In the name of Peace, Sanitise!

Author's Name: Kundani Makakavhule
Affiliation: University of Pretoria
Email: kundani.makakavhule@up.ac.za

Sanitised space is a concept that is quickly gaining momentum in the disciplines of urban planning and architecture. It refers to the process in which urban space is 'cleansed' from all things that make it dirty, undesirable, and differentiated. The process can be achieved through the use of soft power or it can also be achieved through hard power. Through the use of semi-structured interviews with municipal officials, this paper seeks to showcase the various efforts by the capital city of Tshwane, South Africa to sanitise space in the name of peace. With the use of examples from public parks, the paper argues that although the sanitisation of space is done in the name of public interest, peace, it often conflicts with the public experience.

Key words

Sanitisation, Public Space, Safety and security, Peace, Symbolic violence

Introduction

Public spaces are regarded as quintessential for any settlement; they provide opportunities for interaction, recreation, leisure, public expression and greening, amongst other benefits. They are also spaces in which historic events have occurred, in different eras and contexts. For instance, The George Floyd protests demonstrations against police brutality and riots in the United States in 2020, The Soweto Student Uprising in South Africa in 1976 to change the medium of instruction from Afrikaans to English, The Arab Spring in Tunisia in 2010, The annual Rio Carnivals in Brazil and the Holi in India, amongst many others. As such, public spaces are spaces in which communities come together to demonstrate solidarity, to celebrate and to rebel against matters of public interest. Public spaces thus play an important role in transforming society and contributing to civic culture, values and peace. However, what happens when public spaces are not of good quality? threatened by crime, are a breeding ground for social ills, housing undesirable members of society and are underutilised? How does urban planning and urban management institution respond or ought to respond, in the name of peace?

This paper focuses on public spaces in the Capital City of Tshwane, South Africa. It investigates different public open spaces and the way in which peace in public space ideas, perceptions, and management practices are conceptualised in the City of Tshwane from those in decision-making positions. It also explores these conceptions in relation to the inter-conflicts between society and the municipality in the production of peaceful public spaces. Moreover, it also interrogates the intra-conflicts between municipal officials themselves. This is done in an attempt to uncover the various processes of sanitising public spaces in the city and contestations embedded in the realisation of peaceful public spaces. The paper employs the concept of conceived space by Lefebvre's (1991). It will draw links between the said concept and the concept of sanitisation, so as to make a contribution to the current literature on the topic. This paper offers new insights to the ongoing conversation of sanitising space through soft and hard power by municipalities.

The Historical Overview of Urban Public Spaces in South Africa: A History of Sanitisation

Many South African cities have a shortage of quality public space, and much of our public space is considered unsafe, due to perceived and real crime, under management and under resourced spaces (Landman,2017). According to the South African Urban Reference Safety Group (2020), this is due to the historic spatial injustices of colonialism and apartheid, which left a legacy of inadequate public space in disadvantaged areas like townships and informal settlements (Makakavhule, 2022). Venter (2020) , also argue that the legacies of Apartheid and how it distributed resources and infrastructure such as public spaces continues to shape the levels of access and perceptions of public spaces to date.

This section focuses on the overview of urban public spaces in South Africa during the apartheid era. It seeks to demonstrate how urban public space were perceived and conceived, and attempts to lay a foundation for understanding public spaces today. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 is crucial to mention in this section. The Act was put in place to regulate public spaces and spaces meant to cultivate civic culture. It was used to expand existing segregation practices that came before it, for example, the Urban Areas Act of 1923, which sought to segregate and restrict the presence of blacks in urban areas. However, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act later extended to include restrictions and the segregation of particular races in public and private premises, such as public parks, restaurant, squares, public transport, hotels and cafes (Donaldson; 1996; Sidogi, 2020; Swilling et al. 1991). Therefore, the Act allowed the provincial and municipal authorities to regulate public access and use. The Act also regulated private spaces by preventing “indecent acts” as defined under the Immorality Act of 1927. In 1960, the Act was amended to include beaches, in the quest to control all spaces of potential multiracial contact (Goitom, 2015). According to Lemon (1991: 51), the Act was deployed to “minimise racial contact and thereby, it was argued to minimise friction.” The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act had to be paired with other pieces of legislation that would support it so as to contribute to the realisation of the Apartheid dream. For example, it was paired with the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 to engrave a sense of “otherness” which could discourage interaction amongst different racial groups.

Upon reflection, such controls represented stiff forms of sanitisation whereby groups in society were regulated to portray a certain image as conceived by those in power and decision-making positions. Urban public spaces were discursively represented using rhetorical strategies, which imagined urban space through the eyes of the beholders, whether that beholder was the cartographer, the planner, the politician or the municipal official. In other words, black people were not to be visible in public spaces because they did not represent the urban image that the apartheid government sought to establish and maintain. As such, public spaces were reserved for interactions between white people, representing apartheid beliefs. Therefore, the uses and users of urban public spaces physically represented and communicated apartheid ideology.

The local authorities in white neighbourhoods would also control society and enforce legislation through signage that served to remind both blacks and whites of the rules and regulations of public and private spaces. Therefore, town planners, architects, and designers would work to design, provide and regulate public spaces as instructed by the state. Accordingly, they would communicate apartheid rationale and ideology through policies and by-laws. Evidently, harsh punishment was inflicted on those who broke the law either by making use of spaces that they were not supposed to, or through their associations with other racial groups. People would face brutal police violence or even prosecution for such violations.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was fortunately repealed in the year 1991. Thereafter, all citizens of the country could use the same public spaces and meet and integrate as they so wished. However, even with this development, urban public space planning in South Africa continues to represent efforts by the state to sanitise space and dominate it for ideological reasons. This experience of space throughout history has had implications on how public space is perceived, and how urban managers, in the name of creating and maintaining peace, plan and govern these spaces.

Conceived Space and Sanitised Space In Post-Apartheid South Africa

Lefebvre's framework – which is also the most popular - is his unitary theory or 'spatial triad' (Ghulyan, 2019; Nkooe, 2015). Lefebvre's triad introduced the concepts of perceived (spatial practices), conceived (representations of space), and lived space (representational space) which he regards as the premise for the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991: 33, 38-39). These spaces can be thought of as (1) the routine and spatial activities that can be perceived in the world (perceived space); (2) the conceptions of space which order our notion of what is possible (conceived space); and (3) the spaces that are produced by the body in everyday practice (lived space).

A discussion of the conceived space is discussed as the crucial element central to the conceptual thinking of this paper. Conceived space refers to the mental and conceptual space encompassing normative standards and ideologies (Lefebvre, 1991). It is identified as a set of representations of space that are rendered and produced by technical planners, designers, architects, technocratic, sub-dividers, and bureaucrats that have legitimised power to (re) produce space (Ng, Tang, Lee and Leung, 2010). Conceived space produces the images, sketches, and visions of the urban space. These are influenced by state institutions and are devised in plans, maps, and schemes to order society. Everyday human spatial practices and processes in this space are either legitimised or contested against a set of ideologies. This done through the use of surveillance, plans, policy, zoning laws, and by-laws which are often conceptualised in an effort to uphold normative ideas (Lefebvre, 1991; Zhang, 2006).

The state is then able to control planners, architects, and geographers and instruct them on how to represent certain locations and order their social and spatial practices according to its own socio-cultural or economic posture. This is important to note because of the role that the apartheid state played in the conceived space of South Africa. As such, Eden (2004), Lefebvre (1991), Mwathunga (2014) and Nkooe (2015) argue that conceived space is not neutral or passive, but rather, it is instrumental in seeking order and control, sometimes through extreme measures of violence.

Reflecting on the nature of perceived space as discussed earlier, one can argue that it is the manifestation or embodiment of conceived space. This is because what is conceived is physically produced and therefore, perceived. This close association of the concepts can make the triad somewhat confusing. Therefore, an example is used to clarify. In the context of urban public space, perceived space is the physical composition of a space. This includes the benches, pavement, lighting, fences and gates, and all other objects which can facilitate or hinder certain activities within that space. The by-laws and rules and regulations of the space form part of the conceived space. These can also facilitate or hinder certain activities within that space. In this context, what these two spaces have in common is the fact that they offer an objective view of how public spaces should work for all, through their attempts at creating a homogenised social life. Adversely, this often results in unintended consequences where, instead of homogenisation, resistance manifests in the name of informality and disorder. Thus, conceived

space is seen to undermine the realities of everyday citizens, their conditions, and circumstances through how it imposes its ideologies and normative ideals.

Sanitisation of space on the other hand seeks to create spatial relations that encourage behaviours that are repeatable, predictable and compatible with the dominant social roles and rules of engagement (Stavrides, 2015). More recently, we have witnessed these efforts of normalisation through the use of surveillance cameras, biometrics, and other forms of technology that shape human behaviour and sanitise public space in the name of peace and security.

Drawing the link between sanitised space, and conceived allows for a focused interrogation on urban planning actions in urban spaces. For example, Dorman's (2016) article on the regulation and control of urban life in Zimbabwe highlights how processes of urban control and sanitisation are represented by policies that seek to dictate the behaviour of urban people. These policies lie in the hands of planners and politicians alike, whom according to Healey (1997) and Harvey (2006), are engulfed with scientific and technical knowledge which often overrides their human convictions. In this regard, urban planners and architects exist as decision-makers who disregard their emotions in the work that they do. Healey (1997) echoes are verified in the Zimbabwean case of Operation 'Murambatsvina' (translated as one who rejects filth). This was a programme used to enforce by-laws and eradicate informality and illegal activities in the city of Harare and surrounding urban areas. This operation was legitimised in the name of 'planning' and seen as an effort to rebrand the image of Harare and spruce up its reputation as a world class city by ensuring that it is 'clean, well laid out and comparing favourably with cities anywhere in the world' (City of Harare 2005 as referenced in Dorman, 2016). The case of Zimbabwe is one, amongst many other cases, that describes how space can be sanitised in the name of the planning, order, and organisation that exists in the conceived space.

The city of New Delhi is also a good example of how cities sanitise their urban spaces in order to appear more modernised, beautiful, and appealing to tourism and business investments. New Dehli's hosting of the commonwealth games in 2010 is a direct example of this. The city had a campaign to remove beggars, vendors, and the homeless off the streets whilst also deploying police men and women to roam the streets so as to discourage the troubling population from being visible in the public spaces (Cook and Whowell, 2011). The city argued that it was creating a safe, peaceful and conducive environment for tourisms to enjoy and experience New Delhi. However, it was taking away the character of the city and disseminating the injustices suffered by those of lower classes who were regarded as 'undesired'.

In Italy, decades after the Second World War, the processes of urban expansion represented the clean-up of Italian city centres. The process was undertaken by removing the poor from the urban centres after which they were moved to mono-functional high density neighbourhoods on the periphery of the historical city centres. These areas were homogenous, segregated and far from all city amenities (Chiodelli, 2013). To date, the city centres in Italy are inhabited by the upper class who are afforded access to entertainment, other conveniences, and an active social life. On the other hand, the peripheries are still inhabited by the poor who are hidden away and excluded from city life.

The deployment of the concept of sanitised space alongside the concepts of space provided by Lefebvre provide an opportunity to zoom in and out of the complexities, continuities, and discontinuities of the urban public space controls and orderings in The City of Tshwane. In addition, it can also reveal the contradictions and paradoxes that exist between the societal and municipal perceptions and meanings of peace in urban public spaces.

Methodology

The paper draws its findings from multiple case studies on different types of public spaces, in different parts of the city of Tshwane. The data was collected over the period of 2016-2021 as part of a larger project on understanding the nature of public spaces in the Capital city. The paper will draw examples from different public spaces which are part of the larger project. The paper is specifically concerned with the municipal official's perceptions of peace in public spaces, how they create, restore and maintain peace, as such, the paper will refer to the qualitative face to face interviews and focus group data that was collected in this regard. As expected, professionals working in public spaces come from different disciplines. Therefore, town planners, landscape architects, environmentalists and horticulturalists were interviewed and given pseudonyms to protect their identity. The paper will also refer to some of the official municipal documents that give information about how the city conceptualises its public spaces, its vision and mechanisms of management and governance. The rationale behind the selection of these specific documents was their accessibility not only to professionals, but also the general public. The officials interviewed and the documents reviewed are summarised in Tables 1 and 2 respectively.

The data for this paper was analysed thematically. Municipal responses and information contained in municipal documents were analysed to draw emerging themes and sub-themes as it pertains to the topic. This was also triangulated with observations conducted at the different sites, where pictures were taken and activities were documented.

Table 1: Summary of Interviewed Municipal Officials

Departmental Division	Number of Officials
Environmental Management	9
Parks and Horticulture (Regional Office)	9
Urban Forestry, Nursery and Training	5
Integrated Development Planning (Office of the Executive Mayor)	1
Total 24	

Source: Author

Table 2: Summary of Official Documents Reviewed

Official Documents	
The City of Tshwane Vision 2055 Strategy	Town-Planning Scheme
The Public Open Space Framework (Volume 1: Status Quo Report)	Public Amenities By-law

The Public Open Space Framework (Volume 2: Open Space Vision, Policy, current Metropolitan and Regional Open Space Plans, and Local Open Space Plans in future)	Street trading by-law
The Public Open Space Framework (Volume 3: Implementation Strategies)	City of Tshwane Resident's manual on by-laws and legislation

Source: Author

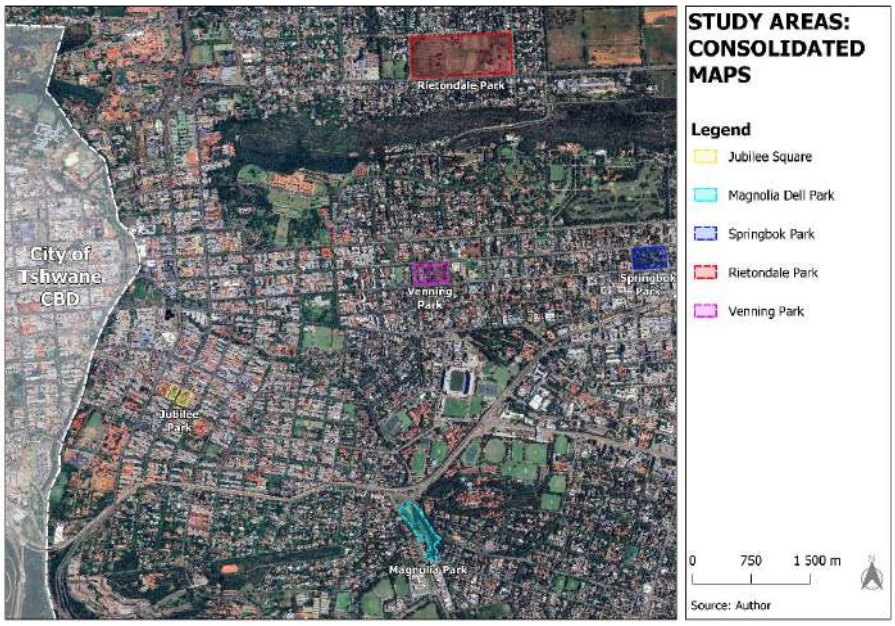

Figure 1: Maps of All public spaces under study

Findings:

Global Competition and Its Influence on Sanitising Public Space

Municipal officials seem to be facing structural pressures to produce peaceful and safe public spaces in the midst of existing and ever increasing global and capitalist pressures. According to Castells (1996), there are tensions that exist between globalisation, global competition, and local identity which affect planners and designers in their everyday quest to produce meaningful spaces. Mamdeli (2019) also argues that city officials are increasingly emphasising new versions of public spaces to generate and globally disseminate the promotional images that make their cities competitive. This is done in the name of attracting investment either through the tourism industry or private business and property investments. However, scholars

such as Allmendinger (2001) and Qian (2017) carry the assumption that these efforts of global competition are rationalised sanitisation, at the expenses of existing socio-cultural ideas and needs in public space.

In line with the above, interviewed officials indicate that they face pressure within their everyday working environment because of the need to provide locally contextualised public spaces whilst also chasing global titles in the name of performing according to global and capitalist standards. According to Lefebvre (1991), the conceived space maintains the hegemony of the ruling class by prioritising exchange value over use value, thereby producing abstract space. Unfortunately, the results of such prioritisation can easily lead to measures of sanitisation and over regulation. Furthermore, these global and capitalist aspirations shared by municipal officials have implications on what is produced in the material space, and how the material space is perceived and therefore managed as demonstrated by the responses below:

> In my experience, all those informal things taking place now in Jubilee Square, like the soccer and informal trading repeal the investors and kill the beauty of the environment as well. It does not look good for us, like we are not doing our job. We need to remove all those things if we want to attract investors there.
>
> (Jim: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)
>
> When you see other cities like Paris and Buenos Aires, they have nice looking public spaces … we went to Argentina for a tour as the division, and we want to bring back the things we saw there.
>
> (Mike: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

The rationale shared by the officials above perpetuates the marginalisation of those who are already marginalised, for example, the homeless community, street vendors, and the poor. The ever growing anxiety over homelessness, trading and other "informalities" in the public parks of the City of Tshwane, is, therefore, related to the rationalities of beauty, investment, and competition as discussed by the officials. Moreover, it presents dilemmas in cities filled with a rich diversity of inhabitants with different spatial needs, wants, and desires, and which may conflict with the desires of the elitist few. According to Marais and Nel (2019), planners and designers find themselves in a space where rules, plans, and frameworks regarding urban space need to be drafted amidst such relativity.

With this in mind, it is apparent that processes of sanitising space in post-apartheid South Africa and, particularly, in the City of Tshwane should be analysed beyond the questions of inclusion or exclusion, black or white, the haves and the have nots, and move towards more empirical examinations of the powers, interests, institutions and ideas which govern and ultimately influence decisions of sanitisation. With such interrogation, the understanding of the drivers of privatisation, regulation, and sanitisation of space become more meaningful. This interrogation may also be useful in understanding certain imposed public space identities and their implications on broader global city pursuits. It is within this dichotomy between the city's aspirations and meeting the needs of the public that professionals need to navigate. However, as a result of this, we continue to witness an increase sanitising processes under the legitimised pursuit of global competitive public spaces and cities.

Polarised State Responses: Planning Contradictions and Forms of Domination

Neighbourhood socio-economic statuses have influenced the ways in which municipal officials respond to, and act on, certain matters. This is also seen in how law enforcement agencies handle informality. There are certain unspoken assumptions about certain neighbourhoods that

lead to officials treating communities differently. In the context of this paper, the planning contradictions in sanitisation processes are seen in the different treatment of the same activities in public spaces. For example, Jubilee Square's, located in a diverse predominantly black neighbourhood, showed an obvious presence of unanticipated trading, whilst Magnolia Dell, located in a predominantly wealthy white neighbourhood has the same. However, the views and acceptability of the two activities differ. In Jubilee Square, trading activities were frowned upon by the officials whilst the same activity was approached with empathy in Magnolia Dell Park. According to Ghertner (2011), the state responds differently to the rich and the poor. In rich areas, informal activities are dealt with in terms of legalisation, whereas in poor areas their response is violence. Such contradictions allude to the fact that municipalities respond to poverty and not necessarily informality. In light of this, the City of Tshwane officials lamented over the 'invasion' of street traders in Jubilee Square, and how they are destroying the image of the city and emphasising the need for their removal:

> On the streets and in parks of Sunnyside, they should be removed because we haven't allowed it, we haven't designed for it and even our policies don't allow it.
>
> (Rendi: Environmental Management, 2018)
>
> I would say remove them, simply because their presence there also influences littering and influences all sorts of other trading that you don't want to subject your kids or people who use the parks to. People are kind of naïve about what's going on around the park, and trading can conceal a lot of things. It's just better to remove them.
>
> (Leslie: Environmental Management, 2018)

The officials in this regard hold the power of producing a space according to their image. Ultimately, they pave the way for law enforcement to handle the issue on the ground and in many instances, through violence and public disgrace (Pezzano, 2016). The urban poor who attempt to salvage a living in the city outside the 'formal' market find themselves having to contend with hostile officials who are bent on sanitising the city (Bayat, 2004; Graham and Healey, 2007; Lindell, 2010; Steck et al., 2013).

Interestingly, although informal traders are also present in Magnolia Dell Park, officials did not indicate their disapproval of them there. Surprisingly, they communicated with empathy regarding the trading in the area. Jubilee Square traders predominantly serve the Sunnyside community with their goods and services. However, Magnolia Dell Park traders serve the tourists who visit the park. One can argue that the market being served has implications on the official's perception of the activity. This substantiates Campbell and Marshall's (2002) ideas which suggest that there is no single public and therefore, no unified public peace. Although trading was unwanted and clearly stipulated on the rules and regulations board when entering Magnolia Dell Park, the officials had different sentiments regarding the practice, as one official noted:

> So... the trading in Magnolia Dell Park is something we need to take into consideration...because they are trying to make a living and it probably activates that space a little more. The tourists can also see something different.
>
> (Longtom, Environmental Management, 2019)

It is comforting to hear a humanistic sentiment from the official regarding this particular activity. However, it was saddening that this sentiment was only directed to this specific space. Planning contradictions can be detrimental when officials refuse to acknowledge practices in a

just manner. However, in light of this, one may argue that such a response also indicates that there is a paradigm shift towards consideration of unanticipated activities in urban areas.

The unanticipated trading activity that occurs in public parks seems to be increasing in the City of Tshwane despite all the attempts to combat it. According to officials, they have been dealing with this phenomenon for quite some time. They discussed the different ways in which they have attempted to get rid of the traders in public parks or at least find a way to regulate them, even in different political administrations as is evident by the respondent below:

> What happened is that, with the previous administration, they realized that they needed to formalise the informal traders in order to regulate them. So, they built an area, a place here in the city. It is municipal structures and then we just rent [the structures] out to the public.
>
> (Motho: Environmental Management, 2018)

The statement above alludes to a particular method that the city has used in effort to clean up and sanitise public spaces. Moreover, it indicates that such a planning rationale exists alongside the political rationale because planning and politics are working together in the city to ensure the realisation of a globally competitive city that has been envisioned. Moreover, one cannot simply ignore the environmental degradation and health hazards prominent in the informal sector, as discussed by the respondents below:

> To me, the trading in Jubilee square is kind of unhygienic. They cook the food in the trailer or the tent, then they throw out the used oil just next to the trailer. Health inspectors must come and see what they are doing and even where they get their water from. I don't think the trading would pass the health test.
>
> (Leslie: Environmental Management, 2018)
>
> Some of these kiosks are on a trailer there at Jubilee, and they need to pull it on a bakkie or a car to move it, so now they move into the parks and they damage our irrigation and sprinklers.
>
> (Colt: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

As noted from the quotes above, there are valid concerns pertaining to the use of public parks for unanticipated trading and these concerns are justified. Accordingly, the officials' responses towards this phenomenon can be regarded as well-meaning. However, the approaches that are suggested perpetuate the sanitizing tendencies. The notion of creating safe and clean spaces in urban planning should be sensitive to function and quality of life, not merely aesthetic, and image. Mandeli (2019) argues that public spaces should progress beyond ruthless functionalism and aesthetic concerns in the global south. In moving forward, there is a need for planners to be well aware of how people on the ground survive, how livelihoods are stitched together in public spaces and in what ways planning can positively reinforce the positives of these phenomena. It is imperative to study the practice from those practicing it and to refrain from seeing the task of sanitising informality as an elite project that is reserved for technical experts.

In Space but Out of Place: Homelessness as a Complex Sanitisation Motivation

Homelessness remains a persistent social issue throughout the world. This is also the case in the City of Tshwane (Brand, De Beer, De Villiers and Van Marle, 2013; Kriel, Tembe, and Mashava, 2017.) The officials in the city of Tshwane were very eager to discuss the homeless community, how they make use of public space, and their general sentiments towards the rising phenomenon. It was clear that all officials were aware of the significant presence of homeless

people in parks in the city. The general consensus was that homeless people should not be there and that they were out of place as echoed by the officials below:

> These vagrants have such a big impact on our parks, we are on the break of doing a redesign of Springbok Park which is a monument. Because people won't use it anymore. They don't feel safe in the park because of these vagrants, we don't want Jubilee Square and Magnolia to also end up like that.
>
> (Colt: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)
>
> When people visit the park, we don't want them to think "someone will break into my car whilst I am here". Vagrants are just a threat
>
> (Mike: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

Contrary to the above quotes, scholars such as Baron (2015) argue that this threat in South Africa is merely a perception constructed by the dominant groups and cultures in society and that it does not mimic reality. Furthermore, it is used as justification for the privatisation of space of bourgeois cleanliness. However, in a country like South Africa, one may argue strongly against such a proposition. Crime rates in South Africa have continued to rise steadily since 1994. In 2020, South Africa was rated as the third highest in terms of the crime rate in the world (Crime Index, 2020) following Venezuela and Papua New Guinea. Moreover, scholars in the domain of public spaces and sustainable neighbourhoods in South Africa have also written extensively on the impact that crime has on the use of public spaces (Breetzke, 2010; Kruger et al, 2017; Landman, 2017, 2019; Mavuso, 2016).

Accordingly, it was not surprising that the officials would view the homeless community as predominantly made up of criminals and, therefore, consider them not welcome to share spaces with mainstream society. Their views on homelessness and its prevalence in public spaces was not only shaped by their professional ideas of aesthetics and order, but also because of the overall perception of the homeless community as shared by society. According to Kriel et al (2017), most people who are homeless are treated with suspicion, alarm, annoyance, and fear in the public spaces that they occupy. This is rooted in the stigmatisation of poverty. The urban poor who have homes to live in, are "out of sight" and, therefore, "out of mind". However, the homeless are unfortunately often in plain view and therefore, subjected to this harsh stigmatisation justifying sanitisation processes.

During focus group discussions, officials often referred to themselves as civil servants who work to please their customers. Moreover, they discussed how they need to ensure the safety and peace for the communities they serve. An official in particular mentioned that they received pressure from various communities regarding the removal of homeless people in parks, and as a way to maintain the peace, they need to respond:

> Communities come to our office, requesting that we take care of the vagrant problem in their parks. That puts us in a very difficult position because we get complaints from the public all the time. For example, Rietondale community has approached us. Look at the state of the park, how can you allow the vagrants, it's not safe for them to stay there, it is not hygienic for them to stay there, how can you allow it. It is not a question that we are allowing it, we can do nothing about it because we don't have shelters for these people.
>
> (Shane: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

As alluded to in the quote above, communities have certain expectations of their public spaces, and officials are seen as the people who should deliver on these expectations. Officials lament on how communities expect them to regulate the homeless community's presence in public spaces. However, according to them, this is the task of the Metropolitan Police Office. Officials argue that it is their duty to draft by-laws and institutionalise them. However, it is the task of the metro police to enforce those by-laws. This lamentation is not surprising because scholars such as du Toit (2010) have argued that local governments tend to see homelessness as an issue outside their jurisdiction because it can be ascribed to individuals' lack of affordable housing or their individual moral failure and, therefore, should be the responsibility of law enforcement:

> Come on, we do not have the power to arrest these people or even give them fines to get them out of the parks. That is what the metro police are supposed to do. I will see them in the park, like all the time in Jubilee, but I will just pass like any other person.
>
> (Longtom: Environmental Management, 2019)

According to the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality By-Laws Pertaining to Public Amenities (under the section of loitering and prohibited action), "it is illegal for anybody to be homeless and perform actions like begging or being on the streets without a home to return to" (Environment and Recreation Management, 2014 as quoted in Kriel et al, 2017: 433.) The by-law statement above can be regarded as problematic because of how it explicitly discriminates against the homeless.

The criminalisation of homelessness, informal trading, loitering, and unauthorised gathering (Landman, 2019; Middelmann, 2020; Nkooe, 2015) depict the attempts that were made to cleanse the public spaces from disorder, to create and maintain peace. For instance, the regulations on loitering, as per the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality By-Laws related to public amenities (City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, 2010) state that no loitering or lingering by the general public is permitted in public spaces. In this regard, loitering becomes an activity that infringes on the desired public space order as conceived of by local authorities.

With the above in mind, the control of public spaces in the city, as represented by the by-laws, prove to be a violation of the homeless community's democratic right to enjoy state provided public spaces (Lefebvre,1991). Moreover, it can be regarded as an attempt to sanitise space and display an image of "public space neatness" whilst institutionally hiding the brutality of rigid urban space controls. However, one can also argue that the concerns regarding the presence of homeless people in public spaces and their use of the spaces are not completely unwarranted. Unfortunately, the homeless community is not made up of a homogenous group of people with the same socialisation, aspirations, and view of life. Thus, they cannot be discussed as such (De Beer, 2013). The officials are aware of this, and also indicate that this makes their task to design, develop, maintain and regulate peace in public spaces that much more difficult. For example, the officials argue that they need to navigate between protecting the rights of all urban citizens whilst also maintaining safe public space, to attract and maintain investments and to decrease the deterioration and vandalism of public infrastructure as echoed by the following respondents:

> Yes, they have the right to use those spaces, it would be nice if they could use it like all other people. But they don't only use it exercising the democratic right, some of them actually have got this urge to break something. You can use it; we can't complain if you use it. We complain if you break it.
>
> (Jammy: Parks and Horticulture, 2019)

> In Jubilee we've got the outdoor gym and the homeless people come and steal everything that they can take for scrap metal so we can't keep advocating for them when they are destroying everything.
>
> (Jim: Parks and Horticulture, 2019).

From the quotes above, it is clear that the officials are not against the use of space by the homeless, therefore, not maliciously advocating for their exclusion. They are merely against the vandalism that they have witnessed. Bergamaschi et al (2014), mentions that once a person has lived on the streets their former identity disappears and they form a new identity based on their situation and as such, many act and engage in activities that they normally would not, for example, the unwarranted vandalism as explained by the officials above. From the focus group discussions, it was made clear that the harsh by-laws pertaining to the homelessness phenomenon in public spaces came into being as a result of such activities. The officials were also adamant that the locking up of public abolition facilities in parks in the city was a decision taken because of the criminal activities that would take place, as well as the homeless people who would sleep in them as one official noted:

> I don't know how to handle the question on access to toilets, it is very difficult. You find that parks that have toilets end up being a very scary park. Because homeless people will hide in the toilets, you go there and they ambush you because you don't know what happens in the toilet. So we are trying to manage, that but unfortunately it is creating problems but we still don't know how to handle it.
>
> (Rendi; Environmental Management, 2018)

The decision made by officials to lock up toilets in the public parks deals with the issue of crime, safety and illegal occupancy which are highly prioritised matters. Unfortunately, the trade-off is that society's experience of public life and comfort becomes constrained. Officials also indicate that the other alternatives could be the introduction of a payment system where individuals could pay a certain amount to use the facilities. However, the question that kept recurring was "what about those who cannot afford?" One participant mentioned that:

> Public toilets are a problem in the city, not only in the public spaces you are researching. The city is now stinking because of this. So every night we have people that go around all corners spraying chemicals. It's costing the city a lot of money. We are saying build more toilets and have a lady at the entrance charging R1.00. But then again, how can you charge a homeless person R1.00 to use a toilet when he has nothing.
>
> (Oupa: Integrated Development Planning, 2019).

The concern raised above by the official is a valid one. Moreover, the introduction of payment fees to enter and use the toilet has direct exclusion implications for the less privileged. However, it is clear that the first priority in public spaces is safety and restrictions which function to protect society. In light of this, officials recognise that there is more that still needs to be done to ensure safe public spaces for both the homeless and other members of society. Their approach leans towards soft governance measures that can be interpreted as over-regulation of the public space. According to Carmona (2010), public space can be placed into two broad classifications in contemporary society, either being over-managed or under-managed. In this situation, the officials either under-manage by insisting that there is nothing that they can do in a situation and, therefore, the spaces are left neglected and invaded. On the other hand, they over-manage by proposing measures that result in exclusion, access control, and sanitisation. The homeless community in the City of Tshwane continue to be at the mercy

of the officials, their urban policies, by-laws and law enforcement agencies. Whether it is in the name of preserving the image of the city, sanitising space, protecting civil society or attracting businesses, the homeless communities' right to the city and their place in the production of democratic public space remains contested amongst an array of competing interests.

Conclusion:

This paper explored the ways in which public space ideas, perceptions, and desires are conceptualised in the City of Tshwane from the perspectives of technical practitioners and those in decision making positions. It explored the thinking and rationale behind the plans and policies that we see in the pursuit of peace in public space and the contestations thereof.

Using the concepts of sanitisation and conceived space, the paper revealed that the officials involved in public spaces in the City of Tshwane do not work in isolation, nor are they immune to the social, political, economic and global factors, which inevitably influence their decisions. Officials find themselves having to constantly construct and deconstruct their identity as 'technical professional' and 'civil servant' in rationalising what is order, peace and safety in public spaces. The paper locates the conflicts and contestations between global competition, planning contradictions, forms of domination and fixation on universal standards as phenomenon's perpetuating the continuity of sanitised spaces in the city. Lastly, the paper discussed the complex problem of handling homelessness in public spaces and how sanitisation practices are seen as legitimate, in processes of maintain peace in communities. The justifications of such rationalities lie in the conceived space which is supported by the measurable variables of health, public safety, security, sanitation, and environmental protection as emphasised in the physical design and legal controls of public spaces. However, the unintended consequences of such practices result in the control and suppression of minorities, the creation of societal divisions, and the perpetuation of classism. The concept of peace and how it is pursued by municipal officials in public space presents conflicts when interrogated in terms of whose peace and with what sacrifices.

References:

Baron, E. (2015). Responsibility: A case for the homeless in the City of Tshwane. Herv. teol. stud. [online]. 2015, vol.71, n.3, pp.0107.ISSN20728050. http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V71I3.3085.

Donaldson, S. (1996). The legacy of the Separate Amenities Act: Perceptions of recreation and future planning in the Northern Province, South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 13 (6): 871–879.

Dorman, S.R. (2016). We have not made anybody homeless': regulation and control of urban life in Zimbabwe Citizenship Studies, 20 (1): 84–98.

Goitom, H. (2015). On This Day: Desegregation of South African Beaches. Library of Congress. Lemon, A. 1987. Apartheid city in transition. Hampshire: Gower.

Landman, K. (2016). The transformation of public space in South Africa and the role of urban design. Urban Design International, 21: 1, 78-92.

Landman, K. (2019). Evolving Public Space in South Africa: Towards Regenerative Space in the Post-Apartheid City. Routledge research in planning and urban design.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The production of space. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd. (Original work published 1974).

Lemon, A. (1991). Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities. UK: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Makakavhule, K. & Landman, K. (2020). Towards deliberative democracy through democratic governance and design of public spaces in the South African capital city, Tshwane. Urban Design International, 25, 280-292.

Marais, L,. and Nel, V,. (2019). Space and planning in secondary cities REFLECTIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA. y Sun Media Bloemfontein (Pty) Ltd

Mashayamombe, J. (2018). Sanitised spaces: the spatial orders of post-apartheid mines in South Africa.A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, in fulfilment of the requirements of degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Sociology).

Matshedisho, R. (2015). Homelessness in Berea Park, Hillbrow. In: Vertovec S. (eds) Diversities Old and New. Global Diversities. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Mwathunga, E.E. (2014). Contesting space in urban Malawi: A Lefebvrian analysis Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University.

Ng, M.K. Tang, W.S. Lee, J. & Leung, D. (2010). Spatial practice conceived space and lived space: Hong Kong's Piers saga through the Lefebvrian lens. Planning Perspectives 25 (4): 411-431.

Nkooe, E.S. (2015). Contested public spaces: A Lefebvrian analysis of Mary Fitzgerald Square. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of the Witwatersrand. School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies.

Roy, A. (2009). Why India cannot plan its cities: informality, insurgence and the idiom of urbanization Planning Theory 8, 76–87.

Sigodi, P. (2020). Unsettling segregation: The representation of urbanisation in black artists' work from the 1920s to the 1990s. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Department Visual Arts in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. University of Stellenbosch.

South African Urban Reference Safety Group (2020)

Stavrides, S. (2015). Common Space as Threshold Space: Urban Commoning in Struggles to Reappropriate Public Space. Footprint: Commoning as Differentiated Publicness, Spring, 09-20.

Swilling, M. Humphries, R & Shubane, K (eds). (1991). Apartheid city in transition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Venter, S.Z. Shackleton, C.M. Van Staden, F. Selomane, O. & Masterson, V.A. (2020). Green Apartheid: Urban green infrastructure remains unequally distributed across income and race geographies in South Africa. Landscape and Urban Planning, 203, 1-12.

Willemse, L. (2010). Community/neighbourhood park use in Cape Town: A class-differentiated analysis. Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master in Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Stellenbosch.

Zhang, Z. (2006). 'What Is Lived Space?' Ephemera, 6 (2): 219–23.