STREET TACTICS

Frank Kleinschmidt

Master of Landscape Architecture Dissertation 2015

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All diagrams generated by author.

005 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This dissertation focuses on both the theoretical and physical relationship between the issue of spatial inequality and the contemporary movement of tactical urbanism.

The dissertation process began with a research study, which is encompassed in the first section of this document, entitled "We Own This City".

Although the abstract at the beginning of this document better describes the extent of this research, it essentially investigated the existing spatial inequality issue that is prevalent globally. Further examining this problem locally, tactical urbanism was considered as a potential solution.

Tactical urbanism was further explored in relation to existing local practices. It was discovered that the way tactical urbanism might operate in the South Africa context would differ. It was thus essential to modify the design process to better relate to this.

This question of how to modify or simulate the tactical urbanism process manifested in the Machine: a dodecahendronal die that is capable of simulating the temporal and low-cost conditions in which most tactical urbanism interventions occur.

These random permutations generated a full board game, known as Street Tactics™. The board game pairs these random permutations with role players (characters), and a way of applying it to site configuration, with value zone along a street, and a bricolage, or kit-of-parts.

These various scenarios were then developed into design interventions, each building upon each other. Using the selected site, the stretch of Foundry Road running from Salt River Station to the vehicular nexus that is Salt River Circle, various interventions ranging from skate parks to a bus shelter were developed to potentially create a more dynamic and enriched set of spaces.

Although this level of hypothetical development may not be optimal, the dissertation has raised interesting questions relating to the nature of design, i.e. normative versus tactical, and the value of both. Further to this, it questions the nature of the charette, or public participation process, and how different methods can be employed to enrich the designer's palette.

The rubric overleaf unpacks the various criteria tackled within the project, as well as the response and graphic or verbal deliverables.

Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]

CRITERIA	RESPONSE	DELIVERABLE
Context	Considering infrastructure and transport networks throughout Cape Town, and examining existing built fabric, this project focusses primarily on the nature of streetscape.	A series of maps unpacking the morphology of site, followed by infrastructure & street maps.
Landscape Architecture	Challenging normative & masterplan design, i.e. the as-built condition, with opportunistic "on-the-fly" tactical design.	Process diagrams, comparative studies and demonstration of a new process.
South Africa	The political nature of spatial inequality, as well as the consideration of existing forms of tactical urbanism, such as informal trade. Consideration of ownership and the ability to change public space is also a contentious issue this project considers.	Character profiles, the value of tactical urbanism shown in diagrams, and a collection of precedent.
Site	This project considers the make-up of street and neighbouring infrastructure, as well as existing movement and activity along it.	Maps and plans showing the physical make- up of the site, and the photographic study that forms the base of the design.
Scale	Human scale: the width of streets and heights of curbs denote most of the physical design considerations. Relationship to a larger transport network and public movement system are also influencing factors.	Range of design solutions centred around the anthropometric form; streetscape design over photographs "eye-level" style designs.
Form	Configuration of various temporary interventions – nothing that can't be removed. All the interventions use a kit-of-parts, which vary depending on the character. Form is determined by relationship to street as well as ergonomic considerations.	Showing how the game affects the configuration of form and physical manifestation, as well as process diagrams and concept diagrams.
Ecology	Consideration of drainage, aspect and rain as they affect the site, and a street in general, factor into various technological and programmatic design choices.	Mapping analysis and a microclimatic consideration throughout.
Representation	Exploration of the game process develops a storyboard-presentation, where the game is unpacked along with the design scenarios and their subsequent resolution.	" "
Idea	The primary idea is that tactical urbanism is a potential solution to spatial inequality, and that as designers we should consider tactical design as an alternative to normative design. The game sets up hypothetical scenarios as they might occur in real life and tests them.	References back to the study – an initial series of diagrams. Neatly unpacked hypothesis, and conclusion – what does this study suggest about the topics.
Physicality	Temporality as a method of design: the bricolage component means all the street upgrades are required to use a limited palette of materials.	Shows components and the activity surrounding them – what are their effects? Sketches from different perspectives. The legacy of design.
Process	This project follows a research study about the relationship between tactical urbanism and spatial inequality, develops into a game for generating tactical urbanism permutation scenarios, and results in a series of this scenarios explored through to a technical level.	The game process explained for each scenario.
Innovation	The critique of spatial inequality and tactical urbanism is novel, especially in the South African context. Further, considering ways of implementing these principles in design, and by designers, is as yet unheard of: it offers an interesting perspective on the role of landscape architects in effecting change in public space.	Discuss & demonstrate how this project differs from normative design.
Experience	Each scenario is carefully considered from the view of a person on the street, thus spatial experience governs most of the design decisions. The network is further evaluated during the legacy of designs.	Show vignettes of space inhabited and active. Explain how spatial qualities (i.e. phenomenology) have influenced the design.

RESEARCH STUDY: “WE OWN THIS CITY”

"sometimes sanctioned, sometimes not"
- Mike Lydon, proponent of tactical urbanism

100 ABSTRACT

Spatial inequality is the development of public space that selects and benefits certain constituencies over others, with direct effects on how space is used, and by whom. Over time it can contribute to social and political conflict and unrest.

In Cape Town, spatial inequality originated largely through apartheid-era strategic planning. Then, as in contemporary Cape Town, this planning typically focused on large-scale infrastructure projects, requiring massive amounts of capital, and was tasked with economic generation in areas that were already yielding returns.

Thomas Piketty's definition of inequality as an economic system that favours capital growth over economic growth demonstrates how spatial inequality is essentially the development of spatial capital in areas that already see spatial growth and improvement.

Enter tactical urbanism. Mike Lydon, one of its proponents, defines it as a "deliberate, phased approach to instigating change", where local, short-term solutions are found that manage expectations & risk while building social capital. This approach is commonly referred to as "bottom-up", differing from the "top-down" strategic approach of most private and public institutions.

Tactical urbanism has the potential to solve spatial inequality by offering a low capital intervention that operates on a small scale with maximum public participation and limited bureaucratic interference.

This paper concludes with a discussion on how intervention may exist within Cape Town, specifically in the areas of Woodstock and Salt River. By considering tactical urbanism along with informality, the common characteristics of these two can be utilised to encourage further initiatives, especially ones that accommodate adjacency and counter-gentrification movements.

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Figure 1.01 - A collection of photographs documenting the urban renewal of the lane between Chamberlain and Balfour Streets, and subsequent occupation for recreation. Source: http://www.ilovewoodstock.co.za/2011/08/cry-the-beloved-lane/

200 INTRODUCTION

This paper begins with the premise that if one acknowledges and accepts the prevalence of spatial inequality in Cape Town, and more specifically Woodstock and Salt River, then tactical urbanism in some form may be a way to reduce this.

The primary questions that evolved out of this hypothesis followed the trend of "how do I define the bridge between spatial inequality and tactical urbanism?", "is [it] based around this potential for one to be solved by the other", and most importantly "what is spatial inequality defined as and how does tactical urbanism exist in relation to this". As I will demonstrate later, the commonality between these two terms is capital and real estate: money.

In the following text I will demonstrate the origins and problems associated with spatial inequality, how strategic planning has been largely responsible for creating spatial inequality, and how tactical urbanism can be adopted as a mechanism for reducing this inequality at a grassroots level. These various stages will all hone in from international bodies of work down to a locally applicable level, i.e. Cape Town, and the neighbouring districts of Salt River and Woodstock.

300 DEFINING SPATIAL INEQUALITY

310 SPATIAL INEQUALITY THEORY

If inequality is about opportunities[01], and income inequality is about the opportunities people have for generating wealth, then the simplest definition of spatial inequality is that the amount of capital invested in spatial development differs across an urban environment.

Thomas Piketty, in his *Capitalism in the 21st Century*, observes that income inequality is as a result of an economic system that favours capital growth over economic growth.[02] In spatial terms, it is perhaps fair to assume that spatial capital sees a greater return than organic spatial growth, at least at present.

To clarify this analogy, spatial capital in the tangible sense is acknowledged areas where long-term investment has seen an improvement in the value of that space. This takes the form of services, infrastructure and economic opportunities, among other things.[03] Without this investment, typically from public and private institutions, organic spatial growth is required. However, without the injections of capital needed for the development of spatial value, the spaces improve at a far slower rate. Further worsening this situation is the real fact that sound investments attracts more investment: the areas which institutions feel will most likely generate more return receive more capital, and those that appear less desirable fall by the wayside.

Further to this, Piketty reminds us of the dangers of inequality as he opens by examining the Marikana massacre.[04] While income-based, there is little to suggest that income and spatial inequality are that far removed. One only needs acknowledge the multitude of service delivery protests in recent years to see that when inequality of any nature becomes painfully apparent, civil unrest is never far behind.

So where does spatial inequality originate? The short answer is fairly typical, as outlined above, where certain areas receive exponential increases in value over others. However, the nuances are important to understanding how a solution to this problem might be found.

On a macro level, spatial inequality occurs largely due to proximity-based factors, in terms the relationship to resources, services, infrastructure or economic opportunities.[05] However, these pre-existing geographical conditions become less important when examining what has been referred to as "intra-urban spatial inequality".

[01] The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary defines "inequality" as "an unfair situation in which some people have more rights or better opportunities than other people".

[02] Mason, Paul. 2014. *Thomas Piketty's Capital: Everything You Need to Know about the Surprise Bestseller.* The Guardian. http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/apr/28/thomas-piketty-capital-surprise-bestseller.

[03]

[04] Piketty, Thomas. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 32.

[05] Kanbur, Ravi, and Venables Anthony. 2005. *Spatial Inequality and Development: Overview of UNU-WIDER Project,* 7.

Kilroy defines intra-urban spatial inequality as the inequalities that exist within cities, where cities exist as collections of "urban regions".[06] For the purposes of this paper, this scale is most appropriate, as it allows for the analysis of public space as it differs in various parts of the city, i.e. Cape Town.

When examining the evolution of intra-urban spatial inequality, Kilroy establishes what he considers to be the primary cause of spatial inequality: the ability of wealthier residents to purchase land in the most opportune areas, leaving lower value land to lower income residents. It is this key correlation between low income, low spatial value that is essential to the primary argument, as this is how the majority of strategic planning is influenced.

Kilroy identifies several other contributing factors leading to spatial inequality, all of which focus on the economic conditions imposed by spatial inequality:

- isolation from geographic concentration of employment opportunities
- lack of access to social networks, where social interaction is kept to a minimum
- concentrations of crime and civil unrest
- insular economic circles
- "inaccessibility caused by locational disadvantages in the urban form itself"[07]

[06] Kilroy, Austin. 2007. *Intra-Urban Spatial Inequalities: Cities as 'Urban Regions.* World Development Report, 2.

[07] Ibid., 9.

Kilroy's most important observations relate to correlations between low income, and institutional investment. In fact, he goes so far as to suggest that "the spatial distribution of welfare indicators is caused not only by spatial inequalities in income: it is entrenched by regressive spatial distributions of public investment"[08], which invariably result in the formation of "poverty traps".[09]

PERPETUATION THROUGH STRATEGIC PLANNING

If one considers the statement that institutional investment fails to apportion capital fairly across the income spectrum, we need to determine how these decisions are made. This happens largely in the realm of strategic planing. Strategic urban planning can be seen as a masterplan approach: in essence decisions about urban change and development are taken using a "top-down" approach, often over much larger regions. These changes rarely fail to ignore the fine grain urban relationships between communities, and are thus more focused on the apportioning.

Even in charrette[10] processes, urban environments are typically created by a cohort of urban planners, architects, governments and engaged citizens. Usually the process is long and drawn-out, involving significant political maneuvering, many levels of planning resources and large expenditures of capital.

[08] Ibid., 18.

[09] The Economic Times defines a "poverty trap" as "spiraling mechanism which forces people to remain poor".

[10] Google Dictionary defines "charrette" as "a public meeting or workshop devoted to a concerted effort to solve a problem or plan the design of something.

Essentially, strategic planning deals with all issues at an infrastructural level. Transport, civic space, and security, among others, require massive amounts of capital, and are thus instituted with big agendas. These agendas typically follow economic incentives, in so much as they seek the best reward. In this regard, Cape Town is no different, as will be explored before.

320 SPATIAL INEQUALITY IN CAPE TOWN

HISTORICAL CAPE TOWN

Historical origins of spatial inequality in Cape Town date back to the apartheid era. A combination of legislative acts that enforced segregation, thereby focusing spatial capital of the favoured demographic group, and a concentration of less favoured groups in areas of much lower value (far removed from employment opportunities and beyond the reach of public space improvement projects).

Further to this, attempts to re-spatialise Cape Town after 1990 were essentially window-dressing –racially segregated municipalities were merged, yet the services, jobs and infrastructure associated with each separate municipality never were.[11]

[11] McDonald, D. (2012). *World city syndrome: Neoliberalism and inequality in Cape Town*. Routledge. 99-102.

If one further considers the bigger picture, it is clear that influx control from the apartheid era has to some degree limited the population densities in low income areas. This is seen to change with the acute population increases projected over the next several decades.[12] If we are to be wary of the future, spatial inequality is only set to worsen with the projected population increase in the less equipped or invested in areas.

CONTEMPORARY CAPE TOWN

A massive disparity in services and infrastructure, especially in the public realm, still exists due to these divisions. Strong racial correlations between racial groups and distinct grades of spatial quality still exist, as evidenced by Figure X.XX. In particular, black and coloured groups are most often located in areas worst affected by spatial inequality.

As McDonald explores, while municipalities function more transparently and democratically than they did pre-apartheid, reform has failed to occur due to the control of capital by wealthy ratepayer associations, and their resolve to invest only in existing areas of wealth.[13] This is compounded by the fact that although government has invested a great deal into

[12] Cape Town Partnership. (2014). Density's promise for Cape Town. Retrieved August 7, 2015, from http://www.capetownpartnership.co.za/2014/09/densitys-promise-for-cape-town/

[13] McDonald, D. (2012). *World city syndrome: Neoliberalism and inequality in Cape Town*. Routledge. 135.

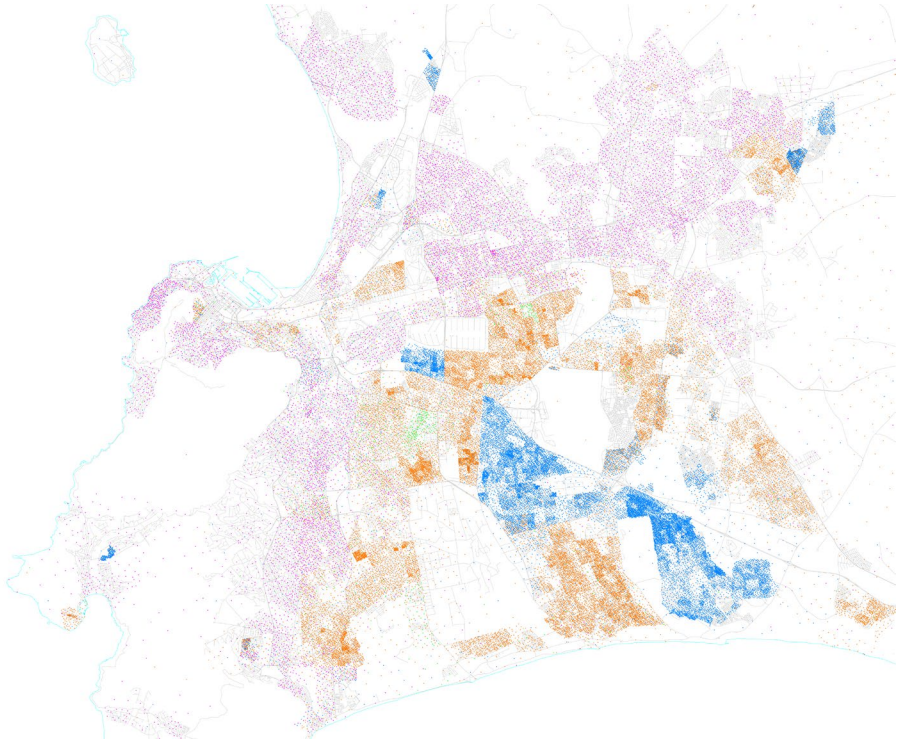

Figure 1.02 - Dot map by Adrian Frith indicating concentrations of demographics: purple (white) is centred around spatially "rich" areas, while orange (colour) and blue (black) are centred on the Cape Flats, a traditionally lower value area.
Source: http://stuff.adrianfrith.com/dot-maps/cpt-2001.png

infrastructural development in spatially poorer areas, economically strategic areas (read: existing areas of wealth) still receive the vast amount of private and public institutional capital.[14]

Cape Town sees a massive disparity between income equality. If one considers the Living Standards Measure index, a South African marketing measure tool, there is a clear correlation between low income respondents (LSM 1 to 3), and their residence within areas is most demonstrative of spatial inequality.

Spatial inequality exists beyond infrastructural and economic improvements, in the form of private community improvement organisations security networks. If one considers distinctions between the City Bowl and Southern Suburbs, and the Cape Flats, we can see the level of support for security and public safety institutions. The City Bowl and Southern Suburbs benefit from a host of privately and publicly funded secondary security divisions, such as the CCID (Cape Town Central Improvement District), and the WID (Woodstock Improvement District).

These organisations provide holistic security coverage, which includes everything from crime prevention to the removal of vagrants and ill-termed "non-desirables". The Cape Town Partnership, which is funded by private companies, employs over two hundred foot patrols that are deployed under the auspices of the Central City Improvement District (CCID).[15]

[14] Ibid., 136.

[15] CCID. (2015). *CCID | Our Work | Safety and Security.* Retrieved August 7, 2015, from http://www.capetowncid.co.za/our-work/safety-and-security/.

In contrast with this, areas such as Khayeltisha and Phillipi experienced a far more limited investment into such resources. While the organisation VPUU (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading)[16] has had some success, it suffers from being in grassroots stage and is implemented by local authorities, meaning it relies on capital that is likely disbursed in the aforementioned economic development sectors.

FOCUS ON WOODSTOCK & SALT RIVER

Zooming into the Woodstock & Salt River, one sees a curious pattern of occupancy developing. Where previously the two districts located on eastern edge of the City Bowl were home to predominantly middle to lower income coloured families, an interesting redistribution is taking place.

The young professional, or "hipster", demographic has purchased and occupied many existing formal structures within the various neighbourhoods. This has displaced many of the original residents, despite the continuation of certain rental agreements with the occupants of the adjoining informal dwellings.

Figure 1.03 - Photograph of development on Strand Street, Woodstock, where a newly-built apartment block sits adjacent to one of the original low-income rental houses. Source: http://i1.wp.com/blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/files/2012/04/CT-The-changing-face-of-the-neighbourhood.jpg?resize=400%2C300

Ignoring the question of gentrification briefly, this sets up an unusual adjacency in that previously mono-type income groups have now been diversified into two brackets, with the "hipster" occupants bringing both capital and potential economic expertise into an environment where this may not previously have existed.

[16] VPUU. (2015). *Approach and Methodology.* Retrieved from http://www.vpuu.org.za/page.php?page=2

Figure 1.04 - Aerial photograph showing Woodstock and Salt River in relation to the rest of Cape Town. Source: Author (using Google Earth).

While this condition could prove beneficial, if the ratio between original and new residents shifts too far towards the latter it could have dire consequences to the original communities. While gentrification is rarely considered in relation to spatial inequality, it refers to the displacement of middle and low-income communities by wealthier residents of a city due to the attractive nature of the area, either in its location, heritage, culture, or access to other amenities.

This displacement typically sees the original residents vacating their residences in exchange for seemingly attractive monetary offers, only to distance themselves from spatial and economic opportunities they had previously. This form of emergent spatial inequality is of key concern given the problems outlined above.

330 SPATIAL INEQUALITY & TACTICAL URBANISM

Given the status quo of strategic planning, and the way in which public and private institutions set about instituting urban change in Cape Town, it follows that tactical urbanism and its temporary, "ask forgiveness, not permission" approach may be better suited to generating change in spatial disadvantaged areas. Further to this, the low level of capital required for such interventions and the potential for community involvement make it a more viable mechanism for increasing spatial value. The follow section offers a critique the international theory behind tactical urbanism, and maneuvers this towards a relevant system for Cape Town.

400 DEFINING TACTICAL URBANISM

If strategic planning and spatial inequality can be considered cause-and-effect, it begs the question as to what the potential solutions might be. If one examines the direct opposite cause. Juxtaposing the "top-down" approach examined earlier, tactical urbanism focuses instead on small scale changes at the building, street or block level. Many of these projects are low-cost and short-term, but can become permanent parts of the landscape.

Thus, tactical urbanism can be defined simply through a variety of terms: "guerrilla urbanism", "pop-up urbanism", the "temporary city movement", "surgical urbanism", "city repair" or "DIY urbanism". Regardless of the term, each of these terms refer to a precise set of characteristics which all tactical urbanism interventions share.

Mike Lydon, one of the early pioneers of the tactical urbanism movement, published a series of manuals aptly titled *Tactical Urbanism: Short Term Action | Long Term Change.* In these volumes he chronicles events & interventions, outlines some of the varying processes one can employ in generating projects, and develops a theoretical basis for what is swiftly becoming a movement. What follows is a brief summary of these manuals.

410 TACTICAL URBANISM, BY MIKE LYDON ET AL.

Lydon begins with a definition of tactics as "of or relating to small-scale actions serving a larger purpose" or "adroit in planning or maneuvering to accomplish a purpose."[17]

Tactical urbanism is thus an approach to urban development that prioritises community involvement, neighbourhood develop and public space activation through a combination key tenets[18]:

- Phased, catalytic approach to instigating change
- Local considerations and idea generation
- Short-term commitments and realistic expectations
- Development of social capital between citizens

These tenets can be easily summarised under the idea of "Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper".

Following from this, the distinction is made between tactical urbanism and DIY urbanism in terms of the desired output. While DIY urbanism (or guerilla or pop-up urbanism) is similarly a creative exercise undertaken by a small group of people, the intended consequences are profoundly different. Tactical urbanism interventions hope to catalyse some semblance of change in the way capital and effort is invested spatially. The benefits of this movement become clearest when "they are integrated into the municipal project delivery process and capably brought to neighborhoods across the city".[19]

Lydon acknowledges that this is idealistic, however, and stresses how an incorporation of this mechanism for intervention should be incorporated into institutionally-initiated development as well as by the private citizen.[20]

Similarly, the objective of tactical urbanism is not to act as a manual or checklist for spatial development. Rather, it should inspire a change in thinking from bureaucratic to adaptive and time-responsive.[21]

While the opportunities for implementation are varied and many, types of interventions outlined in the volumes include:

1. Introduction of retail opportunities, such as food carts & trucks, sidewalk tables, informal trade spaces and pop-up shops
2. Temporary bike lanes
3. Narrowing of streets
4. Introduction of seating (using salvageable materials found on site)
5. Removal of fences
6. Removal of pavements, and conversion to green space, i.e. rain gardens
7. Introduction of parklets into under-utilised parking spaces
8. Conversion of street space in public pedestrian plazas

[17] Lydon, M., & Garcia, A. (2015). Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action for Long-term Change. Washington: Island Press. 2.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 8.

[20] Ibid., 10.

[21] Ibid., 20.

These are not meant to be seen as kit of parts, but rather as examples of the variety of responses one can have to opportunities. They are all customizations of existing infrastructure, of an existing institutional framework that no longer suits the local community.

INTERNATIONAL EXAMPLES

A host of projects exist through Lydon's work, as well as various follow-up papers and web posts, which all demonstrate the willingness of communities to engage with their cities in this manner. Below are a few notable examples that demonstrates the range of this movement:

- WalkRaleigh, a low impact intervention that involved the introduction of signage linking people to key landmarks within the community.[22]
- Intersection Repair, which involved the beautification of a road intersection by the community to encourage occupation by pedestrians.[23]
- The pedestrianization of Broadway, in New York City.[24]
- Work by MUF Architects, particularly "Making Space in Dalston", which highlights various tactical projects ranging from pedestrianizing roads to incorporating seating and celebrating culturally significant community amenities.
- Uneven Growth, a collection of international examples that demonstrate responses to increased density through tactical interventions on a residential and economic development level.

It might be concern that the precedent for tactical urbanism is largely from developed nations, or in areas of developed nations where there is at least some semblance of capital, experienced creative/construction input, and a relatively open-minded authority and community. Remember the distinction in terms of privilege. For example, the US has a profoundly different set of privilege zones to South Africa, and the zones in which tactical urbanism operates are similarly different. The following section harnesses the salient points from this international body of theory and precedent and postulates way of utilizing it for local benefit, within the income zones outlined below.

[22] Pfeifer, L. (2013). The Planner's Guide to Tactical Urbanism. McGill School of Urban Planning. 14-15.

[23] Ibid., 16-17.

[24] Greco, J. (2012). From Pop-Up to Permanent, (November). Retrieved August 5, 2015 from: https://www.planning.org/planning/2012/nov/frompopup.htm

500 TACTICAL URBANISM IN CAPE TOWN

To start the discourse around a Cape Town-esque tactical urbanism, it is worth identifying local precedent. The following projects are a selection that demonstrate the range of previous and ongoing tactical urbanism initiatives within the greater Cape Town area:

- Open Streets in both Langa and the City Bowl.
- A statue shrouded in green for Remember Marikana.
- Street Store, a pop-up clothing store for homeless people.
- Promenade Mondays, initiated for skateboarders on the Seapoint Promenade.
- Parking bays covered in plastic turf for Park(ing) Day.
- City Walk, a community place-making initiative designed to introduce both residents and visitors to the City Bowl to the variety of cultural and historical assets within the City.
- Moonlit Mass, a cycling initiative that runs through Cape Town.
- ZXC citations

Whilst many of the above initiatives may seem more whimsical and playful than tactical, each of these small, temporary projects demonstrate the ability for private citizens to institute change to the public realm.

However, the unfortunate criticism of existing tactical urbanism projects in Cape Town is that by and large they fail to impact on those experiencing spatial inequality. Parklets, street events and public gatherings that change the quality of urban space are largely centered on areas with some semblance of an affluent resident population, and for a particular demographic group.

Figure 1.05 - A series of posters for the Street Store movement.
Source: http://thestreetstore.org/

One project which begins to contradict this status quo is the **Street Store**. Already gaining traction in Cape Town, the Street Store is an international initiative that seeks to provide clothing and shoes to the homeless via "pop-up" stores. The caption banner on the website describes it as "the world's first rent-free, premises-free, free pop-up clothing store, founding on the streets, curated by you".[25]

The practice involves a number of steps. The first is to register with the online community, pledge your support to the cause and receive an open source packet of information and graphics. Secondly, collaboration with an existing location organization for the homeless is essential in determining the appropriate location for setting up a store. The movement expresses

[25] The Street Store. (2015). The Street Store - Hang up. Help out. Retrieved August 5, 2015, from http://thestreetstore.org/

the importance of securing permission for the use of public space and associated infrastructure, i.e. walls and fences. The fourth step requires the distribution of an initial set of posters, calling for donations of second-hand apparel at drop-off points at specific times (typically the following day). Next, a secondary set of posters advertise for volunteers to ensure efficient operation of the store.

The final step involves the actual assembly of the store, which can be as simple as trestle tables, crates and a few umbrellas for shade. The only objective is to allow the homeless to browse the offering and select items, i.e. "shop". Street Store asks that the process be documented, especially with photographs of the event, to encourage future initiatives.

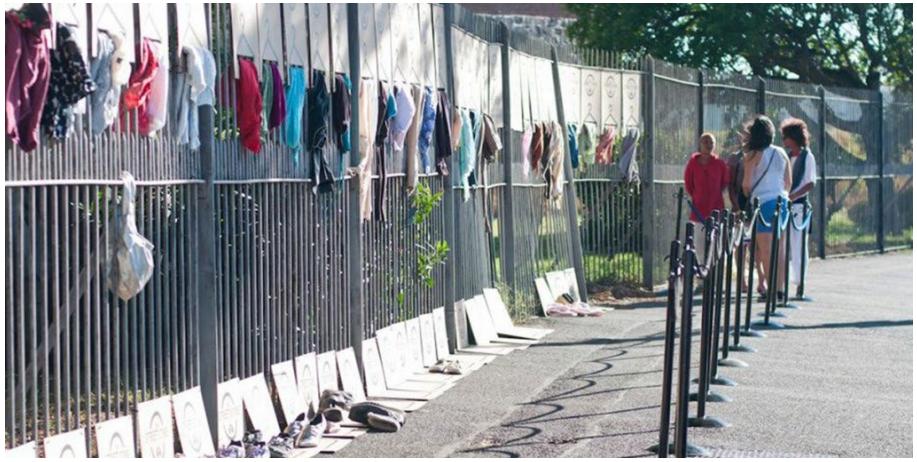

Figure 1.06 - An example of a live Street Store intervention in Cape Town. Source: http://thestreetstore.org/

This project demonstrates a combination of social upliftment, social integration, a healthy respect for the legal frameworks governing public space, and a local, community-inclusive event. However, this particular project does fail to some degree in catalyzing spatial equilibrium across the city.

510 EXISTING CASE STUDIES IN WOODSTOCK & SALT RIVER

Are there actually examples of tactical urbanism that exist within Woodstock & Salt River? In what form do they exist?

While we see examples of tactical urbanism as defined by Lydon, in the form of local events, such as the market at Biscuit Mill, true civic space upgrades are few and far between. Limited to alley rejuvenation, as seen in the examples of Rainham Lane[26] and the alley between Chamberlain and Balfour Streets[27], the majority of tactical urbanism interventions follow the status quo: projects that are DIY urbanism in nature, or that cater predominantly to the emerging affluent demographic within the area.

This begs the reexamination of the gentrification argument. If the majority of projects fail to address the socio-economic nuances of Cape Town that are particularly well exhibited in the districts of Woodstock and Salt River , then it becomes clear that the aforementioned adjacency becomes much closer to gentrification.

[26] Blake, C. (2012). *Cleaning of Woodstock Lane*. http://www.ilovewoodstock.co.za/. Retrieved August 5, 2015, from http://www.ilovewoodstock.co.za/2012/06/another-woodstock-lane-gets-a-scrub-and-a-makeover/

[27] Adema, S. (2011). *Cry the beloved lane*. http://www.ilovewoodstock.co.za/. Retrieved August 5, 2015, from http://www.ilovewoodstock.co.za/2011/08/cry-the-beloved-lane/

Figure 1.07 - The upgrading of Rainham Lane in Woodstock.
Source: http://www.ilovewoodstock.co.za/2012/06/another-woodstock-lane-gets-a-scrub-and-a-makeover/

Figure 1.08 - Rainham Lane: the final product.
Source: http://www.ilovewoodstock.co.za/2012/06/another-woodstock-lane-gets-a-scrub-and-a-makeover/

If gentrification produces spatial inequality, where capital in the form of land is traded for monetary capital. This is almost always disproportionate, where the value of the land extends beyond a finite value, and is instead a combination of services, community and the access to amenities and economic opportunities. As such, further tactical urbanism interventions should rather seek to solidify the existing community, rather than displace it in favour of a more affluent community capable of implementing the status quo interventions.

In Woodstock in particular, gentrification occurs directly through spatial evictions: as low-income community members increasingly find themselves pushed out of the neighbourhood, their desired identity remains behind, manipulated and promoted by shops along the main roads selling “rustic frames” and other items that conjure the visual of a present “traditional” low-income community.

This change has profound effects on the spatial configurations of Woodstock and Salt River and can be seen to be a manifestation of neo-colonialism. This reconfiguration can be seen through passive eviction and the idealization of the "neighborhood", the characterisation and theoretical promotion of Woodstock's lower-income community continues to be upheld to the public as an example of the urban "New South Africa" where people interact harmoniously across class and race lines , despite its replacement by a "new and economically-dominant elite".[28]

Criticism of Mike Lydon can thus be that instead of entrenching existing communities, it appears that the true celebration is the return of middle and upper classes to the city. This migration by young, creative professionals directly ignores the lived experience of poorer and working class members of Salt River and Woodstock.

In this criticism, however, lies a new potential form of tactical urbanism. And it is perhaps here that locally-relevant definition be included into the discourse, with a discussion of informality.

520 REDEFINING TACTICAL URBANISM & REBRANDING INFORMALITY

In this regard, the effects of tactical urbanism are most important. As tactical urbanism is effectively appropriation of public space, it is possible that this could be considered prescription. Herein lies one of the successful tenets of tactical urbanism: its temporary nature. In other words, the emergent value of informality: non-permanent occupation of public space.

Informal trade is currently experiencing a shift in view from a "traditional economy that will wither away and die with modern, industrial growth" to a fundamental part of life for many low-income members of our cities.[29] Acknowledgment of these economically viable installations introduces an established intervention that can easily increase spatial value, and increase economic opportunities at the same time. If one expands the understanding of informal trade to include services, an entire economic sector borne out of the occupation of space becomes readily apparent.

Another emergent practice throughout Cape Town is that of a group of "reclaimers". These groups move through their communities collecting recyclable materials, often seen as waste gathering on streets and in alleys, and transport them to depots in return for a small financial gain. Practices

[28] Fleming, A. (2011). *Making a Place for the Rich? Urban Poor Evictions and Gentrification in Woodstock, South Africa*. London School of Economics and Political Science. 11-12.

[29] The South African LED Network. (2015). *Informal Economy*. Retrieved August 5, 2015, from http://led.co.za/topic/informal-economy

like this, if incorporated into spatial upgrades, have the potential to dramatically increase the spatial value of public space by simply reducing squalor. [30]

Graffiti, street events, and car guards all form part of the character of public space. If these can be considered further interventions, and ZXCWhile a new definition of tactical urbanism should be "qualitatively different from subversive or reactionary interventions (such as graffiti or political demonstrations)",[31] if the objective is to inspire catalytic change, any intervention that activates space for the community is heading in the right direction.

If informality is therefore to be considered tactical, it inherently requires some semblance of branding to encourage support from more affluent residents. As mentioned earlier, it is the exclusion of different demographic groups that leads to spatial inequality. The re-branding of informal trade could come down to the aesthetic quality, or it could be the re-branding of "hipster" tactical urbanism to appeal to a low-income demographic that makes it more accessible and able to be implemented.

A clear criticism of tactical urbanism can be how it always requires some level of economic input, some injection of capital, to begin the catalytic process. In Cape Town, and South Africa, the income disparity is such that the spaces most likely to benefit from tactical urbanism are situated in areas where the local community often lacks the financial support to tackle even the smallest tactical undertaking. By combining capital and connections from more affluent residents with the sense of community visible in the original residents of districts like Woodstock and Salt River, tactical urbanism initiatives may develop far beyond temporary upgrades of street amenities into places.

In order for Cape Town to incorporate what can be a wholly beneficial process, projects need to embody the surgical and temporary nature of tactical urbanism. Care should be taken to identify prime opportunities at key locations, and then develop economically-viable and skills-appropriate interventions the community and the greater public can engage in.

600 CONCLUSION: MOVING FORWARD

610 WHAT [HOW] CAN TACTICAL URBANISM CHANGE?

It is worth noting, as Mike Lydon did in his conclusion of Tactical Urbanism Vol. 1, that there is no guarantee that every initiative will act as "catalyst to inspire policymakers."[32] However Change through tactical urbanism can inspire strategic change. Even the smallest intervention on street level can inspire policy change. If it doesn't, it still adds to the ever-

[30] Benson, K., & Vanqa-Mgijima, N. (2010). *Organizing on the Streets : A Study of Reclaimers in the Streets of Cape Town*. WIEGO Organizing Brief (Vol. 4).

[31] Mould, O. (2014). *Tactical urbanism: The new vernacular of the creative city*. Geography Compass, . 531.

[32] Lydon, M., & Garcia, A. (2015). *Tactical Urbanism: Short-term Action for Long-term Change*. Washington: Island Press. 210-211.

increasing number of citizen-initiated spatial changes without which the status quo would remain heavily entrenched. While a thousand rand paint job on a wall or street surface might not inspire a multi-million rand plan to upgrade a ward or municipality's public spaces, it just might direct attention to these spaces for future development.

Several key concepts have developed out of the examination of tactical urbanism in relation to spatial inequality in Cape Town. Most significant of these is the incorporation

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DISSERTATION: “STREET TACTICS™”

100 ABSTRACT

Spatial inequality is the development of public space that selects and benefits certain constituencies over others, with direct effects on how space is used, and by whom. Over time it can contribute to socio-political conflict and unrest.

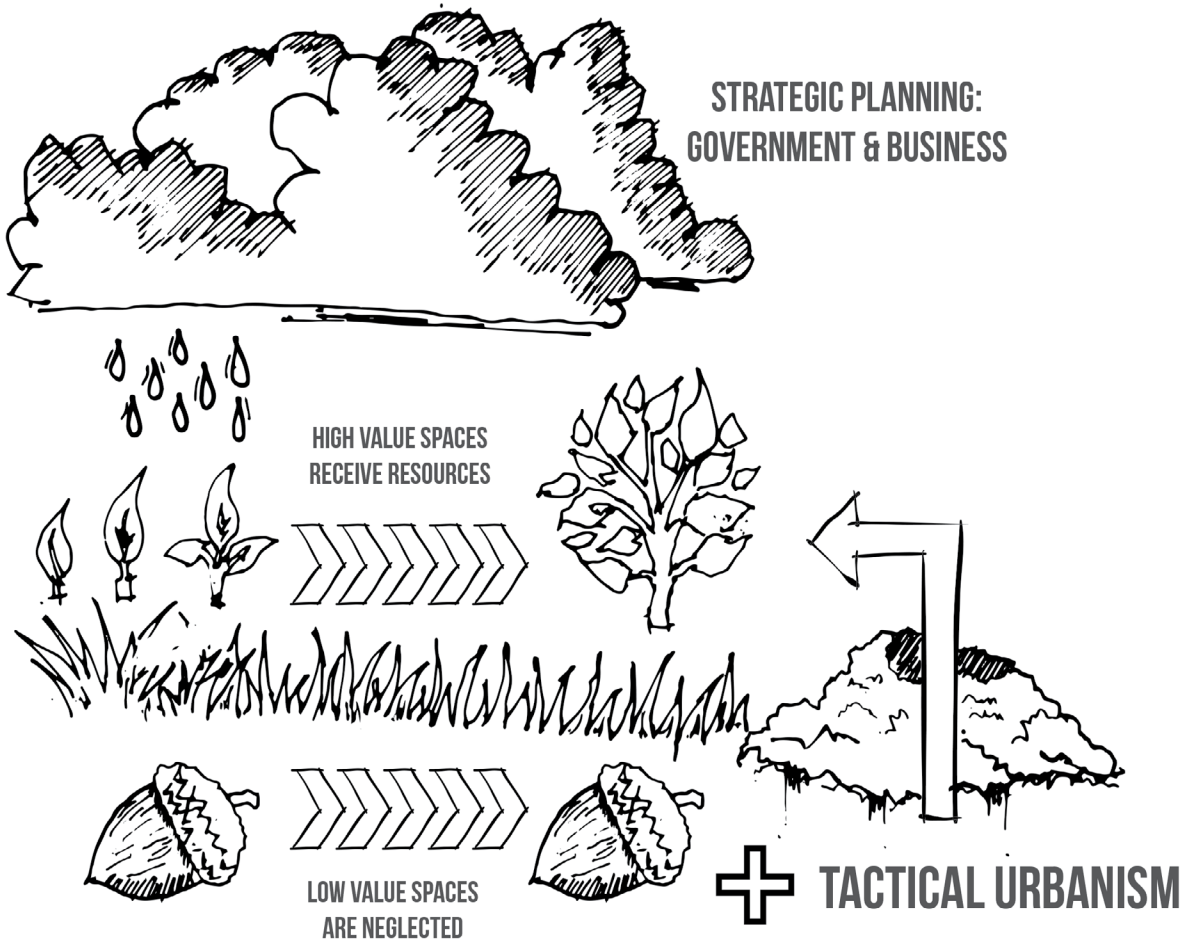
Tactical urbanism is a contemporary form of civic intervention that employs "low-cost, temporary measures" in the civic realm (as defined by Pfeifer's *The Planner's Guide to Tactical Urbanism*) and is primarily initiated by private citizens at a local neighbourhood level. It offers a potential solution to spatial inequality by avoiding the lengthy bureaucratic & resource-intensive processes used by governments & private institutions.

In order to unpack the ephemeral nature of tactical urbanism an experimental board game was used to explore the relationships between key role-players and design interventions, in contrast with territory and spatial qualities.

The board game is used to generate hypothetical scenarios where these characters attempt to upgrade territories with temporary tactical interventions. These design scenarios are tested against demographic, climatic and resource constraints, and are required to use a limited palette of materials. When applied to the test site, namely Foundry Road in Salt River, one can evaluate the relative success of the different design scenarios embodied by characters with different agendas and resources, and further consider the legacy that these temporary installations leave behind.

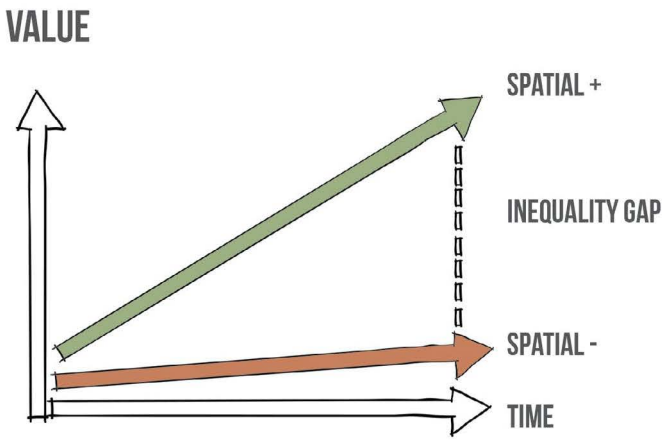
Exploring the nature of tactical urbanism through these scenarios broaches questions about the role of designers in urban public space and offers an alternative to normative strategic design.

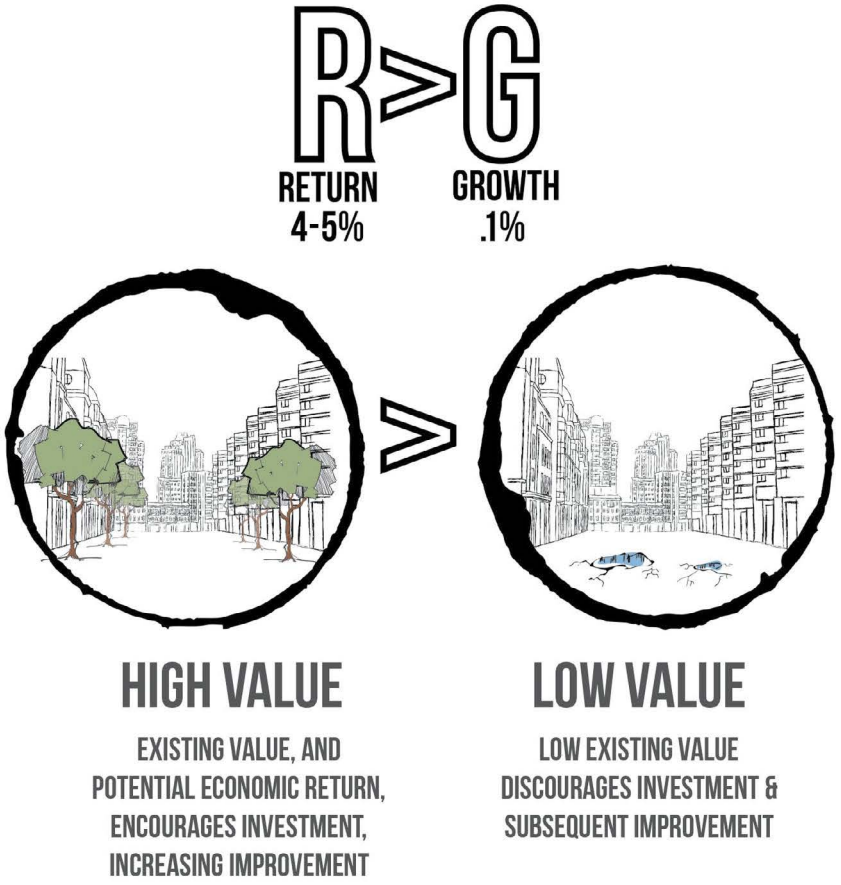
200 CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT



210 KEY DIAGRAM

Diagram showing the nature of spatial inequality and how it is perpetuated through strategic planning(top-down), as opposed to tactical interventions (bottom-up), with tactical urbanism as a potential solution.





220 INCOME VERSUS SPATIAL INEQUALITY

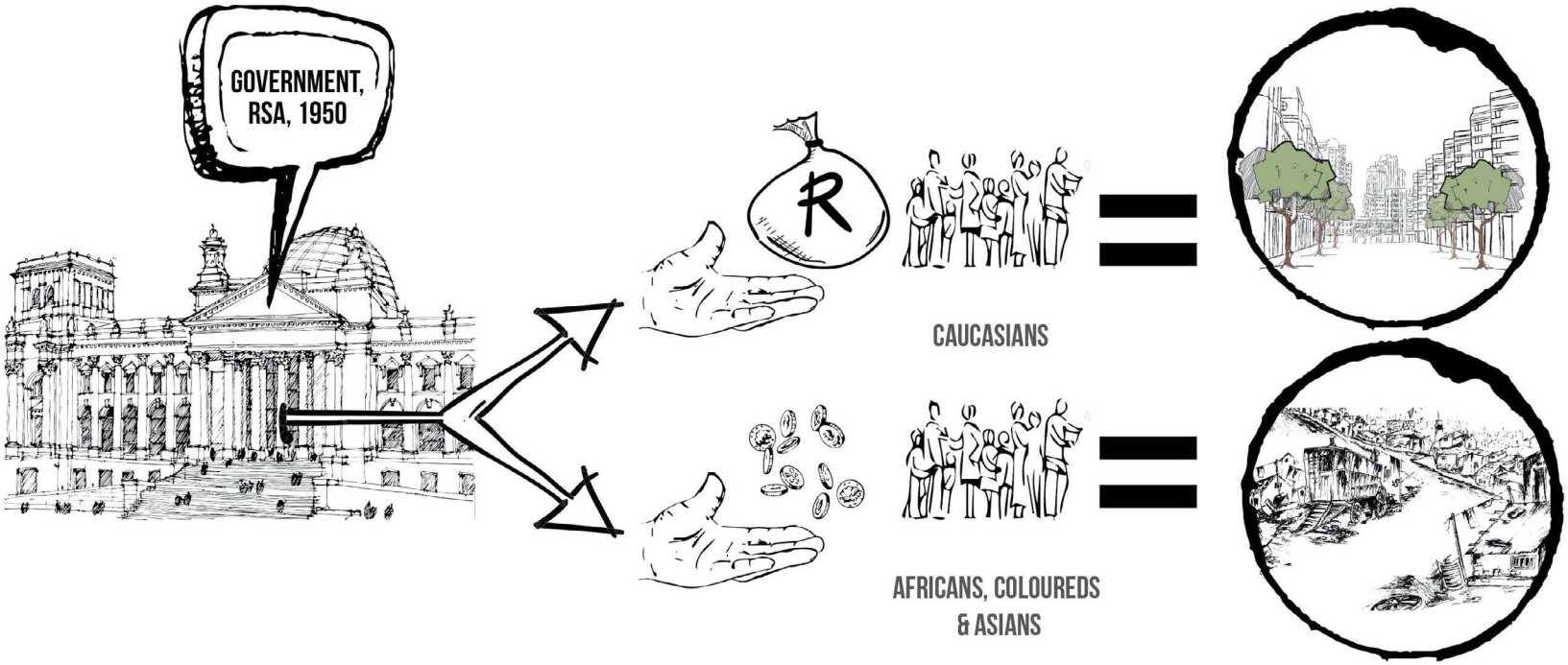
Based on the theories surrounding income inequality developed by the French economist Thomas Piketty, spatial inequality is a condition where the increase in spatial with existing capital is far greater than that in a space without pre-existing value.

230 SPATIAL INEQUALITY GLOBALLY

Spatial inequality is a global problem, where public spaces receive dramatically different allocations of resources based on their existing spatial values.

Show here are a range of First and Thirld World cities, namely:

- Lisbon, Portugal
- Mumbai, India
- Moscow, Russia
- Cape Town, South Africa
- Kampala, Uganda
- Sao Paulo, Brazil



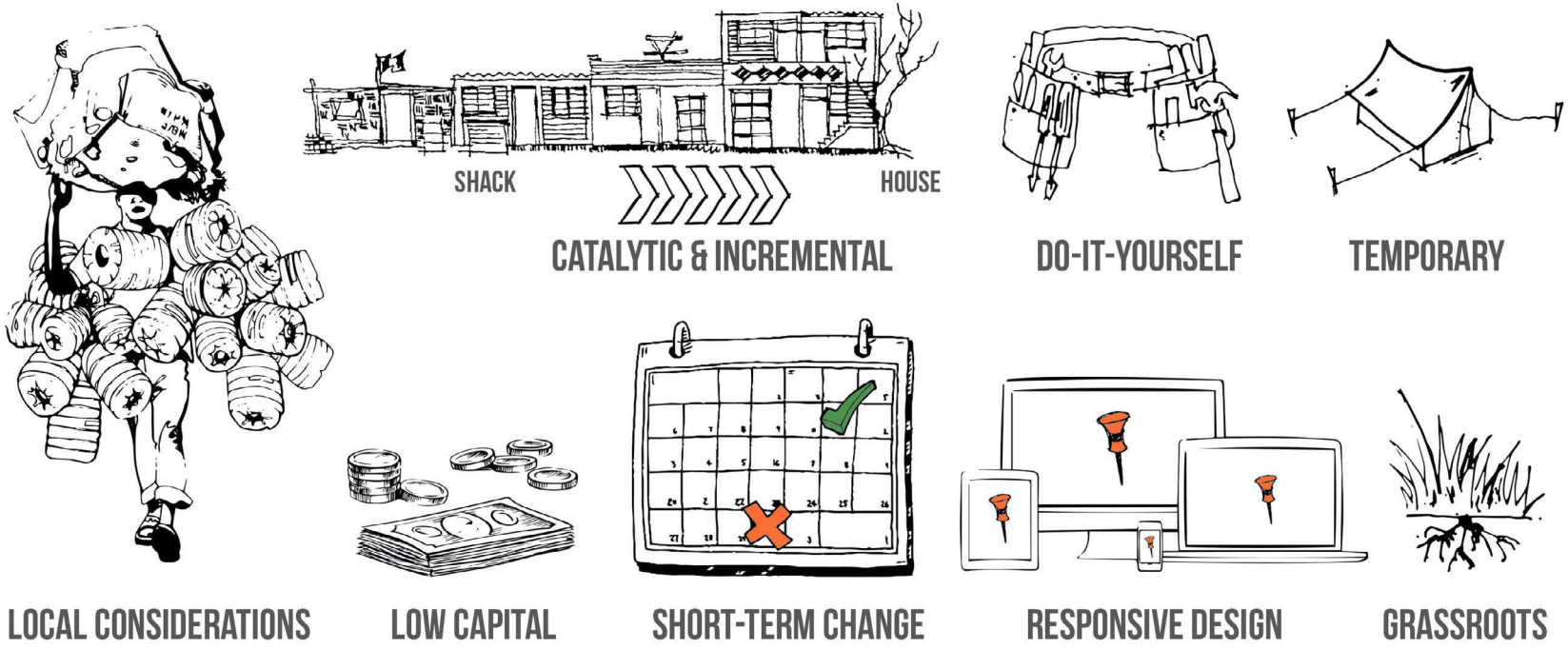
240 HISTORY OF SPATIAL INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Spatial inequality in South Africa exists largely due to the biased allocation of resources during the apartheid era, where emphasis wasc placed on upgrading Caucasian public spaces. This condition still exists today in that many of these spaces still receive a higher level of investment.

Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]

250 EXAMPLES OF SPATIAL INEQUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY CAPE TOWN.

As a key local example, one can compare a contemporary set of spaces: public space surrounding Kalk Bay Station continues to receive greater investment than that of the Salt River Station precinct.



260 KEY PRINCIPLES OF TACTICAL URBANISM

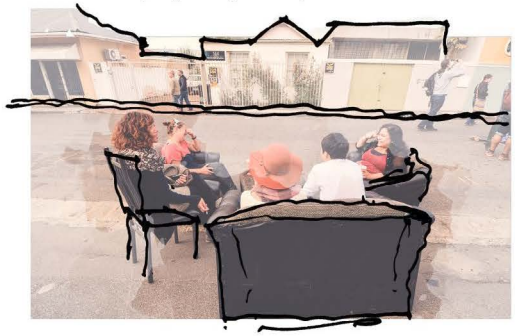
Tactical urbanism, a low-cost and catalytic form of civic urban intervention, has the potential to remediate the spatial inequality condition. The diagrams above highlight several of the key characteristics.

Signage identifying local attractions, in Raleigh, USA.

Pedestrianisation as part of the Better Block Project, in Richmond, Virgina, USA.

Noriega Street Parklet by Matarozzi Pelsinger Design.

Moonlit Mass cycle gathering at Greenpoint Stadium.



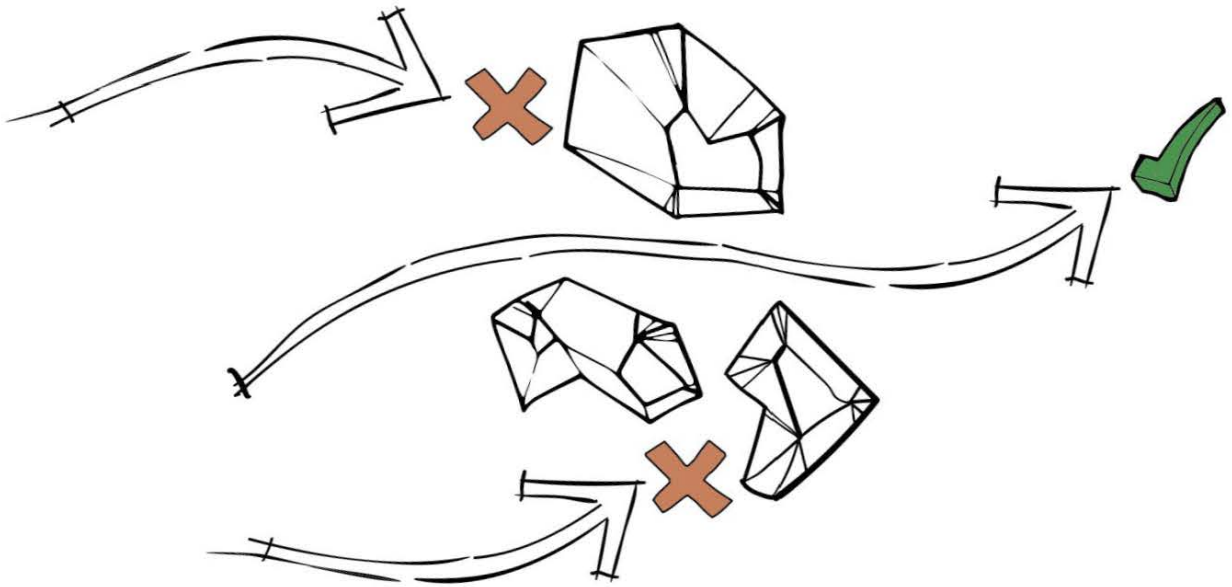
Open Streets Cape Town, as part of Park(ing) Day.

Informal trade near the Salt River circle.

Informal trade near the Salt River train station.

270 EXAMPLES OF TACTICAL URBANISM

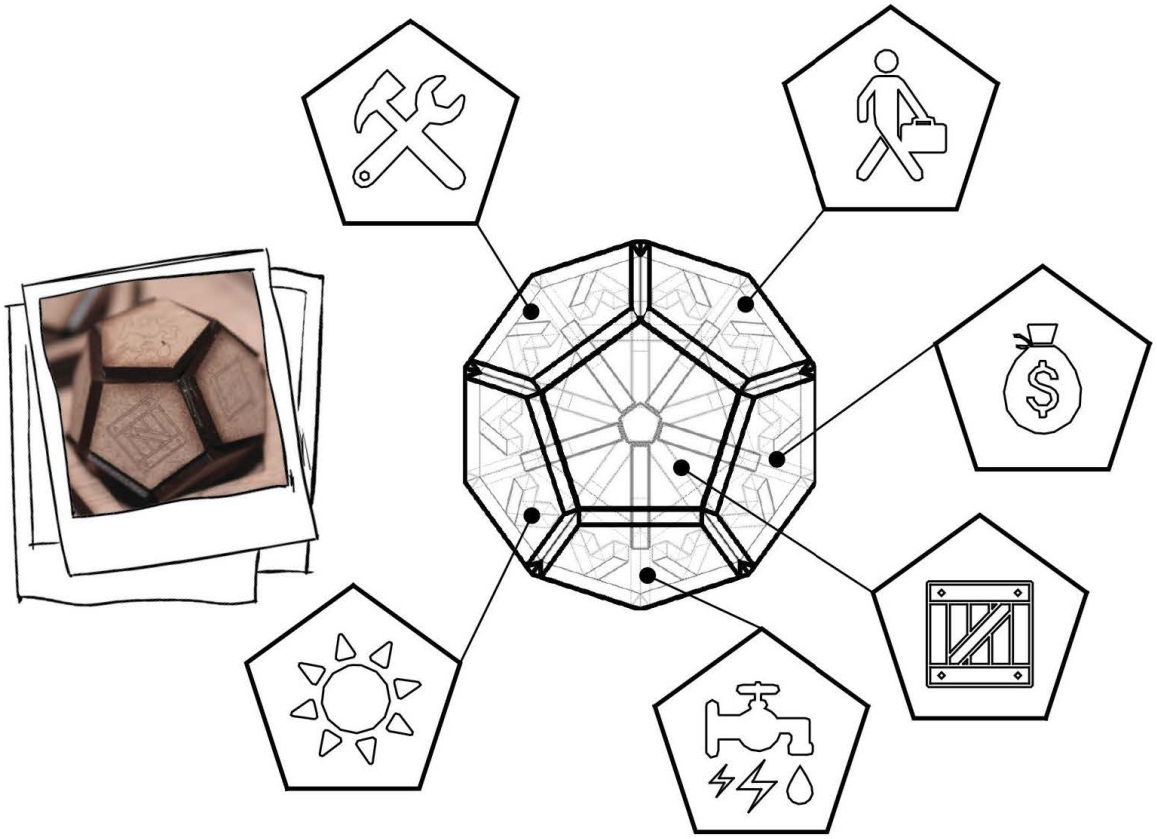
The photographs above demonstrate the range of exsiting tactical urbanism interventions. From left, we see global, South Africa, and interventions local to Salt River and Woodstock.



280 TACTICAL URBANISM VERSUS NORMATIVE DESIGN

Tactical urbanism offers a way of circumnavigating the obstacles normative "masterplan" design processes encounter, such as high resource requirements, bureaucratic constraints and legislative blocks.

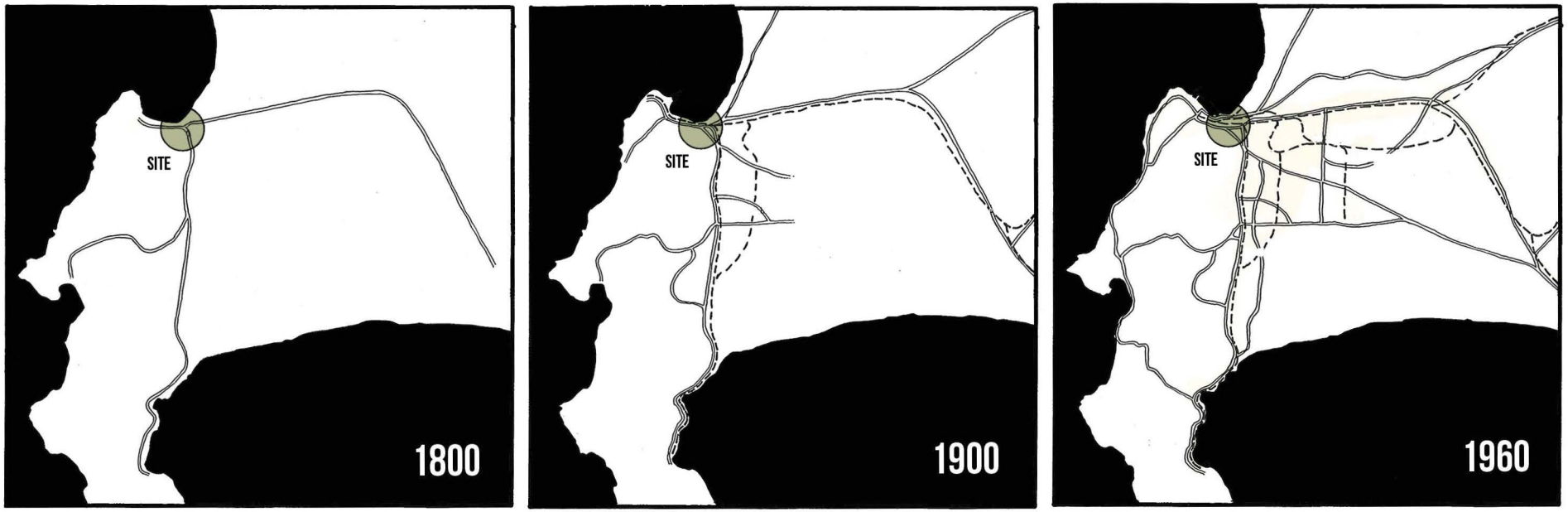
Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]



290 “THE MACHINE”

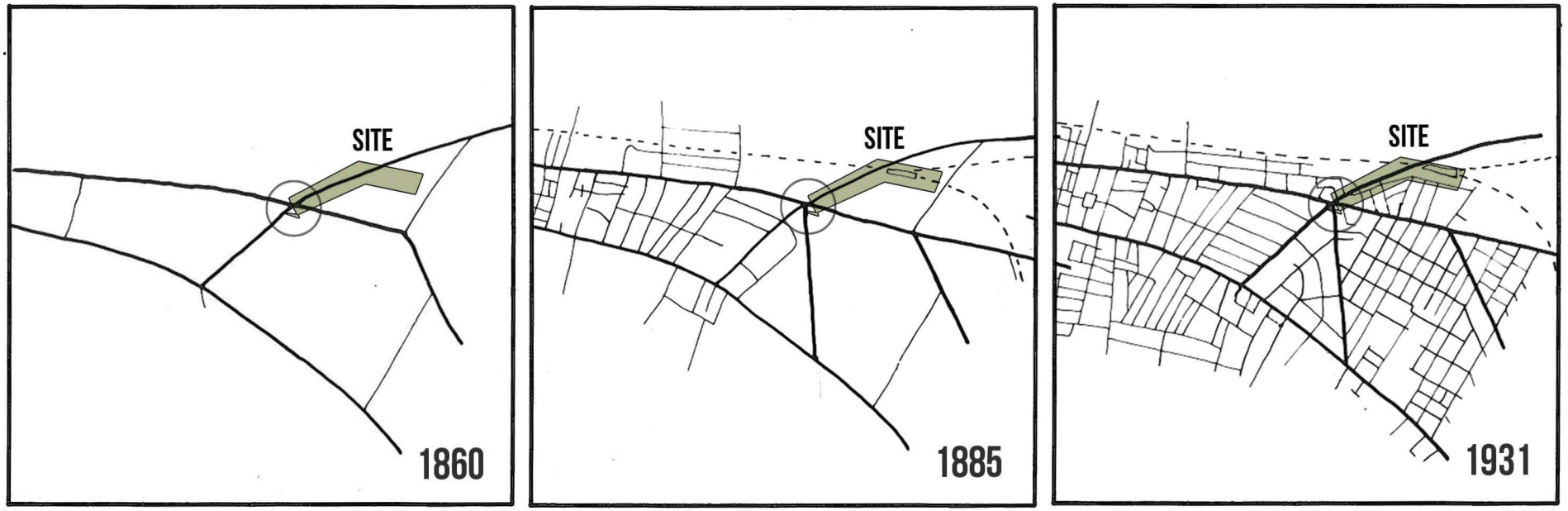
A dodecahdronal die was developed to generate random permutations of various categories, such as demographics, climatatic conditions and resources, *ala* tactical urbanism conditions.

300 CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS



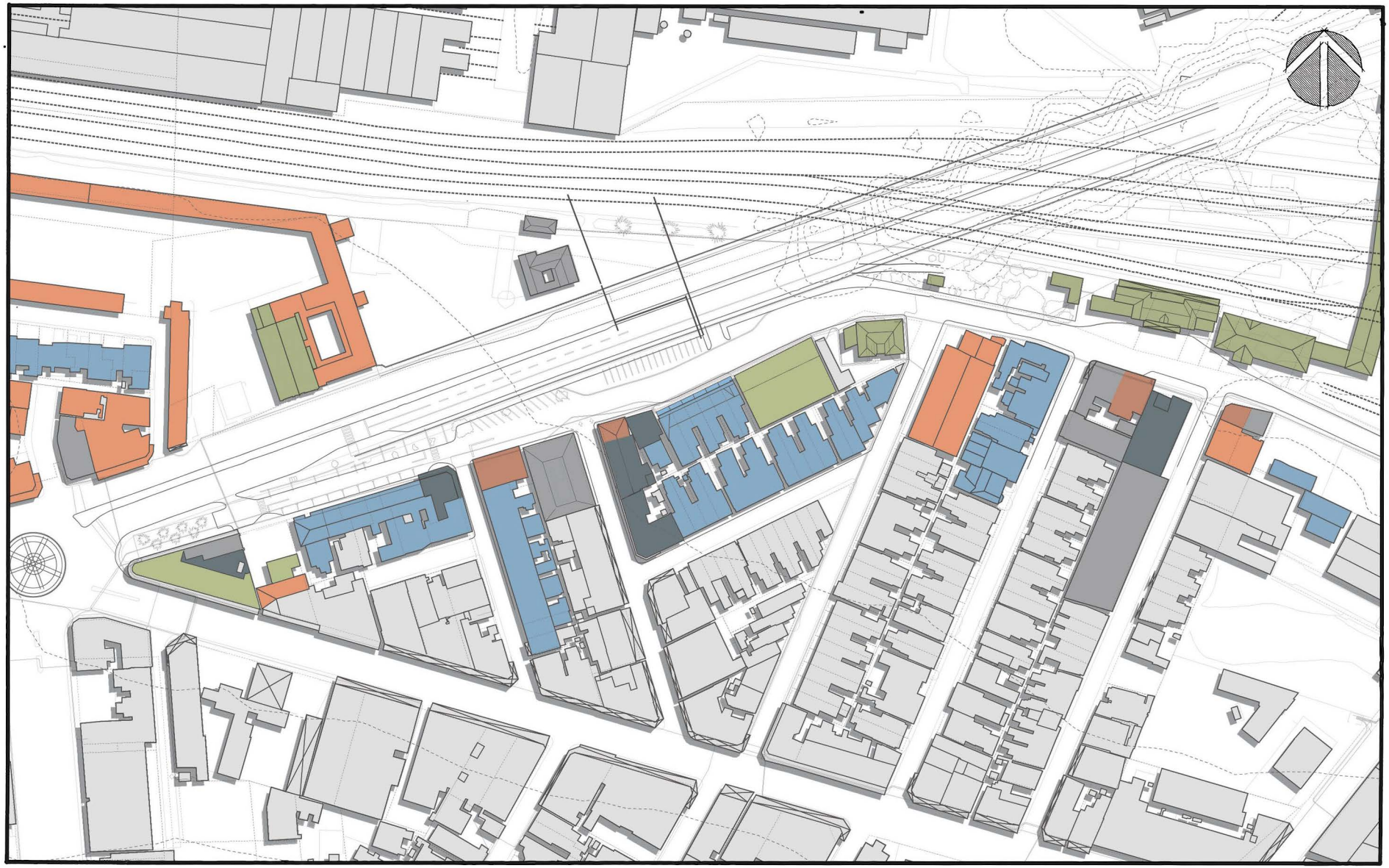
310 DIAGRAMS SHOWING THE MORPHOLOGY OF CAPE TOWN

These diagrams showing the development of the Cape Town peninsula over the last two centuries, specifically with relation to the major road & rail networks. The site of intervention, Salt River circle and surrounds, is shown in green. It is clear to see that this site sits at the nexus of these infrastructural networks.

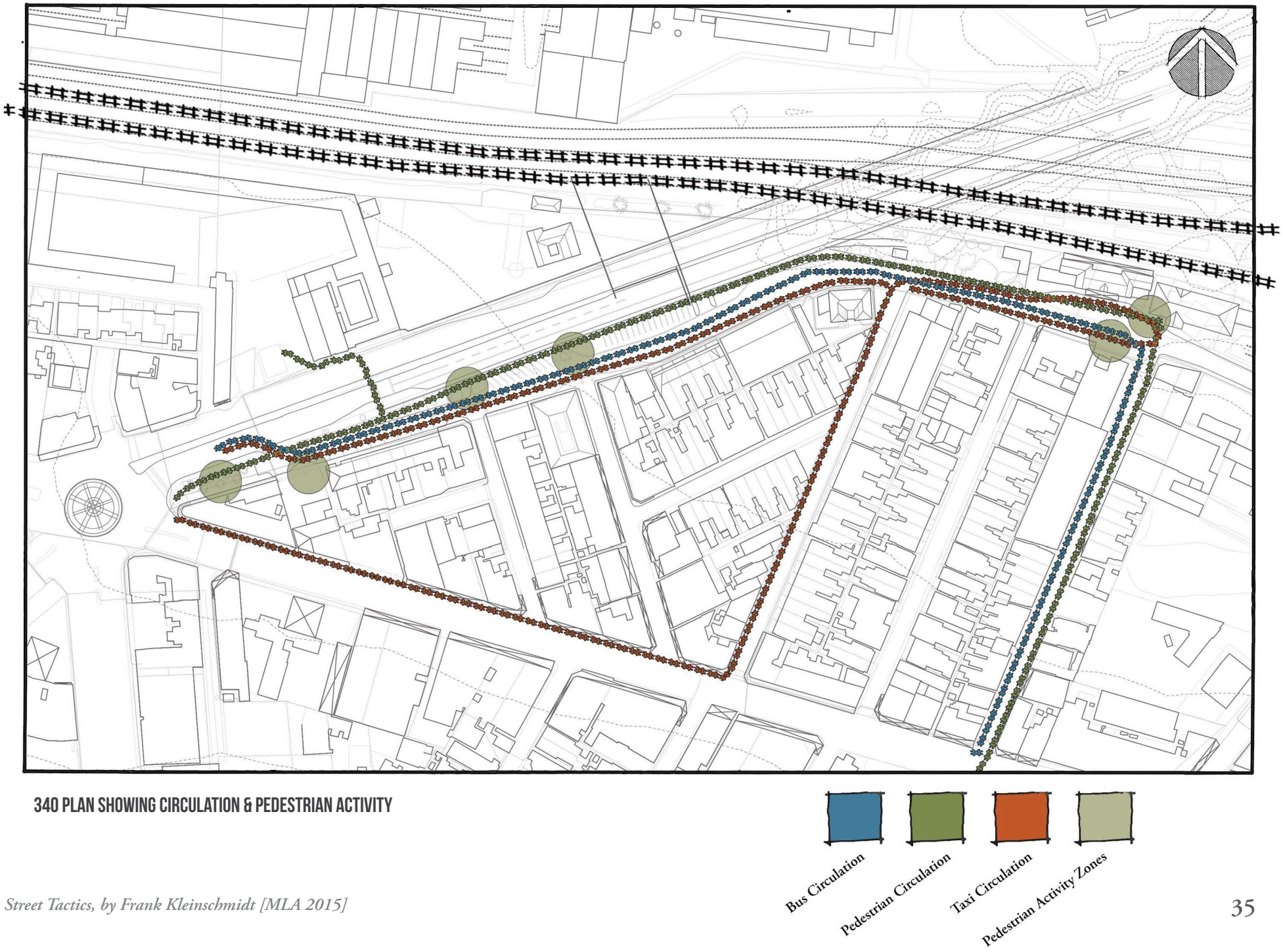


320 DIAGRAMS SHOWING THE MORPHOLOGY OF SALT RIVER CIRCLE & SURROUNDS

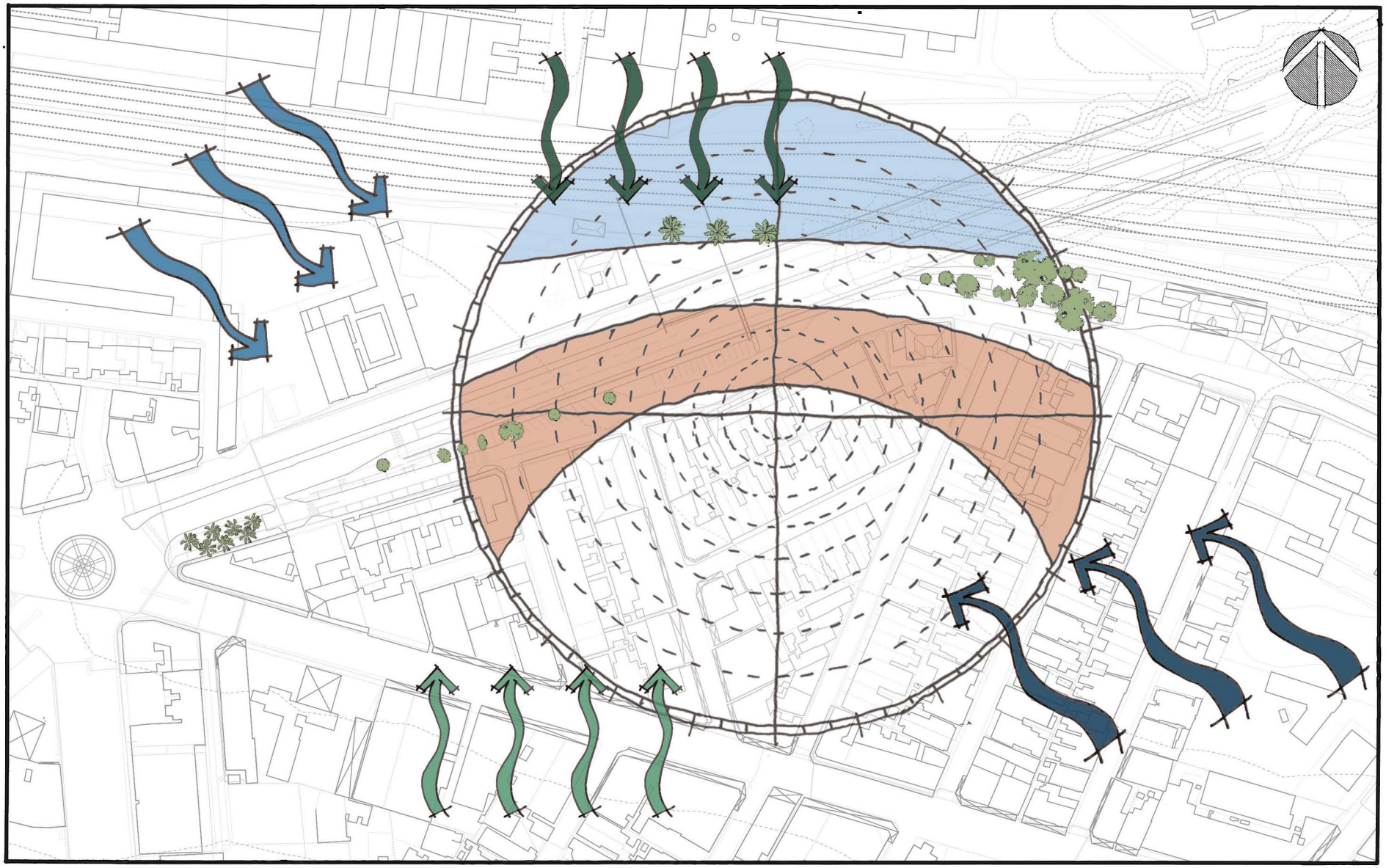
These diagrams showing the development of the Salt River over the last 150 years, specifically with relation to the major road & rail networks. The site of intervention, Foundry Road, is shown in green. It is clear to see that this site sits at the nexus of these infrastructural networks. Worth noting is the laissez-faire, or organic, nature of the built fabric.



330 PLAN SHOWING THE FIGURE GROUND AND ZONING



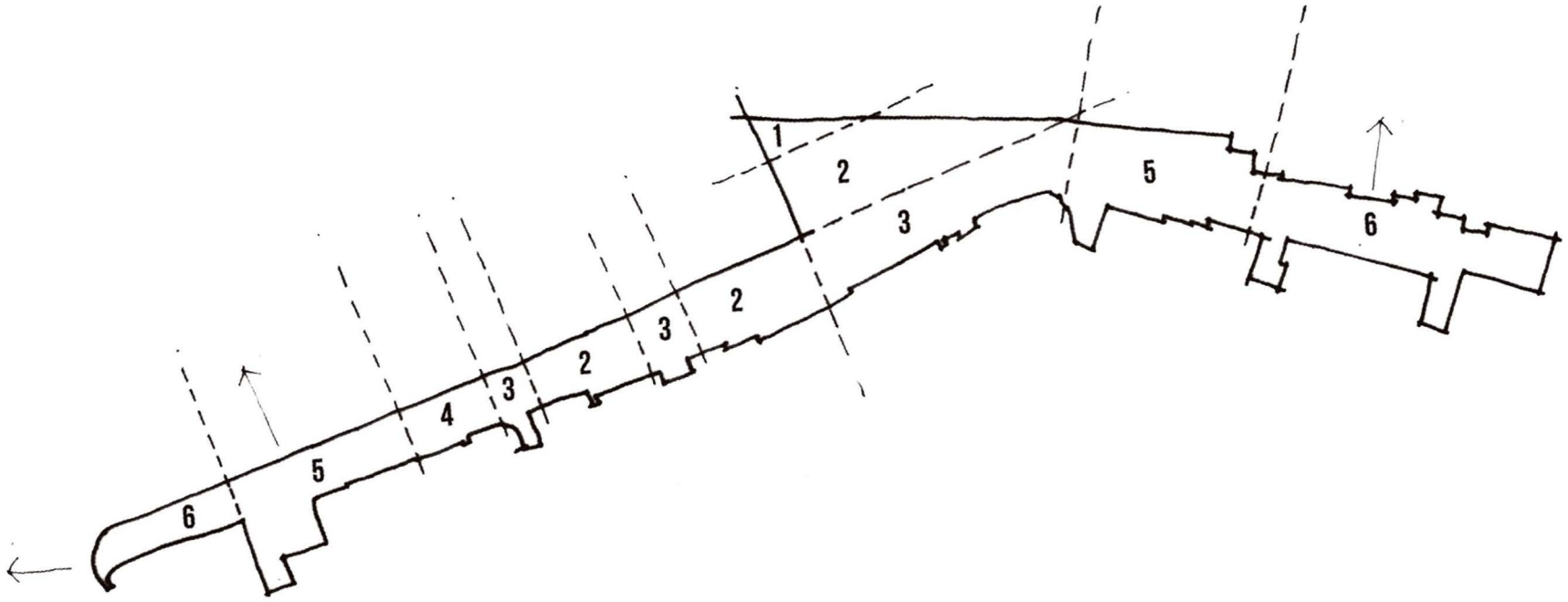
340 PLAN SHOWING CIRCULATION & PEDESTRIAN ACTIVITY



350 PLAN SHOW MICROCLIMATE AND THE EXISTING VEGETATION

360 PLAN SHOWING EXISTING INFRASTRUCTURE

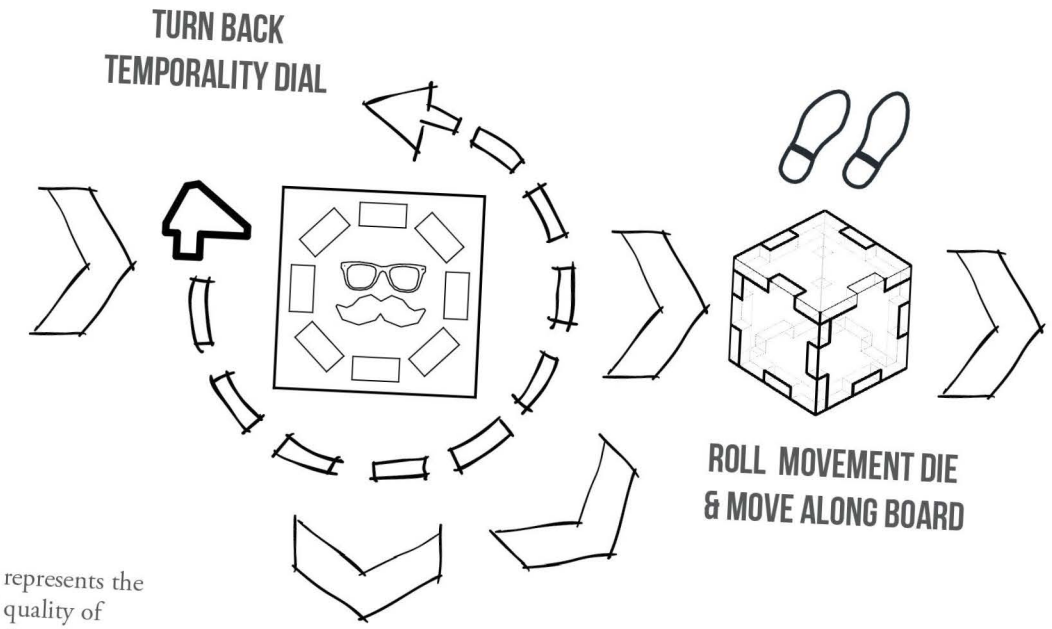
370 PLAN SHOWING ZONES OF VALUE [ENERGY]



310 DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ABSTRACTED VALUE ZONES ALONG FOUNDRY ROAD

The various characters in the game represent roleplayers in real life, namely the Homeless Person, the Informal Trader, the Hipster, the Developer & the Councillor.

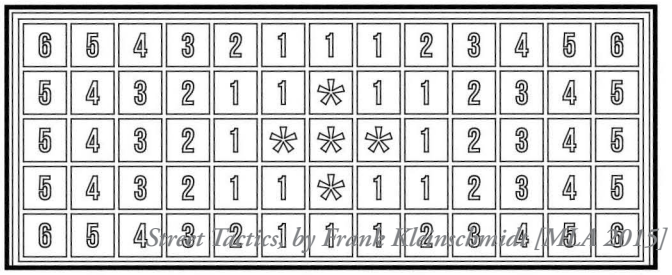
They all have particular agendas and methods of intervening.



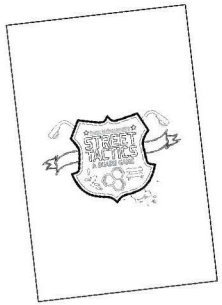
Temporality represents the emphemeral quality of tactical urbanism interventions.

Upgrades eventually deteriorate, unless they are maintained by characters returning.

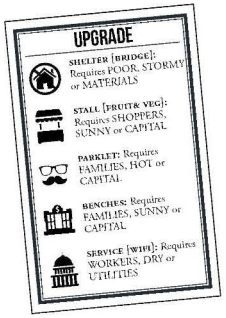
The board game represents zones along a street, where the higher the number the higher the energy and economic viability of that zone.

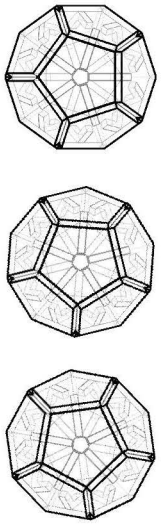


DRAW A CARD



UPGRADE: PARKLET





ROLL THE THREE CONTRAINT DICE

IF ANY OF THE DICE MEET THE REQUIREMENTS, THE UPGRADE IS SUCCESSFUL

IF NONE OF THE DICE MEET THE REQUIREMENTS, THE UPGRADE FAILS. END TURN.

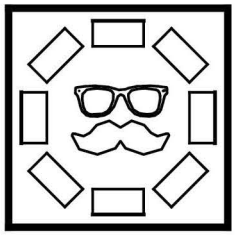
These constraints add an element of risk to each upgrade.

As in real life, certain events outside one's control can prevent the success of an intervention.

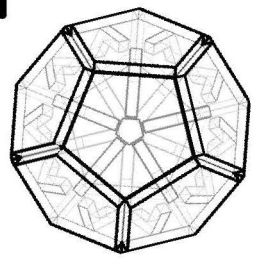
A NON SEQUITOR: TURN ENDS

FOLLOW THE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE CARD

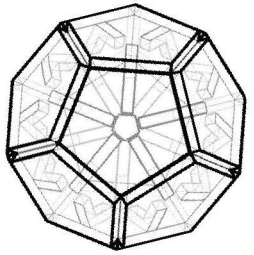
PLACE THE UPGRADE TILE



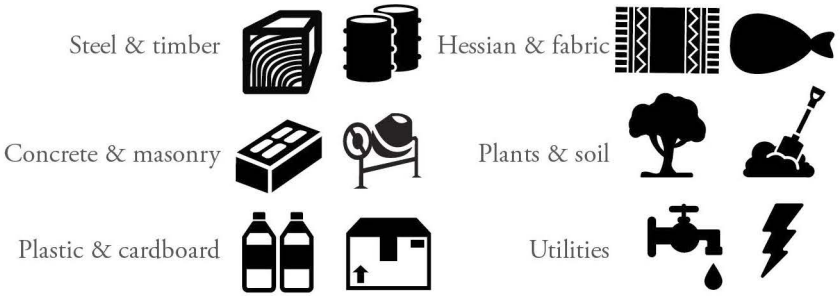
ROLL FOR TEMPORALITY & PLACE CHIP



This temporality indicates the permanence of the structure, which translates to the number of resources allocated.

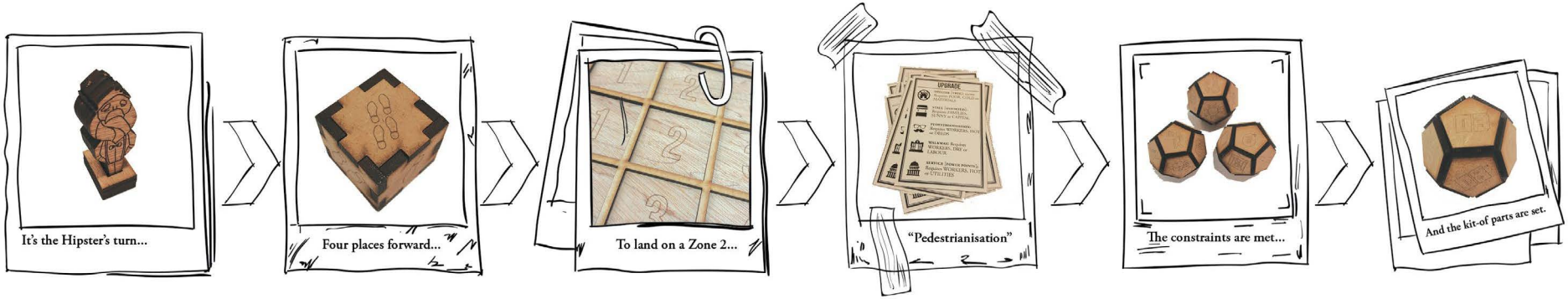


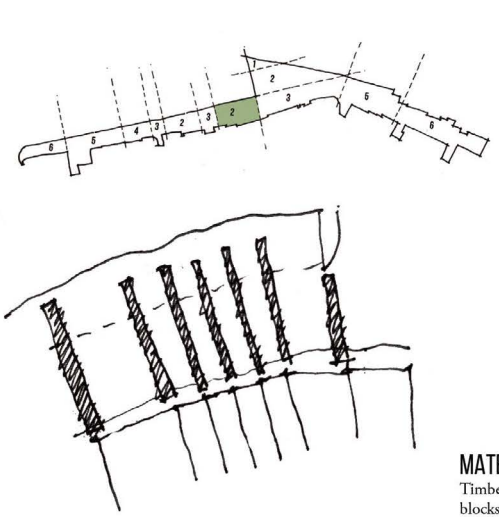
ROLL BRICOLAGE DIE TO DETERMINE KIT OF PARTS



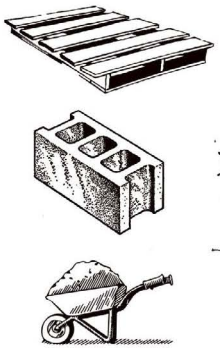
The Bricolage die randomly generates a material palette, consisting of variety of material types, which each character interprets individually.

END TURN.



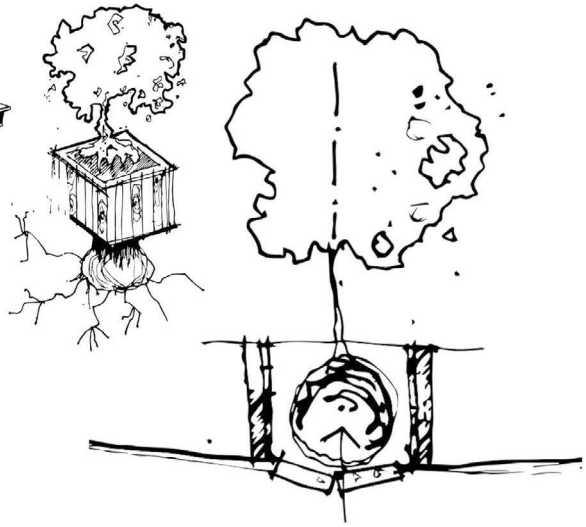


LOCATION ON STREET & DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN



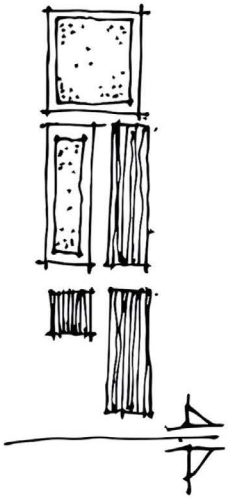
MATERIAL SELECTION

Timber pallets & pre-cast concrete blocks form the bulk of the material choices, with the addition of seats made from pallet planks, and the requisite geotextile & soil for planting.



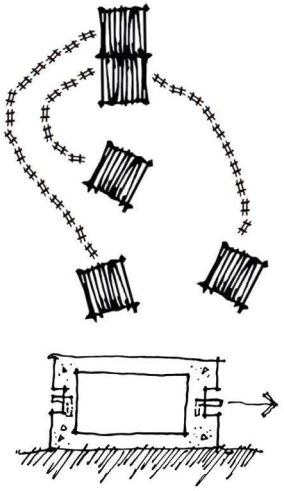
DRAINAGE

The pallet planter boxes site flush above the drainage channels at each end of the street, using capillary action to water the plants.



LOCATION

The planter boxes and benches are located at opposite edges of the street, mirroring each other.



MOBILITY

The planter boxes incorporate rebar handles, allowing for lifting or pulling into various configurations on the street.

Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]

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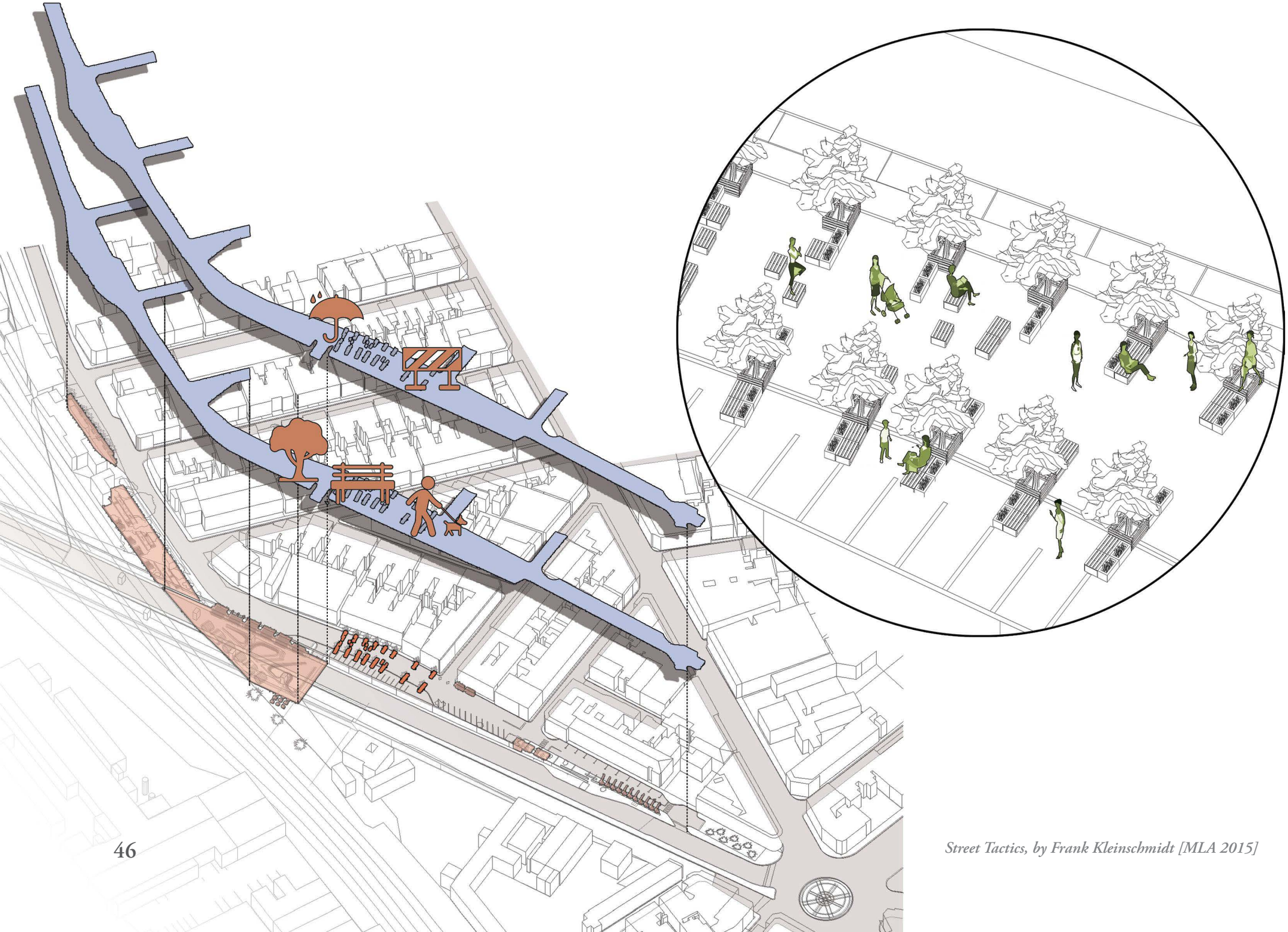

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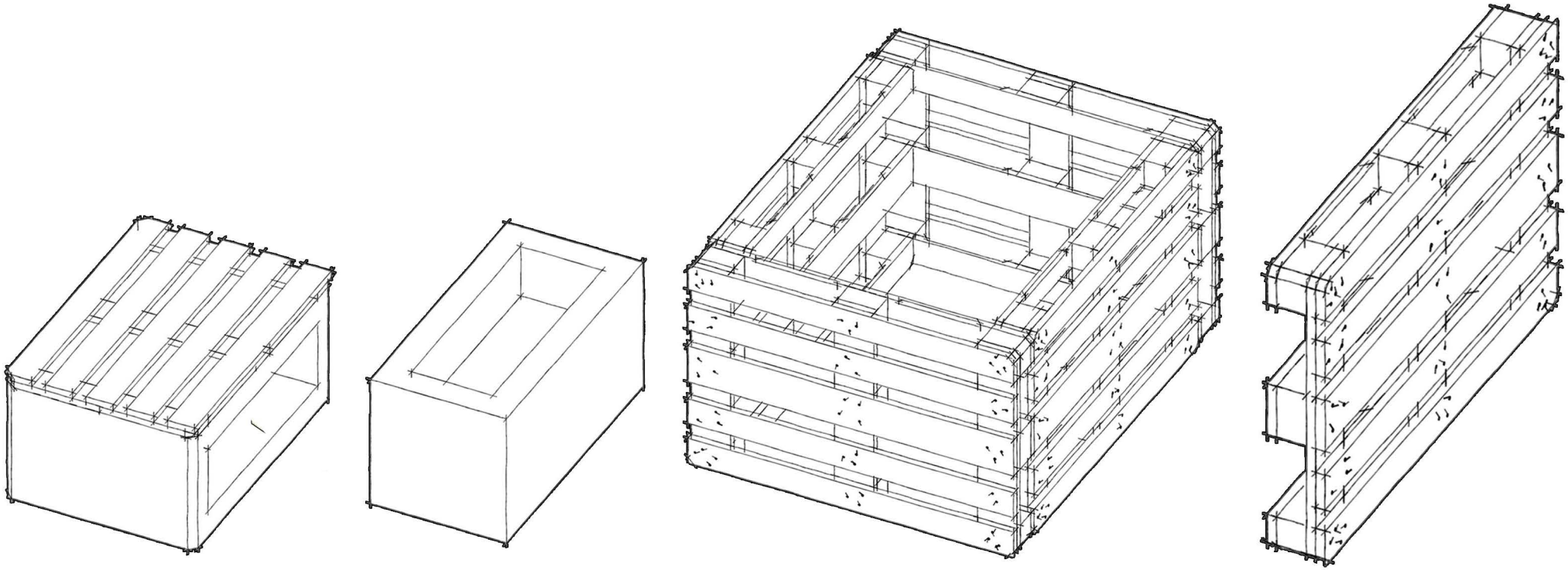

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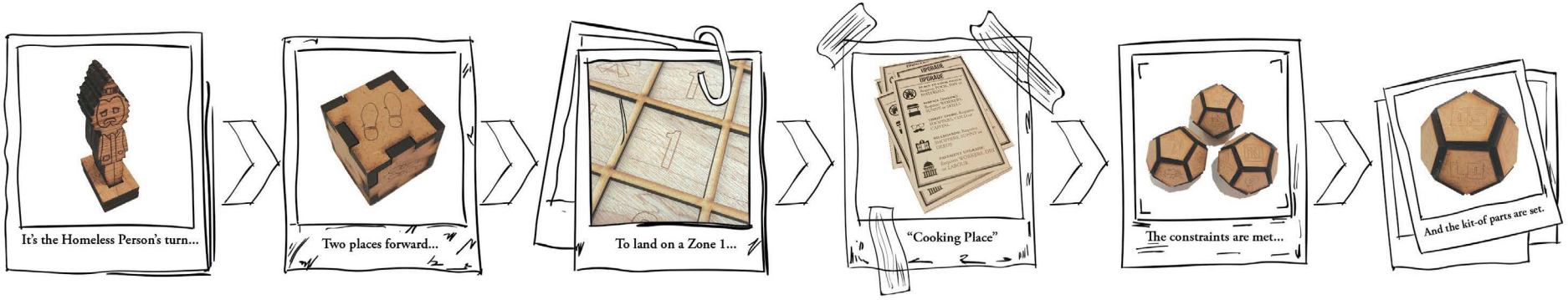
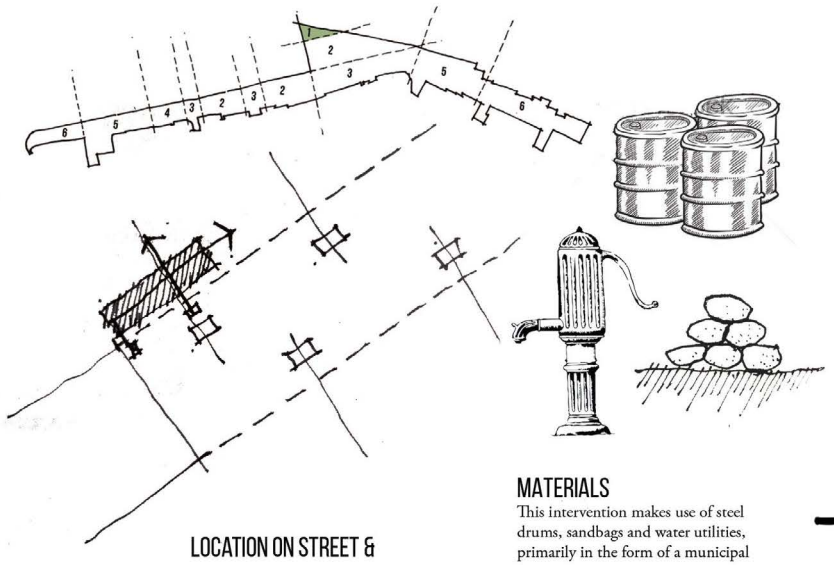
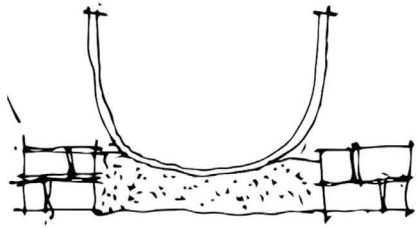




LOCATION ON STREET & DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN

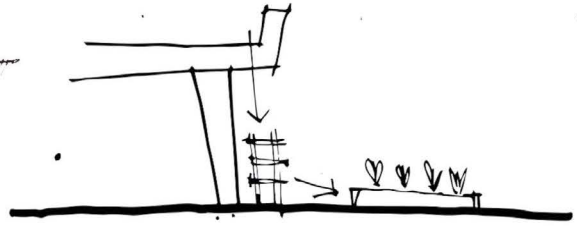
MATERIALS

This intervention makes use of steel drums, sandbags and water utilities, primarily in the form of a municipal tap.



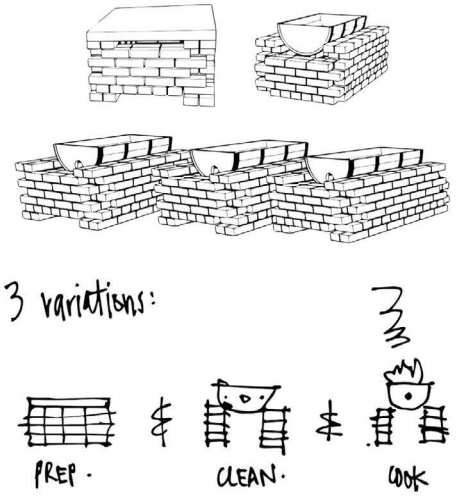
CONSTRUCTION

This diagram shows the basic make-up of the cooking & washing drums.



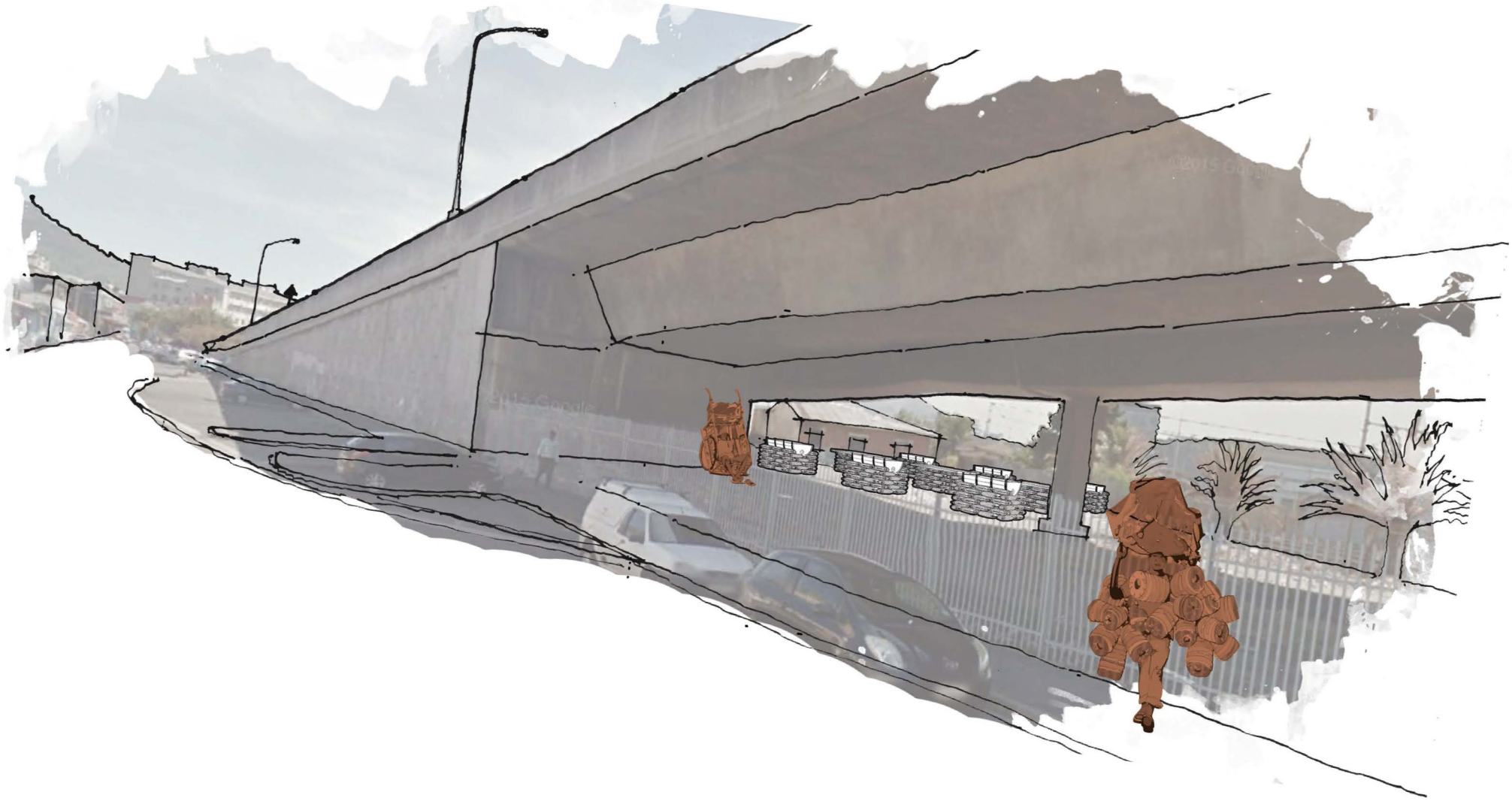
DRAINAGE

This diagram shows the relationship between the intervention & a potential rainwater garden for growing vegetables.

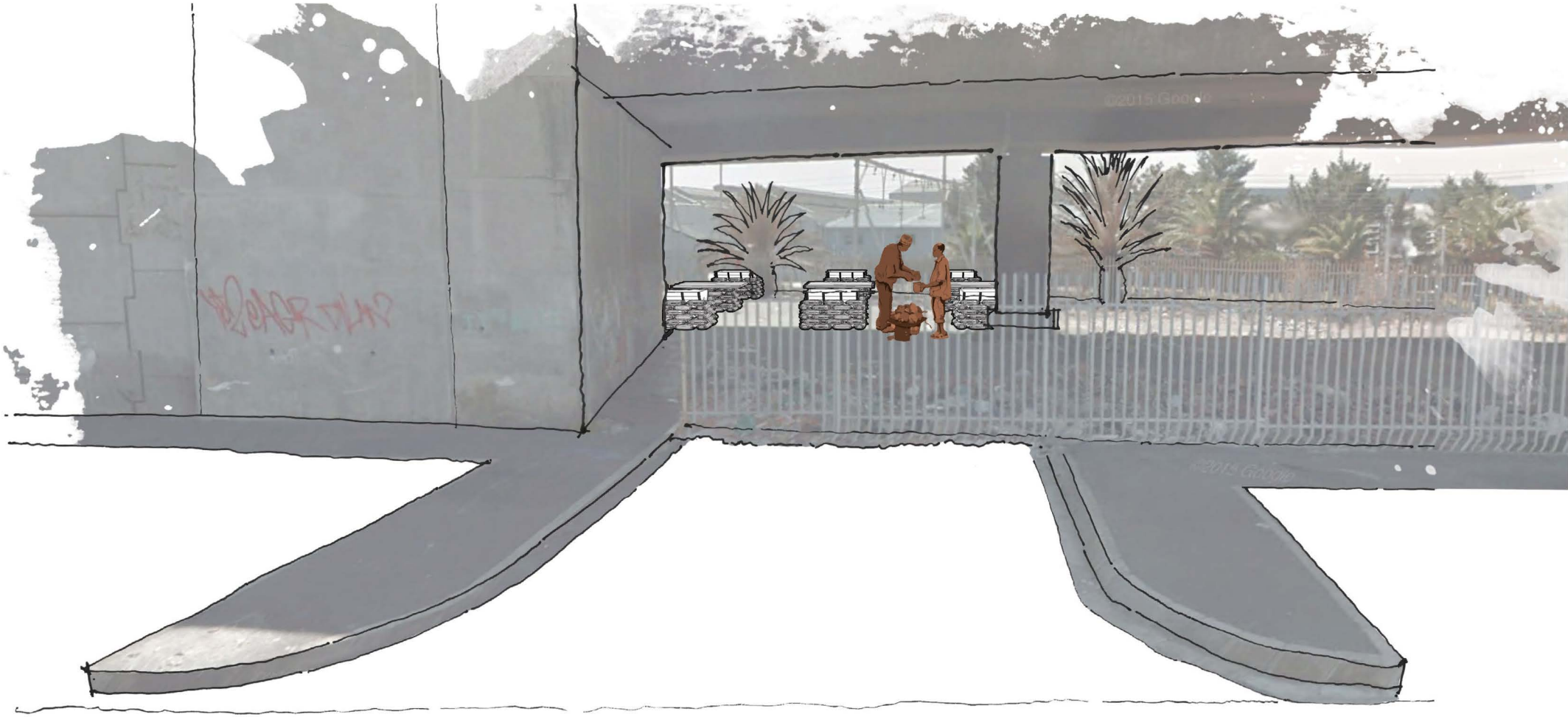


VARIATIONS

This diagram shows the three primary variations, based on typical cooking processes in modern kitchens.



Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]



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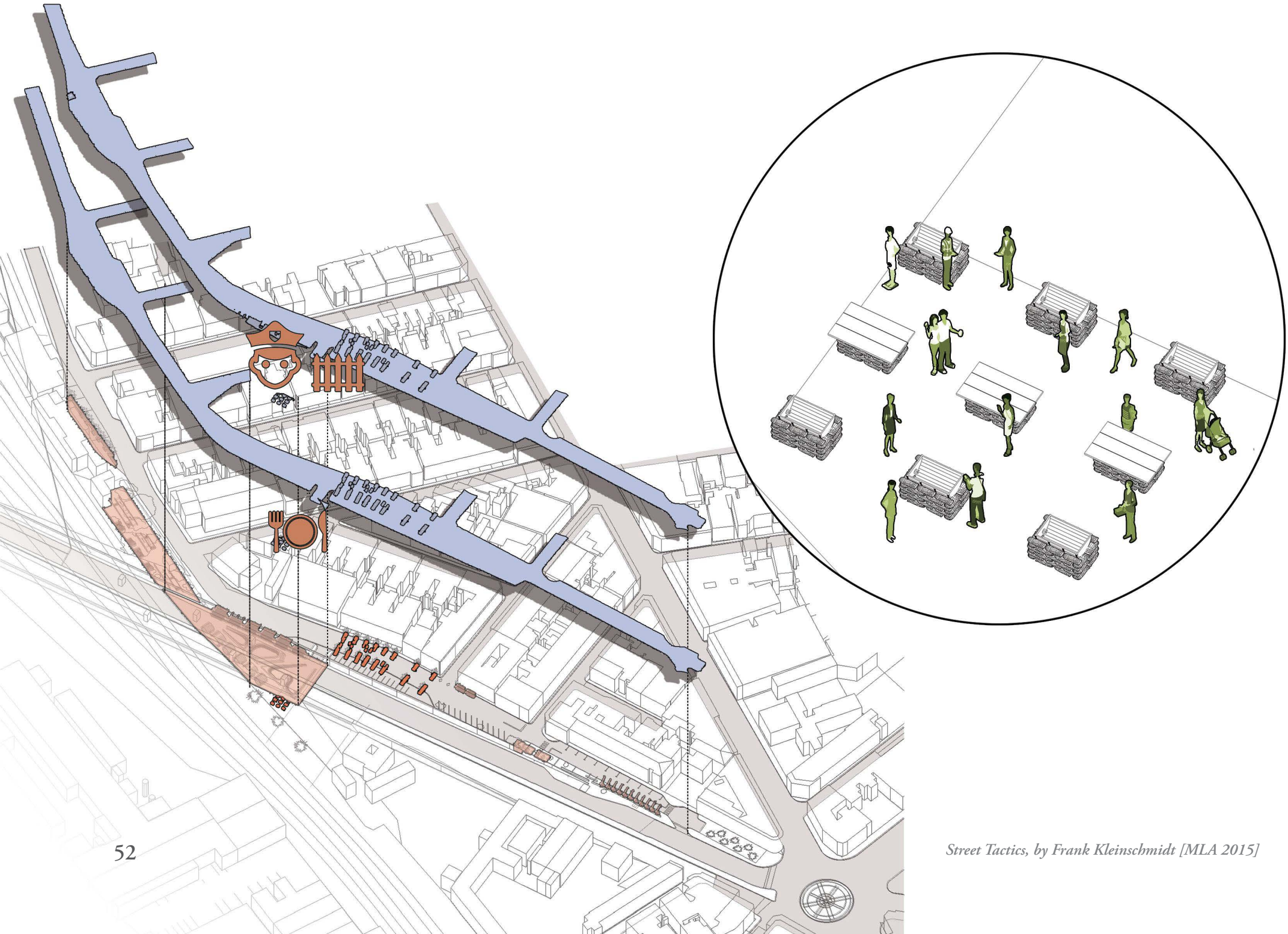

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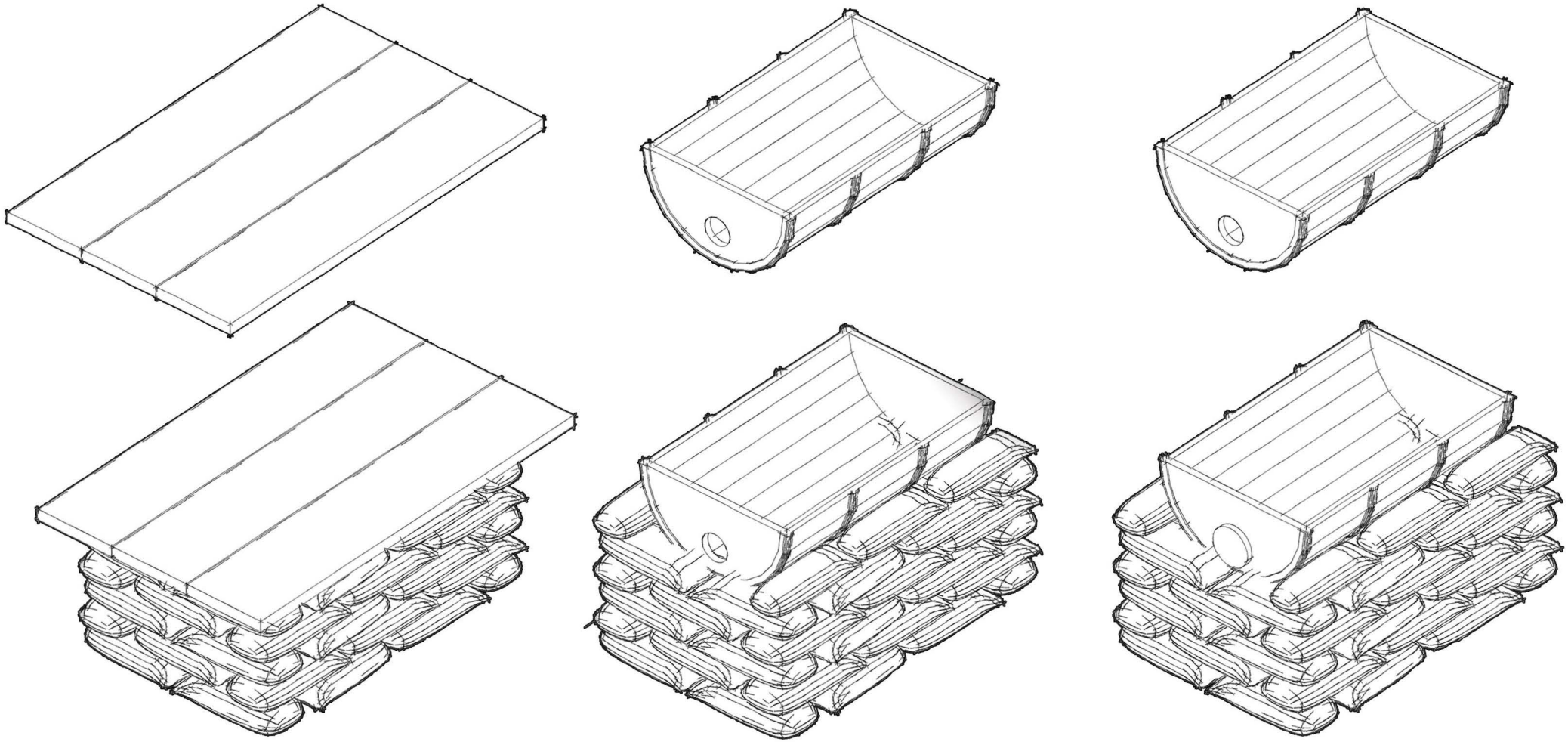
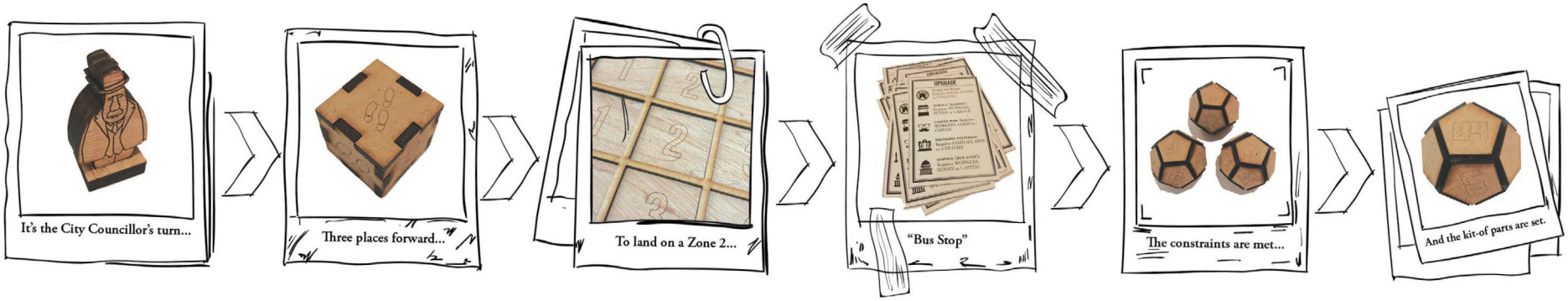
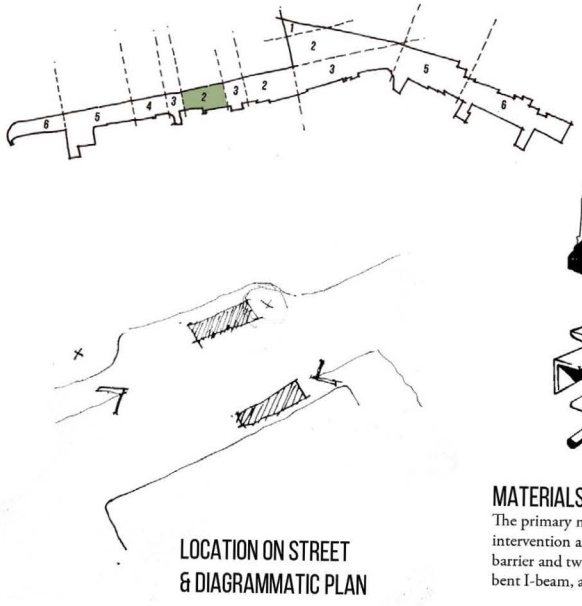
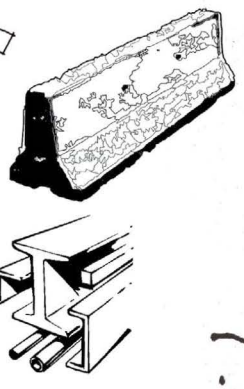




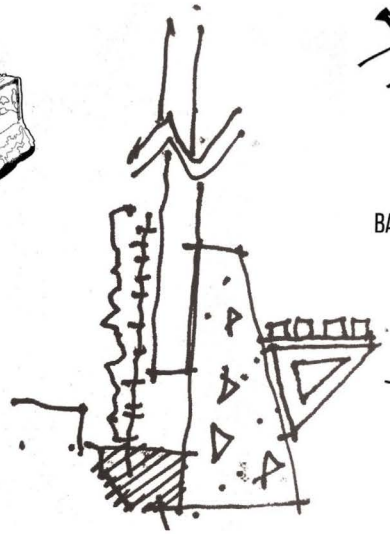


LOCATION ON STREET
& DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN

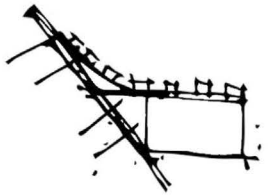


MATERIALS

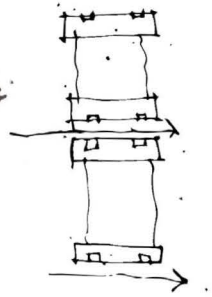
The primary materials in this intervention are a concrete Jersey barrier and two steel components: a bent I-beam, and square steel purlins.



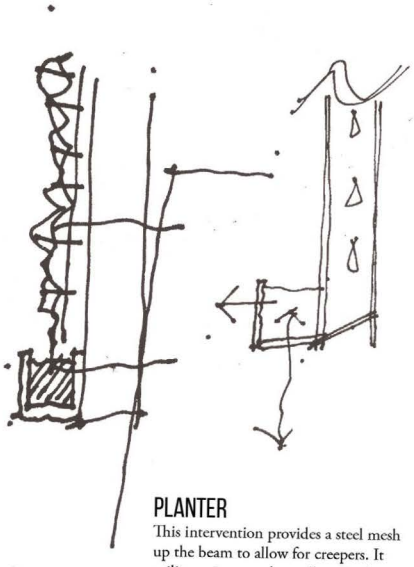
BASIC SECTION



BASIC SEAT CONSTRUCTION

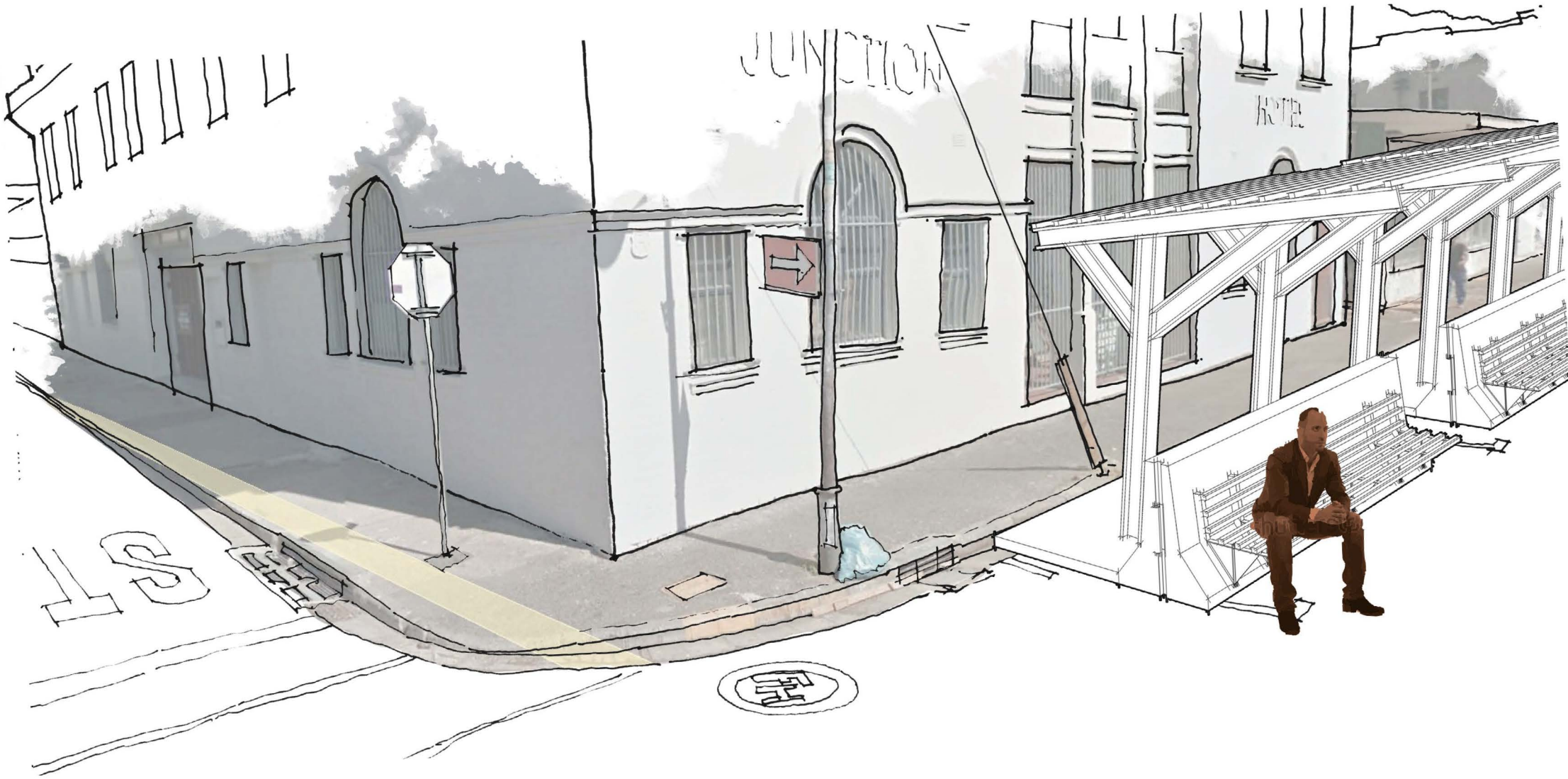


ACCESS BETWEEN INSTALLATIONS

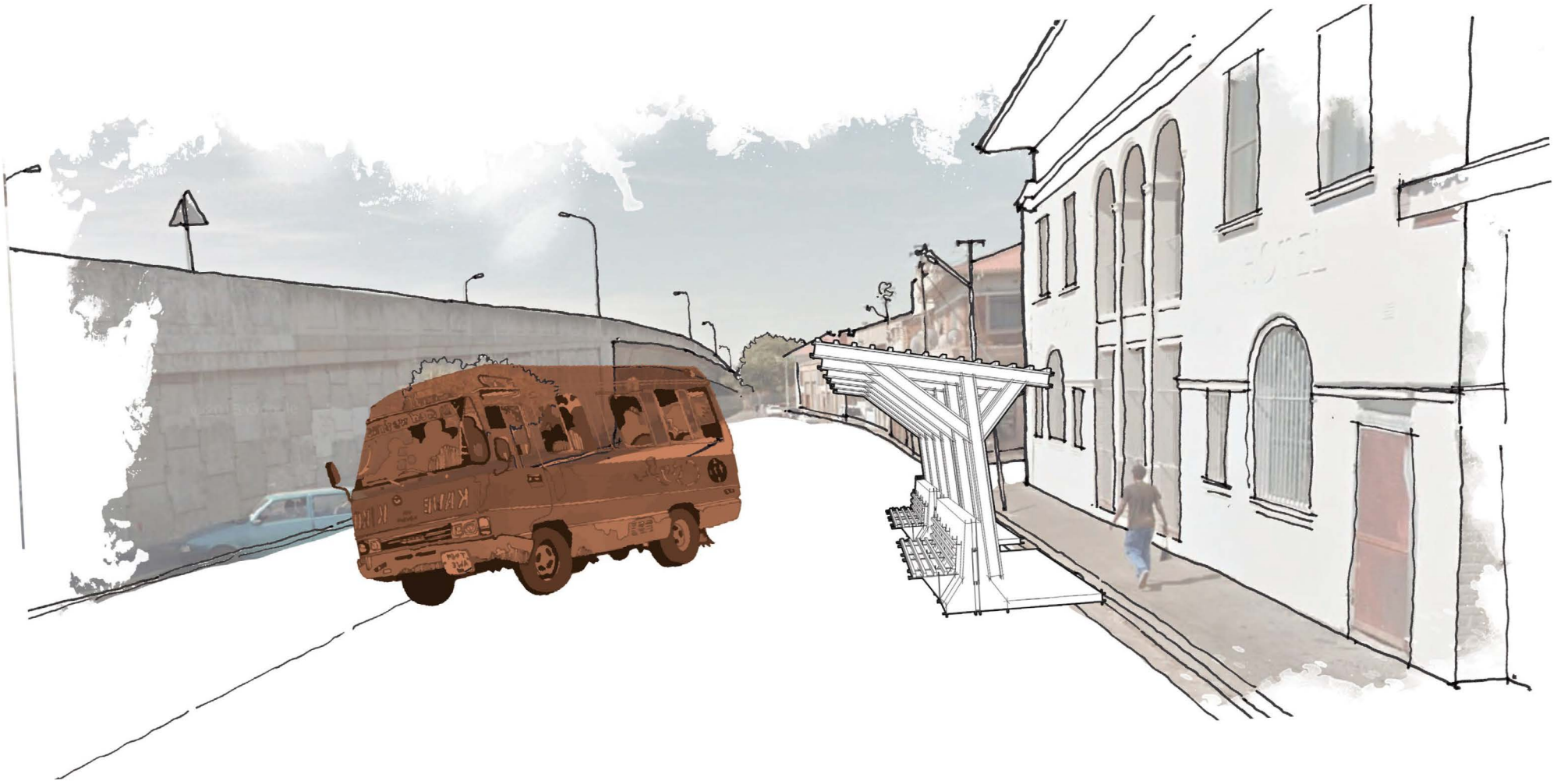


PLANTER

This intervention provides a steel mesh up the beam to allow for creepers. It utilises rainwater that collects in the drainage channel between the shelter and the pavement.



Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]



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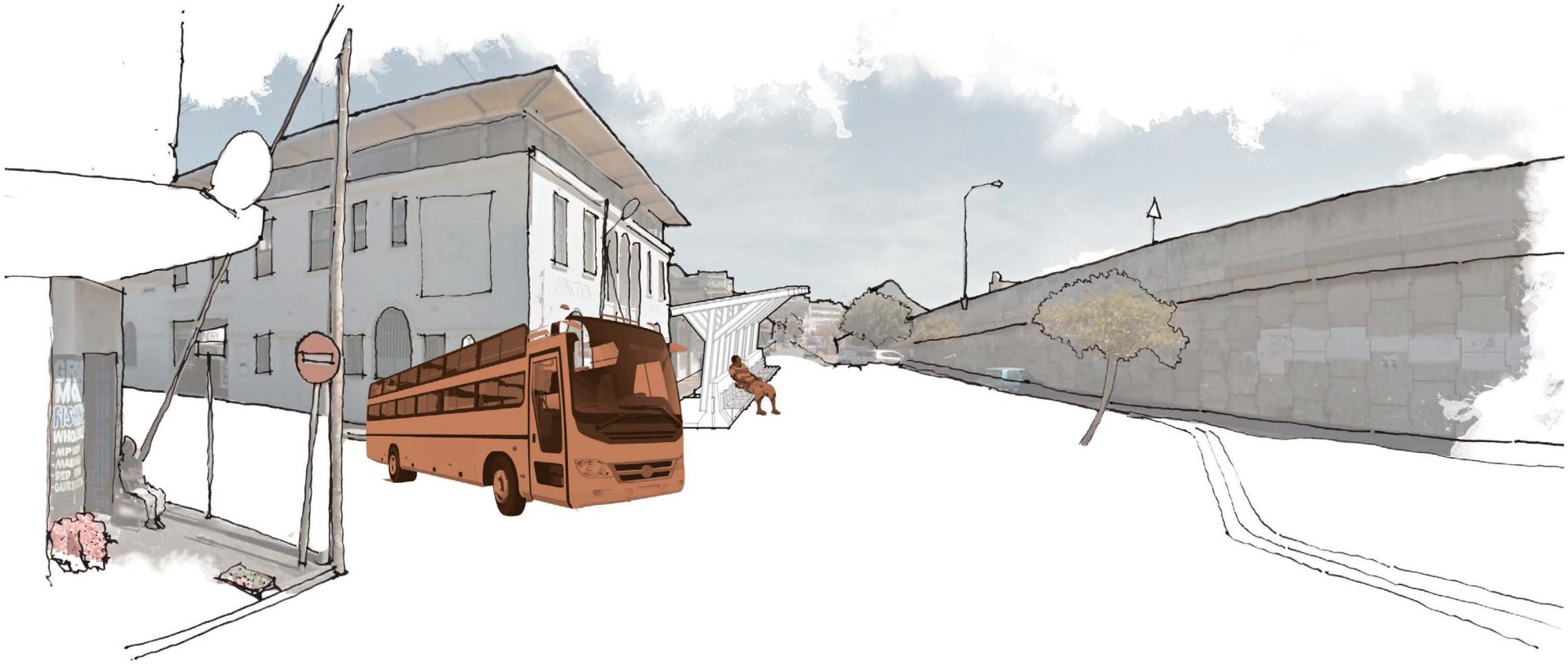

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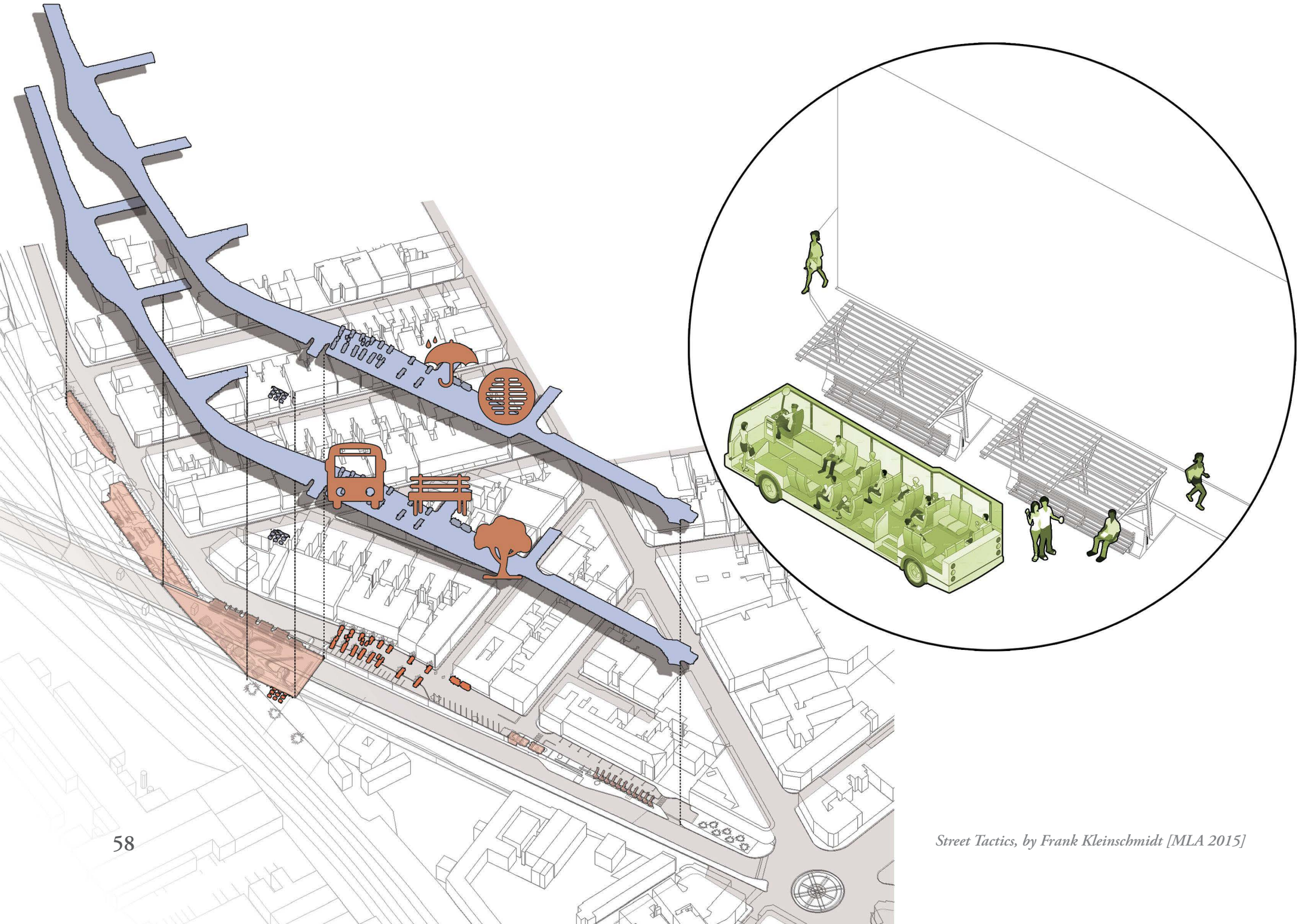

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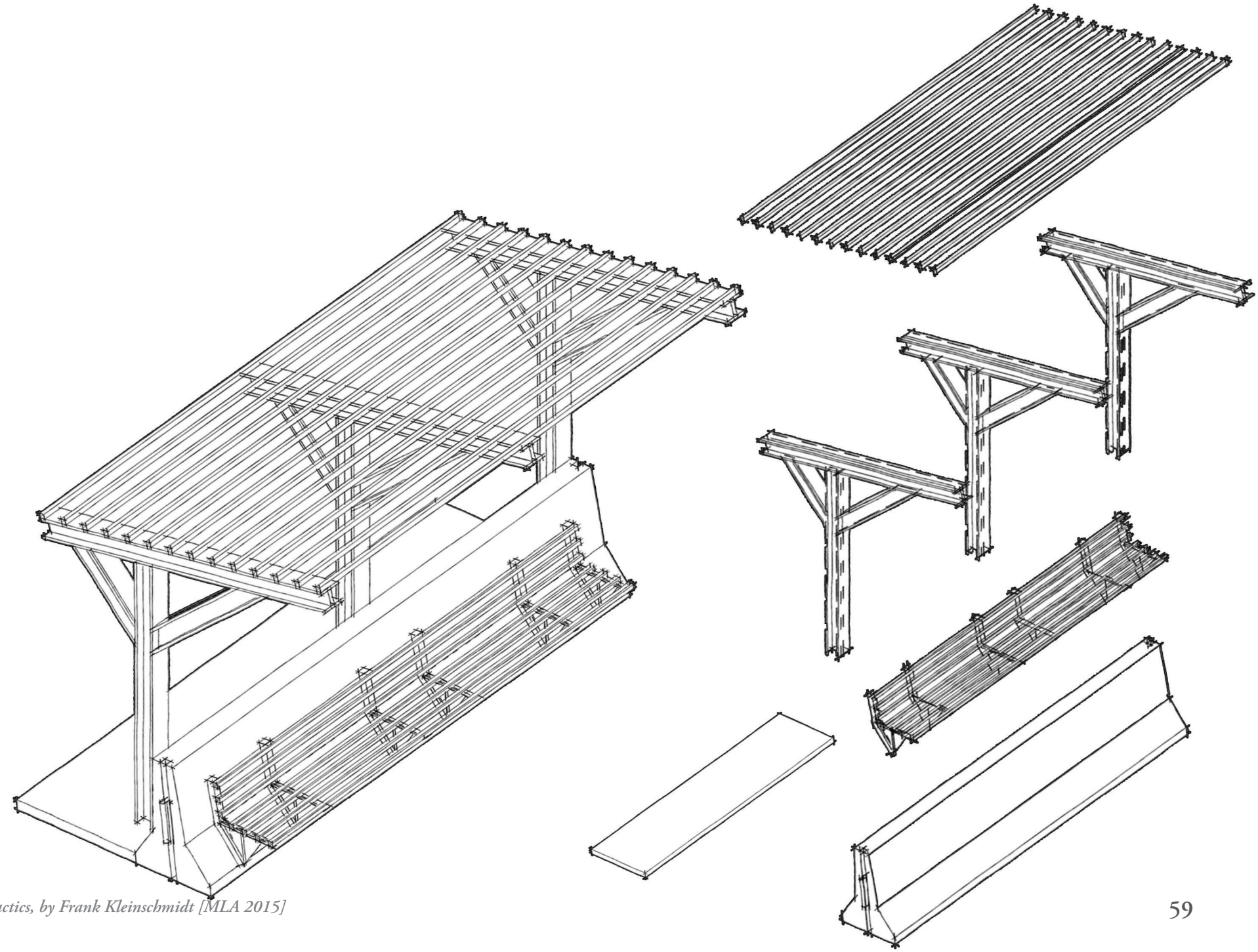

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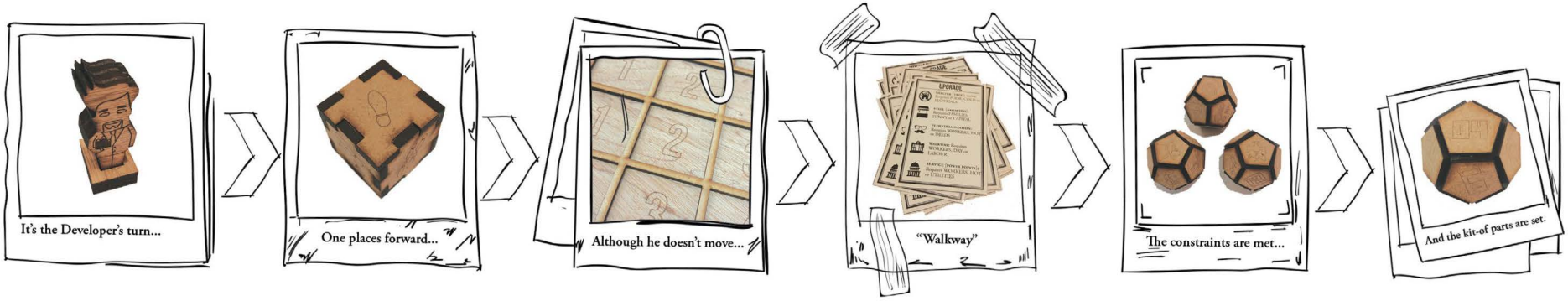
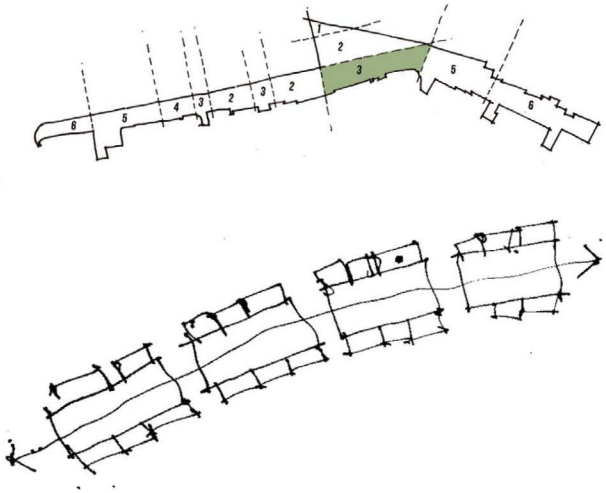
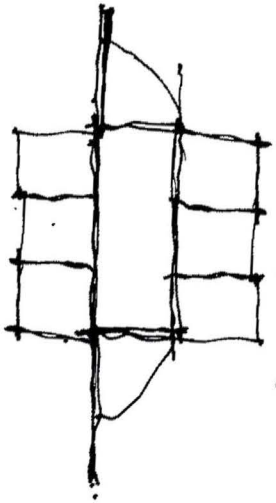




LOCATION ON STREET
& DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN



CONFIGURATION

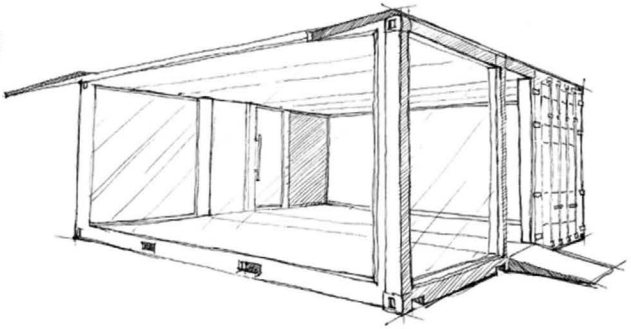
This diagram show the core rectangle with the footprint after the length and width walls are opened.

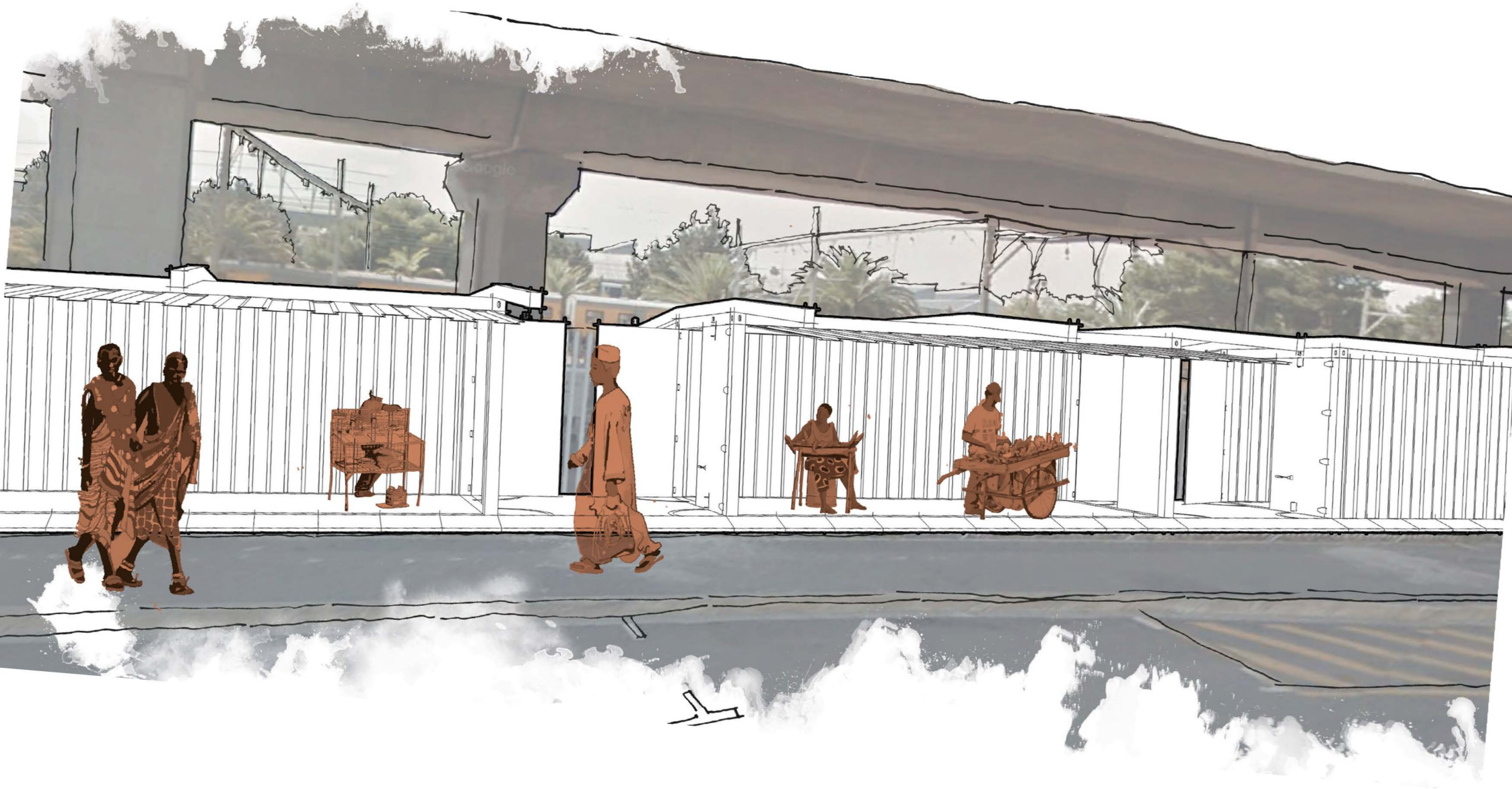
MATERIALS & CONSTRUCTION

The primary materials in this intervention are standard 6000mm cargo containers, retrofitted with steel beams to allow for the length walls to fold up to form shading devices.

FRINGE

The containers are fringed by shallow concrete kerbs to allow for easy wheeled access, i.e. paraplegic or carts.





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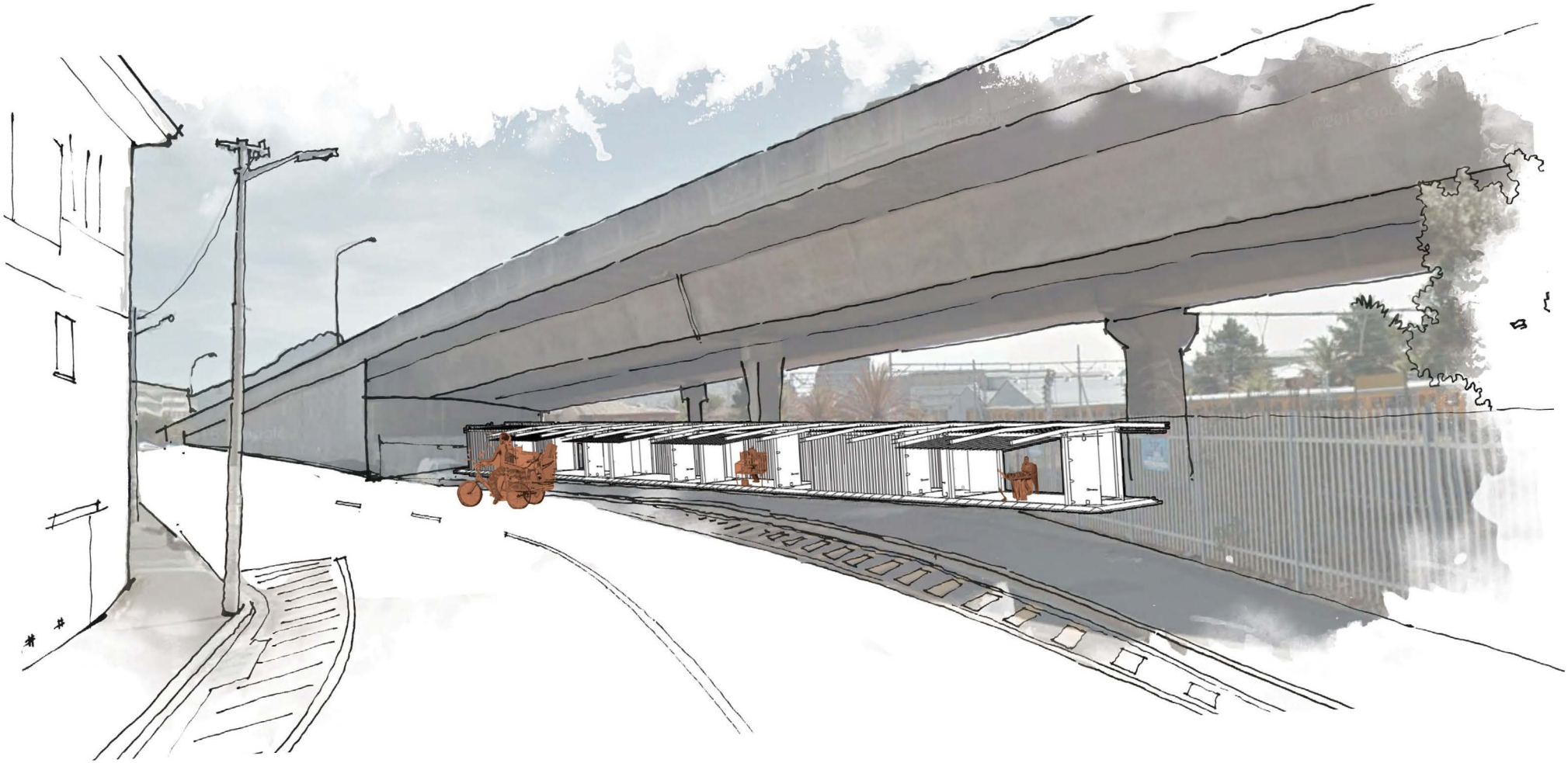

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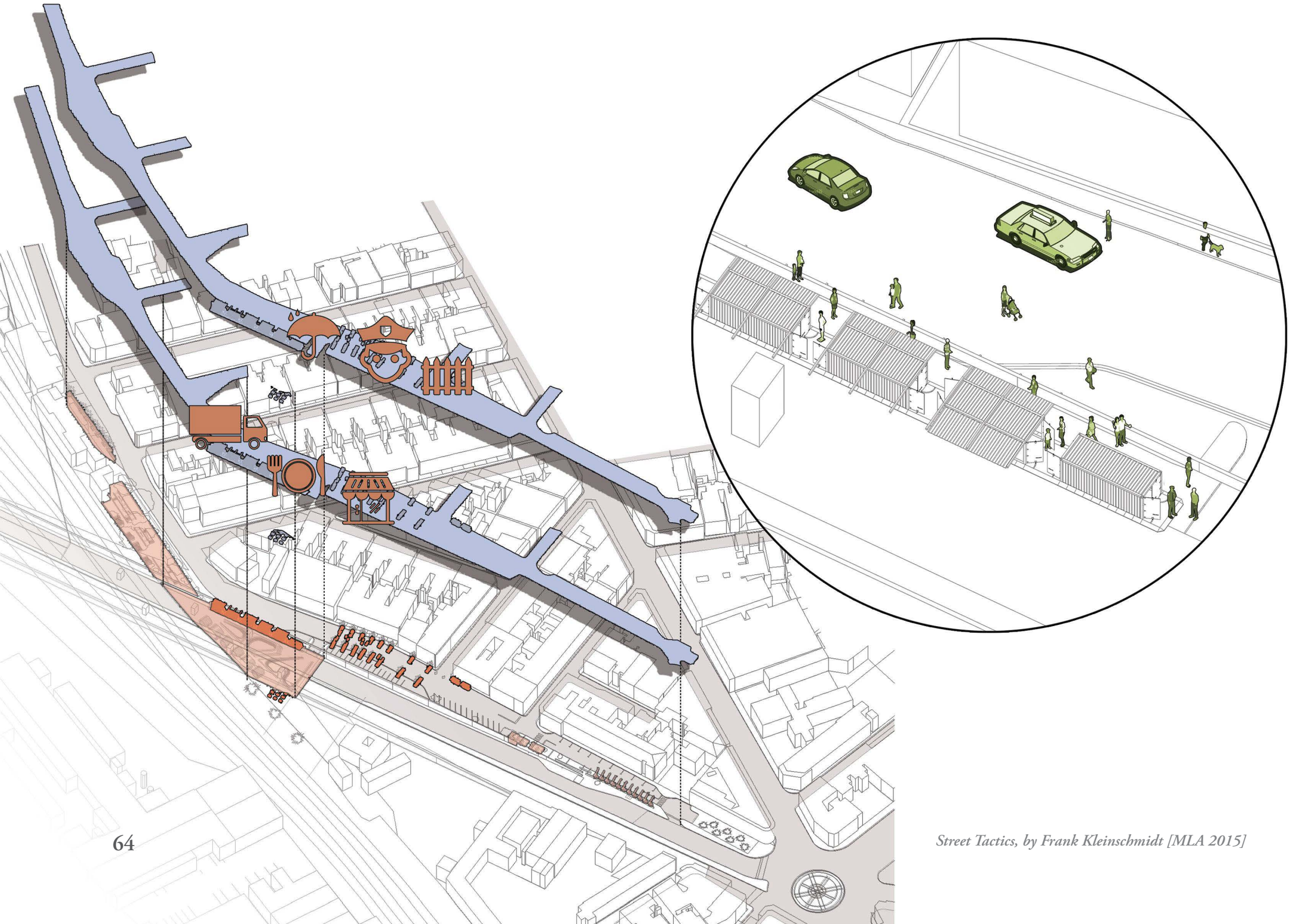

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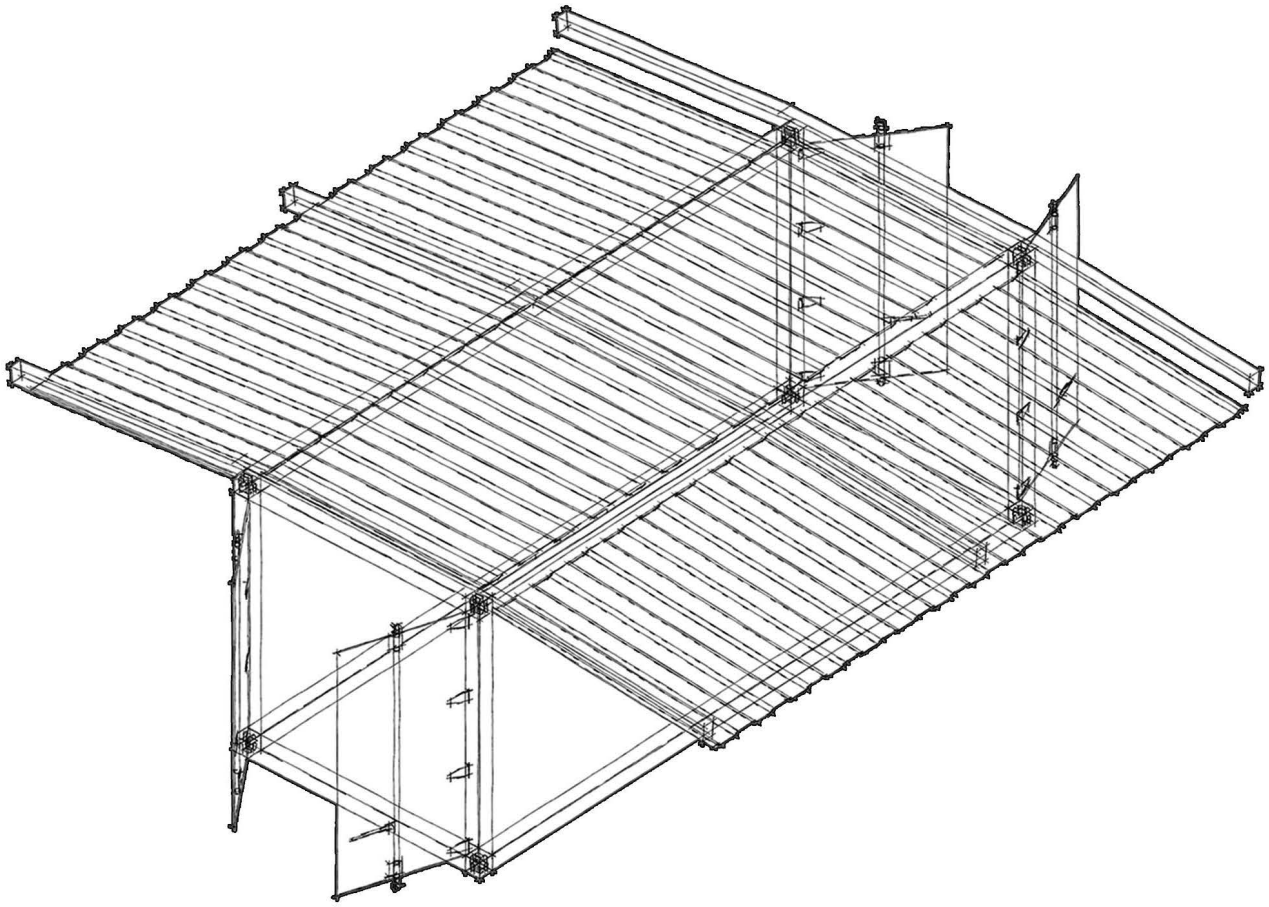
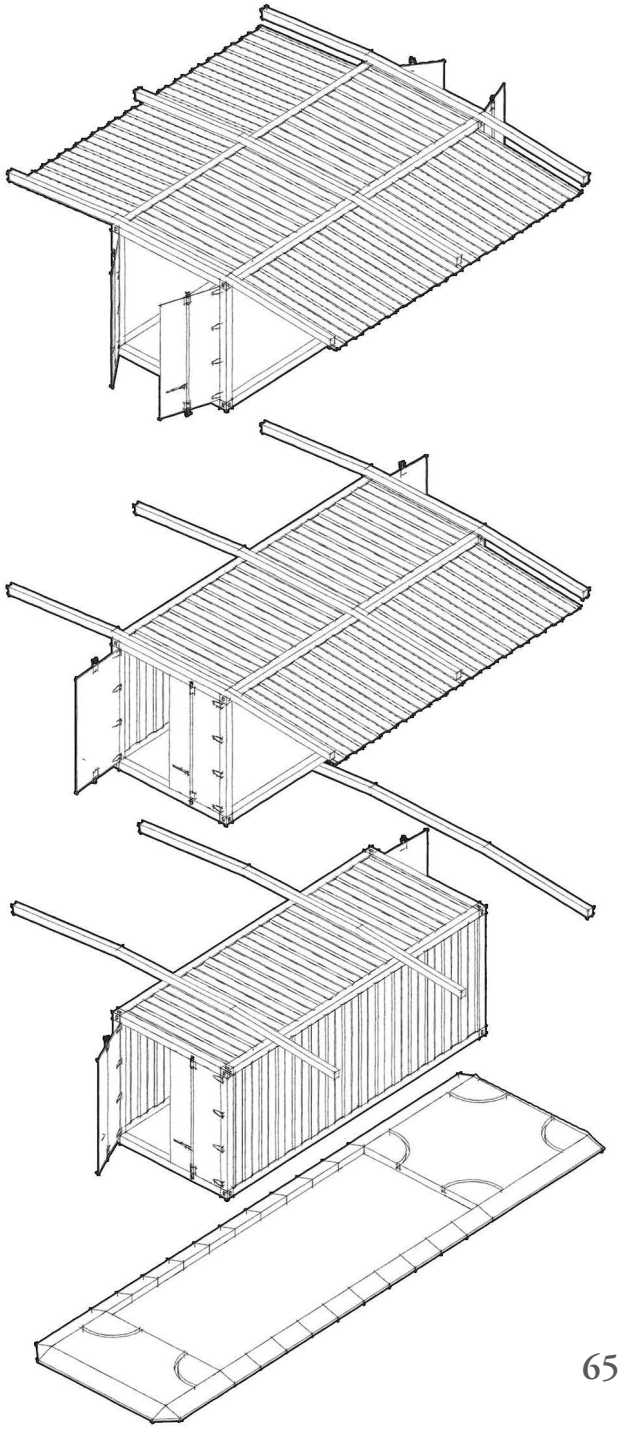
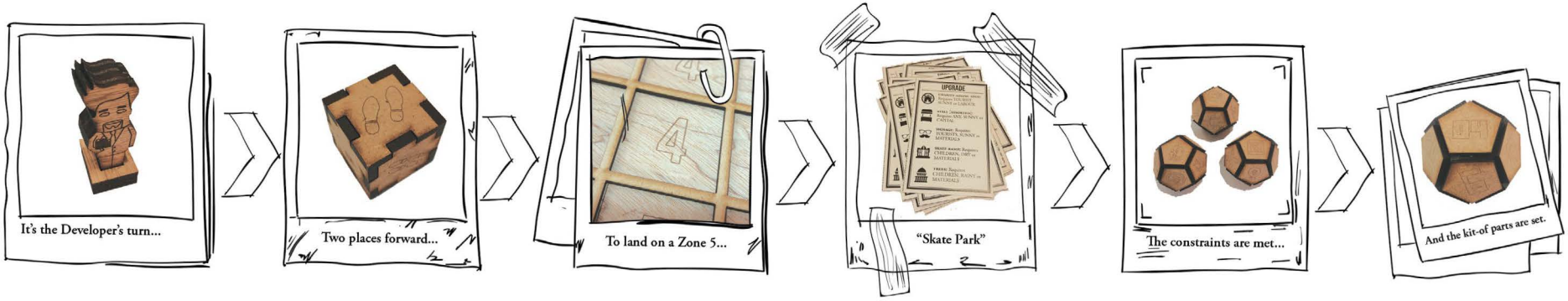
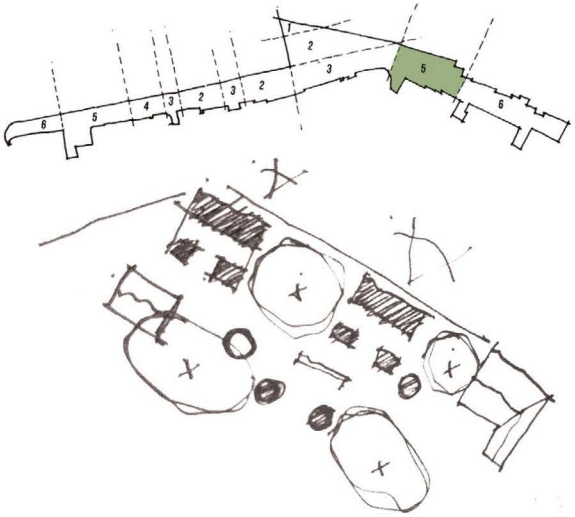


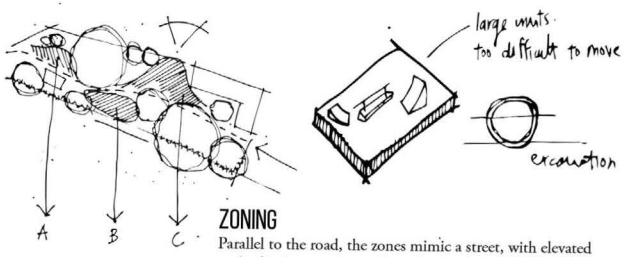


Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]



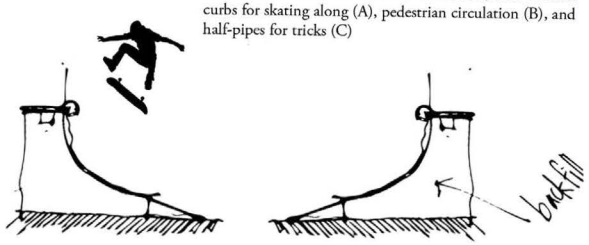


LOCATION ON STREET
& DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN



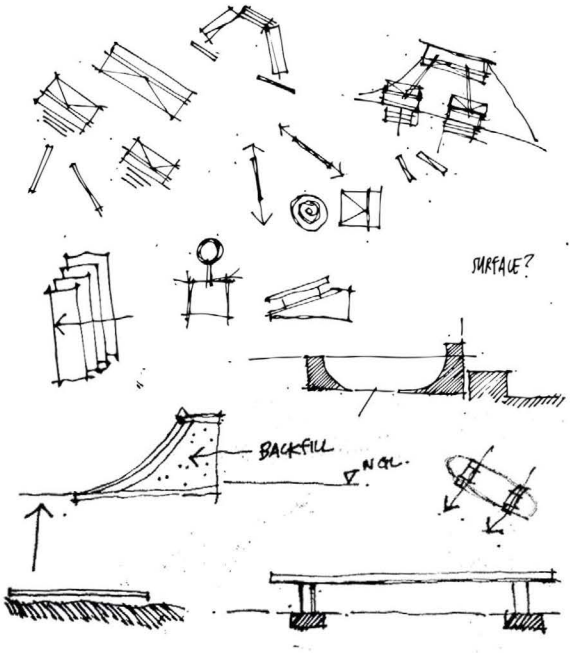
ZONING

Parallel to the road, the zones mimic a street, with elevated curbs for skating along (A), pedestrian circulation (B), and half-pipes for tricks (C)



CONFIGURATION

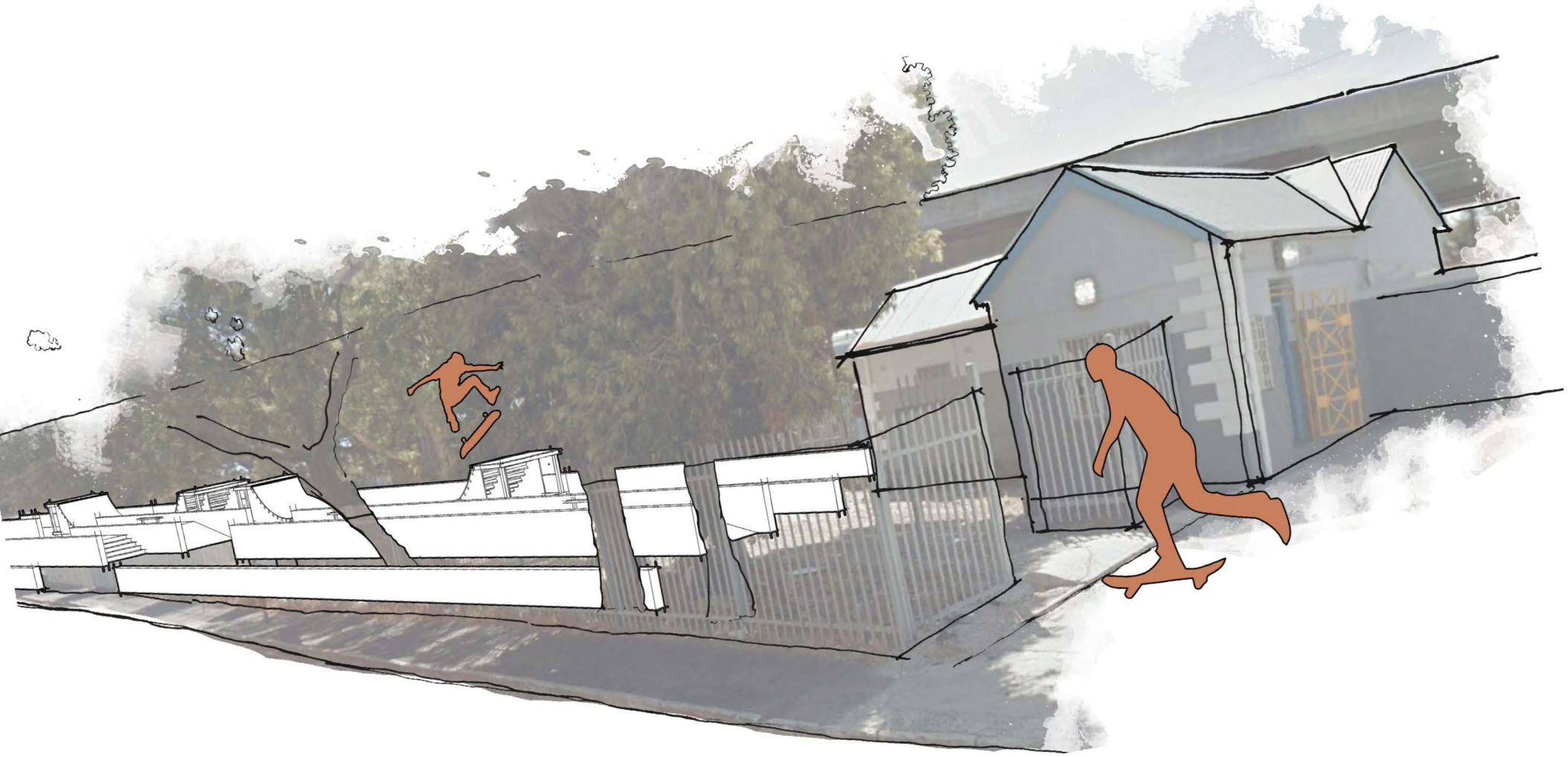
The primary feature of this intervention is the set of half-pipe ramps that afford views over the railway station.



COMPONENTS

On the right are collected a variety of ramps, rails and half-pipes, which were considered in creating this street-style skate park.

Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]



Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]

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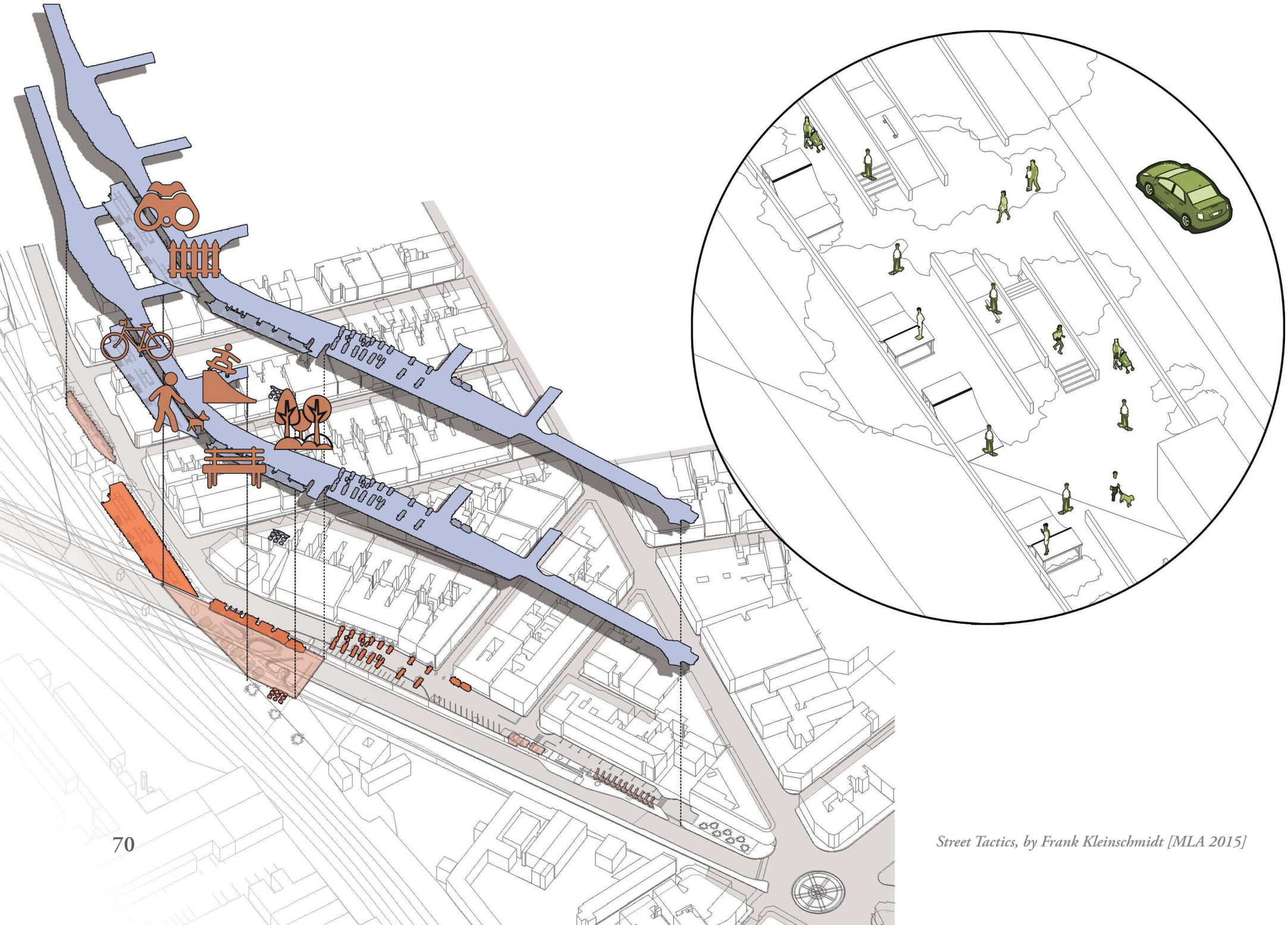

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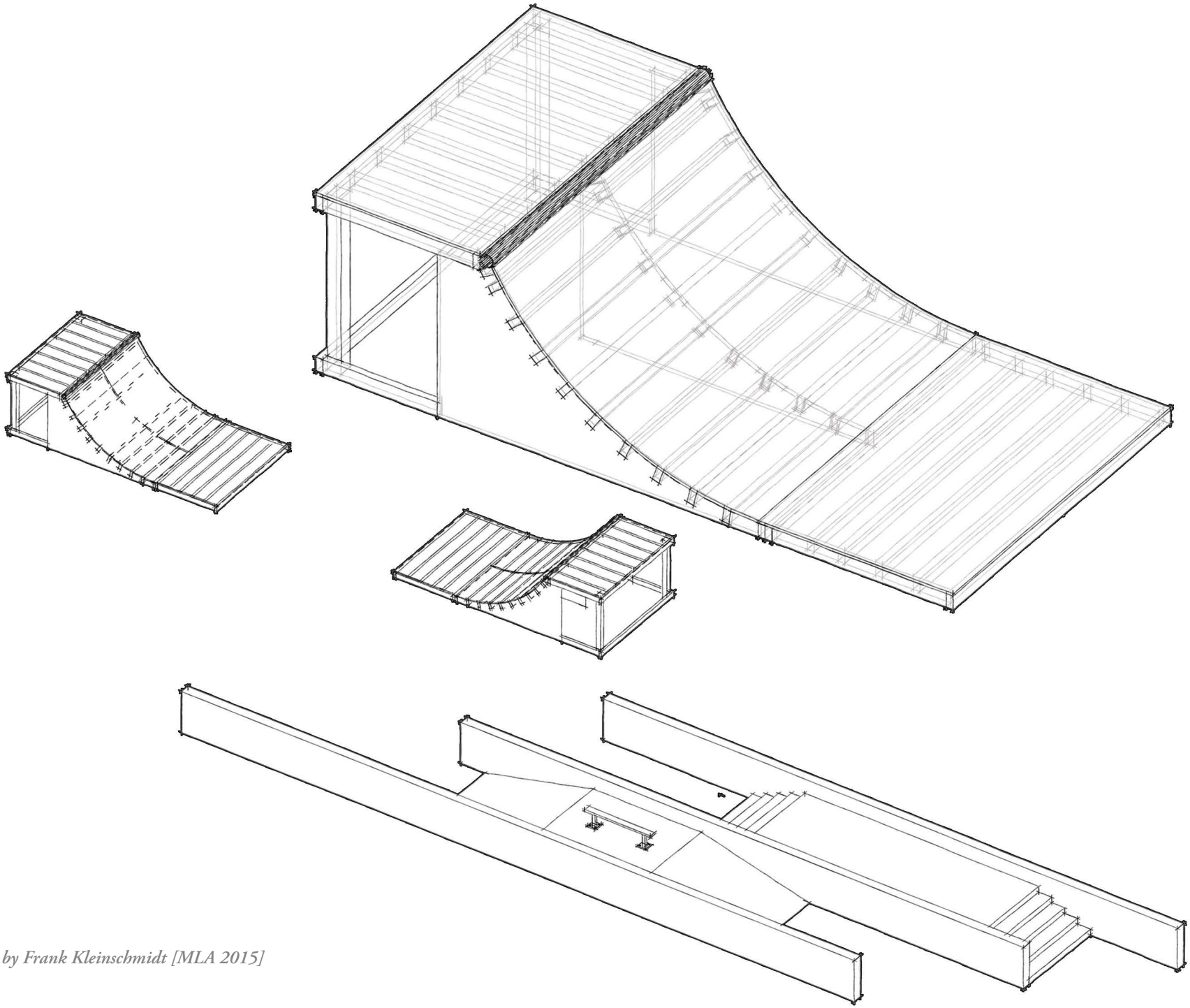
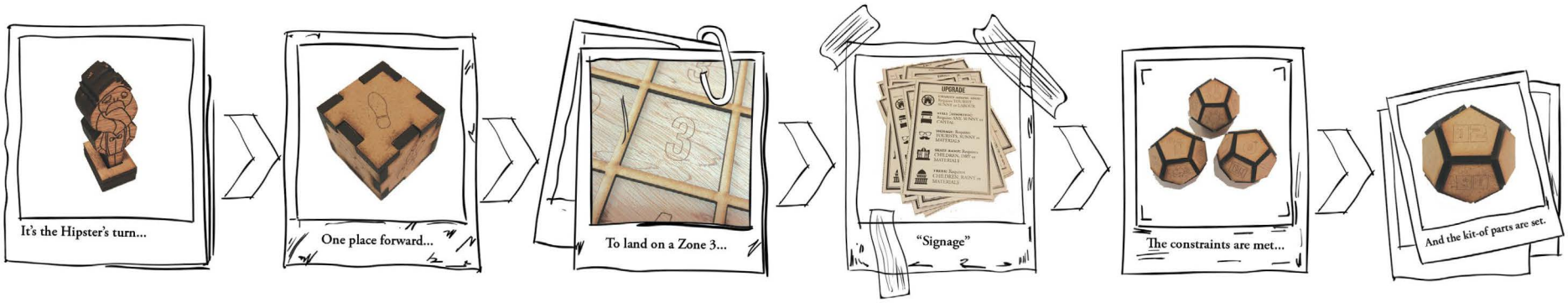
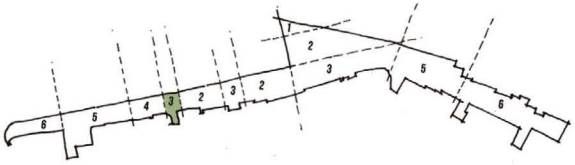
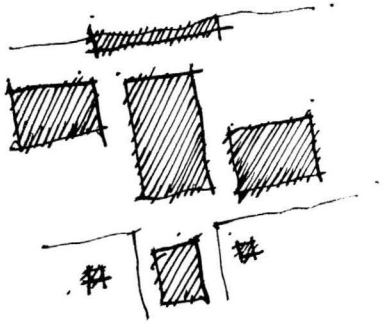


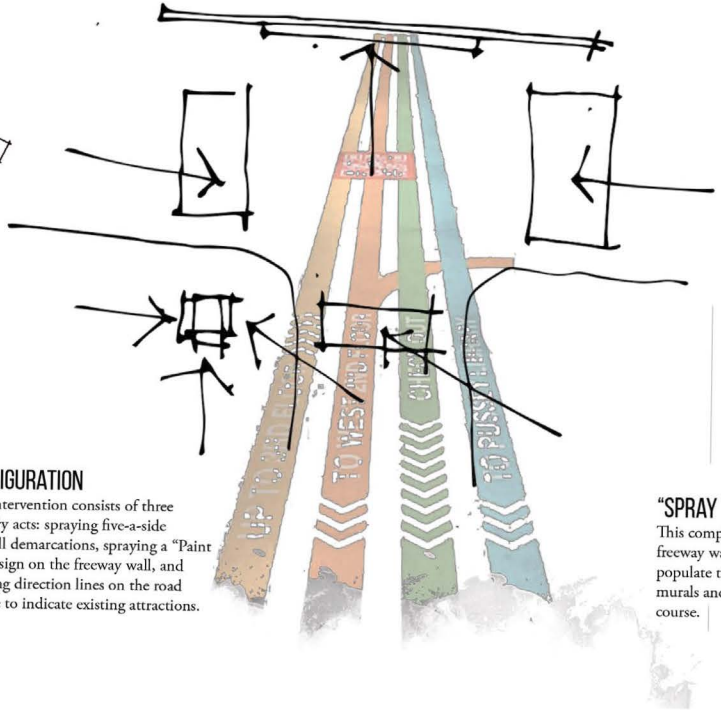
Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]





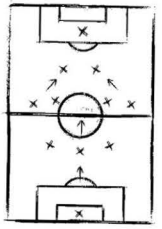


LOCATION ON STREET
& DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN



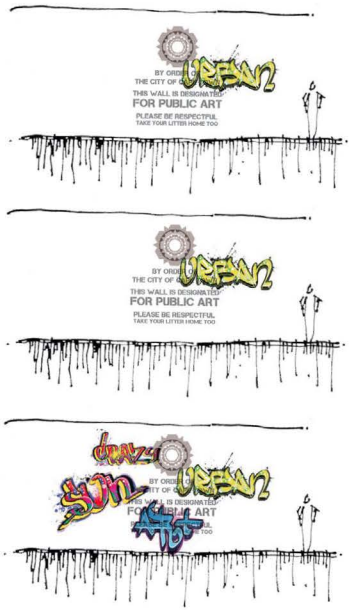
CONFIGURATION

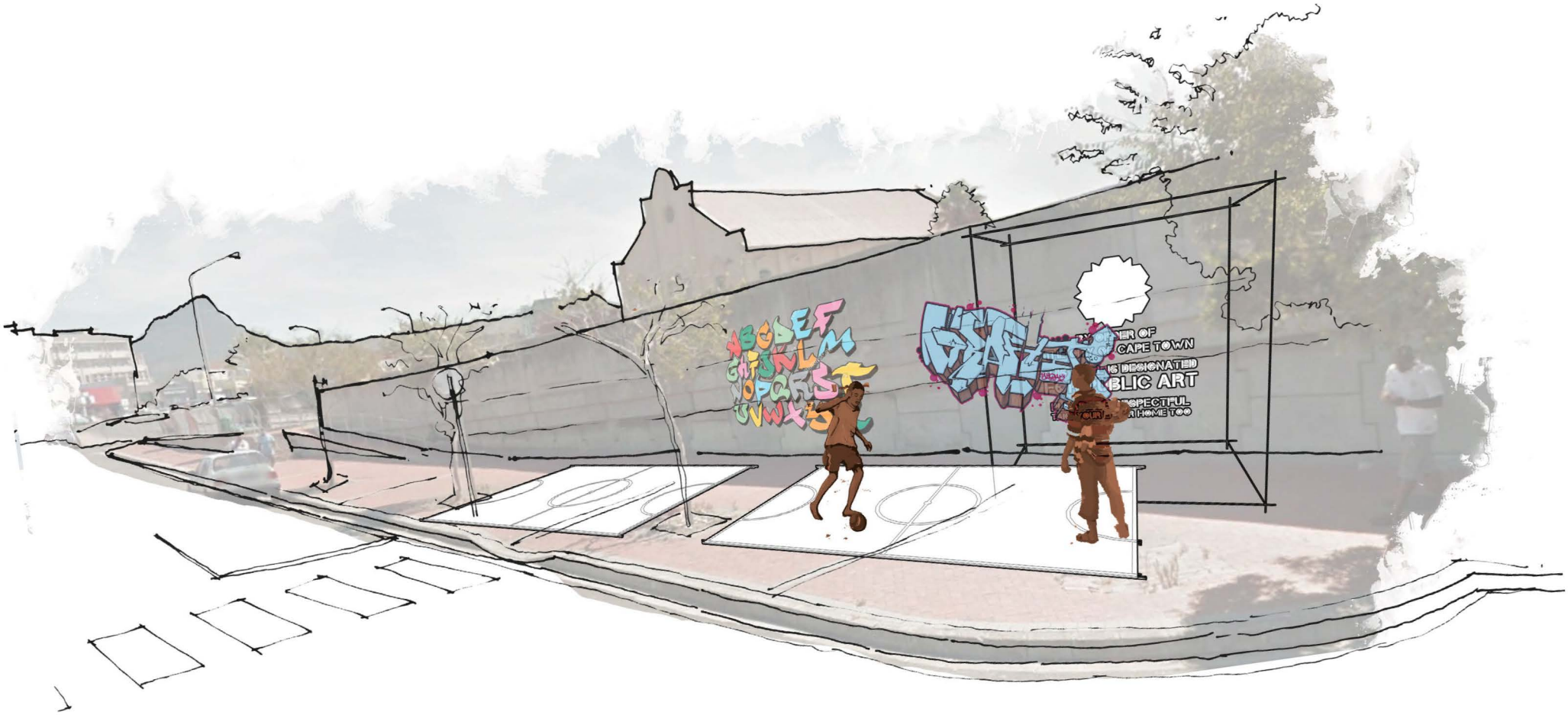
This intervention consists of three primary acts: spraying five-a-side football demarcations, spraying a "Paint Here" sign on the freeway wall, and painting direction lines on the road surface to indicate existing attractions.



"SPRAY HERE"

This component sprays a notice on the freeway wall encouraging local artists to populate the bland gray facade with murals and artworks. Respectfull, of course.





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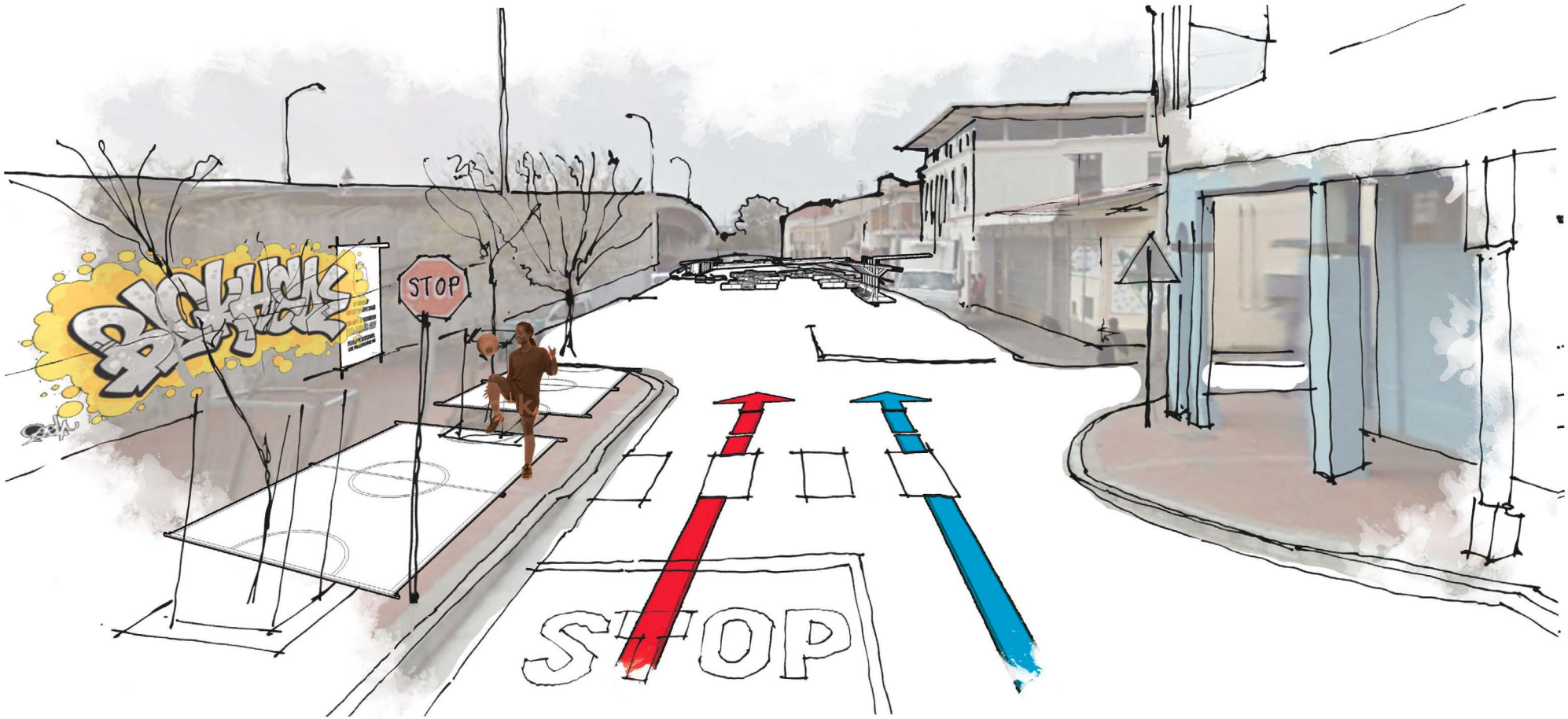

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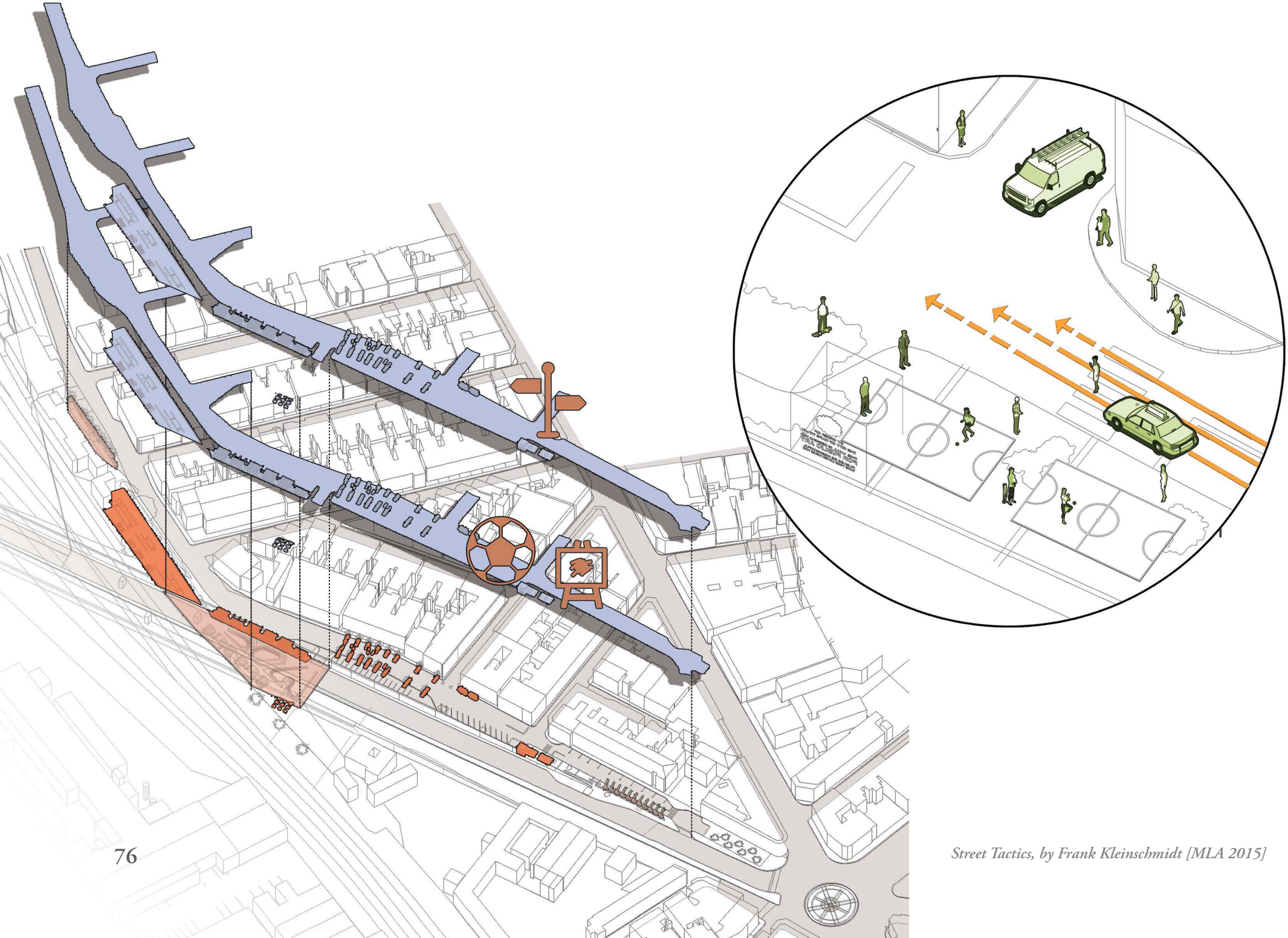
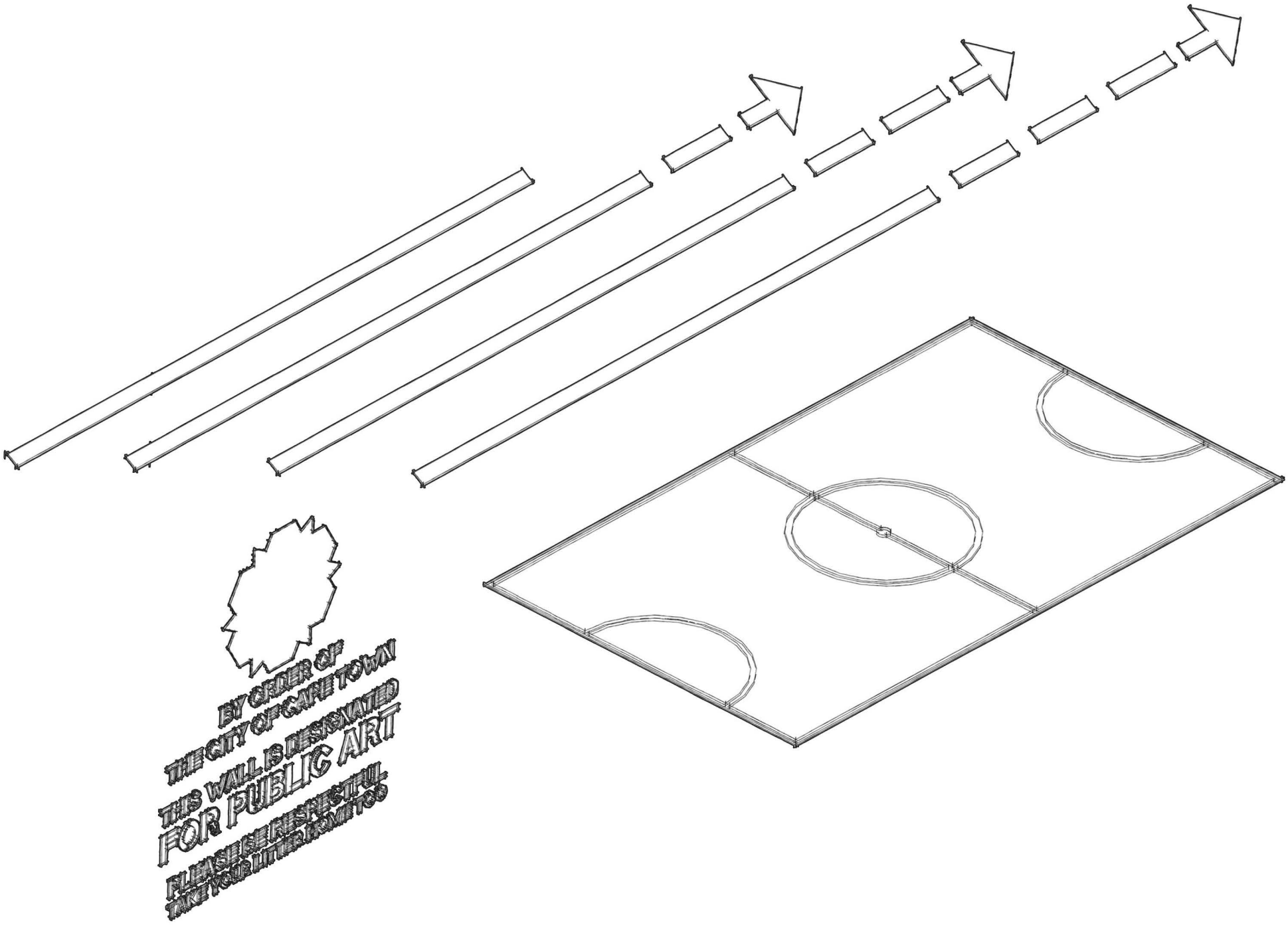
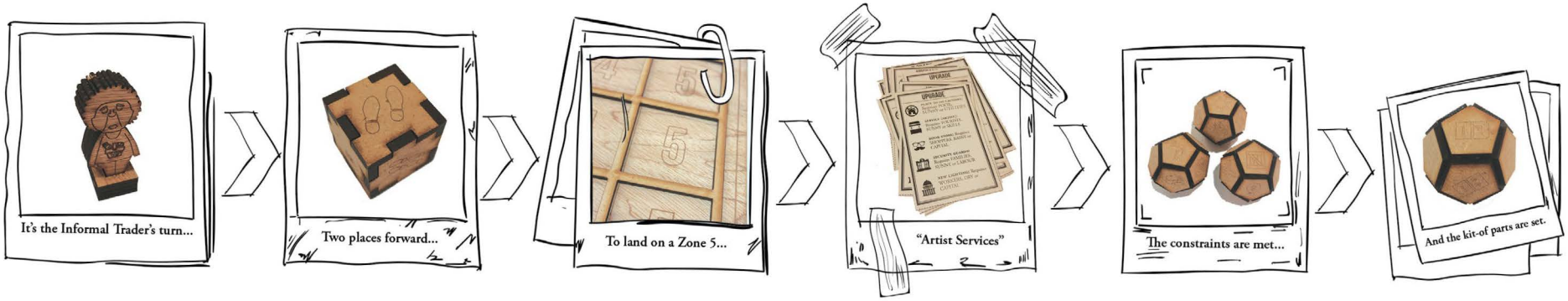
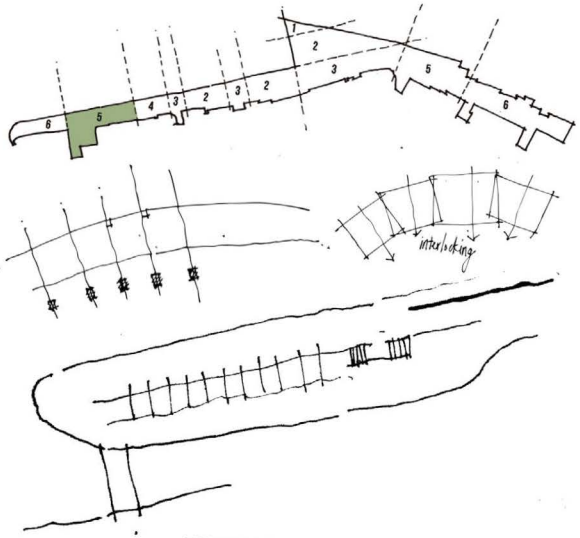


Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]


BY ORDER OF
THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN
THIS WALL IS DESIGNATED
FOR PUBLIC ART
PLEASE BE RESPECTFUL
TAKE YOUR LITTER HOME TOO

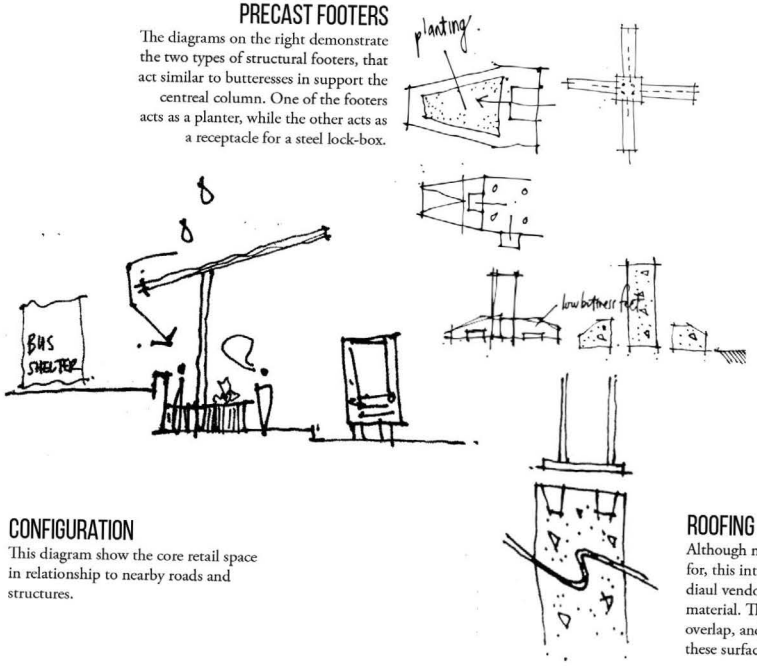




LOCATION ON STREET
& DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN

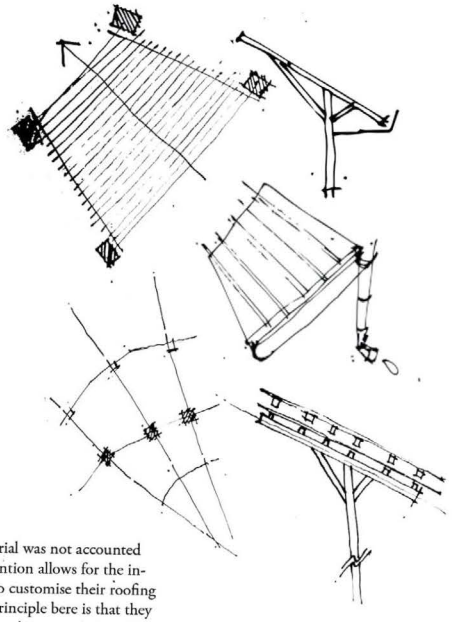
PRECAST FOOTERS

The diagrams on the right demonstrate the two types of structural footers, that act similar to butteresses in support the centreal column. One of the footers acts as a planter, while the other acts as a receptacle for a steel lock-box.



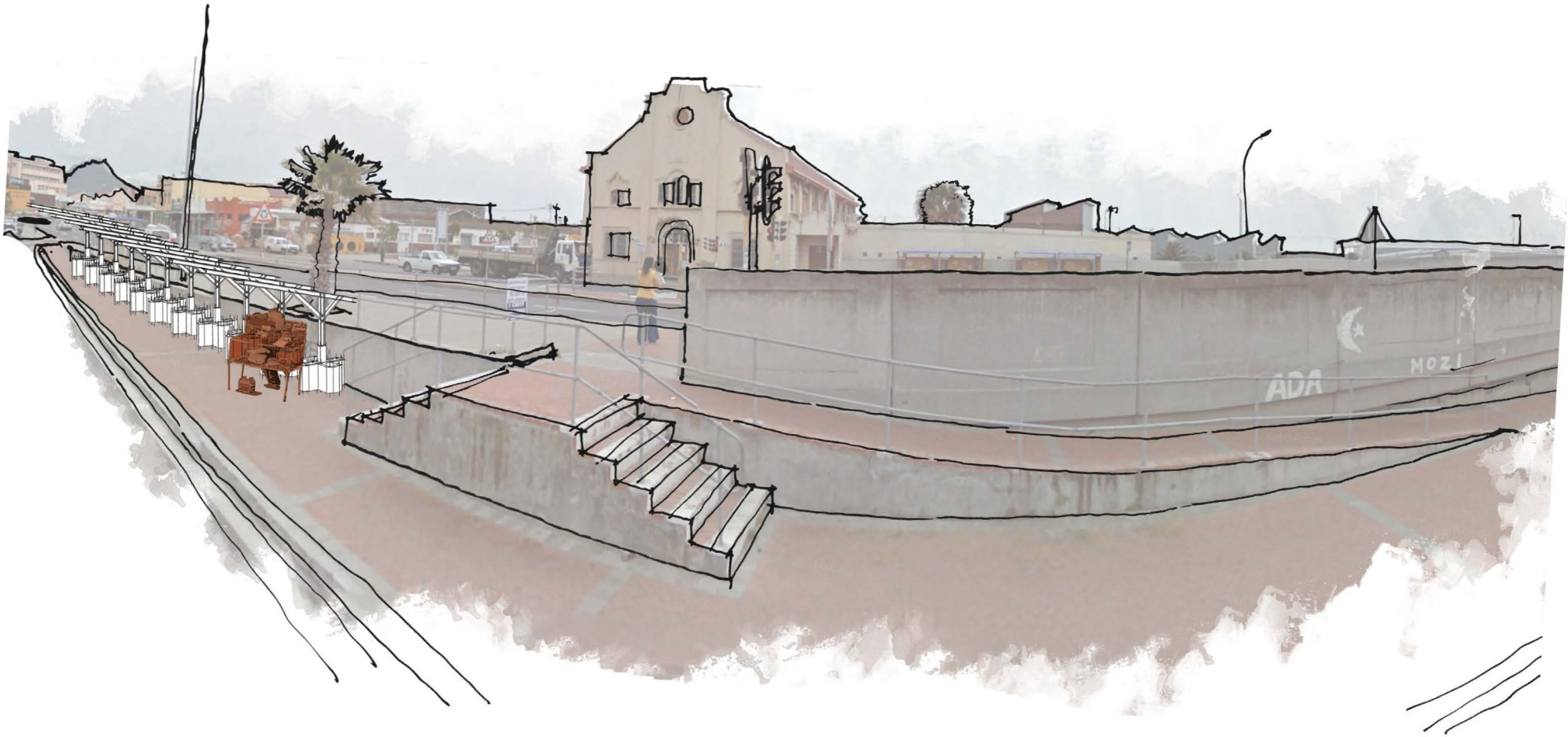
CONFIGURATION

This diagram show the core retail space in relationship to nearby roads and structures.



ROOFING

Although material was not accounted for, this intervention allows for the indiaul vendors to customise their roofing material. The principle bere is that they overlap, and that the water drains off these surfaces into the planter boxes.



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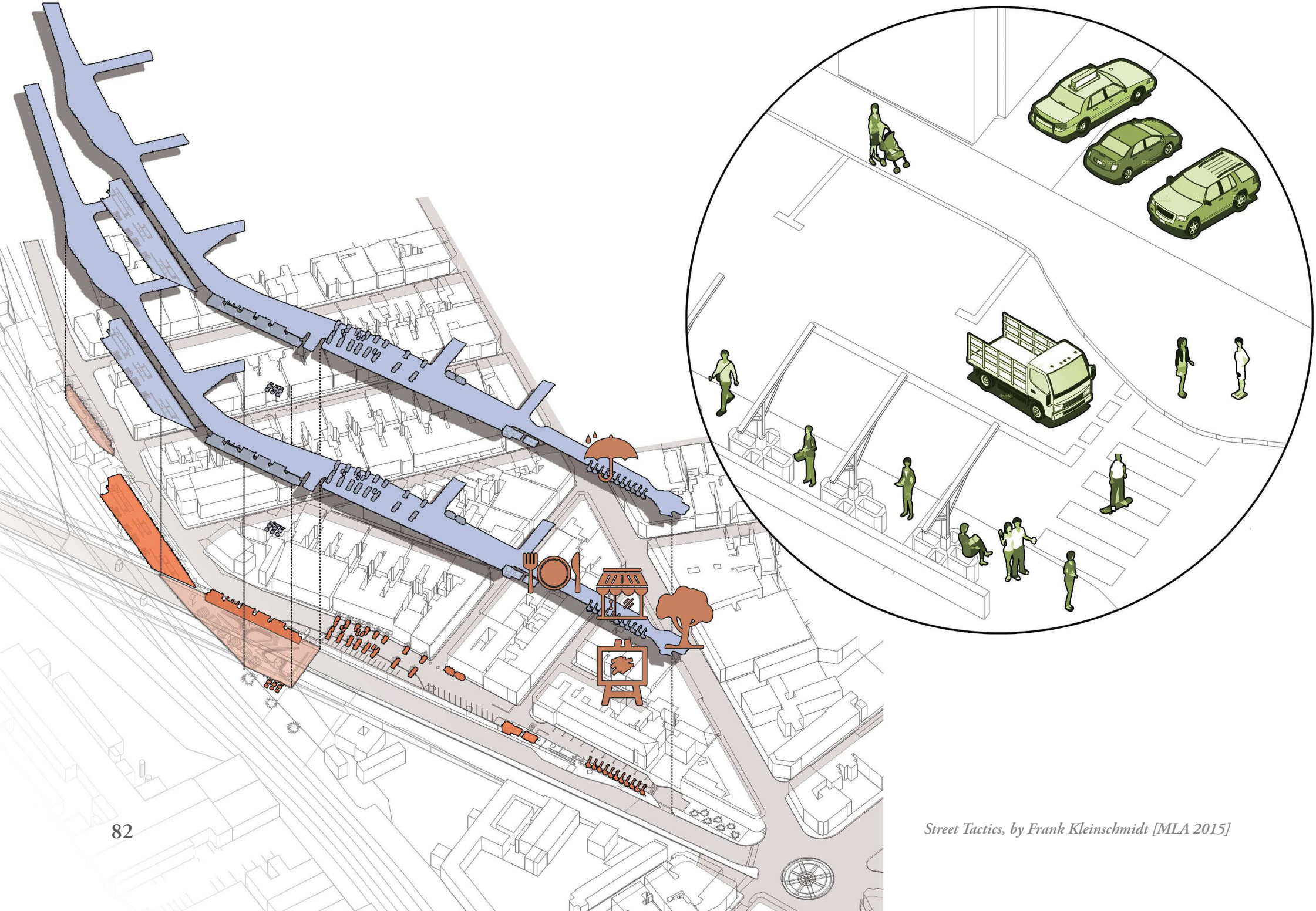

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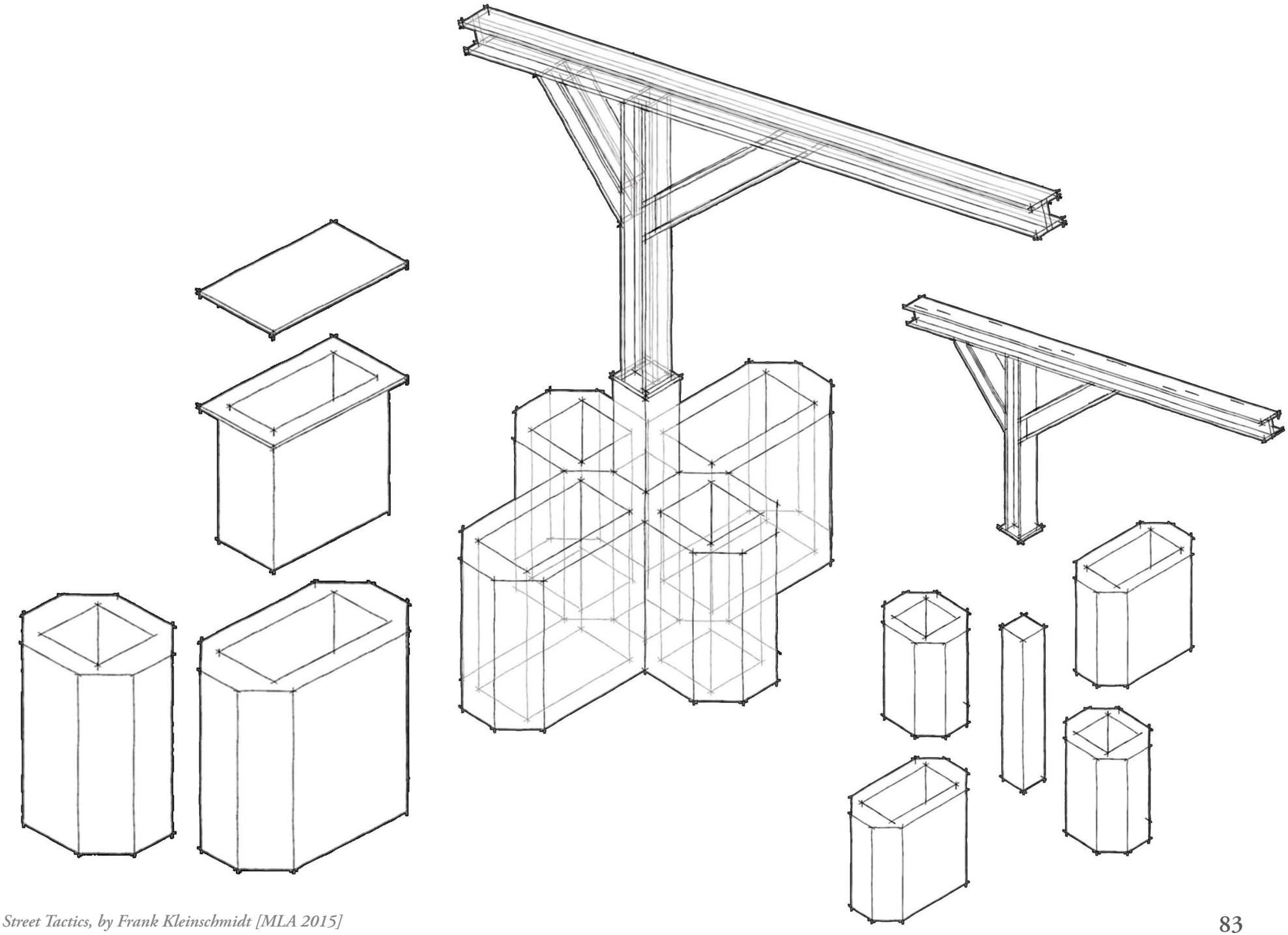

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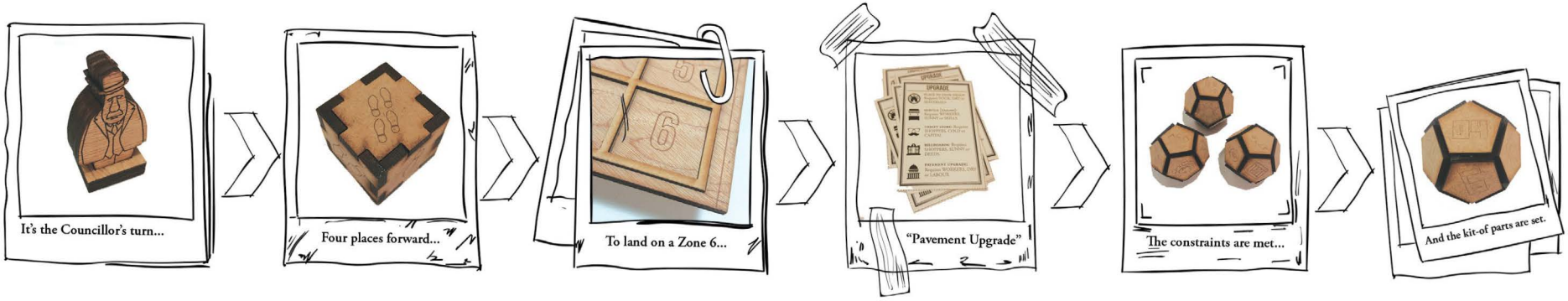
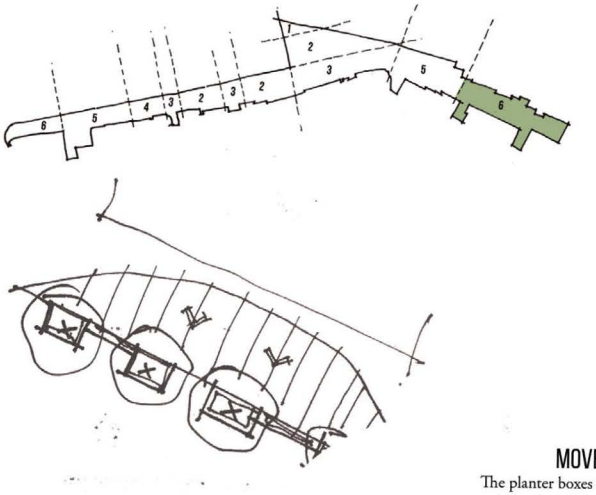
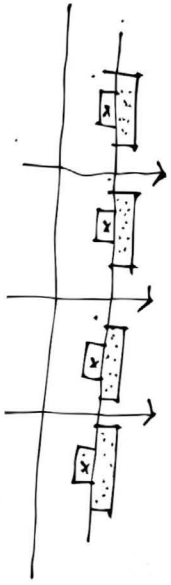


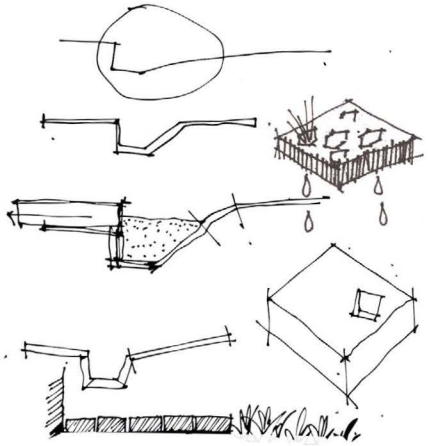


LOCATION ON STREET
& DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN



MOVEMENT
The planter boxes and low planter benches allow for circulation between, alighning with the entrances to the currently derelict station retail block

SUDS
The existing asphalt will be covered with a paving mechanism that allows for soil & turf infill to retain some stormwater during heavy rains.



MOVEMENT
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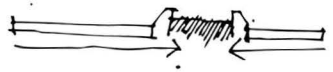

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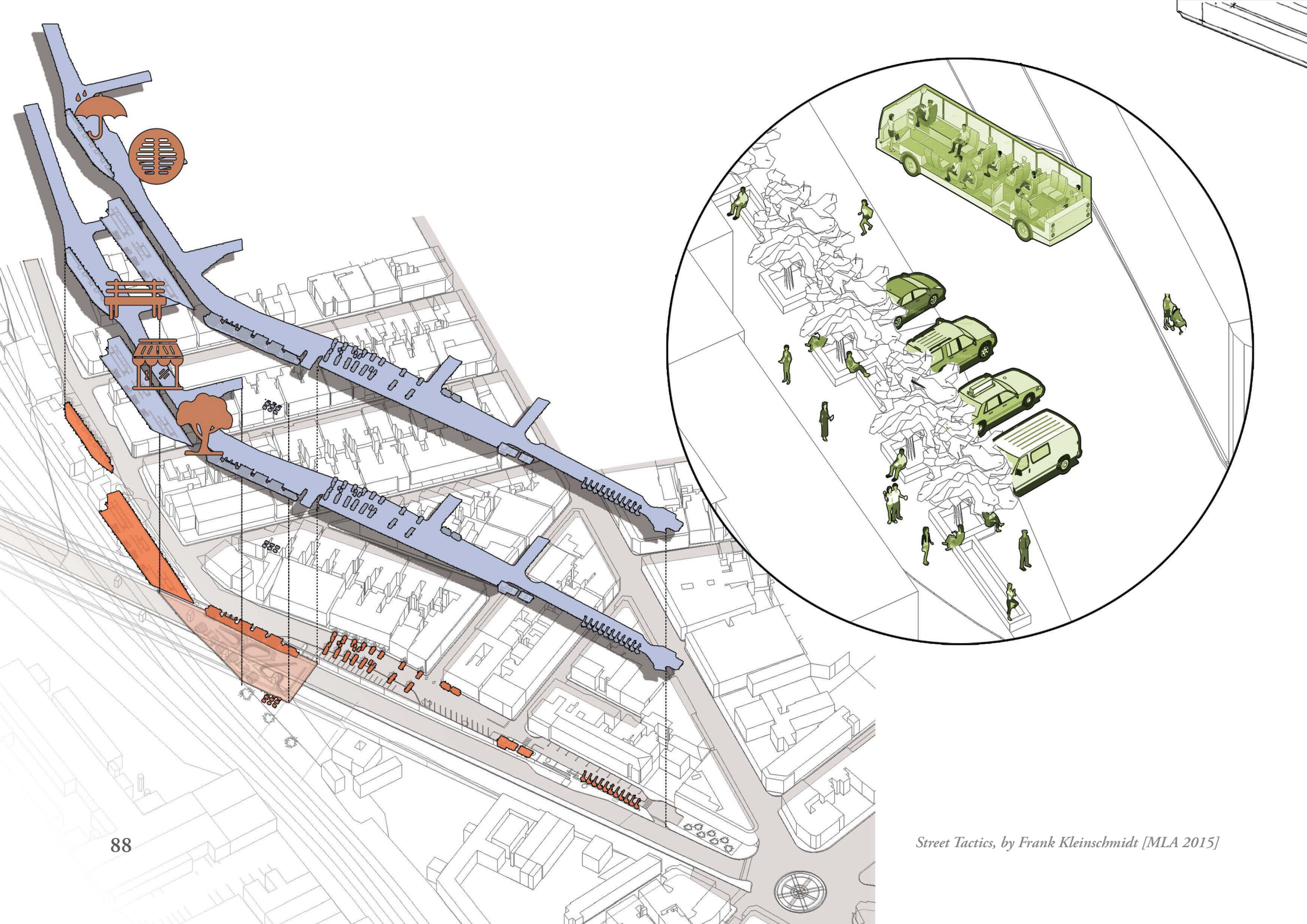

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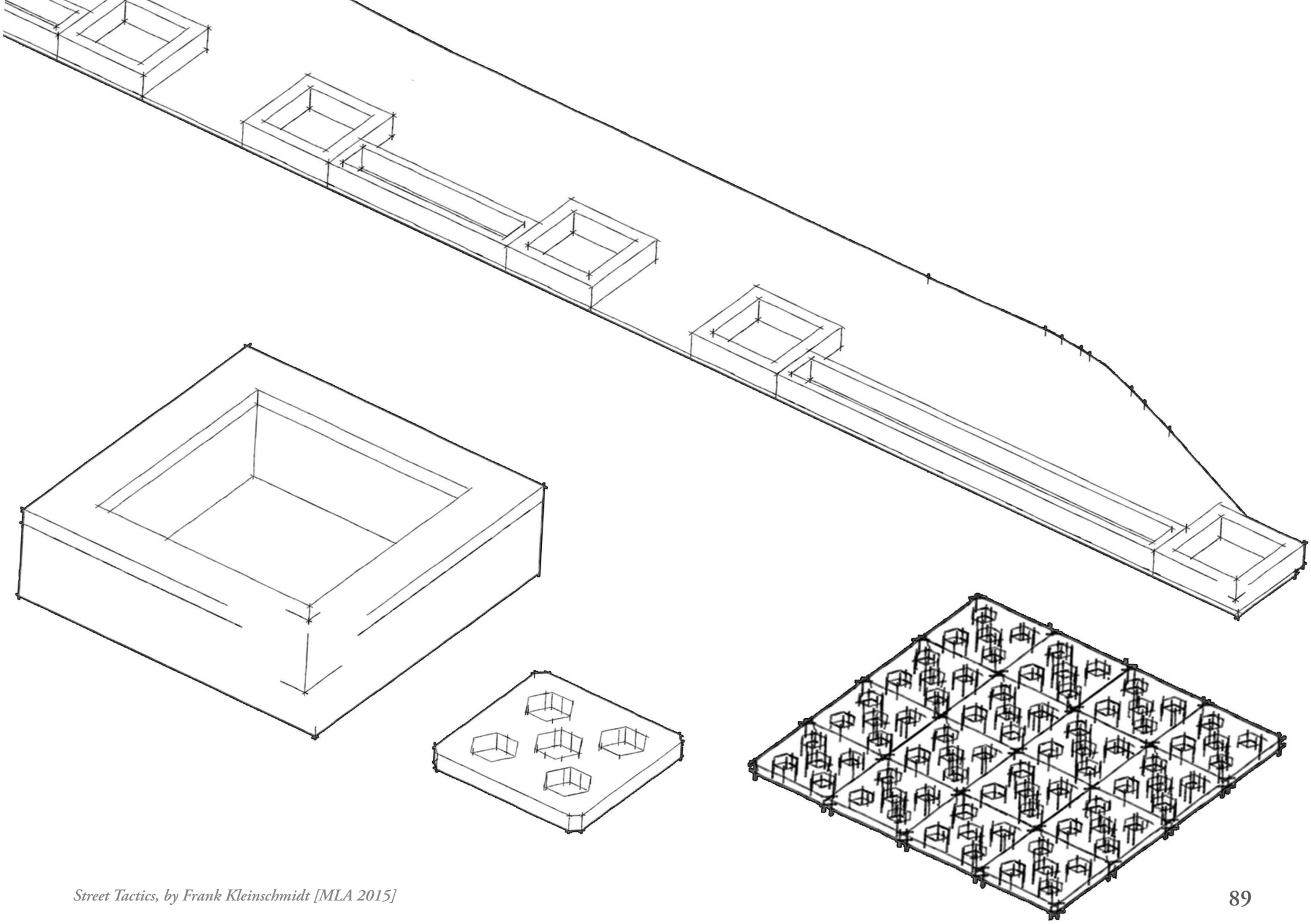

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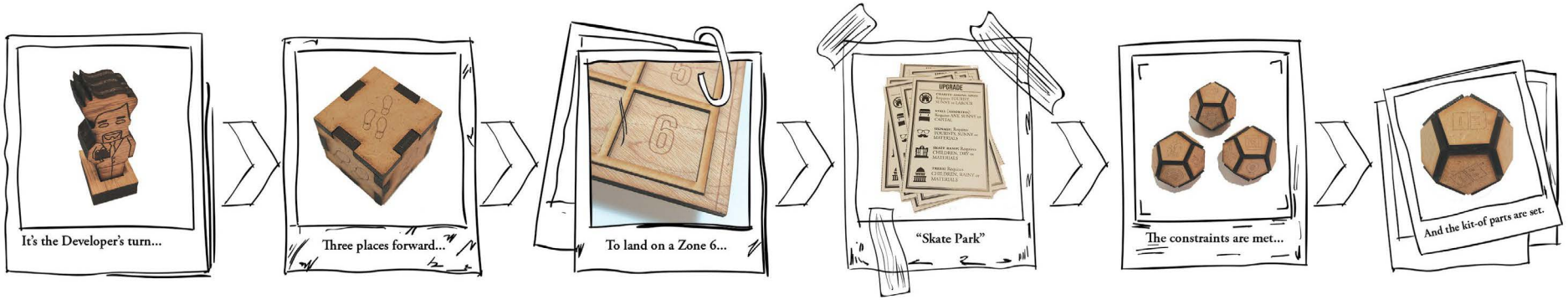
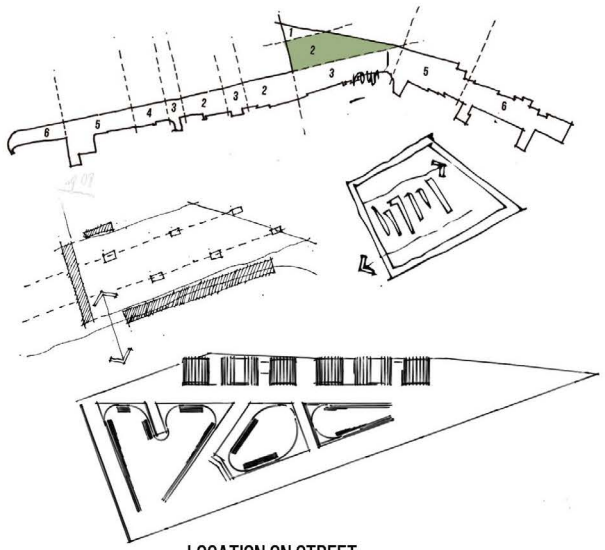
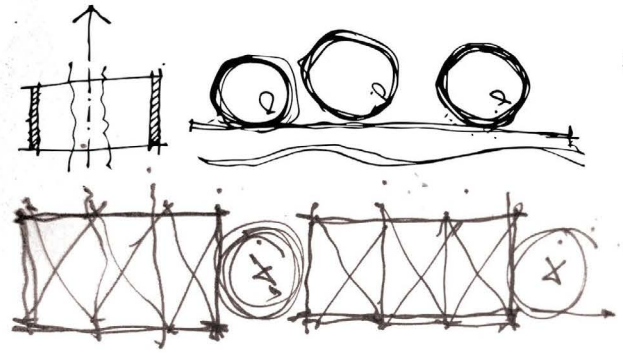


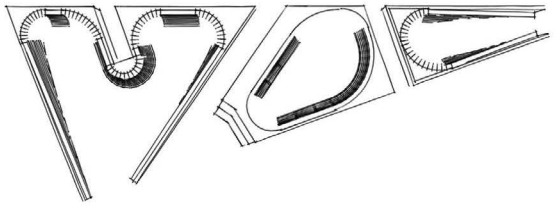


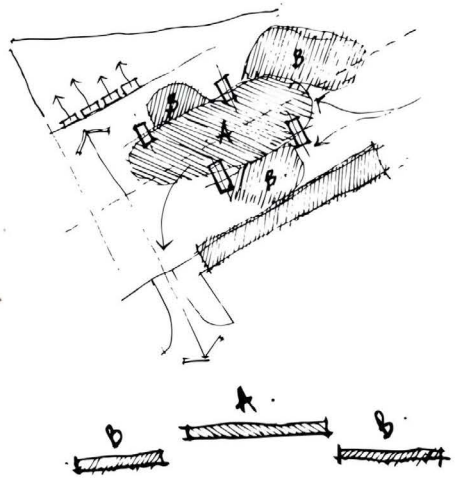
LOCATION ON STREET
& DIAGRAMMATIC PLAN



CEMENT TUBES

This diagram show the feature element: massive cement tubes that mimic half pipes while framing views of the railway line.

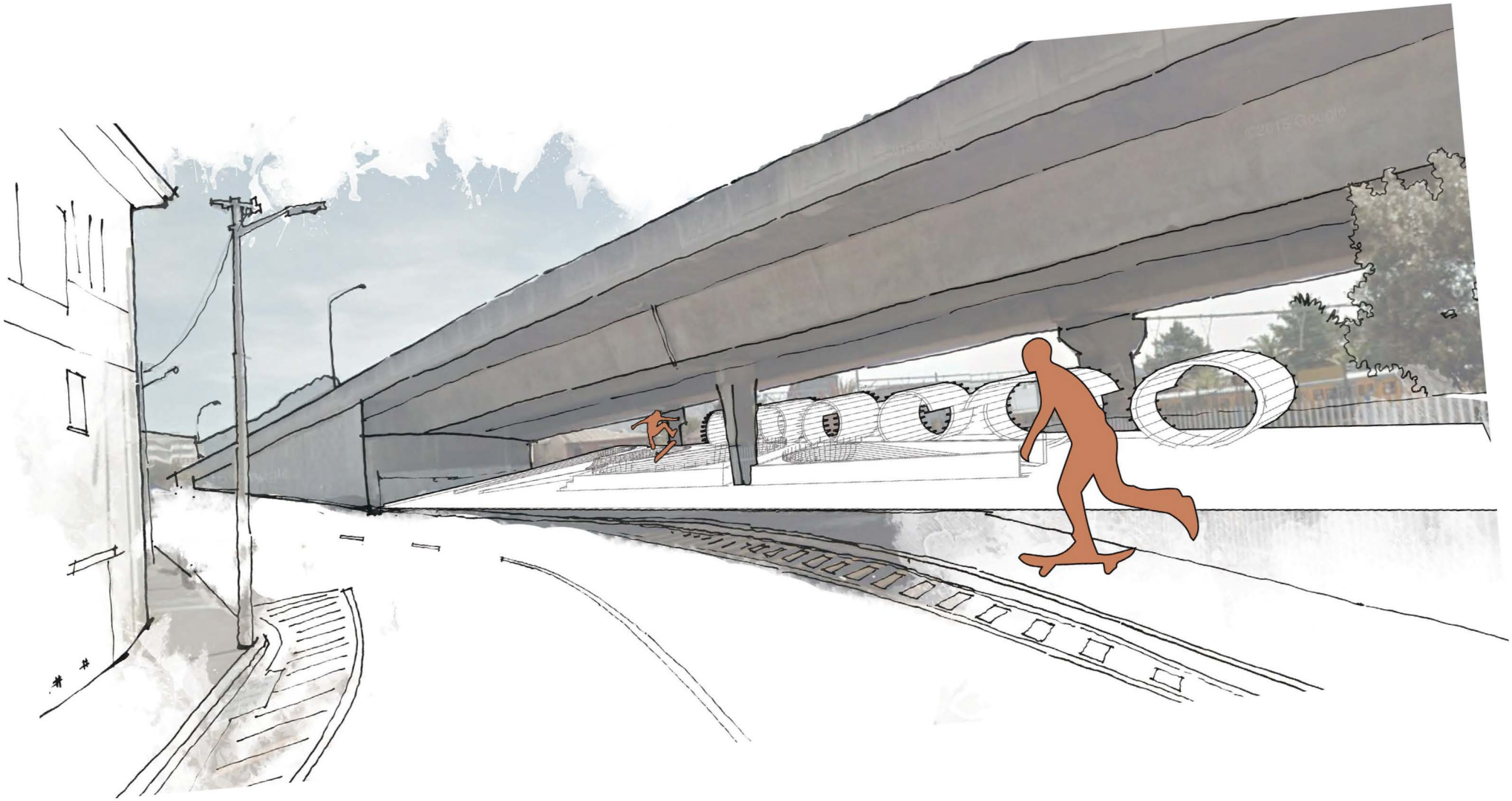




HIERARCHY

This diagram show the hierarchy of the space: A space is the collection of bowls and curves pieces for plaza skating, while B spaces are supplementary (the half-pipes and spectator areas).

Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]



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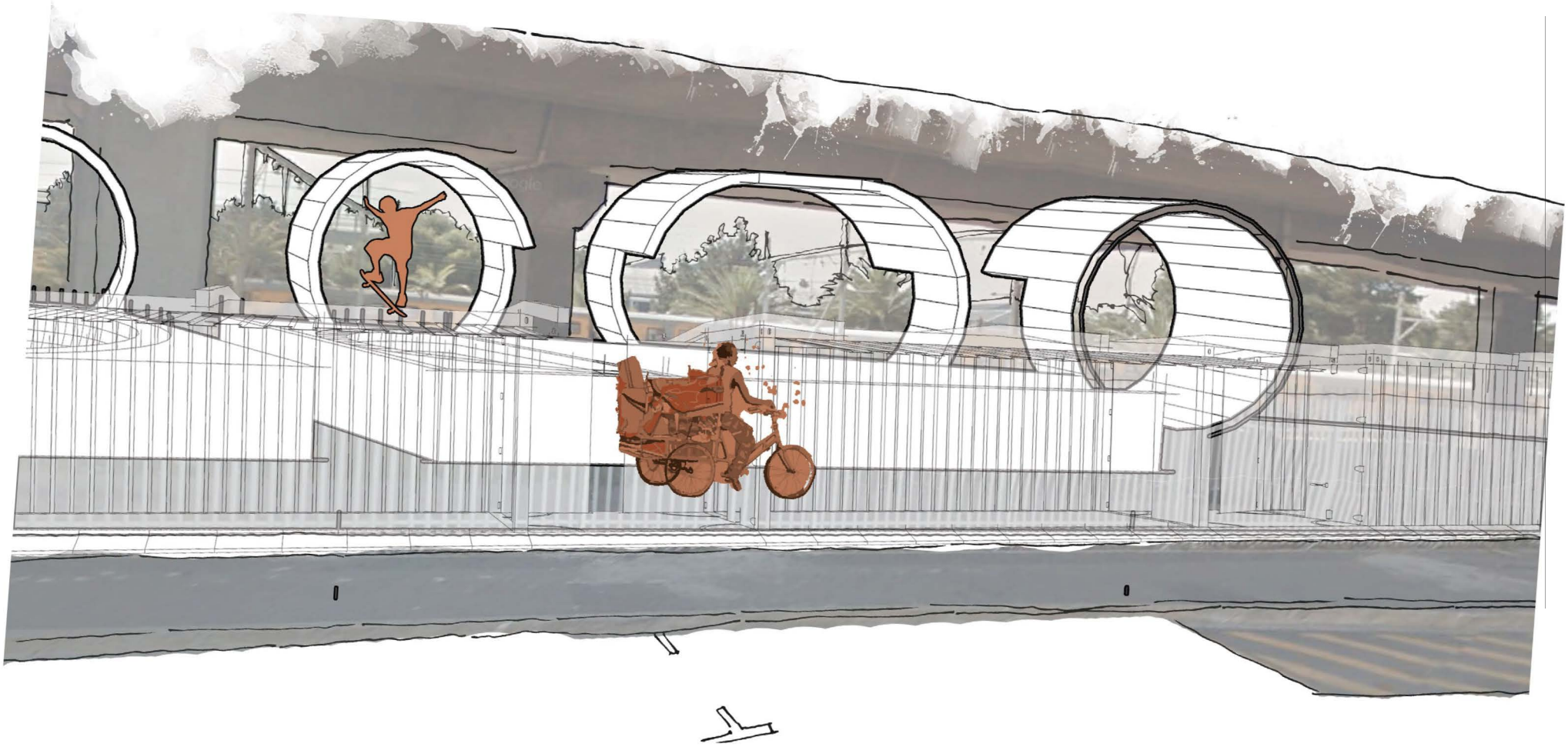

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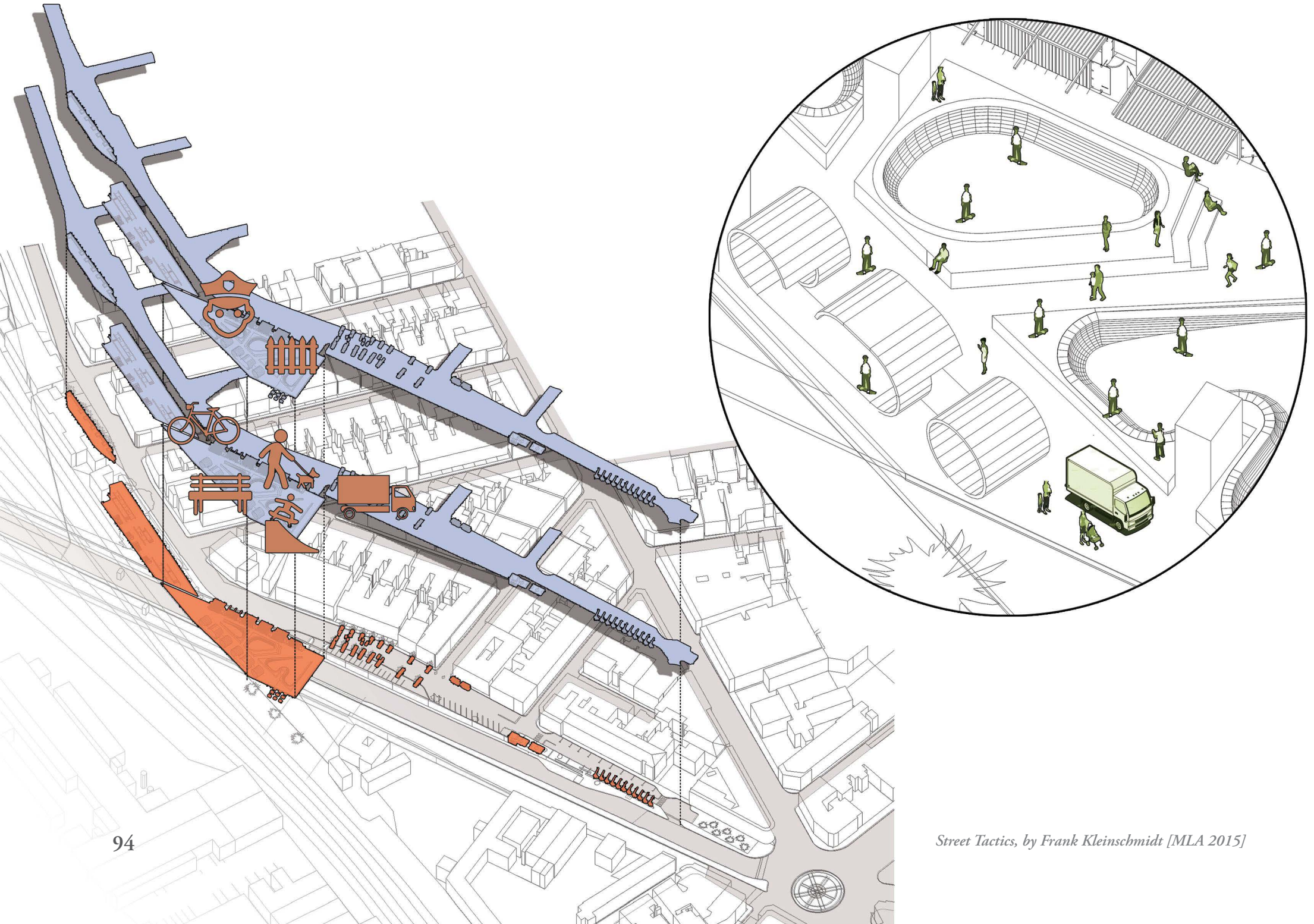

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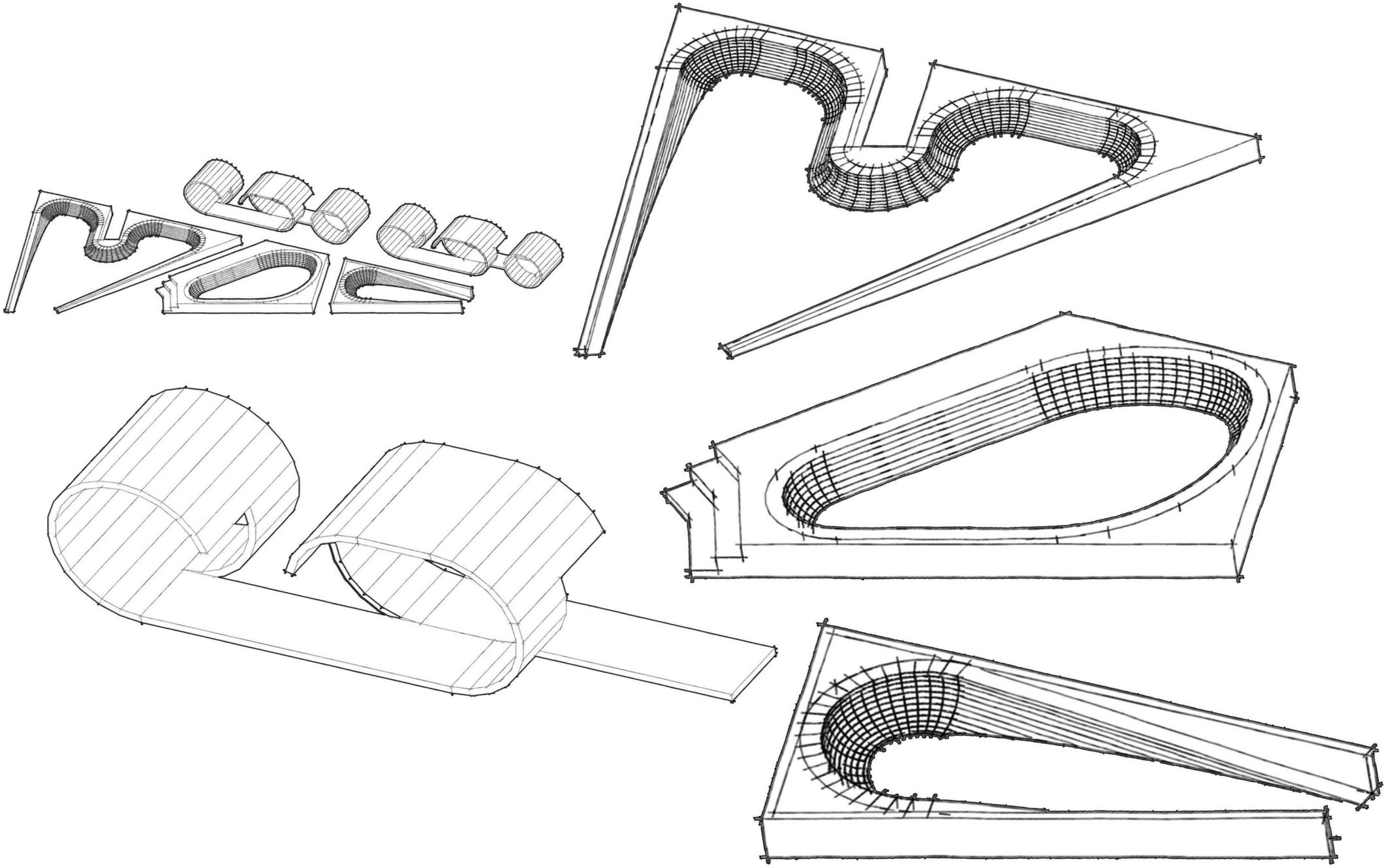
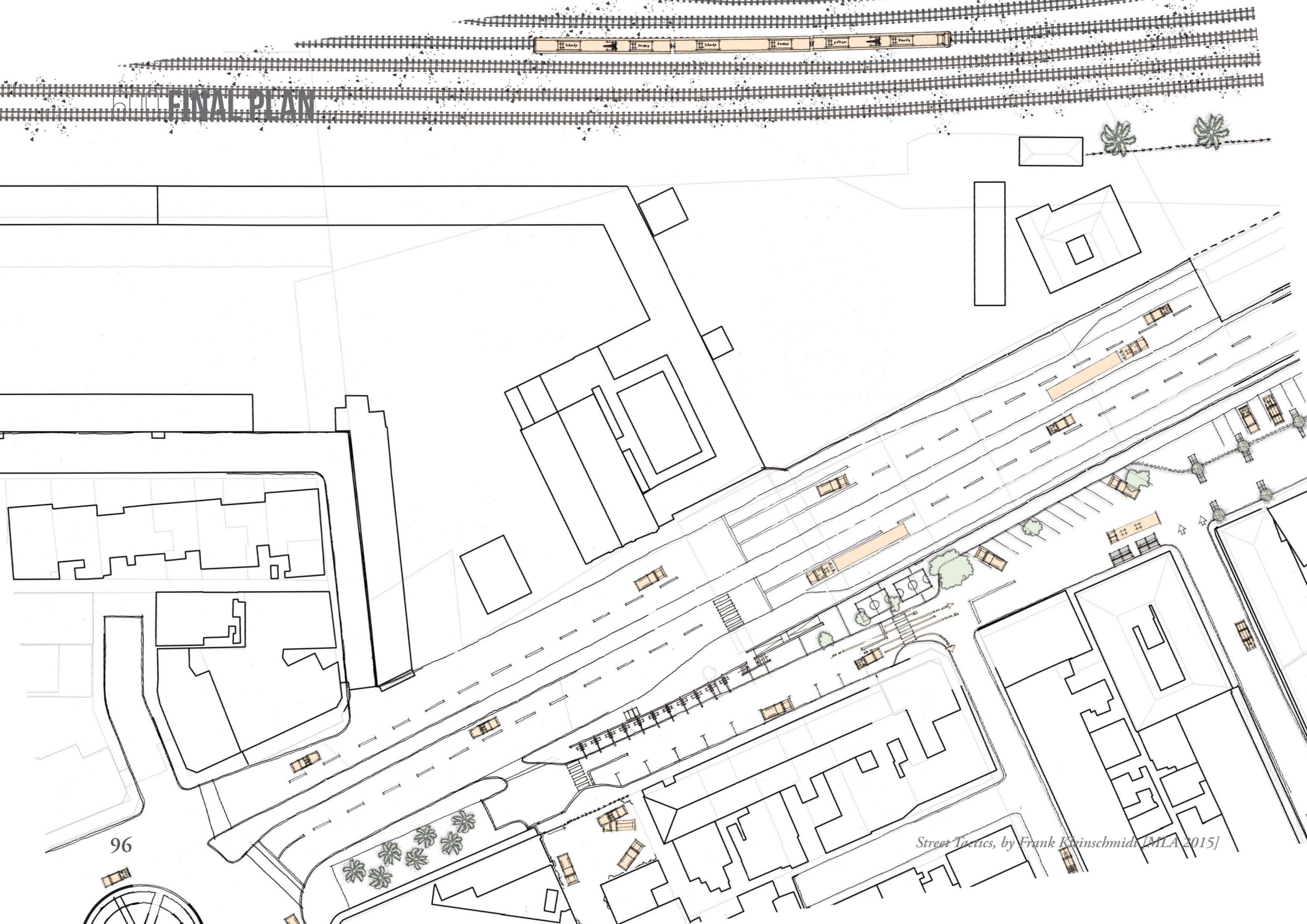
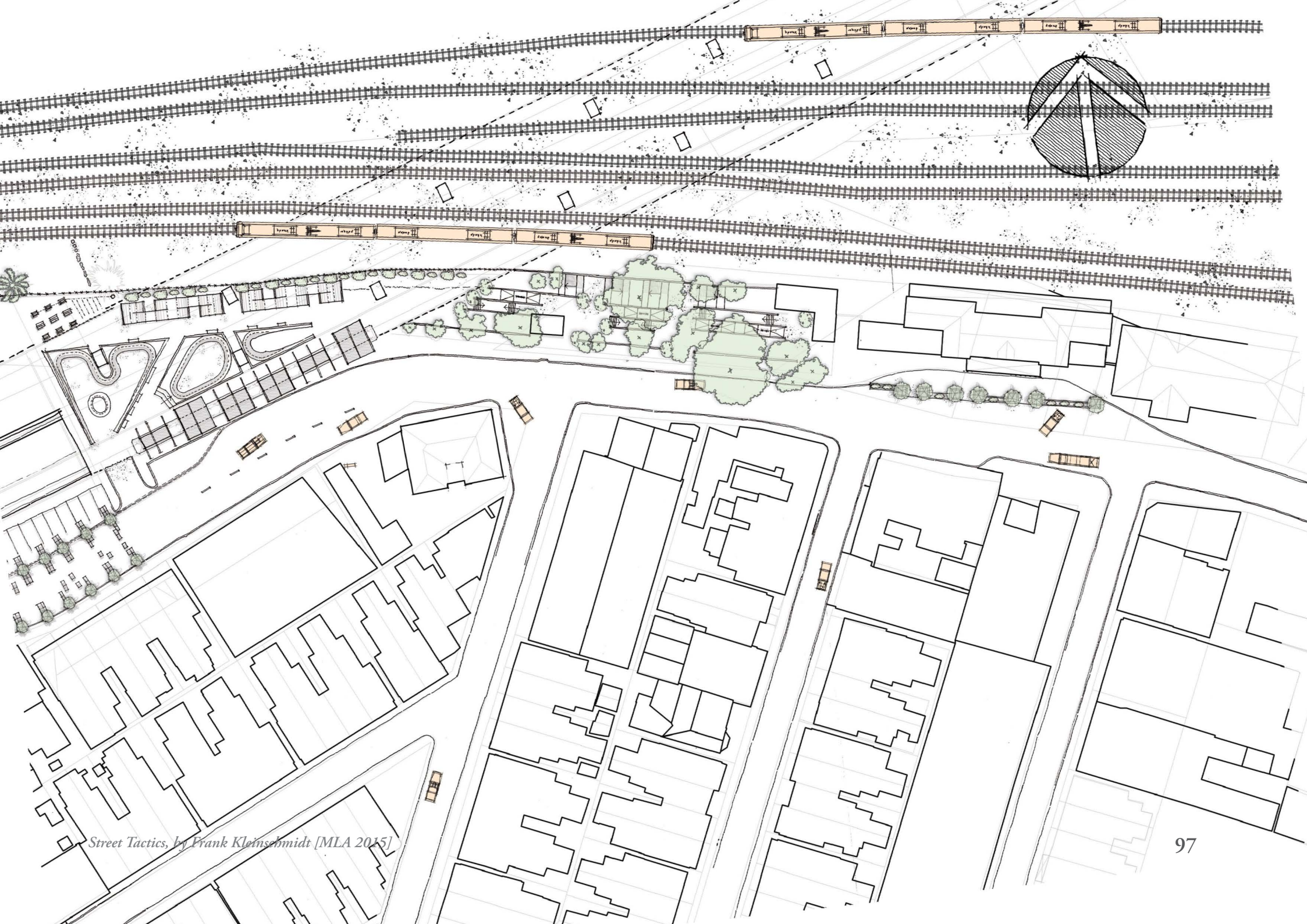


Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]

FINAL PLAN





Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]

700 **FINAL PRESENTATION**

Street Tactics, by Frank Kleinschmidt [MLA 2015]

Click to play [only available with digital copy]