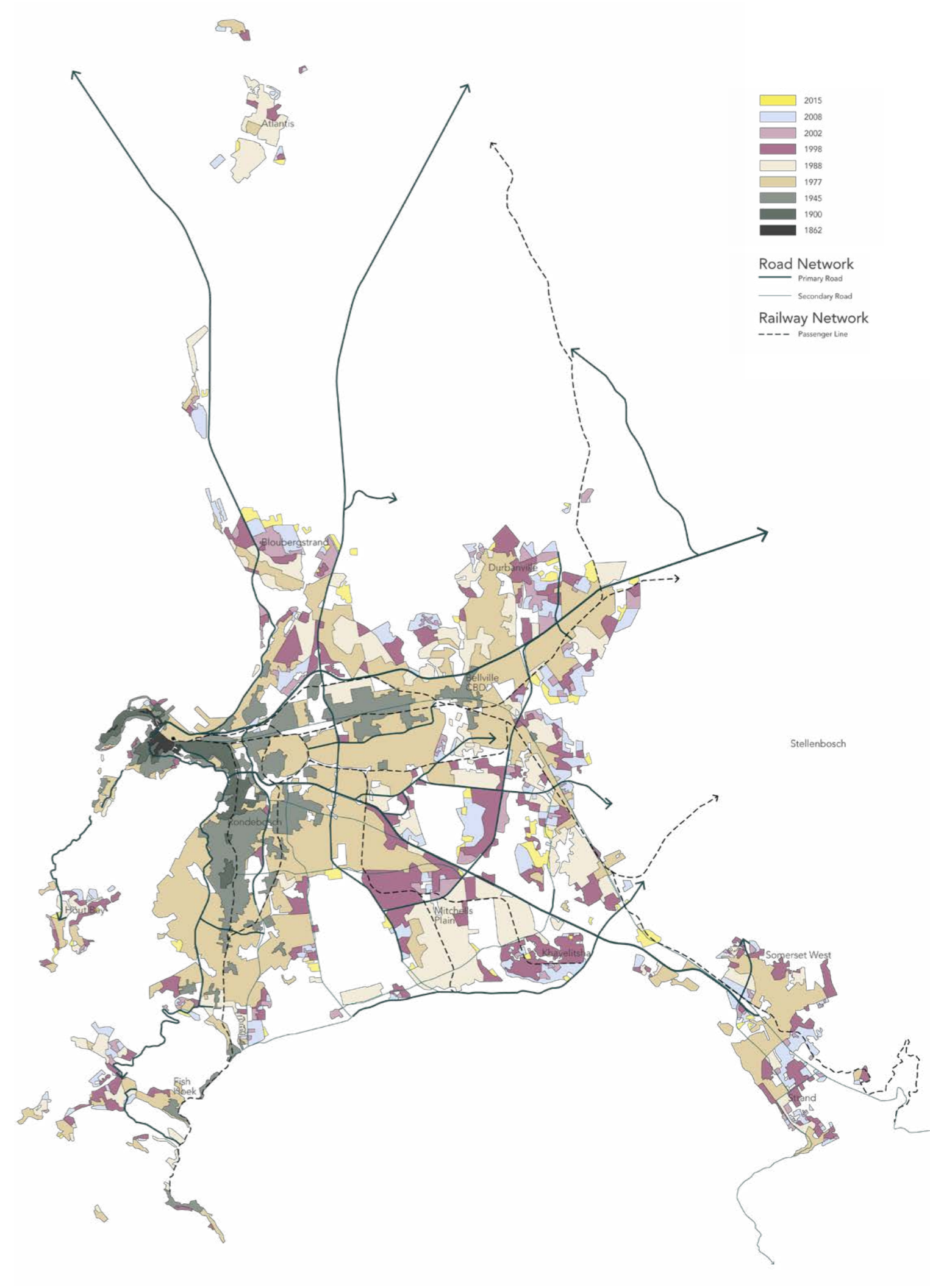


Figure 22: 2019 Current City of Cape Town Development Extent

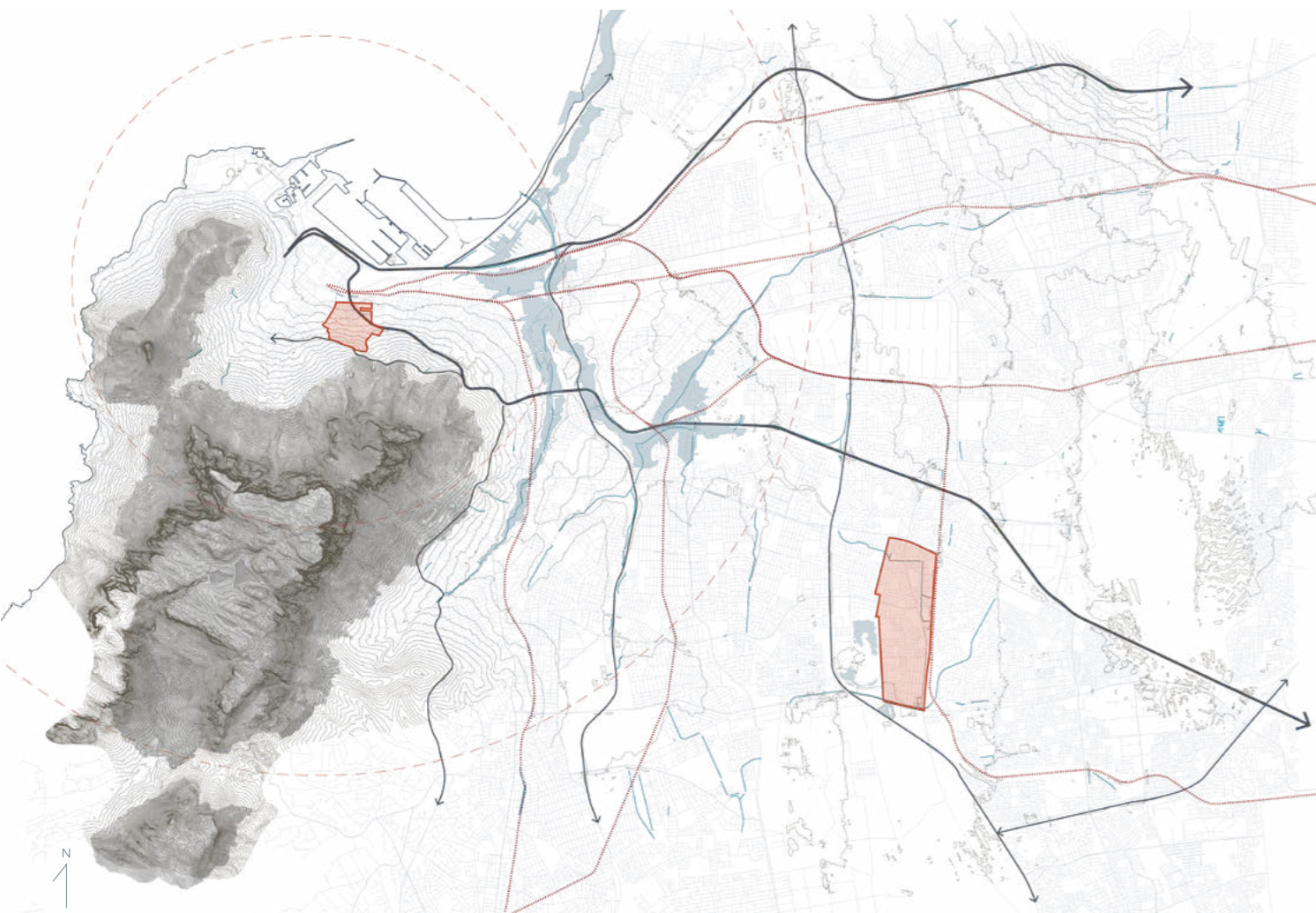


Figure 23:
Manenberg - Infrastructural Barriers to integration

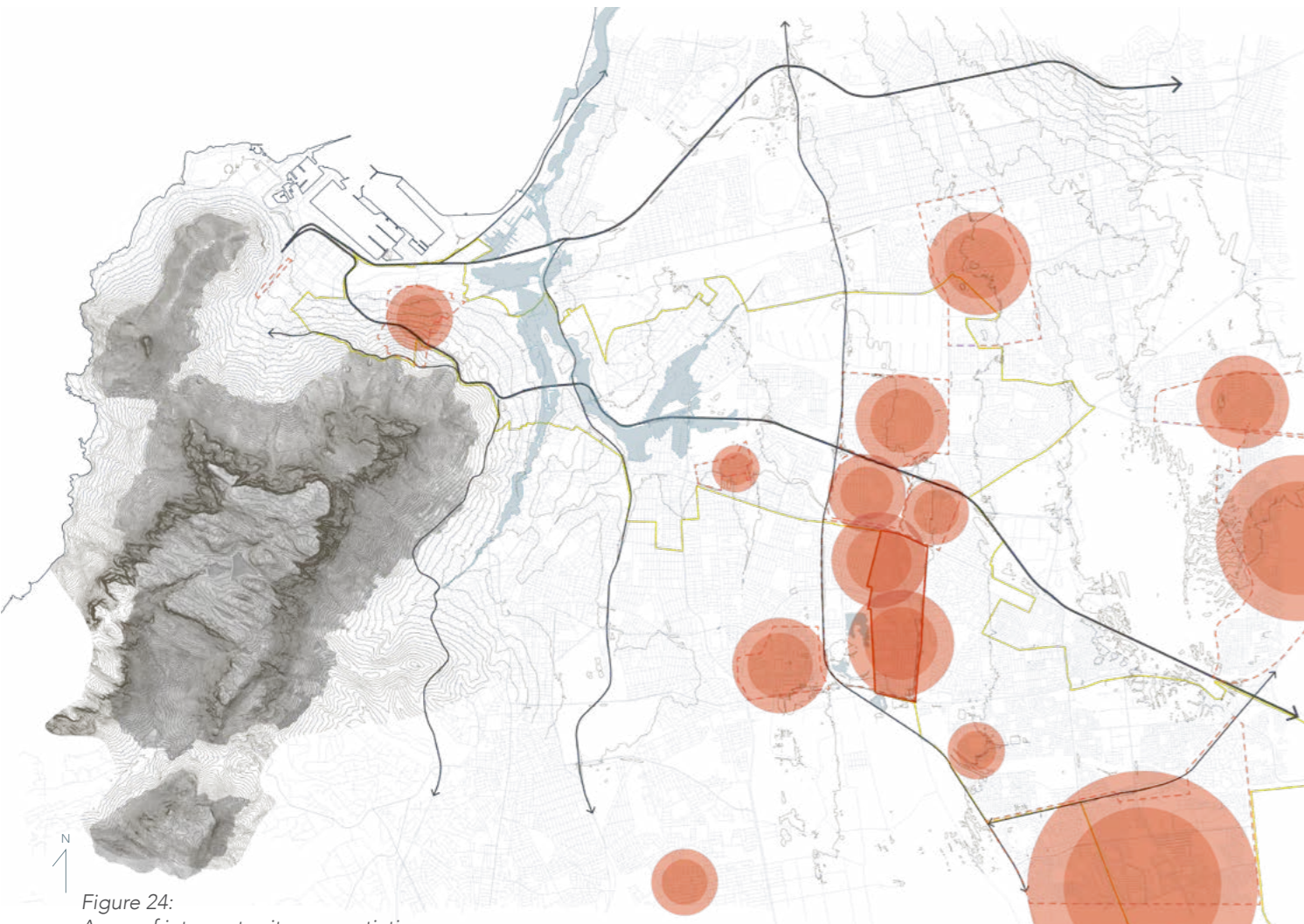


Figure 24:
Areas of intense territory negotiation



Figure 25:
Metro South-East Integration Zone with existing nodes

REGIONAL STRUCTURE

At the broader context, Manenberg has a weak connection to many social and economic connections in the city. The dominant road network structure runs in a north to southerly movement flow, with Jakes Gerwel Drive bounding the community on the western edge producing an impenetrable barrier for an east-west connection. This spatial separation is exacerbated with the rail network on the eastern edge, disconnecting Manenberg from its neighbours, Gugulethu.

The apartheid planning logic not only forcibly removed communities from District Six, isolating them on the Cape Flats (see figure 23), the result was additionally reinforced through infrastructure. The canal network divides Manenberg at multiple points creating a discontinuous flow through the community, fragmenting the space on a local scale. The fast, vehicular routes of Turfhall and Duinefontein Road further restricts and separates movement and access with only minimal entrance routes into the abutting neighbourhoods.

The City of Cape Town's MSDF establishes a spatial vision around Transit-Oriented development (TOD). It is also stated that achieving spatial transformation will require an intensification of land uses in areas supportive of TOD's. Figure 25 identifies the existing nodal points in the city, where development and investment are prior-

itised. The Metro South-East Integration Zone (MSEIZ) is the corridor under which Manenberg falls, hugging its edge; the objectives of the MSEIZ are to establish a more compact and integrated city, with the TOD strategy being the mechanism which will achieve this.

The outcome, however, of the TOD approach is that it relies upon infrastructure networks, and does not build into community networks. The result is that engineers are building our cities, rather than designers. The prioritised local areas (indicated in blue on the plan), have been identified as areas of intervention; the details of which once again remain reliant on the infrastructural network. The skepticism on the approach is based on the noticeable difference in the drive between the 2012 MSDF, and the current 2017 version that replaced it. The current MSDF envisions "spatial transformation via dense and transit-oriented growth and development anchored by an efficient transport system" (MSDF, 2018, pp. x). The 2012 MSDF anticipated development along the two northern corridors; these two different strategies may both be overwritten once more when the future Spatial Development Framework is revised; however, the one constant is the people that it serves. Ultimately, the approach needs to be people centred.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

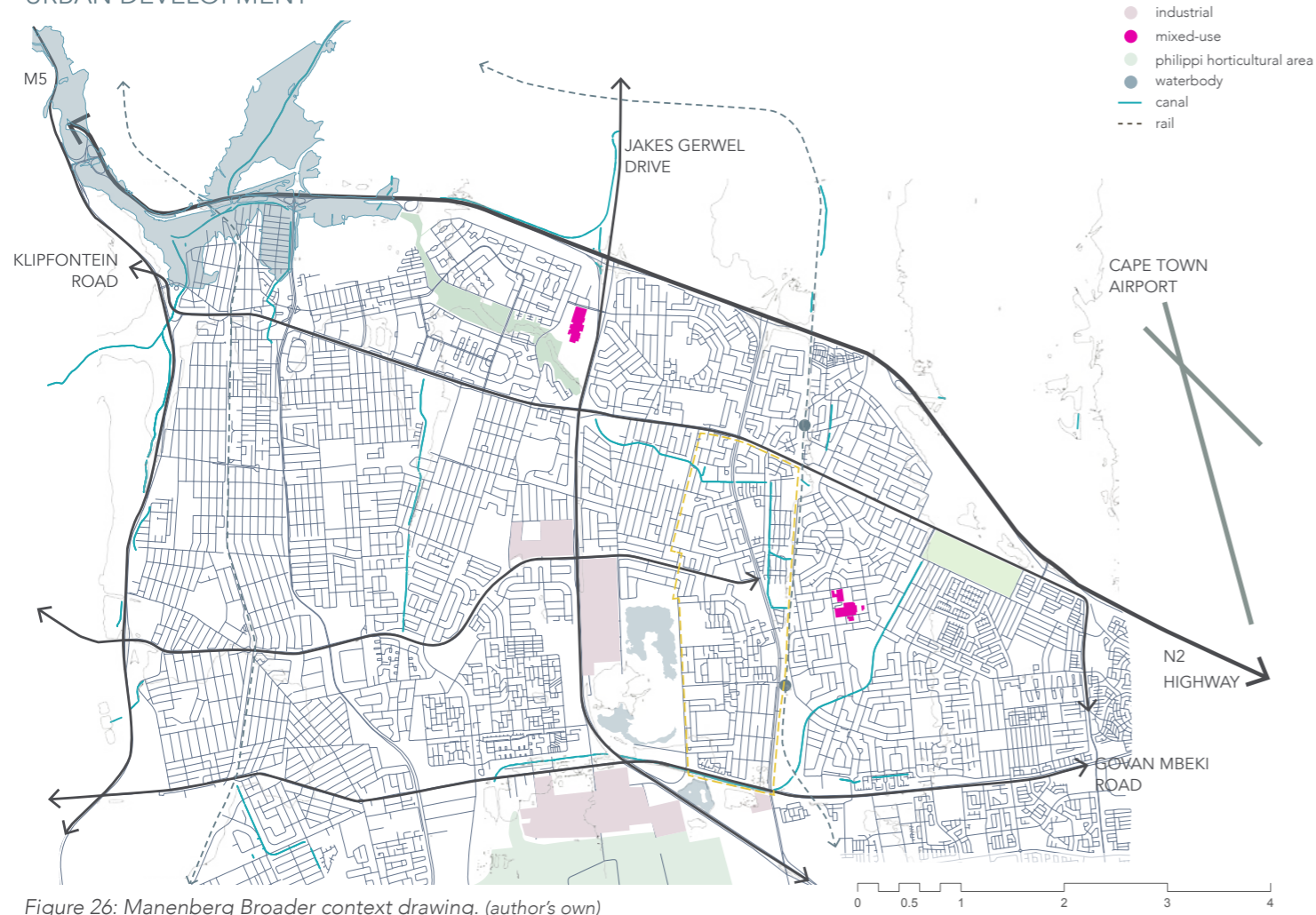


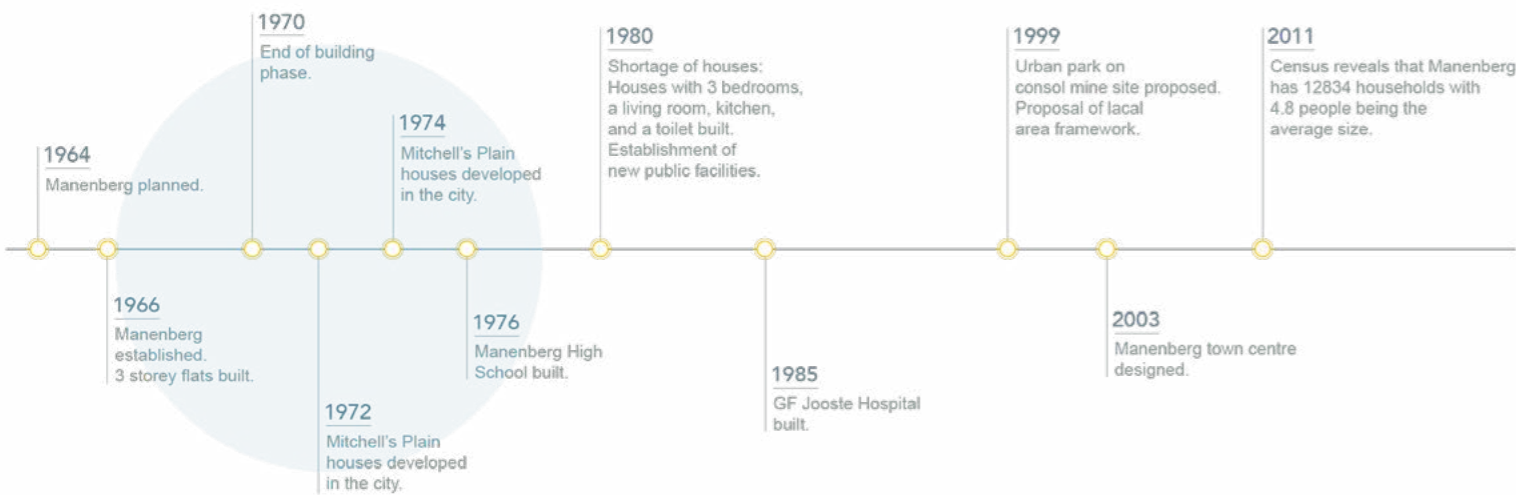
Figure 26: Manenberg Broader context drawing. (author's own)



Figure 27: 1958 Urban Development



Figure 28: 1973 Urban Development



Manenberg was predominantly established during the late 1960's and was conceived as a 'coloured township' as a consequence of the forced removals under apartheid, primarily from District 6. The majority of the population resides in dilapidated double or triple storey public housing. Similar to other apartheid dormitory settlements such as Hanover Park and Bonteheuwel, Manenberg was constructed simplistically through the separation of uses. The study area is spatially distinct, as wide open space bound the area and large peripheral access routes divide it from connection with neighbouring communities (Dewar, Uitenbogaardt et al., 1976, p. 147).

There is little work, economic, social or shopping amenities with limited external influences in the monotonous settlement. Much like other settlements of its kind "the natural relationship between accessibility and the location of activities has been curtailed along these peripheral routes. The area does not, therefore, realise the potential of passing traffic and there is no relationship of mutual benefit between the area and the metropolis" (Dewar, Uitenbogaardt et al., 1976, p. 147).



Figure 29: 1980 Urban Development



Figure 30: 1993 Urban Development

MANENBERG STATISTICAL SNAPSHOT

Manenberg is located in the Cape Flats and incorporates three wards, including Wards 45, 46 and 42. The community is situated approximately 20 km away from the city centre, with the suburb of Manenberg being comprised of: Manenberg, Sherwood Park, Sand Industria, Primrose Park and Surrey Estate. The northern portion of Manenberg is separated by Klipfontein Road from Heideveld. The railway line divides both Gugulethu and Manenberg from one another, the neighbourhoods are separate, as was the 'success' of the apartheid planning logic.

Manenberg suburb has a population of 61 615 people, according to the 2011 Census, residing in an area of 3.35 km² or 335 ha; and comprises of 12 834 households, with the average household size being 4.8.

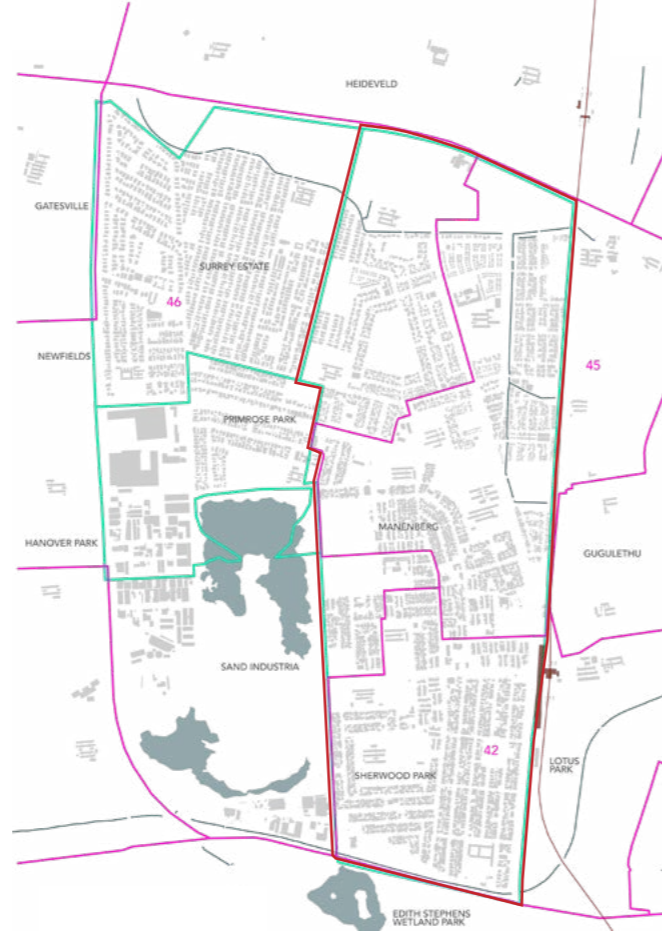


Figure 31: Political & administrative boundaries.

Amongst the population, education is the major concerning social issue, with only 50 % of the community having 'some' secondary education; progressing only 5% more than in 2001. There is some improvement in the percentage growth for the population completing grade 12, with an increase from 15 % in 2001, to 22.2 % in the 2011 Census.

Of the population age group from 15 to 64 years, approximately only 34.5% of those are employed; with the majority of the population, 40.6%, not economically active. Approximately 61% of the total population in Manenberg earn a household income of R 3 200.00 or less on a monthly basis. A contributing factor to this is the lack of diverse land uses; and with such a mono-functional embedded residential community, opportunities are sparse, perpetuating the cycle of poverty.

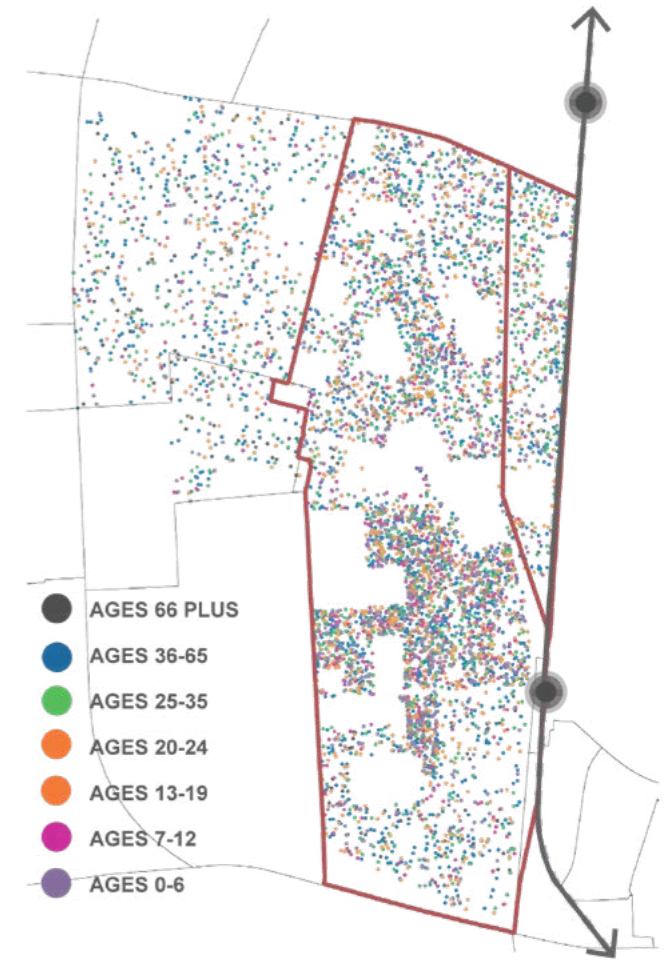


Figure 33: Age groups in Manenberg [1 dot = 10 people]. Source: South Africa's Census 2011

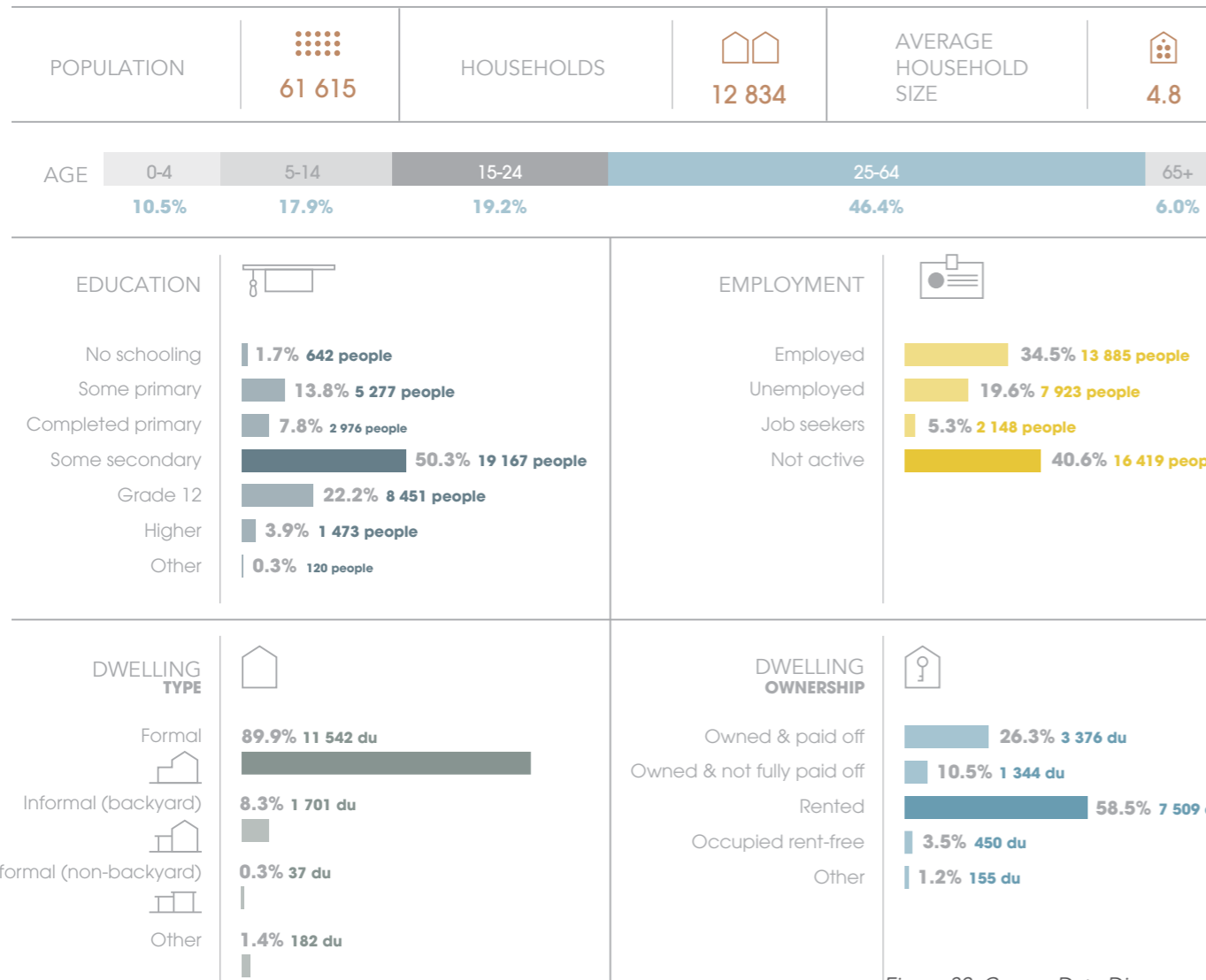


Figure 32: Census Data Diagrammed,

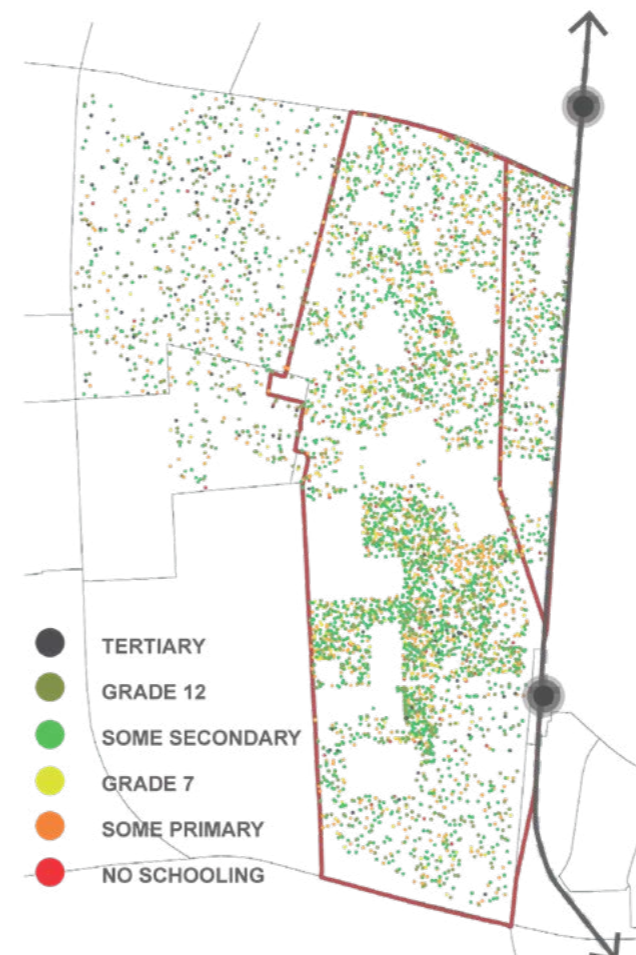


Figure 34: Education in Manenberg [1 dot = 10 people]. Source: South Africa's Census 2011

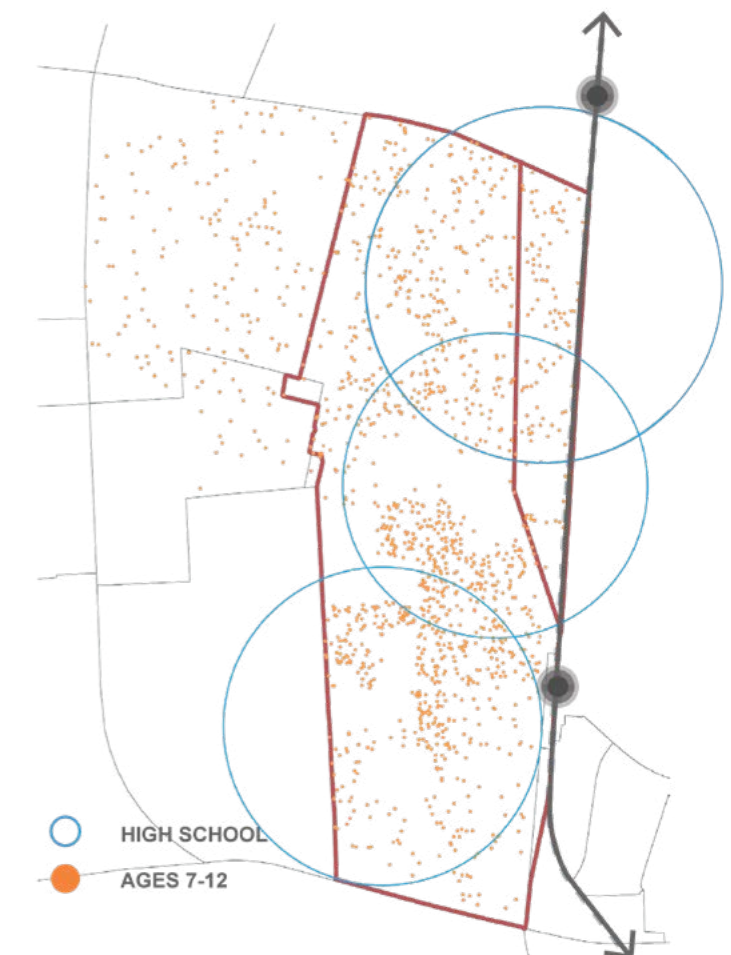


Figure 35: High school utilisation overlapping the distribution of age group 7-12 [1 dot = 10 people]. Source: South Africa's Census 2011

The settlement was established in apartheid planning logic, therefore it is predominantly residential in nature. The majority of the residents resides in formal dwellings/households. These formal households account for 89.9% of the population, and despite the degraded condition of the units, the infrastructure provides approximately 90% of households with flush toilets connecting to the public sewer system.

The backyard dwellings account for 8.3%, however, this number is likely to increase due to the diverse age gap the younger generations stay in 'hokkies' or backyards whilst their parents and grandparents remain in the flats. The most notable pattern is the rented units, and the

housing typology. The majority of the flats are rented, reinforcing the question of the permanence of ownership, space and occupation of place.

“Although the quality of backyard rooms is often poor, this form of accommodation - built entirely without government help - offers potential solutions to a number of South African housing problems... The addition of backyard rooms allows the owner of the primary dwelling to derive income from his/her property in the form of rental rooms or home enterprises. This means that a house provides more than shelter and also functions as an economic generator” (Poulsen & Silverman, 2012, p.20)



Figure 36: Backyard dwelling accompanies every CRU two or three storey dormitory, as overcrowding is a very real part of the home environment. The street becomes the overflow space, an extension of the home where legal and illegal activities alike occur. Here, community leader, Jono, engages with a group gambling outside a 'hok'. The group is playing dominoes during the middle of the day, while children idle watching their parents, and not attending school.

The majority of the population has classified themselves as 'coloured', approximately 85% of the Census population. Since the development of Tambo village, which runs adjacent to the railway line separating Gugulethu from Manenberg, the 'buffer' space to ensure the divide of races during apartheid; the percentage of 'black africans' has doubled since 2001 to 10%. This predominantly residential community has very few entry points

into the space allowing for connection to other neighbourhoods. To further exacerbate this connectivity concern is the lack of diversity in the population, and this lack of variety causes an spatial quality that does not stimulate residents.



Figure 39: Large, linear buffer spaces run adjacent to the wide road network; at once separating and isolating communities from one another. These empty zones often become places of dumping, vandalism and, occasionally, a place to hang washing out to dry. (author's own)

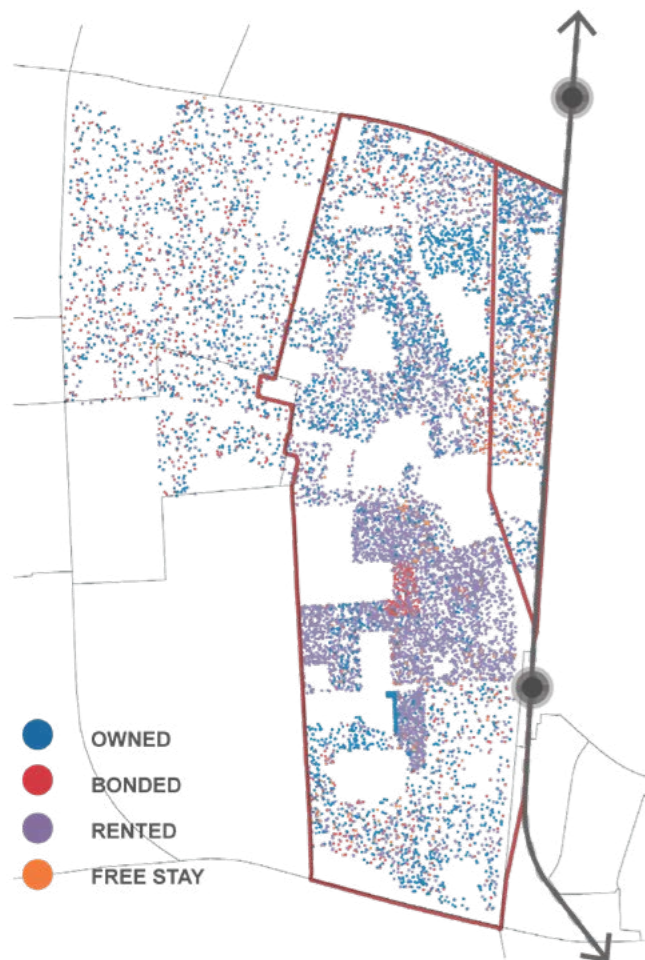


Figure 37: Dwelling ownership status in Manenberg [1 dot = 10 people]. Source: South Africa's Census 2011

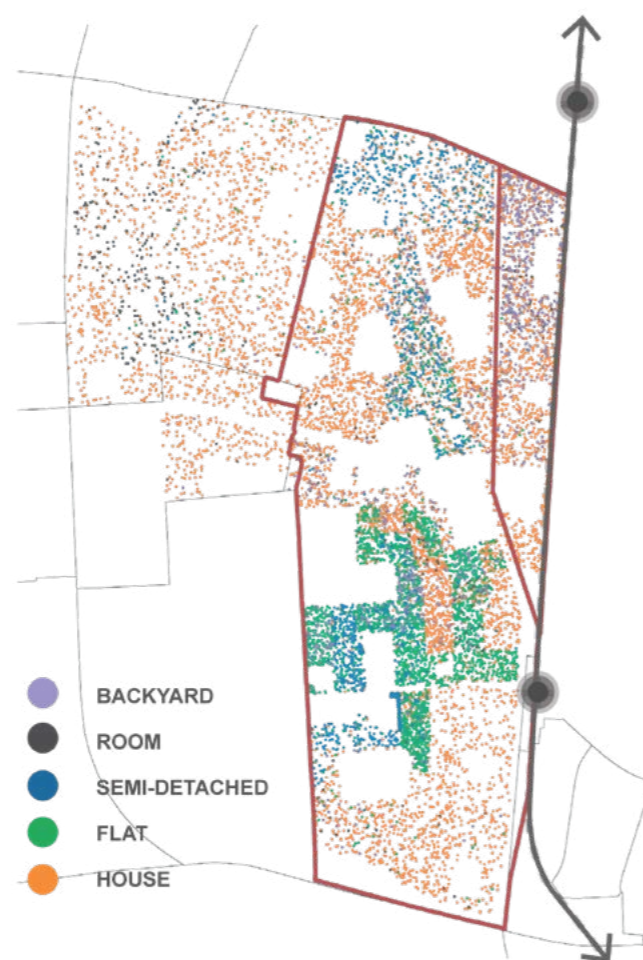


Figure 38: Dwelling type in Manenberg [1 dot = 10 people]. Source: South Africa's Census 2011

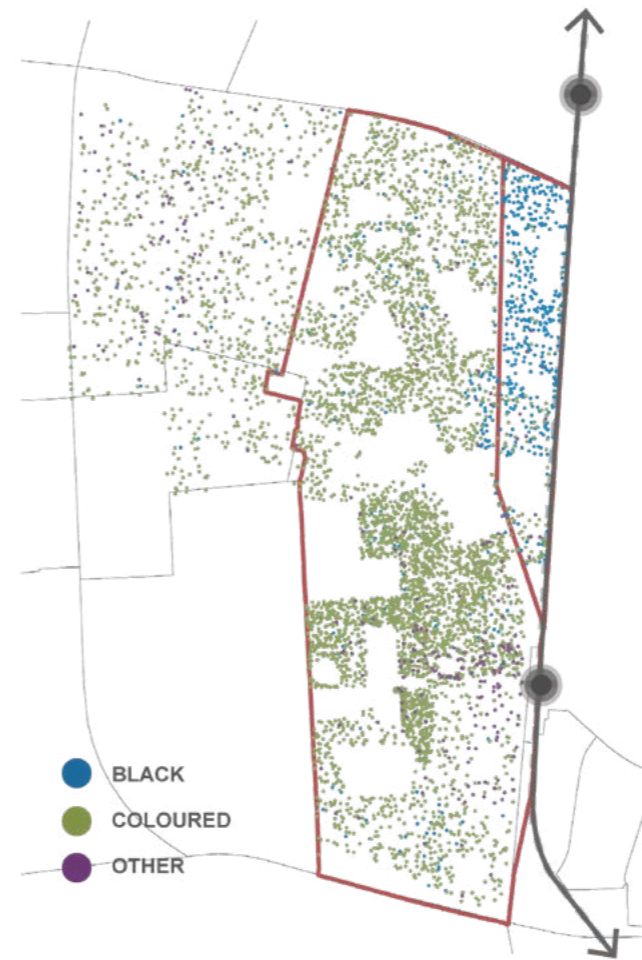


Figure 40: Self-rationally identified population in Manenberg [1 dot = 10 people]. Source: South Africa's Census 2011

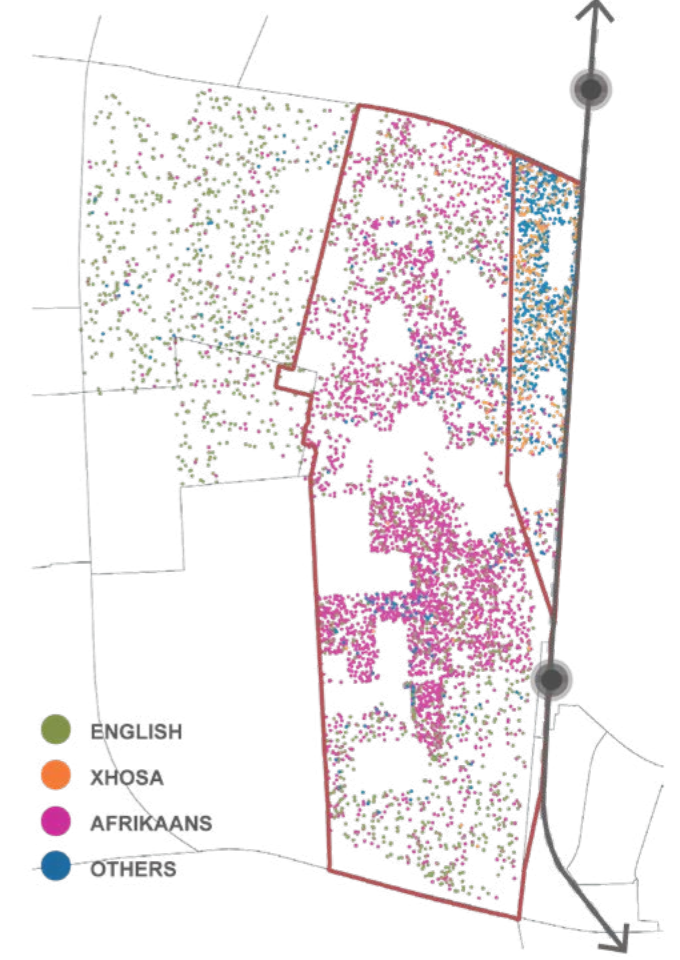


Figure 41: Languages in Manenberg [1 dot = 10 people]. Source: South Africa's Census 2011

"Outside these fixed encampments lie ambiguous and ill-defined public spaces whose very fluidity and atterritoriality are providing the ground for an-other city to emerge... They are sites of conviviality, livelihood, and leisure, as individuals or groups try out or invent new social or economic roles in an attempt to make the city work for themselves... make visible the highly complex networks of small-scale informal, fluid social and economic associations upon which an increasing number of peoples lives depend".

- (Bremner, 2002)

NEGOTIATION OF THE PUBLIC REALM

Bremner's observation on the emergence of sites that are flexible is the primary means of negotiating space within marginalised communities. The lack of definition of public space between dwelling units is a no man's land - territory to be claimed and renegotiated on almost a daily basis. Spatial claims within the public realm are imagined and made with purpose and intent, both providing opportunities for collision as well as exchange. This frequency and adaptation of exchange in claims to space brings up the notion of the street and its environment. The rhythm of activities, out of necessity, becomes negotiated; as shared space is required not just for movement of vehicles, and not just as access for residents; but for life to occur. For children to play, for neighbours to share a meal or gossip, for dealers to sell; the street is the space in which humanizing occurs.

This humanizing allows for the participation and inclusion of its inhabitants in the dynamics of the city and its development - actively participating, investing in its continued growth. This social permeability begins to break down the formal and established parameters of public space. "Far less attention has been paid to the imbrication of city and township and, in spite of unequal social relations, to township dwellers' practices and imaginations of citiness or the place of the township in the making of the city's many identities. This is despite the fact that people then and now perpetually moved between the city and the township, either to make a living or to access forms of urban life that the township did not provide." (Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004).

The imagination of space within Manenberg portrays a tenacity and necessity of reclamation. Overcrowding of the dormitory courts has produced an infill of backyard dwellings, which have been incrementally occupying the 'dead space' (figure 42-44). The principle, to be further outlined in the following chapter, of Place begins to emerge in the flexibility and disturbance of what was once decreed during apartheid as predominantly single-use residential, has now become a space for informal trade along the central routes, or has the opportunity to evolve into a space of protest over the deaths of innocent lives, or a space of play for children. This reclamation of the public realm predominantly occurs in spaces of increased activity: where people begin to linger, the unexpected pop-up of informal trade, unscheduled taxi stops, and at intersections of streets. In short, where there is lack of opportunity, resilient and flexible community spaces are carved out by residents due to necessity.

Reclaiming Space

"How do you connect urban design to everyday life? One of the ways we've done this is by conceptualising what we call everyday space. It's the physical domain of everyday public activity that exists between the defined

and identifiable realms of the home, the institution, and the workplace... it is the connective tissue" (Mehrotra, 2004).

Imagining

"By looking from the ground up, we will begin to see how the city has been co-constructed by a multitude of legal and illegal, visible and invisible, official and unofficial, informal and formal processes. After all, the real African city is not singular. It is, rather, the highly variegated making of a myriad of practices exercised by the state and its people on a daily basis. To create, theorise and practice an urbanism of equality means to move beyond the formal-informal divide and acknowledge that which is an extraordinarily ordinary urbanism" (Kotzen, 2015).

The overwhelming issue is the spatial separation and broken connection to the larger city. The spatial implications of this community disconnect breed contestation around ownership of space due to its limited nature, which begin to play out in the isolated blocks. In response to such conditions as these, the street and the movement routes between, adapt to create new places for the public realm to exist and retain ground. These formal and informal processes expose and reaffirm the necessity of engagement and partnership with a community, as the nuances of its negotiation are far too complex for merely mapping and analysis.

Manenberg, Cape Town, provides insight into community spaces which have been negotiated; and where space operates outside of the regular. This research project intends to explore this community with its underlying challenges, issues and the potential found in increasing active citizenship found within the public realm.

Figure 42:

The following sequence of three photographs are taken at different periods of the day, on three separate occasions. The one thing that they have in common is that they are all taken in the same CRU court in Manenberg, Peta Court.

This first image shows a movie screening in the court, projected onto the wall of one of the flats. Neighbours gathered to watch a documentary about one of the members of the community who overcame drug-addiction. Sadly, he was killed in an accident shortly after. The space became one of housing a memorial through film.



Figure 43:

Marches and protests were held, with all faith groups in attendance - as seen here, a pastor and an imam - when a mother and her child were killed in cross fire during gang fights in March 2017.



Figure 44:

The ill-defined and unconsidered termination of the street network within the court enclosure of Peta Walk becomes an almost 'school yard' during the afternoons. There are no gardens or backyards to play in, so the street becomes a space of play and engagement, of games and meeting up with friends.

PRINCIPLES: ANSWERING QUESTIONS COMMUNITIES ARE NOT ASKING

In establishing an approach or methodology to Urban Design, the overwhelming consideration to be at the fore is: What is the question that communities want answered? As designers, there is a tendency to answer a question, through design and planning, that a community was not asking in the first place; a solution that does not address the need that remains unfulfilled. Occasionally, it is addressed in part; however, what is becoming more and more apparent in practice is the need to respond to issues and crises in under-served communities in a way in which their participation in the process is required. What is being neglected is the process, the time it takes to ask and engage with communities as to what the questions are, and the subsequent answers that they need addressed to co-create projects which will be sustainably implemented. Time becomes a valuable commodity in understanding and producing a spatial answer that begins to solve a community's needs; it is the process over the product. The process finds "the success of a plan depends on its internal logic - its argument - for different stakeholders. The argument is the basis; the plan serves the argument and is more technical in nature. If there is no buy-in to the argument, the plan will fail. To make a plan, the argument must be settled first. It considers the core issues and positive ways of resolving them. The plan focuses on a few key points - no one has the time to internalise complex documents - and is highly illustrative. The real worth of the work depends on the legitimacy of the argument, not the statutory considerations" (Boshoff, 2010, p. 73).

THE QUESTION BEING ANSWERED - IS IT THE QUESTION THAT WAS ASKED?

For Urban Design integrity to occur, and for the action research approach to hold its rigour; the set of guiding principles were established and can be referenced when answers become unclear. The following principles were determined upfront, emerging from various experiences and community collaboration, literature reviews, policies and case studies gathered and influencing one another. These inspirations include the UN Habitat III, the Sustainable Development Goals, Nabeel Hamdi's Small Change, Jan Gehl's extensive writing and design methods, Calderon's Social Urbanism; and witnessing social injustice experiences that prompted the need to establish principles to orientate action. The following three principles are people, power, and place which will be expanded upon by sub-themes to assist in defining them; all of which are essential to the development of spatial and social equality in the urban design field.

PEOPLE

The "New Urban Agenda acknowledges that culture and cultural diversity are sources of enrichment for humankind and provide an important contribution to the sustainable development of cities, human settlements and citizens, empowering them to play an active and unique role in development initiatives" (UNHabitat III, 2017, p. 4). People create, use and inhabit cities; it is therefore imperative that they are the first consideration in the planning and implementation of design initiatives.

- Collaboration:

Collective wisdom and collaboration are essential to a fully integrated proposal. It has been demonstrated over and over again, that governments operating in isolation cannot effectively tackle the complex issues of increasingly rapid urbanisation (Campbell, 2018). To collaborate means the identification of weaknesses and strengths in various role players, communities and institutions; central to these relationships is communication between the members. "We need to renegotiate the social contract between government and its citizens - between top-down and bottom-up systems, developing more democratic processes that will foster an open and collaborative relationship" (Campbell, 2018).

- Resilience:

To develop safe and resilient public spaces and communities, all user groups needs to be considered; public good starts with the lowest common denominator - people on foot (Dewar, 2018). Designers need to be prepared to adjust and recreate spaces that are adaptable to all, in a variety of conditions and circumstances. "Firstly, good governance, public management and planning are about preparedness: preparing the city and its citizens to deal with the future better." (Boshoff, 2010, p. 72).

- Negotiation:

The approach aims to "explore particularities for design, focusing on needs and aspirations from different groups within the community: To facilitate new avenues of representation and community cohesion; to facilitate the articulation and sharing of values and perceptions, from individual to collective... to build knowledge on and reinforce existing community initiatives and networks" (Frediani, Nunez Ferrera & French, 2011, p. 50). In this strategic approach, the negotiation of needs, of recognising one's own limited information, and rather build upon the other's networks in order to dream a design specific to that particular community, negotiating and navigating varied aspirations and values.

POWER

"This philosophy of 'acting in order to induce others to act', of offering impulses rather than instructions, and of cultivating an environment for change from within, starts on the ground and often with small beginnings which have 'emergent' potential... Shared ownership of the development agenda is seen as key to its sustainability... [P]ublic, private and civic roles are being reconceptualized and reshaped in both economics and social policy: the best route to the problem solving lies through partnership" (Hamdi, 2004, p. xx). This principle establishes the leveraging of knowledge, of 'authority', of sharing and including all actors in the development of the urban realm.

- Ownership:

Ownership is the ability to have a stake in space, within a process, to be able to influence and own an outcome. It establishes a value over the outcome, where "you are secure enough in yourself, individually or collectively, to become interdependent; when 'I' can merge as 'we', and also when 'we' is inclusive of 'them'" (Hamdi, 2004, p. xvi).

- Access:

Mobility and access should create conditions where efficient movement of people and goods is suited to all city users, and streets provide a variety of choice and safety. In conditions of high density, often the street is utilised as public spaces; therefore adaptability should be considered. "Streets are often the most vital yet underutilized public spaces in cities. In addition to providing space for travel, streets play a big role in the public life of cities and communities and should be designed as public spaces as well as channels for movement" (UNDP, 2016, p. 5). However, taking access further, it is more than just mobility - access produces, it connects. "They exert a force on things and bodies. Cities are places of thickening connections. Urban connections have often been understood as a function of proximity" (Simone, 2004, p. 137).

- Incremental:

"In an uncertain future, we must stop fixating on the visual form of the city and specifically imposed end states. Rather, we need a clear vision of our goals. We will achieve these by focusing on catalysts and small beginnings, intervening in a precisely targeted way that will stimulate growth and change. Our approach to urban governance should involve rapid and continuous feedback loops. This feedback will inform, alter and accelerate our next actions. This is iterative and adaptive learning - one gains knowledge along the way that affects future decisions" (Campbell, 2018). Incrementalism allows for a didactic system of learning through design, encouraging feedback and inclusion from the communities in which the proposed intervention takes place.

PLACE

Place making inspires people to collectively reimagine the public realm as the centre of the community; these spaces may widely vary in appearance and form, due the multiple variables, however, the core principle of the building of place is utilising what is already occurring and enhance it. It relies on "cultivating an environment for change from within, starts on the ground and often with small beginnings" (Hamdi, 2004, p. xx). In cultivating the public realm, Jan Gehl developed criteria for the creation of quality public spaces; the list includes: place, delight, comfort and protection.

- Inclusive/Choice:

The geography of urbanisation has created a city condition of sprawl. In order to ensure spatial and social equality, decision making around and for communities need to include the inhabitants in the process to empower and collaborate; "where underserved populations simply want a stake in the economic system in the city" (Mehrotra, 2004, p. 9). Governance systems have a responsibility to promote openness and participation, in developing effective, and transparent creation of public space (UNDP, 2016, p. 12-13).

- Territory:

The notion of territories is one of a place housing both the visible and the invisible; "the place people talked of had both physical and imagined boundaries. These

imagined places seemed to liberate the mind, they helped build a collective meaning because they could be what the imagination conspires them to be rather than what planners say they ought to be. This is the soft city of dreams, expectation and hidden networks" (Hamdi, 2004, p. 59). These networks of territories express markers, space that is delineated through individual or collective visioning or use; an line of opportunity that begin to thicken over time and intervention slowly building over it, with it, or sometimes even through it.

- Disturbance:

"It is about building densely interconnected networks, crafting linkages between unlikely partners and organisations, and making plans without the usual preponderance of planning. It is about getting it right for now and at the same time being tactical and strategic about later. This is not about forecasting, nor about making decisions about the future. But it is about the long range, about making sure that one plus one equals two or even three, about being politically connected and grounded, and about disturbing the order of things in the interest of change" (Hamdi, 2004, p. xviii). Disturbing the status quo is a tool in testing new, innovative spatial interventions in an incremental way. The small interruptions determine the effectiveness or, alternatively the failings, of a proposal in an existing condition through urban acupuncture.



Figure 45: Evening settles over the notorious Sevens courts, what would be the potential of such a space if it were disturbed or negotiated?

INTRODUCTION

A participatory planning and co-design approach is the main thrust of 'people' that underpins the first principle, the emphasis of which is the involvement in the decision-making process of the community, for which one designs. This is essential for two reasons; the first, as described by Perlman (2016), is the "precarious neighbourhoods... threatening to the city of the elite" (p.39), which demonstrates the perception we imbue over people on the margins and the 'threats' with which one associates with such spaces.

The second reason why it is imperative to include the community throughout the process - from the inception of an idea until project construction and close out - is to begin to address the spatial and social injustices that are still prevalent. These are seen in the structuring systems created by the apartheid regime; and are still seen today through the exclusion of marginalised people at the table of conversation around the planning future the spaces that they occupy. "In terms of the widely utilized neighbourhood unit concept, each cell is largely dependent on its own internal thresholds to support social and commercial services. When the population of a cell is almost ubiquitously poor, levels of support are low by definition. In cells without a facility, it is difficult for people to access essential social services in other cells, as these facilities are embedded, not exposed. Additionally, as the demographic structure of the cells change over time, the demand for facilities changes... Although most of the legislative instrumentation underpinning apartheid was repealed in the 1990s and early 2000s, the situation has not improved" (Dewar, 2015).

"In the urban poverty and policy lexicon there is an unfortunate fusion between precarious neighbourhoods and precarious people. Once a neighbourhood is perceived as precarious, the people living there are imbued with a series of negative stereotypes as unworthy, unruly and unclean. This is where the literature on marginality comes into alignment with current concepts of peripheries and precariousness. Marginality has a similar but not identical set of associations - on the margins spatially and socially; deviant from mainstream beliefs and behaviours; and threatening to the city of the elite"

- (Perlman, 2016, p. 39).

FRAMING THE QUESTION

The iterative approach that will be established in the following focus groups runs through a three stage process of diagnosis, dreaming and designing. Diagnosis establishes the key opportunities and threats, and evaluates the conditions that give rise to them. The lived experiences of the participants in the day-to-day navigation of the community spaces provides invaluable insight into acupuncture opportunities. The dreaming stage establishes what could be, and what are the challenges that may restrict particular actions from happening. The designing stage identifies the phasing of the scenarios, their locations, and the role players and partners that would need to be engaged in realising the scenarios.

The study area is the scale of focus for the first set of workshops, this predominantly evaluates the conditions of the area, the processes and the experiences of the community. Concerns and threats are established, this includes provision and distribution of services, opportunities for adaptation and understanding the connection of Manenberg in relation to its current, future and mitigating actions.

What is the vision, from the community, for the community? This is the central idea in establishing connections between the processes which operate at the scale of the study area, to the relationship with the neighbourhood and street scale.



Figure 46: Twilight on Manenberg Avenue, taxis speed through this central spine, taking the last of the commuters to their final destinations.

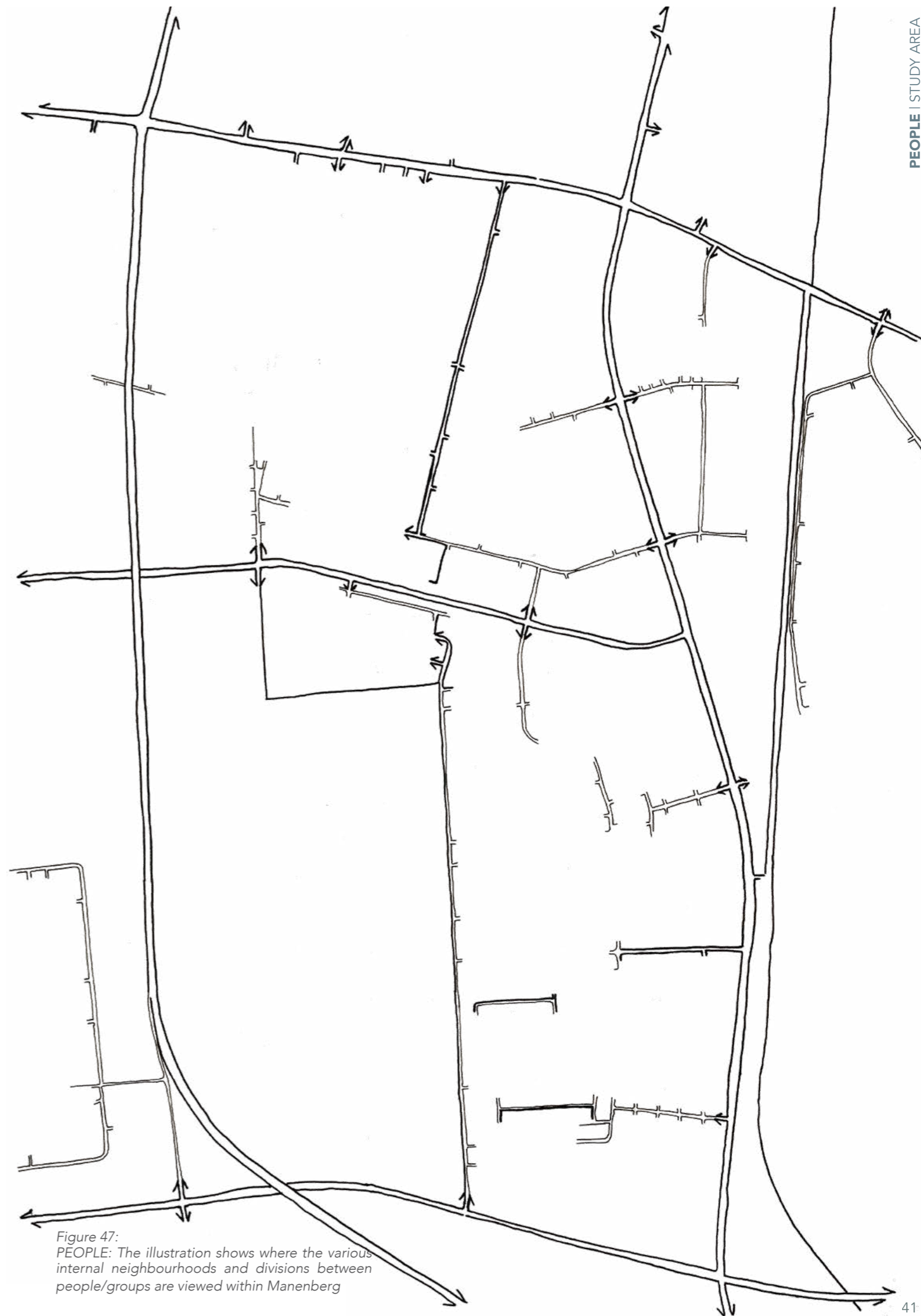


Figure 47: PEOPLE: The illustration shows where the various internal neighbourhoods and divisions between people/groups are viewed within Manenberg

DIAGNOSIS

The diagnosis stage was primarily concerned with the scale of the study area, and the resulting urban conditions that impact on the community. The focus is on analysing and understanding the opportunities and constraints, whilst establishing the situations that give rise to them.

Key questions

- Are there any important social services facilities and community organisations in the area?
- What are the key threats that affect the community?
- What impact do these threats have on the opportunities in the community?
- Are there any areas within Manenberg that you will not navigate/cannot get access to?

Activities

In order to understand scale, participants were asked to locate and identify their home on a map. The intention is to assist participants in understanding and orientating themselves spatially within Manenberg.

Mapping activities were undertaken to begin visualising the urban conditions and experiences of the focus group participants. Components that were mapped, included: services and amenities within the community; landmarks or special places to assist in familiarising members with the diagnosis map. These included crèches, markets, parks and preferred movement routes. Members additionally mapped spaces and places of potential opportunities and constraints, and the effects of those.

Participants then began to map experiences, such as which areas within Manenberg are of concern and the alternative solutions which participants would undertake in order to feel secure. Infrastructural systems were located and illustrated as barriers to the connection between people and the different neighbourhoods of which Manenberg is comprised.

Outcomes

A summary of the points of the diagnosis stage outcomes are captured on the following page in a table (for full table, refer to appendix). One of the key outcomes was the varied definition of 'access'. The participants viewed the term in relation to opportunities, in relation to movement systems, in relation to the conflicts that occur during gang fights, and to safe spaces.

A notable outcome from the diagnosis stage was the limited range of choices that were available to the community. The "more simplified the choices, the propensity for stronger role players to dominate, excluding others" (Dewar, 2015). In Manenberg's case, the absence of variety has often resulted in boredom from the youth, and therefore the dominance of the illicit drug market and gangsterism to provide relief from poverty.

The diagnosis stage provided an opportunity to interrogate the situations caused by negotiation of spaces and the concerns which arise from them. An additional outcome was the development of the group members in their spatial awareness and the issues that will be explored in more detail in the following stage.

"We need trauma counseling all the time in Manenberg, it would be good to have them always accessible because we always live in trauma here in Manenberg" - Tima, backyard dweller

4.1 OUTCOMES SUMMARY PEOPLE | STUDY AREA

ASPIRATION	<p>Social/amenities/services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social service provision is highly limited, most services are missing - Lack of availability of public parks and play spaces - Existing social services located in the middle of gang territories - Lack of education variations [i.e technical school/special needs] - Substance abuse/addicts - boredom - Lack of emergency units/trauma unit and healthcare - Youth: reach them before they turn 15. There is a gap in youth development important to break barriers and to create a new cycle.
COLLABORATION	<p>Partnerships/welfare</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of rehabilitation centres/safe houses for women and children - Community centres are underutilised with a lack of programmes - Lack of community involvement in future planning (<i>Mellon housing</i>)
ECONOMIC	<p>Equity/opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No small/economic growth opportunities - isolated. Need a slaghuis/ butcher some options for getting fresh meats - No business hubs/shared working space to upskill yourself - Socially isolated: no spaces to relax, like a restaurant or a sports bar, have to go to Kenilworth or Lansdowne to watch soccer - High unemployment rate - unskilled labour - Gang activity results in employed gangsters having to quit their jobs
INSTITUTIONAL	<p>Support/political will/engagement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subcouncil offices moved to Athlone - continually disenfranchised those who are poor as the distance cannot easily be covered on foot. A spatial injustice - Spatial divisions are extreme on many levels - gangs, religion, race, political. Three Wards which divide space arbitrarily, 2 are DA, 1 ANC.



Figure 48 & 49 :
One of the activities of the diagnosis stage involved an active mapping of the situation, experiences and concerns in both the social and the spatial conditions.. Members were encouraged to write down, on a coloured sticky tab, where opportunities and partnerships exist, places to note (these can be positive or negative), Participants used pins to mark out routes of safe passage, areas where they feel unsafe, and places that they considered would have a big impact, should changes occur/be implemented..
(author's own)



Figure 50:
Marico Park, upgrade and tree planting partially completed at the swimming pool. Contractor walked off site - park slowly being vandalised and becoming a space to dump rubbish and waste. (author's own)



Figure 51:
The large, neglected and underutilized portions of public open space and recreation facilities become expansive thoroughfares.

NEGLECTED OPEN SPACE

The open spaces in Manenberg are affected by various conflicting uses, of children negotiating spaces to play, or the spaces experiencing violent crime and gang activity - there seems to be no neutral ground. This severely affects the residents opportunity for recreation and leisure.
Some of the more noteworthy characteristics of these spaces are:

- The public open spaces are over-scaled, which affects the quality of the spaces negatively. There is no definition to the edges, this lack of dimension leaves little sense of place.
- The spaces are dispersed without any consideration to clustering or linking facilities. The result is often the barren islands of open space become dumping grounds and unsafe due to their isolated nature. The Greens Sports Grounds are highly active when matches are on, however, once players leave there are no eyes on the site and it becomes incredibly vast and unsafe.
- The open spaces reinforce the apartheid planning, where they are seen as separate entities from the residential units, creating a uniform and monotonous environment.
- Children in the community use the streets as playgrounds and places of engaged activity. This is at times problematic with the negotiation of vehicle movement, however, it does successfully activate the street.
- The fabric of open spaces, however, does mean that the community has a high permeability and porosity which provides opportunity for change.



Figure 52: Negotiated Open Space



Figure 53: Schools and ECDS

EDUCATION FACILITIES

Within the study area there are three high schools and fourteen primary schools, with approximately 27 early childhood crèches located throughout the community. The Silverstream High School is in the process of closing, with the land earmarked for a regional hospital. Both Manenberg and Phoenix High Schools are to absorb the capacity. Neither High School is full, therefore, the question that should be evaluated is not just treating the symptoms of a high drop out rate, but addressing the cause.

The location of the schools in Manenberg are often located vulnerably in the centre of gang activity and ter-

ritory warfare, the reason for which is highly complex. The school buildings, in order to protect themselves from the violence, have pulled in the boundaries and fencing tight up against the structures. However, the spatial implication of this is that there is more open and negotiated spaces for illegal activities to occur.

- The schools, generally are introverted and disconnected from the surroundings.
- The buildings are loosely placed on the site; resulting in undefined space and edges.
- Underutilised school structures and buildings.
- School grounds are owned by the public sector.

*"Look where all the remaining social services are: look at the crèches [*points], all the schools, the churches, the clinic - all of them are in the middle of gang warfare - look at the location of the Salvation Army crèche. Sometimes people cannot leave the buildings because of all the shooting."*

- Carlo, Manenberg resident



Figure 54: Manenberg High School: The school has pulled in its fence line to assist in fortifying the building, however the result is a large portion of neglected space. (author's own)



Figure 55: The Greens Sports Grounds, highly utilised over the weekend and in the evenings. (author's own)



Figure 56: Social services and public amenities

THE REMOVAL OF SOCIAL SERVICES

The spatial implications of this snapshot window of the Manenberg community is negotiated and co-constructed of many ordinary processes that comprise daily life. The sequence of images below show the everyday negotiation of this variegated space. The old Rent Office had been disused for years, and within the space of a week the entire building - along with all its materials - was reclaimed, redistributed and reused. The fine line of illegality notwithstanding, this community action makes known its ability to imagine and its need to create spaces that will function; and if the state hesitates with developing spaces, communities do have a vision for space and will not hesitate to recreate it themselves.

The concern that underlies this snapshot story, is the reality that the amenities and community services that existed are gradually moving out of Manenberg, albeit in some cases to the periphery, however in other cases a more permanent absence is felt. The Old Rent Office is an example of a service provision that was relocated to the far edge of Manenberg, along Govan Mbeki Road, however, no thought was given to the shell of a facility building left behind. For over two years it remained, creating more and more contestation and safety concerns

regarding territories; even to the point when private partnerships and NGO's offered to buy and occupy the space. Instead, more territory claims. The newly built Manenberg Housing Contact Centre, however, is too far for many community members who fear for their safety as there are more territories to cross to reach a public service built for convenience of institutions.

The location of the South African Police Service law enforcement facilities are also found on the periphery of the communities they serve, with both Manenberg and Gugulethu Police stations located no more than 600 meters from one another.

The social services remaining in the community proper are the Manenberg Library (which is currently in the process of relocation along Turfhall Road and identifying viable land parcels), the Clinic for family planning and Tuberculosis patients (no emergency unit), a Community Hall, the swimming pool and sports ground. All other amenities, as seen in the adjacent plan, are community initiatives, such as ECDs, places of worship and community centres.



Figure 57: Before: The Old Rent Office, located along Manenberg Avenue, was remaining idle for far too long.



Figure 58: After: The Old Rent Office site a week later, with all materials distributed, seemingly 'overnight'. (author's own)

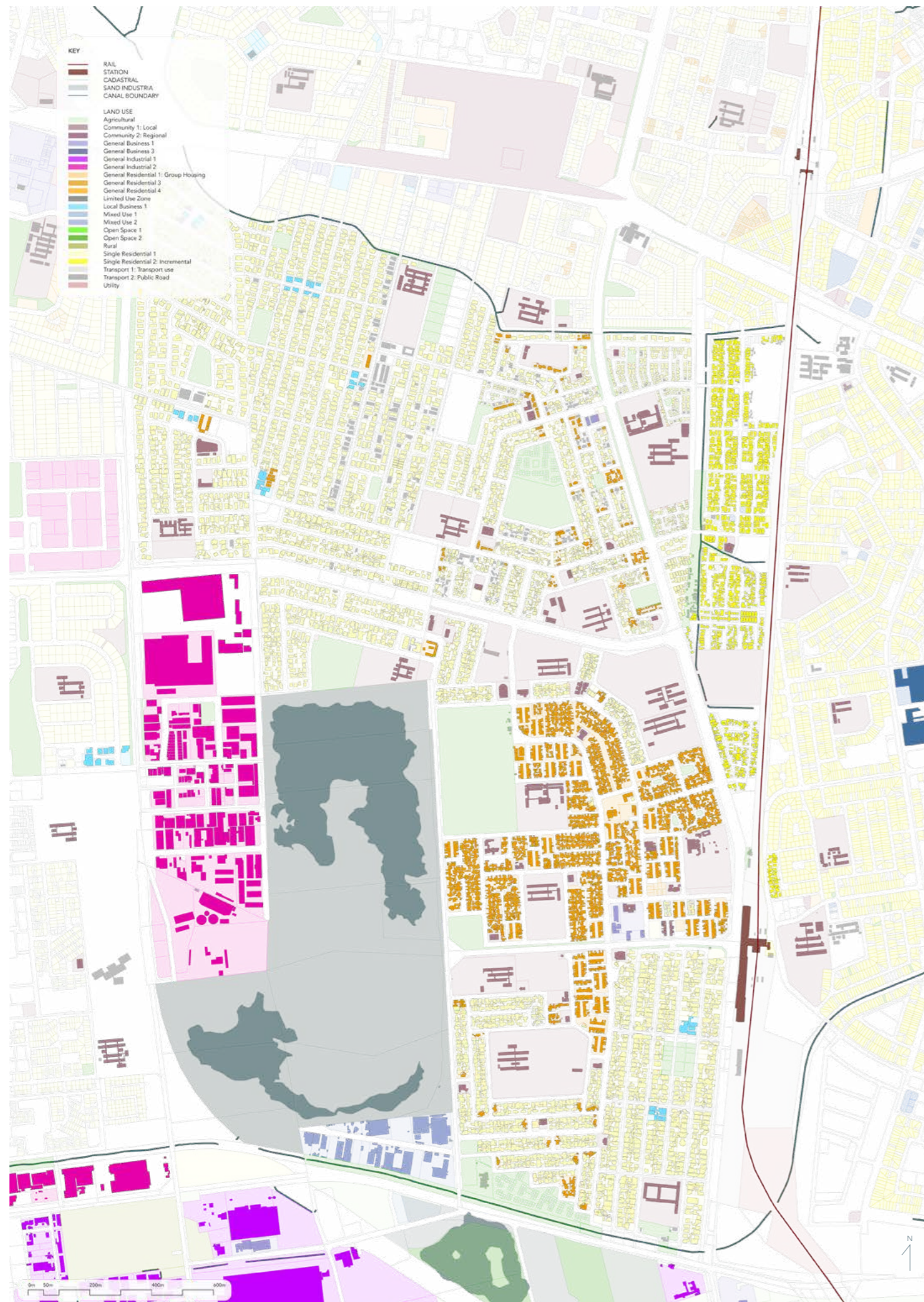


Figure 59: Land Use

MONO-FUNCTIONAL LAND USE

“The land use structure is predetermined and ‘programmed’. Moreover, each land use is compartmentalized and viewed as separate from, and exclusive of, all other activities and uses” (Dewar, Uitenbogaardt et al., 1976, p. 150). This condition that is illustrated by Dewar, provides a community that has no sense of place, opportunity or a lack of variety of its situation.

“Manenberg is a primarily residential, highly mono-functional dormitory area; lacking of programme and spatial diversity. The suburb was designed following a modernistic approach of separating uses. The separation of functions such as the residential area from the industrial and commercial areas has led to a mono-functional and inactive socio-economic environment” (VPUU, 2015, p. 118).

The industrial area along the western edge of Manenberg is highly active during the day, providing employment for many of the neighbouring areas; particularly Hanover Park, Gugulethu and Philippi. When traveling to work, large portions of this continuous residential area need to be crossed; this sadly provides an opportunity for petty criminals.



Figure 60: Schematic diagram of the mono-functional nature of study area.

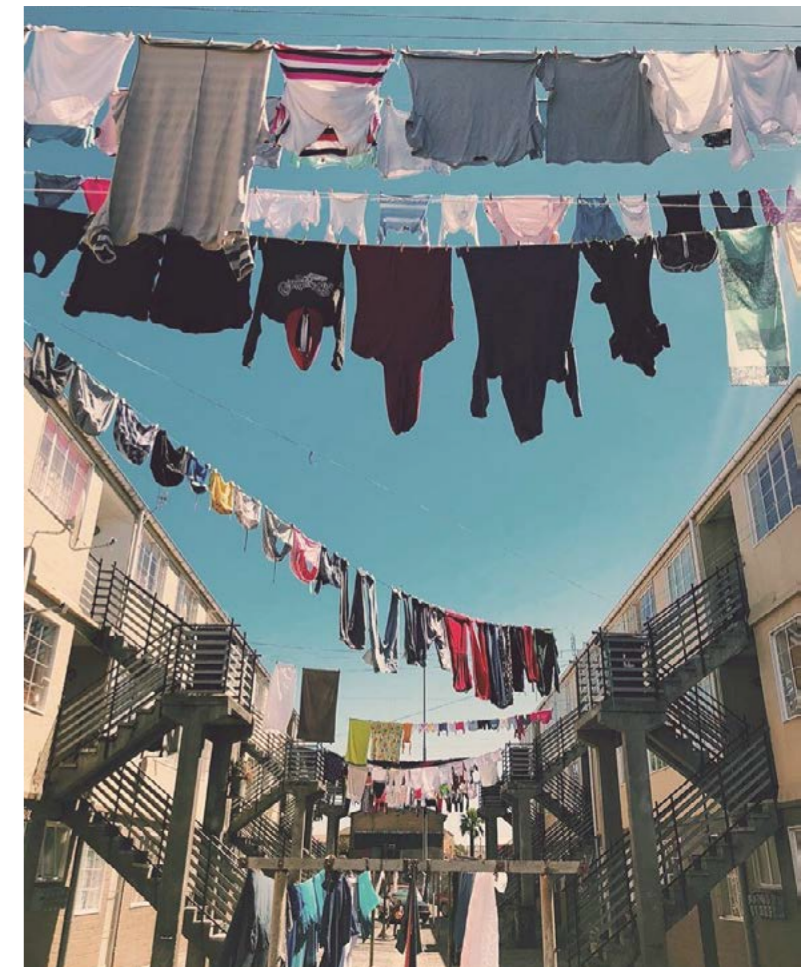


Figure 61: The continuous and unvaried nature of the dormitory residential area provides a stifling environment devoid of diversity.

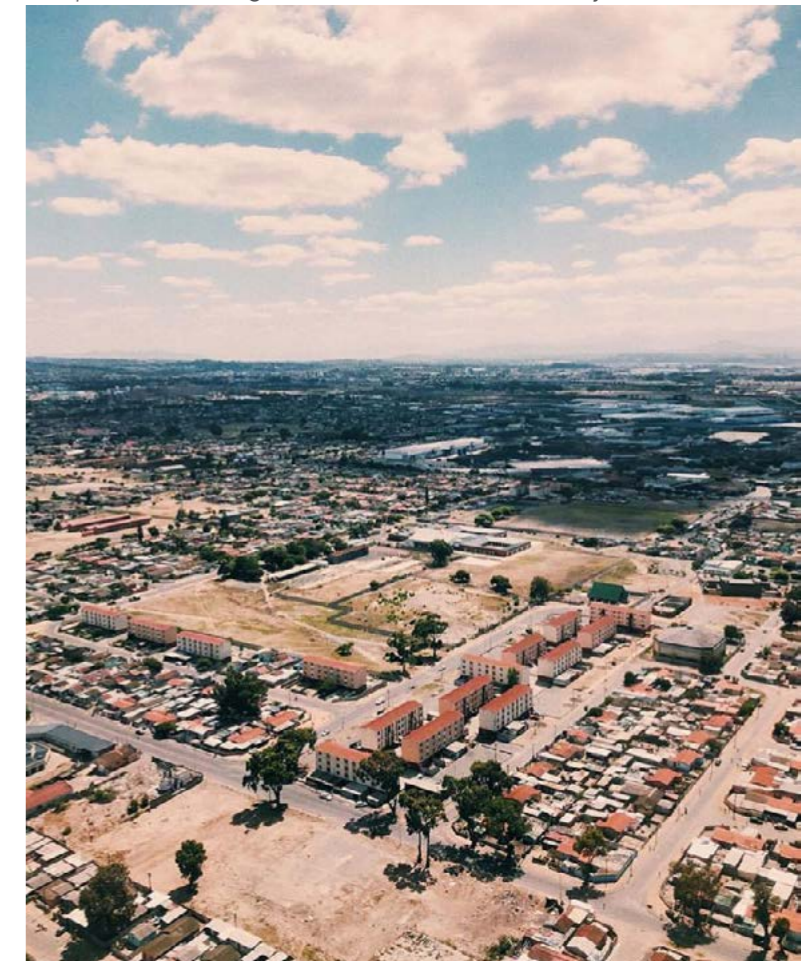


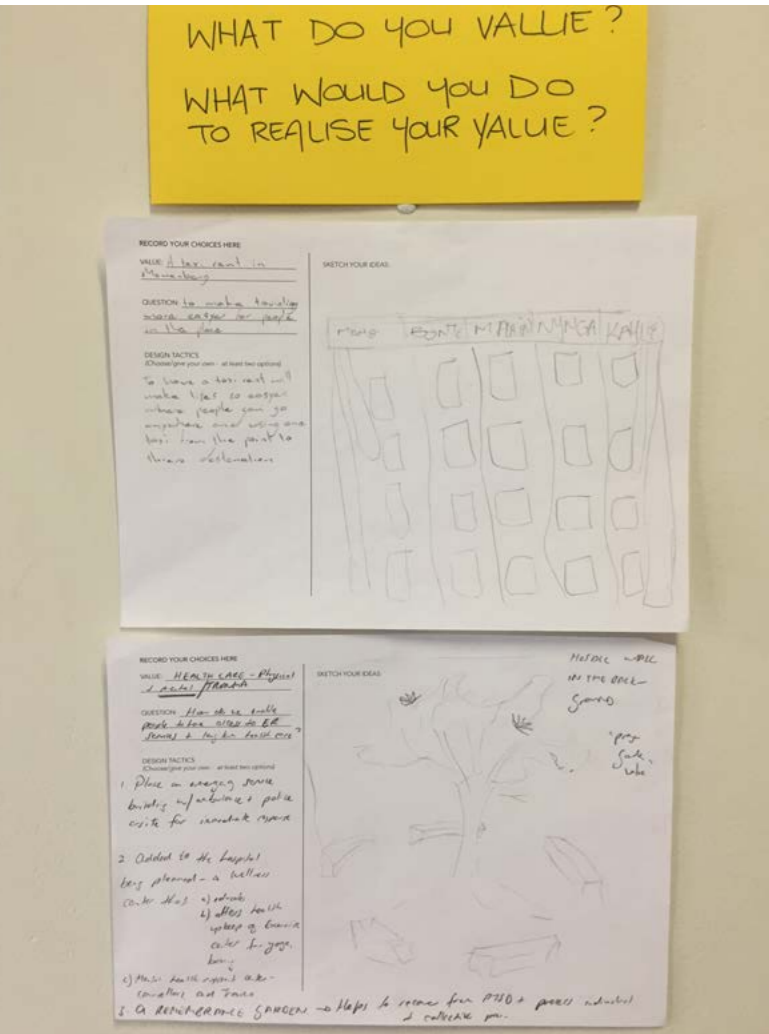
Figure 62: Aerial photograph of the vast underdeveloped open space and extensive residential landscape.

DESIGNING

The final stage in the co-design process focuses on the actions for designing, and testing the locations of potential interventions; responding to participants' ambitions while addressing the concerns revealed in the earlier stages.

Key questions

- What are the potential scenarios emerging from the diagnosis activities?
- What key partners/stakeholders would we need to engage?
- How can we safeguard against identified challenges?



"What is missing is an idea of justice, a theory that addresses not simply the reconfiguration of space but also the redistribution of wealth... Urban design needs to grow beyond its narrowly described fixation on the 'quality' of life to include its very possibility"

- (Sorkin, 2009, p. 180)

Activities

The intent of the activity is to consolidate the aspirations and values that were developed in the dreaming stage. The scenario needs were compiled by the urban design student and the participants reviewed and assessed the notes, drawings and information collected during the previous focus groups to confirm all was captured. Multiple themes relating to service provision were identified in the dreaming stage, with the group designing elements in strategic locations with proposed alternatives.

The activities pursued in the design stage involved sketching over proposal sites for service interventions, reworking previous proposals and establishing a hierarchy of the 'hub' spaces, based on experience. Open or neglected land was identified, which further developed the scenarios to include the navigation of partnerships. Members debated as to the reasons who wins, who loses, and who benefits in different scenarios.

Outcomes

The outcomes of the designing stage consolidated the alternatives, which were ranked according to the incremental value for change the preferred alternatives could potentially provide.

The iterative nature of the focus group allowed members to collaborate on core aspirations for the study area, developing a strategy driven by youth development, economic opportunities and service provision. Analysis of the concerns and potentials related to the interventions were workshopped. Partnerships were established as a key to begin to design and develop a role within the occupation of territories in Manenberg.

REFLECTIONS

In pursuing the iterative process with the 'People' principle, several aspirations and interventions were prioritised:

- To promote and design liveable communities
- Prioritise youth development programme/facilities
- Available social workers/counseling services
- Improve accessibility & distribution through transport
- Training, resources and technical school
- Community services that are owned by residents and respond to the local need

Figure 66 & 67:

During the designing stage, the focus group were asked to write down their values, what the value would look like as an intervention - be it social, spatial or programmatic - and the way in which they would make it a reality (such as the people to engage/what partners exist etc). This activity was guiding the participants to really interrogate what layers of change could involve, and the existing activities already operating that could potentially strengthen their proposals; as if one "observe[s] the people who inhabit it and the activities that take place there, it becomes highly specific" (Mehrotra, 2004, p 19). (author's own)



Figure 68:

People: Reviewing the internal boundaries determined by the community, the participants determined that more attractive and accessible amenities would encourage movement into 'other' spaces.

PRECEDENT

Project: Vertical Gym
Architect: Urban Think Tank
Date: 2001-2004
Location: Chacao, Caracas, Venezuela

Land in informal settlements and slums are predominantly occupied by housing. This leaves little to nothing of the remaining space for social services or amenities. In order to address this, Urban Think Tank identified dilapidated recreational fields within the dense city of Caracas as a means of available land for development.

The intention of the project was to target vulnerable youth as an element of social infrastructure, providing a recreational facility that is safe and encourages activity. The multi-floor complex transformed the neglected site into a flexible space where diverse needs and programmes of the community are met, assisting in the alleviation of crime due to the daily life cycle of use.

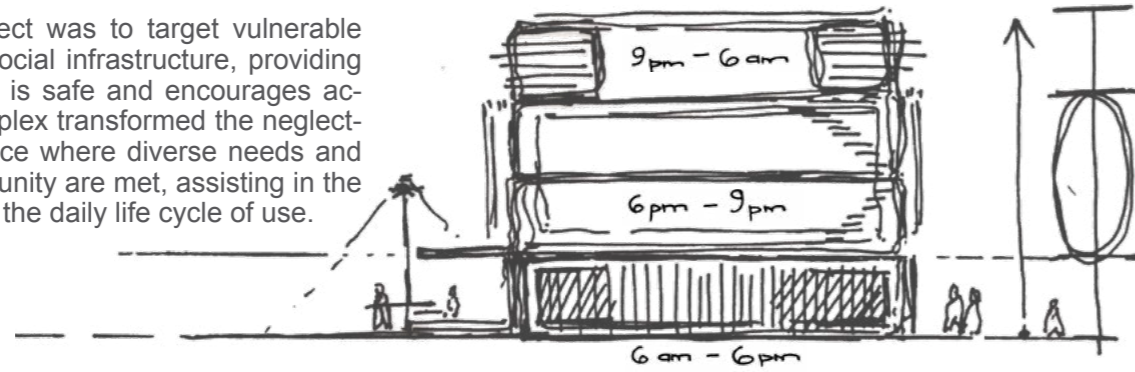


Figure 69:

The indoor facility houses many programme and partnerships, ensuring that the facility is utilised throughout the day, and into the evening - providing passive surveillance to the surrounding areas through the intensity of its uses. This prefabricated model is adaptable, designed to be installed on an available land parcel, or alternative it is flexible enough to be placed atop an existing structure. Included within the structure is space on the ground floor for local enterprises, providing opportunity for a diverse user group, whilst creating a permeable interface with the street.



Figure 70:

In order to address the space shortage for recreational activities in the slums in Caracas, the solution was to go 'up', in order to prioritise the active programming. The project is an example of real needs being met, and an innovative solution tested to disturb the seemingly unsolvable issue due to density

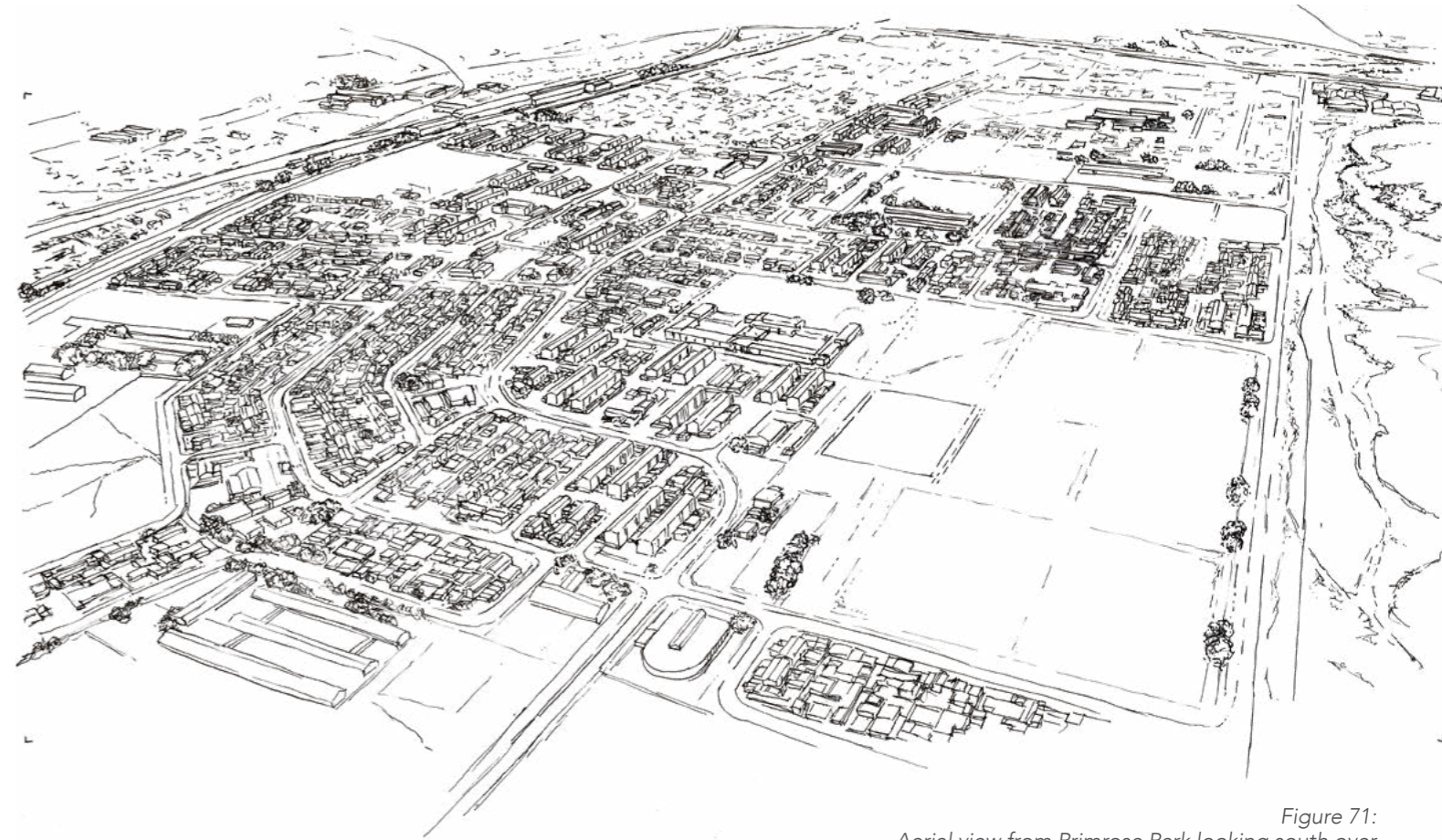


Figure 71:
Aerial view from Primrose Park looking south over the Greens Sports Grounds in the foreground

0.1 INTERVIEW NOTES FROM PROFESSIONALS IN PARTICIPATORY PRACTICE

Yolande Hendler, Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC).

"The kind of upgrading we speak of is not about land and services alone. This is about realising real citizenship and equality in our cities" (Patrick Magebhula Hunsley - late ISN coordinator & co founder of FEDUP).

What we need to keep in the front of our mind is: what drives the formation of informal settlements and vulnerable communities? Understanding that we have housing markets that are exclusionary, that do not offer more affordable options, it then follows that we need to review the situation which does not distribute opportunities equally. Intervention is desperately needed, for state intervention, for meaningful intervention with the citizens of our cities. "Community 'empowerment' and 'participation' is a central throughout successive policy changes that were introduced in the last decade. However, government evaluation of its own practice indicates that informal settlement communities are still not adequately involved in the planning, design, implementation and monitoring of upgrading plans" (Hendler & Fieuw, 2018, p. 38).

As an approach, one needs to recognise the "existing power relations between actors, social networks and livelihoods in a settlement. It is critical to engage with these actors, existing patterns and logics to facilitate a meaningful, community-centred interaction. Successful informal settlement upgrading should therefore be marked by the central endorsement and participation of residents. This is critical as upgrading projects often involve the internal relocation of some residents" (Hendler & Fieuw, 2018, p. 40). Continuous learning and reflection is key to partnering with community networks, some of the lessons learnt result from: the value of deep social facilitation process; experimentation and innovation effect change; political endorsement and an enabling local policy environment is vital; long delays can kill a project or partnership; and, communication and joint planning.

INTRODUCTION

Power enables or disables communities in a variety of ways. In Manenberg, the power system is dually a spatial and social injustice creation, ensuring that residents “are unable to travel even to seek out employment or to pursue the opportunities of the city; they are almost entirely excluded. In a very real sense, settlement structure and form are significantly aggravating the key societal problems of poverty, inequality, and unemployment, which underpin most developmental challenges facing the country” (Dewar, 2015).

FRAMING THE QUESTION

At the Neighbourhood scale, the principle of ‘power’ emerges as the dominant negotiator within the community. This scale focuses on the conditions of community dynamics within the spaces surrounding, embedded and negotiated in the neighbourhood; provoking the question of what is an inclusive and incremental neighbourhood?

In order to frame the purpose of ‘power’ in design exploration, participants in the focus groups collectively discussed, mapped and modeled what territory and power over spaces means to them, and who spaces are for. These outcomes were reviewed, iteratively, throughout the process, informing the intervention decisions based on experiences and foreseen needs.

DIAGNOSIS

The diagnosis was primarily concerned with the understanding of current conditions, areas of conflict and negotiation of occupied and unoccupied spaces, exploring the way participants navigate daily, in order to identify key opportunities and threats. This stage unpacks the spatial challenges and imagination of the diversity of experience in the neighbourhood and its resources.

Key questions

- Are there areas in Manenberg that are inaccessible/ where you would or wouldn't go at particular times?
- What are the conditions of spaces and who has access to these spaces?
- What makes you feel safe/ what do you think is missing and lacking in public spaces?

Activities

In order to understand power, participants were asked to locate and identify their home on a map. The intention is to assist participants in understanding and orientating themselves spatially within Manenberg.

The first activity included multiple areas of conflict and negotiation which were drawn out on maps, using pins and post-it notes to capture the relevance of that particular space and how it is perceived by the focus groups. One of the most obvious negotiations of power was the gang territories, which were captured mostly by Focus Group 2, who were predominantly ex-gangsters and ex-addicts. This provided insight into the complexity of space in relation to the temporal, such as seen in figures 89-92, where over a three and a half month period the intensity of negotiation shifted radically over the neighbourhood.

The members of the focus groups used a large aerial map of Manenberg to workshop different routes through and adjacent to the community study area. The mapping studies were overlaid to allow for identification of key values to emerge.

Outcomes

A summary of the points of the diagnosis stage outcomes are captured on the following page in a table. One of the key outcomes was the varied definition of ‘access’. The participants viewed the term in relation to opportunities, in relation to movement systems, in relation to the conflicts that occur during gang fights, and to safe spaces.

Focus group participants begun to unpack what accessibility and power is defined by, once it was transposed (see opposite, figure 73) it became apparent that the apartheid powers had established a measure and control over residents through the underlying movement structure. This was acknowledged as a key concern.

The diagnosis stage provided an opportunity to interrogate the situations caused by negotiation of spaces and the concerns which arise from them. An additional outcome was the development of the group members in their spatial awareness and the issues that will be explored in more detail in the following stage.

Figure 72: Morning view along the wide and predominantly ill-defined Downs Road, towards the Sevens Courts, occupied by the Clever Kids gang. Captured in the early morning light, one is almost transported to Sunset Boulevard - sans the fierce spatial negotiation.



Figure 73: The principle of Power is illustrated in this drawing through the inaccessible routes given the most weighting - through cul-de-sacs and disconnected movement, authoritarian power imposes on the spatial structure.



<p>ACCESS</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Mobility/infrastructural/services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of connectivity to neighbouring communities - isolation from the city through multiple barriers - No real opportunities for private investors - Lack of access to opportunities such as: play, exercise, sitting - Majority of community is pedestrian, how does access cater for this? - Routes [movement] are predominantly inaccessible during violence - Movement is the major need to encourage cohesion and connectivity. Linear parks/pocket smaller parks along access routes. - Lengths of roads in gang areas are a problem - shooting tends to go directly into the schools. Need to think of barriers as details for protection/safety.
<p>OWNERSHIP</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Conflict/territories/negotiations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gang territories growing - gaining new ground and market. Even beginning now in areas that are traditionally gang neutral - Lack of definition of under developed or neglected spaces. - Closing up public open space for housing - need to look at adjacent territories as housing becomes more conflicting spaces - Partnerships need to be pursued - opportunities for negotiated and shared spaces - lack of engagement - Too many single use facilities/ underutilized. Diversify use - it creates meeting opportunities.
<p>SAFETY AND SECURITY</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Personal/welfare/vandalism</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of lighting along many routes/no community watch or committee - Limited Law Enforcement visibility - particularly at Nyanga Junction and around the open/neglected spaces around schools - Lack of satellite or 'outpost' police system - Limited, slow to no response to emergencies (injuries) - Law enforcement/SAPS stations are located outside of the communities they serve. Who are you serving? - Dumping - Lack of safe spaces for children - street and road is the option - No protection against crime or violence - often feel insecure - Unused/vacant buildings reuse: views to street, as some areas are to 'empty' - Ambulance service not coming into Manenberg when its gang fight - only if they have a police escort. Even if it's only 50m into the community - they will not help those injured.

"For many people in low-income, high-risk areas, police action or inaction appeared unchanged since the demise of apartheid. On the Cape Flats, people have good reason to consider themselves besieged by two dangerous forces, gangs and the police. For many, neither have legitimacy but the gangs, comprised of neighbourhood youths, are better understood and have the greater validity... The only difference is that one group has the full weight of the state behind them, the other has only themselves and their mates to fall back on. In the end, the scores they have to settle often resolve around two questions: Who benefits and who rules?"

- (Pinnock, 2016, p. 71).



Figure 75: The informal market that occurs opposite the train station along Duinefontein Road is an incremental and vibrant space that almost 'responds' to the large, enclosed and impersonal shopping at Nyanga Junction. The variety of clothes, food, frivolous goods are an answer to the lack of diversity within the community. Located at the base of the footbridge, this intervention gives clues as to the location of citing possible opportunities, such as: where do people move? How does one capture and include them in the daily navigation of space and place?



Figure 74: The diagnosis stage in the 'Power' focus group resulted in expected and some unexpected outcomes. The most obvious concern when it came to power was the hold that the gangs had over areas within Manenberg, as indicated by the red pins on the diagnosis mapping activity. These are areas that are seen as unsafe, known gang territories or areas that the participants actively avoid. (author's own)



Figure 76: In the diagnosis stage, a surprising outcome of the concerns was the role of local government. The observation from the participants was the local authorities disempower the residents through the decisions that are made about them, without consulting them. A key concern was the moving of the sub council offices (where unemployed community members visit to register as EPWP workers) was already located outside Manenberg at Fezeka - this has now moved even further out to Athlone. A distance that is not possible without paying for transport, which most cannot afford often. (author's own)

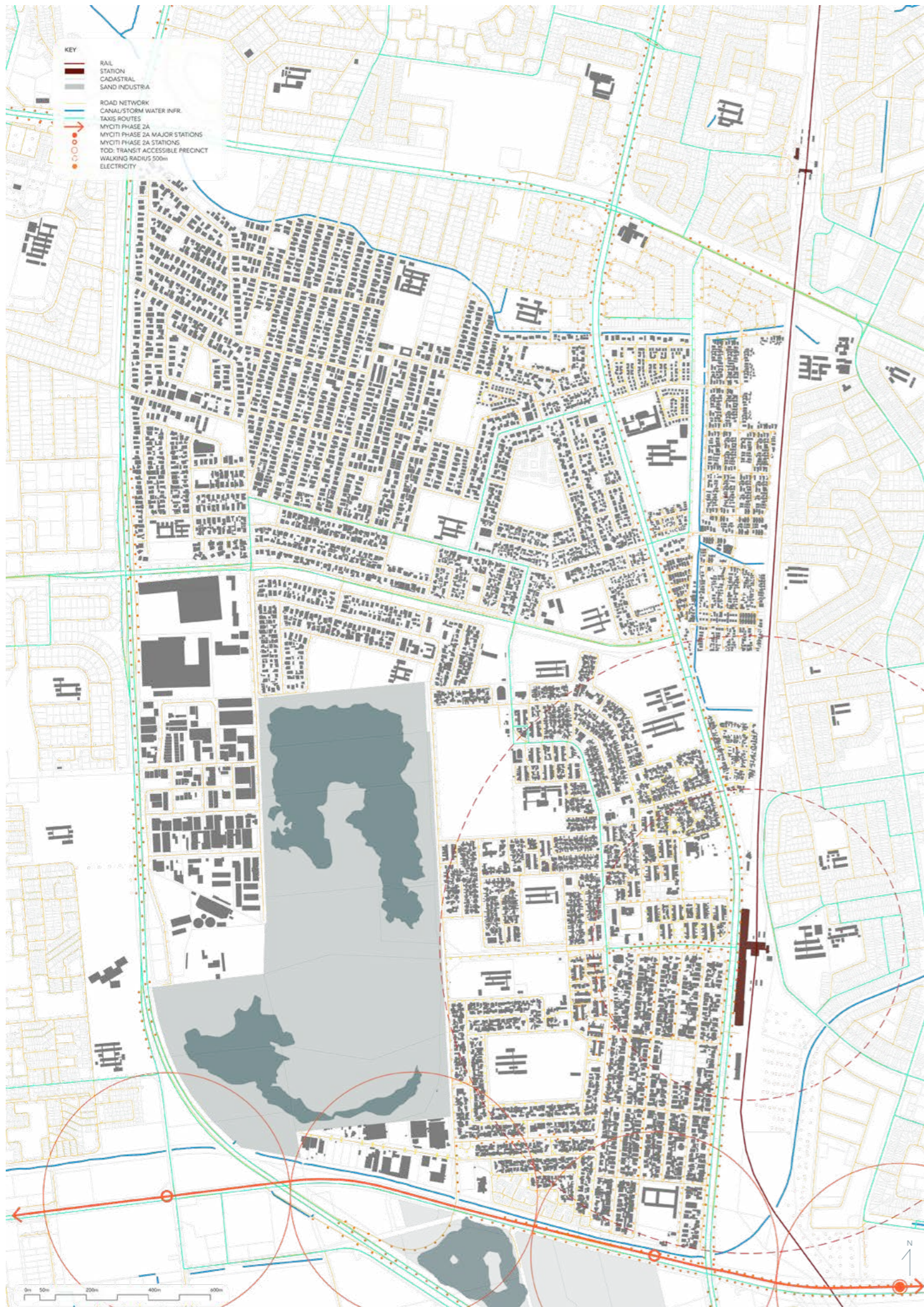


Figure 77: Public Transport & Infrastructure

INFRASTRUCTURE AND MOVEMENT

The movement and infrastructural network was structured with the residential areas located and embedded within the primary road network system; the structuring of which produces an environment with little to no variation with routes terminating in cul-de-sacs.

The public transport or taxi routes, indicated in green in figure 77, connect the major class ii road of Duinefontein and Turfhal Roads with Manenberg through the route running down the central Laan (Manenberg Avenue). This route was of particular concern during the diagnosis focus group, as it is the main public transport route for people in the community; however, it goes through multiple gang territories. Even the route that goes up into Primrose Park is a major public transport link and this also goes right through gang turf - the threat is tangible, that it has now escalated that gangs are making taxis pay for protection to move through these spaces.

The street network is comprised of multiple discontinuities in the system and various missing links. These breaks in movement occur on both a north-south, and east-west direction; with the additional disconnect through being encircled by a semi-closed perimeter. On the southern perimeter route of Govan Mbeki Road, the future MyCiti Phase 2 is set to reintegrate previously disconnected communities into the transport-orientated development (TOD) plan. The most recent plan, however, indicates that the initial station that was proposed at the termination of Vykekraal Road, is no longer part of the latest set of plans. This raises the question of the determining factors into the decisions, and whether the communities that the TOD plan is serving were consulted in this process.

The lighting in the community is proficient, however, there was an area where street lighting is not implemented along the northern portion of Vykekraal, and this is where dumping, assault and criminal activities occur at night.

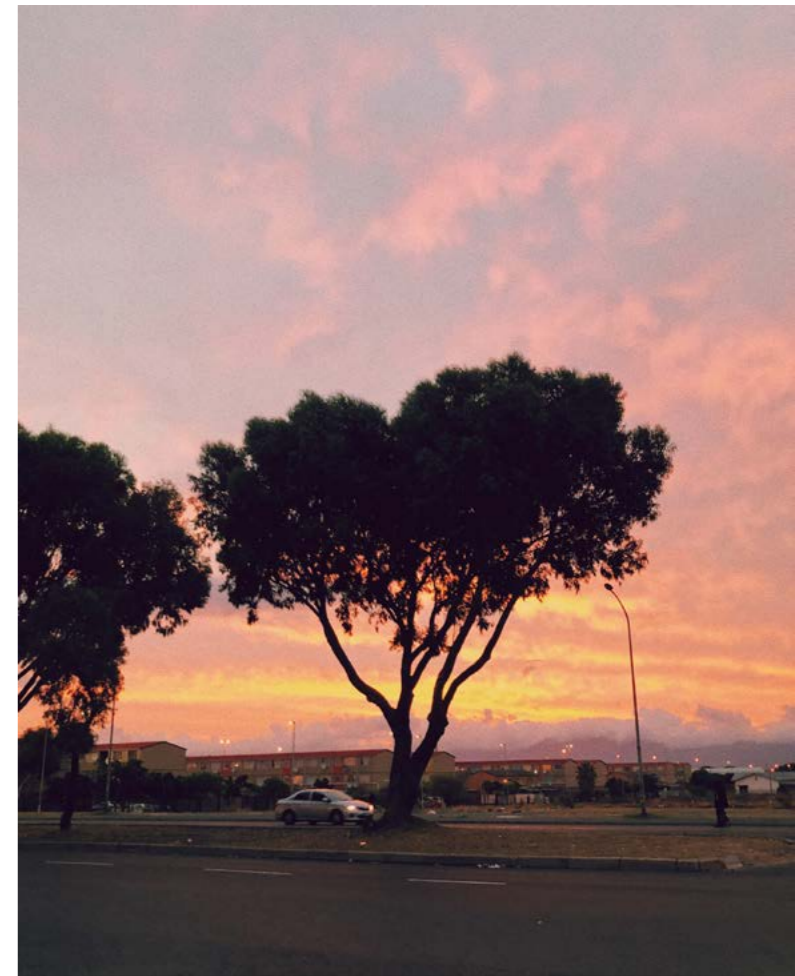


Figure 78: Sunset view along Duinefontein Road, looking towards the Sevens and Silvertree Community Centre. Lighting emerging over the courts.



Figure 79: View from Nyanga Junction Station pedestrian bridge towards Manenberg, along the Downs Road. Informal taxi rank, as no formal interchange exists.



Figure 80:
Informal painted vibrecrete-built trading stall along Manenberg Avenue, awaiting customers with a deck chair to recline.



Figure 81:
Informal market outside Nyanga Junction, on the corner of the Downs and Duinefontein Roads.

“UN-HABITAT data suggest that more than 60% of economic processes, employment and income lie in the illicit, grey or informal sector... informal settlements fall outside the purview of official maps, town planning processes and zoning schemes. Not only does this stifle public infrastructure development and large-scale private investment, it also forces residents to go to formal areas for retail and services. This inadvertently bolsters the rates base of already developed areas, severely limiting the potential for economic growth within the settlement”
- (Kotzen, 2015)“.

INFORMAL TRADING

Nyanga Junction shopping ‘centre’, is located above Nyanga station, and is an enclosed structure with a blank street interface. “It is characterised by two different sides, on the Gugulethu side; a vibrant and active forecourt with a street market of informal traders. On the Manenberg side, the station and the shopping mall offer a blank hostile façade due to Duinefontein Roads high speed and lack of safe pedestrian access” (VPUU, 2015, p. 118).

Despite the lack of safe pedestrian movement (in relation to criminal activities) the weekly informal street market still manages to thrive. One of the contributing factors, other than the foot traffic that passes through, is the larger Ficus trees that shade the traders and create a sense of place. This is one of the only shaded spaces along the pedestrian routes.

The Downs Road, what has been once considered the a ‘high street’ of Manenberg, under performs despite the level of proximity to the railway station. However, the informal economic growth moves along Manenberg Avenue, in different ways to the ‘logical’ structure. The traders mostly operate as tuck shops or spazas, which either trade from the side of a backyard structure; or have begun to claim a space on the pavement. Similar traders appear to cluster in the same area, vying for customers attention through close proximity competition. This is especially noticeable with the barber shops, which are clustered along the corner of Manenberg Avenue and Renoster Road (illustrated on adjacent plan in yellow).



Figure 82: Informal Trade locations and types of activities

STREET CHARACTER AND INFORMAL TRADE

"It is important to recognise that when we talk about the informal city we are not simply talking about something criminal. By and large it is not illegal. It is simply extra-legal, outside the regulatory apparatus. It is also important to distinguish informal globalisation from the older idea of informalisation as temporary, transitional, small-scale and concerned only with strategies for survival. The new informal concept is completely different, although it can sometimes look similar. It is permanent, established and large-scale. Sixty percent of the jobs in the global South are located here; they are products of informal globalisation".

- (Brillembourg & Klumpner, 2010, p. 125)

The following street characteristics, experiences and feedback was noted and observed through the Focus Groups for the dominant streets in the community. Interestingly, all three street types move in a north-south direction:

Duinefontein Road:

Movement repeatedly occurs as one of the biggest concerns - no safe way to move through Manenberg such as from the Downs to Sonderend Road. Community would rather exit Manenberg, walk around and along Duinefontein and back down Turfhall Road to ensure their safety - it is double the distance, however, do not want to risk walking through territories (even when there is gang peace/cease fire as it can flare up suddenly).

Manenberg Avenue:

This is the main taxi route for community members, which is also the avenue where the most informal trade takes place. Over the weekend braais and ad-hoc meetings take place - the street embodying the extension of the home.

Vykekraal Road:

This road was noted to be 'safer' to use when there is gang fight; but when there is war, there is almost no movement in Manenberg regardless. This road is very well utilised in its southern portion, as CRU units overlook it. However, as the road moves away from the courts and along the Greens sports fields, it becomes more quiet due to the vast spaces on either side. Incidentally, this is the same stretch of road where there is no street lighting.

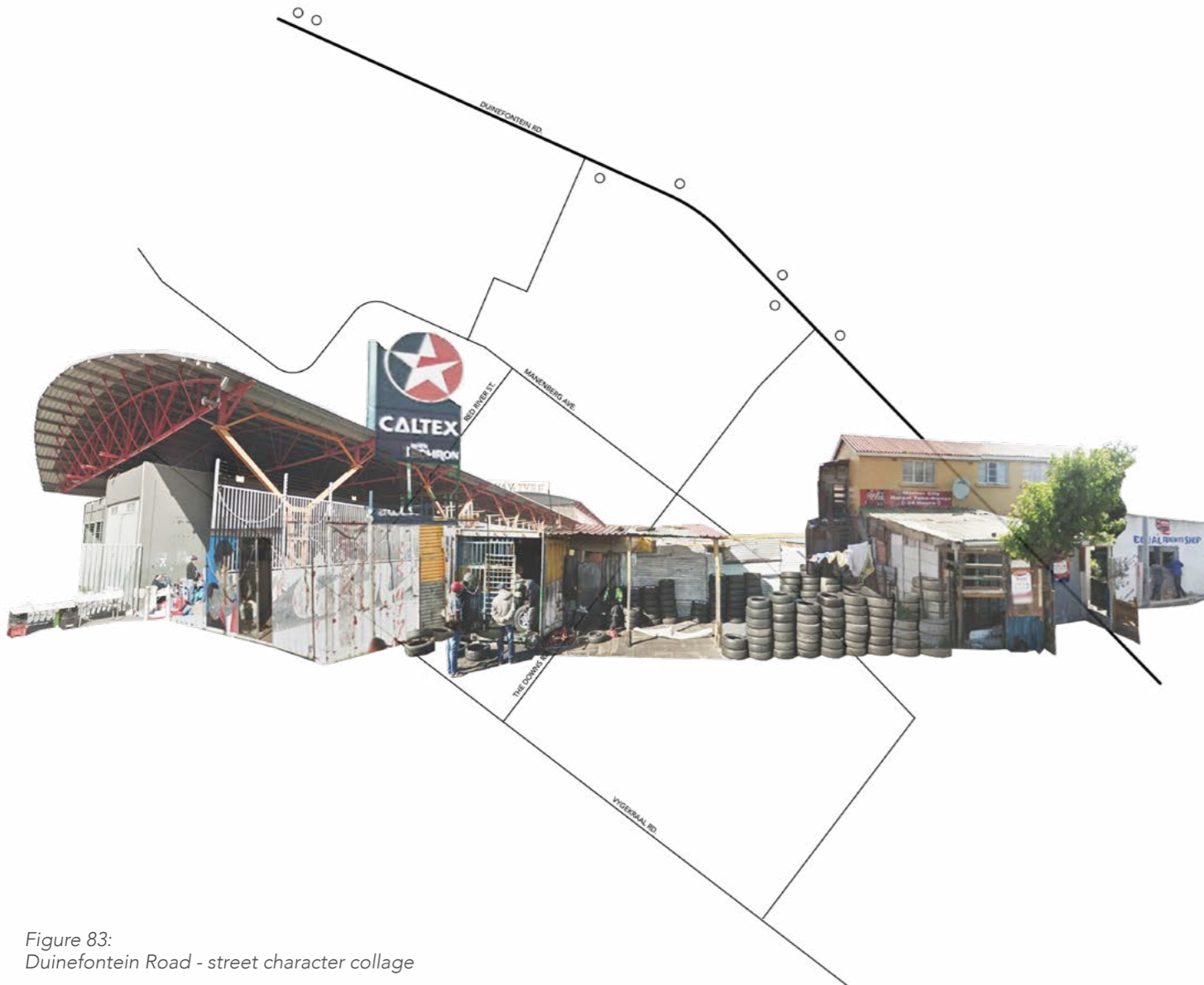


Figure 83:
Duinefontein Road - street character collage

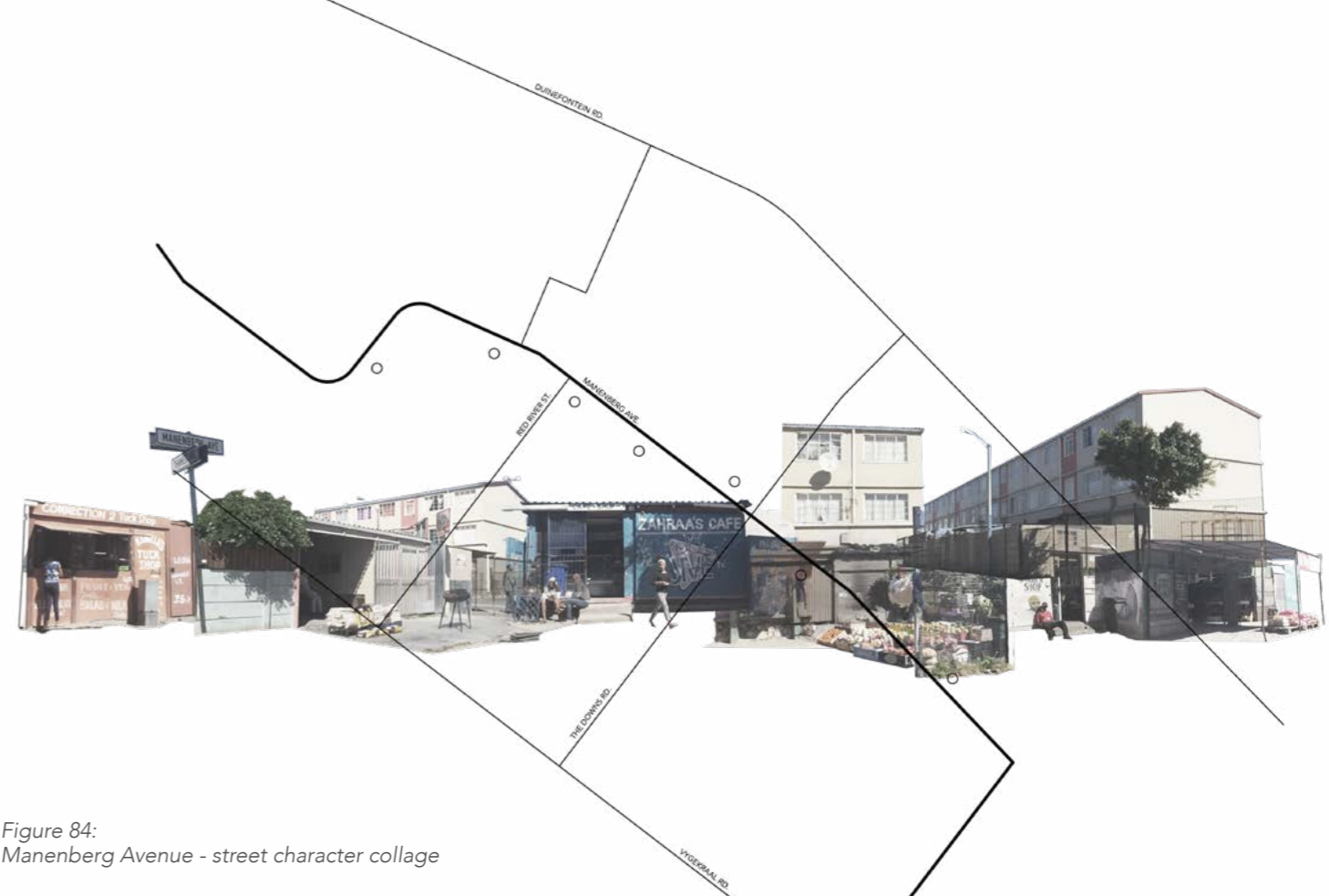


Figure 84:
Manenberg Avenue - street character collage



Figure 85:
Vykekraal Road - street character collage

An ex-member of the Stoepa Boys gang in Manenberg looked confused when I asked him if he had ever had trouble with the police; and how long it took for them to respond to an emergency:

“The local police? Naah, they’re nothing. You buy them. The police are paid not to go into particular areas in Manenberg. Especially when gangs are operating during a gang fight, they avoid areas all-together because they’ve been told to not go there. The problem is that when a kid or someone is hurt during a shooting, the police do not go in to help them - they are listening to the gangsters, not the people who actually need them when there’s trouble”.

- Waleed* ex-Stoepa Boys

GANG FORMATION

The origin of the term ‘gang’ is thought to have derived from the Germanic Norse, and “was simply ‘a journey’, possibly derived from the fact that traveling alone was dangerous. The modern dictionary definition is ‘a group of people who regularly associate for a common purpose’.”(Pinnock, 2016, p.91).

The initial ‘common purpose’ was not what we associate gangsterism with today, as the first writer to document the emergence of the Chicago gangs during the 1920’s, Frederic Thrasher defined the purpose as an “interstitial group originally formed spontaneously and then in-

tegrated through conflict ... The result of this collective behaviour is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness and attachment to a local territory... The gang was a relatively benign organisation, a by-product of urban crowding, poverty and population density” (Pinnock, 2016, p.91). This initial formation of the gang speaks to the need for community, for a collective belonging, which apartheid dismantled any development of this sense of local integration through its regime.



Figure 86: Young addicts on the neglected, open space of the Greens melting copper for their next hit.



Figure 87: SANDF operations being carried out along Manenberg Avenue. The military was stationed towards the end of July 2019.

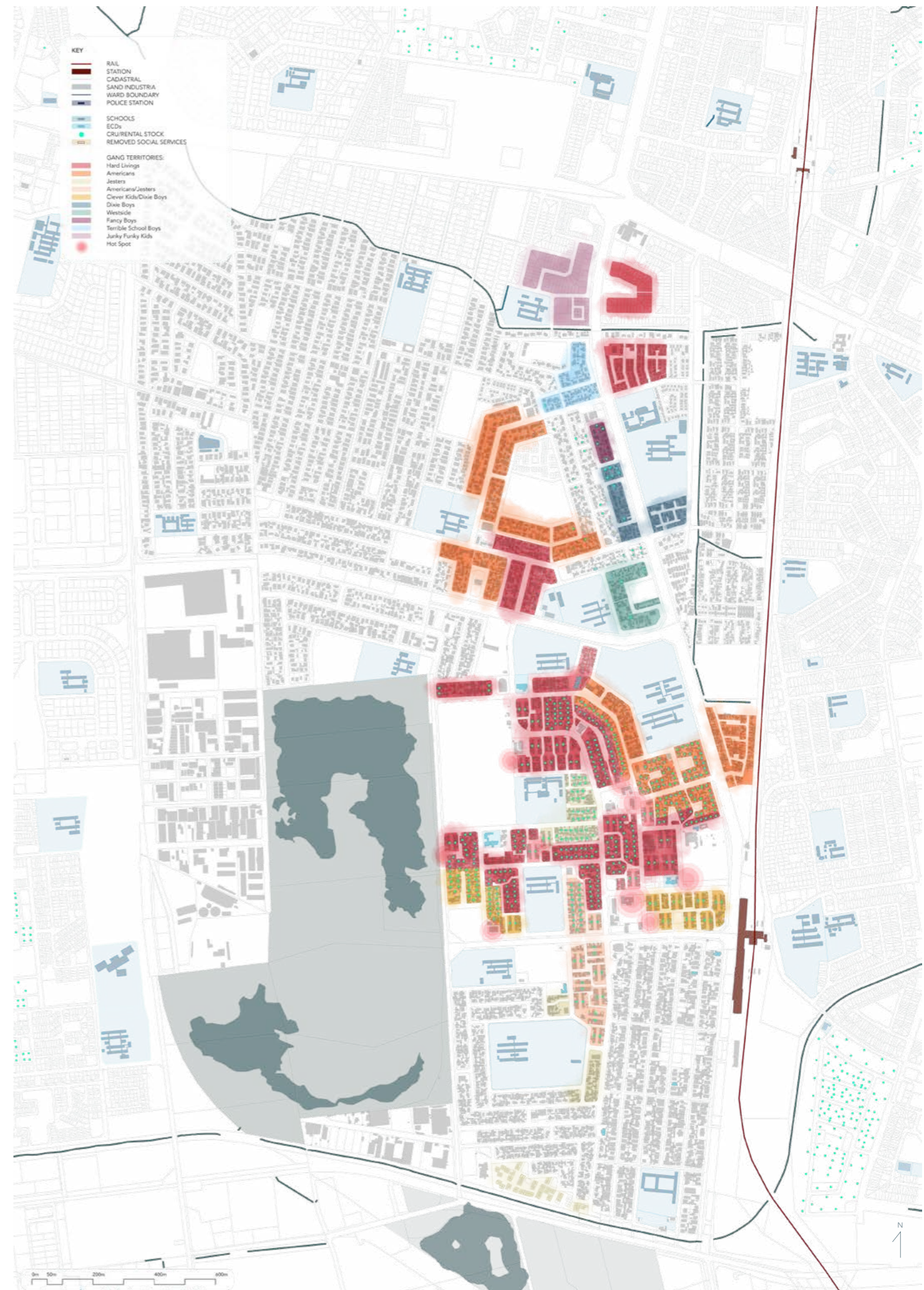


Figure 88: Existing and marked gang territories with education facilities located in between

TEMPORAL TERRITORIES

The below drawings illustrate, over time, the movement and shifts of gang territorial negotiations over a four month window (*June to September 2019*). The red indicates consistent areas of conflict, where gang territories lie adjacent to one another, and tensions are often present. The yellow, however, indicates the intensity of fighting between different gangs at different, unique times. This can be due to multiple factors - one gang is attempting to expand its territory, such as the Jesters did in September, causing gang fights to move into Sherwood Park; or as with June the JFK gang were encroaching on another's turf; or it can be as simple as an offence to another gang member's girlfriend. The unpredictable and nuanced nature of these movements mean that interventions need to be as flexible and disruptive.

"To study gangs you need to know what they are, but it's not as easy as you imagine. On the face of it there's no problem. I asked a member of the Hard Livings in Manenberg to give me his definition of a gang. 'Us', he said, slapping his hand to his chest. In Lavender Hill, I asked the same question of a mother escorting two young children to school. 'Them', she replied, pointing at a group of young men at the end of an alley... Gang identity is so strong and obvious for both insiders and outsiders that inquiring beyond 'us' and 'them' merely evokes puzzlement".

- (Pinnock, 2016, p. 90)



Figure 89:
JUNE - Mapping of gang fight and territory negotiation



Figure 91:
AUGUST - Mapping of gang fight and territory negotiation



Figure 90:
JULY - Mapping of gang fight and territory negotiation

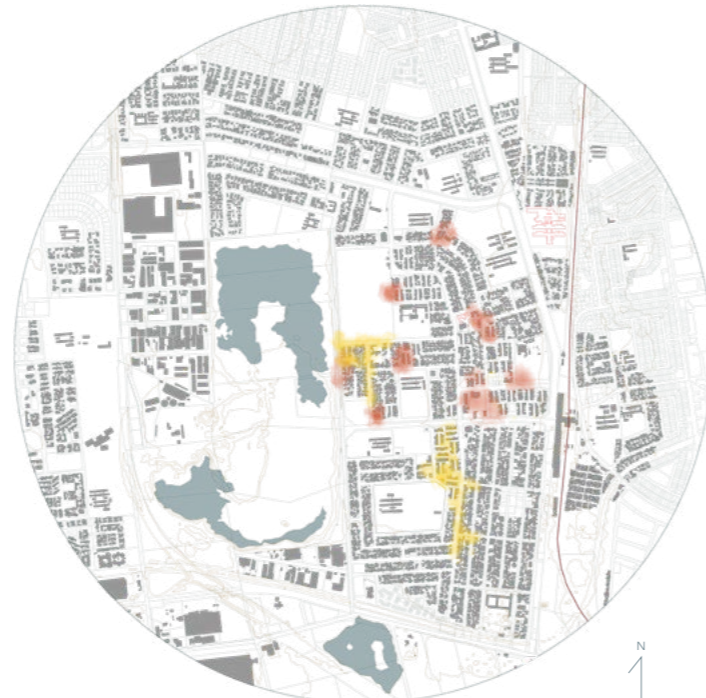


Figure 92:
SEPTEMBER - Mapping of gang fight and territory negotiation



Figure 93: Mapping of Crime hot spots (theft, drug use, violence) and Dumping

DREAMING

The dreaming stage of participatory co-design begins to articulate important values for the principle of 'power', and the types of moves and opportunities that would articulate aspirations and amplify them at the neighbourhood scale.

Key questions

- What changes or moves would you make to shift the prevailing power?
- What do you value? And what would you need to change or improve to make your values a reality?
- What infrastructure or services should be developed or created?
- What would be some challenges in intervening future alternatives?

Activities

The activities in the dreaming stage focused on which locations and spaces within the neighbourhood scale were important to develop and incrementally shift the current ownership.

Participants wrote down key words and values that are important to them and the community as a whole. These values were then discussed and reviewed with the group to begin to identify collective dreaming and to guide the future stage of designing the vision. Group members then wrote down the question that they wanted answered, the value that should be addressed. This followed the same iterative process as before, of reviewing as a collective. Finally, participants began to draw and to locate their 'one big move' or intervention which would achieve the vision. Participant members began to evaluate the impact and placement of interventions.

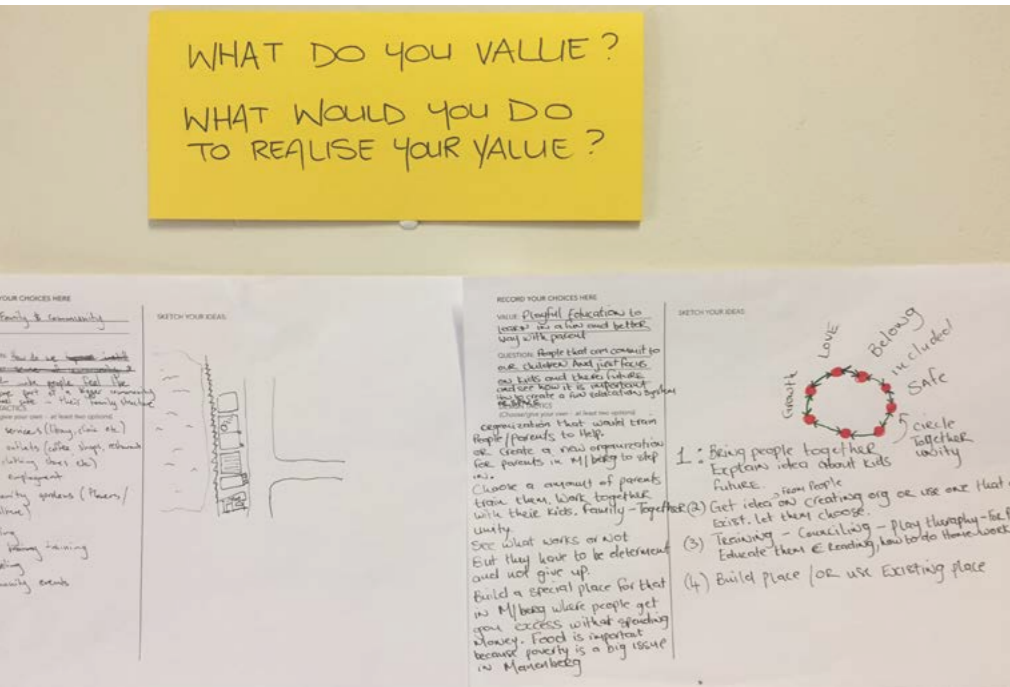


Figure 94: This activity of the Focus Group 2 assessed the values that members want to see strengthened within the community. Participants first wrote down their value or aspiration, then, keeping this in mind they formulated a question that they wanted answered - spatial or social. The final activity was to begin to draw it, or evaluate how this value could be realized through design tactics, partnerships or social programmes. (author's own).



Figure 95: The participants created a space in the activity to evaluate one another's suggestions for incremental interventions. Here, Abe discusses with another member the value of his transport proposal in providing a more accessible community, where connection to opportunities will be supported by the creation of this link. (author's own).

Outcomes

Key areas emerged from the focus group relating to shifting the power of the gang and security (lack) structures; which involved the proposals of multiple safety 'outposts' for law enforcement to be located within the community, rather than their current location on the periphery of Manenberg. The idea and safety dreaming developed from the observations and patterns of gangsters, who have dedicated members who operate as look outs on specific corners within the neighbourhood. This proposed system will begin to address the safety and violence concern identified in the diagnosis stage.

The outcomes of the dreaming stage found that patterns of occupation are often strategies for survival. That these strategies in negotiated spaces are the very nature of everyday territories in what Perlman terms "precarious neighbourhoods" (2016, p. 40). "Its improvisation and flexibility make it a key aspect of, not an exception to, the globalised economy." (Brillembourg & Klumpner, 2010, p. 123), it therefore follows that the interventions that are to be proposed, should be just as adaptable and incremental, as are the communities from which they are birthed.

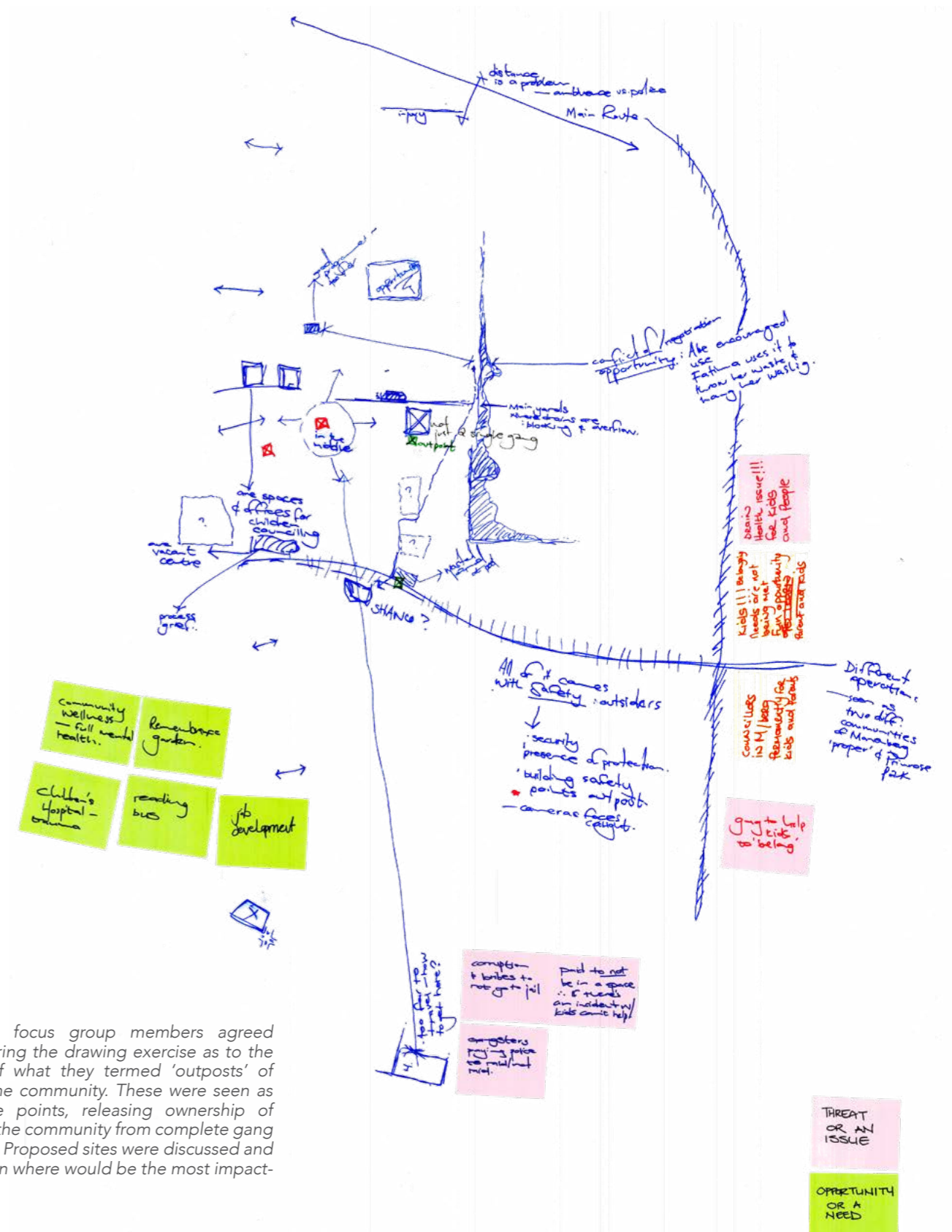


Figure 96: The Power focus group members agreed strongly during the drawing exercise as to the necessity of what they termed 'outposts' of safety for the community. These were seen as acupuncture points, releasing ownership of portions of the community from complete gang occupation. Proposed sites were discussed and evaluated on where would be the most impactful points.

DESIGNING

This final stage in the co-design process focuses on the designing, work-shopping and testing of potential interventions and acupuncture points that will improve and intervene in the quality of place and ownership; responding to participants designs and addressing the concerns revealed in the earlier stages.

Key questions

- What potential scenarios for the remaking of the neighbourhood emerged from the previous dreaming stage?
- How are these solutions prioritised?
- What activity would enable potential partners to facilitate the proposed changes? Who needs to be involved?

Activities

The intent of the activity is to consolidate the aspirations and values that were developed in the dreaming stage. The scenario options were compiled by the urban design student and the participants reviewed and assessed the notes, drawings and information collected during the previous focus groups. A key theme was identified in the dreaming activity, with the focus group evaluating designing it further in strategic locations with a few alternatives.

The activities pursued in the design stage involved sketching over proposal sites for safety interventions, reworking previous proposals and establishing a hierarchy of the spaces, based on community knowledge and experience. Members debated as to the reasons why or why not, weighed up benefits and arrived at negotiated conclusions. The repeated questioning that the participants used to evaluate the proposals relating to power, was: who is it for? Why is this intervention important?

And, where should the option sit for the most impact?

Outcomes

The outcomes of the designing stage consolidated the alternatives, which were ranked according to the incremental value for change the preferred alternative would provide. The activities provided a platform for the group to assess the concerns and threats involved in the interventions.

The iterative nature of the focus group allowed members to understand, through continuous unpacking, the variation of layers that contribute to 'power'. Most notably, ownership and access. Once these notions were placed (ie that gangs were an element of the problem - a symptom rather than the cause), it enabled the larger elements that trigger change to be explored.

REFLECTIONS

In pursuing the iterative process with the 'Power' principle, several aspirations and interventions were prioritised:

- Police outposts with multiple safety points
- Emergency services and trauma unit
- Representation of various stakeholders and partners
- Improve and maintain basic service provision - drains
- Substance abuse programmes

"Shared ownership of the development agenda is seen as key to its sustainability... {P}ublic, private and civic roles are being reconceptualised and reshaped in both economics and social policy: the best route to problem solving lies in partnership" (Hamdi, 2004, p. xx).



Figure 97: Focus group participant, Cynthi, invited her children to participate in the designing focus group session; she wanted to establish the best intervention points from a child-taking into account their vulnerable position and limited mobility opportunities.

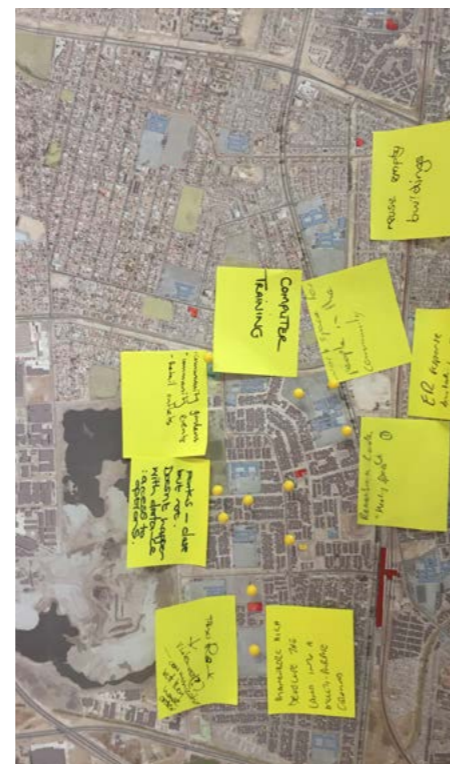


Figure 98: During the design stage, interventions were placed on a map with activities and programmes that would activate the space

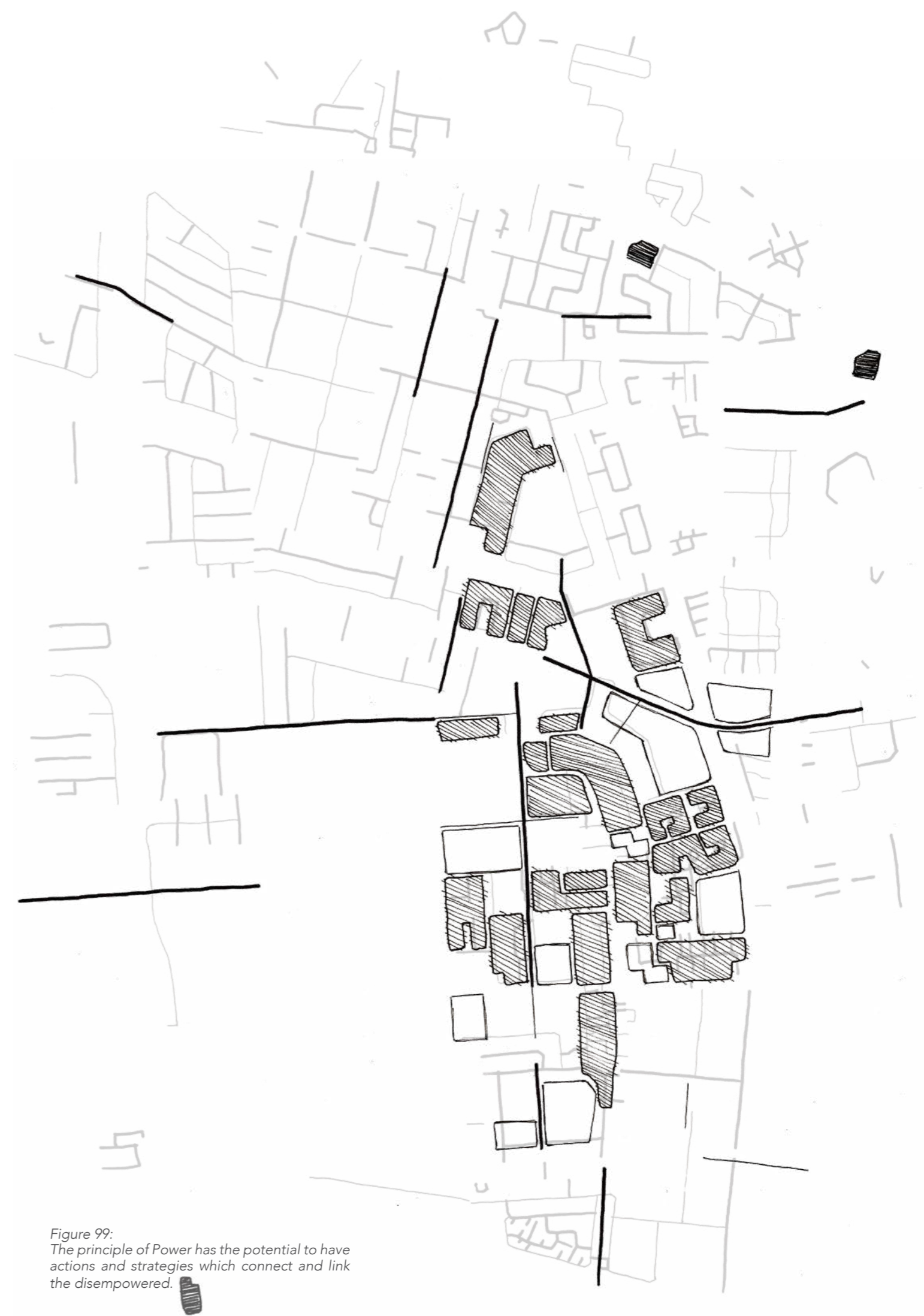


Figure 99: The principle of Power has the potential to have actions and strategies which connect and link the disempowered.

PRECEDENT

Project: Biblioteca Espana
Date: 2004-2007
Location: Medellin, Colombia

The interventions in Medellin were “conceived as an urban strategy that combined simultaneously physical transformations, social/institutional programs and participatory processes. “ In simple terms, its objective was that whenever there was an urban intervention, in parallel to the physical transformation, there were new social/institutional programs and activities that complemented the physical change (Echeverri, 2006)” (Calderon, 2012, p. 5)

The main components of the strategy included: physical elements based on public spaces and facilities; a social component, based on the participation of community members throughout the different stages of the projects; and an institutional component that coordinated

the implementation of existing and new social programming in order to allow for collaboration among different stakeholders. “It was based on a new urban development strategy of the local administration called “Social Urbanism” which intended to integrate new public spaces and public facilities together with social programs of the municipality and the active involvement of local communities”. (Calderon, 2012, p. 2)

Landmark buildings are a central focus of the interventions, ensuring all citizens have access to iconic architecture - additionally, innovative spaces attract people and thereby entering into daily life through community activities.



Figure 100:

The public space upgrades in Medellin “built approximately 200 000m² of public space as well as 16 000m² of public facilities such as a metropolitan library, an institution for education on entrepreneurship, day-care centres, sports fields, and schools. In terms of public participation, the PUI organised around 400 activities (public hearings, meetings with Community Committees and workshops). In addition there have been around 80 activation events” (Calderon, 20112, p. 8). This level of engagement is unprecedented in the local government sphere in the Cape, whereby the participation process is seen as a ‘must do’ check-box item rather than integral to a project’s process and success.



Figure 101:

As Calderon notes about the upgrading and physical improvements, “Above all, the case confirms that it is essential that urban upgrading projects are supported by a strong political will that is committed to address in a significant way the complex problems present in deprived neighbourhoods. Not doing so can create an accumulation of social problem” (Calderon, 2012, p. 8).

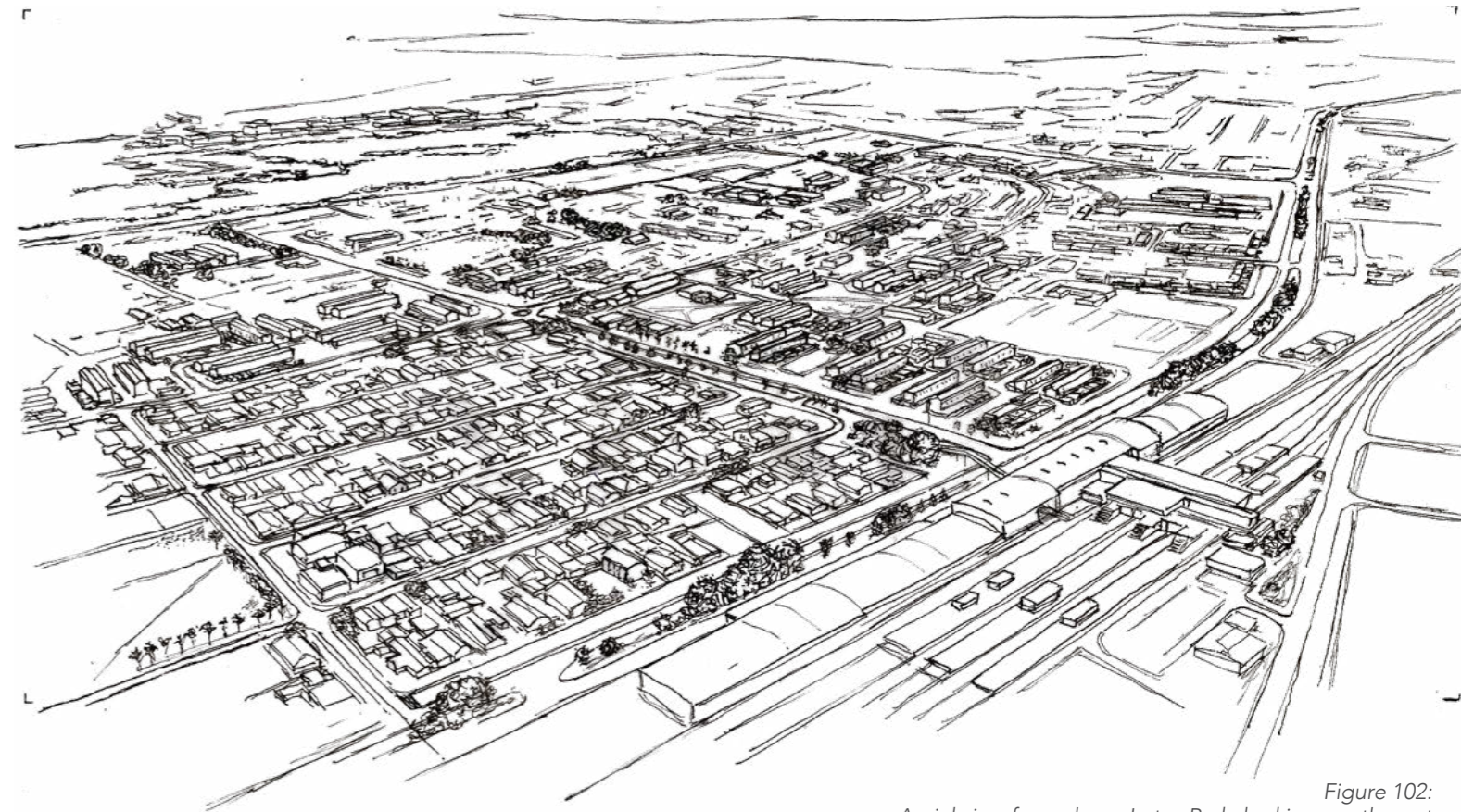


Figure 102:
Aerial view from above Lotus Park, looking north-west over Nyanga Junction Station.

0.2 INTERVIEW NOTES FROM PROFESSIONALS IN PARTICIPATORY PRACTICE

Barry Lewis, Director UBUHLE BAKHA UBUHLE (UBU), Sweet Home Farm, Philippi

Need to assess the scale of which we engage within space for it to have a larger surface area of impact. It needs to begin small, a vision or an idea that emerges from within a community. Often what we see in practice, rather, is that the local government presents the idea. However, there are two key problematic components to this: power and assumption. The person with power tends to determine the vision and the direction of the proposal; while simultaneously basing the strategy on assumptions and criteria produced without consultation or verification. The resultant intervention often produces a response of ‘You never asked us’. One of the key questions of practice should rather be: how do you enter an engagement?

The problem of power from a local government perspective is the pace at which one needs to do something. Time needs to be built into a project time line – reintroduced into the new projects that are conceived now, time for co-design and time for collaboration. Professionals need to review the traditional programme life cycle of a project, there needs to be a depth of the process. Often the social analysis in projects end with a conclusion – rather, it should be a people talking thing, continuous and ongoing throughout. The level of hopelessness in vulnerable communities that is trying to be addressed is at a human social level, therefore ask: who is the vision key holder?

Be flexible. The goal posts will always move within this iterative space. The professional opinion and locating resources are only 50% of the answer to the problem. However, the remainder of the answer and solution lies subterranean – we need to be willing to mine for it. Designers came in with an idea or plan: know that it will be flawed. The notion of the plan needs to develop, rather it needs to be an instigator for conversation – send it in as the sacrificial lamb. Be comfortable with the grey space of not being resolved and not having the solution. Iterative process needs to be continuous through the project. Find champions within the community and back them. This is how you introduce great policy that hits home on the ground.

Designers transpose the idea from within a community, they do not conceive it: “Here’s what we are hearing...”

INTRODUCTION

The local, small scale places, the street is where the daily happenings unfold. These nuanced and context-specific locales illustrate how a community, a neighbourhood, a road or a household uses and makes place; seeing the values often is set aside for the 'big-wins' being concerned with upscaling rather than small changes. Often the "accounts of the city are preoccupied with larger issues of social justice and social cohesion, equity and efficiency. Their aim is to redress the effects of inequality and past injustices through a better distribution of public goods and the reversal of the system of spatial, economic, and social segregation inherited from apartheid. They end up mapping an urban social geography of needs, the crucial indexes of which are levels of deprivation. In the process, they underplay many other aspects of city life and city forms" (Mbembe & Nuttall, 2004, p. 358).

FRAMING THE QUESTION

'Place' explores the 'where' of the various interventions; and begins to focus on the smaller scale, that of the street, negotiated areas and building interfaces. This scale focuses on the conditions and day-to-day life of improvisation, as well as the more ephemeral qualities of seemingly small networks, daily choices and provision.

In order to frame the purpose of the design exploration, participants in the focus groups collectively tested and discussed what the home and street space means to them. These values were reviewed, iteratively, throughout the process, informing the intervention decisions based on experiences.

"It follows, therefore, that in order to do something big - to think globally and act globally - one starts with something small and one starts where it counts... Practice disturbs"

- (Hamdi, 2004, p. xix)



Figure 103:
Street view along Renoster Walk. The only space for play for children is in the lane, negotiating the oncoming vehicles, and the parked. What available space there was adjacent to the two storey CRU units has now been claimed by backyard-dwellers or 'hokies' for either tenants or extended family members. The concrete lane does not have the dignity of a sidewalk for safe passage - in its stead, dirt with no proper storm water drainage, where the backyard-dwellings tend to flood during the winter rainfall.

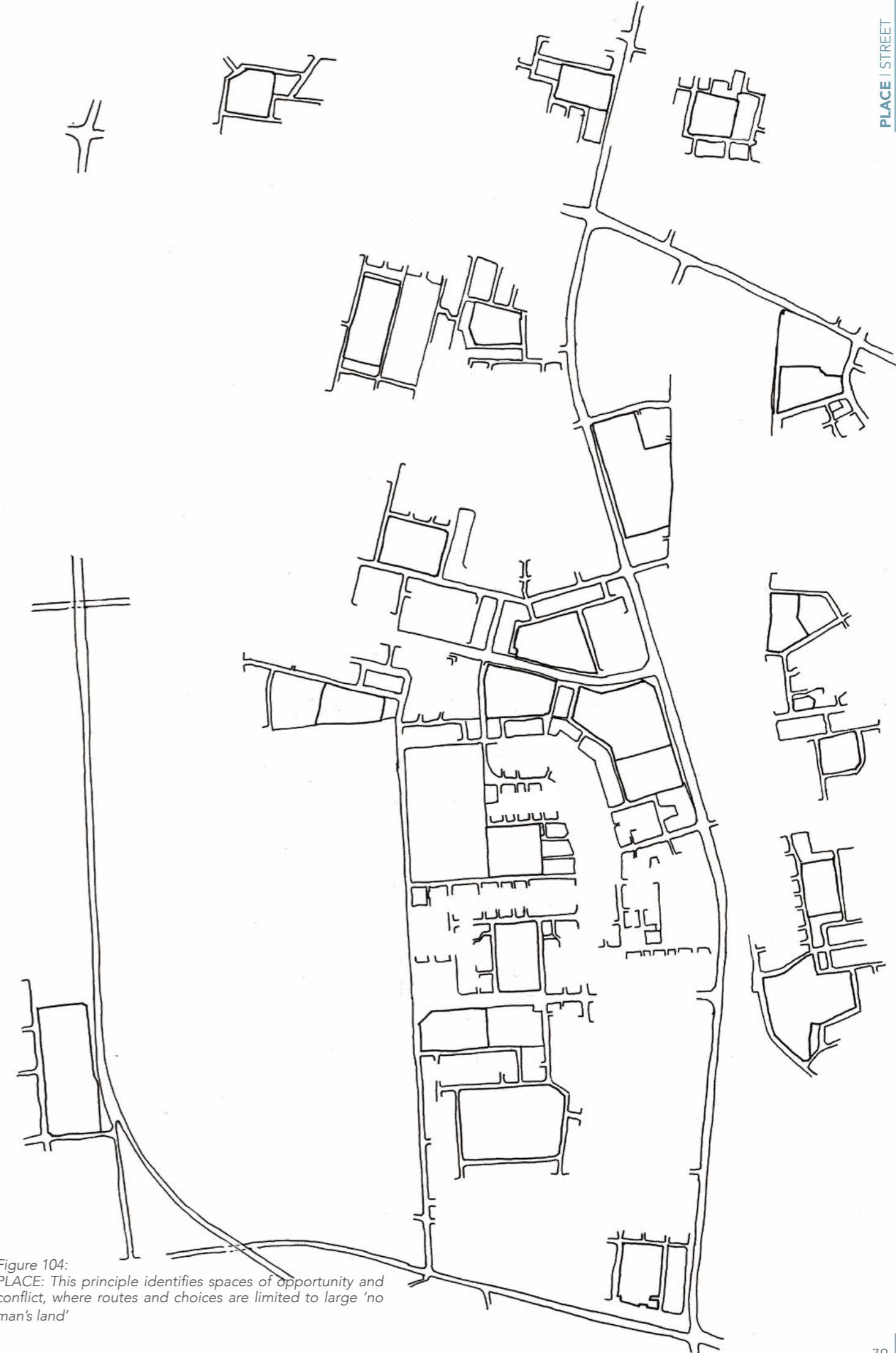


Figure 104:
PLACE: This principle identifies spaces of opportunity and conflict, where routes and choices are limited to large 'no man's land'

DIAGNOSIS

Diagnosis of place was primarily concerned with the understanding of the street scale and exploring the alternatives that families (primarily) have to navigate on a daily basis, in order to identify key opportunities and threats faced by residents. This stage unpacks the spatial variety and imagination of the diversity of experience of street life and home.

Key questions

- What are the major problems faced by the community in relation to feeling a sense of place?
- Where do you feel most safe?
- What streets are most comfortable to walk/spend time in?
- What choices are available to residents?
- Where do you go, over a weekend/week day?

Activities

In order to understand place, participants were asked to locate and identify their home on a map. The intention is to assist participants in understanding and orientating themselves spatially within Manenberg.

Focus group participants began mapping out and discussing points of interest, problematic areas and routes which are the safest to navigate. This activity prompted the discussion between members analysing the causes of peace versus anxiety and locating them.

Finally, during this focus group, the participants had to use colour-coded post-it notes to identify areas of opportunity, existing special places and potential threats. This exercise allowed for a lively debate as to what makes space a place. The capturing of the layers assisted in providing insight into the spatial structure of Manenberg as place; with participant members identifying a lack of choice within the community.

Outcomes

A summary of the outcomes of the diagnosis stage are captured on the following page in a table (*full Focus Group summary transcript attached as an annex at the end of this report*). One of the key outcomes was the identification of the different understandings of distances. The scale at which participants viewed the space in which they occupy was far more close knit than the 'empirical' scale at which opportunities (be it amenities/social services etc.) are located in relation to a community.

"Despite progressive policies... the state's normative conception of how a city ought to function and be governed has largely resulted in a failure to see how its poorest citizenry carve out their lives as a makeshift urbanism of need. By better recognising... [the] actors who shape urban economies, politics and social life, new ways of theorising and practicing planning and governance would be opened up beyond the binaries of the formal and informal city" (Kotzen, 2015).

Distance became a concern in terms of available opportunities, as traveling across spaces poses challenges regarding safety, lack of variety, and levels of poverty that will not easily allow exploration of alternative amenities or entertainment.

Diversification of choice was a key prioritisation for the participants, with this being a challenge (especially for parents) to ensure that their children have somewhere to go to entertain themselves. Despite this, however, it was observed that community members (not necessarily only gangsters) begin to occupy liminal spaces in alternative ways. Through negotiation with schools and other partners, residents claim pieces of neglected school property to grow vineyards, create braai areas or to house livestock.

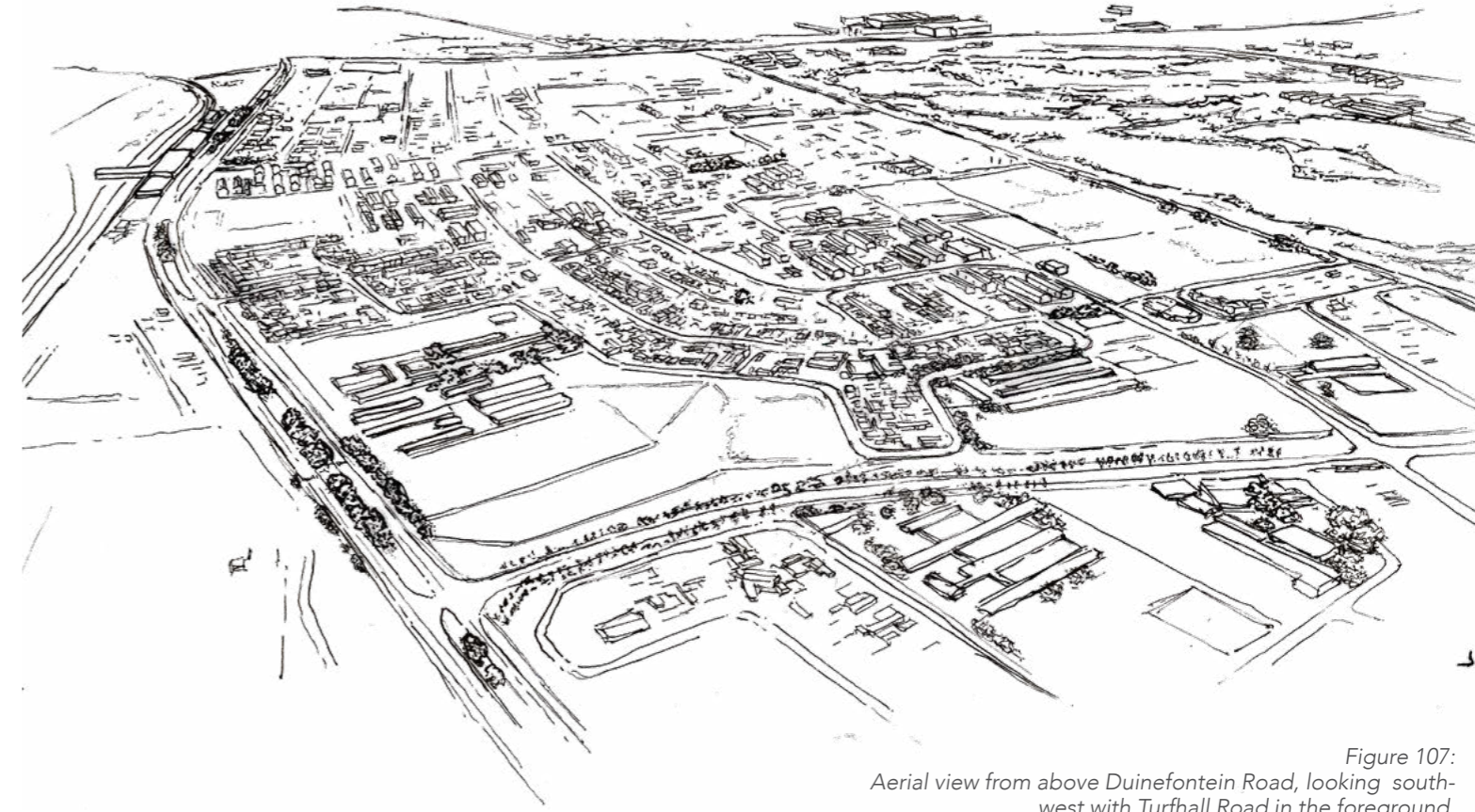


Figure 107: Aerial view from above Duinefontein Road, looking south-west with Turfhall Road in the foreground.

Fatima*, backyard-dweller from Peta Court, Manenberg

"I will not let my kids walk more than 100 meters from the house, you can't see what is happening around the corners during a gang fight. What we need is more small parks, close to people's homes, so that when problems happen it is easier to make it back to safety. Too many things can happen in big, open spaces. Everyone I know walks in Manenberg, we need spaces we can walk to."

4.3 OUTCOMES SUMMARY PLACE | STREET

CHOICE	Disturbance/distribution/provision
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of public open space - Distance between opportunities/amenities is too great for majority of impoverished community members - Overcrowded housing conditions - backyard dwellings - Schools need to be rethought - there is a high dropout rate but where do they go? How do you give them an opportunity/hope?
COMMUNITY	Inclusion/engagement
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are no shops, mainly only tuck shops in people's backyards/stoep - every other house in community has a tuck shop - Counseling services are not easily available - travel even further during gang fight
SAFETY	Personal/welfare/vandalism
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ineffective use of the existing public open space - concern from parents regarding distance of location. Proximity is a priority - Multiple layers of fencing - Increase in violence and gangs are recruiting younger boys (11/12 years old) with promises of protection and belonging



Figure 105 & 106: Diagnosis stage, capturing information on the small, intricate occupied streets. (author's own)



Figure 108:
Unoccupied land becomes spaces for a variety of animals.



Figure 109:
Mohammad cutting his lawn area on neglected Manenberg High School land, with agreement from the school.

"typically [design] retrofits already existing situations to better accommodate everyday life... It is an accretional approach, where small changes accumulate to transform situations"

- (Mehrotra, 2004, p. 19)

COMMUNITY GARDENS

The community gardens, stables and micro-husbandry found in Manenberg occur in places of neglect, availability or through negotiation. The most thriving places successfully occur where there has been a partnership formed between the gardener and the property owner, most often these partnerships are schools..

Mohammad, seen in figure 109 cutting his lawn on a public holiday, has occupied a piece of land adjacent to his home. He and his family live on Tiber Street, opposite Manenberg High School, with no backyard or garden. Mohammad approached the school, which had been fenced off from the large, vast land that they could not maintain and asked for a portion of the property (no larger 25 m²) to occupy and keep neat for them. This informal agreement ensures that a portion of the school boundary is kept safe, while Mohammad is able to negotiate space for himself and family for braai's, outdoor activities in summer, and a bench to sit in. The space has been made completely his own, with garden ornaments and lighting. This seemingly small action of claiming and beautifying place, had mobilised and encouraged his neighbours to do the same. Currently there are five gardens in a little row, creating an edge interface for a portion of the school property, slowly reclaiming the humanising scale of place-making. The power of asking a question, and of partnership can change a street, one garden at a time.

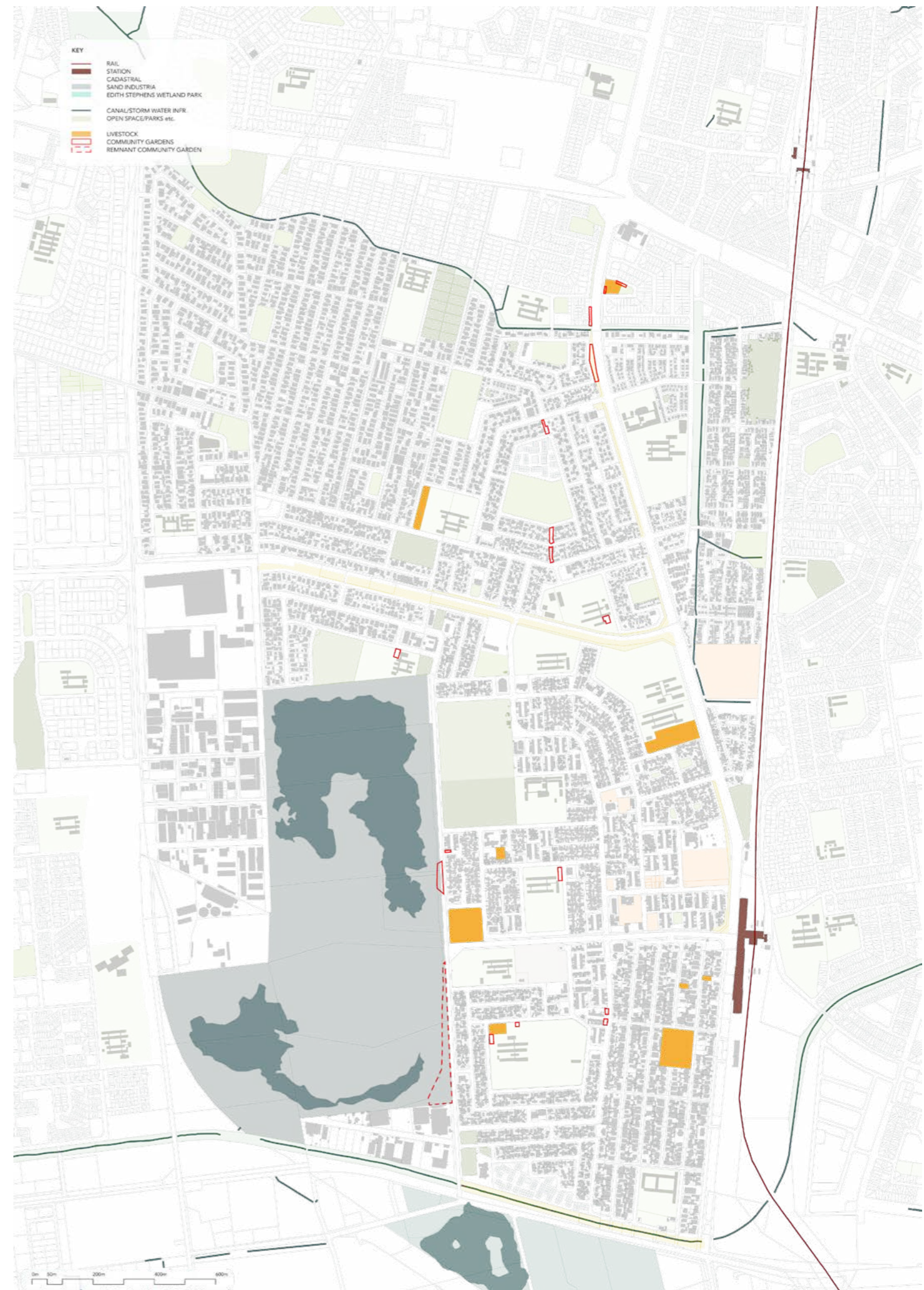


Figure 110: Community gardens and livestock stables

In discussion during the 'Dreaming' Focus Group:

"If we do interventions in particular areas it means that gangs will need to expose themselves to shoot. Too risky - the police have quite a big presence along die Laan [Manenberg Avenue]. Look at how dense the courts are - once you're in a yard here, you can see how the shacks are connected. If I'm on a roof - the police can't catch me, because there are so many roads I can choose to go down. The police will try to run after me, but I can just give the gun to a friend and they can't do anything if they catch me/chase me. But you can't run along die Laan [Manenberg Avenue] without the people seeing or catching you".

- Tofiq*, ex-addict and gangster

HOUSING TYPOLOGIES

"The form of development revealed reflects a purist, or programmed approach, resulting in a diagrammatically neat pattern. Its performance, however, to adequately accommodate the everyday activities of life, is inadequate. There is no interdependent and reinforcing relationship between the public street spaces and the dwelling units. Each has been conceived as a separate entity: the street is made to accommodate the car and the dwelling unit is made for the family. The result is that neither operates well" (Dewar, Uitenbogaardt et al., 1976, p. 154).

The majority of the housing in Manenberg was built, as seen earlier, during the forced removals of the 1960's and early 70's. Today, the condition of the public housing types, the two and three storey flats, is exceedingly poor in condition; and with an inherited static, uniform housing layout.

Due to the scale of the CRU, the majority of residents have extended their units out of necessity. These additional informal structures are typically either used for a family expansion or as a source of income from a backyard dweller. These informal dwellings deaden the interface with the street, creating an impermeable barrier with little, to no surveillance into the adjacent spaces.

This is further exacerbated by the interface of the two and three storey flats themselves, with no definition between public and private space. The in between spaces of the CRU blocks is unsafe and undefined, with informal extensions and backyarders creating narrow passages which aggravates levels of crime and theft. Conversely, where there is large, neglected spaces between the units, it often becomes the places for shooting during gang fights.



Figure 111: Ill defined and sprawling public spaces are vast, where dumping and shooting occur at random.



Figure 112: Petra Walk, the courts in this corner of Manenberg are lined with backyarders, where the remainder of space is for children to play.

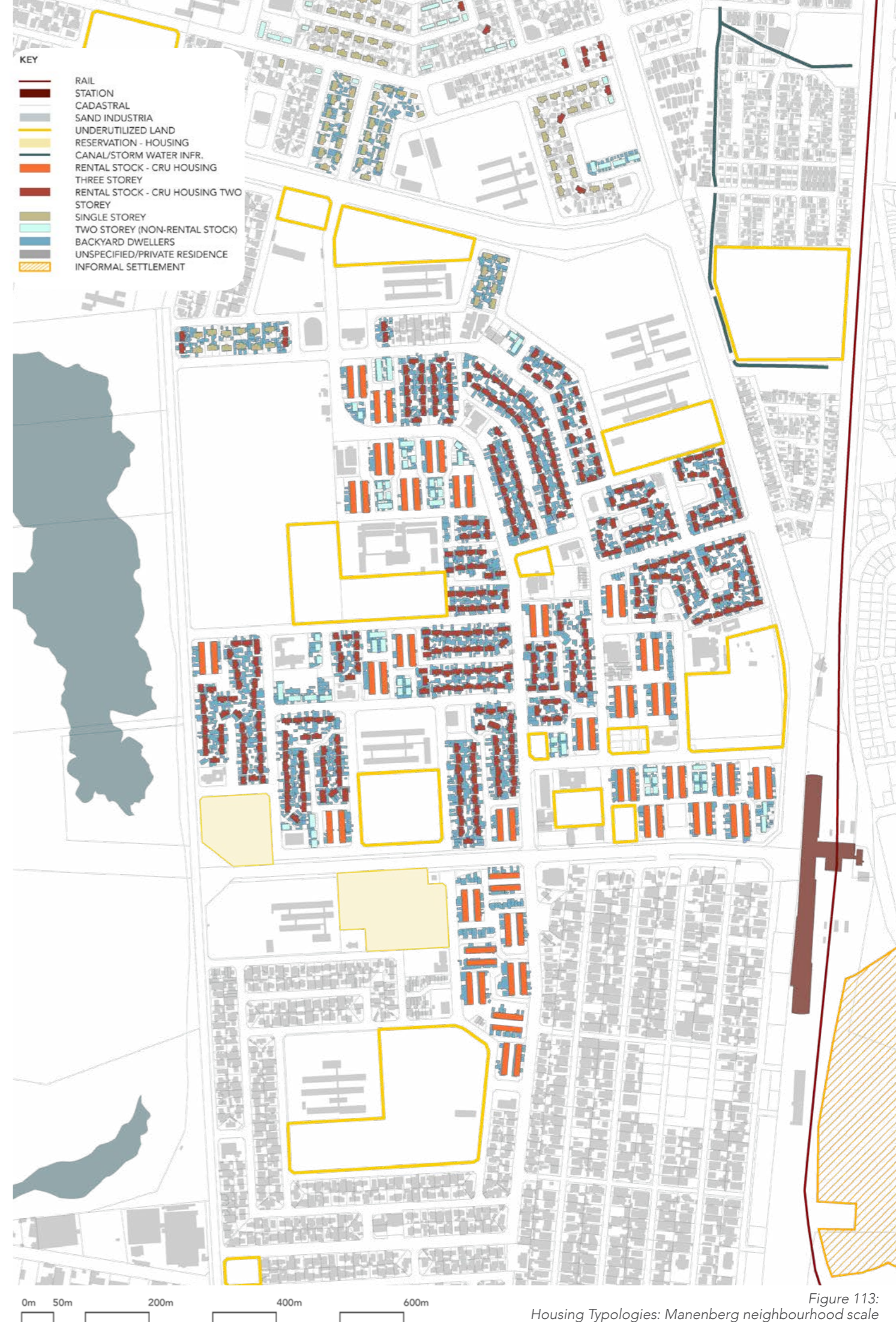


Figure 113:

DREAMING

"Intensifying what was already there produces a new type of urbanism that enhances daily experience, building in a kind of ordinary magic... It is radically empirical and highly specific rather than normative. It begins with what already exists then encourages and intensifies it" (Mehrotra, 2004, p.32).

The dreaming stage of participatory design begins to articulate important values for the principle of 'place', and the types of moves and opportunities that would use existing structures and amplify them.

Key questions

- What value is the most important to you/your family?
- What change/s would you make to your space to strengthen that value?
- How and why would you change, keep or expand on the diagnosis stage of the previous focus group?
- What do you think is missing in the public spaces of Manenberg?
- Where is 'place' located, and why does that hold value to you?

Activities

The activities that occurred at the dreaming stage aim create opportunities for participants to dream and vision what future place and street life could become, and begin to capture the aspirations for Manenberg.

The initial activity asked participants to write down and consider the value which they want to see realised or strengthened in their community. These values could be spatial, relational, infrastructural, educational, social justice etc.

Once the group members completed this, the exercise continues, asking members about the 'question' that they would want answered in relation to, and reflecting on, their value. The intention is to reflect on the iterative process of design, that as the values emerge participants test it with what they want answered in their place-making, and refine the questions as they share with the group. The sharing of values and information, in turn, allows for processing of dreams or visions for the spaces.

The final activity was to demonstrate, draw or mind map the design tactics which participants would use to achieve this and where it would or could be located in the community.

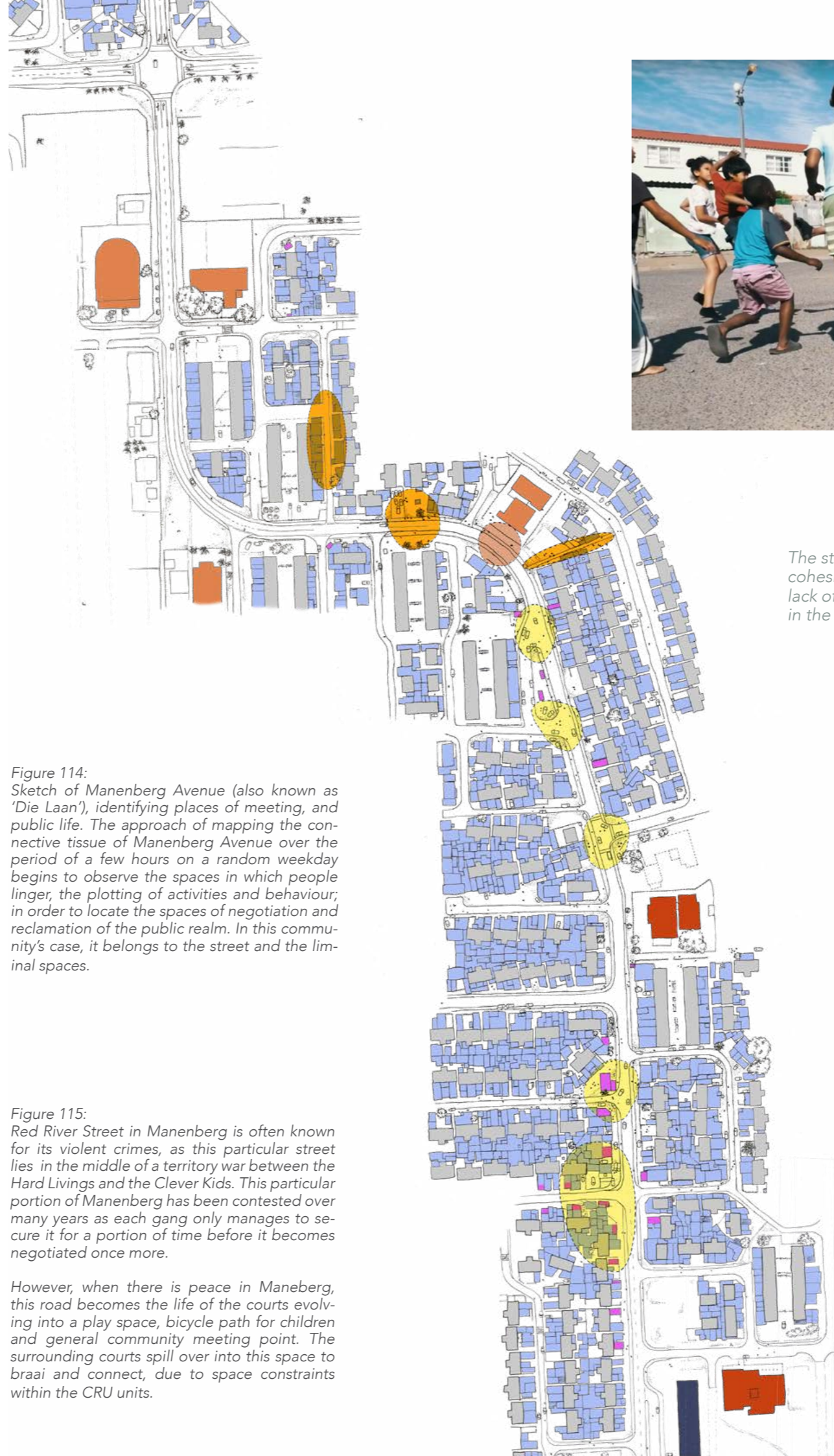


Figure 114: Sketch of Manenberg Avenue (also known as 'Die Laan'), identifying places of meeting, and public life. The approach of mapping the connective tissue of Manenberg Avenue over the period of a few hours on a random weekday begins to observe the spaces in which people linger, the plotting of activities and behaviour; in order to locate the spaces of negotiation and reclamation of the public realm. In this community's case, it belongs to the street and the liminal spaces.

Figure 115: Red River Street in Manenberg is often known for its violent crimes, as this particular street lies in the middle of a territory war between the Hard Livings and the Clever Kids. This particular portion of Manenberg has been contested over many years as each gang only manages to secure it for a portion of time before it becomes negotiated once more.

However, when there is peace in Manenberg, this road becomes the life of the courts evolving into a play space, bicycle path for children and general community meeting point. The surrounding courts spill over into this space to braai and connect, due to space constraints within the CRU units.



Figure 116: Red River Street in Manenberg is often known for its violent crimes, as this particular street (author's own).

The street "is a space of interaction that can also foster community and cohesion in an environment characterized by under-resourcing and a lack of formal public space... They are points where public life flourishes in the complex settlement dynamics"

(Kotzen, 2015).

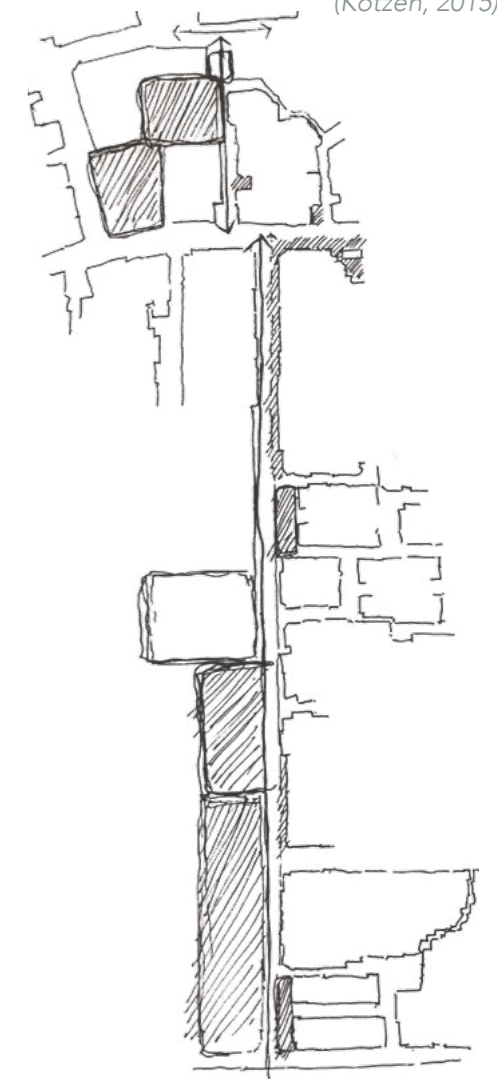


Figure 117: The intent is to find creative, process driven solutions for negotiated spaces.



Outcomes

The outcome of participant dreaming provided processes whereby the articulation and establishment of values began to crystallise group clarity on their collective aspirations for public life and place. Key points for development in the later stage were;

- The identification and prioritisation of shared welfare for the future of the street scape.
- There are no back gardens, as the density and backyard-dwellings take up this space; therefore the street needs to be designed in such a way to facilitate this better - as life already happens there.
- Proposed visions and areas of intervention; which additionally posed potential areas of conflict, negotiation and awareness. See excerpt of an exchange from the focus group below:

Tima: "Space for social workers: I wouldn't say build a new space, because there are a lot of empty spaces in Manenberg, there is space around People's Centre but maybe do it up, as it's a depressing space. And Silvertree Centre - there are lots of spaces and offices. Maybe merge these spaces to have a 'kwaai' [lovely] space for children to learn. A space for parents and children. Training them, bringing people in, and play therapy. Parents teaching parents."

Abe: "Why don't you use the building there by Shawco, as it's not being used?"

Tima: "It's a distance of [off]. It's a distance from our house. Baai mense is financially challenged - R5.00 for a taxi is too far and too much money. People are poor where we stay [in backyards]"

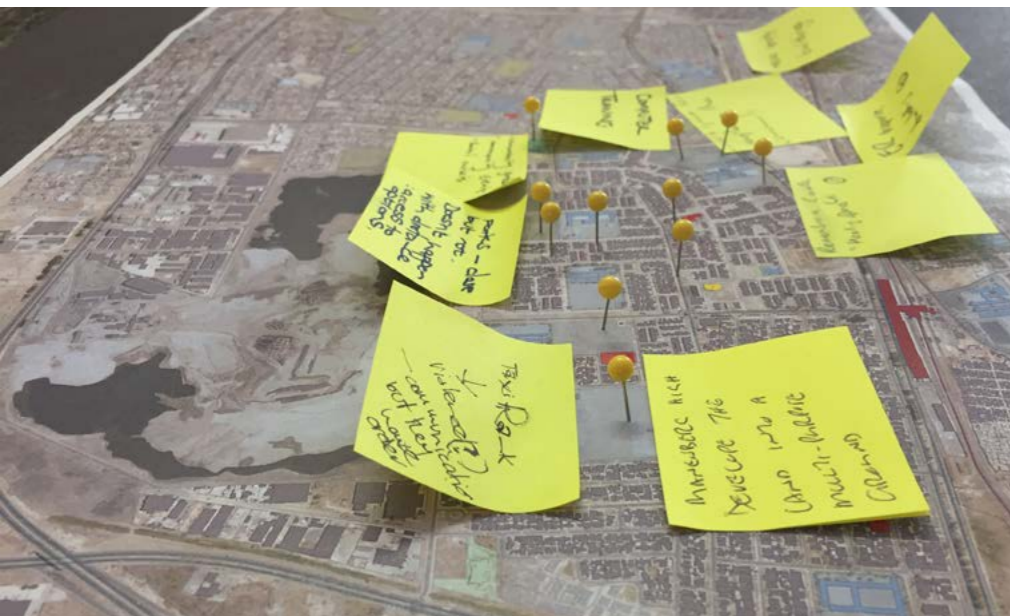
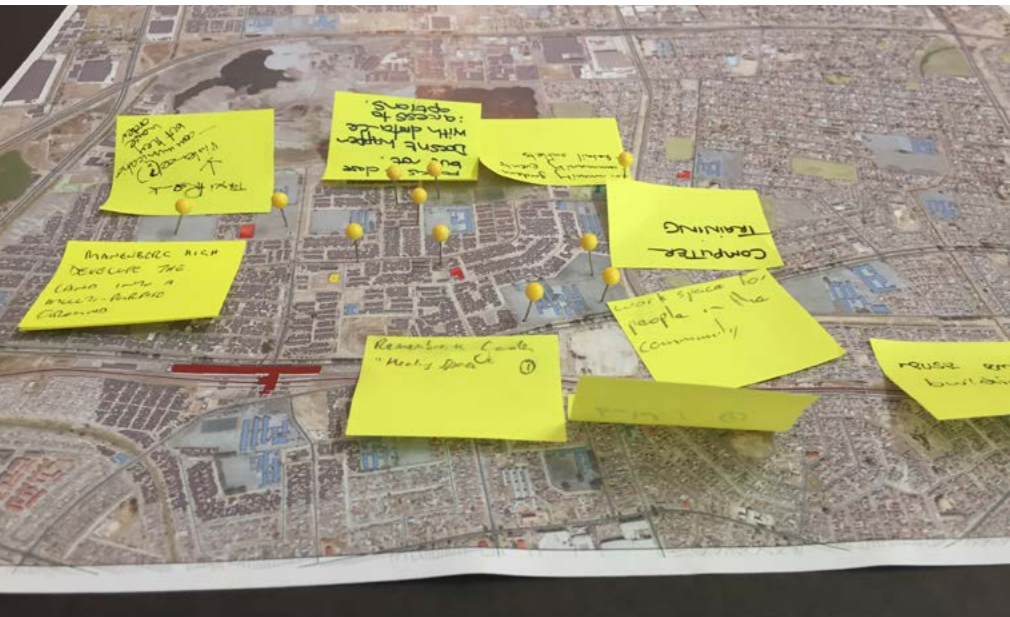


Figure 118: Dreaming stage - a portion of one of the activities during this stage included the presentation of interventions to one another and the proposed locations for the greatest impact. Including the values and aspirations that needs to be addressed. (author's own)

Figure 119: Some of the proposals included in this stage were: a taxi rank or large public transport interchange facility; shared multi-purpose sports ground with Manenberg High School; remembrance garden for trauma victims; 'pocket' or 'mini' parks ensuring access for all children; computer training and resource centre; skills and workshop for economic opportunities; a roller/skate park to provide regional interest; entertainment or games/arcade centre for the youth; an emergency/trauma unit (related to health); a wellness and counseling facility; and 5-a-side courts. (author's own)



Figure 120: Drawing illustrating the major routes where community members feel safest to move/more positive place. (author's own)

DESIGNING

This final stage in the co-design process focuses on the designing, work-shopping and testing of potential scenarios and acupuncture interventions that will improve the quality of place; drawing on participants requirements and addressing the problems revealed in the earlier diagnosis stage.

Key questions

- Which routes provide the most activity, are there any key elements to include/exclude in potentially upscaling?
- Are there any specific times in which areas of movement are inaccessible. What could change this?
- Where would be the point of a most impactful intervention, and why?

Activities

The facilitator/urban design student gathered and assessed the notes, drawings and information collected during the previous focus groups and transposed the locations and work onto drawings and a model for the designing stage focus group to respond to.

The activities pursued in the design stage involved sketching over proposal routes for intervention, reworking previous proposals and establishing a hierarchy of the spaces, based on community knowledge and experience. Members debated as to the reasons why or why not, weighed up benefits and arrived at negotiated conclusions.

Outcomes

A key outcome to the designing of 'place', was the idea of finding streets and spaces where activity is already emerging, and build on to it - searching for where a structure of place is happening and amplify it. The intention is to search "for those systems and networks,

"One result of informal housing is that public space is scarce and of low quality in... neighbourhoods and even more so as they become denser... leaving only the street for social gathering and open air"

(Garcia Ferrari, et al., 2017, p. 2)

often hidden, which give community its form and character, which we might then use to build on to discipline our interventions. First responses were all about place: a place for trading and networking, some said, a waiting place - somewhere you know you've arrive." (Hamdi, 2004, p.58).

The development of possible strategies for linear parks incorporated into the street-scape, addressing the need to prioritise play and park spaces for children whilst being near to home. This street strategy begins to address participants concerns around accessibility through an equalizing network.

Consideration is given to the different types of interventions that begin to disturb the status quo of neglected territories, inserting components that disrupt existing conflicts through the understanding of the issues at a variety of scales.

REFLECTIONS

In pursuing the iterative process with the 'Place' principle, several aspirations and interventions were prioritised:

- Community healing gardens
- Provision of social spaces - for gathering, a gym etc.
- Provide adequate housing options - address crowding
- Ensure access to open, green spaces (linear)
- Improve environmental quality - recycling spaces

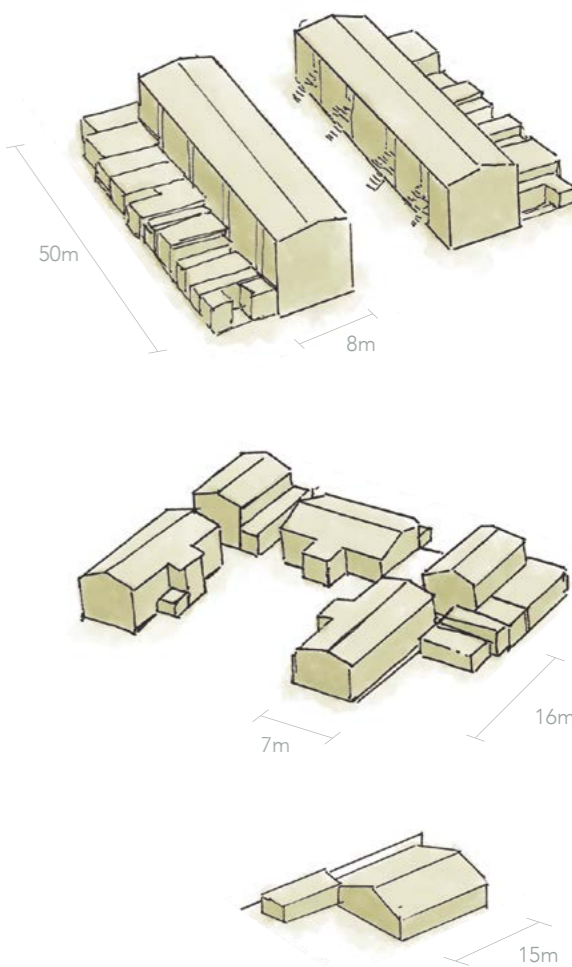


Figure 122:

Focus group designing stage, intervention proposals and locations of priority projects. Group members evaluated and weighed up alternatives for the greatest impact in particular space. Projects proposals outcomes to note from the group: linear parks, ensuring safe access for children whilst incorporating play elements in more micro places - providing opportunities spread out more frequently over a linear route.



Figure 121: Focus Group 3 in the Designing stage, in put from children was key in determining where play space and entertainment should or should not go. Parents often consider the distance and what could occur in those in between spaces; whereas the children began to imagine and play with the smallest of unoccupied land. (author's own)

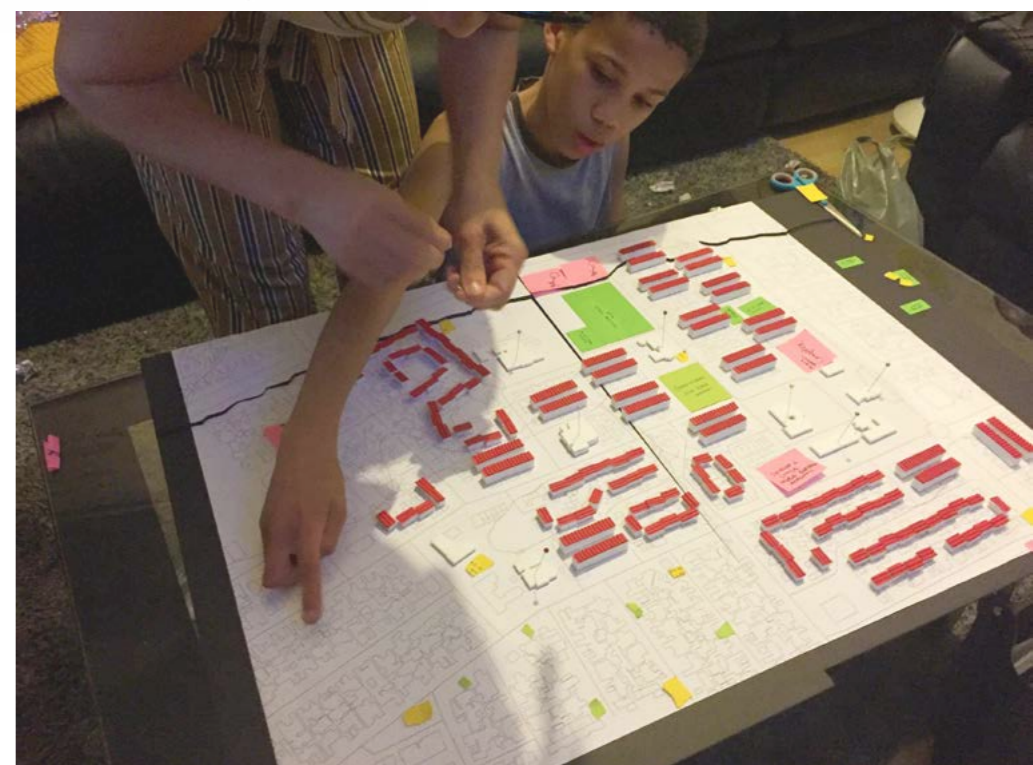


Figure 123: Focus Group 3 in the Designing stage, model building and debating the availability of open and neglected space around the Manenberg Library and the Little Lilies crèche. The open and unclaimed land becomes an opportunity for gangs to test the boundaries of their territory and occupation of this void. (author's own)

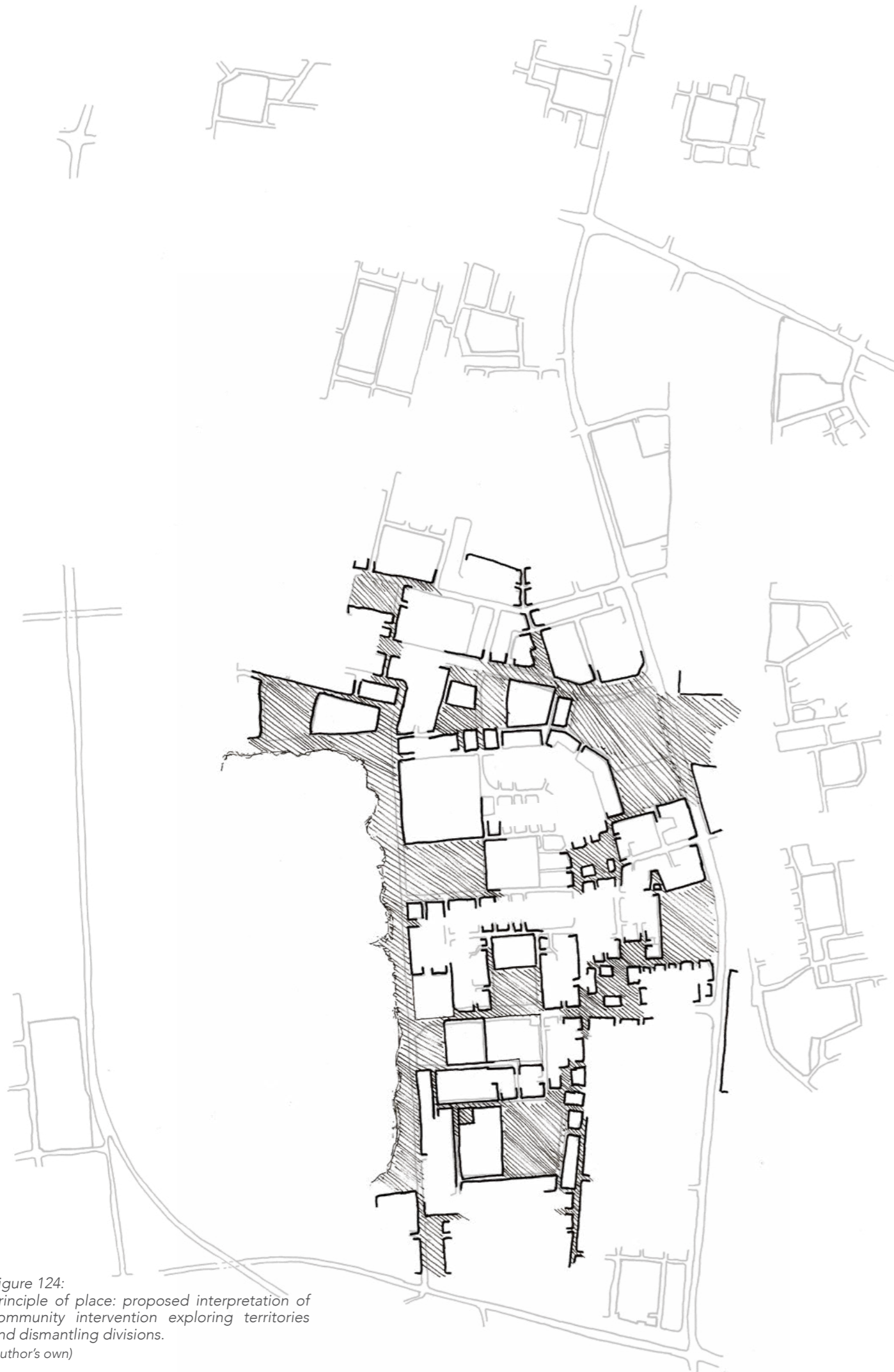


Figure 124:
Principle of place: proposed interpretation of community intervention exploring territories and dismantling divisions.
(author's own)

PRECEDENT

Project: Transmilenio for Public Transport
Date: 1998-2004
Location: Bogota, Colombia

The design and implementation of an integral policy for safety and security resulted in the significant reduction of crime and violence. Mobility strategy was key to the people-based approach, in which the movement system ensured citizen accessibility to services within the city. Recovering and redefining of public space was a fundamental element in building a city to human scale; the strategy was tied in towards education management.

“In Latin America, the sidewalk is the ‘traditional ribbon of social exchange’ (Holston 1989, 141), and generally, the street can be thought of as the quintessential democratic public space. Neither the forum nor the plaza, two archetypal public spaces that also come to mind, has the unfettered access and the realm of possibility inherent in the casual encounter of street life like that of the sidewalk.” (Berney, 2017, p.59).

Project: SABESP Parks
Architect: Levisky Architects
Date: 2016
Location: Sao Paulo, Brazil

The urban strategy for the SABESP park system aims to incorporate buildings within linear parks, addressing the issue of physical disconnections within the high densities within Sao Paulo.

The network of linear parks facilitate the movement of pedestrians, providing moments of enjoyment with the surroundings and connections between the minor internal path system as well as the connections with the respective adjacent road access. The intention is to invite an interaction between the route and the spaces of daily activity and commute - a linear route of passive recreation and coexistence with the everyday.



Figure 125:
The mobility strategy for Bogota was an articulated public-private system which contains infrastructure for bus, bicycle and pedestrian, including an organised operation with electronic and centralised payment collection. The focus of the local government at the time of the project's inception was to not focus on the crime in the city as a ‘technical’ problem, but rather to address the root causes.



Figure 126:
Linear park spaces occupy small strips of land between the dense slums in Sao Paulo. These networks adapt any seemingly unoccupied parcels and create around and with the space. Shown in this image is a linear park built around water tanks and reservoirs, ensuring all available space is optimised and occupied.

STRATEGY 1: SAFETY OUTPOSTS

WHAT IS IT DOING

- The safety outpost, termed by a focus group member, is a small law enforcement, or neighbourhood watch dispatch housed to protect and survey strategic areas of the community.

WHY

- To create a sense of safety, occupancy and surveillance over the vast unmanned and unclaimed territories.

WHAT

- These outposts can be incorporated into existing active spaces, or be stand alone facilities for law enforcement - the intention is that there is always some one on duty.

HOW

- By identifying the perceived or the most dangerous areas in the community and placing the outposts in that space.

- Created as beacons through lighting and part of a safety system.

- A landmark or feature in orientating oneself in the space/ Enhancing the reading of place.

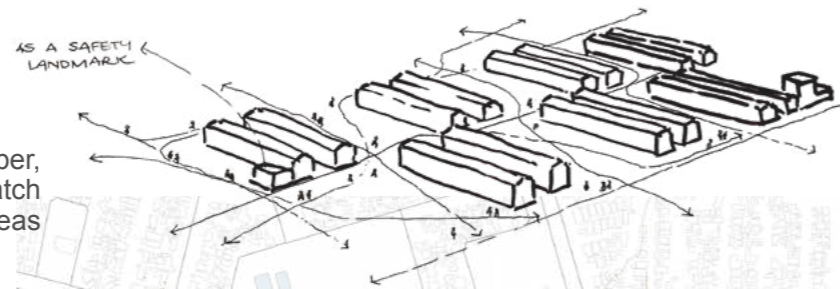


Figure 130:
Conceptual illustration: Strategy 1 Safety Outposts
Strategy locating the points of most impact for outposts based on known areas of intense conflict

STRATEGY 1 DEVELOPMENT

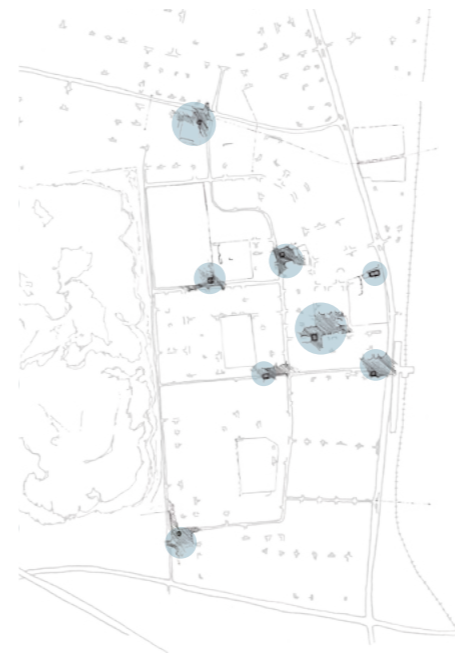


Figure 131:
Strategy Development Safety Outpost:
PEOPLE



Figure 132:
Strategy Development Safety Outpost:
POWER



Figure 133:
Strategy Development Safety Outpost:
PLACE

The safety outpost concept was established as a point located in strategic positions within Manenberg, based on the positions of intervention the Focus Group members as well as the urban design student, determined would have the greatest impact.

Safety outposts are created as a beacon or landmark, with an occupancy or presence 24 hours a day.

These facilities are two to four storey high buildings creating an active edge to spaces. This is done in conjunction with community organisations to ensure programmes occur within the spaces.

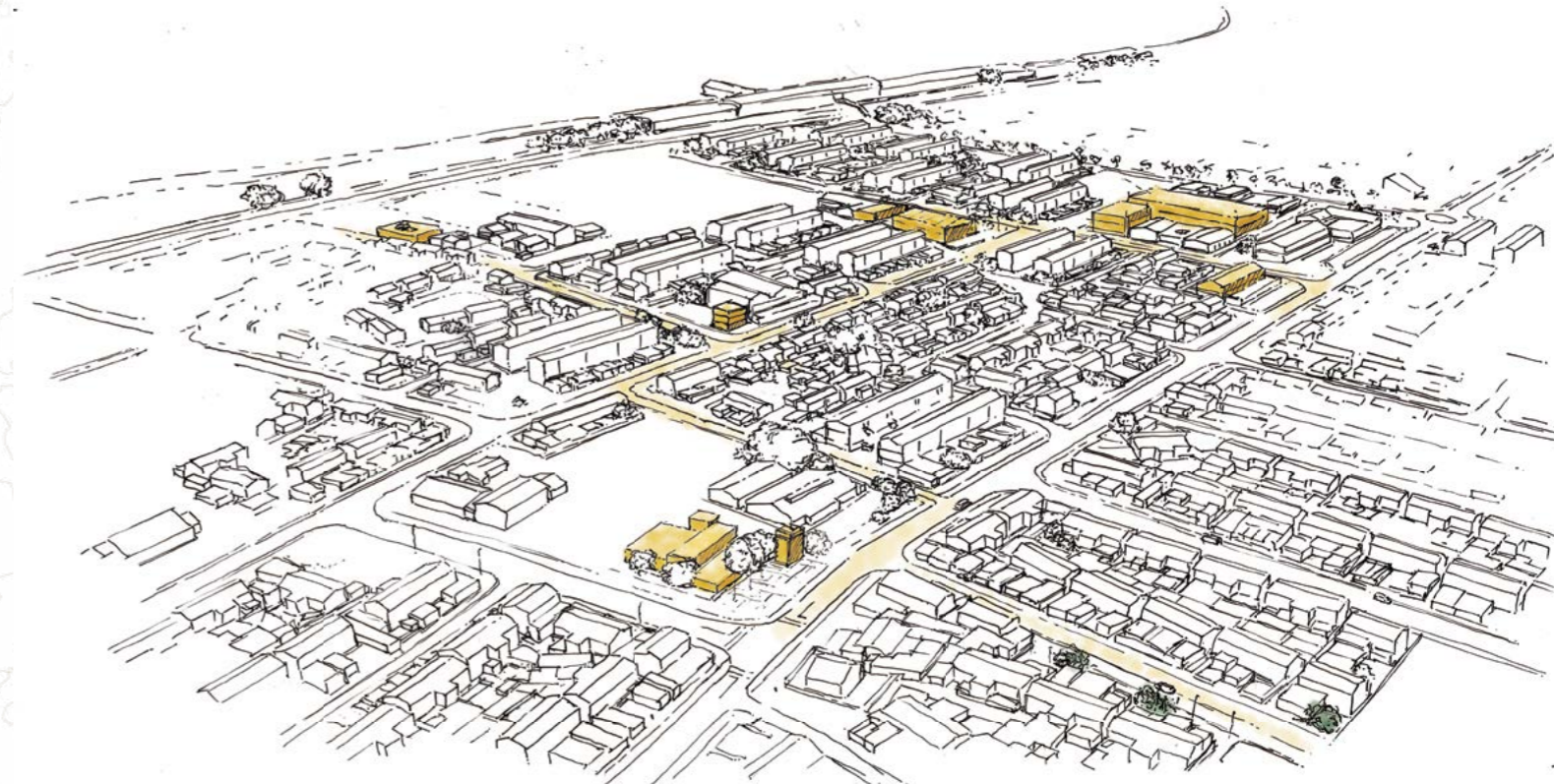


Figure 134:
The Safety Outposts are positioned in the points identified where the most prevalent conflict occurs - providing safety through law enforcement presence, activities and passive surveillance.

"By looking from the ground up, we will begin to see how the city has been co-constructed by a multitude of legal and illegal, visible and invisible, official and unofficial, informal and formal processes. After all, the real African city is not singular. It is, rather, the highly variegated making of a myriad of practices exercised by the state and its people on a daily basis. To create, theorise and practice an urbanism of equality means to move beyond the formal-informal divide and acknowledge that which is an extraordinarily ordinary urbanism"

- (Kotzen, 2015)

STRATEGY 2: HYBRID HUBS

WHAT IS IT DOING

- Disturbing the current territorial structures and ownership of negotiated open spaces.
- Unique landmark structure or building, contributing to a diverse and vibrant space.
- Providing positive and active edges

WHY

- To address needs and aspirations of community - most services have moved out - it still has not changed the nature of the place in removing, instead fill in.

WHAT

- Vertical gym, youth resource centre, 5-a-side courts, social workers, trauma units, safety outposts

HOW

- By creating amenities and facilities that have been identified from within the community.
- Providing spaces and resources for partners to establish and run programmes.
- Occupying the edges of spaces, ensuring passive surveillance.

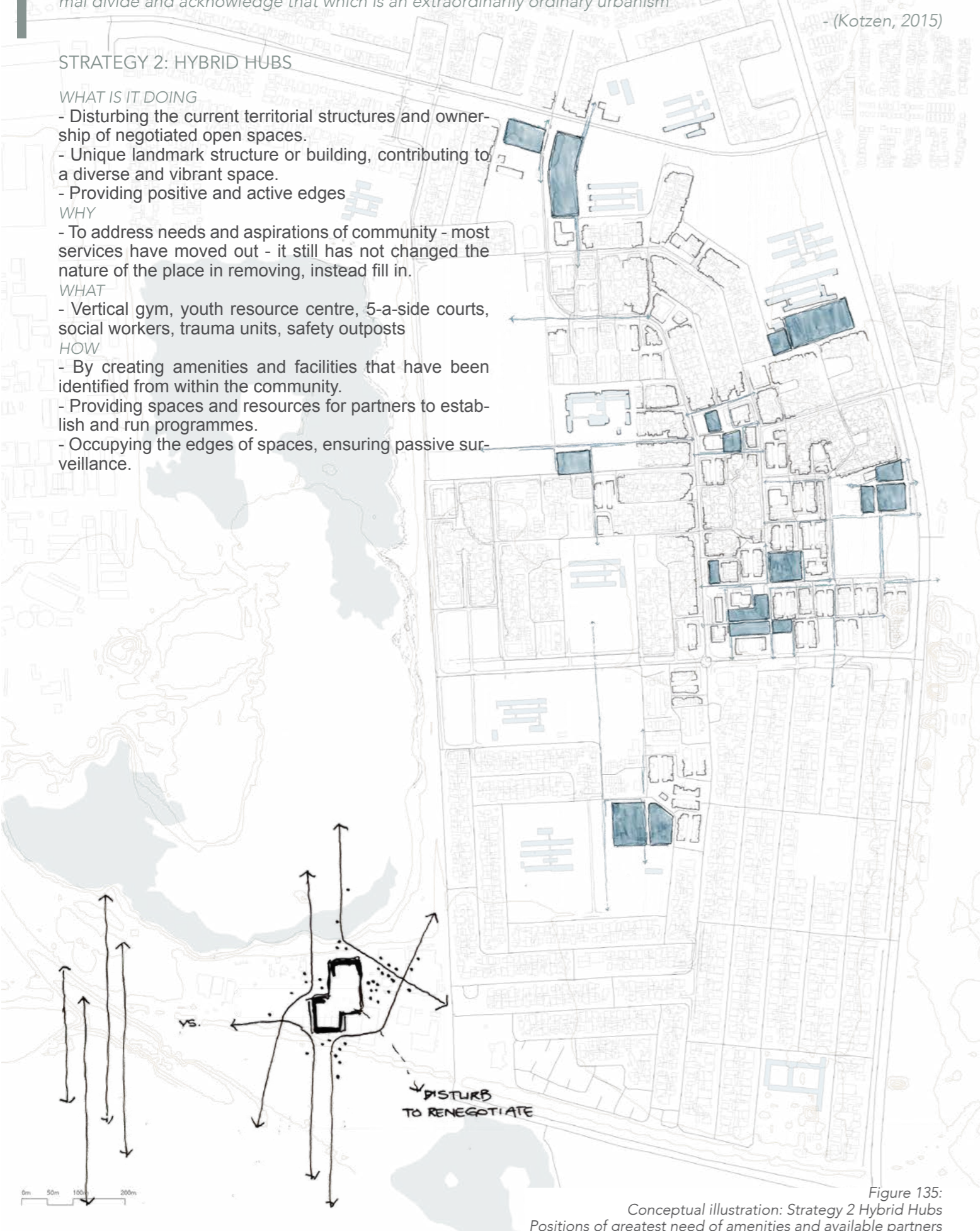


Figure 135: Conceptual illustration: Strategy 2 Hybrid Hubs Positions of greatest need of amenities and available partners

STRATEGY 2 DEVELOPMENT



Figure 136: Strategy Development Hybrid Hub: PEOPLE



Figure 137: Strategy Development Hybrid Hub: POWER



Figure 138: Strategy Development Hybrid Hub: PLACE

The hybrid hubs was one of the concepts established in Bogota for the redesigning of its public spaces; three interventions types were developed: the equalizing networks, hybrid hubs, and the civic spaces each organised by pedagogical intention.

The hybrid hubs in Bogota include major civic institutions located in parks on the peripheries to empower nearby residents to increase equity and civic pride.

"The placement of the libraries was also meant to support another strategy - increasing social mixing by encouraging people from different parts of the city to travel to the libraries. Carefully linking the libraries to public open spaces and bike, pedestrian, and bus networks encouraged mixing, as did dividing the central library's holdings among new facilities" (Berney, 2017, p.64).

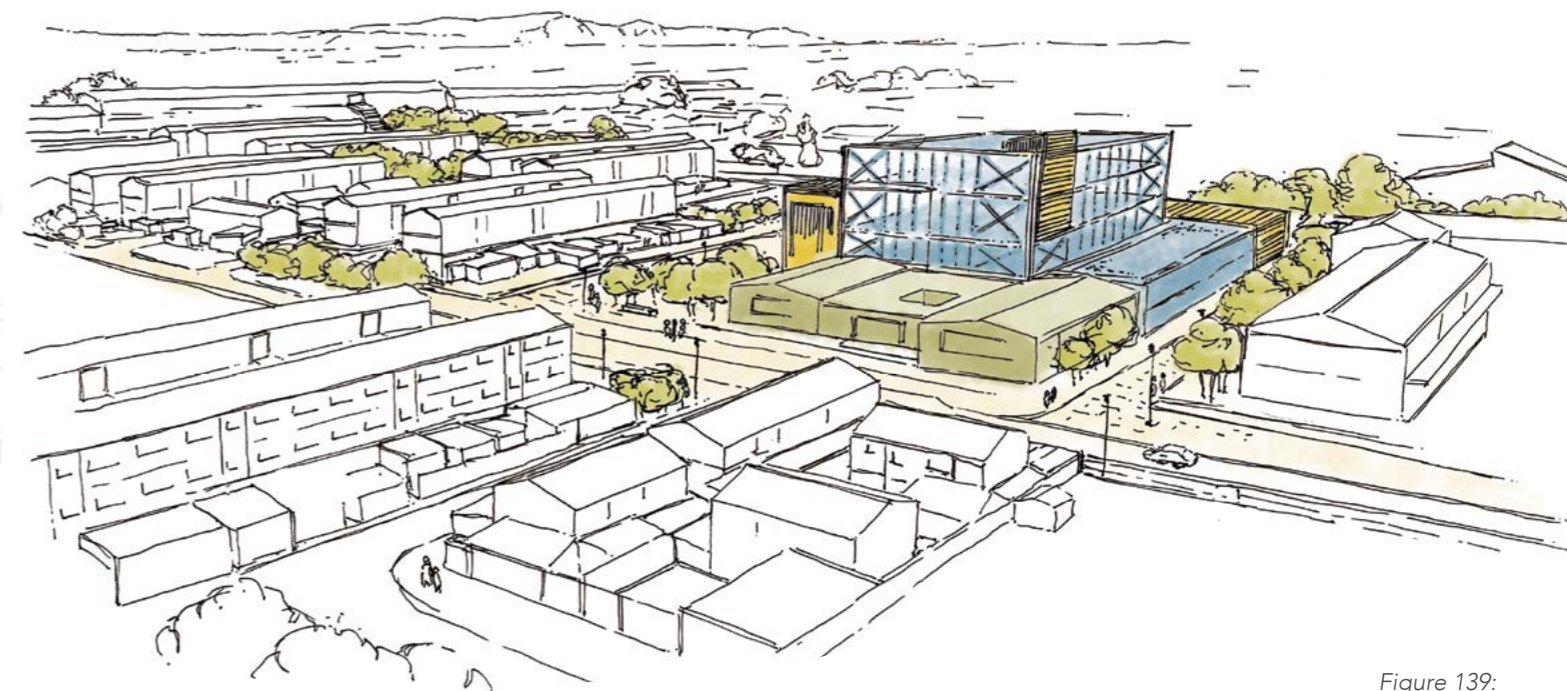


Figure 139: The location of the Hybrid Hubs intend to disturb the current negotiation of contested spaces - addressing the identified service needs

STRATEGY 3: LINEAR PARKS

WHAT IS IT DOING

- Creating micro parks and community gardens for residents, closer to units for safe access.
- Opportunities for a healthy lifestyle

WHY

- To encourage reclamation of neglected and negotiated place, to reduce the vast scale of Manenberg's open spaces.

WHAT

- 'Pocket park' components to be determined by inhabitants, but could include: play equipment, seating, braai facilities, tree planting, lighting, gardens, food gardens, hard surfaced walkways, informal recreation.

HOW

- By identifying key partners and community members already claiming ground, particularly with schools
- MOU established for a mutually beneficial relationship.

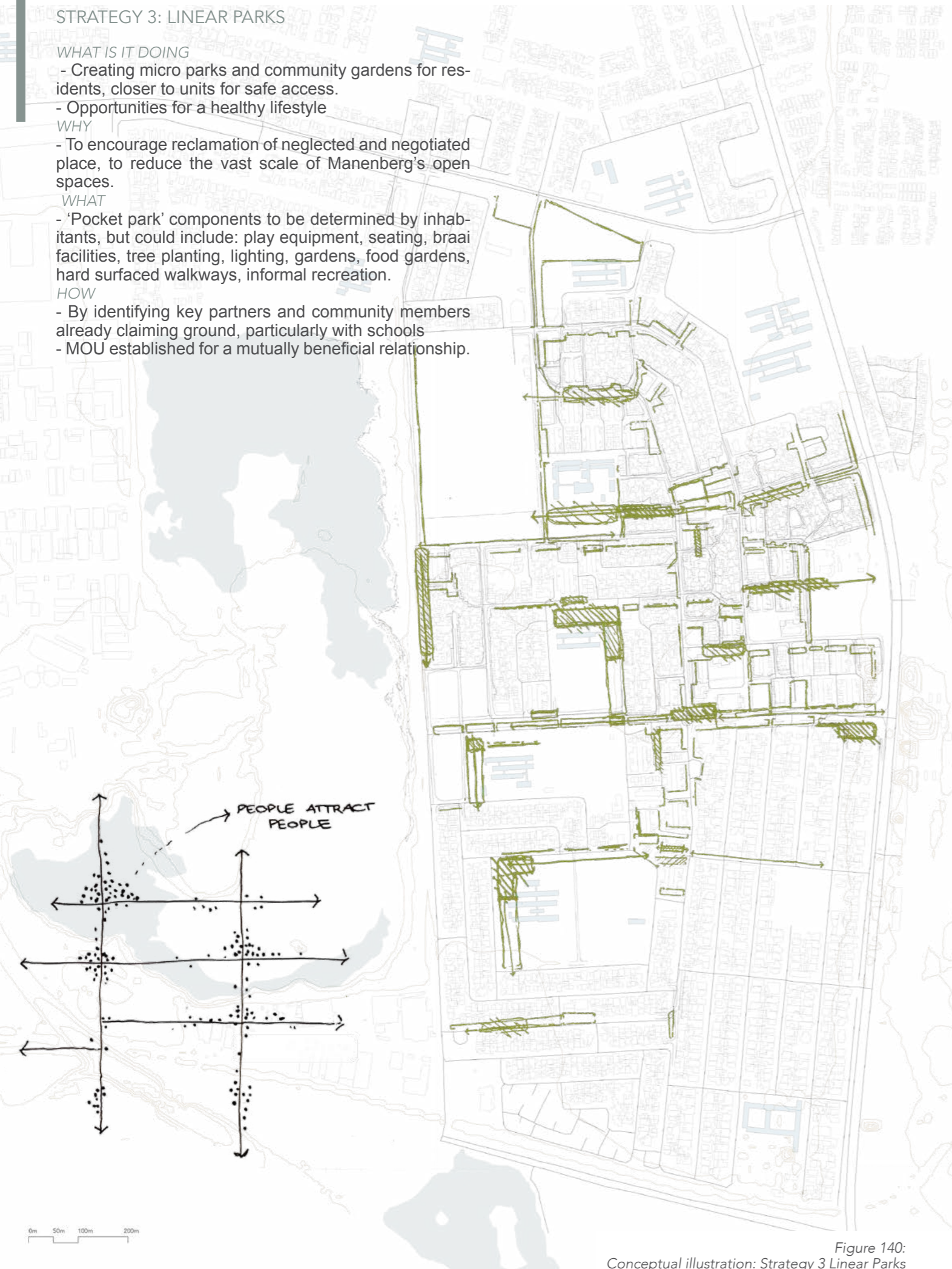


Figure 140:
Conceptual illustration: Strategy 3 Linear Parks

STRATEGY 3 DEVELOPMENT



Figure 141:
Strategy Development Linear Parks:
PEOPLE



Figure 142:
Strategy Development Linear Parks:
POWER



Figure 143:
Strategy Development Linear Parks:
PLACE

"This new institutional focus on public space in Bogota was accompanied by an increased interest in urban design. Rather than focusing on individual buildings, the city and its designers and planners focused increasingly on the fabric of the city and how that fabric served the citizens... laid out goals for the public system that focused on increasing mobility and improving cultural and social development"

- (Berney, 2017, p.63).



Figure 144:
The Linear park concept builds on the locations of existing community gardens and grows them through partnership, lighting and safe movement routes

"The most important thing that needs to happen is the partnerships with schools - we need to utilize the open spaces and create multi-use facilities for all types of user groups. Lack of partnerships. Too many single use facilities/ underutilized - diversify use - it creates meeting opportunities. Currently children are too scared to go over, as they don't know how one another operates. Access for school children is vital so that kids from different parts of Manenberg get to know each other. There is a lack of movement between spaces (perception of distances different to the standards and norms that are adopted). Movement is the solution".

- Focus Group 3 outcome discussion

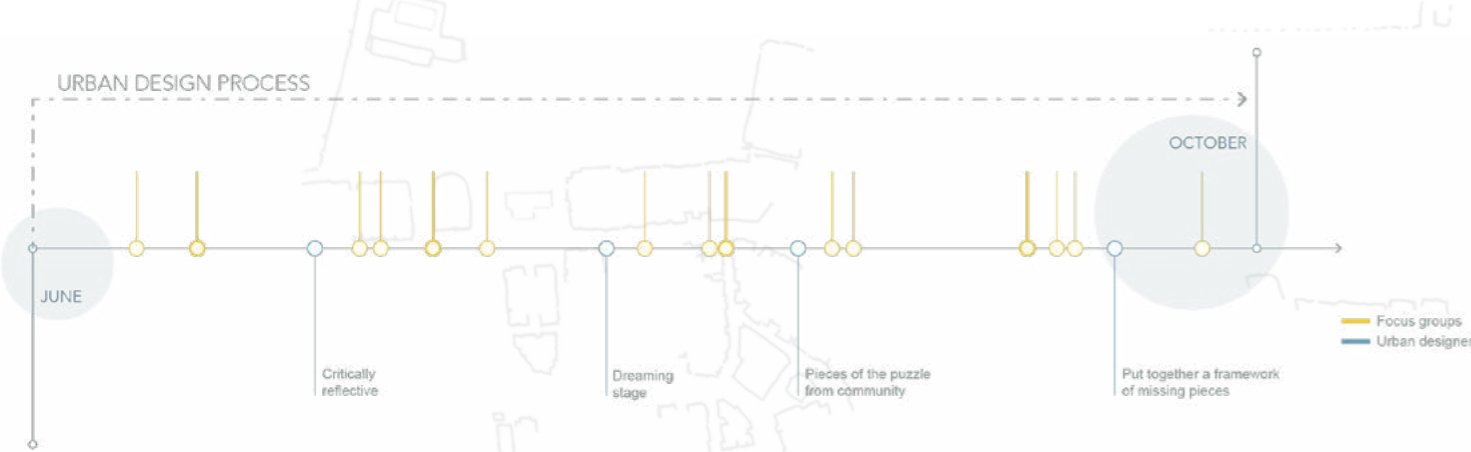


Figure 145: The time line of the role of the urban designer in the process

"It is here that imagination is important as knowledge or skill when deciding on professional intervention. 'Begin with imagination', said the Nobel prize winning author Jose Saramago - 'but from then on let reason prevail'"

(Hamdi, 2004, p. xx)

TOWARDS A PLACE MAKING FRAMEWORK

In developing a frame from which the proposed community interventions could be implemented; the role of the designer is one which is critically reflective of the strategies that have emerged from the process of collaboration. These iterative strategic ideas then need to be transposed, as they are pieces of the puzzle - not the whole - and need to be arranged, tested, and processed once more, now from the designer's role. This process includes evaluating the pieces that are missing and developing a flexible framework for increment change, and can be up-scale as necessary.

The following scenarios are tested from the position of the designer, layering the various strategies in multiple combinations, so as to develop the framework for intervention, constantly asking questions of the proposed moves of action. The scenarios intend to be process driven, once more illustrating the process over the product; with the intention of placing the proposed interventions in the spaces of contestation, allowing the 'red flags' or negotiated territorial threats to be indicators in the positioning of change.

Asking the question, 'if I had budget, where would an intervention provide the greatest impact'? The following diagrammatic sketches combine the strategies in three alternative combinations: the first scenario explores the notion of implementing a single strategy, such as the safety outposts, evaluating if one was implemented would it have an impact? Would the scenario change if all of the outposts were implemented? The second scenario explores the notion of all the strategy types are invested into one point in a 'complete' package: safety outpost, a hub, linear park and an equalizing network. This option is perhaps the least desirable as the impact would be highly localised, and as established throughout this body of work, spaces are highly nuanced and negotiated within Manenberg and this scenario would not be effectively transformative.

The final or third scenario tests the strategies at particular points within the community, established from the outcomes of the focus groups. It look to grow as seeds of change, rather than establishing literal 'links'. It is better to use the partners and role players within the community, who can champion and initiate ideas - such as the linear parks, whereby some community members are already occupying space and change is happening on the ground, rather scale that up. During the process, what has become wildly apparent is this: the majority of social services have moved out of the community, and all that remains is housing, which is highly contested.

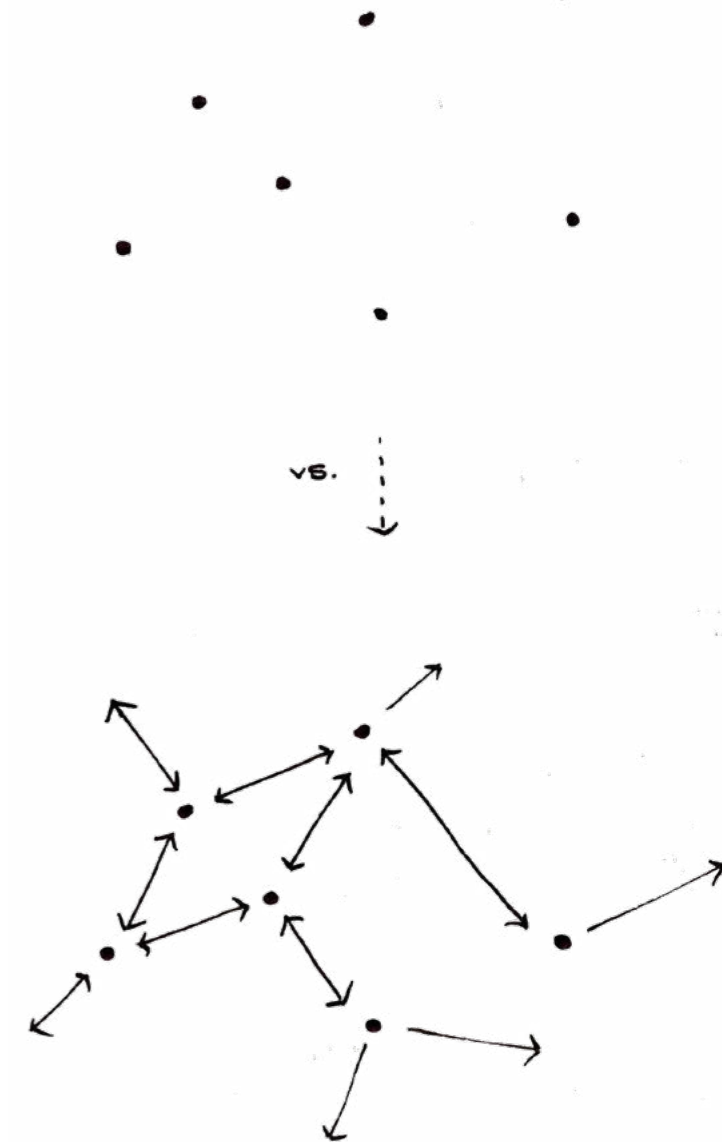


Figure 147: Incremental process testing: scenario 1. The diagrammatic scenario explores the strategy as seeds which grow outwards with their impact. The focus, in this example, is the safety hubs are established at identified points of conflict allowing the similar interventions to support and link one another. The aim is to provide points, or a system of safety outposts at strategic locations - activating and securing pedestrian routes and public places.

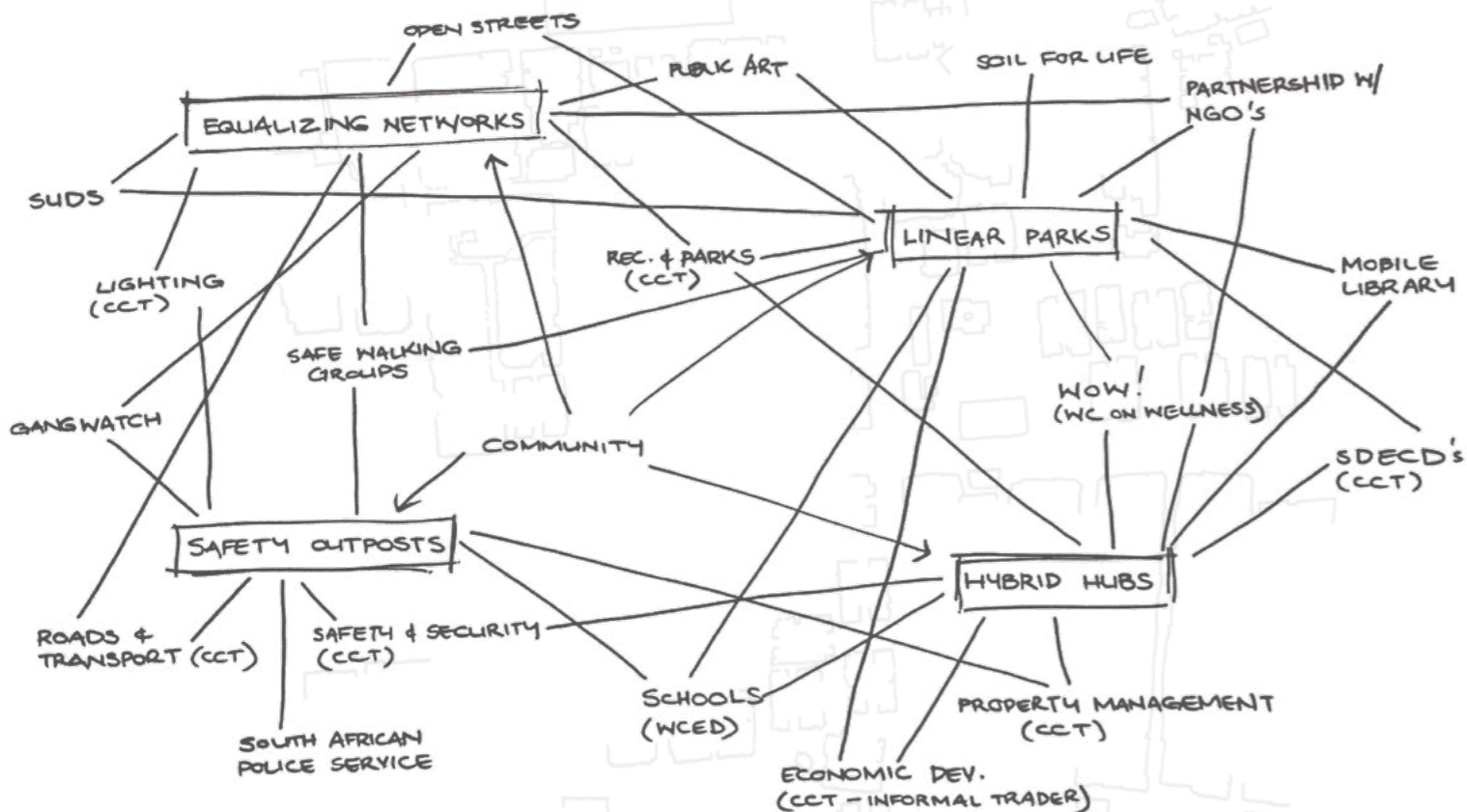


Figure 146: Potential partners identified for the implementation of each strategy, and where they have potential to overlap

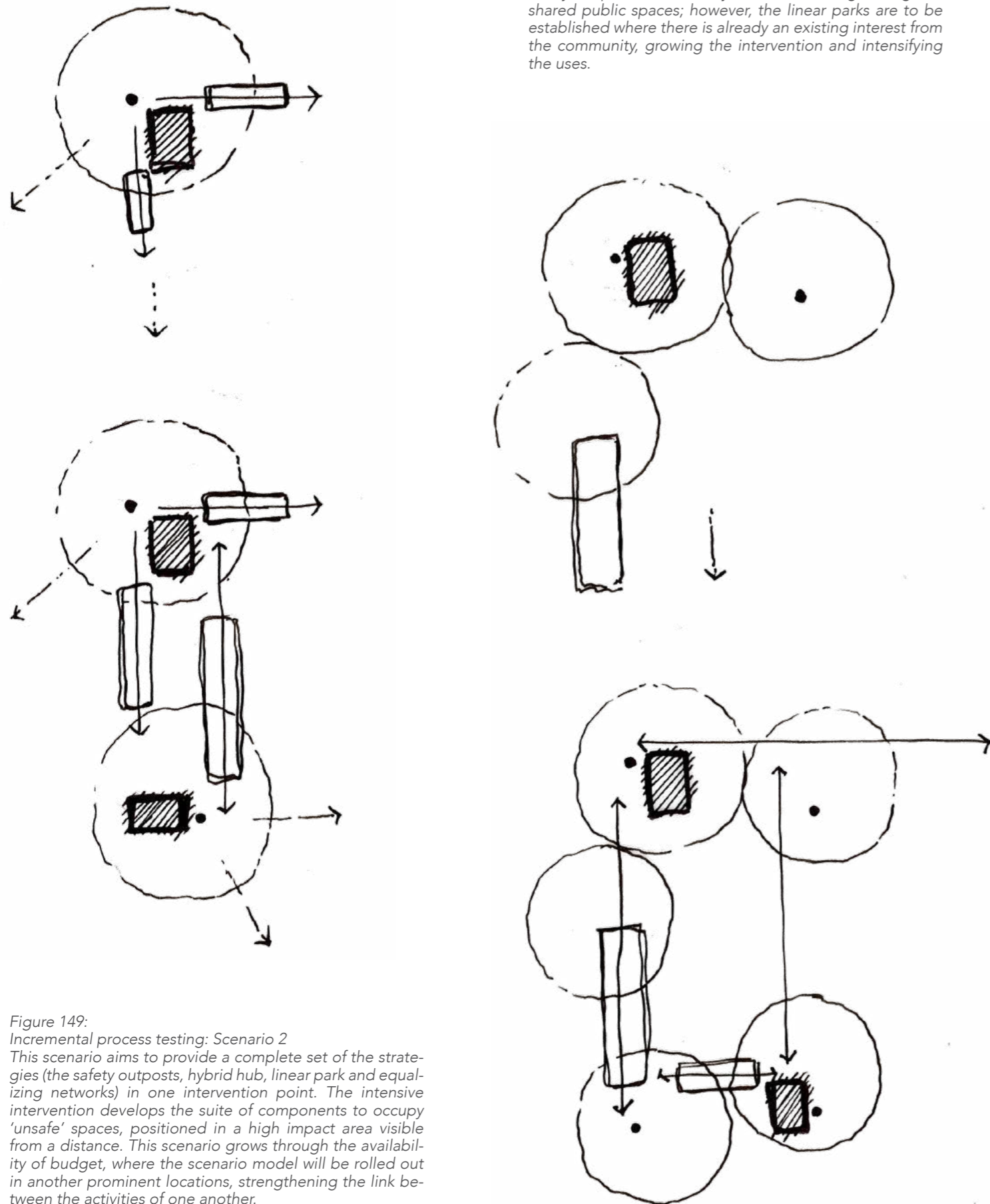


Figure 149: Incremental process testing: Scenario 2. This scenario aims to provide a complete set of the strategies (the safety outposts, hybrid hub, linear park and equalizing networks) in one intervention point. The intensive intervention develops the suite of components to occupy 'unsafe' spaces, positioned in a high impact area visible from a distance. This scenario grows through the availability of budget, where the scenario model will be rolled out in another prominent locations, strengthening the link between the activities of one another.

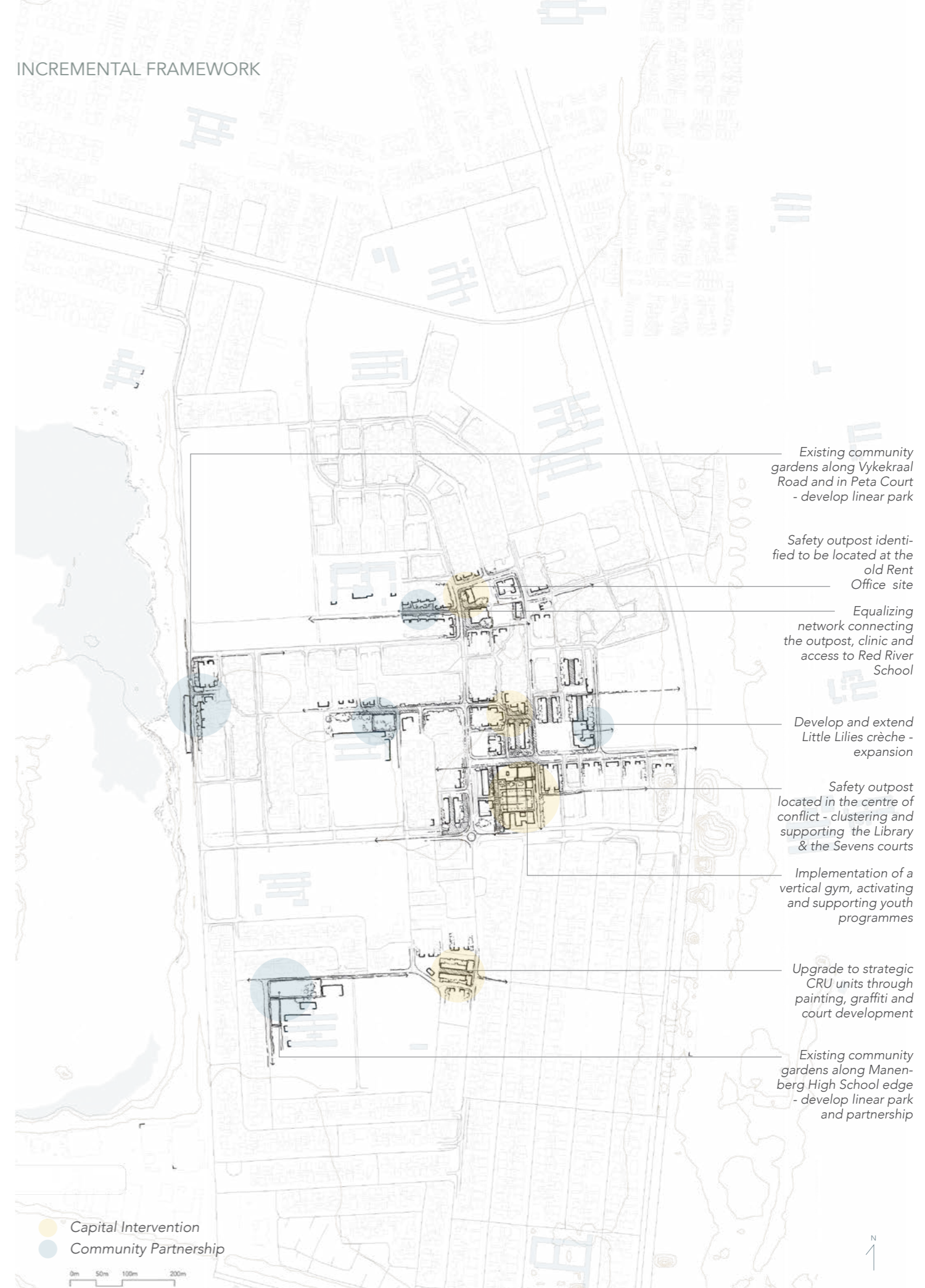


Figure 150: Incremental Intervention: First Phase

INCREMENTAL FRAMEWORK



Figure 151:
Incremental Intervention: Second Phase

INCREMENTAL FRAMEWORK



Figure 152:
Incremental Intervention: Third Phase

SPATIAL STRATEGY FRAMEWORK

- Extend connection to Manenberg Avenue through equalizing network and safety outpost.
- Safety outpost identified to be located at the old Rent Office site. Location of outpost is one out of two established to give the highest impact.
- Equalizing network connecting the outpost, clinic and access to Red River School.
- Provide an extension to Manenberg Clinic to include a trauma & emergency unit
- Existing community gardens along Vykekraal Road and in Peta Court - develop linear park through partner organisations.
- Youth Resource centre (potentially I-CAN partnership) with a technical school, job-readiness, and computer literacy programmes
- Safety outpost located in the centre of conflict - clustering and supporting the Library & the Sevens courts. Location of outpost is the second one out of two established to give the highest impact.
- Implementation of a vertical gym, activating and supporting youth programmes.
- Begin to develop and MOUs and partnership with schools - initiate clusters...
- Upgrade to strategic CRU units through painting, graffiti and court development.
- Existing community gardens along Manenberg High School edge - develop linear park and partnership

- SAFETY OUTPOSTS
- HYBRID HUBS
- LINEAR PARKS
- POTENTIAL PARTNERSHIPS



SPATIAL STRATEGY INTERVENTION

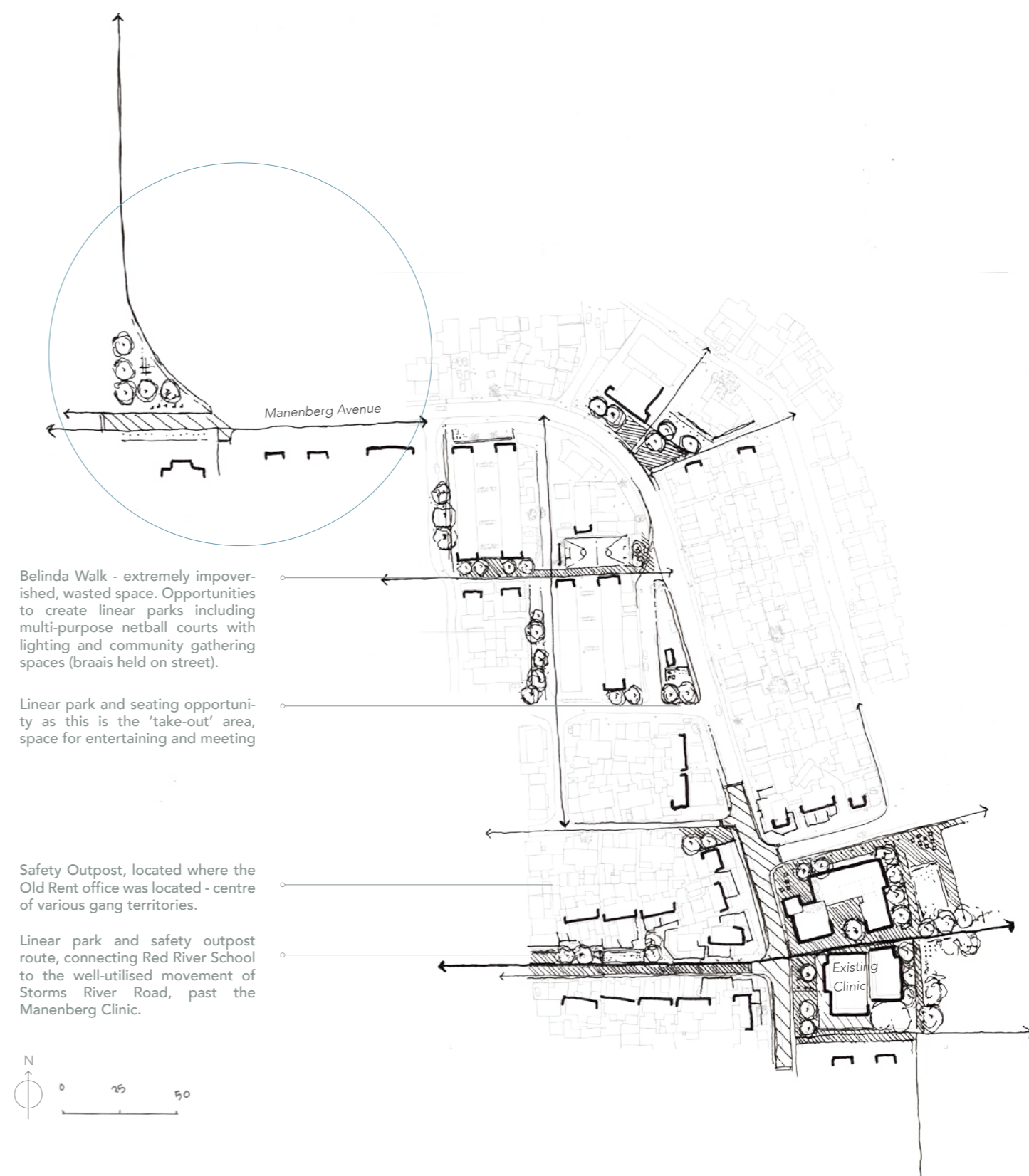


Figure 154:

The intervention along Manenberg Avenue intends to combine the various strategies in ways that pull out the elements of the public realm, breaking the original 'designed' monotony. As seen in the likes of communities such as Bogota, the focus on "public space... was accompanied by an increased interest in urban design. Rather than focusing on individual buildings, the city and its designers and planners focused increasingly on the fabric of the city and how that fabric served the citizens... laid out goals for the public system that focused on increasing mobility and improving cultural and social development" (Berney, 2017, p. 63). This, then, is the vision for the negotiated territories in Manenberg, that fabric and its structuring serves the citizens in the daily lives.

Figure 153: Equalizing Networks

STRATEGY INTERVENTIONS

Outdoor sporting space, with classrooms on the second floor for homework and after school programmes - supporting the crèche.

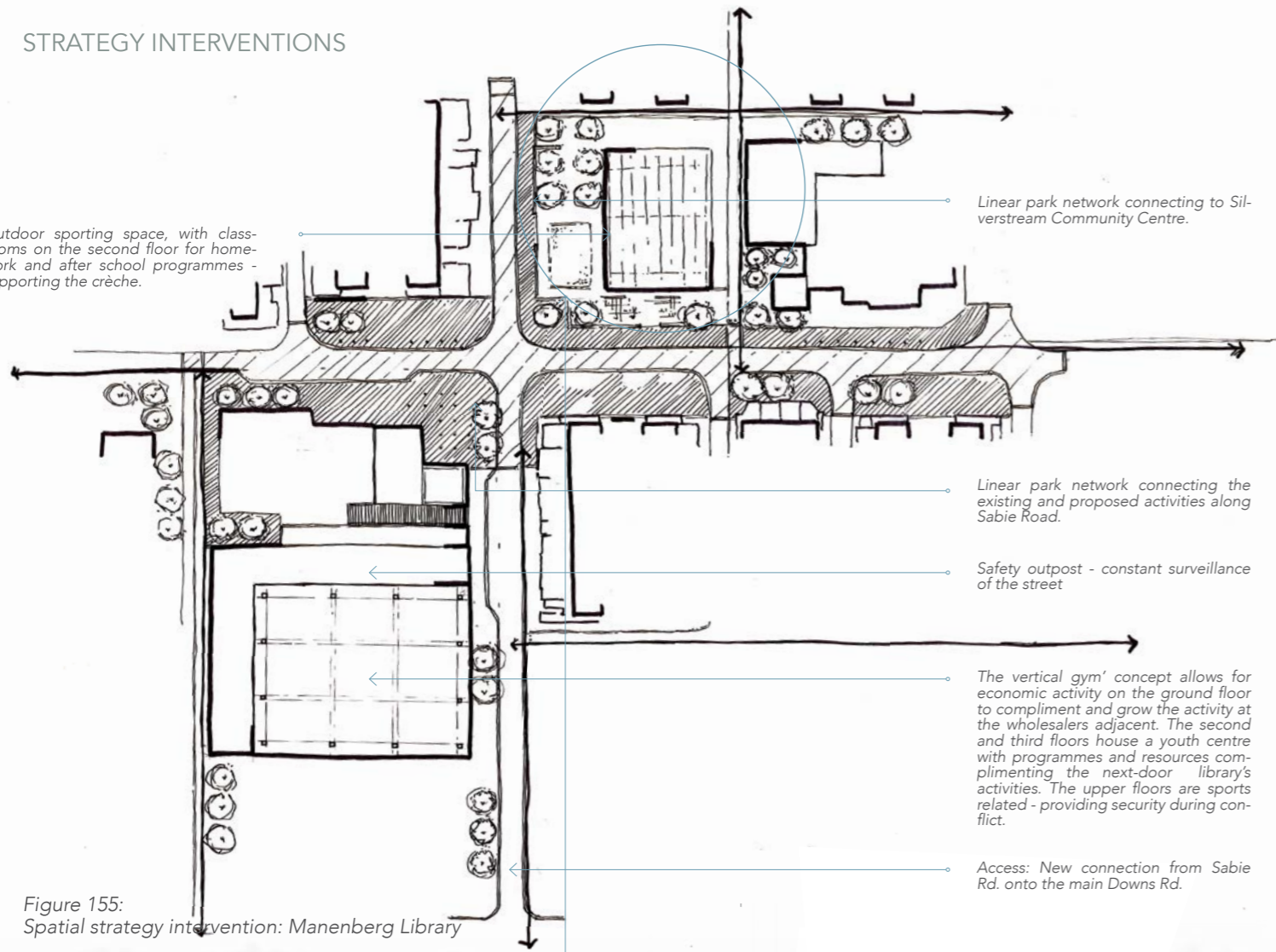


Figure 155: Spatial strategy intervention: Manenberg Library

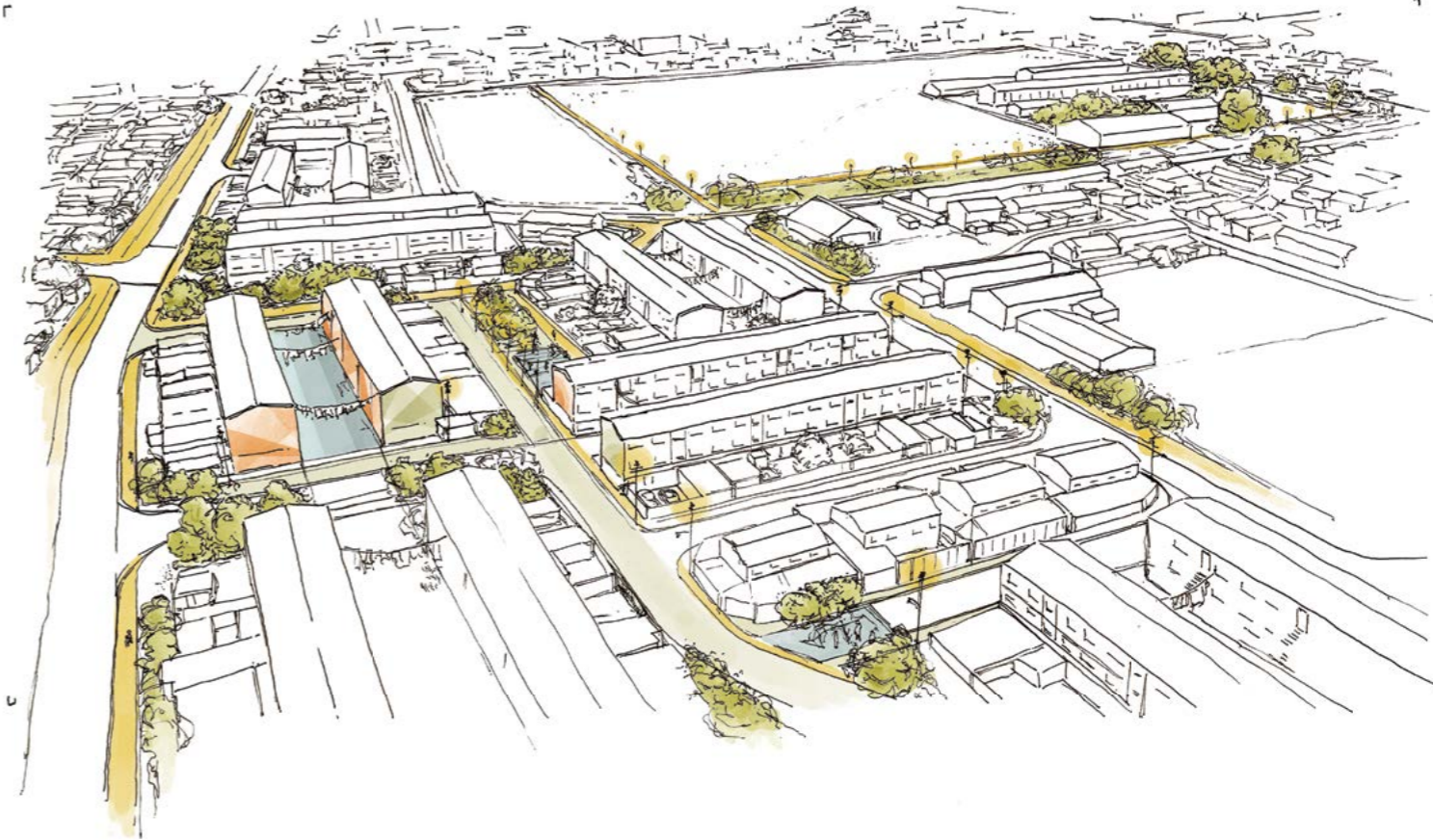
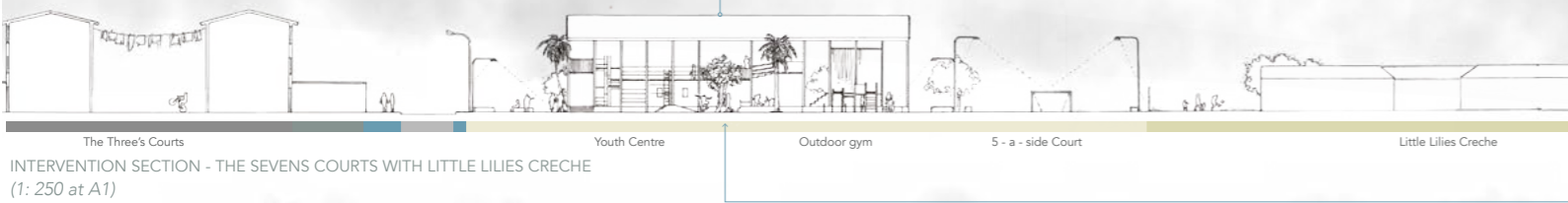


Figure 157: Render of the Sevens and proposed public realm interventions, focusing on safe connectivity between school systems and the residential units - providing active areas for play as well as community gardens.

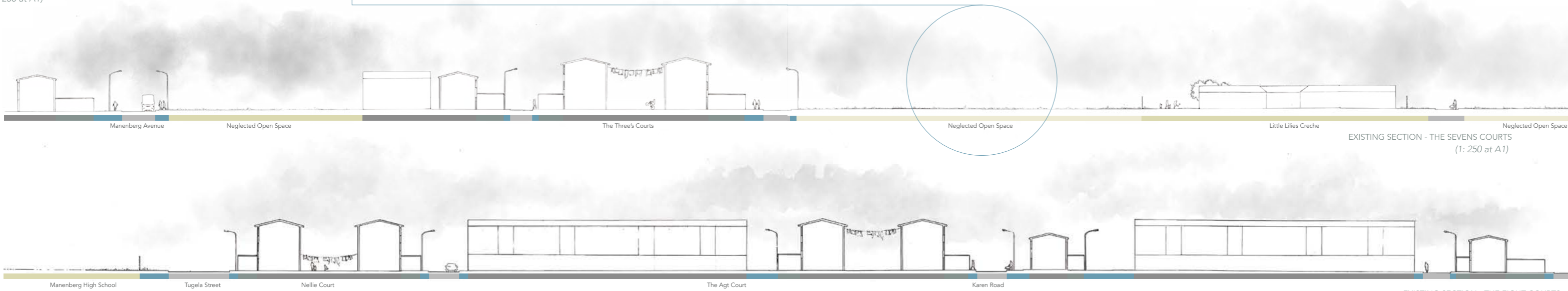
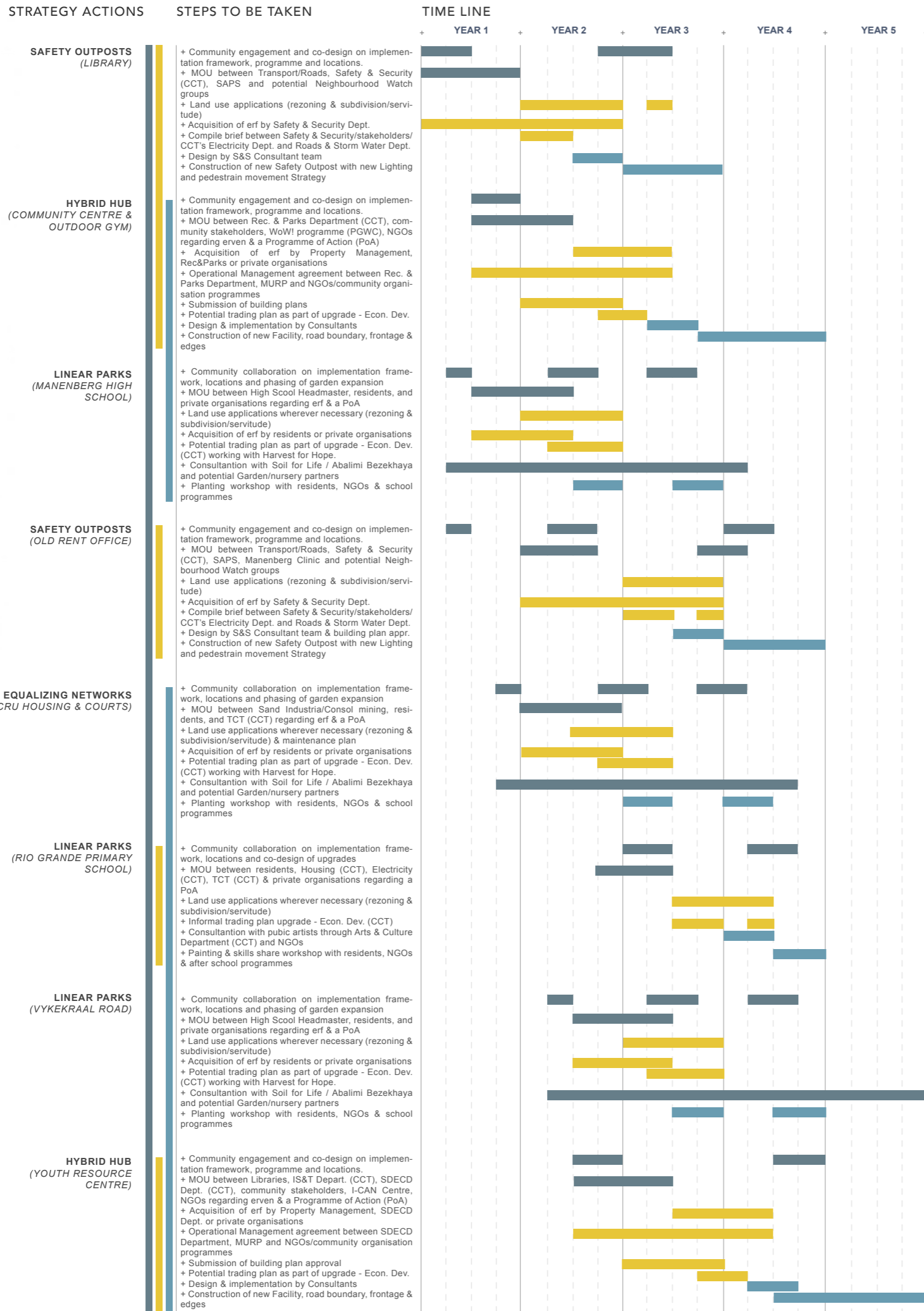


Figure 156: Existing and proposed sections through the negotiated spaces in the courts.

IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

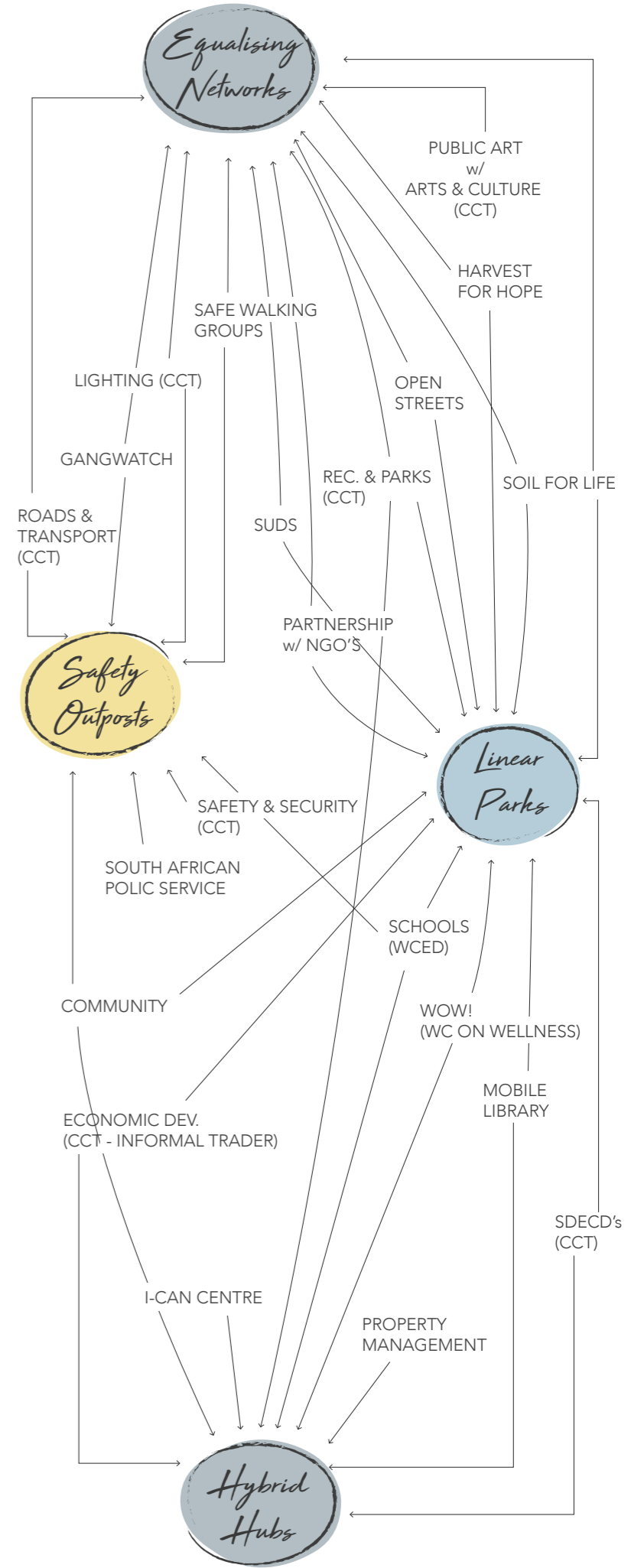


COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

"Innovation and survival instincts have found an expression in the evolution of local approaches to shelter, trade, movement, and public expression in ways that may be highly responsive, but that also find themselves at odds with many mainstream systems and standards. In South Africa's pursuit of social and spatial transformation, our cities will have to engage more effectively with this reality of informality and its related complexities".

- (Poulsen & Silverman, 2012, p.iii)

In developing a frame from which the proposed community interventions could be implemented; the role of the community is vital in the emergence for successfully implemented projects. From the process and identification of sites and the four spatial strategies, the role of existing and proposed community partners, organisations and local government is central to the longevity of any project and its subsequent processes.



DESIGN GUIDELINES

"This is an unusual spatial arrangement that requires purposeful negotiation of the private, semi-private and public realms. Without any formal public spaces within the labyrinth of narrow pathways... account for some of the only communal space in the area... represent an emergent type of public space, one that generates a publicness premised not on public ownership, like the grand plaza or boulevard street, but rather on the communal life they engender... The entrances remain open at all times, creating a permanent link to the settlement pathways outside..."

- (Kotzen, 2015).

The following set of guidelines has been developed in conjunction with the identified strategies, and three principles of people, power and place; whilst the supporting precedent images assist in the visualisation of what the potential of spaces could become. As far as possible, the precedent chosen is from the global South, as this is far more valuable in demonstrating the opportunities available in the South African context. The guidelines provide a flexible and typical frame for intervention, to be developed in conjunction with programmes and partnerships that activate the identified projects.

STRATEGY TYPE

PEOPLE | PRINCIPLE

STRATEGY TYPE	PEOPLE PRINCIPLE	Collaboration	Resilience	Negotiation
SAFETY OUTPOSTS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Safety outposts to be energised through surveillance, SAPS - accommodating shared uses such as economic activity to increase activation. - Creates a system of safe, diverse and linked hub spaces - assembling activities with diverse programming. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 24/7 hour occupation of the space, providing protection and reducing contested spaces. - Community/neighbourhood watch organisations included - with incentives. - Inverting built form to improve security and robustness of the facilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Choice of position to be carefully agreed with various as to the most impactful locations for maximum influence on current violence and conflicts. - Occupation of perceived unsafe and dangerous places. - Located along strategic routes for safe passage.
HYBRID HUBS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hubs are to be able to accommodate a range of functions allowing for varied occupancy of space by different users, in an adaptable, flexible manner. - Intensification of negotiated spaces - such as school grounds/community zoned undefined areas. Activation through programmes/social/economic drivers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A defined public realm requires clear edge definition - through buildings, walls, trees, and other vertical elements - to provide a sense of enclosure, comfort, legibility of movement patterns. - Vulnerable spaces to be rezoned and potentially sub-divided to encourage multiple uses on site - strengthening resilience. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Break the sterility of separation of uses, intense discussion around public investment decision-making. - Activity points of place, reactivating edges of public space and building edges.
LINEAR PARKS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish partners, especially regarding markets for produce from micro-subsistence farmers. - Enhancing existing attributes, groundswell and users - through which introducing expansions to spaces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Imageability of a place: making it distinct, recognisable, and memorable. - Interconnected, green network providing natural protection from the elements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linear parks to reclaim areas of open space that are unpaved/dumping areas through recycling and productive garden opportunities. - Reestablishing connections between spatial barriers through interactive corridors
EQUALIZING NETWORKS		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish spaces for public life - sets up minor relationships that are the key to micro-negotiations i.e where or where not to dump re: backyards. - Reconsider the spatial barriers and fencing - permeable versus impermeable design elements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frontage zones of new buildings onto the street must be generous. - Streets to support sitting, gathering, movement and waiting. - New socio-economic residential and mixed-use in development proposals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An approach where streets are spaces for people as well as arteries for transportation - concept of 'woonerf'. - Active spine with differing character and uses breaking off from, and incorporated within it. - Clearly defined spaces within the CRU courts to be established, with 'owned' spaces revitalising the liminal spaces.



Figure 158: This Community Center in Boca del Río, Mexico, was once an open and disused asphalt lot, located on the periphery of a marginalised settlement. The structure provided shade from the elements, and created a space where an assemblage of uses could take place.

Figure 159, and Figure 160: (Below) The community of Boca del Río is incredibly under-served, with little in the way of amenities. The frame of the structure houses the programmes, such as homework groups, classrooms, reading rooms, play grounds, and an outdoor fitness area. The centre has become just that, a central point for the community to gather.



Figure 161: The intervention along Passage de St Joan pursued creating a traversing environment that served the pedestrians needs, first, whilst creating a green linear park for residents.

Figure 162 (author's own), and Figure 163 (Below): The intervention incorporates minimal infrastructure, however, it places 'moments' strategically along the route - such as benches outside cafes and bus stops, and play outside book stores.



STRATEGY TYPE

POWER | PRINCIPLE

SAFETY OUTPOSTS	Ownership	Access	Incremental
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entrances to 'safety outposts' to be well lit, permanently occupied, and a beacon to announce the space/facility in terms of legibility in the monotonous surrounding built form. - Variety of heights of public lighting to ensure a well-lit and secure routes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entrances to 'safety outposts' to be well lit and to announce the space/facility. - Variety of heights of public lighting to ensure a well-lit and secure routes. - Situated along key pedestrian movement routes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Test the structuring types of the safety outposts in relation to one another, such as appropriate distances between outposts/safe walkable scale of movement. - Varied typologies: a small control room within an existing facility/a new-build neighbourhood centre
HYBRID HUBS			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish partners and programmes to take ownership of the temporal nature of the facility. - Addressing missing links and partners. - Positive occupation of unsafe spaces - typically contains law enforcement/neighbourhood watch, civic patrol room/caretaker's apartment, visibility of street/ and an active ground floor function. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Minimum 2/3 storey mixed-use, with multi-functional. - Interface with street edge: visually permeable . - Highly accessible to regional/broader community, encourage a diverse range of users: unique programme and function. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relationships: support schools and ECDs through outdoor programming, learning spaces, play-scapes, shared gardens, sports facilities with operators and maintenance. - Key facility needs to be prioritised for incremental development, such as: Youth Resource centre, technical school, vertical gym, trauma clinic etc.
LINEAR PARKS			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shared street space, ownership of adjacent users. - In the design of parks, provide paths, running tracks, playgrounds, and sport courts. - Providing active environment and access, defining the movement system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Green linear park elements allow for physical activity, play, interaction & entertainment, at multiple locations. - Provide cohesion to disconnected public space, whilst establishing edge to neglected public realm, creating a relation btwn. building & surroundings. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linear parks to have an hierarchical structure, portions of street established in relation to partners. - Identifying existing active role players, and potential for expansion and extending of programmes: such as places of worship, community centres, schools, crèches.
EQUALIZING NETWORKS			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Walkways as part of the street network committed to pedestrian movement. - Creation of a safe pedestrian network, connecting to existing amenities and community gardens, passive surveillance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lighting strategy developed with consideration of different functions of spatial zones, provision of adequate lighting for pedestrian safety. - Interconnected, affordable and varied modes of public transport alternatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shared streets to be closed to vehicular movement for specific portions of the day. - Continuity of the street network - develop most impactful locations and grow.

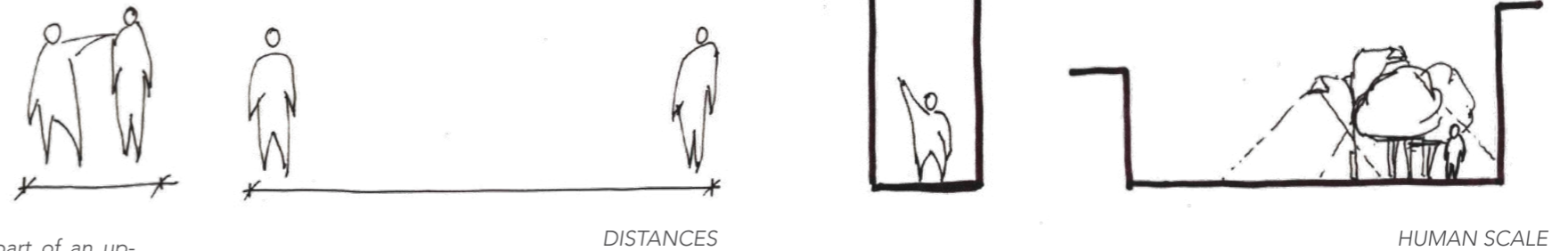
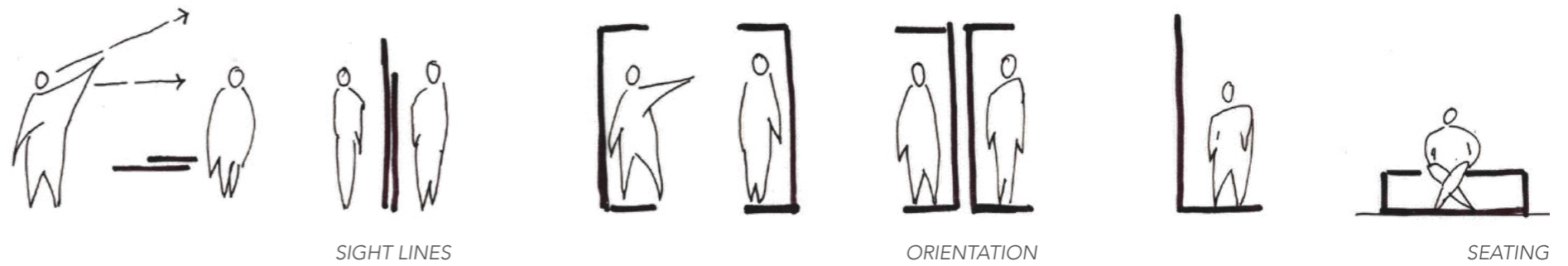


Figure 164 & 165: The basketball court was part of an upgrade installation to create recreation opportunities and beautification along one of the bustling roads in Paris. Pigale and Nike partnered in this space activation project, ensuring use in this once derelict alley space between two buildings.

DESIGN GUIDELINES

The design guidelines highlight the necessity of both capital and programmatic interventions; that consider people, power and place as central in developing inclusive, safe and coherent public spaces.

STRATEGY TYPE	PLACE PRINCIPLE		
	Inclusive/Choice	Territory	Disturbance
SAFETY OUTPOSTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Position of safety outposts to be located in a highly visual areas of the community, ensuring maximum surveillance and access. - Arrange with, and cluster other facilities/amenities for support and to strengthen activation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Entrances to 'safety outposts' to be well lit and to announce the space/facility. - Unique context, therefore used to diversify the public realm and increasing occupation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disturbing of the dominant, violent and negative actions in a space is the intent - therefore, position in areas of most conflict. - Contributes to the diversity and flourishing space
HYBRID HUBS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supports a wide range of activities, and multiple programmes such as: learning, homework groups, recreation, performance, dance etc. - Public and private spatial structure shaped by 'place-making' - streets/squares/green = quality of spaces. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Has district significance - a unique facility that attracts users from outside the neighbourhood. - Safe inner playground /courtyard for after-school programmes. - Locate entry points in proximity of an active safety outpost/ forecourt. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locations of hub must consider impact - identify spaces of 'red flags' and incorporate patterns into design considerations through disturbing. - Building and resultant spaces should be designed at a human scale - small moments of disturbances.
LINEAR PARKS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'Woonerf' streets create spaces for social interaction, playing, engaging and pausing. - Major civic institutions to be located in and around linear parks. - Aesthetically attractive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linear parks to be established in places where they are occurring - develop partnerships with organisations to upscale and grow territory. - Owners/seed planters to be adjacent to gardens for passive surveillance. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create a buffer to separate pedestrians from moving vehicles using street furniture, trees, paved surfaces and other infrastructure. - Landscaping components (such as tree planting and lighting) used to enhance place-making and pedestrian experience.
EQUALIZING NETWORKS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'Multi-functional' shared spaces - strategically located along key pedestrian routes. - Respond to a range of public transport requirements (bus/taxi/cycle etc) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop gateways and landmarks into the neighbourhoods, assist in orientating users in the monotonous rhythm of the layout. - Different hierarchies of spaces, intensifying activity and dispersing along routes: such as some areas to linger and sit, others to pass by and move etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Streets expand at strategic places to become courts with hard & soft landscaping. - CRU public housing to develop a public art/graffiti strategy for aesthetic upgrades to facades. - Positioning access points in close proximity to a safety outposts.



Figure 166
The housing blocks are located north of Guadalajara, Mexico. Built in the early 80's, today represents a several stigmatized area due to the drug problem.



Figure 167, and Figure 168: (Below)
The project "was conceived collaboratively... the work and it's development like a transgenerational mirror. A place built on bridges between different social realities working together. This way of building cities should be a model today, in order to develop the society of the future" (Guerra, et al., 2018, 22). This treatment of public housing illustrates the potential in upgrading, with limited budget, the dignity of spaces and housing.



Figure 169:
Jakes Gerwel Technical School, Bonnievale, Western Cape. The design incorporates a stimulating educational environment, which encourages access to programmes and shared facilities. The project was born out of the community to address the needs of students for a technical training resource in the under-served farming community.

6.0 URBAN DESIGN AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

“Good architecture ensures good interaction between public space and public life. but while architects and urban planners have been dealing with space, the other side of the coin - life - has often been forgotten. Perhaps this is because it is considerably easier to work with and communicate about form and space, while life is ephemeral and therefore difficult to describe”.

(Gehl & Svarre, 2013, p. 2)

WHO IS IT FOR, AND WHO OWNS THE CITY?

“Urban design and planning has traditionally been involved with the creation of permanent, static urban conditions - as in the implementation of infrastructure, or the designation of open spaces and actual built form. However, in reality, it is the kinetic fabric - people, temporary paraphernalia, etc., that defines the ground reality of a city” (Mehrotra, 2004, p. 12). A city, by its design, is a public space; and for it to function as such it has to bring people together. However, currently in South African urban places, people are not the dominant designer and actor of the city space. The UN Habitat III identify two major components as to why the city is closed off, and exclusionary to some of its inhabitants. Currently the consumption capacity of a city is geared towards a franchise, it addresses the needs of minority consumers. Intervention is key in the re-localising of the economy, to maximise circulation for the majority.

The second component in spatial exclusion is the mono-functionality of the city; the quality of the street and the usage needs to be able to create conditions in the city that are complex, to address the temporal nature of space and to keep it active through overlaid functions. The ownership of the city is broadly captured in the above, however, a third component that is vital is the recognition of the informal. Approximately sixty percent of jobs in the global South are located within the informal economy; this means that there is a responsibility on designers to consider these liminal spaces and its role players more than the formal patterns. These left-over spaces where informality is developing should be the areas where the everyday public domain is strengthened and experiences meaningful community-led intervention.

HOW DID WE GET HERE?

The Modernist principles and ideologies have had a longevity which few could have foreseen or predicted; that ‘the four keys to urban planning are the four functions of the city: dwelling, work, recreation [and] transportation’ still influences planning and the design of contemporary cities (Clos, et al., 2017, p. 2). Despite the increased recognition into the impacts of the separation of spaces, of communities, and of the change in thinking around the prioritising of an integrated approach to design; the archaic spatial logic is still employed. “Despite the increasing complexity and specificity of the global urban condition, many of the 94 recommendations of the 1933 Charter of Athens still determine the generic forms and physical organisation of 21st century city. ‘Urban space’ has increasingly become the territory of negotiation and confrontation between public and private interests; between politicians, planners, architects and real estate agents; and between banks, financial institutions, speculators, developers and landowners.” (Clos, et al., 2017, p. 2).

This urban space has become highly contested in the negotiation of territory, especially in the emerging countries global South. “This growth is particularly remarkable because it has generally not been accompanied by comparable industrialisation. Instead, it has produced a deficit in infrastructure, housing, education and all the needs of social reproduction. The result is that societies in the global South did not pass through an industrial age, but rather leapfrogged directly into the urban age, complete with vast and growing areas of poverty and exclusion” (Brillembourg & Klumpner, 2010, p. 121). However, these areas of poverty hold a kinetic condition and opportunity that is only just beginning to be explored through design. Space is being occupied in new and innovative ways; and due to necessity it emerges with a perception of form outside of structured parameters. “It is indigenous urbanism that has its particular ‘local’ logic. It is not necessarily only the city of the poor, as most images and discussions on the informal city might suggest; rather it is a temporal articulation and occupation of space which not only creates a richer sensibility of spatial occupation, but also suggests how spatial limits are expanded to include formally un-imagined uses in dense urban conditions. The informal or kinetic city carries local wisdom into the contemporary world without fear of the modern, while the static city aspires to erase the local and recodify it in a written formal order.” (Hernandez, Kellett, & Allen, 2010, p. xii). These lessons of the temporal occupation need to inform and recreate the urban conditions that develop in a rate that, often, is too rapid for the static city.

“Everyday Urbanism celebrates and builds on the richness and vitality of daily life and ordinary reality. It has little pretense about the perfectibility of the built environment... But it is idealistic about social equality and citizen participation, especially for disadvantaged populations. It is grass-roots and populist... The city is shaped more by the forces of everyday life than by formal design and official plans”.

(Mehrotra, 2004, p. 8)

WHY URBAN DESIGN IS NECESSARY: THE ROLE

Urban life and public space are comprised of a composition of often, seemingly, misplaced pieces. As observed above, it is “easier to work with and communicate about form and space, while life is ephemeral” (Gehl & Svarre, 2013, p. 2), and therefore often those pieces remain underdeveloped within the urban field as vast territories of contrasting conditions that become easier to omit than to include in design considerations. However, the strength and privilege as urban designers, is to begin to tease out through discussion, drawing, engagement, a way in which the formal and informal urban life can support and enrich one another.

“The city is shaped more by the forces of everyday life than by formal design and official plans” (Mehrotra, 2004, p. 8); and the interventions that catalyse space should be informed through the nuances of the everyday experience found within a particular context and community. The role that distinguishes the urban designer is the ability to imagine, recognise and be informed by patterns found in informal cities; where the information gained from local elements and constraints is strengthened and developed through communication. The role is to ensure the beneficiary community is empowered in the decision-making of the outcome of the intervention; this prompts the notion that the concern is not about beauty or coherence, but rather community based or bottom-up voices and assist in the creation of ‘what could, and what should be’.

The role, especially found in the South African context, is to contribute meaningfully to the representation of the negotiated spaces found in informality. This is the new emerging city, it is outside the controlled and formally planning practice; as such, urban designers have a responsibility to re-conceptualise the way form is considered for the majority of the world’s population. “Despite being dense, even teeming with buildings and inhabitants, they are often represented simply as blank spaces. The implication is clear: informal zones and their inhabitants are not really part of the city, being considered temporary. But informal zones are not the exception - they are the rule. What does it mean to conceive as more than half the city as temporary or marginal?” (Brillembourg & Klumpner, 2010, p. 127). This, then, is the role and argument; to embrace those citizens whose space and occupancy has been deemed temporary; and to design small ways in which inclusion can be incrementally built upon.

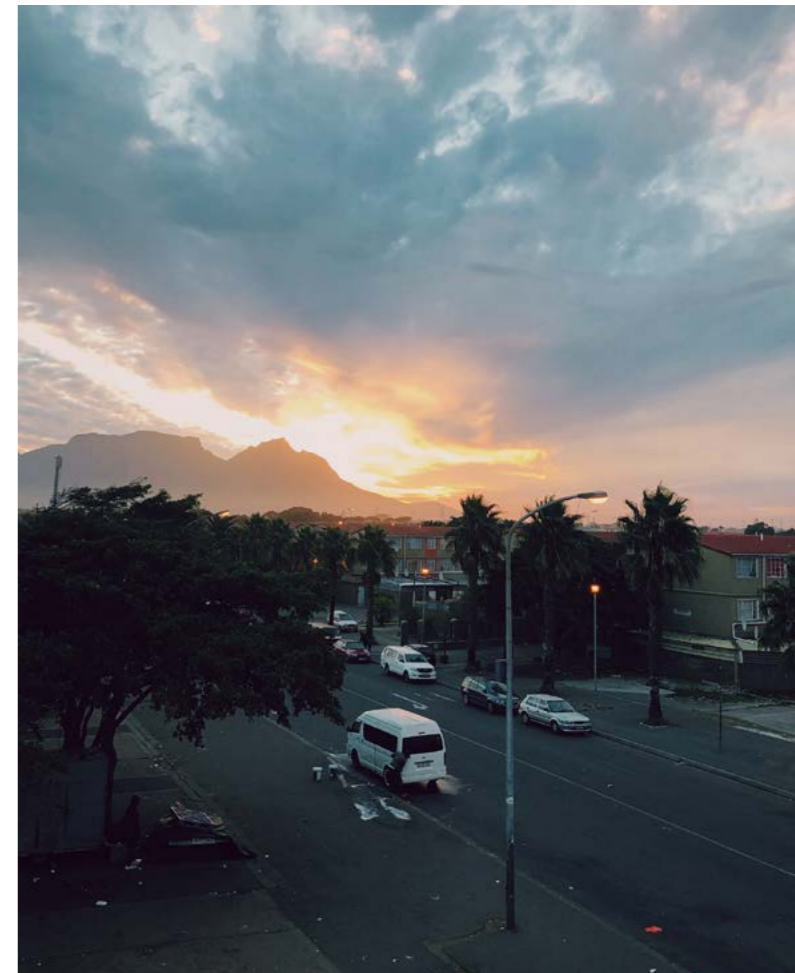


Figure 170: Public Realm? Taxis wait along the edge of the Downs Road, with the CRU units bleeding out onto the street

7.0 POLICY REVISITED

“Participation in the context of urban upgrading is ideally understood as “a process in which people, and specifically disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation and the planning and implementation of policies and programs, and are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stage of development projects” (Imparato and Ruster, 2003, p. 4). Because of the lack of reliable information and data illustrates the high complexity present in this kind of neighbourhood” (Calderon, 2012, p. 3). Throughout the action research process in this urban design research project, the key to effective implementation of strategies and policies, is the input, experience, partnering and co-design ability with engaged communities.

The City of Cape Town’s Integrated Development Plan (IDP) identifies five strategic focus areas in order to further the vision of service delivery and implementation; which are the opportunity city, the safe city, the inclusive city, the caring city, and the well-run city. The first three focus areas are most applicable in beginning to explore the relevance of the IDP in its engagement with its citizens.

The Inclusive City establishes a public participation programme as a key in building integrated communities, where the community is informed on projects. However, in expanding on the point it becomes more concerning rather than encouraging whereby “communities [are] to optimally participate in issues that affect them” (CCT IDP, 2017, p. 122). This does not ensure that the citizens hold any power in the co-production or decision-making on these ‘issues’, and raises the question: who decides on the criteria for ‘optimally’? Rather, it goes on the say, local government will provide a dialogue with residents ensuring mediation and trust. Participation does not necessarily lead to collaboration.

The MSDF does not adequately and spatially expand upon the IDP’s ‘optimal’ participation either; with no guide on the minimal (which is a poor threshold to begin with) requirements of public participation and collaboration: either through a percentage or time-based total of a project value. In exploring further afield, the UISP (Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme), a government funding programme, acknowledges that communities possess the depth of information concerning their development needs and shortfalls; and that this knowledge should be utilised to inform the design outcomes thereby ensuring actual concerns are addressed. “To this effect, funding is available to support community involvement and 3% of the total project cost is reserved for social facilitation, which includes activities such as socio economic surveying / profiling, conflict resolution, facilitated community participation, and housing support services. However, such funding allocations are rarely honoured in upgrading projects, and are typically consumed in the overall engineering budgets” (Hendler & Fieuw, 2018, p. 38).

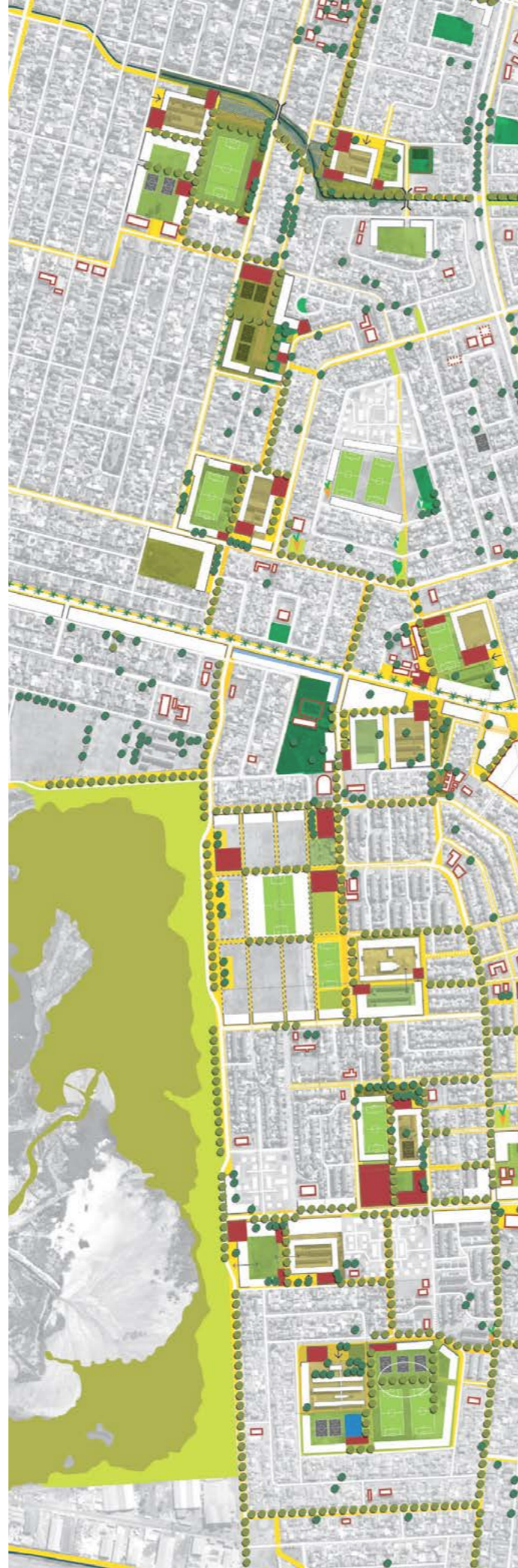


Figure 171: Manenberg’s Public Investment Framework plan, by VPUU.

“Participatory planning, also known as communicative, deliberative or collaborative planning, emerged as a response to the failure that planning institutions had when coping with the rapid changes occurring in western cities during the second half of the 20th century.”

- (Calderon, 2012, p.3)

What is missing in the strategic focus areas is the ‘just’ city, a city for all - not only inclusivity, but one that *addresses* inequality in our marginal spaces. “The conversation about justice and the city must begin with directly confronting social and economic inequality and prioritizing them as the main issue around which institutions must be reorganized. Contemporary architectural and urban practices must engage this political project head-on. We must question the neoliberal hegemony that has been imposed on the city in recent decades, which has exerted a violent blow to our collective economic, social and natural resources, producing an anti-public agenda whose ultimate consequence is an ever-widening gap between rich and poor” (Cruz & Forman, 2015, p. 40).

The power that policy makers and institutions hold in their positions of authority needs to be leveraged to empower others, those with a smaller voice. This requires the acceptance of various voices in collaboration, pursuing the spatial good and justice for all citizens; intentionally involving and inviting diverse opinions into the iterative process. The below example was identified as a Local Priority Area within the MSDF, and serves to illustrate the potential of engagement within policy, and the shortcomings.

MANENBERG PUBLIC INVESTMENT FRAMEWORK (PIF): VPUU

The City of Cape Town (CCT) identified Manenberg as a priority area for upgrading and investment via the Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme. The Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrade (VPUU) was appointed by the CCT and Western Cape Government to develop a Public Investment Framework for the community. The objectives of the Manenberg PIF include: the establishing of an ongoing active participation with the community; coordination amongst the municipal and provincial line departments; identifying challenges and opportunities; and the identification of strategic projects and programmes for public investment.

The vision informing the Manenberg PIF includes the following: to transform collectively and in partnership; and to change a dormitory area into a safe, secure, open, connected, accessible, diverse, vibrant, innovative, attractive, cohesive, stimulating, and sustainable neighbourhood.

After assessing the previous work of the PIF, there were two points of concern in the engagement process. The first is the acknowledgement of the external actors and facilitators (VPUU) in having an unbiased position within the process. To illustrate, this work comes from a particular position of power (commissioned by local and provincial government), therefore at what point does the community receive assurance that their voices are fully considered, on an ongoing basis and not just at the project initiation stage. Perhaps a Memorandum of Un-

derstanding needs to be in place, establishing who the body of work is for. “In their mediating role, actors who strategically or unconsciously operate, or direct others to operate, in a conventional manner not only reproduce and sustain existing institutional constraints and opportunities, but also generate compliance with such institutions” (Calderon & Westin, 2019, p. 4).

The PIF was completed in 2015, and provided a framework for the CCT to invest in particular areas identified through the community participation process. However, four years later in 2019, when particular projects with budget are beginning to emerge; the work has not been reengaged or the new interpretations of the previously identified projects introduced to the community. Ongoing *partnership* and identified partners are the missing link in the Investment Framework. The second point of concern, follows on from the first: particular parcels of land were identified along Duinefontein and Turfhall Road for a new library and health facilities. This, however, is a compromise on what the community expressed: that services are being removed from the centre of Manenberg to the periphery or the ‘easy’ edges, reducing its core, barren of any services other than contested ownership of residential units and neglected open spaces. This contention is further exacerbated, when the transferring of land between two spheres of government is at a stalemate. In order to ensure that a product is produced, the identified site location is altered, without any engagement or consideration further than, what do we (the state) own? All engagement is sacrificed for ease of implementation. This problematic result is partly due to the introduction of municipal performance targets, in 2010, compelling local governments to action. Performance through provision is monitored, overriding the deep engagement that was achieved through VPUU’s initial work accomplished in Manenberg. The lesson learned from this outcome is that engagement is not a temporary activity, it is one that is continuous and it is iterative; ensuring that the product does not drive the process of spatial justice.

This process of co-design, of seeking the process over the product in order to distill, it is “fluid, concerned with an endless series of translations— from idea to drawing; drawing to building; building to city; city to society” (Lokko, 2015, p. 10). This is what policy should become and be flexible towards - a process whereby the spatial fabric is translated and transposed, again and again, through the daily navigations of its users. As Hamdi notes, governance should be “based on networks, not hierarchies, where users become partners in the service society provides, where ‘enterprise is governed and run by and for its members’ through mutual cooperation. It’s an inside-out organisation where the whole is held together by the parts, where design and emergence are balanced” (Hamdi, 2004, p. xxv).

"Social interaction... depends critically upon diversity, intricacy and the capacity to handle the unexpected in controlled but creative ways. We will see how practice and practitioners 'using the power of [their] authority to empower others', can nurture this process - or sometimes how they can disable it"

- (Hamdi, 2004, p. xxiv)

8.0 CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The current discourse in the global South is centred around the rights and access of inhabitants to the city. The responsibility of the Urban Design discipline, therefore, is to develop an approach which holds the values of all citizens in tension; recognising that the informal city provides as much value and contribution, as the formal city. Acknowledging the "rise of the informal city. Its improvisation and flexibility make it a key aspect of, not an exception to, the globalised economy" (Brillembourg & Klumpner, 2010, p. 123).

Participatory and collaborative design approaches should continuously test the notion of: who is the city for? Too often there is a fragile notion of legitimate citizenship; of the construction of an idea when exclusion determines who is the actor in the public realm and spaces of our cities. Mere built up density is not the city. As designers, one must creatively seek interventions which not only include multiple users in the public realm, but to include multiple voices. It is an intentional and integrated city-making process; whereby the intervention is not a static plan, instead it should "concentrate on the creation of choice. In this sense, the intent is to enable, not to prescribe" (Dewar, 2015, p. 243).

The intention of this research project was to illustrate the strength of design through the engagement of the collective voice: it takes time. For deep engagement, the notion of time in the processes should be accommodated within the 'traditional' planning programme. The approach needs to ask questions of communities that are being served, ensuring that the plans do not provide an answer that was never part of the question communities were asking in the first place. Through participatory co-design, it ensures context-driven, integrated planning and intervention. The Urban Design practice has the responsibility to intervene in a manner that allows all citizens, especially those who have been marginalised, the claim for social and spatial recognition; and to have an increasingly strong impact on the way the city is negotiated, imagined and produced.

This Urban Design Research Project pursued the process over the product, in exploration of collaboration and co-design strategies that emerged from within the community, and was "conceived as a space to test how Change by Design participatory methodology could contribute to the process of creating" (Frediani, 2018, p. 44). During the co-designing process, Manenberg, one of the most valuable outcomes that emerged from the focus groups was the role of partners and relationships. For any intervention to be successful, there must be buy in, be discussion and engagement, workshopping, from which an idea surfaces. Projects without partners and programmes to accompany it, as is often the case with the provision of top-down products in marginalised and underserved areas. Often these projects lack the longevity that they aspire to due to the lack of partnering. "This philosophy of 'acting in order to induce others to act', of offering impulses rather than instructions, and of cultivating an environment for change from within, starts on the ground and often with small beginnings which have 'emergent' potential... Shared ownership of the development agenda is seen as key to its sustainability... [P]ublic, private and civic roles are being reconceptualized and reshaped in both economics and social policy: the best route to the problem solving lies through partnership". (Hamdi, 2004, p. xx). In pursuing the process of iterative design, the principles of people, power and place produced an approach to community-led solutions - providing an invaluable statement for change through partnership.



Figure 172:
Recognisable washing lines strung between the CRU blocks.

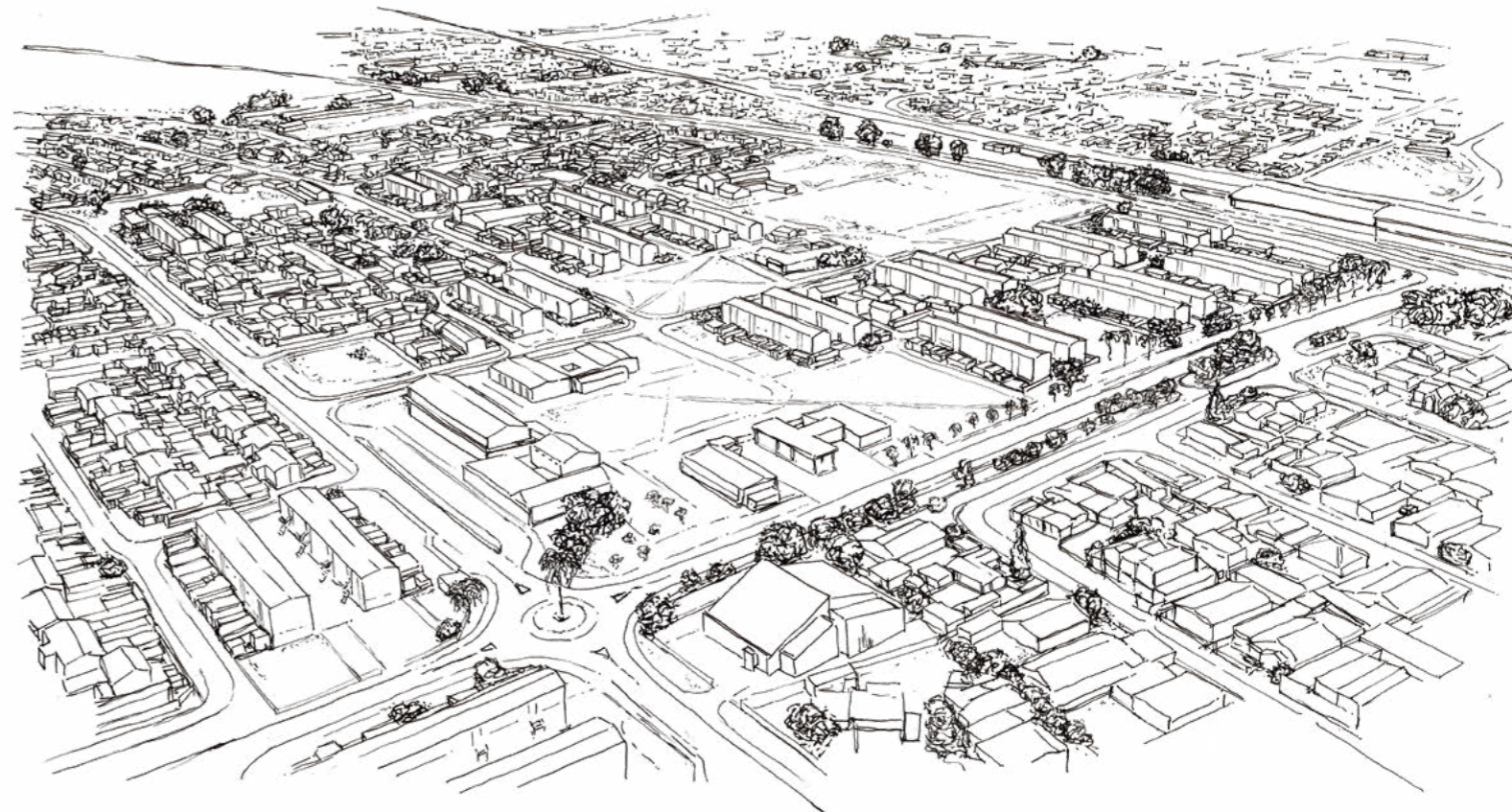


Figure 173:
Aerial illustration looking north-east over the Downs Road in the foreground, and Gugulethu in the background.

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APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant		Phillippa Hedley
Department		Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
Preferred email address of applicant:		phillippahedley@gmail.com
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	MUD (Master of Urban Design)
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc.	60
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Dr. Kathryn Ewing
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		N/A
Project Title		Postcolonial Imagination and the Negotiation of the Public Realm in Manenberg, Cape Town

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
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APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Dr. Kathryn Ewing		05 Apr 2019
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (including Honours).	<input type="text" value="APPROVED FOR ETHICS"/>		26/4/2019 Click here to enter a date.
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.			

RECORD YOUR CHOICES HERE

VALUE: Playful Education to learn in a fun and better way with parent

QUESTION: People that can commit to our children. And just focus on kids and their future and see how it is important how to create a fun education system

DESIGN TACTICS

(Choose/give your own - at least two options)

Organization that would train people/parents to help. OR Create a new organization for parents in Mlberg to step in.

Choose a amount of parents train them. Work together with their kids. Family - Together unity.

See what works or not. But they have to be determined and not give up.

Build a special place for that in Mlberg where people get good access without spending money. Food is important because poverty is a big issue in Marenberg

SKETCH YOUR IDEAS:



1. Bring people together Explain idea about kids future. ^{from people} Create idea on creating org or use one that already exist. Let them choose.
- (2) Training - Counseling - Play therapy - for parents Educate them @ reading, how to do homework) pare
- (3) Build place for use Existing place

RECORD YOUR CHOICES HERE

VALUE: A taxi rent in Marenberg

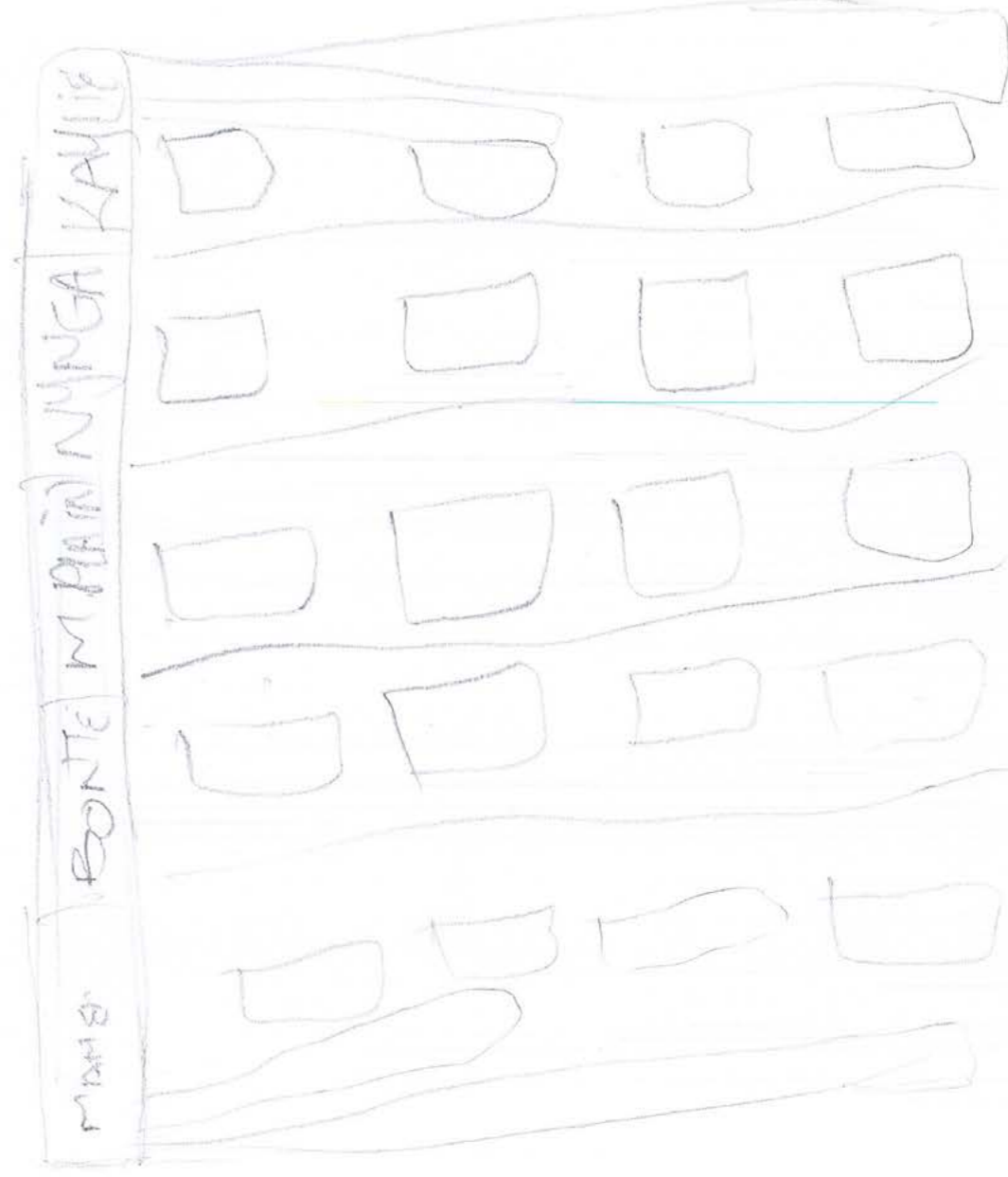
QUESTION: to make traveling more easier for people in the place

DESIGN TACTICS

(Choose/give your own - at least two options)

To have a taxi rent will make lifes so easier where people can go anywhere and using one taxi from the point to there destination

SKETCH YOUR IDEAS:



RECORD YOUR CHOICES HERE

VALUE: Public

QUESTION: How are we
going to welcome
division

DESIGN TACTICS
(Choose/give your own - at least two options)

SKETCH YOUR IDEAS:

- Parkers Open Studios
- Games Park
- S-A-SOC (own by Public)

RECORD YOUR CHOICES HERE

VALUE: _____

QUESTION: _____

DESIGN TACTICS
(Choose/give your own - at least two options)

SKETCH YOUR IDEAS:

- create movement around Mannerberg
- parks in different areas
- football fields everywhere
- many small things instead of one big place
- partnerships
- using open spaces
- connection with Turfball
- houses mean more territory for groups to claim

RECORD YOUR CHOICES HERE

VALUE: HEALTH CARE - Physical
+ mental/PTSD

QUESTION: How do we enable
people to have access to ER
services + longer health care?

DESIGN TACTICS
 (Choose/give your own - at least two options)

1. Place an emergency service building w/ ambulance + police onsite for immediate response
2. Added to the hospital being planned - a wellness center that
 - a) educates
 - b) offers health upkeep + exercise center for yoga, boxing.
 - c) mental health support center - counselors, art therapy.
3. A REMEMBRANCE GARDEN. → Helps to recover from PTSD + process individual + collective pain.

SKETCH YOUR IDEAS:



RECORD YOUR CHOICES HERE

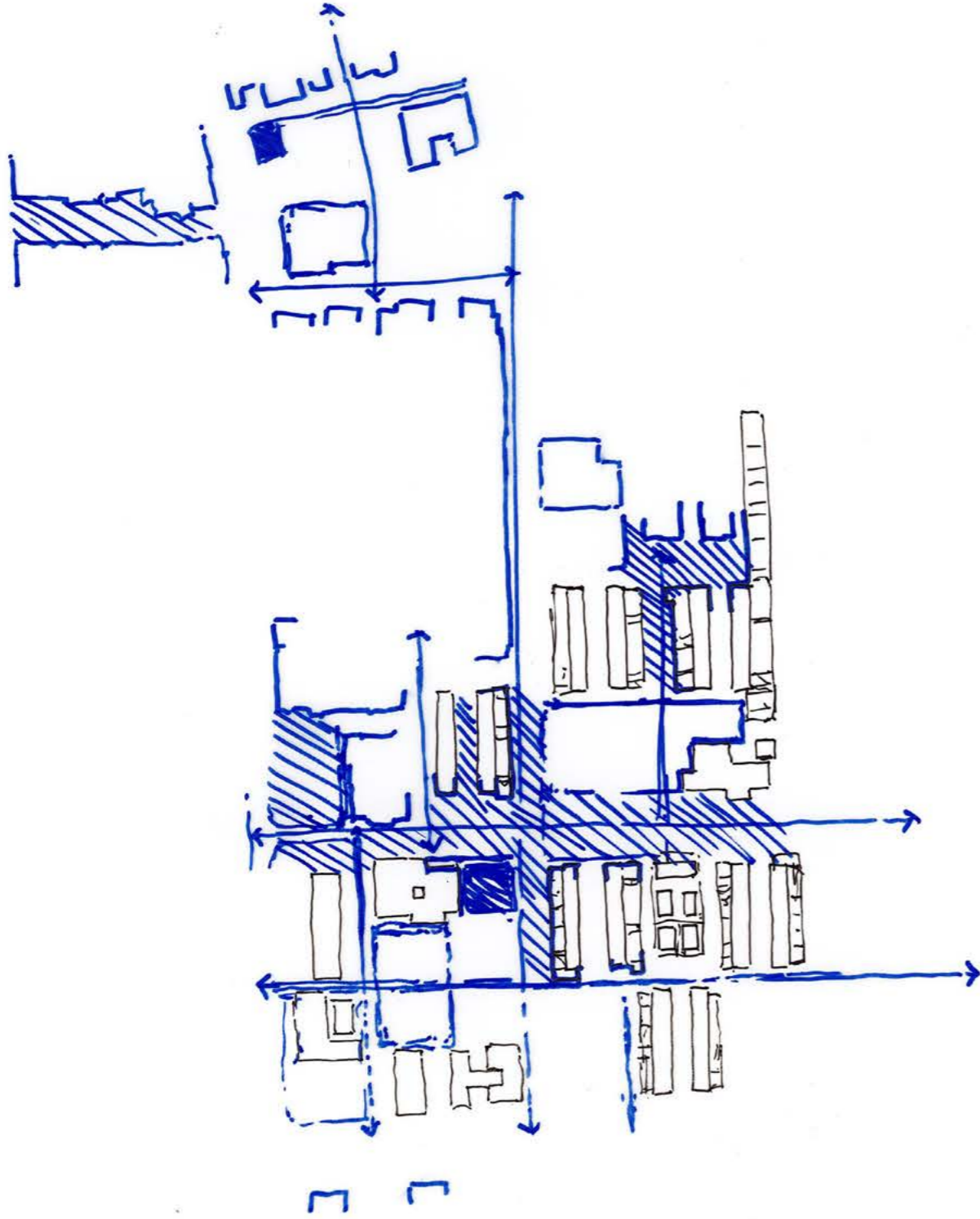
VALUE: COMPUTER CLASSES
PLAYING SOCCER &
PEOPLE NEEDS INTERNET
IN THE COMMUNITY

QUESTION: HOW DO WE GIVE
ANYONE ACCESS TO COMPUTER
CLASSES?

DESIGN TACTICS
 (Choose/give your own - at least two options)

- BUILDING OPPORTUNITY'S
- SAFETY FOR SOCCER SCOUTS COMING INTO MANUMENBENE
- TECHNICAL TRAINING LOCAL

SKETCH YOUR IDEAS:



11.0 APPENDIX 'E'

FOCUS GROUP & INTERVIEW DATA - SAMPLE SUMMARY

Interviewee	Comments/Responses	Code	Category	Themes
Focus Group 1	Problem: movement is one of the biggest concerns - no safe way to move through Manenberg i.e from the Downs to Sonderend. Community would rather exit Manenberg, walk around and along Duinefontein and back down Turfhaal Road to ensure safety - double the distance, however, do not want to risk walking through territories (even when there is gang peace/cease fire as it can flare up suddenly).	safety/security	welfare	
<i>*key focus: social services needs/safety</i>	Connectivity/links into the city are not easily accessible. Majority of taxi/transport routes connect first to Century City or Mitchells Plain - and from those interchanges are people distributed.	mobility	access	
	Public transport terminus/interchange would be a need at the train station.	mobility	access	
	Future MyCiti bus route/phase 2 IRT along Japhta Masemola/Wetton Road - the taxi's are full so the bus fare would need to be cheap to make people use it. No one usually walks that way/to that road anyway - not really used. Even more so during gang fight, people will not go that way	participation	voice	
	The road upgrades that have happened along portions of Duinefontein and portions of Manenberg do not happen everywhere, if you actually go into the streets of Manenberg [proper] no work has been done for years - council is too scared. It's all for 'show'.	mobility	equity	
	Far too little parks/open space for kids to play in. Kids cannot just stay at home - no space. Ownership: the people who are around the existing parks (ie Marico Park / Sherwood Park) are the ones who use the facility - unfriendly/wary of outsiders or children and teenagers that they do not know. Sherwood Park is a good example: the community asked for the upgrade - and then they take after it/use it - own it.	provision	ownership	
	Gang trajectory/growth has escalated hugely (*even in our time - the interviewees for the focus group are between the ages of 27 - 31 years old), there's no other options for kids in the area.	hope	aspiration	
	Opportunity for portion of the Silverstream Secondary School to become a park - more outside of gang territories, availability of space to develop.	provision	distribute	
	Development on the Greens - be 'seen' to be doing something, easiest land availability. But there is no protection from drive-bys. Also, it is only for men [only soccer is played on the Greens currently] and what do women in the community do if they do not want to watch soccer? Often spoken as the 'heart' of Manenberg, but its not accessible for all [genders].	inclusion	equality	
	Why doesn't Manenberg have different opportunities/options for sports? What about introducing tennis courts/athletics or other extra-mural activities?	provision	distribute	
Focus Group 2	Spatial divisions are extreme in Manenberg: on many different levels - gangs, religion, race, political etc.			
<i>*key focus: gang territory/safety spaces/division</i>	CoCT wards (3) - Separate and divide space arbitrarily, 2 wards are DA and 1 ward is ANC.		territories	
	Subcouncil offices (previously at Fezeka) EPWP work focused on Philippi. Discriminate coloured for job seekers - biased.			
	Public service still looks the same as when it was apartheid - serving the public: attitudes are no different.	service	welfare	
	Subcouncil offices moved to Athlone - continually disenfranchised those who are poor as the distance cannot easily be covered on foot. Spatial injustice.	connectivity	equality	
	Die Laan [*Manenberg Avenue] is the main public transport route for people in the community; however, it goes through multiple gang territories. Even the route that goes up into Primrose Park is a major public transport link and that also goes right through gang turf - it's getting so bad that gangs are making taxis pay for protection to move through these spaces.	mobility	ownership	
	Vykieskraal is 'safer' to use when there is gang fight; but when there is war, there is no movement [to the Greens especially - football related].	mobility	access	
	Safety - Law enforcement is located outside of the communities they serve. Who are you serving? Just look at the locations: Manenberg SAPS on the outside; Nyanga SAPS within 600 m on the outside of Nyanga; and Hanover Park SAPS is located in an industrial area, inaccessible from the community.	safety/security	welfare	
	Primrose Park area is flaring up with new(er) gangs and JFK territory [Junky Funky Kids - gang]. They are some lighties [youngsters - in this case specifically between 14 - 17 years old] who are challenging and wanting to gain some turf. If you look for the red roofs in any area in Manenberg - you'll find gangs.			
Focus Group 3	Correcting where the nuanced gang territories are located - establishing the routes and rows of court housing differences between spatial ownership (*see map).			
<i>*key focus: territory/absence of ownership (not v. forthcoming in the focus group)</i>	The Clever kids (especially by the 7's) have a lot of young guys in the gangs.	conflict	fairness	
	Silverstream Community Centre once had playing fields and sport happening on the site. Then the council came to upgrade the courts and never restored the site to the condition that it had once been - what is then left has become heated gang fights over the now open and contested/unclaimed area. This has made the Community Centre no longer/hardly be used and continues to deteriorate. The landlord does not care - there used to be loads of youth programmes within the centre, no more.			
	It has now become an important [or notorious] piece of land as a hotspot of activity and power struggles.		ownership	
Interviewee/Person 1	There are no shops, mainly only tuck shops in people's backyards/stoep - the only two big grocery shops are the Manenberg Wholesalers on die Laan and the Junction (* Checkers at Nyanga Junction/Train station). Every other house has a tuck shop. For big/monthly shops will go to Vangate Mall - hard to carry shopping bags with no car.		aspiration	Opportunity: Potential for economic development
<i>Abe</i>	No small/economic growth opportunities - isolated. We need a slaghuis/butcher some options for getting fresh meats.			
	Socially isolated too: no spaces to relax, like a restaurant or a sports bar, have to go to Kenilworth or Lansdowne to watch soccer.			
	Schools need to be rethought, as there is a high dropout rate but where do they go? How do you give them an opportunity/hope? Potentially a technical/skills school for children to learn a trade.			

	The schools have multiple layers of fencing, cutting off portions of the land that they can't maintain/feel unsafe - it has the appearance of decency, that the place is looked after - but it just creates more of a hok (traditionally a sheep pen/enclosure). The safest routes into the schools (i.e Silverstream) are from Duinefontein, rather than internally.	social facilities		
	Location of the proposed school intervention (*the combination of Silverstream School and Edendale Primary to release land for PWC Hospital development) just doesn't make sense - it's the least safe option. The entrance for the school is right opposite the Hard Livings [gang] headquarters, so it makes movement for kids and parents incredibly unsafe.	collaboration	engagement	
	Scale - small, no movement outside of block (distances). Do not feel safe enough to travel even short distances due to the uncertainty of something happening/flaring up.			
	The sand industria once was used by kids [and myself] to go swimming in and for recreation - but it has got more and more polluted and unclear. It also has become more and more unsafe, dumping of rubbish and sometimes bodies.	recreation		
Interviewee/Person 2	Police located outside of the community that they serve - where is their presence? After the Old Rent Office was removed, tried to have a satellite unit based on the vacant site - the SAPS law enforcement did not last more than two weeks on that spot. They just stayed parked and didn't get out of their police vans.	safety/security	welfare	
<i>Joy</i>	Shot spotter cameras are in the wrong locations - biggest deaths occur in the yards of the courts - easy get away spaces.			
	SS locations - middle of gang territories: The Clinic in Manenberg (the only health care that's left after Jooste moved - also how do you get there without a car?) is only for children and family planning - nothing major for things like trauma and emergency units, which we need living in a gang warzone.		distribute	
	The other maternity clinic is in Hanover Park, and there is no way people would go that way during gang fight - too bang [scared] to cross over two different communities turf.	conflict	fairness	
	The location of the Sevens (*headquarters and home turf/territory of the Clever Kids gang - called so due to the seven courts that make up the configuration) is found on one of two major exits [along the Downs Road] from Manenberg onto Duinefontein. This is incredibly dangerous for many reasons, two being: it offers many multi-exit driveby shooting options; as well as life threatening for community members as this is where taxis park, have informal clothing markets on weekends, fruit vendors and people going to the Nyanga Junction.			
	Social workers: There are a lot of children in foster care. When there is a gang fight, or they feel unsafe, they do not come in to meet with the kids/families/young pregnant moms - we have to travel all the way to Gatesville to receive counselling or social work. A big need would be a childcare centre in Manenberg.			
Interviewee/Person 3	There's a major problem with dumping of rubbish all over - a lot of the homeless/destitute addicts steal wheelie bins so people do not have a formal place to throw their garbage, so they throw it anywhere. There's no place to formally dump. Do not want to alienate the guys who steal the bins, one of the reasons is that they use them to collect and salvage scrap to resell. It is their opportunity to live.			
<i>Carlo</i>	Hanover Park has a good example of a refuse collection and processing - could potentially implement and empower guys in Manenberg.			
	There's different types of dumping - Sherwood Park is more garden rubbish that they dump, Manenberg [courts] is food/human waste etc.			
	Disempowered: through location and routes - accessibility restriction - an obvious example is of the Jooste Hospital moving, now have to travel to Heideveld. Don't know why Jooste had to move - it was used.	disempowered	access	
	Same as the Old Rent Office or the Manenberg Library - there is always a worry about safety and stop services because staff is unsafe. If you use or employ people from the community [they know everyone] then there is no problem or complaining [as they feel safe, as it's their own community]. Trust people in the area: give them responsibility [not just tokenism].			
	Spatial layout - sny (cut up) - that's what we think about or say when asked about spaces in Manenberg - it's dissected or cut up all over.			
	Look where all the remaining social services are: look at the creches (*points them out - see map), the schools, the churches, the clinic - all of them are in the middle of gang warfare - look at the location of the Salvation Army creche. Sometimes people cannot leave the buildings because of all the shooting.	safety/security	welfare	
	The Silverstream recreation sports fields/facility was ruined when the City came to do maintenance.			
	Housing typologies: new proposals - no consultation with community/where is our in put? Current housing conditions: run-down public housing stock - either triple or double storey. Find these red roofs of the courts, and you will find the gangs. Observe the flats/courts versus single story - where do the problems occur?			
	There are new housing developments that are coming into the open spaces [taking the open public space]. They are not thought through - they are right in the middle of or will be caught in the crossfire of gang fights. (*see mapping)		include	
	MURP closing the P.O.S - no options left.			
	First need to improve basic living conditions, ie repairs and maintenance on existing courts - then develop new ones.			
Interviewee/Person 4	Youth - reach them before they turn 17. There is a youth gap, super important to break those barriers and to create a new cycle.			
<i>Jonathan</i>	Need public space as there are no backyards for kids to play in - private space does not exist, or much community play space. They have done something different at Kei Straat park - need to think like that more - add spaces for communities to do different things.			
	Open space/ fenced off from Silverstream school has a lot of urban agriculture happening (sheep/cattle/horses etc.) - use space.			

	Pulling out of the last remaining community services - ie. the new rent office (* Manenberg Contact Centre/ Housing Office) moved to the edge of Manenberg, along Wetton Road/Japhta Masemola Road. Nothing was done with the old rent office - pulled down and forgotten, another empty piece of land to shoot across. The new housing office is supposed to serve you, but it's outside the community area. It's uncomfortable for the poorest of the poor to get to. And the people that are employed there do not care about the community they are serving - forget the reason for the work [people].			
Interviewee/Person 5	Territories - safety of children is the primary concern. Cannot even move around corners - will not let my kids do that during gang fights, cannot see where the bullets are coming from along the streets [perpendicular] to Vykeskraal.	safety/security	welfare	
<i>Tima</i>	Many children in the surrounding courts [Peta Court] go hungry, do not have any income or opportunity to eat.			
Interviewee/Person 6	Silver tree Community Centre - unfairly underutilised by the owner.			
<i>Preswin</i>	Old sports field not returned into its previous condition.			
	Able to move from gang to gang for protection, and can get away with it because (re)newed members help gain territory.			
Focus Group Information Analysis Feedback 1	Fact checking: Territories are growing - gaining new ground and market. Even beginning now in areas that are traditionally gang neutral; there is a creep into neighbourhoods through 'protection' of identified young guys (approx. 12/13 years of age). Recruiting more intentionally - bigger clashes.	conflict	fairness	
<i>Dowayne & Sarah</i>	Agt howe (8 courts) - mixture of Jesters & Americans - starting to mix into new territories.			
	Jesters pushing and extending territory into Sherwood Park (traditionally neutral). New development Melon housing - no gang there currently - so if they establish they can get more young guys up to sell more drugs. Jesters are small (Casper gang leader established) but now extending.	conflict	fairness	
	Recruitment: if guys are just working for means - 'we will protect you', if you are being bullied and supply with guns. Status.			
	Recent gang fight - a lot of guys were shot around this particular area (see map) - Cam Road/Red River Street/Renoster Walk.			
	Fear: Aware of bias, but family members stay here - if Clever Kids gain Peta Court once more, they gang fight will escalate beyond control - not going to be safe anymore. The Greens will just be the location of cross fire - and along into the sand industria to shoot into the HLs from the Clever Kids.			
	Opportunity: Cut off and secure the edge of Red River and Cam Street - will minimise shooting. Opp. of Law Enforcement - take away risk.			
	Interventions in particular areas means that gangs will need to expose themselves to shoot. Too risky - the police have quite a big presence along die Laan [Manenberg Avenue]. Look at how dense the courts are - once you're in a yard here, you can see how the shacks are connected. If I'm on a roof - the police can't catch me, because there are so many roads I can choose to go down. The police will try to run after me, but I can just give the gun to a friend and they can't do anything if they catch me/chase me. But you can't run along die Laan [Manenberg Avenue] without the people seeing/catching.			
	They can't run along the Laan without the people seeing/catching.			
	Fancy boys are new - Primrose Park			
	Housing expansion Manenberg south will automatically become Clever Kids - a whole new set of dynamics at play.			
	New proposed Hospital position - is right in the middle of American territory. If you're a Hard Livings and you get shot - you can't go to that hospital. There will be gangsters waiting outside the doors for you on the exits. It was already happening to a lesser extent at Jooste - gang members had to borrow different cars so people wouldn't recognise them.	conflict	fairness	