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Exploring the three prongs of Legislation & Governance, Planning & Design, and Finance & Economy towards safe and prosperous parks and public spaces. Three cases from Johannesburg (South Africa)

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I. Abstract

Parks and public spaces are central ingredients of resilient, sustainable, equitable, prosperous and safe cities. In times of imminent resource scarcity and decreasing public funds, new innovative approaches of regulating, projecting and funding of parks and public spaces are urgently needed. The aim of this paper is to demarcate good policies, practices and instruments for the development and operation of better parks and public spaces with an emphasis on Johannesburg (South Africa). The findings will be used in particular to inform the development of pilot projects and the formulation of a citywide strategy for parks and open spaces in Johannesburg. They are also intended to support the efforts of UN-Habitat in elaborating standards for parks and public spaces in alignment with its overarching policies. Moreover, the findings are intended to enrich the knowledge in development by contributing to the collection of lessons learnt in project design and implementation processes.

At the level of policy implementation, this paper aims to operationalize UN-Habitat's three pronged approach of (A) legislation and governance, (B) planning and design, and (C) finance and economy toward safer and prosperous parks and public spaces. Whereas this approaches a central part of UN-Habitat's current policy, distinct approaches to flesh out the scheme are rare. This is the main area where this investigation is focused.

The structure of this paper is as follows. First, it lays out the distinct dimensions and categories that emerge as a result of applying the three-pronged approach to parks and public spaces. Second, it examines three case studies form Johannesburg (South Africa) related to innovative management forms, to participatory approaches and to new tools, leads to the identification of analytical and normative instruments and to the identification of central lessons learnt. Third, it reflects the central lessons learnt and affirms that there is crucial need of seamless combination and integration of the three prongs when developing and managing projects on the ground.

Among our most important recommendations are the following:

- Combine the three prongs of legislation and governance, planning and design, programming and finance. In order to develop successful and sustainable parks and public spaces, the three layers of the approach need to be applied simultaneously (for example through the combination of mainstreaming of values with participatory approaches in planning and job generation measures as discussed in the Xtreme Parks section).
- Embrace temporal activities, programming and events. The aspects of programming and events (markets, fares, shows, meetings, concerts etc.) were identified as a central ingredient of success of good parks and public spaces. It is therefore suggested to integrate this aspect into the Planning and Design component of the three-pronged approach.
- Include all actors and the complete catchment area of a location. A successful development of parks and public spaces needs to include a wide range of stakeholder and users. It should be inclusive and giving a voice to vulnerable groups. Moreover any project should not focus on the park and public space alone, but it should embrace a wider catchment area and context.
- Integrate different financing mechanisms to secure long-term funding. The cases examined in this paper underline once more the old wisdom that short-term capital investments are deemed to fail without a concept of sustainable project management and operation that can be effective in the medium and long-term.

II. Introduction

It is more and more evident that the public realm is an essential element of prosperous cities.

Since ancient times, urban public spaces have played a key role in contributing and providing qualities of daily urban life in physical, social, economic and ecological terms. As a manner of public good these spaces have contributed to the physical identity of a city, enabling civic interaction and integration, facilitating social and economic exchange, and making for a healthier urban environment. Today this classical vision of the urban public sphere is regularly questioned, both in the cities of the developing countries and in the developed world. New cityscapes, uncontrolled densification and growing

informality, gentrification enclaves and privatisation of former public domains, rationalisation of planning and management processes, conflicts of uses, segregation and exclusion, new control and security devices, as well as mediatisation and virtualisation, are just some of the matters which are highly influential on the contemporary urban public realm (cf. Gotsch and Peterek 2011, Stavrides 2014).

Still many cities worldwide lack appropriate policies for developing and operating parks and public spaces (Neil 2013). This is true in particular in the context of developing and emerging economies that are characterized by deficient resources, the lack of management capacities, and the tendency of misuse and overuse of open public space (PPS and UN-Habitat 2012, UCLG 2014). The problems in the City of Johannesburg comprise, among others, enormous socio economic disparities, large immigrant populations, a car oriented culture and suburbanisation, extreme population densities, high levels of crime and violence, architectures of fear, substance abuse and immense poverty levels (Cf. Gotsch 2014). The city's lacking resources are exemplified by the fact that it has more than 2.000 public parks, but it has only 65 park rangers experiencing a constant lack of resources. Therefore new and innovative solutions are needed to develop and even more to manage operate parks and public spaces.

In this context the aim of this paper is to demarcate good policies, practices and instruments for the development and operation of better parks and public spaces with an emphasis on emerging cities of the global South. The findings will be used to inform the development of a pilot project (End Street Park North) and the formulation of citywide strategy for parks and open spaces. Moreover they will contribute to the evolution of general body of knowledge and lessons learnt.

"As we agree that public urban spaces are a central ingredient of good cities, we need to ask how good public spaces and parks are made and which qualities they need." (Gotsch at el. 2014)

The above issue points to the fact that an agreement on the acknowledgement of relevance of parks and public spaces is not sufficient for itself and that a strategic and operational level needs to be elaborated in order to produce good parks and better cities. This paper seeks to address this aim through the application of a three-layered lens of economy, legislation and planning as these perspectives have been included within the current UN-Habitat approach for sustainable urban development.

In the first part of the paper, we describe the context of UN-Habitat's approach to parks and public spaces and further elaborate a proposal with various categories resulting from the implication of the organisation's three pronged approach.

A second part presents the context of Johannesburg and examines three case study experiences related to innovative management forms, to participatory approaches and to new tools that can be widely implemented in South Africa. To carry out the examination and to formulate the lessons and conclusions a specific tool that includes the three UN-Habitat categories is being proposed and employed. The three cases studies comprise the (1) XtremeParks tactics as applied by the Johannesburg City Department of Parks and the Zoo, and the experiences with community driven approaches from the , (2) Ekhaya Neighbourhood Association and as well as (3) the Brixton Neighbourhood Initiative.

Based on the discussion of the three-pronged approach and the examination of the three case studies, the concluding section of this paper pinpoints to the main lessons and contradictions.

III. UN-Habitat's Three Pronged Approach

As part of its efforts to advance and refine its vision, mission, strategies and operations, UN-Habitat in its strategic plan 2014 to 2019 underscores the benefits, potentials and energies of urbanisation (UN-Habitat 2015d). It is suggested to regard urbanisation as a tool for development and not as a problem. In this context, UN-Habitat has developed the concept of Achieving Sustainable Urban Development (ASUD) that aims to operationalize this new perspective towards urbanisation.¹ To support this approach (and make it more efficient and effective), a concept of three pillars (or prongs) was defined. The pillars contain 1) effective legal and governmental frameworks, 2) good quality planning and design, and 3) clear financial plans.² UN-Habitat recent strategic plan, 2014-2019 states that:

"... major challenges facing cities and human settlements today are an outcome of the inadequacy of the fundamental systems underlying the efficient and effective functioning of cities and human settlements, in particular, urban legislative, design and financial systems. " (UN-Habitat 2015a)³

The focus areas of ASUD approach are Planned City Extensions (PCE) and National Urban Policy (NUP). In the process of testing, operationalization and refinement, ASUD Programme is currently being implemented through five pilot projects in Rwanda, Mozambique, the Philippines, Colombia, and Egypt (Cf. UN-Habitat 2015c: 4). The respective pilot projects stress on one, or the other aspects of the three pronged approach.

While ASUD asks for the protection of public space when developing cities as part of its legal pillar (UN-Habitat 2015c: 12), a more detailed approach for the development of public spaces and parks remains underexplored.

Indeed, the need to address strategies on public spaces is also underlined by the mission of UN-Habitat to consolidate the process of creating safer cities "with particular emphasis to safe and inclusive public spaces and public transit corridors particularly for women and children, and to inform the preparatory process for the Habitat III New Urban Agenda" (Cf. UN-Habitat 2015, Res 25/4 paragraph 6).

This is precisely where this paper aims to intervene as it aims to contribute to the elaboration public space strategies within and through the three-pronged UN-Habitat ASUD model (therefore also testing and exploring the approach). An analytical and a normative lens is proposed and used in this context.

¹The strategic plan of UN-Habitat is supposed to support the process for approval of the New Urban Agenda and to contribute to the groundwork for the Habitat III conference. (Cf. UN-Habitat 2015, Res 25/4 paragraph 6)

²Elsewhere (CoGTA 2014) the combination of place, economy, and people is described as the urban dividend.

³Significantly ASUD also emphasises two guiding principles of Enablement and Participation and Gender Equality.

a. Establishment of the relationship of UN-Habitat's three pronged approach and parks and public spaces

The following table presents selected dimensions of parks and public spaces in relation to the three strategic categories of Legislation and Governance, Planning and Design and Finance and Economy.

Table 1. Selected dimensions of parks and public spaces grouped in the three UN-Habitat focal areas. (source, authors 2015)

	Parks and Public Spaces	Examples
1. Legislation and Governance (and management)	<p>1.1 Social and cultural norms and ethics</p> <p>1.2 International charters, principles, guidelines, laws and regulations</p> <p>1.3 Regional charters, principles and guidelines, laws and regulations</p> <p>1.4 National charters, principles and guidelines, laws and regulations</p> <p>1.5 Local charters, principles and guidelines, laws and regulations</p> <p>1.6 Formal systems of governance and management at various spatial scales and the various actors involved</p> <p>1.7 Semi-formal and Informal systems of governance and management (mainly at local scale)</p>	<p>- Religious and traditional value systems ethical codes and norms, political ideologies and values</p> <p>- UN-Habitat (draft) guidelines for open spaces, public spaces as a public good and as a basic urban right, minority rights, equitable and sustainable development</p> <p>- African/ Southern African strategies and frameworks, Regional development strategies</p> <p>- Constitution, National Urban Policy, National Development Plan, M&E guidelines, Land use systems and regulations</p> <p>- Development frameworks, Master plans, Zoning Regulations, By-laws, other local standards (fire, safety, hygiene etc.), Political mandates</p> <p>- Ministerial departments, Provincial government, City departments, Courts, Police, Social and ecological management, Waste management systems</p> <p>- PPPs, PCPPs, CIDs, Community management, social enterprises, Not for profit bodies, Cooperatives, Civil society organizations and various networks, conflict management, communication strategies</p>
2. Planning and Design (and programming)	<p>2.1 Planning strategies and approaches, tools and methodologies</p> <p>2.2 Design principles and methods, tools and methodologies</p> <p>2.3 Spatial programming</p>	<p>- Integrated short, medium and long term plans, Strategic planning approach, Master planning, Implementation plans, Mock ups, Participatory appraisal and design, Planning and management life cycle, - Integration of sectors, M&E plans</p> <p>- Design aesthetics, Landscaping, Arrangement of uses, design of equipment, Placemaking, Human scale</p> <p>- Cleaning and planting periods, Events, Festivals, Fares, Markets, Update and renovation periods</p>

3. Finance and Economy	Resources and funding mechanisms Sustainability factors of projects Economic effects of measures	- Budgeting, financial and revenue plans, - Capital investments and operational budgets, Cross subsidies, Trusts and foundations, Revolving funds - Added value and externalities, generation of cultural, jobs, quality of life, health effects, social integration
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The table above sets out a draft framework for the application of UN-Habitat's three-pronged approach towards public spaces and parks. An observation is that the aspects of legislation and governance are the most comprehensive area requiring most differentiation. The table/ matrix is open to more exploration, refinement and testing in detail. The next section of this paper seeks to make a contribution to this through the example of selected public space projects from Johannesburg (South Africa).

IV. Johannesburg City's Experiences – Using the tree pronged approach as an analytical tool

The following section provides a brief background to Johannesburg and the work of the Johannesburg's department of Parks and the Zoo in order to provide a context to the cases presented below.

Johannesburg is a city of 4,4 million people and the economic powerhouse of South Africa. It is the central part of one of the largest and most dynamic urban regions in Africa, the Gauteng⁴ metropolitan region of 12,5 million residents (GCRO 2013). Founded in 1886, the city of Johannesburg is only 130 years young. The metropolitan region houses more than a quarter of the country's population. It features the starkest rates of growth (e.g. rise of 20% between 1998 and 2004) and is the most popular point of entry for international businesses and immigrants (CDE 2008). While Johannesburg is regarded as one of the global cities of Africa (GaWC 2012) more than 40% of the population live below the poverty line and close to 20% of the population reside in informal settlements (University of Johannesburg 2008). Since the end of the apartheid regime in 1994, the Inner City of Johannesburg and in particular the Inner City area have undergone tremendous rates of transformation (Bremner 2000). The Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality was founded including former Township areas such as Soweto (1,2m residents). Furthermore there was a nearly complete turnover of residents in the Inner City. From the mid 1980s to the mid 1990 almost the entire population changed from white to black and many banks, corporates and businesses left the area. Thereafter the Inner City including the surrounding districts became an important immigrant point of entry. Today the area continues to offer significant economic opportunities, a series of important governmental educational and cultural institutions, the city's largest ground transport terminals, a large share of young people (in the poor neighbourhoods more than 30 % are younger than 20 years, see UJ 2008), and cultural creativity. At the same, however we can observe high turnover rates of residents and businesses, high levels of vulnerability, an immense population density, disinvestment and neglect, lacking services, social and economic deprivation,

⁴Gauteng means as much as place of gold

violence and crime, corruption, social and economic abuse, environmental decay and concentrations of problem populations such as homeless and drug addicts (Olufemi 1998, WanjikuKihato 2009).

Indeed the diverse actors seem to engage in a constant struggle relating to the question of "who owns the city" (for example the municipality evicted all informal traders some time ago). Despite the challenges, some areas of the inner city such as Maboneng experience urban renewal and gentrification as an effect of a renewed interest of developers and investors (Daily Maverick, 2015).

Despite the image of being one of the most segregated and fragmented cities world wide, Johannesburg has a rich legacy of parks and public spaces featuring to the city and its various neighbourhoods. The Johannesburg Agency for Parks and the Zoo (JCPZ) is in charge of developing the parks. The city entity's mandate is defined as: "The provision, preservation and management of open spaces, biodiversity, environmental and conservation services through education, research, direct conservation action and recreation with a focus on the zoo, parks and cemeteries" (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, 2015b). According to the Annual Report 2013/14 (Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, 2015a), the company operated with an operational budget of R 692.8million, a capital development budget of R102.2 million and a staff complement of 1 563 permanent employees. JCPZ has a growing portfolio in excess of 20 000 ha of green open spaces (over 2500 public open spaces) and 3.2 million trees (public spaces). For example in Region F, the area covers the inner city, there are 192 parks which are being handled by only 30 rangers. This challenge coupled with budget constraints and the other significant issues mentioned above, demonstrating the necessity to utilise other city structures in order to reduce some of the maintenance and safety pressure within the park management (Gotsch and Roji, 2014).

In line with this model strategy, the revenue generation strategy of JCPZ highlights to ensure increased investment attraction from all stakeholders and assist unemployed people to start businesses and become self-employed. Current JCPZ's programs aim to create 2500 EPWP job opportunities that will contribute towards alleviating poverty, increase social cohesion and also decrease criminal activity.

The following section will investigate three exemplary urban place and parks projects in Johannesburg which seem to feature a significant amount of innovation and which offer many lessons learnt as they embody new strategies of cooperation, implementation, planning, programming and funding. These are the Extreme Park Makeover Initiative of the JCPZ, the Ekhaya Neighbourhood Initiative and the Brixton Neighbourhood Association. This is done in order to explore the application of UN-Habitat's three-pronged strategy and also to isolate set of lessons towards new parks and public spaces projects.

a. Xtreme Parks Initiative

The City of Johannesburg started the Xtreme Park Makeover initiative through its department of parks and the Zoo (JCPZ) in 2007. Akin to the "Extreme Makeover Home" which is a popular TV show, the concept behind the project is to transform neglected urban spaces into neighbourhood green spaces in less than 24 hours of time. A significant part of the strategy is the engagement of the community in the process. The initiative focuses mainly on residential suburbs, formerly segregated and mixed areas and economically deprived sectors such as the Wilgeheuwel and Diepkloof neighbourhoods. The former sites have been among serious crime spots or ecologically sensitive waste dumping grounds. The initiative has been awarded the Liv Com award supported by UNEP in 2008 and has attracted significant public and media attention (CoJ 2015).

The focus of the Xtreme Makeover approach is on the Planning and Design sector. Its design concept foresees and provided a combination of sports, recreation, and green, children activities. Moreover soccer-screening facilities during the world cup and venues for festivals and community meetings have been realised. The rapid transformations and quick wins contributed boosting the image trust of the government and created valuable spaces for sports, recreation and eco-conservation.

From a perspective of legislation the results of the process comply with existing standards rules and regulations. Furthermore a rise of ownership among the population was observed which also extended for several years after the project's implementation (City of Johannesburg 2015). From an economic perspective the cost of an exemplary intervention ranges around USD 16,000 while the total cost for an exemplary park since 2008 amounted to a sum USD 500,000 (City of Johannesburg 2015). Economically several projects benefitted a significant contributions of the private sector and from synergies with the Expanded Public Works EPWP program — through which new jobs were created in Environmental management among others.

While the respective project initiatives are relevant and effective and while they have a positive impact on the users of the parks and a marketing of the municipality, a general problem is the sustainability of the initiative as the focus lies on the 24-implementation process and a strategy for long-term maintenance and operation seems to be lacking. Therefore it can be observed that the change came at a relative high economic cost. The capital funds were allocated from the municipality of Johannesburg with additional private sector investment (e.g. some of the parks have been equipped with television screens for the soccer world cup in 2010). Yet decentralised governance and community maintenance of the projects have not been not in the centre of attention. Some of the high capital investments such as the television screens have raised unrealistic expectations while a sustained concept for a cost efficient maintenance of the parks has been lacking. While offering valuable spaces for sports and recreation the project did not focus on creating an increased sense of responsibility and care among the young users of the parks in particular. As a consequence, the targeted "flagship" parks represent only a small share among all of Johannesburg's parks and public spaces and attract a disproportionate share of the total budget that is available.

The problems as outlined above pose a serious risk for the success of the parks in the future. An integrated approach combining Legislation (mainstreaming of values), Planning (participatory approaches) and Economic strategies (Job generation) is needed.

The following table outlines the various aspects of the Xtreme Parks makeover strategy in relation to UN-Habitat's three-pronged approach and elaborating on the project's origins, approaches and challenges.

Table 2. Overview of Xtreme Park project using UN-Habitat three pronged approach in combination with origins, approaches and challenges. Source: authors, 2015

	<i>Legislation and Governance</i>	<i>Planning and Design</i>	<i>Finance and Economy</i>
<i>Challenges</i>	Lacking feeling of responsibility and care Successful empowerment of individuals and community? Intense supervision and securing always needed Poor evaluation and learning	Problem of long term ownership and maintenance Expectation of replacement of television screens Users produce lots of waste Individual problems of alcohol and substance abuse	Significant PR effects Medium and long term sustainability not given City wide up-scaling of strategy problematic
<i>Approaches</i>	Compliance with main standards and regulations Priorisation of vulnerable and excluded areas (socially and ecologically) Involvement of community in the implementation process	Planning and implementation driven by expert team with participatory aspects Creation of spaces for relaxation and recreation, play, sports, appreciation of nature, and for events and festivals	Utilisation of community works programme Private sector co-funding Value generation through marketing
<i>The project</i>	Xtreme Parks Initiative		
<i>Origins</i>	Lack of community cohesion Spatial exclusion and segregation Lack of participation Lack of capacities Lack of awareness of own rights	Unsafe areas Lacking space for play and recreation Lacking eco awareness Dumping of waste Lack of sports and play grounds Lack of event spaces Green assets	Lack of funding Lack of jobs No markets for small enterprises Poverty and deprivation

b. Ekhaya Neighbourhood Association (ENA) –

The term Ekhaya means as much as "my home" in Zulu language. The Ekhaya Neighbourhood Initiative is an Association based in the Hillbrow area in Johannesburg. Adjacent to Johannesburg's inner city with its transport terminals, shopping areas and business hubs, this part of the city is known for a combination of extreme levels of population density, poverty, immigrant populations, neglect, crime and deprivation, capital flight, disinvestment and exploitation (Silverman and Zack 2008). There was an almost complete turnover of the population from the mid eighties (end of apartheid regime) to the mid nineties from white middle class populations to a predominantly black middle class population. After the mid nineties the area became known a main destination point for international migrants.

To address the situation the Johannesburg Housing company has founded the Ekhaya Neighbourhood Association (ENA) in 2004 with the support of a private consultancy named Makhulong. The organisation comprised 22 buildings in an area of 17 city blocks (with 6,000 residents). ENA was further formalised

and transformed into a Residential City Improvement District CID in 2009. The association mainly aimed at "creating networks of mutual cooperation and support building relationships between various stakeholders" and at "making residents feel the neighbourhood is their own." An important part of the strategy is that property owners are the essential party that can make the municipal government accountable for fulfilling their responsibilities and duties. Throughout the process the building managers became crucial actors in the process as these have an intermediary role as brokers and mediators between the property owners and the residents (Mkhize 2014: 7).

As far as planning and design are concerned the initiative is based on the assumption that spatial transformation, demonstration projects and clean up initiatives et al demonstrate significant change and trigger behavioural change and participation of the actors involved. The transformation of public spaces (i.e. playgrounds) through a combination of capital investments, private security guards and community management efforts play a crucial role. Essential are also campaigns for cleaning, street soccer tournaments, children days, and community driven repairs and waste collection as well as local festivals. Founded by the Johannesburg Housing Corporation (JHC) and driven by an enthusiastic and active leader person, the organisation is able to support itself on the basis of membership fees and voluntary activities. This is reinforced by regular targeted backing of the municipality for specific initiatives such as the creation of an Ekhaya neighbourhood park.

From our point of view the main risk of the approach of the Ekhaya neighbourhood association/ Residential City Improvement District are NIMBY'ism and the exclusion of vulnerable populations.

Table 3. Overview of Ekhaya Neighbourhood project using UN-Habitat three pronged approach in combination with origins and approaches. Source: authors, 2015.

	<i>Legislation and Governance</i>	<i>Planning and Design</i>	<i>Finance and Economy</i>
<i>Challenges</i>	Risk of excluding non property owners, homeless, vulnerable and migrants	Risk of NIMBY and exclusion and uses geared at the needs of property owners Displacement of problems elsewhere	How to share and redistribute the wealth created?
<i>Approaches</i>	Initialisation by the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) in 2004 aimed at creating accountability of owners and of the local government Role of leadership and vision of a former staff member (Josie Adler) Coordination of "small" property owners (under sectional title) - these are in a position to make claims to the	The Initiative draws on the role of "spatial" improvement and a good built environment. e.g. newly refurbished buildings and open spaces in Hillbrow (Johannesburg) – an avalanche effect is desired Importance of playgrounds and parks (children as catalysts). Programming and campaigns are a central element of the strategy: Cleaning campaigns, maintenance of lights and	Decentralisation of care and ownership Self-funded mainly with cash from the founder members and JHC Local taxing of property owners Increased values Synergies with community works programme Targeted support by municipality was essential e.g. for capital upgrade of public

municipal government. Residential City Improvement District in 2009 (taking the model further) Building managers as the critical agents and the glue of the system	waste collection, "Our Healthy Ekhaya " Ekhaya Street soccer tournaments", Neighbourhood "Ekhaya Kidz Day" Programming and design is community based The strategy is holistic. The Ekhaya neighbourhood park is one product	spaces and infrastructure
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The project

Ekhaya Neighbourhood Association

Origins

Lacking cooperation among property owners Lacking implantation of laws and regulations	Migrant inner city neighbourhood Dilapidated buildings and urban environment Lacking public space	Capital flight and neglect Unemployment Informal economy Poverty Speculation
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c. Brixton Neighbourhood Initiative – Bottom-up laboratory

“We are an active community. We don’t just moan, we do stuff” (Brixton Community Forum Website, r02.06.2015)

Brixton is a central neighbourhood in Johannesburg and a bottom-up community laboratory. It serves as a good example of how neighbourhoods and their facilities can be managed and maintained in times of deficient public funds and despite facing a negative public image. The neighbourhood is located to the West of Johannesburg's Inner City in proximity to the main universities and transport hubs, "below" Johannesburg's television tower the Sentech Tower. Placed on a ridge with good views the area features several churches and historical monuments. While its background is one of a working class area, an academic and cosmopolitan mix of residents including university professors, artists, lawyers, musicians, students and architects forms the basis of an active and vibrant community (CoJ 2011).

By and large the accomplishments of the community are centred on the Brixton Community Forum. Despite the fact that the scenic neighbourhood has few problems with safety and drug abuse it has a policy of low fences and walls and residents are proud to say that they enjoy a culture of walking and that this activity is very safe (CoJ 2011). The local park area, named Kingston Frost Park, serves as a focal point for the community building. Most of the regular events and gatherings take place here. Another central facility run by the community for the community is the Brixton Community Centre. The centre offers study space, homework support, and various activities such as pottery, dancing, boxing and sports are on offer. Both of these facilities represent a basis of community cohesion and community building in the area. Decisions affecting the community are mostly made in a horizontal and participatory manner. Regular activities and festivals serve as public glue. Among these are a monthly Park Day and also Village Market days, community dinners on long tables, open-air fashion shows on the high street, lighting up competitions during Christmas time, or regular public film screenings (Brixton Community Forum

Website n.D.). Furthermore a near-by supermarket contributes through the donation of birthday cakes for all birthday children. On Social Transformation Days workshops are organised where residents imagine their future of their neighbourhood. The municipality contributes to the activities through funding for improvement and restoration of the facilities. For example an arrangement was made to share the maintenance of public green areas. Moreover as a result of the activities and also joint protest by the residents banks have stopped to redline properties in the area (CoJ 2011).

Table 4. Overview of Brixton Neighbourhood Initiative using UN-Habitat three pronged approach in combination with origins and approaches. Source: authors, 2015

	<i>Legislation and Governance</i>	<i>Planning and Design</i>	<i>Finance and Economy</i>
<i>Challenges</i>	<p>If external problems foster community cohesion, what happens in the long term?</p> <p>Risk of stability to break down if major risk occurs (tipping point, critical mass)</p>	<p>On-going crime in the streets and in the park</p>	<p>Long term funding mechanisms</p>
<i>Approaches</i>	<p>Work-sharing among community and municipality</p> <p>Use of social media such as Facebook etc.</p> <p>Volunteering work plays a central role.</p> <p>High amount of solidarity as a success factor</p> <p>Owners have a strong voice to negotiate with government</p> <p>There is a park day every month</p> <p>Community members and imagine their future on village transformation days</p> <p>Monthly food for thought meetings serve as a forum to socialise and discuss current challenges</p> <p>Residents run what up groups for emergency</p>	<p>Community is literally built through activities in parks and public facilities.</p> <p>Clean and safe parks and save public spaces and parks as a basis for various community initiatives and events.</p> <p>Low walls and fences are a specific policy and feature that is uncommon elsewhere in the city</p> <p>The park in the area, named Kingston Frost Park, serves as a focal point for the community building in the area.</p> <p>The community initiative has constructed a mosaic in the Park which led to an improved identification and pride</p> <p>Regular public film screenings are offered</p> <p>A culture of walking and communications is essential</p>	<p>Sharing of costs among community and municipality</p> <p>Partnerships with the private sector cover some of the initiatives such as Cakes for Birthday Children paid by a Supermarket that caters to the area.</p> <p>Parks department provides more regular support after community started to demonstrate its initiative.</p> <p>Capital investment was provided to restore a waterfall in the park.</p> <p>Significant rise in the attractiveness of the neighbourhood (handles as a "secret" in order not to attract speculation.)</p> <p>Redlining by a bank was stopped as a result of the initiatives</p> <p>The community employs a gardener to maintain public green</p>
<i>The project</i>	Brixton Neighbourhood Initiative		
<i>Origins</i>	"Active" academic population	"Neglected" neighbourhood adjacent to centre	Municipality not able to cover all services (such as Park

Lots 'of "social energy"		Maintenance)
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V. Synthesis and Conclusions - Lessons generated from using UN-Habitat's three pronged concept of legislation and governance, planning and design and finance and economy

This paper sought to elaborate on the application of UN-Habitat's three-pronged model – of Legislation and Governance, Planning and Design and Finance and Economy – to parks and public spaces. While this model is a central part of UN-Habitat's policy, approaches and instruments that flesh out the approach are relatively rare.

The following section summarises the elaborations made in this paper and expounds a number of recommendations or lessons. While a first set of observations and recommendations is related to the general instrument as proposed by Table 1, a second batch of proposals links to the examination of three cases studies in this paper.

a. Recommendations for the use of the three pronged concept in the context of parks and public open spaces

A first means of elaboration has been the design of a tool showcasing the various dimensions of parks and public spaces (Table. 1). The instrument seeks to point to the general possibilities and potentialities of the three-pronged approach in the context of public space. It is far from comprehensive and intends to provide a basis for further elaboration, adaptation and refinement upon context specific needs. Likewise it is suggested that the tool can be applied in (a) an analytical and (b) a normative manner, e.g. to describe and analyse a specific situation (a) and to identify planning and policy recommendations (b). Generally the tool is open for further specification and adaptation: for example it may also be possible to use the tool in relation to the different project phases of a public space project from project development and design, contracting, implementation, monitoring evaluation and long-term management, etc. As with many other tools we have to bear in mind that it aimed to serve as a 'shortcut' in a complex urban context.

Five important aspects that are demonstrated through the tool:

- (1) All prongs have to be thought an applied together – in a holistic, interconnected, and integrated manner in order to generate effective, efficient, and sustainable results.
- (2) The legislative sphere cannot be conceived without a setting of principal actors and institutions of urban governance.
- (3) Likewise the legislative category needs to include 'soft' regulations such as and cultural, social and religious norms, ethics and behavioural standards.
- (4) Operation and maintenance are a central parts of the success factors in particular in the context of public spaces.

- (5) Processes and Programming activities must be seen an integral part of the Planning and Design category as urban public places represent arenas for users and as they embody open processes (as much as various other urban elements).

b. Recommendations for developing parks based on the case studies discussed

In addition to the elaboration of a general instrument that elaborates on detailed categories of the three-pronged policy in relation to public open spaces and parks, this paper has examined three case studies from Johannesburg in South Africa in order to operationalize the approach and to in order to generate important lessons learnt for our project context. The case studies have been selected for the availability of information on promising approaches such as decentralised management, novel planning and implementation techniques and distributed funding mechanisms. Likewise the cases highlight a situation/ context which is typical for most of the contemporary urban development context worldwide, namely insufficient public funds and increased levels of risks such as poverty, neglect, crime and insecurity.

In order to analyse and describe the three cases a second matrix was successfully used. This matrix (Cf. Tables 2,3, and 4) combines the levels of Origins, Approaches and Challenges with the three levels of three-pronged approach. From our perspective this was a fruitful format to identify the respective lessons from the projects. The following list provides a summary of the main lessons identified from the examination of the three case studies. It is intended to serve an orientation when developing new projects on public spaces in a similar context such as Johannesburg and also to serve a reference when developing overarching strategies and guidelines. Several of the recommendations made affirm findings of previous work developed by the authors that outline a strategy for safer parks and public spaces for the City of Johannesburg (Gotsch et al 2014).

(A) Summary of main lessons related to Legislation and Governance from three case studies in Johannesburg

- (1) 'Community' based design and operation is desirable and possible. The case studies demonstrated by and large that it is possible in a context of diminishing municipal support to successfully design and operate parks and public spaces (the Brixton Community Initiative (Case C.) seems to be the most successful of the examples discussed above).
- (2) Successful projects need be inclusive to identify all actors and users, in particular the voice- and powerless less and vulnerable. The three case studies demonstrated that all projects on public spaces and parks –whether in the dense inner city fabric (Ekhaya), in a residential villa suburb (Brixton), or in the "poor" periphery (Xtreme Parks) – have an own distinct setting of users. Some of the case projects discussed above are very successful and have generated a start change in appearance and perception of spaces and in levels of solidarity and community cohesion and so significantly contribute to a better quality of life (The Economist 2015). However we have also seen that and unilateral focus on the property owners alone, also has the tendency to generate NIMBYISM and exclusion. It is therefore important to define in more detail what and what the 'community' of users of a park and public space is when embarking on a new project.

- (3) Successful projects need look beyond their spatial boundaries. We have also seen that solutions, in order to be successful, have to be context specific, looking beyond their own system boundaries into their catchment areas and origins of all actors and users.
- (4) An extended perspective is also necessary when it comes to processes and time horizons. Projects can be only successful when a long-term governance, management and operational strategy is established and agreed upon (together with the municipality).
- (5) On-going support from the government (legal and financial) is essential. While, the cases discussed have demonstrated, that a successful governance of parks and public places and facilities needs to be based on the community, community based governance can be volatile, risky and exclusive. Likewise the case studies discussed demonstrate that it has a significant added value to collaborate with the private sector, whether through the inclusion of small businesses into the 'community', or civic-private partnerships, or through direct financial support and donations.

(b) Summary of main lessons related to Planning and Design from three case studies in Johannesburg

- (1) Parks and public spaces are part of a hierarchy of public spaces and an integral element of cities, The Ekhaya Residential Improvement District and the Brixton Initiative both presented organisations operating at neighbourhood level while parks and public spaces have been essential for the success of the initiatives. We have seen that community was literally built through activities in parks and public facilities. Thus it was underlined that well designed and managed urban public spaces are central elements of community integration and communication. Moreover we have seen that in order to be successful in the long-term parks and public urban spaces should be connected among each other and integrated with the surrounding urban fabric. For the design and planning process this means that it needs to take a wider perspective drawing extended system boundaries.
- (2) Participation and ownership are essential elements of long-term success. In the cases where users and residents of the adjacent neighbourhood(s) were integrated in planning, designing, and implementation activities the result was that the people took ownership and felt responsible for their place (Brixton and Ekhaya). If this was not the case the on-going care and maintenance became a cost intensive challenge (Xtreme Parks).
- (3) Programming and community events are essential components related to planning, design and operation of the parks and public spaces. Planning and design activities need to include various programs and activities throughout the entire lifetime of the project and provide the respective spaces.
- (4) Planning and design needs a close integration with other strategies in high-risk volatile context(s) such as in Johannesburg. I.e. Parks and public spaces in South Africa need a higher level of attention to safety through integrated activities of control, prevention, and pro-action. E.g. the presence of security guards (or other attendants seems) to be a central requirement to make parks and public spaces in Johannesburg accessible to a wide range of users as long as a high risk of deviant and criminal behaviour persists.

- (5) The fact that safe, clean and well-maintained public spaces and parks are an essential component of convivial, prosperous and sustainable neighbourhoods is embraced by all three cases presented.

(c) Summary of main lessons related to aspects for Finance and Economy from three case studies in Johannesburg

- (1) Concentrated quick interventions (quick wins) promote trust and confidence. They are significant in promoting a new spirit of changing perceptions and re-establishing trust between communities and the government, however with limited half-life's. Their costs are reasonable compared to the long-term operation and maintenance cost.
- (2) Combination of short-term interventions with medium and long-term strategies is vital. The cases discussed demonstrate that short term capital funding and quick wins need to be combined with medium and long-term strategies for management and operation of parks and public spaces.
- (3) Diversification of funding & resources from public, private and civil society: The examples demonstrate that it is beneficial when funding sources are diversified through a combination of community volunteerism, local fees, private sector donations, governmental funding, federal community work programs, etc.
- (4) Core users need to be involved. Significant problems with essential costs occurred when core users are involved in the management and operation of the park and a feeling of ownership and care is absent. This is specific challenge among adolescents and youth (for example in some Extreme Parks).
- (5) Good parks and public spaces are an indispensable social, cultural and urban resource and asset. The case studies demonstrate that well governed, managed, and designed parks, public spaces and community facilities increase cultural, social, and economic assets of communities and cities.

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